A Grammar of Wanyjirra, a language of Northern Australia

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Dedication

Nganinguwu ngamayiwu

For Wajngarri Tiny McCale† and Dalyngarri Maggie Scott,

my great language teachers

Abstract

This thesis is a comprehensive description of Wanyjirra, a moribund Ngumpin-Yapa language originally spoken in the south-west Victoria River District of the Northern Territory, Australia. Based on elicited data and narratives recorded between 2009 and 2012 and legacy materials, this grammar details the phonetics and phonology (chapter 2), word classes and general case functions (chapter 3), nominal morphology (chapter 4), free pronouns and interrogatives (chapter 5), demonstratives and directionals (chapter 6), pronominal clitics (chapter 7), noun phrases (chapter 8), verbal morphology (chapter 9), simple and complex predicates (chapter 10), other minor word classes and clitics (chapter 11), the syntax of simple sentences (chapter 12) and subordination and coordination (chapter13). It also provides a profile of the language and its speakers, including comparisons with neighbouring languages, a short description of special language styles and information about previous work on the language, methodology and characteristics of data (chapter 1). Wanyjirra is, in most aspects, typical of Pama-Nyungan languages and, as a language in the centre of the dialect chain, shows many similarities to other Ngumpin-Yapa languages. However, it possesses distinct features and merged features of its neighbours. The data also shows many dialectal or idiolectal variations in synchronic or diachronic context.

The phoneme inventory contains five short vowels, one long vowel and seventeen consonants with a rich series of liquids but without fricatives. Syllables are mostly simple but can have complex codas only in coverb and adverb word classes. Lenition and nasal coda dissimilation are common morphophonemic processes especially in case and derivational allomorphy.

Wanyjirra is a non-configurational language having grammatically flexible ordering of constituents and frequent ellipsis of argument NPs, which are cross-referenced by pronominal clitics. Constituent order is influenced by pragmatic salience and new and important information is often placed in initial position. Discontinuous NPs are not common and have specific discourse functions.

The language is an agglutinative and suffixing language with a complex system of case marking. As is crosslinguistically unusual but relatively common among Australian languages, case suffixes do not only represent grammatical and semantic roles of NPs but also link two NPs and/or link two clauses. The language shows a split marking between nouns/adjectives and free pronouns: nouns/adjectives take an absolutive-ergative declension whereas free pronouns make no morphological distinction between transitive subjects (A), intransitive subject (S) and transitive (direct) objects (O). Pronominal clitics, which show a nominative-accusative pattern, cross-reference core and non-core arguments constrained by animacy, sentiency and affectedness of referents.

Wanyjirra discourse largely consists of strings of simple sentences with nominal or verbal predicates. It has only thirty-eight inflecting verbs functioning as simple predicates but some stems combine with coverbs, constituting a distinct word class, to form complex verbs. Although verbal clauses usually contain finite inflecting verbs, non-finite forms of inflecting verbs and coverbs can also occur as main predicates

without finite verbs in discourse. Finite and non-finite subordinations essentially contain independent subordinators and finite verbs, and non-finite verbs or coverbs followed by subordinating suffixes respectively. Coordination is not morphologically indicated.

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Glosses and abbreviations

A	agent or transitive subject
ABL	ablative
ADM	admonitive
ADJ	adjectiviser
ADJ	adjunct
AGENT	agentive
Adv	adverb
ALL	allative
ASSC	associative
AUG	augmented
Aux	auxiliary
B	brother, brother's
C	consonant
C-SUB	concord-subordinator
Ch	child
CLC	clitic
COMIT	comitative
COMP	complement
COND	conditional
CONT	continuative
CV	coverb
D	directional
DAT	dative
DECD	deceased
DO	direct object
DU	dual
DYAD	kinship pairing
e	elder
EL	elative
EP	epenthetic
ERG	ergative
EXC	exclusive
F	father, father's
FOC	focus
H	husband, husband's
HEAD	head nominal
HITH	hither
HORT	hortative
IGNOR	ignorative
IMP	imperative
INC	inclusive
INDF	indefinite
IO	indirect object
ITR	intransitive verb

IRR	irrealis
IV	inflecting verb
KIN	kinship, kinship suffix
LOC	locative
LINK	linking
M	mother, mother's
MIN	minimal
MOD	modifier
NARR	narrative
NEG	negative
NGY	Ngumpin-Yapa
NMNR	nominaliser
NP	noun phrase
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
OBV	obviative
OCOMP	object complement
ONLY	only
ORIG	originative
OTHER	(an)other
PAUC	paucal
PERL	perlative
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRES	present
PRIV	privative
PRO	pronominal, pronoun
PROP	proprietive
PROPER	properly
PURP	purposive
Q	question marker
RDP	reduplication
REAL	realis
REP	repetitive
RR	reflexive and reciprocal
RS	respect speech style
S	son, son's
S	intransitive subject
SBJ	subject
SEMB	semblative
SEQ	temporal sequence
SG	singular
SUB	subordinator
T-SUB	temporal subordinator
TAM	tense, aspect and mood
TERM	terminative
THIT	thither
TIMES	iterative
TR	transitive verb
TRNSL	translative

TOP	topic
UA	unite-augmented
V	verb
V	vowel
W	wife, wife’s
y	younger
Z	sister, sister’s
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

Conventions used in transcription and glossing[1]

-	morpheme boundary
=	clitic boundary
:(::)	prolonged sound
..	micro pause (less than 0.3 seconds)
...	short pause (between 0.3 to 0.7 seconds)
...(1.2)	pause longer than 0.7 seconds with the proximate duration indicated in brackets (1.2 seconds)
\	falling intonation
,	flat or slightly-rising (non-sentence-final) intonation
/	rising intonation
X	an unintelligible syllable
<X X>	doubtful transcription
< >	revision or correction which a consultant made in transcription session It is placed immediately after the original element which is revised or corrected.
…..	If an example consists of more than one sentence, especially the one which is extracted from a textual material, one or more sentences may be omitted from the original text when the example is presented. It is because such omitted sentences are not relevant or not required for discussion.
*	a word, sentence or English translation which is not approved by a consultant due to its grammaticality, or a word reconstructed as a proto form
?	a sentence or English translation where the consultant was unsure about its grammaticality
kriol	Kriol or English-loan words in italics
NOTE	information on that original transcription and glossing in regard to (non-)Wanyjirra words or segments (suffixes and clitics) used in the sentence and major modification made from the original text

[1] Prosodic judgement is mainly made based on analysis of the recorded materials. However, my fieldnotes sometime contain such information on the basis of instant recognition at the time of speech. In TT's original text, the symbol / represents a pause. I modified his transcription with the above conventions.

(1-1)	example numbers which consist of chapter numbers preceding consecutive numbers within each chapter
re	a repeated example within the same chapter
context	information about the contexts in which examples were collected (e.g. in informal conversations or prompted by visual stimuli), and about surrounding discourse contexts of narrative examples, where it is necessary
a.	a pair or a triplet of examples under the same example number
1.	sentence numbers placed in front of each sentence (if an example contains more than one sentence)
-ERG|ONLY	if a homophonous morpheme has two alternative interpretations both possibilities are presented with a vertical bar in the gloss.
MS:	initials of speaker's name in conversational examples placed in front of sentences If one speaker plays two roles to demonstrate conversational examples, the general markers A, B and C are used to specify utterance made by different discourse participants.
[CS:]	insertion of some words within original sentences given by CS. This is mainly for clarification of what arguments is cross-referenced with pronominal clitics.

Conventions used to indicate attribution of translation

No sign — translation given by the speaker who provides the corresponding Wanyjirra sentence (see below in conventions used to indicate source of data)

If the translator is different from the speaker, or if there is more than one translation, initials of translators are given.

CS
DJ
KD
MS
NP
RD
TM
TT

CS: Chikako Senge; DJ: Dolly Jirrbngarri; KD: Kathleen Duncan; MS: Maggie Scott; NP: Nyun.gatya Paddy; RD: Ray Duncan; TM: Tiny McCale; TT: Tasaku Tsunoda

Sometimes original texts do not specify translator's name. In this case, a linguist's name (either TT or CS) is filled out.

[ ] — an element which is not overtly expressed in Wanyjirra sentence

(i.e.,) — supplementary information on context given by TT or CS to help readers understand meanings of sentences

In addition, the following symbols and signs are used after initials of translators:

\# — translation proposed by TT or CS and approved by an consultant

Since consultants' English proficiency is not equal to native speakers, they often cannot provide translations with precise English expressions and cannot judge my proposed translations. When the translation cannot be approved by any consultant due to this issue, it is left unspecified without this symbol. In addition, it is sometimes unclear whether TT's and CS's translation was approved by any consultant. In this case, no symbol is added.

@ — if consultant's and TT's translation contain Kriol words, CS adds another translation with Standard English based on their Kriol translation. This translation was not put to the consultants for approval.

LIT — literal translation given by TT or CS without approval from consultants

ALT(#) alternative translation given by consultants, TT or CS

If the translation is given by TT or CS and is approved by a consultant, the symbol # is added.

%(#) different interpretation or more precise translation given by CS with respect to the original translation

If the translation is approved by a consultant, the symbol # is added.

!(#) an English sentence given to a consultant from TT or CS to be translated into Wanyjirra, and an intended meaning of the sentence which TT or CS produced to check its grammaticality with consultants through elicitation or to make Wanyjirra conversation with consultants

If the translation is approved by a consultant in the second and third cases, the symbol # is added.

Conventions used to indicate source of data

All examples cited in this thesis are accompanied by a reference label containing certain information in square brackets. Since several different types of materials are used, formats of labels are different.

For an example coming from field notes and which is not the one transcribed based on audio-recording are specified as follows:

[MS: CSfn050709]
This means: [Speaker: Linguist-Field note-Date of recording (DDMMYY)]

For an example cited from transcribed audio-recorded materials of my corpus, a reference contains its audio file label based on the date of recording, the file number in the date and the reference number (sentence number) in that file:

[TM: 10_0913_1.012]
This means: [Speaker: YY_MMDD_File No.Reference No]

For an example quoted from TT's published and unpublished transcription, a reference is based on TT's original text label. It contains its tape label (the year of recording, the recording number in that tape and the side of the tape) with speaker's name:

[NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).072]
This means: [Speaker: YY_Tape No_Side of the tape_Speaker(Recording No).Reference No]

Since TT's sources also contain additional examples given by a translator, who is different from the speaker of the original text, quotation of these examples contains a reference with different speaker's name as follows:

[MS: 76_13_2_NP(2).072']

This means that MS is the speaker who provided this example based on the example given by NP with the reference 76_13_2_NP(2).072. The dash symbol after the reference number indicates the number of such additional examples in regard to that example. That is, the example with the above the reference is the first additional example. If two dashes follow the reference number, the example is the second additional example. Note that these additional examples do not contain prosodic information in transcription.

Finally for examples cited from examples which I edited TT's original audio-recordings and transcribed them, I use the following label:

[MS: 97_31_2.031]

This means: [Speaker: YY_Tape No_File No.Reference No]

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Linguistic type

Wanyjirra is a Pama-Nyungan language of the south-west Victoria River District of Northern Territory, Australia. The language is, in most aspects, typical of Pama-Nyungan languages. The phoneme inventory lacks fricatives and has a simple vowel system (/a/, /aː/, /i/ and /u/). The inventory of consonants contains five places of articulation for stops and corresponding nasals (bilabial, apico-alveolar, retroflex, lamino-palatal and velar); two for rhotics (apico-alveolar and retroflex); three for laterals (apico-alveolar, retroflex and lamino-palatal); and two for glides (labio-velar and lamino-palatal) (§2.1). Stops do not make a phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless. Only the vowel /a/ is recognised as having a contrast in length (§2.2.3.3). There are no stress or pitch distinctions.

Morphologically, Wanyjirra is an agglutinative and suffixing language. Six word classes can be defined: nominals (including common and proper nouns, adjectives, quantifiers, free pronouns, demonstratives, temporal nominals, locational nominals, manner nominals and directionals), inflecting verbs, coverbs, adverbs, particles and interjections (§3.1).

There is no noun class or classifier system in Wanyjirra. Number is not obligatorily specified by nouns; for argument NPs it is denoted by cross-referencing pronominal clitics (§7). It can also be expressed by quantifiers or number suffixes (§4.6). Nominals generally agree in case within a single noun phrase (§8.1). There are ten cases: ergative, absolutive, dative, locative, comitative, allative, ablative, elative, originative and purposive cases (§4.4). Case suffixes have a number of functions, not only representing roles of NPs but also linking two NPs and/or linking two clauses (§3.2). Wanyjirra also has derivational and derivational case suffixes (§4.3; §4.5) which occur before case inflection.

Wanyjirra is a morphologically ergative language which shows a split marking system between nouns/adjectives and free pronouns: nouns/adjectives take an absolutive-ergative declension whereas free pronouns do not make any distinction among the three core syntactic functions, transitive subjects (A), intransitive subjects (S) and transitive (direct) objects (O). Pronominal clitics show a nominative-accusative pattern. This marking system resembles a type of the common split system across free and bound (pro)nominals (cf. Dixon, 1994). In this thesis, however, pronominal clitics are regarded as agreement markers but not as having nominative and accusative cases.

Free pronouns (§5.1) and pronominal clitics (§7) distinguish three persons (first, second and third) and three numbers (minimal, unit-augmented and augmented). First person non-minimal forms also make a distinction between inclusive and exclusive. First person inclusive unit-augmented forms are no longer used extensively and are often replaced by their corresponding augmented forms. As is typical for languages with bound pronominals, free pronouns are infrequent in clauses. However, pronominal clitics are also not obligatory in this language if clauses have overt NPs. Pronominal clitics attach to auxiliaries, subordinating conjunctions, sentence particles, interrogatives and certain forms of inflecting verbs which mostly occur in the first or second constituent of clauses (§7.3.1; §7.4).

Like many languages of Northern Australia (McGregor, 2002; Schultze-Berndt, 2000), Wanyjirra has two distinct verbal word classes: the inflecting verbs (§9.1) and the coverbs (§9.2) which together form verbal predicates. Inflecting verbs belong to a closed class with only thirty-eight stems. They are inflected for tense, aspect and mood (TAM) and grouped into eight conjugation classes (§9.1.4). Each stem has one non-finite form and five finite forms (past, present, future, imperative and hortative). A contrast in aspect (continuative and non-continuative) is found in all finite forms except for present tense forms. While all stems can occur by themselves as simple verbs, twenty-two stems can also combine with coverbs to form a large number of complex verbs (§10.3). These twenty-two generally show more basic meanings than those which cannot co-occur with coverbs. For example, the inflecting verb bung- is glossed as ‘hit’ expressing an action which physically affects patients but is also interpreted as ‘kill’, ‘burn’ and ‘clap music sticks’ or ‘dance stamping the ground’- i.e.,

'play a corroboree' in different contexts.

Coverbs, as opposed to inflecting verbs, are an open class and are uninflected for TAM except for a suffix expressing repetition or continuation of events. However, coverbs also share some grammatical similarities with nominals and non-finite forms of inflecting verbs. They can take some derivational case suffixes (§9.2.3.4) and case suffixes in subordinating use in non-finite subordinate clauses (§3.2.3.4; §13.2). Like non-finite verbs, coverbs can also occur without finite inflecting verbs in certain situations (§10.5).

Coverbs form complex verbs with inflecting verbs. Generally, in complex verbs, inflecting verbs carry TAM information and only basic information about the events expressed by complex verbs, whereas coverbs provide more specific meanings about events (§10.2). Coverbs and complex verbs are categorised into three types: (i) strong nexus coverbs/complex verbs; (ii) weak nexus coverbs/complex verbs; (iii) adverbial coverbs/complex verbs (§10.3). These categories are not clearly separated but rather are gradable.

Wanyjirra is typical of non-configurational languages (Austin & Bresnan, 1996; Hale, 1983), in having grammatically flexible ordering of constituents and frequent ellipsis of argument NPs, which are represented by cross-referencing pronominal clitics. In Wanyjirra, as in most Australian languages, constituent order is influenced by pragmatic salience (§12.2). Wanyjirra discourse largely consists of strings of simple sentences which typically contain nominals or verbs as predicates, namely nominal clauses (§12.3) and verbal clauses (§12.5).

Since Wanyjirra lacks conjunctions, simple sentences are often just strung together in juxtaposition or linked by English-loan conjunctions or disjunctions (§13.3). There are three subordinating conjunctions which mark different semantic types of finite subordinate clauses (§13.1). Non-finite subordinate clauses obligatorily consist of coverbs and/or non-finite verbs as predicates. Sub-constituents of non-finite clauses are marked by some case allomorphs functioning as subordinators including the ergative, dative, locative, elative and, less commonly, purposive and allative cases. Some case suffixes relate subordinate clauses to arguments of their matrix clauses

showing case-agreement whereas others denote the temporal or logical relation of events expressed by subordinate clauses to main clause events (§3.2.3.4; §13.2).

1.2 Previous studies

The most extensive prior work on Wanyjirra was conducted by Tasaku Tsunoda. He started collecting the Wanyjirra materials mainly in Nicholson Station, Western Australia, while carrying out his Ph.D. research on Jaru in the late 1970's. Meanwhile, McConvell was also dealing with Wanyjirra through his main work on Gurindji. Particularly McConvell (1988a: 113-130) investigates contexts and social meanings of code-switching between Wanyjirra and Gurindji that occurs in two Wanyjirra speakers' speech. Tsunoda resumed recording Wanyjirra in 1995 and periodically conducted his fieldwork until 2006. He developed his Wanyjirra corpus including audio tapes, fieldnotes and transcriptions of some recordings as well as publication of nine sets of texts. These materials were kindly made available to the present author by Tsunoda and Wanyjirra speakers and consequently made a valuable contribution to the whole Wanyjirra corpus for the current analysis of the grammar. The first sketch grammar of Wanyjirra was made by the present author (Senge, 2008) based on Tsunoda's fieldnotes and published texts.

Some other works on Wanyjirra were also done in the last decade by an ethno-biologist and the Kimberley Language Resource Centre (KLRC). In his thesis, Matthew Flower (2006) provided a detailed description on Wanyjirra people's traditional knowledge of plants, animals and ecology. A visually appealing book on the fauna and flora of Wanyjirra was also published for community use (Flower et al., 2006). The KLRC and Wanyjirra speakers also published a Wanyjirra wordbook (Scott et al., 2008) mainly aiming at language learning and maintenance.

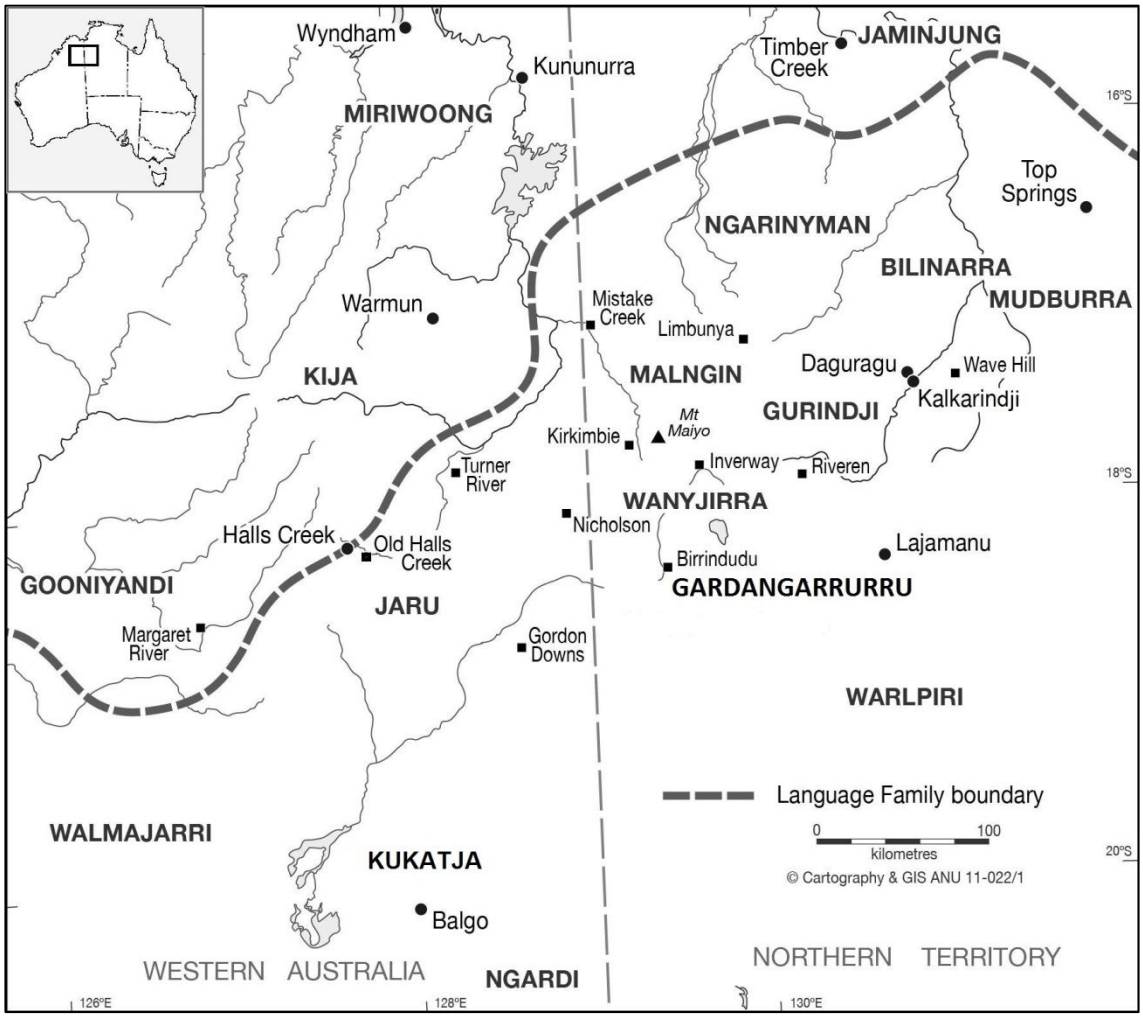
1.3 Wanyjirra and its neighbours

1.3.1 Territory

Wanyjirra used to be spoken in the south-west of Victoria River District in the Northern Territory, adjacent to East Kimberley, Western Australia. Their approximate territory of Wanyjirra people includes Inverway Station, parts of Riveren Station and

Nongra Lake[2] (see Map 1.1). It is adjacent to Jaru/Nyininy in the west, to Gurindji in the east, to Warlpiri in the south and to Malngin in the north. The extinct language Gardangarrurru was spoken around Lajamanu, south of Wanyjirra which is now mainly occupied by Warlpiri people. The place around Inverway Station is also called *Binanyi* which literally means 'waterlily' in Wanyjirra. The waterlilies grow in waterholes along Sturt Creek. No Aboriginal people live in Wanyjirra territory today.

Map 1.1: Language map of East Kimberley and Victoria River District



1.3.2 Language name

The language and tribe name Wanyjirra ['wɐɲɟiɾɐ] is most commonly used by speakers, their families and other people who speak neighboring languages. This logonym is based on the Wanyjirra expression wanyjirra? "Where (are you going)?"

[2] Indigenous people pronounce it as [nɑŋgʊrʊ].

which is commonly used as a greeting expression. Alternatively it is pronounced as [wɐɲɟiɾɑŋ] with a final velar nasal. Wanyjirra speakers and their Jaru friends also use the term Wanyjirra-jaru [wɐɲɟiɾɑŋ ɟæɽʊ] 'the Wanyjirra language' in which the language name combines with the common noun jaru, here meaning 'language' rather than the language name Jaru to emphasise that 'Wanyjirra' is the language name. However, sometimes this name is not recognised by outsiders (even Aboriginal people). For example, a Kukatja (Western Desert language) speaker from Balgo whom I met in Halls Creek did not know the name 'Wanyjirra' and made no distinction between the language spoken by Tiny McCale† and Maggie Scott and Jaru. Therefore, how in-group people recognise their language is not equal to how outsiders treat it (§1.3.3).[3]

Different spellings of this language name are also found in previous investigations: 'Wanjira' (McGregor, 1988; Milliken, 1976), 'Wandjira' or 'Wandjirra' (Tsunoda, 1981 and his early fieldnotes). McConvell uses the current spelling 'Wanyjirra' in his work (McConvell, 1985a; 1988a etc.), which is followed by Tsunoda in his fieldnotes and texts made after 1996.

1.3.3 Wanyjirra as a Ngumpin-Yapa language

Wanyjirra belongs to the Ngumpin subgroup, together with Walmajarri, Jaru, Ngardi, Malngin, Gurindji, Ngarinyman, Bilinarra and Mudburra.[4] These Ngumpin languages also share a number of lexical, phonological and grammatical innovations with the Yapa languages (Warlpiri and Warlmanpa), which form a single Ngumpin-Yapa subgroup (McConvell & Laughren, 2004). There is a large dialect continuum consisting of these Ngumpin-Yapa languages. Wanyjirra is geographically located in the central part of the continuum and forms a smaller Ngumpin dialect chain with adjacent languages: Jaru/Nyininy in the west, Malngin in the north and Gurindji in the east. Wanyjirra shares a number of features with those languages and is often treated

[3] A similar phenomenon is also reported from Tsunoda (1981: 4) saying that Jaru, consisting of two main dialects Wawarl (Western) and Nyininy (Tsunoda, 1981) is sometimes called the common language of these dialects as Nyininy by Gurindji people. According to Tsunoda (ibid), the name 'Wawarl' is the one used particularly by Nyininy speakers from a certain region. This might be because they distinguish their own speech from what they call 'Wawarl'. In my experience, at least indigenous people who I met in Halls Creek do not recognise the name 'Wawarl' and just refer to it as Jaru.

[4] Ngardi was treated as a member of the Ngarrga (now, Yapa) languages. However, recent studies regard it as a Ngumpin language (Honeyman, 2005; McConvell & Laughren, 2004).

as a dialect of Jaru or Gurindji (McConvell, 1988a; Tsunoda, 1981 etc.) as Malngin is often treated as a dialect of Gurindji (Ise, 1999; McConvell, 1988a etc.).

Figure 1.1 shows the percentages of cognates in a comparison among 6 language/dialects (Wanyjirra, Malngin, Gurindji Jaru, Nyininy and Warlpiri) on the basis of Nash's (2009) 167-item wordlist.[5] The numbers in brackets are the percentages of cognates given by Tsunoda (1981: 5) on the basis of a 104-item wordlist.

Figure 1.1: Lexical comparison of Wanyjirra and its surrounding languages

Warlpiri					
31	Malngin				
30	81	Gurindji			
34	55 (65)	47	Jaru		
35	51	46	81	Nyininy	
34	66 (69)	66	69 (91)	76	Wanyjirra

The percentages are quite different between two studies. The major reason is that both the wordlists used in comparison and their contributors are different. Significantly, the Jaru data in Tsunoda's comparison may contain Nyininy and other dialects whereas the Jaru data in my comparison distinguish them from each other. In addition, the speakers who contributed the Wanyjirra data are also different between the two studies. Tsunoda's Wanyjirra wordlist was collected from Nyun.gatya Paddy† whereas my Wanyjirra wordlist mainly from Tiny McCale† and Maggie Scott. These people all speak Nyininy and Jaru as well as Wanyjirra but Tiny also know Gurindji.

In my comparison, the Yapa language Warlpiri only shares 30-35% of cognates with the five Ngumpin languages. Each adjacent language among the five Ngumpin languages shows higher percentages of cognates than other pairs of languages. For example, Jaru and Nyininy share lower percentages of cognates with Gurindji which is geographically separated from these two. Wanyjirra shares the highest percentage of

[5] The data on Gurindji, Malngin and Jaru are revised by the present author using data from Meakins et al. (2013), Ise (1999), Tsunoda (1981) and Wrigley (1992) respectively. The Wanyjirra data was collected by Tsunoda and the present author. Although Nyininy is treated as a dialect of Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981), in this comparison, I use a separate wordlist of Nyininy from that of Jaru using Ken Hale's list from Nash (2009) to explore more precise relationship of Wanyjirra to other varieties.

cognates (76%) with Nyininy and the second highest 69% with Jaru.

Percentages and current classification of Ngumpin-Yapa languages do not exactly accord with O'Grady et al.'s (1966: 24-25) criteria for lexicostatistically-based classification of Australian languages, which defines languages sharing more than 71% of cognates as dialects of a common language; those sharing between 51% and 70% of cognates as members of a subgroup; those sharing between 26% and 50% of cognates as members of a group. For example, Gurindji only shares 46-47% of cognates with Jaru and Nyininy even though they are all categorised as members of the same subgroup. Based on this criterion, Malngin and Gurindji, Nyininy and Jaru, and Nyininy and Wanyjirra can be defined as dialects respectively, as in McConvell (1988a etc.) and Tsunoda (1981). In addition, given the chain of connection, Jaru, Nyininy and Wanyjirra would be defined as one language even though the Jaru-Wanyjirra percentage is less than 70. However, at least Malngin, Gurindji, Jaru and Wanyjirra are identified as separate 'languages' by the respective speakers and communities in terms of their ethno-political view of 'language', which is, as Dixon (1980: 33-40) discusses, different from outsiders' (or particularly linguists') perspective.[6] This thesis refers to them as 'languages' instead of 'dialects'.

Although many shared features are found among Ngumpin-Yapa languages, there are a number of differences that distinguish Wanyjirra from other languages. Such distinctions made by native speakers are generally observed among Australian Aboriginal languages as Sutton (1991: 55):

> It is important to recognise, however, that speakers of Aboriginal languages are normally very sensitive to linguistic similarities and differences and often have a well developed apparatus for discussing language variation.

I demonstrate significant differences and similarities of linguistic features some of which my consultants actually use as such an apparatus to identify Wanyjirra (W) and

[6] Nyininy may also be considered as a 'language' separated from Jaru (Wawarl varieties) in the same sense although it is defined as a dialect from a linguistic point of view. However, Tsunoda's Jaru grammar mainly describes Western (Wawarl) varieties and only deals with Nyininy where any difference is found. Thus, following Tsunoda (1981), I use the name 'Jaru' as a default cover term to refer to both major varieties and use the names Wawarl/Western and Nyininy as different varieties of Jaru if necessary.

three surrounding languages Jaru (J), Malngin (M) and Gurindji (G). Distributions of each feature are illustrated on isoglosses. There are eight patterns of isoglosses as follows.

(a) No border: four languages have the same properties (Figure 1.2).
(b) Maximising differences: all languages have different properties (Figure 1.3; 1.4).
(c) Highlighting Jaru or Gurindji: one language in either extreme of the dialect chain shows a unique property X and the other languages have another property Y (Figure 1.5; 1.6).
(d) Division of Jaru varieties: this is similar to (c) but the isogloss only separates some Jaru (sub-) varieties from other varieties/languages (Figure 1.7; 1.8).
(e) Highlighting Malngin or Wanyjirra: one of the inner languages of the continuum shows a unique property X and the others share property Y (Figure 1.9; 1.10).
(f) Two groups: one border line divides four languages into two groups each of which contains two members (Figure 1.11; 1.12).
(g) Three groups: two border lines are drawn to divide four languages into three groups (Figure 1.13; 1.14; 1.15).
(h) Mixed features: one language in the middle of the continuum shows mixed features of the property X and the property Y held by other languages (Figure 1.16; 1.17).

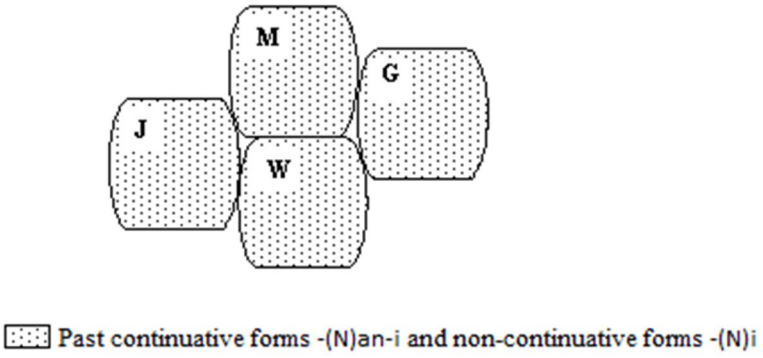
(a) No border

One of the commonest isogloss patterns includes no line drawn among four languages. This means that four languages have the same properties in lexical, phonological or grammatical aspects. Figure 1.2 illustrates use of aspectual categories of inflecting verbs in the past tense and forms of the past continuative suffix. All languages have an aspectual contrast between continuative and non-continuative categories in the past tense[7] and the same form for the past continuative : -(N)an-ni (-CONT-PAST)[8]. However, other Ngumpin languages are distinguished from these four languages in

[7] In the present tense, Wanyjirra, Malngin and Gurindji have no formal difference for aspect (see below).
[8] The first nasal of the continuative suffix (represented as N) is treated as a part of the stems in Walmajarri (Hudson, 1978), Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981) and Wanyjirra. However, it is analysed as a part of inflection in other languages (including Gurindji and Malngin).

these respects. For example, Walmajarri, which is adjacent to Jaru in the west side, has three aspectual categories in the past tense: 'repetitive', 'past (unmarked)' and 'completive' (Hudson, 1978). In addition, Bilinarra and Ngarinyman in the north of Malngin and Gurindji have a distinct past continuative (imperfective) -Ni-rra (-PAST-CONT) (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 9).

Figure 1.2: Isogloss for two aspectual categories in the past tense



(b) Maximising differences

This pattern is quite rare and only found in lexical differences as seen in Figure 1.3.

Figure 1.3: Isogloss for words for 'big'

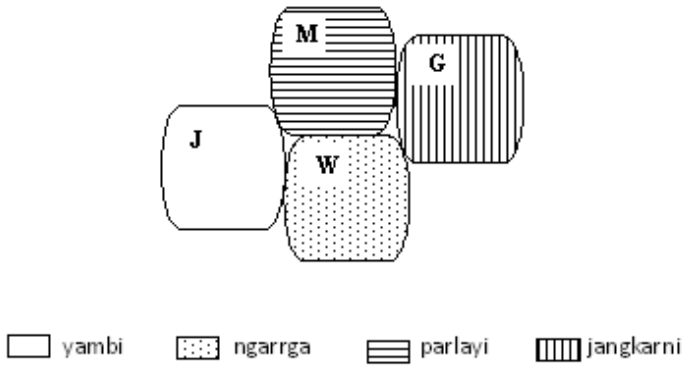
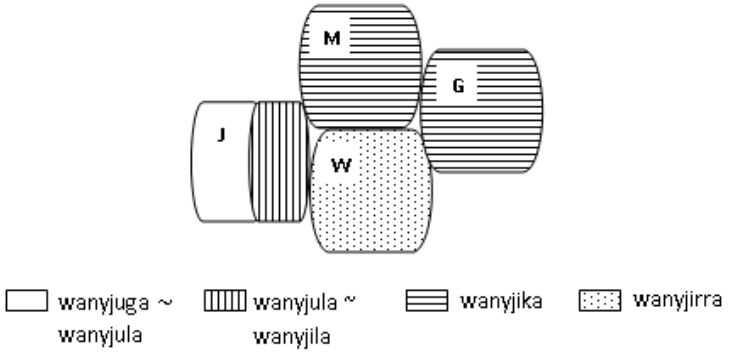


Figure 1.4 also divides the languages into four groups in terms of lexical features. However, Gurindji and Malngin belong to the same group sharing one word wanyjika. Instead, Jaru varieties are divided into two groups: Western varieties having the forms wanyjuga and wanyjula and Nyininy varieties having wanyjula and wanyjila.

Figure 1.4: Isogloss for words for 'where'



(c) Highlight Jaru or Gurindji

Pattern (c) shows that one border is drawn which separates Jaru or Gurindji from the other three languages, which highlights one of these two languages showing unique features. The following two isoglosses show such examples. Figure 1.5 shows distribution of the topic clitic =ma. It optionally marks a sentence topic (§11.4.2) and is found in Malngin, Wanyjirra and Gurindji. On the other hand, Jaru does not have this marker. Figure 1.6 shows that only in Gurindji, the semblative suffix -marraj can occurs after case inflectional suffixes (e.g. Lawi-ngka-marraj Lawi-LOC-SEMB 'like at Lawi') (McConvell, 2005b). This suffix normally attaches to a stem or a derivational suffix before case inflections.

Figure 1.5: Isogloss for use of the topic clitic

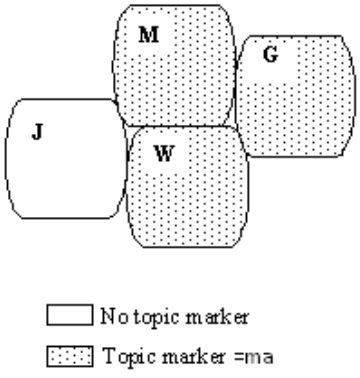
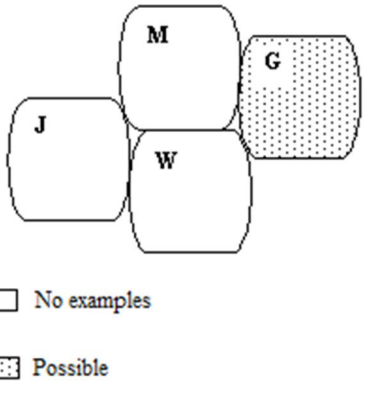


Figure 1.6: Isogloss for occurrence of the semblative suffix after case inflections



(d) Dividing Jaru varieties

This pattern is a variant of (c) where only certain Jaru (sub-) varieties are separated from other varieties/languages. For instance, Figure 1.7 illustrates case-marking

patterns of core free pronouns. Unlike nouns, Wanyjirra free pronouns do not show an ergative-absolutive syncretism (§5.1.4). The single forms are used for subjects and direct objects of transitive sentences and subjects of intransitive sentences. This pattern is also found in Malngin and Gurindji. However, Jaru free pronouns, like nouns, show an ergative-absolutive syncretism. According to Tsunoda (1981), the Nyininy variety only spoken in Turner River, in the north of the Jaru territory also lacks ergative-marking on free pronouns so that this subvariety is grouped together with other three languages. In another example (Figure 1.8), a border line separates into two major Jaru varieties, Western and Nyininy. The former has an aspectual contrast in the present tense category of inflecting verbs whereas Nyininy and other languages lack this contrast.

Figure 1.7: Isogloss for case marking on core free pronouns

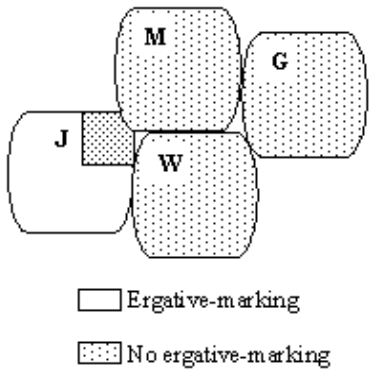
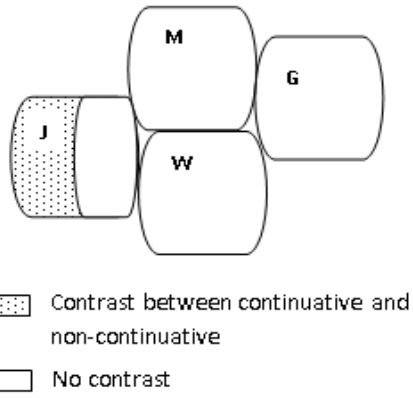


Figure 1.8: Isogloss for an aspectual contrast in the present tense



(e) Highlight Malngin or Wanyjirra

This pattern highlights either Malngin or Wanyjirra as having a unique feature. However, it is as rare as the pattern (b). Malngin and Wanyjirra located in the middle of the continuum often share features with adjacent languages. The following two isoglosses demonstrate that Malngin or Wanyjirra is highlighted with distinct features in terms of: (i) the possibility of cross-referencing non-core arguments marked with spatial cases (Figure 1.9) and; (ii) the existence of the propositional particle mayi/mayiyi (Figure 1.10).

Figure 1.9: Isogloss for cross-referencing non-core arguments marked with spatial cases

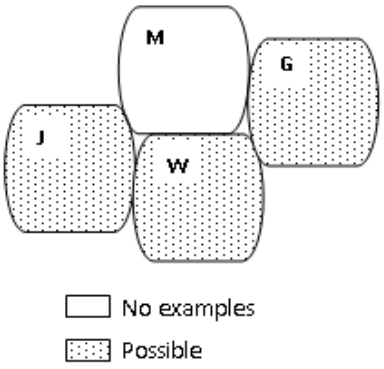
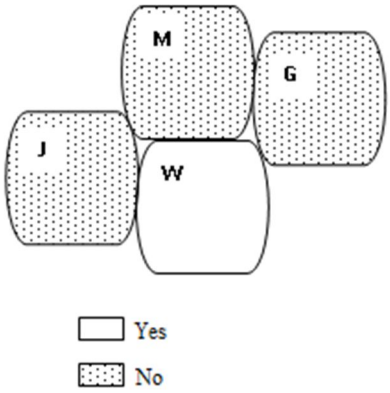


Figure 1.10: Isogloss for the existence of the propositional particle mayi/mayiyi



In Malngin, there is no example where non-core arguments are cross-referenced with oblique pronominal clitics (Ise, 1999: 58) whereas in Jaru, Wanyjirra and Gurindji, they can be optionally cross-referenced (see §7.2.2; §7.2.3; §12.1.2; §12.1.5 for Wanyjirra examples). Wanyjirra is distinguished from three other languages in that it has an unusual propositional particle mayi/mayiyi which expresses resemblance of the subject referent to the referent of another NP following this particle 'like X, similar to X' (§3.1.5.4; §11.1.4). Other languages only have a nominal semblative suffix which is used for this meaning. Wanyjirra has the semblative suffix, too (§4.5.3).

(f) Two groups

In this pattern, the isogloss separates two languages from the other two, either: (i) Jaru-Wanyjirra vs. Malngin-Gurindji (Figure 1.11) or (ii) Jaru-Malngin vs. Wanyjirra-Gurindji (Figure 1.12).[9] Figure 1.11 illustrates that Jaru and Wanyjirra have three sets of pronominal clitics (subject, object and oblique) but Malngin and Gurindji have only two sets (subject and non-subject). But note that all these languages also have an extra distinct indirect object forms for the third person singular/minimal category. Figure 1.12 shows the multiple use of the stem guya. It primarily functions as an adverbial demonstrative meaning 'thus' without any case suffixes in the four languages, but in Wanyjirra and Gurindji it takes the locative case suffix expressing 'at that time, in that case' following main clauses linking them with temporal and conditional subordinate

[9] Potentially one could also find (iii) Jaru-Gurindji vs. Malngin-Wanyjirra. However, this is not found in my observation.

clauses specified by subordinators (§6.1.3.3).[10]

Figure 1.11: Isogloss the number of sets of pronominal clitic forms

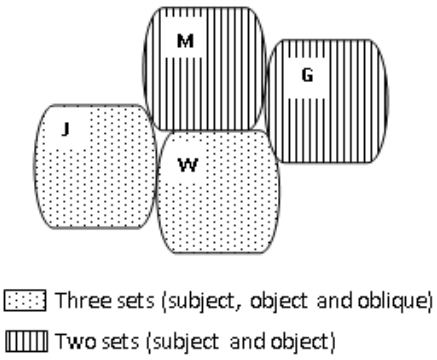
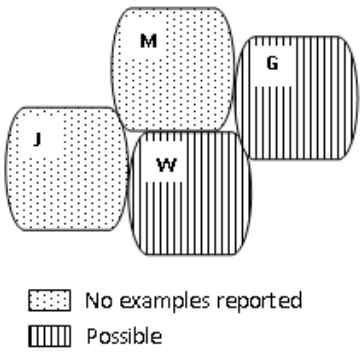


Figure 1.12: Isogloss for use of the demonstrative guya with the locative suffix in complex sentences



(g) Three groups

This pattern contains two border lines which divide four languages into three groups. Two languages sharing a feature are always adjacent. Three patterns are found: (i) Malngin and Gurindji vs. Wanyjirra vs. Jaru (Figure 1.13); (ii) Malngin and Wanyjirra vs. Gurindji vs. Jaru (Figure 1.14); (iii) Wanyjirra and Gurindji vs. Malngin vs. Jaru (Figure 1.15). Figure 1.13 illustrates that Malngin and Gurindji have one set of oblique free pronominal forms whereas Jaru has two sets of obliques. In Wanyjirra, there are two oblique forms for certain person-number categories and there is only one form for the other categories (§5.1.2). The last two subtypes are only found with lexical differences.

[10] guya without the locative suffix is also used as a subordinator and is followed by pronominal clitics. In fact, guya can take other case suffixes as agreement in Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013: 36) but it is not the case in Wanyjirra.

Figure 1.13: Isogloss for non-core forms of free pronouns

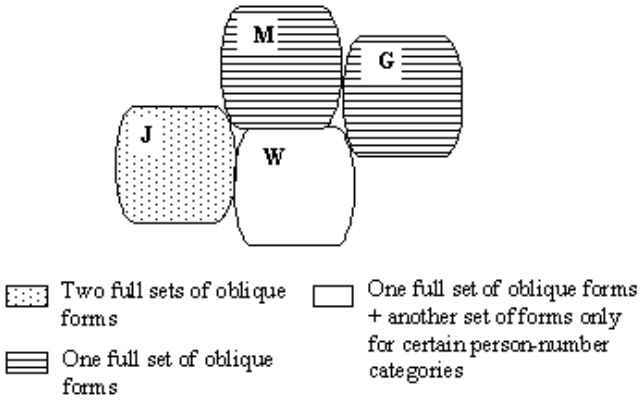


Figure 1.14: Isogloss for words for 'yesterday'

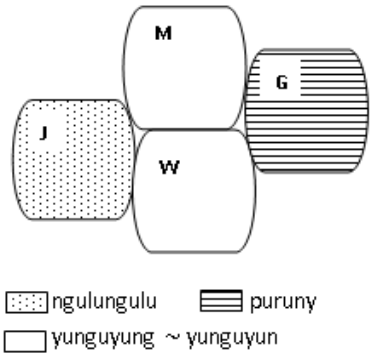
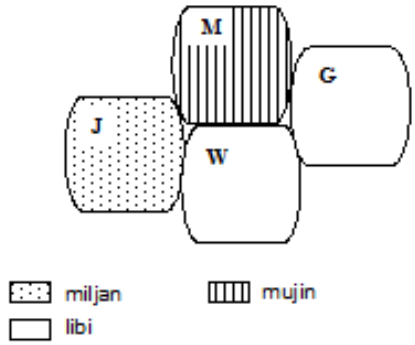


Figure 1.15: Isogloss for words for 'fingernails'



(h) One language with mixed features

Three languages are separated into two groups with distinct properties X and Y respectively and another language, either Wanyjirra or Malngin, which is adjacent to both groups, has mixed properties of X and Y. Figure 1.16 shows the distribution of two forms of the realis auxiliaries which host pronominal clitics. The form nga is used in Jaru and the form ngu is used in Malngin and Gurindji. In Wanyjirra, however, both forms are used: the former occurs especially when it is followed by pronominal clitics beginning with /l/ (e.g. =li (1MIN.INC.SBJ)) while the latter occurs before other pronominal clitics (§11.1.1.1). Figure 1.17 illustrates the distribution of subordinators. Wanyjirra and Jaru have two identical subordinating conjunctions nyangga and guya/guwa which mark conditional clauses and other subordinate clauses respectively (§13.1.1; §13.1.2). Gurindji has the single form nyamu for a range of subordinate clauses. On the other hand, Malngin has guya for relative clauses and nyamu for other subordinate clauses.

Figure 1.16: Isogloss for forms of the realis auxiliary

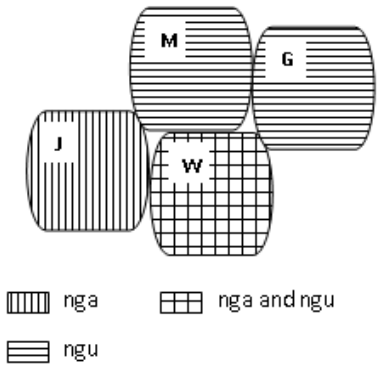
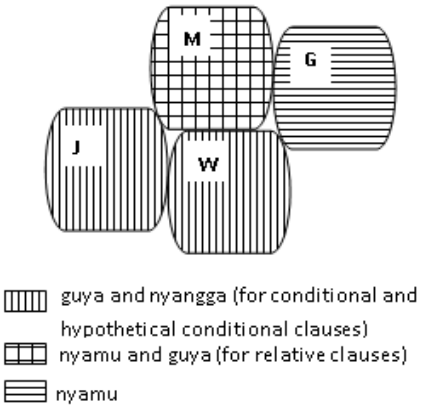


Figure 1.17: Isogloss for subordinators in finite subordinate clauses



1.4 Traditional life and culture

1.4.1 Environmental and ecological setting

The Wanyjirra traditional country is mostly gulwarrang 'black-soil plain country' covered with grass and low trees. It is also divided into different environmental sections: gaja 'bush, desert country', south of Inverway Station, which has short and tall trees and grass with temporary rivers appearing in rainy season; nyana 'big river country', north of Inverway Station, which has river-flows all year round (Flower et al., 2006; Flower, 2006); and bamarr 'hilly or rocky country' around Mt. Maiyo and Mt. Archie.

There are four distinct seasons recognised by Wanyjirra people: (i) rainy season (yibu-ngga 'rain-LOC'); (ii) green grass season (wurrgal-la 'green.grass-LOC'); (iii) cold and dry season (marliri-la 'cold-LOC'); (iv) hot season (barangga-la 'hot weather-LOC'). These seasons are characterised by changes of climate and availability of food. In the rainy season, which is approximately between December and March, it rains and sometimes floods branches of Sturt Creek and Nongra Lake. After the rainy season, in the green grass season, between April and May, many plants and grasses turn green. This is also referred to as 'the harvest season' by Maggie Scott because many types of vegetables, e.g. gururl 'long yam', manaaring 'bush potato' and bindi 'bush banana', are ready to eat, and jarrambayi 'goanna' gets fatter in this season so that it is very

tasty. In the cold and dry season, approximately between June and August, according to Maggie Scott and Tiny McCale †, there is no good food but people still can get some bush tucker in this period. In the hot season, approximately between September and November, fishing is the popular activity because plenty of fish can be caught.

1.4.2 Hunting and gathering food, bush medicine and material culture

Before contact with Europeans, Wanyjirra people were semi-nomadic, travelling around their traditional land to hunt game and collect vegetable food. Elder people had intimate knowledge about their country and local flora and fauna. Children learnt such knowledge when they went out hunting with their parents and grandparents. Meat (ngarin) including kangaroos, emus, bush turkeys, goannas, turtles and fish were cooked on coals (gunyini) or in an earth-oven covering by bark of bagarli 'paper bark trees'. Vegetable food (mangarri) includes different types of yams, bush potatoes, bush oranges, bush plums, grains, bush honey and so forth. Nowadays Aboriginal people have a diet broadly similar to European people and eat bush food only rarely.

Plants were also used as bush medicines to treat illnesses. For instance, gubuwubu 'citronella grass' and young leaves of lunyja 'snappy gum' were boiled and drunk to treat cold and coughs respectively. Mabura 'conkerberry' were burnt and its smoke was used to help with breathing problems and also to make newborn babies stronger. Some natural products were also used for medicines. For instance, faeces of witchetty grubs (lamawurd) are boiled up and put onto skin to heal skin sores and damarra 'ant-bed' are boiled to make a paste, which was smeared on children's bodies to make them grow strong.

Illnesses were believed to be caused by sorcery and were dealt with by some men who were qualified as mabarn 'native doctor' with special powers to heal a sick person and punish people for bad behaviour. Nowadays, people do not commonly use bush medicine because they have access to a hospital or clinic in towns. However, my consultants still continue the practice of smoking conkerberry for babies.

A range of artefacts were made from stone and wood. For instance, garna 'spear',

gularda 'shovel spear' with walmayi/jalgaji 'woomera', jimbila 'spearhead'[11], mirda 'shield', gurduru and wabugurru 'nulla-nulla (fighting club)', jangayi 'slingshot'[12] and many types of boomerangs (garli in general: gurrubardu 'hunting boomerang', jaranggarri 'returning boomerang' and wilgi 'No.7 boomerang') were used for hunting game or fighting. Wirlga 'axe (general)' and gurrwa 'stone axe' were also used to kill game and cut trees. Wajarn 'spinifex wax, resin' and gumbun 'animal's tendon' were used to attach an axe or spear head to the shaft. Coolamons ngaari/gawarla, mainly made from gajiwa 'coral tree', were used for the purpose of carrying bush tucker, water and babies. Digging sticks, giyarri, were an important implement to dig the ground for root crops and bulbs. Jamanuwaji 'grind stones' (jaman-u-waji 'grind-NF-AGENT') was used to grind wilarr '(a type of) grain seed' to make bread. These tools were no longer used in their daily life.

1.4.3 Beliefs, spirituality and ceremony

As is common throughout Australia, the religious and totemic beliefs of Wanyjirra people are based on the Dreaming (ngarranggarni). The Dreaming refers to a period of indefinable time in the past and present which is completely different from a linear view of time and it is a quite complex concept consisting of many aspects of life in traditional Aboriginal societies (Edwards, 1988: 12-21). Dreaming beings which appeared in the form of human or half-man and half-animal formed the land, animals, humans, their social order, physical features of the landscape (e.g. trees, waterholes, and hills/rocks) and natural phenomena (e.g. rain, flood and lightning). These creations of Dreaming beings are very important and sacred for Aboriginal people.

Wanyjirra mythology describes activities and travels of Dreaming beings localised to particular sites. One Wanyjirra mythological story tells about the origin of the place called Lumanggu Dinggarlb (literally 'a blue tongue lizard cutting through'), the narrow strip of grassland about 15 km west of the homestead of Inverway Station. In this myth, a blue tongue lizard and a blanket lizard argued. They climbed up on Mt. Archie (Birlinggurr-birlinggurr in Wanyjirra) located south of Inverway Station and the

[11] This word is widely used in Kimberley languages (both Pama-Nyungan and Non Pama-Nyungan languages) for the meanings 'quartz' and 'a type of spearhead made from quartz' (McGregor, 2004: 195).
[12] This is based on the Australian English word *shanghai* (Nash, p.c.; Evans, p.c.).

blue tongue lizard was angry and threw a boomerang northward. The boomerang pierced through the bush leaving a strip of grassland. Then, the boomerang landed right on Mt. Maiyo (Muluyurr in Wanyjirra) and is still standing as a tree on top of the mountain. Two mountains and the tree are considered sacred by Wanyjirra people.

The other example of a creation of Dreaming beings is the special rocks jirri collected around Mt. Archie and Winggarraminy, south of Inverway Station (Tsunoda fieldnotes, 1999, No.2, p.22). This rock contains white and red ochre. People believe that jirri has a special power to bring luck or to attract a man or woman whom a person desires to marry. According to Tiny McCale†, Aboriginal people who live in surrounding communities still pass by Inverway Station to collect them for luck in gambling at cards.

Spirituality is also an important aspect of beliefs about child birth. The spirit of the child is seen by the father in a dream or vision and the body of the child is incarnated through the mother. The deceased person's spirit, yimarrug, is believed to come back to be reincarnated as a child. According to Tiny McCale†, the spirit returns to an unborn child in the mother's womb, appearing as a black mark on the skin of the pregnant mother who is related to the deceased. The spirit is associated to certain places and totems appeared in dreams (Berndt & Berndt, 1996: 42; Elkin, 1932: 305; 328). According to Tiny McCale†, her grandfather *bin faindem* ('found') her father's spirit from Warlman (the special name for a dimalarn 'river red gum' tree) which grew in Inverway Station. It is believed that his spirit came from this tree. Tiny's spirit originates from bururru, 'lancewood tree' in the south-east of Inverway and is associated with whip snake Dreaming totem. Both trees from which the spirits of Tiny and her father came are considered important for their spiritual and physical well-being. In addition, when a child gets food from their Dreaming totems, the child has to put it around the mouth before he or she eats it. This ritual needs to be conducted before the children are allowed to eat their totems as food (Tsunoda fieldnotes, 1997, No.2, p.36).

When a person passed away, people would smoke the places where the deceased used to be with branches of mabura 'conkerberry' and native pine trees.[13] Some people hit

[13] The Wanyjirra name for this pine tree is unknown.

their heads with stones until they bled. In order to mourn the close families of the deceased, a woman usually moved out from her ordinary residence and stayed with her friends or other widows. A widow would paint her body with yellow and white ochre whereas a widower did not paint himself.

Ceremonies known as junba '(ordinary) corroboree', which consist of music, songs and dance, were held at bardardi 'ceremonial ground'. Initiation ceremonies are held in the rainy season, around Christmas time even now. The rainy season was the time when stock work could not be actively done so that many Aboriginal workers took holidays. They set up their camps under bough shades in the bush, sat around the camp fire and perform various songs. Women learnt a set of secret songs and dance called jarrarda which originates from the Eastern Ngumpin language group Mudburra through Gurindji (Berndt, 1950).[14]

Many implements are used for ceremonies. For instance, garnbag 'clapsticks' made from lunyja 'snappy gum tree' and gurrubardu 'hunting boomerang' are used to beat the rhythms of the corroboree by hitting two sticks and boomerangs. Dunggurl 'headband', wirriji 'hair belt' and wangara '(man's) head dress'[15] are used to decorate performers as well as ochre-painting and anklets made from bloodwood tree.

1.4.4 Social organisation

Kinship and subsection systems are crucial to the social life of the Wanyjirra people and are still inherited by younger generations in some form. They determine whom a person can marry, how a person should behave to others, and who has social obligations and responsibilities with respect to ceremonial business, ownership of land and stories and daily activities.

The Wanyjirra kin system operates on the basis of an Aranda-type system (Radcliffe-

[14] There is another set of women's corroboree yawalyu~yawulyu around the Ngumpin-Yapa area. According to Berndt (1950: 12-13), it originates from three areas in the south (approximately Western Desert, Alice Springs and Tennant Creek) and spread to the north, including Jaru/Nininy, Mudburra and Gurindji, but didn't reach to the Inverway area. This is why my consultants gave me no information on this type of corroboree. However, I believe that Wanyjirra women have listened to other tribes performing it on some occasions.

[15] Women also had a specific headdress as well. However, my consultants do not remember its name.

Brown, 1931) with eight subsection groups. This system is widespread roughly around the Top End and its surrounding areas including Arnhem Land, North-West Queensland, Northern Central Australia, and East Kimberley (Berndt & Berndt, 1996; McConvell, 1985b; Radcliffe-Brown, 1931).[16]

Subsection memberships are inherited from the mother's family. Each subsection group has different names for male and female members and a group of totems.[17] Subsection names are often used to refer to or address a person rather than his or her personal name. A person who is from outside of the society is assigned to a certain group once he or she is recognised as a part of their society. For example, I have been 'adopted' by Tiny McCale† and Maggie Scott, whose subsection is Nawurla, and have been assigned to Nangari, which is a daughter to Nawurla.

Wanyjirra subsection names are given in Table 1.1. Male names begin with the consonant /ɟ/ whereas female names with /n/. Other names given in brackets have been described in previous work (Senge, 2008).[18] The terms Jangari and Nangari in Group 3 are now more common than the forms Jaangari and Naangari with long vowels, although the latter seemed to be more common in the 1990s according to Tsunoda's corpus. The long vowel is often reduced in modern Wanyjirra (§2.2.3.3). Jaru also has the same alternative forms for the male group Jangari and Jaangari at least when Tsunoda was studying Jaru in the 1970s (Tsunoda, 1981: 31).

[16] According to McConvell (1985b), Gurindji also has other social categorisations inherited patrilineally, i.e., patri-moieties which have two different groups each of which consists of four subsection groups with associated totems. Unfortunately little information is available in the Wanyjirra case although they might once have such groups.

[17] However, information on totems was not conclusively collected and it appears to be sacred and confidential.

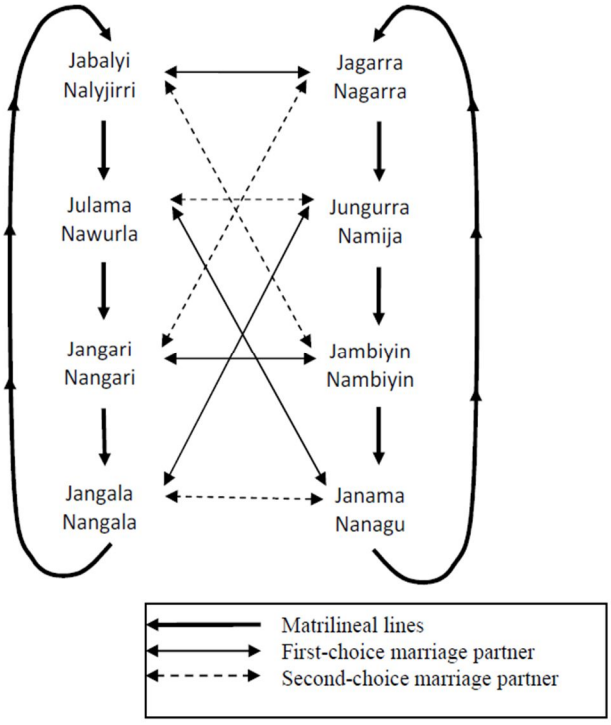
[18] These forms could be individual variations or influences from other languages. Jabarda in Group 5 is identical to the Gurindji term and sometimes used by Tiny McCale† instead of the term Jagarra. Jungurrayi and Nungurrayi in Group 6 perhaps could have been on the verge of being borrowed from Warlpiri terms when Tsunoda recorded, but they were never collected between 2009 and 2013.

Table 1.1: Wanyjirra subsection names

Group	Male	Female
1	Jabalyi	Nalyjirri (Naljirri, Naljarri)
2	Julama	Nawurla (Nawula)
3	Jangari ~ Jaangari	Nangari ~ Naangari
4	Jangala	Nangala
5	Jagarra (Jabarda)	Nagarra (Nimarra)
6	Jungurra (Jungurrayi)	Namija (Naminyji, Nungurrayi)
7	Jambiyin	Nambiyin
8	Janama	Nanagu

Marriage is arranged on the basis of subsection membership. Figure 1.18 shows how subsection groups are inherited through the mother and how they determine marriage partners. 'First choice marriage partner' is a person who is the most ideal marriage partner based on matrilineal lines. In case a man cannot obtain a wife from such an ideal group of women, he will obtain one from another subsection, who is the 'second choice marriage partner'.

Figure 1.18: The subsection cycle



A marriage partner was usually arranged by the parents. Especially parents of young girls determined their daughters' promised husbands through discussion with parents of potential promised husbands or community members when the girls were still small. Women sometimes refused their arranged marriage and even desired to marry a man of the 'wrong' subsection, i.e., not from first- or second-choice subsection members. Couples in a wrong marriage who were called waji or wajiwaji received a severe punishment and sometimes eloped far to the bush, away from their community. Nowadays, descendants of Wanyjirra people often find a partner by themselves. If someone married a white person, his or her surrounding people (especially elder people) tend to assign the white person with a subsection membership suitable to the Aboriginal spouse's subsection.[19]

Figures 1.19 and 1.20 are idealised basic family trees showing how subsection groups are related to each other in case of Janama and Nawurla as ego. Wanyjirra kin terms are specified under subsection names and abbreviations of kin terms. They are also separately listed in Table 1.2 below. These terms are also used for 'classificatory' members as well as actual family members. As seen in the two figures, same-sex siblings in the parent's generation share the same kin terms, so that one's mother and mother's sister are referred to by the term ngama-yi 'mother' and one's father and father's brother are referred to by the term ngabu-yu 'father'. Since same-sex siblings of parents are also treated like 'mother' and 'father', their children are also treated as ego's parents' 'children' and ego's 'siblings'. On the other hand, opposite-sex siblings in the parent's generation and children of these parents' siblings are treated differently. That is, one's father's sister is referred to as mugul 'aunt' and one's mother's brother is referred to as ngamirni 'uncle'. The children of mugul and ngamirni are referred to by the distinct term barn.gu-yu 'cross cousin'. In the grandparent's generation, all siblings related to, for example one's mother's father, are referred to as jawiji irrespective of their sex.

Some kin terms, all in even-numbered generations, are used reciprocally. For example, male ego and female ego call their FF and MF gilagi and jawiji respectively. Then, FF

[19] For example, the husband of one of Maggie Scott's granddaughters, who is a white Australian, is referred to as Jungurra by Tiny McCale†, making him the ideal partner for a granddaughter belonging to the Nangala group.

also calls them gilagi and MF jawiji. Similarly, the term ngumbarna is reciprocal for the meanings ‘husband’ and ‘wife’, hence ‘spouse’.

Figuire 1.19: An idealised family tree for male ego whose subsection is Janama

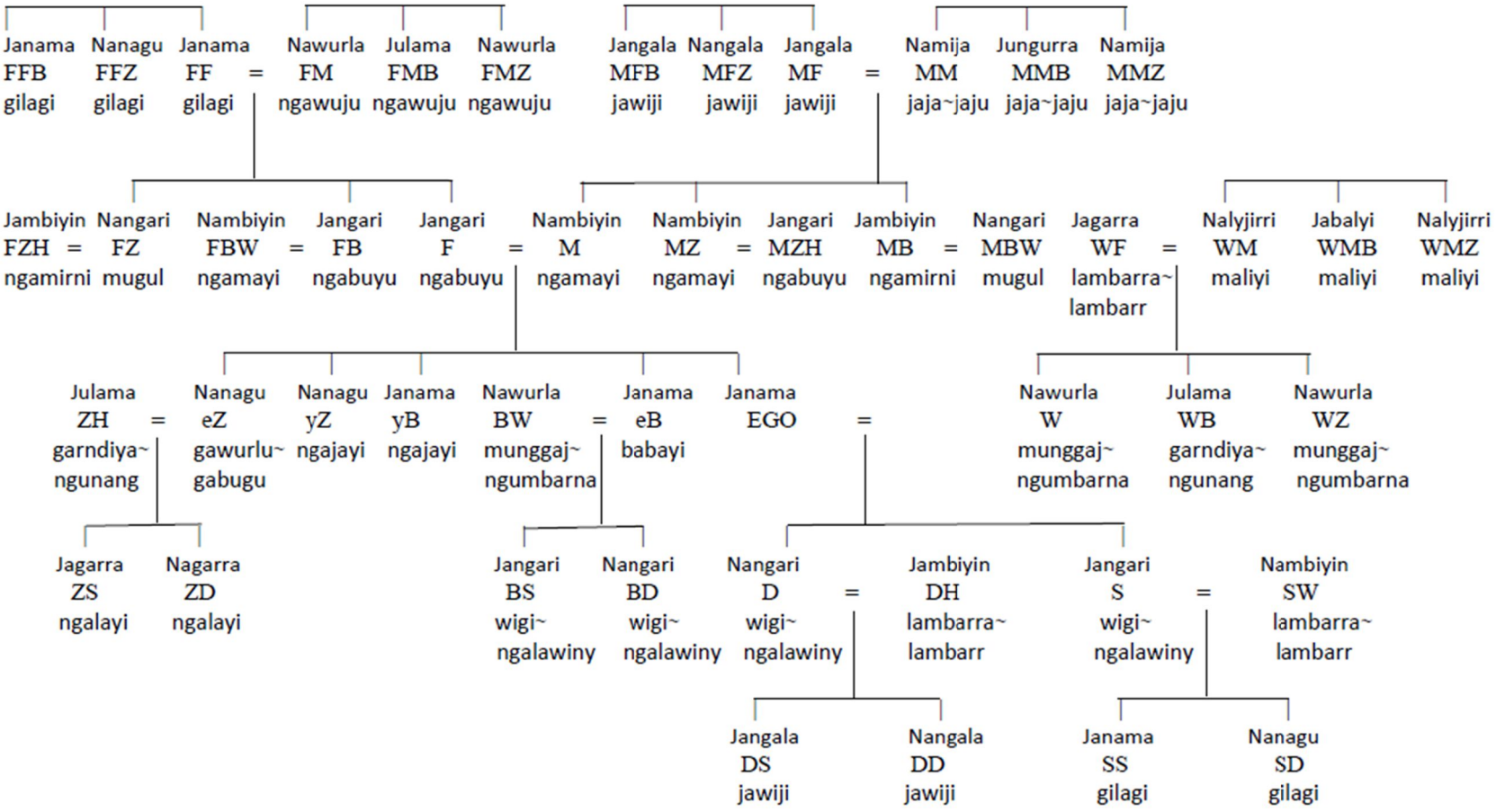


Figure 1.20: An idealised family tree for female ego whose subsection is Nawurla

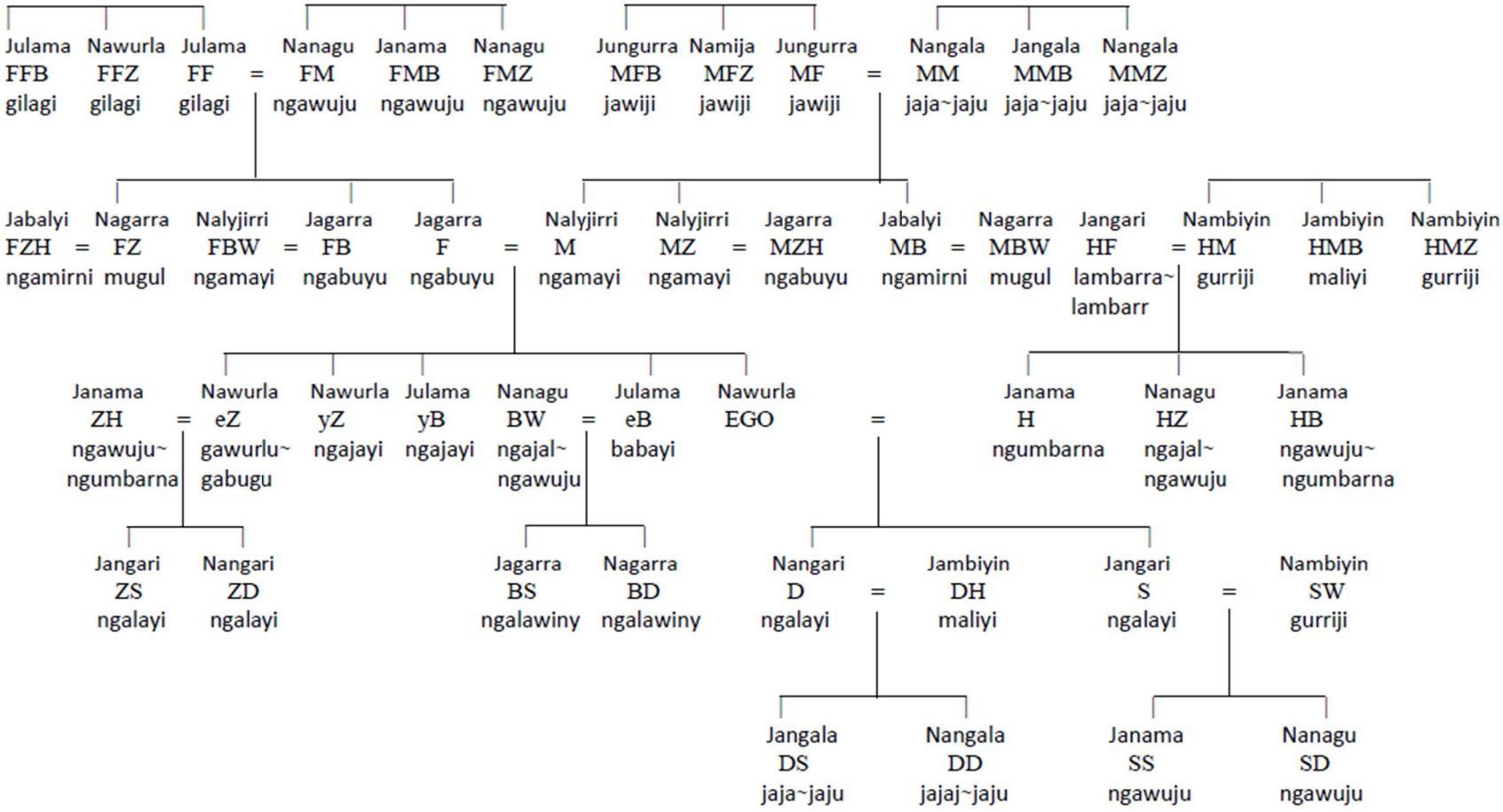


Table 1.2: Basic Wanyjirra kin terms[20]

Kin terms	Translations	Kin types
baba-yi	'elder brother'	eB
gawurlu~gabugu	'elder sister'	eZ
ngaja-yi	'younger sibling'	yB; yZ
ngama-yi	'mother'	M; MZ; FBW
ngamirni	'(cross-)uncle'	MB; FZH
ngabu-yu	'father'	F; FB; MZH
mugul	'(cross-)aunt'	FZ; MBW
ngunang~garndiya[21]	'brother-in-law'	♂WB; ♂ZH
ngajal	'sister-in-law'	♀BW; ♀HZ
gurriji	'mother-in-law'; 'daughter-in-law'	♀HM; ♀HMZ; ♀SW
lambarra~lambarr	'father-in-law'; 'son/daughter-in-law'	♂SW; ♂DH; ♂WF; ♀HF
mali-yi	'mother-in-law'; 'son-in-law'	WM; WMZ; WMB; ♀DH, HMB
jaja~jaju	'maternal grandmother', 'grandchild'	MM; MMB; MMZ; ♀DCh
gaminyjarr[22]	'maternal grandchild'	DCh
jawiji	'maternal grandfather', 'grandchild'	MF; MFB; MFZ; ♂DCh
gilagi	'paternal grandfather', 'grandchild'	FF; FFB; FFZ; ♂SCh
ngawuju	'paternal grandmother', 'grandchild'	FM; FMZ; FMB; ♀SCh; (♀ZH; ♀BW; HZ; HB)[23]
ngumbarna[24]	'spouse'	W; WZ; ♂BW; H; HB; ♀ZH
munggaj	'wife'	W; WZ; ♂BW
wigi[25]	'child (through male line)'	♂Ch; ♂BCh
ngalawiny	'child (through male line)	♂Ch; ♂BCh; ♀BCh
ngala-yi	'child' (through female line)	♀Ch; ♀ZCh; ♂ZCh
barn.gu-yu	'cross cousin'	FZCh; MBCh
gumburru	'maternal great-grandmother', 'great-grandchild (through female link)'	MMM; ♀DDCh

Some kin terms in Table 1.2 can be analysed as consisting of stems and separable suffixes -yi or -yu glossed as 'KIN' (§4.3.8.1). Thus ngamayi 'mother' and ngabuyu

[20] Male and female symbols represent the sex of ego or speaker.

[21] These alternative forms are probably distinguished as in Gurindji where the term ngunang especially refers to a man's brother-in-law who has experienced his initiation ceremony (McConvell, 1982).

[22] Speakers sometime said that this form could be Gurindji but not Wanyjirra.

[23] Kin terms in brackets are also expressed by another word. A woman's sister's husband and her husband's brother are also referred to by ngumbarna 'spouse' because they are also her potential husband in terms of the subsection system. On the other hand, a woman's brother's wife and husband's sister also have another word ngajal 'sister-in-law'.

[24] The kin term ngumbarna means 'spouse' reciprocally expressing 'husband' and 'wife', which differs from Gurindji, Bilinarra and Malngin where it is only used for 'husband'. In Jaru, this term is used for 'husband' and also 'a man's brother-in-law' equivalent to the Wanyjirra terms ngunang/garndiya (Tsunoda, 1981: 12). However, the separate term munggaj is also used only for 'wife' in Wanyjirra, which is shared with Gurindji, Bilinarra and Malngin.

[25] Perhaps use of the term wigi is influenced from Jaru and the term ngalawiny could be Wanyjirra. The latter term for three kin relations (♀BCh, ♂Ch and ♂BCh) is also observed in Bilinarra and Gurindji (McConvell, 1982; Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014). In Jaru, unlike in these languages, ♀BCh is distinguished from ♂Ch and ♂BCh and is expressed by separate terms (Tsunoda, 1981: 12-13). This distinction is also brought into Wanyjirra kin terminology and consequently the kin terms ♂Ch and ♂BCh have two forms wigi and ngalawiny whereas the term ♀BCh is only expressed by ngalawiny.

'father' are segmented as ngama + -yi and ngabu + -yu respectively. Stems without these kin suffixes are used as vocatives and as base forms for other derivational suffixes special to kin terms (§4.3.8.2-§4.3.8.6), but not for case suffixes which always follow -yi/yu if kin terms do not take special derivational suffixes. The exception is the term barn.gu-yu 'cross cousin'. Although this term contains the kin suffix -yu, the stem can also occur in absolutive NPs without -yu and can directly take case suffixes.

1.4.4.1 Triangular kin terms

Wanyjirra also has special kin terms called 'triangular', 'tri-relational', 'triadic' or 'shared' kin terms (Evans, 2003b: 33-35; Garde, 2013: 96; Laughren, 1982b: 73; McConvell, 1982: 99). Like basic kin terms, these triangular kin terms show information about the relationship between the referent (X) and the reference point (Y), as in the expression 'X is Y's mother'. However, unlike basic terms, they also specify the relationship of the speaker to the reference point and the referent.

There are six triangular kin terms found in the corpus as presented in Table 1.3. However, this list may not be comprehensive. McConvell (1982: 101) describes a larger number of Gurindji triangular kin terms covering a wider range of kin relationships. For example, the Gurindji term wurdurdu, which is shared with Wanyjirra, is used for the kin 'spouse of the speaker's daughter's child' in Wanyjirra whereas in Gurindji it also expresses 'spouse of the speaker's mother's mother' and other triangular kin relations (ibid). Since Wanyjirra is closely related to Gurindji, Wanyjirra triangular kin terms may be used for a similar range of kin relationships.

Table 1.3: Triangular kin terms in Wanyjirra

Kin terms	Translation	Relationships of Y to the speaker	Relationships of X to Y	Relationships of X to the speaker
wurdurdu	'spouse'	♀DCh MM	H/W	♀DDH/♀DSW MMH
liwa	'spouse'	♀Ch	H/W	♀SW/♀DH
wururru (ngururru)[26]	'father'	♀DCh	F	♀DH
jalu	'father'	♂DCh	F	♂DH
marnaru	'father'	♀SCh	F	♀S
narrumba[27]	'sibling'	FM	B/Z	FM

The reference point Y is often the addressee so that the triangular kin terms can be translated as 'your X'. In this case, the triangular kin terms are usually followed by the second person kin possessor suffix (§4.3.8.2) as in (1-1a), although the suffix is optional (1-1b). In these examples, the triangular kin term wururru is translated as 'your father' giving the meaning 'my son-in-law'.

(1-1) *The speaker (Nawurla) was asking her DD (Nangala) about her DD's father (Jambiyin).*

a. walima=nggu **wururru-ngu**-lu ga-nya mangarri
Q=2MIN.OBJ father-2KIN.POSS-ERG carry-PAST veg.food.ABS
TM: Your father *bin bringim* food *la* you?
CS@: Did the one who is your father and my son-in-law bring food for/to you?
[TM: CSfn250610]

b. walima=nggu **wururru**-lu ga-nya mangarri
Q=2MIN.OBJ father-ERG carry-PAST veg.food.ABS
TM: Your father *bin bringim* food *la* you?
CS@: Did the one who is your father and my son-in-law father bring food for/to you? [TM: CSfn250610]

Where the reference point is a third person, the triangular kin terms require the third person kin possessor suffix (§4.3.8.3) translated as 'his/her X'.

[26] This is Tsunoda's transcription (Tsunoda fieldnotes, 2000, No.2, p.20). However, my consultants gave me the term wururru for the same meaning.
[27] The term narrumba was treated as a basic kin term 'elder brother' in Senge (2008). However, it is analysed as a triangular kin term in this thesis based on further research.

(1-2) *The speaker (TM) was pretending to be Janama referring to a Jambiyin man, the father of his daughter's child (Jangala/Nangala) addressing to a third person.*

jalu-nyan-du	ngu	ga-nya	wilinyi-wu
father-3KIN.POSS-ERG	REAL	carry-PAST	hunt-DAT

CS#: The one who is his/her father and my son-in-law took him/her for hunting. [TM: CSfn250610]

1.4.5 Behaviour among kin

1.4.5.1 Avoidance relationship

Like other Aboriginal people throughout Australia, Wanyjirra people have idealised patterns or restrictions of behaviours within their society, which are determined by their kin relations. The extreme case is that two people who are mali-yi, particularly mothers-in-law and sons-in-law, cannot talk to each other, cannot name each other, cannot be in each other's physical proximity and cannot make eye contact with each other. They must avoid direct contact and must have an intermediary person (e.g., the woman's daughter, i.e., the wife of her son-in-law). The intermediary person can pass things to them and is also required to use respect speech rather than ordinary speech (§1.6.1), although this style has been almost lost in the current Wanyjirra language. When a woman is staying in a place or passing by a place where her son-in-law is likely to be or come, she has to put a cloth (wurruny) on her head and cover her face with it to avoid an accident where she happens to make an eye contact with her son-in-law. If a man finds himself in such situations, he turns his head down or goes away to avoid seeing his mother-in-law. They are also sometimes warned by surrounding people saying '*your mali-yi is coming!*' or '*don't come*, *your mali-yi is here!*'. However, a person is allowed to talk to the same-sex mali-yi (i.e., a man's mother-in-law's brother) although they are still required to use respect speech. Similarly, avoidance is less strict between two classificatory mali-yi people.

Opposite sex siblings are also required to avoid each other after brothers have finished their initiation ceremonies. Although verbal communication is not strictly prohibited between such siblings, it is generally avoided, as is physical contact. This restriction may also be applied to classificatory siblings, at least among elder people. According to Maggie Scott, two women who call each other gurriji ('mother-in-law' and

'daughter-in-law') used to use respect speech as well. However, this practice has already been abandoned.

1.4.5.2 Joking relationships

McConvell (1982: 97-99) also describes certain kin relations in which people can perform jokes. In Wanyjirra, a man can have a close relationship with his uncle, ngamirni 'mother's brother'.[28] They can make obscene jokes or talk in coarse language to each other. Maggie Scott and Tiny McCale† comment that a woman cannot be in a joking relationship to ngamirni. It can be because they are the opposite-sex to each other. Two people who are referred to as jaja 'mother's mother' and 'daughter's child' can also say funny jokes to each other, although it is unclear whether joking behaviours are possible between opposite-sex pairs of jaja.

A reaction is given to a victim of joking behaviours by surrounding people (Evans, 1992; McConvell, 1982). The expressions used for sympathy with the victim include: warriwarri and yigilany both of which are translated as 'excuse me' or 'sorry for X (the victim)'. These apologetic expressions are used only between certain kin relations. The former is used at least by a person who is a mugul 'father's sister' and ngalawiny 'woman's brother's child' to the victim of the joke whereas the latter is used at least by a person who is a jaja (mother's mother, her siblings and daughter's child of a female ego) to the victim. Wanyjirra potentially has more apologetic expressions used between other kin relations as McConvell (1982: 99) describes in Gurindji.

1.4.6 Personal names

Aboriginal names of some Wanyjirra people show similar patterns of formation. Female names often end with the element -ngarri or -ngali whereas male names often end with -(nga)yarri. Although these features are not found in all person names (e.g. Tiny McCale's father's name: Gurdiwirdi without -(nga)yarri), these patterns are also observed in Jaru people's names. The elements to which -ngarri/ngali and -(nga)yarri attach appear to have etymologies associated with mythological stories, place names, natural phenomena or topographic features.

[28] Father's sister's husband is also referred to by ngamirni so probably he is also be in such relationship.

First, female names end with -ngarri or -ngali. Tsunoda analyses that [l] in -ngali has changed into [ɾ] i.e., -ngarri (Tsunoda, 2012).[29] Tiny McCale's Aboriginal name Wajngarri can be analysed as consisting of the coverb waj 'throw' and -ngarri.[30] Maggie Scott's name is Dalyngarri. According to Tsunoda (2012), Maggie's name is given to her from a Ngaliwulu (in his spelling[31]) woman from the north, although the etymology of this name is unknown. People who have the same name, as in this case, are called narrugu. Another consultant, Dolly†, has her Aboriginal name Jirrbngarri. According to Tsunoda (2012), jirrb derives from the name of trees that grow near the swamp in Birrindudu Station. In my interview, Maggie Scott and Tiny McCale† explain that jirrb means 'upright, stand up'. This word is the coverb combining with the inflecting verbs, e.g. garriny- 'be, stay' meaning 'be upright'. Combining their comment with Tsunoda's notes, Dolly's name could be based on the fact that trees grow and stay upright around the swamp in Birrindudu Station. Other examples containing -ngali include: Bawungali (Inverway Ruby†), Nyindangali (Kathleen Duncan†) and Dirrbingali (Maggie Long).

Many male names end with the element -(nga)yarri.[32] The form -ngayarri follows consonants whereas -yarri follows vowels. The former suffix is included in: Marrngayarri (Ray Duncan†); Yumngayarri and Dijngayarri (Des Leahy)[33]. The latter suffix is included in Wanayarri (Peter McCale) and some Jaru people's names Ngulguyarri (Jock Mosquito) and Jugayarri (Jack Jugayarri†).

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[29] Tsunoda also analyses that the older form -ngali could originate from the Kija word ngalil 'woman' (Tsunoda fieldnotes, 1997, No.4, p.11).

[30] This name is based on a certain mythological story. Tsunoda (p.c.) analysed the element waj as based on the inflecting verb wajbarn- 'throw'. However, I think it is based on the coverb waj 'throw' since I consider this verb not Wanyjirra but Jaru (see §9.1.5). Wanyjirra has the coverb waj and another inflecting verb giyan- for the meaning 'throw'. This coverb waj is etymologically related to the Jaru verb wajbarn- (§9.1.6).

[31] Probably this is Ngaliwurru, a dialect of Jaminjung which is spoken around Timber Creek, NT (cf. Schultze-Berndt, 2000).

[32] Tsunoda (2012) treats the syllable -nga- as a part of the stems. However, I consider this element a part of the suffix representing male names because this syllable always follows consonants not vowels. In addition, the first element of some names, without -nga-, is etymologically related to certain words. For example, dij in Dijngayarri is related to the Ngarinyman coverb dij 'camp overnight' (Meakins et al., 2013: 362) which corresponds to the Wanyjirra coverb dirrib.

[33] Tsunoda (2012) describes Des's name as Yumngayarri in his fieldnotes whereas Tiny McCale† told me that his Aboriginal name is Dijngayarri. It could be the case that he has two Aboriginal names or one of the names is actually for another person (perhaps Des's brother).

Male and female names sometimes show pairs. For instance, the male names Dirrbngayarri, Yumngayarri and Dijngayarri have the corresponding female names Dirrbngarri, Yumngarri and Dijngarri respectively. Two people who have these pairs of names are siblings, relatives, or even pairs who are not related.

Some of these personal names also have shortened forms. There are at least two formation types. The first type is described by Tsunoda (2012). For instance, Wajngarri becomes Wajayi which is formed by the first CVC plus -ayi. The case of Dalyngarri's shortened name Dangayi is exceptional where ly /ʎ/ is deleted and the first CVC of the resultant form Dang- is attached with -ayi or alternatively, the consonant /ʎ/ is changed into /ŋ/ and the first CVC Dang- of the resultant form is attached with -ayi.

The second type has been observed by the present author. They are simpler than the first type. Such shortened names are created by taking the first two syllables of the female and male full names. For example, the female names Nyindangali and Danbangali have shortened forms Nyinda and Danba respectively and the male names Dijngayarri, Yarrgngayarri and Libngayarri have Dijnga, Yarrgnga and Libnga respectively.

Importantly, these person names are actually not often used to refer to people. It is more common that a person is referred to by his/her subsection group or kin term. When a person passes away, the name of this person becomes taboo and cannot be uttered at least for a certain period of time. If a person whose namesake (narrugu) has passed away, that person's name is also avoided and substituted by other special words, gulum[34] or gumunyjayi for men and yini-mulung (name-PRIV, literally 'no name') for female. For example, Tiny McCale's son Peter and Maggie Long (although she is a

[34] The word gulum can be analysed as originating from English 'call him'. Gurindji has the word kulum-murlung (call.him-PRIV) 'taboo name' (Meakins et al., 2013: 173) but not kulum. This word consists of kulum and the privative suffix -murlung to refer to a person whose name is a taboo because his namesake has passed away recently. In Wanyjirra, gulum (without the privative suffix) is used for the same purpose. However, the word gulum is more lexicalised in Wanyjirra than in Gurindji and it is used as a replacing term to refer to a person whose namesake deceased. Thus, gulum-mulung means 'without a person whose namesake deceased' in Wanyjirra.

Jaru woman) are addressed as gulum and yini-mulung respectively because their namesakes passed away.[35] According to Maggie Scott, there are also other terms for a person who lost his/her namesake: yiningarra and yiniwangga for a woman and gurrunbu for a man (Tsunoda fieldnotes, 1997, No.4, p.20).[36] However, I have not encountered any person who is referred to by these terms.

1.5 Recent history

1.5.1 Contact with the Europeans and establishment of cattle stations

Little information on the history of Wanyjirra people and their country is available whilst the neighbouring areas, including Halls Creek, Kalkarindji[37] and Victoria River Downs are well-documented by historians and anthropologists (e.g. Bird, 1991; Bolton, 1953; Clement, 2000; Lewis, 1997). The earliest known European expeditions in Victoria River District were conducted by Wickham and Stokes in 1839 (Lewis, 1997, 2011) and by the succeeding parties, particularly A. C. Gregory explored further into the place now called 'Inverway' between 1855 and 1856 (Buchanan, 2002). It was said that at Ludu ('Amos Hole'), about 20 kilometres south of Inverway homestead, Wanyjirra men first contacted gardiya 'white man', according to Wanyjirra elders.

In about 1894 Inverway Station was established by the Farquharson brothers (Hughie, Harry and Archie). The three brothers engaged in stock work for more than 40 years, and the last surviving brother, Archie, aged 88, died in Inverway in 1950. Since 1956, followed by the Farquharson brothers and the Leahy brothers, Inverway Station was under management of three generations of the Underwood family. The property was originally about 6,220 square kilometres and eventually sub-divided into three Underwood family-owned and managed properties: the eastern section became Riveren; the central portion Inverway and later the western section Bunda. In 2013, Inverway and Riveren were purchased by the Indonesian company Santori (Curtain,

[35] Maggie Scott, who also has the first name Maggie, is referred to as gabugu ('sister') by Tiny McCale† since they are in the same subsection group. As far as I know, other people also avoid using the name 'Maggie' for her and refer to her by *olkuman* ('old woman' in Aboriginal English) or, when they are talking to me, 'your mum' since Maggie is the classificatory mother to me.

[36] I assume that the yiningarra and yiniwangga contain yini 'name'. However, the meanings or sources of the remaining parts ngarra and wannga.

[37] The alternative spelling Kalkaringi is also used.

2013).

As described in many writings, contact with Europeans brought a huge impact on Aboriginal people throughout Australia. A great number of local Aboriginal people were killed by diseases and conflicts with European explorers and settlers. Although little information about the Inverway area is available here, similar things are assumed to have taken place as Lewis (1997: 3) summarises:[38]

> It is highly likely that some Aboriginal people travelling eastward to visit relatives, trade and attend ceremonies had seen white men for themselves. If so, their impressions of the newcomers must not have been good; when the first settlers arrived to set up Wave Hill, VRD [CS: Victoria River Downs] and Ord River stations, the initial response of local Aborigines was to try to kill them, or force them out. Hopelessly disadvantaged against mounted horsemen armed with modern repeating firearms, the conflict quickly evolved into guerrilla warfare, with Aborigines striking opportunistically and then retreating into rough range country - natural fortresses where the advantage of horses was lost.

Aboriginal people also sometimes built a good relationship with the white managers on family-owned stations or on stations where a manager and his family lived, such as Inverway Station (cf. Buchanan, 2002: 91-94; Lewis, 1997: 6). Maggie Scott and Tiny McCale† remembered that the Farquharson brothers were very kind to them when they were small children. Ray and Kathleen Duncan† showed respect to the former manager from the Underwood family. Ray† grew up with him in Inverway and was working for him between 1960s and 1980s. At least Aboriginal people in Inverway received some influence from the big strike (Wave Hill walk-off) which took place from 1966 in Wattie Creek. Many of them had refused to work and left Inverway and joined the strike for a while but they eventually returned to Inverway (Buchanan, 2002: 94).

Significant massacres are not officially recorded around Inverway Station, unlike in neighbouring areas. However, Wanyjirra elders knew some oral histories telling that such massacres were taken place in surrounding areas including Linnekar Gorge and

[38] A story kept by Wanyjirra elders describes less hostile actions. In this story, two Aboriginal men who first encountered a white man and horse were terrified by the white man and horse and tried to kill them by singing a magic song, which did not work on non-Aboriginal beings (Text 3 in Appendix 4). However, conflicts might have occurred at least for a few decades after first contact. Generally, Aboriginal people and European settlers competed with each other for food, water and rights to the land.

Mistake Creek between 1890 and 1920.[39]

1.5.2 Life in the cattle stations and impact on traditional culture

After the establishment of Inverway Station and other stations in surrounding areas, most Wanyjirra people stayed around cattle stations including Inverway, Riveren, Limbunya, Wave Hill, Gordon Downs, Birrindudu, Nicholson and Mistake Creek Stations. The majority of Aboriginal population in Inverway Station was Wanyjirra.[40] According to Tiny McCale† and Maggie Scott, Wanyjirra people's camp was located north-east of the homestead separated by fences. In the south side, there were spaces for Jaru/Nyininy and Warlpiri people. Their huts were made from scrap iron, hessian cloth and tree limbs and built in clear places. There were no water and power systems or sanitation facilities in the Aboriginal camp. Some Aboriginal workers and pensioners also lived in stockman's quarters. Aboriginal people from different language groups, especially children, had daily interaction with each other, and sometimes performed corroborees together on the dance ground.

At the station, men usually engaged in mustering and branding cattle and building and maintaining houses, yards, fences and other facilities. They also drove cattle to the meat works in Wyndham. Women usually worked at the homesteads including washing and ironing clothes, cooking, cleaning, maintaining vegetable gardens, milking goats and cows, and making cream and butter. A few women exceptionally worked as stock women mustering cattle and goats. Other Aboriginal people who were not employed, mostly elders, women, and children, usually stayed in their camps, looked after their children and carted water from nearby bores or creeks. In Inverway, Aboriginal people received clothes and tobacco; later workers started to be paid with a small amount of money from the manager in the early 1950s (Buchanan, 2002: 93). Personal requirements (e.g. flour, tea, sugar, tobacco, clothes, hats, knives and playing-cards) could be purchased from the store.

Women sometimes had babies with white station workers. These mixed-raced children

[39] One middle-aged Jaru woman in Halls Creek concerns herself about Aboriginal children not learning about massacres of Aboriginal people conducted by white people. She told me that children do not believe in such incidents.

[40] However, according to Buchanan (2002), Gurindji was the major population in Inverway Station. I assume that her term 'Gurindji' broadly includes 'Wanyjirra'.

were taken care of by the manager's wife in the homestead or by their mothers in their camps as well as their other children, or sent to European families for adoption. Some white station workers lived with their Aboriginal wives and brought up their children. Those mixed-race children were sent to school for education especially in Moola Bulla or Darwin. In school, they were only allowed to speak English, and Wanyjirra and any other indigenous languages were prohibited.

Berndt & Berndt (1987) reported that in the neigbouring cattle stations many young and healthy people who generally took care of their family were employed, and consequently the lives of Aboriginal people became dependent on white settlers. This was probably also the case with Wanyjirra people. Not only station workers, who were daily provided with meals, but also their dependants relied on introduced food and meat. Opportunities for travelling around, collecting traditional resources and practicing ceremonial dance and songs became limited. Only during the holidays did Aboriginal people freely travel around and organise major ceremonies. Consequently, this restriction undoubtedly affected the ability of the Wanyjirra people to pass on traditional knowledge about their land, language and other cultural practices.

1.6 Special styles of language

1.6.1 Respect speech

In many Australian languages there is a special speech style ('avoidance speech style' in Dixon (1980: 58-59)), used to talk about certain kin.[41] Wanyjirra has such a special register, used to talk about a speaker's mali-yi, especially a man's mother-in-law and a woman's son-in-law. Unlike with Jalnguy (or Jalngony) in Dyirbal, Yidiny (Dixon, 1980, 1990) and Warrongo (Tsunoda, 2011: 33-34), and pirnti-ka in Gurindji (McConvell, 1982), Wanyjirra seems to have no particular name for the respect speech.

[41] According to McConvell (1982: 93-94), in Gurindji, like in Wanyjirra, two people who are in a mother-in-law and son-in-law relationship ideally should communicate with each other indirectly through an intermediary. If they have no such intermediary, direct conversation between them is possible but they should use respect speech and 'maintain the fiction that an intermediary is present by using the third person pronoun to the [CS: mali-yi] and by not talking to his/her face'. However, my Wanyjirra consultants told me that they were not allowed to talk to each other in any situation (§1.4.5.1), which is a stronger restriction than the Gurindji case. A similar restriction is also reported by Tsunoda (1981: 215) in Jaru, but he also mentions that it is possible to talk directly to one's same-sex mali-yi (for example, his wife's mother's brother) using respect speech. This is probably the case in Wanyjirra, too.

This speech style is no longer used on a daily basis. Only elder people remember some features. According to McConvell (1982: 94), at the time when he was conducting his research, a number of the special forms of respect speech had been already lost among Gurindji speakers and only a few special stems were used occasionally, hence the speech style became almost identical to ordinary speech. This situation is quite obvious in modern Wanyjirra, where even further loss of elements of the respect speech has taken place. A similar process whereby a special speech style of the language is lost before its ordinary speech style is commonly found in other Australian languages (Dixon, 1990: 1; Schmidt, 1990: 98; Tsunoda, 2006: 98; 2011: 34). This subsection describes features of respect speech retained among my consultants and, where possible, compares them with those of neighbouring languages.

Wanyjirra respect speech is largely identical to its ordinary speech style but is lexically and grammatically different at least in the following points:[42]

(i) Some nouns in ordinary speech are replaced with others;
(ii) The semantically-neutral verb luwarn- is always used as a predicate. This verb is also used in ordinary speech with meaning 'strike';
(iii) A third person augmented form of pronominal clitics is used to refer to or address one's mali-yi instead of its minimal form.

A major difference from Jaru is that Jaru does not have property (i): it has no special nouns in its respect speech. On the other hand, Gurindji and Malngin have all three features. An example of Wanyjirra respect speech is given in (1-3) with the special noun mayingany, the special verb luwarn- and the augmented pronominal clitic.[43] The corresponding ordinary speech sentence is given in (1-4).

[42] According to McConvell (1982: 97), Gurindji respect speech is stylistically distinct, with a quiet voice or sometimes creaky voice, starting with a higher pitch than is typical of ordinal speech. This is likely to be the case in Wanyjirra respect speech. When Tiny and Maggie demonstrate the situation where respect speech is used, they often produce examples with such an unusual voice.
[43] Since this pronominal clitic =yanu is neutralised in terms of number and actually refers to one person, the gloss 3.OBJ is given to this form.

(1-3) *MS said she would say the following sentence to her daughter when her daughter went back from her house and give some food to her daughter for her son-in-law.*

luwa=yanu	**mayingany**	mali-yi-wu
RS.IMP=3.OBJ	RS: veg.food.ABS	♀DH-KIN-DAT

CS!: Take this tucker for my son-in-law. [MS: CSfn310809]

(1-4)

gang-ga=la	mangarri	yamaji-wu
carry-IMP=3MIN.DAT	veg.food.ABS	small-DAT

CS!: Take this tucker for [your] kid. [MS: CSfn310809]

1.6.1.1 Nouns in respect speech

Five nouns used as forms of Wanyjirra respect speech are provided in Table 1.4, together with a comparison of the corresponding Gurindji and Malngin nouns.[44] The corresponding lexemes of the ordinary style used in these three languages are provided in the left-most columns. Although there are minor phonological differences, Wanyjirra shares two lexemes of respect speech with Malngin and one with Gurindji. Gurindji and Malngin share three lexemes. Most Wanyjirra respect speech lexemes are described as borrowed items from the ordinary speech of neighbouring languages which have retained meanings close to the original. In square brackets, meanings of the words which are used in ordinary speech of neighbouring languages are provided. Neighbouring languages are a common source for respect speech lexemes of another language as is the case of Dyirbal and Yidiny (Dixon, 1990: 52).[45] On the other hand, three nouns of Gurindji and Malngin in this table are etymologically unclear. Nonetheless, Gurindji usually borrows respect words from Bilinarra (McConvell, p.c.).

[44] In Wanyjirra only five nouns could be collected from two speakers (Maggie Scott and Dolly Jirrbngarri†) by Tsunoda in 1999 and 2001 and double-checked with Maggie Scott and Tiny McCale† by the present author in 2009.

[45] However, as Evans (2003c: 33) points out for Bininy Gun-Wok, it might be the case that speakers could not remember the 'correct' respect speech words and improvised by providing words from neighbouring languages. In case of Wanyjirra examples, the five respect speech nouns were collected from three consultants in total in 1999 and 2001 (by Tsunoda) and in 2009 (by Senge). Although the data is supported only by three users, based on the fact that my consultants (Maggie Scott and Tiny McCale†) regularly gave me example sentences containing these words, I conclude that these nouns have certainly been used as respect speech nouns in Wanyjirra.

Table 1.4: Lexemes of respect speech in three Ngumpin-Yapa languages

Respect speech / Ordinary speech	Wanyjirra (W)	Gurindji (G) (McConvell, 1982: 95)	Malngin (M) (Ise, 1999: 52)
'meat' ngarin (W/G) ngaarrin (M)	niyan [G/M: 'flesh']	jarrurrung	jarrurrung
'vegetable food' mangarri (W/G/M)	mayingany	mayingarn[46]	mayingany
'water' ngawa (W/G/M) ngabagu/ngugu (G)	ngugu [G:'water/grog']	wirrija	wirrija
'camp/country' ngurra (W/G/M)	munuwu [G;B*: 'camp/country']	punturr	?
'tobacco' ngunju/ngunyju (W/G/M) walayarra/ warlayarra (G)	warlayarra [G: 'tobacco']	?	walayirra [G: 'tobacco']

*B represents Bilinarra.

First, the noun used as respect speech in Wanyjirra niyan 'meat', is the same form used in Gurindji and Malngin ordinary speech nouns with the slightly different meaning 'flesh' while the different form jarrurrung of unknown etymology is used for respect words in Gurindji and Malngin. Second, Wanyjirra shares mayingany 'food' with Gurindji and Malngin. This can be related to the word mayi 'vegetable food' in the ordinary speech of Western Desert Languages including Wangkajunga (Jones, 2011) and Kukatja (Valiquette, 1993). Third, munuwu 'camp, country' is the Bilinarra and Gurindji ordinary word 'camp, country' (Meakins, 2013; Meakins et al., 2013: 396). Finally, warlayarra 'tobacco' in Wanyjirra and walayirra in Malngin relate to the ordinary Gurindji word warlayarra (Meakins et al., 2013: 397). I have found no examples of Wanyjirra ordinary words being borrowed as respect speech words in other languages.

These special nouns have been forgotten by Wanyjirra speakers before other features of respect speech. As is the case in Gurindji (McConvell, 1982), there might have been more respect nouns in Wanyjirra, which have now been lost. Even those surviving words presented in Table 1.4 are not always used even in elicited examples. In (1-5), the special noun mayingany is not used but instead the ordinary speech word mangarri

[46] In the dictionary, there is an entry for mayingany not mayingarn (Meakins et al., 2013: 235).

is used, though the respect verb luwarn- is retained.

(1-5) luwa=lu=yanu mangarri mali-yi-wu
RS.IMP=AUG.SBJ=3.OBJ veg.food.ABS DH-KIN-DAT
MS: Take that tucker for my *maliyi*. [MS: CSfn090609]

1.6.1.2 Verbs in respect speech

All 38 inflecting verbs in ordinary speech are replaced by one special verb luwarn- which is formally identical to the ordinary speech verb luwarn- 'strike' and belongs to the same conjugation class (§9.1.4).[47] This can lead to ambiguity, with interpretation entirely dependent on context. For example, the above sentence (1-3) can be understood in a context where the speaker points at some food for the addressee or passes it to the addressee. In (1-6), the verb is used in an intransitive clause whereas in (1-3) and (1-7), it is in transitive clauses. Therefore, the respect speech verb is neutral in terms of transitivity as well as semantics. Note that augmented pronominal clitics are used in reference to one's mali-yi, as will be explained below.

(1-6) mali-yi ngu=lu **luwarn-ana** *Kananarra*-lawu
♀DH-KIN.ABS REAL=3.SBJ RS-PRES PLACE NAME-ALL
CS!: [My] son-in-law is going to Kununurra.[MS: CSfn310809]

(1-7) nyawa **luwa**=yi=yanu mali-yi-wu
PROX RS.IMP=1MIN.OBJ=3.OBJ ♀DH-KIN-DAT
TT: Give this to *Maliyi*.
CS%#: Give this to [my] son-in-law for me. [DJ: TTfn120901]

In Jaru, Malngin and Gurindji, however, this respect speech verb can combine with coverbs contributing to make clear the entire meanings of events as in complex verb constructions where the inflecting verb is semantically less clear to understand the meanings of events.[48] A set of examples from Jaru is cited in (1-8a) and its corresponding ordinary speech sentence in (1-8b).

[47] This is also the case with the Jaru respect speech verb luwarn- (Tsunoda, 1981). However, in Gurindji and Malngin, the respect speech verb stem luwarn- show a different conjugation pattern from the ordinary speech verb stem luwan- 'strike' (Ise, 1999; McConvell, 1982, 2005b).

[48] Interestingly Meakins & Nordlinger (2014: 42) show an example where a coverb is also replaced with a special form in the Bilinarra respect speech. According to Meakins & Nordlinger (2014), the replacement of coverbs occurs only in some items. However, it is unclear what other coverbs can be replaced due to lack of further information.

(1-8) a. mali-yi nga=lu burja luwarn-i
JARU ♀DH-KIN.ABS REAL=3.SBJ run RS-PAST
Maliyi ran. (Tsunoda, 1981: 216, ex (464) with some adjustment in transcription and glossing)

b. ngawi-ji burja marn-i
F.ABS-KIN.ABS run SAY-PAST
Father ran. (Tsunoda, 1981: 216, ex (463) with some adjustment in transcription and glossing)

In Wanyjirra corpus, there are no such examples. All examples simply contain the respect speech verb used as a simple verb. However, it is likely to be the case that such complex verb constructions could also be possible in Wanyjirra.

1.6.1.3 Use of third person augmented pronouns

In respect speech, one's mali-yi is referred to by third person augmented/plural pronominal forms rather than minimal/singular forms, even though the referent is one person. The third person augmented subject form in (1-6) above, and the third person augmented object form in (1-3 and 1-7) above and (1-9) below are used to specify a single referent.

(1-9) luwa=lu=**yanu** ngugu mali-yi-wu
RS.IMP=AUG.SBJ=3.OBJ water.ABS ♀DH-KIN-DAT
CS!: You guys, give water to [my] son-in-law. [MS: CSfn280809]

Due to the limit of the corpus, and due to the fact that a person cannot talk to their actual mother-in-law (of male) and son-in-law (of female) and must indirectly communicate with them through another, almost all relevant Wanyjirra examples include third person pronouns. However, McConvell (1982: 93-94) explains that in Gurindji a person is allowed to talk directly to his or her mali-yi, but must behave as if they are talking about each other to someone else, so they use the third person forms. Nonetheless, second person pronominal clitics are actually used in respect speech in Gurindji (McConvell, 1982) and Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981). In these languages, a person is allowed to talk to his/her classificatory but not actual mali-yi and male's wife's mother's brother (who is also termed mali-yi) using the second person augmented or plural forms. This means that generally in these languages augmented or plural forms

are used for a speaker's mali-yi, either second person or third person forms as appropriate, depending on whether they are being addressed or referred to or whether they are actual or classificatory. Possibly Wanyjirra may also allow the use of second person forms for mali-yi in similar situations, but I have no example to confirm it.

1.6.2 Song language

The language used in a set of songs called as Warndardurru is quite different from those of ordinary spoken language. Warndardurru was established by Tiny McCale's father. The song words are provided in Appendix 3. My consultants hardly made word-by-word translations but described contents of songs. Therefore, the analysis of word boundaries is only tentatively made by the present author. Some features of song language are summarised here.

First, all songs consist of short strings of words repeated several times. Secondly, practically no words or stems found in songs are used in ordinary spoken language. Nonetheless a few words were translatable by Tiny McCale†, such as yawulngana '*liftem* (lift)' in Song [1], yudu 'cabbage' in Song [2] and wangara 'headdress' in Song [5]. The first two words are only found in song language. The exception is found in Song [3] made to mourn for Archie Farquharson†, the manager of Inverway Station. Interestingly, this song contains two Kriol words *brranda* 'veranda' and *obunbala* 'open'. This is perhaps because this song is not related to the Dreamings and is about a European man. The third feature is that song language has words beginning with the vowel /a/. Wanyjirra generally does not allow this except in one interjection an.gaj 'poor thing' and baby talk (§1.6.3). Finally, all words end with open syllables and in most cases the final vowel is /a/.

1.6.3 Baby talk

Baby talk is characterised by some basic lexemes of ordinary adult speech which are phonologically modified. It is used by adults when directly addressing small children or addressing another when speech is intended to be taken notice of by small children. However, it is not a fully developed speech style, and its features are only found in those special lexemes where adults imitate a feature of speech of children and substitute them for the corresponding words of adult speech. Unfortunately, there is

insufficient data to reveal the whole features of Wanyjirra baby talk and its use.[49] One observation which can be made is that word-initial /ŋ/ used in ordinary Wanyjirra is elided, e.g. awuju 'father's mother' (the ordinary speech word ngawuju) and aba 'water' (ngawa). The latter form is actually derived from the word ngaba, which is used in Jaru. Tiny McCale† and Maggie Scott comment that children who have started uttering fragments of Wanyjirra cannot pronounce ngawuju and ngawa (or ngaba) with /ŋ/.[50] Elision of the first /ŋ/ creates a rare type of word structures beginning with /a/ and syllable structure V (§2.5.1).

1.6.4 Sign language

Wanyjirra people use various signs and gestures in their communication. The common gestures among Aboriginal people of Northern and North-Western Australia are accompanied with greeting expressions of Kriol consisting of one question '*what na?*' meaning 'what's happening?' or 'what are you doing?' and its usual answer '*najing*' meaning 'nothing' or 'no'. The first question is often accompanied by a gesture where the speaker stands up his/her thumb and indexing finger and twists the wrist inward. Then the answer often co-occurs with a gesture where the addressee opens the hand placing the palm upward and flips the hand facing the palm down. However, Wanyjirra people have not developed a complex system of signs to the extent that is found in Arrernte (Wilkins, 1997; 2003 etc.) and Warlpiri (Wright, 1980 etc.).

At least, as far as I recognised, signs used among Wanyjirra people are made by hands and lips and seems to have two types of representations, as Kendon (1988) described in general Australian Aboriginal sign languages: (i) pointing in which fingers and protruded lips are directed toward a referent or place; (ii) characterising in which a hand-shape and/or arm-movement represents basic actions (e.g. hitting, spearing, digging, eating and sexual intercourse) or appearance of certain objects (body parts, man, woman, child, animals and so forth). For instance, a certain hand shape (clenching one's fist and letting the end of the thumb out from between the second and

[49] Warlpiri and Arandic baby talks are well-described by Laughren (1984) and Turpin et al. (2014) respectively. Especially Warlpiri baby talk has the same features found in Wanyjirra. Elision of word-initial/ŋ/ is also found in the Gurindji baby talk (Jones & Meakins, 2013).
[50] There is no example collected where this elision occur words before /i/ and /u/. This restriction is also found in Warlpiri baby talk (Laughren, 1984: 76-77).

third fingers) represents women's genital organs to express this body part and also the meaning 'girlfriend/wife'.

Hand-shapes and arm-movements representing actions are also used by speakers to avoid ambiguity or to help their addressee(s) understand what they really mean. My consultants often used such gestures when they told me stories. In addition, sign language is used as a substitute for verbal communication where it is not allowed or appropriate as in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 15). I came across a situation where Tiny McCale† used a series of signs to an elder man (who is her classificatory brother's son and my classificatory cross-cousin) in my presence. Probably the reason why she used signs instead of verbalising was the content of her talk (perhaps, as far as I understood, containing some sexual meaning) was socially inappropriate to verbally produce to an opposite-sex recipient.

1.7 The Wanyjirra language and people today

1.7.1 Social situations

According to Tsunoda (1995), many Aboriginal people lived on cattle stations in the 1970s when he conducted his fieldwork. However, they moved out from there and very few Aboriginal people lived on cattle stations in the mid-1990s. In Inverway Station and the surrounding Wanyjirra territory, about half a dozen people lived at that time. Nowadays, no Aboriginal people live in this area. Wanyjirra speakers and families have moved to neighbouring communities, e.g. Halls Creek, Warmun, Kununurra in Western Australia and Katherine and Kalkarindji in the Northern Territory.

Halls Creek is a town where my two main consultants have been living for a long period of the time, and where Tsunoda and I extensively conducted fieldwork. According to the 2011 Census, 74% of the whole population of Halls Creek are Aboriginal people, mainly consisting of speakers of Jaru, Kija, Gooniyandi, Walmajarri, and Kukatja and their families. Other main places where Wanyjirra people and potential speakers live are Warmun, Kalkarindji and Kununurra. Warmun and Kalkarindji are more remote, with smaller communities of Kija and Gurindji

respectively, and are occupied by higher percentages of indigenous people (more than 87%). Kununurra is one of the biggest towns in the Kimberley region, with a diversity of language groups. In any places, Wanyjirra tribes, speakers and their families are the minority group.

Tsunoda (1995) also reports that it was much more difficult to carry out fieldwork in Halls Creek and surrounding communities in 1995 than it was in the 1970s. One of the reasons is that Aboriginal people tended to live in one place and were more stable in the 1970s. However, they were more mobile in 1995 because they had their own cars. This situation was no longer the case by the time I started my fieldwork. Most Aboriginal people had settled down with their own permanent houses. Only some healthy men aged between 40 and 60 still move around among several communities. Many middle-aged and younger people have work or take vocational training. Mothers and pensioners basically stay in their houses, look after their (grand-) children and do housework. Settlement in one place, however, makes it difficult especially for people who have no car to have opportunities to visit their traditional land and their families who live in different places.

1.7.2 Socio-linguistic situations

1.7.2.1 Speakers

According to Milliken (1976), there were 54 Wanyjirra ('Wanjira' in his spelling) people in Northern Territory in 1972. Therefore, the entire tribal population could have been originally quite small. Since the descendants of the Wanyjirra tribe now live in a wider area, it is difficult to estimate their current population. Note that 'Wanyjirra tribe/people' should be distinguished from 'Wanyjirra speakers'. 'Wanyjirra speakers' refer to people who acquired the Wanyjirra language and speak it whether or not they originated from Wanyjirra ancestors. For example, Maggie Scott is a Wanyjirra speaker even though she has a Jaru mother and a non-indigenous Australian father. Maggie acquired Wanyjirra from Aboriginal adults and children in Inverway.

It is also very hard to estimate how many people can speak Wanyjirra. As far as I can tell, people under 70 years old cannot speak Wanyjirra. A handful of people aged between 20s and 60s who were brought up by speakers have limited passive

knowledge but they do not produce this language for communication. Speakers are all multilingual; they can speak or understand one or more neighbouring languages and varieties of English. Generally speakers and their descendants have been exposed to other languages including varieties of English: Standard Australian English (SAE), Australian Aboriginal English (AAE) and Kriol.[51] Many people no longer speak Wanyjirra and have completely shifted to Kriol. Others mix Wanyjirra, other indigenous languages and Kriol. Consequently, it becomes more difficult to judge who speaks Wanyjirra.

Tsunoda (1995) explains that he could find no more than ten Wanyjirra speakers in 1995. Many of the people whom Tsunoda considered as potential speakers had passed away either by the time I started my research in 2009 or during my research between 2009 and 2013. As far as I know, there are now only a few Wanyjirra speakers left. During the period of 2009 and 2010, two women Tiny McCale† and Maggie Scott who are over 85 years old spoke Wanyjirra relatively fluently although they were losing many aspects of the language because of: (i) aging; (ii) lack of frequent contact with each other; (iii) more frequent contact with Jaru speakers and; (iv) necessity of daily use of Kriol. By the year 2013, neither of them could produce spontaneous Wanyjirra speech. Two semi-speakers, Ray Duncan† and Kathleen Duncan† who stayed in Kalkarindji, had less knowledge of Wanyjirra. Although they could not produce spontaneous speech at the time when I conducted fieldwork in 2010, they could understand Wanyjirra and in grammatical elicitation, could provide individual Wanyjirra sentences, sometimes in a mix of Wanyjirra, Gurindji and/or Jaru. In Kalkarindji, they had been exposed to Gurindji and usually code-switched between Kriol and Gurindji when speaking to their family and neighbours. Other potential speakers who are still alive were not available for my study because they are so mobile or have other obligations. Although it is unclear how fluently they can speak Wanyjirra, I assume their level of knowledge would be similar to Ray and Kathleen Duncan†.

[51] Australian Aboriginal English (AAE) and Kriol are considered as different varieties of the large dialect group of Australian English. However, both contain a number of continua of dialects: some varieties of AAE are closer to Standard Australian English whereas others are closer to Kriol (Eades, 1996). Two speakers generally speak different varieties of AAE or Kriol. Maggie Scott, who has a non-indigenous Australian father, speaks varieties closer to Standard Australian English whereas Tiny speaks varieties which are much closer to Kriol. They also seem to shift their varieties to different varieties depending on situations and interlocutors as Eades (1996) described. This thesis does not make a clear distinction between the two terms and uses the term Kriol for a range of varieties including AAE.

1.7.2.2 Language endangerment and domain of use

Wanyjirra is an endangered language spoken by a few elder speakers. Following Lewis & Simons's (2010: 110) scale of 'downward' language shift, Wanyjirra can be classified as a language on Level 8a 'Moribund' and on Level 8b 'Nearly Extinct'. Fluent speakers are only in great-grandparent generations but there are at least two or three semi-speakers in grandparent generations.[52] The language is not transmitted to younger generations. Wanyjirra has never been taught at school and is not being revitalised among speakers and their families. Therefore, it cannot be categorised as existing any level of 'upward trend' scale (Lewis & Simons, 2010: 117).

The domain of use of Wanyjirra is very limited, not only geographically but also functionally (cf. Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). In all situations a local *lingua franca*, Kriol, is widely used in all generations. Younger generations also use Standard Australian English or varieties closer to it when speaking to non-indigenous people in shops, schools, working places and so forth. Two elder consultants Maggie Scott and Tiny McCale† rarely have opportunities to speak Wanyjirra. Although both of them live in Halls Creek, their houses are located in separated sections and they are not mobile enough to visit each other. In addition, since their families cannot speak Wanyjirra, they usually speak Kriol to their families in their daily lives. Their second choice is Jaru when involved in the local Jaru social network. Wanyjirra is only used by consultants when they talk to each other or to Jaru speakers who also understand Wanyjirra. Since I started working with them in 2009, I did not encounter any situation where they extensively used Wanyjirra over a long stretch of talk except in the recording sessions.

1.7.2.3 Wanyjirra language ecology

Since Wanyjirra is not actively spoken anymore, the Wanyjirra speech uttered by consultants is influenced by different languages. Many Wanyjirra lexemes are substituted by items from other languages as well as Kriol, as observed in other Australian languages (O'Shannessy, 2011: 82-83). Code-switching with and borrowing from Kriol, and neighbouring languages are often found. McConvell (1988a) examines

[52] However, endangerment is further advanced at the end of 2013. Two main consultants are no longer able to speak Wanyjirra spontaneously.

code-switching between Wanyjirra, Gurindji and Kriol in middle-aged and old people's speech in the 1970s and 1980s and argues that in most cases, it is motivated by social meanings, including kin relations of the speaker with respect to the interlocutor and/or another referent. However, at the time of this study, switching and borrowing are considered as mainly due to a decline in the use of Wanyjirra among speakers as well as discourse contents.

Switching between Wanyjirra and Kriol across clauses is common as seen in Line 58-59 (Text 1), Line 38-41 (Text 2), Line 2-3, Line 6-7, Line 34-35 etc. (Text 5) in Appendix 4. Speakers sometimes switch to Kriol from Wanyjirra without switching back to it in stretches of discourse. In addition, code-switching occurs inside clauses (i.e., 'insertional' code-switching in the sense of Muysken (2000)) where some lexemes or constituents from AAE/Kriol are embedded into Wanyjirra clause structures with Wanyjirra verbal inflection (cf. Meakins, 2011a: 113). For instance, in (1-10), the nominal *yangfala* 'young one' and the prepositional phrase beginning with *langa* are used as a subject argument and locative adjunct respectively.

(1-10)	ngu=rna	***yangfala***	garri-nya	***langa***	***Inverway*** \
	REAL=1MIN.SBJ	young.one	stay-PAST	LOC	PLACE.NAME
	MS: I, the young one, stayed in Inverway. [DJ: 99_34.286]				

In addition, Kriol nouns can take Wanyjirra case and derivational suffixes following the same allomorphic rules as Wanyjirra nominal words, as in the ergative allomorph -gulu following peripheral consonants (e.g. *mam*-gulu 'mum-ERG') and -du following stop or nasal consonants of the same place of articulation of /d/ (e.g. *main*-du 'mine-ERG') in (1-11). The AAE/Kriol coordinator *an* 'and' and the adverb *keken* 'again' are also items commonly inserted into Wanyjirra clauses.

(1-11) *an* ngandiba,...(1.2) ngu=nganimba-gu=lu
and 1AUG REAL=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ

gang-an-i,...(1.1) ***mam***-gulu,... jaja-nggu jawiji-lu
carry-CONT-PAST mum-ERG MM-ERG MF-ERG

main-du,...(0.7) wilinyi *keken* \
mine-ERG hunt again
CS#: And we... my mother, grandmother and grandfather took us hunting again. [TM: 10_0803_2.008]

Kriol verbs are also used inside Wanyjirra complex verbs as in (1-12). They behave like Wanyjirra coverbs and form complex verbs with inflecting verbs (§10.3.6). Such uses of Kriol verbs are more conventionalised and integrated into Wanyjirra grammar and may also be regarded as borrowing (as is the case in Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt, 2007) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014)). Similarly in (1-13), the Kriol verb *singaut* 'sing out' also takes the repetitive suffix just as Wanyjirra coverbs (§9.2.3.3) and combines with the Wanyjirra inflecting verb marn- 'say'.[53] Note that the focus particle *na* in (1-12) is also the common borrowed item across Northern Australia (Graber, 1987) (see also §11.4.6).

(1-12) yangi-nggu gardiya-lu ***na*** \.. ngu=yi ***jeijim***
one-ERG white.man-ERG NOW REAL=1MIN.OBJ chase

man-an-i gardiya-lu yangi-nggu \
GET-CONT-PAST white.man-ERG one-ERG
MS: It's a white man that chased me, a white man. [DJ: 99_34.312]

(1-13) Bawungali **garra** marn-an-i ***singaut***-garra
PERSON NAME.ABS thus SAY-CONT-PAST sing.out-REP

<X ngu=ngandiba X> marn-an-i \
REAL=1AUG.OBJ say-CONT-PAST
CS#: Bawungali was saying like this, singing out for us. [TM: 11_1024_2.002]
NOTE: garra is Jaru. The Wanyjirra word guya would be expected.

Insertion of lexemes from neighbouring languages (especially, Jaru and Gurindji) is also commonly observed. For instance, in (1-13) above, the demonstrative garra

[53] This sentence contains two identical inflecting verbs marn- 'say'. The second one could be restatement of the first one, which combine with the Kriol verb *singaut* like a coverb narrowing down the meaning of this inflecting verb 'say, talk' for the whole event 'sing out' (§10.3.6).

originates from Jaru and here is used as a substitute for its Wanyjirra equivalent guya ‘thus’. The speaker admitted that it is Jaru and corrected it with guya when transcribing it. It is thus more likely to be an ad-hoc borrowing. One easier way to say a certain thing is selected from the speaker’s repertoire or stock of languages at the time of speech.

In Gurindji, Bilinarra and Warlpiri, certain forms of code-mixing have become more conventionalised and systematised and, as a result the respective mixed languages, ‘Gurindji Kriol’, ‘Bilinarra Kriol’ and ‘Light Warlpiri’ have emerged (McConvell & Meakins, 2005; Meakins, 2011a; Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014; O'Shannessy, 2005 etc.). These new languages have unique grammars in which nominal structures mainly originate from traditional Gurindji, Bilinarra and Warlpiri, particularly case and derivational morphology, but the main verbal structures and tense-aspect-mood auxiliaries originate from Kriol. This feature of nominal structures of the mix languages is also found in Wanyjirra where speakers use Kriol nominal words with case allomorphs identical to genuine Wanyjirra as demonstrated in (1-11) above, although mixed languages only use reduced series of allomorphic variants of the respective traditional languages. Mixed languages are considered as representing the maintenance of traditional languages to some degree, but also the loss of them (Meakins, 2008, 2011a; Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014). However, a significant difference of these mixed languages from Wanyjirra speech is that in mixed languages, unique structures are stably used across different speakers and are learnt by younger generations as their first target language, and these languages are now dominantly spoken in communities. For this reason, despite the similarities, mixtures of Wanyjirra and Kriol are here considered merely as code-switching and borrowing but not as a developed mixed language.[54]

Another significant feature of current Wanyjirra language is that there are a number of variations, especially in its lexical items among Wanyjirra consultants and even within individual consultants. It is more prominent for moribund languages than non-moribund languages to exhibit greater frequency of variation (cf. Palosaari &

[54] See also O’Shannessy (2011: 86-87) for a list of some parameters for distinction between code-switching and mixed languages.

Campbell, 2011; Wolfram, 2003). Variation across different speakers has emerged from different insights into the distinction between Wanyjirra and other languages on the basis of differences in their fluency in Wanyjirra and in the degree of familiarity with neighbouring languages, which develop their own idiolects. Since the variant forms are shared with neighbouring languages (mainly Jaru, Gurindji and Malngin), they may often be regarded ad-hoc borrowing by speakers and replaced, with what could be considered Wanyjirra by the speakers themselves, as in the case of (1-13) above.

However in some cases, there are disagreements among speakers with respect to whether two or more synonyms are all Wanyjirra or which of these are Wanyjirra or other languages. For example, there are two words for 'human, (Aboriginal) man', garaj and ngumbid in the corpus. Four main speakers use the former, which is shared with Jaru, whereas only one of them, Tiny McCale† also uses the latter form, shared with Gurindji. This may be because Tiny is more closely related to Gurindji speakers than other Wanyjirra speakers.[55] Although she has never lived in Gurindji communities, she has had many occasions to contact Gurindji speakers, e.g., visiting her relatives in Kalkarindji and attending meetings, ceremonies and funerals where Gurindji people also participated. When Tiny used the latter form ngumbid, another consultant Maggie Scott claimed that it was not Wanyjirra and Tiny should have said garaj. Tiny, however, insisted that ngumbid is Wanyjirra. It could be Tiny's idiolect. But interestingly, in other occasions, Tiny also uses garaj. When I encountered such situations, I always asked her: "*Do you think garaj is Wanyjira? You also use ngumbid. What about ngumbid? Is it Wanyjirra?*". Her answers were not consistent. Sometimes she admitted that garaj is Wanyjirra as well as ngumbid (Tiny said: "*we got two ways."*) whilst of other times she commented that ngumbid is Wanyjirra but garaj is Jaru, as she disagreed with Maggie Scott. Such variation of a single speaker and inconsistency in her judgement may also be due to her aging and loss of memories associated to declining knowledge of languages.

[55] Uniqueness of speech of Tiny McCale† and occurrence of Gurindji elements in her speech are also reported in Tsunoda (2006: 245). However, he did not explicitly claim that this is due to her familiarity to Gurindji.

Differences within individual speakers are also caused by intensive contact with Gurindji and Jaru speakers. As mentioned previously, my consultants rarely speak and hear Wanyjirra in their daily lives. However, Tiny McCale† has opportunities to interact with Jaru and Gurindji speakers. When I re-visited her in 2010, I realised that she used different expressions from what I collected from her in 2009. As far as I know, these elements were Gurindji. When I asked Tiny why she used such different forms, she told me that she stayed in Kalkarindji for her family's funeral for two weeks to a month before my fieldtrip. This means that she adopted Gurindji expressions from Gurindji speakers. Before I re-visited her, she had not had any opportunity to speak Wanyjirra with Maggie Scott. This is probably why Gurindji elements remained in her Wanyjirra speech.

1.8 This grammar

1.8.1 Aim and approach

The aim of the present work is to provide a more detailed and comprehensive grammar of the Wanyjirra language and the natural genius of this moribund language developing upon than in my earlier sketch grammar (Senge, 2008). The present grammar is descriptive in orientation, and is not biased toward a particular linguistic framework. Description of a language like Wanyjirra in a seriously endangered situation is limited by the availability of data. However, it is important that this grammar be as comprehensive as possible and readable not only by those of particular theoretical orientations because it is unlikely that future fieldworkers will have opportunities to collect more linguistic materials. It is also important for the benefit of the following generations of Wanyjirra people and speakers who wish to revive the language in some shape in the future. While a description of a language ideally contains a grammar, texts and dictionary, as per the Boasian tradition (cf. Evans & Dench, 2006), this grammar, nonetheless, only contains five texts and a wordlist instead of a large volume of dictionary, leaving much space to example sentences.[56]

Although this grammar does not attempt to test or adopt any framework, it is still influenced by the descriptive tradition of Australian languages for approaches to

[56] Other studies are available focusing on lexicon such as Flower et al. (2006) and Scott et al. (2008).

individual concepts and grammatical categories where this is helpful in explaining particular aspects of the language. For example, cross-linguistically 'case' is recognised as representing grammatical functions of nouns, pronouns and modifiers within a phrase or clause. However, it shows further extension in its function operating across phrases and clauses to link a NP or a clause to an argument of the matrix clause or the matrix clause itself (§3.2.1), which is broadly found in Australian languages (Dench & Evans, 1988). There is an increasing awareness that cross-linguistically common concepts and categories needed for the analysis of a language should be constructed for each language independently (Cristofaro, 2006; Haspelmath, 2009). As summarised in §1.3.3, however, Wanyjirra shows similarities to neighbouring languages in many aspects as well as differences. Thus, the description of Wanyjirra has been influenced from grammars of other languages with respect to grammatical topics treated here. This allows it to be linked to the typological, descriptive or theoretical literature where Wanyjirra exhibits resemblance to Australian and non-Australian languages in many aspects.

I attempt to use textual materials as far as possible, which show how the language is used in the real world. They also provide evidence for plausibility of analyses on linguistic structures presented here (Evans & Dench, 2006). However, the description also relies to some extent on elicited materials, not just as a supplement of textual data. There is a need to discuss the grammaticality of example sentences and acceptability of variations with speakers and to carefully examine complex constructions which could not be collected sufficiently through textual materials only, though there are also limitations on speaker's competence (Rice, 2006). Limitations are also found in textual materials: due to a serious decline of speakers' competence, the genre and discourse topics of texts in the corpus are less diverse than one would wish. Conversation materials were rarely collected and most recordings are narratives. Discourse topics are mostly about station work, bush tucker and hunting and there are not many traditional stories. Many textual examples are longer and 'messier' containing silence, errors, corrections, restatements, hesitations, other language materials and so forth, rather than those that simply illustrate a single grammatical pattern. I believe that such information is important in the case of describing the grammar of a moribund language. It may reflect speakers' judgements with regard to how the language is organised and

what form or structure is 'proper' Wanyjirra. If elements of other languages are recognised in examples, or are in doubt, annotations will be given to those examples indicating that they are not or might not be Wanyjirra and providing the expected forms, or forms more likely to be Wanyjirra, based on comments given by consultants or, if those are not available, based on comparison with other examples in the corpus.

1.8.2 Data collection and corpora

The data used in this thesis come mainly from two sources, the first collected by Tsunoda, and the second by the present author. Throughout this grammar, I refer to these different sources as 'Tsunoda's corpus' and 'my corpus' respectively where necessary to specify sources of examples, otherwise I make reference to the whole corpus as 'the Wanyjirra corpus'. These corpora contain different types of materials provided by different consultants. The following subsections describe the nature of two materials and the consultants drawn upon for the data.[57]

1.8.2.1 Senge's corpus

The data in my corpus were collected during four periods of fieldwork to Halls Creek, Western Australia between 2009 and 2012, and field trips to Inverway Station and Kalkarindji, Northern Territory in 2010, in total over 13 months. My main consultants were Tiny McCale† and Maggie Scott. In Kalkarindji, I also collected a small amount of data from Ray Duncan† and Kathleen Duncan†. The corpus contains different types of materials: (i) grammatical elicitation; (ii) narrative; (iii) prompted speech; and (iv) non-prompted speech. The corpus mostly consists of the first two types of data.

First, grammatical elicitation contains the data collected by asking consultants to translate English sentences into Wanyjirra or reading Wanyjirra sentences hypothesised by the author to consultants and checking their grammaticality. Second, narratives were recorded by letting speakers choose topics freely. Sometime speakers asked the author about their selection of topics before we started recording. However, consultants mostly took the initiative in determining topics and started to record without letting the author know what they were going to talk about. Third, prompted speech was collected by providing consultants some stimuli to prompt them to utter

[57] A list of data files is also provided in Appendix 1.

Wanyjirra sentences. Stimuli were provided visually and orally. Visual stimuli included private photos of people, sceneries and objects which I took around Halls Creek, Inverway Station and Kalkarindji and photos presented in a picture book depicting Aboriginal people's life around the area south-west of Halls Creek. I asked speakers to describe these images or to tell stories related to the thing, person or place on the images. Oral stimuli were given by explaining imaginary contexts and asking speakers what they might say in those situations. For example, I provided a consultant with the context: '*You see a woman who has a big belly. She is pregnant. You want to know when the baby would be born. What would you say to her?*'. Then the consultant started to utter sentences related to the situation. To do so, the consultant often assigns a particular woman whom she knows with a role of the pregnant woman in her utterance. The prompted speech is diverse in length, from a simple sentence to relatively long stretch of speech. Finally, non-prompted speech was incidentally collected from, in most cases, informal conversations either when I was audio-recording or not. This includes examples overheard when a consultant was having a conversation with others.

1.8.2.2 Tsunoda's corpus

Tsunoda's data were collected in Nicholson Station, Western Australia in 1976 and in several places including Halls Creek and Inverway Station between 1995 and 2002 and in 2006. He worked with Nyun.gatya Paddy†, Tiny McCale†, Maggie Scott, Dolly Jirrbngarri†, Ray Duncan† and Kathleen Duncan†. The followings are descriptions of materials included in Tsunoda's corpus.

[1] Published texts

They are nine sets of narratives which were recorded from Nyun.gatya Paddy† and Tiny McCale† in 1976. Recordings were replayed by Tsunoda, and when required, by the present author to speakers and/or other consultants to transcribe and translate them in different occasions. Consequently, these materials contain transcriptions, translations and comments suggested by more than one consultant. These texts have been modified by the present author to investigate further phonological properties and to adjust segmentation, glossing and translation into the present grammatical and phonological analyses.

[2] Fieldnotes formatted in word files

Fieldnotes from 1995 onwards have been digitised. They mainly contain elicited sentences, vocabulary and Tsunoda's grammatical analyses. They also contain important information on the Wanyjirra speakers, cultural and social context, as well as information on neighbouring languages and their speakers.

[3] Other manuscripts

These are non-published type-written transcriptions of narratives and elicitations of vocabulary and grammatical features collected in 1976. Here the transcription has been supplemented by my own grammatical and phonological analyses.

[4] Audio-recordings

Some audio-recordings of narratives, grammatical elicitations and interviews on social and cultural background were transcribed and translated by the present author with the help of Tiny McCale†, Maggie Scott and the Jaru speaker Maggie Long.

1.8.2.3 Description of consultants

Six Wanyjirra speakers contributed to develop the Wanyjirra corpus. The main contributors for this study were Tiny McCale† and Maggie Scott. In addition, one Jaru speaker also helped translate sentences and gave detailed background information especially when Tiny and Maggie had trouble remembering it.

Photo 1.1: Tiny McCale† (left) and Maggie Scott (right)

Tiny McCale†, aged over 85, was born in Inverway Station. She didn't receive a Western education and grew up with her family in Inverway Station. Her father was a Wanyjirra man speaking Wanyjirra and her mother spoke Jaru and Malngin. She acquired Wanyjirra and Jaru, and also learnt Gurindji to some extent. She worked at stations (including Inverway and Limbunya) and later lived in Nicholson Station before moving to Halls Creek.

Maggie Scott, aged 90, was born in Turner Station, and soon her family moved to Inverway. Her mother was Jaru and her father was a white Australian who worked at stations. Like her father, Maggie's mother, although she was Jaru, usually spoke English to Maggie and her siblings. However, she also acquired Wanyjirra and Jaru from other Aboriginal people who lived around Inverway Station. Maggie and Tiny were childhood friends and used to play together with Maggie's younger sibling Mary. When Maggie was around 10 years old, she and her sister Mary went to school in Moola Bulla where they were only allowed to speak English and not Wanyjirra and other indigenous languages. After schooling, Maggie used to live around Old Halls Creek with her husband and two children and then moved to (new) Halls Creek. Since Maggie couldn't speak Wanyjirra for a long period of time after she left Inverway, she might only have partial knowledge about Wanyjirra but she still remembered it.

Ray Duncan† is a son of Tiny McCale's sister. He and his wife Kathleen Duncan† grew

up in Inverway Station and worked for the Underwood family. After that, they lived on Mt. Maiyo, which is Ray's father's land, with his older brother Billy Duncan and his family. In the late 1990s, Ray, Kathleen and their family moved to Kalkarindji and Billy's family moved to Kununurra. Although Ray and Kathleen understood Wanyjirra and Jaru, living in Kalkarindji for a long time, they did not have many opportunities to speak them. They usually spoke Gurindji, Kriol or English, thus they could not produce Wanyjirra sentences spontaneously.

Maggie Long, aged around 65, is a Jaru woman. Since she used to live around the border between East Kimberley and Victoria River District (including Nicholson, Kirrkimbie and Birrindudu stations) and had daily contact with Wanyjirra people, Maggie has knowledge about Wanyjirra as well as Jaru. In this study, she helped Tiny McCale† and Maggie Scott translate Wanyjirra into English and provided information regarding their traditional life and culture.

The two other speakers Dolly Jirrbngarri† and Nyun.gatya Paddy† worked with Tsunoda. They worked on cattle stations including Inverway and spoke Wanyjirra and Jaru (or the Nyininy variety).

Table 1.5 provides a list of consultants with information on their linguistic and social backgrounds.

Table 1.5: List of language consultants

ID	Name	Sex	Age	Subsection	Major languages spoken (or understood)
DJ	Dolly Jirrbngarri†	F	Dec.	Nagarra	Wanyjirra; Jaru; Kriol; (Gurindji)
KD	Kathleen Duncan† (Nyindangali)	F	Dec.	Nambiyin	Jaru; Wanyjirra; Kriol (Gurindji)
ML	Maggie Long (Dirrbingali)	F	about 65	Nangala	Jaru; Kriol;(Wanyjirra)
MS	Maggie Scott (Dalyngarri)	F	90	Nawurla	Wanyjirra; Jaru; Kriol; Standard Australian English
NP	Nyun.gatya Paddy†	M	Dec.	Jambiyin	Wanyjirra; Jaru; Kriol
RD	Ray Duncan† (Marrngayarri)	M	75+	Jangari	Kriol; Wanyjirra; (Gurindji)
TM	Tiny McCale† (Wajngarri)	F	85+	Nawurla	Wanyjirra; Jaru; Kriol; (Gurindji)

Chapter 2
Phonology

2.0 Introduction

This chapter describes features of the phonological system of Wanyjirra. §2.1 presents the phoneme inventory of seventeen consonants and four vowels, and their practical orthography. Then, §2.2 and §2.3 describe phonemic contrasts and allophonic variations respectively. Some alternations between two phonemes in certain lexical items are also illustrated in §2.4. §2.5 deals with phonotactics including description of structures of syllables, stems and words, positional constraints of phonemes and possible combinations of consonant clusters and sequences. §2.6 describes the range of sound changes which occur within stems or across morpheme boundaries. Finally §2.7 summaries stress placement within a word.

2.1 Phoneme inventory

Wanyjirra has the phoneme inventory typical of Australian languages. It contains stops with no voicing contrast, nasals, laterals, glides, rhotics and a small number of vowels, and it lacks fricative phonemes. The segmental phonemes of Wanyjirra are displayed in Table 2.1 for consonants and in Table 2.2 for vowels. The orthographic symbols are given in brackets for each phoneme.

Table 2.1 The Wanyjirra consonants

	PERIPHERAL		NON-PERIPHERAL		
	BILABIAL	DORSO-VELAR	APICO-ALVEOLAR	APICO-POST ALVEOLAR	LAMINO-PALATAL
STOP	/b/ (b)	/g/ (g)	/d/ (d)	/ɖ/ (rd)	/ɟ/ (j)
NASAL	/m/ (m)	/ŋ/ (ng)	/n/ (n)	/ɳ/ (rn)	/ɲ/ (ny)
LATERAL			/l/ (l)	/ɭ/ (rl)	/ʎ/ (ly)
RHOTIC			/ɾ/ (rr)	/ɻ/ (r)	
GLIDE	/w/ (w)				/j/ (y)

Table 2.2: The Wanyjirra vowels

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	/i/ (i)		/u/ (u)
LOW		/a/ (a) /aː/ (aa)	

2.1.1 Practical orthography

This thesis employs the practical orthography which is used in the existing literature dealing with Wanyjirra and Jaru languages including Flower et al. (2006), Scott et al. (2008) and Tsunoda (1981). This orthography is similar to the Bilinarra and Jaru systems (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014; Tsunoda, 1981) but is different from other Ngumpin-Yapa languages, e.g. Walmajarri, Gurindji, Malngin and Warlpiri in which most stop consonants are represented with voiceless stop symbols (p, t, rt and k)[58] rather than voiced stop symbols (b, d, rd and g).

For the velar nasal consonant /ŋ/, the digraph ng is used. This should be distinguished from the sequence of the alveolar nasal /n/ or the retroflex nasal /ɳ/ and the velar stop /g/, i.e., n.g and rn.g. A dot between n and g represents syllable boundaries, e.g. bin.ga 'river' and barn.gu-yu 'cross cousin'.

As is generally true of Australian languages (Dixon, 1980), three retroflex consonants are written with the digraphs: r followed by symbols used for the corresponding apico-alveolar series (d, n and l), i.e., rd, rn and rl whereas the retroflex rhotic is written with the single symbol r.[59] The symbol rr is used for the apico-alveolar flap.

This orthography also adopts the writing convention used in literatures of Australian languages for sequences of two retroflex consonants, which only indicates the r symbol in the first retroflex of the sequence, e.g. murnduj /muɳɖuɟ/ 'black-headed python'.

[58] The lamino-palatal stop is written with the symbol j in all Ngumpin-Yapa languages.

[59] Note that use of the orthographic symbol rd differs between the Wanyjirra, Jaru and Bilinarra retroflex stop consonant rd and Warlpiri, at least one of its dialects. In the Warlpiri dialect, the retroflex glide /ɻ/ and the retroflex flap /ɽ/ are established as distinct phonemes and the latter is written with rd (Nash, 1986: 66).

In such examples, both consonants in the sequence are always retroflex. However, this rule is not applied to inter-morphemic sequences with two retroflexes. They are individually written with digraphs separated by a hyphen, e.g. balaarn + -rdu > balaarn-rdu 'turtle-ERG'.

2.2 Phonemic oppositions

Phonemic oppositions are illustrated here by sets of minimal or semi-minimal pairs in terms of their positions (word-initial, word-final or intervocalic).

2.2.1 Contrasts in terms of manner of articulation

2.2.1.1 Stops /b, d, ɖ, ɟ, g/

[1] /b, d/

#_a: barlag /baɭag/ 'mix'
darlag /daɭag/ 'split up'

[2] /b, g/

#_u: bura /buɻa/ 'hear'
gura /guɻa/ 'faeces'

[3] /d, ɖ/

a_#: bad /bad/ 'touch'
bard /baɖ/ 'fly'

[4] /ɖ, ɟ/

a_#: ward /waɖ/ 'return'
waj /waɟ/ 'throw'

[5] /b, ɖ/

a_u: dabu /dabu/ 'miss out'
dardulu /daɖulu/ 'true!'

[6] /d, g/

#_u: dula /dula/ 'scoop'
gula /gula/ 'NEG'

[7] /b, ɟ/

#_i: biga /biga/ 'inform'
jiga /ɟiga/ 'bilby'

[8] /ɖ, g/

i_i: girdi /giɖi/ 'on summit'
gigi /gigi/ 'star'

[9] /d, ɟ/

u_u: ludu /ludu/ 'short, Amos Hole'
luju /luɟu/ 'heel'

[10] /g, ɟ/

#_a: gaja /gaɟa/ 'bush, desert country'
jaja /ɟaɟa/ 'MM/♀DCh'

2.2.1.2 Nasals /m, n, ɳ, ɲ, ŋ/

[1] /m, n/

a_a: ngama /ŋama/ 'M.VOC'
ngana /ŋana/ 'who'

[2] /n, ɲ/

i_a: bina /bina/ 'know'
binya /biɲa/ 'hit.PAST'

[3] /m, ɳ/

a_a: ngamanyi /ŋamaɲi/ ‘orphan’
ngarnani /ŋaɳani/ ‘ingest.PAST’

[4] /n, ŋ/

a_i: yani /jani/ ‘go.PAST’
yangi /jaŋi/ ‘one’

[5] /m, ɲ/

u_a: luma /luma/ ‘blue tongue lizard’
lunya /luɲa/ ‘cry.PAST’

[6] /ɳ, ŋ/

u_u: burnu /buɳu/ ‘tree’
bungu /buŋu/ ‘hit.NF’

[7] /m, ŋ/

#_a: marni /maɳi/ ‘say.PAST’
ngarni /ŋaɳi/ ‘ingest.PAST’

[8] /ɳ, ɲ/

a_a: garna /gaɳa/ ‘spear’
ganya /gaɲa/ ‘carry.PAST’

[9] /n, ɳ/

a_a: manana /manana/ ‘get.PRES’
marnana /maɳana/ ‘say.PRES’

[10] /ɲ, ŋ/

#_a: nyawa /ɲawa/ ‘this’
ngawa /ŋawa/ ‘water’

2.2.1.3 Laterals /l, ɭ, ʎ/

[1] /l, ɭ, ʎ/

a_a: ngala /ŋala/ ‘♀Ch.VOC’
ngarlaga /ŋaɭaga/ ‘brain’[60]
ngalya /ŋaʎa/ ‘face’

[2] /l, ɭ/

a_u: ngarlu /ŋaɭu/ ‘bush honey’
ngalu /ŋalu/ ‘ingest.FUT’

[3] /ɭ, ʎ/

u_u: gurlu /guɭu/ ‘lively’
gulyurr /guʎuɾ/ ‘mucus’

2.2.1.4 Rhotics and glides /ɾ, ɻ, w, j/

[1] /ɾ, ɻ/

a_u: marru /maɾu/ ‘house’
maru /maɻu/ ‘bullocks’

[2] /w, j/

#_i: wigi /wigi/ ‘child of male ego’
yigi /jigi/ ‘tea leaf’

i_i: jirri /ɟiɾi/ ‘lucky rock, point’
jiri /ɟiɻi/ ‘timber’

i_a: jiwaj /ɟiwaɟ/ ‘disagree’
jiya /ɟija/ ‘kangaroo’

[3] /ɾ, j/

a_a: marra /maɾa/ ‘call.IMP’
maya /maja/ ‘more’

[4] /ɻ, w/

a_u: baru /baɻu/ ‘stand’
bawu /bawu/ ‘call out’

[60] ngarlaga means ‘head’ in Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013: 270). In Wanyjirra, langga is used for the meaning ‘head’. So the meaning of ngarlaga might have been shifted from ‘head’ to ‘brain’ or this word might be an ad-hoc borrowing from Gurindji.

[5] /ɾ, w/

a_a: ngarra /ŋaɾa/ ‘recognise, ADM’
ngawa /ŋawa/ ‘water’

[6] /ɻ, j/

u_a: gura /guɻa/ ‘faeces’
guya /guja/ ‘thus’

2.2.2 Contrasts in terms of place of articulation

2.2.2.1 Bilabial /b, m, w/

[1] /b, w/

#_a: bard /baɖ/ ‘fly’
ward /waɖ/ ‘return’

[2] /m, w/

a_a: ngawa /ŋawa/ ‘water’
ngama /ŋama/ ‘M.VOC’

[3] /b, m/

a_a: jaban /ɟaban/ ‘awake all night’
jamana /ɟamana/ ‘foot’

2.2.2.2 Alveolar /d, n, l, ɾ/

[1] /d, l, n/

u_u: judu /ɟudu/ ‘straight’
julu /ɟulu/ ‘jointly, navel’
junu /ɟunu/ ‘swear.NF’

[2] /l, ɾ/

a_a: ngala /ŋala/ ‘♀Ch.VOC’
ngarra /ŋaɾa/ ‘recognise, ADM’

[3] /d, ɾ/

i_i: widi /widi/ ‘stop fight’
wirri /wiɾi/ ‘side of neck’

[4] /n, ɾ/

i_a: lina /lina/ ‘recall’
lirra /liɾa/ ‘teeth’

2.2.2.3 Retroflex /ɖ, ɲ, ɭ, ɻ/ and /ʂ/

[1] /ɖ, ɳ, ɭ, ɻ, ʂ/

a_a: gardag /gaɖag/ ‘cup’
garna /gaɳa/ ‘spear’
garlarra /gaɭaɾa/ ‘west’
gara /gaɻa/ ‘bury’
garra /gaɾa/ ‘keep.IMP’

2.2.2.4 Palatal /ɟ, ɲ, ʎ, j/

[1] /ɟ, ɲ/

a_a: gaja /gaɟa/ ‘bush, desert country’
ganya /gaɲa/ ‘carry.PAST’

[2] /ɲ, ʎ/

a_a: wanya /waɲa/ ‘emu feather’
walyag /waʎag/ ‘inside’

[3] /ɟ, ʎ/

a_a: ngaja /ŋaɟa/ ‘yB,yZ.VOC’
ngalya /ŋaʎa/ ‘face’

[4] /ɲ, j/

a_i: ngamanyi /ŋamaɲi/ ‘orphan’
ngamayi /ŋamaji/ ‘M’

[4] /ɟ, j/

#_u: junba /ɟunba/ ‘corroboree’
yunba /junba/ ‘sing.IMP’

[6] /ʎ, j/

u_u: wulyug /wuʎug/ ‘wash’
wuyurrun /wujuɾun/ ‘fishing line’

2.2.2.5 Velar /g, ŋ, w/

[1] /g, ŋ, w/

#_a: garra /gaɾa/ ‘keep.IMP’
ngarra /ŋaɾa/ ‘recognise, ADM’
warra /waɾa/ ‘watch’

2.2.3 Vowels

Wanyjirra vowels contrast in terms of height, backness and length.

2.2.3.1 Height

The low vowel /a/ is contrasted with the high vowels /i/ and /u/.

[1] /a, i/

_#: junba /ɟunba/ ‘corroboree’
junbi /ɟunbi/ ‘rock hole’

[2] /a, u/

ɲ_n: nyandu /ɲandu/ ‘3MIN’
nyundu /ɲundu/ ‘2MIN’

2.2.3.2 Backness

The front vowel /i/ is contrasted with the back vowel /u/ and the central vowel /a/.

[1] /i, u/

g_d: gida /gida/ ‘open space’
guda /guda/ ‘short’

[2] /i, a/

b_g: biga /biga/ ‘inform’
baga /baga/ ‘spike’

2.2.3.3 Length

A long vowel is uncommon in Wanyjirra. However, one long vowel /aː/ can be established as a phoneme. The contrast between /a/ and /aː/ is exemplified as follows.

[1] /a, aː/

g_ɾ:	gaarra /gaːɾa/	'east'
	garra /gaɾa/	'keep.IMP'

/aː/ in gaarra is not treated as a sequence of two identical phonemes V.V. The reason is that the common syllable structures are CV, CVC and CVCC, and the syllable V is only allowed in a few baby talk words where the initial velar nasal is deleted from words of adult speech (§1.6.3). In addition, the long vowel /aː/ receives a stress wherever it occurs in a word. Stress is usually placed on the first syllable of the word if the word does not contain the long vowel (§2.7).

Although the long vowel /aː/ is established as a phoneme here, it is often reduced in some words and become the short vowel in modern Wanyjirra. For example, Jaangari 'male subsection' with the long vowel /aː/ was recorded by Tsunoda. However, it is now pronounced as Jangari with the short vowel /a/ by Tiny McCale† and Maggie Scott. In other examples (2-1), two forms synchronically occur. Sound change from the long vowel to the short vowel has been in process.

(2-1)	a. Naangari ~ Nangari	/naaŋa.ɻi/ ~ /naŋa.ɻi/	'female subsection'[61]
	b. naaga ~ naga	/naaga/ ~ /naga/	'red cloth'

Contrary to the low vowel, high vowels show no phonemic distinction in length. However, phonetic long vowels [iː] and [uː] ~ [oː] are perceptible as realisations of some vowel-glide-vowel sequences (§2.3.1.5).

[61] Naangari/Nangari corresponds to the Warlpiri term Napangardi (Laughren, 1982b: 76). The Wanyjirra form can be analysed as deriving from the old form where p of the Warlpiri form was lenited, i.e., *Nawangardi and then the lenited glide /w/ was elided, i.e. *Naangardi. Note that rd in Warlpiri represents the retroflex rhotic [ɽ], which is covered by r in Wanyjirra.

2.3 Allophony

2.3.1 Consonants

2.3.1.1 Stops and voicing

Wanyjirra has no phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless stops as is the case in in most Australian languages. Although the voiced consonant symbols are used in the orthography, voiceless allophones frequently appear, especially for /g/. There is no strict rule by which allophones can occur in certain conditions. At least the following tendencies can be observed. Voiced and voiceless allophones are usually not aspirated.

[1] Voiceless stops occur in syllable-final and word-final positions. Stops in word-final positions are sometimes unreleased.

(2-2)	a. birrib	/biɾib/	['biɾip]	'block up'
	b. bad	/bad/	['pɐt]	'touch'
	c. jawurd	/ɟawuɖ/	['ɟæwoʈ]	'tail'
	d. gardag	/gaɖag/	['kɐɖɑk]	'cup'
	e. marndaj	/maɳɖaɟ/	['mɐˑɳɖɐc]	'OK'

[2] In stop consonant clusters, both stops are often voiceless.

(2-3)	a. gardbi	/gaɖbi/	['kɐʈpi]	'hair'
	b. ngagbarn	/ŋagbaɳ/	['ŋɑkpɐɳ]	'frog'
	c. dalajguna	/dalaɟguna/	['dɐlɐcˌkunɐ]	'friar bird'
	d. jirdbirdbi	/ɟiɖbiɖbi/	['ɟiʈpiʈpi]	'gumnut'
	e. majga	/maɟga/	['mɐckɐ]	'try'

[3] The voiced allophones usually occur after nasals.

(2-4)	a. nyamba	/ɲamba/	['ɲæmbɐ]	'what'
	b. nyundu	/ɲundu/	['ɲʊndʊ]	'you (sg)'
	c. barndirri	/baɳɖiɾi/	['bɐɳɖɪɾi]	'women's dance'
	d. nyinyji	/ɲiɲɟi/	['ɲiɲɟi]	'tail bone'
	e. miyanggi	/mijaŋgi/	['mɪjɐŋgi]	'ask'

[4] /b/ and /g/ tend to be voiceless if they follow liquids whereas the palatal stop /ɟ/

is more likely to be voiced.[62]

(2-5)	a. dilygurrb	/diʎgurb/	['tiʎkoɾp]	'strike'
	b. birrga	/biɾga/	['bɪɾkɐ]	'create'
	c. bulbul	/bulbul/	['pʊlpʊl]	'wrap'
	d. malju	/malɟu/	['mɐlɟʊ]	'boy'
	e. birlbirlji	/biɭbiɭɟi/	['piɭpiɭɟi]	'grasshopper'

[5] In word-initial positions and intervocalic positions, stops are either voiced or voiceless with the exception of /g/. /g/ is always voiceless in initial positions but is either voiced or voiceless in intervocalic positions.

(2-6)	a. balabi	/balabi/	['bɐlɐbi]	'bush coconut'
	b. darrugu	/daɾugu/	['dɐɾʊgu]	'secret'
	c. julu	/ɟulu/	['ɟʉlʊ]	'jointly, navel'
	d. gilagi	/gilagi/	['kilɐgi]	'FF'
	e. rdurdul	/ɖuɖul/	['ɖʊɖʊl] ~ ['dʊɖʊl][63]	'cook in earth'

2.3.1.2 The lamino-palatal stop /ɟ/

In addition to voiced and voiceless alternations, the lamino-palatal stop /ɟ/ has unusual allophones. When it occurs in word-final positions, /ɟ/ is sometimes realised as the palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ] after /i/ (2-7a, b). As in many Australian languages (Dixon, 1980: 125), fricative and sibilant phonemes are not found in Wanyjirra but [ʃ] is possible phonetically.[64] It can also be realised as the unreleased voiceless lamino-palatal stop [ç̚] after /a/ (2-7c, d). In this case, the palatal glide /j/ is often recognised before the palatal stop.

(2-7)	a. wugarij	/wugaɻiɟ/	['wokɐɽic]~['wokɐɽiʃ]	'rock wallaby'
	b. wij	/wiɟ/	['wic]~['wiʃ]	'scrape off'
	c. marndaj	/maɳɖaɟ/	['mɐɳɖɐc] ~ ['mɐɳɖɐjç̚]	'OK'
	d. bardaj	/baɖaɟ/	['pɐɖɐc] ~ ['pɐɖɐjç̚]	'ascend'

[62] There are no relevant data for /d/ and /ɖ/ (see §2.5.5.1 for a list of intra-morphemic consonant clusters).
[63] Note that the initial retroflex is often realised as the corresponding apico-alveolar (§2.5.4.1).
[64] Many Australian languages including Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981), Malngin (Ise, 1999), Wambaya (Nordlinger, 1998), Kayardild (Evans, 1995) also have palatal stops with fricative or affricative allophone.

2.3.1.3 Nasals

All nasals are canonically voiced, and occur at the same places of articulation as the corresponding stops. Devoicing sometimes occurs in word-final bilabial and velar nasals, for example, /gulum/ ['kʊlʊm̥] ~ ['kʊlʊm] 'name taboo' and /juŋujuŋ/ ['jʊŋʊjʊŋ̊] ~ ['jʊŋʊjuŋ] 'yesterday'.

2.3.1.4 Laterals and rhotics

Lateral consonants are generally voiced. However, like nasal consonants, they are sometimes devoiced when it is word-final, e.g. ngajal ['ŋɑɟæl] ~ ['ŋɑɟæl̥] 'yB, yZ'.

One rhotic /ɾ/ is the flap [ɾ]. It is sometimes realised as the trill [r] in emphasised speech including elicitation sessions. Like laterals, when it occurs word-finally, /ɾ/ is often devoiced [ɾ̥], e.g. /ŋabuɾ/ ['ŋɑbʊɾ̥] 'comfort'. Another rhotic /ɾ/ is the retroflex frictionless continuant [ɻ] and occasionally, the retroflex flap [ɽ]. These seem to be free variants. This phoneme is also categorised as a glide because it shows similar positional constraints to other glide consonants /w/ and /j/ (§2.5.4). On the other hand, /ɾ/ can be grouped into 'liquids' together with laterals sharing distribution patterns and morphophonemic processes. Liquids are sometimes treated in a similar way to vowels in terms of lenition (§2.6.2).

2.3.1.5 Glides

In addition to /ɻ/, Wanyjirra has two other glides which are voiced frictionless continuants: labio-velar /w/ and lamino-palatal /j/. The labio-velar glide is [w] with lips slightly rounded, or at least, protruded. Preceding high-back vowel /u/, this glide may be elided in word-initial and medial positions as in (2-8a and b). The palatal glide /j/ is mainly realised as [j]. It may be imperceptible when it is followed by the high-front vowel /i/ as in (2-8c and d), as /w/ followed by /u/. In this thesis, I analyse the underlying forms as involving glides /w/ and /j/ preceding /u/ and /i/ respectively.

(2-8)	a. wurdu	/wuɖu/	['wʊɖʊ] ~ ['ʊɖʊ]	'louse'
	b. nawun	/nawun/	['nɐwon] ~ ['nɐon]	'scar'
	c. yiri	/jiɻi/	['jiɻi] ~ ['iɻi]	'name'
	d. ngayirra	/ŋajiɾa/	['ŋɑjiɾɐ] ~ ['ŋɑɪɾɐ]	'worry'

The glides /w/ and /j/ in initial positions are pronounced especially in careful or slow speech but are elided in rapid or fluid speech. This is also the case in intervocalic glides although elision is more common especially when glides occur in word-final open syllables (see below). However, speakers do not make a distinction between the two pronunciations (e.g. ['wʊɖʊ] and ['ʊɖʊ]). In addition, they accepted both realisations when I pronounced them. Positing such underlying glide consonants is standard in analyses of many Australian languages (e.g. Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981), Dyirbal (Dixon, 1972) and Nyangumarta (Sharp, 2004)). The motivation for this analysis is simplification of phonotactic rules and word structures which generalise that two phonemic short vowels cannot occur in a sequence and that no word begins with a vowel except for one interjection an.gaj 'poor thing' and a few words in baby talk (§1.6.3).

Vowel-glide-vowel sequences which can involve elision of glides (except sequences in the same locus) are listed in (2-9): (i) awu; (ii) ayi; (iii) iwu; (iv) uyi.[65] The first two have also been given in (2-8b and d) above. Note that vowel allophones are also influenced by surrounding phonological conditions (§2.3.2).

(2-9)

(i) awu [ɐo]	bawu	['bɑo]	'hey!
	gulyawurr	['kuʎæoɾ] ~ ['kuʎæwoɾ]	'leaf'
(ii) ayi [æɪ]	wajayi	['wɐɟæɪ]	'person name'
[ɐɪ]	majugaying	['mɐɟʊˌkɐɪŋ] ~ ['mɐɟʊˌkɐjɪŋ]	'cat'
(iii) iwu [ɪʊ]	liwurrab	['lɪʊɾɐp] ~ ['lɪwʊɾɐp]	'humbug'
	ngama-yi-wu	['ŋɑmɐɨʊ]~['ŋɑmɐjɨʊ]	'mother-KIN-DAT'
(iv) uyi [ui]	ngu=yi	['ŋʊi] ~ ['ŋɨi]	'REAL=1MIN.OBJ'

Note that the second example of (iii) shows two glides can be elided resulting in a sequence of three vowels, although this is uncommon. In more common realisation, the first glide [j] is retained but the second glide [w] is deleted. The high-front vowel here is influenced by the following back-front vowel. Example (iv) also has phonetic

[65] My Wanyjirra corpus does not contain words including the sequences iyu and uwi. However, Wanyjirra potentially has such words because negibouring languages including Jaru (Deegan et al., 2010), Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013) and Bilinarra (Meakins, 2013) have such examples.

variation where the back vowel is influenced from the following high-front vowel and becomes more fronted.

Reduction of intervocalic glides also results in phonetic long vowels if the sequences have the same loci (i.e., uwu and iyi). In natural speech, phonetic long vowels [oː~uː] and [iː] are commonly found especially in the last syllables of words as in (2-10a, c and d) but they are also found in other places as in (2-10b).

(2-10)	a. yuwu	/juwu/	['joː]	'yes'
	b. muwuying	/muwujing/	['muːjiŋ] ~ ['muːɪŋ]	'black plum'
	c. yiyi	/jiji/	['jɪː]	'yes'
	d. rdumbiyi	/ɖumbiji/	['ʈʊmbiː]	'warm'

However, in other examples, glides in these vowel-glide-vowel sequences are articulated in distinct syllable onsets before the second vowels.

(2-11)	a. gubuwubu	/gubuwubu/	['kubu˩wubu]	*['kubuːbu]	'citreous grass'
	b. mirniyirri	/miɳjiɾi/	['miɳi˩jiɾi]	*['miɳiːɾi]	'thorny devil'

Similarly, phonetic long vowels [ɐː]~[æː] are recognised in low vowel-glide-low vowel sequences resulted from glide elision. The following three examples demonstrate the glides /w, j, ɻ/ are imperceptible between two /a/s in the initial and final syllables of the word in natural speech and phonetic long vowels is recognised.

(2-12)	a. /ɲawa/	['ɲæwa] ~ ['ɲæː]	'this, here'
	b. /bajaru/	['bɐjærʊ] ~ ['bæːrʊ]	'bite.FUT'
	c. /ɲuraɻa/	['ɲʉɾɐ˩ɻɐ] ~ ['ɲʉɾɐː]	'2AUG'

Although these phonetic long vowels [ɐː]~[æː] are derived from vowel-glide-vowel sequences as a result of glide elision, they are phonemically distinguished from the long vowel phoneme /aː/ (§2.2.3.3). (2-13) and (2-14) demonstrate contrasts between a long vowel /aː/, and a sequence /aja/ and /awa/ respectively. There is no minimal pair found to show a distinction between /aɻa/ and /aː/. However, a semi-minimal pair (2-15) illustrates a contrast between these two.

(2-13) a. /gaːɾa/ ['kɐːɾɐ] 'east'
b. /gajaɾa/ ['kɐjɛɾɐ] 'kick.IMP'

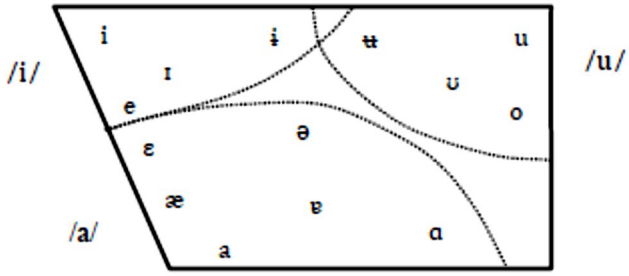
(2-14) a. /ŋaː/ ['ŋɐː] 'yes'
b. /ŋawa/ ['ŋɑwɑ] 'water'

(2-15) a. /ɟaːɟ/ ['ɟæːc] 'beg'
b. /ɟaɻaɲ/ ['ɟæɻɐɲ] 'frilled lizard'

2.3.2 Vowels

Short vowels show a large range of allophonic variations as illustrated in Figure 2.1. The following subsections will deal with these allophones (§2.3.2.1-§2.3.2.3). The long vowel /aː/ shows a little range of allophones (§2.3.2.4).

Figure 2.1: Allophones of short vowels



2.3.2.1 Allophones of /a/

The open low vowel /a/ shows a range of allophonic variations. The major allophone is [ɐ] in stressed and unstressed syllables (2-16a, b), but it can be reduced and centralised to [ə] in unstressed syllables (2-16c).

(2-16) a. darra /daɾa/ ['tɐɾɐ] 'warm up'
b. bad /bad/ ['pɐt] 'touch'
c. jurnda /ɟuɳɖa/ ['ɟʉɳɖɐ] ~ ['ɟʉɳɖə] 'bush onion'

However, other allophones are also found in particular phonetic environments. If it precedes or follows a velar consonant, the back allophone [ɑ] is often recognised.

(2-17)	a. ganggu	/gaŋgu/	['kɑŋgʊ]	'carry.FUT'
	b. julag	/ɟulag/	['ɟɯlɑk]	'bird'
	c. darugab	/darugab/	['dɐɻʊkɑp]	'bathe'
	d. ngama	/ŋama/	['ŋɑmɐ]	'M.VOC'

When palatal consonants precede /a/, it is more fronted as [ɛ] or [æ]. In addition, the low-front allophone [a] is sometimes observed at least when /a/ is followed by the glide /j/.

(2-18)	a. jarlabal	/ɟaɭabal/	['ɟɛɭɑbɐl] ~ ['ɟæɭɑbɐl]	'on belly'
	b. nyana	/ɲana/	['ɲɛnɐ] ~ ['ɲænɐ]	'river country'
	c. yanda	/janda/	['jændɐ] ~ ['jandɐ]	'go.IMP'

2.3.2.2 Allophones of /i/

The high-front vowel /i/ is typically realised as [i] and [ɪ] in a great range of phonetic contexts. However, the allophone [i] is preferred in word-final position or after palatal consonants.

(2-19)	a. bin.ga	/binga/	['bingɑ] ~ ['bɪngɑ]	'river, creek'
	b. gilagi	/gilagi/	['kilɑgi] ~ ['kɪlɑgi]	'FF'
	c. minyirri	/miɲiɾi/	['miɲiɾi] ~ ['mɪɲiɾi]	'shy'
	d. Jabalyi	/ɟabaʎi/	['ɟæbɐʎi]	'male subsection'
	e. wanyjirra	/waɲɟiɾa/	['wɐɲɟiɾɐ]	'where'

The close-mid front [e] is found when this vowel follows a liquid preceded by the low vowel /a/, although this is not always the case (2-20d and 2-19d above). Both preceding phonemes induce this lower allophone.

(2-20)	a. ngaliwa	/ŋaliwa/	['ŋɐlewɐ]	'1AUG.INC'
	b. bilarli	/bilaɭi/	['bilɐɭe]	'teenage girl'
	c. marri	/maɾi/	['mɐɾe]	'off'
	d. wanyarri	/waɲaɾi/	['wɐɲæɾi]	'bauhinia'

The allophone [ɨ] is sometimes observed after a velar or labio-velar consonant. It is more centralised to [ɨ].

(2-21)	a. nganinginy	/ŋɐniŋiɲ/	['ŋɐniŋɨɲ]	'1MIN. OBL2'
	b. gilinygiliny	/kiliɲkiliɲ/	['kɨliɲkɨliɲ]	'galah'
	c. wilinyi	/wiliɲi/	['wɨliɲi]	'hunt'

2.3.2.3 Allophones of /u/

The high back vowel /u/ is typically articulated as [ʊ] in any environment. Occasionally, the higher and backer allophone [u] is found when it follows velar consonants in stressed syllables. However, it is never as high and back as the cardinal vowel number 8. Lip-rounding does occur although it is not prominent.

(2-22)	a. ludu	/ludu/	['lʊdʊ]	'short, Amos Hole (place name)'
	b. murla	/muɭa/	['mʊɭɐ]	'here/this'
	c. gujarra	/guɟaɾa/	['kuɟæɾɐ] ~ ['kʊɟæɾɐ]	'two'
	d. ngumbid	/ŋumbid/	['ŋumbɪt] ~ ['ŋʊmbɪt]	'Aboriginal man'

When /u/ occurs before and after palatal consonants, it can be fronted to [ʉ].

(2-23)	a. junyjuny	/ɟuɲɟuɲ/	['ɟʉɲɟʉɲ]	'suck'
	b. gulyulyu	/guʎuʎu/	['kuʎʉʎʉ]	'budgerigar'
	c. nyundu	/ɲundu/	['ɲʉndʊ]	'2MIN'

The close-mid allophone [o] occurs in the position after the glides (/w/ and /ɻ/) following /a/. A labio-velar glide in such contexts may not be discernible (§2.3.1.5).

(2-24)	a. jaru	/ɟaɻu/	['ɟæɻo]	'language'
	b. lamawurd	/lamawuɖ/	['lɐmɐoʈ] ~ ['lɐmɐwoʈ]	'witchetty grub'
	c. yawu	/jawu/	['jao]	'fish'

2.3.2.4 Long vowel /aː/

The long vowel /aː/ is mostly realised as [ɐː]. If it follows palatal consonants, fronted allophones [aː] or [æː] are also found.

(2-25)	a. balaarn	/balaːɳ/	['pɐlɐːɳ]	'turtle'
	b. jaaj	/ɟaːɟ/	['ɟæːc]	'beg'
	c. yaagyaag	/jaːgjaːg/	['jaːkjaːk]	'cockatoo's calling'

2.4 Phoneme alternation

There are alternations between two phonemes in certain words or pronominal clitics although these phonemes are distinguished from each other. Similar alternations are found in other Ngumpin-Yapa languages including Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 31-32) and

Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 54-55).

[1] Intervocalic /ɻ, ɖ/

(2-26)	a. gariya	/gaɻija/	or	gardiya	/gaɖija/	'white man'
	b. nguyuru	/ŋujuɻu/	or	nguyurdu	/ŋujuɖu/	'many'

[2] Word-final /ɟ, ɲ/

(2-27)	a. wuruj	/wuɻuɟ/	or	wuruny	/wuɻuɲ/	'whistle'
	b. nyungulij	/ɲuŋuliɟ/	or	nyunguliny	/ɲuŋuliɲ/	'legs bent up'

[3] Word-final /d, n/

(2-28)	jilngid	/ɟilŋid/	or	jilngin	/ɟilŋin/	'sweat'

It should be noted that these alternations are only found in a small number of words and are not conditioned by phonological contexts. In addition, words which are found with such alternations in other languages do not always show the same alternations in Wanyjirra. For instance, the final stop /ɟ/ of gambij 'egg' never alternates with /ɲ/ in Wanyjirra whereas the alternation is found in Jaru (i.e., gambij and gambiny) (Tsunoda, 1981: 31). Likewise /d/ of ngumbid 'man, Aboriginal person' is not replaced with /n/ in Wanyjirra, which is possible in Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 59) and Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013: 284).

These alternations, at least in some words, may result in differences among Ngumpin-Yapa languages and are associated with the degree of familiarity with neighbouring languages, which varies among individual speakers. For example, in my observation, MS and DJ more frequently use gariya 'white man', shared with Jaru, than gardiya, shared with Gurindji, whereas TM, who is closely related to Gurindji speakers almost always uses the latter. In another example, jilngin is used by MS and TM whereas jilngid is used by TM. The latter is also found in Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013: 151).

2.5 Phonotactics

2.5.1 Syllable structure

The Wanyjirra syllable structure can be represented as follows:

(2-29) (C) V {(C) C}

Possible syllables:
V
VC
CV
CVC
CVCC

The syllable minimally consists of a vowel. However, such syllables occur in very restricted situations, primarily as word-initial /a/ in baby talk (§1.6.3). In addition, the VC syllable is only found in one example, the interjection an.gaj 'poor thing'. The major types are CV, CVC and CVCC. Therefore, almost all syllables require onsets. A consonant cluster is not permissible in an onset. These three common syllable types are exemplified as follows. Dots within the examples represent syllable boundaries. A syllable boundary is placed prior to C preceding V.

(2-30) CV

a. gu.ya	/guja/	'thus'
b. ma.ja.rdi	/maɟaɖi/	'loincloth'

(2-31) CVC

a. wirr.gil	/wiɾgil/	'head hair'
b. buny	/buɲ/	'kiss'

(2-32) CVCC

a. wulb	/wulb/	'jump'
b. ma.lyarrb	/maʎaɾb/	'sprinkle'

CV and CVC syllables can occur in every word position. However, CVCC is less frequently found than CV and CVC. It is restricted to the final positions of monosyllabic and multisyllabic coverbs (§9.2.2).

In CVC and CVCC, glides (/w/, /j/ and /ɻ/) cannot occur in codas. Any consonants except these glides can occur in codas of CVC syllables whereas the consonant clusters in complex codas of CVCC always consist of liquids /l, ɭ, ɾ/ followed by peripheral consonants /b, g, ŋ/ as in (2-33).

(2-33)	a. ding.ga**rlb**	/diŋgaɭb/	‘go through’
	b. wala**rrb**	/walaɾb/	‘serious sick’
	c. galywa**rrg**	/gaʎwaɾg/	‘flatten’
	d. yinga**lg**	/jiŋalg/	‘meat soup’
	e. wi**rlng**	/wiɭŋ/	‘envy, want’

The long vowel /aː/ fills a V slot. Long vowels mostly occur in CV syllables but they are also possible in CVC syllables.

(2-34)	a. gaa.ni.yin	/gaːnijin/	‘from east’
	b. jaa.gib	/ɟaːgib/	‘yawn’
	c. ba.laarn	/balaːɳ/	‘turtle’

Although the long vowel /aː/ is considered as a nucleus of the single syllable, it is counted as bimoraic. Morae are important as conditioning for case allomorphy.[66] Allomorphs of ergative and locative cases make distinction between bimoraic and trimoraic or longer stems ending with vowels (§4.4.1.2). For example, the word maarda ‘boy before initiation’ and the English-loan word *daadi* ‘daddy’ take the ergative allomorph -lu but not -nggu, like the trisyllabic and trimoraic stem gilagi ‘FF’, but the disyllabic and bimoraic stem manga ‘small girl’ takes -nggu.

(2-35)	a. maarda-lu	*maarda-nggu	‘uninitiated man-ERG’
	b. *daadi*-lu	**daadi*-nggu	‘daddy-ERG’
	c. gilagi-lu	*gilagi-nggu	‘FF-ERG’
	d. manga-nggu	*manga-lu	‘small girl-ERG’

2.5.2 Stem structure

The majority of stems are disyllabic although a fair number of monosyllabic, trisyllabic or longer stems are also found in the corpus. Monosyllabic stems are found in coverbs and auxiliaries. Monosyllabic coverbs and inflecting verb stems are formed by closed syllables CVC or CVCC whereas auxiliaries are formed by open syllables CV.

[66] Mora-sensitive case allomorphy is also attested in neighbouring languages including Gurindji (McConvell, 2005a), Malngin (Ise, 1999: 19) and Warlpiri (Nash, 1986: 78).

(2-36)

CV	ngu/nga	'realis/neutral auxiliary'
CVC	waj	'throw (coverb)'
	yan-	'go, come, walk (inflecting verb)'
	ngarn-	'ingest (inflecting verb)'
CVCC	girlb	'click (coverb)'

Disyllabic stems include all word class members: nominals, coverbs, inflecting verbs, adverbs, particles and interjections. Examples of disyllabic stems (except stems containing the long vowels) are demonstrated as follows.

(2-37)

a. CV.CV	gula	'negative (particle)'
	warra	'watch (coverb)'
b. CV.CVC	gabud	'morning (nominal)'
	bayan-	'bite/chop (inflecting verb)'
c. CV.CVCC	yiburrg	'in vain (adverb)'
	walarlb	'serious sick (coverb)'
d. CVC.CV	bin.ga	'river (nominal)'
	majga	'try (adverb)'
e. CVC.CVC	murrgun	'three (nominal)'
	marndaj	'OK (interjection)'
f. CVC.CVCC	dinggarlb	'go through (coverb)'
	dilygurrb	'strike (coverb)'

Since the long vowel is not so common in Wanyjirra, only a small number of stems contain it. Such examples (including disyllabic and polysyllabic stems) are listed as follows.

(2-38)

a. Caa	ngaa	'yes'
b. CaaC	jaaj	'beg'
c. Caa.CV	naaga	'red cloth'
d. Caa.CV.CV	Naangari	'female subsection'
e. CV.CaaC	balaarn	'turtle'
d. CV.Caa.CVC	manaaring	'round yam'
g. CVC.Caa.CV	nganyjaali	'bush tomato'
h. CVC.Caa.CVC	warndaarraj	'in line'
i. CaaC.CaaC	waagwaag	'crow's calling'

2.5.3. Word structure

A Wanyjirra word consists of a stem which may be followed by one or more suffixes

and clitics. Following McConvell (2005a), Wanyjirra phonological words can be defined as those which have a primary stress generally falling on the first syllable (§2.7), undergo a range of morphophonemic changes (§2.6) and may be separated from each other by pauses in utterance. By these criteria, compound words (although compounding is uncommon (§4.2.2)) and a complex verb may be defined as (phonological) words (§10.3.2).

2.5.4 Positional constraints of phonemes

2.5.4.1 Stem-initial position

A word can begin with any phonemes except for consonants /ɾ, ʎ/ and /i, u/. In addition, retroflex consonants are very rare in initial position. This seems that the contrast between the apico-alveolar consonants /d, n, l/ and the retroflex consonants /ɖ, ɳ, ɭ/ is neutralised resulting in that almost all relevant consonants are pronounced as /d, n, l/ in initial position. According to Dixon (1980: 167), the neutralisation in initial position is fairly common in languages where apico-alveolar and retroflex consonants are phonologically contrastive in medial and final positions. His discussion supports the possibility of neutralisation observed in Wanyjirra. In transcription, initial retroflex consonants are written with retroflex symbols as far as I recognised.

(2-39) a. rdurdul ['ɖʊɖʊl] ~ ['dʊɖʊl] 'cook in earth oven'
b. rlimimi ['ɭɪmimi] ~ ['lɪmimi] 'temple'

Table 2.3 demonstrates relative frequency of occurrence of each phoneme in word-initial position based on the 945 lexical entries. Note that columns for alveolar stops and their corresponding retroflexes are merged in the table since it is not always clear whether or not an initial stop was actually retroflexed.

Table 2.3: Frequency of occurrence of stem-initial phonemes

Phonemes	Ratio (%)	Phonemes	Ratio (%)
/b/	11.2	/l, ɭ/	4.4
/d, ɖ/	5.5	/ʎ/	0
/ʈ/	14.3	/ɾ/	0
/g/	17.2	/ɻ/	1.0
/m/	10.1	/w/	15.4
/n, ɳ/	2.7	/j/	0.6
/ɲ/	2.5	/a/	0.1
/ŋ/	9.4		

2.5.4.2 Stem-final position

A stem or word can end in any vowel and consonant except for the glides /j/, /w/ and the rhotic /ɻ/. They are also not allowed in syllable-final position. Thus these glides and rhotic are always followed by vowels. Table 2.4 shows frequency of occurrence of phonemes (excluding these glides and rhotic) in stem-final position. Note that /m/ and /ɭ/ hardly occur in stem-final position in the 945-entries.

Table 2.4: Frequency of occurrence of stem-final phonemes

Phonemes	Frequency	Phonemes	Frequency
/b/	3.9	/ŋ/	3.6
/d/	1.9	/l/	3.8
/ɖ/	0.9	/ɭ/	0.4
/ʈ/	5.5	/ʎ/	0.8
/g/	6.0	/ɾ/	4.8
/m/	0.2	/i/	18.2
/n/	5.3	/u/	14.3
/ɳ/	1.3	/a/	23.8
/ɲ/	5.1	/aː/	0.2

2.5.5 Consonant clusters and sequences

2.5.5.1 Intra-morphemic clusters

Most consonant clusters which occur within morphemes contain two members. Table 2.5 demonstrates possible intervocalic clusters found in the corpus. Numbers represent example numbers given in (2-40) below. Note that the consonants /w, j, b/ cannot occur as first consonants of the clusters. In addition, the consonants /n, ɳ, ɲ, ɾ, j/

cannot occur in second consonants of the clusters. Hence, these consonants are taken out from the table. Shaded columns indicate that those clusters also occur in final positions as well as in intervocalic positions.

Table 2.5: Intra-morphemic consonant clusters in positions[67]

		Second consonant							
		/b/	/d/	/ɖ/	/ʈ/	/g/	/m/	/ŋ/	/w/
First consonant	/d/	1							
	/ɖ/	2							
	/ʈ/	3				22			
	/g/	4							
	/m/	5							
	/n/	6	13		15	23			
	/ɳ/	7		14		24		35	
	/ɲ/	8			16	25	31		
	/ŋ/					26			
	/l/	9			17	27	32	36	39
	/ɭ/	10			18	28	33	37	40
	/ʎ/	11			19	29			41
	/ɾ/	12			20	30	34	38	42
	/ɻ/				21				

(2-40)

1.	gi**db**a	‘egg’	2.	ga**rdb**i	‘body hair’
3.	warra**jb**a	‘a type of women’s dance’	4.	nga**gb**arn	‘frog’
5.	ma**mb**id	‘together’	6.	ju**nb**a	‘corroboree’
7.	ja**rnb**ij	‘silverleaf box’	8.	ya**nyb**al	‘rip off’
9.	ya**lb**arraj	‘slip’	10.	gu**rlb**ab	‘heap up’
11.	ga**lyb**a	‘soft’	12.	bu**rrb**ab	‘slap thighs’
13.	bi**nd**i	‘bush banana’	14.	ma**rnd**aj	‘OK’
15.	ngu**nj**u	‘tobacco’	16.	ga**nyj**i	‘leg’
17.	warla**lj**a	‘relatives’	18.	bi**rlj**an	‘splash’
19.	Na**lyj**irri	‘♀subsection’	20.	di**rrj**ag	‘stuck’
21.	bu**rj**a	‘run’	22.	dala**jg**una	‘friar bird’
23.	nu**n.g**iying	‘family’	24.	ba**rn.g**u	‘cross cousin’
25.	ngana**ngg**irr	‘snore’	26.	jara**ngg**arri	‘returning boomerang’
27.	ja**lg**aji	‘woomera’	28.	wa**rlg**an	‘sand goanna’
29.	di**lyg**urrb	‘strike’	30.	wa**rrg**uj	‘collect’
31.	wi**nym**arn	‘thin’	32.	wu**lm**angga	‘flood’

[67] The previous work also contains the clusters ld /ld/ (Senge, 2008: 19). In this thesis, this is removed from the list. The only words mililḍi ‘hook (of a spear)’ which contains the cluster ld is recorded in Tsunoda’s fieldnotes. However, I decided to transcribe it as milirḍi /miliɖi/ based on a careful observation on my consultants’ pronunciation.

33.	war**lm**an	'tree's name'	34.	la**rrm**u	'little spear'
35.	ba**rnng**a	'bark'	36.	ju**lng**urra	'face away'
37.	bi**rlng**iny	'lie down'	38.	wa**rrng**aarra	'separate'
39.	bu**lw**arr	'dry'	40.	yawa**rlw**arl	'crested pigeon'
41.	ga**lyw**arrg	'flatten'	42.	ja**rrw**aj	'spear (coverb)'

General observations about combinations of these consonant clusters are given below.

(i) There are no geminate consonants;

(ii) Homoorganic nasal-stop clusters (mb, nd, rnd, ngg) are the commonest;

(iii) Clusters whose members have the same manner of articulation (such as stops, nasals, laterals, rhotics and glides) are uncommon (only the combinations of nasal + nasal and stop + stop are found);

(iv) Clusters cannot contain more than one liquid or glide;

(v) If a stop occurs as the first member in the cluster, another stop must follow it.

As seen in Table 2.5, the majority of intra-morphemic clusters occur in stem-medial position. However, clusters also occur in stem-final position. Combinations of two consonants are always liquid plus stop/velar nasal consonants. Such examples are given below. Most of them are coverbs (§9.2.2) but a few example are found in nominals.

(2-41)	/lb/:	wu**lb**	'jump'
	/ɭb/:	dingga**rlb**	'go through'
	/ɾb/:	biya**rrb**	'tell a story'
	/lg/:	birrili**lg**	'red-collared lorikeet'
	/ɭg/:	bi**rlg**	'leave behind'
	/ɾg/:	mu**rrg**	'chew'
	/ɭŋ/:	wi**rlng**	'envy, want'
	/ɾŋ/:	dubu**rrng**	'hot'

2.5.5.2 Inter-morphemic consonant sequences

Consonant sequences which occur over morpheme boundaries have a greater number of possibilities than intra-morphemic clusters. The major differences between these types of clusters are that (i) inter-morphemic consonant sequences allow geminate consonants; (ii) they can also contain three consonants; (iii) there are more inter-

morphemic sequences whose members have the same manner of articulation; (iv) they allow sequences of less sonorous consonants followed by more sonorous consonants, e.g. stops plus nasals and liquids plus glides. The possible inter-morphemic consonant sequences are shown in Table 2.6 followed by examples. Major examples of suffixes and clitics which create consonant sequences are given in the horizontal column for each consonant. The table includes possible combinations found in sequences of stems and some clitics as well as suffixes because these clitics are involved in phonological words. Note that this table does not include consonant sequences made up from reduplication, which is described in §2.5.5.3. This only represents bi-consonantal sequences. Tri-consonantal sequences will be described separately in §2.5.5.4.

In Table 2.6, the possibe combinations of bi-consonantal sequences are indicated by +. ? indicates that the combinations, a liquid consonant plus /b/ (of the epenthetic suffix -ba followed by the clitic =lu 'ONLY') are hypothetically possible based on the observation that the same clitic -ba=lu follows consonants in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 210), although there is no such example in the Wanyjirra corpus. [68]

[68] However, in Tsunoda's (1981) Jaru grammar, there is no example sentence showing that the form -ba=lu (=balu in his analysis) actually attaches to stems ending with liquids. In Jaru, /l/ and /ɾ/ are found in stem-final positions (Tsunoda, 1981: 41-42). Therefore, lb and rrb are the only possible combinations of intermorphemic bi-consonantal sequences in Jaru (ibid: 39). In Wanyjirra, four liquids (/l, ɾ, ɭ, ʎ/) are found in stem-final positions, although /ɭ/ and /ʎ/ are uncommon (see Table 2.4). In addition, the same four liquid consonants can be followed by the epenthetic suffix -ba or -wa in Gurindji (McConvell, 2005a) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 73). The reason why there is no example where stem-final liquids follow b in Wanyjirra could be due to the limit of the corpus.

Table 2.6: Two consonant sequences across morpheme boundaries

		Second consonants											
		/b/[1] -barra 'REP' -bari 'NMNR' -ba 'EP'	/d/[2] -du 'ERG'	/ɖ/[3] -rda 'LOC'	/ɟ/[4] -jaru(ng) 'PROP'	/g/[5] -gu 'DAT' -g 'TRNSL' -gu 'LINK'	/m/[6] -mulung 'PRIV'	/ɲ/[7] -nyan '3KIN.POSS'	/ŋ/[8] -nginyi 'EL'	/l/[9] -la 'LOC'*	/ɭ/[10] -rlu 'ERG'*	/ɾ/[11] -rra 'LOC'*	/w/[12] -waji 'AGENT' -wariny 'OTHER'
First consonants	/b/	+			+	+	+		+				
	/d/	+	+		+	+	+		+				
	/ɖ/	+		+	+	+	+		+				
	/ɟ/	+			+	+	+	+	+				
	/g/	+			+	+	+		+				
	/m/	+			+	+	+		+				
	/n/	+	+		+	+	+		+				
	/ɳ/	+		+	+	+	+		+				
	/ɲ/	+			+	+	+		+				
	/ŋ/	+			+	+	+		+				
	/l/	?			+	+	+	+	+	+			+
	/ɭ/	?			+		+		+		+		+
	/ʎ/	?			+	+	+		+				+
	/ɾ/	?			+	+	+		+			+	+

*These ergative, locative (and allative) suffix forms resulting in geminate liquids (/ll/, /ɭɭ/ and /ɾɾ/) are special variants of the allomorphs following liquid-ending stems: -u (ergative), -a (locative) and -awu (allative) respectively (§4.4.1.2).

(2-42)

1. C-b: waruga**b-b**arra ‘work-REP’; gabu**d-b**a=lu ‘morning-EP=ONLY’; wa**rd-b**arra ‘return REP’; gara**j-b**a=lu ‘person-EP=ONLY’; jimurrawu-**g-b**a=lu ‘long time-TRNSL-EP=ONLY’; mu**m-b**ari ‘darken-ADJ’; magi**n-b**a=lu ‘sleep-EP=ONLY’; minya**rn-b**a=lu ‘nothing-EP=ONLY’; dirri**ny-b**ari ‘through hole-ADJ’; jilmu**ng-b**ari ‘break-ADJ’

2. C-d: gan.guliyi**d-d**u ‘from.up.country-ERG’; mawu**n-d**u ‘man-ERG’

3. C-rd: wa**rd-rd**a ‘return-LOC’; maa**rn-rd**a ‘cloud-LOC’

4. C-j: durlurlu**b-j**arung ‘thunder-PROP’; gidgi**d-j**arung ‘sticky-PROP’; lamawu**rd-j**arung ‘witchetty grub-PROP’; gurruri**j-j**arung ‘car-PROP’; garnba**g-j**arung ‘music stick-PROP’; gulu**m-j**arung ‘name taboo-PROP’; ngari**n-j**arung ‘meat-PROP’; maba**rn-j**arung ‘hollow log-PROP’; jangila**ny-j**arung ‘fire-PROP’; du**ng-j**arung ‘satiated-PROP’; limba**l-j**arung ‘menstruation-PROP’; yima**rl-j**arung ‘rock fig-PROP’; guru**ly-j**arung ‘yam-PROP’; wanbu**rr-j**arung ‘burnt skin-PROP’

5. C-g: dirri**b-g**u ‘camp out-DAT’; gabu**d-g**u ‘morning-DAT’; dirrmi**rd-g**u ‘croc-DAT’; gara**j-g**u ‘person-DAT’; jiwirri-**g-g**u ‘cooked-TRNSL-DAT’; mu**m-g**ula ‘darken-LOC’; warlga**n-g**u ‘sand goanna-DAT’; ngagba**rn-g**u ‘frog-DAT’; jangila**ny-g**u ‘fire-DAT’; nun.giyi**ng-g**u ‘family-DAT’; ngaja**l-g**u-lang ‘yB/yZ-LINK-DYAD’; yumba**ly-g** ‘tired-TRNSL’; bulwa**rr-g** ‘dry-TRNSL’

6. C-m: wul**b-m**ulung ‘jump-PRIV’; ba**d-m**ulung ‘touch-PRIV’; jawu**rd-m**ulung ‘tail-PRIV’; gurruri**j-m**ulung ‘car-PRIV’; murr**g-m**ulung ‘chew-PRIV’; gulu**m-m**ulung ‘name taboo-PRIV’; ngari**n-m**ulung ‘car-PRIV’; balaa**rn-m**ulung ‘turtle-PRIV’; gangirri**ny-m**ulung ‘sun-PRIV’; duburru**ng-m**ulung ‘hot-PRIV’; janya**l-m**ulung ‘lazy-PRIV’; yima**rl-m**ulung ‘rock fig-PRIV’; guru**ly-m**ulung ‘yam-PRIV’; bama**rr-m**ulung ‘stone-PRIV’

7. C-ny: mungga**j-ny**an ‘wife-3KIN.POSS’; mugu**l-ny**an ‘FZ-3KIN.POSS’

8. C-ng: dirri**b-ng**inyi ‘camp out-EL’; ngumbi**d-ng**inyi ‘human-EL’; warra**rd-ng**inyi ‘dry out-EL’; barda**j-ng**inyi ‘ascend-EL’; garda**g-ng**inyi ‘cup-EL’; mu**m-ng**inyi ‘darken-EL’; magin-nginyi ‘sleep-EL’; guyuwa**rn-ng**inyi ‘bone-EL’; jangila**ny-ng**inyi ‘fire-EL’; jilmu**ng-ng**inyi ‘break-EL’; duma**l-ng**inyi ‘middle-EL’; dunggu**rl-ng**inyi ‘headdress-EL’; maja**ly-ng**inyi ‘weak-EL’; bama**rr-ng**inyi ‘stone-EL’

9. C-l: duma**l-l**a ‘middle-LOC’

10. dunggu**rl-rl**u ‘headband-ERG’

11. barndawu**rr-rr**a ‘back bone-LOC’

12. C-w: bulbu**l-w**aji ‘wrap-AGENT’; guru**rl-w**ariny ‘long yam-OTHER’; gurrgu**ly-w**ariny ‘young leaf-OTHER’; bu**rr-w**aji ‘sing-AGENT’

As seen in Table 2.6, liquids behave differently from stops and nasals. Although liquid consonants, like stops and nasals, can be followed by suffixes beginning with the lamino-palatal stop /ɟ/ and the velar stop /g/,[69] they do not precede /b/. Like vowels, liquid consonants are followed by suffixes beginning with the labio-velar glide /w/ instead of the corresponding allomorphs beginning with /b/ (see also §2.6.2).

[69] There is no example of the liquid rl preceding suffixes beginning with the velar stop consonant in the corpus.

2.5.5.3 Consonant sequences on reduplication boundaries

A wider range of sequences of consonants are found as a result of the reduplication process. Table 2.7 shows examples of such sequences; combinations other than listed above in Table 2.6. The significant difference from other consonant clusters and sequences is that /j/ and /ɻ/ are involved in this type of clusters.

Table 2.7: Two consonant sequences particularly found in reduplication

		Second consonants						
		/d/	/n/	/ɲ/	/l/	/w/	/j/	/ɻ/
First consonants	/b/	1						
	/d/							
	/ɖ/					8		
	/ɨ/	2	5			9		
	/g/	3					12	16
	/n/						13	
	/ɲ/	4				10		
	/ŋ/			6		11	14	17
	/ɾ/				7		15	
	/l/							

(2-43)

1. du**b-d**ub ‘RDP-pull’
2. da**j-d**aj ‘RDP-crush’
3. dara**g-d**arag ‘RDP-go down’
4. dirri**ny-d**irriny ‘RDP-through hole’
5. nurna**j-n**urnaj ‘RDP-nod’
6. nyungu**ng-ny**ungung ‘RDP-move’
7. lu**rr-l**urr ‘RDP-turn back’
8. wa**rd-w**ard ‘RDP-return’
9. wan.ga**j-w**an.gaj ‘RDP-bad’
10. wanga**ny-w**angany ‘RDP-search’
11. warrarra**ng-w**arrarrang ‘RDP-lull’
12. yu**g-y**ug ‘RDP-let go’
13. yingi**n-y**ingin ‘RDP-shake’
14. yilyi**ng-y**ilying ‘RDP-make noise’
15. ya**rr-y**arr ‘RDP-tease’
16. ringa**g-r**ingag ‘RDP-hiccup’
17. ru**ng-r**ung ‘RDP-bark’

2.5.5.4 Tri-consonantal sequences across morpheme boundaries

Sequences of three consonants are also possible across morpheme boundaries, although three consonants cannot occur in a sequence within a stem. Generally such examples are found in: (i) reduplicated coverbs containing complex codas in stem-final position; (ii) coverbs with complex codas followed by certain coverbal or nominal suffixes and; (iii) some personal names.

[1] Reduplicated stems

Sequences of three consonants can be resulted from reduplicated coverbs with complex codas consisting of a liquid plus a stop as listed in (2-44).

(2-44)

a. /lb-w/	wu**lb-w**ulb	'RDP-jump'
b. /l̪b-g/	gi**rlb-g**irlb	'RDP-click'
c. /l̪g-w/	wi**rlg-w**irlg	'RDP-kill'
d. /l̪ŋ-w/	wi**rlng-w**irlng	'RDP-want'
e. /ɾb-b/	biya**rrb-b**iyarrb	'RDP-tell.story'
f. /ɾb-d/	dilygu**rrb-d**ilygurrb	'RDP-strike'
g. /ɾg-d/	du**rrg-d**urrg	'RDP-grab'
h. /ɾg-g/	gulyu**rrg-g**ulyurrg	'RDP-cough'
i. /ɾg-m/	mu**rrg-m**urrg	'RDP-chew'
j. /ɾg-n/	nimu**rrg-n**imurrg	'RDP-dive'
k. /ɾg-j/	yu**rrg-y**urrg	'RDP-track'

[2] Stems plus nominal or coverbal suffixes

Tri-consonantal sequences are also resulted from stems with complex codas taking nominal or coverbal suffixes, e.g. the ergative -gulu, the dative -gu, the elative -ngin̪yi, the proprietive -jaru(ng), the privative -mulu(ng) and the coverbal repetitive suffix -garra as presented in Table 2.8.

Table 2.8: Tri-consonantal clusters involving suffixes

		Suffix-initial consonant			
		/ɟ/	/g/	/m/	/ŋ/
stem-final coda	/lb/ wulb 'jump'		/lb-g/ wu**lb-g**arra	/lb-m/ wu**lb-m**ulung	/lb-ŋ/ wu**lb-ng**inyi
	/l̪b/ girlb 'click'		/l̪b-g/ gi**rlb-g**arra		/l̪b-ŋ/ gi**rlb-ng**inyi
	/ɾb/ dilygurrb 'strike'		/ɾb-g/ dilygu**rrb-g**u		/ɾb-ŋ/ dilygu**rrb-ng**inyi
	/lg/ birrililg 'lorikeet'	/lg-ɟ/ birrili**lg-j**arung	/lg-g/ birrili**lg-g**u	/lg-m/ birrili**lg-m**ulung	/lg-ŋ/ birrili**lg-ng**inyi
	/l̪g/ garlg 'cut into pieces'		/l̪-g/ ga**rlg-g**arra		/l̪g-ŋ/ ga**rlg-ng**inyi
	/ɾg/ murrg 'chew'		/ɾg-g/ mu**rrg-g**arra		/ɾg-ŋ/ mu**rrg-ng**inyi
	/l̪ŋ/ wirlng 'want'		/l̪ŋ-g/ wi**rlng-g**arra		

[3] Personal names

Some personal names also contain tri-consonantal sequences. They are etymologically made up of a coverb stem consisting of CVC(C) plus -(nga)yarri for men and -ngarri for women (§1.4.6).[70] The order of these clusters is always a liquid plus a stop plus a velar nasal.

(2-45)	/ɾbŋ/	Ji**rrbng**ayarri	(male)	Ji**rrbng**arri	(female)
	/ɾgŋ/	Ya**rrgng**ayarri	(male)		
	/lgŋ/	Nyu**lgng**arri	(female)		

2.6 Morphophonemics

2.6.1 Nasal coda dissimilation

A nasal consonant in coda position is eliminated or replaced with another phoneme when it is preceded by a nasal-stop cluster within a word. As in Gurindji (McConvell, 1988b, 2005a), two types of dissimilation are found in Wanyjirra. First, the nasal consonant of a nasal-stop consonant sequence is deleted when it is preceded by another nasal-stop cluster, either homorganic or heterorganic (Nasal-deletion). Second, a nasal consonant after a nasal-stop consonant sequence is replaced by its corresponding stop (Denasalisation). In the Wanyjirra corpus, the first type is more frequently found. Following McConvell (2005a), I refer these sound changes to 'nasal coda dissimilation' rather than 'nasal-stop cluster dissimilation' (Senge, 2008) because in the second type, a second nasal-stop cluster is not obligatory.

2.6.1.1 Nasal-deletion

Nasal-deletion is commonly found in case suffixes. In the ergative suffix -nggu, the locative suffix -ngga and the allative suffix -nggawu (2-46a-2-48a), the first nasal consonants are eliminated when these case suffixes follow stems containing a nasal-stop cluster (2-46b-2-48b).

(2-46)	a.	burnu-nggu	b.	gun.ga-gu
		tree-ERG		dead-ERG

[70] Therefore, I analyse them as sequences of three consonants over morpheme boundaries instead of treating these examples as intra-morphemic consonant clusters (Senge, 2008).

(2-47) a. ngurra-ngga
camp-LOC

b. ngundi-ga
light-LOC

(2-48) a. yala-nggawu
DIST2-ALL

b. junba-gawu
corroboree-ALL

This rule also affects other suffixes including the derivational suffix -gunyja 'LACK' (2-49), the special locative suffix -mba for directional nominals (2-50a) and pronominal clitics following some interrogatives and the subordinator nyangga (2-51 - 2-53). However, this rule is not obligatory across the pronominal clitics and non-dissimilated forms are also found.

(2-49) ngarin-guja (the underlying form: ngarin-gunyja)[71]
meat-LACK

(2-50) a. gan.ga-**ba** (the underlying form: gan.ga-mba)
up.country-D.LOC2

b. gani-**mba**
down.country-D.LOC2

(2-51) nyamba=gu or nyamba=nggu
what=2MIN.OBJ what=2MIN.OBJ

(2-52) wanyjirra=da or wanyjirra=nda
where=2AUG.SBJ where=2AUG.SBJ

(2-53) nyangga=da or nyangga=nda
COND=2AUG.SBJ COND=2AUG.SBJ

This nasal-deletion also applies to nasal-stop clusters over two morphemes. Examples contain the originative suffix -wuny and the locative suffix -ja which is phonologically identical to the comitative case -gunyja (§4.4.2.10) and 'LACK' suffix -gunyja (§4.3.5). If it follows a nasal, the nasal /ɲ/ in -guny is deleted.

[71] There is no example where the underlying form -gunyja occurs within words because all nominal stems semantically compatible to this suffix end with nasal consonants including ngarin 'meat'. Even though the form -gunyja is not found in the corpus, it is hypothesised as the underlying form (§4.3.5).

(2-54) mawun-gu-ja (the underlying form: mawun-guny-ja)
man-ORIG-LOC
'at the man's (place)'

2.6.1.2 Denasalisation

Denasalisation is replacement of /n/ with /d/ when a word contains a nasal-stop cluster before the replaced nasal. This change is less common than in Gurindji (cf. McConvell, 2005a) and not obligatory in Wanyjirra. Since it is optional, it may be analysed as a phoneme alternation between /n/ and /d/ (§2.4). However, examples presented here all contain a nasal-stop cluster preceding a replaced nasal. Denasalisation could be a progressive change triggered by this cluster. Alternation between two phonemes, on the other hand, occurs in stems with no nasal-stop cluster (see (2-28)). For this reason, I do not treat this change as phoneme alternation.

In the first examples, a replaced nasal immediately precedes a stop consonant like examples of nasal deletion. Such examples are found in the second person pronominal clitics, =n (MIN) and =nbula (UG). The forms where denasalisation does not occur are given in (2-55a-2-57a). The denasalised forms (2-55b-2-57b) demonstrate that /n/ is converted to /d/.

(2-55) a. nyangga=**n**-gu=la
COND=2MIN.SBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT

b. nyangga=**d**-gu=la
COND=2MIN.SBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT

(2-56) a. nyamba-wu=**n**bula
what-DAT=2UA.SBJ

b. nyamba-wu=**d**bula
what-DAT=2UA.SBJ

(2-57) a. wanyjirra=**n**bula
where=2UA.SBJ

b. wanyjirra=**d**bula
where=2UA.SBJ

Note that the corpus has no example of denasalisation in the second nasal /n/ preceding /ɟ/ as in (2-58). However, this does not mean the inter-morphemic consonant sequence d-j is prohibited in Wanyjirra, since this cluster is possible as well as the cluster n-j (§2.5.5.2)

(2-58) a. nyamba-wu=**n**=junu
what-DAT=2MIN.SBJ=RR

b. ?nyamba-wu=**d**=junu
what-DAT=2MIN.SBJ=RR

In the second type, a replaced nasal is word-final and is not part of the nasal-stop cluster. In (2-59a-c), the denasalised form =d for the second person minimal clitic is used. In each environment, denasalisation is optional so the underlying form =n is also possible.

(2-59)

a. nyangga=**d** bad man-gu wagurra=n yirra-wu
COND=2MIN.SBJ touch GET-FUT NEG=2MIN.SBJ put-FUT
If you touch it (i.e., beef), you can't put it down. [TM: CSfn080910]

b. nyamba-wu=**d** yan-i
what-DAT=2MIN.SBJ go-PAST
TM: What for you *bin kam*?
CS@: What did you come for? [TM: CSfn110712]

c. nyangga=**d** minyarn, nyangga gula=n
COND=2MIN.SBJ nothing COND NEG=2MIN.SBJ

barli nyang-gu *matbi* ngu jaliji-la
find PERCEIVE-FUT maybe REAL friend-LOC
CS#: If nothing (i.e., if he is not there), if you cannot find him, he may be at friend's place. [TM: CSfn160910]

Another example of denasalisation is found in the special ablative suffix for directionals -(li)yin (§6.2). The final /n/ of this suffix is optionally converted to /d/ if it follows the two directional stems containing a nasal-stop cluster.

(2-60) a. gan.gu-liyin ~ gan.gu-liyid 'from above'
b. gan.ga-yin ~ gan.ga-yid 'from upstream, from a higher place'

Denasalisation may also occur within a stem. For example, Jambiyin 'male subsection' can alternate to Jambiyid. However, the corresponding female subsection term Nambiyin has no alternative form *Nambiyid used in Wanyjirra.

2.6.2 Lenition

Lenition of stops to glides occurs in the first segment of a range of suffixes and clitics when they follow vowels and in some cases, liquids. The first type is that the underlying stops /b/ and /g/ are converted to the glide /w/. The second type is that the stop /ɟ/ is converted to the glide /j/. However, not all stop-initial suffixes/clitics

undergo lenition. For example, the translative suffix -g (§9.2.3.2) and -gari 'OTHER' (§4.3.2) do not induce lenition and can follow both vowels and consonants.

[1] /b/ > /w/

(i) Unite-augmented pronominal clitics =bulany/wulany (3UA.OBJ)

(2-61) a. ngu=n=bulany
REAL=2MIN.SBJ=3UA.OBJ

b. ngu=wulany
REAL=3UA.OBJ

The unit-augmented marker of subject pronominal clitics =bula/wula also undergo this lenition. The former is used following the second person marker =n, i.e., =nbula (2UA.SBJ) whereas the latter is used for the third person unit-augmented form following a vowel (§7.1.1).

(2-62) a. ngu=nbula
REAL=2UA.SBJ

b. ngu=wula
REAL=3UA.SBJ

(ii) Adjectivier-bari/wari

(2-63) a. mum-bari
darken-ADJ
dark

b. gulburr-wari
destroy-ADJ
TM: no good one, not working
MS: useless

c. warurru-wari
midnight-ADJ
TM: *latebala*
CS%: night owl (i.e. night person)

[2] /g/ > /w/

This lenition can be found in a number of suffixes: (i) the dative suffix -gu/wu; (ii) the purposive suffix -gurra/wurra; (iii) the originative suffix –guny/wuny; (iv) -gaji/waji AGENTive; (v) -guyarra/wuyarra DUAL; (vi) -garra/warra REPetitive; (vii) -gariny/wariny OTHER; (viii) -gurd/wurd TIMES. In this lenition, like the adjectiviser -bari/wari, liquids are treated separately from other consonants. However, distributions of allomorphic variations differ among those suffixes.

(i) Dative suffixes -gu/wu

The dative case suffix has allomorphs -gu following consonants (2-64a) and -wu

following vowels (2-64b). For liquid-final stems, the lenis allomorph -wu is further lenited and becomes -u (2-64c). However, this dative suffix appears also to have been reanalysed as an epenthetic vowel forming a vowel-ending stem and being followed by another allomorph -wu. Consequently the form -uwu is established. The allomorph -u is mainly found in Tsunoda's materials collected in 1970s whereas the latter form is only found in materials collected after 2000s. Both dative forms are synchronically used after liquids. I treat -uwu as a variation of -u (§4.4.1.3).

(2-64) a. mawun-gu 'man-DAT'
b. wanyja-wu 'woman-DAT'
c. bamarr-u ~ bamarr-uwu 'stone-DAT'

(ii) ~ (v) Purposive -gurra/wurra (§4.4.1.3); Originative -guny/wuny (§4.4.1.3); Agentive -gaji/waji (§4.3.1); Dual -guyarra/wuyarra (§4.6.1)

The purposive, originative, agentive and dual suffixes have fortis forms for stems ending with any consonants except liquids (2-65a-2-68a) and lenis forms for stems ending with vowels (2-65b-2-68b) and liquids (2-65c-2-68c) respectively.

(2-65) a. magin-gurra 'sleep-PURP'
b. ngurra-wurra 'camp-PURP'
c. ngajal-wurra 'HZ/BW-PURP'[72]

(2-66) a. Janyuwug-guny 'person name-ORIG'
b. Nangari-wuny 'female subsection-ORIG'
c. mugul-wuny 'FM-ORIG'

(2-67) a. wirdin-gaji 'tie up-AGENT' (i.e., policeman)
b. ngawa-waji 'water-AGENT' (i.e., stone bird)
c. ngayirr-waji 'breathe-AGENT' (i.e., wind pipe)

(2-68) a. mawun-guyarra 'man-DU'
b. wanyja-wuyarra 'woman-DU'
c. mugul-wuyarra 'FZ-DU'

(vi) Repetitive -garra/warra

The repetitive suffix on coverbs (§9.2.3.3) is also affected depending on the preceding

[72] However, in the corpus, the purposive suffix -gurra is sometime used after liquids, too. This use may be influenced by Jaru where all consonants take -gurra (Tsunoda, 1981).

phonemes. After consonants except liquids, the fortis form -garra is used[73] whereas after vowels and liquids, the first segment of the suffix is converted to /w/. This lenis form is further changed after liquids and the vowel /a/ by glide elision and becomes -arra.[74]

(2-69) a. bulub-garra 'stir-REP'
b. ruyu-warra 'play-REP'
c. burruly-arra 'fail-REP'
d. bila-arra 'chase-RDP'

(vii) OTHER -gariny/wariny, -gari

Wanyjirra has three forms of the OTHER suffix (§4.3.2): -gariny/wariny and -gari. The lenis form -wariny follows vowels and liquids (2-70a-b). The corresponding fortis form -gariny is used for consonant-final stems but only a few examples are found in Wanyjirra (2-70c). Instead, the form -gari follows consonants (2-70d-e). However, the form -gari lacks the corresponding lenis form and can follow all stems ending with consonants and vowels.

(2-70) a. yangi-wariny 'one-OTHER'
b. ban.gal-wariny 'bat-OTHER'
c. gabud-gariny 'morning-OTHER'
d. maya-gari 'more-OTHER'
e. yunguyung-gari 'yesterday-OTHER'

(viii) TIMES -gurd/wurd

The iterative suffix (§11.3.5.3) is restricted to follow quantifiers. The form -gurd follows consonants whereas the form -wurd follows vowels. No quantifiers end with liquids.

(2-71) a. murrgun-gurd
three-TIMES
'three times'

b. yangi-wurd
one-TIMES
'once'

[73] On some occasions, the first /g/ of -garra following the stems ending with /g/ is optionally elided and the resultant allomorphic suffix form is -arra, i.e., wirlg-garra or wirlg-arra 'kill-REP'. Origin of this form -arra differs from -arra after liquids and the vowel /a/ resulted from reduction of /w/ in -warra.

[74] There is also less common allomorph -barra for the repetitive suffix. However, allomorphic conditions for this allomorph are not clear and unpredictable. See also §9.2.3.3 for detail on distributions of all allomorphs.

[3] /ɟ/ > /j/

This lenition affects (i) the proprietive suffix -jaru(ng) (§4.5.1); (ii) the DECeaseD suffix -jayi (§4.3.8.6); (iii) the third person augmented object clitic =janu and the oblique clitic =janunggula (§7.3.6.4). Liquids are treated in the same way as other consonants and are suffixed by fortis forms.

(i) Proprietive -jaru(ng)/-yaru(ng)

(2-72) a. gurrurij-jaru(ng) 'car-PROP' (i.e., with a car)
b. bamarr-jaru(ng) 'stone-PROP' (i.e., with money/stone)
c. diba-yaru(ng) 'billycan-PROP' (i.e., with a billycan)

(ii) DECD -jayi/yayi

(2-73) a. ngama-nyan-jayi 'M-3POSS.KIN-DECD' (i.e., his/her deceased mother)
b. mugul-jayi 'FM-DECD' (i.e., deceased aunt)
c. jaja-yayi 'MM-DECD' (i.e., deceased grandmother/grandchild)

(iii) The third person augmented object =janu/yanu and oblique =janunggula/yanunggula

(2-74) a. ngu=n=janu 'REAL=2MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ'
b. ngu=yanu 'REAL=3AUG.OBJ'

(2-75) a. ngu=n=janunggula 'REAL=2MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBL'
b. ngu=yanunggula 'REAL=3AUG.OBL'

2.6.3 Nasalisation /ɟ/ > /ɲ/

The lamino-palatal stop /ɟ/ is converted to the lamino-palatal nasal /ɲ/ in the reflexive/reciprocal clitics =junu and =jununggula (§7.2.7). The former follows a consonant whereas the latter follows a vowel.

(2-76) a. ngu=n=junu
REAL=2MIN.SBJ=RR
b. ngu=rna=nyunu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=RR

2.6.4 Vowel assimilation

Vowel assimilation is less common and less systematic in Wanyjirra than in Warlpiri (Nash, 1979, 1986) and Nyangumarta (Sharp, 2004). Nonetheless Wanyjirra has some

examples of both regressive and progressive changes. The former is found in two inflecting verbs garriny- 'be/stay' and garran- 'keep'. The progressive change is found in the general kin suffix -yi (§4.3.8.1).

In the two verb stems, the high-front vowel /i/ of garriny- 'be/stay' and the low vowel /a/ of garran- 'keep' change into /u/ before the future suffix -wu.

Table 2.9: Selected inflected forms of the verbs garriny- 'be' and garran- 'keep'

	garriny- 'be/stay'	garran- 'keep'
PRESENT	garriny-ana	garran-ana
PAST	garri-nya	garran-i
FUTURE	garr**u**-wu	garr**u**-wu
HORTATIVE	garr**u**-wu-rra	garr**u**-wu-rra

It should also be noted that phonetic regressive vowel assimilation is found between stems or suffixes ending with /i/ and the dative suffix -wu. For example, the high-front vowel of the kin suffix in ngala-yi-wu (2-77) is sometimes assimilated to the following -wu and realised as [ʊ], i.e., ['ŋɐlɐjʊː].

(2-77) ngama-yi ngu=la guli marn-i ngala-yi-wu
M-KIN.ABS REAL=3MIN.DAT fight SAY-PAST ♀Ch-KIN-DAT
The mother was angry with the kid. [MS: CSfn030709]

Progressive vowel assimilation occurs in the kin suffix -yi (§4.3.8.1). Some kin terms whose vocative forms end with /u/ trigger this change and the vowel /i/ of the kin suffix is converted to /u/. If they end with /a/ or /i/, the suffix is not affected.

(2-78) a. ngaja-y**i** 'yB/yZ-KIN'
b. mali-y**i** 'DH;WM-KIN'
c. ngabu-y**u** 'F-KIN'
d. barn.gu-y**u** 'cross cousin-KIN'

2.6.5 Epenthesis

Epenthetic syllables, -gu, -nggu and -ba, are used to avoid certain sequences of phonemes. First, -gu occurs between a pronominal clitic with a final nasal consonant (/n, ɲ, ŋ/) and a pronominal clitic or number marker beginning with the lateral /l/

(§7.3.6.2). This may be motivated by the phonotactic rule that a nasal-lateral sequence is not allowed in Wanyjirra (§2.5.5).

(2-79) a. ngu=n-gu=la
REAL=2MIN.SBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT

b. ngu=n=ngayarrang-gu=lu
REAL=2 =1UA.OBJ-LINK=AUG.SBJ

This epenthetic syllable also occurs between kin terms ending with liquids /l, ɾ/ and the dyad suffix -lang (§4.3.8.5), e.g. ngajal-gu-lang 'yB/yZ-DYAD' and lambarr-gu-lang '♂SW-DYAD'. Sequences of liquid consonants are rare in Wanyjirra: geminate liquids (l+l, rr+rr and rl+rl) are only found between stems and ergative, locative and allative suffixes (§2.5.5.2) and another sequence rr+l is found in the reduplicated stem lurr 'turn back' (§2.5.5.3). In other contexts, however, these sequences are avoided.[75]

The second epenthetic suffix, -nggu is found between unit-augmented or augmented object pronominal clitics ending with a vowel and /l/. It can be recognised as in (2-80a). However, in most cases, it is the reduced form -gu because of nasal coda dissimilation (§2.6.1.1) as in (2-80b-c).

(2-80) a. ngu=rna=nyurra-**nggu**=**la**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT

b. ngu=n=nganimba-**gu**=lu
REAL=2=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=AUG.SBJ

c. ngu=nganimba-**gu**=lu
REAL=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ

In Gurindji, -nggu- occurs in the same situations. In McConvell's (2005a) analysis, historically these object pronominal clitics contained the final consonant -ng like other non-minimal object clitics and were followed by the epenthetic suffix -gu if the clitics precede other clitics beginning with /l/, but the final -ng has been reanalysed in the modern language as a separate morpheme -nggu with the following epenthetic suffix.

[75] In Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014), sequences of two liquid consonants are also prohibited.

This can also be attested in Wanyjirra, especially (2-80a) where the object clitic does not contain a nasal-stop cluster. Since =nganimba in (2-80b-c) contains a nasal-stop cluster, the nasal -ng needed to be removed irrespective of whether the reanalysis has occurred or not.

The syllable -ba may also be used as an epenthetic syllable in Wanyjirra. It is inserted between the consonant-final interrogative nyayang 'how many' and any following pronominal clitics to create a vowel-final stem (§5.2.6).

(2-81) nyayang-**ba**=lu yan-i nyununginy-jawu
how.many-EP=3AUG.SBJ go-PAST 2MIN.OBL2-ALL

ngurra-nggawu mangarri-wu ngarn-u-wu
camp-ALL veg.food-DAT ingest-NF-DAT
How many people came to your house to eat tucker? [MS: CSfn140809]

This epenthetic element -ba was previously described as an individual word, i.e., the auxiliary ba (Tsunoda's fieldnotes; Senge, 2008), equivalent to the Jaru auxiliary ba/wa hosting pronominal clitics in interrogative and polar question sentences. ba occurs after consonant-final words whereas wa occurs elsewhere (Tsunoda, 1981: 124-125). In Wanyjirra, these forms are rarely used. Instead of ba/wa, the auxiliary wayi is usually used for questions (§11.1.1.2). The reason why -ba is considered as a bound morpheme is that if TM and MS say (2-81) slowly, there is a break after nyayang-ba=lu but not between nyayang and ba=lu. Secondly, nasal coda dissimilation (§2.6.1.2) applies to sequences including the segment -ba. For instance, *nyayang-ba=nbula (how.many-EP=2UA.SBJ) is not possible because it contains two nasal-stop clusters, instead it appears as nyayang-ba=dbula.

However, this dissimilation process does not occur in (2-82) below. Since the derived interrogative wanyji-rniny contains a nasal-stop cluster and ends with the nasal, there are three nasal-stop clusters created by the attachment of ba and the following pronominal clitic =nda to this interrogative, which violates nasal-coda dissimilation rules. I treat it as an individual auxiliary as in Jaru, only when it occurs with this

interrogative. [76]

(2-82) wanyji-rniny **ba=nda** yan-an-i
which-PERL Q=2AUG.SBJ go-CONT-PAST
TT: Which way did you go? [MS: TTfn010802]

(2-83) wanyji-rniny **ba**=li yan-gu wilinyi \
which-PERL Q=1MIN.INC.SBJ go-FUT hunt
TT: Which way shall we go for walkabout? [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).002]

The epenthetic syllable -ba is also found before the temporal sequence/focus clitic =la (§11.4.5) and 'ONLY' clitic =lu (§11.4.1). Vowel-ending stems are followed by these clitics, but the epenthetic syllable -ba is inserted between consonant-ending stems and the clitics.[77]

(2-84) a. ward-ba=la 'return-EP=SEQ' b. wilinyi=la 'hunt=SEQ'

(2-85) a. waj-ba=lu 'throw-EP=ONLY' b. bina=lu 'know=ONLY'

In Warlpiri, the epenthetic element ba has been incorporated into consonant-final words (Hale, 1973). In Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014), Ngarinyman (McConvell, 1980) and Gurindji (McConvell, 1980, 2005c), it is more productively used to create vowel-final stems for suffixes and clitics. However, in Walmajarri and Mudburra, ba has developed as an independent auxiliary from a bound morpheme after it started occurring anywhere, not just after consonant-final words (McConvell, 1980: 101-102; 1996: 306). In Jaru the auxiliary ba has become an independent word as in Walmajarri and Mudburra but its occurrence is still restricted to following consonant-final stems. In Wanyjirra, innovation of ba is at an intermediate level between Jaru and Bilinarra, Ngarinyman and Gurindji. It appears to be a bound morpheme or an independent auxiliary. In both cases, its occurrence is conditioned by preceding consonants.

[76] In fact, the speaker NP did not put a pause between wanyji-rniny and ba=li in (2-83). I did not check how other speakers pronounce them slowly. However, I conclude that they are separate words based on nasal coda dissimilation rules.

[77] In case of the clitic =la, it can be alternatively analysed as the lenis form of the corresponding fortis form =bala. In Gurindji and Bilinarra, the lenis form of the focus/temporal clitic is =warla as opposed to the fortis form =barla (McConvell, 2005b; Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014). It can also be analysed that the Wanyjirra form =la has been derived from the lenis form *=wala (corresponding to Gurindji and Bilinarra =warla) resulted from deletion of the glide /w/ and subsequently, deletion of /a/.

2.6.6 Cluster-reduction

When the ablative suffix -ŋgulu follows the interrogative nyayang 'how many', one velar-nasal consonant is eliminated, giving nyayangulu. However, this reduction does not occur when the ablative suffix follows other stems ending with ng. In addition, this does not occur in attachment of the elative suffix -nginyi although this suffix also begins with the velar nasal, i.e., jilmung-nginyi 'break-EL'.[78]

2.7 Stress

Stress in Wanyjirra is characterised as increased loudness, and sometimes, length although it is not phonologically contrastive. Primary stress falls on the first syllable of the phonological word. If the word contains more than three syllables, secondary stress generally occurs on the penultimate syllable.

(2-86) a.	ˈngarlu	'bush honey'
b.	ˈbarnnga	'bark (of trees)'
c.	ˈgilagi	'FF'
d.	ˈwarndaˌrdurru	'corroboree sp.'
e.	ˈwayiˌwarrang	'long-neck turtle'

Word-initial stressed syllable /ji/ is often prolonged.

(2-87) a.	yibu	['jiːbʊ]	'rain'
b.	yiburrg	['jiːbʊɾk]	'in vain'
c.	yigarrab	['jiːkəɾɐp]	'itchy'

However, if a polysyllabic word consists of a stem and a disyllabic or longer suffix, or if it involves compounding or reduplication processes, the first syllables of the second morphemes (i.e., suffixes, compounding morphemes or reduplicated morphemes) receive a stress.

[78] There is no example of the stem nyayang taking the elative suffix -nginyi. Therefore, omission of the velar-nasal consonant is only found in the stem nyayang with the ablative suffix.

(2-88) a. ˈngarlu-ˌyarung
honey-PROP
‘with/having honey’

b. ˈgilagi-ˌwunyja
FF-COMIT
‘with/by the grandfather’

c. ˈWanyjirra-ˌjaru-wu
LANGUAGE NAME-language-DAT
‘for/about the Wanyjirra language’

d. ˈwarnang-ˌwarnang
RDP-shake.head
‘shaking the head’

A long vowel /aː/ in non-initial syllables also tends to receive secondary stress even if the word is not polysyllabic as in (2-89).

(2-89) 'baˌlaarn ‘turtle’
'warnˌdaarraj ‘in a line’

In fossilised reduplicates, primary stress is found on the initial syllable of the word and secondary stress may optionally appear on the initial syllable of the second repeated segments.

(2-90) 'garrajˌgarraj ~ 'garrajgarraj ‘curry orange’
'magaˌmaga ~ 'magamaga ‘cranky’

Chapter 3
Descriptive preliminaries

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the division of Wanyjirra lexemes into six word classes (§3.1) and the general approach to Wanyjirra case and case-marking (§3.2). The word classes are defined on the basis of morphological and syntactic properties. Most Wanyjirra words belong to a single class but some homophones are treated as different class members according to these properties. For example, the stem ngurra is analysed as a common noun when it inflects for case, i.e., ngurra-ngga (camp-LOC) 'at the camp' or forms a noun phrase with another nominal, i.e., nganinga ngurra (1MIN.OBL1 camp) 'my camp'. But it can also be analysed as a coverb when it combines with inflecting verbs, e.g. garriny- 'be/stay' forming the complex verb ngurra garriny- 'camp in'. Derivational processes can alter word class membership of a word.

Case suffixes perform important roles in Wanyjirra grammar. They prototypically specify syntactic relations of an argument of the clause which is usually defined as case inflection. They may also relate one NP to another (adnominal-linking and referential-linking) or to another clause (subordinating-linking). They may also derive a stem. In Wanyjirra and many other Australian languages, suffixes which appear in such usage are treated as multi-functional case morphemes because they share allomorphs and their distribution. Some case suffixes occur in double case-marking structures in which two different case suffixes attach to a stem in a sequence showing different morpho-syntactic functions and morphological changes (§3.2.4).

3.1 Word classes

For Wanyjirra, the following six word classes can be determined on the basis of morphological and syntactic properties. Members of some classes are further categorised into sub-classes. Note that interrogatives constitute a functional class which cross-cuts nominal and adverb classes and mainly function as pronouns,

adjectives and adverbs.

(3-1)

i. Nominals (§3.1.1)
   (a) common nouns; (b) proper nouns; (c) adjectives; (d) quantifiers; (e) free pronouns; (f) interrogatives; (g) demonstratives; (h) directionals; (i) locational and temporal nominals; (j) manner nominals
ii. Inflecting verbs (§3.1.2)
iii. Coverbs (§3.1.3)
iv. Adverbs (§3.1.4)
   (a) time adverbs; (b) positional adverbs; (c) iterative adverbs; (d) manner adverbs
v. Particles (§3.1.5)
   (a) auxiliaries; (b) subordinating conjunctions; (c) sentence particles; (d) prepositional particles
vi. Interjections (§3.1.6)

3.1.1 Nominals

Nominals constitute a large open class, whose members are identified on the basis of their case inflection. Unlike inflecting verbs, nominals do not inflect for tense, aspect and mood. A prototypical nominal word consists of a stem and optional derivational and/or derivational case suffixes plus a case suffix. The exception is core free pronouns which are not inflected for core arguments (§5.1.4.1). As specified in (3-1), nominals can be sub-categorised into ten sub-groups.

3.1.1.1 Common nouns

Nouns can be distinguished between common nouns and proper nouns. Common nouns includes: (a) human beings (e.g. mawun ‘man, human beings’); (b) kin terms (e.g. ngumbarna ‘spouse’); (c) subsection terms (e.g. Jangari ‘male subsection’); (d) body parts (e.g. langa ‘ear’); (e) body function terms (e.g. jilngid ‘sweat’); (f) fauna terms (e.g. marrany ‘dingo’); (g) flora terms (e.g. nganyjaali ‘bush tomato’); (h) geographic terms (e.g. bin.ga ‘river’), (i) materials (e.g. wananga ‘bag’); (j) natural phenomena (e.g. wumaj ‘wind’); (k) abstract entities (e.g. gurndurru ‘sky’). Typically,

these members occur as arguments relating to predicates in clauses but they can also function as predicates in verbless clauses (§12.3). For example, the noun mangarri 'vegetable food' occurs as the head of the dative NP (3-2) and of the predicate in the clause (3-3).

(3-2) nga=li=la nyang-ana **mangarri-wu** yura-wu
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ=3MIN.DAT perceive-PRES veg.food-DAT good-DAT
We two look for good food. [TM: CSfn010710]

(3-3) nyawa ngu=nggu **mangarri**
PROX1 REAL=2MIN.OBJ veg.food
TT: This is your food.
CS#: ALT: This is food for you. [MS: TTfn160700]

3.1.1.2 Proper nouns

Proper nouns include the names of people and places, and the specific names of corroborees, trees, hills, swamps etc. Like common nouns, proper nouns can take case inflection. However, proper nouns differ from common nouns in that they do not co-occur with adjectives (§3.1.1.3) and quantifiers (§3.1.1.4) within noun phrases. In addition, proper nouns, especially place names optionally occur without locative or allative case suffixes. For example, the allative suffix is missing on Limbunya in (3-60) below.

3.1.1.3 Adjectives

As in many Australian languages (Dixon, 1980), there is little formal and morphological distinction between nouns and adjectives. Like common and proper nouns, adjectives are inflected for case. Adjectives describe attributes of objects and entities whereas nouns typically denote objects and entities themselves. Thus adjectives more commonly function as modifiers of their head nouns although both nouns and adjectives can occur as heads of NPs and as predicates in verbless clauses. For example, yura 'good' modifies its head noun '(the) good X' in an argument (3-4) and in a predicate (3-5). It also occurs as a head of the NP 'the good (one/man)' (3-6) and 'X is good' (3-7).

(3-4) nga=li=la nyang-ana **yura-wu** mangarri-wu
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ=3MIN.DAT perceive-PRES good-DAT veg.food-DAT
We two look for good food. [TM: CSfn010710]

(3-5) nyila yamaji,... munda **yura**
DIST1 small.ABS stomach.ABS good
TM: *i gud binji.*
CS#: That child is happy.
CS: LIT: The kid [has] good stomach. [TM: CSfn060710]

(3-6) ngana nyila **yura** \... mawundi-yaru \
who.ABS DIST1 good white.ochre-PROP
TT: Who [is] that good-looking [man] with white paint on?
[NP: 76_14_1NP.067]

(3-7) guri ngu **yura**
fat.ABS REAL good
[The] fat [of meat] is good. [MS: CSfn270509]

Adjectives differ from nouns in that it can also occur as a predicate of copula sentences with the copula verb garriny- especially when the clause needs the temporal setting of a state or property of the subject referent (§12.4). Nouns do not have such function. In (3-8), the predicate with the copula verb expresses the state of the specific 'meat' in the past whereas without the copula verb, it describes the inherent or general attribute without a specific temporal domain as in (3-7) above.

(3-8) ngarin ngu **yura** **garri-nya** guya=rna ngarn-i
meat.ABS REAL good be-PAST SUB=1MIN.SBJ ingest-PAST
The meat which I ate was good. [MS: CSfn140809]

Adjectives also show morphological processes which are not shared with nouns. First, adjectives can take the translative suffix deriving coverbs (§9.2.3.2). This denotes change of state 'become X' or 'make Y X' and forms complex verbs with inflecting verbs (§10.3.5).

(3-9) gangirriny-ju ngu=yi **yura-g** man-ana
sun-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ good-TRNSL GET-PRES
CS#: The sun makes me better. [TM: CSfn180610]

Second, adjectives can be derived from coverbs by attachment of the adjectiviser suffix -bari/wari, although this suffix is uncommon in Wanyjirra (§4.3.6). In (3-10), a

derived adjective is used as a predicate of the verbless clause.

(3-10)

1. **jilmung-bari**,
   break-ADJ
   [It's] broken.

2. wagurra bib man-da
   NEG catch GET-IMP
   Don't pick it up. [MS: CSfn130709]

3.1.1.4 Quantifiers

Quantifiers form another nominal sub-class. Traditionally, Wanyjirra has numeral concepts: yangi 'one', gujarra 'two', murrgun 'three' and nguyurdu 'many'. However, TM has recently established ten-counting numeral words by adding seven new words (mundu 'four', marumbu 'five, hand/finger', janga 'six', wilgi 'seven', ngalaga 'eight', gundaj 'nine' and jilan 'ten'), which are documented in the Wanyjirra wordbook (Scott et al., 2008: 33). However, these words are rarely found in my corpus. Syntactically, quantifiers are similar to adjectives in that they modify head nouns and sometimes occur as heads of the NPs. However, unlike adjectives, quantifiers do not function as predicates and they can take the iterative suffix to derive iterative adverbs, i.e., yangi-wurd 'once' (§11.3.5.3).

3.1.1.5 Free pronouns

Free pronouns (§5.1) form a closed class and have three forms (core, oblique 1 and oblique 2) which distinguish three person categories (first, second and third) and three number categories (minimal, unit-augmented and augmented). First person pronouns also make a distinction between exclusive and inclusive. No gender distinction is found in third person categories. The Wanyjirra pronouns are described on the basis of a minimal-augmented system (Cysouw, 2003; McKay, 1978). There are three inclusive forms in the first person category: one referring to two people (a speaker and an addressee); a second referring to three people (a speaker, an addressee and one other); a third indicating four or more people (a speaker, an addressee and others). This system is also found in Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013), Malngin (Ise, 1999) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014) but not in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981).

Free pronouns differ from nouns, adjectives and quantifiers in their case marking patterns. While nouns, adjectives and quantifiers have an absolutive-ergative syncretism, free pronouns have a single core form without overt case-makers for the three core grammatical functions A (transitive subject), S (intransitive subject) and O (transitive object) (§5.1.4). Oblique 1 forms correspond to dative-marked nouns and express a range of meanings including a possessor, beneficiary and recipient. Oblique 2 forms mainly encode a source and possessor and are used as morphological hosts for further case inflections.

Free pronouns also differ from pronominal clitics in many ways. First, they are independent words whereas pronominal clitics are always bound with their 'host' elements and maximally cross-reference three arguments of the clause.[79] Secondly, free pronouns only refer to animate referents whereas pronominal clitics can also be used for inanimate referents. Thirdly, single core forms of free pronouns mark A, S and O whereas in pronominal clitics, a set of subject forms are used for A and S, object forms for direct objects and dative arguments (§7.2.1; §7.2.2).[80] Finally, pronominal clitics have a set of reflexive/reciprocal forms whereas free pronouns don't.

The following examples contain three distinct pronominal forms: (i) a core free pronoun occurring as a subject argument of the clause (3-11); (ii) oblique 1 forms as possessive modifiers in a dative NP (3-12) and in an absolutive NP (3-13); (iii) oblique 2 forms as a possessive modifier within a locative NP (3-14), and as a morphological host for the locative suffix expressing physical proximity or accompaniment (3-13).

(3-11) **nyandu** ngarn-ana ngarin
3MIN ingest-PRES meat.ABS
He is eating the meat. [MS: CSfn250609]

[79] However, a very few examples show three arguments as cross-referenced (§7.3.8).
[80] The exception is the third person minimal category where subject and transitive object are not overtly marked whereas dative arguments and other arguments in the locative, elative and allative case can be cross-referenced with the dative clitic and the oblique clitic respectively (§7.2.3; §7.2.4).

(3-12) ngu=la marn-i **nyanungu-wu** ngama-yi-wu
REAL=3MIN.DAT say-PAST 3MIN.OBL1-DAT M-KIN-DAT
CS#: He talked to his mother. [TM: CSfn070710]

(3-13) **nganinga** warlagu ngu=lanyanda lulu garriny-ana **nyanunginy-ja**
1MIN.OBL1 dog.ABS REAL=3MIN.OBL sit STAY-PRES 3MIN.OBL2-LOC
My dog is sitting by/with him. [TM: CSfn140610]

(3-14) nyila ngaringga magin garriny-an-i **nyanunginy-ja** ngurra-ngga
DIST1 woman.ABS sleep STAY-CONT-PAST 3MIN.OBL2-LOC camp-LOC
The woman was sleeping at her house. [TM: CSfn110810]

3.1.1.6 Interrogatives

Interrogatives exhibit ignorance or lack of knowledge of the speaker as a marker, in situations of interrogative questions and indefiniteness (Wierzbicka, 1980). This means that single stems are used for interrogative senses (e.g. 'who' and 'where') and indefinite senses (e.g. 'someone/anyone' and 'where/anywhere'). The Wanyjirra interrogatives are categorised by seven basic semantic domains: ngana 'who/someone' in the category PERSON; nyamba 'what/something' in THING; wanyji 'which/something' in IDENTITY; nyayang(u) 'how many/some' in QUANTITY; wanyjirra 'where/somewhere' in PLACE; nyangula 'when/sometime' in TIME; nyararra 'how/ somehow' in MANNER.

The class of interrogatives is functionally and semantically identified and cross-cuts word classes defined by syntactic and morphological properties (cf. Evans, 2000: 719-720). All interrogative members except nyararra 'how/somehow' fall into the nominal class because they can take case suffixes. They may further cross-cut nominal subcategories: pronouns (ngana 'who/someone'; nyamba 'what/something') adjectives (wanyji 'which/something'); quantifiers (nyayang(u) 'how many'); locationals (wanyjirra 'where/somewhere'); and temporals (nyangula 'when/sometime'). The stem nyararra is an interrogative member of the adverb class (§3.1.4) because it never inflects for cases and modifies predicates.

Interrogatives are polysemous between indefinite and interrogative meanings, as is cross-linguistically common (Haspelmath, 1997). However, there are distributional and morphological differences between two interpretations. When they are used in

interrogative questions, interrogatives only occur sentence-initially, and host pronominal clitics or directly precede a pronominal clitic complex with an auxiliary. When interrogatives are used as indefinites, on the other hand, they can occur anywhere in a clause but never directly host pronominal clitics. The following examples demonstrate nyamba functioning as an interrogative pronoun 'what' (3-15) and as an indefinite pronoun 'something' (3-16).

(3-15) **nyamba**=dbula ngarn-ana \
what.ABS=2UA.SBJ ingest-PRES
"What are you eating?" [TM: 11_1014_4.033]

(3-16) yung-ga=yi **nyamba**
give-IMP=1MIN.OBJ something.ABS
Give me something. [MS: CSfn140809]

3.1.1.7 Demonstratives

Demonstratives contain six basic sets of stems: nyawa and murla 'this/here'; nyila and yala 'that/there'; guya 'thus'; jangu 'that, you know' (§6.1). The first two sets of stems are contrastive on the basis of a two-way spatial distinction, i.e., proximal and distal. They are also used for anaphoric and/or cataphoric reference to an entity or a discourse unit (§6.1.4). The proximal stem nyawa and the distal stem nyila never inflect for case and are typically used for absolutive (unmarked) NPs. However, they are also used to specify ergative NPs without the ergative suffix. On the other hand, the stems murla and yala decline for case. They have a further formal difference in the final vowels of stems. The forms murla and yala are used to refer to a place or an entity as a spatial point and inflect for spatial cases. Therefore, these forms function as adverbial demonstratives 'here/there' as well as adnominal demonstratives. The unmarked forms murla 'here' and yala 'there' have no clear semantic differences from the locative forms murla-ngga and yala-ngga. On the other hand, murlu and yalu refer to an entity in the ergative, dative and originative NPs with no locational meaning. Therefore, these forms function as pronominal and adnominal demonstratives. Examples demonstrate that two dative proximal 2 stems murla-wu and murlu-wu are used for the

spatial meaning (3-17a) and for referential function (3-17b) respectively.[81]

(3-17) a. *ooi* yan-da=yila **murla-wu**
oi go-IMP=1MIN.OBL PROX2-DAT
CS#: Oy, come to me, here. [TM: CSfn290910]

b. ngana=la yiri **murlu-wu** wanyja-wu
who.ABS=3MIN.DAT name.ABS PROX2-DAT woman-DAT
What's the name of this woman? [MS: CSfn250509]

The adverbial demonstrative guya modifies an action or an event 'thus' (§6.1.3.3; §6.1.4.1). It is also used as a discourse deictic linking two discourse units anaphorically and cataphorically (§6.1.4.3). The adverbial demonstrative does not take case suffixes except in a few special occasions (§6.1.1.2; §6.1.3.3).

Wanyjirra also has the recognitional demonstrative jangu 'that, you know' indicating an object/entity which is considered as shared knowledge between the speaker and the addressee(s) (§6.1.3.5). This is used adnominally and pronominally.

The special perlative suffix -rniny (§6.1.2.1) can follow proximal and distal stems and the adverbial stem guya. The indefinite suffix -rndil (§6.1.2.2) also occur with proximal and distal stems. Demonstratives make no distinction for number.

3.1.1.8 Directionals

Directionals are a small closed subclass of nominals (§6.2). They express spatial relations between two objects based on two-dimensional absolute directions. They contain compass directionals: gayi- 'north', gurla- 'south', gaa- 'east' and garla- 'west', and vertical directionals: gan.gu- 'up', gan.ga- 'up country', ganyju- 'down' and gani- 'down country'.

Directionals are distinguished from other nominal subclasses by the fact that they take special directional case suffixes which express whether an object is static or in motion,

[81] The difference between murla/yala and murlu/yalu is attributed to vowel harmony in Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013: 36) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 170). It differs from Wanyjirra and Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 62) where murla/yala is used for the spatial meaning 'here/there' and murlu/yalu for 'this/that'.

and direction of motion with respect to deictic centre or certain topographical or geographical features. Some directional words can also take normal case suffixes following these directional case suffixes.

(3-18) **garla-niyin** ngu=rnalu yan-i **gaa-rra**
west-D.ABL REAL=1AUG.SBJ go-PAST east-DIRECT
MS: From the west, we went east. [DJ: 99_41.070]

(3-19) nyundu julngurra garriny-ana **gayi-ni-mba-wu**
2MIN face.away STAY-PRES north-D.LOC1-D.LOC2-DAT
CS#: You are facing away to the northern side. [TM: CSfn231110]

Directionals function as local adjuncts as above. They are also used as spatial modifiers providing further information to another local adjunct and, although it is not so common, as spatial determiners which restrict the reference of their heads.

3.1.1.9 Locational and temporal nominals

Locational and temporal nominals function as adjuncts (§6.3.1; §6.3.2). They include: (i) locational expressions (gambarri 'front', dumal 'middle, half way', ngumayi 'behind', gida 'open space') and (ii) temporal expressions (ngulungulu 'afternoon', gabud 'morning', gabuda 'night', jirlan 'midday'). They do not take a full range of case suffixes and only optionally take spatial case suffixes and the dative suffix with goal meaning. The stems gambarri and ngumayi also have temporal meanings 'first, ahead' and 'later' respectively (§6.3.1).

(3-20) nyila **dumal-nginyi**,.. nyununga ngu=nggu jawaranya
DIST1 middle-EL.ABS 2MIN.OBL1 REAL=2MIN.OBJ cup.ABS
CS#: That [one] from the middle, [it's] a cup of yours. [TM: CSfn300710]

(3-21)

1.	ngu=rnalu	garri-nya,...(1.3)	gujarra-wurd	dirrib,...
	REAL=1AUG.SBJ	stay-PAST	two-TIMES	camp.out
2.	**dumal-la=ma** \...	guya=rnalu	ward *na*	yan-i \...(0.9)
	middle-LOC=TOP	SUB=1AUG.SBJ	return NOW	go-PAST

3. Binanyi-lawu \
PLACE NAME-ALL
CS#: We camped two times on the way we went back to Inverway.
[TM: 10_0826_5.034]

3.1.1.10 Manner nominals

Manner nominals (§6.3.3) are a small closed subclass which generally modifies events expressing manner of events. Morpho-syntactically, they are similar to depictive secondary predications describing a quality of a participant at the time of the event denoted by the main predicate (§12.6.1). Manner nominals can be case-marked agreeing with their controllers which are always subject arguments. However, case-marking on manner nominals is optional whereas case-marking on depictive secondary predications is obligatory. Manner nominals include: wuna 'quickly', yamag 'slowly', gawayin 'properly', julu 'jointly, together, too'[82] and lingi 'repeatedly, persistently'. Manner nominals also differ from adverbs in the respect that the former can take the ergative suffix.

(3-22) yambagina,[83] nga-nyja ngarin **yamag-gulu**
child.VOC ingest-IMP meat.ABS slowly-ERG
CS#: Kid, eat the meat slowly.

wagurra=n **wuna-nggu** nga-lu
NEG=2MIN.SBJ quickly-ERG ingest-FUT
Don't eat quickly. [TM: CSfn130710]

3.1.2 Inflecting verbs

Inflecting verbs form a closed class. The current corpus has thirty-eight distinct stems inflecting for TAM. Stems can be categorised by eight conjugation subclasses (§9.1.4). They make distinctions in tense (past, present and future), mood (imperative and hortative) and aspect (continuative and non-continuative). Future, imperative and hortative forms can be followed by pronominal clitics.

All inflecting verbs can be used independently as simple verbs as in Line 1 and Line 3 of (3-23). Among the whole set of inflecting verbs, twenty-two also combine with

[82] The stem julu is also used for the meaning 'navel, umbilical cord'.
[83] This noun functions as a vocative. Therefore, it is not marked with the ergative suffix.

coverbs to form complex verbs as in garran-an-i with julu-juluj in Line 3 of (3-23). These inflecting verbs generally provide more basic or less specific meanings of the events expressed by the whole predicates than other verbs which never occur in complex verbs (§10.2).

(3-23)

1. ngu=ngandiba-gu=lu **marn-an-i**,
   REAL=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ say-CONT-PAST
   TM: They *bin talk la wi*.
   CS@: They said to us.

2. marri *na* \
   off NOW
   "[We] are off now."

3. ngu=rnalu **yan-i**,.. **julu-juluj** **garran-an-i**
   REAL=1AUG.SBJ go-PAST RDP-under.arm KEEP-CONT-PAST

   nyawa gurla-nirra \
   PROX1 south-D.ALL
   CS#: We walked to the south and kept these [swags] under the arms.
   [TM: 10_0826_5.028-030]

Inflecting verbs also have non-finite forms which form bases for markers of non-finite subordinate clauses and derivational and derivational case suffixes to produce nominal words. They also occur as predicates in main clauses in a stretch of discourse dependent on neighboring sentences for tense-information (§10.5.2).

3.1.3 Coverbs

Coverbs form a large open class. They typically combine with inflecting verbs to create complex verbs. The term 'coverb' is used here rather than the term 'preverb' which was used in Senge (2008) because they can precede and follow inflecting verbs within complex verbs and even occur independently in specific occasions (§10.5.1).

Where they occur in complex verbs, coverbs provide specific meanings of the whole predicates as oppose to inflecting verbs bringing abstract or basic meanings with TAM information, or modify how the action or event encoded by inflecting verbs is carried out. These semantic relationships between coverbs and inflecting verbs vary in different types of coverbs and complex verbs. They are divided into three types: (a)

strong nexus coverbs/complex verbs; (b) weak nexus coverbs/complex verbs; (c) adverbial coverbs/complex verbs, based on semantic features and a number of grammatical parameters (§10.3). However, all coverbs and complex verbs are not clearly separated into these categories but rather gradable.

The following examples contain the strong nexus complex verb guny bung- 'wait for' (3-24), the weak nexus complex verbs wilinyi gang-'take someone to go hunting' and wilinyi yan- 'go hunting, go on walkabout' (3-25a-b) and the adverbial complex verbs burruly bung- 'fail to hit' and burruly lang- 'fail to spear' (3-26a-b). The same coverbs wilinyi and burruly combine with different inflecting verbs respectively in (3-25a-b) and (3-26a-b). Different combinations may induce change of valency (3-25a-b). The inflecting verb bung- 'hit' has little contribution to the lexical meaning of the strong nexus complex verb (3-24) whereas the same verb retains its meaning 'hit' modified by the coverb burruly 'fail' in the adverbial complex verb (3-26a).

(3-24) ngu=rnalu=yanu **guny** **bu-nya** yalu-wu
REAL=1AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ wait HIT-PAST DIST2-DAT

ngaringga-wu yunbarn-u-waji-wu
woman-DAT sing-NF-AGENT-DAT
We waited for those women, singers. [MS: CSfn181011]

(3-25)

a. guya ngu=nganimba-gu=lu **gang-an-i** **wilinyi**
thus REAL=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ CARRY-CONT-PAST hunt
CS#: Like this they took us to go hunting. [TM: CSfn030810]

b. **wilinyi** ngu=lu **yan-i** nguyuru /
hunt REAL=3AUG.SBJ go-PAST many.ABS

ngarlu-ngga *goanna*-la jarrambayi-la
honey-LOC goanna-LOC goanna-LOC
TT: They, many [people], went on walkabout for honey and a goanna.
NOTE: The purposive goal is usually encoded by the dative suffix (i.e., ngarlu-wu). So more precisely this example ngarlu-ngga jarrambayi-la could be translated differently, for example 'in the places where bush honey and goannas are'. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.195]

(3-26)

a. ngu=rna **burruly** **bu-nya**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ fail HIT-PAST
I failed to hit it (i.e., a goanna). [MS: CSfn140909]

b. yalu-nggu mawun-du ngu **lan-i** jiya **burruly**
DIST2-ERG man-ERG REAL STAB-PAST kangaroo.ABS fail
That man failed to spear the kangaroo. [MS: CSfn130909]

The coverb class is distinguished from other word classes in a number of ways. Coverbs are phonotactically unique, insofar as some members have word-final complex codas and others are closed monosyllabic (§2.5.2; §9.2.2). Unlike inflecting verbs, coverbs are not inflected for TAM, although they have reduplication and the repetitive suffix to describe continuation or repetition of an action or event (§9.2.3.1; §9.2.3.3). They are also distinguished from nominals. Coverbs without derivation never occur as constituents of NPs in main clauses. Although coverbs share case and derivational morphology with nominals to some extent, they can only be marked with ergative, dative, locative, elative, allative and purposive suffixes functioning as subordinators for non-finite subordinate clauses (§3.2.3.4; §13.2). The locative suffix in (3-27) is used as a temporal-subordinating suffix showing that two events expressed in main and subordinate clauses occur simultaneously. This example also shows that the coverb is used independently in a non-finite subordinate clause.

(3-27) ngu=rna=nggu marn-ana **magin-da**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ say-PRES sleep-LOC
TM: *mi* talk *la yu wea* I'm sleeping.
CS%: I am talking to you while I am lying down. [TM: CSfn201011]

Many Kriol verbs also function as coverbs and integrated into Wanyjirra grammar with coverbal morphology (§10.3.6).

3.1.4 Adverbs

Adverbs form a small closed class (§11.3). Its members optionally modify predicates or clauses. They are sub-categorised into (i) time adverbs; (ii) positional adverbs; (iii) iterative adverbs; (iv) manner adverbs. A list of each adverb subclass member is given below. Example sentences will be given in §11.3.

[1] Time adverbs

(3-28) a. galu ‘still, not yet, wait’
b. jalarni ‘now, today’
c. jalangurra ‘long time ago’
d. jimurrawu ‘long time’
e. yaburrug ‘till the sunset, all day’
f. yunguyung ‘yesterday’
g. gambarri ‘first, ahead, front’

[2] Positional adverbs

(3-29) yalaba ‘nearby, close’

[3] Iterative adverbs

(3-30) a. jumbaga ‘constantly, all the time’
b. maya/mayalu ‘more’

[4] Manner adverbs

(3-31) a. yiburrg ‘in vain, unsuccessfully’
b. majga ‘try’

Adverbs can be characterised as morphologically-simple words, although a few members can be followed by certain derivational suffixes (§11.3.5). However, unlike nominals, adverbs never take case suffixes. They are also distinguished from coverbs in two ways. First they do not take the coverbal repetitive suffix. Second, they can occur with any inflecting verbs or complex verbs where semantically compatible. In addition, they also differ from particles which have positional restrictions (see below). Adverbs have no such restrictions.

3.1.5 Particles

A minor class of particles can be divided into four subtypes: (i) auxiliaries; (ii) subordinating conjunctions (subordinators); (iii) sentence particles; (iv) one prepositional particle (§11.1). They have scope over the whole clause and have positional restrictions. Particles are not inflected at all. Auxiliaries, subordinating conjunctions and some sentence particles are able to be followed by pronominal clitics.

3.1.5.1 Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries obligatorily host pronominal clitics when they occur in clauses. They can

stand alone with no overt pronominal clitics if subject and direct object arguments are third person minimal. They usually occur clause-initially or after the first constituent of clauses (§7.4). Auxiliaries have five types: ngu/nga 'REALis' (§11.1.1.1), wayi 'IREALis' (§11.1.1.2), ba/wa 'Question' (§11.1.1.3), ngarra 'ADMonitive' (§11.1.1.4), nyangga 'UNCERTAIN' (§11.1.1.5), gayi 'BELIEVE true' (§11.1.1.6) and guya/guwa 'THUS' (§11.1.1.7). These auxiliaries, except guya/guwa, are used to encode different moods together with certain verb forms. The forms guya/guwa as an auxiliary have no clear meaning but, like other auxiliaries, host pronominal clitics in simple sentences. It rather links an event expressed in the sentence to other events expressed by surrounding sentences in a sequence of discourse (§13.4.3). The form guya is also used as an adverbial demonstrative as previously described, but not its variant form guwa. The auxiliary ba/wa is rarely used in the corpus and instead wayi is also used for a question marker.

3.1.5.2 Subordinating conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions: guya/guwa 'SUBordinator' (§13.1.1), nyangga 'CONDitional' (§13.1.2) and ngarra 'ADMonitive' (§13.1.3) mark finite subordinate clauses. These forms are also used in simple sentences as auxiliaries. As a subordinator, the first form guya/guwa is used to mark a range of subordinate clauses including relative clauses modifying a NP of main clauses, and adverbial clauses modifying the whole main clauses showing temporal or other logical relations between two clauses. The last two forms mark specific types of subordinate clauses: nyangga for conditional or hypothetical clauses 'when, if' and ngarra for apprehension or admonition 'lest, in case'.

3.1.5.3 Sentence particles

Sentence particles (gula 'NEGative' (§11.1.3.1); wagurra 'NEGative' (§11.1.3.2); walima 'Question' (§11.1.3.3); gulangarra 'wrongly thought' (§11.1.3.4); *marri* 'MAYBE' (§11.1.3.5), and English-loans *maitbi/matbi* 'maybe' (§11.1.3.6) and *nomo* 'not' (§11.1.3.7)) are morpho-syntactically similar to auxiliaries in that they modify mood, modality and/or polarity in clauses and they can be attached with pronominal clitics except for English-borrowed particles. However, sentence particles should be

distinguished from auxiliaries. They can co-occur with the realis auxiliary ngu/nga. In this case, the auxiliary always hosts pronominal clitics and follows sentence particles. In addition, sentence particles are more restricted in their occurrence. They only occur in clause-initial position and, in only a few occasions, in second position.

3.1.5.4 Prepositional particle mayi

Wanyjirra also has one prepositional particle mayi 'like, similar' (§11.1.4).[84] It is used to express resemblance of the subject referent to the referent of another NP following the particle. Since mayi always precedes the modified NP directly, they are considered as forming a prepositional phrase constituent. Prepositional phrases can occur sentence-initially or finally. NPs show concord by taking the same case suffixes as subject NPs to which it is related, i.e., ergative-marked in (3-32) and absolutive-marked (zero-marked) in (3-33).

(3-32) yamayama-lu ngu=lu mangarri ngarn-ana **mayi** **walagu-lu**
children-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ veg.food.ABS ingest-PRES like dog-ERG
Those children are eating food like a dog [does]. [MS: CSfn241110]

(3-33) ngu mingib yan-ana **mayi** **jawulwara**
REAL crawl GO-PRES like snake.ABS
He is crawling like a snake [is]. [MS: CSfn181110]

Lack of prepositions is one of the general properties among the Australian languages (Blake, 1987: 9; Dixon, 1980: 272; McGregor, 2004: 106). However, a small number of Australian languages especially around Darwin are reported as languages having prepositions (Blake, 1987: 9). For instance, Bininj Gun-Wok is one of those languages (Evans, 2003a). Since languages geographically or linguistically closed to Wanyjirra do not have prepositions, it is surprising that Wanyjirra has the word like mayi. In Ngumpin-Yapa languages, the semblative suffix -marraj (Wanyjirra, Jaru, Gurindji, Malngin and Bilinarra), -jiliny (Walmajarri) and -piya (Warlpiri) attach to nominals and encode for the similar meaning. However, the particle mayi is also found in Ngardi (Honeyman, 2005: 68) and Warlpiri (Nash, 1986: 186-187) although it is different semantically and morpho-syntactically from the Wanyjirra particle. For instance, the Warlpiri mayi expresses a presumption 'presumably X' or 'must be X' rather than

[84] Tsunoda transcribed this word as mayiyi (Tsunoda fieldnotes 1995, No.2, p.42).

analogy of X to Y and usually occurs in second position of the clause with attachment of pronominal clitics (Nash, ibid; p.c.) . A further discussion will be provided in §11.1.4.

3.1.6 Interjections

Interjections occur independently in a single intonation unit and can constitute complete sentences by themselves. Although they do not take any inflection, derivation and pronominal clitics, interjections are often uttered with unique phonological features, e.g. a very high intonation, final glottal stops, breathy vowels and lengthened final vowels. Some interjections also function as different word class members. For instance, wagurra is also used as a sentence particle which can take pronominal clitics (§11.1.3.2). A list of interjections is given with their semantic functions below. Many examples presented here are not exclusive to Wanyjirra speakers and broadly used by other language speakers who live in Halls Creek and neighbouring communities. Example sentences will be given in §11.2.

(a) Agreement

(3-34) a. yuwayi/yuwuwayi 'yes'
b. yuwu 'yes'
c. yiyi 'yes'
d. ngaa 'yes, yeah'
e. dardulu 'true!'
f. marndaj 'OK', 'alright', 'that's all'
g. wali 'OK', 'alright','that's all'[85]

(b) Disagreement, refusal and negation

(3-35) a. minyarn 'no', 'nothing' (It's also used as a nominal predicate (§12.3.6))
b. wagurra 'no' (It's also used as a sentence particle (§11.1.3.2))
c. wagu 'no'

(c) Surprise

(3-36) a. ngandu 'oh, yeah?', 'really?' 'indeed!'
(It's also used as an interrogative stem 'who' (§5.2.2))

(d) Hesitation

[85] According to TM and MS, wali is Jaru and marndaj is Wanyjirra. However, they use the first form as frequently as they use the latter form. The use of wali can be an influence from Jaru (cf. Tsunoda, 1981: 212).

(3-37) a. wal ‘well’ (Kriol-based)

(e) Warnings and seeking for attention

(3-38) a. yurru (with high-rising intonation) ‘look out!’
b. ngayi/ngiyi ‘hey’, ‘see?’, ‘isn’t it? (tag questions)’
c. bawu ‘yoo-hoo’, ‘hey’ (calling out from distance)

(f) Compassion

(3-39) a. an.gaj ‘poor thing’

(g) Encouragement

(3-40) a. wuna ‘go on’, ‘come on’
(It’s also used as a manner nominal (§3.1.1.10))

(h) Reaction to behaviours and jokes inappropriate in the company of people

(3-41) a. warriwarri
b. yigilany
} ‘excuse me’, ‘sorry for X’

(i) Discomfort, dismay of suffering from pain

(3-42) a. wardayi ‘hey’, ‘oh dear’ (calling out for help or suffering from pain or physical tiredness)’

3.2 General approach to case and case-marking

Case suffixes prototypically specify the syntactic and semantic relations of a NP to a predicate within a clause (in relational use). However, case suffixes may also relate an NP to another NP within a higher NP (in adnominal use) or relate an NP to a separate NP functioning as a core argument by showing concord (in referential use) and may relate a clause to another clause within a complex sentence (in subordinating use). They may also derive a new lexical item (in derivational use). They are all analysed as functions of case morphemes rather than as those of distinct homophonic morphemes because they share the same allomorphs and some functions show semantic connections to the prototypical relational function of case morphemes. Some case suffixes can occur in double case marking in which two different suffixes attach to a stem in a sequence showing different morpho-syntactic functions. However, the possible combinations of suffixes may be limited by morphological constraints (§3.2.4.2).

The analysis on the multi-level case marking and multi-functions of case suffixes is attested in many Australian languages (Dench & Evans, 1988) but not in languages of other areas. This section will outline general approach to Wanyjirra cases and case-marking following Dench and Evans (1988) for describing a range of functions of case suffixes, combinations of suffixes in double case marking and its morphological rules.

3.2.1 A brief definition of functions

In order to describe Wanyjirra case suffixes, I use the functional categories which Dench and Evans (1988) presented in their survey of Australian languages. These functions should be distinguished from 'roles' which show grammatical relations or semantic roles and which are described in §4.4.2. Wanyjirra case suffix forms have one or more of the following functions.

1. *Relational*: a suffix which represents syntactic or semantic roles of a noun phrase in clauses.
2. *Adnominal*: a suffix which relates a noun phrase to another within the one noun phrase.
3. *Referential*: a suffix which attaches to a noun phrase in agreement with another noun phrase which represents one of the core arguments in the clause.
4. *Subordinating*[86]: a suffix which attaches to elements of a subordinate clause. Its functions are: (i) specifying temporal or logical (typically, causal and purposive) relationships between two clauses (Temporal-subordinator); (ii) indicating co-referential relationships between arguments in the two clauses (Concord-subordinator).
5. *Derivational*: a suffix which attaches to a bare stem before other case suffixses and create a new lexical item.

Case suffixes with the first three functions apply to an NP constituent which consists of at least a single nominal word. On the other hand, derivational suffixes apply to a word but not a NP (§4.3). Suffixes functioning as subordinators attach to the predicates and NPs within the dependent clauses.

[86] These terms for case functions except 'subordinating' are adopted from Dench & Evans (1988). The term 'subordinating' is used here instead of 'complementising' (Dench & Evans, 1988) because almost all subordinate clauses marked with case suffixes are optional adjuncts but not obrigaotry complements.

Ten of the Wanyjirra nominal suffixes (Ergative, Dative, Locative, Allative, Purposive, Ablative, Elative, Comitative, Originative and Absolutive) can be grouped in a class of inflectional case suffixes which primarily have a relational function. Table 3.1 illustrates functional categories of each suffix. Absolutive case which is morphologically not overtly represented is not included here. However, this table contains two 'derivational case' suffixes (Proprietive and Privative) which also show relational function like case suffixes, and adnominal function (§4.5).[87]

Table 3.1: Functions of major Wanyjirra nominal suffixes

	Derivational	Adnominal	Relational	Referential	Subordinator	
					C-SUB*	T-SUB*
Ergative			+	+	+	
Dative		+	+		+	+
Locative			+	+		+
Allative			+			+
Purposive			+			+
Ablative			+			
Elative	+	+	+	+		+
Comitative			+			
Originative		+	+			
Proprietive	+	+	+			
Privative	+	+	+			

*C-SUB and T-SUB represent C-subordinator and T-subordinator respectively.

3.2.2 Case marking conventions

Distribution of case suffixes to words is governed by specific marking conventions which operate at different syntactic levels (at a noun phrase level and at a clause level). Within a noun phrase, case marking generally applies on all sub-constituents. (3-43)

[87] The term 'derivational case' suffixes adopted from Nash (1986: 16) and Simpson (1991: 57-60) for analyses on Warlpiri nominal suffixes. Properties of derivational case suffixes partially overlap with those of case inflectional suffixes and derivational suffixes. This is therefore an intermediary category between case inflectional suffixes and derivational suffixes. In this chapter, I focus on properties of case suffixes. However, since derivational case suffixes also show functions and morphological conventions identical to case suffixes, I also refer to examples of derivational case suffixes, especially the major members: Proprietive and Privative. A further analysis on derivational case suffixes will be given in §4.5.

shows that the ergative suffix is applied on all words of the subject NP 'those two men'. The bracket indicates the NP constituent.

(3-43) [**yalu-nggu** **mawun-du** **gujarra-lu**] ngu=wula yunbarn-ana
DIST2-ERG man-ERG two-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ sing-PRES

junba
corroboree.ABS
CS#: Those two men are singing corroboree. [TM: CSfn110609]

This 'word-marking' (Blake, 1987, 2001) or 'complete concord' (Dench & Evans, 1988: 4) system is commonly found in Ngumpin-Yapa languages. Warlpiri also has an alternative final-marking system where only the final word of the NP needs to be marked with case suffixes (Hale, 1982, 1983).[88] In Wanyjirra, all sub-constituents of the single NP constituent usually occur consecutively within the clause (§8.1).

On the other hand, another set of proximal and distal demonstratives murla/murlu and yala/yalu are inflected for case. The forms murlu and yalu which are stems for ergative dative and originative case suffixes (§6.1.1.1). The example where yalu and another sub-constituent are marked with the ergative suffix is presented in (3-44). However, these demonstratives murlu and yalu can also occur without an overt ergative suffix within ergative NPs. This is only the case when their head nominals with ergative marking directly follow them as in (3-45). Therefore, it is a type of final-marking pattern.[89]

(3-44) [**yalu-nggu** **gujarra-lu**] ngu=wula=nyunu nyang-ana girnig
DIST2-ERG two-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ=RR PERCEIVE-PRES stare
CS#: Those two men are staring at each other. [TM: CSfn170810]

[88] The Wanyjirra system is also different from languages, such as Gooniyandi (Non-Pama Nyungan, Bunuban), where case suffixes appear on at least one sub-constituent of the NP, determined by discourse function (McGregor, 2004).

[89] Maggie Scott commented that the final marking pattern is "quick way". The similar final-marking system is also found in Jaru demonstratives yalu and murlu which are not overtly marked in ergative NPs where at least one member of the NP takes case-ending, particularly when all members of the NP are adjacent in the clause (Tsunoda, 1981: 94). In addition, Bilinarra also have an unusual case marking where only the head noun of the NP is marked (i.e., 'head-marking') (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 106). Meakins and Nordlinger (2014) further mention that this could be a language shift based on the observation that only one element, usually head nouns of the NPs are marked in younger speakers' variety of Bilinarra Kriol and Gurindji Kriol (Meakins, 2012: 127).

(3-45) ngu=wula=yanu yunbarn-an-i yarrirndi=lu *na*
REAL=3UA.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ sing-CONT-PAST magic.song.ABS=ONLY NOW

[**yalu gujarra-lu**]
DIST2 two-ERG
Those two men were singing *yarrirndi* to them. [MS: 97_31_2.032]

The case marking at the clause level is more complicated, although a complete-concord system operates at the phrase level with a few exceptions. As summarised in §3.2.1, some case suffixes are used as subordinators which attach to sub-constituents of the non-finite subordinate clause. Concerning the possibility of marking on types of sub-constituents, it seems that all non-subject sub-constituents, which would be case-marked if in main clauses, can be marked by subordinating suffixes in non-finite subordinate clauses as shown in (3-46) where the inflecting verb and its objects are both marked with the dative subordinating suffix.

(3-46) ngu=rnalu man-ana lalga [**nalija-wu mangarri-wu**
REAL=1AUG.SBJ get-PRES dry tea-DAT veg.food-DAT

gambarn-u-wu ngarin-gu]
burn-NF-DAT meat-DAT
CS#: We are taking dry [firewood] to cook tea, food and meat.
[TM: CSfn250809]

However, marking on some elements (object, coverb and location) is not obligatory. Such marking variations result from some morphological rules applied to certain suffix sequences (§3.2.4.2). In addition, different types of complex verbs are characterised by whether both coverbs and inflecting verbs of the complex verbs are marked or only inflecting verbs are marked (§10.3). For the domain of case-marking on clauses, the following generalisations can be made.

1. If the dependent clause includes a non-finite verb, that must be case-marked.
2. If the dependent clause includes a coverb without a non-finite verb, that must be case-marked.
3. A coverb and an inflecting verb are both marked if they create weak nexus and adverbial complex verbs (§10.3.3; §10.3.4).
4. A coverb is not directly marked but the following inflecting verb is marked if they create strong nexus complex verbs (§10.3.2).

5. Objects of the dependent clause are mostly marked if they appear, but they are not obligatory.

3.2.3 Functions of case suffixes

In this subsection, I will describe four functions of case suffixes (relational, adnominal, referential and subordinating functions). The derivational function will be exemplified in subsections of each relevant suffix (§4.3; §4.4.2.8; §4.5).

3.2.3.1 Relational function

Case suffixes prototypically represent syntactic or semantic roles of arguments and adjuncts in clauses. Generally, case suffixes with this function include grammatical or direct cases which mark core grammatical relations (subject, object and indirect object, §12.1.1.) and semantic or oblique cases which express the semantic relations of NPs to an argument or an event (Blake, 2001; Stump, 2001). In (3-48), the ergative suffix encodes subject of the transitive verb. The absolutive form marks the object of the transitive verb in (3-47) and (3-48). Semantic case suffixes express a range of roles including location (Locative) in (3-49), goal of motion (Allative) in (3-49) and instrument or means (Proprietive) in (3-50). The comitative case marks animate location or accompaniment in (3-51).

(3-47) *TM and I were talking about the elder man who was performing the corroboree very well the other day.*

mawun-**du**	ngu	garran-ana	**junba**
man-ERG	REAL	keep-PRES	corroboree.ABS

TM: The man *kipim* the corroboree.
CS@: The man keeps (i.e., remembers) the corroboree. [TM: CSfn110509]

(3-48)

ngu=rnalu	**mangarri**	ngarn-an-i	bin.ga-**ga**
REAL=1AUG.SBJ	veg.food.ABS	ingest-CONT-PAST	river-LOC

CS#: We used to eat bush tucker along the creek. [TM: 10_1122_4.034]

(3-49)

ngu=rna	ward	yan-i	ngurra-**nggawu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ	return	GO-PAST	camp-ALL

I came back to the camp. [MS: CSfn020909]

(3-50) nyila Wajayi yan-ana burnu-**yaru**
DIST1 PERSON.NAME.ABS go-PRES tree-PROP
There Wajayi is walking using a stick. (CS: i.e., a walking stick)
[MS: CSfn140509]

(3-51) yamaji ngu=lanyanda baru garriny-ana **warlagu-wunyja**
small.ABS REAL=3MIN.OBL stand STAY-PRES dog-COMIT

yalaba
close
The child is standing by/with the dog close.
[MS: CSfn130509]

3.2.3.2 Adnominal function

In adnominal use, case suffixes relate one NP to another within the same NP, indicating that it is an attribute of the head NP. Typical examples include the dative case with genitive meaning (3-52) and the proprietive suffix (3-53). In (3-52), the dative suffix attaches to the possessor nominal which modifies the head nominal referring to the possessed. Similarly, the proprietive suffix marks a characteristic of the entity expressed by the head nominal 'billycan' in (3-53). Here the relational dative suffix following the proprietive suffix shows agreement with the head noun (§3.2.2). This phenomena is known as 'suffixaufnahme' (Plank, 1995; Schweiger, 1995 etc.). In (3-54), the originative suffix attaches to all sub-constituents of the possessor NP 'that man's'.[90] Note that nasal coda dissimilation occurs in the underlying form *mawun-guny-jawu (§.2.6.1).

(3-52) ngaringga-**wu** junba
woman-DAT corroboree
Women's corroboree [TM: CSfn221009]

[90] In Gurindji, -wuny is analysed as a sequence of the dative -wu and the nominaliser -ny which expresses 'X's thing' when the noun X followed by this sequence functions as a head of the NP or expresses the possessor 'X's' when the noun X functions as a modifier of the NP and take a further (relational) case suffix (McConvell, 2005b). In the latter case, the suffix -ny seems to function as a ligative suffix to avoide any sequences of the dative suffix plus other case suffixes. Hence the sequence of the dative plus the nominaliser plus the allative is not considered as an example of double case marking. If this analysis is applied to Wanyjirra, the examples like (3-54) would be also excluded from examples of double case marking. However, unlike Gurindji (and Malngin and Bilinarra), there is no example where-ny as a derivational suffix (i.e., nominaliser) attaches to coverbs creating a new lexical item in Wanyjirra. I treat -wuny/guny as a single suffix in this thesis (see also §4.4.2.9).

(3-53) ngu=rna=la wangany nyang-an-i
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT search PERCEIVE-CONT-PAST

jimbiri-**yaru**-wu diba-wu
hole-PROP-DAT billycan-DAT
MS: I was looking around for a billycan with a hole (CS: i.e., a broken billycan for playing). [TM: CSfn070710]

(3-54) yalu-**wuny**-jawu mawun-**gu**-jawu ngurra-nggawu
DIST2-ORIG-ALL man-ORIG-ALL camp-ALL

ngu=rna=la yan-i
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT go-PAST
CS#: I went to that man's camp for him (i.e., to pick him up). [TM: CSfn041011]

3.2.3.3 Referential function

Case suffixes also link an NP to a separate NP showing agreement (Dench & Evans, 1988: 13). In Wanyjirra, such referential suffixes link a body part NP to a whole NP, where the Part is denoted as an instrument or a specific locus of effect (cf. McGregor, 1985) (§8.5.2), and to link an adverbial modification (§6.3.3) and a depictive secondary predicate (§12.6.1) to their controlling arguments. In (3-55), the ergative suffix follows the body part instrument in agreement with the Whole NP functioning as a transitive subject. In (3-56), the Part expresses a specific part of the Whole which is most directly impacted by the action or event.[91] In (3-57a), the manner nominal yamag 'slowly' with the ergative suffix describes how the event is performed by the transitive subject referent although the subject does not overtly occur here. The same manner nominal takes no suffix in an intransitive clause (3-57b). This can be analysed as an absolutive form agreeing with the absolutive (unmarked) subject.

(3-55) yalu-nggu mawun-du ngu=nggu jirri yirran-ana marla-**nggu**
DIST2-ERG man-ERG REAL=2MIN.OBJ point PUT-PRES hand-ERG
That man is pointing at you with his hand. [MS: CSfn101110]

(3-56) ngu=yila jarraly wandi-nya nganinginy-ja marrunbu-**la**
REAL=1MIN.OBL slip FALL-PAST 1MIN.OBL2-LOC hand-LOC
CS#: It slipped off on my hand. [TM: CSfn121010]

[91] Note that the oblique pronoun expressing the Whole is used as a morphological host of locative-marking but not as a genitive marker (§5.1.4.5).

(3-57)

a. yamag-**gulu** ngarn-ang-gu nyila mangarri
slowly-ERG ingest-CONT-FUT DIST1 veg.food.ABS
CS#: [You] should eat the food slowly. [TM: CSfn230709]

b. **yamag** ngu=rna yan-gu
slowly REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-FUT
Slowly I'll walk. (CS: i.e., otherwise I might slip and fall over.)
[TM: CSfn121010]

3.2.3.4 Subordinating function

Subordinating uses, i.e. to link clauses by taking one as the case-marked argument or adjunct of another, are found with the ergative, locative, dative, elative, purposive and allative suffixes. These suffixes attach to non-finite forms of inflecting verbs, coverbs and other elements of non-finite subordinate clauses. Non-finite subordinate clauses will be further described in §13.2. This section focuses on functions and meanings of subordinating suffixes.

There are two types of subordinating function: T(emporal)-subordinators showing temporal and logical relationships between two clauses; and C(oncord)-subordinators showing co-reference relationships between subjects of the subordinate clause and one argument of the matrix clause (cf. Dench & Evans, 1988). All the above cases, except for the ergative suffix, can function as T-subordinators. Ergative and dative suffixes can be used as C-subordinators.

The possibility of simultaneously employing T-subordinator and C-subordinator is demonstrated in (3-58), where the elative suffix as T-subordinator marks a relationship to the previous event and the ergative suffix as C-subordinator shows a co-referential relationship between subjects of main and subordinate clauses. This means that each use can be represented by two separate suffixes. Therefore, two subordinating uses should be treated as distinct functions. In (3-58), a non-finite subordinate clause consists of the single coverb wilinyi 'hunt'.

(3-58) [wilinyi-**nginyi-lu**] ngu=nbula gang-an-gu
hunt-EL-ERG|ONLY REAL=2UA.SBJ carry-CONT-FUT

ward ngurra-nggawu
return camp-ALL
MS: After hunting, you two will take them (i.e., bush tucker and goannas) back to the camp. [TM: CSfn100909]

However, note that -lu can alternatively be analysed as the 'ONLY' clitic =lu (§11.4.1), although this is an elicited example without background context and the meaning of the clitic is not clear. The ergative C-subordinating suffix is not obligatory in Wanyjirra (see below). In addition, it is not so common for the two types of subordinator to occur in a sequence and only the sequences elative plus ergative and locative plus dative (3-69 below) are possible in Wanyjirra.

The sequence -nginyi-lu marking non-finite subordinate clauses is only found with transitive main clauses. Since it indexes agreement with a main clause ergative argument, the morpheme -lu does not appear when non-finite subordinate clause occurs with intransitive main clauses as in (3-59).

(3-59) **yin.garn-u-nginyi** ngu=rna yan-i
trim-NF-EL REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-PAST
CS#: After trimming [a boomerang], I went (i.e., for hunting).
[TM: CSfn100810]

Where the sequence -nginyi=lu occurs in intransitive main clauses, it always follows the demonstrative yala, i.e., yala-nginyi=lu. This is not an example of non-finite subordinate clauses but involves a homophonous connecting word which is often used in narratives as in (3-60).

(3-60) **yala-nginyi=lu,..** gayi-nirra ngu=rna yan-i,…(1.4) Limbunya \
DIST2-EL=ONLY north-D.ALL REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-PAST PLACE.NAME
TT: After that, I went north [to] Limbunya Station. [TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).021]

The elative suffix here functions as a relational suffix indicating temporal sequence 'after that' or 'then', which is semantically related to T-subordinating use of the elative suffix expressing events anterior to the main clause events. The following morpheme

is analysed as the 'ONLY' clitic =lu (§11.4.1) rather than C-subordinating suffix,[92] because there is no ergative argument in the clause which C-subordinating suffix may link to.

It is therefore more plausible to consider that -lu in (3-58) above functions as a C-subordinating suffix relating the subject of the non-finite clause to that of the transitive main clause.

[1] T-subordinator

T-subordinators show temporal and logical relationships between main clause events and non-finite subordinate clause events. For example, the elative suffix expresses events anterior to main clause events (3-61) and (3-58 and 3-59) above; it may also be interpreted as marking reason or cause of why the main clause events are taking place (3-62). The locative suffix marks events which simultaneously occur with main clause events (3-63).

(3-61) **[dirrib-nginyi]** ngu=rna jungguj bung-gu
camp.out-EL REAL=1MIN.SBJ depart HIT-FUT
After camping, I will take off. [MS: CS231009]

(3-62) ngu=rna garran-ana nawun **[gumarn-u-nginyi]**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ keep-PRES scar.ABS cut-NF-EL
CS#: I have a scar because of cutting. [TM: CSfn020810]

(3-63) ngu=rna wandi-nya **[yan-u-ngga]**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ fall-PAST go-NF-LOC
TM: *Ai bin* fall down *wea ai bin* walking.
CS@: I fell over when walking. [TM: CSfn280610]

The dative T-subordinating suffix indicates that the subordinate clause event is subsequent to or a purpose for the main clause event (3-64). The purposive suffix also has the same meaning (3-65). Note in (3-64) that the coverb in the strong nexus complex verb is not directly marked by the dative T-subordinating suffix and only the following inflecting verb and the object are marked.

[92] This connecting word is also possible to occur without =lu, i.e., yala-nginyi. However, the meaning of the clitic is not clearly observed in the given translation. The meanings of the clitic =lu is described in§11.4.1.

(3-64) burnda-wu burnu [**birrga** **man-u-wu** **jangilany-gu**]
collect-FUT tree.ABS create GET-NF-DAT fire-DAT
CS#: [You] should collect sticks to make a fire. [TM: CSfn250809]

(3-65) yin.garn-u-nginyi yan-da [**magin-gurra**]
trim-NF-EL go-IMP sleep-PURP
CS#: After trimming [it], [somebody talked to me]; "You go for a sleep".
[TM: CSfn100810]

The meanings of these subordinators are linked to those of locative, elative, dative, purposive suffixes in relational use. When they are used as relational suffixes, the elative suffix mainly expresses a temporal and spatial source of an entity or an event (§4.4.2.8). As a T-subordinator, it is used to mark an event temporally prior to the main clause event. The dative can be used to mark a goal and a purpose for an event expressed by the predicate (§4.4.2.3). As a T-subordinator, the dative marker expresses an event which is intentionally or purposely secured by which the main clause event is carried out. The purposive suffix in relational use shows a purposive goal of the motion 'going' (§4.4.2.6). Likewise in subordinating use it marks an event which is a purpose of the main clause event 'going'. Similarly, the locative T-subordinator indicates that two events expressed in main and subordinate clauses simultaneously occur whereas it, as a relational suffix, encodes the spatial and temporal coincidence of an entity to an event expressed by the predicate or clause (§4.4.2.4).

The allative suffix is also used as a T-subordinator, although the corpus only has a few examples. In (3-66), the allative suffix follows a coverb and expresses duration or temporal goal by the time when the main clause event is continuously taken place. This meaning is semantically linked to the relational use of the allative suffix which expresses spatial goal or direction of motion and temporal goal or duration of the event (§4.4.2.5).

(3-66) *In TM's story, a woman found some bush tucker (mangarri 'vegetable food'). But it hasn't fully ripened yet. Another woman then said as follows:*

garru-wu-rra **dirrib-gulawu**
stay-FUT-HORT camp.out-ALL
MS: Let it stay till [we] camp out [next time]. [TM: CSfn120710]

[2] C-subordinator

C-subordinators show a co-referential relationship between the subject of a subordinate clause and an argument of the main clause. The ergative and dative suffix have this function in Wanyjirra. First, the ergative suffix is used to link a transitive subject of the main clause to the omitted subject of the subordinate clause.

(3-67) ngu=li baya-rru ngarlu **[wilinyi-lu]**
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ bite-FUT honey.ABS hunt-ERG
You and I, [going] hunting, will cut [a tree] for honey. [DJ: 99_40_3.018]

The use of the ergative suffix as a C-subordinator is similar to referential and relational agreement with transitive subjects. The ergative subordinator only occurs on subordinate clauses when their subjects are coreferential with subjects of transitive main clauses as in (3-68). Such subordinate clauses are always interpreted as expressing concurrent states or events with main clause events (§13.2.1.6), even though they lack an overt locative T-subordinator. The locative-ergative suffix sequence is not permitted in Wanyjirra (§3.2.4).[93]

(3-68) mangarri nga-nyja **[lulu-nggu]**
veg.food.ABS ingest-IMP sit-ERG
TT: Eat the food while sitting down. [NP: 76_14_1_TM(2).045’’’]

Second, the dative suffix as a C-subordinator follows the locative T-subordinator and shows a co-referential relationship between dative arguments of the main clauses and subjects of the subordinate clauses.

(3-69) ngu=rna=la yu-nya mangarri
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT give-PAST veg.food.ABS

yalu-wu ngaringga-wu **[baru-ngga-wu]**
DIST2-DAT woman-DAT stand-LOC-DAT
CS#: I gave tucker to that woman who was standing. [TM: CSfn181011]

Suffix forms in two subordinating uses mostly exhibit the same allomorphs as case suffixes in relational and other uses. For example, the dative suffix with T-subordinating function in (3-64) above varies depending on whether it follows a consonant or vowel. Similarly the purposive allomorphs -gurra/wurra is also used after

[93] It is only the elative T-subordinator with which the ergative C-subordinating suffix can occur in non-finite subordinate clauses as seen above in (3-58).

a consonant or vowel in relational and subordinating uses. Since the elative suffix -nginyi lacks allomorphic variations; its form is always identical for all functional categories.

However, an exception to the parallel allomorphy of the case suffixes in subordinating use is found in the locative and ergative subordinators. The locative subordinator which attaches to the non-finite verb in (3-70) would be -la if it follows the same morphological conditions as the locative case suffix. The locative allomorph -la generally follows multi-moraic stems ending with a vowel or stems ending with /l/ (§4.4.1.2). The allomorph -ngga, on the other hand, occurs after bi-moraic vowel-final stems as in (3-63 and 3-69) above. In (3-70), the subordinator -ga reflects an underlying form -ngga to which nasal coda dissimilation (§2.6.1.1) has applied. The form -(ng)ga is specialised for a subordinating function irrespective of morphological conditions.

(3-70) ngu=lu=yanu nyang-an-i judu-g
REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ PERCEIVE-CONT-PRES straight-TRNSL

yalu-nggu yamayama-lu ngarrga-ngarrga **[wanyjan-u-ga]**
DIST2-ERG children-ERG RDP-big.ABS dance-NF-LOC
CS: Those kids were properly looking at the big ones: (i) while they were dancing; (ii) who were dancing. [TM: CSfn221009]

Likewise the form of the ergative subordinator is -gu after nasal coda dissimilation as in (3-71). However, the ergative allomorph in other use would be -lu after tri-moraic stems.

(3-71) ngu=rna=nyurra bina yung-gu \.. *jea*,..
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ know GIVE-FUT there

[yunbarn-u-gu] \
sing-NF-ERG
TM: "I *gata lanim yufala gata* singing."
CS@: "I will instruct you there in singing."
CS#: ALT: "I will teach you there by singing." [TM: 10_0820_6.009]

However, this irregularity is only found after non-finite verbs. Other sub-constituents of the subordinate clauses can take the same allomorphs as the locative case suffix, e.g.

wurrgal-la in (3-72).

(3-72) ngu=rna nya-nya wuljub **[ngarn-u-ngga**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ see-PAST cattle.ABS ingest-NF-LOC

yuga-ngga **wurrgal-la]**
grass-LOC green-LOC
CS#: I saw the cattle while they are eating green grasses. [TM: CSfn130810]

Since only non-finite verbs always take the subordinators -(ng)ga and -(ng)gu, I also treat these subordinating suffixes as polysemous case suffixes rather than treating them as homophonous with the locative and ergative relational suffixes respectively.

3.2.4 Double case marking and morphological sequence conditions

3.2.4.1 Combination of case suffixes

As shown above, case suffixes with various different functions can co-occur within the single word. In Wanyjirra, at most two case suffixes can co-occur. Thus, double case marking is less elaborate in this language than in many other Australian languages.[94]

The order of case suffixes in double case marking is illustrated in the template (3-73), though in my corpus there is no example in which more than two of these slots are filled.[95] STEM includes nominals (including derivation), coverbs and non-finite verbs.

(3-73)

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>SLOT1</th><th>SLOT2</th><th>SLOT3</th><th>SLOT4</th><th>Syntactic Level</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">STEM</td><td>(Adnominal)</td><td rowspan="2">(Relational)</td><td>(Referential)</td><td></td><td>Phrase</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>(T-SUB)</td><td>(C-SUB)</td><td>Clause</td></tr>
</table>

Suffixes in adnominal use always precede suffixes with any other function when they

[94] For examples, Tangkic languages in the Gulf of Carpentaria and Pama-Nyungan languages in Pilbara, Western Desert and Central Australia have rich systems of double- or multiple-case marking. Walmajarri (Hudson, 1978), a Ngumpin language adjacent to Western Desert languages, shares such systems in which some of semantic case suffixes (non-syntactic cases in her term, including allative and ablative suffixes) can be followed by grammatical case suffixes.

[95] A switch reference marker -arniny can fill in the last slot and can follow the locative T-subordinator like a C-subordinator. Since its form is not identical to any case suffix, it is not treated in this section. I will describe it in §13.2.1.8.

co-occur. Referential suffixes do not occur with subordinating suffixes. This order follows the 'concentric constituent scoping' rule (Dench & Evans, 1988) or Baker's (1985) 'mirror principle' in which outer suffixes have logical control through the whole preceding stem and suffixes and outer suffixes originate in a higher constituent than inner suffixes.

A list of possible combinations found in the corpus is provided in Table 3.2 with example numbers. The combinations in non-shaded columns occur within NPs containing adnominal suffixes. The combinations in grid-patterned and shaded columns occur across phrases involving referential suffixes and across clauses containing subordinating suffixes respectively. Sample example numbers are given. Since double case-marking on pronouns differs from that found with nouns, adjectives and non-finite verbs, it is not considered here.

Table 3.2: Possible combinations of double case marking

	Outer suffixes						
Inner suffixes		ERG	DAT	ALL	LOC	ABL	EL
	ERG						
	DAT						
	ALL						
	LOC		(3-69) (3-82) (3-83)				
	ABL						
	EL	(3-58)	*(13-79) (3-74)				
	ORIG			(3-75)	(3-76)	(3-77)[96]	(3-78)
	PROP	(3-80) (3-79)	(3-53)				
	PRIV	(3-81)					

* This combination (the elative T-SUB + the dative C-SUB) is only found in my suggested sentences but not in speakers' examples. One example is presented in §13.2.1.7.

Double case marking does not allow the sequence of the same suffixes. Other morphological constraints will be demonstrated in §3.2.4.2.

[96] An example with the ablative suffix -ngulu following the originative -wuny was collected by Tsunoda (Tsunoda fieldnotes 2000, No. 3, p. 7). However, when I checked it with the same speaker in 2009, she did not approve the same sentence which she gave to Tsunoda and used the elative -nginyi instead of the ablative suffix. The elative suffix has been steadily taking the place of the ablative suffix.

Within the Wanyjirra corpus, examples of adnominal double case marking (adnominal plus relational or referential suffixes) are the most frequent. Basically each adnominal suffix can be followed by one or more relational suffix (ergative, dative, locative, allative, elative and ablative), except that the genitive-dative suffix cannot be followed by any other case suffix in this language. In such cases, it is replaced by the originative suffix used with the possessive meaning, and then followed by other relational suffixes (§3.2.4.2). This is the reason why the originative suffix occurs as an inner suffix of the sequence most frequently. Examples of adnominal double case marking are given in (3-75 - 3-78).

In (3-74), the complex verb selects the dative argument encoding the thing known. Within this dative NP, the dependent noun is double-marked with the elative suffix in adnominal use and the dative suffix in relational use.[97]

(3-74) ELATIVE (adnominal) + DATIVE (relational)

ngu=rla	bina	garru-wu	nganimbanginy-gu	ngurra-wu
REAL=3MIN.DAT	know	BE-FUT	1AUG.OBL2-DAT	camp-DAT

jaja-**nginyi-wu**
MM-EL-DAT
MS: She wants to know our country from [her] grandmother.
CS: ALT: She wants to know ours and [her] grandmother's country.
[MS: TTfn090999]

The following four examples illustrate the originative suffix in adnominal use followed by spatial suffixes (including the allative, locative, ablative and elative suffixes) in relational use. The originative suffix denotes possessor instead of the dative suffix.

(3-75) ORIGINATIVE (adnominal) + ALLATIVE (relational)

jaja-**wuny-jawu**	ngurra-nggawu	ngu=rna	yan-gu	gabud
MM-ORIG-ALL	camp-ALL	REAL=1MIN.SBJ	go-FUT	morning

TM: I *gata* go *langa* my *jaja*'s camp *gabud*.
CS@: I will go to [my] granddaughter's house tomorrow morning.
[TM: CSfn040810]

[97] Note that the oblique 2 free pronoun is further marked with the dative suffix within the dative NP. This is also a type of double-case marking. However this section focuses on double case marking on nouns.

(3-76) ORIGINATIVE (adnominal) + LOCATIVE (relational)

nganinga	ngu=rna=nyunu	gambarn-i	ngarin	nganinginy-ja
1MIN.OBL1	REAL=1MIN.SBJ=RR	burn-PAST	meat.ABS	1MIN.OBL2-LOC

ngama-yi-**wuny-ja**	ngurra-ngga
M-KIN-ORIG-LOC	camp-LOC

CS#: For myself, I cooked meat at my mother's house. [TM: CSfn031011]

(3-77) ORIGINATIVE (adnominal) + ABLATIVE (relational)

ngu=rna	yan-ana	ward	mugul-**wuny-ngulu**	ngurra-ngulu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ	GO-PRES	return	FZ-ORIG-ABL	camp-ABL

CS#: I'm coming back from [my] auntie's [place]. [MS: CSfn140809]

(3-78) ORIGINATIVE (adnominal) + ELATIVE (relational)

ngu=rna	yan-ana	ward	ngama-yi-**wuny-nginyi**	ngurra-nginyi
REAL=1MIN.SBJ	go-PRES	return	M-KIN-ORIG-EL	camp-EL

I am coming back from [my] mother's camp. [MS: CSfn140809]

Adnominal uses of the proprietive suffix can also occur in double case marking. In (3-79), the adnominal proprietive suffix operates within the ergative NP. This ergative suffix is used as a referential suffix linking the body-part NP to the subject NP.

(3-79) PROPRIETIVE (adnominal) + ERGATIVE (referential)

ngu=rna=nggu	bad	man-gu	malirri-**yaru-lu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ	touch	GET-FUT	cold-PROP-ERG

marla-nggu
hand-ERG

I will touch you by means of [my] cold hands. [TM: CSfm060709]

Double case marking also occurs across phrases where a relational suffix is followed by the ergative suffix in referential use (3-80 - 3-81).

(3-80) PROPRIETIVE (relational) + ERGATIVE (referential)

ngambij	ngarn-ana	ngarlu	bija-**yaru-lu**
eat.honey	ingest-PRES	honey.ABS	grass.stem-PROP-ERG

[I] eat honey with grass stems. [MS: CSfn261010]

(3-81) PRIVATIVE (relational) + ERGATIVE (referential)[98]

gambarn-ana	ngu=nyunu	ngarin	nalija	mangarri	girli-g
burn-PRES	REAL=RR	meat.ABS	tea.ABS	veg.food.ABS	ready-TRNSL

shop-nginyi,…	nyila	*na* \	nyandu-wariny-ju \…	ngumbarna-**mulung-gulu** \
shop-EL	DIST1	NOW	3MIN-ONESELF-ERG	spouse-PRIV-ERG

CS#: She is cooking meat, tea and veggies and getting them ready, that [one], from the shop, for herself, the widow on her own. [TM: CSfn100712]

Double case marking is also found in non-finite subordinate clauses. In (3-82), the locative suffix in relational use encoding a location is followed by dative T-subordinator expressing a purposive event (§13.2.1.3). In the same suffix sequence in (3-83), the inner locative suffix as a T-subordinator shows coincidence of two events (§13.2.1.4) and the outer dative suffix as a C-subordinator specifies a co-referential relationship between the subordinate clause subject and the dative indirect object in the main clause (§13.2.1.7).

(3-82) LOCATIVE (relational) + DATIVE (T-subordinator)[99]

ngu=lu	jungguj	bu-nggu	[gambarn-u-wu	nalija-wu
REAL=3AUG.SBJ	depart	HIT-FUT	burn-NF-DAT	tea-DAT

gani	**bin.ga-ga-wu**]
down.country	creek-LOC-DAT

CS#: They will take off to cook tea down at the creek. [TM: CSfn310810]

(3-83) LOCATIVE (T-subordinator) + DATIVE (C-subordinator)

ngu=rna=la	yu-nya	nambula	wurrgal
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT	give-PAST	fig.ABS	green.ABS

yambagina-wu	[lulu-**ngga-wu**]
child-DAT	sit-LOC-DAT

CS#: I gave a green fig to a kid who was sitting. [TM: CSfn181011]

[98] In this example, two ergative-marked nominals are analysed as distinct NPs separated by an intonation break. The second NP is a secondary predication (§12.6.1).

[99] The sequence LOCATIVE plus DATIVE can be alternatively analysed as the single allative suffix, i.e., -gawu. If it is the case, this analysis might bear a morphological rule, 'case portmanteaux' where a certain suffix sequence is avoided and replaced by a different single suffix (Dench & Evans, 1988: 40) because this subordinate clause as a whole is marked by the dative subordinator expressing a purposive event. However, this is less likely because the allative suffix -gawu is used as a T-subordinator expressing duration of the event (3-66). In addition, the locative and dative suffixes in (3-83) have distinct functions. The former marks simultaneity of two events and the latter links the subject of the subordinate clause to to the dative indirect object of the main clause just like (13-79) in which the elative T-subordinator (expressing the prior event to the main clause event) plus the dative C-subordinator linking to dative indirect object in the main clause (§13.2.1.7).

Similarly, the elative T-subordinator and ergative C-subordinator can be marked on the subordinate clause as demonstrated in (3-58) above.

3.2.4.2 Morphological constraints on suffix sequences

As mentioned previously, one of the general rules on double case marking is that the same suffixes cannot occur twice in a sequence. In addition, the originative suffix substitutes for the genitive-dative suffix because the dative suffix cannot be followed by other suffixes. This subsection describes such morphological rules which avoid particular combinations of suffixes. The terms for each rule are adopted from Dench and Evans (1988).

[1] Case haplology

Case haplology is a solution to avoid two identical case suffixes occur in a sequence.[100] Based on the fact that object NPs of subordinate clauses can occur with any subordinating suffix, a possessor NP marked with an adnominal dative suffix might also be marked with the dative subordinator for its underlying form. But one of them is omitted or two suffixes are merged into one morph. In (3-84), the expected form of the possessor NP of the dative-marked subordinate clause would be *gardiya-wu-wu where the first dative suffix is adnominal and the second a T-subordinator.

DATIVE → Ø: _ + DATIVE

(3-84) jan.ga-jan.ga ngu=nda yan-gu [*wasimbat*-gu
RDP-woman.ABS REAL=2AUG.SBJ go-FUT wash.CONT-DAT

ngari-wu,.. gardiya-**wu**] /…(1.6) *loondri*-la \.. *ainembat*-gu-burruburru \
clothes-DAT white.man-DAT laundry-LOC iron.CONT-DAT-ALSO
CS#: "Women, you will go to wash white men's clothes [and] also iron them at the laundry." [TM: 10_0826_5.044]
NOTE: jan.ga is Gurindji and wanyja or ngaringga would be expected here. -burruburru is also Gurindji. Since there is only an example with this suffix, I am not sure whether it is also used in Wanyjirra.

In (3-85), the complex dative NP contains two possessors. Haplology occurs in the word lambarra-wu '(my) father-in-law-DAT'. It would have taken two dative suffixes

[100] This is also called 'affix haplology' in Menn & MacWhinney (1984).

as an underlying form *lambarra-wu-wu where the inner suffix is adnominal for the possessive meaning and the outer suffix is a relational suffix agreeing with the dative head noun.

(3-85) ngu=rna=la bina [[nganingu-wu lambarra-**wu**]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT know 1MIN.OBL1-DAT ♀HF-DAT

marru-wu]
house-DAT
I know my father-in-law's house. [TM: CSfn070910]

Case haplology is also found in locative NPs. The location NP in the subordinate clause marked with the locative T-subordinator is only marked with a single locative suffix in (3-86). The expected form would be *jimbiri-la-la. Note that the directional word gan.ga-ni is never followed by case suffixes in main and subordinate clauses (§6.2).

LOCATIVE → Ø: _ + LOCATIVE

(3-86) ngu barli nya-nya [gan.ga-ni bardaj-ja
REAL find PERCEIVE-PAST up.country-D.LOC1 climb-LOC

jimbiri-**la**]
cave-LOC
He found [them] when climbing up on the cave. [TM: CSfn200810]

[2] Inner case substitution

The inner case suffix is replaced by a different suffix. This occurs on the sequence of the genitive-dative suffix and other relational suffixes. The suffix which substitutes the dative suffix is the originative suffix. This replacement may be semantically motivated. The originative case suffix originally encodes source or origin of an entity and an activity (§4.4.2.9). It is chosen for replacement of the possessive-dative suffix. Examples have been given in (3-75-3-78).

[3] Inner case deletion

Inner case deletion is the phenomenon whereby the inner case suffix in a sequence is deleted. First, the locative suffix in relational use is deleted when it is followed by the elative subordinator as in (3-87). Compare with (3-88) where location or means of

burning is expressed by the locative suffix.

LOCATIVE → Ø: _ + ELATIVE

(3-87) jangilany-**nginyi** gambarn-u-nginyi nyila mangarri
fire-EL burn-NF-EL DIST1 veg.food.ABS

guya galyba-g
thus soft-TRNSL
CS#: After cooking on a fire, the food became soft like that. [TM: CSfn100909]

(3-88) ngu=rna gambarn-ana ngarin jangilany-**ja**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ burn-PRES meat.ABS fire-LOC
I'm cooking meat on a fire. [MS: CSfn260809]

Second, the ergative suffix in relational use (with instrumental function) is deleted when it is followed by the elative T-subordinator as in (3-89). Compare with (3-90) where the same instrument nominal marked with the ergative suffix in the main clause.

ERGATIVE (instrument) → Ø: _ + ELATIVE

(3-89) marla nganinga ngu gungurlu-yaru *na*
hand.ABS 1MIN.OBL1 REAL blood-PROP NOW

gumarn-u-nginyi *knife*-**nginyi**[101]
cut-NF-EL knife-EL
My hand is bleeding now after/because of cutting by a knife.
[MS: CSfn220609]

(3-90) ngu=rna=nyunu marla gumarn-i *knife*-**gulu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=RR hand.ABS cut-PAST knife-ERG
I cut my finger by a knife. [MS: CSfn151110]

Based on examples of possible and impossible suffix sequences, I summarise the following generalisations:

(i) Case suffixes which can function as grammatical cases marking core arguments (ergative, absolutive and (non-genitive) dative suffixes) cannot be followed by any other suffix;

[101] Here a part-whole relation is expressed in the construction which is generally used for alienable possessive construction (§8.5.1; §8.5.2). This could be an example of language change influenced by English.

(ii) Suffixes which function as adnominal suffixes can be followed by relational suffixes;

(iii) If two subordinating suffixes occur, the inner T-subordinating suffix is the one which can functions as a semantic case (locative and elative suffixes) and the outer C-subordinating suffix is the one which can functions as a grammatical case (dative and ergative suffixes).

Chapter 4
Nominal Morphology

4.0 Introduction

This chapter describes case inflection, derivation and other morphological strategies which make up nominal words, especially nouns and adjectives. As is typical in Australian languages, a nominal word of Wanyjirra is built up on a simple stem, or a complex stem formed by a process of reduplication or compounding, to which one or more derivational suffixes, derivational case suffixes and/or number suffixes optionally attach before the case inflection. Most members of the nominal group obligatorily inflect for relational case if syntactically appropriate.

The following sections give an overview of the nominal word structure, especially for nouns and adjectives (§4.1) and describe stem-forming processes including reduplication and compounding (§4.2), and derivational suffixes (§4.3). The forms and roles of inflectional suffixes, derivational case suffixes and number suffixes are described in §4.4, §4.5 and §4.6 respectively.

4.1 Structure of the nominal word

The formation of Wanyjirra nominal words is illustrated in the following template (4-1). The template given in (3-73) in §3.2.4.1 illustrates the order of case suffixes with different functions. The template below especially concerns nominal words in noun phrases but not in non-finite subordinate clauses. The first slot STEM can comprise a simple, reduplicated and compound stem. The fourth slot for derivational case suffixes also include adnominal use of case suffixes.

(4-1)
STEM+ (DERIV)+ (DERIV/NUM)+ (DERIV CASE)+ (REL CASE)+ (REF CASE)

Abbreviations above are nominal suffixes used as:

DERIV:	Derivational suffix (§4.3)
NUM:	Number suffix (§4.6)
DERIV CASE:	Derivational case suffix (§4.5)
REL CASE:	Case inflectional suffix in relational use (§3.2.3.1; §4.4)
REF CASE	Case inflectional suffix in referential use (§3.2.3.3; §4.4)

After case suffixes, some clitics (including =lu 'ONLY'; =ma 'TOPic'; =la 'FOCus/SEQuential') can be attached (§11.4).

Since there is no overt absolutive case form in Wanyjirra, a minimal nominal word can consist of the bare stem (4-2 and 4-3). A nominal stem can also be followed by more than one nominal suffix. However, in the corpus there is no example where all slots are filled.

[1] Simple stem

(4-2)

ngu=rna	marany	bung-ana	**bigurda**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ	rub	HIT-PRES	bush.yam.ABS

I rub bush yams. [MS: CSfn151110]

[2] Reduplicated stem

(4-3)

gaji-gajirri	wilinyi	ngu=lu	yan-ana
RDP-old.woman.ABS	hunt	REAL=3PL.SBJ	go-PRES

CS#: Old women are going hunting (for tucker). [TM: CSfn231009]

[3] Stem + derivational case + case

(4-4)

malirri-yaru-lu	marla-nggu
cold-PROP-ERG	hand-ERG

by cold hands [TM: CSfn060709]

[4] Stem + derivational + number + case

(4-5) **ngama-nyan-guyarra-lu**
M-3KIN.POSS-DU-ERG
his/her/their two mothers (ergative) [MS: CSfn151009]

[5] Stem + derivational + case

(4-6) **yamayama-gari-wu**
children-OTHER-DAT
to other kids [TM: CSfn200810]

[6] Stem + number + derivational case

(4-7) **Nangari-wuyarra-yaru**
♀subsection-DU-PROP
With two Nangari women [MS: CSfn200810]

[7] Stem + derivational + derivational case

(4-8) **bamarr-ngarna-mulung**
stone-ASSC-PRIV
With no hill kangaroo (i.e. the one living on the hill) [TM: CSfn290710]

[8] Stem + derivational + derivational

(4-9) **ngama-nyan-jayi**
M-3KIN.POSS-DECD
his/her deceased mother [MS: CSfn220809]

4.2 Nominal reduplication and compounding

4.2.1 Reduplication

Reduplication is a common process found in Wanyjirra nominal words. It occurs with disyllabic or trisyllabic stems which do not include closed syllables. Many examples show that reduplicated forms are used to mark plurality of referents expressed by stems. A few examples seem to be used for emphasising and intensifying.

Wanyjirra has two types of reduplication, complete and partial, according to whether the whole or just a part of the stem is repeated. A few examples of partial reduplication clearly show that a part of the stem is prefixing. For example, in gaji-gajirri '(many) old women', the reduplicated segment prefixes to the stem gajirri. It is impossible to confirm the direction of the repetition in complete reduplication. But I gloss those examples assuming that the repetition is prefixal.

4.2.1.1 Complete reduplication

Table 4.1 illustrates examples of complete reduplication which is repetition of the whole stems which also exist as lexical items. Most stems are human referents with

exception of jaru-jaru '(many) stories, languages', gabud-gabud 'early in the morning' and gurdu-gurdu '(many) small animals/plants'. The reduplicated adjective stems ngarrga-ngarrga 'big (ones)' and gun.ga-gun.ga 'dead (ones)' only refer to animate referents (mostly human) although the simple stems ngarrga and gun.ga are used for both animate and inanimate referents.[102]

Table 4.1: Examples of complete rediplication

Simple stems		Reduplicated stems	
garaj	'Aboriginal person'	garaj-garaj	'Aboriginal people, men'
bilarli	'adolescent girl'	bilarli-bilarli	'(many) adolescent girls'
malju	'young boy'	malju-malju	'(many) young boys'
manga	'young girl'	manga-manga	'(many) young girls'
marluga	'old man'	marluga-marluga	'(many) old men'
wanyja	'woman'	wanyja-wanyja	'(many) women'
ngarrga	'big'	ngarrga-ngarrga	'(many) big (ones)'
gurdu[103]	'little'	gurdu-gurdu	'(many) little (animals/plants)'
gun.ga	'dead'	gun.ga-gun.ga	'(many) dead (ones)'
jaru	'story/language'	jaru-jaru	'(many) stories/languages'
gabud	'morning/tomorrow'	gabud-gabud	'early in the morning'

These reduplicated forms show plurality of referents with exception of the reduplicated form of the temporal nominal gabud 'morning/tomorrow'. It seems to emphasise the meaning 'morning' or 'the earlier part of the morning' for which my consultants and other indigenous people usually translate it as *alibala* 'early in the morning' in Kriol.

Note that reduplication does not occur with the stem mawun 'man' even though it is a

[102] The simple stem gun.ga refers to inanimate nouns (plants and vegetable food) with the meaning 'raw' or 'unripe' rather than 'dead'.

[103] The stem gurdu and its reduplicated stem gurdu-gurdu would have been borrowed from Warlpiri which has the word kurdu for 'child' and kurdu-kurdu mainly for 'children' (Swartz, 2012). These stems have experienced semantic change in Wanyjirra because Wanyjirra has another stem yamaji (and its variants) for 'child' and 'small'. The simple stem gurdu is used to refer to a little (non-human) animal (i.e., a puppy and baby bird etc.) and any small objects especially plants including a small young tree, leaf and root. However, it does not appear in natural speech and is collected only by elicitation where I asked my consultant the question "*do you have any word like gurdu*?" because the corpus has had the reduplicated stem gurdu-gurdu first. The reduplicated form expresses plurality of such a little animal and object.

disyllabic and refers to a human. Instead, garaj-garaj in Table 4.1 is used to express plurality of an (Aboriginal) person, both male and female, or specifically males. Unlike the stem mawun, the disyllabic stem wanyja 'woman' can be reduplicated to wanyja-wanyja, but another stem ngaringga 'woman' cannot because it is trisyllabic including a closed syllable.

4.2.1.2 Partial reduplication

Four examples of partial reduplication are listed in Table 4.2. Two of them have human referents and one is a manner nominal. Their reduplication pattern is irregular.

Table 4.2: Examples of partial reduplication

Simple stems		Reduplicated forms	
gajirri	'old woman'	gaji-gajirri	'(many) old women'
yamag	'slowly'	yama-yamag	'slowly'

The words gajirri 'old woman' and yamag 'slowly' have the same pattern of reduplication. The first two syllables of the stems are prefixed. The semantic difference between yamag and yama-yamag is not understood well. This reduplicated form was recorded by Tsunoda (Tsunoda fieldnotes, 1999, No.2, p.37) when he was driving his car. The speaker, who was in his car, may have used it to intensify the meaning '(drive) slowly', i.e., '(drive) more slowly'.

4.2.1.3 Frozen Reduplication

There are some nominal words in which the whole stem is repeated but the corresponding simple stems are not found as Wanyjirra independent lexical items. Examples of such frozen reduplication include:

(4-10) a. garrajgarraj 'curry orange'
b. jinajina 'dress'
c. mirlimirli 'paper, book'

Some frozen reduplicated nominals are onomatopoeic. According to my consultants, they are bird names based on mimicked sounds of bird calls.

(4-11) a. nyinyi ‘finch’
b. waagwaag ‘crow’
c. gilinygiliny ‘gilah’

4.2.2 Nominal compounding

Nominal compounding is quite rare in Wanyjirra and only a few examples are found in the corpus. The difference between a compound word and two separate words of the same NP is that only the last element of the compound word is marked with a case suffix whereas each nominal of the NP is marked with the same case suffix. (4-12) has the dative compound word which can include metonymy ngaburlu-ngarrga-ngarrga-wu ‘for (people who have) big breasts’. This word is composed of the simple noun stem and the following reduplicated adjective stem which function as a modifier of the preceding noun.

(4-12) wayi=n=junu burr yunbarn-i *lubura*-wu wanyja-wanyja-wu
IRR=2MIN.SBJ=RR sing SING-PAST woman-DAT RDP-woman-DAT

ngaburlu-ngarrga-ngarrga-wu
breast-RDP-big-DAT
TT: You might have sung yourself for women, for [those with] big breasts.
CS#: Did you sing yourself for women, for [people who have] big breasts?
[MS: 76_14_1_NP.075'''']

(4-13) shows the compound word consisting of two nouns. The stem Wanyjirra is used to specify a particular language and the following noun is the generic term jaru ‘language’.

(4-13) ngayu ngu=rna bina **Wanyjirra-jaru-wu**
1SG REAL=1MIN.SBJ know LANGUAGE.NAME-language-DAT
I know about the Wanyjirra language. [MS: CSfn050509]

Another example of compounding involves the derivational suffix -gaji/waji (§4.3.1).

4.3 Derivational suffixes

Wanyjirra has a number of derivational suffixes which optionally attach to a simple or complex nominal stem to create a new lexical stem. They may also derive a nominal

from a coverb or inflecting verbs.[104] An example is (4-14) where the agentive suffix (§4.3.1) is used to derive a nominal from a non-finite form of the inflecting verb which is made up of a stem plus the non-finite suffix -u (§9.1.7.4).

(4-14) ngu=rnalu=yanu guny bu-nya yalu-wu
REAL=1AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ wait HIT-PAST DIST2-DAT

ngaringga-wu **yunbarn-u-waji-wu**
woman-DAT sing-NF-AGENT-DAT
We waited for those women, singers. [MS: CSfn181011]

One difference from case suffixes is that derivational suffixes can form new lexical items. In addition, derivational suffixes do not show agreement within a NP whereas case suffixes operating within phrases show agreement (§3.2.1). However, derivational suffixes cannot be clearly distinguished from derivational case suffixes which show properties of derivation and case inflection (§4.5). These three categories form a continuum. The following subsections describe meanings of derivational suffixes.

4.3.1 AGENTIVE: -gaji/waji

The agentive suffix has two allomorphs: -gaji and -waji. The former follows consonants (4-15a) whereas the latter follows liquids and vowels (4-15b-c).

(4-15) a. wirdin-gaji
tie.up-AGENT
police man

b. bulbul-waji
cover-AGENT
blanket

c. gumarn-u-waji
cut-NF-AGENT
knife

The agentive suffix usually attaches to coverbs (4-15a-b, 4-16a-b) or non-finite verbs (4-15c, 4-16c-e) but it can follow nouns (4-16f-h), too. The agent suffix generally

[104] In some examples, non-finite forms of inflecting verbs (without any other overt nominal suffixes) can also behave like nominalised verbs. Therefore, the non-finite suffix -u on inflecting verbs may also be treated as a nominaliser (§9.1.8.7).

indicates that something or someone is habitually or typically involved in the action or motion or is closely associated with the entity. The referent can be: (i) an actor of the action or motion (4-15a, 4-16a-d, f and g); (ii) a place where the action is done (4-16d); (iii) an instrument which is used to carry out the action (4-15b-c, 4-16c and e); (iv) someone or something that is in a certain state or have a certain characteristic (4-16f and h). The agentive suffix sometimes implies that the referent, an agent of the action, is good at doing the action (4-16d and f).

(4-16)

a.	burja	'run'	burja-waji	'(good, fast) runner, motor car'
	rarraj	'run'	rarraj-gaji	
b.	bard	'fly'	bard-gaji	'a bird (which can fly), aeroplane, helicopter'
c.	nyang-	'perceive'	nyang-u-waji	'doctor; mirror; spectacles'
d.	gambarn-	'burn'	gambarn-u-waji	'(good) cooker; cooking place'
e.	jaman-	'grind'	jaman-u-waji	'grinder; grind stone'
f.	jaru	'language'	jaru-waji	'(good) language speaker, talkative person, language worker'
g.	dimana	'horse'	dimana-waji	'horseman, rider'
h.	ngawa	'water'	ngawa-waji	'alcoholic person, 'rain' bird (a type of bird which appears before raining so people think that it is a sign of rain)'

This agentive suffix is more commonly used to label entities especially that were brought into their world from outside and then these labels are more conventionalised expressions to refer to those entities in the modern language.[105] For example, burja-waji/rarraj-gaji (4-16a) and bard-gaji (4-16b) are more frequently used for the meanings 'aeroplane/helicopter' and 'motorcar' respectively. The meanings of nyang-u-waji 'doctor, mirror, spectacles' (4-16c) have also conventionalised for newly-introduced entities.

The agentive suffix can also follow the repetitive suffix which directly attaches to

[105] Jones (2011) also states that the similar suffix is commonly used to create new labels for entities, to avoid taboo words, and refer to newly-introduced implements in Wangkajunga. There is no evidence in Wanyjirra that speakers started to use expressions with this suffix to avoid taboo words. However, the possible other reason why Wanyjirra speakers often use this suffix is that they cannot remember the original Wanyjirra names for entities. For example, the words juwijgurna and jiwawurru refer to a bowerbird in Wanyjirra. But they are hardly used, at least, not the words firstly uttered by speakers. The other label, jiyarn-u-waji (literally 'stealer') is more frequently used to refer to this bird. Speakers more easily remember this label because it is created based on the habit of bowerbirds, i.e., stealing anything to decorate their nests. It is also referred to as 'stealing bird' in English.

coverbs. The derived form means that something or someone is continually or habitually doing an activity as in (4-17).

(4-17) wulb-garra-waji
jump-REP-AGENT
kangaroo

A complex verb can be followed by this suffix. A coverb is immediately followed by the non-finite form of the inflecting verb with the agentive suffix. The nominalised stem may then be inflected for the ergative in (4-18). Compare with the same complex verb functioning as a verbal predicate (4-19).

(4-18) yalu-nggu **yilying-marn-u-waji-lu** ngu=yi=lu
DIST2-ERG make.noise-SAY-NF-AGENT-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ

man-ana wan.gaj
get-PRES bad
TT: That noisy people make me feel no good. [MS: TTfn100806]
Note: I changed the transcription yiyiling to yilying.

(4-19) wagurra yilying ma-nyja=lu
NEG make.noise SAY-IMP=AUG.SBJ
Don't yell/ Don't be noisy. [MS: CSfn021110]

This construction is very rare because when a complex verb takes this suffix, the inflecting verb is often deleted. For example, bard-gaji (4-16a) above can be bard-gang-u-waji (fly-CARRY-NF-AGENT) where the inflecting verb is inserted between the coverb and -waji like the complex verb bard gang- in a finite clause.

Derivation from a verb with the suffix -gaji/waji is also found in combination with nouns. Such nouns are objects of the verb in finite clauses. A verb with the agentive suffix immediately follows the noun. In (4-20), the object NP and non-finite verb are combined and marked with the agentive suffix. In (4-21), the derived nominal combined with the preceding noun 'butcher' is further followed by the elative suffix in relational use.

(4-20) nyila ngu **jaru-marn-u-waji**
DIST1 REAL language-talk-NF-AGENT
TT: That [person] is a [good] language speaker. [MS: TTfn110901]

(4-21) ngu=rna ward yan-i **ngarin-bung-u-waji-nginyi**=ma
REAL=1MIN.SBJ return GO-PAST meat-hit-NF-AGENT-EL=TOP

Nicholson-dawu Marrala-lawu
PLACE.NAME-ALL PLACE.NAME-ALL
From the butchers, I went back to Nicholson, Marrala. [MS: CSfn020909]

There is a single example where a non-finite verb and its object NP are both marked with the agentive suffix.[106] Semantically this is similar to (4-20).

(4-22) nyila ngu **jaru-waji** **marn-u-waji**
DIST1 REAL language-AGENT talk-NF-AGENT
TT: That [person] is a [good?] language speaker. [MS: TTfn110901]
CS: That [person] is a good language speaker.

However, it is more common that the non-finite verb marked with the agentive suffix is omitted in such examples. In (4-23), jaru-waji is used for the meaning 'language worker (or linguist)'. It often has the meaning 'a person who has knowledge of indigenous languages' when it refers to elder indigenous people.[107]

(4-23) gujarra yidagina \ ngayu nganinga ngumbarna \
two.ABS child.ABS 1MIN 1MIN.OBL1 spouse.ABS

an Naangari **jaru-waji**
and ♀subsection.ABS language-AGENT.ABS
Two kids, me, my husband and Nangari, the language worker.
[KD: CSfn041010]

If the agentive suffix occurs with nouns without verbs or coverbs, the meanings become more ambiguous and are interpreted in context. They are broadly interpreted as something or someone that is habitually or typically associated with the entity followed by this suffix. For instance, ngarin-gaji (meat-AGENT) could be 'cattle

[106] The structure like (4-22) is also found in Gurindji. In this language, direct objects of verbs or coverbs are independently marked with the agentive suffix or the dative suffix (McConvell, 2005b). This use of the dative suffix is not observed in Wanyjirra.
[107] Since the derived nominal marn-u-waji often refers to 'TV', 'radio', 'microphone', and 'talkative person', it is not used alone for the meaning 'language speaker' unlike jaru-waji.

station worker', 'butcher' or 'someone or something that likes to eat meat' without context. However, based on context, it can be interpreted as 'meat-eater' as in (4-24). To avoid ambiguity, the non-finite verb 'eat' ngarn-u- can be inserted between ngarin and the agentive suffix.

(4-24) warlagu ngu=lu **ngarin-gaji**
dog.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ meat-AGENT.ABS
Dogs are meat-eaters. [MS: CSfn280509]

4.3.2 'OTHER': -gari, -gariny/wariny

There are two set of forms, -gari (no lenited form *-wari) and -gariny/wariny,[108] which are phonologically close to each other. The former form is shared with Malngin (Ise, 1999: 30), Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013: 27) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 157) and it occurs in any morphophonemic condition. The latter is shared with Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 231). The fortis form -gariny follows a consonant whereas the lenis form -wariny follows a vowel. These two types are competing in modern Wanyjirra.

These suffixes express the meaning 'other, another' as shown in (4-25). The suffix form -gari can be replaced with the other suffix form -wariny (i.e., ngurra-wariny-ja).

(4-25) *TM told me that she lost her knitted hat. I asked her where she left it in Wanyjirra as follows. Then she answered me.*

CS: wanyjirra=n nyirn man-i
where=2MIN.SBJ lose GET-PAST
TM: Where did you lose it? [CS: CSfn110810]

TM: *matbi* **ngurra-gari-la**
maybe camp-OTHER-LOC
Maybe [I lost it] at another house. [TM: CSfn110810]

If these suffixes follow the temporal nominal gabud 'morning/tomorrow' and the time adverb yunguyung 'yesterday', the derived words express 'the time after gabud' (i.e.,

[108] Like the Jaru suffix -wariny, the same suffix form is also used to express 'alone, by oneself' in Wanyjirra when it attaches to core forms of free pronouns (§5.3.1). In this thesis, these two suffix forms are treated as distinct suffixes because they have different meanings and different nominal subclass members to which they can attach.

the day after tomorrow) and 'the time before yunguyung' (i.e., the day before yesterday) respectively.

(4-26) *MS is telling me that she cannot come to work for me on the next day.*

wagurra	ngu=rna	yan-gu	gabud \
NEG	REAL=1MIN.SBJ	go-FUT	morning

gabud-gariny	ngu=rna	yan-gu
morning-OTHER	REAL=1MIN.SBJ	go-FUT

I cannot come tomorrow. I will come the day after tomorrow.
[MS: CSfn170609]

In (4-27), the adverb mayalu etymologically contains the 'ONLY' clitic =lu (§11.4.1) followed by -wariny, i.e., maya=lu-wariny. It is an exceptional example of the clitic being followed by a suffix. The form mayalu seems to be fossilised as a stem and, with -wariny, be conventionalised for the meaning 'more and more'.[109] Although the Wanyjirra corpus contains no example in which the suffix -wariny directly follows maya, the form -gari always directly follows it as in (4-28).

(4-27)

yala-nginyi=lu		ngu=rnalu	yirran-an-i	*na*
DIST2-EL=ONLY		REAL=1AUG.SBJ	put-CONT-PAST	NOW

nguyurru	*na*	nyila	lamawurd \
many.ABS	NOW	DIST1	witchetty.grub.ABS

mayalu-wariny	wilinyi
more-OTHER	hunt

CS#: After that, we put many, those witchetty grubs [in the billycan, and] hunted more and more. [TM: 10_1019_5.038]

(4-28)

ngu=rna	yan-ana	wilinyi	**maya-gari**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ	go-PRES	hunt	more-OTHER

I go hunting more. [MS: 76_12_1NP(1).056'''']

4.3.3 'REALLY': -nyiyarni

The suffix -nyiyarni is rarely used in modern Wanyjirra. Some elicited examples show that it attaches to a noun or adjective to emphasise the attribute of the entity. In (4-29),

[109] The similar example maya=rni-kari ('more=ONLY-OTHER') is found in Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013: 234). The Gurindji =rni is equivalent to the Wanyjirra clitic =lu (see also §11.4.1).

the suffix enhances smallness of the baby whereas in (4-30), it emphasise 'normal water, i.e., real, tap water not alcohol'. The relevant examples are often translated as '*propa* (proper)' by my consultants.

(4-29) nyila jin.ga **yamaji-nyiyarni**
DIST1 baby.ABS small-REALLY
That baby is very little. [MS: CSfn140809]

(4-30) ngu=rna nga-lu gugij **ngawa-nyiyarni**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ INGEST-FUT drink water-REALLY
I want to drink real water (not alcohol). [MS: CSfn140809]

4.3.4 Personaliser: -jang and -ward

The personaliser suffix has two separate forms: -jang and -ward. They are in free variation. Consultants agree that -jang can be substituted with -ward and vice versa. Similar suffix forms are found in other Ngumpin-Yapa languages: -jangka in Walmajarri (Richards & Hudson, 1990: 378); -jangu, -janga and -jang in Jaru varieties and -jang in Malngin (Tsunoda 1981: 222); the same form -jang in Gurindji (McConvell, 2005b). However, the form -ward is found only in Wanyjirra.

The personaliser suffix only attaches to three locational/temporal nominals: gambarri 'front, first'; ngumayi 'behind, later' and the coverb yanggarni 'behind' to describe a person: (i) who is older or younger generation and ancestor or descendant and; (ii) who does something first or later. For example, yanggarni and ngumayi marked with -jang express the meaning 'younger generation' (4-31) and 'people who do something later than others' (4-32). In (4-33), the suffix -ward follows the nominal gambarri to express the first born child.

(4-31) nyila=ma jaru=ma ngu=rnalu yirran-i
DIST1=TOP story.ABS=TOP REAL=1AUG.SBJ put-PAST

langa-ngga **yanggarni-jang-gu**
ear-LOC later-PERS-DAT
TM: That story, we keep *langa* ears for *behind* ones.
CS@: That story, we remember for younger generations.
[TM: CSfn100909]

(4-32)

1. ngaliwa **ngumayi-jang**
   1AUG.INC behind-PERS.ABS
   TM: We *behind* ones.
   CS@: We were late.

2. jalangurra ngu=lu yan-i ngaliwa *na*
   long.ago REAL=3AUG.SBJ go-PAST 1PL.INC NOW
   CS#: They came long time ago.

3. yan-gu=liwa barlag
   GO-FUT=1AUG.INC.SBJ mix
   CS#: Now we will join [them]. [TM: CSfn200810]

(4-33) ngana=nggu nyununga **gambarri-ward**
who.ABS=2MIN.OBJ 2MIN.OBL1 front-PERS.ABS
Who is your first [child]? [MS: CSfn230609]

4.3.5 'LACK': -gunyja/wunyja

The 'LACK' suffix has two allomorphs: -gunyja after a consonant (4-34a) and -wunyja after a vowel (4-34b). However, the former undergoes morphological change because of a nasal-stop consonant sequence. In the current corpus, there is no example where the underlying form -gunyja occurs. Speakers sometimes insert the epenthetic suffix -gu (§2.6.5) between a consonant-ending stem and -wunyja as in (4-34c) where -gu occurs between the coverb magin and -wunyja. Then, the nasal of -wunyja is dissimilated because of nasal-coda dissimilation as applied on the form (4-34a).

(4-34) a. ngarin-guja 'suffering from lack of meat'
b. ngawa-wunyja 'thirsty'
c. magin-gu-wuja 'sleepy'

The suffix -gunyja/wunyja encodes the lack of an entity. Semantically it is similar to the privative suffix (§4.5.2). However, unlike the privative suffix, the 'LACK' suffix is used especially if shortage or lack of the entity might physically affect someone or something. It means '(X) suffers from the lack of Y' or more broadly '(X) has a problem with Y'. In (4-35), ngawa-wunyja means 'thirsty (i.e., suffering from the lack of water)'. On the other hand, in (4-36), ngawa with the privative suffix means that the referent is not keeping or possessing water (e.g., a water bottle).

(4-35) yalu mawun-du **ngawa-wunyja-lu** ngu gambarn-ana nalija
DIST2 man-ERG water-LACK-ERG REAL burn-PRES tea.ABS
That thirsty man is boiling tea. [MS: CSfn230609]

(4-36) ngawa-mulung ngu garriny-ana
water-PRIV REAL be-PRES
MS: [That little] one has no water.
CS#: He has no water. [MS: CSfn200709]

When the 'LACK' suffix and the privative suffix attach to body part nouns, the former expresses lack of normal body functions but the privative suffix expresses missing body parts or lack of normal body functions (§4.5.2). Therefore, the meanings of the privative are broader than the 'LACK' suffix.[110]

(4-37) milba-wunyja
eye-LACK
blind. [TM: CSfn130809]

(4-38) barndawurru-wuja
back-LACK
MS: something wrong with [his] back. [TM: CSfn130809]

The final example is more conventionalised item: nyamba-wuja 'what's wrong?' or 'why...?' where the interrogative pronoun is followed by the LACK suffix.[111]

[110] In fact, there are only two examples of the 'LACK' suffix following body parts. The meaning 'lacking body functions' is mainly expressed by the privative suffix.

[111] Alternatively, this form could be analysed as naymba-wu=ja (what-DAT=QTOP) with the question topic clitic =ja as described for Bilinarra and Gurindji. In Bilinarra, this clitic attaches to interrogatives referring to someone or something mentioned previously in the discourse or the meaning like 'what about?' (nyamba=ja what.ABS=QTOP) (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 219). In Gurindji too, nyamba=ja means 'what about?' and this clitic usually attaches to the last word of a NP or coverbs (McConvell, 2005c). If Wanyjirra also has this clitic, however, =ja only occurs with the dative form of the interrogative nyamba in this language. In addition, it does not seem to function as a topic clitic marking previously-mentioned referents. In (4-39), the interrogative is used for new information. In Wanyjirra, the form nyamba-wuja is always used to ask a reason for an unexpected or undesirable event or something negative. This is probably because it contains the 'LACKING' suffix meaning 'suffering from the lack of something' or 'having a problem with something'. In contrast, nyamba-wu (what-DAT) more generally means 'for what' (purpose) or 'why' (reason).

(4-39) *This is an extracted from a story about two Aboriginal men who first saw a white man and horse. They were frightened so they sang a special song and tried to put a curse on them to kill them. But it didn't work with them.*

nyamba-wuja	nyila	gula	gun.ga	wandi-nya
what-LACK	DIST1	NEG	dead	FALL-PAST

TM: "Why didn't he die?" [MS: 97_31_2.037]

4.3.6 Adjectiviser : -bari/wari

This suffix is in very limited use and the corpus only contains a few examples. It attaches to coverbs or nouns and indicates that the derived nominal is characterised by or associated with the event or the entity encoded by coverbs or nouns. -bari follows a consonant whereas -wari follows a liquid or vowel.[112]

(4-40)

nyila	wananga	gula	yura,	**dirriny-bari**
DIST1	bag.ABS	NEG	good.ABS	through.hole-ADJ.ABS

TM: That bag was no good one.
CS%#: The bag was not good and holey (i.e., it had holes). [TM: CSfn131010]

(4-41) 1.

gurrurij-ju	balmarn	ga-nya	nyila	jawaranya
car-ERG	bump	CARRY-PAST	DIST1	cup.ABS

MS: A car drove on the cup.
CS%: A car drove over the cup.

2. **gulburr-wari**
destroy-ADJ
MS: [It's] useless. [TM: CSfn131110]

(4-42)

nyawa	ngu=n	yan-i	**warurru-wari**
PROX1	REAL=2MIN.SBJ	go-PAST	midnight-ADJ.ABS

TM: Here, you, *latebala* came.
CS%: Here, you came, the night owl. [TM: CSfn160610]

4.3.7 Associative: -ngarna

The associative suffix attaches to place names and nouns denoting geographical features (like bin.ga 'river' and bamarr 'stone, rock, mountain') to show that the referent (mostly animate) dwells at or associates with a particular place. Typically it is the place where the referent was born, where the referent originally came from and

[112] This suffix is also found in Gurindji (McConvell, 2005b; Meakins et al., 2013: 57) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 161) and is more productively used in these languages than in Wanyjirra.

where the referent basically lives. For example, *Gunji*-ngarna (4-43) and bamarr-ngarna (4-44) mean 'the one living at Koongie Park (here, a cow)' and 'the one living in hilly and rocky areas (especially a hill kangaroo)' respectively.

(4-43) yalu-nggu gardiya-lu ngu=lu balmarn ga-nya
DIST2-ERG white.man-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ bump CARRY-PAST

***Gunji*-ngarna** gun.ga
PLACE.NAME-ASSC.ABS dead.ABS
That white men bumped against a cow from Koongie Park dead (by their car).
[TM: CSfn080909]

(4-44) ya-n.gu=li yanggarrb \ **bamarr-ngarna-wu** \
GO-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ hunt stone-ASSC-DAT
TT: We will go for hill kangaroos.
CS#: ALT: Let's go hunting for hill kangaroos. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).158]

4.3.8 Suffixes for kin terms

This subsection examines derivational suffixes which attach to kin terms and other relationship terms of human such as jaliji 'friend' and jimarri 'age-mate'. McConvell (1982) describes a detailed system of such terms and suffixes in Gurindji. The Wanyjirra corpus only contains a small number of those suffixes.

4.3.8.1 Kinship: -yi/yu

The kinship suffix creates certain kin term stems. Such kin terms are[113]:

(4-45) a. baba-yi elder brother
b. mali-yi wife's mother; son's wife
c. ngama-yi mother; mother's sister
d. ngaja-yi younger sibling
e. ngala-yi offspring; sister's offspring (for female ego)
f. barn.gu-yu cross cousin
g. ngabu-yu father; father's brother

The last two words have -yu instead of -yi, reflecting progressive vowel assimilation.

[113] These kin stems also occur with the kinship ending -rti in Warlpiri (Nash, 1992). According to Nash (1992), the kinship ending *-rti is found in many Australian languages. In modern Wanyjirra, this ending *-rti corresponds to -yi~-yu and -ji. However, kin terms ending with -ji never occur alone. Therefore, -ji can be treated as a part of the stem. Examples include: gurriji 'mother/daughter-in-law'; jawiji 'mother's father and his siblings'; and jaliji 'friend'.

Although I treat -yi/yu as a separate suffix here, it is likely that this suffix has become absorbed into kin stems and lost its morphic status and meaning in the modern language (cf. Koch, 1996: 244). The kin terms listed above can occur without -yi/yu when they are used as vocative as in (4-46) and when they are followed by other kin suffixes, e.g., the third person kin possessor suffix -nyan (4-47). However, they need -yi/yu if they are directly followed by other non-kin nominal suffixes as in (4-48). A possible source of -yi/yu is the first person minimal object clitic =yi (§7.1), as suggested by Nash (1992: 128), but now kin terms with -yi/yu can also be used with a second or third person oblique pronoun encoding a kin possessor as in (4-49).[114]

(4-46) *In this story, a girl is learning a process of bread-making from her mother. They have just finished winnowing seeds from dirt. The daughter tells her mother that she is going to grind those seeds.*

ngama,	ngayu	*nao* \...	ngu=rna	jama-wu	nyila	wilarr
M.VOC	1MIN	NOW	REAL=1MIN.SBJ	grind-FUT	DIST1	seed.ABS

Mother, now me. I will grind those seeds. [MS: CSfn080909]

(4-47)

yamaji-lu	ngu	bila	man-ana	**ngama-nyan**
small-ERG	REAL	chase	GET-PRES	M-3KIN.POSS.ABS

CS#: The kid is chasing his mother. [TM: CSfn011009]

(4-48)

nganingu-lu	**ngama-yi-lu**	jany	ma-ni	nyawa
1MIN.OBL1-ERG	M-KIN-ERG	squeeze	GET-PAST	PROX1

mangarri
veg.food.ABS
CS#: My mother squeezed this food (an orange). [TM: CSfn240709]

(4-49)

ngu=la	marn-i	**nyanungu-wu**	**ngama-yi-wu**
REAL=3MIN.DAT	say-PAST	3MIN.OBL1-DAT	M-KIN-DAT

He talked to his mother. [TM: CSfn070710]

Other kin terms which do not contain -yi/yu (e.g. jaja 'grandmother') are used for vocative and any other morphological situations.

[114] In Kaytetye, the first person minimal kin possessor suffix -ye is also absorbed into the kin stem arlweye 'father', originating from *arlwe-ye 'my father' (Koch, 1996: 244).

4.3.8.2 Second person kinship possessor: -nga/ngu[115]

This suffix is used to express a second person possessor or relator of certain kin. That is, the possessor or relator is the hearer and is translated as 'your'. It does not mark the number of possessors. This suffix form is shared with Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981). In Gurindji and Bilinarra, however, the form -marnany is used for a similar meaning (McConvell, 1982; Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014). In Wanyjirra, this suffix follows vocative forms (i.e., without the kinship suffix -yi/yu) of kin terms listed in (4-45) and stems of other kin terms as shown in (4-50) and (4-51) respectively.

(4-50) wanyjirra=gu **ngama-nga**
where=2MIN.OBJ M-2KIN.POSS.ABS
Where is your mother? [MS: TTfn050802]

(4-51) **ngumbarna-nga** yan-ana
spouse-2KIN.POSS.ABS go-PRES
Your husband is walking. [MS: CSfn081009]

The following two examples show that the suffix -nga is used for two or more kin relators. The number is clearly specified by pronominal clitics.

(4-52) Jirrbngarri ngu=ngguwula **ngawuju-nga** nyunbulanginy
PERSON.NAME.ABS REAL=2UA.OBJ FM-2KIN.POSS 2UA.OBL2

Jabalyi-wu
♂subsection-DAT
CS: Jirrbngarri is the grandmother to you-two, to Jabalyi men.
[MS: TTfn260700]

[115] In Tsunoda's corpus, there are a few examples where regressive vowel assimilation occurs on this suffix. It becomes -ngu if it is followed by the ergative suffix -lu, the dative suffix -wu and the originative suffix -wuny, for example ngama-ngu-lu (mother-2KIN.POSS-ERG), ngawuju-ngu-wuny-ja (father's mother-2KIN.POSS-ORIG-LOC). However, the corpus lacks examples including complete sentences. On the other hand, McConvell (1982: 102) documented that this suffix form of the western dialect of Gurindji undergo a progressive assimilation rather than a regressive assimilation. -ngu occurs after the stem ending with /u/ and -nga occurs after the stem ending with /a/. Therefore, the occurrence of the variant -ngu would be different among speakers.

(4-53) Jirrbngarri ngu=nyurra **ngawuju-nga** nyurraranginy
PERSON.NAME.ABS REAL=2AUG.OBJ FM-2KIN.POSS 2AUG.OBL2

Jabalyi-wu
♂subsection-DAT
CS: Jirrbngarri is the grandmother to you mob, to Jabalyi men.
[MS: TTfn260700]

However, this kinship owner suffix is not extensively used because a second person oblique pronoun and/or a pronominal clitic are more commonly used. Example (4-54), which corresponds to (4-50), has the kin term followed by -yi and the relator is only specified by the pronominal clitic. In (4-55), the relator of the kin is specified by the pronoun nyununga instead of the suffix -nga. Only a few examples show the suffix -nga and the relevant pronoun(s) co-occuring in a clause to specify the same kin possessor, as in (4-56).

(4-54) wanyjirra=gu ngama-yi
where=2MIN.OBJ M-KIN.ABS
Where is your mother? [TM: CSfn130810]

(4-55) nyununga ngumbarna yan-ana
2MIN.OBL1 spouse.ABS go-PRES
Your husband is walking. [MS: CSfn081009]

(4-56) wanyjirra=gu nyununga **ngama-nga**
where=2MIN.OBJ 2MIN.OBL1 M-2KIN.POSS.ABS
TT: Where is your mother? [MS: TTfn050802]

4.3.8.3 Third person kinship possessor: -nyan[116]

The suffix -nyan marks a third person possessor/relator of a certain kin member. The distribution of this suffix is similar to the suffix -nga above. The suffix -nyan attaches to vocative forms of kin terms listed in (4-45) as in (4-57). It also follows stems of other kin terms as in (4-58).

[116] Previous work had stated that certain kin terms (jaja 'MM/♀DD/DS'; mugul 'FZ') do not seem to be followed by -nyan (Senge, 2008: 71). However, further research shows that this kin term can also take this suffix.

(4-57) ngabu-nyan-du ngu barnany-barnany man-ana ngurra
F-3KIN.POSS-ERG REAL RDP-clean GET-PRES camp.ABS
MS: Father *one klinembat* camp.
CS: His/her/their father is cleaning the camp. [MS: CSfn081009]

(4-58) jaliji-nyan ngu=nggu yan-ana
friend-3KIN.POSS.ABS REAL=2MIN.OBJ go-PRES
His friend is coming to you. [TM: CSfn141009]

Like the second person kin possessor suffix, this suffix is also used to encode possessors irrespective of their number. In (4-59), duality of the kin relator is expressed by the unit-augmented pronominal clitic and the dual marker -wuyarra (§4.6.1) whereas in (4-60), plurality is specified by the nominal stem and its cross-referencing pronominal clitic.

(4-59) **ngama-nyan** ngu=wulany nganany marn-i
M-3KIN.POSS.ABS REAL=3UA.OBJ stop SAY-PAST

yamaji-wuyarra-wu guya=wula=nyunu bung-an-i
small-DU-DAT SUB=3UA.SBJ=RR hit-CONT-PAST
Their mother intervened between two children when they were hitting each other. [MS: CSfn191009]

(4-60) yamayama-lu ngu=lu bila man-ana **ngama-nyan**
children-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ chase GET-PRES M-3KIN.POSS.ABS
Children are chasing their mother. [MS: CSfn161009]

4.3.8.4 Third person kinship possessor plural: -nyanbarra

This suffix expresses a third person relator of more than two kin members. It does not indicate that there are more than two third person kin relators. The form is made up on the suffix -nyan plus -barra. Since there is no such counterpart for the second person kinship possessor suffix -nga, and since this -barra does not follow other nouns and adjectives to show plurality of an entity in the corpus, two segments are treated as a single suffix.[117] In (4-61), the kinship possessor suffix -nyan occurs in a subject NP

[117] Gurindji has the plural suffix -rra which attaches to demonstratives (McConvell, 2005b; Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 37). Ise (1999) also reports that Malngin also has the same plural suffix for demonstratives. Therefore -barra in -nyanbarra can be analysed as the epenthetic -ba plus the plural suffix -rra. However, the plural suffix -rra is not observable in Wanyjirra. The same phonological form =rra is only found with adverbials and this =rra means 'again' (§11.4.3). In addition, -barra occurs with

and its plural form -nyanbarra occurs in an object NP. These suffixes encode different referents: the first is the third person augmented 'their', i.e., the children and; the latter is the third person minimal 'her', i.e., the mother.

(4-61) ngama-nyan-du ngu=yanu bina yung-ana
M-3KIN.POSS-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ know GIVE-PRES

jaru **ngala-nyanbarra**
language.ABS ♀Ch-3KIN.POSS.PL.ABS
Their mother is teaching her children the language. [MS: CSfn161009]

4.3.8.5 Dyadic: -lang[118]

The dyad suffix -lang attaches to kin terms without the kinship suffix -yi/yu. The dyad suffix expresses certain pairs of kinship members. Such kin relations can be symmetric and asymmetric, i.e., reciprocal and non-reciprocal (cf. Evans, 2003c). Symmetric dyadic kin words are given in Table 4.3 below. For examples, the kin term barn.gu 'cross cousin' is combined with the dyad suffix and the resultant form barn.gu-lang refers to a pair of people who call each other cross cousin. Note that the irregular affixation pattern is found in lambarr-gu-lang where the epenthetic suffix -gu is inserted between the kin terms ending with liquids and the dyad suffix. Also note that the word jaliji for 'friend', like other kin terms, takes the kinship dyad suffix. The corpus contains two triangular kin terms which also take the dyad suffix, i.e., narrumba-lang and wurdurdu-lang.

a few coverbs as an allomorph of the repetitive suffix (§9.2.3.3). These suffixes are related to the plural suffix -rra in Gurindji, Bilinarra and Malngin.

[118] The first liquid of the suffix is sometimes realised as the corresponding retroflex lateral in my observation. This could be a result of neutralisation of retroflex sounds or a result of influence from Gurindji which has the dyad suffix -rlang (McConvell, 1982).

Table 4.3: Examples of symmetric kin relations expressed by the dyad suffix

Kin terms used	Dyadic kin forms	Meaning: 'two people who call each other…'
cross cousin	barn.gu-lang	'cross cousins'
FF&♂SCh	gilagi-lang	'grandfather and his son's kid'
MM&♀DCh	jaja-lang	'grandmother and her daughter's kid'
FM&♀SCh	ngawuju-lang	'grandmother and her son's kid'
♂BW&HB ♀ZH&WZ		'siblings-in-law'
MF&♂DCh	jawiji-lang/ jami-lang[119]	'grandfather and his daughter's kid'
♀DH&WM	mali-lang	'son-in-law and mother-in-law'
WF&♂DH	lambarr-gu-lang	'son-in-law and father-in-law'
HF&♂SW		'daughter-in-law and father-in-law'
HM&♀SW	gurriji-lang	'mother-in-law and daughter-in-law'
HZ&♀BW	ngajal-gu-lang	'sisters-in-law'
WB&♂ZH	garndiya-lang	'brothers-in-law'
H&W	ngumbarna-lang	'husband and wife'[120]
friend	jaliji-lang	'friends'
B/Z	narrumba-lang	'two siblings/ two brothers (who are FM to the speaker)'
♀DDH/♀DSW	wurdurdu-lang	'husband and wife (who are ♀DCh and ♀DCh's H/W' to the speaker)'
MMH		'husband and wife (who are MM and MMH to the speaker)'

If a kin relation is asymmetric, the dyad suffix attaches to the term which encodes the senior person. For example, ngabu-lang, which is derived from the kin term ngabu-yu 'father', refers to 'father and (his) kid', i.e., ngabu-yu 'father' and wigi '(his) son' or ngalawiny '(his) daughter'. The junior terms wigi and ngalawiny are not chosen to take the dyad suffix for this couple. In case of two opposite-sex siblings, the male term is be suffixed by -lang irrespective of seniority, i.e., baba-lang (eB-DYAD) for 'elder brother and younger sister' as well as 'two brothers' and ngajal-gu-lang (yB/yZ-DYAD) 'younger brother and elder sister'. Table 4.4 provides all examples found in

[119] This is perhaps the Jaru form based on the Jaru kin term jamiji. However, Wanyjirra speakers do not use the form like *jawi-lang where the final element -ji of the kin term jawiji is deleted and is combined with the dyad suffix.

[120] The words for 'husband and wife' vary depending on relationships between the speaker and the couple. It seems that ngumbarna-lang is used for 'general' couples including: (i) the speaker and his/her partner and; (ii) a daughter and her husband for a female speaker. The triangular kin term wurdurdu-lang in Table 4.3 is also one of such examples referring to specific couples.

the corpus.

Table 4.4: Examples of asymmetric kin relations with the dyad suffix

Kin terms used	Dyadic kin forms	Meaning
F/FB	ngabu-lang	'father and (his) kid'
M/MZ	ngama-lang	'mother and (her) kid'
MB	ngamirni-lang	'uncle and (his) nephew/niece (from his sister side)'
FZ	mugul-gu-lang	'aunt and (her) nephew/niece (from her brother side)
eB	baba-lang	'two brothers/elder brother and younger sister'
eZ	gawurlu-lang	'two sisters'
yB/yZ	ngajal-gu-lang	'younger brother and elder sister'

4.3.8.6 'DECD': -jayi/yayi

This suffix has two allomorphs: -jayi after consonants (4-62) and -yayi after vowels (4-63 and 4-64). This suffix attaches to kin terms to indicate that the referent was deceased. The same suffix form also occurs with human referents other than kin terms in Gurindji (McConvell, 2005b). But no such example is found in the Wanyjirra corpus. Examples show that it can directly follow kin terms (4-63) and follows the kin possessor suffixes -nyan (4-62) and -nga (4-64).

(4-62) ngumbarna-nyan-**jayi**
spouse-3KIN.POSS-DECD
CS#: His/her deceased wife/husband [MS: TTfn290897].

(4-63) jaja-**yayi**
MM/♀DCh-DECD
CS#: The deceased grandmother/grandchild [MS: TTfn290897]

(4-64) barn.gu-nga-**yayi**
cross.cousin-2KIN.POSS-DECD
CS#: Your deceased cross cousin [MS: TTfn250897]

4.4 Case suffixes

Wanyjirra case suffixes have one or more different functions including adnominal, relational, referential and subordinating functions (§3.2). This section focuses on forms and roles of each case suffix encoding grammatical or semantic roles of NPs.

Examples cited here mainly contain nominals other than pronouns. Case marking on free pronouns will be discussed in §5.1.4.

4.4.1 Forms

Forms of case suffixes show six types of declension depending on morphophonemic characteristics of the stem, i.e., (i) whether the stem ends with open syllable or not; (ii) whether it is dimoraic or multi-moraic; (iii) what quality of consonant is in the end of the stem. Table 4.5 summarises the forms of ten case markers with example stems.

Table 4.5: Wanyjirra case allomorphy

	Allomorphic environments					
	Vowel-final			Consonant-final		
	dimoraic		multi-moraic	Liquid	Peripheral	Coronal
	without Nasal+Stop cluster	with Nasal+Stop cluster		rr, l, rl, (ly)[121]	b, m, g, ng	d, rd, j, n, rn, ny
e.g.	jaja 'MM' wirlga 'axe'	wanyja 'woman'	yamaji 'small/child' maarda 'uninitiated boy'	mugul 'FZ'	nun.giying 'family'	mawun 'man'
ABS	-ø					
ERG	-nggu	-gu	-lu	-u ~ -Lu*	-gulu	-Du**
DAT	-wu	-wu	-wu	-u ~ -uwu	-gu	-gu
ORIG	-wuny	-wuny	-wuny	-wuny	-guny	-guny
COMIT	-wunyja	-wuja	-wunyja	-wunyja	-guja	-guja[122]
LOC	-ngga	-ga	-la	-a ~ -La*	-gula	-Da**
ALL	-nggawu	-gawu	-lawu	-awu~ -Lawu*	-gulawu	-Dawu**
PURP	-wurra	-wurra	-wurra	-wurra	-gurra	-gurra
ABL	-ngulu					
EL	-nginyi					

*L represents liquid consonants (l, rl or rr) identical to the preceding liquids.
**D represents stop consonants homorganic to the preceding stops.

4.4.1.1 Absolutive, ablative and elative suffixes

As seen in Table 4.5, there is no variation in the form of the absolutive, ablative and

[121] There is no example where nominal stems ending with ly take overt case suffixes.
[122] If a stem ends with a non-nasal consonant, the comitative case allomorph would be -gunyja without having nasal-deletion (§2.6.1.1). However, there is no example of this case suffix following a non-nasal coronal consonant.

elative cases. The absolutive case is simply the bare stem.

4.4.1.2 Ergative, locative and allative suffixes

The forms of the ergative, locative and allative case suffixes show similar declension patterns based on the above three allomorphic conditions. The locative allomorphs are the same as the ergative allomorphs except that the final vowel is /a/ rather than /u/. The allative suffixes add wu to the locative allomorphs.

The allomorphs for vowel-final stems depend on whether the stems are dimoraic or multi-moraic, i.e., -nggu, -ngga, -nggawu and -lu, -la, -lawu respectively. The allomorphs for stems including nasal-stop consonant clusters are reduced forms of the former -gu, -ga and -gawu respectively. If the ergative, locative and allative allomorphs follow coronal consonants, these suffix forms also vary, with the first stop consonant homorganic to the preceding consonant. Examples are listed in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Allomorphs of ergative, locative and allative suffixes after coronal consonants

Stems	Ergative	Locative	Allative
mawun 'man'	mawun-du	mawun-da	mawun-dawu
maarn 'cloud'	maarn-rdu	maarn-rda	maarn-rdawu
jangilany 'fire'	jangilany-ju	jangilany-ja	jangilany-jawu
dirrmid 'fresh water croc'	dirrmid-du	dirrmid-da	dirrmid-dawu
jun.gard 'smoke'	jun.gard-rdu	jun.gard-rda	jun.gard-rdawu
wumaj 'wind'	wumaj-ju	wumaj-ja	wumaj-jawu

The allomorphs for stems ending with peripheral consonants are composed of -gu plus the same forms as those which follow the vowel-final multi-moraic stems. This segment -gu was previously analysed as a linking (epenthetic) suffix which is inserted between stems and case allomorphs to avoid certain consonant-sequences (Senge, 2008). However, this study analyses it as part of case allomorphs. In (4-65), the ergative NP is formed by the stem plus the ergative allomorph -gulu. If the form -gulu consisted of two separate suffixes, i.e., the linking suffix -gu plus the ergative suffix -lu, the following ergative case suffix should have been the allomorph -gu following the vowel-final dimoraic base stem with a nasal-stop sequence *dung-gu-gu based on allomorphic conditions. Therefore, it is more plausible to analyse these elements as a

single suffix. Likewise the locative allomorph -gula in (4-66) can be treated as a single suffix. Therefore, these forms can all be treated as single allomorphs.

(4-65) **dung-gulu** nga=li jungguj bung-gu *na*
satiated-ERG REAL=1UA.INC.SBJ depart HIT-FUT NOW
We, being satisfied, will take off now. [MS: CSfn010710]

(4-66) nyawa *mani* yirra ***bag*-gula** man-da ngarin
PROX1 money.ABS put.IMP bag-LOC get-IMP meat.ABS

mangarri *money*-yaru-lu
veg.food money-PROP-ERG
Put this money in the bag. [And] buy beef and bread using this money.
[MS: CSfn170909]

The allomorphs following liquids differ from those which follow other consonants and they start with vowels, -u, -a and -awu. However, it is also common for speakers to geminate the liquids after the stems ending with l, rl and rr as demonstrated in Table 4.7. These geminated forms were recorded with two speakers (MS and TM).

Table 4.7: Allomorphs of ergative, locative and allative suffixes after liquids

Stems	Ergative	Locative	Allative
mugul 'FZ'	mugul-lu ~ mugul-u	mugul-la ~ mugul-a	mugul-lawu ~ mugul-awu
bamarr 'stone'	bamarr-rru ~ bamarr-u	bamarr-rra ~ bamarr-a	bamarr-rrawu[114]~ bamarr-awu
dunggurl 'headband'	dung.gurl-rlu ~ dunggurl-u	dung.gurl-rla ~ dunglgurl-a	dunggurl-rlawu[123]~ dunggurl-awu

4.4.1.3 Dative, originative, comitative and purposive suffixes

Suffix forms of the dative, originative, comitative and purposive cases do not depend on the number of morae of a stem. They basically vary based on whether they follow vowels or consonants. However, only the dative case has distinct allomorphs for liquid-final stems, i.e., -u and -uwu. The former form results from further lenition of the allomorph -wu. The latter could be established through reanalysis of the form -u whereby -u is treated as an epenthetic vowel and consequently is followed by the

[123] These allative forms were made up by CS and approved by TM and MS. But they were never found in speakers' spontaneous production.

form -wu. Both dative forms are used synchronically. However, the allomorph -u is mainly found in Tsunoda's materials collected in 1970s whereas the latter form is only found in materials collected after 2000s. In my corpus, -u is often avoided, to maintain distinction from the ergative allomorph -u.

The form of the originative case can be made up on the dative –gu/wu plus –ny which is described as a 'nominaliser' in Gurindji (McConvell, 2005b; Meakins et al., 2013: 56) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 218). However, unlike in these languages, -ny, without the preceding element -wu/gu, is not used as a nominaliser to derive a noun from other word class members such as coverbs in Wanyjirra.[124]

The comitative case is a 'compound' case made up from the originative -guny/wuny plus the locative -ja which behave as a single suffix in relational use (cf. Blake, 2001; Schweiger, 2000).[125] Nasal deletion occurs in the comitative suffix, i.e., -guja/wuja if a stem ends with a nasal or contains a nasal-stop cluster (§2.6.1.1).

4.4.2 Roles

4.4.2.1 Absolutive

The absolutive case typically marks subjects (S) of intransitive (§12.5.2), extended intransitive (§12.5.3), quasi-transitive (§12.5.4) and semi-ditransitive clauses (§12.5.8), and direct and secondary objects (DO and O_2). Examples include the intransitive subject gardiya (4-67) and the direct object ngarlu (4-68). It can also indicate 'cognate objects' (cf. Austin, 1982; Simpson, 1991: 343) of certain intransitive clauses as in (4-69). I do not overtly specify the existence of the absolutive marker -ø in examples but I add information that stems are absolutive onto the lines of glossing.

(4-67) *en*…(0.8) *an* **gardiya** ngu marri *nao* yan-i \
and and white.man.ABS REAL off NOW GO-PAST
TM: And the white man bin *gon*.
CS#: And… and the white man went off. [MS: 97_31_2.062]

[124] The possible residue of -ny is found in the demonstrative guyany (i.e., guya-ny thus-NMNR) 'this/that kind'(§6.1.1.3).
[125] The allative case suffix is also treated as a compound case consisting of the locative -ngga etc. and the dative -wu.

(4-68) yangi-nggu ngaringga-lu barli nya-nya \ **ngarlu**
one-ERG woman-ERG find PERCEIVE-PAST honey.ABS
CS#: A woman found honey. [TM: 10_1019_5.047]

(4-69) **wanyja** ngu=lu **junba** ruyu marn-ana
woman.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ corroboree.ABS play DO-PRES
TT: The women are performing a corroboree [MS: TTfn160700]

4.4.2.2 Ergative

[1] Transitive subjects (A)

The ergative marking is indicative of the grammatical function of transitive subject (A) in transitive (§12.5.6), semi-transitive (§12.5.5), transitive complement (§12.5.7) and ditransitive clauses (§12.5.9).

(4-70) **yalu-nggu** **warlagu-lu** **guliyan-du** ngu=yanu
DIST2-ERG dog-ERG aggressive-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ

bila man-ana yamayama
chase GET-PRES children.ABS
MS: That *cheeky* dog *chasing* kids.
CS@: That aggressive dog is chasing children. [MS: CSfn030709]

(4-71) **ngaringga-lu** ngu=wula=yanu guny bi-nya ngurra-ngga
woman-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ wait HIT-PAST camp-LOC
Women are waiting for men at [their] camp. [MS: CSfn100809]

(4-72) **ngama-yi-lu** ngu=la ngarin yung-ana yamaji-wu
M-KIN-ERG REAL=3MIN.DAT meat.ABS give-PRES small-DAT
The mother gives meat to [her] kid. [MS: CSfn190509]

Although it is typical that the ergative case marks Agent roles, it is used to encode non-agentive transitive subjects, such as experiencers.

(4-73) **murrgun-du** ngu=lu=yanu nyang-an-i nyila
three-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ perceive-CONT-PAST DIST1

garla-ni
west-D.LOC1
CS#: Three [men] were looking at those [other men] in the west.
[TM: CSfn180810]

Mostly ergative-marked subjects are animate. However, inanimate nouns can be

transitive subjects. These inanimate nouns are different from instruments which are wielded by 'true' animate transitive subjects. Most examples include natural products or phenomena (4-74) and concrete objects can also be transitive subjects (4-75).

(4-74) **jangilany-ju** ngu=ngaliwa ngawurr man-i
fire-ERG REAL=1AUG.INC.OBJ heat GET-PAST
The fire warmed us. [MS: CSfn100909]

(4-75) **baga-nggu** ngu=yi lan-i \
spike-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ stab-PAST
TT: A splinter pierced me. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1)_474]

[2] Instrument

The ergative suffix also encodes the role of instrument.[126] Typically Instrument is the tool with which 'the Agent manipulates to achieve a change of state on the Patient' (Palancar, 2002: 32). It is common for Australian languages and other languages to have the ergative case use the same markers of instrument and transitive subject (Blake, 1977, 1987, 2001). The instrument can be an object in (4-76) and a body-part (4-77).

(4-76) nga=lu luwarn-ana **burnu-nggu** *na*
REAL=3AUG.SBJ strike-PRES tree-ERG NOW
CS#: Then they hit it with a stick. [TM: 10_0607_2.021]

(4-77) warlagu-lu ngu=yi bayan-i **lirra-nggu** gungurlu-g
dog-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ bite-PAST teeth-ERG blood-TRNSL
CS#: The dog bit me with his teeth [and made me] bleeding.
CS: ALT: LIT: The dog, the teeth bit me [and made me] bleeding.
[TM: CSfn210709]

Such 'instruments' also include the 'means' by which an action or motion is accomplished, even though it does not include a physical impact on a participant. The body part 'hand' is used as a means of communication in (4-78) whereas the noun jaru is marked as a mean of teaching in (4-79).

[126] So it is arbitrary to call this case 'ergative' rather than 'instrument' or 'ergative/instrument' but I follow the shared term here.

(4-78) **marla-nggu** ngu=nggu miyanggi man-ana mangarri-wu
hand-ERG REAL=2MIN.OBJ ask GET-PRES veg.food-DAT
MS: He is asking you for tucker by means of his hands (using a sign).
[TM: CSfn060809]

(4-79) ngawuju-lu ngaji-nggu gilagi-lu ngu=ngandiba-gu=lu
FM-ERG F-ERG FF-ERG REAL=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ

bina yu-nya maya **jaru-nggu**
know GIVE-PAST more language-ERG
CS#: [My] grandmother, father and grandfather, they taught us more by means of [our] language. [TM: CSfn070910]
NOTE: ngaji is Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013: 261) and ngabu-yu would be expected.

Such non-typical instrumental functions are commonly marked by the locative or proprietive suffix (§4.4.2.4; §4.5.1) but the ergative suffix may then follow these in transitive clauses. In (4-80), instrument is encoded by the proprietive suffix. The following ergative suffix shows concord of the instrument NP with the transitive subject.

(4-80) yalu-nggu mawun-du ngu=nggu miyanggi man-ana
DIST2-ERG man-ERG REAL=2MIN.OBJ ask GET-PRES

marla-yarung-gulu
hand-PROP-ERG
CS#: The man is asking you [for food] by means of his hands (i.e., using signs).
[TM: CSfn220610]

4.4.2.3 Dative

The dative suffix has a range of roles including recipients, goal of pursuit, alienable and oblique possession, beneficiary/maleficiary, purpose, animate goal, content of speech and mental activities and other minor meanings.

[1] Recipient

The dative suffix is used to mark recipients (4-81). This also includes recipient of communication (i.e., addressees) (4-82).

(4-81) (re: 4-72)

ngama-yi-lu	ngu=la	ngarin	yung-ana	**yamaji-wu**
M-KIN-ERG	REAL=3MIN.DAT	meat.ABS	give-PRES	small-DAT

The mother gives meat to [her] child. [MS: CSfn190509]

(4-82)

yalu-wu	*na*	**ngaringga-wu**	ngu=rna=la	marn-i
DIT2-DAT	NOW	woman-DAT	REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT	say-PAST

CS#: I talked to that [one], to the woman. [TM: 10_1021_5.028]

[2] Goal of pursuit

The dative case also expresses a goal or target of pursuit (i.e., 'searching', 'looking for', 'waiting for' etc.).

(4-83)

ngu=lu=la	wangany	nyang-ana	**ngawa-wu**
REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3MIN.DAT	search	PERCEIVE-PRES	water-DAT

They are searching for water. [MS: CSfn130509]

[3] Possessor

The dative suffix is also used as a genitive marker which describes a relationship between two entities in alienable possession. It marks possessors or kin relators. In (4-84), the dative suffix is used as an adnominal suffix within a NP.

(4-84)

yalu	ngaringga-lu	gang-gu	nyila	*na*	jarrarda
DIST2	woman-ERG	carry-FUT	DIST1	NOW	SONG.NAME.ABS

yigirli	darrugu	**ngaringga-wu**	junba[127]
far	secret.ABS	woman-DAT	corroboree.ABS

CS#: That woman will take (i.e. perform) that one, *jarrarda* far [from men], the secret women's corroboree. [TM: CSfn221009]

The possessive function of the dative case is also found in verbless (nominal predicate) clauses (§12.3.4) where the possessor NP as a predicate is cross-referenced with the object/dative clitic. This dative NP can also be interpreted as a beneficiary as in (4-85).

(4-85)

nyawa	mangarri	ngu**=la**	**mugul-uwu**
PROX1	veg.food.ABS	REAL=3MIN.DAT	FZ-DAT

CS#: This food is [my] aunt's/for [my] aunt. [MS: TTfn190700]

[127] The word junba is used for certain performances including dances and songs which are generally public, visible and joinable by both men and women. But here, this word is used as the generic term for performances, a hypernym for women's secret performance jarrarda.

[3] Beneficiary/maleficiary

The dative case is also used to encode affected participants beneficiary and maleficiary.

(4-86) ngu=rna=la gambarn-i mangarri **ngabu-yu-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT burn-PAST veg.food.ABS F-KIN-DAT
I cooked tucker for [my] father. [MS: CSfn180809]

(4-87) yabawurru-lu ngu=la yimbab man-i mangarri
child-ERG REAL=3MIN.DAT steal GET-PAST veg.food.ABS

Wajayi-wu
PERSON.NAME-DAT
MS: Kid *bin stiilim* Wajayi's food.
CS%: A child stole food on Wajayi. [TM: CSfn131010]

[4] Purpose

The dative suffix also encodes purpose. This meaning can be expressed in dative NPs or dative-marked non-finite subordinate clauses (§13.2.1.2). (4-88) has two dative-marked NPs. The first one is the indirect object, which is cross-referenced by the dative clitic. The second one is the purposive NP. The purposive NP may also be cross-referenced as in (4-89). However it is outranked by other arguments including indirect object so that it is common for purpose NPs not to be cross-referenced.

(4-88) yamaji ngu=la jaaj-jaaj marn-i mawun-gu **ngarin-gu**
small.ABS REAL=3MIN.DAT RDP-beg SAY-PAST man-DAT meat-DAT
TT: The child asked the man for meat. [MS: 76_14_1_TM(2).066''''']

(4-89) nga=li=**la** baya-rru wirlga-nggu nyila
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ=3MIN.DAT bite-FUT axe-ERG DIST1

burnu **ngarlu-wu**
tree.ABS honey-DAT
We can chop that tree for sugar bag with an axe. [MS: CSfn060809]

The purposive NP in the dative case can also encode 'reason for' not just purposive as in (4-90).

(4-90) **nyamba-wu** ngu=yi=n langga nyang-ana
what-DAT REAL=1MIN.OBJ=2MIN.SBJ head.ABS perceive-PRES
What for/why are you looking at my head? [MS: CSfn081110]

[5] Goal

The dative suffix also marks spatial goal to which the motion is directed. The referents are animate (4-91 and 4-92). The allative suffixes, on the other hand, are mostly used for inanimate goal but infrequently for animate goal. The dative-marked animate goal is cross-referenced with object or oblique clitics but not inanimate goal.

(4-91) nyila mawun ngu=la wuruly yan-ana
DIST1 man.ABS REAL=3MIN.DAT sneak GO-PRES

yalu-wu **wanyja-wu**
DIST2-DAT woman-DAT
That man is sneaking up to that woman. [TM: CSfn160710]

(4-92) ngu=wula=yanunggula **yalu-wu** **yabayaba-wu**
REAL=3UA.SBJ=3AUG.OBL DIST2-DAT children-DAT

ngarrga-ngarrga-wu barlag guya=liyarra gujarra-lu
RDP-big-DAT mix SUB=1UA.SBJ two-ERG

yunbarn-ana nyawa=ma *Halls Creek*-gula *small* *taon*-da
sing-PRES PROX1=TOP PLACE NAME-LOC small town-LOC
CS#: They [will] go and join to those small and big [girls to dance] when we two sing this at Halls Creek, at the small town. [TM: CSfn300810]

Some examples show ambiguity between animate goal and beneficiary meanings. In (4-93 and 4-94), the dative-marked NPs are interpreted as goals 'to that man' and 'to your aunt' respectively. They can also be interpreted as beneficiaries 'for that man' and 'for your aunt'. Since goal and beneficiary constructions are the same, the interpretation depends on context.

(4-93) ngayu ngu=rna=la yan-i **yalu-wu** **mawun-gu**
1MIN REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT go-PAST DIST2-DAT man-DAT
TT: I went to that man.
CS#: ALT: I went for that man. [MS: 76_14_1_NP.181']

(4-94) **mugul-uwu** gang-ga=la
FZ-DAT carry-IMP-3MIN.DAT
MS: Take it to [your] aunt.
CS#: ALT: Take it for [your] aunt. [MS: TTfn200700]

[6] Temporal goal 'until'

The dative case is also used to encode temporal goal 'until', although there are only a few examples in the corpus.

(4-95)

1. nyangga jilyarra gambarn-a-gu
   UNCERTAIN singe BURN-CONT-FUT
   CS#: He might brand them (i.e., cattle).

2. limbal-limbal yirran-ana *yaad*-da **gabud-gu**
   RDP-separate put-PRES yard-LOC morning-DAT
   CS#: [He] puts them separately in the yard till the morning. [TM: CSfn100712]

[7] Content of speech and mental activities

Content or topic of knowledge and, speech and mental activities can also be expressed by the dative suffix.

(4-96) ngu=rna=yanu biyarrb ma-lu gardiya-wu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ tell.story SAY-FUT white.man-DAT

nganingu-wu **ngurra-wu**
1MIN.OBL1-DAT camp-DAT
CS#: I will tell a story to white men about my camp. [TM: CSfn111110]

(4-97) **nganingu-wu** **gabugu-wu** ngu=rna=la bura nyang-ana
1MIN.OBL1-DAT eZ-DAT REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT listen PERCEIVE-PRES
I think about my sister. [TM: CSfn100610]

[8] Experiencers

Experiencers of nominal ascriptive clauses can also be marked by the dative suffix. Locative case is also used for this function (§4.4.2.4).

(4-98) ngu bulbul bu-nya *rag*-gulu ngu=yanu dumbiyi
REAL wrap HIT-PAST rug-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ warm

garriny-ang-gu **yamayama-wu**
be-CONT-FUT children-DAT
She covered them with the rug so that it would be warm for the kids.
[MS: CSfn040809]

[9] Association

The dative case marks the oblique argument of the nominal predicate minyarn 'nothing'

(§12.3.6).

(4-99) ngayu ngu=rna=la minyarn **yamaji-wu**
1MIN REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT nothing small-DAT
MS: I have no kids.
CS: LIT: I am nothing about kids. [MS: CSfn270709]

4.4.2.4 Locative

The locative case primarily encodes the location of an entity or an event. In addition, it can mark a temporal relation, a means of transportation and cooking, a purposive goal, experiencer or affected participant. The locative suffix is also used as a subordinator in non-finite subordinate clauses expressing simultaneous events (§3.2.3.4; §13.2.1.4).

[1] Spatial location

This use is equivalent to that of English prepositions such as 'at, in, on, by'. Consultants often use the Kriol prepositions *la* and *langa* for this function. Examples are given in (4-100 - 4-102).

(4-100) ngu=rna garri-nya **Binanyi-la**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ stay-PAST PLACE.NAME-LOC
I stayed in Binanyi (Inverway Station). [MS: CSfn010909]

(4-101) ngu=lu=nyunu dara-dara yirra-wu **jangilany-ja**
REAL=3AUG.SBJ=RR RDP-warm.up put-FUT fire-LOC
They will warm themselves up near the fire. [MS: CSfn011110]

(4-102) **bamarr-a** murdu=ma
stone-LOC red.ochre.ABS=TOP
MS: Red ochre is on a hill. [NP: 76_14_1NP.055]

Spatial locations marked with the locative suffix can also be a body part noun (4-103).

(4-103)
1. ngu=rna **lirra-ngga** garran-i
REAL=1MIN.SBJ mouth-LOC keep-PAST
I kept it (i.e., tobacco) in [my] mouth.

2. ngu duja *na*
REAL weak NOW
It was tasteless then. [TM: CSfn280710]

[2] A body part noun as a specific place impacted by an action

A body part noun is marked by the locative suffix as a specific locus of impact. In such constructions, the 'whole' noun appears as an absolute object. This is similar to the English construction, an object NP plus a prepositional phrase, e.g., *'The man hit the goanna on the head'*.

(4-104) yalu-nggu mawun-du ngu bi-nya jarrambayi
DIST2-ERG man-ERG REAL hit-PAST goanna.ABS

langga-ngga wirlga-nggu
head-LOC axe-ERG
That man hit the goanna on the head with a stone axe.
[MS: 76_12_1_NP(1).030']

The part-whole relation can also be expressed by another construction in which the body part noun and the whole NP agree in case (§8.5.2). In (4-105a), the 'whole' NP and the 'part' NP are absolutive although the 'whole' NP is marked with the topic marker. This construction has no clear semantic difference from the corresponding construction where the body part is locative-marked (4-105b).

(4-105)

a. bung-gu \... **langga** \...(1.1) **jalngi**=ma guliyan=ma \
hit-FUT head.ABS king.brown.ABS=TOP dangerous.ABS=TOP
TT: [He] will hit the king brown's head.
CS: LIT: [He] will hit the dangerous king brown, the head.
[NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).061]

b. bung-gu **jalngi** **langga-ga**
hit-FUT king.brown.ABS head-LOC
TT: [He] will hit the king brown on the head. [MS: 76_13_2_NP(2).061']

[3] Affected location and accompaniment

The locative case also encodes a participant as an affected location of the action or event. Its referent is always animate (mostly human) and is often interpreted as accompaniment in sense that the accompanying participant is present with the subject referent (the participant accompanied) irrespective of that the former is in the same

state as the latter or not. These locative NPs can be cross-referenced by oblique clitics as in (4-106) but it is not obligatory. In Wanyjirra, however, this use of the locative suffix is less common and the comitative case is usually used (§4.4.2.10).

(4-106) yalu-nggu mawun-du ngu=lanyanda yirran-ana **yamaji-la**
DIST2-ERG man-ERG REAL=3MIN.OBL put-PRES small-LOC

garlji
white.ochre.ABS
That man is putting (i.e., painting) white ochre on the child.
[MS: CSfn250509]

(4-107) garri-ya=lu **ngama-yi-la**
stay-IMP=AUG.SBJ M-KIN-LOC
TM: Stay *langa* your mum.
CS%: Stay by [your] mum. [TM: CSfn100712]

[4] Time

Temporal location can also be specified by the locative suffix. The locative-marked NPs indicate a certain temporal period, e.g., weather, seasons or days.

(4-108) **malirri-la** ngu=lu dara garriny-ana
cold-LOC REAL=3AUG.SBJ warm.up BE-PRES
TM: Too much cold they *sidan langa* fire and *kiipem* warm.
CS@: In a cold time, they warm up [around the fire]. [TM: CSfn111010]

(4-109) **ngawa-ngga** yan-an-i nyawa jarrambayi \
rain-LOC go-CONT-PAST PROX1 goanna.ABS
TT: During the wet season, a goanna went here. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.152]

Although directionals do not generally take the locative suffix, certain directional words sometimes take it, when used to express time. For instance, gaa-niyin 'from the east' take the locative suffix to express time of the day, i.e., 'in the morning' or 'in the sun-rising time' based on the position of the sun during the day (§6.2).

(4-110) galu=lu **garla-niyin-da** ngaliwa yan-gu
still=ONLY west-D.ABL-LOC 1AUG.INC go-FUT
TM: Wait *na*, we *gata* go afternoon time.
CS@: Wait, we will go in the afternoon. [TM: CSfn231110]

However, time adverbs occur without the locative suffix and indicate time when an

action or event occurs (§3.1.4; §11.3.1).

(4-111) **yunguyung** ngu=rna nyirn man-i
yesterday REAL=1MIN.SBJ lose GET-PAST
CS#: Yesterday, I lost it (i.e., money). [TM: CSfn110810]

[5] Means

The locative suffix is also used to mark the means of transportation and cooking, although the instrument is usually marked by the ergative (§4.4.2.2) or proprietive (§4.5.1). Meakins and Nordlinger (2014) point out that in Bilinarra, proprietive NPs denote a means or instrument over which the subject referent has some control but locative NPs do not carry such an implication. A comparable difference is also found in Wanyjirra. In (4-112), the locative NPs indicate that the subject referent is merely in the bus whereas in (4-113), the proprietive NP indicates that the subject referent is driving the car.

(4-112) yala-nginyi ya-ni ward **gurrurij-ja** ***baj*-ja**[128]
DIST2-EL go-PAST return car-LOC bus-LOC
TM: After that, *i bin kambak la bus*.
CS@: Then [he] returned by bus. [TM: CSfn180810]

(4-113) ngu=rna=la guny bung-an-i gardiya-wu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT wait HIT-CONT-PAST white.man-DAT

guya dirrib yan-an-i **gurirrij-jaru**
SUB camp.out GO-CONT-PAST car-PROP
TM: *AI bin waitim langa* him *i bin go* all night *gata* motorcar.
CS@: I was waiting for the white man while he was going camping with [his] car. [TM: CSfn160810]

With 'carrying' verbs, the entity to which the locative suffix attaches includes not only materials but also body parts.

(4-114) ngawa ngu=rna gang-ana **diba-ngga**
water.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ carry-PRES billycan-LOC
I carry water in the billycan. [MS: CSfn230709]

[128] This locative NP is an example of generic-specific NPs consisting of the generic noun and the specific noun (§8.4).

(4-115) yamaji ngu=rna juluj gang-ana **ganali-la**
small.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ under.arm CARRY-PRES hipbone-LOC
I am carrying [my] kid in a coolamon on [my] hip. [MS: CSfn220609]

A means of cooking is also marked with the locative suffix. It is rather similar to location of the entity.

(4-116) ngarin *na* ngu gambarn-an-i \...(1.8) **gunyini-la** \
meat NOW REAL burn-CONT-PAST coal-LOC
CS: It's meat that [she] were cooking on coals. [TM: 10_0607_3.038]

(4-117) **bamarr-a** ngu=li jaman-ana
stone-LOC REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ grind-PRES
TT: We are grinding (it).
CS%: We are grinding it by/on the stone. [MS: TTfn050802]

[6] End point of motion

Spatial locations marked by the locative suffix are typically stationary, as seen above. Some examples show that it marks the spatial end point of the motion. Referents can be inanimate (4-118) and animate (4-119). If animate, it is a type of affected participant, and can be cross-referenced.

(4-118) nga=liwa yan-gu **ngandawi-la** **yura-ngga**
REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ go-FUT shade-LOC good-LOC
CS#: We will go under the good shade. [TM: CSfn220909]

(4-119) ngama-yi ngu=lanyanda wuruly yan-ana **yamaji-la**
M-KIN.ABS REAL=3MIN.OBL sneak GO-PRES small-LOC
The mother is sneaking around [her] kid. [MS: CSfn081110]

[7] Experiencer

Like the dative, the locative also encodes experiencers of ascriptive clauses ([8], §4.4.2.3). In (4-120), an overt locative NP did not appear in the original sentence but the speaker approved the locative NP nganinginy-ja which I added to her sentence.

(4-120)

1. ngu=**yila** jurndub [CS: **nganinginy-ja**]
   REAL=1MIN.OBL heavy 1MIN.OBL2-LOC
   TM: *i* heavy *langa* me.
   CS@: It's heavy for/on me.
   NOTE: I added nganinginy-ja to the original sentence. TM approved it.

2. gula=rna gang-gu
   NEG=1MIN.SBJ carry-FUT
   TM: I cannot carry it.[TM: CSfn210710]

4.4.2.5 Allative

The allative case was previously described (Senge, 2008) as having two types of marker: (i) variant 1 has a range of allomorphs (-nggawu etc.) and variant 2 has two allomorphs -gurra/wurra. However, the current study separates these as two distinct cases although their grammatical and semantic roles overlap to some extent. The first reason for this analysis is that these variants are not complementary to each other but are in free variation, each allomorph of which occurs in certain morphological environments. The second reason is that they can be distinguished in sense that -gurra/wurra is used for the purposive role but -nggawu etc. is not. Therefore, this study treats -nggawu etc. as allative case allomorphs and -gurra/wurra as purposive case variants. This subsection only concerns the former case. The purposive will be discussed in §4.4.2.6.

The primary function of the allative case is to mark inanimate goal or direction towards an inanimate object as in (4-121 and 4-122).

(4-121) marri *na* yan-gu=liwa **ngurra-nggawu** ward
   off NOW GO-FUT=1AUG.INC.SBJ camp-ALL return
   We are off now. We will go back to the camp. [TM: 10_1122_4.041]

(4-122) ngu=rna ga-nya ngarin gayi-rra ***Wyndham*-gulawu**
   REAL=1MIN.SBJ carry-PAST meat.ABS north-DIRECT PLACE.NAME-ALL
   CS#: I brought cattle to the north to Wyndham. [MS: CSfn010909]

As mentioned in §4.4.2.3, animate goals are usually marked with the dative case. However, the allative case is also used for such meanings although it is less common. In this case, the allative NP is optionally cross-referenced as in (4-123).

(4-123) *A kid was playing in front yard of the house. The consultant told her son's kid to go back to the kid's father.*

yan-da=la	ward	**marnaru-lawu**
go-IMP=3MIN.DAT	return	F-ALL

TM: Go back *langa* [your] father.
CS@: Go back to the one who is your father and my son. [TM: CSfn250610]

The allative suffix also encodes a specific goal location of verbs of 'putting'. This use is quite unusual in Wanyjirra. However, other Pama-Nyungan languages in Northern and Central Australia, including the areas around the Victoria River District and Barkly Tablelands, have similar allative constructions with different types of verbs whose core meaning is that the location of the object is physically separated from the subject participant doing the event, as opposed to the locative marking which expresses the location of the whole event (McConvell & Simpson, 2012) . It is unclear if Wanyjirra has such a clear semantic distinction between allative and locative markings.

(4-124) yirra-wu	ngarlu	gani	**ngurra-nggawu** \	
put-FUT	bush.honey.ABS	down.country	camp-ALL	

TT: [They] put the honey/beehive inside the camp. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).151]

4.4.2.6 Purposive

The purposive case -gurra/wurra is used to mark goal or purpose. However, this case is uncommon in Wanyjirra and the allative is used more frequently for such meanings. There is no semantic difference between purposive NPs (4-125 and 4-126) and allative NPs (4-121 and 4-122) above.

(4-125) yala-nginyi	ngu=rnalu	ward	yan-an-i	**ngurra-wurra** *na*	
DIST2-EL	REAL=1AUG.SBJ	return	GO-CONT-PAST	camp-ALL	NOW

garla-rra
west-DIRECT
CS#: After that, we used to go back to [our] camp to the west.
[TM: 10_0826_5.008]

(4-126) gurla-rra ward-barra ngu=rnalu yan-an-i ***Inverway*-wurra**
south-DIRECT return-REP REAL=1AUG.SBJ go-CONT-PAST PLACE.NAME-PURP

gan.gu-luba
up-D.LOC2
TT: We came back to the south, up to Inverway Station.
[TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).026]

Like the allative, the purposive case can also mark animate goal, although this is very rare. However, purposive NPs are never cross-referenced even if the referent is animate.

(4-127) ward yan-da **marnaru-wurra**
return go-IMP F-PURP
Go back to Father. [MS: TTfn150700]

The difference from the allative is that the purposive can mark a purposive goal of the event. This is similar to end points of motion marked with the locative suffix (4-118 and 4-119) above. Like those locative examples, the predicate is always the motion verb yan- 'go' as in (4-128).

(4-128) ngaliwa yan-gu **junba-wurra**
1AUG.INC go-FUT corroboree-PURP
TT: We will go to the corroboree.
TT: ALT: Let's go to the corroboree. [MS: TTfn100806]

Note that the purposive meaning is also encoded by the dative case ([4], §4.4.2.3). Unlike locative, allative and purposive NPs, dative NPs expressing purpose can basically occur with any type of verb if this is semantically plausible.

4.4.2.7 Ablative

The ablative case -ngulu is typically used to mark direction away from an entity, location and place. It is equivalent to the English expressions 'from' or 'out of'. The ablative case also marks temporal sequences and source of transformation. The elative case -nginyi is also used for similar roles (§4.4.2.8).

[1] Starting point of a motion and an action

The ablative case describes the movement of an entity away from an entity, location

and place.

(4-129) gan.gu-liyin yan-ana **bamarr-ngulu** gani janyja-wurra
up-D.ABL go-PRES stone-ABL down.country soil-PURP
MS: [The man] comes off the hill and goes down to the ground.
CS%: From the top of the hill, [he] goes down to the ground. [MS: CSfn131009]

(4-130) jungguj bi-nya **Binanyi-ngulu** gaa-nirra
depart HIT-PAST PLACE.NAME-ABL east-D.ALL
CS#: [She] took off to the east from Binanyi (Inverway Station).
[MS: TTfn110999]

It is rare for the ablative suffix to mark an animate source of the movement. Though the elative suffix (§4.4.2.8) or the comitative suffix -gunyja/wunyja (§4.4.2.10) is used for movement from an animate source, there are a few examples where the ablative is used as in the following.

(4-131) ngu=rna ward yan-ana **gaminyjarr-ngulu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ return GO-PRES DCh-ABL
CS#: I return from [my] grandchild. [MS: TTfn190700]

In a similar use, the ablative suffix also marks that an action is directed away from a place or location.

(4-132)
1. nyang-gu=liwa **ngurra-ngulu** garla-niyin, mum
perceive-FUT=1AUG.INC.SBJ camp-ABL west-D.ABL darken
CS#: We will see [the sky] from [our] camp from the west, [it's] darkening.

2. yan-ana ngawa durludurlub-jaru
go-PRES water.ABS thunder-PROP
CS#: Rain is coming with thunder. [TM: CSfn241110]

The ablative suffix is also used to mark the specific location of an entity as a starting point from which an action is directed away. In (4-133), the ablative NP 'tail' is the specific body part of the goanna where 'pulling' is applied.

(4-133) warlgan **jawurd-ngulu** ngu dub man-i
sand.goanna.ABS tail-ABL REAL pull GET-PAST
CS#: He pulled out a goanna by the tail. [MS: CSfn081110]

The corpus has only one example in which the ablative case occurs in a nominal predicate.

(4-134) Birrindudu ngu gurla-ni **Binanyi-ngulu**
PLACE.NAME.ABS REAL south-D.LOC1 PLACE.NAME-ABL
Birrindudu is south from Binanyi (Inverway). [MS: CSfn040909]

[2] Temporal sequence

If the ablative suffix attaches to the distal demonstrative, it often shows a temporal sequence of activities, 'then' or 'after that'. This frequently occurs at the beginning of the new sentences in story-telling as in (4-135). However, it is also used to express spatial source of the movement 'from there' as in (4-136). Typically, the ablative NP marking temporal sequence begins the clause. It is often followed by the topic marker =ma indicating a topic shift (§11.4.2). Ablative NPs marking source of movement can occur anywhere, in the clause.

(4-135)

1. garriny-ang-gu=liwa *outside* \ gida-ngga \
stay-CONT-FUT=1AUG.INC.SBJ outside open.space-LOC
MS: "Let's sit down outside."

2. gida-ngga guya \ gida-ngga *outside* \ ngurra-ngga *na* \
open.space-LOC thus open.space-LOC outside camp-LOC NOW
MS: In an open space, like this, [we stayed] in a open space outside in the camp.

3. **yala-ngulu**=ma gayi-rra *na* gayi-li maya=rra
DIST2-ABL=TOP north-DIRECT NOW north-D.LOC1 more=AGAIN

Gibbangayanu-lawu ngu=rnalu yan-i ward \
PLACE.NAME-ALL REAL=1AUG.SBJ go-PAST return
MS: After that, [we] returned to the north again to Gibbangayanu.
[DJ: 99_40_3.420-424]

(4-136) jangilany-ju ngarra=nggu bung-gu marri yan-da **yala-ngulu**
fire-ERG ADM=2MIN.OBJ hit-FUT off GO-IMP DIST2-ABL
The fire might burn you, get away from there. [MS: CSfn280809]

[3] Source of transformation

The ablative suffix is also used to describe the source of transformation, which often specifies materials of the production such as a boomerang, a coolamon, a house, or

bread etc.

(4-137) nyinyi-nggu ngurra birrga man-ana **yuga-ngulu** burnu-ngga
finch-ERG camp.ABS create GET-PRES grass-ABL tree-LOC
CS#: A finch is making his nest from grasses under the tree.
[TM: CSfn290610]

4.4.2.8 Elative

The suffix -nginyi was previously labelled as 'from' (Senge, 2008) but is treated as a distinct case here. The elative suffix is most commonly used for a spatial source of an entity. This role is quite similar to that of the ablative suffix. However, they should be distinguished from each other because the elative suffix occurs in a broader range of syntactic contexts in which the ablative suffix cannot be applied. For example, the elative suffix can be used as a derivational, adnominal, relational or subordinating suffix whereas the ablative suffix only functions as a relational suffix.

[1] Spatial source

Like the ablative suffix, the elative suffix typically marks the spatial origin of an entity in sense of a physical location in verbal and nominal predicate clauses.

(4-138) nyila ngaringga yan-i gayi-liyin ***Darwin*-nginyi**
DIST1 woman.ABS go-PAST north-D.ABL PLACE.NAME-EL
MS: That woman came from Darwin.
CS%: That woman came from the north from Darwin. [MS: CSfn071009]

(4-139) yurrug giyan-i **diba-nginyi**
spill THROW-PAST billycan-EL
CS#: [She] spilt it (water) from the billycan. [TM: CSfn181110]

(4-140) nyundu **wanyjirra-nginyi** **ngurra-nginyi**
2MIN where-EL camp-EL
Which country are you from? [MS: CSfn110909]

The above examples contain inanimate nouns as the role of source. Body part nouns can be marked by the elative suffix in the concrete spatial sense as in (4-141). The oblique pronoun nganinginy here encodes maleficiary in a way similar to the dative suffix (§4.4.2.3).

(4-141) ngu=yi jurrij wandi-nya nganinga gardag
REAL=1MIN.OBJ fall fall-PAST 1MIN.OBL1 cup.ABS

nganinginy **marla-nginyi**
1MIN.OBL2 hand-EL
My cup fell down on me, from [my] hand. [MS: CSfn170909]

The current corpus contains one example in which the elative suffix marks an animate spatial source. But the meaning is usually conveyed by the comitative case (§4.4.2.10).

(4-142) ngu=rna yan-ana ward **gaminyjarr-nginyi**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ GO-PRES return DCh-EL
TT: I'm coming back from Gaminyjarr.
CS%: I am coming back from [my] grandchild. [MS: TTfn190700]

[2] Former owner

Although the elative suffix infrequently attaches to animate nouns for the spatial source meaning, it can follow animate nouns for the meaning of the former owner or controller of an entity. This use is not found in the ablative case. However, a similar role is found in the originative suffix (§4.4.2.9). The examples include the former owner of the country (4-143), the languages from which place names originate (4-144) and the kin relation (4-145).

(4-143) nyila ngurra nyunbulanginy *na* garla-ni-mba
DIST1 camp.ABS 2UA.OBL2 NOW west-D.LOC1-D.LOC2

gilagi-nginyi **marnaru-nginyi**
FF-EL F-EL
CS#: That is your country in the west side, [the country] from your grandfather, from your father. [TM: 10_0929_2.002]

(4-144)
MS: ngu=lu bung-an-i junba Daguragu-la
REAL=3AUG.SBJ hit-CONT-PAST corroboree.ABS PLACE.NAME-LOC
They used to play the corroboree in Daguragu.

TM: *Wattie Creek* **gardiya-nginyi** Daguragu **garaj-nginyi**
PLACE.NAME white.man-EL PLACE.NAME Aboriginal.man-EL
TM: *Whitefala* way, 'Wattie creek', *Blackfala* way, 'Daguragu'.
CS@: Lit: 'Wattie Creek' is in white people's way (i.e., English). 'Daguragu' is in Aboriginal people's way (i.e, Aboriginal language). [MS; TM: CSfn290609]

(4-145)

1. nyanunga=ma ngala-yi=ma **gawurlu-nginyi=ma** \
   3MIN.OBL1=TOP ♀Ch-KIN.ABS=TOP eZ-EL=TOP
   TT: [A Nawurla woman is] his elder sister's child.
   CS%: She is his 'daughter' from his elder sister.
   NOTE: the kin term ngala-yi refers to a child of a woman, her sister and man's sister.

2. ngu=nggu yung-gu \
   REAL=2MIN.OBJ give-FUT
   TT: He will give you [a Nawurla woman].
   CS%: He will give [the daughter] to you. [TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).064-065]

[3] Temporal sequence

Like the ablative case, the elative suffix is also extended to express temporal sequence. It attaches to the distal demonstrative to mark temporal sequence 'after that' and 'then' as in (4-146). This semantically differs from spatial source (4-147).

(4-146)

1. ngayu ngu=rna *laundry*-ngarna garriny-an-i \
   1MIN REAL=1MIN.SBJ laundry-ASSC be-CONT-PAST
   CS#: I was a laundry woman.

2. **yala-nginyi=ma** gardiya-lu ngu=yi=lu
   DIST2-EL=TOP white.man-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ

   yirran-i *la* *office* gayi-ni-mba-wu
   put-PAST LOC office north-D.LOC1-D.LOC2-DAT
   Then, the white people put (i.e. relocated) me in the office to the north.
   [TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).012]

(4-147)

1. julag ngu gan.gu-la bardaj garriny-ana yura
   bird.ABS REAL up-LOC ascend STAY-PRES good.ABS

   pretty one bangarra
   pretty one white.cockatoo.ABS
   A bird is flying up and staying [on the tree], the good, pretty white cockatoo.

2. **yala-nginyi** nyawa gaa-ni-wariny bardaj garriny-ana gilinygiliny
   DIST2-EL PROX1 east-D.LOC1-OTHER ascend STAY-PRES galah.ABS
   From there, here further in the east, a galah is staying above.
   [TM: CSfn290910]

[4] Source of transformation

Another similarity to the ablative suffix is that the elative suffix can also encode source of transformation.

(4-148) **lunyja-nginyi** nga=liwa birrga ma-nana garnbag
snappy.gum-EL REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ create GET-PRES music.stick.ABS
We make clap-sticks from snappy gums. [MS: TTfn100806]

[5] Previous state and event, and causal

The elative case also encodes previous states, events or causal. The related function is also found in non-finite subordinate clauses where the elative suffix express the event which has happened or will happen temporally prior to the event expressed by the main clauses (§3.2.3.4; §13.2.1.1). These interpretations are not found in the ablative case. In (4-149 and 4-150), the elative suffix expresses the states temporally prior to the events expressed by the predicates.

(4-149) gangirriny-ju ngu=ngaliwang duburrung man-gu **malirri-nginyi**
sun-ERG REAL=1AUG.INC.OBJ hot.ABS get-FUT cold-EL
The sun will make us hot from coldness. [TM: CSfn140610]

(4-150) **ngarrga-nginyi** ngu gumarn-i nyila ngarin yabawurru-g
big-EL REAL cut-PAST DIST1 meat.AB small-TRNSL
From the big [chunk], he sliced the meat in small pieces. [TM: CSfn160710]

When the elative suffix is used as a subordinator, it sometimes includes the sense that the previous event is the cause or reason for occurrence of the main clause event as in (4-151).

(4-151) gula=rna baru yan-gu **jaban-nginyi**
NEG=1MIN.SBJ stand go-FUT awake.all.night-EL
I cannot wake up after/ because [I] stayed up all night.

The meanings of previous events and causes are also expressed by elative NPs in an indirect way. In this case, the actual event would be interpreted in context.

(4-152) *The walking path was slippery after raining.*

nyawa=ma **ngawa-nginyi** ngu=rna wandi-nya yarrbarraj
PROX1=TOP water-EL REAL=1MIN.SBJ fall-PAST slip
CS#: Here, I slipped over after/because of rain. [TM: CSfn121010]

Finally, unlike the ablative suffix, the elative suffix has stem-forming function to create an adjective or noun. For example, gardiya-nginyi and garaj-nginyi (4-144 above and 4-153 below) and ngawa-nginyi (4-154) mean 'English', 'Aboriginal language' and 'drunken' respectively. The elative suffix in these examples creates new stems and can be interpreted as origin and causal respectively. The new adjective stem in (4-154) is further followed by the relational ergative suffix. Note that the elative suffix in the same form ngawa-nginyi in (4-152) above functions as a relational suffix but not as a derivational suffix.

(4-153) *Wave Hill* /...(0.8) **gardiya-nginyi** \...
PLACE.NAME.ABS white.man -EL
TM: Wave Hill is the English name.

(4-154) **ngawa-nginyi-lu** ngu=yi bi-nya
water-EL-ERG REAL=1MIN.SBJ hit-PAST
CS#: The drunken [one] hit me. [RD: CSfn031010]

4.4.2.9 Originative

The originative case -guny/wuny was previously labelled as 'from' (Senge, 2008). In modern Wanyjirra, the use of this suffix, as a relational suffix, is quite limited. The originative suffix encodes the animate source or, the original owner or controller of an entity as in (4-155 and 4-156).[129] In the corpus, such NPs only occur with simple or complex verbs with man- 'get'.

(4-155) nyawa ngarin ngu=rna man-i **yalu-wuny** **wanyja-wuny**
PROX1 meat.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ get-PAST DIST2-ORIG woman-ORIG
I got this beef from that woman. [MS: CSfn140809]

(4-156) ***milga*-wuny**[130] ngu=rna ngaburlu jany man-an-i
milker-ORIG REAL=1MIN.SBJ milk.ABS squeeze GET-CONT-PAST
I used to squeeze milk from cows. [MS: CSfn290709]

Although the originative suffix is used infrequently, it often acts as an inner suffix

[129] In Gurindji, the sequence of the dative suffix and the nominaliser X-gu/wu-ny express the meaning 'X's (thing)' when a noun followed by this sequence functions as a head of the NP (McConvell, 2005b). Based on that, the Wanyjirra forms may also have such a meaning. However, Wanyjirra speakers provide the translation 'from' for all relevant examples. But this possessive meaning is possible when the suffix -guny/wuny follows a further case suffix (see below).

[130] The English word 'milker' is used for a cow that produces milk.

followed by spatial case suffixes in adnominal double case marking. In adnominal use, the originative suffix encodes possessor as a substitute for the dative suffix (§3.2.4.2) and is followed by spatial case suffixes (locative, allative, ablative and elative) in relational use.[131]

(4-157) mangarri ngu=rna gambarn-i **ngabu-yu-wuny-ja** ngurra-ngga
veg.food.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ burn-PAST F-KIN-ORIG-LOC camp-LOC
I cooked food at [my] father's camp. [MS: CSfn180809]

(4-158) *The consultant said that she would go to the meeting by my (Nangari's) car when she was asked about transport arrangements.*

ngu=rna yan-gu **Nangari-wuny-ja** gurrurij-ja
REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-FUT ♀subsection-ORIG-LOC car-LOC
CS#: I will go by Nangari's car. [TM: CSfn031011]

(4-159) ngu=rna yan-ana **mugul-wuny-jawu** ngurra-nggawu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-PRES FZ-ORIG-ALL camp-ALL
I am going to [my] aunt's camp. [MS: CSfn140809]

(4-160) ngu=rna yan-ana **mugul-wuny-nginyi** ngurra-nginyi
REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-PRES FZ-ORIG-EL camp-EL
I am coming from [my] aunt's camp. [MS: CSfn130809]

(4-161) ngu=rna ya-ni **mugul-wuny-ngulu** ngurra-ngulu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-PAST FZ-ORIG-ABL camp-ABL
I came from [my] aunt's camp. [MS: CSfn130809]

In genitival constructions, the head noun is sometimes omitted when it is understandable in context. Most probable elided nouns are ones meaning 'camp/place', 'house' or 'car' when the outer suffix encodes spatial relations or means of transportation. The elided head nouns marru-ngga (house-LOC) in (4-162) and gurrurij-ja (car-LOC) in (4-163) can be interpreted within the locative NPs. Note that the sequence -wuny-ja in these examples is homophonous to the comitative case suffix -wunyja. However, the former locative NPs cannot be cross-referenced as seen

[131] The current corpus does not contain examples wher a proper noun takes the sequence of the originative suffix and the ergative suffix in subject NPs. For example, in the sentence 'that boy's/Man.ga's (person name) mother is cooking meat', genitive NPs ('that boy's' or 'Man.ga's') are not usually expressed explicitly and are rather interpreted in context. Otherwise, free pronouns and the kinship owner suffixes -nga/-nyan (if the referent is a kin term) are used to encode relators of the kin terms. On the other hand, in Jaru and Gurindji examples, the suffix (sequence) -guny/wuny and -ku-ny/wu-ny are followed by the ergative allomorph -ju. Therefore, it is assumed that the Wanyjirra originative suffix -guny/wuny can also be followed by the ergative suffix.

below whereas the comitative NPs are usually cross-referenced with oblique pronominal clitics (§4.4.2.10).

(4-161) ngu *warug* marn-ana **gardiya-wuny-ja**
REAL work DO-PRES white.man-ORIG-LOC
He is working at the white man's [place/office]. [TM: CSfn100610]

(4-163) ngu=rna yan-gu **Nangari-wuny-ja**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-FUT ♀subsection-ORIG-LOC
I will go by Nangari's [car]. [TM: CSfn031011]

Similar ellipsis is also found in allative and ablative NPs although this is rare. There is no example of ellipsis of elative head nouns in the corpus.

(4-164) ngu=rna yan-ana **mugul-wuny-jawu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-PRES FZ-ORIG-ALL
TT: I am going to mugul. [MS: TTfn180700]
CS#: I am going to [my] aunt's [camp]. [MS: CSfn140610]

(4-165) ngu=rna yan-ana **mugul-wuny-ngulu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-PRES FZ-ORIG-ABL
I'm coming from [my] aunt's [camp]. [MS: CSfn180700]

4.4.2.10 Comitative

The comitative case -gunyja/wunyja is homophonous both to the sequence formed by the adnominal originative plus relational locative -guny-ja/wuny-ja and to the derivational suffix 'LACK' -gunyja/wunyja (§4.3.5). However, the comitative case differs from adnominal double case marking and the derivational suffix 'LACK' in that the comitative case marks an argument which can be cross-referenced with pronominal clitics (see below). In addition, the comitative case is restricted to use with animate referents, which differs from the 'LACK' suffix attaching to inanimate and body part nouns and coverbs and expressing shortage or lack of an entity (§4.3.5). However, it is odd that the same form -wunyja/gunyja is used as the comitative case suffix and the 'LACK' suffix which represent opposite meanings. I do not have any explanation for this issue.

The comitative case generally expresses affected participants but has a range of

specific meanings, including (i) accompaniment (ii) affected location; (iii) source; (iv) cause or aversion and (v) recipient and addressee. To cover the range of meanings of the case, here I use the general term 'comitative' instead of adopting the less familiar term 'accessory' used by Hudson (1978: 21) for the Walmajarri case -rla. Like Wanyjirra -gunyja/wunyja, this Walmajarri accessory case is used with animate referents for a similar range of meanings including accompaniment, location, source and indirect objects, and accessory NPs are cross-referenced with oblique pronominal clitics (Hudson, 1978: 21-24). In Jaru, the locative case is used for these functions (Tsunoda, 1981: 58-59). In Wanyjirra too, the same locative allomorphs are sometimes used for similar meanings instead of the comitative suffix. This is possibly influenced by Jaru (§4.4.2.4).

[1] Accompaniment

The comitative case expresses accompaniment or proximal location 'at the place where X is present' meaning that X is the accompaniment for the subject referent who is doing (something) but X is not required to be in the same state or do the same thing as the subject referent. This use is semantically similar to the elliptical variant of the genitival constructions 'at X's (place)'. However, unlike NPs in such constructions, NPs marked with the comitative case can be cross-referenced with an oblique clitic. The locative suffix is also used for the same meaning (see (4-107) above) but the comitative case is more common.

(4-166) nganinginy-ja **ngumbarna-wuja** ngu=lanyanda digab bayan-i
1SMIN.OBL2-LOC spouse-COMIT REAL=3MIN.OBL hack CHOP-PAST

nyila burnu wirlga-nggu, yungguj wandi-nya
DIST1 tree.ABS axe-ERG fall FALL-PAST
With my husband, he cut down that tree with an axe [and then it] fell down.
[TM: CSfn140610]

(4-167) ngu=rna=ngguwulala lulu garriny-ana dumal-la
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2UA.OBL sit be-PRES middle-LOC

ngama-yi-wuyarra-wunyja
M-KIN-DU-COMIT
I am sitting at the middle of where you two, two mothers are.
[MS: CSfn021009]

Interestingly there are a few examples where an accompaniment NP consists of a modifier and head noun but the comitative case only occurs with the modifier, while the simple locative case follows the head noun as in (4-168 and 4-169). The expected case marking on these NPs would be murrgun-guja mawun-guja or murrgun-da mawun-da in (4-168) and wanyji-wuja warlagu-wunyja or wanyji-la warlagu-la in (4-169).

(4-168) ngayu ngu=rna=yanunggula lulu garriny-ana murrgun-guja
1MIN REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBL sit STAY-PRES three-COMIT

mawun-da
man-LOC
TT!: I am sitting with/by three men. [MS: TTfn140806]

(4-169) wanyji-wuja warlagu-la ngu=n lulu garriny-ana
which-COMIT dog-LOC REAL=2MIN.SBJ sit STAY-PRES
TT!: Which dog are you sitting with/by? [MS: TTfn130999]

At first glance, the surface structure seems to be similar to adnominal possessive NPs in which the originative suffix follows possessor nouns and links them to their head nouns within locative NPs. However, the originative suffix does not encode possessors in these examples according to Tsunoda's translations. These were recorded from the same consultant in 1999, 2001 and 2006. There is no similar example given by other consultants. Therefore, they could be an anomaly or intermediate constructions between simple locative-marked NPs and the comitative-marked NPs.

It should be noted that the comitative case -gunyja/wunyja cannot occur with free pronouns. In (4-166 and 4-170), the locative allomorph attaches to an oblique free pronoun. Generally, oblique 2 pronouns are used when: (i) the referent is a source or possessor; (ii) the free pronoun requires a base form to inflect for spatial cases without the possessive and source meanings (§5.1.2). The oblique pronoun in (4-166) complies with both rules and with the latter rule in (4-170). The reason why the form -gunyja/wunyja does not occur with oblique pronouns could be a morphological constraint relating to the fact that oblique pronouns cannot be followed by the

originative suffix -guny/wuny.[132]

(4-170) ngu=rna=nggula lulu garriny-ana **nyununginy-ja**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBL sit STAY-PRES 2MIN.OBL2-LOC
I am sitting down with/by you. [TM: CSfn140610]

[2] Affected location

The comitative case also encodes affected location. In this use it can be replaced with the simple locative suffix. In (4-171 and 4-172), NPs marked with the comitative case are interpreted as the sites of transfer and motion.

(4-171) ngama-yi-lu ngu=lanyanda garlji yirran-ana
M-KIN-ERG REAL=3MIN.OBL white.ochre.ABS put-PRES

yamaji-wunyja
small-COMIT
The mother puts (paint) the white ochre on [her] kids. [MS: CSfn081110][133]

(4-172) galu \ ngu=rna=lanyanda jalngag wandi-wu **dimana-wunyja**
still REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.OBL sit.on.top FALL-FUT horse-COMIT
Wait, I will sit on the horse. [TM: CSfn191010]

[3] Source

The comitative case case also encodes origin or source although it is odd that the 'comitative' case is usd for this meanin and in the current corpus only some examples are attested. The role of origin or source is also expressed by the simple elative (§4.4.2.8) and originative (§4.4.2.9). It is unclear whether there are semantic differences between these different markings.

(4-173) ngu=rna=lanyanda dub man-i yangi bin.girr
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.OBL pull GET-PAST one.ABS feather.ABS

bangarra-wunyja
white.cockatoo-COMIT
I pulled a feather off the white cockatoo. [TM: CSfn280610]

[132] Perhaps the oblique 2 form e.g. nyununginy is historically *nyunu-nginy with *-nginy, a version of -guny/wuny (Nash, p.c.; §5.1.2). If this is the case, this constraint would reflect an avoidance of double marking of the element -guny/wuny in an earlier stage.

[133] In the same context, the dative NP and/or the object/dative pronominal clitic are sometimes used for (goal) location.

(4-174) mayawun-du ngu=wulanygulanyanda ga-nya marri
wind-ERG REAL=3UA.OBL CARRY-PAST off

garla-rra **ngaringga-wuja**
west-DIRECT woman-COMIT
CS#: A wind took [loincloths] off two women to the west.
[TM: CSfn121110; TTfn100999]

[4] Cause/aversion

The role 'cause' of inanimate nouns is often encoded by the elative suffix (§4.4.2.8). The comitative case mainly indicates a cause of fighting, argument or something negative, usually translated with 'over' in English.[134]

(4-175) ngu=wula=nyunu ngurrurdu garri-nya **yangi-wunyja**
REAL=3UA.SBJ=RR jealous STAY-PAST one-COMIT

mawun-guja
man-COMIT
They are jealous of each other over one man. [MS: CSfn120609]

(4-176) nyila wanyja ngu=lanyanda guli marn-ana **jibini-wunyja**
DIST1 woman.ABS REAL=3MIN.OBL angry SAY-PRES lover-COMIT
MS: The woman gets angry with/over [her] boyfriend.
CS: ALT#: That woman is talking aggressively to her boyfriend.
[MS: CSfn030709]

(4-177) nyila yamaji ngu yan-ana guya lung-ana **ngama-yi-wunyja**[135]
DIST1 small.ABS REAL go-PRES SUB cry-PRES M-KIN-COMIT
CS#: The kid, who is crying over [his] mother, is walking. [TM: CSfn100810]

Similarly, someone who is to be avoided in fear or because of a taboo can also be marked with -gunyja/wunyja, perhaps because of the link to 'in the presence of' In some Australian languages, a single suffix with this meaning (sometimes including the causal meaning) is labelled as aversive (Blake, 1987, 2001). In Wanyjirra, a few examples also express aversion. As in the examples with the causal meaning above, the relevant NPs are not cross-referenced.

[134] In Nyininy, the same form -wuny-ja is also used for the similar meanings (Tsunoda, 1981).
[135] Since this comitative NP is not cross-referenced, this example could alternatively be analysed as the derivational suffix -gunyja/wunyja 'LACK' (§4.3.5).

(4-178) ngaringga-lu ngu=nyunu birrib yirran-ana **mali-yi-wunyja**
woman-ERG REAL=RR shut PUT-PRES ♀DH-KIN-COMIT
CS#: The woman shuts in herself (by covering her head and face with the cloth) from/because of son-in-law/ near her son-in-law. [MS: CSfn100609]

(4-179) ngu=rna=yanunggula wulaj garriny-ana **yalu-wunyja**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBL hide STAY-PRES DIST2-COMIT

garaj-guja **ngaringga-wuja**
human-COMIT woman-COMIT
I hide from that man [and] woman. [MS: CSfn291010]
NOTE: In MS's original sentence, the comitative NP is not cross-referenced. However, MS approved this sentence suggested by me. Here the comitative NP is cross-referenced with the oblique clitic.

[5] Indirect objects

The comitative case can also mark indirect objects including an addressee and recipient like the dative case (§4.4.2.3). Referents are usually cross-referenced with oblique pronominal clitics. Sometimes object/dative clitics are used instead of oblique clitics by analogy with dative-marked indirect objects. It seems that speakers use the comitative case and the dative case interchangeably for these meanings.

(4-180) ngu=rna=yanunggula marn-ana jaru **yamayama-wunyja**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBL say-PRES language.ABS children-COMIT
I am talking the story/speaking the language to kids. [TM: CSfn210909][136]

(4-181) yamaji ngu=yanunggula jaaj marn-ana **yalu-wunyja**
small.ABS REAL=3AUG.OBL beg SAY-PRES DIST2-COMIT

gardiya-wunyja
white.man-COMIT
TM: A kid asking la white men.
CS@: A child is begging from white men (i.e., for food).
CS: ALT: A kid is begging at the place where white men are [TM: CSfn070910]

(4-182) ngu=lanyanda jirri yirran-i **yamaji-wunyja** nyila jiya
REAL=3MIN.OBL point PUT-PAST small-COMIT DIST1 kangaroo.ABS
CS#: He showed the kangaroo to the child. [TM: CSfn170810]

[136] Alternatively this example can be analysed as an accompaniment/proximal location NP. The translation of the whole sentence would be "I am telling the story/speaking the language with/by kids".

(4-183) ngayu ngu=rna=yanu yu-nya nganinginy
1MIN REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ give-PAST 1MIN.OBL2

mangarri **yamayama-wunyja**
veg.food.ABS children-COMIT
I gave children food from me. [TM: CSfn020910]

4.5 Derivational case suffixes

'Derivational case suffixes' (Nash, 1986: 16; Simpson, 1991: 57-60) show some features of derivational suffixes (§4.3) and case suffixes (§4.4).[137] Criteria for identifying derivational case suffixes are summarised below. Like in Warlpiri, Wanyjirra derivational case suffixes do not all behave in a same way in terms of each criterion and form a heterogeneous category. Wanyjirra derivational case suffixes includes: the proprietive -jaru(ng)/yaru(ng) (§4.5.1), the privative -mulu(ng) (§4.5.2) and the semblative -marraj (§4.5.3).

First, like derivational suffixes, some derivational case suffixes create a new nominal word which is referential, e.g., buya-yaru (body-PROP) meaning 'fat, well-being'; yini-mulung (name-PRIV) 'person whose name is taboo'.

However, like case suffixes, derivational case suffixes can be used as relational and/or adnominal suffixes. For example, the proprietive suffix (4-184) marks the role of instrument and the semblative suffix (4-185) marks an entity similar to another linking two NPs within the dative NP. These suffixes show case concord within all sub-constituents of the NP as in (4-186).

(4-184) *TM was explaining how to hunt a goanna.*

1. guya gan.gu-la,… jarrambayi yan-ana bardaj
thus up-LOC goanna.ABS GO-PRES ascend
Like this, a big goanna is going up [on the tree].

[137] Alternatively, these suffixes can be called 'adnominal' suffixes as in Senge (2008). However, I use the term 'derivational case' here because these suffixes have a range of functions including derivational, relational and adnominal uses.

2. luwarn-ana ngu=lu **jangayi-yarung-gulu** gan.ga-ni \
strike-PRES REAL=3AUG.SBJ slingshot-PROP-ERG up.country-D.LOC1
CS#: They shoot it with Y-shaped boomerangs. [TM: 10_0607_2.018-019]

(4-185) *TM was talking about 'soak water' in a water hole. Indigenous people also call it 'milk water' from its colour.*

ngu=nda=la bina garriny-ana **yalu-wu** **ngawa-wu**
REAL=2AUG.SBJ=3MIN.DAT know BE-PRES DIST2-DAT water-DAT

ngaburlu-marraj-gu
milk-SEMB-DAT
You know about that water like milk. [TM: CSfn021009]

(4-186) yan-da murla-nggawu **yala-yaru** **diba-yaru**
go-IMP PROX1-ALL DIST2-PROP billycan-PROP
Come here with that billycan. [TM: CSfn090712]

Another similarity between case suffixes and derivational case suffixes is that they are used with two demonstratives murla and yala but not nyawa and nyila.

(4-187) yan-da yala-nggawu diba-yaru **murla-yaru**
go-IMP DIST2-ALL billycan-PROP PROX2-PROP
Go there with this billycan. [TM: CSfn090712]

(4-188)
1. ngu=wula ngabug man-i
REAL=3UA.SBJ smell GET-PAST
They (i.e., dogs) smelled [something].

2. guya=wula ward yan-i **yala-yaru** ngu=wula yan-i
SUB=3UA.SBJ return GO-PAST DIST2-PROP REAL=3UA.SBJ go-PAST

ngarin-jaru
meat-PROP
TM: When they returned, they came with that [one], with meat.
CS%: When they returned, they came with that, with the meat.
[TM: CSfn200910]

However, the exception is the semblative suffix which can follow these demonstratives nyawa-marraj 'like this' and nyila-marraj'like that'.

(4-189) **nyawa-marraj** nganinga-marraj guya=la
PROX1-SEMB.ABS 1MIN.OBL1-SEMB.ABS THUS=3MIN.DAT

nganingu-wu *daadi*-wu jaru-wu Wanyjirra *nao*
1MIN.OBL1-DAT daddy-DAT language-DAT LANGUAGE.NAME NOW
TM (collected by CS): Like this one, my [Jangala], he [knows] about my father's language.
NP: My father got two *wei*.
TT: He [i.e. the person to the west] can speak my father's language.
[NP: 76_14_1_TM(2).033]

Derivational case suffixes are, however, distinguished from case suffixes in several ways. The proprietive, privative and semblative suffixes can directly follow core forms of free pronouns whereas case suffixes cannot.

(4-190) nyandu '3MIN'
a. *nyandu-gu (ergative)
b. *nyandu-wu (dative)
c. *nyandu-ga (locative)
d. *nyandu-ngulu (ablative)
e. nyandu-yaru (proprietive) 'with him/her'
f. nyandu-mulung (privative) 'without him/her'
g. nyandu-marraj (semblative) 'like him/her'

Likewise, these derivational suffixes can follow the interrogative stem ngana 'who' whereas overt case suffixes cannot follow it. Morphologically-overt case suffixes occur with another stem ngandu, e.g. ngandu-gu (ergative).

(4-191) ngana (absolutive) 'who'
a. *ngana-nggu (ergative)
b. *ngana-wu (dative)
c. *ngana-ngga (locative)
d. *ngana-ngulu (ablative)
e. ngana-yaru (proprietive) 'with whom'
f. ngana-mulung (privative) 'without whom'
g. ngana-marraj (semblative) 'like whom'

Table 4.8 summarises properties of derivational case suffixes.

Table 4.8: Properties of derivational case suffixes

Properties \ Suffixes	PROP	PRIV	SEMB
Derivation	+	+	-
Adnominal function	+	+	+
Relational function	+	+	-
Case concord	+	+	+
Following demonstratives nyawa/nyila	-	-	+
Following core free pronouns	+	+	+
Following the interrogative ngana	+	+	+

4.5.1 Proprietive: -jaru(ng)/yaru(ng)

The proprietive suffix has two variants i.e., -jaru(ng) following consonants and -yaru(ng) following vowels. The set of variants -jaru/yaru without the final nasal consonant was described as the forms used in Wanyjirra and Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 229). Another set -jarung/yarung was reported as forms of Western dialects of Gurindji (McConvell, 2005b).[138] However, in my corpus, the form -jarung/yarung is only used by one speaker TM and they occur mostly before the ergative suffix as in (4-192 and 4-193). On the other hand, -jaru/yaru is used by all speakers irrespective of the following case suffixes (4-194 and 4-195). Therefore, the variant -jarung/yarung in (4-192 and 4-193) can be substituted by -jaru/yaru and the following ergative suffix would be the allomorph -lu.

(4-192) ngu=rna=la **burnu-yarung-gulu** wangany nya-nya
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT tree-PROP-ERG search PERCEIVE-PAST

yalu-wu
DIST2-DAT
TM: *Ai bin lukarandim gata* stick.
CS@: By using a stick I searched for that [dog to hit him because he bit me].
[TM: CSfn210709]

[138] McConvell's term 'western dialects' of Gurindji may include Wanyjirra. The other forms -jawu(ng)/yawu(ng) are used in other Gurindji varieties. Malngin has the same forms -jawung/yawung (Ise 1999).

(4-193) ngu=wula yunbarn-ana **garnbag-jarung-gulu**
REAL=3DU.SBJ sing-PRES music.stick-PROP-ERG
They are singing [a song] with music sticks. [TM: CSfn200810]

(4-194) **gujarra-yaru-lu** **yamaji-yaru-lu** ngama-yi-lu ngu *warug*
two-PROP-ERG small-PROP-ERG M-KIN-ERG REAL work

marn-ana gardiya-la
DO-PRES white.man-LOC
CS#: The mother who has two kids works at the office where white men are.
[TM: CSfn210610]

(4-195) ngu=rna yan-ana **gurirrij-jaru** gayi-nirra *kananarra*-lawu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-PRES motorcar-PROP north-D.ALL PLACE.NAME-ALL
I am going north, to Kununurra on a motorcar. [TM: CSfn220610]

The primary meaning of the proprietive suffix is accompaniment of an entity in temporary or permanent senses. The accompaniment relationships are the ones between an animate entity and an inanimate entity, between two animate entities and between two inanimate entities. The proprietive suffix often semantically functions like a predicate which takes two arguments (X and Y), roughly meaning 'X has/with Y'. This suffix also encodes the meaning of an instrument used in an activity.

[1] 'Having'

The proprietive suffix marks an entity which is held or possessed as in (4-194 and 4-196).

(4-196) ngayu ***jampa*-yaru** nyundu *jampa*-mulung
1MIN jumper-PROP 2MIN jumper-PRIV
I have [my] jumper. You have no jumper. [TM: CSf210610]

[2] Comitative

The proprietive suffix also marks an animate referent (mostly non-human) which/who is involved in an activity or an event. This is similar to the meaning encoded by the comitative case (§4.4.2.10). However, proprietive NPs differ from those marked with the comitative case in that they are never cross-referenced with pronominal clitics.

(4-197) yalaba-g *na* yan-an-i nyila **dimana-yaru** gardiya /
close-TRNSL NOW go-CONT-PAST DIST1 horse-PROP white.man.ABS
The white man [riding] on horseback is coming close now. [MS: 97_31_2.034]

(4-198) *TM was asking somebody who said she went to Kununurra.*

ngana-yaru
With who? [TM: CSfn100810]

[3] Defining characteristic

The proprietive suffix also encodes a characteristic or a state of an entity. In (4-199), munda-yaru is lexicalised for the meaning 'pregnant'. baga-yarung and baga-yaru in (4-200) refer to an echidna by mentioning its significant characteristic (i.e., having spikes on the back). baga-yaru-wu is perhaps a restatement or self-correction of the preceding word baga-yarung-gu to the appropriate dialectal form.

(4-199) nyila ngaringga ngu **munda-yaru**
DIST1 woman.ABS REA belly-PROP.ABS
That woman is pregnant (lit: the one who has a belly). [TM: CSfn210709]

(4-200)

1. ngayi ngu=liwa=la nyang-an-gu **baga-yarung-gu**
hey REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ=3MIN.DAT perceive-CONT-FUT spike-PROP-DAT

baga-yaru-wu
spike-PROP-DAT
CS#: Hey, we will look for an echidna (lit: spike-having one).

2. nyangga garriny-ang-gu walyag jimbiri-la **baga-yaru**
COND STAY-CONT-FUT inside hole-LOC spike-PROP.ABS

ngaliwa bung-gu ngarin
1AUG.INC hit-FUT meat.ABS
CS#: If he is inside a cave, we will kill the echidna. [TM: CSfn230810]

In (4-201), the suffix -yarung follows the adjective modifying the head noun. The ergative suffix here encodes body part instrument (§4.4.2.2). Note that the proprietive suffix here is used adnominally and the ergative suffix is used as a relational suffix.

(4-201) wagurra nga=yi=n **malirri-yarung-gulu** marrunbu-lu
NEG REAL=1MIN.OBJ=2MIN.SBJ cold-PROP-ERG fingers-ERG

bad man-gu
touch GET-FUT
CS#: Don't touch me with cold hands (lit: with hands having coldness).
[TM: CSfn220610]

[4] Instrument and means

Like the ergative suffix, the proprietive suffix can also be used to mark the role of instrument as in (4-202).[139] Other examples were given in (4-192, 4-193 and 4-195) above. Instruments in transitive clauses is also denoted by the plain ergative suffix without the proprietive suffix (§4.4.2.2).

(4-202) *MS is talking to TM who always keeps a walking stick.*

nyundu ngu=n yan-ana **yamaji-yaru** **burnu-yaru**
2MIN REAL=2MIN.SBJ go-PRES small-PROP tree-PROP
You walk with a small stick. [MS: CSfn060809]

The proprietive suffix can also mark body-parts used as instruments.

(4-203)

1. nyila mawun wagurra ngu marn-ana
DIST1 man.ABS NEG REAL say-PRES
That man doesn't speak.

2. ngu=nggu marn-ana **marla-yaru** mangarri-wu
REAL=2MIN.OBJ say-PRES hand-PROP veg.food-DAT
He is talking to you by using his hands for bush tucker. [MS: CSfn060809]

4.5.2 Privative: -mulu(ng)

The privative suffix has a single form -mulung (4-204). However, the final nasal is sometimes omitted as in (4-205). Occurrence of two variants is not affected by any morphological condition.

[139] Speakers pointed that (4-202) does not mean 'you walk having/carrying a small stick'. For such meaning, a speaker gave the following example as opposed to (4-202).

(A) nyundu ngu=n gang-ana burnu
2MIN REAL=2MIN.SBJ carry-PRES tree.ABS
You are carrying a stick. [MS: CSfn060809]

(4-204) **ngaburlu-mulung** yamayama
breast-PRIV children.ABS
CS#: The children have no breasts. [MS: 76_14_1_NP.160']

(4-205) bin.ga garriny-ana lalga **ngawa-mulu**
river.ABS be-PRES dry water-PRIV
The river is dry with no water. [MS: CSfn300609]

As opposed to the proprietive suffix, the privative suffix is used to express the absence of an entity. Example (4-196) above nicely illustrates the contrast. The privative typically modifies an entity which used to or will be held but not currently. In (4-206), ngari-mulung literally means 'no/without cloth' but is lexicalised for the meaning 'naked'.

(4-206) **ngari-mulung** yan-ana
cloth-PRIV.ABS go-PRES
A naked one is walking. [TM: CSfn180909]

Like the proprietive suffix, the privative suffix often acts as a predicate of a clause, roughly meaning 'X have no Y' or 'X without Y' as in (4-207).

(4-207) ngu=rna **ngumbarna-mulung** *na* ngayu-wariny *na*
REAL=1MIN.SBJ spouse-PRIV NOW 1MIN-ONESELF NOW
I have no husband now. I am alone now. [TM: CSfn100610]

The privative suffix can also follow a body part noun to express absence of the body part or lack of physical function (4-208). This differs from the 'LACK' suffix which only expresses lack of physical function (§4.3.5). Sometimes the meanings are more conventionalised, e.g., ngabanyji-mulung (eye-PRIV) 'blind' (4-209) and langa-mulung (ear-PRIV) 'deaf' or 'stupid' (4-210).

(4-208) nyila **wirrgil-mulung**
DIST1 hair-PRIV
That [man] has no hair. [MS: CSfn071009]

(4-209) **ngabanyji-mulung-gulu** ngarn-i mangarri
eye-PRIV-ERG ingest-PAST veg.food.ABS
CS#: The blind [person] ate food. [TM: CSfn060710]

(4-210) ngu **langa-mulung**
REAL ear-PRIV
MS: He is deaf/stupid. [TM: CSfn060809]

The privative suffix also creates negative imperative clauses. In this case, this suffix follows non-finite forms of the inflecting verbs (4-211) or coverbs (4-212) indicating that activities should not occur or have not occurred.

(4-211) wagurra **giyan-u-mulung**
NEG throw-NF-PRIV
No! Don't throw [it]. [MS: CSfn280809]

(4-212) **wilinyi-mulung** garriny-an-da \
hunt-PRIV stay-CONT-IMP
NP: Don't walkabout.
CS#: No hunting, stay. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).036]

4.5.3 Semblative: -marraj

This suffix has no allomorphic variation. It expresses resemblance of an animate or inanimate referent to another entity.

(4-213) ngawa-nggu ngu=nyurra man-ang-gu ngabanyji
water-ERG REAL=2AUG.OBJ get-CONT-FUT eye.ABS

naga-marraj guya=nda darugab marn-ana
red.cloth-SEMB.ABS SUB=2AUG.SBJ bathe DO-PRES
CS#: The water will make your eyes like loincloths (i.e. red) when you bathe.
[TM: CSfn021009]

(4-214) nyila mawun ngu baru garriny-ana ngarrga
DIST1 man.ABS REAL stand STAY-PRES big.ABS

nyanunga-marraj **ngabu-yu-marraj**
3MIN.OBL1-SEMB.ABS F-KIN-SEMB.ABS
That man is standing up [and he is] big like his father. [TM: CSfn140710]

Semantically this suffix is similar to the independent prepositional particle mayi which is always followed by NPs referring to the participant similar to the subject referent of the clause (§11.1.4).

4.6 Number suffixes

In Wanyjirra, numbers of entities are commonly specified by quantifiers (§3.1.1.4). In addition, a number distinction for arguments can also be specified by pronominal clitics on the basis of a unit-augmented system (§5.1; §7.1).[140] The examples are given below.

(4-215) **yangi-nggu** wanyja-gu ngu garran-ana mangarri
one-ERG woman-ERG REAL**[=3MIN.SBJ]** keep-PRES veg.food.ABS

nyunungu-wu ngama-yi-wu
2MIN.OBL1-DAT M-KIN-DAT
MS: She is keeping tucker for your mother.
CS%: A woman is keeping tucker for your mother. [MS: CSfn030809]

(4-216) ngu=rna=**ngguwula** marn-ana **gujarra-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2UA.OBJ say-PRES two-DAT
I am talking to you two. [TM: CSfn290610]

(4-217) nga=**liwula** ward yan-ang-gu **murrgun**
REAL=1UA.INC.SBJ return GO-CONT-FUT three.ABS
TM:We three go back. [TM: CSfn070610]

(4-218) **nguyurdu** maarn ngu=**lu** garriny-ana gan.gu-lubala
many.ABS cloud.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ stay-PRES up-D.LOC2
There are many clouds all over the skies. [MS: CSfn101009]

Number can also be marked by two number suffixes: the dual -guyarra/wuyarra (§4.6.1) and the paucal -walija (§4.6.2). They optionally follow stems before case suffixes.

4.6.1 Dual number: -guyarra/wuyarra

Duality of animate referents (mostly human) can also be encoded by the dual suffix. The dual suffix form has two allomorphs: -guyarra after consonants (4-219 and 4-221) and -wuyarra after vowels (4-222). In (4-219) the dual suffix follows the noun mawun expressing 'two men' whereas the same meaning is indicated by the independent

[140] Plurality of animate referents can also be encoded by reduplication of nominal stems (§4.2.1). However, there is no such strategy for inanimate referents and they are often not cross-referenced even though they are core arguments. If numbers of inanimate referents are also not specified by independent quantifiers, they are left vague.

quantifier gujarra in (4-220).

(4-219) **mawun-guyarra-lu** ngu=wula=nyunu bung-an-i
man-DU-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ=RR hit-CONT-PAST
Two men were hitting each other. [MS: CSfn220609]

(4-220) yalu-nggu mawun-du **gujarra-lu** ngu=wula yunbarn-ana
DIST2-ERG man-ERG two-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ sing-PRES

junba
corroboree.ABS
Those two men are singing corroboree. [TM: CSfn110609]

The dual number suffix shares morphological properties with derivational case and case suffixes. It can follow derivational suffixes as in (4-220). Since the outer suffix has its scope over the whole preceding elements, the dual suffix here encodes two mothers of the third person but it does not indicate that the third person owner is two.

(4-221) **ngama-nyan-guyarra** ngu=**wula** lulu garriny-ana
M-3KIN.POSS-DU.ABS REAL=3UA.SBJ sit STAY-PRES
His/her/their two mothers are sitting down. [MS: CSfn161009]

It can also occur with all elements of the NP constituent in (4-222).

(4-222) ngu=yi=nbula bundu yirran-i **yalu-wuyarra-wu**
REAL=1MIN.OBJ=2UA.SBJ blame PUT-PAST DIST2-DU-DAT

ngaringga-wuyarra-wu
woman-DU-DAT
You two blamed me about those two women. [TM: CSfn290909]

4.6.2 Paucal: -walija

This paucal suffix is rarely used in Wanyjirra. A few examples are given by TM in 2009 and 2010. Since there is no example in Tsunoda's corpus, it is not clear whether this suffix was used by Wanyjirra speakers before 2009. Therefore, it could be the Gurindji suffix which was temporarily used by the speaker. In addition, due to limited data, it is unclear whether the paucal suffix shares morphological properties as the dual suffix.

The paucal suffix -walija indicates that the number of human referents is more than two but not so many, probably less than ten referents.[141] For example, gajirri-walija can be translated as 'several old women' in (4-223). This is cross-referenced with the augmented pronominal clitic.

(4-223) wanyji-ga=lu garriny-ana **gajirri-walija**
which-LOC=3AUG.SBJ stay-PRES old.woman-PAUC.ABS
CS#: Where are [those] several old women? [TM: CSfn200810]

[141] This paucal suffix is also recorded in Malngin (Ise, 1999: 29), Gurindji (McConvell, 2005b; Meakins et al., 2013: 29) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 146). In these languages, this suffix can also follow inanimate nouns, though it is rare.

Chapter 5
Free Pronouns and Interrogatives

5.0 Introduction

This chapter aims at a description of the forms and functions of free pronouns and interrogative pronouns. §5.1 describes free pronouns including their person-number system, stem forms, case-marking and functions. Then §5.2 describes forms and functions of interrogatives including distinction between interrogative and indefinite uses of stems. §5.3 describes possible derivational and derivational case suffixes which can follow free pronouns and interrogatives.

5.1 Free pronouns

Wanyjirra free pronouns refer to human participants mainly.[142] They distinguish three person (first, second and third) and three number (minimal, unit-augmented and augmented) categories. First person pronouns further distinguish inclusive from exclusive categories, i.e., inclusive forms referring to a speaker and hearer(s) and exclusive forms referring to a speaker and one or more person other than hearers. There is no gender distinction in third person pronouns.

It is uncommon for Pama-Nyungan languages that Wanyjirra pronouns, as well as those of Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013), Malngin (Ise, 1999) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014) but not Jaru and Walmajarri, can be analysed on the basis of a minimal-augmented number system with three categories, namely minimal, unit-augmented (minimal plus one) and augmented (minimal plus two or more).[143] The

[142] Use of third person pronouns (only minimal or any number forms) for non-human referents are found in other Australian languages, e.g. Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 66), Warrngamay (Dixon, 1980: 358), Rembarnga (McKay, 1975: 105), Worroran and Jarrkan languages (McGregor, 2004: 111). In Wangkajunga, animals as beings in Dream Time stories are exceptionally referred to free pronouns including first and second person (Jones, 2011). Wanyjirra has a few examples where pronouns refer to animals (see (5-30)).

[143] This analysis is different from the previous study (Senge, 2008) where the number system is described in a singular-dual-plural system. This is because there are only two inclusive forms found in

exact numbers of referents within a number category may differ depending on inclusivity (cf. McKay, 1978). Minimal forms refer to two people (a speaker and a hearer) as a minimal unit, unit-augmented forms to three people, i.e., minimal plus one (a speaker, a hearer and one other) and augmented forms to four or more people (a speaker, a hearer and two or more), i.e., minimal plus two ore more.

As demonstrated in Table 5.1, each category has two sets of stems: (i) unmarked (core) forms and (ii) oblique forms to mark different grammatical functions of referents. Note that two variants are found in the first person (exclusive) augmented category.

Table 5.1: Pronominal stems

Number	Person	Unmarked/core stems	Oblique stems
Minimal	1exc	ngayu	nganing-
	1inc	ngali	ngaling-
	2	nyundu	nyunung-
	3	nyandu	nyanung-
Unit-augmented	1exc	ngaliyarra	ngaliyarrang-
	1inc	ngaliwula	ngaliwulang-
	2	nyunbula	nyunbulang-
	3	nyanbula	nyanbulang-
Augmented	1exc	nganimba ngandiba	nganimbang- ngandibang-
	1inc	ngaliwa	ngaliwang-
	2	nyurrara	nyurrarang-
	3	nyarrulu	nyarrulung-

The case marking patterns of free pronouns are different from those of nouns. Three core arguments (S, A and O) are specified by unmarked stems without case suffixes. Oblique stems must combine with two types of suffixes -a and -iny and create two oblique forms (oblique 1 and oblique 2) to assign referents to other grammatical and/or semantic roles. These oblique pronouns can also take case suffixes.

Free pronouns, however, do not often occur in texts. Generally, like nouns and adjectives, they are cross-referenced with pronominal clitics. In this case, core

Tsunoda's corpus. In other words, first person inclusive unit-augmented forms were only recorded in 2009 and 2010. Nontheless these forms are rarely used and often replaced by augmented forms (§5.1.3).

arguments are only specified by pronominal clitics. However, free pronouns are also used to specify arguments by themselves because pronominal clitics are not obligatory in clauses.[144] In some context, free pronouns may carry pragmatic information such as emphasis, focus/contrast and clarification (§5.1.6).

Although pronouns have distinct stems for each person/number category, two stems nyarrulu and nyarrulung- in the third person augmented category are problematic. According to Tsunoda (Tsunoda Fieldnotes 1997, No.1, p.33), these forms may not be Wanyjirra but Gurindji since they are found only in TM's speech. My corpus also show that the same speaker uses these forms as what she describes as Wanyjirra. Although other speakers do not use nyarrulu and nyarrulung-, I keep them in Table 5.1 leaving their possibility of being Wanyjirra.[145] Instead of these forms, third person minimal stems are also used for unit-augmented and augmented numbers (§5.1.5.1).

Two sets of variants are found in the first person augmented category. The first set nganimba/nganimbang- is shared with Walmajarri and Jaru and is mainly used by MS, DJ and NP who are more familiar to Jaru. On the other hand, another set ngandiba/ngandibang- is also found in Gurindji, Malngin and Bilinarra and is used by TM who has been closed to Gurindji speakers. These sets of stems therefore could be dialectal variations of Wanyjirra. It is also possible to analyse that either of the forms might not be Wanyjirra and be only used by certain speakers due to the influence of the neighbouring languages.

5.1.1 Unmarked forms

The unmarked stems are not clearly devisable into morphemes. However, some general phonological and morphological features are found in each person category. Table 5.2 provides a set of unmarked pronominal stems in the first person categories. All forms begin with nga- whereas the second person forms begin with nyu- and the third person forms with nya- (see Table 5.3 below). Free pronominal forms in first person non-minimal categories are related to the corresponding pronominal clitic

[144] Unlike other Australian languages with pronominal clitics, the occurrence of pronominal clitics is not strict at least in Wanyjirra (§7).
[145] These forms were not included as Wanyjirra free pronouns in Senge (2008: 79).

subject forms (§7.1.3).

Table 5.2: Unmarked 1st person pronouns

	Minimal	Unit-augmented	Augmented
Exclusive	ngayu	ngaliyarra	nganimba ngandiba
Inclusive	ngali	ngaliwula	ngaliwa

The minimal inclusive form ngali is also used as the first part of forms for two unit-augmented forms ngaliyarra and ngaliwula and the inclusive augmented ngaliwa. Use of the element 'inclusivity' to the exclusive stem ngaliyarra is analysed as an unusual type of 'clusivity flip' (Döhler, 2006) which shows syncretism of the element ngali- for the inclusive and exclusive categories. This is also observed in pronominal clitic forms (§7.1.1).

Second and third person stems share similar formation patterns. In non-augmented categories, third person pronouns have the same forms as second person forms with replacement of the first vowel a. However, two augmented forms are not clearly related to each other. The vowels u and a, and the last consonant r in the second person augmented stem are replaced with a, u and l respectively in the third person augmented stem.

Table 5.3: Distinctive unmarked 2nd and 3rd person pronouns

	Minimal	Unit-augmented	Augmented
Second	nyundu	nyunbula	nyurrara
Third	nyandu	nyanbula	nyarrulu

The unit-augmented (UA) marker -bula/wula, which can be established in formation of pronominal clitics in the second and third person categories (§7.1.1), is also found in the three free pronouns ngaliwula, nyunbula and nyanbula. However, the first person unit-augmented exclusive form ngaliyarra differs from these forms in that it does not contain the UA marker -bula/wula. But the element -yarra would be related to the

numeral gujarra 'two' and the dual number suffix -guyarra/wuyarra (§4.6.1).

5.1.2 Oblique stems

As seen in Table 5.1, oblique forms are clearly built on unmarked stems plus -ng with exception of three minimal forms: ngayu > nganing-; nyundu > nyunung-; nyandu > nyanung- in which formation processes cannot be analysed straightforwardly. Unlike core stems, oblique stems always take the stem-formative -a or -iny.[146] Table 5.4 illustrates these oblique pronouns (oblique 1 and oblique 2). However, oblique 1 forms are only found in minimal categories. However, the oblique 1 form ngalinga is rarely used and oblique 2 form is mostly used. Other categories only have oblique 2 forms. Hence, oblique 2 in non-minimal categories can play the same role as oblique 1 do in minimal categories.

Table 5.4: Two oblique forms of free pronouns

Number	Person	Oblique 1	Oblique 2
Minimal	1exc	nganinga	nganinginy
	1inc	ngalinga	ngalinginy
	2	nyununga	nyununginy*
	3	nyanunga	nyanunginy*
Unit-augmented	1exc		ngaliyarranginy*
	1inc		ngaliwulanginy
	2		nyunbulanginy
	3		nyanbulanginy
Augmented	1exc		nganimbanginy
			ngandibanginy*
	1inc		ngaliwanginy
	2		nyurraranginy
	3		nyarrulunginy

*The corpus contains some alternative oblique 2 forms for these categories. They are formed by oblique stems plus -uny instead of -iny, e.g. nyanunguny (3MIN.OBL2). These forms could be borrowed from Gurindji and Malngin.

However, it would be unnatural to conclude that the Wanyjirra free pronouns have oblique forms only for some person and number categories because neighbouring

[146] Oblique 2 forms historically contain *-nginy, a version of the originative suffix -guny/wuny, i.e., *ngani-nginy and *nyunu-nginy (Nash, p.c.). However, I treat the consonant ng as a part of oblique stem in modern Wanyjirra because it is shared in two distinct oblique stems.

languages do not show such asymmetry in their free pronoun paradigms. One of the possible analyses is that these oblique 1 forms were borrowed from Jaru which has a full range of oblique 1 and oblique 2 forms. The second analysis is that Wanyjirra used to have a full set of oblique 1 forms as well as unmarked stems and oblique 2 forms but speakers have ceased using complicated and infrequently used pronominal forms especially which refer to more than one participant. Since in Wanyjirra, free pronouns (both unmarked and oblique forms) are basically optional and do not frequently appear in their natural speech, possibly such forms have been lost first and only pronominal clitics are used.

5.1.3 The first person inclusive unit-augmented number category

The Wanyjirra pronominal system (including free pronouns and pronominal clitics) is analysed as operating with a combination of three person categories (first, second and third), three number categories (minimal, unit-augmented and augmented), and inclusivity. The first person inclusive unit-augmented forms ngaliwula (core) and ngaliwulanginy (oblique 2), and the pronominal clitic subject form =liwula and object form =ngaliwula (§7.1.2) were not described in the previous study (Senge, 2008) and were first collected from TM and MS in 2009. However, those pronominal forms are not commonly used in contemporary Wanyjirra and are often substituted by augmented forms. Hence, the status of the first person inclusive unit-augmented category is little obscure.[147]

Nonetheless, I include these unit-augmented forms as Wanyjirra pronouns in this thesis. They could traditionally be used in Wanyjirra but they are being lost and only used in a restricted situation. Alternatively they could be borrowed from other languages and adopted into Wanyjirra pronominal system.[148] In this study, I adopt the first analysis and treat those forms as Wanyjirra because two Wanyjirra speakers consistently said in 2009 and 2010 that these are Wanyjirra. However, the possibility of the second analysis is also remained because the formation and function of Wanyjirra pronominal

[147] McConvell (1980: 49) has already pointed out that this first person inclusive unit-augmented forms are mainly used by elder speakers and are substituted by augmented or plural forms in Gurindji. Nowadays these forms have been disappearing even among elder speakers in Wanyjirra.

[148] Malngin, Gurindji and Bilinarra have the same pronominal stem ngaliwula and the corresponding oblique form ngaliwulany or ngaliwulanguny (Ise, 1999; McConvell, 2005b; Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014).

stems is more similar to those of Jaru which has no forms like ngaliwula and ngaliwulanginy.

The core form ngaliwula is translated as 'we three/three of us' by consultants. It is used if there are three referents, the speaker, the addressee and another who is present or not present at the time of utterance. In natural speech, ngaliwula (and perhaps ngaliwulanginy) seem to occur only when the speaker wants to emphasise or clarify that participants are 'three' as in (5-1). This is possibly the reason why MS translates it as 'we three/three of us' not just saying 'we' here. This oblique pronoun is cross-referenced with the corresponding subject clitic =liwula (§7.1.2).

(5-1) *After three of us had the language session; MS asked TM whether she wanted to the community art centre where some elderly people were painting as usual. TM said as follows meaning three of us just go back to our houses not go anywhere.*

yan-gu=liwula	**ngaliwula**	ward	murrgun
GO-FUT=1UA.INC.SBJ	1UA.INC	return	three.ABS

TM: Let's go back.
MS: ALT: We three will go back. [TM: CSfn070610]

In (5-1), ngaliwula encodes three participants, the speaker, and two addressees. It can also refer to the participant who is not present at the time of utterance (5-2).

(5-2) *TM was telling CS that TM, I and another person (not present at the time of speech) would go to Turkey Creek (Waruman) tomorrow to see TM's relatives.*

ngaliwula	yan-gu=liwula	*Turkey Creek*-gulawu
1UA.INC	go-FUT=1UA.INC.SBJ	PLACE.NAME-ALL

MS: We three will go to Turkey Creek. [TM: CSfn070610]

The oblique 2 pronoun is less frequently used than the core form. In (5-3), the oblique 2 form behaves as a morphological stem for the allative suffix denoting destination.

(5-3)	yalu-nggu	mawun-du	ngu=nganimbala	ngarin
	DIST2-ERG	man-ERG	REAL=1AUG.OBL	meat.ABS

ga-nya	**ngaliwulanginy**-jawu
carry-PAST	1UA.INC.OBL2-ALL

MS: That man brought meat to us three. [TM: CSfn070610]

This allative-marked oblique 2 pronoun is cross-referenced with the first person (exclusive) augmented oblique form here. This is because Wanyjirra has no distinct oblique pronominal clitic in the first person inclusive unit-augmented category (§7.1). It is either inclusive or exclusive augmented non-subject clitics that are often used to specify three referents. On the other hand, the subject clitic =liwa in the inclusive augmented category but not =rnalu in the exclusive augmented category can be used instead of the clitic =liwula. Further examples will be presented in §7.1.2.

5.1.4 Case marking and functions

Wanyjirra free pronouns show neither the absolutive-ergative declension nor the nominative-accusative declension. Single unmarked core stems are used to mark the three core arguments, S, A and O.[149] This system is also found in Eastern and Northern Ngumpin-Yapa languages (including Gurindji, Malngin and Bilinarra) but not in Western and Southern Ngumpin-Yapa languages (including Jaru, Walmajarri and Warlpiri) which show the absolutive-ergative declension and take the ergative suffix on stems for A.

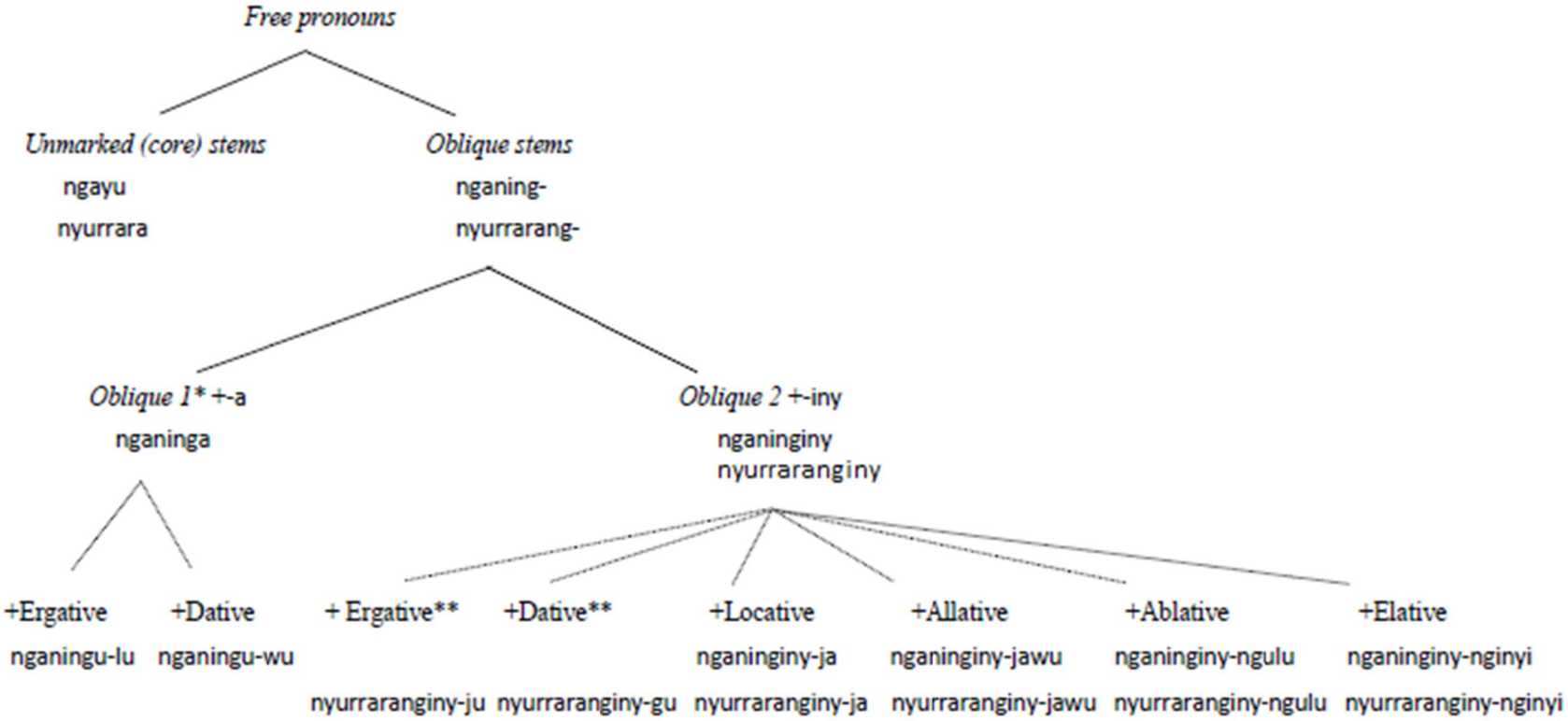
Oblique 1 and 2 pronouns can occur by themselves mainly for possessor and/or source of an entity. They can take further case suffixes. Oblique 1 pronouns can be followed by ergative and dative suffixes, and in this case, the final vowel of the oblique form changes. For example, nganinga (1MIN.OBL1) becomes nganingu- with change of the final vowel /u/ from /a/, i.e., the ergative form nganingu-lu and the dative form nganingu-wu.[150] Oblique 2 forms, on the other hand, are mainly followed by spatial case suffixes including locative, allative, ablative and elative suffixes. However, since non-minimal categories have no distinct oblique 1 forms, their oblique 2 forms may also take ergative and dative suffixes. Free pronouns cannot take the comitative suffix -gunyja/wunyja and oblique 2 forms plus the locative suffix correspond to the comitative-marked nouns (§5.1.4.5).

[149] In a few examples collected by Tsunoda, unmarked forms are followed by the ergative suffix for A. However, they are considered to be Jaru forms because ergative suffixes never occur regularly in the Wanyjirra unmarked pronominal stems.

[150] Alternatively, this change can be considered as regressive vowel assimilation (§2.6.4). However, the form nganingu- also precedes the allative suffix -lawu, although this allative form nganingu-lawu is borrowed from Jaru and the other form nganinginy-jawu is usually used in Wanyjirra. It could be more plausible to treat it as suppletion (§5.1.4.3).

The pronominal case-marking pattern is illustrated in Figure 5.1 with examples of the first person inclusive minimal and the second person augmented forms.

Figure 5.1: Case marking patterns on free pronouns (ex. 1st person minimal and 2nd person agumented forms)



* Only applicable to four minimal categories.

** There is no example where oblique 2 pronouns of the categories with oblique 1 forms take ergative/dative suffixes.

5.1.4.1 Core/unmarked stems

An unmarked stem can represent A, S or O. The examples show how the same stem ngayu assigns different grammatical functions to referents: intransitive subject (S) in (5-4), transitive subject (A) in (5-5) and S and transitive direct object (O) in (5-6). In (5-6), the first pronoun functions as S and the second as O.

(5-4) **ngayu** ngu=rna yan-an-i Ngalwanyji-lawu
1MIN REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-CONT-PAST PLACE NAME-ALL
MS: I *bin* go to Moola Bulla Station.
CS@: I went to Ngalwanyji (Moola Bulla Station). [MS: CSfn100609]

(5-5) **ngayu** ngu=rna gang-an-i majardi
1MIN REAL=1MIN.SBJ carry-CONT-PAST loincloth.ABS
I was taking the front cover (i.e., loincloth). [MS: CSfn090609]

(5-6)
1. ngu=rna=yanu marn-i **ngayu** \
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ say-PAST 1MIN
MS: I said to them:

2. jarrara man-da=yi=lu **ngayu**
follow GET-IMP=1MIN.OBJ=AUG.SBJ 1MIN
"You follow me." [DJ: 99_41.190]

5.1.4.2 Oblique 1

Functions of oblique 1 pronoun are parallel to those of dative suffixes. In many examples, oblique 1 is used to mark a possessor/relator of an entity referred by the head noun (5-7). But it may also express the Whole in the part-whole relationship[151] (5-8), recipient (5-9), beneficiary (5-10) and addressee (5-11). A possessive pronoun is not cross-referenced as in (5-7) whereas oblique 1 with other readings can be cross-referenced with object/dative clitics.

(5-7) matbi nyawa ngu=rna gang-gu,.. **nyununga** barn.gu \
maybe PROX1 REAL=1MIN. SBJ carry-FUT 2MIN.OBL1 cross.cousin.ABS
TT: Maybe I will take this [man], your cross cousin. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.009]

[151] See also §8.5.2 for use of oblique pronouns for the Whole.

(5-8) ngu=yi bayan-i **nganinga** jamana
REAL=1MIN.OBJ bite-PAST 1MIN.OBL1 foot.ABS
It bit my foot. [MS: CSfn291010]

(5-9) Namija-lu **nganinga** ngu=yi yung-ana
♀subsection-ERG 1MIN.OBL1 REAL=1MIN.OBJ give-PRES

Nambiyin
♀subsection.ABS
CS#: A Namija woman gives me a Nambiyin girl (i.e., following our marriage rule). [TM: CSfn111011]

(5-10) birrga man-da=ngaliny **ngalinga** nalija
create GET-IMP=1MIN.INC.OBJ 1MIN.INC.OBL1 tea.ABS
TM: Make our tea.[152]
CS#: ALT: Make tea for us. [TM: CSfn110609]

(5-11) ngu=rna=nggu marn-ana **nyununga**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ say-PRES 2MIN.OBL1
I am talking to you. [MS: CSfn050509]

Oblique 1 pronouns with the possessive reading may occur without overt NPs expressing possessums. In (5-12), nganinga is translated as 'mine'.

(5-12)
A. ngandu-wu=la nyila warlagu
who-DAT=3MIN.DAT DIST1 dog.ABS
MS: Whose dog is that?
CS: Lit: For whom is that dog?

B. wagurra **nganinga**
NEG 1MIN.OBL1
Not mine. [MS: CSfn080709]

Oblique1 pronouns with the beneficiary reading are also used in reflexive and reciprocal clauses as well as the reflexive/reciprocal clitic =nyunu (§7.2.7). Wanyjirra has no independent reflexive/reciprocal free pronoun. Normally non-subject arguments which are coreferential to subjects do not occur overtly in reflexive and reciprocal

[152] Sometimes oblique 1 pronouns may be interpreted in two ways as beneficiary or possessor. However, it could be analysed that they are precisely beneficiary because beneficiary NPs are usually cross-referenced and possessive pronouns and genitive-dative NPs are not cross-referenced in verbal clauses. The ambiguity is parallel to Kriol, *fo* (*for*) which is used for the genitive/possessive meaning as well as beneficiary and purposive meaning (cf. Hudson, 1983).

clauses. Therefore, it is very uncommon that both oblique 1 pronouns and the clitic =nyunu expressing beneficiary can occur.

(5-13) nyangga lurrij wandi-wu nyila ngawa
COND finish FALL-FUT DIST1 water.ABS

ngu=rna=**nyunu** jangilany man-gu **nganinga**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=RR firewood.ABS get-FUT 1MIN.OBL1

ngurra-ngga \ lunyja burnu yabayaba
camp-LOC snappy.gumABS tree.ABS children.ABS
CS#: "If the rain stops, I will get firewood for myself around the camp, small [branches] of snappy gum trees." [TM: CSfn141010]

5.1.4.3 Case marking on oblique 1 pronouns

If they function as possessor, oblique 1 pronouns agree with their head NPs by taking ergative or dative suffixes. For instance, within transitive subject NPs, oblique 1 pronouns are marked with the ergative suffix as well as their head nouns according to the same morphophonemic rule as in case marking on nouns as in (5-14). The dative allomorph -wu can also follow oblique 1 pronouns within dative NPs as in (5-15).

(5-14) **nganingu-lu** jaja-nggu gunyjan-i nyila burnu
1MIN. OBL1-ERG MM-ERG wetten-PAST DIST1 tree.ABS
CS#: My granddaughter watered that tree. [TM: CSfn240809]

(5-15) ngu=la wuruly yan-ana **nyanungu-wu** jibini-wu
REAL=3MIN.DAT sneak GO-PRES 3MIN.OBL1-DAT lover-DAT
CS#: He is sneaking up to his girlfriend. [TM: CSfn200509]

Only a few examples show that oblique 1 pronouns are marked with the allative allomorph, i.e., nganingu-lawu. The speaker (MS) who uses these forms comments that oblique 2 pronouns (i.e., nganinginy-jawu) are 'better' than oblique1 pronouns (i.e., nganingu-lawu). Another speaker (TM) is consistent in using oblique 2 forms. I consider that the former (nganingu-lawu) is borrowed from Jaru.

5.1.4.4 Oblique 2

Basically oblique 2 pronouns in minimal categories denote an origin or source of an entity as in (5-16a and 5-17a) in opposition to the corresponding oblique 1 pronouns

with the possessor meaning as in (5-16b and 5-17b).[153] Oblique 2 forms in these minimal categories can also denote possessor only when they are followed by case suffixes (§5.1.4.5). Like possessive-oblique 1, oblique 2 with the source meaning is not cross-referenced.[154]

(5-16)

a. mawun-du ngu=yi yu-nya nganinga
man-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ give-PAST 1MIN.OBL1

mangarri **nyanunginy**
veg.food.ABS 3MIN.OBL2
The man gave me food from him. [TM: CSfn020910]

b. ngu=rna gang-gu nyila ngarin **nyanunga**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ carry-FUT DIST1 meat.ABS 3MIN.OBL1
I want to take his beef. [MS: CSfn260609]

(5-17)

a. ngu=yi yu-nya yamaji ngarin **nyununginy**
REAL=1MIN.OBJ give-PAST small.ABS meat.ABS 2MIN.OBL2
She gave a small piece of beef from you (i.e., from your left-over).
[MS: CSfn260609]

b. ngu=yi yu-nya yamaji ngarin **nyununga**
REAL=1MIN.OBJ give-PAST small.ABS meat.ABS 2MIN.OBL1
She gave me your small piece of beef (i.e., the beef you are going to eat).
[MS: CSfn260709]

Oblique 2 pronouns of non-minimal categories express the meanings which oblique 1 forms express in minimal categories. The oblique 2 pronouns ngandibanginy (5-18), nyunbulanginy (5-19) and nganimbanginy (5-20) denote possessor, beneficiary and recipient respectively, rather than source.

(5-18) bindi \... **ngandibanginy** mangarri \
bush.banana.ABS 1AUG. OBL2 veg.food.ABS
CS#: 'Bindi', [it's] our food'. [TM: 10_0617_4.015-016]

[153] Although the first person minimal inclusive category has two oblique forms as well as other minimal categories, oblique 1 is rarely used and instead the oblique 2 form generally denote source as well as possessor, beneficiary, recipient and other roles like oblique 2 forms in non-minimal categories.

[154] Source is almost always not cross-referenced with pronominal clitics. However, there are two unusual examples where oblique 2 pronouns encoding source are analysed as being cross-referenced. These examples are given in §7.3.8.

(5-19) ngu=rna=ngguwula gamba-wu nalija **nyunbulanginy**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2UA.OBJ burn-FUT tea.ABS 2UA.OBL2
I will cook tea for you two. [MS: CSfn291010]

(5-20) yung-ga=lu=nganimba jalngi **nganimbanginy**
give-IMP=AUG.SBJ=1AUG.OBJ king.brown.ABS 1AUG. OBL2

ngaringga-wu
woman-DAT
TT: Give the king brown snake to us, to women. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).115']
NOTE: I changed the translation 'king brown snake' from "king brown (?)" in TT's original text.

In fact, source is not commonly expressed by oblique 2 of non-minimal categories and the meanings of possessor and beneficiary are more frequently expressed by these forms. One of the reasons could be the limit of the corpus. Overall examples with free pronouns denoting source are less common. Nonetheless, the following oblique 2 form, which functions as a nominal predicate, can be interpreted as source or possessor.

(5-21)
1. nyandu ngarn-ana ngarin
3MIN ingest-PRES meat.ABS
He is eating meat.

2. nyila ngarin ngu **nyurraranginy**
DIST1 meat.ABS REAL 2AUG.OBL2
MS: The meat is from you mob.
CS#: ALT: The meat is yours. [MS: CSfn250609]

Like oblique 1 pronouns, oblique 2 pronouns with the source or possessor reading can also occur solely in NPs without overt semantic heads as in (5-22) and (5-23)[155].

(5-22) **nyununginy** ngu=lu=la yi-nya
2MIN.OBL2 REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3MIN.DAT give-PAST
TT: They gave him [something] from you.
NOTE: I put the word 'something' in brackets. [MS: TTfn180700]

[155] Alternatively, the oblique pronoun in (5-22) can be analysed as an independent source NP rather than an adnominal modifier.

(5-23) **nyurraranginy** nga-nyja=lu \
2AUG.OBL2 ingest-IMP=AUG.SBJ
Eat your own [food]. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(1).171]
NOTE: I changed the transcription nyurraranginy from nyurrara-nginy in TT's original text.

Another similarity to oblique 1 pronouns is that oblique 2 referring to beneficiary can also occur overtly with the clitic =nyunu in reflexive and reciprocal clauses.

(5-24) gulyawurr man-da=lu=**nyunu** **nyurraranginy**
leaf.ABS get-IMP=AUG.SBJ=RR 2AUG.OBL2
You get leaf for yourself. [MS: 76_13_2NP(1).065''''''''''''''']

5.1.4.5 Case marking on oblique 2 pronouns

Oblique 2 pronouns can take further case suffixes including ergative, dative, locative, allative, ablative and elative suffixes. In this case, oblique 2 pronouns function in two ways. First, they express possessor. Then outer suffixes show agreement to their heads. Secondly, oblique 2 pronouns serve as morphological bases for spatial case suffixes without the possessor meaning. This is because core forms cannot directly take case suffixes.

[1] Oblique 2 as possessor

In this function, any case suffixes listed above can follow oblique 2 pronouns. However, ergative and dative suffixes seem to attach only to oblique 2 pronouns which have no corresponding oblique 1 forms. Table 5.5 demonstrates ergative and dative markings on oblique 1 and 2. All forms marked with asterisks are made by me and approved by TM and/or MS. However, these forms are rarely found in their self-produced sentences.

Table 5.5: Ergative and dative case forms of oblique 1 and oblique 2 pronouns

	Oblique1		Oblique 2	
	Ergative	Dative	Ergative	Dative
1MIN	nganingu-lu	nganingu-wu		
1MIN.INC	ngalingu-lu*	ngalingu-wu*		
2MIN	nyunungu-lu	nyunungu-wu		
3MIN	nyanungu-lu	nyanungu-wu		
1UA			ngaliyarranginy-ju*	ngaliyarranginy-gu*
1UA.INC			ngaliwulanginy-ju*	ngaliwulanginy-gu*
2UA			nyunbulanginy-ju*	nyunbulanginy-gu*
3UA			nyanbulanginy-ju*	nyanbulanginy-gu*
1AUG			nganimbanginy-ju* ngandibanginy-ju*	nganimbanginy-gu* ngandibanginy-gu*
1AUG.INC			ngaliwanginy-ju*	ngaliwanginy-gu*
2AUG			nyurraranginy-ju	nyurraranginy-gu
3AUG			nyarrulunginy-gu*	nyarrulunginy-gu*

(i) Ergative transitive subjects[156]

Note that Sentence 2 and 3 of (5-25) only contain transitive subjects (with an interjection in Sentence 3). Their predicates are omitted because of repetition from the preceding Sentence 1.

(5-25)

1. wali ngarra=lu=ngaliwa yurrg guya=lu bung-gu \
   OK ADM=3AUG.SBJ=1AUG.INC.OBJ track SUB=3AUG.SBJ hit-FUT

   yanggarra \
   follow
   MS: "OK, but they might track us and they will hit us, following."

2. ngandu-gu \
   who-ERG
   MS: "Who [will do that]?"

3. ngayi \ ngumbarna-lu **nyurraranginy-ju** gardiya-lu \
   hey spouse-ERG 2AUG.OBL2-ERG white.man-ERG
   MS: "Hey! Your boyfriends, white men [will follow and hit us]."
   [DJ: 99_41.136-138]

(ii) Dative: purpose[157]

[156] Ergative suffixes with the meaning of instrument are not found with oblique 2 in the corpus. However, probably it is possible.

[157] Dative suffixes denoting other semantic roles (e.g. beneficiary, goal, recipient and addressee) can also occur with oblique 2 pronouns.

(5-26) ngu=rnalu yan-ana wilinyi mangarri-wu **nyurraranginy-gu**
REAL=1AUG.SBJ GO-PRES hunt veg.food-DAT 2AUG.OBL2-DAT
MS: We go walkabout for *youfalas* tucker.
CS@: We go walkabout for your food. [MS: CSfn090909]

(iii) Locative: location

(5-27) **nyununginy-ja** marru-ngga ngu=rna=nggu
2MIN.OBL2-LOC house-LOC REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ

guny bung-an-i
wait HIT-CONT-PAST
CS#: At your house, I was waiting for you. [TM: CSfn110810]

(iv) Allative: destination

(5-28) yan-gu=liwa gaa-ni **ngaliwanginy-jawu** gaja-nggawu
go-FUT=1AUG.INC.SBJ east-D.LOC1 1AUG.INC.OBL2-ALL bush-ALL
MS: We will go east to our 'desert' country. [DJ: 99_41_1.114]
NOTE: MS replaced gaani with gaanirra when replayed to her.

(v) Ablative: a starting point of movement

(5-29) nganinga yamaji ngu=yi yan-i
1MIN.OBL1 small.ABS REAL=1MIN.OBJ go-PAST

nyununginy-ngulu ngurra-ngulu
2MIN.OBL2-ABL camp-ABL
CS#: My kid came back from your camp. [TM: CSfn140610]

(vi) Elative: a starting point of movement

(5-30) warlgan ngu dub man-i **nyanunginy-nginyi** ngurra-nginyi
sand.goanna.ABS REAL pull GET-PAST 3MIN.OBL2-EL camp-EL
He pulled out a sand goanna from his nest. [MS: CSfn081110]

[2] Oblique 2 as a morphological base for spatial case suffixes

When Oblique 2 pronouns can also function as morphological bases for locative, allative and elative case suffixes, they have no possessor or any other meanings and only spatial case suffixes denote semantic roles of referents. Note that there is no example of ablative-marked oblique 2 pronouns with this function in the corpus.

(i) Locative: location

An oblique 2 pronoun is the sole member of the locative NP representing location and

accompaniment 'by/near/with us' like animate nouns with the locative suffix (§4.4.2.4) and the compound suffix (§4.4.2.10). Such oblique 2 forms are cross-referenced with oblique clitics in (5-31), which differs from possessive-oblique 2 without being cross-referenced.

(5-31) nyila warlagu ngu=ngayarranggula lulu garriny-ana
DIST1 dog.ABS REAL=1UA.OBL sit STAY-PRES

ngaliyarranginy-ja
1UA.OBL2-LOC
TM: That dog is sitting *la mindubala*.
CS@: That dog is sitting by/near/with us. [TM: CSfn070610]

(ii) Allative: destination

(5-32) *TM is talking to me at a community meeting. I was standing at a distance from TM and other people.*

yan-da barlag \ **ngandibanginy-jawu** \
GO-IMP mix 1AUG.OBL2-ALL
CS#: "Come and join us." [TM: CSfn211010]

(iii) Elative: a starting point

(5-33) contains a part-whole construction where the Part NP and the Whole NP appear in apposition and only the Whole NP is cross-referenced (§8.5.2).

(5-33) gulyurr ngu=yila burja yan-ana **nganinginy-nginyi**
mucus.ABS REAL=1MIN.OBL run GO-PRES 1MIN.OBL2-EL

jirrji-nginyi
nose-EL
MS: Cold sick is running from my nose.
CS: LIT: From me, from the nose, mucus is running. [MS: CSfn210709]
NOTE: Idiosyncratic use of the complex verb burja yan- could be influenced from the English expression 'mucus is running from the nose'.

5.1.5 Special functions of the third person forms

5.1.5.1 Neutralisaion in number

Although each person/number category has a distinct set of stems, third person minimal stems nyandu and nyanung- can also be used for unit-augmented and

augmented numbers. The following elicited examples show that the same speaker uses nyandu to refer to a single participant (5-34), two participants (5-35) and three participants (5-36) with function of S. nyandu is neutralised in terms of number in (5-35 and 5-36). Numbers of participants are clarified by unit-augmented and augmented pronominal clitics. [158]

(5-34) **nyandu** ngu yan-ana
3MIN REAL go-PRES
TT: He is going. [MS: TTfn100897]

(5-35) **nyandu** ngu=**wula** yan-ana
3 REAL=3UA.SBJ go-PRES
TT: They (DU) are going. [MS: TTfn100897]

(5-36) **nyandu** ngu=**lu** yan-ana
3 REAL=3AUG.SBJ go-PRES
TT: They (PL) are going. [MS: TTfn100897]

The same speaker also uses the unit-augmented form nyunbula and the augmented form nyarrulu in (5-37) and (5-38) respectively.

(5-37) **nyanbula** ngu=**wula** yan-ana
3UA REAL=3UA.SBJ go-PRES
They two go. [MS: CSfn250609]

(5-38) **nyarrulu** ngu=**lu** yan-ana
3AUG REAL=3AUG.SBJ go-PRES
Mob of them go. [MS: CSfn250609]

The third person minimal oblique 1 and 2 forms, nyanunga and nyanunginy also express two and three participants in (5-39 and 5-40) respectively. The numbers of

[158] Use of third person minimal/singular forms for multiple referents is also reported in surrounding languages including Jaru, Walmatjarri and Wangkajunga. Jaru lacks distinct third person augmented/plural forms so that minimal forms are always used to refer to plural referents but not for dual referents (Tsunoda, 1981: 64-65). In Walmajarri, the minimal/singular form is used as a stem for dual and plural referents by taking dual and plural number suffixes respectively (Hudson, 1978: 85). Likewise in Wangkajunga, third person augmented/plural forms consist of the minimal/singular form as a stem and the plural suffix, but sometimes the plural suffix is not attached irrespective of actual numbers of referents (Jones, 2011: 129-130). In these languages, cross-referencing pronominal clitics clarify numbers of referents as in Wanyjirra. It is unusual that a single minimal form can be used for all number referents in Wanyjirra. Since there are not many natural speech examples showing that third person pronouns refer to two or three participants in Wanyjirra, It is hard to conclude whether this is really a feature of Wanyjirra pronouns or an example of language loss.

participants are understood from their antecedents, i.e., subjects in both sentences.

(5-39) ngu=wula ward yan-i **nyanunginy**-jawu jaja-nggawu
REAL=3UA.SBJ return go-PAST 3OBL2-ALL MM-ALL
CS#: Two of them went back to [the house of] their grandmother.
[TM: CSfn030809]

(5-40) *family* ngu=lu=yanu nya-nya **nyanunga**
family.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3PL.OBJ perceive-PAST 3OBL1

warlalja \...(3.0) Binanyi-la \...(2.5) guya=lu garriny-an-i \
relatives.ABS PLACE NAME-LOC SUB=3AUG.SBJ stay-CONT-PAST
CS#: [Some] people saw their families when they stayed at Binanyi.
[TM: 10_0825_4.039]

5.1.5.2 Tracking participants

Third person forms refer to the participant(s) who are not involved in the speech event, i.e., other than a speaker and an addressee. These forms function as anaphors which track referents within the same speech activities.[159] Therefore it also marks definiteness of the referent. The following example (5-41) is extracted from a short conversation after language sessions with two speakers. They wanted to take a picture of us and needed someone to do so. I told them that my friend would come to take them back to their houses and we could ask her to take a picture. Then she came to the place where we were. One speaker (TM) knew my friend but she did not recognise her when she first saw her from a short distance.

(5-41)
TM: ngana nyila
who.ABS DIST1
CS#: Who is that?

CS: Namija Namija
♀subsection ♀subsection
CS#: [That's] Namija, Namija.

[159] In my corpus, minimal and unit-augmented forms are used as an anaphor for antecedents. Since augmented forms are not commonly used, there is no example of augmented forms for this function in the corpus. However, I assume they are also used in the same way.

MS:	**nyandu**	ngu	yan-ana	ngu=ngaliwang	man-gu	ngandawi
	3MIN	REAL	go-PRES	REAL=1AUG.INC.OBJ	get-FUT	shade.ABS

MS: She is coming [and] she will take photo of us. [TM; CS; MS: CSfn130509]

In TM's utterance, the demonstrative refers to the specific person who is coming to us (TM, MS and CS). MS used nyandu to refer to that person, the Namija woman whom TM mentioned previously. This would be the same as the use of English demonstratives and pronouns like:

A: *Who is that?*
B: *Namija.*
C: *She is coming here.*

Oblique forms also have the same function. (5-42) contains the oblique 1 pronoun which serves an anaphor for the preceding ergative-marked NP 'my father'.

(5-42)

nganingu-lu	ngabu-yu-lu	gang-an-i	**nyanunga**
1MIN.OBL1-ERG	F-KIN-ERG	carry-CONT-PAST	3MIN.OBL1

mawun \...(1.1)	wilinyi \...(3.0)
man.ABS	hunt

CS#: My father used to take his men (i.e., relatives) for hunting.
[TM: 10_0803_2.006]

5.1.6 Free pronouns in discourse

Wanyjirra free pronouns themselves are not frequently used in natural speech. Core participants are often expressed only by pronominal clitics. Occurrence of free pronouns may carry specific pragmatic information on the referent, such as focus/emphasis, contrast or clarification.[160]

In (5-43), nyundu is contrastive to the referent of the pronominal clitic =rnalu in the preceding sentence and clarifies the participant of the event 'staying'. Generally subjects of imperative sentences are not overtly specified and only number markers of subject clitics follow imperative verbs (§7.3.1; §9.1.8.4). In this example, no overt

[160] Tsunoda (p.c.) disagrees that Jaru pronouns have such discourse functions. However, I believe that Wanyjirra free pronouns have them at least in some context. Meakins and Nordlinger (2014: 220) briefly mention that Bilinarra free pronouns emphasise their referents in discourse contexts.

marker follows the verb because the minimal category has no overt number marker. Note that the 'ONLY' clitic attaching to the demonstrative also emphasises the place where 'you' stay (§11.4.1).

(5-43) *The speaker was talking to the woman who did not get off the car. Others including the speaker and I went to a grocery shop.*

ngu=rnalu	yan-ana \	**nyundu**	garri-ya	murla=lu
REAL=1AUG.SBJ	go-PRES	2MIN	stay-IMP	PROX2=ONLY

TM: We go. You stay right here. [MS: CSfn250609]

Another example is in Sentence 3 of (5-44) below. The oblique 2 pronoun is used to clarify the identity of the subject referent 'YOUR boyfriend' which is asked in the previous question sentence.

(5-44) (re: 5-25)

1.

wali	ngarra=lu=ngaliwa	yurrg	guya=lu	bung-gu \
OK	ADM=3AUG.SBJ=1AUG.INC.OBJ	track	SUB=3AUG.SBJ	hit-FUT

yanggarra \
follow
MS: "OK, but they might track us and they will hit us. [They might] follow [us]."

2.

ngandu-gu \
who-ERG
MS: "Who [will do that]?"

3.

ngayi \	ngumbarna-lu	**nyurraranginy-ju**	gardiya-lu \
hey	spouse-ERG	2AUG.OBL2-ERG	white.man-ERG

MS: "Hey! Your boyfriends, white men [will follow and hit us]."
[DJ: 99_41.136-138]

5.2 Interrogatives

In Wanyjirra, as in many Australian languages, interrogatives are polysemous and single stems typically function as interrogatives in information questions (e.g. 'what' and 'who') and as indefinite or negative pronouns in non-interrogative contexts (e.g. 'something, anything, nothing' and 'someone, anyone, no-one').[161] In addition, a few

[161]The terms 'interrogatives' or 'interrogative/indefinites' are often employed in grammars of Australian languages. Other terms 'ignoratives' (Wierzbicka, 1980) and 'epistememes' (Mushin, 1995) are used for

interrogative members are used to fill in for a specific word that the speaker cannot remember at the time of speech ('whatsitsname') or to mark certain types of complement.

Interrogatives form a syntactically heterogeneous class but share basic semantic functions showing a speaker's ignorance. Each stem has abstract semantic domains which are called 'knowledge categories' (Mushin, 1995: 3) or 'ontological categories' (Haspelmath, 1997: 21). In Wanyjirra, there are seven basic categories, namely PERSON THING, IDENTITY, PLACE, QUANTITY, TIME and MANNER denoted by seven stems.[162] Some interrogatives can encode other derived ontological categories by means of attachment of case suffixes.

Table 5.6 shows forms of interrogatives, their syntactic functions and translations for seven ontological categories. The dark coloured columns indicate that there are no examples of relevant functions in the data. For example, ngana/ngandu is used in interrogative and indefinite contexts for the categories of PERSON. However, it may also be used for IDENTITY in interrogative contexts 'which (person)' when it occur as adnominal modifiers, although this function for these stems is uncommon and another stem wanyji is mainly used. In addition, some examples show that the forms ngana/ngandu and nyamba have their semantic domains broader than the English words 'who' and 'what', although they typically are used for the categories of person and thing respectively (§5.2.2; §5.2.3).

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the similar purpose whereas 'interrogatives' or 'interrogative/indefinites' are often employed in grammars of Australian languages.

[162] Terms for each category are adopted from Mushin (1995) and/or Haspelmath (1997).

Table 5.6: Wanyjirra interrogatives

Basic categories	Forms	Syntactic functions	Translations			
			Interrogative	Indefinite	Negative	Others
PERSON	ngana/ ngandu	Pronominal	who	someone	no-one	
THING	nyamba	Pronominal Adnominal	what	something	nothing	whatsitsname, complement of verbs
PLACE	wanyjirra	Pronominal	where	somewhere	nowhere	
IDENTITY	wanyji	Pronominal Adnominal	which (of X)		none	
	ngana/ ngandu	Adnominal	which (person)			
	wanyjirra	Adnominal	which (place)			
QUANTITY	nyayangu	Adnominal	how many, how much	some		
TIME	nyangula	Pronominal	when	some time		
MANNER	nyararra	Pronominal	how	some way, somehow		complement of verbs

5.2.1 Differences between interrogative and indefinite uses

As seen in Table 5.6, a single form can be used as an interrogative and an indefinite. Therefore interpretations are basically determined by context. However, there are three grammatical properties which can be useful to distinguish interrogative uses from indefinite uses. First, in interrogative use, interrogatives always occur sentence-initially. When they function as indefinites, on the other hand, they occur elsewhere in sentences. (5-45) contains the stem nyamba with interrogative function ('what') whereas (5-46) contains the same form with indefinite function ('something').

(5-45) **nyamba**=li marn-ang-gu
what.ABS=1UA.INC.SBJ say-CONT-FUT
What are we talking? [TM: CSfn300909]

(5-46) *TM was commenting on a photo depicting a certain bush food placed on an Aboriginal person's hand.*

nga=lu **nyamba** barli nya-nya
REAL=3AUG.SBJ something.ABS find PERCEIVE-PAST
TM: They *bin faindim* something.
CS@: They found something. [TM: CSfn150509]

Second, interrogatives in indefinite use can optionally be followed by the ignorative clitic =wayi/warri,[163] which is a cross-linguistically common device to distinguish indefinite uses from interrogative uses (cf. Haspelmath, 1997: 22). The sentences are often translated as 'I don't know/ I wonder', which encodes non-specific referent which the speaker knows its existence or expresses self-interrogative. In this case, indefinites often occur sentence-initially but not always (see (5-61) below).

(5-47) **nyamba=wayi** ngu=wula bila man-ana gujarra-lu
something.ABS=IGNOR REAL=3UA.SBJ chase GET-PRES two-ERG
TM: I don't know what they two (i.e., dogs) are chasing.
CS#: ALT: They two [dogs] are chasing something. [TM: CSfn080910]

Note that like indefinites with the ignorative clitic in initial position may also be attached to pronominal clitics like interrogatives in question sentences.[164] Compare (5-48) with (5-47) above where the pronominal clitic follows the auxiliary but not the indefinite with =wayi. These two examples are translated similarly by the speaker.

(5-48) **nyamba**=wayi=wula bila man-ana gujarra-lu
something.ABS=IGNOR=3UA.SBJ chase GET-PRES two-ERG
TM: I don't know what they two (dogs) are chasing.
CS#: ALT: They two (i.e., dogs) are chasing something. [TM: CSfn080910]

The following table shows numbers of examples where stems occur with or without the ignorative clitic and their positions (first or second constituents, or other places within sentences). This statistics exclude negative indefinite use of interrogatives.

[163] Two clitic forms are variations. However, the former =wayi is dominantly used in my corpus. =wayi is also used in Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013: 290 etc.) and =warri is used in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 209).
[164] One exception is given in (5-64) below in §5.2.2.2 where the indefinite stem ngandu which follows the negative particle wagurra takes the pronominal clitic =yanu.

Table 5.7: Indefinite use of interrogative stems

Stems	Numbers of examples		Positions (Ratio)		
			1st constituent	2nd constituent	others
ngana/ngandu 'someone'	+ IGNOR clitic	14	12 (86%)	0	2 (14%)
	No clitic	7	3 (43%)	4 (57%)	0
nyamba 'something'	+ IGNOR clitic	27	26 (96%)	0	1 (4%)
	No clitic	14	0	0	14 (100%)
wanyjirra 'somewhere'	+ IGNOR clitic	12	12 (100%)	0	0
	No clitic	1	0	0	1 (100%)
nyayangu 'some'	+ IGNOR clitic	4	4 (100%)	0	0
	No clitic	0	0	0	0
nyangula 'some time'	+ IGNOR clitic	9	9 (100%)	0	0
	No clitic	3	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	0
nyararra 'somehow'	+ IGNOR clitic	5	5 (100%)	0	0
	No clitic	0	0	0	0

In addition, the focus clitic (§11.4.5) attaches to interrogative stems as indefinites but not in question sentences. It occurs in negative context and highlight information to draw addressee's attention.[165]

(5-49) gula=rna **nyamba**=la man-gu
NEG=1MIN.SBJ something.ABS=FOC GET-FUT
MS: I can't get anything. [TM: CSfn170909]

Cross-linguistically, further semantic distinctions can be made in indefinite functions, such as specific vs. non-specific (Haspelmath, 1997). In Wanyjirra, such distinctions may appear in some categories although they are not formally encoded and the difference can be interpreted only through context. For instance, the same stem in indefinite use can be interpreted as a specific referent (5-46) or non-specific referent (5-50). Non-specific referents can occur with negative particles and exhibit non-existence of the referent (5-49) above.

[165] In Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013) and Bilinara (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014), the focus clitic is often used in interrogative sentences, which differs from Wanyjirra.

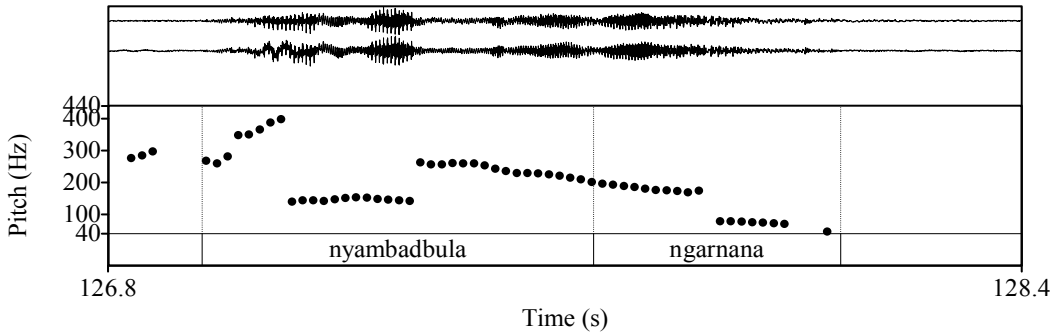
(5-50) ngarlu-wu /.. murnduj-gu **nyamba-wu** /...
honey-DAT black-headed.python-DAT something-DAT

jarrambayi-wu ngu=lu=la nyang-an-gu /
goanna-DAT REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3MIN.DAT perceive-CONT-FUT
TT: They two (i.e., the women) will look for honey, a black snake, goanna, and for anything. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).148]

Intonation cannot be relied on for distinguishing between interrogative and indefinite functions in Wanyjirra and in many non-Australian languages (Siemund, 2001). Rising intonation is not obligatorily employed at the end of interrogative sentences. For instance, an information question with the interrogative nyamba 'what' ends with falling intonation (5-51) as well as a non-interrogative (imperative) sentence with the indefinite nyamba 'anything' (5-52).[166]

(5-51) **nyamba**=dbula ngarn-ana \
what=2UA.SBJ ingest-PRES
"What are you eating?" [TM: 11_1014_4.033]

Figure 5.2: Pitch track and wave form of (5-51)

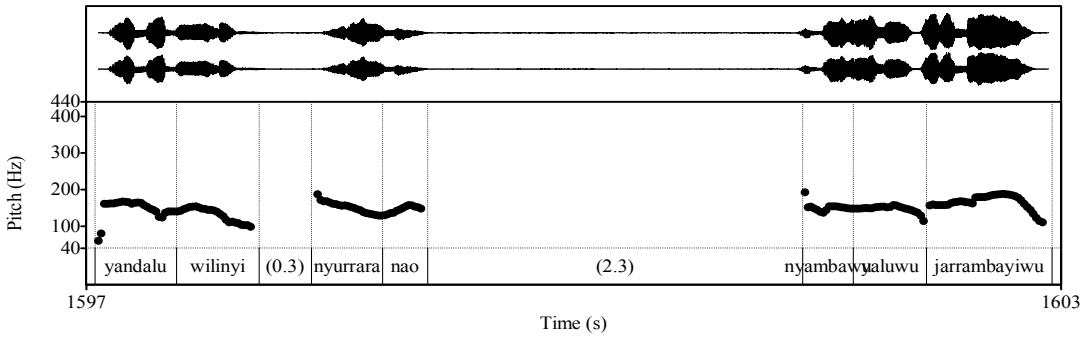


[166] However, intonation is important to interpret clauses as polar questions where clauses which are morpho-syntactically identical to indicative clauses but have a rising intonation pattern.
(A) lurrij-ju=lu ngu=nda ngarn-i /
all-ERG=ONLY REAL=2AUG.SBJ ingest-PAST
TT: Have you eaten up [the kangaroo meat]?
CS%: Have you all eaten [the kangaroo meat]? [NP: 76_12_NP(1).192]
NOTE: Although TT treats =julu as a clitic following lurrij 'finish'. I analyse it as two different morphemes: -ju 'ergative' and =lu 'ONLY' clitic.

(5-52) yan-da=lu wilinyi \.. nyurrara *nao* \...(2.3)
go-IMP=AUG.SBJ hunt 2AUG NOW

nyamba-wu yalu-wu jarrambayi-wu \
something-DAT DIST2-DAT goanna-DAT
TT: Go on walkabout now, for those goannas and anything.
CS%: You, go on walkabout, for those goannas and anything.
[NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).477]

Figure 5.3: Pitch track and wave form of (5-52)



5.2.2 ngana/ngandu 'who, someone' and 'which'

The stem ngana/ngandu is mainly used for the category of PERSON. The basic meanings are 'who' in interrogative context and 'someone' in indefinite context. This stem is also used in negative indefinite context. Syntactically, it is almost always used as an independent pronoun but it can also be an adnominal modifier in a few examples for the category of IDENTITY.

This interrogative inflects for cases appropriate to their grammatical and semantic roles. The form ngana is absolutive and the form ngandu inflects for other cases. When it is inflected for spatial cases, the originative suffix -wuny is inserted between the stem and spatial suffixes although the final nasal of -wuny is reduced due to nasal dissimilation. The inflection pattern is illustrated in Table 5.8. Although there is no example of the purposive form in the corpus, the predicted form ngandu-wurra is assumed because it is found in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981). Note that comitative and locative forms are phonologically identical. However, they are distinguished from each other, i.e., ngandu-wuja 'by/near/with whom' and ngandu-wu-ja ngurra-ngga 'at whose camp'.

Table 5.8: Inflecting forms of ngana/ngandu

Case	Forms
Absolutive	ngana
Ergative	ngandu-gu
Dative	ngandu-wu
Originative	ngandu-wuny
Comitative	ngandu-wuja
Locative	ngandu-wu-ja
Allative	ngandu-wu-jawu
Ablative	ngandu-wu-ngulu
Elative	ngandu-wu-nginyi

5.2.2.1 Interrogative use

ngana/ngandu in the interrogative sense is generally used to request information on a person or people. Examples contain the ergative form (5-53) and the absolutive from (5-54).

(5-53) **ngandu-gu**=nggu biga bung-an-i
who-ERG=2MIN.OBJ inform HIT-CONT-PAST
TT: Who told you? [D: TTfn110999]

(5-54) **ngana** jaja-nggu ga-nya wilinyi
who.ABS MM-ERG CARRY-PAST hunt
CS#: Whom did the grandmother take her hunting? [TM: CSfn200910]

The semantic domain of ngana/ngandu is broader than that of the English interrogative pronoun 'who'. It is also used to interrogate a person's name (5-55).

(5-55) **ngana** nyila wanyja yiri
who.ABS DIST1 woman.ABS name.ABS
MS: What is that woman's name?
CS: LIT: who is the woman's name? [MS: CSfn130809]

However, as seen in (5-68) below, the same meaning can also be expressed by the stem nyamba 'what' which is normally used for the category of THING. The overlap of domains of two interrogatives may be caused by that the stem ngana/ngandu is used for humans and other referents which are closely associated to humans as a peripheral in its domain whereas nyamba concerns the non-human (and inanimate) referent

yiri/yini 'name' as its central domain irrespective of names of animate or inanimate entities as may reflect English influence.

When it is inflected for dative and comitative cases, it often refers to a possessor with the meaning 'whose' (5-56) or beneficiary (5-57), and location or accompaniment (5-58) respectively.

(5-56) **ngandu-wu**=la nyila gururrij
who-DAT=3MIN.DAT DIST1 motorcar.ABS
TM: Who *belonga* that motor car?
MS: Who *fo* that car?
CS@: Whose motor car is that? [TM: CSfn080709]

(5-57) **ngandu-wu**=n-gu=la[167] man-ana nyawa ngarin
who-DAT=2MIN.SBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT get-PRES PROX1 meat.ABS
CS#: For whom are you getting this beef? [MS: CSfn130809]

(5-58) **ngandu-wuja**=n lulu garriny-ana
who-COMIT=2MIN.SBJ sit STAY-PRES
TT: Who are you sitting by/at/with? [MS: TTfn060895]

In the above examples, ngana/ngandu is used as a NP head. However, this stem also occurs as an adnominal modifier. In this case, it is translated as 'which' rather than 'who'.

(5-59) **ngandu-wuny** wanyja-wuny nyila ngarin man-i \
who-ORIG woman-ORIG DIST1 meat.ABS get-PAST
TT!: Which woman did you get beef from? [MS: 99_40_1.256]

5.2.2.2 Indefinite use

The stem ngana/ngandu is also used for the indefinite meaning 'someone'.

(5-60) bangarra nyila **ngandu-gu** bi-nya
white.cockatoo.ABS DIST1 someone-ERG hit-PAST
Someone hit that white cockatoo. (i.e., It got injured.) [KD: CSfn041010]

In indefinite functions, it is often suffixed with the ignorative clitic.

[167] Epenthesis (insertion of -gu) (§2.6.5) is prioritised and denasalisation of =n (§2.6.1.2) does not occur in this example.

(5-61) *I was talking to TM about a woman who talked to me. However, TM didn't understand whom I was talking about.*

wanyja	nyila	**ngana=wayi**
woman.ABS	DIST1	someone.ABS=IGNOR

TM: I don't know that woman. [TM: CSfn170809]

(5-62) contains the question marker walima which is used in polar questions or questions implying a request for materials (§11.1.3.3). The stem here refers to non-specific referent.

(5-62) walima	**ngana**	garriny-ana	gumbu-waji-la
Q	someone.ABS	stay-PRES	urine-AGENT-LOC

Is anyone in the toilet? [MS: CSfn170609]

In negative context, ngana/ngandu occurs with the negative particles gula (5-63) and wagurra (5-64). In (5-64), the pronominal clitic attaches to the interrogative. However, since there is no other example like (5-64), it is unclear whether it is anomaly and is not be an actual grammatical possibility of indefinite use of interrogatives.

(5-63) gula=rna	yan-i	**ngandu-wu-jawu**,	minyarn
NEG=1MIN.SBJ	go-PAST	someone-ORIG-ALL	nothing

I didn't go to anybody's [place] at all. [MS: CSfn020909]

(5-64) wagurra	**ngandu-gu**=yanu	bib	man-i
NEG	someone-ERG=3AUG.OBJ	pick.up	GET-PAST

No one picked them up. [MS: CSfn070909]

5.2.3 nyamba 'what, something'

The stem nyamba for the category of THING has meanings 'what' in interrogative context and 'something/anything/nothing' in indefinite and negative contexts. It is also used as a filler when the speaker cannot recall a specific name of the referent, namely 'whatsitsname', covering forgotten names of person and thing, and as a subordinator in complements of certain verbs. This stem corresponds to nouns and usually functions as a head of NPs. But in a few occasions, it modifies nouns. The derived category of REASON is also denoted by the dative form of this interrogative.

nyamba is inflected for four cases with a few irregular alternative allomorphs as illustrated in Table 5.9. For ergative and locative cases, the form can take two sets of allomorphs: (i) the ergative and locative allomorphs -gu and -ga which are generally used for bi-moraic stems and (ii) their alternatives -lu and -la which are generally used for tri-moraic or longer stems.[168] The similar irregular pattern can also be observed with the stem wanyji 'which' (§5.2.6).

Table 5.9: Inflecting forms of nyamba

Case	Forms
Absolutive	nyamba
Ergative	nyamba-gu ~nyamba-lu
Dative	nyamba-wu
Locative	nyamba-ga ~ nyamba-la[169]

5.2.3.1 Interrogative use

In its interrogative sense, nyamba is used to request information on inanimate or non-human animate referents. Ergative and absolutive forms are demonstrated in (5-65 and 5-66) and (5-67 and 5-68) respectively. In the first two examples, it occurs independently within a NP whereas in the last two examples, nyamba modifies other nouns.[170]

(5-65) **nyamba-gu** bayan-i murna
what-ERG bite-PAST arm.ABS
MS: What *bin baitim* arm?
CS@: What bit [his] arm? [MS: CSfn280709]

[168] Interestingly these alternations may be related to Warlpiri allomorphic conditions: the allomorphs -lu and -la are found on (i) polysyllabic stems and (b) interrogative stems whereas the allomorphs -nggu and -ngga are found on disyllabic stems (Hale, 1976b). Wanyjirra interrogatives with -gu/-ga reflect Wanyjirra normal allomorphic conditions (§4.4.1) and the Warlpiri condition (a) whereas the forms with -lu/-la can be influenced by the Warlpiri condition (b).

[169] The locative form of nyamba only occurs as a filler (§5.2.3.3) but not in general interrogative and indefinite contexts. The expected meanings of locative forms of nyamba 'where, somewhere' and other spatial case forms are expressed by another stem wanyjirra which is specialised for the category of place (§5.2.4).

[170] In (5-67), the pronominal clitic follows the realis auxiliary in the second constituent position but not the interrogative in the initial position, which also proves that two nominal words before the auxiliary constitute a NP (§8.1). In (5-68), the sentence lacks the pronominal clitic complex which may provide a boundary of the NP constituent as in (5-67). Therefore, alternatively nyamba and the noun yini can be analysed as belonging to separate NPs and yini is treated as a part of the nominal predicate constituting an inalienable possessive (or part-whole) construction with the following NP (§8.5.2).

(5-66) **nyamba-lu**=gu bayan-i
what-ERG=2MIN.OBJ bite-PAST
TT: What *bin bite-im* you?
CS@: What bit you? [MS: 76_13_2_NP(2).087’’’’]

(5-67) **nyamba** jaru ngu=n marn-an-i
what.ABS language.ABS REAL=2MIN.SBJ say-CONT-PAST
CS#: What story were you telling?
CS: ALT: What language were you speaking? [TM: CSfn190810]

(5-68) **nyamba** yini nyila mawun
what.ABS name.ABS DIST1 man.ABS
What is that man’s name? [TM: CSfn110610]

When the stem nyamba takes the dative suffix, it has two interpretations. First, it marks the content of ‘saying’ and ‘thinking’, i.e., ‘about what’. Second, it expresses a reason ‘why’ or purpose ‘what for’. These two interpretations are available in (5-69) whereas the second interpretation is possible in (5-70).

(5-69) **nyamba-wu**=n bura nyang-ana
what-DAT=2MIN.SBJ listen PERCEIVE -PRES
TM: What for are you thinking?
CS#: ALT: What are you thinking about? [TM: CSfn100610]

(5-70) **nyamba-wu**=n-gu=la yan-ana *Kananarra*-lawu
what-DAT=2MIN.SBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT go-PRES PLACE NAME-ALL
What are you going to Kununurra for? [MS: CSfn130809]

This stem can also be followed by the derivational suffix -wunyja ‘LACK’ which expresses ‘what’s wrong’ or ‘why not’ (§4.3.5).

(5-71) nyamba-wuja nyila gula gun.ga wandi-nya \
what-LACK DIST1 NEG dead FALL-PAST
TM: “Why didn’t it die?” [MS: 97_31_2.037]

5.2.3.2 Indefinite use

The stem nyamba is also used in the indefinite sense ‘something’ or ‘anything’. Examples were given in (5-46 and 5-50) above where the interrogative refers to a specific or non-specific entity. It is optionally attached with the ignorative clitic as in (5-47 and 5-48) above. When nyamba occurs with the negative particle gula, it

expresses an entity that does not exist as in (5-49) above and (5-72) below. In both examples, the focus marker =la follows the interrogative.

(5-72) gula **nyamba**=la yangi-wariny \ *nating=na* \
NEG something.ABS=FOC one-OTHER.ABS nothing=NOW
MS: There is no any other [story], nothing. [DJ: 99_41.208]

5.2.3.3 As a filler 'whatsitsname'

In addition to interrogative and indefinite functions, nyamba is used as a filler or a self-interrogative word expressing the meaning 'whatsitsname'. It is placed in a sentence when speakers are temporarily unable to remember specific names of referents. In most cases, the interrogative in this use is followed by the demonstrative yala- which also refers to the thing without explicitly saying the word.

(5-73) **nyamba-la** yala-ngga/... balnga-ngga/...(0.7) yirra-wu \
whatsitsname-LOC DIST2-LOC bark-LOC put-FUT
TT: [He] will put [them] on whatsitsname, there, on the bark.
[NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).098]
Note: Although in the original text, NP uses nyamba-la, MS gaves nyamba-ga to TT instead of that.

Although nyamba is typically used for non-human referents, a speaker uses it for human referents in a few examples when it functions as a filler.

(5-74) ngama-yi-lu jaja-nggu **nyamba-lu** \...(0.8) jaja-nggu \ *sometime*
M-KIN-ERG MM-ERG whatsitsname-ERG MM-ERG sometime

ngama-yi-lu \...(1.0) garran-u::::: \.. *growim up* /...(1.7) *growim up* \
M-KIN-ERG keep-NF grow.up grow.up
TT: [My] mother, and sometimes [my] mother's mother looked after [me].
CS%: [My] mother, [my] mother's mother and whatsitsname, [my] mother's mother, sometimes [my] mother kept [me], grew [me] up, grew [me] up.
[NP: 76_12_1_NP(2).019]

5.2.3.4 In complement and free relative clauses

The stem nyamba may also act as an interrogative subordinator embedding questions under verbs of perception. This is also a peripheral function of interrogatives and is only found in two stems nyamba and nyararra (§5.2.8.3). In (5-75), nyamba is used in

the complement of the verb 'thinking'. Although the subject of the complement is not overtly specified, it is interpreted as the first person minimal 'I' or the first person unit-agumented inclusive 'we'. In (5-75) the verb has a direct object as a free relative which contains the interrogative nyamba. Complement clauses are indicated by square brackets. These constructions are a subtype of complex sentences containing finite subordinate clauses (§13.1.4).

(5-75)
CS: nyamba-wu=n ngundi yan-ana
what-DAT=2MIN.SBJ recall GO-PRES
CS!#: What are you thinking about?

TM: ngu=rna ngundi yan-ana [**nyamba** yirra-wu jaru]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ recall GO-PRES what.ABS put-FUT language.ABS
CS#: I am thinking about what story to record. [CS; TM: CSfn110610]

(5-76) ngu=rna nyang-gu [**nyamba** gambarn-ana]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ perceive-FUT what.ABS burn-PRES
I will see what she is cooking. [MS: CSfn201011]

5.2.4 wanyjirra 'where, somewhere'

The stem wanyjirra is specialised for the category of PLACE.[171] This interrogative is only marked with the dative, elative and ablative suffixes but not with the locative suffix. When it expresses location, this stem does not take any case suffix. Syntactically, it usually constitute a NP by its own corresponding to locational nominals (§3.1.1.9). But it sometimes occurs as an adnominal modifier.

5.2.4.1 Interrogative use

In the interrogative function, wanyjirra generally encodes the special setting 'where' (5-77) but it is sometimes used for the spatial goal '(to) where' (5-78). For the meaning 'goal', wanyjirra is usually inflected for the dative case (5-79) but not the allative suffix -lawu which is normally used for nouns referring to inanimate goal. Therefore, there is no example like *wanyjirra-lawu. As a result, there is a mismatch of case-marking on sub-constituents within the NP as in (5-80).

[171] Although the form of the stem is phonologically related to the stem wanyji 'which' (§5.2.5), this thesis treats them as separate stems.

(5-77) **wanyjirra** bamarr-a \...(1.3) garriny-ana \
where stone-LOC be-PRES
TT: Where on the hill [is the goanna]? [NP: 76_14_1NP.154]

(5-78) **wanyjirra** ngu=n yan-ana[172]
where REAL=2MIN.SBJ go-PRES
Where are you going? [MS: CSfn030809]

(5-79) **wanyjirra-wu**=nbula yan-ana
where-DAT=2UA.SBJ go-PRES
Where are you two going? [MS: CSfn100609]

(5-80) **wanyjirra-wu** ngurra-nggawu ngu=n yan-ana
where-DAT camp-ALL REAL=2MIN.SBJ go-PRES
TT!: To which camp are you going? [MS: TTfn130999]

The ablative and elative forms are used for the meaning 'from where' (5-81 and 5-82). As demonstrated in (5-81), the stem wanyjirra can also be used as an adnominal modifier 'from which camp'.

(5-81) **wanyjirra-ngulu** yan-i jaja
where-ABL go -PAST MM.VOC
Where did you come from, Granny? [TM: CSfn051011]

(5-82) **wanyjirra-nginyi** ngurra-nginyi ngu=n ward yan-i
where-EL camp-EL REAL=2MIN.SBJ return go-PAST
TT!: Which camp you *bin* come back from? [MS: TTCSfn110901]

5.2.4.2 Indefinite use

The stem wanyjirra also has indefinite meaning. In (5-83), a conditional subordinate clause contains it referring to non-specific place 'somewhere' whereas the ignorative clitic attaches to the elative form in (5-84).

[172] Like this example, a clause can still have the auxiliary ngu/nga as a host of pronominal clitics in interrogative sentences where pronominal clitics usually attach to interrogative stems. This can be observed when an interrogative in adnominal use (5-67, 5-82 etc.) is a member of the first constituent with its head noun or when an interrogative (including case inflection) is tri-moraic or longer. The second condition is not always a trigger for this phenomenon. Similar examples are also found in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 125) but not in Malngin (Ise, 1999: 38), Gurindji (McConvell, 1996: 308-309) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 267) where (sentence-initial) interrogatives are always followed by pronominal clitics.

(5-83) nyangga=d-gu=la ngama-yi **wanyjirra** yan-gu
COND=2MIN.SBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT M-KIN.ABS somewhere go-FUT

ngu=rna ngayu warra gang-an-gu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ 1MIN watch CARRY-CONT-FUT
CS#: If you, the mother go somewhere, I will look after her. [TM: CSfn151011]

(5-84)
1. ngu=rna=la bugunyung yalu-wu=ma mawun-gu=ma
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT ignorant DIST2-DAT=TOP man-DAT=TOP
CS#: I am not familiar with that man.

2. **wanyjirra-nginyi=wayi**
somewhere-EL=IGNOR
TM: I don't know where he is from.
CS#: ALT: [He is] from somewhere. [TM: CSfn111110]

5.2.5 wanyji 'which/where'

The stem wanyji is mainly used as an interrogative to seek information on identities of the animate and inanimate referents 'which (of) X'. It mainly occurs as an adnominal modifier but it can also be used independently. This interrogative also expresses location 'where' with the locative suffix or direction 'where to' with the allative suffix, which overlaps functions of the stem wanyjirra. In addition, it has the derived interrogative sense 'why didn't...?' with past tense forms of verbs. It can also be used as an indefinite in negative context, as an alternative to the indefinite use of nyamba (§5.2.3.2).

The form wanyji is inflected for cases as follows. Like the stem nyamba, it has alternative allomorphs for the ergative, locative and allative cases.

Table 5.10: Inflecting forms of wanyji

Case	Forms
Absolutive	wanyji
Ergative	wanyji-gu ~ wanyji-lu
Dative	wanyji-wu
Comitative	wanyji-wuja
Locative	wanyji-ga ~ wanyji-la wanyji-wu-ja
Allative	wanyji-gawu ~ wanyji-lawu
Purposive	wanyji-wurra
Ablative	wanyji-ngulu
Elative	wanyji-nginyi

The locative forms wanyji-ga and wanyji-la are rarely used in Wanyjirra. In a few examples, these forms are used for inanimate referents and the form wanyji-wu-ja (the underlying form: *wanyji-wuny-ja) where the originative suffix is inserted between the stem and the locative allomorph is used for animate referents as well as the comitative form. For inanimate referents, my consultants normally use the distinct stem wanyjirra. The use of the forms wanyji-ga and wanyji-la may be influenced by Jaru and Gurindji speakers.

5.2.5.1 Interrogative use

The stem wanyji expresses a question about identities of animate and inanimate referents 'which (of) X'. Examples include the absolutive (5-85); the locative (5-86); the comitative (5-87); the ergative (5-88 and 5-89); the purposive (5-90) and the elative form (5-91). The stem wanyji in the first two examples are used as pronominally whereas it is adnominal in other examples.

(5-85) **wanyji=gu** nyununga yamaji
which.ABS=2MIN.OBJ 2MIN.OBL1 small
TT!: Which is your child? [MS: TTfn110901]

(5-86) **wanyji-ga** ngu=lu garriny-ana gajirri-walija
which-LOC REAL=3AUG.SBJ be-PRES old.woman-PAUC.ABS
CS#: Where are old ladies? [TM: CSfn090609]

(5-87) **wanyji-wuja** wanyja-wuja ngu=n lulu garru-wu
which-COMIT woman-COMIT REAL=2MIN.SBJ sit STAY-FUT
Which woman will you sit with/by? [MS: CSfn290709]

(5-88) **wanyji-gu** yamaji-lu ngu=nggu bung-an-i
which-ERG small-ERG REAL=2MIN.OBJ hit-CONT-PAST
TT: Which child hit you? [MS: TTfn110901]

(5-89) **wanyji-lu** warlagu-lu ngu=nggu bayan-i
which-ERG dog -ERG REAL=2MIN.OBJ bite-PAST
TT!: Which dog *bin bite-im* you?
CS@: Which dog bit you? [MS: TTfn130999]

(5-90) **wanyji-wurra** ngurra-wurra ngu=n yan-ana
which-PURP camp-PURP REAL=2MIN.SBJ go-PRES
TT!: Which camp are you going to? [MS: TTfn110901]

(5-91) **wanyji-nginyi** warlagu-nginyi ngu=n yan-i
which-EL dog-EL REAL=2MIN.SBJ go-PAST
TT: Which woman [sic] did you come from?
CS%: Which dog did you come from? [MS: TTfn130999]

5.2.5.2 Derived interrogative sense

The stem wanyji has a special meaning in its interrogative function. It may also form rhetorical questions translated as 'why didn't…'. The speaker knows that someone has not done a certain thing unexpectedly and may implicitly blame him/her for that. For example, the speaker said (5-92) to MS in a context where the speaker was also in the meeting and knew that she didn't speak up there. These rhetorical questions always have past tense forms of verbs.

(5-92) *TM said this to MS because MS didn't express her opinion in the important meeting. TM said that all Aboriginal people who attended the meaning should have spoken up.*

wanyji=n marn-an-i
which=2MIN.SBJ say-CONT-PAST
TM: Why didn't you say (CS: at the meeting)?
CS: LIT: What did you say? [TM: CSfn290710]

(5-93) *Men nicely painted themselves with ochres to attract women. Women might say like this:*

wanyji=lu burr yi-nya
which=3AUG.SBJ sing GIVE-PAST
MS: Why didn't this lot sing? [MS: 76_14_1_NP.073''']
CS: LIT: What did they sing?

5.2.5.3 Negative indefinite use

The indefinite use of wanyji is not common in Wanyjirra. The relevant meanings may be encoded by nyamba 'something'. However, the corpus has a few examples where wanyji is used as an indefinite with the negative particle gula.

(5-94) gula=rna=nggu **wanyji**=la yung-gu mangarri=ma
NEG=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ something.ABS=FOC give-FUT veg.food.ABS=TOP
TM: I can't give you anything, any food.
TT: I can never give you food. [TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).071]
Note: TT tentatively gave the gloss 'never' to wanyjila. I modified it based on TM's translation.

5.2.6 nyayangu 'how many/much'

Nyayangu is used for the category of QUANTITY for inanimate and animate referents. It mainly functions as an interrogative 'how many/much' but is also used as an indefinite sense with the ignorative clitic. The form nyayangu is always used as an adnominal modifier.

The form nyayangu has experienced sound change. Senge (2008) analyses nyayangu as the stem and the absolutive form, despite the fact that the form nyayang, in which the final vowel is omitted, was also collected by Tsunoda in 2006. However, in my fieldwork between 2009 and 2012, I have encountered no example of nyayangu used as the absolutive form. Within my own corpus, this form is only used as a base of overt case marking, especially ergative, locative and allative suffixes. The reduced form nyayang functions as an absolutive and a base to which other suffixes attach. Table 5.11 compares inflecting forms of this stem found in Tsunoda's materials with my own data. The differences between them are emphasised by boldface. Note that cluster-reduction occurs in the ablative form nyayangulu whose underlying form is nyayangu-

ngulu (§2.6.6). I leave this form without the morphological boundary between the stem and the ablative marker.

Table 5.11: Comparison of inflected forms of the interrogative 'how many'

Case	Data from Tsunoda (1976, 1995-2006)	Data from Senge (2009-2013)
Absolutive	nyayangu/nyayang	**nyayang**
Ergative	nyayangu-lu	nyayangu-lu
Dative	nyayangu-wu	**nyayang-gu**
Comitative	(no example)	nyayangu-wunyja*
Locative	nyayangu-la	nyayangu-la
Allative	nyayangu-lawu	nyayangu-lawu
Ablative	nyayangulu	nyayangulu
TIMES	(no example)	**nyayang-gurd**

*This form was only collected through elicitation.

The form nyayangu has been observed as a stem in the ergative, comitative, locative and allative cases in both corpora. For absolutive and dative cases, however, speakers shifted the form to the reduced form nyayang. As a result, the dative allomorph has also been changed to -gu following a consonant. Similarly, the iterative suffix -gurd 'TIMES' (§11.3.5.3) follows the form nyayang, i.e., nyayang-gurd 'how many times' instead of *nyayangu-wurd.

5.2.6.1 nyayangu in interrogative use

The stem nyayang(u) mainly functions as an interrogative 'how many, how much' to question the quantity of elements. The following examples contain this stem in the absolutive (5-95); dative (5-96) and ergative (5-97). Note that the pronominal clitic intervenes between this intterogative and a co-referential noun in (5-95) and thus they may be analysed as two separate NPs (§8.1).

(5-95) **nyayang**-ba=lu mawun garriny-ana
how.many.ABS-EP=3AUG.SBJ man.ABS stay-PRES
TT!: How many men are sitting? [MS: TTfn090806]
NOTE: Although Tsunoda analyses the segment ba as an independent auxiliary specialised for question sentences, I analyse the segment ba as an epenthetic syllable. In Wanyjirra, ba is rarely used as an auxiliary (§11.1.1.3).

(5-96) **nyayang-gu** yamayama-wu ngu=n=janu gambarn-i
how.many-DAT children-DAT REAL=2MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ burn-PAST
For how many kids did you cook it? [MS: CSfn181011]

(5-97) **nyayangu-lu** wanyja-gu bi-nya warlgan
how.many-ERG woman-ERG hit-PAST sand.goanna.ABS
TT!: How many women killed a goanna? [MS: TTfn090806]

5.2.6.2 nyayangu in indefinite use

The stem nyayang(u) is also used for indefinite senses for the quantity category. It can occur without or with the ignorative clitic like other indefinite pronouns. However, there are no examples of these forms used in negative context. It is probably because of the limit of the corpus.

(5-98) nyawa jurrulunggu,... ganyji-wariny,...(0.8) ganyi-wariny,...(1.5)
PROX1 upper.leg.ABS legs-OTHER.ABS legs-OTHER.ABS

mawun-du **nyayangu-lu** ngu=lu nga-lu \
man-ERG some-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ ingest-FUT
TT: The other upper leg, some men will eat [it].
CS%: The upper leg here, the other upper leg, the other upper leg, some men will eat it. [76_12_1_NP(1).182]
NOTE: jurrulunggu could be an error here because there is a hesitation after this word. According to TT, jurrulunggu could be used only for human not for animals. In addition, I changed TT's original gloss 'upper leg' into 'legs' for the stem ganyji.

(5-99) **nyayang-ba=wayi**=lu garran-ana
some.ABS-EP=IGNOR=3AUG.SBJ keep-PRES
I don't know how many [kitties] she has. [TM: CSfn110712]

5.2.7 nyangula 'when, some time'

The interrogative form nyangula is used for knowledge of TIME. It has interrogative and indefinite functions for temporal information on an event. This belongs to temporal nominals (§3.1.1.9). In most examples, like other temporal nominals, nyangula occurs without any case suffix. It could etymologically contain the locative -la. However, there are a few examples in which this form is inflected for the allative and ablative cases.

5.2.7.1 Interrogative use

In interrogative function, this form encodes the meaning 'when' to question temporal location of events.

(5-100) nyangula=yi=n yan-ang-gu
when=1MIN.OBJ=2MIN.SBJ go-CONT-FUT
When will you come [back] to me? [TM: CSfn061011]

When it is inflected for the allative and ablative, it means 'until when' and 'since when' respectively.

(5-101) **nyangula-lawu** Wajayi lulu garriny-ang-gu ngurra-ngga
when-ALL PERSON NAME.ABS sit stay-CONT-FUT camp-LOC
CS#: Until when will Wajayi sit down (i.e. stay) in the camp? [TM: CSfn110712]

(5-102) **nyangula-ngulu**=n lulu garriny-ana murla *Halls Creek*-gula
when-ABL=2MIN.SBJ sit stay-PRES PROX2 PLACE NAME-LOC
Since when are you staying in Halls Creek? [MS: CSfn110712]

5.2.7.2 Indefinite use

This interrogative also has the indefinite function 'some time' (5-103) and can be followed by the ignorative clitic (5-104). The corpus has no example of nyangula used in negative contexts.

(5-103) ngawa **nyangula** ngu=ngaliwa wandiny-a-gu
water.ABS sometimes REAL=1AUG.INC.OBJ fall-CONT-FUT
It will rain for us some time. [MS: CSfn030909]

(5-104) **nyangula=wayi** wandi-wu nyila yambagina
when=IGNOR fall-FUT DIST1 child.ABS
I don't know when the kid is born.
CS#:ALT: The kid will be born some time. [TM: CSfn151011]

5.2.8 nyararra 'how, in some way'

The interrogative nyararra is used for the category MANNER. It is used for the interrogative sense 'how' and the indefinite sense 'somehow, in some way'. In addition, it can also occur in a complement of certain verbs like the stem nyamba (§5.2.3.4). However, unlike other interrogatives, it never takes any case markers. It

modifies predicates as a manner adverb (§11.3.4).

5.2.8.1 Interrogative use

In interrogative use, nyararra encodes 'how', questioning the manner in which an event is performed.

(5-105) *MS was asking me on which chairs each of us (MS, TM and me) should sit down. In front of us, there were microphones, a recorder and computer on the table.*

nyararra=liwa garru-wu
how=1AUG.INC.SBJ stay-FUT
MS: How we *gona* sit down?
CS#: How should we sit down? [MS: CSfn011009]

(5-106) *Only TM's father went and saw other people dancing and singing. After he came back, TM and others asked him.*

1. ngu=rnalu miyanggi man-i \
REAL=1AUG.SBJ ask GET-PAST
We asked him.

2. **nyararra**=lu *dad* /
how=3AUG.SBJ dad
"How were they (i.e., dancing and singing), Dad?" [TM: 10_0825_4.010-011]

5.2.8.2 Indefinite use

In indefinite use, it can be interpreted as 'somehow' or 'in some way' to describe a non-specific way of performing an event. The ignorative clitic usually attaches to nyararra as in (5-107) but it can also occur without it as in (5-108). There is no example of the indefinite use of nyararra in negative context. However it is assumed that such a sentence is possible.

(5-107) ngu=lu yunbarn-an-i **nyararra=wayi** \
REAL=3AUG.SBJ sing-CONT-PAST somehow=IGNOR
"They were singing somehow, I don't really know." [TM: 10_0825_4.014]

(5-108) **nyararra** nyangga=ngaliwang-gu=lu ma-lu
somehow UNCERTAIN=1AUG.INC.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ say-FUT
CS#: They might talk to us in some way. [TM: CSfn270710]

5.2.8.3 As a subordinator

The interrogative nyararra is sometimes used as a subordinator introducing questions embedded under verbs of perception and knowledge in complex sentences.

(5-109) ngu=rna=la bura nyang-ana **nyararra**=rna yan-gu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT listen PERCEIVE-PRES how=1MIN.SBJ go-FUT
I am thinking how I can go (i.e., in the rain). [TM: CSfn141010]

(5-110) walima=n-gu=la bina **nyararra** marn-u
Q=2MIN.SBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT know how say-NF.ABS
Do you know how the story is? [MS: CSfn080509]

5.3 Other pronominal and interrogative morphology

Like nouns and adjectives, free pronouns and interrogatives can also take some of derivational and derivational case suffixes such as 'LACK' (5-71) above, the proprietive (5-111 and 5-112), the semblative (5-113 and 5-114), 'OTHER' (5-115) and the dual suffix (5-116).

(5-111) Nangari ngu=yi ward yan-i **nyanunga-yaru**
♀subsection.ABS REAL=1MIN. OBJ return go-PAST 3MIN.OBL1-PROP

ngumbarna-yaru jaru-wu marn-u-wu
spouse-PROP language-DAT say-NF-DAT
CS#: Nangari returned to me with her husband to talk the language.
[TM: CSfn100712]

(5-112) **nyamba-yarung**-gulu bi-nya
what-PROP-ERG hit-PAST
CS#: With what did you hit it? [TM: CSfn170610]

(5-113) nyangga lurrij wandi-wu nga=liwa nyang-gu nyila
COND finish FALL-FUT REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ perceive-FUT DIST1

bin.ga **nyamba-marraj** wulmangga
river.ABS whatisname-SEMB.ABS flood.ABS
If it finishes raining, we will see that creek like whatisname, flood.
[TM: CSfn241110]

(5-114) **nyundu-marraj-ju** ngu=yi *chasim* man-i guya=lu
2MIN-SEMB-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ chase GET-PAST thus=ONLY

jararra \
chase
MS: [A white man], like you, chased me just like that. [DJ: 99_34.313]

(5-115) **ngana-wariny** yan-ana
who-OTHER.ABS go-PRES
CS#: Who else is going? [TM: CSfn190809]

(5-116) **ngana-wuyarra**
who-DU
CS#: Who are they (two)? [MS: CSfn110809]

In addition, Wanyjirra has two special derivational suffixes: 'ONESELF' (§5.3.1) and the perlative (§5.3.2) which occur with pronouns or interrogatives but not with nouns and adjectives.

5.3.1 'ONESELF' -wariny

This suffix is phonologically identical to one of the allomorphs of 'OTHER' suffix (§4.3.2). However, it is treated as a distinct suffix. With core free pronouns, it expresses the sense 'alone' or 'by oneself'. Although core free pronouns cannot directly take case suffixes, it is possible if this derivational suffix first attaches to pronouns as in (5-117).

(5-117) **ngayu-wariny-ju** ngu=rna yunbarn-ana nyawa
1MIN-ONESELF-ERG REAL=1MIN.SBJ sing-PRES PROX1

junba
corroboree.ABS
MS: I am singing this corroboree by myself. [TM: CSfn090610]

5.3.2 Perlative -rniny

The perlative suffix expresses a path along which an entity moves or a place on which it is situated. This attaches to the interrogative wanyji and demonstratives (§6.1.2.1). However, this suffix is uncommon in Wanyjirra.

(5-118) **wanyji-rniny** ba=nda yan-an-i
which-PERL Q=2AUG.SBJ go-CONT-PAST
TT: Which way did you go? [MS: TTfn010802]

Chapter 6
Demonstratives, directionals and minor nominal subgroups

6.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to describe demonstratives, directionals and other minor subclasses of the nominal group. Wanyjirra has two sets of proximal and distal demonstratives, and adverbial and recognitional demonstratives (§6.1). All demonstratives, except adverbial and uninflecting proximal and distal demonstratives, decline in an ergative-absolutive pattern. These demonstrative stems are used in various syntactic contexts with different pragmatic functions.

Directionals include compass and vertical directionals (§6.2). The former are based on stems of four compass directions whereas the latter are based on elevation ('up/above' and 'down/below') and river-flow ('upstream' and 'downstream') systems. Since they are inherently locative, directionals do generally not inflect for cases. Instead, they take a range of special suffixes which denote static location, motion toward or motion away from a deictic centre and so forth.

Small minor nominal subclasses, locational, temporal and manner nominals are also described in §6.3.

6.1 Demonstratives

Wanyjirra has six basic sets of demonstratives which express deictic information in physical and discourse situations with reference to an entity or an activity. These forms are: nyawa and murla 'this, here'; nyila and yala 'that, there'; jangu 'you know'; guya 'thus'.[173] The first four demonstratives are contrastive based on distance of the referent

[173] Another minor demonstrative mirni 'this way' and its derivative mirni-wuny 'toward this way' are also found in Tsunoda's corpus. However, they are not used between 2009 and 2012 when I conducted

from the deictic centre, typically the speaker, i.e., the proximals nyawa (PROX1) and murla (PROX2) and the distals nyila (DIST1) and yala (DIST2). Further distinctions can be made in that the forms nyawa and nyila do not inflect for cases but murla and yala do. The recognitional demonstrative jangu and the adverbial demonstrative guya do not exhibit such a distinction of distance but they orient the hearer in physical or discourse situations like other demonstratives. Numbers are not distinguished by forms of demonstratives. Only duality is overtly specified by the dual suffix (§4.6.1) although it is not obligatory.

Table 6.1 shows all demonstrative stems and their inflected forms. Demonstratives murla and yala inflect for the dative and spatial cases and their variant forms murlu and yalu inflect for the ergative and dative cases. The recognitional demonstrative jangu seems to inflect for cases as well as murla and yala. However, the corpus does not have a full range of inflected forms due to its size. Nonetheless their hypothesised inflected forms of jangu are presented on the basis of the Jaru paradigm (Tsunoda, 1981), which is indicated by asterisks. The shaded columns in the forms nyawa and nyila indicate there are no relevant forms because they never decline. The white blank columns for the adverbial demonstrative indicate that the current corpus has no relevant forms although some of these forms are found in Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014). Such forms are not attested in Wanyjirra. Guya is functionally demonstrative but its morphological and grammatical properties are more closely related to those of adverbs (§11.3). Nonetheless the locative and dative forms guya-wu are only found in very limited situations (§6.1.1.2). It also has the derived demonstrative guyany 'this kind' which takes case suffixes. This derivative guyany and its inflecting form are presented in brackets.

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my fieldwork. This thesis excludes these demonstratives but maintains the possibility that Wanyjirra has had these demonstratives as well.

Table 6.1: Demonstratives and their declension in Wanyjirra

	PROXIMAL 'this, here'		DISTAL 'that, there'		ADVERBIAL 'like this, thus'	RECOGNITIONAL 'you know'
ABS	nyawa	murla murlu	nyila	yala yalu	guya (guyany)	jangu
ERG		murlu-nggu		yalu-nggu		jangu-nggu*
DAT		murlu-wu murla-wu		yalu-wu yala-wu	guya-wu (guyany-gu)	jangu-wu
COMIT		murlu- wunyja		yalu-wunyja		jangu-wunyja
LOC		murla-ngga		yala-ngga	guya-ngga (guyany-ja)	jangu-ngga
ALL		murla- nggawu		yala-nggawu		jangu-nggawu*
PURP		murla-wurra		yala-wurra		jangu-wurra*
ABL		murla-ngulu		yala-ngulu		jangu-ngulu*
EL		murla-nginyi		yala-nginyi		jangu-nginyi*

6.1.1 Forms, meanings and case-marking

6.1.1.1 Proximal and distal demonstratives

One type contains the uninflecting stems nyawa and nyila and the other contains the inflecting stems murla/murlu and yala/yalu. nyawa and murla/murlu express proximity of an entity from the speaker whereas the forms nyila and yala/yalu express distance. This two-way distinction of distance can be observed in the same demonstrative forms of other Ngumpin languages including Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981) Gurindji (McConvell, 2005b), Malngin (Ise, 1999) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014) whereas a three-way distinction (proximal, medial 'near you' and distal 'removed') is found in Warlpiri (Nash, 1986: 167) and Warlmanpa (Nash, 1997).

The uninflecting stems nyawa and nyila never take case suffixes. These stems generally occur within absolutive (unmarked) NPs. They may also refer to location 'here' and 'there' without the locative case suffix. The following two examples are the distal demonstrative nyila which occurs in the absolutive NP (6-1) and solely in the

locational NP with attachment of the 'ONLY' clitic (6-2)[174].

(6-1) **nyila** mawun yan-i wilinyi
DIST1 man.ABS go-PAST hunt
TM: That man *bin* go hunting.
CS@: That man went hunting. [TM: CSfn110909]

(6-2) 1. wagurra nyundu yan-da gida-wurra
NEG 2MIN go-IMP open.space-PURP
You don't go outside.

2. nyununga mali-yi lulu garriny-ana **nyila**=lu
2MIN.OBL1 ♀DH-KIN.ABS sit STAY-PRES DIST1=ONLY
Your maliyi (CS: son-in-law) is sitting there. [MS: CSfn100609]

Unlike uninflecting stems, inflecting stems take case suffixes depending on their grammatical and semantic roles. These stems have a further formal difference. The forms murla and yala refer to a place or an entity. Thus these forms inflect for spatial cases including the locative (for location), the ablative and elative (for a starting point) and the allative, purposive and dative (for destination or goal). Examples (6-3 and 6-4) contain the ablative form of yala and the dative form of murla respectively.

(6-3) 1. jangilany-ju ngarra=nggu bung-gu
fire-ERG ADM=2MIN.OBJ hit-FUT
The fire might burn you.

2. marri yan-da **yala-ngulu**
off GO-IMP DIST2-ABL
You go away from there. [MS: CSfn280809]

(6-4) yan-da **murla-wu** nganinginy-jawu
go-IMP PROX2-DAT 1MIN.OBL2-ALL
TT: Come here, to me. [MS: 76_13_2_NP(2).049'''']

Without overt case marking, murla and yala are used for the locative meanings 'here' (6-5) and 'there' (6-6). These forms are substitutable for locative forms murla-ngga and yala-ngga respectively (§6.1.3.2). murla is also used to express 'goal' (see below (6-37)).

[174] Alternatively, this demonstrative can be analysed as an absolutive NP 'that (one)' referring to the same participant of the subject NP.

(6-5) yamayama **murla** lulu garriny-an-da=lu
children.ABS PROX2 sit STAY-CONT-IMP=AUG.SBJ
Children, sit down here. [MS: CSfn090909]

(6-6) waagwaag ngu marn-ana waagwaag **yala**
crow.ABS REAL say-PRES crow.crying DIST2
A crow is crying "waag-waag" there. [MS: CSfn270509]

Whilst murla and yala take spatial cases, the forms murlu and yalu are used to refer to an entity in the ergative, dative and comitative NPs and, although uncommon, in originative NPs with no locational meaning.[175] The following examples are the ergative form of the distal stem referring to actor (6-7), the dative form of the proximal stem referring to the content of knowledge (6-6), the originative form of the distal stem referring to origin (6-9) and the comitative form of the distal stem expressing location or accompaniment (6-11).

(6-7) **yalu-nggu** miyanggi man-ana
DIST2-ERG ask GET-PRES
CS#: That [person] asking [him/her]. [TM: CSfn200810]

(6-8) ngu=rna=la bina **murlu-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT know PROX2-DAT
I don't know this [language]. [MS: CSfn141010]

(6-9) nyawa ngarin ngu=rna man-i **yalu-wuny** wanyja-wuny
PROX1 meat.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ get-PAST DIST2-ORIG woman-ORIG
I got this beef from that woman. [MS: CSfn140809]

(6-11) yamaji lulu garriny-ana **yalu-wunyja** mawun-guja
small.ABS sit STAY-PRES DIST2-COMIT man-COMIT
A child is sitting by/with that man. [MS: CSfn130809]

As mentioned previously in §3.2.2, the inflecting stems murlu and yalu can occur without the ergative case suffix only when they immediately precede its head nouns

[175] The semantic and functional distinction between murla/yala and murlu/yalu is also found in the Jaru demonstratives (Tsunoda, 1981). In other Numpin languages which have the same stems, murla/yala and murlu/yalu are similarly followed by spatial suffixes and by ergative and dative suffixes respectively. However, no semantic and functional contrast between two dative proximal forms: murla-wu 'to here' (in the spatial adverbial function) and murlu-wu 'to/for this' (in referential function) is reported. In Wanyjirra, it should also be noted that murla/yala can be followed by the proprietive suffix without the locational meaning (§6.1.2).

which inflect for the ergative. Note in (6-11), the ergative NP containing the unmarked proximal demonstrative and the ergative noun is followed by the co-referential NP after a pause. In this NP, the same noun and demonstrative are individually marked by the ergative suffix.

(6-11) **murlu** ngaringga-lu,...(1.8) ngaringga-lu murlu-nggu,...(0.9)
PROX2 woman-ERG woman-ERG PROX2-ERG

ngu=la gambarn-an-i mangarri \
REAL=3MIN.DAT burn-CONT-PAST veg.food.ABS
CS#: That woman was making bread for him. [TM: 11_1014_3.027]

(6-12) **yalu** yambagina-lu ngu ruyu marn-an-i
DIST2 child-ERG REAL play DO-CONT-PAST
That kid was playing. [TM: CSfn030810]

Although it is rare, the form murla is also used within locative NPs without the locative suffix if it immediately precedes head nouns.

(6-13) ngu=rna=nggu guny bu-gu **murla *moteka*-la**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ wait HIT-FUT PROX2 car-LOC
MS: I'll wait for you in a car.
CS%: I'll wait for you here in the car. [MS: TTfn080897]

6.1.1.2 The Adverbial demonstrative guya

The stem guya is used as an adverbial demonstrative which modifies an action or an event 'thus, like this/that, in this/that way'.[176] Like other adverbs, the adverbial demonstrative does not usually inflect for cases as in (6-14).

(6-14) **guya** gan.gu-la,... jarrambayi yan-ana bardaj \
thus up-LOC goanna.ABS go-PRES ascend
CS#: Like this a big goana is going up [on the tree]. [TM: 10_0607_2.019]

However, in a very few occasions it can take the locative and dative suffixes. The locative suffix with guya has the temporal meaning 'at the time, then' as in (6-15). On

[176] This form guya also functions as a subordinator which indicates general modifying finite subordinate clauses (§13.1.1). Unlike the subordinator guya, that the demonstrative guya is never followed by pronominal clitics. In addition, the demonstrative occurs elsewhere in a clause whereas the subordinator occurs in the first or the second constituent of the clause. This section focuses on the demonstrative function.

the other hand, the dative suffix with guya functions as a subordinator in purposive non-finite subordinate clauses as in (6-16) but not as a relational suffix. See §6.1.3.3 for further discussion of these examples.

(6-15)

1.	ngu=rna	walyag	yan-i	walb-gula
	REAL=1MIN.SBJ	inside	GO-PAST	toilet-LOC
	TM: *Ai bin* go la toilet.			
	CS@: I went to the toilet.			

2.	**guya-ngga**	nyawa *bag*	ngu=rna	wanyjan-i
	thus-LOC	PROX1 bag.ABS	REAL=1MIN.SBJ	leave-PAST
	TM: At that time, *ai bin libum* this bag.			
	CS@: At that time I left this bag (i.e., outside of the toilet). [TM: CSfn130810]			

(6-16)

1.	jilmung \...	nyila=ma,...(0.7)	nyawa=ma	jawurd=ma,...	nyawa=ma
	break	DIST1=TOP	PROX1=TOP	tail.ABS=TOP	PROX1=TOP

jawurd=ma	winggi=ma,...	winggi=ma,...(1.0)
tail.ABS=TOP	tail.ABS=TOP	tail.ABS=TOP

TT: [We] break that, [I mean] this tail.
NOTE: I changed the transcription jawud to jawurd. winggi could be a different language.

2.	**guya-wu**	daj-garra-wu \...(0.8)	bamarr-u \
	thus-DAT	crush-REP-DAT	stone-ERG

TT: LIT: [We break this tail] to make it squashed like this, or until it is squashed like this.
CS%: [We] break that, this tail, this tail, this tail to crush [it] like that with a stone.
NOTE: my translation covers from Sentence 1 to Sentence 2. Sentence 2 is treated as a purposive non-finite subordinate clause.

6.1.1.3 The derivative form guyany 'this/that kind'

The adverbial demonstrative has the derivative form guyany 'this/that kind (of things)'. This form refers to an entity but not to an activity. Unlike the form guya, it takes case suffixes in relational use. In (6-17), guya refers to the activity 'scooping the honey' whereas guyany refers to a tree where they can usually find bush honey.

(6-17) marla-nggu dula-arra\...(1.0) guya\...(3.0) burnu-ngga\...(2.8)
hand-ERG scoop-REP thus tree-LOC

guyany-ja \
this.kind-LOC
CS%: [We] will scoop like this [the honey, which is] in a tree in this type.
TT: [We] will scoop like this [the honey, which is] in a hole in a tree.
[NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).016]

Although this form appears to be from the demonstrative guya plus -ny, there is no other example where Wanyjirra has the distinct suffix -ny attach to bare stems. In the corpus, the form guyany itself does not frequently occur. On the other hand, McConvell (2005b) and Meakins & Nordlinger (2014) analyse -ny of guyany as a separate nominaliser suffix in Gurindji and Bilinarra respectively. In these languages, the separate suffix -ny is used more productively. Here I treat it as a part of the stem.

6.1.1.4 The recognitional demonstrative jangu

The recognitional demonstrative jangu glossed as SHARED is used for the referent that is shared or common knowledge between the speaker and hearer but not necessarily for the referent of the surrounding speech situation (see also §6.1.4.5). This demonstrative is translated as 'you know (that)' by speakers. Due to the size of the corpus, there are only examples of this demonstrative in the absolutive, dative and locative.

(6-18) *TM referred to the creek where she and I visited on the other day. Another speaker also knew the place she was talking about.*

nga=liwa yan-gu **jangu-ngga** bin.ga-ga
REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ go-FUT SHARED-LOC river-LOC
CS#: We will go to that creek, you know. [TM: CSfn220909]

6.1.2 Demonstrative morphology

Like nouns and adjectives, demonstratives take some of derivational case suffixes described in §4.5. The current corpus has examples where the dual suffix is attached to murlu/yalu (6-19); the proprietive to murla/yala (6-20); the semblative suffix to guya

(6-21) and nyawa/nyila (6-22)[177]. As mentioned in §6.1.1.1, the forms murla/yala are usually used with spatial case suffixes in locational NPs. However, the proprietive NP in (6-20) can also follow these forms with no locational meanings.[178]

(6-19) ngu=yi=nbula ngurrgu yirran-i **yalu-wuyarra-wu**
REAL=1MIN.OBJ=2UA.SBJ blame PUT-PAST DIST2-DU-DAT

ngaringga-wuyarra-wu
woman-DU-DAT
TM: *Yundubala bin jamanjim mi la tobala* woman.
CS@: You two blamed me about those two women.[179] [TM: CSfn290909]

(6-20) yan-da yala-nggawu diba-yaru **murla-yaru**
go-IMP DIST2-ALL billycan-PROP PROX2-PROP
TM: Go there *gata* this billycan.
CS@: Go there with this billycan. [TM: CSfn090712]

(6-21) **guya-marraj** *black one* \... murnduj=ma nyila=ma \
thus-SEMB.ABS black one black-headed.python.ABS=TOP DIST1=TOP
TT: That *murnduj* is a black one, like this. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).147]

(6-22) **nyawa-marraj** nganinga-marraj guya=la nganingu-wu
PROX1-SEMB.ABS 1MIN.OBL1-SEMB.ABS THUS=3MIN.DAT 1MIN.OBL1-DAT

daadi-wu jaru-wu Wanyjirra *nao*
daddy-DAT language-DAT LANGUAGE.NAME NOW
TM (collected by CS): Like this one, my [uncle], he [knows] about my father's language.
NP: My father got two way.
TT: He [i.e. the person to the west] can speak my father's language.
[NP: 76_14_1_TM(2).033]

In addition, there are two other suffixes which are not used with nouns and adjectives but are used with certain demonstrative forms to derive other demonstratives including -rniny 'perlative' (§6.1.2.1) and -rndil 'indefinite' (§6.1.2.2).

[177] (6-22) (and (6-53)) show a special use of the subordinator guya. The subordinator guya usually indicates general modifying non-finite subordinate clauses (§13.1.1) but this subordinate clause construction is also used in independent simple sentences (§13.4.3). They are not demonstratives.
[178] The same possiblity is also observed in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981).
[179] The translation 'blame' for the Kriol jamanjim is based on the dictionary (Lee, 2004). MS also gave me the translation 'blame' to other examples with the same complex verb. David Nash (p.c.) suggests that this Kriol word is based on the English expression 'summons him'. If it is true, semantic change would have occurred in Kriol.

6.1.2.1 Perlative: -rniny

The perlative suffix -rniny expresses a path on which someone or something moves or is situated along a certain place. This suffix is rarely used and only occurs with two proximal demonstratives murla and nyawa (i.e., murla-rniny and nyawa-rniny 'this way/side'), the adverbial demonstrative guya (i.e., guya-rniny 'that way/side') and the interrogative wanyji 'which' (see (5-121) in §5.3.2). The distal demonstratives are not used with this suffix.

(6-23) nyawa **nyawa-rniny** yan-i \
PROX1 PROX1-PERL go-PAST
CS%#: "Here, [the goanna] went this way."
TT: [The goanna] went here, this way. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).492]
NOTE: Tsunoda's original transcription has another word nyawa-rniny before the verb yan-i. However, I do not recognise this word from the recording. Thus it is not included here.

(6-24) 1. wanyjirra=yi=n jundu man-gu
where=1MIN.OBJ=2MIN.SBJ set.up.camp GET-FUT

2. **murla-rniny** *or* **guya-rniny**
PROX2-PERL or thus-PERL
TM: Where you *gata makem* camp this side or that side? [TM: CSfn031011]
CS@: Where will you set up the camp for me, on this side or that side?

6.1.2.2 Indefinite: -rndil

This suffix is not extensively used and only attaches to proximal stems nyawa/murla and distal stems nyila/yala. It seems to make the deictic less certain.[180] That is, this suffix makes the limit of the potential referents vaguer and indicates an indefinite extent of the place or an indefinite number of entities. Consultants often translate them as 'around here/there' or 'this/that lot'. For instance, nyila-rndil expresses an indefinite extent of the bushes where ripe bush fruits are fallen down as in (6-25) whereas murla-rndil and nyila-rndil indicates an indefinite number of people who lived in Inverway (6-26) and an indefinite collection of stories (6-27).

[180] I thank David Nash for this analysis. Warlmanpa also has a similar suffix -nti which only follows the interrogative wanyjila 'where', i.e., wanyjila-nti 'whereabouts' (Nash, p.c.). However, in Wanyjirra this suffix only attaches to demonstratives. McConvell (2005b) also describes the same suffix -rntil as a Gurindji suffix attaching only to demonstrative stems for the meaning 'belonging to'.

(6-25) ngu=lu dimbag-dimbag yirran-an-i
REAL=3AUG.SBJ RDP-full PUT-CONT-PAST

nyila-rndil=ma,...(0.7) mangarri=ma \
DIST1-INDF.ABS=TOP veg.food.ABS=TOP
TM: They *putting* food around there full up. [TM: 10_0803_2.032]
CS@: They were putting food around there fully [in the coolamon].

(6-26) **murla-rndil-u** ngu=ngandiba-gu=lu ngarrga-g nya-nya
PROX2-INDF-ERG REAL=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ big-TRNSL PERCEIVE-PAST
TM: This lot *bin growemap mibala*.
CS@: This lot [of people] grew us up. [TM: CSfn091011]

(6-27) *CS replayed audio recordings of the stories to TM. We discussed which stories can be put in the Wanyjirra story book.*

guwa=n mirlimirli-la yirran-ana \...(1.2) **nyila-rndil**
SUB=2MIN.SBJ paper-LOC put-PRES DIST1-INDF.ABS

jaru \
language.ABS
You put them in the book, that lot of stories. [TM: 11_1028_5.016]

6.1.3 Syntactic uses

In Wanyjirra, most of the demonstrative stems can occur in more than one syntactic context as 'adnominal', 'pronominal' and 'adverbial' demonstratives (cf. Diessel, 1999a: 57). In adnominal use, demonstratives co-occur with their heads and modify them within NP constituents. All demonstrative stems, except the adverbial demonstrative guya, are used as adnominal demonstratives. In pronominal use, demonstratives occur independently as arguments of predicates. In adverbial use, they modify events expressed by predicates. Table 6.2 summaries such uses of each demonstrative stem.

Table 6.2: Functions of the demonstratives

	PROXIMAL/DISTAL						ADVERBIAL and its derivative		RECOGNI-TIONAL
	Uninflecting		Inflecting						
	nyawa	nyila	murla	yala	murlu	yalu	guya	guyany	jangu
Adnominal	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
Pronominal	+	+			+	+		+	+
Adverbial	+	+	+	+			+		

6.1.3.1 Uninflecting proximal and distal demonstratives

Two uninflecting stems nyawa and nyila behave as: (i) adnominal modifiers co-occurring with their heads within NPs (6-28); (ii) pronouns which occur independently within NPs (6-29 and 6-30); (iii) adverbials which are locational deictics (6-31). Since these stems never take overt case suffixes, they usually occur in absolutive NPs as in (6-28 - 6-30). However, they can also convey locational meanings as in (6-31).

(6-28) **nyila** ngaringga ngu nimurrg wandiny-ana
DIST1 woman.ABS REAL dive fall-PRES
That woman is diving [into water]. [MS: CSfn140909]

(6-29) **nyila** ngu=lu birrga man-ana \
DIST1 REAL=3AUG.SBJ create GET-PRES
They make that. [TM: 10_0607_2.002]

(6-30) *TM and I were looking at illustrations of different types of boomerangs. TM was pointing to each of them and saying Wanyjirra words for them.*

nyawa,.. wilgi \
PROX1 hooked.boomerang
This is "wilgi". [TM: 10_0607_2.004]

(6-31) garriny-an-da=lu **nyawa** \
stay-CONT-IMP=AUG.SBJ PROX1
MS: "Stay here." [DJ: 99_34.609]

Uninflecting stems can also occur within ergative and spatial NPs. In (6-32), the distal stem is used adnominally modifying the ergative noun. In (6-33), the proximal stem occurs adnominally modifying the locative noun. In both examples, uninflecting demonstratives are always followed by their head nouns. However, they are alternatively interpreted as adverbial NPs independently functioning as locative deictics 'there' (6-32) or 'here' (6-33).

(6-32) **nyila** ngaringga-lu ngu jaman-ana wilarr
DIST1 woman-ERG REAL grind-PRES seed.sp.ABS
TM: That woman *klinim* seeds.
CS@: That woman is grinding seeds.
CS: ALT#: A woman there is grinding seeds. [TM: CSfn260509]

(6-33) mawundi nga=li man-gu \...(1.6) gayi-rra
white.ochre.ABS REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ get-FUT north-DIRECT

nyawa Miriwuny-ja \
PROX1 PLACE.NAME-LOC
TT: We will get some white ochre here in the north in Miriwuny.
CS: ALT: We will get some white ochre in the north in this Miriwuny.
[NP: 76_14_1_NP.013]

6.1.3.2 Inflecting proximal and distal demonstratives

The inflecting proximal and distal stems murla and yala are used adnominally and adverbially whereas the forms murlu and yalu are used adnominally and pronominally. The first set murla/yala is only attached with spatial case suffixes including locative, allative, purposive, elative and ablative suffixes and with the dative suffix if it encodes goal. The following examples include the locative and ablative demonstratives in adverbial use (6-34 and 6-35) and the allative demonstrative in adnominal use (6-36).

(6-34) **yala-ngga** *na* \ ngu=rna garriny-an-i \
DIST2-LOC NOW REAL=1MIN.SBJ stay-CONT-PAST
MS: It's there I was staying. [DJ: 99_40_3.157]

(6-35) wali warra gang-an-gu=li **murla-ngulu** *na* \
alright watch CARRY-CONT-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ PROX2-ABL NOW
"OK, we have to watch it from here." [MS: 97_31_2.040]

(6-36) yan-da=lu **murla-nggawu** ngandawi-lawu
go-IMP=AUG.SBJ PROX2-ALL shade-ALL
Come here, under the shade. [TM: CSfn250809]

As mentioned in §6.1.1.1, murla and yala can also occur without the overt case suffixes. In such examples, demonstratives are interpreted as 'here' and 'there' respectively (see (6-5) and (6-6) above). They are semantically similar to locative-marked demonstratives murla-ngga and yala-ngga. In a few examples, the unmarked stem murla is used for the meaning 'goal', which is usually indicated by the allative, dative or purposive.[181]

[181] The locative case suffix is also sometimes used for goal although it expresses static location most commonly (§4.4.2.4).

(6-37) yan-da **murla**
go-IMP PROX2
Come here. [TM: CSfn150509]

Another set of inflecting stems murlu/yalu in the ergative and dative cases is used pronominally (6-38) and adnominally (6-39 and 6-40). There are only examples of demonstratives in the originative and comitative cases used adnominally as seen in (6-9 and 6-10) above. This could be due to the limit of the corpus.

(6-38) gamba=yanu nalija **yalu-wu**
burn.IMP=3AUG.OBJ tea.ABS DIST2-DAT
Cook tea for them. [MS: CSfn291010]

(6-39) **murlu-nggu** warlagu-lu ngarra=nggu baya-rru
PROX2-ERG dog-ERG ADM=2MIN.OBJ bite-FUT
This dog might bite you. [MS: CSfn270509]

(6-40) ngu=rna=la yung-gu **murlu-wu** yangi-wu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT give-FUT PROX2-DAT one-DAT
TT: I'll give it to this, another [person].
CS#: ALT: I'll give it to this one. [MS: 76_12_1_NP(1).066''''']

6.1.3.3 Adverbial demonstrative guya

Guya is only used as an adverbial deictic. Without inflection, it modifies an event but does not refer to an entity '(do) like this/that, in this/that way, thus'. Guya is often accompanied by a gesture when a speaker demonstrates a certain action. In (6-41), for instance, TM was making a gesture by her hands on the table, which illustrates that she was scratching the ground for bush potatoes.

(6-41) *They were looking for bush potatoes. Then they found a nice vine and dug the ground for those potatoes.*

1. nyawa burnu /... *i* *alrite* \...
PROX1 tree.ABS 3SG alright
"This plant, it's OK."

2. nyawa burnu, ngu=rnalu gurrij-garra *na* \
PROX1 tree.ABS REAL=1AUG.SBJ dig-REP NOW
CS#: Then we were digging then.

3. gurrij-garra **guya** nyawa mangarri=ma \
dig-REP thus PROX1 veg.food.ABS=TOP
CS#: [And we] were digging up this food like this. [TM: 10_0617_7.007-009]

However, this demonstrative can take dative and locative suffixes on special occasions. First, when it occurs in non-finite clauses expressing purposive or subsequent events and modifies predicates (§13.2.1.2), it is followed by the dative-subordinator as well as other sub-constituents of the clauses as in (6-16) above. In some examples, however, guya-wu also occurs without a coverb and/or a non-finite form of the inflecting verb. In (6-42), the speaker is repeating the demonstrative guya twice. However, unlike in (6-16), they have no modified non-finite verbs marked with the dative-subordinator. This is still interpreted as a non-finite clause 'for [doing] thus' with ellipsis of the verbs.

(6-42) mawundi ngu nyila yunba-wu /.. **guya-wu** \...(1.0)
white.ochre.ABS REAL DIST1 sing-FUT thus-DAT

guya-wu\.. nyunungu-lu ngamirni-lu \
thus-DAT 2MIN.OBL1-ERG MB-ERG
TT: Your mother's brother will sing that white ochre for [doing] thus (i.e., in order to make the white ochre look more beautiful). [NP: 76_14_1_NP.178]

Secondly, guya can be marked with the locative suffix. In this case, it has the temporal meaning 'at that time' or 'then' but not the spatial meaning. In (6-17) above, guya-ngga refers to the time in past when the event expressed in the preceding clause was taken place i.e., 'at that time'. Another example (6-43) below is a complex sentence containing the conditional finite subordinate clause introduced by the subordinator nyangga (§13.1.2). Its main clause begins with guya-ngga. The demonstrative here refers to the conditional event in the future time that is expressed in the preceding subordinate clause. Since it is marked with the focus marker =la (§11.4.5), the translation is like the English cleft-construction 'it is the time when'. [182]

[182] The similar function of guya-ngga is also found in Gurindji 'at that point, when that happened' or 'in that case' (McConvell, 2006: 114) and Bilinarra 'that's when', 'that's why' (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 178). Synchronically the demonstrative guya or its related forms are also used as subordinators which host pronominal clitics and form adverbial and relative subordinate clauses (§13.1.1) not only in these three languages but also in other Ngumpin-Yapa languages. Cross-linguistically grammaticalisation of demonstratives into sentence connectives, relative pronouns and complementisers is commonly found (Diessel, 1999a, 1999b).

(6-43) nyangga nyanunga murna garru-wu yura
COND 3MIN.OBL1 arm.ABS be-FUT good

guya-ngga=la ngu bardiny-ang-gu
thus-LOC=FOC REAL fly-CONT-FUT
If his wing becomes better, it is the time when he can fly. [MS: CSfn110909]

6.1.3.4 The demonstrative guyany

Unlike the adverbial demonstrative guya, guyany is used adnominally (6-44) or pronominally (6-45). Note that TT's original translations do not seem to present the precise meaning of guyany in both examples. However, TM and MS agreed with my translation 'this/that kind'.

(6-44) ngu=rnalu ma-nana mawundi=ma **guyany**=ma /...
REAL=1AUG.SBJ get-PRES white.ochre.ABS=TOP this.kind.ABS=TOP

barn.gu /
crosscousin.VOC
TT: Crosscousin, we are getting white ochre in such a way.
CS%#: Crosscousin, we are getting this kind of white ochre.
[NP: 76_14_1_NP.NP024]

(6-45) **guyany-ja**=ma wurraj=bala \
this.kind-LOC=TOP uncover.ground=FOC
TT: [He] takes out [the snakes from the fire] in the evening.
CS%#: [He] takes out [the snakes from the fire] in this kind of time.
NOTE: MS gives TT the gloss for guyany-ja 'that time, maybe afternoon, 4 o'clock'.
[NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).089]

6.1.3.5 The recognitional demonstrative jangu

The recognitional demonstrative functions adnominally or pronominally. In (6-46), it is marked with the dual suffix and co-occurs with the quantifier gujarra within the NP. On the other hand, in (6-47), it solely occurs as the head of NP. This example is counter to Diessel (1999a: 105, 165) where cross-linguistically recognitional demonstratives are restricted to adnominal use and its pronominal use is quite rare. In Wanyjirra, it is possible when the referent is overtly specified in the previous discourse

(§6.1.4.5).[183]

(6-46) *When I was driving in the town with TM and MS, we saw two of her friends getting on the bus. Then, we were talking about that they were going to the meeting. TM asked MS as follows.*

1. TM: ngana-wariny
   who-OTHER
   MS: Who else [is going]?

2. MS: ngu=wula yan-ana **jangu-wuyarra** gujarra
   REAL=3UA.SBJ go-PRES SHARED-DU.ABS two.ABS
   Those two are going. [TM; MS: CSfn190809]

(6-47)

1. nyila gijal mangarri wanya-rru=li
   DIST1 raw.ABS veg.food.ABS leave-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ
   TM: "Let's *libum* that raw fruit."
   CS@: "Let's leave that raw fruit."

2. **jangu** nga=li man-i
   SHARED.ABS REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ get-PAST
   We got that (CS: i.e., food), you know.

3. ngu jiwirri *nao*
   REAL ripe NOW
   TM: *i* ripe *na*.
   CS@: It was ripe then. [TM: CSfn120710]

6.1.4 Pragmatic functions

This subsection describes discourse functions of each demonstrative stem. Demonstratives typically index an entity or event in the real world or in a narrated situation (situational use). In addition, demonstratives serve other functions. For instance, they are used to refer back to a participant that was mentioned previously (tracking use), to refer to a proposition or event and to establish a link between adjacent propositions or events in a sequence of the discourse (discourse deictic use), to introduce a new participant in the discourse (presentative use), or to refer to an entity of which information is shared between the speaker and the hearer as their

[183] This possibility is also found in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 256) and Mparntwe Arrernte (Wilkins, 1989: 121). On the other hand, the Bilinarra recognitional demonstrative nyanawu is never used pronominally (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 178).

common experience (recognitional use). Table 6.3 summarises which functions each demonstrative stem has.

Table 6.3: Pragmatic functions of demonstratives

	nyawa	nyila	murla	yala	murlu	yalu	guya	guyany	jangu
Situational	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Tracking	+	+	+	+	+	+			
Discourse deictic	+	+		+			+		
Presentative	+	+	+	+					
Recognitional									+

6.1.4.1 Situational use

Two sets of proximal and distal demonstratives are used to correlate an entity or an event with an actual utterance situation or a narrated situation (cf. Himmelmann, 1996: 219-225). Typically this use involves a contrast in relative distance of an entity or an event from a deictic centre. The stems nyawa and murlu/murla encode proximity to the position of the deictic centre whereas the stems nyila and yalu/yala encode distance. In (6-48), the demonstrative is used based on the current speech situation with the speaker as the deictic centre whereas in (6-49 and 6-50), the deictic centre is shifted to a character of the story in the ongoing discourse. In this use, a pointing gesture sometimes accompanies the utterance, for instance in (6-48) MS was pointing out the dog which she was talking about.

(6-48) **murlu-nggu** warlagu-lu ngarra=nggu baya-rru
PROX2-ERG dog-ERG ADM=2MIN.OBJ bite-FUT
This dog might bite you. [MS: CSfn270509]

(6-49) yan-da **yala-nggawu** diba-yaru
go-IMP DIST2-ALL billycan-PROP
CS#: "Go there with a billycan." [TM: CSfn090712]

(6-50)
1. yan-i ward *na*,... yimarug \
GO-PAST return NOW spirit.return
TM: "A spirit *bin* come back now."
CS@: "A spirit came back now."

2.	nyang-ga=lu	**nyawa**	*mark*=ma	**nyawa** \	**nyawa** \
	perceive-IMP=AUG.SBJ	PROX1	mark.ABS=TOP	PROX1	PROX1

TM: "Look at this mark, here, here."
CS@: "Look at this mark, here, here." [TM: 10_0730_8.014]

The demonstratives guya and guyany are also used in this function. These examples are accompanied by the speaker's gestures (pointing or demonstrating activities). For instance, the speaker uses the gesture that she was digging the ground with a stick while she was saying (6-41) above. A pointing gesture is also employed in (6-51). It is unclear whether a gesture is used in (6-52). However at least, the demonstrative guyany is used to link the entity 'billycan' presented in on-going discourse to the current speech situation.

(6-51) *TM was talking to me like this when I was deciding where I could sit down. She was pointing to the space next to her.*

yan-da=yi	**guya-rniny**
go-IMP=1MIN.OBJ	thus-PERL

TM: Come *langa* me this way.
CS@: Come to me this way. [TM: CSfn100712]

(6-52)

wuwu \...	nga=liyarra,...(1.7)	gang-an-gu	*biligayin*-da	*nao* \...(0.9)
oh	REAL=1UA.SBJ	carry-CONT-FUT	billycan-LOC	NOW

unn \	**guyany-ja**	*na*	*bilikayin*-da \...	*uun* \
hm	this.kind-LOC	NOW	billycan-LOC	hm

Oh! We will carry [the white ochre] in a billycan, in one like this.
[NP: 76_14_1_NP.029]

6.1.4.2 Tracking use

In tracking use, demonstratives are used to refer to an entity or a place that has been mentioned previously. The term 'tracking' is adopted from Himmelmann (1996: 226-229) to distinguish this function of making reference to participants in the previous discourse from the traditional term 'anaphora' that broadly covers the discourse deictic use, especially the function of referring to the previous propositions or events.[184]

Distal demonstratives (nyila, yalu/yala) are commonly used to track back participants

[184] Diessel (1999a: 103) also provides a summary of differences between the anaphoric (tracking) and discourse deictic uses.

of discourse. For instance, there are three demonstratives in the following extract (6-53) from Text 3, in Appendix 4; yala-ngulu and nyila in Sentence 7 and yalu in Sentence 8 which are used for different referents. The first one refers to a place where two men sat down on the tree mentioned in the preceding Sentence 6.[185] Nyila in Sentence 7 indicates the same referents the white man and the horse first introduced in Sentence 4 and 5. yalu in Sentence 8 is used to reintroduce two men who were mentioned in Sentence 1.

(6-53)

1. gujarra mawun guya=wula,.. yan-an-i /
   two.ABS man.ABS THUS=3UA.SBJ go-CONT-PAST
   Two men were walking.

.....

2. ngu=wula,.. barli yi-nya,...(1.4)
   REAL=3UA.SBJ find GIVE-PAST
   They found…

3. *wal*,...(0.8)
   well
   Well…

4. gariya=lu \
   white.man.ABS=ONLY
   [It was] a white man.

5. gariya ngu dimana-yaru yan-an-i
   white.man.ABS REAL horse-PROP go-CONT-PAST

   ngu *raidim* gang-an-i \.. dimana \.. gan.ga-yin \
   REAL ride CARRY-CONT-PAST horse.ABS up.country-D.ABL
   The white man was coming on horseback, riding on horseback from the upstream.

6. *fok*-gula ngu=wula garriny-an-i gan.ga-ni \
   fork-LOC REAL=3UA.SBJ stay-CONT-PAST up.country-D.LOC1
   They were [sitting] up on forks of the tree.

[185] Alternatively, it can be interpreted as 'after that, then'. In this case, the demonstrative is in discourse deictic use (§6.1.4.3) making reference to a discourse unit and connecting it to the surrounding discourse unit. The ablative suffix expresses temporal sequence but not a starting point of action.

7. **yala-ngulu** *nao* ngu=wula yunbarn-an-i *nao*
DIST2-ABL NOW REAL=3UA.SBJ sing-CONT-PAST NOW

nyila gardiya *an* dimana \
DIST1 white.man.ABS and horse.ABS
From there, they were singing [it to] that white man and horse.

8. ngu=wula=yanu yunbarn-an-i yarrirndi=lu *na*
REAL=3UA.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ sing-CONT-PAST magic.song.ABS=ONLY NOW

yalu,... gujarra-lu \
DIST2 two-ERG
Those two men were singing *yarrirndi* (the curse song) to them.
[MS: 97_31_2.007-032]

There are also some examples where the proximal demonstrative nyawa/murla/murlu is used to track back the aforementioned participants. Example (6-54) is another extract following (6-53) above from the same text. murlu-wu refers back to the participants 'two men' specified previously as in (6-53). The demonstrative nyawa in Sentence 2 of (6-55) refers to the entity 'rock' which has been mentioned in the preceding sentence.

(6-54) *an* gardiya gula=yanu,.. bila bina garri-nya
and white.man.ABS NEG=3AUG.OBJ ERROR know BE-PAST

murlu-wu,... jaru-wu, *najing* \
PROX2-DAT language-DAT nothing
CS#: And the white man did not understand these [men and their] language at all.
David Nash's translation[186]: And the white man did not -understand this -language at all. [MS: 97_31_2.058]

[186] If my translation is really correct (though it was approved by MS), the augmented pronominal clitic =yanu seems to specify two human participants and one inanimate participant. However, it is quite rare and there is no other example where human and non-human entities are counted together and referred to by a single pronominal clitic. Thus it remains the possibility that the use of =yanu might be an error. David Nash (p.c.) suggests that this is not really an error but it is the speaker changing her mind about what to say. That is, the speaker was going to say: 'the white man did not understand these men (who spoke the language)' but changed it to: 'the white man did not understand this language (i.e., these words (augmented))'. This may be a more plausible analysis. Such a change or hesitation can be recognised from pauses and the actual speech error bila (which is the existing word 'chase') in her utterance.

(6-55)

1.	bamarr	guya	garriny-ana	*that*	*much* \
	stone.ABS	thus	be-PRES	that	much

TT: A rock of this size is lying like this.
MS: The rock that stopping there/ the rock that stop there.

2.	gula=li	gang-gu	**nyawa**	bamarr \
	NEG=1MIN.INC.SBJ	carry-FUT	PROX1	stone.ABS

TT: We cannot carry this rock.
MS: We can't *take-im* the rock. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.221-222]

6.1.4.3 Discourse deictic use

In this use, demonstratives refer to propositions or events focusing the hearer's attention on meanings of clauses, sentences, paragraphs or the whole stories (Diessel, 1999a: 101; Himmelmann, 1996: 224). Unlike in tracking use, demonstratives in this use link two discourse units but not two entities as co-referential NPs. In addition, they can make reference to utterances backward and forward. In Wanyjirra, the proximal/distal demonstratives and the adverbial demonstrative have this function.

The proximal and distal stems nyawa and nyila are used for anaphoric reference. Both refer back to whole story at the end of the stories in (6-56 and 6-57). At least in the corpus, the distal demonstrative is only used for this anaphoric function.

(6-56)	marndaj /..	**nyawa**=lu=wali	jaru=ma \
	OK	PROX1=ONLY=right	language.ABS=TOP

MS: Alright, this is the story.
CS#: Alright, this is the proper story. [DJ: 99_40_3.077]

(6-57)	wali=lu \...(1.0)	**nyila**	*na*	jaru \
	OK=ONLY	DIST1	NOW	language.ABS

OK, that is the story. [TM: 10_0715_7.022]

The proximal nyawa is also used with cataphoric reference linking the utterance to the following discourse but not the distal nyila. In (6-58), the two demonstratives refer to the proposition in Sentence 4.

(6-58)

1. **nyawa** *na* \
   PROX1 NOW
   This one.

2. ngu=yi marn-i,...(1.1) jalarni,...(1.4) girli-g \
   REAL=1MIN.OBJ say-PAST today ready-TRNSL
   CS#: She talked to me today [to make the book] ready.

3. **nyawa** \
   PROX1
   This one.

4. nyangga=rna ward yan-gu gurla-rra,
   COND=1MIN.SBJ return GO-FUT south-DIRECT
   CS#: "If I go back to the south,..." [TM: 11_1028_5.001-004]

The adverbial demonstrative guya is also used anaphorically and cataphorically. In Sentence 3 of (6-59), it refers back to the previous quoted speech in Sentence 2 whereas guya in Sentence 4 also refers to propositions in Sentence 2 and 3. Especially when guya occurs with the verb marn- 'say' in a clause as in Sentence 3, this demonstrative may function as a marker of quotation 'X says/talks like this/that' as described in Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 185).

(6-59)

1. ngarra=ngaliwang-gu=lu bila-bila man-ang-gu
   ADM=1AUG.INC.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ RDP-chase GET-CONT-FUT

   you know / gariya-lu,...(1.3)
   you know white.man-ERG
   MS: "White men might be chasing us, you know."

2. *wal* nyurrara ngu=nda *youngfala* *yet* \
   well 2AUG REAL=2AUG.SBJ young.one yet
   MS: "Well, you are still young ones."

3. ngu=nganimba-gu=lu marn-i **guya** \
   REAL=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ say-PAST thus
   MS: They talked to us like that.

4. ngarra=nganimba-gu=lu **guya** bila-arra man-gu
ADM=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ thus chase-REP GET-FUT

ngarra=nganimba-gu=lu *jutumbat* gardiya-lu \
ADM=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ shoot.CONT white.man-ERG
MS: "Thus white men might chase us and might shoot us."
[DJ: 99_41.119-124]

Guya in Sentence 1 of (6-60) refers to the following rest of the narrative. This is the beginning of the narrative. Note that guya in Sentence 2 is used as a subordinating conjunction introducing a finite subordinate clause (§13.1.1).

(6-60) *TM told me that Aboriginal people believed that wibilirri 'a spirit of the deceased person' would come back to them and appear to be like a dark-coloured mark on the skin of the related person. She also told me she knew another word with the same meaning. I asked her to tell any story related to wibilirri.*

1. *ya* \... (0.9) **guya** \ *like*,
yeah thus like
CS#: Yeah, [we talk] like this, like...

2. ngu=rna garran-ana nyila *na* jaru-gari
REAL=1MIN.SBJ keep-PRES DIST1 NOW language-OTHER.ABS

guya=rnalu marn-ana yalu-wu *na* wibilirri-wu \
SUB=1AUG.SBJ say-PRES DIST2-DAT NOW spirit-DAT
CS#: I remember another word when we talk about that one, the spirit.
[TM: 10_0730_8.001-002]

The locative-marked adverbial demonstrative guya-ngga also functions as a sentence connective (§6.1.3.3) to combine two discourse units (see above (6-15 and 6-43)). The similar function is also found in the elative- or ablative-marked distal demonstratives yala-nginyi and yala-ngulu 'after that, then' in Sentence 3 of (6-61).

(6-61)
1. bulub-garra ngurra-ngga *na*: ngarn-u=la:: guya \
stir-REP camp-LOC NOW ingest-NF=SEQ thus
CS#: [We were] mixing it at the camp and eating it like this.

2. *finij* \
finish
TM: Finished.

3.	**yala-ngulu**=ma,...(1.7)	ngu=rnalu	jungguj	bi-nya	*na* \
	DIST2-ABL=TOP	REAL=1AUG.SBJ	depart	HIT-PAST	NOW

CS#: After that, we took off. [DJ: 99_40_3.122-124]

6.1.4.4 Presentative use

In presentative use, demonstratives introduce the existence of an entity in an actual speech situation or in a discourse context, or draw the hearer's attention on the entity (Diessel, 1999a: 58, 79).[187] In Wanyjirra, proximal/distal demonstratives nyawa/murla and nyila/yala have this function. Since demonstratives in this use specify new information, they usually occur at the beginning of narratives.

First, nyawa and its special shortened form nya are used to introduce something or someone to the hearer. For instance, a speaker uses these demonstratives frequently when the speaker gives the hearer food or tobacco as in (6-62) and when he/she introduces a new person or thing to the hearer (6-63 and 6-64). Note that the topic clitic attaching with the demonstrative in (6-64) also encodes prominence and change of topic in on-going discourse (§11.4.2).

(6-62) *TM was giving a piece of beef to a small kid.*

nya	nga-nyja	yamag-gulu
PROX1	ingest-IMP	slowly-ERG

Here, eat it slowly. [TM: CSfn090810]

(6-63)

nyawa	yambagina \..	Jangala \
PROX1	child.ABS	♂subsection

TT: These two [boys of the] Jangala [subsection].
CS%: These children are Jangala. [TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).039]

(6-64) *Pointing at a drawing of a boomerang.*

nyawa=ma	jangayi \
PROX1=TOP	slingshot

This is "jangayi". [TM: 10_0607_2.002]

[187] Diessel (1999a: 58) uses the term 'demonstrative identifiers' for the distinct demonstrative stems which covers many other traditional terms including 'predicative demonstratives', 'copulative demonstratives', 'existential demonstratives', 'pointing demonstratives' and 'deictic presentative'. Unlike Diessel's demonstrative identifiers, the Wanyjirra demonstratives in presentative use are not restricted to non-verbal clauses but they can occur in verbal clauses.

The distal demonstrative nyila also behave in the similar manner as in (6-65 - 6-67).

(6-65) **nyila** limbal-jaru ngu=rnalu garriny-ana *matbi* \
DIST1 menstruation-PROP REAL=1AUG.SBJ stay-PRES maybe
CS#: That [woman who is in] a monthly period and we maybe stay [apart from our camp]. [TM: 10_0721_3.001]

(6-66) **nyila=ma** jiri \
DIST1=TOP timber.ABS
That is a tree. [TM: 11_1027_2.001]

(6-67) **nyila** mawun-du ga-nya ngarin
DIST1 man-ERG carry-PAST meat.ABS
CS#: The man there brought meat. [TM: CSfn070610]

In addition, unmarked inflecting stems (murla and yala) and uninflecting stems (nyawa and nyila) as adverbials are used to present location of an object preceding other locational expressions.

(6-68) **murla** marru-ngga \...(1.1) giyan-ang-gu ngu=rnalu \...(1.4)
PROX2 house-LOC throw-CONT-FUT REAL=1AUG.SBJ

ngalya-ngga jaminy-ja \
face-LOC forehead-LOC
TT: Here near the house, we will paint [ochre] onto [someone else's?] forehead and face. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.107]

(6-69) *I asked TM where my cup was. TM answered as follows meaning that it was located right in front of me.*

nyila=lu yalaba ngu=nggu garriny-ana
DIST1=ONLY close REAL=2MIN.OBJ be-PRES
CS#: It's there close to you. [TM: CSfn190710]

6.1.4.5 Recognitional use

Although it is uncommon in my corpus, Wanyjirra has the form jangu specifically used as a 'recognitional' demonstrative (Himmelmann, 1996: 230). This demonstrative signals specific knowledge which is assumed to be shared between the speaker and the hearer. Therefore, it is translated as 'you know (that)' by which the speaker checks whether the hearer understands the referent. As Himmelmann (1996) points out, recognitional use of demonstratives is distinguished from tracking or discourse deictic

uses by the fact that occurrence of the recognitional demonstrative is not evoked by the previous discourse but by the speaker's assumption with respect to the degree of familiarity of the hearer's knowledge about the referent. The recognitional demonstrative can refer to an entity that was not previously mentioned in the same conversation or narrative as in (6-19) above. Here, jangu is used based on the assumption that the speaker (TM) and the hearer (MS) share information about the place that is suitable to sit down for a while and record the language.

When jangu solely occurs as a pronoun, it always has a referent which was mentioned previously (§6.1.3.5). But it does not mean that the aforementioned referent induces use of jangu but it may induce independent use of jangu without the specific reference to an entity. Thus, the understanding of the referent is crucially dependent on the discourse situation as well as the interlocutors' common knowledge. In Sentence 3 of (6-70), the recognitional demonstrative refers to 'ochre' which is specified in Sentence 1.

(6-70)

1. guya nga=rna=nyununggula wajbarn-an-i \...(0.9) mawundi=ma\..
   thus REAL=1MIN.SBJ=RR.OBL throw-CONT-PAST white.ochre.ABS=TOP

   ngalya-ngga=ma \... jaminy-ja=ma \
   face-LOC=TOP forehead-LOC=TOP
   Like this, I was throwing white ochre onto myself, onto the forehead and onto the face.
   NOTE: the verb wajbarn- is Jaru and giyan- would be expected as in Sentence 3 and 4.

2. jaminy-ja=ma ngu=rna=nyununggula guya giyan-an-i \
   forehead-LOC=TOP REAL=1MIN.SBJ=RR.OBL thus throw-CONT-PAST
   Like this, I was painting [ochre] onto myself, onto the face.

3. **jangu** \.. ngu=rna=nyununggula giyan-an-i \.. guya \
   SHARED.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ=RR.OBL throw-CONT-PAST thus
   TM (collected by CS): I *paitimba*t that [one] you know, *miselb* like this.
   CS@: I was painting that [one] you know, onto myself like this.
   TT: Like this, I was painting that [ochre] on to myself.
   [NP: 76_14_1_NP.089-091]

6.2 Directionals

Directionals express spatial relations between two objects based on two-dimensional absolute directions. Wanyjirra has two main horizontal and vertical directional systems: (i) compass points operating with four terms (gayi- 'north', gurla- 'south', gaa- 'east' and garla- 'west'); (ii) vertical points expressed by a two-way contrast gan.gu-/gan.ga- 'up' and ganyju-/gani- 'down'. Wanyjirra lacks terms for 'right' and 'left'.

Directionals are generally distinguished from other nominals in that they have special directional case suffixes denoting a range of meanings. Some directionals can take ordinal nominal case suffixes, in most cases, after those directional case suffixes.

Directionals mainly function as local adjuncts to express static location or direction of motion and as spatial modifiers providing further information to another local adjunct. They also behave like spatial determiners which restrict the reference of their heads. In the following examples, the vertical directional gan.ga-yin is used as a local adjunct which expresses motion away from 'upstream' in (6-71) whereas the compass directionals gaa-rra-mba and gurla-ni are used as a determiner and a spatial modifier for the following purposive NP respectively in (6-72).

(6-71) gariya ngu dimana-yaru yan-an-i
white.man.ABS REAL horse-PROP go-CONT-PAST

ngu *raidim* gang-an-i \.. dimana \.. **gan.ga-yin** \
REAL ride CARRY-CONT-PAST horse.ABS up.country-D.ABL
The white man was coming on horseback riding on horseback from the upstream. [MS: 97_31_2.015]

(6-72) yala-nginyi \...(2.5) Nanagu nyawa **gaa-rra-mba** \...(0.9)
DIST2-EL ♀subsection.ABS PROX1 east-DIRECT-D.LOC2

Wijbaya \...(1.2) **gurla-ni** *laundry*-wurra \.. ward yan-i
PERSON.NAME.ABS south-D.LOC1 laudry-PURP return GO-PAST

nyandu-wariny *na* \
3MIN-ONESELF.ABS NOW
TT: Then, [a woman whose subsection is] Nanagu, Waijbaya, [who is] here in the east, went back south to the laundry by herself.
CS%: Then, Nanagu here in the eastern side, Wijbaya, went back south to the laundry by herself. [TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).015]

6.2.1 Compass directionals

Compass directionals have four stems, gayi- 'north', gurla- 'south', gaa- 'east' and garla- 'west' to express absolute spatial relations of an object with respect to the deictic centre (typically the speaker) or certain geographic or man-made landmarks (hills, rivers, trees, buildings, roads or particular place names). Domains of each term roughly cover a quadrant and have wide ranges of applicability. These terms are not combined to express more precise directions like English derivations 'north-west' and 'south-east'. But the single stem, e.g. gayi- can be used for the area covered by the English terms 'north', 'north-east' and 'north-west'. In addition, due to her English knowledge, TM does not use English terms ('north' etc.) when she translates directional words into English and specifies directions and motions by pointing and arm movement with the English expression 'this way/that way. For instance 'go *langa* that way' with pointing to the north means 'go to the north'.[188]

A number of derivations are based on these stems plus a sequence of special case suffixes only used for directionals. Table 6.4 shows various derivative forms of each stem. Their meanings are given in the left-most columns. Some columns are left blank because the corpus does not contain any relevant forms. Note that variation forms are specified as *var(iation)*.

[188] Wilkin (1997) observes that cardinal directional words are almost always accompanied by pointing gestures to indicate a more precise specification of direction within the relevant quadrants in Arrernte. In Wanyjirra, gestures do not necessarily co-occur with directional words. However, when my consultants translate Wanyjirra directional words into English, they tend to use gestures.

Table 6.4: Forms and meanings of compass directionals

Stems / Meanings	gayi- 'North'	gurla- 'South'	gaa- 'East'	garla- 'West'
'X, in the X'	gayi-rra	gurla-rra	gaa-rra	garla-rra
var.		gurli-rra		
var.	gayi-na	gurla-na	gaa-na	garla-na
'in the X'	gayi-ni	gurla-ni	gaa-ni	garla-ni
var.	gayi-li		gaa-li	
'toward the X'	gayi-nirra	gurla-nirra	gaa-nirra	garla-nirra
'from the X'				garla-yin
'from the X'			gaa-rrayin	
'from the X'	gayi-niyin	gurla-niyin	gaa-niyin	garla-niyin
var.	gayi-liyin		gaa-liyin	
var.		gurli-layin		
'on the X side (of river)'	gayi-niyin.garra	gurla-niyin.garra	gaa-niyin.garra	garla-niyin.garra
var.	gayi-liyin.garra	gurla-liyin.garra	gaa-liyin.garra	
'in the X-ern side'		gurla-mba		garla-mba
'in the X-ern side'	gayi-rramba		gaa-rramba	
'stationary in the X side'	gayi-nimba	gurla-nimba	gaa-nimba	garla-nimba
'(moving/lying) across the X side'	gayi-nimbala	gurla-nimbala	gaa-nimbala	garla-nimbala
'(moving/lying) across the X side all around'	gayi-nimbalaarra	gurla-nimbalaarra	gaa-nimbalaarra	garla-nimbalaarra
'cross to the X side of the river'	gayi-ninyjarrg	gurla-ninyjarrg	gaa-ninyjarrg	garla-ninyjarrg
'going around in the X'	gayi-niyarra	gurla-niyarra	gaa-niyarra	garla-niyarra
var.	gayi-liyarra	gurla-liyarra	gaa-liyarra	garla-liyarra
var.		gurli-layarra		
'on the X side of a hill or house etc.'	gayi-nanin	gurla-nanin	gaa-nanin	garla-nanin
'on the X side of a hill or house etc. all around'	gayi-nanin.garra	gurla-nanin.garra	gaa-nanin.garra	garla-nanin.garra
'further out X'	gayi-ni-wariny	gurla-ni-wariny	gaa-ni-wariny	garla-ni-wariny

The meanings of each form and suffix are not always clear when they combine with more than one suffix. For example, the ablative meaning is carried by the suffix -yin 'from X' (6-73). This -yin can also be preceded by other suffixes -rra ('in/to the X') (6-74) or -ni/li ('in the X') (6-75 and 6-76) although obvious semantic differences among these forms are not recognised in consultants' translations.

(6-73) *ya*, nyila **garla-yin** garriny-ana lulu
yeah DIST1 west-D.ABL STAY-PRES sit
MS: Yeah, he, coming from the west, is sitting down. [TM: CSfn261010]

(6-74) ngu=yi=lu marn-i \...(1.3) **gaa-rrayin**
REAL=1MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ say-PAST east-D.ABL
TM: They *bin talem* me, coming from *jat* side
CS@: People said to me, coming from the east. [TM: 11_1008_1.012]
NOTE: TM was pointing to the east and shifting her pointing finger to us when translating.

(6-75) yala-nginyi mayawun **gaa-niyin** yan-i
DIST2-EL wind.ABS east-D.ABL go-PAST
MS: And then, the wind came from the east. [TM: 09_0513.003]

(6-76) **gayi-liyin** gardiya yan-i yalaba-g *nao* \
north-D.ABL white.man.ABS go-PAST close-TRNSL NOW
From the north the white man came close now. [MS: 97_31_2.043]

Nonetheless, there might have been some difference among these ablative forms (6-73 to 6-76). For example, a subtle semantic difference is suggested in Bilinarra directionals between -ni-yin 'from X and up' and -yin 'from X' (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 199). Such difference could exist in Wanyjirra, but has not been confirmed by the consultants. This may be due to the consultants' English proficiency. But it should also be considered that semantic differences may have been reduced in Wanyjirra under the influence of language loss.[189] This is also implied by the fact that a series of derivative forms with the ablative meaning are not used with all four stems as seen in Table 6.4 above. Only the element -niyin is found with all four stems and may be used for the general meaning 'from X'.

Based on the forms and meanings of directionals, directional case suffixes can be summarised as listed in Table 6.5. Some other examples of compass directional words are given below.

[189] This, in addition, may also apply to at least some forms which I treat as 'variation forms'. They might have subtle differences in their meanings that speakers perhaps would not distinguish anymore.

Table 6.5: Directional morphology

Suffixes	Gloss	Meanings
-rra/-na[179]	DIRECT	General locational suffix 'in, at, to'
-ni/-li[190]	D.LOC1	Locative 'in'
-nirra	D.ALL	Allative 'towards'
-(rra/ni/li)yin[179]	D.ABL	Ablative 'from'
-mba	D.LOC2	Locative 'in, on'
-mbala	D.PERL	Perlative 'across'
-nyjarrg	cross.river	'cross river'
-nanin	side	'side of'
-garra[191] -yarra -arra	around	'all around'
-wariny[192]	further	'further out'

(6-77) ngana=lu nyila **gayi-liyin-garra** garri-nya
who.ABS=3AUG.SBJ DIST1 north-D.ABL-around stay-PAST
MS: who that lot *bin* stopped from the north?
CS#: Who are those who stayed on the north side of the river?
[MS: CSfn140909]

(6-78) ngu=rna garriny-ana **gaa-nanin** ngandawi-la
REAL=1MIN.SBJ stay-PRES east-side shade-LOC
CS#: I am staying at the east side of the shade. [MS: CSfn211009]

(6-79)
CS: wanyjirra=nggu marru
where=2MIN.OBJ house
CS!: Where is your house?

TM: **gaa-ni**
east-D.LOC1
CS#: In the east.

[190] Since no clear semantic differences have been found among these forms, I gloss them in the same way.
[191] This suffix may be related to the coverbal repetitive suffix indicating repetition and duration of events or intensifying events (§9.2.3.3).
[192] This suffix is related to the nominal derivational suffix -wariny 'other' (§4.3.2).

TM: yala-ngga bin.ga-ga Ngunjuwa-*Creek*-gula
DIST2-LOC river-LOC PLACE.NAME-creek-LOC

garla-ni-mbala-arra nguyurdu ngu=rnalu garriny-ana
west-D.LOC2-D.PERL-around many.ABS REAL=1AUG.SBJ stay-PRES
CS#: We, big mob are living along the west side of that creek, Ngunjuwa Creek. [TM: CSfn210909]

Although directionals generally do not take ordinal nominal case suffixes, certain forms can take some suffixes including ergative, locative, dative, allative and elative suffixes as listed in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6: Case marking on compass directionals

	-niyin.garra 'X (of river)'	-ni-mba 'in X side'	-niyin 'from'
Ergative -du			-niyin-du
Elative -nginyi			-niyin-nginyi
Locative -da			-niyin-da
Dative -wu		-nimba-wu -rramba-wu	
Allative -lawu	-niyin.garra-lawu		

Dative and allative case suffixes function as relational suffixes to specify direction or goal of motion.

(6-80) nga=li yan-gu *Kananarra*-lawu **gayi-ni-mba-wu**
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ go-FUT PLACE.NAME-ALL north-D.LOC1-D.LOC2-DAT
CS#: We will go to Kununurra to the northern side. [TM: CSfn211010]

(6-81) ngu=rna yan-ana garla-nirra **garla-niyin-garra-lawu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-PRES west-D.ALL west-D.ABL-around-ALL

gaa-nirra ward **gaa-niyin-garra-lawu**
east-D.ALL return east-ABL-around-ALL
I go east and to the west bank and go back east to the east bank.
[MS: CSfn211009]

The ablative forms of compass directionals garla-niyin 'west' and gaa-niyin 'east' can be followed by the locative suffix with the temporal reading. garla-niyin-da is translated as 'in the afternoon' or 'in the sunset time (in Kriol *sun go dan*)' in (6-82) and gaa-niyin-da as 'in the morning' or 'in the sun-rising time' based on the position of

the sun, going up from the east and going down to the west.

(6-82) garra ngu=rnalu *kamaut* yan-i,...(1.1) **garla-niyin-da** \
thus REAL=1AUG.SBJ come.out GO-PAST west-D.ABL-LOC
CS#: Like that we got in there in the afternoon.
NOTE: garra is not Wanyjirra but it occurs in Jaru. [TM: 10_0826_5.035]

The elative suffix is also attached to the ablative forms of compass directionals meaning 'origin'.

(6-83) *matbi* **garla-niyin-nginyi** gula=rna=la bina
maybe west-D.ABL-EL NEG=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT know
CS#: Maybe [she is a person] originated from the west. I don't know her.
[TM: CSfn141011]

In addition, the ablative forms optionally take the ergative suffix agreeing with the subject argument. In this respect, directionals behave as a type of adverbial modification (§6.3.3).

(6-84) ngu=yi girnig nyang-ana **garla-niyin-du** baru-ngga
REAL=1MIN.OBJ stare PERCEIVE-PRES west-D.ABL-ERG stand-LOC
CS#: She is staring at me from the west, standing up. [TM: CSfn141011]

6.2.2 Vertical directionals

The vertical directional system operates in two sets of stems used in an integrated system of elevation and river-flow. This means that vertical directional stems cover a range of meanings relating to elevation including heights of places ('up/above' and 'down/below') direction of slopes ('uphill' and 'downhill') and direction of river-flow ('upstream' and 'downstream'). While Bilinarra and Gurindji have the separate river-flow system specified by distinct stems (Meakins, 2011b; Meakins et al., 2013: 33; Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014), Wanyjirra and Jaru have no exclusive stems for the river-flow system. Warlpiri and Walmajarri have compass and uphill-downhill directional words but no upstream-downstream words (Laughren, 1978; Richards & Hudson, 1990).

Although a clear distinction between verticality and river-drainage systems can currently not be made in Wanyjirra, each stem is simply glossed as (i) gan.gu- 'up'; (ii)

ganyju- ‘down’; (iii) gan.ga- ‘up country’; (iv) gani- ‘down country’. In terms of basic two-way contrasts ‘up’ vs ‘down’ and ‘up country’ vs ‘down country’, derivatives of these stems encode information on: (a) location of an object with respect to the deictic centre; (b) motion directed towards; (c) motion directed away from; (d) motion across; (e) a spatial relation of an object with respect to certain geographic or topographic features (e.g. hills, slopes, trees, rivers, buildings or any objects like tables and chairs).

The first two stems gan.gu- ‘up’ and ganyju- ‘down’ are extensively used for vertical points of elevation as provided in Table 6.7 below. Some suffixes are identical to those used in compass directionals. The terminative suffix -nun is only found with the stem gan.gu-. The element -lu directly follows the stem gan.gu- and is always followed by other suffixes. It can be analysed as a stem-forming suffix with no specific meaning. Unlike Gurindji and Bilinarra, Wanyjirra has the only one derivative ganyju-rra made up on the stem ganyju- ‘down’ mainly for the allative meaning, direction to the below. Instead, the concept of ‘down’ is described by a range of derivatives based on gani- ‘down country’ (see below).[193]

[193] Contrary to Wanyjirra and Jaru, Gurindji and Bilinarra has the one form based on gani- for the river-flow system ‘downstream’ and many derivatives based on ganyju- for the vertical point ‘down’.

Table 6.7: Paradigm of vertical directionals gan.gu- 'up' and ganyju- 'down'

Stems	Suffixes	Glosses	Forms	Meanings
gan.gu- 'up'	-la[194]	LOC	gan.gu-la	above, upwards
	-lurra	DIRECT	gan.gu-lurra	above, upwards
	-luba[195]	D.LOC2	gan.gu-luba	in the above/higher area
	-lubala[193]	D.PERL	gan.gu-lubala	across the above/higher area
	-liyin *var.* -liyid	D.ABL	gan.gu-liyin gan.gu-liyid	from above
	-nun	TERM	gan.gu-nun	on top of
	-nun-garra	TERM-around	gan.gu-nun-garra	over the top of, over the surface of (water)
ganyju- 'down'	-rra	DIRECT	ganyju-rra	down, downwards

(6-85) yangi bangarra ngu garriny-ana **gan.gu-nun-garra**
one.ABS white.cockatoo.ABS REAL stay-PRES up-D.TERM-around
MS: A white cockatoo *stopping* over the top [of the tree].
CS#: A white cockatoo is staying on the top [of the tree]. [MS: CSfn121009]

(6-86) yan-da=wula \ yan-da=wula **ganyju-rra **
go-IMP=UA.SBJ go-IMP=UA.SBJ down-DIRECT
TM: "You come, come down." [MS: 97_31_2.046]

The other two stems (gan.ga- and gani-) and their eight derivatives are used for water-flow (irrespective of whether water actually flows in the rivers or whether it had dried out) but also vertical points of elevation. Table 6.8 shows these stems and derivatives with translations. Since the stem ganyju- 'down' does not productively create derivatives for the meaning 'down', the forms based on gani- 'down country' cover a range of information including locative, allative, ablative and perlative meanings and spatial relations with the geographic features ('downstream/downhill area') and with any other object ('bottom of/under X, lower side').

[194] Note that meanings of the forms gan.gu-la and gan.gu-lurra are very similar. There is only one example of the latter found in the corpus. -la here is tentatively glossed as LOCative.The locative allomorph -la generally follows trimoraic or longer stems. However, this allomorph can also follow the ignoaratives nyamba 'what' and wanyji 'which', which is also an exceptional marking pattern (§5.2.3; §5.2.5).

[195] These forms could be the reduced forms of -mba/-mbala resulted from nasal coda dissimilation (§2.6.1.1).

Table 6.8: Paradigm of vertical directional gan.ga- 'up country'/gani- 'down country'

Stems	Suffixes	Forms	Meanings
gan.ga- 'up.country'	(unmarked)	gan.ga	in the upstream/uphill area
	-rra	gan.ga-rra	(going) upstream/uphill, (going) inside (of a cave, hole, house, gate and animal's body)
	-ba[196]	gan.ga-ba	in the upstream/uphill area, inside
	-yin *var.* -yid	gan.ga-yin gan.ga-yid	from the upstream/uphill area, from inside
	-ni	gan.ga-ni	in the upstream/ uphill area, above, inside, (full) up, speak loud
gani- 'down.country'	(unmarked)	gani	down, below, at the bottom
	(reduplication)	gani-gani	(moving or lying) over the bottom, over the lower side, down into a house, cave, gate and hole
	-mbala	gani-mbala	across the downstream/downhill area
	-mba-rra	gani-mba-rra	(going) downstream/downhill
	-yin	gani-yin	from the downstream/downhill area, from the bottom

On the other hand, the stem gan.ga- 'up country' is mostly used for the river-flow system because verticality is expressed by another stem gan.gu-. However, its derivatives further expand to more abstract concept of 'up', i.e., 'fill up (a billycan)' and 'speak up', and describes the meaning 'inside', e.g. the inner part of a house, cave, hollow, gate or animal's body, regardless of directions above or below from another point. According to Meakins et.al (2013), the Gurindji stem kanka- 'up country' is also used for direction to or away from an enclosed space, e.g. 'further into (a cave, hole, an animal's guts for stuffing etc.).[197] One derivative based on gani- 'down country', gani-gani covers the similar meaning 'inside' although this derivative mainly denotes direction down into a cave and a hole below from a higher point, but may also be used for 'inside of a house or gate'. The use of one of the 'down' words for the meaning 'inside' is also found in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 246), Walmajarri (Richards & Hudson, 1990: 69) and Warlpiri (Laughren, 1978: 8). It is unknown why Ngumpin-Yapa languages show such a difference in which the concept 'inside' is expressed by either the stem 'down' or the stem 'up'. Wanyjirra, being in the middle of the dialect-chain, has both possibilities.

[196] -ba is dissimilated form of -mba due to nasal coda dissimilation (§2.6.1.1).
[197] However, the coverb walyag normally expresses the concept 'inside' (McConvell, p.c.).

The following examples contain gan.ga- with the meanings ‘upstream’ (6-87), ‘uphill’ (6-88), ‘inside’ (6-89) and ‘loud, (speak) up’ (6-90), and the stem gani- with the meanings ‘downstream’ (6-91), ‘vertically the lower area’ (6-92) and ‘down into’ (6-93).

(6-87) *This is a story about when TM and her family used to travel to Old Wave Hill Station (Jinbarrag). On the way back to Inverway, they used to camp overnight at the place where two creeks join.*

<X yalu=ma X>, ...(0.7)	dirrib	ngu=rnalu	garriny-an-i
DIST2.ABS=TOP	camp.out	REAL=1AUG.SBJ	STAY-CONT-PAST

yala-ngga=ma	gayi-nirra=ma \...(1.8)	**gan.ga-ba** \
DIST2-LOC=TOP	north-D.ALL=TOP	up.country-D.LOC2

CS#: We used to camp [on our way to Inverway] there in the north, around the upstream area. [TM: 10_0826_5.024]

(6-88) *This is a story about droving the cattle. From the last stop of the travel, Kirrkimbie, they were going back to Inverway. The altitude of Inverway is higher than Kirrkimbie (north-west of Inverway).*

gan.ga-ni	*Inverway* \...(3.5)	ngu=rnalu	yan-an-i \
up.country-D.LOC1	PLACE.NAME	REAL=1AUG.SBJ	go-CONT-PAST

TT: We went up to Inverway Station. [NP: 76_11_2_NP.060]

(6-89) *TM was saying to me as follows. We were sitting in the dining area. The kitchen is the inner part of the house.*

ward	gang-ga	nyila	jawaranya	**gan.ga-rra**
return	CARRY-IMP	DIST1	cup.ABS	inside-DIRECT

MS: Take that cup back to the inside (i.e., kitchen). [TM: CSfn101009]

(6-90)

wagurra=n	ma-lu	**gan.ga-ni**
NEG=2MIN.SBJ	say-FUT	up.country-D.LOC1

Don’t speak loud. [TM: CSfn160710]

(6-91)

ngu=lu	ward	*na*	yan-i,...(4.4)	**gani-mbala** \...
REAL=3AUG.SBJ	return	NOW	GO-PAST	down.country-D.PERL

Gordon Down	*an*	*Sturt Creek* \
PLACE.NAME	and	PLACE.NAME

CS#: They return downstream [to] Gordon Down and Sturt Creek. [TM: 10_0825_4.035]

(6-92) bin.ga-ngulu **gani-yin** ngu gan.gu-la bardaj yan-ana
river-ABL down.country-D.ABL REAL up-LOC ascend GO-PRES
TM: *Langa* creek*, i climbamap langa jat* bank.
CS: From the river from the below, he is climing up to the bank.
[TM: CSfn290910]

(6-93) jarrambayi garriny-ana **gani-gani** jimbiri-la janjal-ga
goanna.ABS stay-PRES RDP-down.country cave-LOC root-LOC
TM: Goanna is inside *la* hole, near roots.
CS: A goanna stays down into the hole, near the roots. [TM: Chfn180509]

Like compass directionals, vertical directionals do not take case suffixes with the exception of a few examples. For instance, the word gan.gu-liyin-da contains the locative suffix for the temporal meaning 'at noon'. This meaning originates from the place of the sun. At the noon, the sun is located vertically above where people are. In (6-94), gan.gu-liyid is followed by the ergative suffix agreeing with the subject argument.

(6-94) **gan.gu-liyid-du** man-an-da
up-D.ABL-ERG get-CONT-IMP
MS: You get it from top side. (Might be drum or something.)
CS#: You get it [coming] from the higher place. [MS: 76_14_1_TM(2).045''''']

6.3 Minor nominal subgroups

There are other minor nominal members including locational nominals (§6.3.1), temporal nominals (§6.3.2) and manner nominals (§6.3.3). They optionally occur in sentences.

6.3.1 Locational nominals

Locational nominals describe a position or a direction relative to the speaker. They often co-occur with locative NPs or demonstratives to modify such locational expressions. Members include gambarri 'front', dumal 'middle, half way' and ngumayi 'behind'.[198] The stems gambarri and ngumayi also have temporal meanings and are also categorised as a time adverb (§11.3.1) and a temporal nominal (§6.3.2)

[198] In fact, ngumayi always occurs with the locative suffix, i.e., ngumayi-la or with the personaliser suffix (§4.3.4) i.e., ngumayi-jang.

respectively.[199] These members only take the locative suffix as in (6-95a, 6-96a and 6-97) and sometimes occur without any case suffix (6-95b and 6-96b).

(6-95)

a. yangi yamaji ngu=ngalinggula garriny-ana **dumal-a**
one.ABS small.ABS REAL=1MIN.INC.OBL stay-PRES middle-LOC
One kid is sitting down in the middle between you and me. [MS: CSfn021009]

b. murdu murla **dumal** /
red.ochre.ABS PROX2 middle
MS: Red ochre in the middle.
CS%: Red ochre is here in the middle. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.122]

(6-96)

a. nyunbula garriny-ana **gambarri-la**
2UA stay-PRES front-LOC
You two stay in front (i.e., sheets of the car). [MS: CSfn110509]

b. nyila ngu **gambarri** yan-ana
DIST1 REAL front go-PRES
MS: She is going lead.
CS%#: She is going ahead. [MS: CSfn300909]

(6-97) ngu=wula wugarra garriny-ana **ngumayi-la** marru-ngga
REAL=3UA.SBJ frightened BE-PRES behind-LOC house-LOC
They were frightened at the back of the house. [TM: CSfn150709]

6.3.2 Temporal nominals

Temporal nominals optionally occur in clauses and locate an event with respect to the time of utterance. Members include: ngulungulu 'evening', gabud 'morning', gabuda 'night' and ngumayi 'after'. Wanyjirra seems to have another temporal word jirlanda 'midday, lunchtime'[200] which consist of a stem and the locative suffix -da. However, there is no example where jirlan occurs independently in Wanyjirra.[201] These temporal nominals optionally take locative or dative suffixes.

[199] Gambarri with the temporal meaning never takes the locative suffix in the corpus unlike other temporal nominals.
[200] The translation given by TM is *midei* and *dina-taim* in Kriol. This *dina-taim* here means 'lunch time' in Standard English.
[201] On the other hand, Gurindji has the coverb jirlan 'heat up (in the sun)' (Meakins et al., 2013: 105).

(6-98) galu nga=liwa yan-gu **ngulungulu-la**
still REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ go-FUT evening-LOC
Wait, we will go in the evening. [TM: CSfn231110]

(6-99) nyangga jilyarra gambarn-ang-gu limbal-limbal
COND singe BURN-CONT-FUT RDP-separate

yirran-ana *yaad*-da **gabud-gu**
PUT-PRES yard-LOC morning-DAT
CS#: [He] put them separately in the yard for the morning if he will singe them.
[TM: CSfn100712]

(6-100) ngu=nbula **ngumayi-la** yan-i
REAL=2UA.SBJ after-LOC go-PAST
You two came after. [TM: CSfn131011]

6.3.3 Manner nominals

Manner nominals include: gawayin 'properly', lingi 'persistently, repeatedly', julu 'together, jointly'; wuna 'quickly' and yamag 'slowly, carefully, quietly'. They express manner of the events denoted by the predicates.[202] Manner nominals can take the ergative suffx in referential use (§3.2.3.3) showing agreement with ergative subjects of the clauses. Cross-linguistically, as Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004) show, depictive secondary predicates (§12.6.1) are often similar to these adverbial modifications morpho-syntactically. However, depictives denote a property of a participant of the main predicate. In Wanyjirra, referential case agreement on depictives is obligatory whereas such agreement on manner nominals is optional. In addition, depictives can apply to direct objects as well as subjects whereas manner nominals only agree with subjects. For instance, lingi 'persistently, repeatedly' is in the ergative case in (6-101) and are unmarked (absolutive) in (6-102) agreeing with subjects of the clauses. However, while the same stem lacks agreement with the ergative subject in (6-103), the sentence is still grammatical.

[202] Directionals can also behave in the similar way as manner nominals as in (6-84 and 6-94).

(6-101) ngu=yi **lingi-nggu** miyanggi man-ana
REAL=1MIN.OBJ persistently-ERG ask GET-PRES

bamarr-uwu
stone-DAT
CS#: She is persistently asking me for money. [TM: CSfn151010]

(6-102) **lingi** ngu=la yan-ana
persistently REAL=3MIN.DAT go-PRES
TM: *i* come *la im*.
CS%#: He repeatedly comes to her. [TM: CSfn110810]

(6-103) miyanggi-warra ngu=yi **lingi** man-ana
ask-REP REAL=1MIN.OBJ persistently GET-PRES

bamarr-uwu
stone-DAT
CS#: She is persistently asking me for money. [TM: CSfn110810]

Chapter 7
Pronominal clitics

7.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the complex cross-referencing system of pronominal clitics. They are bound forms which signal the person, inclusivity, number and grammatical relations of core and oblique arguments. Generally cross-referencing pronominals are required in finite verbal clauses, although it is not uncommon that clauses lack them in a sequence of discourse. Overt NPs and pronominal clitics can co-occur for the same reference in clauses (i.e., clitic-doubling). Pronominal clitics are also optional in nominal predicate clauses.

Pronominal clitics have three sets of forms: one marks subjects, the second marks objects and dative arguments and the third encodes oblique and other non-core arguments. The exception is that the third person minimal category has no overt clitic forms for subjects and objects but has overt dative and oblique forms. This third person minimal dative form cross-references dative arguments including indirect objects and non-core arguments. In addition to those pronominal clitics, there is a set of distinct clitic forms used in reflexive and reciprocal clauses (§7.2.7). These reflexive/reciprocal clitics behave like object forms and oblique forms respectively. They are always coreferential to subject participants in all person and number categories.

Clauses can have zero to three pronominal clitics in the pronominal clitic complexes, although three clitics in the complex is rare. What NPs are cross-referenced in clauses is determined by a mix of phonological, grammatical and semantic constraints.

In §7.1, I will illustrate clitic forms, including variations, and formation or composition of pronominal clitics relating to a person-number system. Then, I describe the functions of each set of pronominal clitics and of the reflexive/reciprocal clitics, along

with some special features of clitics and the grammatical and semantic properties of cross-referenced NPs (§7.2). The chapter also contains analyses of the internal structures of pronominal clitic complexes, including bases of clitics, order of clitics, possible combinations of clitics, morpho-phonological changes of clitic forms and the rules governing which candidate gets selected for cross-reference (§7.3). Finally, a statistical survey provides possible positions of pronominal clitic complexes within a clause (§7.4).

7.1 Forms, person, number and inclusiveness/exclusiveness

Table 7.1 demonstrates forms of Wanyjirra pronominal clitics. Like free pronouns, pronominal clitics are analysed as being in a minimal-augmented number system due to the presence of three first person inclusive forms.[203] There is no overt form for third person minimal subjects and objects. I do not gloss examples with ø. Some categories have allomorphic and dialectal or idiolectal variants (§7.1.5). The forms =rna...lu, =n...lu and =n...wula are circumfixes interrupted by an object clitic in a sequence (§7.3.6.1). Note that there is no distinct oblique form in the corpus for the first person unit-augmented inclusive category; hence the column is left blank.

[203] Although Wanyjirra pronominal clitics and their formation can be analysed straightforwardly on the basis of this number system, they also concern the exact numbers ('singular', 'dual' and 'plural') of referents in a grammatical process, namely dual number replacement (§7.3.4).

Table 7.1: Forms of pronominal clitics

	SUBJECT	OBJECT	DATIVE	OBLIQUE
1MIN.EXC	=rna	=yi		=yila
1MIN.INC	=li	=ngali(ny) =ngali(ng)		=ngalinygula
2MIN	=n/d	=nggu		=nggula
3MIN	ø		=la[204]	=lanyanda
1UA.EXC	=liyarra	=ngaliyarra(ng) =ngayarra(ng) =ngayirra(ng)		=ngaliyarranggula =ngayarranggula =ngayirranggula
1UA.INC	=liwula	=ngaliwula(ng)		
2UA	=nbula/n...wula =dbula	=ngguwula		=ngguwulala
3UA	=bula/wula	=bulany/wulany =buliny/wuliny		=bulanygula/wulanygula =bulanygulanyanda/ wulanygulanyanda =bulinygulanyanda/ wulinygulanyanda
1AUG.EXC	=rnalu/rna...lu	=nganimba =ngandiba		=nganimbala =nganimbagula =ngandibagula
1AUG.INC	=liwa	=ngaliwa(ng) =ngaliwa(ny)		=ngaliwanggula
2AUG	=nda/n...lu	=nyurra		=nyurranggula
3AUG	=lu	=janu/yanu		=janunggula/yanunggula

7.1.1 The composition of subject forms

Subject pronominal clitic forms are presented in Table 7.2. Most of these forms can be analysed as consisting of a person marker and a number marker as follows (7-1).

Table 7.2: Subject pronominal clitics

	MINIMAL	UNIT-AUGMENTED	AUGMENTED
FIRST INC	=li	=liwula	=liwa
EXC	=rna	=liyarra	=rnalu/ =rna...lu
SECOND	=n/d	=nbula/ =n...wula =dbula	=n...lu =nda
THIRD	ø	=bula/wula	=lu

[204] In a few examples in Tsunoda's corpus, this form is transcribed as =rla.

(7-1)

Person marker:		Number marker:	
FIRST	rna	MINIMAL	ø
FIRST INCLUSIVE	li	UNIT-AUGMENTED	bula/wula[205]
SECOND	n/d	AUGMENTED	lu
THIRD	ø		

For example, the first person minimal subject =rna is made up of the first person (exclusive) marker rna plus the minimal marker ø whereas the second person unit-augmented form =nbula/=n...wula, =dbula are made up of the second person marker n or d plus the unit-augmented marker bula/wula.

Number markers are formally identical to the corresponding third person subject forms. This entails that the third person marker has no overt form. Based on this analysis, relevant pronominal clitics are composed of the preceding person marker and the following number marker as demonstrated in Table 7.3. Clitic forms in a bracket are not applicable to this analysis.

Table 7.3: Formation of subject pronominal clitics

	MINIMAL -ø	UNIT-AUGMENTED -bula/wula	AUGMENTED -lu
FIRST EXC -rna	=rna+ø	(=liyarra)	**=rna+lu**
FIRST INC -li	=li	=li+wula	(=liwa)
SECOND -n/d	=n+ø	=**n+bula** **=n+wula** =**d+bula** **=d+wula**	**=n+lu** (=nda)
THIRD -ø	=ø+ø	=ø+bula =ø+wula	=ø+lu

Thus, in a sequence of two pronominal clitics, the number markers for 1AUG.EXC, 2UA and 2AUG (bold in Table 7.3) can be separated from the preceding person markers and shifted to the end of the sequences. Example (7-2) shows that person and number markers of the first person augmented (exclusive) form are separated by the second person minimal object form (see also §7.3.6.1).

[205] This UA number marker, at least the same phonological element is also contained in object forms of second person unit-augmented =ngguwula and of third person unit-augmented =wulany, and their corresponding oblique forms (see Table 7.1).

(7-2) ngu=**rna**=nggu-**lu** nya-nya *taon*-da
REAL=**1SBJ**=2MIN.OBJ-**AUG** perceive-PAST town-LOC
CS#: We saw you at the town. [TM: CSfn291110]

However, the analysis (7-1) is not applicable to all subject forms.[206] The form =nda (2AUG) is one of those examples. Although it may contain the second person marker n, the rest of the form da is hard to analyse as a augmented marker because it is only used in the second person category.

Furthermore, the first person unit-augmented exclusive form =liyarra is exceptional in this formation rule because li is analysed as a first person inclusive marker as above. A morphological overlap between the first person exclusive and inclusive is demonstrated as in Table 7.4.[207]

Table 7.4: An overlap between the first person exclusive and inclusive subject forms

	MINIMAL	UNIT-AUGMENTED	AUGMENTED
EXC	=rna	=liyarra	=rnalu
INC	=li	=liwula	=liwa

This overlap is a non-typical type of 'clusivity flip' which is a phenomenon where the distribution of a pronominal stem shows a cross-over from the exclusive to inclusive forms or from the inclusive to exclusive forms (Döhler, 2006). In Wanyjirra, however, there is no clear full range of 'flip-over' between the exclusive and inclusive forms. In a broader sense, it shows syncretism where the inclusive and the exclusive are expressed by the same element =li-.[208] The irregular use of the inclusivity element =li- to the unit-augmented exclusive form is probably extended from the proto form ngali 'we two inclusive' with the primary meaning 'inclusive'.

The unit-augmented exclusive form =liyarra also differs from other unit-augmented forms in that the former does not include the number marker bula/wula. But the

[206] On the other hand, in other languages including Walmajarri (Hudson, 1978: 60-62) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 229), their pronominal forms (all subject forms or all subject and non-subject forms) can be consistently analysed as being made up on those markers.
[207] The similar overlap is found in free pronouns (§5.1.1).
[208] I acknowledge Nick Evans and Christian Döhler for this account.

element yarra is rather related to the numeral gujarra/wuyarra and the dual number suffix -guyarra/wuyarra. Therefore, the formation of =liyarra cannot be clearly analysed.

7.1.2 First person inclusive categories

As in free pronouns (§5.1), there are three inclusive categories in pronominal clitics. In free pronouns, two distinct forms, ngaliwula and ngaliwulanginy still remain for the first person unit-augmented inclusive category to refer to three participants (speaker, hearer and one other) but are seldom used (§5.1.3). Likewise in the case of pronominal clitics, the corpus only has a few examples where the subject form =liwula and the object form =ngaliwula are used. No oblique form of this category is used by any Wanyjirra speakers.

(7-3) ngaliwula murrgun yan-gu**=liwula** *turkey creek*-gulawu
1UA.INC three.ABS go-FUT=1UA.INC.SBJ PLACE.NAME-ALL
TM: We three *gata* go Turkey Creek.
CS#: We three will go to Turkey Creek. [TM: CSfn070610]

(7-4) nyila mawun-du ngu**=ngaliwula** yi-nya ngarin
DIST1 man-ERG REAL=1UA.INC.OBJ give-PAST meat.ABS
The man there gave us three the meat. [MS: CSfn070610]

Three referents are more commonly encoded by forms of augmented number categories. The object form =ngaliwang (7-5) and the subject form =liwa (7-6) are both first person augmented inclusive but actually denotes three participants. Both examples were given by MS when we were going to take photos of MS, TM and myself. Note (7-5) contains an inalienable possessive/part-whole construction (§8.5.2).

(7-5) *I asked my friend to take photos of TM, MS and myself. She was walking close to us. MS was saying to TM who wasn't sure why she was coming to us as follows:*

ngu**=ngaliwang** man-gu ngandawi
REAL=1AUG.INC.OBJ get-FUT shade.ABS
She will take photos of us (three). [MS: CSfn130509]

(7-6) *I was asking TM and MS whether I should stand up or sit down next to them who were sitting on chairs when my friend was taking photos.*

nga=**liwa**	lulu	garriny-ana	**murrgun**
REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ	sit	STAY-PRES	three.ABS

We three sit down. [MS: CSfn130509]

As opposed to unit-augmented and augmented inclusive forms, the first person minimal inclusive =li clearly denotes two people (you and I) as indicated in (7-7) with the numeral gujarra.

(7-7)

nga=**li**	ngarn-i	**gujarra-lu**
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ	ingest-PAST	two-ERG

CS#: We two ate it. [TM: CSfn051011]

7.1.3 Similarities between pronominal clitics and free pronouns

Pronominal clitic forms in some categories show phonological similarities with their corresponding free pronouns. Table 7.5 demonstrates that such similarities are found in clitic and free pronominal forms of first person categories. Object clitic forms in most categories are identical to core forms of free pronouns.[209]

Table 7.5: Similarities between pronominal clitics and free pronouns

	Pronominal clitics		Free pronouns (core forms)
	SUBJECT	OBJECT	
1MIN.INC	=li	=ngali(ng/ny)	ngali
1UA.EXC	=liyarra	=ngaliyarra(ng)	ngaliyarra
1UA.INC	=liwula	=ngaliwula(ng)	ngaliwula
1AUG.INC	=liwa	=ngaliwa(ng/ny)	ngaliwa
1AUG.EXC	=rnalu	=nganimba =ngandiba	nganimba ngandiba

When subject forms of the first four categories in the table directly follow the auxiliary nga without other following clitics, it is difficult to determine whether these surface

[209] Clitic forms in four categories (1MIN.INC, 1UA.EXC, 1UA.INC and 1AUG.INC) have final nasals in the object forms. However, these final nasals can be omitted when there is no other clitic following these forms.

forms are free pronouns or sequences of the auxiliary plus pronominal clitic. This is because these sequences are phonologically identical to the corresponding core free pronominal forms. For instance, in (7-8), ngali can be analysed as a sequence of the realis auxiliary nga and the subject form of 1MIN.INC =li, i.e., nga=li or as a core form of 1MIN.INC free pronoun ngali, which is inserted in a bracket under the first analysis.

(7-8) yala-nginyi nganinga ngawuju nga=li
DIST2-EL 1MIN.OBL1 ♀SCh.ABS REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ
(1MIN.INC)
miyanggi man-i
ask GET-PAST
CS#: Then we asked my grandson. [TM: 10_0831_3.070]

I treat such examples as a sequence of the auxiliary nga and pronominal clitic instead of considering as a free pronoun because free pronouns do not frequently occur and null anaphora is commonly found in the language.

7.1.4 Formation of oblique forms

The formation of oblique forms is regular in all person-number categories, except for third person minimal and one variant form of the third person unit-augmented (Table 7.1). The oblique forms (e.g. 1MIN, 2MIN, 2UA and one variant of 1AUG.EXC) are basically made up of their corresponding object forms plus la, which is identical to the third person minimal dative form. The oblique forms of other categories contain the epenthetic element -(ng)gu added before la.[210] The oblique forms of 1AUG.EXC =nganimbala and =nganimbagula based on their corresponding object form =nganimba show these two-way formations.

Formation of the oblique forms in third person minimal and one variant of third person unit-augmented are different from those described above. The third person minimal category has an oblique form made up of its corresponding dative form la plus nyanda. Variant forms in the third person unit-augmented consist of their corresponding object forms =bulany/wulany plus lanyanda, which is identical to the third person minimal

[210] The epenthetic element gu is added to the object froms which contain final nasals (e.g. in 1UA.EXC, 1MIN.INC, 3UA and 1AUG.INC) whereas nggu is added to the object forms which have no final nasals (e.g. 1AUG.EXC, 2AUG and 3AUG). However, the forms nganimbagula and ngandibagula (1AUG.EXC) undergo nasal coda dissimilation (§2.6.1.1).

oblique form. The epenthetic -gu is inserted between these elements.

(7-9) ngu=rna=**lanyanda** yan-i yalu-wunyja
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.OBL go-PAST DIST2-COMIT

mawun-guja nyanunginy-jawu ngurra-nggawu
man-COMIT 3MIN.OBL2-ALL camp-ALL
I went with that man to his camp. [TM: CSfn041011]

(7-10) ngu=rna=**wulanygulanyanda** lulu garriny-ana dumal-la
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3UA.OBL sit STAY-PRES middle-LOC

ngama-yi-wuyarra-wunyja
M-KIN-DU-COMIT
I am sitting in between [my] two mothers. [MS: CSfn021009]

In Wanyjirra and some dialects of Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981), the element nyanda is merely part of the oblique pronominal clitics and cannot be analysed as a distinct clitic. On the other hand, in Gurindji =nyanda is a separate special dative clitic which only occurs after another dative form =rla, but these forms cross-reference different third person minimal participants (McConvell, 2005c).[211] In Walmajarri, =rla and =nyanda are analysed as dative or oblique clitics which occur in complementary distribution, i.e., =nyanda for third person minimal/singular referents and =rla for other person-number referents (Hudson, 1978: 63).[212]

Although the element la is identical to the third person minimal dative form, I call it an oblique marker in Wanyjirra. This analysis would explain the oblique circumfix forms where la is shifted to the end of the pronominal clitic sequence (§7.3.6.1).

(7-11) ngama-yi-wuyarra ngu=**yi**=wula-**la** lulu garriny-ana
M-KIN-DU.ABS REAL=**1MIN=**3UA.SBJ-**OBL** sit STAY-PRES
Two mothers are sitting with/by me. [MS: CSfn130509]

It is less plausible to analyse the sequence of pronominal clitics in (7-11) containing three clitics, i.e., 1MIN.OBJ+3UA.SBJ+3MIN.DAT in the intransitive clause with lulu garriny- 'sit'. In addition, it is very rare that pronominal complexes contain three clitics

[211] Two third person dative forms =rla and =jinta are used in a similar way in Warlpiri (Nash, 1996).
[212] They are originally glossed as 'ACCessory' in Hudson (1978: 63). The 'accessory' pronominal clitics are equivalent to 'oblique' cltics in Wanyjirra and 'locational' in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981).

(§7.3.8).

7.1.5 Variations

As presented in Table 7.1, some pronominal clitics have variations. Morpho-phonological changes within clitic complexes will be discussed later in §7.3.6.

7.1.5.1 Final nasals ny/ng

The object forms of three categories (1MIN.INC, 1AUG.INC, 1UA.INC and 1UA.EXC) have forms which have dorso-palatal or velar nasals at the end of the clitics. Which nasals can occur in the object forms of 1MIN.INC and 1AUG.INC are also in free variation. However, the final nasals are sometimes dropped when no pronominal clitic follows these forms.[213]

Table 7.6: Variations of object pronominal clitics for three categories

1MIN.INC	1AUG.INC	1UA.INC	1UA.EXC
=ngali(ny) =ngali(ng)	=ngaliwa(ny) =ngaliwa(ng)	=ngaliwula(ng)	=ngaliyarra(ng) =ngayarra(ng) =ngayirra(ng)

7.1.5.2 Dialectal or idiolectal variations

There are pairs of forms in three categories which might be dialectal or idiolectal variations. Three categories, 1UA.EXC, 3UA and 1AUG.EXC have more than one form, whose occurrence is not influenced by morpho-phonological conditions but may be influenced by speakers' personal connection to speakers of neighbouring languages. Such differences are demonstrated in Table 7.7. Initials of consultants in square brackets indicate that forms are given by those consulants.

[213] A similar optional occurrence of final -ng or -ny is also described in Gurindji (McConvell, 2005b) and in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 69-70).

Table 7.7: Variations of non-subject pronominal clitics

1UA.EXC.OBJ	3UA.OBJ	1AUG.EXC.OBJ
=ngaliyarra(ng) [TM] =ngayarra(ng) [NP; MS; TM] =ngayirra(ng) [NP; MS; TM]	=bulany/wulany [NP; DJ; MS; TM] =buliny/wuliny [TM]	=nganimba [NP; MS; TM] =ngandiba [TM]
1UA.EXC.OBL	3UA.OBL	1AUG.EXC.OBL
=ngaliyarranggula [TM] =ngayarranggula [TM] =ngayirranggula [TM]	=bulanygula/wulanygula [MS; TM] =bulanygulanyanda/wulanygulayanda [MS; TM] =bulinygula/wulinygula [TM]	=nganimbagula [MS; TM] =ngandibagula [TM]

(i) 1UA.EXC

This category has three variants for the object and oblique. The first object forms =ngaliyarra(ng) are only collected from TM whereas the second and third forms are used by three speakers. The second form is also described in Jaru and the third form is recorded in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981) and Gurindji (McConvell, 2005b). Since the first form is not described in neighbouring languages, it is likely to be the one originally used by Wanyjirra speakers. Alternatively, it could be TM's idiolect. The same analysis can be attested in use of the corresponding variants of oblique forms, although I have data only from one speaker.

(ii) 3UA

A clearer difference is found in two sets of variant forms of 3UA. The forms =bulany/wulany, which are also recorded in Jaru, are used by speakers (TM, MS, NP and DJ) whereas =buliny/wuliny, is also found in Gurindji, Malngin and Bilinarra, are only used by TM. MS gave me her account that the form =buliny/wuliny is Gurindji. This might be true because TM is the speaker who is closely associated to Gurindji speakers so that use of this form can be influenced by Gurindji speakers. However, another possibility is that this variant was also traditionally used in Wanyjirra but MS didn't learn it before she left Inverway. Likewise for the corresponding oblique forms, =bulanygula/wulanygula and =bulanygulanyanda/wulanygulanyanda are used by MS and TM while =bulinygula/wulinygula is used only by TM.

(iii) 1AUG.EXC

Similarly to variants of 3UA, this category has two sets of variants one of which, =nganimba/=nganimbagula, is shared with Jaru and the other =ngandiba/=ngandibagula, is shared with Gurindji, Malngin and Bilinarra. The first form is used by MS and TM whereas the second form is only used by TM.

7.2 Functions

The fundamental role of pronominal clitics is to cross-reference the person, inclusivity, and number of the grammatical relations of a clause. Although cross-referencing supplies the status of arguments or core grammatical relations (§12.1), there are no distinct forms for each grammatical function. A set of forms marks a single category 'subject' (S and A) whereas the other set of forms marks 'object' (direct objects and indirect objects) and other dative arguments in all number-person categories except for third person minimal which has no overt marking for subject and direct object but has the distinct form for dative arguments. The other set of oblique forms cross-references oblique and other non-core arguments.

The correspondence of three marking systems is given in Table 7.8. Nominals in the ablative and purposive cases are never cross-referenced with pronominal clitics; hence they are not included in this table.

Table 7.8: The correspondence among markings on nouns, pronominal clitics and free pronouns

NOUNS/ADJECTIVES	PRONOMINAL CLITICS		FREE PRONOUNS	GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS[214]
	OTHERS	3MIN		
Ergative (A)*	SUBJECT		CORE	Subject
Absolutive (S)				
(O)	OBJECT			Direct object
Dative	OBJECT/ OBLIQUE	DATIVE	OBLIQUE1/ OBLIQUE2	Indirect object/ Oblique/Additional arguments
Locative/ Comitative	OBLIQUE/ OBJECT	OBLIQUE/ DATIVE	OBLIQUE2 + the corresponding case markers	Indirect object/ Oblique/Additional arguments
Allative	OBLIQUE**			Oblique/Indirect object
Elative	OBLIQUE**			Oblique

* Ergative-marked instrument NPs are not cross-referenced, which are not included in this table.
** Cross-referencing is possible but less common for allative and elative-marked NPs.

7.2.1 Subject clitic forms

Subject clitic forms are used to index subject arguments. In (7-12) and (7-13), a clause also contains an overt subject NPs. In the first clause of (7-14), an overt subject NP is the third peron minimal so that the clause does not have an overt subject form. On the other hand, the second clause has no overt subject NP but the first person minimal form indicates the subject.

(7-12) **yamayama-lu** ngu=**lu** bila man-ana ngama-nyan
children-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ chase GET-PRES M-3KIN.POSS.ABS
The children are chasing their mother. [MS: CSfn161009]

(7-13) **gujarra** **mawun** ngu=**wula** lulu garriny-ana
two.ABS man.ABS REAL=3UA.SBJ sit STAY-PRES
Two men are sitting down. [TM: CSfn180509]

[214] Definition of Wanyjirra grammatical relations will be provided in §12.1.

(7-14)

1.	**jiya**	ngu	garri-nya	ngandawi-la
	kangaroo.ABS	REAL	stay-PAST	shade-LOC
	A kangaroo is in a shade.			

2.	garna-nggu	ngu**=rna**	burruly	lan-i
	spear-ERG	REAL=1MIN.SBJ	fail	stab-PAST
	With a spear I failed to stab it. [MS: CSfn271011]			

In imperative sentences, subject arguments are cross-referenced differently. Only number markers of the second person forms attach to imperative forms of the inflecting verbs (§7.3.1; §9.1.8.4).

7.2.2 Object clitic forms

Each person-number category except third person minimal has syncretised pronominal forms which cross-reference absolutive (unmarked) NPs (direct objects) and dative NPs (indirect objects, oblique and additional arguments). The third person minimal category has a distinct dative form as opposed to zero-subject and object forms for unmarked and ergative NPs.

The pair of examples in (7-15) contains third person minimal non-subject arguments. An object form is absent in (a) because third person minimal has no over object form to cross-reference an unmarked NP whereas the dative form overtly occurs and cross-references a dative NP in (b). In this use, each meaning ('listen to' and 'think about/recall') stipulates a different case frame (ERG-ABS for 'listen to' and ERG-DAT 'think about/recall') and a different pattern of clitic use.

(7-15)

a.	ngu=rna	bura	nyang-ana	nganinga	gabugu
	REAL=1SG.SBJ	listen	PERCEIVE-PRES	1MIN.OBL1	EZ.ABS
	I listen to my sister. [TM: CSfn100610]				

b.	nganingu-wu	gabugu-wu	ngu=rna=la	bura
	1MIN.OBL1-DAT	EZ-DAT	REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT	listen

nyang-ana
PERCEIVE-PRES
TM: I think about my sister.
CS: ALT: I recall my sister. [TM: CSfn100610]

In the case of object clitic forms of other person-number categories, it is sometimes difficult to judge which type of NPs (unmarked or dative NPs) the clitics actually cross-reference. This is because the language commonly uses null anaphora with no overt NPs and referents are only specified by pronominal clitics. In (7-16), without context, the first person minimal exclusive form =yi can be interpreted as encoding unmarked or dative arguments. As seen in third person minimal (7-15a, b), the complex verb bura nyang- allows two argument structures with distinct meanings 'listen to' and 'think about/recall'.

(7-16)	ngu=**yi**=n	bura	nyang-ana
	REAL=1MIN.OBJ=2MIN.SBJ	listen	PERCEIVE-PRES

(i) You listen to me.
(ii)You recall me. [MS: CSfn270509]

Object (and dative) clitics are also used to cross-reference some dative oblique and additional arguments including animate goal (7-17), possessor (7-18), beneficiary (7-19) and purpose (7-20).

(7-17)	yalu-nggu	mawun-du	ngu=**yanu**	yirran-ana	**yamayama-wu**
	DIST2-ERG	man-ERG	REAL=3AUG.OBJ	put-PRES	children-DAT

garlji
white.ochre.ABS
CS#: That man is putting the white ochre onto/for the children.
[TM: CSfn250509]

(7-18)	Jirrbngarri	ngu=**nggu**	ngawuju	**nyununga**
	PERSON.NAME.ABS	REAL=2MIN.OBJ	FM.ABS	2MIN.OBL1

CS: Jirrbngarri is *ngawuju* (father's mother) to you.
TT: Dolly (CS: Jirrbngarri) is your ngawuju. [MS: TTfn160700]

(7-19) ngama-nyan-du ngu=**yanu** gambarn-ana mangarri
M-3KIN.POSS-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ burn-PRES veg.food.ABS

jiwirri-g **yamayama-wu**
cooked-TRNSL children-DAT
Their mother is cooking bread for kids. [TM: CSfn070809]

(7-20) ngu=rna=**la** buduj gamba-wu **ngarin-gu**
REAL=1SG.SBJ=3SG.DAT flame BURN-FUT meat-DAT
CS#: I will put flame on for meat. [TM: CSfn210909]

7.2.3 Oblique clitic forms

Oblique forms are mainly used to cross-reference oblique and additional arguments which are denoted by comitative, locative and dative NPs and, infrequently by allative and elative NPs. Occasionally they are also used to cross-reference indirect objects as an alternative to object or dative clitics. Oblique pronominal clitics refer to accpaniment or animate affected location (7-21), experiencer (7-22), goal (7-23 and 7-24), and source (7-25). Note that (7-25) contains two elative NPs in a part-whole relation. The whole NP (human) is cross-referenced by the oblique clitic.

(7-21) nganinga warlagu ngu=**lanyanda** lulu garriny-ana
1MIN.OBL1 dog.ABS REAL=3MIN.OBL sit STAY-PRES

yangi-wunyja
one-COMIT
My dog is sitting withby one [man]. [TM: CSfn140610]

(7-22) nyila nalija ngu=**ngaliwanggula** yura **ngaliwanginy-ja**
DIST1 tea.ABS REAL=1AUG.INC.OBL good 1AUG.OBL2-LOC
Tea is good for us. [TM: CSfn051011]

(7-23) ngu=rna=**yanunggula** yan-gu **nganinginy-jawu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBL go-FUT 1MIN.OBL2-ALL

nun.giying-gulawu
family-ALL
I will go to my family (countrymen). [TM: CSfn020710]

(7-24) *MS was responding to TM who asked her where MS's daughter is.*

matbi	ngu=**la**	yan-i	**nyanungu-wu**	**jaliji-wu**
maybe	REAL=3MIN.DAT	go-PAST	3MIN.OBL1-DAT	friend-DAT

Maybe she went to her friend. [MS: CSff021110]

(7-25)

nganinginy-nginyi	jirrji-nginyi	ngu=**yila**	gulyurr
1MIN.OBL2-EL	nose-EL	REAL=1MIN.OBL	mucus.ABS

burja	yan-ana[215]
run	GO-PRES

Cold sick (mucus) is running from me, from the nose. [MS: CSfn200709]

Sometimes dative NPs are also indexed by oblique clitics as an alternative to object/dative clitics, with no semantic difference. However, the third person minimal dative clitic =la cannot be replaced with the oblique clitic =lanyanda.[216] The following pairs of examples show that predicates have dative NPs which are cross-referenced by the oblique clitic form (7-26a, 7-27a) and the dative clitic forms (7-26b, 7-27b).

(7-26)

a.

ngu=nda**=yanunggula**	ribaying	garriny-ana	**gardiya-wu**
REAL=2AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBL	frighten	BE-PRES	white.man-DAT

You are frightened of white men. [MS: CSfn021009]

b.

gujarra	mawun	ngu=wula**=la**	ribaying
two.ABS	man.ABS	REAL=3UA.SBJ=3MIN.DAT	frighten

garriny-ana	**gardiya-wu**
BE-PRES	white.man-DAT

Two men are frightened of the white man. [MS: CSfn080509]

(7-27)

a.

marn-an-i	ngu=rna**=yanunggula**	jaru
say-CONT-PAST	REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBL	language.ABS

yamayama-wu
children-DAT
CS#: I was talking the story to the kids. [TM: CSfn210909]

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[215] This may be an idiosyncratic use of the complex verb burja yan- 'run' influenced by the English expression 'my nose is running'.

[216] The dative clitic only cross-references dative NPs rather than certain grammatical functions. Similarly, Warlpiri has two sets of pronominal clitics for 'subject' and 'object' plus the third person singular/minimal =rla encoding 'dative'case but not the grammatical function 'indirect object' (Hale, 1973; Simpson, 1991).

b. ngu=rna**=yanu** marn-ang-gu jaru **murlu-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ say-CONT-FUT language.ABS PROX2-DAT

yamayama-gari-wu
children-OTHER-DAT
CS#: I will tell the story to these other kids. [TM: CSfn200810]

7.2.4 Special properties of the third person dative pronominals

The third person dative form =la shows special features which other pronominal clitics do not have. Such properties includes (i) it always occurs at the end of the pronominal clitic complex; (ii) number is sometimes neutralised and it can also be used for more than one referent and (iii) it may also mark dative-marked non-finite subordinate clauses. The first property will be demonstrated later in §7.3.3. This subsection deals with the second and third properties.

7.2.4.1 Neutralisation of number

Generally each pronominal clitic encodes distinct person and number information. The third person category has three dative forms =la for minimal (7-28a), =wulany for unit-augmented (b) and =yanu for augmented (c).

(7-28)

a. ngama-yi-lu ngu=**la** ngarin yung-ana **yamaji-wu**
M-KIN-ERG REAL=3MIN.DAT meat.ABS give-PRES small-DAT
The mother gives meat to the child. [MS: CSfn190509]

b. ngu=rna=**wulany** marn-ana **gujarra-wu** **mawun-gu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3UA.OBJ say-PRES two-DAT man-DAT
MS: I speak to two men.
CS#: ALT: I talk about two men. [MS: CSfn050509]

c. ngu=rna=**yanu** ma-lu **yamayama-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ say-FUT children-DAT
I will speak to the children.
ALT: I will talke about the children. [MS: CSfn170909]

However, it seems that the minimal form is sometimes unmarked for number and is used for more than one referent. In (7-29), the dative NP is cross-referenced with =la. The number of its referent is not overtly specified by numeral words. However,

according to the context and MS's translation, the referent is actually more than one 'the first lot' (i.e., ancestors). Therefore, in this case, =la is neutralised to number.[217]

(7-29) *I asked MS and TM about the origin of a corrobree. They explained that it has been passed onto them from their ancestor. But they don't know about those who started singing and dancing the corroboree.*

gambarri-ward-gu	gula=li=**la**	bina
front-PERS-DAT	NEG=1MIN.INC.SBJ=3DAT	know

MS: We two don't know **the first lot**. [MS: CSfn150609]

Similar examples in the corpus contain such dative NPs of which non-single referents are non-human animate (7-30) and inanimate (7-31) as well as human (7-29) above. In these examples, the numbers of referents are not explicitly specified in the sentences. However, it is understandable from the context or neighbouring sentences and from other elements in the sentences. In (7-30) number is indicated by the quantifier nguyurdu 'many' in the following sentence (Line 3) whereas in (7-31), a complex dative NP where three nominals are conjoined indicates that referents are at least three. (7-31) should also be noted because there are three pronominal clitics in the clitic complex (§7.3.8).

(7-30)

1.	ngu=lu	yirran-ana	wuljub	walyag	*yaad*-da
	REAL=3AUG.SBJ	PUT-PRES	cattle.ABS	inside	yard-LOC
	They put the cattle inside of the yard.				
2.	ngu=lu=**la**	birrib	yirran-ana	**yalu-wu**	**wuljub-gu**
	REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3DAT	shut	PUT-PRES	DIST2 -DAT	cattle-DAT
	They shut [the gate] for the cattle.				
3.	**nguyurdu**	ngu=lu	wuljub		
	many.ABS	REAL=3AUG.SBJ	cattle.ABS		
	Many, they are the cattle. [TM: CSfn170910]				

[217] Another type of number neutralisation is found in respect speech. Pronominal clitics referring to a taboo kin person are augmented forms even though th referent is actually a single person (§1.6.1).

(7-31) ngu=rna=nyurra-nggu=**la** nyang-ana **ngarlu-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ-LINK=3DAT perceive-PRES honey-DAT

balabi-wu **bindi-wu**
nut.sp-DAT banana-DAT
MS: I am looking for honey, nuts, and bush banana for *yufalas*.
CS: ALT: I am looking for you guys for (the purpose of) honey, nuts and bush bananas. [MS: CSfn090909]

Although it is not very common in the corpus, the form =la may also refer to two participants.

(7-32) *TM was waiting for her son and her granddaughter who would come to pick her up.*

ngu=rna=**la** garriny-ana **nganingu-wu** **ngala-yi-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3DAT stay-PRES 1MIN.OBL1-DAT ♀Ch-KIN-DAT

jaja-wu
♀DCh-DAT
I am staying (i.e. waiting) for my son and granddaughter. [TM: CSfn210710]

Similar neutralisation of the third person minimal dative form is also described in other Ngumpin-Yapa languages including Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 231) and Warlpiri (Hale, 1973: 335). However, in these languages, the minimal or singular forms are used for more than one referent only in certain semantic and grammatical conditions. At least in the Wanyjirra corpus, =la seems to be used for non-single referents more freely and less predictably than in Bilinarra and Warlpiri.

7.2.4.2 Cross-referencing non-finite subordinate clauses

The third person minimal dative clitic optionally cross-references dative-marked non-finite subordinate clauses expressing a purposive or subsequent event (§13.2.1.2). This is equivalent to simple sentences with dative NPs with the purpose meaning which are cross-referenced ((7-20) above).[218]

[218] Alternatively this dative clitic would mark an unspecified dative NP of the main clause rather than a dative-marked non-finite clause, for example, beneficiary or purpose, i.e., 'I put water (in the billycan) for him/her/it to cook meat and that bone'. In addition, it would cross-reference the dative complex NP ngarin-gu yalu-wu guji-wu 'for meat and that bone' as a purpose NP which is analysed as a main clause element instead of being subordinated. In this analysis, only the dative non-finite verb composes a subordinate clause embedded into the main clause, i.e., 'I put water (in the billycan) for meat and that bone to cook'.

(7-33) ngu=rna=**la** yirran-i ngawa
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT put-PAST water.ABS

[**gambarn-u-wu** **ngarin-gu** **yalu-wu** **guji-wu**]
burn-NF-DAT meat-DAT DIST2-DAT bone-DAT
CS#: I put water (in the billycan): (i) to cook meat and that bone; (ii) for cooking meat and that bone. [TM: CSfn280910]

7.2.5 Possibilities of being cross-referenced: grammatical relations, animacy and affectedness

As mentioned previously, NPs marked with the ablative and purposive suffixes are not cross-referenced in Wanyjirra. In addition to case-marking, cross-referencing is conditioned by other grammatical and semantic features of NPs as well as some morpho-phonological constraints (§7.3.2). Although core arguments are generally cross-referenced, inanimate referents are not obligatorily cross-referenced. Non-core arguments in the dative, locative, comitative, allative and elative cases can also be cross-referenced. Their referents are animate, with the exception of dative-marked purpose NPs whose referents are inanimate, and are encoded as participants rather than circumstances. Therefore, animacy/humanness, sentiency and affectedness, as well as grammatical relations, may play important roles to give NPs a license to be cross-referenced.[219] 'Affectedness' here is considered in a broader sense and is not restricted to physical impact on referents involving a change of state. It is more abstract sense that referents are involved in or affected by events in some degree from the speaker's point of view. Human referents are more likely to be cross-referenced whereas inanimate referents are less likely to be cross-referenced. Non-human animate referents are less likely to be cross-refereced than human NPs but more likely than inanimate NPs. This is because human referents are in the highest of animacy hierarchy and of the degree of sentiency and affectedness whereas inanimate referents are generally the lowest. Table 7.9 summarises possibilities of cross-referencing depending on grammatical relations, animacy/humanness.

[219] Furthermore, since a pronominal clitic complex typically contains two clitics, when sentences have more than two candidates, hierarchies of animacy, person and number determine what NPs are actually cross-referenced in each sentence (§7.3.9).

Table 7.9: The correspondence between possibilities of pronominal cross-referencing and grammatical relations and animacy

		HUMAN	NON-HUMAN ANIMATE	INANIMATE
SUBJECT		+	+	+ (optional)
DIRECT OBJECT		+	+	+ (optional)
INDIRECT OBJECT		+	+	+
OBLIQUE	DATIVE	+	+	-
	LOCATIVE	+	+	-
	COMITATIVE	+	+	n/a*
	ELATIVE	+ (uncommon)	-	-
	ALLATIVE	+ (uncommon)	-	-
	OTHERS	-	-	-
ADDITIONAL ARGUMENT	DATIVE	+	+	+
	LOCATIVE	+	+	-
ADJUNCT		-	-	-

* The comitative case suffix is only used for animate referents.

Subject pronominal clitics are found cross-referencing human (7-34) and non-human referents (7-35) and inanimate referents (7-36 and 7-37).

(7-34) **ngaringga-lu** ngu**=lu** jaman-an-i wilarr
woman-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ grind-CONT-PAST seed.ABS
Women ground seeds. [MS: CSfn080909]

(7-35) **jiya** ngu**=lu** gun.ga garri-nya ngawa-wunyja
kangaroo.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ dead BE-PAST water-LACK
The kangaroos were dead, being thirsty. [MS: CSfn230609]

(7-36) **murrgun** **marru** ngu**=lu** garriny-ana
three.ABS house.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ be-PRES
TT: Three houses are standing.
CS: ALT: There are three houses. [MS: TTfn110901]

(7-37) **gujarra-lu** **wumaj-ju** ngu=**wula** jilmung bi-nya
two-ERG wind-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ break HIT-PAST

yangi burnu
one.ABS tree.ABS
TT: Two winds hit one tree.
CS%: Two gusts of wind hit one tree. [MS: TTfn110901]

However, inanimate subjects are not always cross-referenced as in (7-38 and 7-39).

(7-38) **gujarra** **burnu** baru garriny-ana
two.ABS tree.ABS stand STAY-PRES
Two trees are standing. [MS: TTfn110901]

(7-39) **murrgun-du** **wumaj-ju** ngu=yanu nguyuru burnu
three-ERG wind-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ many.ABS tree.ABS

jilmung bi-nya
break HIT-PAST
TT: Three winds knocked down many trees.
CS%: Three gusts of wind knocked down many trees. [MS: TTfn110901]

It should be noted that these examples of inanimate subject referents (7-36-7-39) are only collected through elicitation. Non-minimal inanimate referents infrequently occur as subjects irrespective of whether they are cross-referenced. Nonetheless inanimate NPs ('sun', 'rain/water', 'cold weather', 'fire' etc.) can occur as subjects in discourse. However, they normally have single referents which are not overtly specified by third person minimal pronominal clitics.

Object and dative clitics are also found cross-referencing animate and inanimate referents. However, it is not uncommon for non-human animate referents not to be cross-referenced. In (7-40), for instance, Sentence 1 and 3 involve part-whole constructions and the Whole NPs 'the cattle' function as direct objects although they are not overtly specified. Such non-human animate referents are not cross-referenced in Sentence 1 and 2 but they are cross-referenced in Sentence 3.

(7-40)
1. man.ga,…(0.9) guma-wu ngu=lu,
ear cut-FUT REAL=3AUG.SBJ
TT: They will cut the ears [CS: of the cattle].
NOTE: The word man.ga may be different language. TM and MS usually use another word langa for 'ear'.

2. guma-wu ngu=lu \
cut-FUT REAL=3AUG.SBJ
TT: They will cut [them].

…..

3. man.ga ngu=lu=**yanu** guma-wu::::::: guya \
ear.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ cut-FUT thus
TT#: They will cut the ears [CS: of the cattle] like this.
[NP: 76_12_1_NP(3).079, 080 &083]

Therefore, non-human objects are not obligatorily cross-referenced. On the other hand, dative indirect objects are always cross-referenced.

(7-41) ngu=n-gu=**la** yu-nya **yalu-wu** **warlagu-wu**
REAL=2MIN.SBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT give-PAST DIST2-DAT dog-DAT
You gave it to that dog. [TM: CSfn130810]

Inanimate referents are less likely to be cross-referenced although it is still possible for them to be cross-referenced when sentences contain inflecting verbs which are higher in transitivity (cf. Hopper & Thompson, 1980), typically, for example, verbs of impact ('hitting', 'cutting', 'biting', 'kicking' and 'burning' etc.) and also verbs of transfer, holding and acquisition ('carrying', 'keeping' and 'collecting' etc.). Examples are given in (7-39) above and (7-42 and 7-43) below.

(7-42) yangi-nggu mawun-du ngu=**wulany** bayan-ana **gujarra** **burnu**
one-ERG man-ERG REAL=3UA.OBJ chop-PRES two.ABS tree.ABS
TT: One man is cutting (CS: chopping) two trees. [MS: TTfn110901]

(7-43) gangirriny-ju ngu=**yanu** bi-nya **nganinga**
sun-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ HIT-PAST 1MIN.OBL1

ngari bulwarr-g
clothes.ABS dry-TRNSL
MS: The sun *bin makem* my clothes dry.
CS@: The sun made my clothes dry. [MS: CSfn010709]

Therefore, inanimate objects which are highly affected by actions tend to be cross-referenced. Objects 'trees' (7-39 and 7-42) and 'my clothes' (7-43) are physically affected and its shape or state are changed by 'breaking', 'chopping' and 'hitting (i.e., heating up)' respectively. On the other hand, sentences containing verbs of 'talking/telling', 'eating', 'seeing' and 'giving' never have object/dative clitics cross-referencing inanimate referents in the corpus.

However, inanimate referents as dative indirect objects are almost always cross-

referenced by the dative clitic as well as animate referents.[220]

(7-44) ngu=rna=**la** wangany nyang-an-i
REAL=1MIN. SBJ=3MIN.DAT search PERCEIVE-CONT-PAST

jimbiri-yaru-wu **diba-wu**
cave-PROP-DAT dillycan-DAT
CS#: I look around for a billycan with holes. [TM: CSfn070710]

(7-45) nga=liwa=**la** guny bung-ana **ngawa-wu**
REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ=3MIN.DAT wait HIT-PRES water-DAT
We are waiting for rain. [MS: CSfn180909]

In the case of oblique arguments, human and non-human animate referents involving spatial meanings can be optionally cross-referenced. It should be noted that case-marking restrictions may also be applied however, i.e., allative and elative NPs are cross-referenced less frequently than dative, comitative and locative NPs irrespective of humanness and animacy. Inanimate oblique arguments are never cross-referenced. The following examples are dative obliques with human (7-46) and non-human (7-47).

(7-46)
1. mangarri ngu=rna gambarn-i nguyurdu
veg.food.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ burn-PAST many.ABS
I cooked bread, many.

2. nyila ngaringga ngu**=yi** yan-i
DIST1 woman.ABS REAL=1MIN.OBJ go-PAST
CS#: That woman came to me (i.e., to get bread). [TM: CSfn131011]

(7-47) **wanyji-wu** **warlagu-wu** ngu=n-gu**=la** yan-ana
which-DAT dog-DAT REAL=2MIN.SBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT go-PRES
TT!: Which dog are you going to? [MS: TTfn130999]

Another grammatical function which can be cross-referenced is additional arguments in the dative (beneficiary/maleficiary and purpose) and in the comitative and locative (accompaniment and location). These NPs usually occur as adjuncts with a range of predicates without being cross-referenced. However, referents of these dative, comitative and locative NPs can also be encoded as external and additional participants of the events. I call those cross-referenced NPs as additional arguments (§12.1.5).

[220] But see (7-54) for one exceptional example.

They are morpho-syntactically similar to animate oblique arguments and are cross-referenced with the object/dative or oblique clitics. Dative additional arguments include affected persons or entities with the meanings of beneficiary/maleficiary and purpose regardless of humanness or animacy.

(7-48) ngu=rna=**nyurra** birrga man-gu nalija **nyurraranginy**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ create GET-FUT tea.ABS 2AUG.OBL2
I will make tea for you. [MS: CSfn120809]

(7-49)

1. ngu=rna lurdud man-gu ngagbarn
REAL=1MIN.SBJ grab GET-FUT frog.ABS
I will grab a frog.
NOTE: The coverb lurdud may not be Wanyjirra. Instead durrg is commonly used. In Gurindji, the similar coverb lutut means 'grab X to fight' (Meakins et al., 2013: 213).

2. ngu=rna=**la** **yawu-wu** giyan-ang-gu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3.DAT fish-DAT throw-CONT-FUT
I will throw it for fish (i.e, fishing). [TM: CSfn121110]

(7-50) nga=li=**la** baya-rru wirlga-nggu nyila
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ=3MIN.DAT bite-FUT axe-ERG DIST1

burnu **ngarlu-wu**
tree.ABS honey-DAT
We can chop that tree for sugar bag with an axe. [MS: CSfn060809]

Benefactive/malfactive constructions are also similar to the possessor dissension construction where the human possessor NP is cross-referenced with the object/dative clitic although it is a modifier of the possessum NP within the larger possessive NP but not an argument of the clause (§8.5.3). The possessor dissension construction expresses the kinship relation and ownership of land, food and other properties which are important and valuable for Aboriginal people. It highlights the affectedness of the possessor by cross-referencing the possessor NP. The differences between two constructions are discussed in §8.5.3.

Locative and comitative additional arguments are always animate and can also be cross-referenced with oblique clitics or, in a few occasions, object/dative clitics (§4.4.2.4; §4.4.2.10).

(7-51) nganinga warlagu ngu=**lanyanda** lulu garriny-ana
1MIN.OBL1 dog.ABS REAL=3MIN.OBL sit STAY-PRES

ngama-yi-wunyja
M-KIN-COMIT
CS#: My dog is sitting by/with [my] mother. [TM: CSfn140611]

(7-52) *A woman was killing a louse which bit TM's dog.*

ngu=**lanyanda** garriny-ana nyila wurd **warlagu-la**
REAL=3MIN.OBL be-PRES DIST1 louse.ABS dog-LOC
The louse is on the dog. [TM: CSfn200509]

7.2.6 Inclusory constructions

Although it is common in Australian languages, inclusory constructions (cf. Lichtenberk, 2000; Singer, 2001) are rarely found in the Wanyjirra corpus. In these constructions, only one member of the referent set denoted by the cross-referencing pronominal clitic is expressed by an overt NP. Tsunoda's corpus has some examples where only a non-first person member of the referents (speaker plus one or more) is chosen to be specified by the overt NP. In (7-53), while the first person minimal inclusive referents (speaker and addressee) are encoded by the clitic =li, only the addressee is specified by the overt NP mawun yangi 'one man'.

(7-53) yan-gu=**li** **mawun** **yangi** \
go-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ man.ABS one.ABS
TT: You, a man, and I will go.
CS: Let us, including one man, go.
TT: Lit: We two, including one man will go. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.008]

Likewise in (7-54), only one of the referents of the clitic =liyarra is overtly indicated by an absolutive NP.[221] Presumably, the kin term barn.gu refers to the speaker because he and TT (the recorder) are cross-cousins to each other. Therefore, unlike in (7-53), only the first person referent is overtly specified in this example.

[221] According to the translation, this clause contains a discontinuous NP in which a sub-constituent of the NP is separated by other elements of the clause (§8.7). The oblique free pronoun nyununga functions as an adnominal modifier of the NP barn.gu nyawa in the initial position. Alternatively, this free pronoun is considered as a distinct NP and is interpreted as a beneficiary 'for you'.

(7-54) **barn.gu** **nyawa** nga=**liyarra** wangany ma-lu
cross.cousin.ABS PROX1 REAL=1UA.SBJ search DO-FUT

nyununga**,…** murdu-wu,
2MIN.OBL1 red.ochre-DAT
TT: Lit: We two, including this cross-cousin of yours, will look for red ochre.
[NP: 76_14_1_NP.047]
NOTE: Although I previsously mentioned that indirect objects are always cross-referenced irrespective of animacy of referents (§7.2.5), the inanimate indirect object here is exceptionally not cross-referenced.

7.2.7 Reflexive and reciprocal clitics

Like many Australian languages, Wanyjirra has a single grammatical construction shared for reflexive and reciprocal senses (Dixon, 1980: 433). There are two sets of clitic forms =junu/nyunu and =jununggula/nyununggula. The formation of the second forms is similar to other oblique pronominal clitics: basically -la is added to object clitics with insertion of the linking element nggu. The forms =nyunu and =nyununggula follow vowels whereas others follow consonants (i.e., the second person minimal subject =n).

Reflexive/reciprocal clitics do not distinguish person and number of referents and are used for referents of all person-number categories instead of the object/dative and the oblique forms respectively. There are only examples of animate subjects. Typical examples of reflexive and reciprocal clauses are given in (7-55) and (7-56) respectively.

(7-55) ngu=**nyunu** wulaj yirran-an-i ngala-nyan-du
REAL=RR hide PUT-CONT-PAST ♀Ch-3KIN.POSS-ERG

gani-gani walyag marru-ngga
RDP-down.country inside house-LOC
CS#: Her child hid himself down inside of the house. [TM: CSfn111011]

(7-56) *MS told that long time ago, Aboriginal people use to fight with another group over women.*

ngu=lu=**nyunu** lan-an-i
REAL=3AUG.SBJ=RR stab-CONT-PAST
They (i.e., ancestor) used to spear each other (i.e., fight). [MS: CSfn071009]

Since clitics are used in both reflexive and reciprocal constructions, the semantic difference is recognised by context, the semantics of predicates and numbers of subject referents. When the subject has a single referent, only the reflexive sense is possible (7-55). When the subject has more than one referent, both senses are generally possible (with the exception (7-63) below). Thus the sentence (7-56) potentially has the reflexive sense in the different context 'they used to spear themselves'.

Generally, reflexive and reciprocal meanings are only marked by clitics but not by independent NPs. However, only beneficiary NPs are occasionally allowed to express by overt NPs as well as by the clitic.

(7-57) **nganinga** ngu=rna=**nyunu** gambarn-i ngarin
1MIN.OBL1 REAL=1MIN.SBJ=RR burn-PAST meat.ABS

nganinginy-ja ngama-yi-wuny-ja ngurra-ngga
1MIN.OBL2-LOC M-KIN-ORIG-LOC camp-LOC
CS#: For myself, I cooked beef at my mother's camp. [TM: CSfn031011]

(7-58) ngu=wula=**nyunu** birrga man-gu **gujarra-wu** **Namija-wu**
REAL=3UA.SBJ=RR create GET-FUT two-DAT ♀subsection-DAT
TM: *Tobala gat makem* [CS: two].
CS#: Two Namija women will make them (i.e. loincloths) for themselves/for each other. [TM: CSfn110609]

The following examples all contain reflexive meanings showing that a direct object (7-59), an indirect object (7-60) and an oblique argument (7-61) are reflexivised with these pronominal clitics. Note that in (7-61) a Whole NP is reflexivised. In part-whole reflexive constructions, the Whole NPs do not overtly occur as in general reflexive/reciprocal constructions. The Part NPs appears overtly.

(7-59) ngaringga-lu ngu=**nyunu** birrib yirran-ana mali-yi-la
woman-ERG REAL=RR shut PUT-PRES ♀HF-KIN-LOC
A woman covers herself because of [her] 'son-in-law'. [MS: CSfn100609]

(7-60) luyurr ngu=lu=**nyunu** marn-ana
sorry REAL=3AUG.SBJ=RR SAY-PRES
MS: They feel sorry for themselves.
CS: ALT#: they feel sorry for one another. [MS: CSfn091009]

(7-61) nyundu ngu=n=**jununggula** yirra-wu jaminy-ja
2MIN REAL=2MIN.SBJ=RR.OBL put-FUT forehead-LOC
You will put it (i.e., ochre) onto your forehead. [TM: CSfm051011]

Examples which have reciprocal readings are given below. The pronominal clitics are used for a direct object (7-62), an indirect object (7-63) and an oblique argument (7-64). Example (7-62 and 7-64) may have the reflexive reading in other context.

(7-62) nyamba-wuja=wula=**nyunu** girnig nyang-ana
what-LACK=3UA.SBJ=RR stare PERCEIVE-PRES
CS#: Why are they staring at each other?
CS#: ALT: Why are they staring at themselves (i.e. using the mirror)?
[TM: CSfn111010]

(7-63) Namija-lu Nawurla-lu ngu=wula=**nyunu** yung-ana
♀subsection-ERG ♀subsection-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ=RR give-PRES

ngala-yi
♀Ch-KIN.ABS
CS#: *Namija* and *Nawurla* women give their children to each other (i.e. for marriage). [TM: CSfn111011]

(7-64) ngu=wula=**nyununggula** giyan-ana bamarr yamaji-wuyarra-lu
REAL=3UA.SBJ=RR.OBL throw-PRES stone.ABS small-DU-ERG
Two kids are throwing stones to each other.]MS: CSfn280809]

7.2.7.1 Reflexive/reciprocal clitics in monovalent intransitive clauses

Reflexive/reciprocal clitics typically occur in transitive (bivalent) and ditransitive (trivalent) clauses as demonstrated above. However, they can also occur with intransitive clauses which take absolutive subjects. The following example contains the intransitive verb lung- 'cry' with the clitic =nyunu. Tsunoda reports that the reflexive/reciprocal clitic may express the sociative meaning in intransitive sentences (Tsunoda Fieldnotes, 1995 No.1, p.60). The 'sociative' ('collective') sense indicates that an action or event involves more than one person (cf. Nedjalkov, 2007: 33).

(7-65) nga=li=nyunu lung-gu
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ=RR cry-FUT
TT!: We cry together. [TT: TTfn110895]

However, the similar example in my corpus (7-66) shows that when this clitic co-

occurs with the verb lung-, it seems to encode the sense 'by oneself' rather than the sociative meaning. TM gave me the following sentence when she was telling me that her sister's grandson who lived in Kalkarindji passed away recently. At the time of utterance, she did not mean to visit Kalkarindji to mourn with their relatives for the deceased. The Kriol pronoun *mijelp* has the reflexive and reciprocal meanings and its reduplicated form *mijelp-mijelp* means 'separate, separately'.[222] TM's translation with *mijelp* therefore indicates that she meant that we (TM and her family members who live in Halls Creek, and I) mourn for the deceased in Halls Creek by ourselves but not with other family who live in Kalkarindji.[223]

(7-66) ngu=liwa=**nyunu** lung-ana
REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ=RR cry-PRES
TM: We cry *mijelp*.
CS@: We cry by ourselves. [TM: CSfn100712]

TM actually denied using of the word 'together' for the translation of (7-66) even though semantically, all referents of the subject are involved in the activity of 'crying'. In addition, the following sentence (7-67a) which I made up cannot be used with the sociative reading in the context where TM and I are going to the meeting together. TM then gave me another sentence (7-67b) for the meaning 'we are going together' instead of (7-67a). The reflexive/reciprocal clitic is not used in (7-67b).

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[222] I thank one of the anonymous examiners who provides the information about Kriol spoken in the area of Eastern-Ngumpin languages. (S)he also suggests that the unreduplicated form *mijelp* could be used for the meaning 'separately' in the area of Western or Central Ngumpin languages.

[223] However, the sense of 'by oneself' (and 'alone') is usually specified by the pronominal suffix -wariny (§5.3.1). This suffix can co-occur with a free pronoun refering to a single person (A) and a free pronoun refering to more than one person (B) below. If clauses use the suffix -wariny, they do not have the reflexive/reciprocal clitic. But note that TM uses the same Kriol term *mijelp* for the translation of (A).

(A) *We were listening to the old audio recording where TM was mainly singing the corroboree and other women were not because they didn't remember it or they were shy.*

ngayu-**wariny**-ju ngu=rna yunbarn-ana nyawa junba
1MIN-ONESELF-ERG REAL=1MIN.SBJ sing-PRES PROX1 corroboree.ABS
TM: I *singim* this song *mijelp*.
CS@: I am singing this corroboree by myself/alone. [TM: CSfn090610]

(B) *an* ngu=wula yan-i *nao* \.. nyandu-**wariny** ngu=wula
and REAL=3UA.SBJ go-PAST NOW 3-ONESELF.ABS REAL=3UA.SBJ
MS: And they two went. They [went] by themselves. [DJ: 99_40_2.061-62]

(7-67)

a. ?ngu=li=**nyunu** yan-ana
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ=RR go-PRES
CS!: We are going together. [CS: CSfn100712]

b. ngu=li yan-gu
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ go-FUT
TM: *Yumi* go.
CS@: We will go. [TM: CSfn100712]

Tsunoda (2007: 887-889) describes that similar constructions in Jaru where prototypical intransitive verbs with the reflexive/reciprocal clitic may have the sociative meaning 'together' (although many Jaru speakers translated it as 'one another' in their English). However, he also points out that those sentences with the sociative meaning are not approved by all Jaru speakers and a person who rejected those sentences gave him the different sentences like (7-67b) without the RR clitic. He concludes that the use of the RR clitic for the sociative meaning is optional because the clauses with subjects referring to more than one person intrinsically indicate joint activities, (see also general discussion in Nedjalkov, 2007: 36).

It is true that Jaru and Wanyjirra are closely related and Wanyjirra examples always contain two or more participants as subjects. Thus the reflexive/reciprocal clitic could be analysed as containing the sociative meaning in Wanyjirra intransitive clauses, too. Considering TM's accounts on (7-66 and 7-67), however, I am cautious about this analysis. Unfortunately it is impossible to provide a conclusive analysis because use of this clitic in intransitive clauses is not productive.

7.3 The pronominal clitic complex

This section describes the internal structures of pronominal clitic complexes including their hosts, ordering of clitics, possible combinations of clitics, and any morpho-phonological changes in clitic sequences.

7.3.1 Base for pronominal clitics

Pronominal clitics can attach to certain word class members, such as auxiliaries, sentence particles, interrogatives, subordinating conjunctions and imperative, future

and hortative forms of the inflecting verbs. Unlike in Gurindji and Bilinarra, nominals (except for interrogative members) cannot be bases for pronominal clitics in Wanyjirra. The following examples contain pronominal clitics attaching to: the realis auxiliary ngu (7-68); the sentence particle gula 'NEGative' (7-69); the interrogative nyamba (7-70); the conditional subordinator nyangga (7-71).

(7-68) **ngu**=lu yunbarn-an-i *na* nyila=ma jarrarda=ma
REAL=3AUG.SBJ sing-CONT-PAST NOW DIST1=TOP SONG.NAME.ABS=TOP
MS: They were singing then, that *jarrarda*. [TM: 09_0513_3.051]

(7-69) gujarra junba \...(2.3) **gula**=yanunggula man-i minyarn \
two.ABS corroboree.ABS NEG=3AUG.OBL get-PAST nothing
CS#: "I didn't learn those two corroborees from them, nothing."
CS: LIT: "I didn't get those two corroborees from them, nothing."
[TM: 10_0825_4.030]

(7-70) yuwu \ **nyamba**=yi=n biga bung-gu jaru
yes what=1MIN.OBJ=2MIN.SBJ inform HIT-FUT language.ABS
MS: Yeah, what story will you tell me? [TM: CSfn180909]

(7-71) **nyangga=n** barli nyang-gu gang-ga ward
COND=2MIN.SBJ find PERCEIVE-FUT CARRY-IMP return
If you find him, bring him back. [TM: CSfn160910]

Pronominal clitics can also follow imperative, hortative or future verbs. In an imperative sentence, subject participant(s) must be second person (an addressee or addressees). Only the number of such second person subject is encoded by a number marker of second person clitics formally identical to third person clitic forms (§7.1.1). For instance, =lu in (7-72) which is an augmented marker identical to the third person augmented subject form.

(7-72) gang-ga=yi=**lu** jangilany wuna-nggu
carry-IMP=1MIN.OBJ=AUG.SBJ firewood.ABS quickly-ERG
CS#: Carry firewood for/to me quickly. [TM: CSfn130710]

I follow Hale's (1973: 326-327) analysis of Warlpiri imperative sentences in which pronominal clitic forms following imperative verbs are interpreted as second person pronominals with the deletion of the person marker n but not as third person clitics. Lack of second person subjects is cross-linguistically a common feature of imperative

constructions. However, imperative sentences of Wanyjirra (and of other Ngumpin-Yapa languages including Warlpiri) can have overt second person free pronouns. The following examples contain number markers of pronominal clitics and second person free pronouns: the non-overt minimal number marker and nyundu (2SG) in (7-73a), the unit-augmented marker bula/wula and nyunbula (2DU) in (7-73b) and the augmented marker lu and nyurrara (2PL) in (7-73c).

(7-73)

a. nyundu yan-da gida-wurra
2MIN go-IMP open.space-PURP
You go outside. [MS: CSfn100609]

b. nyunbula yan-da=**wula**
2UA go-IMP=UA.SBJ
You two go. [MS: CSfn250609]

c. nyurrara yan-da=**lu**
2AUG go-IMP=AUG.SBJ
TT: You (PL) go. [DJ: TTfn140999]

Hortative verbs are used as bases in hortative mood with third person subjects (7-74). With future forms of verbs, subjects are always first person inclusive with hortative sense (7-75).

(7-74) garru-wu-rra=**lu** ngaringga=ma \
stay-FUT-HORT=3AUG.SBJ woman.ABS=TOP
TT: Let the women wait. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).140]

(7-75) bardaj yan-gu=**li** \
ascend GO-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ
“Let’s climb up!” [MS: 97_31_2.028]

7.3.2 General rules of internal structures of pronominal clitic complexes

Cross-referencing is determined by a number of constraints and tendencies in terms of phonological, morphological, semantic and grammatical aspects. Basic semantic and grammatical constraints (animacy, affectedness or sentiency and grammatical relations) were described in §7.2.5. This subsection mainly describes some general phonological and morphological rules, but also deals with a combined hierarchy of

animacy, person and number of referents in selection for cross-referencing.

Principally, a clause allows from zero up to three overt pronominal clitics (7-76a-e). If zero, clauses have no lexical arguments, i.e., impersonal (avalent) clauses (§12.5.1) (7-76a) or all argument NPs are third person minimal in the absolutive or ergative (for which there is no overt subject forms) as in (7-76b) or inanimates which are not obligatorily cross-referenced (§7.2.5).

(7-76)

a. yigirli ngu bilij-garra garriny-ana
far REAL flash-REP STAY-PRES
CS#: It is lightninging in the distance. [TM: CSfn111110]

b. ngama-nyan-du ngu ngamulu garran-ana yamaji
M-3KIN.POSS-ERG REAL in.arms KEEP-PRES small.ABS
CS#: Her mother is holding the child in her arms. [MS: CSfn060509]

c. nyila diba ngu**=rna** gang-ana
DIST1 billycan.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ carry-PRES
I carry that billycan. [TM: CSfn020710]

d. ngu**=yi=lu** marn-i,... gaa-rrayin
REAL=1MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ say-PAST east-D.ABL
CS#: They said to me, from the east. [TM: 11_1008_1.012]

e. ngu**=yi=wula=la** yu-nya nyila yambagina
REAL=1MIN.OBJ=3UA.SBJ=3MIN.DAT give-PRES DIST1 child.ABS
CS#:They two gave me that baby for the purpose. [TM: CSfn071011]

Secondly, a repetition of two identical pronominal clitics is not allowed. Therefore, if clauses have two third person NPs which are potentially specified by identical clitics (i.e., *=la=la '3MIN.DAT=3MIN.DAT'[224]), the one of them which is higher in a combined hierarchy of animacy, person and number is selected to be actually cross-referenced (§7.3.9).

Thirdly, a pronominal clitic complex cannot contain a sequence of object/dative and

[224] Because of this rule, two dative NPs are cross-referenced with third person minimal dative clitics in Gurindji (McConvell, 2005c) and Warlpiri (Nash, 1996). However, in that case, the second clitic is replaced by the distinct clitics =nyanda and =jinta respectively. Wanyjirra has no such construction. It has the single third person minimal dative clitic =la and the oblique clitic =lanyanda (cf. §7.1.4).

oblique clitics of the same person-number categories even in third person (e.g. *=yanu=yanunggula '3AUG.OBJ=3AUG.OBL' and *=la=lanyanda '3MIN.DAT=3MIN.OBL').

Based on these three general constraints, further tendencies can be observed. The similar properties are shared with other Ngumin-Yapa languages.

(i) The most common combinations of pronominal clitics in a complex is: (one or zero) subject + (one or zero) non-subject;
(ii) Two non-subject clitics in a complex are rare (§7.3.7). If a clause contains a third person minimal subject, which is not overtly cross-referenced, the complex contains one, or infrequently, two overt non-subject clitic forms;
(iii) Three clitics in a complex is very rare (§7.3.8).

7.3.3 Ordering of pronominal clitics

The order of pronominal clitics in a complex is determined by two principles, that is:

(7-77) (a) Person hierarchy
1 > 2 > 3
(b) Grammatical relation hierarchy
SUBJECT > OBJECT > OBLIQUE/3MIN.DATIVE

In Wanyjirra, the person hierarchy is dominant and then in certain circumstances (see below) the grammatical relation hierarchy plays a role in determining the order of clitics.[225] Due to these principles, the oblique clitics and the third person minimal dative =la must occur after other pronominal clitics. In case of circumfixes (§7.3.6.1), the first elements of such subject forms and oblique forms occur first following either

[225] In Northern and Eastern Ngumpin languages, e.g. Gurindji (McConvell, 1980) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014), grammatical relation hierarchy is employed as a primary rule for their ordering of pronominal clitics and then person hierarchy is a secondary rule. These languages have the following basic structure:

SBJ.PERSON MAKER + OBJ + (ng)gu + SBJ.NUMBER MAKER + 3SG.MIN(-rla)

This template also provides an explanation of combinations including circumfix forms and where person and number markers of certain subject clitics are separated by non-subject clitics (§7.1.1) and where an oblique marker la of most person-number categories always occur at the end of the clitic complexes separated by subject clitics (§7.1.4). See also §7.3.6.2 below. However, this template does not work well in Wanyjirra. One of the reasons is that not all subject clitic forms can be easily analysed as being composed by person and number markers and separable into two elements. Ordering is more complex and hard to establish a general template. In the rest of the subsections, I will describe other phonological and morphological processes in combinations without providing the template suitable to Wanyjirra.

Hierarchy (a) or (b) and the rest of forms come after the second pronominal clitics. Reflexive/reciprocal clitics must always occur after subject clitics if they are overt forms.

(a) Person hierarchy

Under this principle, a first person generally precedes a second and third person and a second person precedes a third person regardless of their grammatical relations.

(7-78) ngu=**rnalu=nyurra** man-ana mangarri nyurraranginy
REAL=1AUG.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ get-PRES veg.food.ABS 2AUG.OBL2
We get tucker for you. [MS: CSfn090909]

(7-79) wagurra ngu=**yi=n** nirn man-gu
NEG REAL=1MIN.OBJ=2MIN.SBJ lose GET-FUT
Don't forget me. [MS: CSfn310809]

(7-80) ngu**=n=janu** yu-nya yalu-wu yamayama-wu
REAL=2MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ give-PAST DIST2-DAT children-DAT

mawun-nginyi
man-EL
You gave it to those kids from the man. [TM: CSfn041011]

(7-81) ngu**=nggu=lu** ngarra man-ana
REAL=2MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ recognise GET-PRES
"They recognise you." [DJ: 99_41.154]

(7-82) yamaji gujarra ngu**=rna=wulany** garran-i
small.ABS two.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3UA.OBJ keep-PAST
Two kids I got. [MS: CSfn161009]

(7-83) Namija-wuyarra-lu ngu**=yi=wula** yu-nya
♀subsection-DU-ERG REAL=1MINOBJ=3UA.SBJ give-PAST

junba
corroboree.ABS
CS#: "Two Namija girls gave me the corroboree." [TM: CSfn130509]

(b) Grammatical relation hierarchy

There are four cases where this hierarchy can apply.

(i) Second person (MIN, UA, AUG) subject + first person (other than 1MIN.EXC) non-

subject

In this combination, the second person marker n- precedes any first person non-subject forms following number markers of its second person forms.

(7-84) ngu**=n=ngaling** gambarn-i nalija
REAL=2MIN.SBJ=1MIN.INC.OBJ burn-PAST tea.ABS
TM: You *bin kukum* tea for *yumi*.
CS@: You boiled tea for us. [TM: CSfn270710]

(7-85) ngu**=n=ngandiba=wula** man-i ngandawi
REAL=2SBJ=1AUG.OBJ=UA get-PAST shade.ABS
CS#: You took a photo of us. [TM: CSfn291110]

(7-86) ngu**=n=ngayarrang-gu=lu** nyang-ana
REAL=2SBJ=1UA.OBJ-LINK=AUG perceive-PRES
CS#: You look at us. [TM: CSfn130909]

(ii) Third person (AUG) subject + first person (other than 1MIN.EXC) non-subject[226]

Third person augmented subject form alternatively precedes first person (other than 1MIN.EXC) non-subject clitics. For instance, in (7-87) the first person augmented inclusive object form precedes the third person augmented subject following the primary person hierarchy whereas the reverse order is also possible following the grammatical relation hierarchy as in (7-88).

(7-87) ngu=**ngaliwang-gu=lu** yu-nya mangarri
REAL=1AUG.INC.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ give-PAST veg.food.ABS
They gave us food. [TM: CSfn191011]

(7-88) ngu**=lu=ngaliwa** bung-an-i ngawa-yaru-lu
REAL=3AUG.SBJ=1AUG.INC.OBJ hit-CONT-PAST water-PROP-ERG
They, being drunk, were hitting us. [MS: CSfn030909]

(iii) Third person (non-minimal) subject precedes second person (AUG) non-subject:

(7-89) mawun-guyarra-lu ngu**=wula=nyurra** bila man-ana
man-two-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ chase GET-PRES
Two men are chasing you. [MS: CSfn030909]

[226] This also excludes 1AUG.EXC.OBJ which always precedes the third person augmented subject clitic.

(7-90) ngu=**lu=nyurra** bila man-ana nyurrara
REAL=3AUG.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ chase GET-PRES 2AUG
They chase you. [MS: CSfn030909]

(iv) Where there are two third person forms, subject forms precede non-subject forms:

(7-91) garra-wu ngu=**lu=yanu**
keep-FUT REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ
They will keep them. [MS: 76_12_1_NP(3).091']
NOTE: The verb form garru-wu would be expected in Wanyjirra.

(7-92) nguyurdu ngu=**wula=yanu** garran-ana ngala-yi
many.ABS REAL=3UA.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ keep-PRES ♀Ch-KIN.ABS
Many, they two have kids. [TM: CSfn141009]

(7-93) ngu=**wula=la** bina garri-nya
REAL=3UA.SBJ=3MIN.DAT know BE-PAST
CS#: They knew about it. [TM: CSfn110609]

These examples to which grammatical relation hierarchy can be applied are identical in Jaru with the exception of Case (ii). Person hierarchy operates in Case (ii) in Jaru. In Wanyjirra, both orders are possible as mentioned above.

7.3.4 Dual number replacement

Apart from general rules of internal structures of clitic complexes given in §7.3.2, there is a rule that two 'dual' number clitics (1MIN.INC, 1UA.EXC, 2UA and 3UA) cannot co-occur in a clitic complex and one of them is replaced by the corresponding augmented/plural clitic. Thus number of such replacing pronominals is neutralised. Although the whole pronominal clitic paradigm is arranged by a minimal-augmented number system, the exact numbers of referents (singular-dual-plural) are important in this replacement. In other words, the replacement involves first person minimal inclusive and three unit-augmented pronominal clitics (other than first person inclusive unit-augmented clitics) which represent two referents. Table 7.10 presents combinations of non-singular (but not non-minimal) subject and object/dative clitics. The combinations affected by this number replacement are indicated by bold letters. Note that some combinations including 1MIN.INC do not sometimes undergo this process. This will be discussed later. There are some gaps in the table indicating that the corpus does not have such combinations.

Table 7.10 : Combinations of non-singular subject and object/dative pronominal clitics

OBJ/DAT / SBJ	1MIN.INC	1UA.EXC	1UA.INC	2UA	3UA	1AUG.EXC	1AUG.INC	2AUG	3AUG
1MIN.INC	li=nyunu+	---	---	---	li=**yanu** li=wuliny li=wulany	---	---	---	li=yanu
1UA.EXC	---	liyarra=nyunu+	---	liyarra=**nyurra**	liyarra=**yanu**	---	---	liyarra=nyurra	liyarra=yanu
1UA.INC	---	---	liwula=nyunu-	---	---	---	---	---	liwula=yanu
2UA	---	**n**=ngayarrang-gu=**lu**	---	nbula=nyunu+	nbula=**yanu**	n=nganimba=wula n=ngandiba=wula	---	---	nbula=yanu
3UA	ngaliny-gu=**lu** ngaliny=bula wula=ngaliny ngaliny-gu=wula	ngayarrang-gu=**lu** ngayirrang-gu=**lu**	---	ngguwula-gu=**lu**	wula=**yanu** wula=nyunu+	nganimba=wula ngandiba=wula	ngaliwa=wula	wula=nyurra	wula=yanu
1AUG.EXC	---	---	---	rna=ngguwula-gu=lu	rna=wulany-gu=lu	rnalu=nyunu+	---	rnalu=nyurra	rnalu=yanu
1AUG.INC	---	---	---	---	liwa=wulany	---	liwa=nyunu+	---	liwa=yanu
2AUG	---	n=ngayarrang-gu=lu	---	---	n=bulany-gu=lu	n=nganimba-gu=lu n=ngandiba-gu=lu	---	nda=nyunu+	nda=yanu
3AUG	ngaliny-gu=lu lu=ngali(ny)	ngayarrang-gu=lu lu=ngayarrang ngayirrang-gu=lu	---	ngguwula-gu=lu	lu=wulany	nganimba-gu=lu ngandiba-gu=lu	ngaliwang-gu=lu lu=ngaliwa(ng)	lu=nyurra	lu=yanu lu=nyunu+

+ indicates that combinations are used in reflexive and reciprocal constructions.

Sentences (7-94a, 7-95a and 7-96a), which contain two unit-augmented or first person minimal inclusive clitics, are not grammatical and one of the clitics should be replaced with augmented/plural clitics as in (7-94b, 7-95b and 7-96b). Such replaced clitic sequences are phonologically identical to the sequences in which clitics refer to dual and plural participants respectively. However, the actual number of participants can be understood by free pronouns, NPs or the dual suffix.

(7-94)

a. *nga=liyarra=**ngguwula** nyang-ana nyunbula
REAL=1UA.SBJ=2UA.OBJ perceive-PRES 2UA
TT!: We [two] see you two. [MS: TTfn200895]

b. nga=liyarra=**nyurra** nyang-ana **nyunbula**
REAL=1UA.SBJ=2.OBJ perceive-PRES 2UA
We [two] see you two. [MS: TTfn200895]

(7-95)

a. *yamaji-wuyarra-lu ngu=wula=**wulany** bila man-ana
small-DU-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ=3UA.OBJ chase GET-PRES

ngama-nyan ngabu-nyan
M-3KIN.POSS.ABS F-3KIN.POSS.ABS
CS!: Two kids are chasing their mother and father. [CS: CSfn030909]

b. yamaji-wuyarra-lu ngu=wula=**yanu** bila man-ana
small-DU-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ=3.OBJ chase GET-PRES

ngama-nyan **ngabu-nyan**
M-3KIN.POSS.ABS F-3KIN.POSS.ABS
CS!: Two kids are chasing their mother and father. [MS: CSfn030909]

(7-96)

a. *nyanbula ngu=ngguwula=**wula** nyang-ana
3UA REAL=2UA.OBJ=3UA.SBJ perceive-PRES
CS!: They two are looking at you two. [CS: CSfn040909]

b. **nyanbula** nga=ngguwula-gu=**lu** [CS: nyang-ana]
3UA REAL=2UA.OBJ-LINK=3.SBJ perceive-PRES
CS#: They two are looking at you two.
TT: 3DU are looking at 2DU. [DJ: TTfn110999]
NOTE: I added the verb nyang-ana to the original transcription

It is person and grammatical hierarchies (§7.3.3) that determine which pronominal

clitics are replaced. Pronominal clitics which are lower in these hierarchies are always replaced. For instance, in (7-94b) the second person clitic is replaced instead of the first person clitic whereas in (7-95b), the third person object clitic is selected for replacement rather than the third person subject form. In (7-96b), the third person subject clitic is replaced rather than the second person object clitic.

Unlike the above examples, sentences do not always have specifications to show the number of referents. In (7-97), the third person augmented object form is a replacement of the unit-augmented form =wulany/wuliny in the second line although the referents are not overtly specified in this sentence. They are understandable as a dual referent from the preceding sentence.

(7-97)

1.	yala-ngulu	*nao*	ngu=wula	yunbarn-an-i	*nao*
	DIST2-ABL	NOW	REAL=3UA.SBJ	sing-CONT-PAST	NOW

nyila	gardiya	*an*	dimana
DIST1	white.man.ABS	and	horse.ABS

From there, they two were singing [it to] that white man and horse.

2	ngu=wula=**yanu**	yunbarn-an-i	yarrirndi=lu	*na*
	REAL=3UA.SBJ=3.OBJ	sing-CONT-PAST	SONG.NAME=ONLY	NOW

yalu	gujarra-lu
DIST2	two-ERG

They two were singing *yarrirndi* to them [two]. [MS: 97_31_2.031-32]

Although number replacement is fairly common in Australian languages (Blake, 1987: 105) including Ngumpin-Yapa languages, its mechanisms vary somewhat. Jaru and Western Warlpiri have the similar system as Wanyjirra: one of the dual/unit-augmented clitics is replaced by the plural/augmented form and the one replaced is lower than the other in the person hierarchy, where this is not applicable, it is lower than grammatical relation hierarchy (Hale, 1973: 330; Tsunoda, 1981: 133-134). In Bilinarra, Mudburra, Eastern Warlpiri and Eastern Gurindji have a system in which any sequences containing two non-singular/non-minimal subject and object forms are all replaced with plural/augmented forms (Hale, 1973: 331-332; McConvell, 1980: 52; Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 250). Malngin (or Western Gurindji) has a system which is between these two systems. Unit-augmented forms are replaced with augmented

forms in combinations of unit-augmented plus augmented forms (with a few exceptions) and only one of the unit-augmented forms becomes augmented forms in combinations of two unit-augmented forms (McConvell, 1980: 53).

However, there are some exceptions in the Wanyjirra corpus. When the first person minimal inclusive forms co-occur with unit-augmented forms, these sequences allow two forms: (i) one in which dual replacement occurs, as in (7-98 and 7-99), and (ii) others in which such replacement does not occur and two 'dual' forms are remained in (7-100 and 7-101).

(7-98) nga=li=**yanu** nyang-ana **nyila** **gujarra**
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ=3.OBJ perceive-PRES DIST1 two.ABS
TT!: We two see those two. [MS: TTfn200895]

(7-99) ngu=ngaliny-gu=**lu** nyang-ana
REAL=1MIN.INC.OBJ-LINK=3SBJ perceive-PRES
They [two] see us [two]. [MS: CSfn090909]

(7-100) yan-gu=li=**wuliny**
go-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ=3UA.OBJ
TM: *yumi gata* go *langa tobala*.
CS@: Let's go to them. [TM: CSfn030910]

(7-101) ngu=ngaliny=**bula** ngarin yu-nya
REAL=1MIN.INC.OBJ=3UA.SBJ meat.ABS give-PAST
TM: *Tobala* give us [CS: two] beef. [TM: CSfn030910]

Two alternative clitic complexes containing first person minimal inclusive forms, with and without replacement, are equally used by both speakers TM and MS.[227] This alternation could be an influence from Malngin (Western Gurindji) and Bilinarra where the first person dual/minimal inclusive is not involved in the replacement (McConvell, 1980; Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014).[228] In Bilinarra, only unit-augmented forms undergo this replacement and thus this process is called 'unit-augmented neutralisation' (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 250) rather than 'dual neutralisation'. In

[227] A previous study (Senge, 2008: 117) attested some difference between TM and MS in determining whether sequences of two dual forms. Further research reveals that TM and MS agree with each other in judging whether all other relevant combinations undergo dual replacement.

[228] In (Eastern) Gurindji, the replacement occurs with the first person dual/minimal forms (McConvell, 1980, 2005b). However, according to the recent study (Meakins et al., 2013), this language seems to have the same system as Bilinarra where the first person dual/minimal inclusive is not involved in the replacement but the first person inclusive unit-augmented is.

Wanyjirra, it is not clear whether the first person inclusive unit-augmented forms are involved in the replacement due to a limit of the corpus. In this thesis, I keep the label 'dual number replacement' instead of adopting 'unit-augmented number replacement'.

7.3.5 Combinations of pronominal clitics

Combinations of non-singular subject and object/dative forms were given in the previous subsection (Table 7.10). Other combinations of subject and object/dative clitics found in the corpus are given in the following tables: combinations of non-minimal subject and singular (1MIN.EXC, 2MIN and 3MIN) object/dative forms (Table 7.11); combinations of minimal (1MIN.EXC, 1MIN.INC, 2MIN and 3MIN) subject clitics and all object/dative clitics (Table 7.12). There are some gaps in tables indicating that the corpus does not have such combinations. Clitic combinations of two non-subject forms, as of three clitic forms, are rare in Wanyjirra. These specific combinations are illustrated in the separate subsections (§7.3.7 and §7.3.8).

Table 7.11: Combinations of non-minimal subject clitics and singular object/dative clitics

OBJ/DAT / SBJ	1MIN.EXC	2MIN	3MIN	
			OBJ	DAT
1UA.EXC	---	liyarra=nggu	liyarra	liyarra=la
1UA.INC	---	---	liwula	liwula=la
2UA	yi=nbula	---	nbula	nbula=la
3UA	yi=wula	nggu=wula	wula	wula=la
1AUG.EXC	---	rna=nggu=lu	rnalu	rnalu=la
1AUG.INC	---	---	liwa	liwa=la
2AUG	yi=nda	---	nda	nda=la
3AUG	yi=lu	nggu=lu	lu	lu=la

Table 7.12: Combination of minimal subject clitics and all object/dative clitics[229]

SBJ / OBJ/DAT	1MIN.EXC	1MIN.INC	2MIN	3MIN
1MIN.EXC	rna=nyunu	---	yi=n	yi
1MIN.INC	rna=ngaliny rna=ngaling	li=nyunu	n=ngaliny n=ngaling	ngaliny ngaling
2MIN	rna=nggu	---	n=junu	nggu
3MIN (OBJ)	rna	li	n	nyunu
3MIN (DAT)	rna=la	li=la	n-gu=la	la nyunu
1UA.EXC	---		n=ngaliyarra(ng) n=ngayarra(ng) n=ngayirra(ng)	ngaliyarra(ng) ngayarra(ng) ngayirra(ng)
1UA.INC	---	---	---	ngaliwula(ng)
2UA	rna=ngguwula		---	ngguwula
3UA	rna=wulany rna=wuliny		n=bulany n=buliny	wulany wuliny
1AUG.EXC	---		n=nganimba n=ngandiba	nganimba ngandiba
1AUG.INC	rna=ngaliwang		n=ngaliwa(ng)	ngaliwa(ng)
2AUG	rna=nyurra		---	nyurra
3AUG	rna=yanu		n=janu	yanu

Clitic combinations containing subject plus oblique forms are not presented in these tables because such sequences are mostly predictable. Most oblique pronominals are made up of the corresponding object forms plus la, which may be separated by the linker (ng)gu (§7.1.4). Thus, sequences of subject plus oblique forms can be made up either by the corresponding SUBJECT-OBJECT sequences plus the oblique marker la, or by OBJECT-SUBJECT sequences plus the oblique marker la (7-94a and 7-95a). These surface structures, however, are identical to sequences of three pronominal clitics: SUBJECT-OBJECT (or OBJECT-SUBJECT) + (linker) + third person minimal dative =la (7-94b and 7-95b). This alternative analysis is possible due to that animate goal referents can be specified either by the oblique clitics or the object/dative clitics. That is, the object clitics =nyurra (7-94b) and =nggu (7-95b) express animate goal like the oblique forms =nyurranggula (7-94a) and =nggula (7-95a) whereas the dative clitic =la would express beneficiary or purpose. Other potential examples of three clitic

[229] Combinations in the shaded columns which contain =nyunu/junu are only found in reflexive/reciprocal clauses.

members will be discussed in §7.3.8.

(7-94)

a. ngu**=rna=nyurranggula** gang-gu mangarri
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBL carry-FUT veg.food.ABS
CS#: I will bring food to you. [TM: CSfn290610]

b. ngu**=rna=nyurra-nggu=la** gang-gu mangarri
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT carry-FUT veg.food.ABS
CS#: I will bring food to you for him/her/it.

(7-95)

a. ngu**=nggu=lu=la** yan-i mangarri-wu
REAL=2MIN=3AUG.SBJ=OBL go-PAST veg.food-DAT
They went to you for tucker. [MS: CSfn170609]

b. ngu**=nggu=lu=la** yan-i mangarri-wu
REAL=2MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ=3MIN.DAT go-PAST veg.food-DAT
They went to you for tucker.

7.3.6 Morpho-phonological rules in clitic complexes

7.3.6.1 Circumfixes

In pronominal clitic complexes, some pronominals are circumfixes which can be separated into two elements, and another pronominal clitic is inserted between those elements. Such discontinuous forms have two types: (a) subject forms of (1AUG.EXC, 2UA and 2AUG) separated into a person marker and a number marker; (b) oblique forms separated into elements identical to the corresponding object forms and the oblique marker la.

(a) Three subject forms: =rna…lu, =n...wula and =n…lu

Three categories, 1AUG.EXC, 2UA and 2AUG, have subject forms which are separated by non-subject forms. Where it is appropriate, the linker (ng)gu is also inserted before the number markers (§7.3.6.2). The possible combinations are:

(i) 1AUG.EXC.SBJ + 2MIN.OBJ: **=rna**=nggu**=lu**
2UA.OBJ: **=rna**=ngguwula-gu**=lu**
3UA.OBJ: **=rna**=wulany-gu**=lu**

(7-104) jalarni *na* ngu=**rna**=nggu**=lu** nyang-gu yunbarn-u-ga
today NOW REAL=1.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ=AUG perceive-FUT sing-NF-LOC
CS#: It's today that we will see you singing. [TM: CSfn030910]

(ii) 2UA.SBJ + 1AUG.EXC.OBJ: **=n**=nganimba**=wula**

(7-105) ngu=**n**=nganimba**=wula** man-i ngarin
REAL=2SBJ=1AUG.OBJ=UA get-PAST meat.ABS
You two got meat for us. [MS: CSfn030909]

(iii) 2AUG.SBJ + 1UA.EXC.OBJ: **=n**=ngayarrang-gu**=lu**
3UA.OBJ: **=n**=bulany-gu**=lu**
1AUG.EXC.OBJ: **=n**=nganimba-gu**=lu**

(7-106) ngu=**n**=ngayarrang-gu**=lu** nyang-ana
REAL=2SBJ=1UA.OBJ-LINK=AUG perceive-PRES
You are looking at us. [TM: CSfn150909]

(b) Oblique forms

As mentioned previously, oblique forms, except for the third person minimal category, are made up of the object forms + la. As a general rule, the third person minimal dative =la must occur at the end of the clitic sequence (§7.3.2). Likewise, the oblique marker la must occur at the end.

(7-107) ngama-yi-wuyarra ngu=**yi**=wula**=la** lulu garriny-ana
M-KIN-DU.ABS REAL=1MIN=3UA.SBJ=OBL sit STAY-PRES
Two mothers are sitting with/by me. [MS: CSfn130509]

In other circumstances where subject circumfix forms occur, the oblique marker follows the number marker of subject forms.

(7-108) ngu=rna**=nggu**=lu**=la** lulu garriny-ana
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN=AUG=OBL sit STAY-PRES
CS#: We are sitting with/by you. [TM: CSfn140610]

In this clitic complex, =lu is the number marker of the first augmented subject form and =la is the oblique marker of the second person minimal form. The underlying

structure of this sequence in (7-108) is *=rnalu=nggula (=1AUG.SBJ=2MIN.OBL).[230]

7.3.6.2 Insertion of the linking element (ng)gu

The linking element -(ng)gu is inserted in a sequence of two (or three) pronominal clitics in the following situations.

(a) Between non-minimal object clitics with final vowels and /l/

-nggu is found between unit-augmented or augmented object pronominal clitics ending with a vowel and /l/ (7-109a). However, in most cases, it becomes the reduced form -gu because of nasal coda dissimilation (§2.6.1.1) as in (7-109b-e).

(7-109) a. =rna=nyurra-**nggu**=la (=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT)
b. =n=nganimba-**gu**=lu (=2SBJ =1AUG.OBJ-LINK=AUG)
c. =nganimba-**gu**=lu (=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ)
d. =ngguwula-**gu**=lu (=2UA.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ)
e. =rna=ngguwula-**gu**=lu (=1SBJ=2UA.OBJ-LINK=AUG)

(b) Between nasal consonants and /l/

This appears to be motivated by the general phonotactic rule (§2.5.5), that is, a sequence of nasal and lateral consonants is not allowed in Wanyjirra.

(7-110) a. =n-**gu**=la (=2MIN.SBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT)
b. =n=ngayarrang-**gu**=lu (=2SBJ=1UA.OBJ-LINK=AUG)

7.3.6.3 Epenthetic -ba

The uncommon epenthetic morpheme –ba is inserted between the consonant-final interrogative nyayang ‘how many’ and any following pronominal clitic to create a vowel-final stem (§2.6.5).

[230] Jaru also has the similar formation of clitic pronominal sequences. Tsunoda gives another combination =n=nganimba=wula=la ‘=2SBJ=1AUG.EXC=UA=OBL (glossed by CS)’(Tsunoda, 1981: 136). In Wanyjirra, this complicated formation might being lost anyway. In elicitation sessions, TM and MS were struggling to make up sentences which potentially contain this kind of formation. They decided not to use pronominal clitics in such cases and thus only overt NPs appear in sentences.

(7-111) nyayang-**ba**=lu yan-i nyununginy-jawu ngurra-nggawu
how.many-EP=3AUG.SBJ go-PAST 2MIN.OBL2-ALL camp-ALL

mangarri-wu ngarn-u-wu
veg.food-DAT ingest-NF-DAT
How many people came to your house to eat tucker? [MS: CSfn140809]

7.3.6.4 Lenition: b/w and j/y

Common morphophonemic alternations (§2.6.2) are also found in pronominal clitics: 2UA.SBJ =nbula/=n...wula, 3UA.SBJ =bula/wula, 3UA.OBJ =bulany/wulany (7-112) and 3AUG.OBJ =janu/yanu (7-113). Their lenis forms follow a vowel whereas their corresponding forms follow a consonant.

(7-112)

a. nyundu ngu=n=**bulany** garran-i ngala-yi-wuyarra
2MIN REAL=2MIN.SBJ=3UA.OBJ keep-PAST ♀Ch-KIN-DU.ABS
You had two kids. [MS: CSfn161009]

b. ngu=rna=**wulany** yu-nya ngarin
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3UA.OBJ give-PAST meat.ABS
CS#: I gave meat to them. [TM: CSfn140709]

(7-113)

a. ngu=n=**janu** bura nyang-an-i
REAL=2MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ listen PERCEIVE-CONT-PAST
CS#: "You listen to them?" [TM: 10_0825_4.013]

b. ngu=lu=**yanu** warra gang-ana yamayama dargab-gula
REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ watch CARRY-PRES children.ABS bathe-LOC
CS#: They are taking care of kids while they are bathing. [TM: CSfn021009]

7.3.6.5Nasalisation

This alternation is found in reflexive and reciprocal clitics =junu and =jununggula following consonants, and =nyunu and =nyununggula following vowels (§2.6.3). Examples have been given in §7.2.7.

7.3.6.6 Alternation between n and d in second person minimal and unit-augmented

This alternation between consonants with the same place of articulation only occurs in

the subject forms of second person minimal =n/d and second person unit-augmented =nbula/dbula where the unit-augmented maker =n is replaced with =d. This is an example of denasalisation (§2.6.1.2) operating over a clitic boundary.

(7-114) nyayang-ba=**dbula** yirran-i ngarlu
how.many-EP=2UA.SBJ put-PAST honey.ABS
How much sugarbag you two *bin put-im*? [MS: 76_13_2_NP(2).009'']

(7-115) nyamba-wu=**dbula** yan-i
what-DAT=2UA.SBJ go-PAST
Why did you go? [TM: CSfn061011]

(7-116) nyangga=**d** yan-gu gabud ngu=n nyang-gu
COND=2MIN.SBJ go-FUT morning REAL=2MIN.SBJ perceive -FUT

nyununga jaja
2MIN.OBL1 ♀DCh.ABS
If you come tomorrow, you will see your grandchild. [MS: CSfn261011]

7.3.7 Two non-subject clitics in a clitic complex

As described in §7.3.2, the most common structure of pronominal clitic complexes is: (one or zero) subject + (one or zero) non-subject. However, there are a small number of clitic complexes which contain two non-subject clitics. In most of those examples, the subjects are third person minimal or second person minimal if they are in imperative sentences, and are hence not overtly encoded by pronominal clitics.[231] In such cases, instead of subject referents, two non-subject referents are selected for cross-referencing. At least one of those non-subject clitics is always the object/dative clitics cross-referencing dative NPs. The order of clitics follows the person hierarchy in all examples (§7.3.3). There are three types of combinations: (a) two clitics cross-referencing an indirect object, and a direct object, benefactive or purposive in ditransitive clauses (7-117-7-119); (b) a comitative and a possessor in an intransitive clause (7-120); (c) two possessors in a nominal predicate clause (7-121). [232]

[231] There are also a very few examples where three clitics (a subject clitic and two non-subject clitics) occur in a clause. These examples are dealt with in the following subsection (§7.3.8).
[232] The similar patterns are also found in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 139-140) whereas only the first combination (especially the clitics cross-referencing an indirect object and benefactive or purposive in ditransitive clauses) is found in Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 247) and Gurindji (McConvell, 2005c).

(7-117) ngala-yi-lu ngu**=yi=wuliny** jirri yu-nya
♀Ch-KIN-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ=3UA.OBJ point GIVE-PAST

nganinga jaja gujarra
1MIN.OBL1 ♀DCh.ABS two.ABS
CS#: [My] daughter showed [my] two grandchildren to me. [TM: CSfn101011]

(7-118) nyawa luwa**=yi=yanu** mayingany[233]
PROX1 AV.IMP=1MIN.OBJ=3.OBJ AV: veg.food.ABS
TT: Give this to *Maliyi*. [DJ: TTfn120901]
CS%: Give this food to him (i.e., my son-in-law) for me/on behalf of me.

(7-119) jimbirla yung-ga**=yi=la** ngarin-gu
spear.head.ABS give-IMP=1MIN.OBJ=3MIN.DAT meat-DAT
CS#: Give a spear head to me for meat. [MS: 76_13_2_NP(2).067''''']

(7-120) nyila warlagu ngu=**yi=lanyanda** magin garriny-ana
DIST1 dog.ABS REAL=1MIN.OBJ=3MIN.OBL sleep STAY-PRES

nganinginy-ja ngama-yi-wunyja
1MIN.OBL2-LOC M-KIN-COMIT
CS#: That dog is sleeping with/by my mother. [TM: CSfn140610]

(7-121) nyawa ngu=**nggu**=**la** nyunungu-wu ngabu-yu-wu
PROX1 REAL=2MIN.OBJ=3MIN.DAT 2MIN.OBL1-DAT F-KIN-DAT
TT: This [mail] is for your father.
CS#: This [mail] is for the father of you. [MS: TTfn190700]

7.3.8 Three pronominal clitics in a clitic complex

Like sequences of two non-subject clitics, three pronominal clitics in a complex are very rare as seen in other Ngumpin-Yapa languages (including Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981), Eastern Ngumin languages (McConvell, 1980), Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014), Warlpiri (Hale, 1973; Nash, 1996 etc.)). Some potential examples may be alternatively analysed as two clitics containing a circumfix oblique form (i.e., an object form + la) instead of having three clitics referring to three different participants. The following examples are a full list of combinations which potentially contain three pronominal clitics. All combinations consist of a subject clitic, an object clitic and third person dative =la.

[233] This example is a special respect register (§1.6.1). In this register, a pronominal clitic referring to the 'taboo' person is always specified by augmented/plural forms even though the referent is actually one person. This is another type of number replacement or neutralisation (§7.3.4).

(7-122)

a.	=rna=nyurra-nggu=la =1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ-LINK=3(MIN).DAT	(Ex. 7-31, 7-94b)
b.	=yi=wula=la =1MIN.OBJ=3UA.SBJ=3MIN.DAT	(Ex. 7-76e)
c.	=nggu=lu=la =2MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ=3MIN.DAT	(Ex. 7-95b)
d.	=nggu=wula=la =2MIN.OBJ=3UA.SBJ=3MIN.DAT	(Ex. 7-126)

(re: 7-31)

ngu**=rna=nyurra-nggu=la** nyang-ana
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ-LINK=3DAT perceive-PRES

ngarlu-wu balabi-wu bindi-wu
honey-DAT nut.sp-DAT banana-DAT
MS: I am looking for honey, nuts, and bush banana for *yufalas*.
CS#: ALT: I am looking for you guys for (the purpose of) honey, nuts and bush banana. [MS: CSfn090909]

(re: 7-76e)

ngu=**yi=wula=la** yu-nya nyila yambagina
REAL=1MIN.OBJ=3UA.SBJ=3MIN.DAT give-PRES DIST1 child.ABS
CS#: They two gave me that baby for the purpose. [TM: CSfn071011]

It is the only examples (7-31 and 7-76e) with the clitic complexes (7-122a and 7-122b) that can be analysed as clearly containing three clitics. Although the clitic sequence (7-31) is phonologically identical to =rna=nyurranggula (1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBL), the content makes it clear that the form =nyurra must be analysed as the object clitic cross-referencing the beneficiary since it is always indexed by object/dative clitics and is never indexed by oblique clitics. The distinct third person dative clitic =la refers to the goal of pursuit or purpose. Similarly in (7-76e), the recipients of the verb yung- 'give' are usually indexed by object/dative clitics and hence, =la should be analysed as cross-referencing an unspecified purpose without an overt lexical NP.[234]

However, other examples (7-123-7-126) with the clitic combinations from (7-122a, c

[234] The dative clitic =rla is also used for unspecified purposes in Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014).

or d) may be alternatively analysed as having two pronominal clitics. Under this alternative analysis, the final =la in clitic complexes can be analysed as discontinuous elements of oblique clitics. There are no differences in translations between two analyses with the exception of (7-123). In the following examples, two analyses are given in two distinct gloss lines (A with two clitics and B with three clitics).

(7-123) (re: 7-94ab)

ngu=rna=nyurra-nggu=la	gang-gu	mangarri
A: REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG-LINK=OBL	carry-FUT	veg.food.ABS
B: REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT		

A: CS#: I will bring food to you.
B: CS#: I will bring food to you for him/her/it. [TM: CSfn290610]

(7-124) (re: 7-95ab)

ngu=**nggu=lu=la**	yan-i	mangarri-wu
A: REAL=2MIN=3AUG.SBJ=OBL	go-PAST	veg.food-DAT
B: REAL=2MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ=3MIN.DAT		

(A/B): They went to you for tucker. [MS: CSfn170609]

(7-125) nyununginy	ngu=**nggu=lu=la**	yi-nya
2MIN.OBL2	A: REAL=2MIN=3AUG.SBJ=OBL	give-CONT-PAST
	B: REAL=2MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ=3MIN.DAT	

(A/B): TT: They gave him (something) from you. [MS: TTfn180700]
NOTE: CS put "something" in a bracket because it is not overtly specified.

(7-126) nyununginy	ngu=**nggu=wula=la**	yi-nya
2MIN.OBL2	A: REAL=2MIN=3UA.SBJ=OBL	give-PAST
	B: REAL=2MIN.OBJ=3UA.SBJ=3MIN.DAT	

(A/B): TT: They two gave him (something) from you. [MS: TTfn180700]
NOTE: CS put "something" in a bracket because it is not overtly specified.

However, in (7-125 and 7-126), the analysis (B) with three pronominal clitics is more likely to be the case. With the analysis (A), sentences become less grammatical because indirect objects which express the recipient role of 'giving' are not specified by both overt dative NPs and the object/dative clitics.[235] Without specifying the recipient role, it is unlikely that the source role is specified by both free pronoun nyununginy and pronominal clitic =nggu.

[235] Recipient NPs of 'giving' are always marked with the dative case not with the absolutive case. Hence it is impossible to analyse that there is the third person object =ø for the recipients (§12.5.9.1).

7.3.9 Selection from more than one candidate

I have presented the types of NPs which can be cross-referenced (§7.2.5) and some examples which potentially contain three pronominal clitics in a clitic complex (§7.3.8). However, it is much more common that two referents (subject and non-subject) are selected to be cross-referenced by a subject clitic and a non-subject clitic respectively. If there is more than one non-subject participant that can be potentially cross-referenced, the following hierarchies operate to select one of them for cross-referencing.

(7-127)
(a) Animacy: Human > non-human > inanimate
(b) Person: 1 > 2 > 3
(c) Number: Augmented > Unit-augmented, Minimal

(a) Animacy/humanness

Basically human NPs are selected rather than non-human animate NPs. Inanimate NPs are always suppressed by animate (human and non-human) NPs.

Human > animal

(7-128) **ngala-yi-wuyarra-wu** ngu=rna=**wuliny** nyang-ana
♀Ch-KIN-DU-DAT REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3UA.OBJ perceive- PRES

jarrambayi-wu
goanna-DAT
CS#: I look around for a goanna for [my] two kids. [TM: CSfn061011]

Human > inanimate

(7-129) ngama-yi-lu ngu=**yanu** biga bung-an-i
M -KIN-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ inform HIT-CONT-PAST

yamayama-wu gujarra jaru
children-DAT two.ABS language.ABS
The mother was telling two stories to children. [MS: CSfn110509]

Animal > inanimate

(7-130) ngu=rna=**la** guji gujarra yu-nya
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT bone.ABS two.ABS give-PAST

yalu-wu **warlagu-wu**
DIST2-DAT dog-DAT
CS#: I gave two bones to that dog. [TM: CSfn160810]

(b) Person hierarchy: 1 > 2 > 3

In cases when clauses have more than one human non-subject participant, the one which is higher in person or number hierarchies is cross-referenced irrespective of grammatical relations of NPs.

1 > 2

(7-131) ngu=**yi** yu-nya nyununga
REAL=1MIN.OBJ give-PAST 2MIN.OBL1
He (my father) gave me to you (my promised husband). [MS: CSfn260609]

1 > 3

(7-132)
1. ngu=rnalu=nyunu yu-nya ngala-yi
REAL=1AUG.SBJ=RR give-PAST ♀Ch-KIN.ABS
CS#: We gave [our] kids to each other.

2. *dumaj* ngu=**ngandiba**-gu=lu *marrim* Jambiyin *na*
because REAL=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ marry ♂subsection.ABS NOW
Because they (my daughters) married Jambiyin men for us. [TM: CSfn071011]

2 > 3

(7-133) ngarra=rna=**nggu** biga bung-gu gardiya-wunyja
ADM=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ inform HIT-FUT white.man-COMIT
I might report you to the white man (i.e. the police man). [MS: CSfn170909]

(c) Number hierarchy: AUG > UA, MIN

If two non-subject participants are third person, the number hierarchy determines which NP is cross-referenced.

Augmented > Minimal

(7-134) mawun-du ngu=**yanu** **murrgun** **gardiya**
man-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ three.ABS white.man.ABS

biga bung-an-i yamaji-wu
inform HIT-CONT-PAST small-DAT
TT: The man told a story about the three men to the child. [MS: TTfn050802]

Augmented > Unit-augmented

(7-135) gula=n=**janu** yu-nya yalu-wu gujarra-wu
NEG=2MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ give-PAST DIST2-DAT two-DAT

mawun-gu ngarin
man-DAT meat.ABS
TM: You never *givim* them beef for two men. [TM: CSfn140610]
CS@: You didn't give them (AUG) meat for two men (who are waiting for them (AUG) for food at their house.)

Between minimal and unit-augmented non-subject participants, selection is not always consistent. A unit-augmented absolutive NP is cross-referenced rather than a minimal dative NP in (7-136) whereas a minimal dative NP is cross-referenced instead of unit-augmented absolutive NP in (7-137).

(7-136) nganingu-wu ngabu-yu-wu ngu=rna=**wuliny** jirri
1MIN.OBL1-DAT F-KIN-DAT REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3UA.OBJ point

ga-nya **yambagina-wuyarra**
CARRY-PAST child-DU.ABS
CS#: To my father, I showed my twins. [TM: CSfn111011]

(7-137) ngalawiny-ju ngu=**la** jirri yirran-i gujarra jawiji
♂Ch-ERG REAL=3MIN.DAT point PUT-PAST two.ABS ♂DCh.ABS
CS#: [His] daughter showed two grandchildren to him. [TM: CSfn111011]

7.4 Position of pronominal clitic complexes

The most common position of the clitic complex is second position of the clause. This is common, not only in Ngumpin-Yapa languages (Hale, 1992; McConvell, 1980, 1996; Simpson, 2007; Simpson & Mushin, 2008; Swartz, 1988; 2012 etc.) but also cross-linguistically (cf. Halpern & Zwicky, 1996). However, Wanyjirra clauses also allow clitic complexes to appear in other positions. Table 7.13 provides statistics on

positions of complexes based on five texts given in Appendix 4. In this survey, I also take account of the placement of auxiliaries and subordinators with no overt clitic attachment because of third person minimal referents.

Table 7.13: A statistic survey of positions of pronominal clitic complexes

	No. of Examples	Ratio (%)
Initial position	58	36
Second position	77	48
Third position	25	15
Fourth position	2	1
Clauses containing clitic complexes	162	100
Overall clauses (excluding non-finite subordinate clauses)	304	

Initial position:

(7-138) **ngu=li** gang-gu ngurra-nggawu *nao*
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ carry-FUT camp-ALL NOW
MS: "We will carry [it] to the camp then.". [DJ: 99_40_3.044]

Second position:

(7-139) gula**=wula** bina garri-nya gardiya-wu *inglis*-gu,..
NEG=3UA.SBJ know BE-PAST white.man.DAT English-DAT

minyarn
nothing
They di not understand the white man [and] English. [MS: 97_31_2.057]

(7-140) yunbarn-an-i **ngu=lu** nyila=ma jarrarda=ma
sing-CONT-PAST REAL=3AUG.SBJ DIST1=TOP SONG NAME.ABS=TOP
They were singing *jarrarda*. [TM: 09_0513_3.054]

Third position:

(7-141) nganinga nyawa **ngu=yi** jiwili
1MIN.OBL1 PROX1 REAL=1MIN.OBJ blue.tongue.lizard.sp.ABS
MS: "This is *jiwili* for me." [DJ: 99_40_3.055]

Fourth position:

(7-142) yala-nginyi /...(2.7) nyawa,...(1.9) jangilany guya**=lu**,..
DIST2-EL PROX1 firewood.ABS SUB=3PL.SBJ

guya=lu bayan-an-i,...(1.2) yangi-nggu ngu=la
SUB=3PL.SBJ chop-CONT-PAST one-ERG REAL=3SG.DAT

bayan-an-i,...(1.0) juburr-juburr nyila=ma jangilany=ma \...
chop-CONT-PAST RDP-round.up DIST1=TOP firewood .ABS=TOP

yabayaba \
small.PL.ABS
CS#: Then, this one, firewood which they were cutting, one man/woman was (also) cutting and rounding up, the firewood, small ones.
NOTE: The pronominal clitic complex guya=lu in the second line is the repetition.
NOTE: juburr is a coverb which commonly occurs with the verb yirran- 'put'.

What elements occur before pronominal clitic complexes may be determined by pragmatic functions rather than by syntactic functions of the elements (§12.2.1).

In fact, there are 47% of all clauses which do not have pronominal complexes. Most of those examples contain English or Kriol clauses,[236] nominal predicates, coverbs as a main predicates (§10.5.1), non-finite verbs as main predicates (§10.5.2) and simple words like interjections or nominals. It is also possible that clauses contain finite verbs without clitic complexes. However, in most of such cases, referents of core arguments are mostly third person minimal that has no overt subject and object forms and they are encoded by overt NPs in the same clauses or neighbouring clauses in texts.

[236] This is related to Meakins's (2011a: 116-117) observation that pronominal-marking patterns are not switched between Gurindji and Gurindji Kriol. In Gurindji Kriol, Gurindji pronominal clitics are never used along with the Kriol pronoun and tense marker. Likewise in Gurindji, Kriol pronouns are never found along with the Gurindji inflecting verbs with tense and aspect inflection. In the same way, Wanyjirra pronominal-marking patterns are not integrated into Kriol or English sentences.

Chapter 8
Noun phrases

8.0 Introduction

In Wanyjirra, the existence of the noun phrase (NP) is only weakly suggested by some properties such as case-marking, positions of pronominal clitic complexes and prosody (§8.1). Sub-constituents of the NPs generally occur contiguously and discontinuous NPs are uncommon (§8.7). A NP consists of two functional elements: the (semantic) head and zero to three modifiers placed before or after the head. The linear order of these elements is not rigid, although there are some preferences (§8.2). Slots of the head and modifiers can be filled by single nominal words or two or more words comprising a complex NP (§8.6). Nouns and core free pronouns typically function as the head, but other nominal members can also function as the head when these typical types do not occur in the phrase (§8.3.1). On the other hand, adjectives, quantifiers, demonstratives and oblique pronouns typically function as modifiers (§8.3.2). There are also a number of examples where several coreferential NPs appears in apposition within a clause (§8.8).

8.1 NP constituency

The issue of whether the NP exists in Australian languages has been discussed in the literature. For instance, Blake (1979) for Kalkatungu, Hale (1983) for Warlpiri, Heath (1986) for Nunggubuyu and Evans (2003a) for Bininj Gun-Wok claim that for these languages it is unnecessary, or difficult to establish NP constituents. Generally in those languages, nominal words which relate to the same referent may occur discontinuously within a clause and all nominal words in a sequence are described as being in apposition. On the other hand, some Australian languages have clear evidence for the existence of NP constituents. For instance, Bowe (1990) demonstrates that Pitjantjatjara has a noun phrase unit whose members typically occur in a string with phrase-final case marking and with a fixed internal word order. In Jaminjung, the status of NPs is confirmed by the 'free' case marking pattern whereby one or more

sub-constituent is marked by case suffixes, by constraints on order of sub-constituents, and by prosodic contours (Schultze-Berndt, 2000; Schultze-Berndt & Simard, 2012). In subsequent work on Warlpiri, constraints on positions of pronominals have also been used to identify NPs (Hale et al., 1995; Simpson, 1991).

Wanyjirra is a language for which it is difficult to identify the category of 'noun phrase'. It is common that arguments are only denoted by pronominal clitics. Nonetheless, a noun phrase category is weakly suggested in this language. Although there is no rigid word order in putative NPs, some preferences are found (§8.2). Nouns (including common nouns, proper nouns, kin terms and subsection terms) can only function as referent specifiers (i.e., heads of putative NPs) while other nominal sub-class members (including demonstratives, oblique pronouns, adjectives and numerals) are capable of functioning as both heads and modifiers, but they typically can act as modifiers (§8.3). When a clause has more than one coreferential nominal, they usually occur contiguously. Discontinuous expressions are rare and seem to have a clear discourse function (§8.7). Wanyjirra noun phrases are characterised by the following properties, though none of them is conclusive to identify a NP.

(a) Nominal words in a sequence show case-agreement though in particular circumstances only final sub-constituents are marked by case suffixes;
(b) Nominal words may occur before the second-position pronominal clitic complex or;
(c) Nominal words may occur within a single intonation contour.

Although the existence of NP constituents is assumed as in most parts, I adopt on the 'apposition' analysis in particular constructions, i.e., generic-specific constructions (§8.4); part-whole/inalienable possessive NPs (§8.5.2) and prosodically separated coreferential NPs (§8.8).

(a) Case marking

Nominal case-marking is generally word-marking (§3.2.2). This means that all nominal words of the NP are marked with the same case suffix, depending on the NP's grammatical or semantic roles in the clause.

(8-1) **gujarra-lu** **mawun-du** ngu=wula jilmung man-gu
two-ERG man-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ break GET-FUT

dug-arra-nginyi=ma \
smash-REP-EL=TOP
TT: Two men will break [the tail] from smashing, i.e., [the tail] that has been smashed. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).562]

(8-2) nyangga=d bung-gu wirlg,…(1.2) gang-ga \...
COND=2MIN.SBJ HIT-FUT kill carry-IMP

murla-nggawu **ngurra-nggawu** \
PROX2-ALL camp-ALL
CS#: If you kill it, bring it [back] to this camp. [TM: 11_1014_4.013]

However, inflecting proximal and distal demonstratives in ergative NPs occasionally occur without the ergative suffix when they are immediately followed by head nouns which are overtly marked by the ergative suffix (§3.2.2; §6.1.1.1). This ergative marking operates at phrase level, whereby the case suffix has scope over all sub-constituents of the putative phrase. This marking pattern is used as evidence for the existence of NPs in other languages including Pitjantjatjara (Bowe, 1990) and Warlpiri (Hale, 1983 etc.).

(8-3) ngu=wula=yanu yunbarn-an-i
REAL=3UA.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ sing-CONT-PAST

yarrirndi=lu *na* **yalu** **gujarra-lu**
SONG.NAME.ABS=ONLY NOW DIST2 two-ERG
Those two were singing *yarrirndi* to them. [MS: 97_31_2.032]

(8-4) *This is an answer for the question: "what is burning your buttocks?"*
murlu **jangilany-ju**
PROX2 fire-ERG
TT: This fire. [MS: TTfn130999]

The stem murla 'here' without the overt locative suffix may also constitute a NP with the locative-marked nouns.

(8-5) **murla marru-ngga**\...(1.1) giyan-ang-gu ngu=rnalu \...(1.4)
PROX1 house-LOC throw-CONT-FUT REAL=1AUG.SBJ

ngalya-ngga \ jaminy-ja \
face-LOC forehead-LOC
TT: Here near the house, we will paint [ochre] onto [someone else's?] forehead and face. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.107]
NOTE: This clause lacks the Whole NP associated to the Part. The Whole would be expressed with an oblique clitic (see also §8.5.2).

Likewise uninflecting demonstratives are occasionally used in ergative or locative NPs instead of inflecting demonstratives yalu- and murlu- (§6.1.1.1). Such demonstratives always precede ergative or locative-marked nouns.

(8-6) **nyawa** **mawun-du** garran-ana milarrang jalgaji
PROX1 man-ERG keep-PRES spear.ABS woomera.ABS
TM: This man *keepim* spear *an* woomera.
CS@: This man keeps a spear and wommera.
CS#: ALT: The man here keeps a spear and woomera. [TM: CSfn180509]

(8-7) **nyila ngurra-ngga** ngu=rna lung-ana
DIST1 camp-LOC REAL=1MIN.SBJ cry-PRES
There *langa* camp *ai crying*.
CS@: There at the camp I am crying. [TM: CSfn100712]

Directional words (§6.2) can also form a NP with other nominals even though they do not take case suffixes. They are used as a spatial modifier providing locational information on the entity.

(8-8) **yala-ngga** **marru-ngga** **gayi-ni** ngu=lu garri-nya
DIST2-LOC house-LOC north-D.LOC1 REAL=3AUG.SBJ stay-PAST
La that house that *wei* they *bin stei*.
CS@: At that house in the north they stayed. [TM: CSfn030910]

(8-9)
TM: nyawa yambagina \.. Jangala \
PROX1 child.ABS ♂subsection.ABS
TT: These two boys of the Jangala [subsection].
CS%: These kids are Jangala.

TT: Jangala \.. (TM: yiyi \) Jangala gujarra \
♂subsection.ABS yes ♂subsection.ABS two.ABS
CS: 'Jangala? (TM: Yeah.) Two Jangala boys?'

TM: yuwu \ **Doreen-gu** **gani** \
yeah PERSON.NAME-DAT down.country
TT: Yes, [they are the sons of] Doreen, [who is] down there.
CS%: Yeah, [they are] Doreen's [boys] down [there].
[TM; TT: 76_14_1_TM(2).039-040]

(b) Before pronominal clitic complexes

In many Pama-Nyungan languages with bound pronouns, the position of bound pronouns may also provide evidence of the existence of NPs. In Warlpiri, for instance, nominal words in the same intonation contour which precede the 'second-position' auxiliary containing bound pronominals are considered as forming a single NP constituent (Hale et al., 1995; Simpson, 1991). Similarly in Wanyjirra pronominal clitic complexes most commonly occur in second constituent position (§7.4). In (8-10), a single noun preceding the clitic complex is considered as a NP constituent on its own, when more than one nominal word is placed in the left-side of the clitic complex, it too is regarded as a NP (8-1, 8-7, 8-8 and 8-11).

(8-10) **ngaringga-lu** ngu=lu jama-nana wilarr
woman-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ grind-PRES seed.sp.ABS
Women grind seeds. [MS: CSfn080909]

(8-11) **nganingu-lu** **ngabu-yu-lu** **ngama-yi-lu** ngu=wula=la
1MIN.OBL1-ERG F-KIN-ERG M-KIN-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ=3MIN.DAT

yu-nya Janama-wu ngayu
give-PAST ♂subsection-DAT 1MIN
My father and mother gave me to Janama (i.e., for marriage).
[TM: CSfn071011]

(c) Prosody

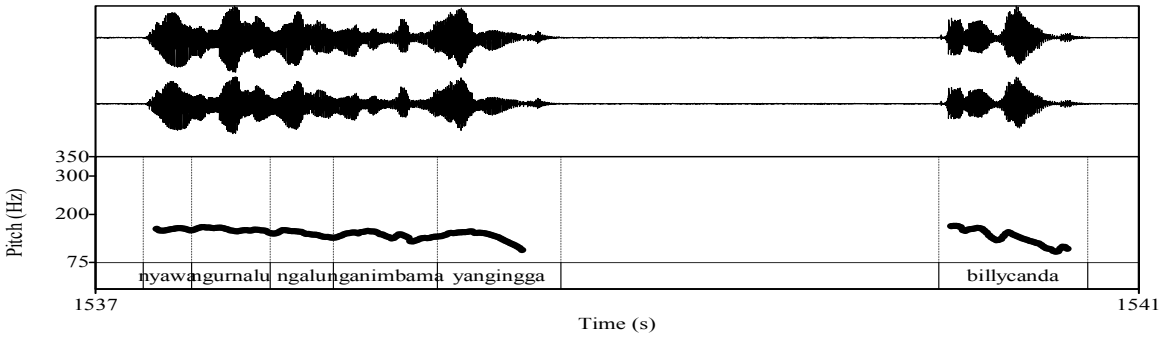
A NP can also be characterised by a single intonation contour and a lack of planned pauses. The recent literature (McGregor, 2004: 275-279; Schultze-Berndt & Simard, 2012; Simard & Schultze-Berndt, 2011) claims that prosody is important to distinguish different structures including discontinuous NPs (§8.7) and several authors use this prosodic criterion for identifying NPs in other Australian languages, including Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 102-103), Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt, 2000: 43; Schultze-Berndt & Simard, 2012: 1021-1024), Wardaman (Merlan, 1994: 226) and Kuuk Thaayorre (Gaby, 2006: 298), combined with other language-specific morpho-

syntactic criteria. In Wanyjirra too, by this criterion, coreferential nominals in separate intonation contours are treated as distinct NPs even though they are contiguous and in the same case. In (8-12), two locative nominals are separated by a pitch reset and pause and analysed as distinct NPs, although they are semantically and functionally linked to each other and they are interpreted as a single NP as in TT's translation. In this example, the second locative NP is treated as an 'afterthought' which supplies further clarification on what precedes it (§8.8).

(8-12) nyawa ngu=rnalu nga-lu nganimba=ma
PROX1 REAL=1AUG.SBJ ingest-FUT 1AUG=TOP

yangi-ngga \...(1.6) ***billycan-da*** \
one-LOC billycan-LOC
TT: We will eat this [honey] in (i.e. from) one billycan.
CS%: We will eat this in the one, in the billycan. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).458]

Figure 8.1: Pitch track and waveform of (8-12)



Within a complex NP, however, NPs in the lower level are sometimes separated by intonation breaks and pauses (see (8-100) below).

8.2 The NP structure

The structure of the NP in Wanyjirra can be described in the following template. Brackets indicate that its occurrence is optional.

(8-13) (MODIFIER) - (MODIFIER) - REFERENT SPECIFIER - (MODIFIER) - (MODIFIER)

In the template, there are four slots for modifiers. However, the corpus has no examples where all slots are filled in by nominal words. In the corpus, NPs have no

more than three modifiers, but the co-occurrence of three modifiers is very rare.

Potentially any subclasses of the nominal group can fill in the position of 'referent specifier' (McGregor, 2004: 155), which is the semantic head of the phrase. However, nouns, core free pronouns and some interrogatives typically function as referent specifiers. Modifiers are typically demonstratives (as determiners), numerals (as quantifiers), and adjectives, dative-marked nouns and oblique pronouns (as qualifiers). Nouns do not normally function as modifiers.

The order of modifiers is not strictly fixed. There is no evidence for whether there are any semantic differences between NPs in contrasting word orders. For instance, Examples (8-14 and 8-15) contrast in the linear order of the common noun mawun and the numeral yangi but TT's translations in both examples are identical, namely 'one man'. According to further detailed observation of contexts, in both cases yangi 'one' narrows down the set of the possible referents mawun 'man' to one of them by specifying the quantitative property of the referent.[237]

(8-14) garran-ang-gu **yangi-nggu** **mawun-du **
keep-CONT-FUT one-ERG man-ERG
MS: That man got some.
TT%: One man will keep [some white ochre]. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.102]

(8-15) **mawun=ma** **yangi=ma** ma-lu \
man.ABS=TOP one.ABS=TOP say-FUT
TT: One man will say [like this]. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).299]

Although modifiers can precede or follow their heads, different nominal subclass members have some preference in their positions with respect to other sub-constituents. Tsunoda (1981: 95) describes some tendencies for Jaru NP constituents as follows:

(a) An interrogative occurs initially;
(b) A demonstrative occurs initially unless the NP contains an interrogative or pronoun;

[237] In other languages including Gooniyandi (McGregor, 1990: 253), the template is made by detailed associated functions of modifiers (such as deictic, quantifier, classifier and qualifier). However, it is hard to attest such template for all Wanyjirra NPs. Semantic differences in orders of sub-constituents may be subtle as in (8-14 and 8-15) and cannot be easily captured from given translations.

(c) A pronoun precedes noun(s);

(d) A generic noun immediately precedes a specific noun;

(e) Adjectives precede approximately as frequently as they follow nouns.

Wanyjirra also has all these tendencies except (d). An interrogative stem with interrogative reading always occurs initially within NPs as in (8-16). [238] Demonstratives and pronouns (core and oblique forms) preferably precede other sub-constituents (8-17 and 8-18). In (8-18), the demonstrative follows the pronoun and noun, thus attesting both (b) and (c).

(Interrogative)-(Noun)

(8-16) **wanyji-gu** **yamaji-lu** ngu=nggu bung-an-i
which-ERG small-ERG REAL=2MIN.OBJ hit-CONT-PAST
TT!: Which child hit you? [MS: TTfn110901]

(Demonstrative)-(Numeral)-(Noun)

(8-17) **yalu-nggu** **gujarra-lu** **mawun-du** ngu=wula yarrirndi
DIST2-ERG two-ERG man-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ magic.song.ABS

garran-ana
keep-PRES
CS#: Those two men keep (i.e., remember) *yarrirndi*. [TM: CSfn101011]

(Oblique.Pronoun)-(Noun)-(Demonstrative)

(8-18) guya=lu barlag-barlag garriny-ana *Lamboo*-ga \
THUS=3AUG.SBJ RDP-mix STAY-PRES PLACE.NAME-LOC

nyanunginy-ja **ngurra-ngga** **yala-ngga** gajirri *olabat*
3MIN.OBL2-LOC camp-LOC DIST2-LOC old.woman.ABS 3PL
[Yeah,] all old women are thus joining at her place, at Lamboo, there.
[TM: CSfn200810]

However, contrary to (b) and (c), demonstratives and pronouns can also follow other sub-constituents although this is less frequent than otherwise (8-19 and 8-20).

[238] It is unclear about the case of indefinite-interrogatives. The corpus only has a single example of the indefinite nyayang 'some' following its head noun. However, there is not enough relevant data for indefinite use of interrogatives co-occurring with their head to generalise the order of an indefinite pronoun and its head.

(Noun)-(Demonstrative)

(8-19) birndirr gang-gu:: \ **wirlga-nggu**=ma **yalu-nggu**=ma
chip CARRY-FUT axe-ERG=TOP DIST2-ERG=TOP

birndirr gang-gu:: guya \
chip CARRY-FUT thus
TT: [He] will cut [the tree] with that axe, like this. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1)_432]

(Noun)-(Oblique.Pronoun)

(8-20) ngu=rna=la wangany nyang-gu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT search PERCEIVE-FUT

ngama-yi-wu **nyurraranginy-gu**
M-KIN-DAT 2AUG.OBL2-DAT
I will look round for your mother. [TM: CSfn061011]

When demonstratives and pronouns co-occur in NPs, demonstratives often occur before pronouns as in (8-21). However, it is also possible for pronouns to precede demonstratives as in (8-18) above.

(Demonstrative)-(Noun)-(Oblique.Pronoun)

(8-21) ngu=rna=yanu bina yung-gu **nyila** **ngurra**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ know GIVE-FUT DIST1 camp.ABS

nganinga gardiya-wu
1MIN.OBL1 white.man-DAT
CS#: I will teach that country of mine to white men. [TM: CSfn101110]

Adjectives and numerals can either precede or follow nouns (8-14, 8-15, 8-17, 8-22 and 8-23). Similarly dative (genitive)-marked nouns and their heads occur in either order (§8.5.1).

(Adjective)-(Noun)

(8-22) **yura** **junba** ngu=nda yunbarn-ana
good.ABS corroboree.ABS REAL=2AUG.SBJ sing-PRES
You sing a good corroboree. [TM: CSfn181010]

(Noun)-(Adjective)

(8-23) **ngarin** **yura** yung-ga=yi
meat.ABS good.ABS give-IMP=1MIN.OBJ
Give me good meat. [MS: CSfn110809]

However, Tsunoda's Tendency (d) is not the case in Wanyjirra. Although there are not

many relevant examples in the corpus, in generic-specific constructions (§8.4), generic nouns can follow specific nouns as frequent as otherwise as in (8-24) where the generic noun burnu 'tree' follows the specific noun muwuying 'black plum'.[239] Generic nouns are underlined.

(8-24) ngu=rna garriny-ana **muwuying-gula** **burnu-ngga**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ stay-PRES black.plum-LOC tree-LOC
TT!: I am sitting on top of a bush plum tree. [MS: TTfn090806]

8.3 Functions of nominals within NPs

8.3.1 Referent specifiers

Referent specifiers are semantic heads of the phrases which make primary reference to the entity or to a set of entities. Although nouns, core pronouns and some interrogatives prototypically function as referent specifiers, all other nominal members can also occur as referent specifiers when such prototypical types do not appear in a phrase.

(a) Nouns

(8-25) gan.gu-la ngu=wulany nya-nya **gardiya-lu**=ma guya
up-LOC REAL=3UA.OBJ perceive-PAST white.man-ERG=TOP thus
The white man looked up to these men like this. [MS: 97_31_2.044]

(b) Core pronouns

(8-26) yan-da=lu **nyurrara** *nao* wilinyi \
go-IMP=AUG.SBJ 2AUG NOW hunt
TT: Go on walkabout now.
CS%: You must go on walkabout now. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).479]

(c) Demonstratives

[239] It is reported (or less overtly) that the order generic-specific is more preferable or commoner than otherwise in Australian languages including Kayardild (Evans, 1995: 245), Wardaman (Merlan, 1994: 239) and Nyagumarta (Sharp, 2004: 311) as well as Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 93). Therefore, it might be the case that the generic-specific order is actually more common in Wanyjirra, too. It is worth considering the reason why the specific-generic order is equally found in the Wanyjirra corpus is due to influence from English expressions where specific terms precede generic terms, e.g. 'gum tree' and 'kangaroo meat'.

(8-27) **nyawa** nga-nyja nyundu \
PROX1 ingest-IMP 2MIN
TT: You eat this. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).564]

(d) Oblique pronouns

(8-28) nyila warlagu lulu garriny-ana **ngaliwulanginy-ja**
DIST1 dog.ABS sit STAY-PRES 1UA.INC.OBL2-LOC
That dog sitting down *la wi*.
CS@: The dog is sitting down with/by us. [TM: CSfn070610]

(8-29) *yaa* **nganinga** nyawa \
yeah 1MIN.OBL1 PROX1
"Yeah, this is mine." [TM: 10_1019_5.044]

(e) Interrogatives

(8-30) **wanyji**=nggu nyununga yamaji
which.ABS=2MIN.OBJ 2MIN.OBL1 small.ABS
TT: Which is your child?
CS: ALT: Which is the child of yours? [MS: TTfn110901]

(f) Adjectives

(8-31) nga=liwa nga-lu **jiwirri**
REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ ingest-FUT cooked.ABS
TT: We will eat the cooked [goanna]. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).089']

(g) Numerals

(8-32) nyundu nga-nyja,...(1.1) **yangi** \
2MIN ingest-IMP one.ABS
TT: You eat one [piece]. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).567]

Where nominals which prototypically function as referent specifiers do not occur in phrases, so that demonstratives, adjectives or numerals occur solely or with other modifiers, one might analyse these examples as elliptical NPs, i.e., NPs missing their heads. In fact, in (8-31 and 8-32) above, what is referred to by the NP is usually understood from contexts, knowledge of interlocutors or based on the fact that speakers briefly summarised stories before we actually started recording them. However, I assume that every NP has at least one nominal word which can fill in the referent specifier slot instead of regarding them as ellipsis (cf. Dench, 1995b for Martuthunira). Thus, demonstratives, adjectives and numerals in these examples can be treated as heads of NPs without employing 'dummy' nouns unlike English

expressions (e.g. 'the good one'), although the translations given by Tsunoda specify the referents in brackets.

In addition to single nominal words, a compound noun (8-33) and a complex NP (8-34) can behave as referent specifiers. In the case of complex NPs (8-34), the referent specifier slot at the higher level is filled with the two coordinate NPs ngabu-yu-lu and ngama-yi-lu without an overt conjunction (§8.6.1) and is modified by the preceding oblique pronoun.

(8-33) ngayu ngu=rna bina **Wanyjirra-jaru**-wu
1MIN REAL=1MIN.SBJ know LANGUAGE.NAME-DAT
I know the Wanyjirra language. [MS: CSfn050509]

(8-34) [nganingu-lu [**ngabu-yu-lu** **ngama-yi-lu**]] ngu=wula=la
1MIN.OBL1-ERG F-KIN-ERG M-KIN-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ=3MIN.DAT

yi-nya Janama-wu ngayu
give-PAST ♂subsection-DAT 1MIN
CS#: My father and mother gave me to *Janama* (i.e., for marriage).
[TM: CSfn071011]

8.3.2 Modifiers

Modifiers are typically adjectives, numerals, demonstratives and oblique pronominals.

(a) Adjectives

(8-35) man-da=yila **bulwarr** jinajina
get-IMP=1MIN.OBL dry.ABS dress.ABS
CS#: Get dry clothes around me. [TM: CSfn190710]

(b) Numerals

(8-36) ngu=rna=wulany marn-ana **gujarra-wu** mawun-gu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3UA.OBJ say-PRES two-DAT man-DAT
I am talking to two men.
CS#: ALT: I am talking about two men. [MS: CSfn050509]

(c) Oblique pronouns

(8-37) nyawa jarrambayi ngu=rna=yanu garran-ana
PROX1 goanna.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ keep-PRES

nganingu-wu jaja-wu
1MIN.OBL1-DAT MM-DAT
TT: I am keeping these goannas for my mother's mother.
[MS: 76_12_1_NP(1).047'''']

(d) Demonstratives

(8-38) bija-nggu **yalu**-nggu nga-nyja \...(1.0) ngarlu \
grass.stem-ERG DIST2-ERG ingest-IMP honey.ABS
TT: Eat the honey with that grass. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).064]

8.4 Generic-specific NPs

A nominal phrase in this construction contains two nouns, i.e., a generic noun which expresses a generic classification of the entity and a specific noun which refers to a specific type of the entity limiting reference to a particular subset of the generic classification of the entity. In this construction, there is no syntactic dependency between generic and specific nouns. They are always continuous and jointly function as the head of the NP. But either may occur on its own as the head of an NP.

The orders generic-specific and specific-generic are equally found although the latter is more frequently found in the Wanyjirra corpus as opposed to Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 95). The corpus contains the following examples including four semantic types of generic nouns: (i) burnu ‘tree, plant, stick’ (8-24 above and 8-39); (ii) edible objects, mangarri ‘vegetable food’ and ngarin ‘meat, flesh’ (8-40 and 8-41); (iii) social status of human beings mawun ‘(Aboriginal) man’ (8-42). Examples also include combinations of kin terms as generic classifications and specific personal names or substituted terms for the name taboo as in (8-43). As seen in these examples, generic and specific nouns can take modifiers within the phrase. These modifiers always occur at the right or left edge of generic-specific nouns modifying both nouns.

(8-39) yangi-nggu mawun-du nyila **burnu** **bambu** guya
one-ERG man-ERG DIST1 tree.ABS didgeridoo.ABS thus

birrga man-i
create GET-PAST
CS#: One man made that didgeridoo like this. [TM: CSfn110609]

(8-40) ngu=liwa=la nyang-gu **mabura-wu**
REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ=3MIN.DAT perceive-FUT conkerberry-DAT

mangarri-wu yura-wu
veg.food-DAT good-DAT
CS#: We will look for good conkerberry food. [TM: CSfn140709]

(8-41) yung-ga=yi yabawurru **ngarin** **jiya**
give-IMP=1MIN.OBJ small.ABS meat.ABS kangaroo.ABS
CS#: Give a small piece of the kangaroo meat. [TM: CSfn050710]

(8-42) nyila **marluga** **mawun** bulga-yaru yambarra
DIST1 old.man.ABS man.ABS grey.hair-PROP long.hair.ABS
CS#: That old man has grey long hair. [TM: CSfn020710]

(8-43) nyangga yan-gu marru-ngulu gan.gu-liyin \... *go*,…
COND go-FUT house-ABL up-D.ABL ERROR

nyila nyununga **ngala-yi** **gumunyjayi** \...(1.5)
DIST1 2MIN.OBL1 ♀Ch-KIN.ABS name.taboo.ABS

alrite *maitbi* ngu, ngu=ngayarrang jarrag bung-gu \
alright maybe error REAL=1UA.OBJ tell.off HIT-FUT
TT: If/when that, your sister's child, the name taboo, comes from the house, from up, maybe he/she will talk about that.
CS%: If that, your sister's child, *gumunyjayi* comes from the house, from up, maybe he/she will tell us off. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.135]

8.5 Possession

8.5.1 Alienable possessive constructions

Alienable possession can be expressed in several different ways, e.g. the proprietive suffix (§4.5.1) and second and third person kin possessor suffixes (§4.3.8.2; §4.3.8.3) attaching to the possessums or kin-relators. In addition, the inflecting verb garran- 'keep' is also used to express alienable possession predicatively.

The construction described here involves attributive possessive NPs which contain possessums (general object and kin person[240]) as referent specifiers and possessors marked with the dative suffix (8-44) or the oblique free pronoun (8-45) as modifiers. Unlike the proprietive suffix and kin possessor suffixes, the dative suffix attaches to the possessors, but not the possessums.

(8-44) *matbi* [**ngawa** **gardiya-wu**] ngu=n gugij
maybe water.ABS white.man-DAT REAL=2MIN.SBJ drink

ngarn-an-i
INGEST-CONT-PAST
CS#: Maybe you have been drinking white men's water (i.e., beers).
[TM: CSfn160710]

(8-45) ngu=rna=nggu marn-ang-gu [**Wanyjirra-jaru**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ say-CONT-FUT LANGUAGE.NAME-language.ABS

nganinga]
1MIN.OBL1
MS: I will talk my Wanyjirra language to you. [TM: 09_0515.001]

Oblique pronouns can further inflect, agreeing in case with their head nouns. The following examples also show that the whole phrases (not possessors) are cross-referenced by pronominal clitics. In (8-46), the third person augmented subject form =lu refers to '(your) children' and the third person augmented object form =yanu denotes 'their (the children's) mother's sisters'.[241] In (8-47), the third person minimal dative form =la refers to '(your) mother'.

(8-46) **nyunungu-lu** **yamayama-lu** ngu**=lu**=yanu
2MIN.OBL1-ERG children-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ

ngama-nyan bila man-ana guya=lu yan-ana
M-3KIN.POSS.ABS chase GET-PRES SUB=3AUG.SBJ go-PRES
Your children are chasing their mothers while they are walking.
[MS: CSfn030909]

[240] Cross-linguistically, kin relations are often semantically and structurally categorised as a type of inalienable possession (Chappell & McGregor, 1995). However, many Australian languages including Wanyjirra treat kin relations as alienable possession (Dixon, 1980: 293).
[241] Note that the kin term ngama-yi refers to one's mother and mother's sister (§1.4.4).

(8-47) ngu=rna**=la** wangany nyang-gu **ngama-yi-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT search PERCEIVE-FUT M-KIN-DAT

nyurraranginy-gu
2AUG.OBL2-DAT
CS#: I will look around for your mother. [TM: CSfn061011]

Where alienable possessive NPs are marked with spatial suffixes, the originative suffix is used to encode possessor instead of the dative suffix (§3.2.4.2; §4.4.2.9).

(8-48) ngu=rna ward *na* [***mami*-wuny-ja** **ngabu-yu-wuny-ja**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ return NOW mummy-ORIG-LOC F-KIN-ORIG-LOC

ngurra-ngga]
camp-LOC
CS#: I am back now at mummy and daddy's house. [TM: CSfn051011]

Alienable possession is also expressed within a complex possessive NP where a possessive NP is embedded into another possessive NP as a modifier. In (8-49), the oblique pronoun expresses the possessor/relator of the term 'boy' in the lower NP whereas the dative suffix following the oblique pronoun and the English noun *boi* 'boy' denotes the possessor of the possessum 'dog', which is the head of the whole complex NP.

(8-49) ngu=rna bu-nya [warlagu [**nganingu-wu** ***boi*-wu**]]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ hit-PAST dog.ABS 1MIN.OBL1-DAT boy-DAT
CS#: I hit my boy's dog. [TM: CSfn100712]

8.5.2 Inalienable possession and part-whole constructions

Generally, inalienable possession expresses an 'inextricable, essential or unchangeable' relation and a 'permanent and inherent association' between the possessor and the possessed (Chappell & McGregor, 1995: 4). In Wanyjirra, as in other Ngumpin-Yapa languages, the most typical use of inalienable possessive constructions is to express 'part-whole' relations, i.e., between animate entities and their body parts.

Inalienable possessive and part-whole relationships are expressed by so-called 'external possession' constructions where the possessor/Whole NP is external to the

possessum/Part NP, hence they are independent NPs (cf. McGregor, 2009; Payne & Barshi, 1999). There are two major types of inalienable possessive constructions. In the first one, theWhole and Part NPs in the same case appear in apposition. In the second one, these NPs are marked with different case suffixes.

[1] Whole and Part NPs with the same case suffixes

In the first inalienable possessive constructions, the Whole/possessor and the Part/possessum appear to be morphologically parallel in their case-marking using referential case suffixes (§3.2.3.3). Unlike alienable possessive constructions, the possessor/Whole NPs are neither expressed by oblique pronouns nor marked with the genitive-dative suffix. In addition, the possessor/Whole NPs are cross-referenced by a pronominal clitic. For instance, core free pronouns, but not oblique pronouns, refer to the Wholes of the body parts yambarra 'long hair' (8-50) and murna 'arm' (8-51) and are cross-referenced with subject and object forms of pronominal clitics respectively. For examples of nouns expressing the Wholes, see (8-53-8-55) below.

(8-50) **ngayu** yambarra ngu=**rna** mumbuwung
1MIN long.hair.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ black
TM: My hair is black.
CS: LIT: I, the hair, am black. [TM: CSfn230710]

(8-51) ginarli-lu ngu=**yi** bayan-i **ngayu** murna
mosquito-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ bite-PAST 1MIN arm.ABS

gungurlu-g
blood-TRNSL
TM: Mosquito *bin baitim* my arm *an* blood *bin kamaut*.
CS#: LIT: A mosquito bit me, the arm, bleeding. [TM: CSfn210610]

Therefore, the Whole NPs which are cross-referenced exhibit the syntactic status of core arguments. The Parts, on the other hand, are in a meronymic relation to the Wholes which specify a particular 'extent' or 'locus' of the possessor/Whole's involvement in the action expressed by the predicate (McGregor, 1985: 210). This treatment contrasts with the analysis in Hale (1981) for Warlpiri, who considers them as forming one single phrase with the Wholes, or secondary predicates.

In addition to body parts, the Part NPs also include: any bodily product (8-52),

'shadow/image' (8-53), 'footprint' (8-54) and 'name' (8-55).[242] Since the Whole and the Part are distinct NPs, they do not need to be contiguous and can be separated as in (8-52 and 8-54).

(8-52) **ngaburlu** \... magin-nginyi-lu \... ngu=rna ngarn-an-i
breast.ABS sleep-EL-ERG REAL=1MIN.SBJ ingest-CONT-PAST

ngaburlu \... ngayu \... ngama-yi nganinga /
breast.ABS 1MIN M-KIN.ABS 1MIN.OBL1
TT: I, after sleeping, drank my mother's milk.
CS: LIT: I, after sleeping, used to drink my mother, the milk.
[NP: 76_12_1_NP(2).036]

(8-53) Nangari-lu ngu=yanu man-ana **ngandawi** yamayama
♀subsection-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ get-PRES shade.ABS children.ABS
CS#: Nangari is taking a photo of children.
CS: LIT: Nangari is taking the children, a shadow. [MS: CSfn201009]

[242] Part-Whole NPs may also include inclusory constructions where free pronouns specify a full set of referents and the following nouns (person names, kin terms or subsection names) describe only a part of the referent set as given in Tsunoda's (1981: 92) Jaru example (a).

(a) **ngajarra** **ngawi-ji** nga=liyarra yan-i
JARU 1DU.EXC F-KIN.ABS REAL=1DU.EXC.SBJ go-PAST
We two-exclusive, one member of whom is (my) father, went, i.e. (my) father and I went.
NOTE: The gloss and interlinearlisation are changed by CS.

However, the Wanyjirra inclusory construction only contains a pronominal clitic representing the superset and an overt noun expressing the subset, but without free pronouns (§7.2.6). It is quite common for free pronouns not to occur overtly in Wanyjirra clauses. Example (b) is one such construction, where the first word is considered as the auxiliary nga plus the pronominal clitic =liyarra although it is phonologically identical to the free pronoun ngaliyarra.

(b) **nga=liyarra** gurriji lulu garri-nya gambarri-la
REAL=1UA.SBJ ♀SW.ABS sit STAY-PAST front-LOC
MS: *Me* and *gurriji was* sitting in front.
CS#: Lit: We two, including son's wife, sat down in front. [MS: CSfn110509]

This analysis is based on the fact that pronominal clitics generally appear in verbal finite clauses. However, it is possible that this word is alternatively analysed as the free pronoun ngaliyarra, which is provided below. In this case, the NP can be considered as an inclusory construction where the pronoun represents a superset/whole and the following noun describes a subset/part. Although the corpus does not have clear and unambiguous examples, I assume that such NP constructions exist in Wanyjirra, too.

Alternatively:
(c) **ngaliyarra** gurriji lulu garri-nya gambarri-la
1UA ♀SW.ABS sit STAY-PAST front-LOC
MS: *Me* and *gurriji was* sitting in front.
CS#: Lit: We two, including son's wife, sat down in front. [MS: CSfn110509]

(8-54) nyawa ngu=rna garaj gawurra man-ana **jamana**[243]
PROX1 REAL=1MIN.SBJ person.ABS track GET-PRES foot.ABS
TT: I'm following this person's track.
CS: LIT: I'm tracking this man, the footprints. [MS: 76_12_1_NP(1).027''''''']
NOTE: gawurra might be a different language. Usually yurrg man- 'track' or yanggarra man- 'trace' is used for this meaning.

(8-55) nyamba **yini** nyila mawun
what.ABS name.ABS DIST1 man.ABS
TM: What [is] that man's name?
CS: LIT: What [is] the name, the man? [TM: CSfn110610]

Part-whole expressions can also use the dative suffix following the Whole NPs, as in alienable possessive constructions, in the case of that the animals/humans as the whole entities are already dead and/or are being separated from the bodies, e.g. due to dismemberment. In (8-56), the Whole jiya 'kangaroo' which is marked with the dative suffix, refers to the dead kangaroo. In (8-57), on the other hand, the Part noun jawurd 'tail' and the Whole warlagu 'dog' are both unmarked as inalienable possessive constructions. This is used in the context where the dog is alive.

(8-56) mawun-du ngu gumarn-i **nyila** **jawurd** **jiya-wu**
man-ERG REAL cut-PAST DIST1 tail.ABS kangaroo-DAT
A man cut that kangaroo's tail. [MS: CSfn081110]

(8-57) yamaji-lu ngu durrg **jawurd** **warlagu**
small-ERG REAL grab tail.ABS dog.ABS
MS: A kid is grabbing the dog's tail.
CS: LIT: A kid is grabbing the dog, the tail. [MS: CSfn081110]

Unlike in neighbouring languages, products of bodily functions including blood, sweat, faeces and eggs of animals (but except for ngaburlu 'milk' (8-52)) are often expressed by alienable possessive constructions in Wanyjirra. It could be because these products have been separated from the body by excretion, perspiration, or laying eggs. In the case of ngaburlu 'milk' (8-52), it could be different from other examples in that ngaburlu also means 'breast' which is inalienable and the product 'milk' has not been separated from the body before the time when the event of 'ingesting' is taking

[243] The noun jamana expresses the meanings 'foot' and 'footprint'. This example may contain a discontinuous NP (§8.7) where the demonstrative nyawa and the Whole noun garaj of the single NP appear separately. However, this demonstrative an be alternatively analysed as a distinct NP functioning as an adverbial demonstrative 'here'.

place.[244]

(8-58) **jiya-wu** **gura** nyawa
kangaroo-DAT faeces.ABS PROX1
MS: This is kangaroo's poo.
CS#: ALT: Kangaroo's poo here. [MS: CSfn300609]

(8-59) ngu=lu barli nya-nya **gidba** **dirrmid-gu**
REAL=3AUG.SBJ find PERCIVE-PAST egg.ABS croc-DAT
CS#: They found crocodile's egg. [TM: CSfn100712]

Whole and Part NPs can also be in the locative, allative and elative cases. In such examples, the Whole is often denoted by an oblique pronominal clitic only, with no an overt NP.

(8-60) ngarra=**yila** wandi-wu yurrug **jamana-la**
ADM=1MIN.OBL FALL-FUT spill foot-LOC
CS#: It might spill onto my feet. [TM: CSfn270710]

(8-61)
1. yung-ga=yi=lu garlji
give-IMP=1MIN.OBJ=AUG.SBJ white.ochre.ABS
Give me white ochre.

2. ngu=rna=**nyunuggula** yirra-wu **jaminy-ja**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=RR.OBL put-FUT forehead-LOC
CS#: I will paint it onto my forehead. [TM: CSfn010710]

Where the Whole is expressed overtly in such spatial cases, the oblique 2 forms of free pronouns are used instead of the core forms. These oblique forms are used as bases to inflect for spatial cases (§5.1.1.4) but not to denote the meaning of possessor. Note that the allative NPs are usually not cross-referenced as in (8-63).

[244] Unfortunately the corpus has no example expressing the context where a baby is drinking milk from a feeding bottle to investigate if there is a structural difference between two contexts.

(8-62) nyila gulyawurr ngu=**yila** wandi-nya **nganinginy-ja**
DIST1 leaf.ABS REAL=1MIN.OBL fall-PAST 1MIN.OBL2-LOC

bambila-la
shoulder-LOC
MS: That leaf fell down on my shoulder.
CS: LIT: That lead fell down on me, on the shoulder. [MS: CSfn190509]

(8-63) nyila gumbirlanginy ngu bardi-nya **nganinginy-jawu**
DIST1 cockroach.ABS REAL fly-PAST 1MIN.OBL2-ALL

bambila-lawu
shoulder-LOC
The cockroach *bin* fly to my shoulder.
CS: LIT: the cockroach flew to me, to the shoulder. [MS: CSfn120509]

(8-64) gulyurr ngu=**yila** burja yan-ana **nganinginy-nginyi**
mucus.ABS REAL=1MIN.OBL run GO-PRES 1MIN.OBL2-EL

jirrji-nginyi
nose-EL
MS: Cold sick is running from my nose.
CS: LIT: From me, from the nose, mucus is running. [MS: CSfn210709]
NOTE: Idiosyncratic use of the complex verb burja ya- could be influenced from English expression 'mucus is running from the nose'.

[2] Whole and Part NPs are marked with different case suffixes

In the second type of inalienable possessive constructions, Whole and Part NPs appear with different case-marking. The Whole is in the absolutive case whereas the Part is in the locative case as demonstrated in (8-65a and 8-66a), which corresponds to (8-65b and 8-66b) respectively where both NPs are in the absolutive case. The former locative construction is only found with verbs expressing actions which physically affect participants expressed by the Whole NPs, e.g. 'hitting', 'biting', 'throwing' and 'cutting'. It is unclear whether there is any semantic difference between these constructions. At least two speakers (TM and MS) use the two constructions interchangeably though they tend to use locative constructions more frequently.

(8-65)
a. bu-nggu jalngi **langga-ga**
hit-FUT king.brown.ABS head-LOC
TT: [He] will hit the king brown on the head. [MS: 76_13_2_NP(2).061']

b. bu-nggu \... **langga** \...(1.1) jalngi=ma guliyan=ma \
hit-FUT head.ABS king.brown.ABS=TOP dangerous.ABS=TOP
TT: [He] will hit the king brown's head.
CS: LIT: [He] will hit the dangerous king brown, the head.
[NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).061]

(8-66)
a. ginarli-lu ngu=yi baya-ni **murna-ngga**
mosquito-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ bite-PAST arm-LOC
A mosquito bit me on the arm. [MS: CSfn071009]

b. ginarli-lu ngu=yi baya-ni **murna**
mosquito-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ bite-PAST arm.ABS
A mosquito bit my arm.
CS: LIT: A mosquito bit me, the arm. [MS: CSfn071009]

In another minor type, the verbs 'grabbing' and 'pulling' contain the Whole NP, as a direct object, marked with the absolutive case, whereas the body part NP is marked with the ablative case. Similar examples can be found with the similar verbs in other Kimberley languages (McGregor, 2004: 231-232).

(8-67) **warlgan** **jawurd-ngulu** ngu dub man-i
sand.goanna.ABS tail-ABL REAL pull.out GET-PAST
He pulled out the goanna by the tail. [MS: CSfn081110]

(8-68) **jawurd-ngulu** gud man-i
tail-ABL grab GET-PAST
He grabbed it by the tail. [KD: CSfn041010]
NOTE: gud seems to be from another language (probably Jaru). durrg is used in Wanyjirra for the meaning 'grab' as seen in (8-57).

So far this subsection has described two types of inalienable possessive construction. However, it seems that these inalienable possessive constructions have ceased to be used by speakers. In my corpus, there are a number of examples where the Whole is specified by oblique pronouns just like the possessor in alienable possessive constructions. This could be due to influence from English where the possessor and the Whole are always marked (i.e., *his head, my name* and *the kid's hand* but not **he head*, **I name,* and **the kid hand*), or a variety of Kriol where the possessed and the part are followed by the preposition *bla/blanga* plus the possessor (i.e., *hed bla im, nem bla im,*

han bla dat kid).[245] The following examples are given by MS who also speaks Standard Australian English, as well as Wanyjirra and Kriol.

(8-69) nyamba **nyununga** yiri
what.ABS 2MIN.OBL1 name.ABS
What is your name? [MS: CSfn201009]

(8-70) ngu=rna=nggu jirri yirra-wu **nganinga** ngandawi
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ point PUT-FUT 1MIN.OBL1 shadow.ABS
I will show you my photo. [MS: CSfn130509]

8.5.3 Possessor dissension constructions

In addition to alienable and inalienable possessive constructions, Wanyjirra has another possessive construction, namely the possessor dissension construction.[246] In this construction, the possessor NP is cross-referenced with the object/dative clitic although it is a modifier of the possessum NP within the larger possessive NP. The possessor dissension construction is first analysed in detail by Meakins & Nordlinger (2014: 208; in progress) mainly based on Bilinarra and Gurindji examples. This subsection summaries the Wanyjirra possessor dissension construction which shows similar features to the examples Meakins & Nordlinger (ibid) present.

The possessor dissension construction shares morpho-syntactic features of both alienable and inalienable possessive constructions. First, in possessor dissension, as in alienable possession, the possessor of kin persons or other alienably possessed items is encoded by the dative suffix or oblique pronouns and it is a modifier of the possessum NP within the whole possessive NP. However, in possessor dissension, the possessor (specified by $_{b}$ in the example) is always cross-referenced with the object/dative pronominal clitics as in (8-71). It is also possible that the whole possessive NP (specified by $_{a}$ in the example) is cross-referenced as in (8-72). On the other hand, in alienable possession, only the whole possessive NP is cross-referenced as in (8-73).

[245] Note that mix languages such as Gurindji Kriol, Light Warlpiri, Wumpurrarni English (a mix of Warumungu, Standard Australian English and a creole of Northern Australia) speakers also use possessor-marking for inalienable possession rather than apposition (Disbray & Simpson, 2005; Meakins & O'Shannessy, 2005).
[246] This term is adopted from Meakins and Nordlinger (in progress). They previously used the term 'oblique possessive construction' (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014).

(8-71) **nganinga** $_{b}$ yamaji ngu=**yi** $_{b}$=la yiburrg
1MIN.OBL1 small.ABS REAL=1MIN.OBJ=3MIN.DAT in.vain

marn-i ngaburlu-wu
SAY-PAST milk-DAT
MS: My baby is crying for milk in vain.
CS: ALT: The baby of mine is crying (LIT: saying) for milk in vain.
[MS: CSfn270809]

(8-72) nyawa ngu=**nggu** $_{b}$**=la** $_{a}$ **[ngabu-yu-wu** **nyunungu** $_{b}$ **-wu]**$_{a}$
PROX1 REAL=2MIN.OBJ=3MIN.DAT F-KIN-DAT 2MIN.OBL1-DAT
CS: This belongs to your father.
TT: This [mail] is for your father. [MS: TTfn180700]

(8-73) ngu=rna**=yanu** $_{a}$ bura nyang-ana **[nganingu-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ listen PERCEIVE-PRES 1MIN.OBL1-DAT

yamayama-wu]$_{a}$
children-DAT
I remember my children (i.e., the deceased children). [TM: CSfn100610]

The 'double-marking' as seen in (8-72) is rarely found in the Wanyjirra corpus because the whole possessive NP is often a third person minimal object, which is not overtly specified by pronominal clitics. However, the double-marking is observable more commonly in Gurindji (7-74) where the possessor NP is cross-referenced with the object clitic and the whole possessive NP as a subject of the clause is cross-referenced with the subject clitic (Meakins & Nordlinger, in progress).

(8-74) **[Ngayiny** $_{b}$**-ju** **karu-ngku]**$_{a}$ ngu=**yi** $_{b}$**=lu** $_{a}$
GURINDJI 1MIN.DAT-ERG child-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ

tawirrjip pa-ni marluka-wu kurrurij
pelt hit-PAST old.man-DAT car.ABS
The children of mine threw rocks at the old man's car.
(Meakins & Nordlinger, in progress: e.g. 23: gloss modified)

The possessor NP in the possessor dissension construction, like in the alienable possessive construction is treated as a modifier of the whole possessive NP because: (i) the possessor and possessum NPs can occur together before the pronominal clitic complex as in (8-71), which suggests that they form a single NP constituent; (ii) the possessor NP as a modifier must show case agreement with the possessum NP as a head of the NP as in (8-73) (see also the criteria for a NP in§8.1). These properties are

also found in Bilinarra and Gurindji (Meakins & Nordlinger, in progress).

However, the possessor NP can be omitted and only specified by an object/dative pronominal clitic in the possessor dissension construction (8-75) whereas in the alienable possessive construction, it is obligatory (8-76).

(8-75) ngama-yi ngu**=yi** Nalyjirri
M-KIN.ABS REAL=1MIN.OBJ ♀subsection
My mother is Nalyjirri. [TM: CSfn020809]

(8-76) nyinyi-nggu ngu birrga man-i ngurra **nyanunga**
finch-ERG REAL create GET-PAST camp.ABS 3MIN.OBL1
A finch is making his nest. [TM: CSfn290610]

The important point is that the possessor NP in the possessor dissension construction is cross-referenced with a pronominal clitic although it is a part of the whole possessive NP as in the alienable possessive construction. Cross-referencing usually operates at the clausal level but it can operate at the NP level in the possessor dissension construction. Meakins & Nordlinger (2014: 210) suggest that the possessor dissension construction is used to highlight the affectedness of the possessor by cross-referencing it rather than using the alienable possessive construction (§7.2.5). This can be the case in Wanyjirra, too. In the Wanyjirra corpus, the possessor dissension construction always contains a human possessor and shows the kin relation of the person to another, or the ownership of land, food and other properties which are culturally and socially important and valuable for Aboriginal people.

In comparison with the inalienable possessive construction, the possessor NP is cross-referenced in both inalienable possession and possessor dissension constructions. However, only the possessor NP can be cross-referenced in the former, whereas the possessor NP and the whole possessive NP can be cross-referenced in the latter. Furthermore, in inalienable possession (8-77), different forms of pronominal clitics are used to cross-reference the possessor NP depending on its grammatical function in the clause. On the other hand, in possessor dissension ((8-71), (8-72), (8-75) above and (8-78) below), the object/dative clitic is always used, irrespective of the grammatical function of the larger possessive NP.

(8-77) ngu**=rna** gidgid garriny-ana marrunbu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ sticky be-PRES hand.ABS
My hands are sticky. [TM: CSfn230710]

(8-78) nyila ngu**=wuliny** Muluyurr **Jangari-wu** **gujarra-wu**
DIST1 REAL=3UA.OBJ PLACE.NAME.ABS ♂subsection-DAT two-DAT
MS: That is Muluyurr for two *Jangari*.
CS@: That is Muluyurr belonging to two Jangari. [MS: CSfn090609]

The possessor dissension construction is also similar to benefactive/malfactive constructions. In both constructions, the object/dative pronominal clitic is used to cross-reference dative nominals or oblique pronouns representing the possessor or beneficiary/malficiary. Because of this similarity, in many Wanyjirra examples of the possessor dissension, the possessor can also be interpreted as beneficiary/malficiary as in (8-79) and (8-80). This polysemy is common cross-linguistically (Kittilä & Zúñiga, 2010) and in Australian languages (Blake, 1977; Dixon, 2002).

(8-79) ngu=rna=**la** gambarn-i mangarri **ngabu-yu-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT burn-PAST veg.food.ABS F-KIN-DAT
MS: I cooked tucker for [my] father.
CS#: ALT: I cooked [my] father's tucker. [MS: CSfn180809]

(8-80) yalu-nggu gariya-lu ngu=**yi** **nganinga** wanyja
DIST2-ERG white.man-ERG REAL=3MIN.OBJ 1MIN.OBL1 woman.ABS

burdang man-i
steal GET-PAST
MS: That man *bin* steal my girlfriend.
CS%@: That white man stole the girlfriend of mine. [MS: TTfn160700]

However, as Meakins & Nordlinger (in progress) discuss, these constructions can be distinguished from each other by the fact that the possessor NP in possessor dissension is a modifier of the possessum NP and form a single NP showing case agreement while the beneficiary/malficiary NP has its own grammatical function in the clause and does not need to agree with another NP in case. In addition, the possessor dissension and benefactive/malfactive constructions can co-occur in the same clause as seen in the Gurindji example (8-81). In Wanyjirra, this may also be possible although there is no clear example other than (8-72) above where benefactive and possessor dissension constructions co-occur in a clause.

(8-81)	**[Ngayiny** $_{b}$ **-ju**	**karu-ngku]** $_{a}$	ngu**=yi** $_{b}$**=lu** $_{a}$**=rla** $_{c}$
GURINDJI	1MIN.OBL2-ERG	child-ERG	REAL=1MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ=3DAT

ka-nya	ngarin	**[marluka-wu]** $_{c}$
take-PAST	meat.ABS	old.man-DAT

It will boil for the child of mine.

8.6 Complex NPs

Simple NPs are composed of one or more nominals which fill positions of the referent specifier and modifiers of the template given in (8-13). Complex NPs such as coordinate NP and embedded NP constructions contain more complex structures in these positions, although they are not commonly found in textual examples.

8.6.1 Coordination

In coordinate NP constructions, two or more NPs appear without an overt conjunction. They simply occur in juxtaposition, sharing a single grammatical or semantic role. This asyndetic coordination is functionally similar to appositive NPs which are multiple coreferential NPs (§8.8) but are semantically distinguished (see Sadler & Nordlinger, 2010 for formal analysis based on LFG). In (8-82), three nouns specify distinct referents forming a single argument. The resolved number is encoded by the augmented pronominal clitic.

(8-82)	yamayama	ngu=lu=yanu	binarri-g	man-an-i
	children.ABS	REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ	know-TRNSL	GET-CONT-PAST

[[**ngama-yi-lu**]	[**jaja-nggu**]	[**jawiji-lu**]]
M-KIN-ERG	MM-ERG	MF-ERG

CS#: Mothers, grandmothers and grandfathers made children knowing.
[TM: CSfn090909]

Although Wanyjirra lacks conjunctions, the English or Kriol conjunction words *and* and *an* are also inserted between coordinated nominals (8-83). Similarly, the borrowed disjunction word *or* is also inserted between two nominals (8-84).

(8-83) yala-ngulu *nao* ngu=wula yunbarn-an-i *nao*
DIST2-ABL NOW REAL=3UA.SBJ sing-CONT-PAST NOW

nyila gardiya *an* dimana
DIST1 white.man.ABS and horse.ABS
After that, they were singing [it to] those white man and horse.
[MS: 97_31_2.031]

(8-84) wayi=n mangarri *or* ngarin garran-ana
IRR=2MIN.SBJ veg.food.ABS or meat.ABS keep-PRES
Do you have bread or meat?
ALT: You *mait* have bread or meat. [MS: CSfn131011]

8.6.2 Embedded NPs

The common type of embedded NP constructions is hierarchical structures of two alienable possessive NPs. As seen in (8-85) below, the head nominal warlagu designates the possessum of the higher level of NP and the following dative NP expresses its possessor which consists of the possessive-oblique pronoun and the possessum *boi* in the lower level of NP. The oblique pronoun and the following noun are marked with the dative suffix linking to the head warlagu within the higher NP.

(8-85) (re: 8-49)
ngu=rna bu-nya [warlagu [nganingu-wu *boi*-wu]$_{DAT}$]$_{ABS}$
REAL=1MIN.SBJ hit-PAST dog.ABS 1MIN.OBL1-DAT boy-DAT
CS#: I hit my boy's dog. [TM: CSfn100712]

Elative NPs expressing source or origin can also be embedded into complex NPs. In (8-86), coordinated elative NPs are embedded into a dative-marked higher NP. These elative NPs are further marked with the dative suffix showing agreement.

(8-86) ngu=rna=la bina [yalu-wu ngurra-wu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT know DIST2-DAT camp-DAT

[[Nangala-nginyi-wu] [Jangari-nginyi-wu]]$_{EL}$]$_{DAT}$
♀subsection-EL-DAT ♂subsection-EL-DAT
I know *jat kantri* from Nangala and Jangari.
CS@: I know the country belonging to Nangala and Jangari. [TM: CSfn090712]

8.7 Discontinuous NPs

There are also some examples where a nominal word is separated from other coreferential nominals by another distinct constituent but occurs in a single intonation unit without an intended pause. I analyse these nominals as forming a single noun phrase. Such discontinuous NPs are uncommon in Wanyjirra. Five examples of the total of 29 multi-word NPs (17%) and 1.2 % of all 409 NPs including single-word NPs are found in the texts given in Appendix 4.[247] With such a small number of examples, it is hard to generalise about the structures and functions of discontinuous NPs. However, the following formal properties are found in discontinuous NPs.

(a) A clause may contain only one discontinuous NP;
(b) Only one nominal word is separated from other sub-constituents;
(c) Discontinuous NPs are split into two parts but not more;
(d) One part of a discontinuous NP often occurs in clause-initially, that is, before pronominal clitic complexes (if they occur overtly), and the other occurs after clitic complexes.

In addition, at least some of the examples show that these separated elements deliver information on single referents which are focalised. Often they are recognised as contrastive focus which 'identifies a subset within a set of contextually given alternatives' (Drubig & Schaffar, 2001: 1079), as has been similarly described in other Australian languages including Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt & Simard, 2012), Kayardild (Evans, 1995: 249-250) and Wardaman (Merlan, 1994: 241-242). Cross-linguistically it is typical that discontinuity occurs in contrastive or more emphasised contexts as summarised in Rijkhoff (2004: 257-259).

In (8-87), the noun jiya 'kangaroo' and the numeral yangi 'one' are separated by the auxiliary and the inflecting verb although all elements in this clause occur in the single

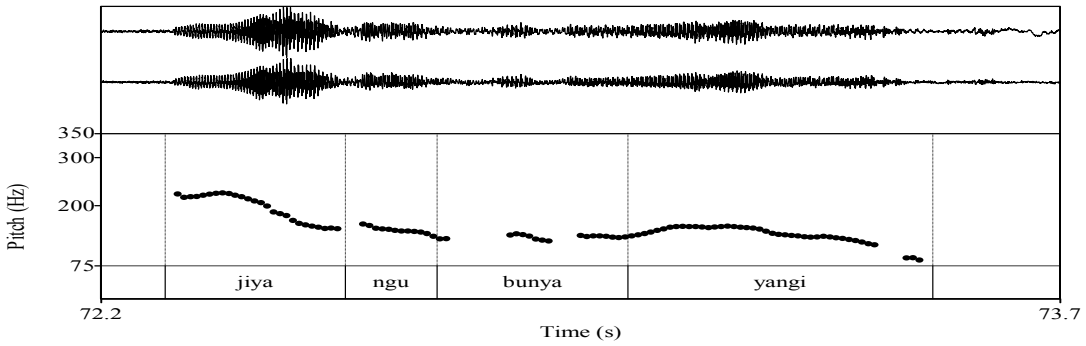
[247] These figures are only made on the basis of a small amount of sample data. However, a low frequency of discontinuous NPs is also reported in other Australian languages: 17% of all multi-word NPs and 3% of all NPs are such NPs in Gooniyandi (McGregor, 1997: 92); 11% and 3% in Wardaman (Croft, 2007: 6); 8 % and about 1 % in Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt & Simard, 2012: 1032). However, note that the percentages for Gooniyandi and Wardaman also contain NP constructions where nominals are separated by prosodic units which are excluded from studies of Jaminjung and Wanyjirra (for Wanyjirra, see §8.8). Therefore, the percentages of 'discontinuous NPs' under a single intonation contour are probably lower in Gooniyandi and Wardaman.

intonation unit. The first element of the discontinuous NP jiya receives a focal accent (see Figure 8.2) and delivers a contrastive meaning. The entity 'kangaroo' is highlighted among a set of given alternatives because the speaker only mentioned ngarin 'game, meat' in the previous sentence. The focal element is underlined in given translations.

(8-87)

1.	<X gayi=n X>\...(1.1)	ga-nya	nga	dardulu \
	BELIEVE=2MIN.SBJ	carry-PAST	REAL	true
	CS#: "You brought it (i.e., the game), that is true."			
2.	**jiya**	ngu	bu-nya	**yangi** \
	kangaroo.ABS	REAL	hit-PAST	one.ABS
	TM: Kangaroo *i bin killim*.			
	CS@#: He killed one kangaroo. [TM: 11_1014_4.017-018]			

Figure 8.2: Pitch track and waveform of (8-87)



In Sentence 2 and 3 of (8-88), the noun langga and the adjective yura are separated by the inflecting verb by the pronominal clitic.[248] Tsunoda provides a restrictive or 'merged' (Hale, 1983: 38) interpretations for the single NP 'the tasty head' where the adjective yura is a restrictive modifier of the noun langga. Although the linear order of two elements is different as between Sentence 2 and 3, the adjective yura receives an accent and is focalised in both sentences. The entity 'head' is presupposed and explicitly mentioned in the previous discourse. Information on the quality 'good, tasty' seems to be contrastive, at least less presupposable and more prominent than the entity 'head' in the sense that its good taste is highlighted.

[248] The proximal demonstratives nyawa nyawa at the beginning of the sentence can be parts of the same NP with the nominals langga and yura as reflected in TT's translation. Alternatively they can be analysed as distinct NPs from the following noun langga.

(8-88)

1. langga nyila\...(0.9) langga nyila\... ngu=lu baya-rru
   head.ABS DIST1 head.ABS DIST1 REAL=3AUG.SBJ chop-FUT

   darlag \...(1.2) jiwirri=ma\...(1.9) jiwirri=ma \...(1.0) darlag \
   split cooked.ABS=TOP cooked.ABS=TOP split
   TT: That head, they will split [it as it is now] cooked.

2. nyawa nyawa **langga** nga-lu=liwa **yura** \
   PROX1 PROX1 head.ABS ingest-FUT=1AUG.INC.SBJ good.ABS
   TT: Let's eat this tasty head.
   CS%: Here here let's eat the tasty head.

3. **yura** nga-lu=liwa **langga** \
   good.ABS ingest-FUT=1AUG.INC.SBJ head.ABS
   TT: Let's eat the tasty head. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(1).073-075]
   CS%: Let's eat the tasty head.

Figure 8.3: Pitch track and waveform of Sentence 2 of (8-88)

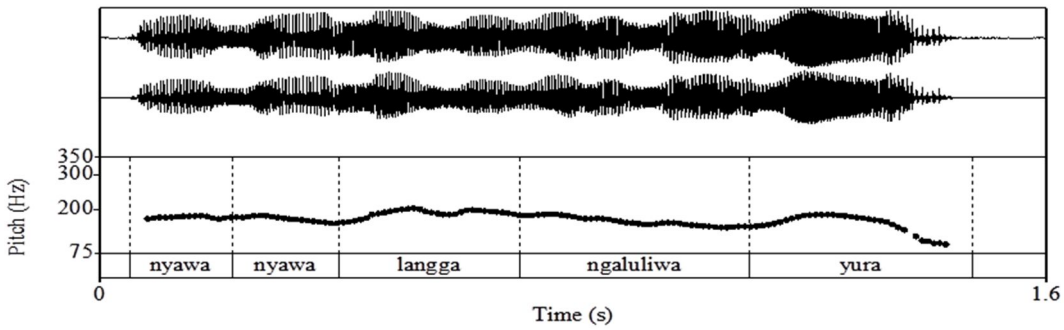
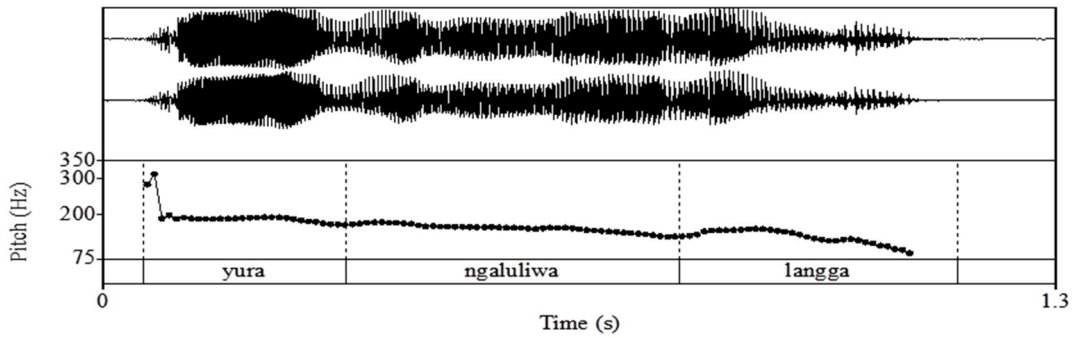


Figure 8.4: Pitch track and waveform of Sentence 3 of (8-88)



Example (8-89) was produced when I went to the shop and gave TM some take-away food. The qualifier jiwirri 'cooked' is highlighted to identify the right type of the referent, as contrasted with 'raw, fresh food'. In (8-90), the determiner is separated

from the head junba ‘corroboree’. The determiner is used to emphasise the right referent which has been mentioned in the previous discourse where the speaker told the Dream Time story and how two women established the corroboree based on the story.

(8-89) *I went to the shop to buy her food while TM was waiting for me in the car. I brought TM some take-away food. She said this.*

nganinga	**mangarri**	ga-nya	**jiwirri**
1MIN.OBL1	veg.food.ABS	carry-PAST	cooked.ABS

CS#: She brought my cooked food (i.e., take-away food). [TM: CSfn260509]

(8-90)

barli	nya-nya	**nyila=ma**	ngu=wula	**junba=ma** \
find	PERCEIVE-PAST	DIST1=TOP	REAL=3UA.SBJ	corroboree.ABS=TOP

They two found (i.e., established) that corroboree. [TM: 09_0513_4.044]

These discontinuous expressions can be found mainly in absolutive NPs and a few locative NPs as in (8-91). This might be due to the limit of relevant examples. Alternatively, the discontinuous NP structure may not be allowed in ergative (and other case-marked) NPs. In Sentence 2 of (8-91), locative nominals are separated by the inflecting verb. The first element yangi-wariny-ja is contrastive because it emphasises ‘another’ cup as distinct from the cup which has been previously mentioned in Sentence 1.

(8-91)

1.

im	*kiipim*	yangi-ngga	gardag-gula \
3SG	keep	one-LOC	billycan-LOC

He keeps [some] in one billycan.

2.

maya=rra	ngamirni	nyununga,...	**yangi-wariny-ja**
more=AGAIN	MB.ABS	2MIN.OBL1	one-OTHER-LOC

garran-ang-gu	**gardag-gula**\...(0.8)	mawundi \...(1.0)	guya \
keep-CONT-FUT	billycan-LOC	white.orchre.ABS	thus

TT: Also, your mother’s brother, [he] will keep some white ochre in another cup like this. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.105-106]

NOTE: The subject of the transitive clause would be expected to take the ergative ending, i.e., ngamirni-lu nyunungu-lu and MS corrected NP’s first utterance in that way when she listened to the recording. Alternatively, it would be possible that this unmarked NP is analysed as an element outside of the clause structure as well as the adverb maya=rra which is displayed to the left edge of the clause and as functioning as a sentence topic, which reflected to Tsunoda’s translation.

So far I have presented clear examples of discontinuous NPs which carry contrastive focus information. As mentioned earlier, however, the corpus does not have a sufficient number of relevant examples to make definitive generalisations of their functions. The final example shows that the separated demonstrative in presentative use (§6.1.4.4) carries new information rather than presupposed contrastive information in the beginning of the story. However, note that this demonstrative can be alternatively analysed as an adverbial forming a distinct NP rather than as an adnominal demonstrative.

(8-92) **nyawa** ngu=rna=nyurra **jaru** marn-ana \
PROX1 REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ language.ABS say-PRES
MS: I am telling you this story.
CS#: ALT: Here I am telling you the story. [MS: 97_31_2.006]

It should be noted that discontinuous NP constructions are to be distinguished from adverbial modifications (§6.3.3) and depictive secondary predications (§12.6.1) constituted by independent NPs. They can be separated from controlling argument NPs by other words and/or intonation breaks. Unlike the discontinuous NPs presented above, adverbial modifications express manner of events. Secondary predications serve a predicative function, but not a referential function, expressing a temporary property of a participant associated with the time frame of the main predicate event (Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann, 2004). Some discontinuous NPs can be alternatively interpreted as secondary predications in certain contexts. For example, in (8-88) above, the separated adjective yura 'good, tasty' could be analysed as a secondary predication in a different context where the head part of the game is now beautifully cooked and in a suitable condition at the time of being eaten rather than as a restrictive modifier which identifies the referent by specifying a type of 'the head' (see also §12.6.1).

8.8 NPs in apposition

In Wanyjirra, it is also common to appose two or more NPs which provide alternative designations (identification or qualification) of identical referents. They are linked with the preceding NPs by the relation of elaboration. One type of these constructions contains pronouns and nouns. These pronouns are first or second person (at least in the

corpus) so that the referents can be identified because they are participants in the speech events. The following nouns (e.g. a kin term (8-93), a subsection (8-94) or general social association (8-95)) provide alternative denotations. Note that persons and numbers of pronouns agree with pronominal clitics but not those of nouns.[249]

(8-93) **nyunbula** **ngama-lang** garriny-ana
2UA M-DYAD.ABS stay-PRES
You two, mother and daughter sit down. [MS: CSfn140909]

(8-94) Jirrbngarri ngu=ngguwula ngawuju-nga
PERSON.NAME.ABS REAL=2UA.OBJ FM-2KIN.POSS.ABS

nyunbulanginy **Jabalyi-wu**
2UA.OBL2 ♂subsection-DAT
TT: Dolly is *ngawuju* to you-two, to Jabalyi men.
CS%: Jirrbngarri is *ngawuju* to you-two, to Jabalyi. [MS: TTfn160700]

(8-95) **ngaliyarra** **ngaringga** \...(1.5) nga=liyarra dabu wandi-nya \
1UA woman.ABS REAL=1UA.SBJ miss.out FALL-PAST
TT: We [two], women, did not find [any].
CS%: We two, women, were unsuccessful [in finding food].
[NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).018]

In addition, in §8.1 I mentioned that nominals intervened by a pause and intonation break as in (8-96) are treated as distinct coreferential NPs even though these nominals are semantically and functionally related to each other comprising a single unit of arguments or grammatical functions.

(8-96) nyila ngu=wula yan-i gan.gu-la bardaj \...(1.0)
DIST1 REAL=3UA.SBJ GO-PAST up-LOC ascend

yala-ngga=ma \... **bamarr-a=ma** \...
DIST2-LOC=TOP stone-LOC=TOP
MS: two (Namija women) climbed up there… at the hill.
[TM: 09_0513_3.001]

[249] Alternatively, these pronouns and nouns can be analysed as a single NP since they are always contiguous and, as shown in (8-95), they fall into the single intonation contour before the pronominal clitic complex. In this view, two components of the putative NP is not in the relation of modification so that it requires to add another slot for 'additional referential specifier' after the slot of the referential specifier in the template (8-13). The former is distinguished from the latter in that the latter 'referential specifier' functions as a head and is cross-referenced with the pronominal clitic, which differs from co-headed generic-specific NPs (§8.4). However, this thesis treats them as distinct apposed NPs, which allows the simplicity of the template.

Such prosodically-detached apposed NPs are often interpreted as 'afterthought' for clarification of the intended referents and are often located in the right-edge of the sentences, but not restricted to be in that position as in (8-99), as is true cross-linguistically (Averintseva-Klisch, 2008).

(8-97) yala-nginyi,... **nganinga** **ngawuju** nga=li
DIST2-EL 1MIN.OBL1 ♀SCh.ABS REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ

miyanggi man-i \...(1.0) **nganinga** **Janama** \
ask GET-PAST 1MIN.OBL1 ♂subsection.ABS
CS#: After that, we asked my grandson, my *Janama*. [TM: 10_0831_3.071]

(8-98) ngana **nyila** \... **mawundi-yaru** ***pritibala*** \
who.ABS DIST1 white.ochre-PROP.ABS pretty.one.ABS
TT: [Women will say,] "Who [is] that handsome [man] with white ochre on?"
[NP: 76_14_1_NP.066]

(8-99) nyamba-la **yala-ngga** /…(1.0) **balnga-ngga** /…(0.7) yirra-wu \
whatsitsname-LOC DIST2-LOC bark-LOC put-FUT
[He] will put [them] on whatisname, there on the bark.
[NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).098]

In (8-100), the NP gujarra jaru 'two languages' is followed by a coordinated NP which describes specific members of the 'two languages'. Note that the NP gujarra jaru would be a correction of the preceding distinct NP jaru.

(8-100) guya=rnalu jaru marn-ana [**gujarra** **jaru**] \...(1.2)
SUB=1AUG.SBJ language.ABS say-PRES two.ABS language.ABS

[[**Gurindji**],.. [**Wanyjirra**]] \
LANGUAGE.NAME.ABS LANGUAGE.NAME.ABS
That's why we speak languages, two languages, Gurindji and Wanyjirra.
[TM: 11_1008_1.023]

Chapter 9
Verbal morphology

9.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the forms and morphological processes of the two verbal word classes, namely inflecting verbs (§9.1) and coverbs (§9.2). Inflecting verbs (or IVs) and coverbs show different morpho-syntactic behaviours and semantic contributions within the predicates (§9.2.1). As implied in the term 'inflecting verbs', these verbs are inflected for tense, aspect or mood. IVs are categorised as eight conjugation subclasses on the basis of their inflectional paradigm (§9.1.4). Coverbs, on the other hand, are not inflected, although coverbs use reduplication, lengthened vowels and the repetitive suffix -garra to show aspectual information (§9.2.3). All IVs can occur on their own as simple verbs and some can combine with coverbs to form complex verbs. Although the main function of coverbs is to combine with IVs in complex verb constructions (§10.3), some coverbs can constitute main predicates independently from inflecting verbs in certain circumstances (§10.5.1). In the following examples, an IV solely constitutes a simple predicate as in (9-1) and the same inflecting verb combines with the coverb jarrwaj forming a complex verb as in (9-2). When an IV occurs with a coverb, the lexical meaning of the IV becomes less clear and the verb mainly contributes to tense-aspect-mood information. Its gloss is given in capital letters.

(9-1) ngu=rna **bu-nya** nyila guliyan warlagu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ hit-PAST DIST1 aggressive.ABS dog.ABS
CS#: I hit that aggressive dog. [TM: CSfn020709]

(9-2) ngu **jarrwaj** **bu-nya**
REAL spear HIT-PAST
CS#: He speared it. [TM: 11_1014_3.021]

9.1 Inflecting verbs

9.1.1 Notes on the transitivity of inflecting verbs

Wanyjirra inflecting verbs cannot fit into a binary transitivity system, such as (i) transitive containing A and O arguments and (ii) intransitive with S argument. They require further sub-categorisations for their valency and argument structures as summarised in Table 9.1. Note that this table only provides for the transitivity of simple verbs. In complex verbs, transitivity is usually identical to that of simple verbs but it may change when an inflecting verb combines with a certain coverb (§10.3.1). See §12.5 for a full discussion of verbal clause types.

Wanyjirra has no morphological device which induces changes of valency and case arrays. However, some single stems can take different argument structures with no significant change of meanings. For instance, the quasi-transitive verb marn- 'speak a language' can also take an indirect object argument and in this case, it can be sub-categorised as a semi-ditransitive verb 'tell a story to'. In addition, the same stem just takes a single subject argument as an intransitive 'say/speak' or further takes dative indirect object as an extended intransitive 'talk to'. The transitive verb bangin- 'scratch/dig up' can also belong to the ditransitive 1 subgroup 'dig the ground for'. With different senses, nyang- spans two sub-classes: semi-transitive 'look for' and transitive 'look at'. In addition, the respect speech verb luwarn-, which is identical to the transitive verb stem luwarn- 'strike' in ordinary speech, is neutral in terms of transitivity and semantics. It can occur either with an ergative or absolutive subject (§1.6.1).

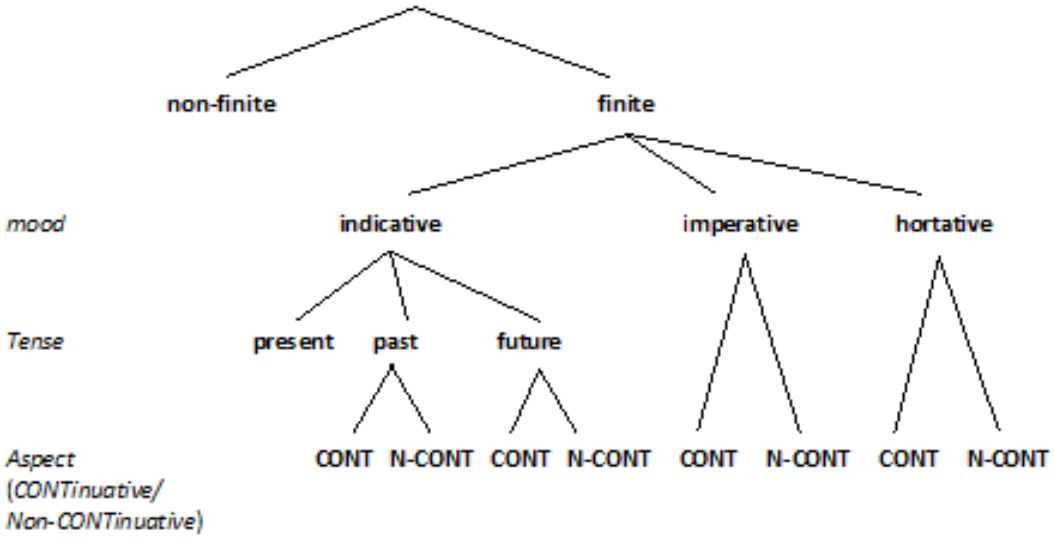
Table 9.1: Subtypes of Wanyjirra inflecting verbs based on transitivity

Valency	Verbal subclasses	Argument structure			Examples
Monovalent	Intransitive	SBJ_{ABS}			e.g. yan- 'go/come'
Divalent	Extended intransitive	SBJ_{ABS}		$IO_{DAT/LOC/COMIT}$	e.g. burlang- 'call out'
	Quasi-transitive	SBJ_{ABS}	OBJ_{ABS}		e.g. marn- 'speak (language)'
	Semi-transitive	SBJ_{ERG}		IO_{DAT}	e.g. nyang- 'look for'
	Transitive	SBJ_{ERG}	OBJ_{ABS}		e.g. bung- 'hit'
Trivalent	Transitive complement	SBJ_{ERG}	OBJ_{ABS}	$OBJ\text{-}COMP_{ABS}$	e.g. marran- 'call'
	Semi-ditransitive	SBJ_{ABS}	OBJ_{ABS}	$IO_{DAT/LOC/COMIT}$	e.g. marn- 'tell (story) to'
	Ditransitive 1	SBJ_{ERG}	OBJ_{ABS}	$IO_{DAT/LOC/COMIT}$	e.g. yung- 'give'
	Ditransitive 2	SBJ_{ERG}	$OBJ2_{ABS}$	OBJ_{ABS}	e.g. yung- 'give'

9.1.2 Inflectional categories

Inflections of the Wanyjirra verbs can be classified as non-finite or finite categories. Only the finite category contains a range of tense, aspect and mood distinctions. First, it has a three-way mood distinction: 'indicative', 'imperative' and 'hortative'. The indicative mood contains three tense divisions: 'present', 'past' and 'future'. Although the future inflection is labelled as a 'tense', it is also an important modal component (§9.1.8.2). An aspectual split between 'continuative' and 'non-continuative' (unmarked) is found in all tense and mood categories with exception of the present tense category. The continuative aspect expresses continuation or repetition of events. 'Non-continuative' is unmarked for aspect and can also be used for continuative or repetitive events if inflecting verbs combine with coverbs in complex verb constructions and continuation or repetition is expressed through coverbal morphological processes (§9.2.3). While there are only three mood categories, a range of modal meanings are expressed by combinations of verbal inflections and forms of auxiliaries (including their absence) (§11.1.1) or sentence particles (§11.1.3). Inflectional categories of the Wanyjirra verbs are schematised in Figure 9.1.

Figure 9.1: Tense, aspect and mood categories encoded by the Wanyjirra inflecting verbs



9.1.3 The template

The structure of finite forms of inflecting verbs is:

(9-3)
Stem (-aspect) -tense/imperative (-hortative) (-directional suffix) (=PRO)

This template cannot be applied to non-finite verbs. They are constituted by stems plus the non-finite suffix -u and are followed by nominal derivational suffixes, derivational case suffixes or subordinating suffixes depending on their functions. For finite verbs, one of the tense suffixes or imperative mood suffix obligatorily appears on any stem but there is a zero-suffix -ø for imperative forms of two conjugation subclasses. The hortative suffix -rra always follow the future suffix -gu/wu. Directional suffixes which occur after the inflection are rarely used in modern Wanyjirra but they are found in Tsunoda's corpus (§9.1.9). Pronominal clitics only attach to imperative, hortative and future forms of IVs. A few clitics related to discourse functions can also occur after inflectional suffixes (§11.4).

9.1.4 Conjugation classes

Despite of the rarity of some of the verbs, thirty-eight stems have been recorded in

Wanyjirra. Inflectional patterns are given in Table 9.2.[250] The verb inflections fall into four main classes (N, NY, RN and NG classes) and N and RN classes are further sub-categorised into four and two respectively.[251] Therefore, eight subclasses are found in the Wanyjirra verbs. These (sub)classes are identified on the basis of non-finite, present tense and continuative forms, each of which is characterised by a distinct final nasal consonant of the stems. N and RN classes can be sub-categorised and be labelled as N/da, N/rra, N/ø, N/ya, RN/ø and RN/nyja on the basis of imperative forms. The imperative suffix is shared by N/ya and NY subclasses, and N/ø and RN/ø subclasses. In addition, the single future suffix is shared among four subclasses, N/ø, N/ya, NY and RN/ø, and the past tense suffix is shared by NY and NG subclasses.

[250] I thank Harold Koch (p.c.) for his suggestion for grouping of verb stems and arrangement of this table made on the basis of paradigm structures rather than morphophonemics.

[251] After further investigation, two stems garriny- 'be/stay' and bangin- 'scratch/dig up' which were previously analysed as irregularly conjugating verbs (Senge, 2008) are grouped into certain conjugation classes with other stems in this thesis.

Table 9.2: Paradigms of Wanyjirra inflecting verbs

Subclasses	N/da	N/rra	N/ø	N/ya	NY	RN/ø	RN/nyja	NG
Stems	jan- 'copulate with' jun- 'scold' lan- 'stab' man- 'get' yan- 'go'	bayan- 'bite/chop' gayan- 'kick' wanyjan- 'leave/dance'	garran- 'keep' giyan- 'throw' gunyjan- 'water' jaman-'grind' marran- 'call' yirran- 'put' yuwan- 'send'	bangin- 'dig' jambun- 'kiss'	bardiny- 'fly' barndiny- 'smell' garriny- 'be/stay' wandiny- 'fall'	bumarn- 'blow' bundarn- 'collect' gambarn- 'burn' gumarn- 'cut' jiyarn- 'steal' luwarn- 'strike/respect speech verb' yin.garn- 'trim' yunbarn- 'sing'	marn- 'say/do' ngarn- 'ingest'	bung- 'hit' burlang- 'call out' gang- 'carry' jalang- 'winnow' lung- 'cry' nyang- 'perceive' yung- 'give'
No. of stems	5	3	7	2	4	8	2	7
IMP	janda	bayarra	garra	bangiya	bardiya	buma	manyja	bungga
FUT	jan.gu	bayarru	garruwu	bangiwu	bardiwu	bumawu	malu	bunggu
HORT	jan.gurra	bayarrurra	garruwurra	bangiwurra	bardiwurra	bumawurra	malurra	bunggurra
NF	janu	bayanu	garranu	banginu	bardinyu	bumarnu	marnu	bungu
PAST	jani	bayani	garrani	bangini	bardinya	bumarni	marni	bunya ~ binya
PRES	janana	bayanana	garranana	banginana	bardinyana	bumarnana	marnana	bungana
PAST CONT	janani	bayanani	garranani	banginani	bardinyani	bumarnani	marnani	bungani
IMP CONT	jananda	bayananda	garrananda	banginanda	bardinyanda	bumarnanda	marnanda	bunganda
FUT CONT	jananggu	bayananggu	garrananggu	banginanggu	bardinyanggu	bumarnanggu	marnanggu	bungan.gu
HORT CONT	jananggurra	bayananggu-rra	garrananggu-rra	banginanggu-rra	bardinyanggu-rra	bumarnanggu-rra	marnanggurra	bungan.gurra

N class contains verb stems with the final n consonant. This is the largest class and is divided into four sub-classes. All subclasses except for N/da consist of disyllabic stems and share future and hortative forms. Note that the last vowel of the stem garran- 'keep' in N/ø subclass is assimilated to the first vowel of the future suffix -wu. The resultant future and hortative forms are identical to those of NY verb garriny- 'be/stay', i.e., garru-wu and garru-wu-rra. NY class contains a single subclass consisting of four disyllabic stems with the final ny. RN class, characterised by the stem-final consonant rn, consists of two subclasses each of which contains either disyllabic or monosyllabic stems exclusively. The stem luwarn- in RN/ø class is semantically neutral in respect speech but is also used in ordinal speech for the meaning 'strike'. Finally, NG class mixes monosyllabic and disyllabic stems with the stem-final consonant ng. Note that bung- 'hit' and yung- 'give' have two alternative past forms bunya/binya and yunya/yinya.

Verb stems are not evenly distributed across these subclasses. However, transitivity of inflecting verbs may relate to distribution of each conjugation class at some degree. As seen in Table 9.3, N/rra, N/ø, N/ya, NY and RN/ø subclasses consist of either intransitive or transitive members only, although a few members are cross-categorised into other sub-types. On the other hand, N/da, RN/nyja and NG subclasses contain both intransitive and transitive members.

Table 9.3: Conjugation membership and transitivity

	N/da	*N/rra*	*N/ø*	*N/ya*	*NY*	*RN/ø*	*RN/nyja*	*NG*
Intransitive	1				4		1	1
Extended intransitive							****	1
Quasi-transitive							****	
Semi-transitive								*****
Transitive	4	3	7	2		8	1	5
Transitive complement			*					
Semi-transitive							****	
Ditransitive				**		***		1
Total	5	3	7	2	4	8	2	7

* The single stems marran- 'call' can also be sub-categorised as this type.
** The stem bangin- 'scratch/dig up' can also be sub-categorised as Ditransitive.
*** The stem yunbarn- 'sing' can also be sub-categorised as Ditransitive.
**** The stem marn- 'say' can also be sub-categorised as these types.
***** The stem nyang- 'perceive' can also be sub-categorised as this type.

9.1.5 Inflecting verb memberships and borrowing

In the previous section, 38 inflecting verbs are listed in total. The number of IVs in Ngumpin languages is recorded as twenty to forty, for example, about forty in Walmajarri (Dixon 1980: 387);[252] forty odd stems in Jaru (Tsunoda 1981:76), thirty-three in Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013: 45), twenty-three in Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 271), around thirty in Malngin (Ise, 1999: 32). In Yapa languages, Warlmanpa has 44 verb stems whereas Warlpiri exceptionally has a larger number of inflecting verbs, i.e., 115-130 recorded (Nash, 1982: 168; 2008: 221).[253]

Although only 32 IVs were previously reported in Wanyjirra, with access to much information and knowledge, I have decided to include nine more lexical items as Wanyjirra verbs and to leave three lexical items out from its list, along with judgement given by consultants. Although they were not recorded in Tsunoda's corpus, the

[252] But note that different numbers are also reported for Walmajarri verbs: around 35 in Hudson (1978: 43) and around 50 in Dixon (2002: 218).
[253] Nash (2008) explores that the origin of a large number of Warlpiri verb stems comparing with Ngumpin, Arandic and Western Desert languages. Since there are a number of Warlpiri simple verbs whose origins cannot be found in surrounding languages, he suggests that many of inflecting verb stems would have descended from the higher level of ancestral languages of Ngumpin-Yapa languages but are retained only in Warlpiri (p.233). McConvell and Laughren (2004) mention that many of Warlpiri verbs are shared by Western Ngumpin (Walmajarri and Jaru), some of which are lost in Central/Eastern Ngumpin (including Gurindji and Bilinarra). Considering the number of its inflecting verbs, Wanyjirra is, like Western Ngumpin languages, more conservative than Central/Eastern Ngumpin languages.

following verbs are newly added to the list.

(9-4)	jiyarn-	'steal'[254]	burlang-	'call out'
	yin.garn-	'trim'	gayan-	'kick'
	gunyjarn-	'water'	bardiny-	'fly'
	jun-	'scold'	jambun-	'kiss'
	jalang-	'winnow'		

These verbs, except for bardiny- 'fly', are generally shared with either Jaru or Gurindji, or with both. However, the root bardiny- 'fly' is only found in Wanyjirra, especially in MS's speech. Jaru and Wanyjirra have the coverb stem bard 'fly' combining with the IV gang- 'carry' as a complex verb, which TM and MS also uses in her Wanyjirra speech.[255] This synchronic use of the similar root as an inflecting verb and a coverb may partially support Meakins and Nordlinger's (2014: 318) suggestion that some coverbs are derived from inflecting verbs. See §9.1.6 for a further discussion.

Apart from those new members, I took out the three verbs: (i) wawarn- 'search'; (ii) wajbarn- 'throw'; (iii) yinbung- 'waste' or 'hunt away' from the list of Wanyjirra IVs. The first two forms were collected from NP and are also recorded as Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981). Only one instance of the third verb yinbungana (the present form) was found in TM's text. Although all forms were recorded by Tsunoda in the 1970s, in my investigation, wawarn and yinbung are not recognisable for MS and TM. The form wajbarn- is recognised by them although they agree with each other in that this verb is not Wanyjirra. For the meaning 'throw', the simple inflecting verb giyan- 'throw' or the coverb waj 'throw' combining with the inflecting verb giyan- are used. Therefore, I conclude that wawarn- and wajbarn- were borrowed from Jaru into NP's speech. The status of yinbung is unclear because there is no cognate verb in surrounding languages.

[254] The class 1b verb jiyarn- is used only for the meaning 'steal' or 'take (from someone)' in Wanyjirra whereas in Gurindji (McConvell, 2005b; Meakins et al., 2013) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014), it is polysemous and is also used for the meaning 'burn' as well as 'steal' and 'take'. In today's Wanyjirra, this verb is not commonly used anyway. Therefore, it might not be genuine Wanyjirra and may be borrowed from Gurindji. However, this verb is also found in the lexicalised nominal word with the agentive nominal suffix -waji: jiyarn-u-waji (steal-NF-AGENT), literally meaning 'stealing-one, thief' to refer to bower birds.

[255] However, the Gurindji coverb part has the opposite meaning 'throw something down, fall down hard' (Meakins et al., 2013: 316).

It could actually have been used formerly and been completely lost in Wanyjirra.[256] Alternatively, the analysis the form yinbungana as an inflecting verb might have been a mistake or another lexical item.[257]

9.1.6 Relationships in forms of inflecting verbs and coverbs

Although IVs and coverbs are distinct word classes, some instances show they are etymologically related. Meakins & Nordlinger (2014) show evidence that the Bilinarra IVs have developed into coverbs by adding non-finite forms of IVs plus the coverbaliser -b. They compare Bilinarra coverbs with IVs found in neighbouring languages including Wanyjirra and Gurindji. For example, the Bilinarra coverbs bundanub 'collect' (bundan-u-b) and gambarnub (gambarn-u-b) could have been developed from the inflecting verbs bundarn- 'collect' and gambarn- 'burn' respectively (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 286); - the former is found in Wanyjirra and the latter in many Ngumpin languages including Jaru, Gurindji and Wanyjirra.[258]

Although many Wanyjirra coverbs also end with -b (§9.2.2), there is no clear synchronic evidence where non-finite forms of the inflecting verbs take -b and the resultant forms are lexicalised as coverbs. A few Wanyjirra coverbs end with -ub (possibly: stem-u-b), e.g. winganub 'swim'. However, there is no corresponding inflecting verb (i.e., *wingan-) found in Wanyjirra and surrounding languages. In the only one example (9-5), the non-finite form of the stem wanyjan- 'dance, leave' is followed by -b in non-finite purpose subordinate clauses. However, this form would not be Wanyjirra. In this example, the speaker restates the subordinate clause without -b, which is commonly found in Wanyjirra subordinate clauses after a short pause.

[256] Alternatively it can be analysed as a complex verb, i.e., yin bung-ana. The coverb yin 'scheme, plan, plan to do harm' and the complex verb yin karriny-ana are in the Gurindji dictionary, but not the complex verb containing the inflecting verb pung-ana (bung-ana) (Meakins et al., 2013: 444).
[257] This could be analysed as yinbu- and the associative suffix -ngana. However, the meaning of yinbu- is unclear.
[258] The verb stem gambarn- is also synchronically used in Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014).

(9-5) ngu=lu yan-i junba-wurra **wanyjan-u-b-gu** \..
REAL=3AUG.SBJ go-PAST corroboree-PURP dance-NF-CV-DAT

wanyjan-u-wu junba-wu
dance-NF-DAT corroboree-DAT
They went to dance corroboree. [TM: CSfn030910]

Nevertheless, there are some connections between forms of IVs and coverbs in Wanyjirra. The first closed syllable CVC of the stems has become an independent coverb. For example, as previously mentioned, wajbarn- 'throw' was recorded in 1970s but MS and TM nowadays use the coverb waj. In addition, the coverbs bard 'fly' and barndi 'smell' are used by MS and TM with certain IVs in complex verbs although bardiny- 'fly' and barndiny-'smell' are synchronically used in simple verbs.[259]

Non-finite verbs and coverbs are also functionally related to each other. They have similar morphological and syntactic possibilities, including attachment of some derivational case and derivational suffixes (§9.1.8.7; §9.2.3.4), forming complex verbs with (finite forms of) inflecting verbs (§10.3; §10.4) and forming main predicates independently (§10.5).

9.1.7 The inflections: forms

The formation of inflected forms cannot be easily explained by a combination of hypothesised underlying suffix forms and generalised morphophonemic rules but rather phonological representations are arbitrarily determined. This subsection describes all synchronic inflected forms on the basis of the inflectional paradigm given in Table 9.2.[260]

[259] These verbs are also related to the Warlpiri verbs pardi-mi (the present tense form) 'arise' and parnti-mi 'smell' (Nash, 1982). In Wanyjirra, currently the form barndiny- 'fly' is only used by MS but not by TM, who only uses the coverb bard. This may be a case showing that the IV has been developing and shifting into the coverb.

[260] In fact, there are also a very few instances of the past narrative forms (e.g. garri-nyurra 'be-PAST.NARR and ngarn-i-nyurra 'eat-PAST-NARR') in Tsunoda's materials collected in 1970s. The past narrative refers to an event where the addressee did not participate in or witness but does not necessarily imply that the speaker did not participate in or witness an event in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981:83). Wanyjirra examples seem to have the same function. However, these forms are not used by current Wanyjirra speakers at all. To narrate past events, past and present tense forms are used in Wanyjirra (§9.1.8.1; §9.1.8.6). If it is true that Wanyjirra speakers used to use past narrative forms, they have been completely lost. Alternatively, the examples in Tsunoda's corpus would be explained as borrowings from Jaru. For these reasons, I will not further discuss these forms in this thesis.

9.1.7.1 Imperative forms

Table 9.4 describes the imperative formation extracted from Table 9.2. The imperative inflection is highly diverse in forms, although N/ø and RN/ø subclasses and N/ya and NY subclasses share the single patterns.

Table 9.4: The imperative inflection

N/da	N/rra	N/ø	N/ya	NY	RN/ø	RN/nyja	NG
jan-da	baya-rra	garra	bangi-ya	bardi-ya	buma	ma-nyja	bung-ga

(9-6)

N/da	Stem + -da
NG	Stem + -ga
N/rra	Stem with deletion of the final consonant + -rra
RN/nyja	Stem with deletion of the final consonant + -nyja
N/ya, NY	Stem with deletion of the final consonant + -ya
N/ø, RN/ø	Stem with deletion of the final consonant

The imperative suffixes -da and -ga just follow verb stems in N/da and NG classes respectively. In other subclasses, stems undergo deletion of the final consonant and then take the imperative suffixes -rra (N/rra), -nyja (N/nyja) and -ya (N/ya) respectively. In N/ø and RN/ø subclasses, there is no overt imperative suffix. This imperative form of N/ø and RN/ø subclasses is different from the corresponding class of Jaru in that Wanyjirra imperative forms has no overt suffix but Jaru forms take the inflectional suffix -wa, e.g. garrun- 'keep' > garru-wa (Tsunoda, 1981: 77).

9.1.7.2 Future

The term 'future' is used for this suffix form although it was termed as 'purposive' previously (Senge, 2008). The term 'purposive' is reserved for nominal case suffix -gurra/wurra (§4.4.1.3).

Four subclasses share the same formation pattern whereby the stem-final consonant is deleted and the suffix -wu is attached. In N/da and NG subclasses, the future suffix -gu follows stems. Future forms in N/rra and RN/nyja subclasses are made up of stems without final consonants and -rru and -lu respectively. As mentioned previously, the

future forms of garran- ‘keep’ and garriny- ‘be/stay’ are phonologically identical, i.e., garru-wu where the stem-final vowels are assimilated to the following vowel (§2.6.4).

Table 9.5: The future inflection

N/da	N/rra	N/ø	N/ya	NY	RN/ø	RN/nyja	NG
jan-gu	baya-rru	garru-wu	bangi-wu	bardi-wu	buma-wu	ma-lu	bung-gu

(9-7)

N/ø, N/ya, NY, RN/ø	Stem with deletion of the final consonant + -wu
N/da, NG	Stem + -gu
N/rra	Stem with deletion of the final consonant + -rru
RN/nyja	Stem with deletion of the final consonant + -lu

The stem gunyjan- ‘wetten, water’ is grouped into N/ø subclass with the future form gunyja-wu. However, this categorisation differs from neighbouring languages with the future form gunyja-rru in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981) and Gurindji (McConvell, 2005b), which corresponds to the Wanyjirra N/rra subclass.

9.1.7.3 Hortative

The hortative forms are made up of the future forms plus the invariant morpheme -rra.

9.1.7.4 Non-finite, present and past tense forms

The formations of non-finite forms[261] and present tense forms are quite simple. These forms are made up of stems plus the non-finite suffix -u and the present tense suffix -ana respectively. These non-finite forms are shared with many Ngumpin languages but they are used as past tense forms in Warlpiri (Nash, 1986). The present tense suffix -ana could be analysed as consisting of the continuative suffix -an

[261] In this thesis, the term ‘non-finite’ is used instead of ‘gerund’ (Senge, 2008) because it does not exactly represent functions of this form although non-finite form share some features with nominals (§9.1.8.7).

(§9.1.7.5) and the presumed present tense morpheme -a. This morpheme -(N)a[262] is used for present and habitual meanings in Bilinarra and Ngarinyman (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 287-288) and the western dialect of Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 78) and directly follows verb stems. In Wanyjirra (and Malngin, Gurindji and Walmajarri with the same formative), -a always follows -(N)an and is never independent of it. Therefore, I treat these elements as a single suffix -ana which covers continuative, habitual and non-continuative meanings.[263]

The past tense inflection shows the similar simple formation pattern in most subclasses, i.e., the past tense suffix -i follows stems. In NY and NG classes, the past forms are made up of stems deleting final consonants and -nya. Note that the past tense forms of two NG verbs yung- 'give' and bung- (yu-nya and bu-nya) have variations yi-nya and bi-nya respectively with the change of u to i. This change is obligatory in past forms of all Walmajarri verbs containing the sequence unya in the corresponding class (Hudson, 1978: 38). However, both forms appear to be free variations in Wanyjirra and Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 81).

Table 9.6: The inflection of past tense, present tense and non-finite categories

(Sub)-classes	N/da	N/rra	N/ø	N/ya	NY	RN/ø	RN/nyja	NG
NF	janu	bayanu	garranu	banginu	bardinyu	bumarnu	marnu	bungu
PRES	janana	bayanana	garranana	banginana	bardiny-ana	bumarn-ana	marnana	bungana
PAST	jani	bayani	garrani	bangini	bardinya	bumarni	marni	bunya ~ binya

(9-8)
Non-finite: Stem + -u
Present: Stem + -ana
Past: NY and NG subclasses: Stem with deletion of the final consonant + -nya
Other subclasses: Stem + -i

[262] In Bilinarra and Ngarinyman, the stem-final consonants (N) are treated as part of inflections (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014). The same analysis is also adopted in Gurindji (McConvell, 2005b) and Malngin (Ise, 1999).
[263] However, Walmajarri has the distinct 'customary' suffix --lany for habitual meaning (Hudson, 1978).

9.1.7.5 Continuative

A formal distinction between continuative and non-continuative is found in the past, future, hortative and imperative.[264] Continuative forms are made up of stems plus the continuative suffix -an or -ang followed by each non-continuative tense and mood suffix.[265]

In the past tense and imperative mood inflections, stems are followed by -an and the past tense suffix -i and the imperative suffix -da used in non-continuative forms of N/da verbs respectively. In the future tense inflection, the form -ang follows stems in most subclasses and the future suffix -gu, which is used in non-continuative future forms of N/da and NG sub-classes. In the hortative inflection, the invariant hortative suffix -rra follows the continuative future forms. However, in future and hortative forms of NG class, the continuative suffix -an is used instead of -ang. This could be a sort of dissimilation to avoid occurrence of two ng consonants but this change only appears in future and hortative forms of NG verbs.[266]

Table 9.7: The continuative inflection

(Sub-) classes	N/da	N/rra	N/ø	N/ya	NY	RN/ø	RN/nyja	NG
PAST CONT	janani	bayanani	garran-ani	bangin-ani	bardiny-ani	bumarn-ani	marnani	bungani
IMP CONT	jananda	bayanan-da	garran-anda	bangin-anda	bardiny-anda	bumarn-anda	marnan-da	bungan-da
FUT CONT	janang-gu	bayan-anggu	garran-anggu	bangin-anggu	bardiny-anggu	bumarn-anggu	marnang-gu	bungan-gu
HORT CONT	janang-gurra	bayan-anggurra	garran-anggurra	bangin-anggurra	bardiny-anggurra	bumarn-anggurra	marnang-gurra	bungan-gurra

[264] In the Wanyjirra corpus, there is no corresponding continuative non-finite form although such forms (i.e., stem-an-u) are recorded in Gurindji (McConvell, 2005b) and Walmajarri (Richards & Hudson, 1990).

[265] Continuative forms -an could be derived from the proto-Ngumpin complex verb form consisting of the non-finite form of the inflecting verb and yan- 'go', e.g. *gangu yani (carry.NF go.PAST) which became gang-ani 'carry-CONT.PAST' due to loss of y and the preceding vowel u suggested by Koch (2014: 177). This historical origin would account for continuative forms inflect in the similar way to N/da verbs including the stem yan-. However, this cannot explain why the variant of the continuative morpheme -ang appears in future forms.

[266] This formative is shared with Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981) and Gurindji (McConvell, 2005b)

(9-9)

Continuative Past:	Stem + -an + -i	
Continuative Imperative:	Stem + -an + -da	
Continuative Future (hortative):	NG class	Stem + -an + -gu (+ -rra)
	Other subclasses	Stem + -ang + -gu (+ -rra)

9.1.8 The inflections: meanings

9.1.8.1 Past

A past tense form refers to an event or a state which took place before the time of utterance or has just been completed. In Jaru, past tense forms and past narrative forms are distinguished whereas in Wanyjirra, at least in my consultants' speech, past forms are generally used to describe all past events.

(9-10) muwuying ngu=wula **bundarn-i**
black.plum.ABS REAL=3UA.SBJ collect-PAST
CS#: They collected bush plums [TM: CSfn070509]

(9-11) nganingu-lu jaja-nggu **gunyjan-i** nyila janyja
1MIN.OBL1-ERG ♀DCh-ERG water-PAST DIST1 soil.ABS
CS#: [My] granddaughter wettened the ground. [TM: CSfn240809]

9.1.8.2 Future

Future forms are used to express an event or a state which has not yet taken place at the time of utterance but will potentially happen in future. Although I adopt the term 'future' here, these forms indicate a range of moods combining with auxiliaries and sentence particles. It is cross-linguistically common that a marker which is used to express moods i.e., possibility or potential is also used to mark future time (Bybee, 1985: 156-159; Timberlake, 2007: 326). In languages, the development of the 'future' meaning has commonly passed from various kinds of 'agent-oriented' modal meanings and also that of epistemic modal meanings from agent-oriented or deontic modal meanings (Bybee, 1985; Bybee et al., 1994: 254-266). The Wanyjirra 'future' forms have been in the similar process of developments and synchronically cover a variety of agent-oriented and epistemic meanings.

Since different nuances (expectation, intention, desire and obligation etc.) are

expressed by the same inflectional suffix with the auxiliary ngu/nga in Wanyjirra, such differences are hardly captured through consultants' translations but may be understood through the contexts. With absence of the auxiliary, the future forms can also be followed by pronominal clitics. But there are only examples of first person clitics following future verbs which often bring expectation, intention or hortation. Perhaps, this is because the auxiliary ngu/nga usually signals the realis meaning (§11.1.1.1). Future forms express unrealised events/states as well as imperative and hortative forms. Therefore, this auxiliary would not be obligatory with future verbs.

[1] Expectation/futurity

(9-12) ngawa **wandi-wu**=ma \
water fall-FUT=TOP
CS#: "It will be raining." [TM: 11_1003_6.002]

(9-13) nyangula=yi ngumbarna ward **yan-gu**
when=1MIN.OBJ spouse.ABS return GO-FUT
CS#: When will my husband come back to me? [TM: CSfn271011]

[2] Desire and intention

Future forms also express the desire or intention of the subject referents to carry out events. In (9-14), the first sentence contains such example whereas the second sentence is admonitive, which will be described soon. Note that the negative desiderative is expressed by the negative particle wagurra and imperative forms of verb but not future forms (§9.1.8.4).

(9-14)
A. ngu=rna **gang-gu** laja \
REAL=1MIN.SBJ CARRY-FUT on.shoulder
"I want to ride the horse."

B. *a* ngarra=nggu giya-wu \
ah ADM=2MIN.OBJ throw-FUT
"Ah, he might chuck you." [TM: 11_1018_2.032-033]

(9-15) *Before we record TM's story, I asked her to try to speak Wanyjirra only not English. She said as follow.*

wagurra=rna	**yirra-wu**	*English*=ma
NEG=1MIN.SBJ	put-FUT	English.ABS=TOP

I won't record English [now]. [TM: 09_0923_5.004]

[3] Ability

Future forms can also express ability or capability. (9-16) contains two abilitative examples: in Sentence 2, the clause is negative abilitative (inabilitative) with the negative particle gula[267] and in Sentence 4 contains (positive) abilitative.

(9-16)

1.

ngu=rna	jamana	wan.gaj	janga-yaru
REAL=1MIN.SBJ	foot.ABS	bad	sore-PROP

CS: My foot is very sore.
CS#: LIT: My foot is bad having sore.

2.

gula=rna	**yan-gu**
NEG=1MIN.SBJ	go-FUT

I can't walk.

3.

burnu-yaru,	*i*	*alrite*
tree-PROP	3SG	alright

[If I] have a walking stick, it's OK.

4.

ngu=rna	ward	**yan-gu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ	return	GO-FUT

I can go back. [TM: CSfn030810]

[4] Obligation and permission

Obligation, necessity and permission are also expressed by future forms, generally with the auxiliary ngu/nga. These meanings involve the speaker's authority or responsibility for events (Timberlake, 2007), as in (9-17 and Sentence 2 of 9-18). In negative counterparts, negative particles e.g. gula (Sentence 1 of 9-18) and wagurra (9-19 and 9-20) are used.

[267] In the inabilative reading, another negative particle wagurra is not used. This is probably an influence from Jaru where gula has the meaning 'incapable' and generally occurs with future verb forms (Tsunoda, 1981), although in Wanyjirra, gula can also be used with other verb forms to form negative sentences.

(9-17) ngawa=ma \... *marri* nga=liwa **yan-gu** ward ngurra-nggawu
water.ABS=TOP maybe REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ go-FUT return camp-ALL
"[Because it will be] raining, maybe we have to go back to the camp."
[TM: 11_1003_6.008]

(9-18)
1. gula=li **gang-gu** /
NEG=1MIN.INC.SBJ carry-FUT
TT: We cannot carry [the rock].

2. **wanyja-rru** nga=li yala-ngga=lu /
leave-FUT REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ DIST2-LOC=ONLY
TT: We will leave [the rock] there.
CS#: ALT: We must/should leave [the rock] there. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.232-233]

If the negative particle wagurra is used with the second person subject, the sentences are often translated as a prohibition (negative imperative) by speakers, although prohibition is usually expressed by imperative forms (§9.1.8.4). But the difference from prohibition expressed by imperative forms is that the pronominal clitics always follow the negative particle or the auxiliary ngu/nga, but never follow future forms of verbs.

(9-19) **wagurra**=n **baya-rru** nyila gurla-nirra
NEG=2MIN.SBJ bite-FUT DIST1 south=D.ALL
TM: Don't cut [CS: trees] there [CS: in the south].
CS#: ALT: You shouldn't cut them there in the south. [TM: CSfn170809]

(9-20) **wagurra** ngu=yi=n nirn **man-gu**
NEG REAL=1MIN.OBJ=2MIN.SBJ lose GET-FUT
You mustn't/can't forget me.
ALT: Don't forget me. [MS: CSfn310809]

Tsunoda (1981: 88) reports that future forms are used for negative imperatives in Jaru whereas imperative forms are used in Wanyjirra. If this is true, the prohibitive reading above could be influenced from Jaru. These examples would be translated more precisely with the negative permissive reading such as 'you shouldn't/mustn't/can't' in the above examples.

[5] Hortation

If the subject is first person inclusive, the clauses with the future forms are interpreted

as hortation. Hortative with the thrid person subject is expressed by distinct forms (§9.1.8.3). In the hortative sense, pronominal clitics attach to verbs instead of the auxiliary ngu/nga.

(9-21) **garru-wu**=li \...(3.8) galu=lu \
stay-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ yet=ONLY
TT: Let's wait. [CS: Not yet]. [NP: 76_12_1NP(1).086]

[6] Admonitive

With the admonitive auxiliary ngarra, future forms express events or states that are potentially dangerous or undesired, often implying a warning or admonition.

(9-22) baga **ngarra**=n **nga-lu** \
splinter.ABS ADM=2MIN.SBJ ingest-FUT
You might eat splinters. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).320]

(9-23) nyawa *money* wagurra yirra *poket*-da
PROX1 money.ABS NEG put.IMP pocket-LOC

ngarra=nggula **wandi-wu**
ADM=2MIN.OBL fall-FUT
CS#: Don't put this money in the pocket otherwise it might fall off from you.
[TM: CSfn170909]

[7] Potential condition

With the conditional subordinator nyangga, future forms express potential conditions in subordinate clauses (§13.1.2). In their matrix clauses, future or imperative forms of verbs are often used to express futurity or intention, or commands respectively.

(9-24) nyangga=yi **yung-gu** nyila bamarr ngu=rna=nyunu
COND=1MIN.OBJ give-FUT DIST1 stone.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ=RR

man-gu mangarri ngarin
get-FUT veg.food.ABS meat.ABS
If you give me the money, I will get vegetables and meat. [TM: CSfn060910]

(9-25) **nyangga**=n barli **nyang-gu** gang-ga ward
COND=2MIN.SBJ find PRECEIVE-FUT CARRY-IMP return
If you find him, bring him back. [TM: CSfn160910]

[8] Uncertainty/dubitative

In 'insubordinate' constructions (cf. Evans, 2007), where conditional subordinate clause constructions are used independently from their main clauses and they behave like simple sentences (§13.5.1), future forms with nyangga express the speaker's uncertainty about whether an event is taken place as in Sentence 2 of (9-26).

(9-26)

1. nga-lu ngu nyandu-wariny-ju=lu \
   ingest-FUT REAL 3MIN-OTHER-ERG=ONLY
   Another person will eat [the bone] by himself.

2. *mat* **nyangga**=la **yung-gu** yangi-wu \
   ERROR COND=3MIN.DAT give-FUT one-DAT
   NP: He might want to give it to someone.
   MS: He might give it to another bloke.
   CS: LIT: If he gives it to another person. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).581-582]

[9] Reason/sequential events

Future forms are also used to express a reason, sequential or purpose event to another in complex sentences. (9-27) contains a finite subordinate clause with the subordinator guya/guwa (§13.1.1).

(9-27) nganany bung-ga=lu=yanu nyila
   stop HIT-IMP=AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ DIST1

   guya=lu=nyunu **bung-gu** yamayama-lu
   SUB=3AUG.SBJ=RR hit-FUT children-ERG
   You stop those kids because they would hit each other. [TM: CSfn310810]

9.1.8.3 Hortative

Hortative forms express exhortation or softened commands in that the speaker encourages or incite the third person to do something or to be in some state (Bybee et al., 1994: 179). They have third person subjects, which differs from hortation expressed by future forms with first person inclusive subjects. However, both constructions have pronominal clitics which directly attach to inflecting verbs. There is no example of negative hortative clauses.

(9-28) mawun-du **bung-gu-rra**=yi jarrambayi
man-ERG hit-FUT-HORT=1MIN.OBJ goanna.ABS
TT: Let that man cook the goanna for me. [MS: 76_12_1_NP(1).083’’’]

(9-29) **nga-lu-rra**=lu yuga \
ingest-FUT-HORT=3AUG.SBJ grass.ABS
Let them eat grass. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(3).020]

9.1.8.4 Imperative

The term ‘imperative’ is a cover term for a range of meanings the single suffix can express. It is generally used to express unreality of states or events. Specifically it denotes a command, counterfactual, hypothetical condition, and prohibition combining with different auxiliaries or sentence particles.

[1] Commands
With lack of auxiliaries, they express commands and instructions in imperative mood. Subjects of these sentences are always addressee(s), i.e., second person to whom commands or instructions are directed. Only the number markers of subject pronominal clitics directly attach to inflecting verbs (§7.3.1).

(9-30) guri **nyang-ga**=lu \
fat.ABS perceive-IMP=AUG.SBJ
“Look at the fat.” [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).500]

With the negative particle wagurra, it is used to express prohibition in negative imperative sentences. Pronominal clitics attach to inflecting verbs as in (9-31) or, although it is very uncommon, the negative particle wagurra as in (9-32) or the realis auxiliary ngu immediately following wagurra as in (9-33). In this case, the auxiliary no longer denotes realis meaning and the contrast of realis/irrealis is neutralised. If pronominal clitics attach to imperative verbs, only number markers can follow but not person markers as in (9-31).

(9-31) wagurra yilying **ma-nyja**=lu
NEG make.noise SAY-IMP=AUG.SBJ
Don’t be noisy [MS: TTfn100806]

(9-32) **wagurra**=yi=n baya-rra
NEG=1MIN.OBJ=2MIN.SBJ chop-IMP
Don't bite me. [TM: CSfn270509]

(9-33) wagurra ngu=n **ma-nyja**
NEG REAL=2MIN.SBJ say-IMP
Don't talk. [MS: CSfn191009]

[2] Past irrealis

With the irrealis auxiliary wayi, imperative forms indicate that the speaker thinks that the events or states had the potential to occur but didn't occur irrespective of whether the referents of subjects had intention to actualise the events.

(9-34) yamaji-lu **wayi** **yirra** janyja-ga
small-ERG IRR put.IMP ground-LOC
A kid nearly put it (CS: i.e., food) on the ground. [MS: CSfn081009]

(9-35) mawun **wayi**=rna=yanu **nyang-ga**
man.ABS IRR=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ perceive-IMP
I wanted to see men (CS: i.e., in men's ceremony) but I couldn't (CS: because I am a woman). [MS: CSfn280809]

However, the realis auxiliary can also occur in irrealis mood instead of the irrealis auxiliary with no clear semantic differences. In such examples, the realis auxiliary is neutral and unmarked for the realis/irrealis distinction. This could be an instance of language loss in which speakers stop using the distinct form wayi and instead use another form.

(9-36)

1. **ngu**=rna **yan-da** yala-yaru bilaga \
REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-IMP DIST2-PROP jump.on
CS: "I would have gone with that (i.e., the horse), would have jumped on [him]."

2. **ngu**=rna=ngaling-gu=la ngarin-gu **yan-da** \
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=1MIN.INC.OBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT meat-DAT go-IMP
CS: "I would have gone for meat for us." [TM: 11_1018_2.050-51]

There is an example of interrogative irrealis sentences where the interrogative takes pronominal clitics instead of the auxiliary wayi or ngu/nga as in (9-37).

(9-37) *From the car, the speaker spoke to a woman who was walking on the street. The speaker wanted to pick her up to go to the art centre with her.*

wanyjirra-wu=n **yan-da**
where-DAT=2MIN.SBJ go-IMP
"Where did you want to go?" [TM: CSfn130810]

Imperative forms also express the counterfactual meaning combining with the sentence particle gulangarra 'wrongly thought' (§11.1.3.4).

[3] Past negative desiderative

Imperative forms can also express that events were not desired or intended to occur but they occurred. The desire and intention are negated by the negative particle wagurra or gula. However, this construction is uncommon in the corpus. Affirmative desiderative and intentive is expressed with future forms (§9.1.8.2). Therefore, semantically this is not the negative counterpart of counterfactual sentences given in [2] above, which are unmarked for the sense of desire or intention.

(9-38) *TM said as follows when she came into the house which has 4-5 stairs before the entrance. Her legs are not good. Maybe she was complaining to me.*

gula=rna **yan-da** walyag
NEG=1MIN.SBJ GO-IMP inside
CS#: I didn't want/intend to go inside. [TM: CSfn150610]

(9-39) wagurra ngu=rna=nggu **bung-ga** nyundu
NEG REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ hit-IMP 2MIN
I didn't want to hit you. (But I hit you by mistake.) [MS: CSfn271011]

[4] Hypothetical condition

Finally, imperative forms are used in hypothetical past conditions with the conditional subordinator nyangga (§13.1.2). In both conditional and main clauses, imperative forms of verbs are used for unrealised events. In subordinate clauses, the pronominal clitics follow the subordinator whereas in matrix clauses, they attach to the realis/neutral auxiliary instead of the irrealis auxiliary in all examples.

(9-40) **nyangga**=yi **yung-ga** *money* yunguyung **ngu**=rna
COND=1MIN.OBJ give-IMP money.ABS yesterday REAL=1MIN.SBJ

man-da **ngu**=rna **gamba** jiwirri-g
get-IMP REAL=1MIN.SBJ BURN.IMP cooked-TRNSL
If you had given money to me yesterday, I could have gotten it, and I could have cooked it. [TM: CSfn190810]

9.1.8.5 Continuative

The continuative is a marked aspect which expresses states or events which were/will be progressing, continuing or repeating. Non-continuative, on the other hand, is an unmarked aspect which expresses states or events without specifying their progressiveness, continuity or repetition but often implying their completeness or accomplishment at a certain point of time. The following are examples of a continuative past tense form (9-41), a continuative future form (9-42), a continuative hortative form (9-43) and a continuative imperative form (9-44).

(9-41) Jinbarrag-ngarna-lu=ma ngu=lu **wanyjan-an-i** malirri-la \
PLACE.NAME-ASSC-ERG=TOP REAL=3AUG.SBJ leave-CONT-PAST cold-LOC
CS#: People from Jinbarrag were dancing in cold weather.
[TM: 09_0513_4.050]

(9-42) guya ngu=nda **lan-ang-gu** jiya=ma
thus REAL=2AUG.SBJ stab-CONT-FUT kangaroo.ABS=TOP
Like this you can stab a kangaroo. [TM: CSfn110909]

(9-43) **bardiny-ang-gu-rra**
fly-CONT-FUT-HORT
Let him (the bird) fly. [MS: CSfn231009]

(9-44) nyundu **bumarn-an-da** nyila *bambu*
2MIN blow-CONT-IMP DIST1 digeridoo.ABS
You play the didgeridoo.
CS#: LIT: You blow the didgeridoo. [MS: CSfn260809]

Repetition of telic events which have 'a natural end point' (Kroeger, 2005: 154) can also be expressed by continuative forms.

(9-45) wagurra **gayan-an-da**=lu diba
NEG kick-CONT-IMP=AUG.SBJ billycan.ABS
Don't kick the billycan. [MS: CSfn010909]

(9-46) ngawa nyangula ngu=ngaliwa **wandiny-a-gu**[268]
water.ABS when REAL=1AUG.INC.OBJ fall-CONT-FUT
MS: When will the rain fall down on us?

In the past tense, continuative forms also have the habitual reading.

(9-47) jalangurra ngu=rna **yan-an-i** Marrala-lawu
long.ago REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-CONT-PAST PLACE.NAME-ALL
Long time ago, I used to go to Marrala (Nicholson Station). [MS: TTfn170898]

9.1.8.6 Present

Present tense generally describes an event or a state which is taking place at a time including the time of the utterance. However, present tense forms are more widely used in natural discourse. Examples frequently contain those that are on-going at the time of speech as in (9-48and 9-49).

(9-48) ngu=wula **garran-ana** nyila junba langa-ngga *nao* \
REAL=3UA.SBJ keep-PRES DIST1 corroboree.ABS ear-LOC NOW
TM: They keep that corroboree in their ears now.
CS%: They remember that corroboree now. [TM: 09_0513_4.034]

(9-49)
1. nga=li ga-nya,.. murrga,
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ CARRY-PAST drop
We dropped her off.

2. ngu **garriny-ana** *na* gurla-ni-mba,
REAL stay-PRES NOW south-D.LOC1-D.LOC2
CS#: She is staying in the southern side now. [TM: 10_0831_3.069-070]

Present tense forms are also used to express an event which has occurred before the time of utterance as in Sentence 2 of (9-50), or an event which has not occurred at the time of utterance but which the speaker asserts that the event is taking place in the immediate future as in (9-51).

[268] The continuative suffix is reduced due to nasal coda dissimilation (§2.6.1).

(9-50) *NP was telling a story in that they found footprints of a goanna.*

1. gawurra man-gu=li gawurra \
track GET-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ track
CS: "Let's track it."
TT: "We will get [it]."
NOTE: gawurra might be a different language. Usually yurrg man- 'track' or yanggarra man- 'trace' is used for this meaning.

2. *today* \...(1.3) jalarni \...(1.1) jalarni **yan-ana** \...(1.4) jalarni \
today today today go-PRES today
CS: Today, [the goanna] has gone.
TT: "Today [the goanna] is going, i.e., fleeing." [NP: 76_12_1NP(1)NP.264-265]
NOTE: I changed the transcription jalani to jalarni.

(9-51) *This is the beginning of a story.*

nyawa ngu=rna=nyurra jaru **marn-ana**
PROX1 REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ language.ABS say-PRES
MS: I am telling you this story.
CS#: ALT: Here I am telling you the story. [MS: 97_31_2.006]

Since there is no formal distinction between continuative and non-continuative aspects in present tense, present tense forms also express a repeated event as in (9-52) and a habitual or customary event as in (9-53).

(9-52) ngayu ngu=rna **bayan-ana** ngunju
1SG REAL=1MIN.SBJ chop-PRES tobacco.ABS
I am chewing the tobacco. [MS: CSfn170609]

(9-53) ngandiba,... ngu=rnalu **marn-ana** gujarra *wei* wibilirri-wu-ma
1AUG REAL=1AUG.SBJ say-PRES two way spirit-DAT-TOP
We talk in two ways about a spirit of a dead person. [TM: 10_0730_8.004]

In addition, present tense forms are used to state a universal truth with no specific temporal setting. In (9-54), TM was explaining the word gangirriny 'sun' making a general statement about 'the sun' rather than describing an ongoing or habitual event.

(9-54) gangirriny ngu yirrid **yan-ana** gaa-niyin garla-nirra darag
sun.ABS REAL emerge GO-PRES east-D.ABL west-D.ALL go.down
The sun comes up from the east and goes down to the west.
[TM: CSfn310709]

In discourse, there are further uses of the present tense. First, they are used for

quotations in direct speech.

(9-55)

1.	nyila	ngu=la	yangi	marn-i \
	DIST1	REAL=3MIN.DAT	one.ABS	say-PAST
	That one [man] talked to [another].			

2.	jaliji /
	friend.ABS
	"Mate?"

3.	nyila	nyang-ga \	gayi-liyin	guwa=ngaling	**yan-ana** \
	DIST1	perceive-IMP	north-D.ABL	SUB=1MIN.INC.OBJ	go-PRES
	"Look at that, coming to us from the north." [MS: 97_31_2.016-018]				

Secondly, present forms describe the situations which pictures represent. In this use, the speaker shifts the timing of the events to the present moment and pretends that an event is happening at the time of utterance. In (9-56), TM was describing the picture where a man is standing and holding a spear and woomera in his hands.

(9-56)	nyawa	mawun-du	**garran-ana**	milarrang	jalgaji
	PROX1	man-ERG	keep-PRES	spear.ABS	woomera.ABS
	CS#: This man is holding arrows and woomera. [TM: CSfn180509]				

Finally, the present tense is used for past events instead of the past tense in narratives. This is equivalent to the historical present in English by which the speaker re-establishes events as present and make them 'immediate or vivid' in narratives (Timberlake, 2007: 313). In Text 5 (Appendix 4), where NP was talking about when he was a baby, the present tense is used in Sentence 4 of (9-57) to pretend the event was occurring at the time of narration and shifted back to the past tense in Sentence 5 to narrate the past event. Note that non-finite forms of inflecting verbs and coverbs are used as main predicates instead of finite verbs as in Sentence 1, 2 and 3 (§10.5).

(9-57)

1.	yamaji=ma \...	magin \
	small.ABS=TOP	sleep
	TT: [I], a child slept.	

2. garriny-u:::::::: \
stay-NF
TT: [I] sat [for a long time].
CS%: [I was] sleeping [for a long time].

3. baru \...
TT: [I] got up.

4. **lung-ana** \...(0.7) **lung-ana** \...(0.9) yambaji=ma \...(1.1) **lung-ana** \
cry-PRES cry-PRES small.ABS=TOP cry-PRES
TT: [I am] crying, crying, as a child, [I am] crying.
CS%: [I'm] crying, crying, [I], a small child, am crying.

5. ngu=rna lung-an-i \...(0.7) yambaji \
REAL=1MIN.SBJ cry-CONT-PAST small.ABS
MS: Little kid me, *ai bin* crying.
TT: [I], a child, was crying. [76_12_1_NP(2).025-29]

9.1.8.7 Non-finite

Unlike other inflecting forms, non-finite forms carry no information on tense, aspect and mood. Non-finite forms behave like coverbs showing four functions in main clauses and subordinate clauses: (i) as a nominalised verb; (ii) as a main predicate of non-finite subordinate clauses marked with subordinating suffixes; (iii) as a part of the complex verb combining with an finite inflecting verb; (iv) as a main predicate of the independent sentence without an finite inflecting verb. This subsection only deals with the first function. The latter three properties will be described in §13.2, §10.4 and 10.5.2 respectively.

Non-finite markers behave like a nominaliser for inflecting verbs to form nouns (or verbal nouns/gerunds) which function as heads of NPs. Most commonly, these derived nouns take nominal derivational or derivational case suffixes (including -waji 'AGENT'; -mulu(ng) 'privative') to form other nominals. Case inflection may be added after these nominals depending on their grammatical or semantic roles in the clauses, e.g. the ergative suffix, which encodes instrument, follows the non-finite verb plus -waji in (9-58). In (9-59), the non-finite verb suffixed by the privative suffix is interpreted as a negative command.

(9-58) gardiya-lu ngu=lu=yanu gumarn-an-i
white.man-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ cut-CONT-PAST

burnu **gumarn-u-waji-lu** ngulungulu-wariny
tree.ABS cut-NF-AGENT-ERG evening-OTHER
White men were cutting trees with chainsaws (CS: i.e., cutters or cutting tools) the other day. [MS: CSfn170809]

(9-59) **yung-u-mulu** \
give-NF-PRIV
NP: Don't give it.
CS: LIT: Without giving/No giving. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).136]

In the corpus, there are only two non-finite forms (marn-u 'say-NF' and nyang-u 'perceive-NF') which occur without nominal derivational (case) suffixes.[269] Marn-u can be translated as 'language', 'speech', 'story' or 'message' as in (9-60). Nyang-u is idiomatically used in the reduplicated form nyang-u-nyang-u 'doctor' in dative NP as in (9-61).

(9-60) yirra-wu=li **marn-u** jaru
put-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ say-NF.ABS language.ABS

guya=rna=nggu miyanggi man-i
SUB=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ ask GET-PAST
CS#: Let's record the talk, the story that I asked you. [TM: CSfn150610]

(9-61) ngama-yi-lu ga-ngana **nyang-u-nyang-u**-wu
M-KIN-ERG carry-PRES perceive-NF-perceive-NF-DAT
CS#: [His] mother takes him to the doctor. [TM: CSfn070710]

9.1.9 Other verbal morphology

There are two minor directional suffixes -rni 'hither' and -rra 'thither' found with inflecting verbs in the corpus.[270] They occur between inflectional suffixes and pronominal clitics as illustrated in the template (9-3). Since they are in very limit use, these suffixes may not be genuine Wanyjirra forms and would be borrowed from other

[269] These examples are also described in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 172). The non-finite forms marn-u and nyang-u can also take derivational suffixes as well.
[270] These suffix forms are related to -ni and -rra respectively which attach to cardinal directional words (§6.2). However, with directional words, these suffixes do not express the meanings 'hither' and 'thither' but more general meanings: stative 'in the X' and/or motion 'to X'.

languages, e.g. Warlpiri which has directional morphemes including these two forms (Laughren, 1978; Nash, 1986: 62).

9.1.9.1 Hither: -rni

The hither suffix -rni indicates that motion is directed towards the speaker. In the corpus, this suffix is only found with imperative forms of verbs of physical transfer: gang- 'carry' (9-62) and yung- 'give' (9-63). In Jaru, the hither clitic =ni (not =rni) is only used with imperative and purposive (future) forms of verbs (Tsunoda, 1981: 208). On the other hand, this hither suffix can also attach to other inflected forms of verbs in Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 308). However, Gurindji has no suffix to encode deixis in inflecting verbs (McConvell, 1983: 30).

(9-62) gang-ga-**rni** nyila gardag
carry-IMP-HITH DIST1 cup.ABS
Bring the cup here. [MS: CSfn260609]

(9-63) yung-ga-**rni**=yi gurdulu nyangga=n jilmung man-gu
give-IMP-HITH=1MIN.OBJ liver.ABS COND=2MIN.SBJ break GET-FUT
Give me [CS: the] liver if you break it. [MS: 76_13_2_NP(2).103'''']

Since the directional suffix is rarely used, directions of the motion (i.e., 'motion toward X' and 'motion away from X') are generally understood through the context and the co-occurring overt NPs marked with spatial suffixes. For example, the inflecting verb gang- without the directional suffix can be interpreted as 'bring toward X' with the allative NP as in (9-64a) and 'take away from X' with the elative NP as in (9-64b).

(9-64)
a. gang-ga *nao* giyarri murla-nggawu
carry-IMP NOW digging.stick.ABS PROX1-ALL
Bring a digging stick here. [MS: CSfn261010]

b. ngandu-gu=yi mangarri ga-nya murla-nginyi
who-ERG=1MIN.OBJ veg.food.ABS carry-PAST PROX1-EL
Who took my food from here? [MS: CSfn280709]

9.1.9.2 Thither: -rra[271]

The thither suffix -rra indicates direction toward some point away from the speaker. It is used more rarely than the hither suffix and is only found in the text given by NP and reproduction given by MS regarding NP's speech. The identical form of this thither suffix is found with coverbs, IVs and cardinal direction words in Warlpiri (Laughren, 1978: 234; Nash, 1986: 62). In the Wanyjirra corpus, this attaches to imperative forms as in (9-65).

(9-65) nyawa gang-ga-**rra** \
PROX1 carry-IMP-THITH
MS: Take it away. [NP: 76_12_1NP(1).307]

9.2 Coverbs

Coverbs[272] are widely spread over the region of northern and north-western Australia, across the border between Pama-Nyungan and non-Pama-Nyungan languages. Overviews of coverbs and complex verb constructions of Australian languages are provided in Capell (1976, 1979), Dixon (2001), McGregor (2002), Schultze-Berndt (2003) and Bowern (2014).

Wanyjirra coverbs form a distinct open word class which covers a range of meanings like English verbs, adverbs and adjectives. They share some grammatical properties with nominals, IVs and adverbs (§9.2.1). Phonologically coverbs have unusual word structure (§9.2.2). The main syntactic function of coverbs is to form complex verbs with IVs (§10.3). There are generally three types of coverbs (strong nexus coverbs, weak nexus coverbs and adverbial coverbs) and their complex verb constructions which show gradual differences in their semantic and grammatical properties. Other special types of coverbs are those which are derived from adjectives with attachment

[271] Wanyjirra also has the minor clitic =rra 'AGAIN' which is formally identical to the thither suffix but semantically different (§11.4.3).
[272] Different terms are used for the equivalent word class in Australian languages. The term 'coverb' is adopted from literature on some Australian languages, including Wagiman in Wilson (1999); Jaminjung in Schultz-Berndt (2000); Gurindji in McConvell (2005) and Bilinarra in Meakins & Nordlinger (2014). Other terms are used in many other literatures on individual or general Australian languages: 'base' (Capell, 1979), 'verbal particle' (Merlan, 1994); 'preverb' (Nash, 1982; Senge, 2008; Tsunoda, 1981); 'uninflecting verb' (McGregor, 2002, 2004). Tryon (1974) uses the term 'verb' for Daly River languages with inflecting verbs termed 'auxiliary'.

of the translative suffix and Kriol verbs integrated in Wanyjirra complex verb constructions (§10.3.5; §10.3.6).

9.2.1 Distinction from other word class members

Wanyjirra coverbs can easily be distinguished from IVs by the fact that coverbs do not take verbal inflection, although some coverbs etymologically related to IVs (§9.1.6). Aspectual information is optionally carried on coverbs by lengthened vowels, reduplication or the repetitive suffix (§9.2.3). In (9-66), the coverb is reduplicated. In (9-67), a coverb is marked with the repetitive suffix of which final vowel is lengthened to express continuation or duration of the event.[273]

(9-66) ngarra=nggu=lu **bila-bila** man-gu
ADM=2MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ RDP-chase GET-FUT
They might be chasing you. [TM: CSfn120710]

(9-67) **gurrij-garra:::::** guya nyawa mangarri=ma \
dig.with.stick-REP thus PROX1 veg.food.ABS=TOP
[We] kept digging up this food like this. [10_0617_7.009]

However, coverbs are not easily separated from nominals and adverbs.[274] A few coverbs can also be used as nouns without any derivational morphology (i.e., zero-derivation). For instance, the lexeme gun.ga ‘dead, raw’ is used as an argument of the clause and also combine with an IV forming a complex verb.

(9-68)
a. yung-ga=ngayarrang **gun.ga** mangarri
give-IMP=1UA.OBJ raw.ABS veg.food.ABS
Give us raw (fresh) vegetables. [TM: CSfn131011]

b. nyamba-wuja nyila gula **gun.ga** wandi-nya
what-LACK DIST1 NEG dead FALL-PAST
TM: “Why didn’t they die?” [MS: 97_31_2.037]

Coverbal morphology is partly overlapped with nominal derivational morphology

[273] In (9-67), the coverb occurs solely in the main predicate without inflecting verbs. This is one of the similarities of coverbs to non-finite forms of inflecting verbs which can also be used as main predicates (§10.5).
[274] In other Australian languages, coverbs are derived from nouns, adjectives, or adverbs (Bowern, 2014; McGregor, 2002). Therefore, it is not surprising that Wanyjirra coverbs show some common features of these word classes, even though coverbs form an independent word class.

(§9.2.3.4). However, only coverbs can take the adjectiviser -bari/wari (§4.3.6), although it is uncommonly used. The translative suffix can be attached to adjectives to create coverbs (§9.2.3.2). Furthermore, unlike nouns and adjectives, coverbs cannot take a full range of case suffixes. They are only marked with ergative, dative, locative, elative, allative and purposive suffixes which function as subordinators to form non-finite subordinate clauses (§3.2.3.4; §13.2). Such coverbs never occur as arguments. In (9-69), the coverb warrarrang 'lull' combines with the IV marn- as a part of the main predicate of the matrix clause while the coverb magin 'sleep' occurs solely as a main predicate of non-finite subordinate clause.

(9-69) ngama-nyan ngu=la yamaji-wu **warrarrang** marn-ana
M-3KIN.POSS.ABS REAL=3MIN.DAT small-DAT lull SAY-PRES

magin-gu
sleep-DAT
Her mother is lulling her kid to sleep. [MS: CSfn101110]

Coverbs cannot be satisfactorily distinguished from adverbs. One coverb class, adverbial coverbs (§10.3.4) are semantically and grammatically similar to manner adverbs (§11.3.4). Like manner adverbs, adverbial coverbs function as a modifier adding information to meanings of simple IVs or complex verbs consisting of IVs and strong or weak nexus coverbs without change of semantics and grammatical structures. However, adverbial coverbs can be distinguished from adverbs by the fact that coverbs only occur with certain IVs and complex verbs.[275] Adverbs, on the other hand, potentially occur with any IVs and complex verbs where semantically compatible. In addition, adverbial coverbs, like other coverbs, can take subordinating suffixes to form predicates of non-finite subordinate clauses whereas adverbs cannot.

9.2.2 Phonological shape of coverbs

Coverb members show unique phonological shapes which are uncommon or unattested

[275] In some Australian languages, formal distinction between adverbs and coverbs is also problematic (cf. Merlan, 1994: 59). In Jaminjung and Bilinarra, the possibility of attaching coverbal aspectual suffixes (equivalent to the Wanyjirra repetitive suffix) is used to distinguish coverbs from adverbs as one of the criteria (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014; Schultze-Berndt, 2000). In Wanyjirra, this criterion may not be used. It is unclear whether all coverbs can take the repetitive suffix due to the limit of the corpus. At least adverbs cannot take this suffix based on the current corpus.

in other word classes.[276] First, many coverbs are monosyllabic like auxiliaries ngu/nga and ba/wa. But monosyllabic coverbs always contain closed syllables, e.g. waj 'throw' and mug 'quiet' whereas auxiliaries contain open syllables. Secondly, coverbs commonly end with closed syllables (CVC) even if they consist of more than one syllable, e.g. magin 'sleep' and burnij 'skin'. The final phonological feature of coverbs is consonant clusters in codas, which are not found in other major word classes like nominals and inflecting verbs. These clusters consist of a liquid plus a stop or velar nasal (§2.5.5.1), e.g. birlg 'leave behind', walarrb 'serious sick', girlb 'click together' and wirlng 'envy'.

There are a number of Wanyjirra coverbs end with -b, e.g. gurlbab 'heap up', liwurrab 'hang around', jamarlb 'thank' and mingib 'crawl'. In the corpus, two Wanyjirra coverbs have two variants, i.e., the base forms (darug 'bathe' and *warug* 'work') and the -(a)b forms (darugab and warugab).[277] However, in all other cases, -b cannot be separately analysed as a suffix because no base forms (without -b) are found in Wanyjirra. The similar situation is found in Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 270) where younger speakers have been ceasing to use the base coverb forms but keeping the corresponding -(a)b forms.[278] McConvell (2005b) suggests that this morpheme has been used as an aspectual marker which expresses duration, repetition or continuation of the activities in Gurindji and these meanings have become less significant because some coverbs with -(a)b are lexicalised. In Wanyjirra, there is no semantic difference between two forms, darug/*warug* and darugab/*warugab* and they are treated as free variations by consultants. Here, this morpheme is merely analysed as part of coverbs.

9.2.3 Morphological processes

9.2.3.1 Reduplication

Unlike inflecting verbs, coverbs can be reduplicated. Although some coverb stems

[276] This is also the case in other Australian languages with coverbs, including Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981), Gurindji (McConvell, 2005c), Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014), Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt, 2000) and Wagiman (Wilson, 1999).
[277] The coverb *warug* 'work' is analysed as a borrowed item from Kriol 'work' (§10.3.6).
[278] In addition, non-finite forms of the Bilinarra inflecting verbs have developed into coverbs with the attachment of -b (see also §9.1.6).

inherently consist of reduplicated syllables (bulbul ‘wrap’ and magamaga ‘cranky’), there are two reduplication patterns to derive coverbs.

[1] Reduplication of the entire stem, e.g. birrga ‘create’ > birrga-birrga; jaaj ‘beg’ > jaaj-jaaj; laja ‘on shoulder’ > laja-laja; jilmung ‘break’ > jilmung-jilmung; jaburrg ‘dip’ > jaburrg-jaburrg

(9-70) *aan* yangi-nggu **birrga-birrga** man-an-i nguluggaji=ma /
and one-ERG RDP-create GET-CONT-PAST tea.ABS=TOP
And another was making tea. [TM: 10_0607_3.022]

[2] Reduplication of elements up to the second vowel (CVCV) of the stems whose final consonants are stops (CVCVC), e.g. bardaj ‘ascend’ > barda-bardaj; warrard ‘dry out’ > warra-warrard; walyag ‘inside’ > walya-walyag; dirrib ‘camp out’ > dirri-dirrib.

(9-71) ngu=rnalu yirran-an-i **barda-bardaj** *back*-gula \
REAL=1AUG.SBJ PUT-CONT-PAST RDP-ascend back-LOC
CS#: We put it (i.e., a broom) up in the back [of the house].
[TM: 09_0602_1.048]

Reduplication of coverbs conveys aspectual meanings, continuity (9-70) and iteration (9-71). It often happens with the continuative forms of the inflecting verbs within the complex verbs, although it is also possible with non-continuative forms as seen in (9-72 and 9-73).

(9-72) garri-ya=lu **lulu-lulu** murla-rndil
STAY-IMP=AUG.SBJ RDP-sit PROX2-INDEF
Sit down around here. [MS: CSfn061009]

(9-73) nyamba-wuja **burja-burja** yan-i /
what-LACK RDP-run GO-PAST
“Why was he running?” [DJ: 99_34.503]

A few examples show that reduplication of coverbs is also used to intensify the events. In (9-74), MS provides a conversational example where the reduplicated coverb in B is used to answer of the preceding question. MS clearly says “people use jaaj-jaaj marn-ana instead of jaaj marn-ana when they want to emphasise on it.”

(9-74)

A. nyamba=n marn-i
what=2MIN.SBJ say-PAST
What did you say?

B. ngu=rna=nggu **jaaj-jaaj** marn-ana mangarri-wu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ RDP-beg SAY-PAST veg.food-DAT
I am asking you for tucker. [MS: CSfn170609]

9.2.3.2 Translative: -g

The translative suffix -g usually attaches to nominals (mostly adjectives) to derive coverbs which express change of state of an entity. These translative coverbs often occur with the intransitive verb garriny- 'be, stay' and the transitive verb man- 'get' and translated as 'X becomes Y' (9-75) and 'X makes Y Z' (9-76) respectively.

(9-75) ngu=lu **binarri-g** garriny-ang-gu jaru-wu
REAL=3AUG.SBJ knowing-TRNSL BE-CONT-FUT language-DAT
MS: They will know the language.
CS: LIT: They will become knowing the language [MS: CSfn200709]

(9-76) nyila mawun-du ngu **judu-g** man-i nyanunga
DIST1 man-ERG REAL straight-TRNSL GET-PAST 3MIN.OBL1

jaru
language.ABS
MS: That man straightened up his (CS: i.e., recorded) story.
CS: LIT: That man made his story straight. [MS: CSfn021009]

However, such derived coverbs also occur with other inflecting verbs as in (9-77 and 9-78). Translative coverbs can also be suffixed by the repetitive suffix (§9.2.3.3) like other coverbs as in (9-78). For a detailed discussion, see §10.3.5.

(9-77) nyila bilarli ngu=lu yan-i **ngarrga-g **
DIST1 big.girl.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ GO-PAST big-TRNSL
CS#: Those girls grew up.
CS#: ALT: Those girls became big. [TM: 09_0513_4.055]

(9-78) **yura-g-garra** ngu=lu wanyjan-an-i \
good-TRNSL-REP REAL=3AUG.SBJ DANCE-CONT-PAST
CS#: They were dancing in a good way. [TM: 10_0826_1.014]

9.2.3.3 Repetitive: -garra

In addition to reduplication, the repetitive suffix carries the meaning of continuation or repetition of events/states. This suffix has three other allomorphic variations as in (9-79). Distributions of these forms are not entirely predictable and complementary.

(9-79)

a.	-garra	following consonants except liquids: e.g. daj-garra 'crush-REP'; nguny-garra 'sulk-REP'
b.	-warra	following vowels /u/ and /i/: e.g. ruyu-warra 'play-REP'; miyanggi-warra 'ask-REP'
c.	-arra	following liquids and /a/, but also following /g/ in a few examples: e.g. dilygurr-arra 'crack'; jily-arra 'singe-REP'; dula-arra 'scoop-REP'; wirlg-arra 'kill-REP'
d.	-barra	following /b/, /rd/ and /i/: e.g. dub-barra '-REP; warugab-barra 'work-REP' ward-barra 'return-REP'; yanggarni-barra 'behind-REP'

The use of the allomorph -barra is irregular. It is rarely used and only found with the above coverbs in the corpus. The coverb dub 'pull' is also suffixed by -garra as a regular allomorph. On the other hand, warugab 'work', ward 'return', yanggarni 'later' are only attached with -barra in the corpus.[279]

Like other morphological devices, this repetitive suffix is optionally used for the meanings of continuation and repetition. For instance, they can be expressed by: (i) unmarked coverbs with continuative IVs (9-80); (ii) repetitive coverbs with non-continuative IVs (9-81); (iii) repetitive coverbs with continuative IVs (9-82).

[279] The similar adverb yanggani 'behind' is suffixed by the allomorph -warra in Jaru as in a general rule (Tsunoda, 1981: 242). Likewise in Wanyjirra, the form -warra would be expected to follow yanggarni.

(9-80) ngu=rnalu **dub** man-an-i \
REAL=1AUG.SBJ pull GET-CONT-PAST
CS#: We were pulling it out. [TM: 10_0617_7.011]

(9-81) ngu=yi **miyanggi-warra** man-i
REAL=1MIN.OBJ ask-REP GET-PAST
She keeps asking me. [TM: CSfn110810]

(9-82) gurla-na **ward-barra** ngu=rnalu yan-an-i
south-DIRECT return-REP REAL=1AUG.SBJ GO-CONT-PAST

Inverway-wurra \...(1.1) gan.gu-luba \
PLACE.NAME-PURP up-D.LOC2
TT: We came back to the south up to Inverway Station.
[TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).026]

The repetitive suffix can also follow a translative coverb (9-83) and a Kriol verb functioning as a coverb (9-84) (see also §10.3.6).

(9-83) ngu=rna=yanu man-i **minyirri-g-garra**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ GET-PAST shy-TRNSL-REP
CS#: I kept making them shamed. [TM: CSfn190810]

(9-84) ngarin-gu binarri guya=n ***majurum*-garra** man-an-i
meat-DAT knowing SUB=2MIN.SBJ muster-REP GET-CONT-PAST

nyila *buluk*
DIST1 bullock.ABS
MS: “You know about bullock which you have been mustering."
[DJ: 99_41.177]

9.2.3.4 Coverbs with nominal derivational and derivational case suffixes

Coverbs can take some derivational and derivational case suffixes and create nominal lexemes. Such suffixes include: (i) the agentive -gaji/waji (§4.3.1); (ii) OTHER -gari(ny)/wariny (§4.3.2); (iii) the adjectiviser -bari/wari (§4.3.6); (iv) the proprietive -jaru/yaru (§4.5.1); (v) the privative -mulung (§4.5.2). Further examples are provided below.

(9-85) ngu=nda naga-marraj=ma ngabanyji=ma
REAL=2AUG.SBJ red.cloth-SEMB.ABS=TOP eye.ABS=TOP

darugab-gaji=ma
bathe-AGENT.ABS=TOP
CS#: "Your eyes are like red clothes, [you are] divers." [TM: 09_0923_5.039]

(9-86) garru-wu-rra **dirrib-gari-lawu**
stay-FUT-HORT camp-OTHER-ALL
Let it (CS: unripen fruit) stay until camping again. [TM: CSfn120710]

(9-87) bangarra ngu murna **jilmung-bari**
white.cockatoo.ABS REAL wing.ABS break-ADJ
TM: A white cockatoo, *i* not *gud langa* arm.
CS@: A white cockatoo, the arm is broken.
CS: ALT: A white cockatoo has a broken arm. [TM: CSfn080910]

(9-88) **marri-mulung** \
off-PRIV
MS: [We] won't go away.
CS: LIT: Without being off. [DJ: 99_34.605]

(9-89) gardiya-lu ngu=la rarr gang-ana
white.man-ERG REAL=3MIN.DAT come.attack CARRY-PRES

mawun-gu **guli-yaru-lu**
man-DAT fight-PROP-ERG
TT: The white man is angry and is coming for the Aboriginal man.
CS%: The white man is coming after the man to attack being angry.
NOTE: I gave the gloss 'come to attack' for the coverb rarr because the original text lacks it. My translation is based on my elicitation session with TM saying 'get wild and come and attack'. [MS: TTfn180700]

Chapter 10
Simple and complex verb constructions

10.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, two verbal components constituting verbal predicates, namely inflecting verbs and coverbs were introduced and shown to be distinct word classes having distinct morphological and syntactic features. This chapter describes simple and complex verbs which involve inflecting verbs and/or coverbs. All inflecting verbs can form simple verbs by themselves but only particular inflecting verbs can be used in complex verbs (§10.1; §10.2). Complex verbs consist of more than one grammatical component, each of which contributes to the predicative information and which jointly determine the argument structure within single syntactic clauses (Alsina et al., 1997: 1; Bowern, 2014: 264). These complex verbs are widely found in north and north-western Australian languages, including Pama-Nyungan and non-Pama-Nyungan languages.

The major type of Wanyjirra complex verbs constitutes an inflecting verb and a coverb. Within these complex verbs, coverbs mainly contribute to lexical meanings of the whole predicate or modify the meanings of inflecting verbs. Inflecting verbs, on the other hand, generally provide basic meanings of the predicates with tense-aspect-mood information which may include vectorial configuration (a conceptual representation of the event type), valency and/or Aktionsart (cf. McGregor, 2002: 29-33) in some combinations. These complex verbs can be mainly subcategorised into three types, (i) strong nexus; (ii) weak nexus; and (iii) adverbial complex verbs, characterised by distinct semantic, morphological and syntactic properties (§10.3). The minor type involves a non-finite form of the inflecting verb combining with a finite verb where the former behaves like a coverb in such complex verbs (§10.4). Coverbs and non-finite verbs can also occur as main predicates without finite forms of the inflecting verbs in independent clauses (§10.5).

10.1 Simple verb constructions

All inflecting verbs can constitute main predicates of finite clauses by themselves. Such simple verb constructions are illustrated in (10-1-10-3).

(10-1) yalu-nggu yamaji-lu ngu **yirran-i** mangarri gardag-gula
DIST2-ERG small-ERG REAL put-PAST veg.food.ABS cup-LOC
CS#: That child put the food in a cup. [TM: CSfn121010]

(10-2) balabi ngu=rna **bundarn-ana**
bush.coconut.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ collect-PRES
I'm collecting bush coconuts. [MS: TTfn100806]

(10-3) ngaliwula **yan-gu**=liwula *Turkey Creek*-gulawu
1UA.INC go-FUT=1UA.INC.SBJ PLACE.NAME-ALL
We three will go to Turkey Creek (i.e., Warmun). [TM: CSfn070610]

10.2 An overview of semantics and functions of inflecting verbs

Twenty-two out of the whole set of thirty-eight inflecting verbs can co-occur with coverbs to form complex verbs in Wanyjirra.[280] These inflecting verbs should be functionally distinguished from other verb stems which are never involved in complex verbs.[281] These two subtypes of inflecting verbs are listed in Table 10.1 and 10.2 respectively. Table 10.1 also provides some coverbs which can combine with each inflecting verb. A full list of possible combinations is given with coverb-entries in Appendix 2.

[280] Since complex verb constructions with non-finite and finite inflecting verbs are uncommon, they are not considered here. However, most finite verb stems which occur in such constructions also occur in coverb-verb combinations.

[281] In this thesis, I avoid using a separate specific term for inflecting verbs which occur with coverbs in complex verbs to distinguish inflecting verbs which solely occur in a predicate. Verbs which have similar functions in complex verbs are called 'light verbs' cross-linguistically within Australia (Bowern, 2014) and elsewhere (Butt, 2010), although in Butt's definition, 'light verbs' exclude predicative elements which encode tense or aspect information and Wanyjirra inflecting verbs carry such information. Other terms have been used in many Northern Australian languages; 'auxiliaries' (Tryon, 1974) for the Daly River languages; 'generic verbs' (Schultze-Berndt, 2000) for Jaminjung; 'ancillary verbs' (McConvell, 2005b) for Gurindji.

Table 10.1: A list of sample combinations of inflecting verbs and coverbs

Inflecting verbs		Sample coverbs in combinations
N/da	man- 'get'	bad 'touch' balmarn 'bump' dula 'scoop' gulburr 'destroy' ngamulu 'keep in arms' yimbab 'steal'
	yan- 'go'	bardaj 'ascend burja 'run' darra 'warm up' lurr 'turn back' ward 'return' wulb 'jump'
N/rra	bayan- 'chop/ bite'	darlag 'split up' digab 'hack' dug 'smash' gadaj 'cut' murrg 'chew'
	gayan- 'kick'	gulburr 'destroy' warr 'catch up with'
	wanyjan- 'leave/ dance'	birlg 'leave.behind' warrgab 'stamp'
N/ø	garran- 'keep'	lawurr 'embrace' ngamulu 'keep in arms' wulaj 'hide'
	giyan- 'throw'	biyarrb 'tell a story' gulburr 'destroy' waj 'throw' yurruwag 'vomit'
	yirran- 'put'	baru 'stand' birrib 'block up' biyarrb 'tell a story' burr 'purr' darra 'warm up' wulaj 'hide' yurruwag 'vomit'
	yuwan- 'send'	birrib 'block.up' biyarrb 'tell a story' ward 'return'
NY	garriny- 'stay/ be'	bardaj 'ascend' darra 'warm up' jaagib 'yawn' nunygu 'hungry' wulaj 'hide'

Inflecting verbs		Sample coverbs in combinations
RN/ø	gambarn- 'burn'	jily 'singe' rdurdul 'cook in hole' wub 'cook on coals'
	gumarn- 'cut'	darlag 'split up' gadaj 'cut'
	jiyarn- 'steal'	yimbab 'steal'
	luwarn- 'strike'	dirriny 'through hole' wirlg 'kill'
	yunbarn- 'sing'	burr 'sing'
RN/nyja	marn- 'say' 'do'	guli 'fight' gurany 'tell a lie' jaaj 'beg' ruyu 'play' wangany 'search' wuruny 'whistle'
	ngarn- 'ingest'	gugij 'drink' murrg 'chew' ngambij 'eat honey' yunyjug 'suck'
NG	bung- 'hit'	balmarn 'bump' banggily 'hit head' gulburr 'destroy' jiwaj 'disagree' warrgab 'stamp' wirlg 'kill'
	gang- 'carry'	balmarn 'bump' bard 'fly' mundurru 'drop off' ngamulu 'keep in arms' warra 'watch' wulaj 'hide' yimbab 'steal'
	nyang- 'perceive'	barli 'find' bura 'hear' girnig 'stare' wangany 'serach' warra 'watch'
	yung- 'give'	barli 'find' biyarrb 'tell a story' guli 'fight' wulaj 'hide'
NY	wandiny- 'fall'	baru 'stand' jinggiri 'laugh' yalbarraj 'slip'

Table 10.2: A list of inflecting verbs which cannot form a complex verb

jan- 'copulate with'	bundarn- 'collect'
jun- 'scold'	bumarn- 'blow'
lan- 'stab'	yin.garn- 'trim'
gunyjan- 'water'	bardiny- 'fly'
jaman- 'grind'	barndiny- 'smell/stink'
marran- 'call'	burlang-'call out'
bangin- 'scratch'	jalang- 'winnow'
jambun- 'kiss'	lung- 'cry'

Inflecting verbs, especially those which are listed in Table 10.1 are semantically more general. The given glosses for each inflecting verb merely show their basic meanings and use for a range of events/states either in simple or complex verbs. For example, yirran- 'put', which can occur with coverbs, basically expresses 'put/place something' by itself as in (10-1) above. However, it is also used to designate events, specifically 'put on (clothes)' (10-4a) and 'paint (ochre/decoration on the body)' (10-4b) and 'record/write (a language)' (10-4c).

(10-4)

a. mawun-du ngu=lu=nyununggula **yirran-ana** naaga
man-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ=RR.OBL put-PRES red.cloth.ABS
CS#: Men put red loincloths on themselves/each other. [TM: CSfn300610]

b. nyila ngaringga-lu ngu=la **yirran-ana** garlji
DIST1 woman-ERG REAL=3MIN.DAT put-PRES white.ochre.ABS

murdu yamaji-wunyja
red.ochre.ABS small-COMIT
That woman is putting white ochre and red ochre on the kid.
[MS: CSfn220509]

c. nyunbulanginy yiri **yirra-wu**
2UA.OBL2 name.ABS put-FUT
MS: Write your name.
CS: LIT: [You] can put your name. [MS: CSfn170609]

In addition, bung- 'hit' generally expresses an action which physically affects patients: 'hit with one's hand or a tool' as in (10-5a); 'kill' (10-5b); '(The sun/fire) burns something' (10-5c). But it can also be used for the meanings 'play (a corroboree), i.e., clap music sticks or dance stamping the ground' (10-5d).

(10-5)

a. ngu=rna **bu-nya** jarrambayi langga-ga
REAL=1MIN.SBJ hit-PAST goanna. ABS head-LOC
I hit the goanna on the head. [TM: CSfn280610]

b. wayi=lu mawun-du **bi-nya** ngarin
IRR=3AUG.SBJ man-ERG hit-PAST meat.ABS
TM: *Matbi* the boys *bin killim* cattle.
CS@: The boys might have killed the cattle.
CS#: ALT: Did the boys kill the cattle? [MS: CSfn021110]

c. murlu-nggu gangirriny-ju ngu=yi **bung-ana**
PROX2-ERG sun-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ hit-PRES
This sun burns me. [TM: CSfn160610]

d. yamayama-lu ngu=lu junba **bung-an-i**
children-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ corroboree.ABS hit-CONT-PAST
The children were dancing the corroborees. [MS: CSfn021110]

The intransitive verb wandiny- 'fall' generally expresses downward motion (10-6a). But, used by itself, it also designates 'being born' (10-6b) and 'die' (10-6c and d). To clarify these meanings, the Kriol-loan verb *bon* 'born' and the Wanyjirra coverb gun.ga 'dead' are sometimes added to the inflecting verb respectively in complex verbs.[282]

(10-6)

a. ngawa ngu **wandi-wu**
water.ABS REAL fall-FUT
TM: Rain *gata* fall down.
CS@: It will rain. [TM: CSfn201010]

b. nyangula=wayi *bon* **wandi-wu** nyila yambagina
when=IGNOR born FALL-FUT DIST1 child.ABS
I don't know when the kid is born. [TM: CSfn151011]

c. lurrij ngu=lu **wandi-nya**
all.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ fall-PAST
CS#: The whole lot passed away. [TM: CSfn121011]

[282] Use of the inflecting verb 'fall' for 'birth' and 'death' is also described in Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt, 2000: 236).

d. nyamba-wuja nyila gula gun.ga **wandi-nya**
what-LACK DIST1 NEG dead FALL-PAST
TM: “Why didn’t they die?” [MS: 97_31_2.037]

On the other hand, other inflecting verbs which cannot occur in complex verbs tend to denote more specific events. Due to their semantic restrictions, many of these stems are infrequently used in this language and are only used for particular situations. Examples include: jalang- ‘winnow’ (10-7); burlang- ‘call out’ (10-8a); jambun- ‘kiss’ (10-9a). Note that some inflecting verbs can be paraphrased by complex verbs containing coverbs and different inflecting verbs (10-8b; 10-9b).

(10-7) ngu=n **jalang-gu** nyawa wilarr
REAL=2MIN.SBJ winnow-FUT PROX1 seed.sp.ABS
You will clean these seeds. [MS: CSfn080909]

(10-8)
a. ngu=rna=la **burla-nya** Wajayi-wu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT call.out-PAST PERSON.NAME-DAT
I called out to Wajayi. [MS: CSfn030909]

b. ngu=rna=la **bawu** **marn-i** Wajayi-wu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT call.out SAY-PAST PERSON.NAME-DAT
I called out to Wajayi. [MS: CSfn070909]

(10-9)
a. nganingu-lu jaja-nggu ngu=yi **jambun-i**
1MIN.OBL1-ERG MM-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ kiss-PAST
My grandmother kissed me. [MS: CSfn300909]

b. ngu=rna=nggu **buny** **man-gu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ kiss GET-FUT
I want to kiss you. [TM: CSfn111110]

Table 10.3 summaries all inflecting verbs, their glosses and possible meanings.

Table 10.3: Possible meanings of inflecting verbs

Stems	Gloss	Possible meanings	Stems	Gloss	Possible meanings
jan-	'copulate with'	copulate with, fuck	garriny-	'be' 'stay'	to be, become stay, exist
jun-	'scold'	scold, argue, swear	wandiny-	'fall'	fall, drop, descend
lan-	'stab'	stab, spear, pierce	bumarn-	'blow'	blow (fire, didgeridoo)
man-	'get'	get, acquire, obtain, handle, do, learn, make Y Z	bundarn-	'collect'	collect (bush food)
yan-	'go'	walk, come, go	gambarn-	'burn'	burn, cook, heat, boil
bayan-	'chop' 'bite'	chop, cut (by an axe) bite, chew, munch	gumarn-	'cut'	slice, cut (by a saw, a chainsaw or a knife)
gayan-	'kick'	kick, affect by legs	jiyarn-	'steal'	steal, take Y from Z
wanyjan-	'leave' 'dance'	leave dance[283]	luwarn-	'strike' 'RS'	strike, hit respect speech verb
garran-	'keep'	keep, hold, have, possess	yin.garn-	'trim'	trim, sharpen, smooth
giyan-	'throw'	throw (out/in), spill	yunbarn-	'sing'	sing (a song)
gunyjan-	'wetten'	wetten, water Y	marn-	'say' 'do'	speak, talk, tell, make a sound do, behave, perform[284]
jaman-	'grind'	grind	ngarn-	'ingest'	ingest from the mouth, eat, drink
yirran-	'put'	put, put on, place, paint record/write, make Y Z	bung-	'hit'	hit, kill, burn, affect (physically), make an impact on, play a music/dance
marran-	'call'	call Y Z, name Y Z	burlang-	'call out'	call out to, sing out to
yuwan-	'let go'	let Y go, send Y to Z	gang-	'carry'	carry, take, bring, transfer
bangin-	'scratch'	scratch, dig	jalang-	'winnow'	winnow, clean (seeds)
jambun-	'kiss'	kiss	lung-	'cry'	cry
bardiny-	'fly'	fly	nyang-	'perceive'	see, look at, look for
barndiny-	'smell'	smell, stink (intr.)	yung-	'give'	give Y to Z, transmit Y to Z

[283] According to McConvell (2005b: 35), the meaning 'dance' originates from the fact that Gurindji people are 'basically stamping the feet (the basic meaning warrkap [CS: the coverb warrgab found in Gurindji and Wanyjirra]) and moving away, -'leaving' behind a track' in their business of dancing. This is also the case in Wanyjirra. MS also provides her account that dancers 'leave' a cloud of dust in the dancing circle place by stamping the feet.

[284] In many Australian languages, a single verb stem 'say' associates with the general meaning 'do' (McGregor, 2002). The Wanyjirra intransitive verb stem marn- also marks more general non-stative activities ('play', 'do', 'behave' and 'perform') as well as speech activities as in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981). The distinct transitive verb stem man- 'get' is also used for the basic meaning 'do/get' but it usually expresses actions which (physically) affect a participant.

10.3 Coverbs and complex verbs

10.3.1 Types of coverbs and complex verbs

This section describes complex verb constructions which involve inflecting verbs and coverbs. Wanyjirra coverbs can be categorised into three major types: (i) strong nexus coverbs; (ii) weak nexus coverbs; (iii) adverbial coverbs.[285] The complex verbs which contain each of these coverbs are referred to as strong nexus complex verbs, weak nexus complex verbs and adverbial complex verbs respectively. Difference of semantic and grammatical connectivity between coverbs and inflecting verbs in these constructions is gradable. Some combinations show mixed features which can be characterised as belonging to one or two different categories. These types are examined by the following parameters.[286]

[1] Word order of coverbs and inflecting verbs;
[2] Tightness of nexus, separability of coverbs from inflecting verbs;
[3] Degree of semantic contribution to complex verbs;
[4] Possible combination of coverbs with different inflecting verbs;
[5] Transitivity/valency;
[6] Marking conventions of subordinating suffixes;
[7] Possibility of independent use of coverbs.

Table 10.4 summarises the characteristics of each coverb and complex verb based on these parameters. However, there are two other types of coverbs: translative coverbs and Kriol-loan verbs integrated as coverbs within Wanyjirra complex verbs. These coverbs and co-occurring inflecting verbs show similar properties to weak nexus or adverbial complex verbs. These constructions are separately described as special types of coverb constructions in §10.3.5 and §10.3.6 respectively.

[285] The terms 'strong nexus' and 'weak nexus' are adopted from McConvell (2005b) used for Gurindji. Tsunoda (1981) uses different terms 'close' and 'loose' for the equivalent constructions for Jaru.
[286] In the recent literature on Australian languages, coverbs are subcategorised into a range of semantic classes and their combinatory possibilities of inflecting verbs are considered on the basis of the semantic field, for example in Wagiman (Wilson, 1999), Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt, 2000) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014). This thesis focuses on classification of coverbs and complex verbs on the basis of grammatical features and semantic relationships between coverbs and inflecting verbs, but does not attempt to describe coverbs types in terms of semantics.

Table 10.4: Summary of coverb-inflecting verb constructions

Parameters	Strong Nexus	Weak Nexus	Adverbial
word order	Coverb-IV (almost always)	both	both
Separability of coverbs	no	yes	yes
semantics	mostly coverbs carry lexical meanings	Both coverbs and IVs contribute to overall meanings	coverbs modify 'full' IVs
possible combinations	with 1 or 2 IVs	with 1 to 6 IVs	with up to 10 IVs/complex verbs
transitivity/valency	mostly same as IVs but some different	same as IVs	same as IVs
subordinator-marking	IV only	coverb and IV	coverb and IV
independent use	very rare	yes	yes

10.3.2 Strong nexus coverbs

In strong nexus complex verbs, coverbs and inflecting verbs are closely linked with each other formally and semantically. Common examples of strong nexus coverbs and complex verbs are listed in Table 10.5 below.

[i] Word order

Coverbs almost always precede inflecting verbs as in (10-10). In a very few examples, coverbs immediately follow inflecting verbs. In (10-11), the pronominal clitic attaches to the inflecting verb followed by the coverb.

(10-10) jangayi ngu=lu **birrga** **man-i** \
slingshot.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ create GET-PAST
CS#: They made "jangayi". [TM: 10_0607_2.017]

(10-11) **man-da**=la **birrga** yalu-wu ngaringga-wu nalija
GET-IMP=3MIN.DAT create DITS2-DAT woman-DAT tea.ABS
Make tea for that woman. [TM: CSfn120809]

Table 10.5: Examples of strong nexus complex verbs

IVs	Coverbs and meanings of complex verbs	IVs	Coverbs and meanings of complex verbs
man- 'get'	a. bad man- 'touch' touch GET- b. bila man- 'chase, follow' chase GET- c. birrga man- 'create' create GET- d. buny man- 'kiss' kiss GET- e. ngarra man- 'recognise' recognise GET- f. miyanggi man- 'ask' ask GET- g. nyirn man- 'lose, forget' lose GET-	gang- 'carry'	a. bard gang- 'fly' fly CARRY- b. biga gang- 'report' inform CARRY- c. warra gang- 'take care of' watch CARRY- d. rarr gang- 'come to attack' come.attack CARRY- e. ninid gang- 'shake, shiver' shake CARRY-
yirran- 'put'	a. ngurrgu yirran- 'accuse, blame' accuse PUT-	bung- 'hit'	a. biga bung- 'tell a story' inform HIT- b. guny bung- 'wait for' wait HIT- c. jiwaj bung- 'disagree' disagree HIT- d. jungguj bung- 'depart, take off' depart HIT- e. marru bung- 'envy, want' envy HIT- f. ngaburr bung- 'comfort' comfort HIT- g. ruyu bung- 'play (music)' play HIT-
marn- 'do' 'say'	a. giyi marn- 'refrain, hesitate' refrain DO- b. ninid marn- 'shiver, shake' shake DO- c. ruyu marn- 'play, perform' play DO-		

[ii] Separability

Coverbs and inflecting verbs in these combinations usually occur adjacent with no intervention as seen in (10-10) above. However, they may be separated by attachment of pronominal clitics on inflecting verbs (10-11) or the Kriol-loan particle *na* which is equivalent to the focus/sequential clitic =la (§11.4.5; §11.4.6) (10-12).

(10-12) nyangga=la yalaba yan-gu nyila **bard** *na* **gang-gu**
COND=3MIN.DAT close go-FUT DIST1 fly NOW CARRY-FUT
CS#: If he/she comes close to him (a bird), he flies then. [TM: CSfn280710]

[iii] Semantics

In many strong nexus complex verbs, combinations of coverbs and inflecting verbs are semantically idiosyncratic. Coverbs mainly contribute to the semantics of the complex verbs. The meanings of complex verbs are unpredictable from those of inflecting verbs because these meanings are not obviously related to each other. The meanings of

inflecting verbs seem to be bleached to some degrees. But at least inflecting verbs carry tense-aspect-mood information for complex verbs. For example, the complex verb guny bung- 'wait for' and bard gang- 'fly' contain inflecting verbs 'hit' and 'carry' respectively. But their lexical meanings are not related to the overall meanings 'wait for' and 'fly'. Therefore, inflecting verbs are semantically 'light' and are glossed in capital letters.

[iv] Possible combinations

Strong nexus coverbs can combine with one or two particular inflecting verbs only. There are five strong nexus coverbs in the corpus which can combine with two inflecting verbs. These examples are demonstrated in Table 10.5 and (10-13) again.

(10-13)

a.	biga	bung-/gang-	b.	ruyu	marn-/bung-
	inform	HIT-/CARRY-		play	DO-/HIT-
	'tell, report'			'play, perform'	
c.	marany	bung-/man-	d.	wangany	marn-/nyang-
	rub	HIT-/GET-		search	DO-/PERCEIVE-
	'rub, wipe'			'look around for, search for'	

e. ninid gang-/marn-
shake CARRY-/DO-
'shake, shiver'

It is not clear whether the change of inflecting verbs affects the overall meanings. However, at least in two examples, a choice of inflecting verbs causes change of meanings and transitivity/valency (see [v] below). The coverb ruyu 'play' usually combines with the intransitive verb marn- for the meanings 'perform a corroboree' (10-14), 'play about' (10-15), and also combines with the transitive verb bung- to express 'play a musical instrument' (10-16). The first two sentences are intransitive whereas the last is transitive.

(10-14)	wanyja	ngu=lu	junba	**ruyu**	**marn-ana**
	woman.ABS	REAL=3AUG.SBJ	corroboree.ABS	play	DO-PRES

TT: The women are performing a corroboree. [MS: TTfn160700]

(10-15) yamayama ngu=lu **ruyu** **marn-ana** gan.ga-ni
children.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ play DO-PRES up.country-D.LOC1

aus-ja
house-LOC
Kids are playing about in the house. [MS: CSfn180809]

(10-16) yangi-nggu mawun-du **ruyu** **bung-ana** *bambu*
one-ERG man-ERG play HIT-PRES didgeridoo.ABS
One man is playing the didgeridoo. [MS: CSfn220509]

The coverb wangany 'search' generally combines with marn- 'say/do'. However, nyang- 'perceive' may also occur with it. The stem nyang- could be a hypernym of the complex verb 'search for, look around for'. In this respect, the combination of the coverb wangany with nyang- is more similar to the weak nexus complex verbs where inflecting verbs also contribute to lexical meanings of the complex verbs to some extent (§10.3.3).

Alternation of inflecting verbs is also caused by different speakers' choice. For example, TM always uses the inflecting verb bung- with the coverb marany 'rub' whereas MS always uses the inflecting verb man-. Similarly, TM uses gang- whereas MS uses marn- with the coverb ninid 'shake'.

[v] Transitivity/valency

The transitivity of most strong nexus complex verbs is determined by that of inflecting verbs as seen in (10-14 - 10-16). However, a few transitive inflecting verbs (bung- 'hit' and gang- 'carry') can be neutralised in terms of transitivity and form intransitive strong nexus complex verbs. However, there is no example where intransitive inflecting verbs form transitive complex verbs.

(10-17) gaji-gajirri ngu=lu magin-nginyi **jungguj** **bung-gu**
RDP-old.woman.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ sleep-EL depart HIT-FUT
CS#: Elder women will take off after sleeping. [TM: CSfn231009]

(10-18) gilinygiliny ngu **bard** **gang-ana**
galah.ABS REAL fly CARRY-PRES
A galah is flying. [MS: CSfn190509]

(10-19) nyila yabawurru ngu **ninid** **gang-ana** malirri
DIST1 small.ABS REAL shake CARRY-PRES cold.ABS
CS#: That kid is shivering [and he is] cold.
CS: ALT: That kid, being cold, is shivering. [TM: CSfn290710]

In addition, the argument structures of a few other strong nexus complex verbs can be changed from those of simple verbs without change of subject case-marking. For example, the complex verb guny bung- is semi-transitive with a dative indirect object (10-20) whereas the simple verb bung- is transitive with an absolutive object. Similarly, the complex verb rarr gang- 'come to attack' takes a dative indirect object (10-21) while the simple verb gang- is transitive with an absolutive object and an optional spatial oblique.

(10-20) ngu=rna=la **guny** **bung-ana** jiya-wu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT wait HIT-PRES kangaroo-DAT
I am waiting for a kangaroo. [MS: CSfn121110]

(10-21) mawun-du ngu=la **rarr** **gang-ana** yamaji-wu
man-ERG REAL=3MIN.DAT come. attack CARRY-PRES small-DAT
TT!: The man gets angry and is coming for the kid.
CS%: The man is coming to the kid to attack. [MS: TTfn180700]
NOTE: I gave the gloss 'come to attack' for the coverb rarr because the original text lacks it. My translation is based on my elicitation session with TM saying 'get wild and come and attack'.

[vi] Marking conventions of subordinating suffixes

In non-finite subordinate clauses, coverbs are always immediately followed by non-finite forms of the inflecting verbs and only inflecting verbs are marked with subrodinating suffixes. Non-finite subordinate clauses are indicated by square brackets.

(10-22) nyang-ga [**warlarr** **marn-u-ngga**]
perceive-IMP serious.sick DO-NF-LOC
TT: Look at him rolling.
CS%: Look at him being seriously wounded (i.e., after he got shot).
NOTE: I changed the meaning of the coverb warlarr with consultation of TM. The meaning of 'rolling' is coming from this story about the people being seriously injured rolling over on the ground after they got shot. [MS: 76_13_2_NP(1).112'']

(10-23) ngu=yanu nyang-ana **[bila** **man-u-wu]**
REAL=3AUG.OBJ perceive-PRES chase GET-NF-DAT
He (i.e., a dog) is looking at kids to chase [them]. [TM: CSfn010910]

[vii] The possibility of independent use

Generally coverbs in strong nexus complex verbs cannot occur independently of inflecting verbs in clauses. In non-finite subordinate clauses, coverbs always occur with inflecting verbs (10-24a). However, sentences are ungrammatical if they occur without inflecting verbs (10-24b).

(10-24)

a.	burnda-wu	burnu	[**birrga man-u-wu**	jangilany-gu]
	collect-FUT	tree.ABS	create GET-NF-DAT	fire-DAT
	CS#: [You] will collect sticks to make a fire. [TM: CSfn250809]			
b.	*burnda-wu	burnu	[birrga-wu	jangilany-gu]
	collect-FUT	tree.ABS	create-DAT	fire-DAT

The same restriction operates in main clauses as in (10-25a). However, in a very few occasions, a strong nexus coverb occurs without the inflecting verb (10-25b). Another example jungguj ‘depart’ is presented in (10-96) below.

(10-25)

a.	jangilany	**birrga**	**man-da**	
	fire.ABS	create	GET-IMP	
	Make a fire. [TM: CSfn150509]			
b.	warlu	**birrga** /...(1.0)	warlu	**birrga** /
	fire.ABS	create	fire.ABS	create
	MS: [CS: We] make a fire. [CS: we make a fire.] [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).272]			

[viii] Nasal coda dissimilation

Although this is not the common feature to all strong nexus complex verbs, it is worth noting that the strong nexus complex verb guny bung- ‘wait for’ undergoes nasal coda dissimilation (§2.6.1.1) in the future tense form guny bu-gu (*guny bung-gu) and the imperative form guny bu-ga (*guny bung-ga). Since this process usually operates across morpheme boundaries within a word, this complex verb can be considered as a single phonological word although it is consisted of two grammatical words. This change is also found in the complex verb jungguj bung- ‘depart’.

10.3.3 Weak nexus coverbs

The semantic and grammatical connections between coverbs and inflecting verbs of

weak nexus complex verbs are less strong than those of strong nexus complex verbs. Since the distinction of three types of complex verbs is gradable, semantic and grammatical properties of some weak nexus complex verbs marginally overlap with strong nexus complex verbs or with adverbial combinations. Selected examples are given in (10-26).

(10-26)

a. banggily bung- 'hit the head'
hit.head HIT-

b. jilyarra gambarn- 'singe, brand'
singe BURN-

c. bib man- 'catch'
catch GET-

d. bura nyang- 'listen to ABS/ think
listen PERCEIVE- about DAT'

e. dirrib
camp.out
- garriny- 'camp overnight'
  STAY-
- yan- 'go camping'
  GO-

f. dilygurr
crack
- bayan- 'strike, crack'
  CHOP-
- bung- 'shoot'
  HIT-
- man- 'make a crack '
  GET-

g. jaburr
dip
- yan- 'wade'
  GO-
- wandiny- 'fall in water'
  FALL-
- garriny- 'stay in water'
  STAY-
- yirran- 'dip/soak in water'
  PUT

h. balmarn
bump
- gang- 'run over by cars, bump'
  CARRY-
- bung- 'hit by cars, bump'
  HIT-

i. baru
stand
- yan- 'get up, stand up'
  GO-
- garriny- 'be standing'
  STAY-
- wandiny- 'stop'
  FALL-
- yirran 'stand ABS up'
  PUT-
- man- 'stand/wake ABS up'
  GET-

[i] Word order

In weak nexus complex verbs, coverbs most commonly precede inflecting verbs. However, the order of these complex verbs is less strict than that of strong nexus complex verbs. In appended texts, coverbs follow inflecting verbs in about 16 % (9 out of 55) of weak nexus complex verbs, as opposed to strong nexus complex verbs where coverbs always precede inflecting verbs in sample texts.

(10-27)

a. ngu=rna **bayan-i** **digab**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ CHOP-PAST hack
CS#: I chopped it. [TM: CSfn121010]

b. yalu-nggu wirlga-nggu ngu **digab** **bayan-i** nyila burnu
DIST2-ERG axe-ERG REAL hack CHOP-PAST DIST1 tree.ABS
CS#: He chopped the trees by that axe. [TM: CSfn131010]

(10-28)

a. jiya ngu=lu **yan-ana** **wulb-wulb**
kangaroo.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ GO-PRES RDP-jump
Kangaroos are jumping. [TM: CSfn060710]

b. ngu=lu **wulb-wulb** **yan-ana** jiya-marraj
REAL=3AUG.SBJ RDP-jump GO-PRES kangaroo-SEMB.ABS
They are jumping like a kangaroo. [TM: CSfn140710]

[ii] Separability

In weak nexus complex verbs, coverbs and inflecting verbs can be separated by NPs, pronominal clitic complexes or other words irrespective of their linear order.

(10-29) gula **man-gu** nyila bamarr **bib** yabawurru-lu
NEG GET-FUT DIST1 stone.ABS catch small-ERG
i can't *catchim* that stone.
CS@: The kid can't catch that stone. [TM: CSfn030810]

(10-30) **birrib** ngu=li **gang-an-gu**
close REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ CARRY-CONT-FUT
We two will cover it [with clothes]. [MS: CSfn110609]

(10-31) **gang-gu** ngu=lu **mambid-mambi:::d **
CARRY-FUT REAL=3AUG.SBJ RDP-together
TT: They will drove [the cattle] on horseback.
CS%: They will box up [the cattle]. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(3).026]
NOTE: I changed TT's gloss 'on horse' to 'box up'.

[iii] Semantics

Unlike strong nexus complex verbs with coverbs carrying almost all semantic loads of complex verbs, the meanings of weak nexus coverbs and inflecting verbs are compositional to some extent. Inflecting verbs also contribute to the lexical meanings of complex verbs rather than merely carrying tense-aspect-mood information. Some combinations clearly show that the meanings of complex verbs are the hyponyms of

inflecting verbs which is used as simple verbs. Other combinations are less clear, but at least complex verbs are semantically related to inflecting verbs.

Typical examples include the coverbs dagurr ‘tumble’ (10-32a) and guli ‘fight’ (10-33a-c). In (10-32a) the entire meaning of the complex verb dagurr wandiny- ‘tumble’ is more specific than that of the simple verb wandiny- ‘fall’ (10-32b).

(10-32)

a. dimana **dagurr** **wandi-nya**
horse.ABS tumble FALL-PAST
TM: A horse *bin* fall down.
CS@: A horse tumbled down. [TM: CSfn121110]

b. gangirriny-ja wandi-nya ngawa
sun-LOC fall-PAST water.ABS
TM: Rain *bin* fall down at tea time.
CS@: It rained in the daytime. [TM: CSfn020709]

The coverb guli ‘fight’ combines with three inflecting verbs in (10-33). Similarly the meanings of complex verbs: (a) guli garriny- ‘be angry’; (b) guli marn- ‘talk aggressively, argue’; (c) guli yung- ‘pick a fight’ are related to those of simple inflecting verbs: (a) garriny- ‘be’ (state); (b) marn- ‘say’ (speech); (c) yung- ‘give’ (transfer, atelic).

(10-33)

a. ngu=yi **guli** **garriny-ana**
REAL=1MIN.OBJ fight BE-PRES
TM: He is angry *langa* me.
CS@: He is angry with me. [TM: CSfn220710]

b. nyila wanyja ngu=lanyanda **guli** **marn-ana** jibini-wunyja
DIST1 woman.ABS REAL=3MIN.OBL fight SAY-PRES lover-COMIT
MS: The woman gets angry with/over [her] boyfriend.
CS: ALT#: That woman is talking aggressively to her boyfriend.
[MS: CSfn030709]

c.	wanyji=lu	guya	**guli**	**yi-nya**
	which=3AUG.SBJ	thus	fight	GIVE-PAST
	MS: Why did they stir up for fight?			
	CS: LIT: Which one did they stir up for a fight like this? [MS: 76_14_1_NP.073']			
	NOTE: I changed the gloss for wanyji 'why' to 'which'.			

Based on their semantic features, weak nexus complex verbs can be considered as constructions where inflecting verbs classify basic event types on the basis of interaction of parameters including vectorial configuration (a conceptual representation of the event type in terms of a trajectory), valency and/or Aktionsart (McGregor, 2002: 29-33). In (10-33), each event type: (a) 'state'; (b) 'speech' and; (c) 'transfer, telic' is categorised in terms of such parameters. They are also categorised by transitivity/valency, i.e., extended intransitive (a and b) and transitive (c).[287]

Another example includes the coverb baru 'stand' which combines with five inflecting verbs (10-34). Inflecting verbs in all combinations obviously distinguish constructions on the basis of valency, i.e., intransitive (a-c) and transitive (d-e).

(10-34)	a.	baru	garriny-	'be standing'
		stand	STAY-	
	b.	baru	yan-	'stand up, get up'
		stand	GO-	
	c.	baru	wandiny-	'come to stop'
		stand	FALL-	
	d.	baru	yirran-	'stand O up'
		stand	PUT-	
	e.	baru	man-	'wake/stand O up'
		stand	GET-	

Inflecting verbs (a, b and d) describe 'state', 'motion' and 'induced motion' event types respectively whereas inflecting verbs (c and e) do not clearly shows such semantic relations. However, the inflecting verbs wandiny- 'fall' and man- 'get' seem to specifically provide Aktionsart information, i.e. the point of accomplishment of the

[287] Schultze-Berndt (2000) and McGregor (2002) claim that inflecting verbs generally have an event-classificatory function in Jaminjung and more broadly Australian languages respectively. I will not further discuss this function in general for inflecting verbs on the basis of Wanyjirra data, because in Wanyjirra such function is not easily recognised in different types of complex verb constructions. At least in some weak nexus complex verbs where a certain coverb can combine with some different inflecting verbs show these inflecting verbs specify semantic contrasts among these combinations in terms of vectorial configuration, valency and Aktionsart.

event (c) and the point of beginning of the resultant state after accomplishment of the event (e). The use of man- 'get' is often found in general causative constructions (see also §10.3.5).

[iv] Possible combinations

Some weak nexus coverbs can only combine with one or two distinct inflecting verbs whereas other coverbs can combine with more than two inflecting verbs (up to six inflecting verbs).

(10-35)	a.	birrib	garriny-	'be close'
		close	STAY-	
	b.	birrib	yirran-	'close O'
		close	PUT-	
(10-36)	a.	jag	wandiny-	'(a solid object) fall down'
		fall	FALL-	
	b.	jag	man-	'drop O (a solid object)'
		fall	GET-	
(10-37)	a.	jilmung	bung-	'break O by hitting'
		break	HIT-	
	b.	jilmung	giyan-	'break O by throwing'
		break	THROW-	
	c.	jilmung	gayan-	'beak O by kicking'
		break	KICK-	
	d.	jilmung	man-	'break O'
		break	GET-	

(10-38)	a.	wulaj	yirran-	'hide O by placing it somewhere'
		hide	PUT-	
	b.	wulaj	garran-	'keep O hidden'
		hide	keep-	
	c.	wulaj	gang-	'hide O by taking it'
		hide-	CARRY-	
	d.	wulaj	ngarn-	'hide O by eating it'
		hide	ingest-	
	e.	wulaj	yung-	'hide O by giving it to someone'
		hide	GIVE-	
	f.	wulaj	garriny-	'hide oneself'
		hide	STAY-	

[v] Transitivity/valency

As described previously, the transitivity/valency of weak nexus complex verbs is

always determined by that of the inflecting verb. When intransitive inflecting verbs in complex verbs are replaced by transitive verbs, the resultant complex verbs become transitive. An example is the coverb jag 'fall' which combines with two distinct inflecting verbs in my corpus as in (10-36) above. The complex verb containing the intransitive verb wandiny- (10-39a) is intransitive whereas another complex verb with the transitive stem man- 'get' is transitive (10-39b).

(10-39)

a.	nganinga	gardag	ngu=yila	**jag**	**wandi-nya**
	1MIN.OBL1	cup.ABS	REAL=1MIN.OBL	fall	FALL-PAST
	MS: My cup fell off on me. [TM: CSfn170909]				

b.	yamaji-lu	ngu	gardag	**jag**	**man-i**
	small-ERG	REAL	cup.ABS	fall	GET-PAST
	CS#: A kid dropped a cup. [TM: CSfn141010]				

[vi] Marking conventions of subordinating suffixes

Unlike strong nexus complex verbs, when weak nexus complex verbs occur in non-finite subordinate clauses, both coverbs and inflecting verbs can take subordinating suffixes (§3.2.2).

(10-40)	ngu=wula	gang-ana	ngurra-nggawu	ward	*na*
	REAL=3UA.SBJ	CARRY-PRES	camp-ALL	return	NOW
	[gambarn-u-wu	**rdurdul-uwu]**			
	BURN-NF-DAT	cook.in.hole-DAT			
	MS: They take it back to their camp to cook in a hole. [TM: CSfn0100809]				

However, in the majority of examples, inflecting verbs are omitted and only coverbs with subordinating suffixes occur, forming main predicates of the subordinate clauses. In (10-41 and 10-42), the coverbs magin (and the Kriol particle *na*) and guli 'fight' constitute subordinate clauses without the inflecting verb garriny- 'be/stay'. In (10-43), rdurdul 'cook in a hole' occurs without the verb gambarn- 'burn' as opposed to (10-40).

(10-41) ward ngu yan-i *daadi* [**magin-gu** *na*]
return REAL GO-PAST daddy.ABS sleep-DAT NOW
CS#: [CS: After listening to those corroborees,] my dad came back to sleep then. [TM: 10_0825_4.009]

(10-42) yalu-nggu ngaringga-lu bi-nya nyanunga ngumbarna
DIST2-ERG woman-ERG hit-PAST 3MIN.OBL1 spouse.ABS

[**guli-nggu**]
fight-ERG
CS#: That woman hit her husband being angry. [MS: CSfn030709]

(10-43) warn.gurr-warn.gurr *nao* /...(1.0) guya *nao* /...(1.7)
RDP-carry.on.shoulder NOW thus NOW

guya *nao* /...(1.0) [**nagurr-a-wu** \...(1.7) **rdurdul-uwu**] \...(1.4)
thus NOW hole-LOC-DAT cook.in.hole-DAT

rdurdul \[288]
cook.in.hole
TT: [He will] carry [the meat and bones] on the shoulder like this, to the hole.
CS%: [He will] carry [them] on the shoulder like this, like this to cook [them] in a hole, to cook [them] in a hole. [76_13_2_NP(1).NP044]

[vii] The possibility of independent use

As in non-finite subordinate clauses, weak nexus coverbs can occur independently in main clauses. Participants and tense are shared with surrounding sentences. Independent use of coverbs will be further described in §10.5.1.

(10-44) garna-nggu **jarrwaj** \...(1.4) garna-nggu **jarrwaj** \...(1.4)
spear-ERG spear spear-ERG spear

lawurr-a nyana \
shoulder-LOC ?
TT: [We/they spear it] on the shoulder with a spear. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).199]

10.3.4 Adverbial coverbs

Adverbial coverbs are different from strong nexus and weak nexus coverbs in their ability to combine with a complex verb as well as a simple inflecting verb. The

[288] The final coverb is analysed as an afterthought which does not obligatorily take inflectional suffixes (in this case, subordinating use of the case suffix).

structure of complex verbs is as follows.

(10-45) [(strong/weak nexus coverb) IV] (Adv coverb) (Adv coverb)

This schema does not represent word order but shows that adverbial coverbs are outside of strong or weak nexus coverb-verb combinations. In (10-46), an adverbial coverb modifies weak nexus complex verbs whereas in (10-47), it modifies a strong nexus complex verb. Although it is very rare, two adverbial coverbs can also occur with the single inflecting verb as in (10-48). Other examples which contain more than one coverb will be given later in §10.3.4.1.

(10-46) ngu **burruly** jarrwaj bu-nya
REAL fail spear HIT-PAST
TM: *i bin mistim*.
CS@: He failed to spear it. [TM: CSfn040810]

(10-47) jangilany birrga man-da=lu **warrngaarra**
fire.ABS create GET-IMP=AUG.SBJ separate
CS#: Make a fire separately. [MS: CSfn241110]

(10-48) gan.ga-rra ngu **ward** yan-i **walyag**
inside-DIRECT REAL return GO-PAST inside
He returned inside. [MS: CSfn151009]

Semantic relations between adverbial coverbs and inflecting verbs are weaker than in weak and strong nexus complex verbs. Adverbial coverbs add modification to the 'full' meaning of inflecting verbs like adverbs. Examples of adverbial coverbs are listed in (10-49).

(10-49) a. bardaj 'ascend' b. birrinyju 'separate'
c. burruly 'fail' d. jawurrug 'descend'
e julngurra 'face away' f. juluj 'under arm'
g. ngamulu 'in arms' h. laja/warn.gurr 'on shoulder'
i. lurr 'back and forth' j. lurrij 'finish, whole'
k. marrangan 'facing' l. marri 'off'
m. mud 'head down' n. warrngaarra 'separate'
o. ward 'return' p. walyag 'inside'
q. warlig 'around' r. wuruly 'sneak'
s. yigirli 'far, long way'

[i] Word order

Adverbial coverbs occur quite freely with respect to the position of inflecting verbs. They can precede and follow inflecting verbs.

(10-50)

a.	ngu=rnalu	**gang-an-i**	**juluj**	jangilany
	REAL=1AUG.SBJ	CARRY-CONT-PAST	under.arm	fire.ABS

CS#: We used to carry firewood under the arm. [TM: CSfn290610]

b.	ngu	**juluj**	**gang-ana**	yamaji
	REAL	under.arm	CARRY-PRES	small.ABS

She is carrying [CS: her] kid on her hip. [MS: CSfn110509]

[ii] Separability

Adverbial coverbs can be separated from inflecting verbs or complex verbs by other words, although they usually occur adjacent to each other.

(10-51)	nyawa bamarr	**walyag**	ngu=rna	**yirran-ana**	wananga-la
	PROX1 stone.ABS	inside	REAL=1MIN.SBJ	PUT-PRES	bag-LOC

TM: This money *i putum* inside *la* bag.
CS%: This money I put inside of the bag. [TM: CSfn110609]

(10-52)	gulangarra=n	**gang-an-i**	ngarin	**ward**
	wrongly.thought=2MIN.SBJ	CARRY-CONT-PAST	meat.ABS	return

CS#: I wrongly thought you brought back meat. [TM: CSfn121011]

[iii] Semantics

Typically, where adverbial coverbs combine with inflecting verbs, the latters are

semantically 'full' and the formers modify the meanings of inflecting verbs mainly adding information about manner, position and direction. For instance, ngamulu 'in arms' can combine with the following inflecting verbs with main semantic contributions to each complex verb as in (10-53) and example sentences (10-54). This coverb adds manner of the events expressed by inflecting verbs. These complex verbs are hyponym of each inflecting verb.

(10-53)	a.	ngamulu	garran-	'keep/hold O in one's arms'
		in.arms	KEEP-	
	b.	ngamulu	gang-	'carry O in one's arms'
		in.arms	CARRY-	
	c.	ngamulu	yirran-	'put O in one's arms'
		in.arms	PUT-	
	d.	ngamulu	man-	'get O in one's arms'
		in.arms	GET-	

(10-54)

a. ngama-nyan-du ngu **ngamulu** **garran-ana** yamaji
M-3KIN.POSS-ERG REAL in.arms KEEP-PRES small.ABS
The mother is holding [CS: her] baby in her arms. [MS: CSfn060509]

b. **ngamulu** ngu=rna **gang-ana**
in.arms REAL=1MIN.SBJ CARRY-PRES
I am carrying it in my arms. [MS: CSfn040609]

c. bilarli-lu ngu **ngamulu** **yirran-i** ngaja-yi
teenage.girl-ERG REAL in.arms PUT-PAST yZ-KIN.ABS

ngama-nyan-da
M-3KIN.POSS-LOC
CS#: A girl put her young sister in her mother's arms. [TM: CSfn201010]

d. ngama-yi-lu **ngamulu** ngu=yi **man-an-i** /
M-KIN-ERG in.arms REAL=1MIN.OBJ GET-CONT-PAST
TT: Mother held me [in her arms].
CS%: [My] mother took me up in [her] arms. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(2).033]

The other example wuruly 'sneak' is found with eight simple inflecting verbs (plus some strong nexus and weak nexus complex verbs) as in (10-55) and example sentences (10-56).

(10-55)

a.	wuruly	yan-	‘sneak up, go stealthily/secretly’
	sneak	GO-	
b.	wuruly	garriny-	‘be sneaky’
	sneak	STAY-	
c.	wuruly	gang-	‘stealthily/secretly take/carry’
	sneak	CARRY-	
d.	wuruly	wanyjan-	‘stealthily/secretly leave’
	sneak	LEAVE-	
e.	wuruly	garran-	‘stealthily/secretly keep’
	sneak	KEEP-	
f.	wuruly	man-	‘stealthily/secretly take/get’
	sneak	GET-	
g.	wuruly	yung-	‘stealthily/secretly give’
	sneak	GIVE-	
h.	wuruly	bung-	‘stealthily/secretly hit’
	sneak	HIT-	

(10-56)

a.	ngama-yi	ngu=la	**wuruly**	**yan-ana**	yamaji-la
	M-KIN.ABS	REAL=3MIN.DAT	sneak	GO-PRES	small-LOC

The mother is sneaking up to [CS: her] kid. [MS: CSfn081110]

b.	nyila	mawun	**wuruly**	**garriny-ana**
	DIST1	man.ABS	sneak	BE-PRES

CS#: The man is sneaky. [MS: CSfn081110]

c.	mawun-du	ngu	**wuruly**	**gang-ana**	nyanunga	jibini
	man-ERG	REAL	sneak	CARRY-PRES	3MIN.OBL1	lover.ABS

ngaringga
woman.ABS
MS: The man is taking his girlfriend.
CS%: The man is secretly taking his girlfriend. [TM: CSfn200509]

d.	nga=yi	**wanyjan-i**	**wuruly**	ngayu-wariny
	REAL=1MIN.OBJ	LEAVE-PAST	sneak	1MIN-ONESELF.ABS

CS: He left me alone secretly. [TM: CSfn100712]

e.	ngu	**wuruly**	**garran-ana**	nyila	ngaringga
	REAL	sneak	KEEP-PRES	DIST1	woman.ABS

CS#: He is secretly keeping the woman. [MS: CSfn081110]

f.	wagurra=rna=nggu	**wuruly**	**man-gu**
	NEG=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ	sneak	GET-FUT

CS#: I can’t sneak (i.e., kidnap) you. [TM: CSfn050710]

g. ngu=la **wuruly** **yi-nya** nyila ngaringga
REAL=3MIN.DAT sneak GIVE-PAST DIST1 woman.ABS
MS: give that woman away sneaking.
CS%#: He/she gave that woman to him stealthily. [MS: CSfn081110]

h. yalu-nggu mawun-du ngu **wuruly** **bi-nya** nyila ngaringga
DIST2-ERG man-ERG REAL sneak HIT-PAST DIST1 woman.ABS
That man hit the woman stealthily. [TM: CSfn081110]

[iv] Possible combinations

Generally adverbial coverbs can occur with a range of inflecting verbs or complex verbs but unlike adverbs they still have combinatory restrictions depending on their semantics. Most adverbial coverbs combine with four to ten inflecting verbs and complex verbs including ngamulu 'in arms' (10-53); wuruly 'sneak' (10-55); burruly 'fail' (10-57) whereas others are found with two or three inflecting verbs including julngurra 'face away' (10-58) in the corpus.

(10-57) a. burruly man- 'fail to catch'
fail GET-

b. burruly bung- 'fail to hit'
fail HIT-

c. burruly bayan- 'fail to chop'
fail CHOP-

d. burruly lan- 'fail to stab'
fail STAB-

e. burruly gayan- 'fail to kick'
fail KICK-

f. burruly gumarn- 'fail to cut'
fail CUT-

g. burruly wanyjan- 'fail to dance'
fail DANCE-

h. burruly jarrwaj bung- 'fail to spear'
fail spear HIT-

i. burruly digab bayan- 'fail to hack'
fail hack CHOP-

j. burruly waj giyan- 'fail to throw'
fail throw THROW-

(10-58)	a.	julngurra	garriny-		‘face away’
		face.away	STAY-		
	b.	julngurra	yan-		‘go away’
		face.away	GO-		
	c.	julngurra	lulu	garriny-	‘sit facing away’
		face.away	sit	STAY-	

[v] Transitivity/valency

Adverbial coverbs do not trigger change of transitivity/valency in complex verbs. The transitivity of an adverbial complex verb is determined by an inflecting verb or another complex verb with which it combines. However, at least one adverbial coverb marrangan ‘facing’ is different from other adverbial coverbs on that it may add dative indirect objects when it combines with the intransitive verb garriny- ‘stay’. In this respect, this combination is closer to weak nexus complex verbs.

(10-59)	**nyununga**	ngu=rna=**nggu**	marrangan	garriny-ana
	2MIN.OBL1	REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ	facing	STAY-PRES
	I’m facing you. [TM: CSfn181010]			

[vi] Marking conventions of subordinating suffixes

subordinating marking on adverbial coverbs is not clear due to the limit of the corpus. However, a few examples show the same marking-pattern as weak nexus complex verbs. In (10-60), burruly ‘fail’ and wanyjan- ‘dance’ are each marked with a combination of the locative and dative subordinating suffixes. In (10-61), ward ‘return’ takes the allative subordinator and occurs without the inflecting verb.

(10-60)	ngu=lu=yanu		yayib	wandiny-ana	**[burruly-arra-la-wu**
	REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ		laugh	FALL-PRES	fail-REP-LOC-DAT
	wanyjan-u-ga-wu]				
	DANCE-NF-LOC-DAT				
	CS#: They are laughing at kids who dance wrongly. [TM: CSfn201011]				

(10-61) ngu=rnalu diba-ngga yirran-ana \...(1.1) **[ward-rdawu**
REAL=1AUG.SBJ billycan-LOC put-PRES return-ALL

ngurra-nggawu]
camp-ALL
CS#: We put them in the billycan till we return to the camp.
[TM: 10_0617_4.011]

[vii] The possibility of independent use

Adverbial coverbs can also occur without inflecting verbs as main predicates of the clauses like warn.gurr 'on shoulder' in (10-43) above and ward 'return' (10-62), although it is uncommon. The reason would be that the semantic load of inflecting verbs in adverbial complex verbs is heavier than that of inflecting verbs in weak and strong nexus complex verbs. That is, the meanings of complex verbs are mainly contributed by semantically 'full' inflecting verbs. If adverbial coverbs occur alone, lexical meanings of the missing inflecting verbs must be understood through context.

(10-62)

1. ngu=rnalu darugab marn-an-i
REAL=1AUG.SBJ bathe DO-CONT-PAST
MS: We kept bathing.

2. *nanny goat* ngu=rnalu=yanu nyang-an-i *na*
nanny goat.ABS REAL=1AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ perceive-CONT-PAST NOW
MS: We kept looking at nanny goats then.

3. **ward-ward** *nanny goat*
RDP-return nanny goat.ABS
MS: Nanny goats were going back (i.e., after they ate grasses along the river).
[TM: 09_0923_5.049-051]

10.3.4.1 Multiple adverbial coverbs in complex verbs

As mentioned before, adverbial coverbs are more 'outside' than other coverbs in their complex verb constructions. Thus they can modify strong nexus complex verbs in (10-63 and 10-64) and weak nexus complex verbs in (10-65-10-67) as well as simple verbs.

(10-63) wan.guriny bard gang-ana gan.ga-ni **bardaj** burnu-ngga
crow.ABS fly CARRY-PRES up-D.LOC1 ascend tree-LOC
CS#: A crow is flying up to the tree. [TM: CSfn080910]

(10-64)
1. *after office na,..* gurla-nirra,... *tandorom*-gula ngu=rna
after office NOW south-D.ALL dining.room-LOC REAL=1MIN.SBJ

2. *warug* marn-an-i **lurr-lurr** \
work DO-CONT-PAST RDP-turn.back
TT: After [I had worked at the] office, I worked at the dining room in the south backward and forward. [TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).013]
NOTE: After listening back to the audio, I added na 'NOW' in the second word.

(10-65) riba ngu=wula burja yan-i **warlig** marru-ngga
frightened REAL=3UA.SBJ run GO-PAST around house-LOC
CS#: They being frightened ran around in the house. [TM: CSfn140709]

(10-66) ngu=rna barli nya-nya jibini **wuruly**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ find PERCEIVE-PAST lover.ABS sneak
MS: I found my boyfriend and sneaky.
CS%: I found [my] boyfriend in secret [MS: CSfn190509]

(10-67) nyila mawun ngu **julngurra** garriny-ana lulu
DIST1 man.ABS REAL face.away STAY-PRES sit
That man is sitting down facing to another direction. [MS: CSfn221110]

In a few examples, two adverbial coverbs occur in a single complex verb. In (10-68), both coverbs modify the motion verb yan- 'go' adding information about direction and manner.[289] In (10-69), the verb yan- is omitted but two adverbial coverbs express the single event.

(10-68) yan-da=lu **ward-ward** ngurra-nggawu **warrngaarra**
GO-IMP=3AUG.SBJ RDP-return camp-ALL separate
Go back to the camp separately. [MS: CSfn221110]

(10-69)
CS: ngana garriny-ana Muluyurr-a
who.ABS stay-PRES PLACE.NAME-LOC
CS!: Who is living in Muluyurr?

[289] Another example was given in (10-48) above.

TM: *najing* \ garla-rra **marri** *nao* **ward** Muluyurr ngurra-nggawu
nothing west-DIRECT off NOW return PLACE.NAME camp-ALL
CS#: No one. [They went] off to the west [from] Muluyurr back to [another] camp. [CS; TM: CSfn060609]

In (10-70), the two coverbs jawurrug 'descend' and bardaj 'ascend' share one inflecting verb gang- 'carry' and each describes two sub-events which are temporally sequential. Alternatively this sentence consists of two clauses designating two separate events. That is, the first clause contains the inflecting verb and the coverb jawurrug expressing the first event 'taking (us) down' and the second only contains the coverb bardaj expressing '(taking us) up'.

(10-70) ngu=nganimba-gu=lu gang-an-i ganyju-rra
REAL=1AUGOBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ CARRY-CONT-PAST down-DIRECT

jawurrug bin.ga-ga=ma garla-nirra **bardaj**\
descend creek-LOC=TOP west-D.ALL ascend
TM: They *bin tekem mibala la* creek down and up.
CS@: They took us down to the creek and up to the west.
[TM: 10_0826_5.020]

10.3.5 Translative coverbs

Translative coverbs are derived from adjectives by attachment of the translative suffix -g denoting change of state (§9.2.3.2). They usually combine with the intransitive verb garriny- 'stay/be' in inchoative constructions (10-71a) or the transitive verb man- 'get' in causative constructions in (10-71b) in the same way as general coverbs which denote states or emotions combine with these inflecting verbs for the stative and causative readings, i.e., 'be full/satiated' (10-72a) and 'make full' (10-72b). The inflecting verb yirran- 'put' is sometimes used in these causative constructions instead of the verb man- (10-73).

(10-71)
a. **girli-g** ngu=nyurra **garriny-ana**
ready-TRNSL REAL=2AUG.OBJ BE-PRES
It's ready for you. [MS: CSfn280809]

b. yiyi ngu=rna **girli-g** **man-i**
yes REAL=1MIN.SBJ ready-TRNSL GET-PAST
CS#: "Yes, I made it (i.e., tea) ready." [TM: 11_1014_3.038]

(10-72)
a. **rdung** ngu=rna **garriny-ana**
satiated REAL=1MIN.SBJ BE-PRES
CS#: I am satiated. [MS: CSfn240609]

b. ngarin-du ngu=yi **rdung** **man-ana**
meat-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ satiated GET-PRES
TT: The meat makes me full. [MS: TTfn100806]

(10-73) 1. **girli-g** yirra=nyunu
ready-TRNSL PUT.IMP=RR
TM: *Yufalas readybala*.
CS@: Make yourself ready.

2. ngu=nda wanyjan-a-gu junba
REAL=2AUG.SBJ dance-CONT-FUT corroboree.ABS
TM: *Yufalas gatta dancim*.
CS@: You should dance a corroboree. [TM: CSfn220710]

Translative coverbs can also combine with other inflecting verbs (yan- 'go'; marn- 'say/do'; bung- 'hit'; yung- 'give'). In many of such examples, inflecting verbs express basic meanings including vectorial configuration, aspectual and/or valency. In the clearest example (10-74a), the translative coverb yura-g which means 'become good' combines with yan- 'go' and focuses on a process of change of a state as opposed to the verb garriny- 'stay/be' (10-74b). In other examples (10-75-10-77), inflecting verbs also carry basic information of events in some degree rather than expressing 'full' lexical meanings.

(10-74)
a. gulyawurr ngu=lu yan-ana **yura-g** *nao*
leaf.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ GO-PRES good-TRNSL NOW
Leaves are getting better now (i.e., after rain). [MS: CSfn230609]

b. nyandu=lu **yura-g** garru-wu
3MIN=ONLY good-TRNSL BE-FUT
CS#: Even he (i.e., the bird having a broken arm) will be fine.
[TM: CSfn0080910]

(10-75) ngu=rna **judu-g** yu-nya nganinga
REAL=1MIN.SBJ straight-TRNSL GIVE-PAST 1MIN.OBL1

ngala-yi wilinyi-la
♀Ch-KIN.ABS hunt-LOC
TM: *I bin lanem* my son *wea* we hunting.
CS@: I taught my son when hunting. [TM: CSfn141010]

(10-76) nyangga=n yirra-wu jangilany-ja **jiwirri-g**
COND=2MIN.SBJ put-FUT fire-LOC cooked-TRNSL

bung-gu nyila ngarin
HIT-FUT DIST1 meat.ABS
CS#: If you put it in the fire, it (i.e., the fire) will cook that meat.
[TM: CSfn130710]

(10-77) nyila yambagina *boi* ngu **yura-g** marn-i gabud-la
DIST1 child.ABS boy.ABS REAL good-TRNSL DO-PAST night-LOC
TM: That kid, boy *bin* good last night.
CS@: That kid, the boy behaved well last night. [TM: CSfn100810]

These complex verb constructions involving translative coverbs share properties with weak nexus and/or adverbial complex verbs. First, the semantic loads of translative coverbs and inflecting verbs within complex verbs vary depending on combinations and contexts. As seen in the above examples, both components contribute to the meanings of complex verbs to some extent. Secondly, although in most examples, translative coverbs immediately precede inflecting verbs, complex verbs do not strictly keep the coverb-verb order. Translative coverbs can follow inflecting verbs as in (10-74a) and can be separated from inflecting verbs as in (10-71a). Thirdly, transitivity is always determined by the inflecting verbs. Finally, translative coverbs can be marked with the dative subordinator independently without inflecting verbs as in (10-78 and 10-79).[290]

[290] Consequently, the consonant g is doubled (i.e., -g-gu 'TRNSL-DAT') and is pronounced longer than a single consonant.

(10-78) nganimba=ma \...(0.9) murnduj=ma \... guya
1AUG=TOP black-headed.python.ABS=TOP thus

ngu=rnalu gumarn-ana \...(1.8) guya \...(4.1) nyamba-wu guya
REAL=1AUG.SBJ cut-PRES thus what-DAT thus

nyila=ma,... **jiwirri-g-gu** \...(1.0) **jiwirri-g-gu** \
DIST1=TOP cooked-TRNSL-DAT cooked-TRNSL-DAT
TT: We are cutting the black snake like this, for whatisname, for [it to be] cooked. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).072]

(10-79)

1. darug-nginyi yirrid yan-i
bathe-EL emerge GO-PAST
MS: After bathing, he came out (CS: from the water).

2. ngu baru garriny-ana **bulwarr-g-gu**
REAL stand STAY-PRES dry-TRNSL-DAT
MS: He is standing up [CS: on the ground] to [CS: get himself] dry.
[TM: CSfn020709]

Translative coverbs also function as resultative secondary predications independently from inflecting verbs. Since the translative suffix denotes a change of state, translative coverbs express resultant states whereas inflecting verbs or complex verbs express events which cause such a change of state. In (10-80 and 10-81), translative coverbs express resultant states of object referents of the main predicates. Unlike translative coverbs which combine with inflecting verbs to constitute a single macro-event, these resultative secondary predications are always optional and do not induce changes of meanings and argument structures, though the distinction is sometimes vague. Resultative secondary predications will be described more in §12.6.2.

(10-80) yangi-nggu mawun-du ngu=yanu bi-nya jiya
one-ERG man-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ hit-PAST kangaroo.ABS

gun.ga-g
dead-TRNSL
One man killed kangaroos. [MS: CSfn230609]

(10-81)	nyang-ga	nyawa	burnu	guya=rna	baru	yirran-i
	perceive-IMP	PROX1	tree.ABS	SUB=1MIN.SBJ	stand	PUT-PAST

yura-g-garra
good-TRNSL-REP
TM: Look this *burnu* I *bin standimap propli*.
CS@: Look at this (fencing) pole which I stand up in a good way.
[TM: CSfn090910]

10.3.6 Kriol verbs as coverbs

Kriol verbs function like coverbs and are integrated into Wanyjirra complex verb constructions. This use of Kriol verbs is also found in other Australian languages including Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014), Gurindji (Meakins, 2010) and Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt, 2000, 2007). Kriol loanwords are placed in the position of the Wanyjirra coverb within complex verbs. Kriol verbs always immediately precede inflecting verbs in the corpus. Transitive complex verbs with Kriol verbs often contain man- 'get' and, in a few examples, bung- 'hit'. Intransitive complex verbs contain the intransitive verbs yan- 'go', marn- 'say/do' or garriny- 'be/stay'. The lexical meanings of these inflecting verbs are less clear in complex verbs. However, they determine transitivity and basic event types in the same way as in weak nexus complex verbs.

Like the Jaminjung case (Schultze-Berndt, 2007: 381), borrowing is not restricted to event types introduced from Western culture including labour (*warug* 'work', *wajim* 'wash', *majurrum* 'muster' and *honem* 'horn'), trade and money exchange (*baim* 'buy'), social activities (*marriyam* 'marry') but also includes verbs expressing traditional or non-traditional everyday activities (e.g., *kukum* 'cook', *danjim* 'dance' and *anjim* 'answer' etc.). In (10-82), the Kriol verb *majurrum* takes the coverbal repetitive suffix -garra, and combines with the transitive verb man- 'get'. In (10-83a), *honem* 'horn' adds specificity on how bullocks would affect people to the inflecting verb bung- 'hit (affect physically)' (10-83b). In (10-84a), *taiemap* 'tie up' substitutes the Wanyjirra coverb wirdin (10-84b) expressing the same meaning 'tie'.

(10-82) ngu=n ngarin-gu binarri guwa=n
REAL=2MIN.SBJ meat-DAT knowing SUB=2MIN.SBJ

majurrum-garra man-an-i nyila *buluk*
muster-REP GET-CONT-PAST DIST1 bullock.ABS
MS: "You know about the cattle because you have been mustering."
[DJ: 99_41.176]

(10-83)

a. ngarra=nggu=lu mundu-gu ***honem*** bung-gu
ADM=2MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ four-ERG horn HIT-FUT
They, *fourbala* might horn you. [TM: CSfn120710]
CS@: Four of them might horn you.

b. ngarra=nggu=lu wuljub-gulu bung-gu nyundu
ADM=2MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ cattle-ERG hit-FUT 2MIN
Bullocks might attack you. [TM: CSfn120710]

(10-84)

a. ngu=lu=nyunu ***taimap*** man-i jaminy-ja dun.gurl-lu
REAL=3AUG.SBJ=RR tie.up GET-PAST forehed-LOC headband-ERG
CS#: They tied them up on the foreheads with headband strings.
[TM: CSfn290610]

b. ngu=rna wurdin man-i nganinga warlagu burnu-ngga
REAL=1MIN.SBJ tie GET-PAST 1MIN.OBL1 dog.ABS tree-LOC
I tied my dog to a tree. [TM: CSfn290610]

A few examples are intransitive complex verbs which consist of Kriol verbs plus the intransitive verb marn- 'say/do' or yan- 'go'. In (10-85 and 10-86), the whole complex verbs are intransitive although the Kriol verbs retain the transitive marker *-im/em* (and the completive marker *-ap* in (10-86)).[291]

(10-85) wagurra ngu=yi ***anjim*** marn-i
NEG REAL=1MIN.OBJ answer SAY-PAST
She (i.e., Wajayi) didn't answer me. [MS: CSfn070909]

[291] These examples show the same de-grammaticalisation phenomenon described in Gurindji Kriol where the Kriol transitive marker is reanalysed as a part of the verb's lexical entry but not as a separable inflectional or derivational suffix (Meakins, 2010: 32).

(10-86) ngu=lu,...(2.0) nyila=la guwa=lu ***growemap***[292] yan-i /
REAL=3AUG.SBJ DIST1=FOC SUB=3AUG.SBJ grow.up GO-PAST
They (i.e., the girls) grew up. [TM: 09_0513_3.061]

Only a pair of examples shows that the speaker makes a distinction between intransitive and transitive forms of the same Kriol verb. In (10-87a), *marriyam* 'marry' with the transitive marker *-am* combines with the transitive verb man- 'get' forming a transitive complex verb whereas in (10-87b), *marrid* 'married' combines with the intransitive verb garriny- 'be/stay' creating a intransitive complex verb.

(10-87)

a. wali=lu ngu=yi ***marriyam*** man-gu
OK=ONLY REAL=1MIN.OBJ marry GET-FUT
TT: OK, he can marry me. [MS: TTfn160700]

b. nga=liyarra ***marrid*** garri-nya
REAL=1UA.SBJ married BE-PAST
TT: We married. [MS: TTfn160700]

Finally, the inflecting verb man- 'get' can create complex verbs with Kriol verbs more productively. Such complex verbs are the substitutes for Wanyjirra simple verbs or complex verbs. For example, the complex verbs *kikim* man- 'kick' (10-88) and *jamanjim* man- 'accuse' (10-89) replace the simple Wanyjirra verb gayan- 'kick' and the complex verb ngurrgu yirran- 'accuse, blame' respectively. These integrations of Kriol verbs may be in the advanced stage of language loss. Kriol verbs are not only used as a makeshift when speakers cannot remember Wanyjirra expressions. But rather speakers tend to make such complex verbs more freely in natural speech.

(10-88) nyila yamaji ngu ***kikim*** man-i
DIST1 small.ABS REAL kick GET-PAST
The kid kicked it. [KD: CSfn031010]

(10-89) ngu=rna ***jamanjim*** man-gu nyila mawun
REAL=1MIN.SBJ accuse GET-FUT DIST1 man.ABS
TM: I *gata jamanjim* that man.
CS@: I will accuse that man. [TM: CSfn151110]

[292] The Kriol loan *growemap* is also used with the transitive inflecting verb man- 'get' to form the transitive complex verb 'grow someone up, raise'.

10.4 Non-finite plus finite inflecting verbs in complex verbs

The previous section has demonstrated complex verbs which involve coverbs and inflecting verbs. This section describes a special type of complex verbs consisting of a non-finite and a finite form of inflecting verbs. Since one of the verbal elements is formally subordinated to the other in terms of tense-aspect-mood marking, these constructions may not be treated as verb serialisation, although these verbal elements belong to the same word class (cf. Aikhenvald, 2006: 1; Durie, 1997: 291).[293]

Non-finite verbs most commonly immediately precede finite inflecting verbs. However, semantic relations of non-finite verbs to finite verbs are different from coverb-verb combinations. There are two types: (i) the complex verbs where non-finite and finite verb stems are different and each verbal element designates separate aspects of the single events; (ii) those where non-finite and finite verb stems are identical serving intensification. I will demonstrate those instances in order.

The first type is very rare and only two examples are found in the corpus. These verbal elements constitute complex verbs expressing single conceptual events because they occur in single intonation units and act together in single clauses sharing arguments and tense-aspect-mood value. For example, 'walking' and 'crying' in (10-90) and 'swearing' and 'hitting' in (10-91) are sub-events of the single conceptual events which occur simultaneously. In each combination, two verb stems are equal in terms of transitivity. Unfortunately, there is no example where a combination of intransitive and transitive verbs appears in this construction.

(10-90) nyila yamaji **yan-u** lung-ana
DIST1 small.ABS go-NF cry-PRES
TM: The kid is crying when *i* walking.
TM: ALT: The kid is walking when *i* crying.
CS#: ALT: The kid is crying while walking. [TM: CSfn110810]

[293] Coverb constructions are an areal feature of Northern and North-western Australian languages (Bowern, 2014; Dixon, 2002; Schultze-Berndt, 2000) whereas serial verb constructions are found in languages across Australia, including some Western Desert languages (Bowern, 2014: 282-285; Jones, 2011: 227-229), but they are not found in Wanyjirra.

(10-91) **jun-u**=lu bung-an-i
scold-NF=ONLY hit-CONT-PAST
TM: *Tobala bin swearim* and *hitim*.
CS@: [They] hit while swearing. [TM: CSfn290909]

In (10-90), the two translations by TM resemble translations of non-finite subordinate clause constructions. However, non-finite verbs in the above examples are not marked with locative-subordinating suffixes, unlike non-finite subordinate clauses (§13.2.1.4). Therefore, the translations in (10-90) seem not to be precisely equivalent to these Wanyjirra sentences. Nonetheless the two translations 'walking when crying' and 'crying when walking' imply that two verbs describe two aspects 'walking' and 'crying' of the single macro-event. The subject of the two sub-events is identical. Likewise the two sub-events 'swearing' and 'hitting' in (10-91) are also closely linked together as a single macro-event, i.e., 'fighting'. Although (10-91) lacks pronominal clitics, the given translation indicates that the subject participant and reflexivised object participant are shared by two sub-events.

Similar constructions are also found in Warlpiri where certain inflecting verbs of motion and stance follow non-finite verbs and constitute complex verbs (Nash, 1982: 179; 1986: 44).[294]

In the second type, non-finite and finite inflecting verbs share their stems as in (10-92). In this example, the identical stem yan- 'go' appears within the complex verb, i.e., the non-finite form yan-u and the future form yan-gu.

[294] Another similarity is found in respect speech of Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981) and Gurindji (McConvell, 1982) where non-finite verbs immediately precede the special respect speech inflecting verb luwarn-.

(A)	mali-yi	nga=lu	lung-u	luwarn-an
JARU	DW/WM-KIN.ABS	REAL=3PL.SBJ	cry-NF	RS-PRES

Maliyi (CS: my mother-in-law/son-in-law) cries. (Tsunoda, 1981: 217, ex.479)

This use of non-finite verbs is to avoid semantic ambiguity because the respect speech verb is neutral in terms of the semantics and transitivity. Therefore, the respect speech verb does not contribute to the meaning of the whole event, which is rather similar to strong nexus complex verbs (§10.3.2). Unfortunately, although such constructions are likely to be possible in this language, there is no instance found in the Wanyjirra corpus, perhaps due to the limit of the corpus and language loss. In Jaru, non-finite verbs occur with finite IVs less commonly in ordinary language than in respect speech (Tsunoda 1981:177). However, in such examples, the stem of the non-finite verb is always different from that of the finite verb (Tsunoda, 1999: 109) as in Wanyjirra examples (10-90 and 10-91).

(10-92) *I was trying to elicit future forms of inflecting verbs which have abilitative or inabilitative meaning from TM. Her great-grandson was born some months ago. So I asked her: ngu yanana? (Is he walking?). First she said the answer "no" in English. Then I asked her to say in Wanyjirra.*

nyila	yabawurru	gula	**yan-u**	yan-gu	*yet*
DIST1	kid.ABS	NEG	go-NF	go-FUT	yet

That child can't walk yet. (i.e., He is still crawling.) [TM: CSfn030910]

From TM's translation, the semantic difference of the complex verb (10-92) from the simple verb with inabilitative interpretation (10-93) is not clearly captured. However, repeating the same verb stem in a complex verb seems to intensify the meaning of the event in the discourse rather than representing two sub-events.

(10-93) *TM was saying as follows when we were trying to go into the house which has stairs to the entrance. She has bad legs.*

gula=rna	yan-gu	walyag
NEG=1MIN.SBJ	GO-FUT	inside

I can't go inside. [TM: CSfn130610]

Another example (10-94) is extracted from a conversation between TM and me. The first sentence given by TM (Line 1) contains the non-finite verb ngarn-u=la which is separated from the finite verb ngarn-ana by an intonation break and a pronominal clitic complex. Therefore this non-finite verb constitutes an independent predicate and is not a relevant example here but will be described in §10.5.2. In Line 2, I give her the sentence where the first non-finite verb is followed by the locative-subordinator instead of the sequential/focus marker =la.[295] In Line 3, TM rejects my sentence and gives me a correction where the non-finite and finite forms of the same stem form a single main predicate. Use of non-finite verbs here is considered as highlighting information '(two people are) eating'.

[295] This is because the focus/sequential clitic =la which follows the non-finite verb is phonologically identical to the locative allomorph -la. However, the locative subordinating suffix which attaches to non-finite verbs is always -(ng)ga not -la. I intended to confirm whether this non-finite verb constitutes a non-finite subordinate clause or something else.

(10-94)

TM:	ngarn-u=la:::	ngu=wula	ngarn-ana	ngarin,	nguyurdu
	ingest-NF=SEQ	REAL=3UA.SBJ	ingest-PRES	meat.ABS	many.ABS

TM: *Tobala havim* beef, many.
CS@: Keep eating... they two are eating the beef, a lot of it.

CS:	*ngarn-u-ngga	ngu=wula	ngarn-ana	ngarin
	ingest-NF-LOC	REAL=3UA.SBJ	ingest-PRES	meat.ABS

!CS: *They two are eating meat while [others] are eating.

TM:	ngu=wula	**ngarn-u**	ngarn-ana	ngarin
	REAL=3UA.SBJ	ingest-NF	ingest-PRES	meat.ABS

TM: *Tobala havem* beef.
CS@: They keep eating the beef. [TM; CS: CSfn030910]

Like the first type, this construction is found only with a limited number of stems (such as yan- 'go', lung- 'cry', ngarn- 'ingest' and bung- 'hit'). However, most of the examples found in Tsunoda's corpus are quite hard to analyse without access to context. In addition, they are never recognised outside context; even the same consultant who gave me these examples (10-92 and 10-94) rejected them when I repeat them to her a few days later. These examples are rarely collected through elicitation and were only recorded in accidental occasions when I intended to collect other grammatical information.[296] Nonetheless, based on the data, I would suggest that they are a type of Wanyjirra complex verbs which have an intensifying function. By means of repetition of the same verb stems in natural speech, the speaker highlights the meaning of the event and draws the hearer's attention to it.[297,298] In the final example (10-95), the Kriol-loan particle *na* follows a non-finite verb and marks contrastive focus (§11.4.6) highlighting the correct information 'walking' as opposed to my utterance, i.e., 'the man does not fly, he walks'.

[296] Similar difficulties are observed in Tsunoda's fieldnotes (1998, No.3, pp.17-18). He also comments that these examples containing non-finite and finite forms of the same stems haven't been observed in Jaru and Wanyjirra (at least before 1998) (Tsunoda, 1999: 109).

[297] Similar functions are found in Non-Australian languages including Khwe (Central-Khoisan) (Kilian-Hatz, 2006). Khwe serial verb constructions, where two or more synonymous verb stems occur, have three functions (i) encoding repetition of the same actions; (ii) emphasising duration of the event and (iii) intensifying the event (Kilian-Hatz, 2006: 113). In Wanyjirra, the first two functions are found in coverb-verb complex verb constructions where coverbs are reduplicated or the repetitive suffix follows coverbs (§9.2.3.1; §9.2.3.3). Reduplication of coverbs may also be used to intensify the events, although it is uncommon (§9.2.3.1).

[298] See (10-97) in §10.5.1.1 below where repetition of coverbs may also provide intensification in discourse.

(10-95) *I was confirming the meaning of the complex verb bard gang- 'fly' with TM. I made the following sentence and TM corrected it.*

CS:	*nyila	mawun	ngu	bard	gang-ana
	DIST1	man.ABS	REAL	fly	CARRY-PRES
	!CS: That man is flying.				

TM:	no,	nyila	mawun	**yan-u**	***na***	**yan-ana**
	no	DIST1	man.ABS	go-NF	NOW	go-PRES

CS#: No. (i.e., You should say): "the man is walking." [CS; TM: CSfn070710]

In Gurindji (and probably) Bilinarra, non-finite verbs with attachment of the coverbaliser -b can combine with finite forms of the same inflecting verbs (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 285-286). However, it is unclear whether such constructions have the similar function as in Wanyjirra.

10.5 Coverbs and non-finite verbs as independent predicates

10.5.1 Independent use of coverbs

As described in §10.3, weak nexus coverbs, adverbial coverbs (and translative coverbs) can occur independently of inflecting verbs. Strong nexus coverbs cannot occur independently although there are a very few exceptions (10-25b) above and (10-96) below. There are three main functions of coverbs when used independently; (i) coverbs as imperatives; (ii) coverbs in non-finite subordinate clauses; (iii) coverbs in narrative sequences.

10.5.1.1 Command expressed by coverbs

Coverbs, as independent predicates, can express commands without imperative forms of inflecting verbs. In Sentence 2 of (10-96), the strong nexus coverb jungguj uncommonly occurs independently of the inflecting verb bung- with which normally combines.

(10-96)

1.	ngarn-u	*na* \	ngarn-u	*na::*	guya \	
	ingest-NF	NOW	ingest-NF	NOW	thus	

TM: "[We will keep] drink it like this."

CS#: [We] drink it [and] drink [it] like this.

2. wuna \ **jungguj** *alibala* \
quick depart early
MS: "Come on, [we will] depart in early morning." [DJ: 99_40_3.071-072]

The repeated coverbs in (10-97) also express a command. Repetition in this example has the more pragmatic effect of attracting the addressee's attention or intensifying the event, rather than expressing iteration of the event.

(10-97) *TM is saying this to her small great-grandchild.*
buny **buny** **buny** **buny**
kiss kiss kiss kiss
CS#: Kiss [me], kiss [me], kiss [me], kiss [me]. [TM: CSfn090810]

Negative commands can also be expressed with an independent coverb and the negative particle wagurra as in (10-98a). Alternatively, the same coverb combines with the imperative verb as in (10-98b). Note that a coverb plus the privative suffix is also used for negative commands (§4.5.2; §9.2.3.4).

(10-98)
a. wagurra=n **burja**
NEG=2MIN.SBJ run
Don't run. [TM: CSfn090810]

b. wagurra **burja** yan-da
NEG run GO-IMP
Don't run. [TM: CSfn131010]

10.5.1.2 Coverbs as predicates of non-finite subordinate clauses

The independent use of coverbs is also found in non-finite subordinate constructions (§3.2.2; §13.2). As described above, this is only found in weak nexus, adverbial and translative coverbs. Such clauses, like those which contain a simple verb or complex verb, are marked with a range of subordinating suffixes. In (10-99), the coverb magin 'sleep' is marked by the locative T-subordinator which denotes the simultaneous event of the main clause event. The subject of the subordinate clause is construed with the subject of the main clause.

(10-99)ngu=rna=nggu marn-ana **magin-da**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ say-PRES sleep-LOC
I am talking to you while I am lying. [TM: CSfn201011]

10.5.1.3 Independent coverbs in narrative sequence

In narrative texts, coverbs often occur independently as simple main predicates. These constructions are used in a similar fashion to non-finite verbs (see below) and are most commonly found in narrating ongoing sub-events in the larger discourse event (cf. Mithun, 2008). In these sentences, tense-mood information, and sometimes participants are left unspecified but they are understandable from surrounding sentences or context.[299]

(10-100) is extracted from a story about travelling. Sentence 2 and 3 contain coverbs as independent predicates which describe sequential sub-events of the travelling. Participants and temporal setting are shared with the preceding and following sentences.

(10-100)

1. yan-gu ngu=wula::::::::: \
go-FUT REAL=3UA.SBJ
TT: They will go.
CS%#: They will keep going.

2. dumal **dirrib** \...(1.6) dumal **dirrib** \
middle camp.out middle camp.out
TT: [They will] camp [in the] middle, i.e. on the way.
CS%: [They will] camp [in the] middle, [and] camp [in the] middle.

3. **magin** \...(1.5) **magin** \
sleep sleep
TT#: [They will] sleep.
CS%: [They will] sleep, [and] sleep.

4. *wuwu* \
oh
TT: Oh!

[299] Since coverbs can take the repetitive suffix, at least aspectual information can be specified in sentences.

5. yan-gu ngu=wula \...(3.3) yirraba-wu mawun-gu \
go-FUT REAL=3UA.SBJ other-DAT man-DAT
TT#: They will go for other men. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(1).006-010]

In this example, repeated coverbs in separate intonation units seem to denote iteration of events. Note that they differ from reduplication of coverbs because in Sentence 2 and 3, each coverb occurs in its own intonation contour and receives its own word stress.

Translative coverbs can also constitute independent predicates. In (10-101), a coverb cannot be interpreted as an eventuality or a result of the event denoted by the preceding predicate 'staying' but can be treated as a distinct clause by its own designating a single event 'grow up'.

(10-101) ngamu yabawurru,.. ngu=rnalu garri-nya,..
long.ago small.ABS REAL=1AUG.SBJ stay-PAST

ngarrga-g \... *Inverway*-la \
big-TRNSL PLACE.NAME-LOC
CS: Long ago, we, children stayed and become big (i.e., grew up), at Inverway Station.
TT: Long ago, we grew up at Inverway Station. [TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).009]

10.5.2 Independent use of non-finite verbs

Non-finite inflecting verbs can also function as main predicates of the simple sentence without finite verbs. This use is parallel to that of coverbs in a narrative sequence (§10.5.1.3). The sentences lack tense-aspect-mood inflections and sometimes pronominal clitic complexes. TAM information and participants of the event are often shared with neighbouring sentences. In this sense, they are dependent on neighbouring sentences and part of the connected narrative, and describe events/states as part of a larger event or a general topic of the narrative which the speaker intends to deliver to the addressee in its narrative flow (Mithun, 2008).[300] These non-finite independent

[300] Mithun (2008) describes the extended use of non-finite constructions as independent sentences which are frequently found in North-American languages. According to her, there are at least two types of instances: (i) non-finite constructions provide 'background, incidental information, explanation and emotional evaluation' on the narrative context (p.72); (ii) those constructions describe sub-events of the large event which are 'tightly integrated spatially, temporally and referentially' (p.87). Wanyjirra

clauses contain a non-finite verb only as in (10-102) or a complex verb formed by a coverb and a non-finite verb (10-103).

(10-102) is an extract from appended Text 5 (Line 16-19). This text is a story about NP's childhood. Non-finite verbs occur in Sentence 1, 2 and 4. In this extract, no tensed verbs occur. Sentence 1 and 4 contain overt subjects with non-finite verbs. Although Sentence 2 (and 3) have no overt subject, it is understandable from Sentence 1. In Sentence 4, occurrence of the overt subject signals change of the subject. The object can also be easily interpreted as the first person minimal (exclusive) as specified in the preceding sentences.

(10-102)

1. yamaji *you know* / yamaji \... **garriny-u** \
   small.ABS you know small.ABS be-NF
   TT: I [was] a child.
   CS%: A child, you know, [I,] a child was living [there].

2. **garriny-u=la::::: **
   be-NF=SEQ
   MS: I was stopping there with my mother.
   TT: [I was] sitting or living [there].

3. *bilibat* *kipo::m*[301]\
   play.CONT keep
   CS#: [And I] kept playing about.

---

instances including independent coverbs in narrative sequences are the second type expressing sequential sub-events of the larger event.

As Mithun (2008: 106-107) argues based on most of her instances from North-American languages, these Wanyjirra constructions cannot easily be treated as what Evans (2007) defines as 'insubordination', i.e., the conventionalised independent use of formally subordinate clauses as main clauses resulted from ellipsis of a true matrix clause involving semantic/functional changes. It is because semantics of non-finite forms remain unchanged and dependency of the non-finite verbs scopes over the large discourse context not only within the non-finite sentences (including its missing matrix clauses). Clearer instances of 'insubordination' are found with the finite subordinate clause constructions (§13.4).

[301] This sentence is an example of Kriol serial verb constructions where the verb *kipom* 'keep' is analysed as functioning like an auxiliary specifying duration of the event 'playing'. The similar construction is found in Gurindji Kriol where the verb *kipgon* 'keep on' combines with transitive or intransitive dynamic verbs to indicate duration of events (Meakins, 2010). However, unlike in this Wanyjirra example, the verb *kipgon* precedes another verb which mainly contributes to the lexical meaning of the serial verb in Gurindji Kriol.

4. ngama-yi-lu jaja-nggu nyamba-lu \...(0.8) jaja-nggu \...(1.4)
M-KIN-ERG MM-ERG what-ERG MM -ERG

sometime ngama-yi-lu \...(1.0) **garran-u**::::: \.. *growimap* /...(1.7)
sometime M -KIN-ERG keep-NF grow.up

growimap \
grow.up
TT: [My] mother, and sometimes [my] mother's mother looked after [me].
CS%: [My] mother, mother's mother and everyone, [my] mother's mother, sometimes [my] mother kept [me], [they] grew [me] up, [they] grew [me] up.
[NP: 76_12_1_NP(2).016-019]

In another extract (10-103), there are three independent coverbs in the first 3 lines and one complex verb involving the coverb daj-garra and the non-finite verb bayan-u in the final line. The subjects of these sentences are understood as the first person augmented inclusive 'we' according to neighbouring sentences which contain pronominal clitics. In addition, there is no finite verb specifying TAM information in this extract. However, these sentences are translated with the present tense, which is related to presentation of stories for a stylistic effect (§9.1.8.6). The events of 'breaking (the tail)' and 'crushing (the tail)' described by these coverbs and complex verb are sequential within the discourse topic 'hunting and cooking games'.

(10-103)
1. **jilmung** \... nyila=ma,...(0.7) nyawa=ma jawurd=ma,... nyawa=ma
break DIST1=TOP PROX1=TOP tail.ABS=TOP PROX1=TOP

jawurd=ma winggi=ma,... winggi=ma,...(1.0)
tail.ABS=TOP tail.ABS=TOP tail.ABS=TOP
TT: [We] break that, [I mean] this tail.
NOTE: I changed the transcription jawud to jawurd. winggi could be a different language.

2. guya-wu **daj-garra-wu** \...(0.8) bamarr-u \
thus-DAT crush-REP-DAT stone-ERG
TT: LIT: [We break this tail] to make it squashed like this, or until it is squashed like this.
CS%: [We] break that, this tail, this tail, this tail to crush [it] like that with a stone.
NOTE: my translation covers from Sentence 1 to Sentence 2. Sentence 2 is treated as a purposive non-finite subordinate clause.

3. bamarr-u \.. **dug-arra** \...(1.2)
stone-ERG crush-REP
TT: [We] smash [the tail] with a stone.
CS%: [We] crush [the tail] with a stone.

4. dug-arra **bayan-u** \
crush-REP CHOP-NF
CS%: [We] crush [it]. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).115-117]
NOTE: In Tsunoda's original text, Sentence 3 and 4 were treated as a single sentence. I separated them and treat them as distinct sentences.

These constructions are frequently found in texts given by the two deceased speakers NP and DJ, but not by MS and TM. Although MS and TM have no problem in understanding meanings of the sentences containing non-finite verbs, they tell me: 'that's old people's talk'. This also indicates that MS and TM do not use these expressions now. These constructions are also found in texts of Walmajarri (Hudson, 1978: 112), Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 177) and Gurindji (McConvell, 2005b).

Chapter 11
Other minor word classes and clitics

11.0 Introduction

This chapter describes uninflecting particles, interjections, adverbs, and enclitics (other than pronominal clitics introduced in Chapter 7). Particles include auxiliaries, subordinating conjunctions, sentence particles and a minor prepositional particle (§11.1). Auxiliaries and subordinating conjunctions always host pronominal clitics. Some sentence particles can also take pronominal clitics but not necessarily. Interjections usually independently constitute a single utterance or sentence (§11.2). Adverbs are semantically similar to other word class members (including particles, coverbs and manner, temporal and locational nominals) but are distinguished from them in terms of morphological possibilities and/or placement in clauses (§11.3). Clitics are phonologically bound to the preceding words and attach to a wider range of word classes than inflectional and derivational suffixes (§11.4).

11.1 Particles

Particles are uninflecting, underived independent words. They include auxiliaries (§11.1.1), subordinating conjunctions (§11.1.2), sentence particles (§11.1.3) and one prepositional particle (§11.1.4). Most auxiliaries and sentential particles are used to represent modality. Verbal inflections also contribute to modality in copula and verbal clauses. Table 11.1 summarises how modality is signalled by distinct grammatical expressions and pronominal clitics.

Table 11.1 Strategies of encoding Wanyjirra modal meanings

Modal meanings	Auxiliaries/sentence particles/others	Inflecting verbs	Example numbers
Indicative	REAL ngu/nga	PRES; PAST; FUT	11-2,11-3, 11-47
Negative indicative	NEG wagurra NEG wagurra + REAL ngu/nga	PRES; PAST	11-21 11-22
	^NEG gula ^NEG gula + REAL ngu/nga		11-19, 11-20
Negative indicative (negative expectation, futurity, intention, permission)	NEG wagurra NEG wagurra + REAL ngu/nga	FUT	11-23 11-24
Negative abilitative Negative permissive	NEG gula	FUT	11-17
Negative desiderative	NEG gula	IMP	11-18
Imperative	(no Aux)	IMP	9-30
Prohibitive	NEG wagurra	IMP	9-31, 9-32
	^NEG wagurra + REAL ngu/nga	IMP	9-33
Hortative (3rd person subject)	(no Aux)	HORT	9-28, 9-29
Hortative (1st person subject)		FUT	9-21
Admonitive	ADM ngarra	FUT	11-10
Dubitative/uncertainty	UNCERTAIN nyangga	FUT	11-11
Interrogative (polar Q)	IRR wayi	PRES; PAST; FUT	11-4, 11-5, 11-43
	^Q wa		11-9
	Q walima/ walima (+ ngu/nga)		5-62, 11-26 11-27
Interrogative (information Q)	Interrogative Interrogative + REAL ngu/nga	PRES; PAST; FUT	§5.2
	Interrogative wanyji-rniny + Q ba		11-8
Irrealis	IRR wayi	IMP	11-6, 11-7
	^REAL ngu/nga		9-36
Counterfactual	'wrongly thought' gulangarra (+ ngu/nga)	IMP; PAST; PRES	11-29 11-30 11-31
Observable/believed truth	'believe true' gayi	PAST; PRES	11-12, 11-13
Dubitative/uncertainty	MAYBE marri		11-33

^ These structures are also possible but rare.

11.1.1 Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries obligatorily host pronominal clitics when they occur in clauses. They can also stand alone if subject and direct object arguments are third person minimal. There are seven auxiliaries: ngu/nga 'REALis' (§11.1.1.1); wayi 'IREALis' (§11.1.1.2); ba/wa 'Question' (§11.1.1.3); ngarra 'ADMonitive' (§11.1.1.4); nyangga

'UNCERTAIN' (§11.1.1.5); gayi 'BELIEVE true' (§11.1.1.6); guya 'THUS' (§11.1.1.7). These auxiliaries, except guya, are used in different mood types together with certain inflecting verb forms. ngarra, guya and nyangga are also used as subordinating conjunctions for finite subordinate clauses (§11.1.2; §13.1).

11.1.1.1 Realis ngu/nga

The realis auxiliary ngu/nga is typically used to express a statement in indicative mood as in (11-1-11-3). The form nga occurs before pronominal clitics beginning with /l/ whereas the form ngu occurs before any pronominal clitics. This auxiliary also occurs in other moods when some sentence particles precede or follow it (e.g. 11-20, 11-22, 11-24, 11-27 and 11-30 below). In this respect, the realis auxiliary is neutralised in terms of moods and merely functions as a morphological host for pronominal clitics.

(11-1) **ngu**=rna yunbalyi
REAL=1MIN.SBJ tired
I'm tired. [TM: 10_0607_3.045]

(11-2) **nga**=liwa=la guny bung-ana ngawa-wu
REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ=3MIN.DAT wait HIT-PRES water-DAT
We are waiting for rain. [MS: CSfn180909]

(11-3) Namija **ngu** ward yan-i ngurra-wurra
♀subsection.ABS REAL return GO-PAST camp-PURP
Namija returned to the camp. [TM: CSfn110509]

11.1.1.2 Irrealis wayi

The irrealis auxiliary wayi is used in interrogative mood with three tense forms of inflecting verbs (past, present and future, in continuative and non-continuative) as in (11-4 and 11-5). It also occurs with imperative forms of verbs in irrealis mood indicating that the speaker thinks that the events/states had the potential to occur but didn't, irrespective of whether the subject referent had the intention to actualise the events (11-6).

(11-4) **wayi**=n=junu yunbarn-i
IRR=2MIN.SBJ=RR sing-PAST
Did you sing yourself? [MS: 76_14_1_NP.183']

(11-5) **wayi**=yi=n yung-gu ngarin
IRR=1MIN.OBJ=2MIN.SBJ give-FUT meat.ABS
Will you give me beef? [MS: CSfn061009]

(11-6) **wayi**=rna girliga-g man-da nganinga jinajina jalarni
IRR=1MIN.SBJ clean-TRNSL GET-IMP 1MIN.OBL1 dress.ABS today
I should have cleaned my dress today. [TM: CSfn040810]

Note that the ignorative clitic =wayi is formally identical to this auxiliary. It attaches to indefinite pronouns and expresses speaker's ignorance (§5.2.1).

(11-7) 1. **wayi**=rna=la yung-ga ngandawi \
IRR=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT give-IMP shade.ABS
TM: I wanted to give him photos but nothing.
CS%#: I would have given him photos.

2. wanyjirra=**wayi** yan-i
where=IGNOR go-PAST
TM: I don't know where he has gone.
CS#: ALT: He has gone somewhere. [TM: CSfn141011]

11.1.1.3 Interrogative ba/wa

The interrogative auxiliary ba/wa is used in polar questions. However, it is rarely used in Wanyjirra whereas it is common in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981).[302] In Wanyjirra, the irrealis auxiliary wayi is used in interrogative mood more frequently. In the corpus, the form ba is only used after the derived interrogative wanyji-rniny 'which way' (§5.3.2).[303] The form wa is only found in the deceased speaker NP's speech in Tsunoda's corpus. Note that (11-9) corresponds to (11-4) above where wayi is used.

(11-8) wanyji-rniny ba=li yan-gu wilinyi \
which-PERL Q=1MIN.INC.SBJ GO-FUT hunt
TT: Which way shall we go for walkabout? [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).002]

[302] The occurrence of two forms is completely complementary in Jaru; - ba occurs after any word ending with a consonant whereas wa occurs elsewhere (Tsunoda, 1981: 124-125).
[303] The segment ba also follows the interrogative nyayang 'how many'. However, in this case, ba is more closely linked to the preceding interrogative nyayang phonologically and analysed as an epenthetic syllable (see §2.6.5).

(11-9) **wa**=n=junu yunbarn-i \
Q=2MIN.SBJ=RR sing-PAST
NP: Might be you have *singim miself* make pretty.
CS#: Did you sing yourself? [NP: 76_14_1_NP.182]

11.1.1.4 Admonitive ngarra

The admonitive auxiliary ngarra is used to encode admonitive mood with the future form of verbs. It also marks finite 'lest' subordinate clauses (§13.1.3). Therefore, this construction may be considered an example of 'insubordination' (Evans, 2007) whereby elision of main clauses from complex sentences is conventionalised. These insubordinate constructions will be described in §13.4.2.

(11-10) **ngarra**=ngali baya-rru \
ADM=1MIN.INC.OBJ bite-FUT
It might bite us. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).056]

11.1.1.5 'UNCERTAIN' nyangga

nyangga 'UNCERTAIN' is mainly used as a conditional subordinator in finite subordinate clauses (§13.1.2). However, it behaves like an auxiliary which hosts pronominal clitics in independent clauses expressing that the speaker is unsure about the status of the proposition. This can also be analysed as insubordination (§13.4.1).

(11-11) ngala-nga **nyangga**=yi yan-gu *too*
♀Ch-2KIN.POSS.ABS UNCERTAIN=1MIN.OBJ go-FUT too
TM (given to CS): Your kid might come too.
CS: LIT: If your child comes too [we will sing the corroboree together].
MS (given to TT): If that [ngalai] come, we will sing corroboree.
TT: Look [ngalae] come to me. [TM: 76_14_1_TM(1).004]
NOTE: In TT's translation, he analyses nyangga as the verb nyang-ga 'perceive-IMP' 'look'. However, MS's translation shows that nyangga is not a verb but an auxiliary.

11.1.1.6 'BELIEVE true' gayi

This auxiliary is less commonly used and its meaning is not understood well. However, it seems to have a similar function to the Warlpiri particle kari, indicating that the proposition is directly observable as the truth by the speaker at the time of speech (11-12 and 11-13) or that the speaker believes the proposition to be true (11-14) (cf.

Laughren, 1982a: 141-142). Unlike the case of (11-12 and 11-13), in (11-14), the speaker did not observe the event happening. However, the story-teller claims that the narrative character believes that the proposition is true in direct speech (Sentence 2). gayi occurs in the past and present tense in my corpus.

(11-12) *Ayi* **gayi**=n gambarn-i wuna-nggu=lu yangi
ayi BELIEVE=2MIN.SBJ burn-PAST quickly-ERG=ONLY one.ABS
TM: "Ayi! You cooked food quickly!"
CS%: “Ayi! You cooked the one quickly!” [TM: CSfn131011]

(11-13) *I read Wanyjirra sentences which I made up in order to confirm if they were grammatical. TM says:*

gayi=yi=n marn-ana jaru
BELIEVE=1MIN.OBJ=2MIN.SBJ say-PRES language.ABS
TM: Ah, you tell me the language I teach you.
CS%: Ah, you are talking language to me. [TM: CSfn131011]

(11-14) *TM was telling a story about picking up fruits.*

1. nyila guya *na* ngabug man-an-i *na* *yuno* /
DIST1 thus NOW smell GET-CONT-PAST NOW you.know
Like this there, we smelt it, you know.

2. *aa* marndaj \ **gayi**,...(1.0) jiwirri \
ah OK BELIEVE cooked.ABS
"Ah, OK, [CS: I believe that this is] ripe." [TM: 10_0617_6.016-017]

In (11-15), the speaker claims that the narrative character believes or knows that the woman is happy because bringing food back to the family is always appreciated.

(11-15) *A man got a kangaroo and took it back to the camp for his wife.*

munda yura *na* **gayi** nyila=ma,... ngaringga=ma
belly.ABS good.ABS NOW BELIEVE DIST1=TOP woman.ABS=TOP
TM: The woman is happy.
CS: LIT: That [one], the woman, her belly is good. [TM: 11_1014_4.021]

In Gurindji, the cognate form kayi describes positive counter-expectation where the speaker did not believe that the proposition was true but it is true (McConvell, 2005c). Judging from the translations given in (11-12-11-14), these sentences may also express the speaker’s (or narrative character’s) surprise or exclamation, as well as the initial Kriol interjections ‘ayi’ and ‘ah’, which may include a sense of counter-expectation.

However, it is unclear whether this is the case in (11-15).

11.1.1.7 'THUS' guya[304]

The form guya is a multi-functional word which is also used as an adverbial demonstrative 'thus' (§6.1.1.2) and as a subordinator which hosts pronominal clitics in finite (adverbial and relative) subordinate clauses (§13.1.1) and clausal complements (§13.1.1.4). In addition, it behaves as a host for pronominal clitics in simple independent sentences in a stretch of the discourse without adding any specific meaning. One example is given in (11-16). In this case, guya shows no syntactic dependency between clauses but pragmatic dependency, i.e., linking a sub-event to preceding sub-events in a larger context. Such constructions could be a type of insubordination (§13.4.3).

(11-16)

1. nyawa=ma ngu=rna jaru=ma yirra-wu \...(1.4) mirlimirli-la
   PROX1=TOP REAL=1MIN.SBJ language.ABS=TOP put-FUT paper-LOC
   "This one, I want to put the story... in the book (i.e., the storybook)."

2. jaru-nggu **guya**=rna yirran-ana \
   language-ERG THUS=1MIN.SBJ put-PRES
   "I write them in the (Wanyjirra) language."

3. *English*-ju **guya**=rna yirran-ana \
   English-ERG THUS=1MIN.SBJ put-PRES
   "I write them in English." [TM: 11_1028_5.006-008]

11.1.2 Subordinating conjunctions

Three subordinating conjunctions (or subordinators) are used in Wanyjirra: (i) guya/guwa 'SUBordinator'; (ii) nyangga 'CONDitional'; (iii) ngarra 'ADMonitive'. These functions will be described in §13.1.

11.1.3 Sentence particles

Sentence particles provide some modal information: gula 'negative' (§11.1.3.1);

[304] guya mainly functions as an adverbial demonstrative 'thus, like this' (§6.1.1.2) and as a subordinator to form finite subordinate clauses (§11.1.2; §13.1.1). As an auxiliary or morphological host, guya neither shows the lexical meaning 'thus, like this' nor forms subordinate clauses. Therefore, I gloss this guya as THUS in capital letters.

wagurra ‘negative’ (§11.1.3.2); walima ‘question’ (§11.1.3.3) or modify propositions expressed by the clauses: gulangarra ‘wrongly thought’ (§11.1.3.4) and marri ‘maybe’ (§11.1.3.5), as well as the Kriol loans *maitbi/matbi* ‘maybe’ (§11.1.3.6) and *nomo* ‘not’ (§11.1.3.7). Morpho-syntactic features of sentence particles are similar to those of auxiliaries. Like auxiliaries, some sentence particles modify modality or polarity whereas others provide the speaker’s state of mind concerning the proposition expressed by the clause. However, the placement of sentence particles is restricted to clause-initial position or in a very few occasions, to second position. In addition, Wanyjirra sentence particles except for marri ‘maybe’ can also host pronominal clitics directly with no auxiliary. However, all sentence particles can precede the realis auxiliary. In this case, the auxiliary then always hosts the pronominal clitics and is neutralised for the realis/irrealis contrast.

11.1.3.1 Negative gula

The particle gula negates propositions. gula is usually directly followed by pronominal clitics as in (11-17-11-19). It can also appear with the realis auxiliary which is followed by the pronominal clitic as in (11-20), but this is very rare. This particle frequently occurs with future or imperative forms of inflecting verbs for the inabilitative meaning (§9.1.8.2) or the past negative desiderative meaning (§9.1.8.4) respectively, but it can also occur with past and present tense forms for negative indicative clauses.

(11-17) gardiya-la **gula**=yi=n man-gu \
white.man-LOC NEG=1MIN.OBJ=2MIN.SBJ get-FUT
TT: You can't get [tobacco] for me from the white man.
CS%: You can’t get it for me at the white man[’s place].
[TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).053]

(11-18) **gula**=rna=nggu bung-ga
NEG=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ hit-IMP
I didn’t want/intend to hit you. [TM: CSfn281011]

(11-19) **gula**=liyarra bina garriny-ana
NEG=1UA.SBJ know STAY-PRES
WE don’t know [her]. [MS: CSfn150609]

(11-20) ngu=wula **gula** marn-i guya \
REAL=3UA.SBJ NEG say-PAST thus
Thus they did not talk to him. [MS: 97_31_2.049]

11.1.3.2 Negative wagurra

Like the particle gula, wagurra is also used to negate propositions. However, this particle has broader grammatical possibilities than gula. As well as for negating propositions in (11-21-11-24); it is also used as an interjection to express disagreement or a negative response toward a statement, question or behaviour as in (11-25). It commonly occurs with verbs in the past, present and future tense. But with future and imperative verbs, it also expresses negative permissive and prohibitive moods respectively (§9.1.8.2; §9.1.8.4). gula cannot be used as an interjection or a negator for commands.

(11-21) wagurra=rna=nggu yi-nya
NEG=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ give-PAST
I didn't give it to you. [TM: CSfn040810]

(11-22) nyila yirrab **wagurra** ngu=lu jaru marn-ana
DIST1 some.ABS NEG REAL=3AUG.SBJ language.ABS say-PRES
TT: Those other [people] are not speaking [Aboriginal] language.
[MS: TTfn110901]

(11-23) **wagurra**=yi=n bad man-gu marumbu-lu
NEG=1MIN.OBJ=2MIN.SBJ touch GET-FUT hand-ERG
You can't touch me. [TM: CSfn210710]

(11-24) **wagurra** ngu=ngayarrang-gu=lu ngarra man-gu
NEG REAL=1UA.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ recognise GET-FUT
TT: They won't recognise us. [MS: TTfn170898]

(11-25) **wagurra**, gula=rna yan-i *Kananarra*-lawu
NEG NEG=1MIN.SBJ go-PAST PLACE.NAME-ALL
No, I didn't go to Kununurra. [MS: CSfn041110]

11.1.3.3 Question walima

Walima is used in polar questions as in (11-26 and 11-27) as well as the irrealis auxiliary wayi (§11.1.1.2). Unlike wayi, walima can also occur in verbless clauses. For

instance, in (11-28) '(do you have) any X?' implying that the speaker requests X.

(11-26) **walima**=n nga-lu ngaringga \
Q=2MIN.SBJ ingest-FUT woman.ABS
Woman, will you eat [them]? [NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).109]

(11-27) *MS was asking Tiny.*

walima ngu=lu=yanu bila-arra man-an-i...
Q REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ chase-REP GET-CONT-PAST

ngaringga-lu... mawun /... *or* mawun *jeijimbat* *woman* \
woman-ERG man.ABS or man.ABS chase.CONT woman
CS#: Did any women used to chase men, or did men chase women?
[MS: CSfn200509]

(11-28) **walima** ngawa
Q water.ABS
Any water? [MS: CSfn090609]

11.1.3.4 'wrongly thought' gulangarra[305]

This particle is used in the irrealis mood indicating that the proposition which the speaker previously believed true is now recognised as untrue by him or her. If it occurs in verbal clauses, past tense, present tense and imperative forms of inflecting verbs may be used. If a verb is in the past tense, an event expressed in the proposition is in the past with respect to the time when it was wrongly thought by the speaker as in (11-29). If a verb form is imperative, it denotes an event in the future with respect to the time when it was wrongly thought but in the past with respect to the time of utterance as in (11-30).

(11-29) **gulangarra**=n gang-an-i ngarin ward
wrongly.thought=2MIN.SBJ CARRY-CONT-PAST meat.ABS return
CS#: I thought that you had brought back meat (but you didn't).
[TM: CSfn121011]

[305] Jaru has a similar particle gulanga 'it looks/looked as if … but in fact…' which can also be attached with =rra (Tsunoda, 1981: 206). In Wanyjirra, the final rra is inseparable and only the form gulangarra was obtained. Althernatively gulangarra could be analysed as gula 'NEG' plus ngarra 'ADM'. However, this particle can co-occur with past, present and imperative forms of inflecting verbs while the admonitive ngarra only co-occurs with future forms of inflecting verbs. Therefore, I treat it as a single distinct particle.

(11-30) **gulangarra** ngu=yi baya-rra
wrongly.thought REAL=1MIN.OBJ bite-IMP
I thought he (i.e., the dog) would bite me (but he didn't). [MS: CSfn131011]

The particle gulangarra can also occur with present tense verbs although the corpus only has the single example (11-31). This was given by TM when she was trying to drink water from a cup placed on the table in front of her, but it was empty. The speaker just realised immediately before the time of utterance that her thought 'there was water' was wrong when she actually tried to drink the water. Therefore, the present tense form is used here.

(11-31) 1. minyarn ngu ngawa-mulung
nothing REAL water-PRIV
Nothing, there is no water.

2. **gulangarra** ngawa garriny-ana
wrongly.thought water.ABS be-PRES
I thought there is water (but now I realise there isn't).
[TM: CSfn281011]

It should be noted that the proposition is claimed to be 'wrong' by a speaker even though it is in fact 'correct' in the real world. (11-32) is an extract from TM's short story. X and Y are from the same area; they are 'countrymen'. But Y is being sarcastic and implies that she was wrong to assume that X was her countryman by saying in Sentence 2 that X is not Y's countryman because X refused to give Y (and others) her money, which is not in accordance with the obligations expected from a countryman.

(11-32)
1. X: nganinga bamarr gula=rna=nyurra yung-gu
1MIN.OBL1 stone.ABS NEG=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ give-FUT

nyangga=rna man-gu
COND=1MIN.SBJ get-FUT
CS#: I won't give you my money (even) if I get it.

2. Y: **gulangarra** ngu=yi=nda nganinga nun.giying
wrongly.thought REAL=1MIN.OBJ=2AUG.SBJ 1MIN.OBL1 family.ABS
I thought you were my countryman (but not).

3. Y:	gula=rna=nyurra	mayalu-wariny	miyanggi	man-gu
	NEG=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ	more-OTHER	ask	GET-FUT
	I won't ask you anymore. [TM: CSfn281011]			

11.1.3.5 MAYBE marri

Marri 'maybe' is used as a sentence particle and an adverbial coverb 'off, away'. As a particle, it indicates uncertainty of the speaker regarding to the truthfulness of the proposition.[306] This function is parallel to the English-loan word *matbi/maitbi* 'maybe' illustrated below. Unlike other sentence particles, this cannot be attached to pronominal clitics as in (11-33). Marri, as a particle, almost always occurs in the initial position of nominal verbless clauses.[307] On the other hand, it can occur anywhere if it behaves as an adverbial coverb.

(11-33) 1. *an* gula=lu ma-lu
and NEG=3AUG.SBJ say-FUT
And they can't speak it (i.e., the Wanyjirra language).

2. nyamba-wuja=wayi=lu
what-LACK=IGNOR=3AUG.SBJ
CS#: I don't know what's wrong with them.
CS: LIT: I don't know why they don't [speak it].

3. **marri** minyirri
MAYBE shy
Maybe [they] are shy. [TM: 11_1010_1.008-010]

11.1.3.6 Kriol-loans matbi/maitbi 'maybe'

The two forms *matbi* and *maitbi* have been borrowed from Kriol varieties with the meaning 'maybe'. They are frequently inserted into contemporary Wanyjirra clauses indicating uncertainty by the speaker regarding to the truth of the proposition. These forms almost always occur clause-initially but they cannot be attached to pronominal clitics.[308] In (11-34), the speaker as a story-character expresses uncertainty which she

[306] In Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 410) and Gurindji (McConvell, 2005c), marri(nga) is used for the meaning 'but'.
[307] There is no example where marri meaning 'maybe' is used in verbal clauses. Instead, the English words *maitbi* and *matbi* are used (§11.1.3.6).
[308] However, it is also common that like in English 'maybe', these particles can have scope over noun phrases as in a sentence like 'maybe today, or maybe tomorrow, we will go to the bush'.

has at the time of story.

(11-34) ***maitbi*** / nyununga nyila ngala-yi / ***maitbi*** ngu=ngayarrang
maybe 2MIN.OBL1 DIST1 ♀Ch-KIN.ABS maybe REAL=1UA.OBJ

yan-gu barn.gu-wu /
go-FUT cross.cousin-DAT
CS#: Maybe, your (sister's) child there, maybe he will come to us, to [men who are your] cross cousins.
TT: LIT: Maybe, your sister's child will come to us (EXC), to [the men who are your] cross cousin. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.130]

11.1.3.7 Kriol-loan ***nomo*** *'not'*

Nomo is derived from the English expression 'no more'. This particle occurs with an imperative verb or coverb to express prohibition (11-35), or with a simple NP to negate the nominal predicate (11-36). These functions are also found in the genuine Wanyjirra particle wagurra (§11.1.3.2). Hence, *nomo* can be replaced with wagurra. However, unlike wagurra, *nomo* is never followed by pronominal clitics.

(11-35) ***nomo*** gan.ga-rra walyag yan-da=lu
not up.country-DIRECT inside GO-IMP=AUG.SBJ
Don't go inside. [TM: CSfn180809]

(11-36)
1. nyila=ma darrugu *miselb* *you know* \
DIST1=TOP secret.ABS separately you know
That's secret, you know.

2. ***nomo*** mawun-gu \
not man-DAT
MS: It's not for men. [TM: 09_0513_3.055-056]

11.1.4 Prepositional particle mayi 'similar, like'

With the exception of a small number of languages, Australian languages are generally described as lacking prepositions because their case systems perform the semantic functions which prepositions have in other languages (Blake, 1987: 9; Dixon, 1980: 272; McGregor, 2004: 106). Wanyjirra is one of such exceptions and has the

prepositional particle mayi/mayiyi,[309] translated as 'like' by speakers, which expresses resemblance or similarity of the subject referent of the clause with the referent of another NP following this particle. Since it always occurs before an NP, the particle is considered part of a prepositional phrase constituent. The structure of the phrase (PP) is:

(11-37) PP = mayi/mayiyi + NP (nouns or pronouns)

This shows that prepositional phrases have a fixed word order unlike NPs. In all examples of the corpus, prepositional phrases can occur at the edge of clauses. Nominals in prepositional phrases agree in case with the subject of the clause, i.e., ergative in the transitive clause (11-38) and absolutive in the intransitive clause (11-39). In the case of pronouns, unmarked forms are used as they specify all core arguments (11-40).

(11-38) [**mayi** **warlagu-lu**] ngu=lu ngarn-ana mangarri
LIKE dog-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ ingest-PRES veg.food.ABS
Like a dog, they are eating tucker. [TM: CSfn150710]

(11-39) wagurra=n lung-gu [**mayi** **yamaji**]
NEG=2MIN.SBJ cry-FUT LIKE small.ABS
Don't cry like a child. [TM: CSfn140710]

(11-40) yalu-nggu ngaringga-lu garran-ana yambarra [**mayi** **ngayu**]
DIST2-ERG woman-ERG keep-PRES long.hair.ABS LIKE 1MIN
That woman has long hair like me. [MS: CSfn241110]

Wanyjirra has the semblative suffix -marraj attaching to nouns and pronouns to express the similar meaning of these prepositional phrases (§4.5.3). Semantically (11-41) is almost identical to (11-40) above.

(11-41) **ngayu-marraj-ju** yalu ngaringga-lu garran-ana yambarra
1MIN-SEMB-ERG DIST2 woman-ERG keep-PRES long.hair.ABS
Like me that woman has long hair. [MS: CSfn241110]

The semblative suffix may also occur with the particle mayi. It seems that there is no semantic difference between (11-38) and (11-42). However, it is unclear what

[309] The form mayiyi [mae:] where the vowel /i/ is lengthened is recorded by Tsunoda (Fieldnotes 1995, No.2, p.42). In my corpus, the form mayi with the short vowel is recorded.

circumstances determine whether speakers use the suffix -marraj or the preposition mayi.

(11-42) yamayama-lu ngu=lu ngarn-ana [**mayi warlagu-marraj-ju**]
children-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ ingest-PRES LIKE dog-SEMB-ERG
The children are eating [food] like a dog. [TM: CSfn140710]

In other Ngumpin-Yapa languages, analogy of one entity to another is usually expressed by bound morphemes. For instance, Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 230), Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013: 27), Malngin (Ise, 1999: 30) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 161) have the same semblative suffix -marraj whereas Walmajarri (Hudson & Richards, 1984: 86) and Warlpiri (Simpson, 1991: 58) have the distinct suffix forms -jiliny and -piya respectively. Ngardi and Warlpiri have the 'propositional particle' mayi modifying propositions (Honeyman, 2005: 43; Nash, 1986: 186-187). Although it is formally identical to the Wanyjirra particle, it differs syntactically and semantically. According to Nash (p.c.), the Warlpiri particle mayi usually occurs in second position of the clause and commonly hosts the pronominal clitics. In addition, it expresses a presumption 'presumably X' or 'must be X' rather than resemblance of X to Y. In Ngardi, mayi occurs at the end of polar questions and means 'perhaps' (Honeyman, 2005: 43).

In some other Australian languages, similarity of the entity to another can also be expressed by an independent lexical item. For instance, Kuuk Thaayorre has the connective particle kar 'like X' (Gaby, 2006: 571-575). The difference from the Wanyjirra particle is that kar is more like a conjunction which primarily functions as connecting two adjacent NPs in the single constituent, i.e., connecting one NP X to another Y which immediately follows the particle kar 'X like Y'. Another language, Wardaman, like Wanyjirra, has two ways to express similarity (Merlan, 1994: 99-100). However, both of them are independent words and behave like conjunctions mainly at the phrasal level as the one found in Kuuk Thaayorre.

Wanyjirra lacks evidence which shows mayi functions as a connective forming such a higher-level NP constituent, although the two NPs agree with each other in case. In examples, the subject NP and PP are not contiguous. In addition, the subject of the

clause is not often overtly specified by NPs. Thus, I analyse mayi/mayiyi as a prepositional particle but not as a conjunction. Further investigation of this construction is not easy because current speakers no longer use this form and it can only be collected through elicitation.

11.2 Interjections

Interjections often constitute a complete utterance by themselves or occur independently in a single intonation unit in initial position of the sentence. Interjections do not take any inflectional and derivational suffixes and pronominal clitics. A list of interjections was given in §3.1.6 with their approximate English translations. They express (i) agreement (e.g. ngaa in 11-43 and marndaj in 11-44); (ii) disagreement and refusal (e.g. wagurra and minyarn in 11-45); (iii) surprise (e.g. ngandu in 11-46); (iv) hesitation (e.g. *wal* in 11-47); (iv) warning and seeking attention (e.g. ngiyi in 11-48 and yurru in 11-49); (v) compassion (e.g. an.gaj in 11-50); (vi) encouragement (e.g. wuna in 11-51); (vii) reaction to behaviours and jokes (§1.4.5.2); (viii) discomfort and dismay of suffering from pain (e.g. wardayi in 11-52). Some interjections are borrowed from Kriol or neighbouring languages, for instance, *wal* 'well' (11-47) from Kriol and wali 'OK' (11-100) from Jaru which is equivalent to marndaj 'OK' (11-44).

(11-43)

1. A:	wayi=nda	garriny-ana	nunygu-warra
	IRR=2AUG.SBJ	BE-PRES	hungry-REP
	MS: Are you *mob* hungry?		

2. B:	**ngaa** \..	ngu=rnalu	garran-ana	ngarin
	yes	REAL=1AUG.SBJ	keep-PRES	meat.ABS
	Yes, we have meat. [MS: CSfn021110]			

(11-44)

1.	ngu=lu	gang-an-i \
	REAL=3AUG.SBJ	carry-CONT-PAST
	TM: They *bin carryim*.	
	CS@: They were carrying [firewood].	
	NOTE: I'm not sure why TM used the third person augmented clitic here. The unit-augmented form and minimal form are also used in Sentence 47 and 54 respectively. It could refer to another group of people who help carrying firewood.	

2. guya *na* \ **marndaj** *na* \
thus NOW OK NOW
TM: Like this, OK. [TM: 10_0826_5.056-057]

(11-45)
1. walima=nda=yi gang-gu gaa-rra
Q=2AUG.SBJ=1MIN.OBJ carry-FUT east-DIRECT
"Can you take me to the east?"

2. **wagurra** **minyarn**
NEG nothing
"No, nothing."

3. wan.gaj gurrurij ngu=yi
bad car.ABS REAL=1MIN.OBJ
"My car is no good"
CS: ALT: "The car is no good on me." [TM: CSfn141011]

(11-46) *MS is asking TM who a woman is on the photo. TM said to her, "that's me".*

ngandu[310] nyundu
indeed 2MIN
MS: Oh, yeah? It's you.
CS#: Indeed! It's you. [MS: CSfn300909]

(11-47) ***wal***,.. ngu=rna=nyurra, …(1.2) yirra-wu bagara-wu *na*
well REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ put-FUT outside-DAT NOW

nyawa=ma junba=ma wanyjan-u-wu yunbarn-u-wu \
PROX1=TOP corroboree.ABS=TOP dance-NF-DAT sing-NF-DAT
Well, I will teach you this corroboree to dance and sing. [TM: 10_0820_6.026]

(11-48) *MS was asking DJ to confirm whether her sentence below is correct (TT).*

"wagurra yan-da" **ngiyi** \
NEG go-IMP hey
CS#: (We say): wagurra yanda (i.e., "don't go"), eh? [MS: TTfn090901]

[310] The form ngandu is also used as the interrogative stem 'who/someone'. However, this interrogative stem is a non-absolutive stem and always takes overt case suffixes. Therefore, it should be distinguished from the interjection ngandu.

(11-49)

1.	**yurru** /…	ngala-yi-lu	nyunungu-lu	ngu=nggu
	look.out	♀Ch-KIN-ERG	2MIN.OBL1-ERG	REAL=2MIN.OBJ

2.	rarr	gang-ana	burnu-yaru-lu
	come.attack	CARRY-PRES	tree-PROP-ERG

Look out! Your son is coming to attack you with a stick. [MS: CSfn011009]

(11-50)	ngu=rna=la		yi-nya	nyila	ngarin,	**an.gaj** \
	REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT		give-PAST	DIST1	meat.ABS	poor.thing

I gave the meat to him, poor thing. [TM: CSfn110910]

(11-51)	**wuna** \..	yunbarn-an-da	junba \
	come.on	sing-CONT-IMP	corroboree.ABS

MS: Come on, sing a corroboree! [DJ: 99_40_1.289]

(11-52)	**wardayi::** \	yan-da=yi=lu[311]
	oh.dear	go-IMP=1MIN.OBJ=AUG.SBJ

Oh dear! Come to me. [TM: CSfn160810]

As mentioned in §3.1.6, some interjections are also used as words in other word classes. For example, wagurra 'no' is used as a negative particle taking pronominal clitics (§11.1.3.2); minyarn 'nothing' as a nominal predicate in verbless clauses (§12.3.6); ngandu 'indeed' as an interrogative/indefinite 'who/someone' taking case suffixes and pronominal clitics (§5.2.2); and wuna 'come on' as a manner nominal 'quick' which can take the ergative suffix agreeing with their subject arguments (§3.1.1.10).

11.3 Adverbs

Adverbs modify predicates or events. They are characterised as morphologically-simple words although a few members can be followed by certain suffixes (§11.3.5). Adverbs are distinguished from nominals, coverbs and inflecting verbs on the basis of negative morphological parameters: adverbs do not take nominal and verbal inflectional suffixes and the coverbal repetitive suffix.

Adverbs also differ from particles in that they, with one exception, do not have any restrictions on their positions within clauses. On the other hand, particles including

[311] wardayib (with the common ending -b in coverbs) is a coverb 'suffer from pain'.

auxiliaries, subordinators and sentence particles are restricted to initial or second position. The prepositional particle with the following NP is always placed at the edge of the clause. In addition, adverbs are never followed by pronominal clitics, unlike auxiliaries and sentence particles.

On the basis of semantic features, adverbs can be sub-categorised into (i) time adverbs; (ii) positional adverbs; (iii) iterative adverbs and; (iv) manner adverbs.

11.3.1 Time adverbs

Time adverbs function as adjuncts in clauses and provide temporal settings of the events. They are semantically and functionally similar to temporal nominals (§6.3.2). However, unlike temporal nominals, time adverbs never take spatial case suffixes. Time adverbs include: galu 'still, wait'; gambarri 'first, front'; jalangurra 'long ago'; jalarni 'today, now'; jimurrawu 'for a long time'; yaburrug 'till the sunset, all day'; yunguyung 'yesterday'. The word gambarri is also used as a locational nominal 'front' with the locative suffix (§6.3.1). When it has a temporal reading, it always occurs without case suffixes as in (11-53), hence it can also be categorised as a time adverb.

(11-53) *When we started recording the language, MS asked TM as follows.*

nyararra=n-gu=la	marn-i	**gambarri**?
how=2MIN.SBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT	say-PAST	first

How did you speak to her first? [MS: CSfn080509]

(11-54)

gula=nda=yanu	nya-nya	**jalangurra**=ma
NEG=2AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ	perceive-PAST	long.ago=TOP

gardiya=ma
white.man.ABS=TOP
MS: "You've never seen white men before?" [DJ: 99_41.163]

11.3.2 Positional adverbs

Only one member yalaba 'nearby, close' can be sub-categorised as a positional adverb. This adverb expresses the spatial position of an entity or an event with respect to another (including the speaker). Therefore, it usually occurs with locative adjuncts (11-55) or comitative or locative additional arguments (11-56).

(11-55) ngu=rna jangilany gambarn-i **yalaba**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ firewood.ABS burn-PAST close

nyununginy-ja ngurra-ngga
2MIN.OBL2-LOC camp-LOC
I burnt firewood close to your house. [MS: CSfn101110]

(11-56) warlagu ngu=lanyanda baru garriny-ana yamaji-wunyja
dog.ABS REAL=3MIN.OBL stand STAY-PRES small-COMIT

yalaba
close
A dog is standing close to/ near the child. [MS: CSfn130509]

11.3.3 Iterative adverbs

Iterative adverbs express iteration or repetition of events. jumbaga[312] 'constantly, all the time' (11-57) and maya/mayalu 'more' (11-58) are found in this subcategory. In addition, derived iterative adverbs (e.g. murrgun-gurd consisting of the quantifier nominal plus the iterative suffix -gurd (§11.3.5.3)) also expresses iteration of the event (11-58).

(11-57)
1. ngu=rnalu wilinyi yan-an-i **jumbaga** gaja-ngga
REAL=1AUG.SBJ hunt GO-CONT-PAST constantly bush-LOC
CS#: We were hunting in the bush constantly.

2. gula=rnalu ngarrij garriny-an-i
NEG=1AUG.SBJ rest STAY-CONT-PAST
We didn't have a rest. [TM: CSfn241110]

(11-58) **maya** ngu=rna junba yunba-wu **murrgun-gurd**
more REAL=1MIN.SBJ corroboree.ABS sing-FUT three-TIMES
MS: More I'll sing the corroboree three times.
CS%: I'll sing the corroboree three more times. [TM: CSfn030910]

[312] The former could etymologically derive from jumba plus the locative allomorph -ga. However, the first element jumba never occurs without the last element -ga, so I analyse the segment -ga as part of the stem.

11.3.4 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs include yiburrg ‘in vain, unsuccessfully’ and majga ‘try’. The stem nyarrara ‘how’ from the interrogative functional class (§3.1.1.6; §5.2) is also an interrogative member of this adverb class because it never inflects for cases and modifies predicates. Unlike manner nominals (§6.3.3), they never take case suffixes. In addition, unlike adverbial coverbs, they can occur with virtually any semantically appropriate inflecting verb or complex verb.

(11-59) *MS asked a taxi driver to pick her up. However, he didn’t come for some reason.*

ngu=rna=la	gardiya-wu	**yiburrg**	marn-i
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT	white.man-DAT	in.vain	say-PAST

I talked to a white man in vain. [MS: CSfn270809]

(11-60)

majga	gang-ga	dimana
try	carry-IMP	horse.ABS

Try carrying a horse. [TM: CSfn191010]

11.3.5 Adverbial morphology

Although almost all adverbs are morphologically simple, some adverbs can take a few derivational suffixes.

11.3.5.1 ‘OTHER’ -gari/-gariny/wariny

There are three examples where this nominal derivational suffix can follow adverbs: the time adverbs yunguyung ‘yesterday’ and galu ‘still’, and the iterative adverb maya/mayalu ‘more’. The resultant forms are yunguyung-gariny ‘day before yesterday’ (11-61), galu-wariny ‘the next time’ and maya-gari or mayalu-wariny[313] ‘more again, furthermore’. Note that the choice of variant forms of the OTHER suffix for each stem is fixed.

[313] The form mayaluwariny can be analysed as maya plus the ONLY clitic =lu plus -wariny (e.g. 11-32). This peculiar sequence, i.e., the clitic followed by the suffix violates one of the criteria for clitics (§11.4.1). However, this thesis treats lu as being absorbed into the lexical stem maya taking the suffix -wariny. This means that the two stems maya and mayalu synchronically co-occur in this language.

(11-61) ngayu ngu=rna ward yan-i **yunguyung-gariny**
1MIN REAL=1MIN.SBJ return GO-PAST yesterday-OTHER
TT: I came back the day before yesterday. [MS: CSfn260798]

11.3.5.2 Translative -g

The translative suffix can also attach to adverbs although it only occurs with the positional adverb yalaba 'close' and the time adverb jimurrawu 'for a long time'.[314] The translative suffix usually attaches to adjectives and derives translative coverbs expressing change of state of an entity (§9.2.3.2; 10.3.5). When this suffix occurs with those adverbs, it seems to express the result or termination of an action. Where yalaba is followed by this suffix, this adverb co-occurs with the verbs yan- 'go' and gang- 'carry'. However, there seems to be little semantic difference between yalaba-g (11-62) and yalaba without this suffix (11-63).

(11-62) yan-da **yalaba-g**
go-IMP close-TRNSL
MS: Come here close up. [TM: CSfn160609]

(11-63) 1. wagurra=liwa yigirli yan-gu
NEG=1AUG.INC.SBJ far go-FUT
We won't go far away.

2. nyila **yalaba** gurla-nirra yan-gu
DIST1 close south-D.ALL go-FUT
[We] will go south, there close. [TM: CSfn190810]

Where this suffix attaches to the time adverb jimurrawu 'for a long time', the semantic difference between jimurrawu and jimurrawu-g is also negligible.

(11-64) ngu=rna yan-an-i **jimurrawu-g **
REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-CONT-PAST long.time-TRNSL
MS: I kept travelling for a long time. [DJ: 99_40_3.145]

[314] Alternatively this suffix can be analysed as a distinct suffix but not as the translative suffix. In Jaru, the suffix -g attaches to the similar adverbs and coverbs (Tsunoda, 1981: 243). However, Tsunoda (ibid) distinguishes the suffix following adverbs from the translative suffix and glosses the former suffix as 'toward'. He also mentions that these two suffixes are possibly related.

(11-65) garla yan-i **jimurrawu** *na* \
west go-PAST long.time NOW
CS#: We moved to the west for good. [TM: 11_1008_1.070]

11.3.5.3 Iterative -gurd/wurd

The iterative suffix -gurd (after consonants) and -wurd (after vowel) glossed as 'TIMES' attaches to quantifier nominals (i.e., yangi 'one', nguyurdu 'many' and nyayang 'how many' etc.) and derives iterative adverbs, i.e., yangi-wurd 'once', nguyurdu-wurd 'many times' and nyayang-gurd 'how many times'.

(11-66) **yangi-wurd** yirra
one-TIMES put.IMP
TT: Put [sugar only] once. [MS: 76_14_1_TM(2).006''']

(11-67) **nyayang-gurd** ngu=n dirrib garri-nya
how.many-TIMES REAL=2MIN.SBJ camp.out STAY-PAST

yangi-ngga ngurra-ngga
one-LOC camp-LOC
How many times did you stay in one camp? [TM: CSfn181011]

11.4 Clitics

Apart from pronominal clitics, Wanyjirra has six clitics which mark discourse or modal information. Such clitics include: =lu 'ONLY' (§11.4.1); =ma 'topic' (§11.4.2); =rra 'again' (§11.4.3); =wali 'well' (§11.4.4); =la 'focus/sequential' (§11.4.5) and the ignorative clitic =wayi/warri (§5.2). The Kriol particle *na/nao* 'NOW' which is frequently inserted in Wanyjirra sentences has functions similar to =la so it is also treated in this section (§11.4.6).

Clitics phonologically attach to a word and are part of a phonological word in terms of stress placement. Generally clitics are distinguished from (inflectional and derivational) affixes based on combinations of the following criteria:

1. Clitics can attach to a wider range of parts of speech whereas affixes usually select certain word classes;

2. Clitics are less likely to have morphophonemic changes depending on the preceding host whereas affixes are more likely to undergo morphophonemic changes in certain environment after hosts;
3. Clitics occur outside of derivation and inflection.

However, Wanyjirra clitics are not clearly separate from affixes. Some clitics show properties more similar to affixes. Table 11.2 summaries properties of each clitic based on the above criteria. 'YES' indicates that a bound morpheme is more likely to be a clitic.

Table 11.2: Properties of Wanyjirra clitics

	(i) Various hosts	(ii) Without morphophonemic change	(iii) Outside of affixes
ONLY =lu	YES	NO	YES
TOPIC =ma	YES	YES	YES
AGAIN =rra	YES?	YES	YES
WELL =wali	YES?	YES?	YES
FOCUS/SEQUENTIAL =la	YES	NO	YES
IGNORATIVE =wayi/warri	NO	NO	YES

11.4.1 ONLY =lu[315]

The ONLY clitic has the form =lu which directly follows a stem ending with a vowel as seen in the first Kriol word in (11-68). When a stem ends with a consonant, this clitic requires the epenthetic syllable -ba, i.e., -ba=lu in the last word.

(11-68) *ali-bala*=**lu** mangarri ngarn-an-i gabud-**ba**=**lu**
early-NMNR=ONLY veg.food.ABS ingest-CONT-PAST tomorrow-EP=ONLY
CS#: Early in the morning, [we] ate food. [TM: 10_0826_5.027]

The ONLY clitic can be attached to nominals, coverbs and adverbs and, although it is uncommon, inflecting verbs. The scope of this clitic is limited to the word it attaches to. Although I call this clitic an 'only' clitic following McConvell (1983), it shows a range of meanings in different contexts depending on the word classes to which it

[315] This form is also found in Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 210) with attachment of -ba for consonant-final stems. On the other hand, McConvell (1983: 30) briefly notes that Wanyjirra has -rlu with a retroflex lateral corresponding to the Gurindji (and Bilinarra) morpheme -rni (see below).

attaches; (i) 'only'; (ii) 'exactly'; (iii) 'in fact'; (iv) 'even'; (v) 'intensive'. Many of these meanings overlap with those of =rni 'ONLY' in Gurindji (McConvell, 1983) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014). McConvell (ibid: 9), followed by Meakins & Nordlinger (ibid: 381-390), terms it as an 'expectation-modifier' used by the speaker to highlight a deviation from the presupposed expectation which the speaker thinks the hearer has regarding a sequence of events. Like in these languages, all meanings (i) to (v) found in the Wanyjirra clitic =lu are related in this respect.[316] However, it is sometimes difficult to analyse the use of =lu based on examples in the corpus because its meanings are often not clearly reflected in the translations given.

[i] 'only'

Typical examples for the interpretation 'only' or 'just' contain nominals as hosts of this clitic. In (11-69), two nominal words (yangi 'one' and ngayu '1SG') have =lu attached expressing that only one person, only the speaker 'I' was working but not any other people.

(11-69)	ngayu-wariny \	yangi=**lu**	*like*	ngayu=**lu**
	1MIN-ONESELF.ABS	one.ABS=ONLY	like	1MIN=ONLY

ngu=rna	warug	marn-an-i \
REAL=1MIN.SBJ	work	SAY-CONT-PAST

TT: I worked by myself.
CS#: By myself, only the one, like, only I was working.
[TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).014]

Similarly, they attach to nouns and demonstratives for the sense 'only' or 'just'. In (11-70), this clitic applies to the presupposed expectation meaning that one white man and two Aboriginal men would have communicated to each other just by hand-gestures but not orally because they do not understand each other's languages (English and Wanyjirra). Note that in this example, the clitic attaches to each element within an NP.

(11-70)	ngu=lu=nyunu,..	nyawa=**lu**	marla=**lu**	marn-an-i \
	REAL=3AUG.SBJ=RR	PROX1=ONLY	hand.ABS=ONLY	say-CONT-PAST

They were talking to each other just by hands. [MS: 97_31_2.059]

[316] Probably the Jaru clitic =lu seems to have similar functions as the Wanyjirra clitic =lu and the Gurindji and Bilinarra =rni, although detailed description is not available in Tsunoda (1981: 210).

Where this clitic attaches to the oblique pronoun, with the genitive meaning especially, it can be interpreted as 'own' as in Sentence 2 of (11-71).

(11-71)

1. gula=rna=nggu wanyji=la yung-gu mangarri=ma
   NEG=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ which.ABS=FOC give-FUT veg.food.ABS=TOP
   CS#: I cannot give you anything, any food.
   TT: I can never give you food.

2. yan-da gurla-rra dan.gu-wurra \...(1.1) nyunungu-wu**=lu**
   go-IMP south-DIRECT food-PURP 2MIN.OBL1-DAT=ONLY

   mangarri-wu \
   veg.food-DAT
   CS: Go south for food, for your own food. (I have my own.)
   TT: Go south for eating your food. [TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).071-072]
   NOTE: dan.gu is used as a noun 'tucker/food' not as a coverb 'satiated', which is more common in Wanyjirra.

[ii] 'exactly', 'right (on)'

The second sense 'exactly' is mainly found in spatial, temporal and manner expressions, typically specified by locative- or elative-marked nouns, proximal/distal demonstratives and the adverbial demonstrative guya. In this use, the clitic narrows down the presupposition that the event is located in a number of possible locations or times, or is taken place in a number of possible manners. In the following examples, the clitic attaches to a locative-marked demonstrative (11-72); an elative-marked demonstrative with a temporal meaning (11-73); an adverbial demonstrative (11-74); a time adverb (11-75).

(11-72) murla-ngga=**lu** garriny-ang-gu=liwa \
PROX1-LOC=ONLY stay-CONT-FUT=1AUG.INC.SBJ
"Let's stay right here." [DJ: 99_34_1.574]

(11-73)

1. yala-nginyi=**lu,..** gujarra \ *ai* *bin* *havem* \
   DIST2-EL=ONLY two.ABS 1SG PAST have
   CS#: Right after that, two [babies] I had.
   TT: After that, I had two babies.

2. yala-nginyi=**lu,..** gayi-nirra ngu=rna yan-i,…(1.4) Limbunya \
   DIST2-EL=ONLY north-D.ALL REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-PAST PLACE.NAME
   CS#: Right after that, I went north [to] Limbunya Station.

TT: After that, I went north [to] Limbunya Station.
[TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).020-022]

(11-74) gaji-gajirri /...(1.0) guya=**lu** ngu=ngandiba-gu=lu
RDP-old.woman.ABS thus=ONLY REAL=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ

marn-an-i *yuno* \ ngandibanguny *yuno*\ manga-manga-wu XX
say-CONT-PAST you.know 1AUG.OBL2 you.know RDP-girl-DAT ?
CS#: Old women were talking to us exactly like that, you know, to us, to all little girls. [TM: 10_0820_6.015]

(11-75) ngu=rnalu marn-an-i jaru yaburrug-ba=**lu**
REAL=1AUG.SBJ say-CONT-PAST language.ABS till.sunset-EP=ONLY
We were talking the language exactly till the sunset. [MS: CSfn201011]

[iii] 'even'

This sense 'even' is used to highlight extension of presupposed expectations, which differs from the sense 'only' emphasising restriction of expectations. An example is found with a manner nominal (11-76). In addition, the iterative adverb mayalu in (11-77) which etymologically contains the ONLY clitic =lu also contains this meaning 'even more'.[317] In these examples, the clitic indicates that the number of participants of the event and the iteration of the event exceed the presupposed expectations.

(11-76)

1. gayi-ni-mbala yala-ngga *little bit* *warug* ngu=rna marn-i
north-D.LOC1-D.PERL DIST2-LOC little bit work REAL=1MIN.SBJ SAY-PAST
TT: In the north, I worked a little bit.
CS%: In the north there, I worked a little bit.
NOTE: I added the word yala-ngga to the original text after replaying.

2. ngu=rnalu garri-nya,.. *warug* \...(1.6) julu=**lu** \
REAL=1AUG.SBJ STAY-PAST work jointly.ABS=ONLY
TT: We, some girls worked.
MS: [CS: Even] [w]e bin work together. [TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).022-23]

(11-77) **mayalu** ngu=li barli nyang-gu luma \
more REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ find PERCEIVE-FUT blue.tongue.lizard.sp.ABS
MS: "You and me will find even more, a blue tongue lizard." [DJ: 99_40_3.049]

[iv] 'still'

The sense 'still' is found especially when the ONLY clitic attaches to coverbs and

[317] See also § 11.3.5.1.

(predicative) adjectives. It indicates that duration of an event or state exceeds the expected end point to a certain period of time. Like the sense 'even', this differs from the two senses 'only, just' and 'exactly' in that the clitic is used to scale down or limit the presupposed expectations.

(11-78)

1. gula yan-gu minyarn
   NEG go-FUT nothing
   He/she cannot go, no.

2. ngu magin-ba=**lu** garriny-ana
   REAL sleep-EP=ONLY STAY-PRES
   He/she is still sleeping. [TM: CSfn070710]

(11-79)

1. ngu=rna luwarn-i
   REAL=1MIN.SBJ strike-PAST
   CS#: I struck it (a goanna).

2. ngu nyungung marn-an-i
   REAL move SAY-CONT-PAST
   It was moving.

3. ngu wanyji=**lu**
   REAL alive=ONLY
   It was still alive. [TM: CSfn280709]

[v] 'really'

In some examples with coverbs and predicative adjectives, it may be best translated as 'really'. The clitic intensifies the meanings of coverbs and adjectives.

(11-80) yangi-nggu mawun-du jiya ngu lan-i
one-ERG man-ERG kangaroo.ABS REAL stab-PAST

gun.ga-g-ba=**lu**
dead-TRNSL-EP=ONLY
One man speared the kangaroo really dead. [MS: CSfn230609]

(11-81) judu=**lu** ngu=yi yan-ana
straight.ABS=ONLY REAL=1MIN.OBJ go-PRES
He is walking langa *mi* really straight.
CS@: He (i.e., the baby) is walking really straight to me. [TM: CSfn030810]

[vi] Idiomatic use

There are more examples of the ONLY clitic which do not clearly fit any of the above senses. Generally the clitic intensifies the meanings of words to which it attaches as in (11-82a and 11-83a). Compare these with the corresponding examples (11-82b and 11-83b) without =lu. These examples are idiomatic expressions.

(a) lurrij 'all, finish' vs. lurrij-ba=lu 'the whole lot'

(11-82) a. ngu=yanu warrard yirran-i lurrij-ba**=lu** burnu-ngga
REAL=3AUG.OBJ bask PUT-PAST all-EP=ONLY tree-LOC
MS: She *bin* dry whole lot on tree. [MS: CSfn260709]
CS: She dried them the whole lot on trees.

b. nga=liwa lurrij yan-gu
REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ all go-FUT
We will all go. [MS: TTfn090806]

(ii) gabud 'morning' vs. gabud-ba=lu 'early in the morning'

(11-83)
a. (re: 11-68) *ali-bala***=lu** mangarri ngarn-an-i
early-NMNR=ONLY veg.food.ABS ingest-CONT-PAST

gabud-ba**=lu**
tomorrow-EP=ONLY
CS#: Early in the morning, we ate food. [TM: 10_0826_5.027]

b. ngumbarna-nyan ngu=la yan-gu gabud
spouse-3KIN.POSS.ABS REAL=3MIN.DAT go-FUT morning
Her husband will come to her in the morning. [TM: CSfn230610]

However, some examples have no clear semantic contrast between simple forms and encliticised forms. For example, the adverb galu 'still, not yet' and the time adverb jimurrawu-g (with the translative suffix) 'for a long time' (11-84a and 11-85a) are also used with the clitic =lu (11-84b, Sentence 2 and 11-85b) for similar meanings. The meanings of the clitic become less significant in these examples.

(11-84)
a. **galu** guny bung-an-gu=li=la
still wait HIT-CONT-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ=3MIN.DAT
MS: Wait. [MS: 76_12_1_NP(1).081']
CS%: We will still wait for it (i.e., a goanna).

b. 1. gang-ana munda-ga=lu *yet* \
carry-PRES stomach-LOC=ONLY yet
She carries [a baby] right in her belly yet.

2. **galu=lu**
still=ONLY
Not yet. [11_1011_3.005-006]

(11-85)
a. ngu=rna garriny-ang-gu ngurra-ngga yangi-ngga **jimurrawu-g**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ stay-CONT-FUT camp-LOC one-LOC long.time-TRNSL
MS: I will stay for good in [one] camp. [MS: 76_12_1_NP(1).056'']

b. ngurra-nggawu *na* ngu=rna yan-i jimurrawu-g-ba**=lu** \
camp-ALL NOW REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-PAST long.time-TRNSL-EP=ONLY
CS#: I've gone to the camp permanently. [DJ: 99_40_3.200]

[vi] Fossilised forms

The interjection dardulu in (11-86) is commonly translated as 'true' by speakers. Although there is no word *dardu in the corpus, it could be made up on *dardu plus the emphatic clitic =lu and have been fossilised. This is also the case in mayalu (11-77).

(11-86) **dardulu** ngu ward yan-i
true REAL return GO-PAST
True, he returned. [TM: CSfn271011]

11.4.2 Topic =ma

The clitic =ma is used as a topic marker following vowels and consonants. The common hosts for =ma are nominals or NPs. However, it can also attach to coverbs and finite and non-finite forms of inflecting verbs.

This clitic is commonly found in Central, Eastern and Northern Ngumpin languages including Wanyjirra, Malngin, Gurindji, Mudburra and Bilinarra. On the other hand, it is not used in Western Ngumpin languages, Jaru and Walmajarri. In Wanyjirra, this

clitic is not used as systematically as in other languages, however. The frequency of occurrence of =ma differs among speakers. For example, TM uses =ma more frequently than MS, NP and DJ. In the texts of Appendix 4, TM uses =ma with 0.12% of all words in Wanyjirra sentences, which is close to the frequency 0.15% found in one Gurindji text.[318] On the other hand, MS, NP and DJ use it with 0.01%, 0.08% and 0.02% of words respectively. This difference is caused by differing degrees of the individual's multilingualism and their contact with neighbouring languages. TM has a stronger connection with Gurindji people in her family line.

McConvell (1996, 2005c) describes the Gurindji clitic as a topic marker. Meakins & Nordlinger (2014: 391) further analyse the same clitic as a 'prominent topic' marker in Bilinarra specifying given information which is highlighted in the on-going discourse, in contrast to 'non-prominent topic'.[319] Their analyses can be applied to the Wanyjirra clitic =ma as a marker of prominent topics at least in some points. However, in Wanyjirra, =ma is not systematically used so that it is difficult to generalise its functions. The clitic is not an obligatory element in any particular construction. Rather, it seems to be based on arbitrary decisions by the speaker and the existence of this clitic signals prominence to some extent. In Wanyjirra, =ma optionally specifies information which the speaker believes is important in the flow of the on-going discourse and that the addressee(s) know(s) what is being referred to. More specifically it marks: (i) setting a topic in the beginning of the discourse and (ii) shifting a topic in a sequence of the discourse.

Firstly, in the beginning of the discourse, =ma is used to set a topic. (11-87) is the beginning of a story about how people get honey. It starts with explanation about the appropriate tree where a beehive might be. (11-88) is also the beginning of the narrative. =ma marks two nominals separated by a pause highlighting the hill on which is the first scene of the mythological story is set and that TM and MS have discussed before the recording.

[318] Text 1 "Echidna and the Big shade" (McConvell, 2005d).
[319] In Choi (1999: 77), 'topic' is used to refer to what Meakins & Nordlinger call 'prominent topic' whereas 'tail' is used for 'non-prominent' topic. 'Tail' and 'non-prominent topic' is an old or given information which is not highlighted or which no particular attention is paid to (Choi, 1999).

(11-87) nyila=**ma** jiri
DIST1=TOP timber.ABS
CS#: That is the tree. [TM: 11_1027_2.001]

(11-88) nyila ngu=wula yan-i gan.gu-la bardaj \...(1.0)
DIST1 REAL=3UA.SBJ go-PAST up-LOC ascend

yala-ngga=**ma** \... bamarr-a=**ma** \...
DIST2-LOC=TOP stone-LOC=TOP
MS: Those two (i.e., Namija women) climbed up there… the hill.
[TM: 09_0513_3.001]

Secondly, in a sequence of the discourse the clitic marks a shift to the new topic. The most common example is =ma following yala-nginyi 'after that' and 'then' which occurs sentence-initially.

(11-89)
1. marla=lu ngu=lu=nyunu marn-an-i /
hand.ABS=ONLY REAL=3AUG.SBJ=RR say-CONT-PAST
Just using hands, they were talking to each other.

2. yala-nginyi=**ma** ngu=wula yan-i,.. gani,
DIST2-EL=TOP REAL=3UA.SBJ go-PAST down.country
From then, the two men went down [from the tree]. [MS: 97_31_2.060-061]

In addition, the clitic is used in contrastive topic constructions where two adjacent clauses contain 'active' topic participants which are contrasted with one another in the discourse (Lambrecht, 1994: 291). Information about mawundi 'white ochre', the place where it can be found in Sentence 3 of (11-90) is contrastive to information about the place where murdu 'red ochre' can be found in Sentence 2. Similarly, information about 'the Aboriginal name' in Sentence 2 of (11-91) is contrasted with 'the English name'.

(11-90)
1. wangany marn-i nga=liyarra=la murdu-wu=**ma**:::\..
search DO-PAST REAL=1UA.SBJ=3MIN.DAT red.ochre-DAT=TOP
TT: We looked for red ochre.

2. bamarr-a:\.. barli nya-nya \
stone-LOC find PERCEIVE-PAST
TT: [We] found [the red ochre] on a hill.

3. mawundi=**ma** garriny-ana bin.ga-ga \...(1.4) bin.ga-ga \
white.ochre.ABS=TOP be-PRES creek-LOC creek-LOC
CS#: There is white ochre in a creek.
TT: The white ochre is/exists in a creek. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.147-149]

(11-91) 1. *Wave Hill* nyila=**ma** gardiya-nginyi *Wave Hill* /
PLACE.NAME DIST1=TOP white.man-EL PLACE.NAME
Wave Hill, that's the English [name], Wave Hill.

2. ngumbid-nginyi=**ma** Jinbarrag \
Aboriginal.man-EL=TOP PLACE.NAME
The Aboriginal [name] is Jinbarrag. [TM: 09_0513_3.036-037]

Another example (11-92) shows that the clitic reactivates a topic that was previously referred to in a stretch of the story. In Sentence 1, the entity 'loincloths' is specified by the demonstrative and marked with =ma. In the following sentences (Sentence2-4) the referent 'loincloths' is not topicalised nor explicitly mentioned. 'They' can be the 'default' (non-prominent) topic. In Sentence 4, it is reactivated as a topic expressed by the demonstrative with =ma.[320]

(11-92)
1. ngu=wula=la wangany-wangany nyang-an-i
REAL=3UA.SBJ=3SG.DAT RDP-search PERCEIVE-CONT-PAST

yalu-wu=**ma** \
DIST2-DAT=TOP
MS: They were searching for that (i.e., loincloths).

2. minyarn, gula=wula nya-nya \
nothing NEG=3UA.SBJ perceive-PAST
MS: Nothing. They didn't see [their loincloths].

3. garla-rra=lu mayalu-wariny nyang-an-i
west-DIRECT=ONLY more-OTHER perceive-CONT-PAST

Natwut-jawu=*na,*
nutwood-ALL=NOW
MS: [They] were searching for [loincloths] more to the west toward the nutwood tree.

[320] In fact, the word for 'loincloth' is never specified overtly throughout this story and is only specified by demonstratives. This could be because the speaker expects that the interlocutor (MS) knows what is referred to.

4. <X ngu=wula X>…(1.0) barli nya-nya,.. nyila=**ma** \
REAL=3UA.SBJ find PERCEIVE-PAST DIST1=TOP
MS: They found those. [TM: 09_0513.010-013]

However, there are also cases which cannot be easily analysed. For example, the clitic can attach to more than one single constituent although in the above examples, it attaches to single units in simple clauses. In Sentence 2 of (11-93), all elements of the verbal clauses, except for the adverbial demonstrative guya, are followed by =ma. In this example, the clitic does not seem to mark a sentential topic. But at least information specified by all marked units is given information in the previous discourse.

(11-93)
1. ngu=lu gun.galgal *nao*,
REAL=3AUG.SBJ dead NOW
MS: They all passed away.

2. gajirri-lu=**ma** gambarri-ward-rdu=**ma** guya nyila=**ma**
old.woman-ERG=TOP front-PERS-ERG=TOP thus DIST1=TOP

junba=**ma** yunbarn-an-i=**ma**,
corroboree.ABS=TOP sing-CONT-PAST=TOP
MS: The first old women [who gave us the story] used to sing that corroboree like this. [TM: 09_0513_3.059-060]

In addition, not all sub-constituents of NPs are marked in some other examples. In Sentence 2 of (11-94), only the quantifier is marked with =ma but not the preceding demonstrative and the following noun waagwaag ‘crow’. The function of the clitic here is not understood well. But it seems to mark contrastive topic ‘one crow’ as opposed to ‘one galah’ in the preceding sentence.

(11-94)
1. yala-nginyi nyawa gaa-ni-wariny bardaj garriny-ana gilinygiliny
DIST2-EL PROX1 east-D.LOC1-OTHER ascend STAY-PRES galah.ABS
Then, further in the east, this [one], a galah is staying above.

2. **nyawa yangi=ma** **waagwaag** bardaj garriny-ana gan.gu-luba
PROX1 one.ABS=TOP crow.ABS ascend STAY-PRES up-D.LOC2
This one crow is staying above. [TM: CSfn290910]

11.4.3 'AGAIN' =rra

The clitic =rra is in very limited use and is only found with a few words. It encliticises to some adverbials such as the adverb maya, the adverbial demonstrative guya and the locative demonstrative murla-ngga, and imperative forms of the verbs. The best translation for such examples is 'again' expressing repetition or continuation of an event.

(11-95) guya=**rra** /...(0.8) guya=**rra** /... guya=**rra** \... maya=**rra** maya=**rra**
thus=AGAIN thus=AGAIN thus=AGAIN more-AGAIN more-AGAIN

murla-ngga=**rra** buwurr \... nagurr-a \...(1.3) nagurr-a \...(1.5) nagurr-a \
PROX1-LOC-AGAIN throw hole-LOC hole-LOC hole-LOC
TT: More and more, like this again and here again, [the husband] throw [the snake] into the hole. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).084]
NOTE: buwurr might not be Wanyjirra. Usually another coverb waj is used for the meaning 'throw'. I have not encountered this word except this example.

In (11-96), the clitic attaches to imperative verbs. However, the meaning is not clear in the given translation.

(11-96) guri nyang-ga**=rra**=lu
fat.ABS perceive-IMP=AGAIN?=AUG.SBJ
MS: *Youfalas* look at the fat. [MS: 76_12_1_NP(1).536'']

Tsunoda (1999: 107) provides MS's comment on (11-96), that is, MS implies nyang-ga=rra=lu and nyang-ga=lu, without =rra, are 'different' and she says the former means 'looking'. According to this comment, nyang-ga=rra=lu seems to have an aspectual meaning indicating that the event is on-going 'looking' or incomplete. In a dialect of Jaru spoken in Gordon Downs, south-east of Inverway, the clitic is also used with the imperative forms of the verbs in past irrealis mood and not in imperative mood. The following example is provided by Ken Hale in Tsunoda (1981: 209). In the main clause of (11-97), the irrealis verb is followed by -rra expressing repetition of 'hitting'.[321]

[321] Another similarity is found in Bilinarra imperfective inflectional suffix -rra which only follows the past tense suffix and indicates habitual events or on-going events in the past time (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014). Wanyjirra and Jaru examples of =rra are only found with the imperative/irrealis verb forms.

(11-97) nyangga=yi=n bung-ga nga=rna=nggu
JARU COND=1SG.OBJ=2SG.SBJ hit-IRR REAL=1SG.SBJ=2SG.OBJ

bung-ga=rra
hit-IRR=AGAIN
If you had hit me, I would have hit you, too. (ex. 448: gloss modified)

However, in Wanyjirra repetition and continuation of events are usually specified by the repetitive suffix on coverbs (§9.2.3.3) or the continuative suffix on inflecting verbs (§9.1.7.5). In the above examples, the coverb buwurr and the inflecting verb nyang- are not marked with the repetitive suffix and the continuative suffix respectively.

Alternatively =rra in (11-95) could be treated as the allomorph of the repetitive suffix -garra. Its allomorph -arra follows coverbs which end with liquid or /a/ (§9.2.3.3) and =rra could be derived from -arra through further lenition. In addition, =rra can be alternatively analysed as the thither suffix -rra (§9.1.9.2) in the case if this morpheme attaches to inflecting verbs as in (11-96). More examples are required in order to examine functions of the morpheme =rra. However, current speakers have stopped using this form in Wanyjirra.[322]

11.4.4 'WELL' =wali

This clitic attaches to nominals and the question particle walima (§11.1.3.3) and the interjection wali. This clitic can follow other clitics =lu (11-100) and =ma (11-101). The semantics of this clitic is unclear because they are not often obviously shown in consultants' translations. However, it seems to have similar meanings to the interjection wali including 'well', 'good' or 'proper'.

(11-98)
1. jimurrawu-g-ba=lu ngurra-wu *na* *taon*-dawu=**wali** \...(1.3)
long.time-TRNSL-EP=ONLY camp-DAT NOW town-ALL=well
MS: Permanently [I went] to the camp, to the proper town (not to the station).

2. ngu=rna yan-i
REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-PAST
MS: I went [there]. [DJ: 99_40_3.201-202]

[322] This clitic also relates to the plural suffix -rra which attaches to demonstratives in Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013: 37), Malngin (Ise, 1999: 29) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 173).

(11-99) walima=**wali** \
Q=well
NP: You all right?
TT: How is it? [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).191]

(11-100) wali=lu=**wali** \
alright=ONLY=well
MS: Alright?
TT: How is it? (i.e., are the goannas cooked?) [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).279]

(11-101) ngayu=ma=**wali** *name* / nyila=ma / ngu=yi=lu=la
1MIN=TOP=WELL name DIST1=TOP REAL=1MIN=3AUG.SBJ=OBL

yuwan-i
send-PAST
TT: They sent me [i.e. gave me] my name. [TM: TTfn110999]

11.4.5 Focus/sequential =la

The focus and sequential clitic =la is in very limited use in modern Wanyjirra. Its hosts are nominals (including nouns, adjectives, pronouns and demonstratives), coverbs and inflecting verbs. Like the ONLY clitic, the clitic form =la follows a vowel. For consonant-ending stems, the epenthetic syllable -ba is inserted between the stems and the clitic. The corresponding clitic forms, =warla after vowels and =barla after consonants, are found in Gurindji and Bilinarra. In Wanyjirra, =warla would have undergone elision of the first syllable, although the apico-alveolar lateral is used in Wanyjirra instead of the retroflex lateral.

Despite the clitic being lost, it has two main functions: (i) marking focus; (ii) marking a temporal sequence '(and) then' and 'now'. However, these functions are almost taken over by the Kriol particle *na/nao* (§11.4.6).

As a focus marker, the clitic mainly signals 'contrastive' focus in the sense of Choi (1999: 81). It is new and important information which is contrasted to some other 'presupposed alternatives' contextually perceived by a speaker and/or hearer(s) (Dik,

1981: 42; Drubig & Schaffar, 2001: 1079).[323] In (11-102), the referent of the demonstrative with =la ('a tree with hollows') is focal in contrast to 'any other trees with no hollows'.

(11-102)

1. *hollow wan* \
   hollow one
   [The tree] with hollows.

2. nyila=**la** ngu=rna=la *sugarbag*-gu=ma
   DIST1=FOC REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT sugarbag-DAT=TOP

3. <X guyany X>,... ngarlu-wu=ma nyang-ana
   this.kind.ABS honey-DAT=TOP perceive-PRES
   That one, that kind [of trees] I look at for honey. [TM: 11_1027_2.006-007]

Additional examples are found in question sentences. In polar questions,[324] the clitic attaches to lurrij 'all, finish' (11-103) and ngarrga 'big' (11-104) signalling that the speaker wants to confirm with the hearers whether speaker's expectation is correct.

(11-103)

1. ngu=yanu miyanggi man-i ngala-yi-nyan
   REAL=3AUG.OBJ ask get-PAST ♀Ch-KIN.ABS

   jalang-u-wu wilarr-uwu \
   winnow-NF-DAT seed.sp-DAT
   She asked her daughters to winnow seeds.

2. ngu=nda lurrij-ba**=la** jala-nya /
   REAL=2AUG.SBJ fall-EP=FOC winnow-PAST
   "Did you clean all of them (or not yet)?" [MS: CSfn080909]

(11-104) guri=ma ngarrga**=la** /
fat.ABS=TOP big.ABS=FOC
"[Is] the fat big?" [NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).116]

The clitic is also used in negative sentences. In this case, the clitic emphasises the

[323] In this sense, the contrastive focus marker =la is similar to the ONLY clitic =lu (§11.4.1) which modifies the hearer's presupposed expectation. However, the clitic =lu describes a deviation from the presupposition by restricting or expanding it with information including 'only', 'exactly', 'still' and so forth. On the other hand, the clitic =la represents one of the candidates as being focalised in contrast to other alternative expectations or in replacement of an alternative.

[324] Examples presented here are polar questions without the question particle walima or the irrealis auxiliary wayi but with rising intonation.

presupposed information which is negated by the negative particle. The negative particle has scope over the whole proposition containing focal elements. In (11-105), the presupposition ngarrga 'big' is focalised ('very big' in MS's translation) and the proposition is negated 'not very big'. Similarly in (11-106), the clitic highlights the presupposition '(buy) something/anything' by attaching to the indefinite pronoun nyamba.[325] Then the proposition is negated by the negative particle.

(11-105)

1. nga-nyja=lu jarrambayi=ma nguyuru-lu \
   ingest-IMP=AUG.SBJ goanna.ABS=TOP many-ERG
   "[You] mob, eat the goanna."

2. gula ngarrga**=la** \
   NEG big.ABS=FOC
   TT: Not [a] big [piece].
   MS: *i* [i.e., the goanna] is not very big. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).172-173]

(11-106)

1. ngandu-gu ngu barli nya-nya
   someone-ERG REAL find PERCEIVE-PAST
   Someone found it (i.e., my money).

2. ngu=yila jag wandi-nya nganinga birli
   REAL=1MIN.OBL fall FALL-PAST 1MIN.OBL1 money.ABS
   My money fell down from me.

3. gula=rna nyamba=**la** man-gu
   NEG=1MIN.SBJ something.ABS=FOC get-FUT
   MS: I can't buy anything. [TM: CSfn170909]

As a temporal sequential marker, the clitic attaches to coverbs, inflecting verbs or predicative nominals and signals that an event or a state is taking place following the previous event in a sequence of events '(and) then'. In (11-107), it describes the new event 'returning' sequential to the previous event 'killing a goanna'.

[325] Although all indefinite pronouns can take the clitic =la in negative sentences, there is no example where it attaches to interrogatives in WH questions and answers. On the other hand, Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014) and Gurindji (McConvell, 2005c) have such sentences as a typical example of attachment of the focus marker =warla. Therefore, it could also be possible that =la attaches to interrogatives in Wanyjirra. However, the content to be questioned in WH questions is purely new information which does not involve presupposed expectations and fills in the information gap between the speaker and the hearer(s) (i.e., information focus). These properties are attributed to 'completive' focus distinguished from contrastive focus in Choi (1999: 81). Wanyjirra may have such a distinction in terms of use of the clitic =la but I have only a limited number of examples of this clitic.

(11-107)

1.	jarrambayi	ngu=wula	bu-nya \
	goanna.ABS	REAL=3UA.SBJ	hit-PAST
	TT: They killed a goanna.		

2.	yan-ang-gu=li		ngurra-wurra	ward-ba=**la** \
	GO-CONT-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ		camp-PURP	return-EP=SEQ
	CS: Let's go back to the camp then.			
	TT: Let's go back to the camp. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).006-007]			

However, when the time sequential marker attaches to inflecting verbs, they are always non-finite forms as in (11-108 and 11-109) and no example of finite verbs taking =la is found.[326] In (11-108), the verb bayanu with the clitic =la is translated as 'keep cutting'. The prolongation of the vowel signals repetition or duration of the event 'cutting' whereas the clitic marks a sequence of the same event expressed in the previous sentences. In (11-109), the complex verb which contains the same verb stems also underscores that the event has really taken place (§10.4). The clitic =la also expresses the consequence of the previous event 'taking the reins'.

(11-108)

1.	ngarlu \...(1.0)	ngarlu	nga=li	barli	nyang-gu \
	honey.ABS	honey.ABS	REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ	find	PERCEIVE-FUT
	We will find honey.				

2.	nga=li	baya-rru \...(1.9)	wirlga-nggu \
	REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ	chop-FUT	axe-ERG
	We will cut [the beehive] with a stone axe.		

3.	wirlga-nggu \...(1.0)	nga=li	baya-rru \
	axe-ERG	REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ	chop-FUT
	We will cut [it] with a stone axe.		

4.	bayan-u=**la:::::**	guya \
	chop-NF=SEQ	thus
	[We will] keep cutting [the beehive] like this. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).009-012]	

[326] However, it might be possible since the Kriol/English-loan *na* can follow both finite verbs and non-finite verbs.

(11-109)

1. dimana,
   horse
   The horse,

2. ngu,...(3.8) man-i
   REAL get-PAST
   He took it (i.e., reins).

3. nyila=ma dimana=ma ngu=la,.. yan-u=**la** yan-an-i
   DIST1=TOP horse.ABS=TOP REAL=3MIN.DAT go-NF=SEQ go-CONT-PAST
   The horse was coming to him then.

4. wagurra ngu=lanyanda bilaga wandi-nya minyarn \...(1.1) yiburrg \
   NEG REAL=3MIN.OBL jump.on FALL-PAST nothing in.vain
   CS#: He didn't jump on him, tried in vain. [TM: 11_1018_2.015-018]

McConvell (2005c) and Meakins & Nordlinger (2014: 402) report that Gurindji and Bilinarra =warla/barla has another temporal sense 'now', signalling that an event or a state is taking place immediately. In Wanyjirra examples, =la is rarely used for this sense but a possible example is given in Sentence 2 of (11-110) implying a sequence coming after the previous events 'walking and arriving at a camp'. The Kriol particle *na/nao* is predominantly used for the sense 'now' (see below). Note that the demonstratives with =la in Sentence 1 are interpreted as focal but not as temporal.

(11-110)

1. *aa* nyawa**=la** nyawa**=la** ngu ngurra=ma \
   ah PROX1=FOC PROX1=FOC REAL camp.ABS=TOP
   "Ah, here, here is the camp."

2. murla-ngga**=la** garru-wu=liwa \
   PROX2-LOC=SEQ stay-FUT=1AUG.INC.SBJ
   "Let's stay here now." [DJ: 99_41.077-78]

11.4.6 'NOW' *na, nao*

All Wanyjirra speakers use the Kriol particle *na/nao*,[327] which is derived from English 'now', in their speech. In Wanyjirra, two forms *na* and *nao* are found. Like other

[327] The particle *na* in widespread use in North and North-Western Australia (Graber, 1987; Hudson, 1983). Borrowing and integration of this word into grammars of indigenous languages is also described in Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt, 2007: 375) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 403).

clitics, they never occur sentence-initially and follow a range of word class members without morpho-phonemic changes. However, they are phonologically more independent from the preceding words and can receive stress.

Like the clitic =la, *na/nao* also marks contrastive focus and temporal sequence in Wanyjirra. However, since current speakers have ceased to use the form =la or now produce it only occasionally, *na/nao* is more frequent in modern Wanyjirra. It is also difficult to elicit examples containing =la (and *na/nao*) out of context. However, in some examples, it is unclear whether *na/nao* can be replaced with =la. This means that *na/nao* has not completely taken over the roles of =la. For example, unlike the clitic =la (11-103 and 11-104 above), *na/nao* is not found in polar question sentences to highlight the information that the speaker is seeking. In addition, for the temporal sense 'now' *na/nao* is dominantly used rather than =la. Therefore, functions of *na/nao* are synchronically not exactly parallel to those of =la.

The following examples are *na* and *nao* used as a focus marker signalling prominent information expressed by a pronoun (11-111), an inflecting verb and noun (11-112), an adjective (11-113) and a time adverb (11-114).

(11-111) *In the story, a mother is teaching her girl to grind seeds. The girl wants to do so.*

ngama,	ngayu ***nao***,	ngu=rna	jama-wu	nyila	wilarr
M.VOC	1MIN NOW	REAL=1MIN.SBJ	grind-FUT	DIST1	seed.ABS

Mother, me, I want to grind the seeds. [TM: CSfn080909]

(11-112)

wagurra=rna	bura	nyang-ana	***na***	*najing* \...	minyarn	***nao*** /
NEG=1MIN.SBJ	listen	PERCEIVE-PRES	NOW	nothing	nothing	NOW

I don't remember anything, nothing. [DJ: 99_40_3.244]

(11-113)

1.

ngu	ganginy-garra	garriny-ana
REAL	not.recognise-REP	BE-PRES

I don't recognise it (i.e., the old house is not as same as I used to live).

2.

gula	yura	***na***
NEG	good	NOW

It wasn't good. [TM: CSfn271011]

(11-114) *TM was very interested in the Land-claim meeting. She was telling me that she was going to participate in the meeting.*

1. nyararra=wayi=lu marn-ang-gu
   how=IGNOR=3AUG.SBJ say-CONT-FUT
   I don't know how they would speak (CS: i.e., in the meeting).
   CS#: ALT: They will speak in some way.

2. gula=rna bina
   NEG=1MIN.SBJ know
   I don't know.

3. jalarni ***na*** ngu=rna=yanu bura nyang-an-gu
   today NOW REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ listen PERCEIVE-CONT-FUT
   CS#: It's today that I would be listening to them [at the meeting].
   [TM: CSfn200910]

In (11-115 and 11-116), *na/nao* is used as a temporal sequential marker. *nao* in (11-116) can alternatively be interpreted as a contrast focus marker highlighting the event 'leaving' in contrast to 'returning'.

(11-115) marndaj ***na*** yan-gu=liwa ***na***
OK NOW go-FUT=1AUG.INC.SBJ NOW
"OK then, let's go now." [TM: 10_0803_2.041]

(11-116)

1. *i bin talk langa mi*,
   3SG PAST talk LOC 1SG
   He talked to me,

2. *ah* ward yan-da ngu=rna=nggu wanyjan-ana ***nao***
   ah return GO-IMP REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ leave-PRES NOW
   "Ah, come back (i.e., don't run away), I will leave you now."
   CS: ALT: "Ah, come back, I will leave you." [DJ: 99_34.317]

Chapter 12
Simple sentences

12.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the structure of simple sentences. A simple sentence is made up of a single clause whereas a complex sentence is made up of two (or more) clauses which are in subordination and coordination (§13). Wanyjirra has three basic clause types in terms of their predicators: nominal (verbless) clauses (§12.3); copula clauses (§12.4); and verbal clauses (§12.5).

Generally, Wanyjirra sentences show some non-configurational properties including grammatically free word order, null anaphora and discontinuous NP constituents which other dependent-marking Australian languages also exhibit (e.g., Austin & Bresnan, 1996; Hale, 1983; Jelinek, 1984; Laughren, 2002; Legate, 2001; Simpson, 1991). Firstly, although Wanyjirra shows some preferences, word order is not determined by grammatical relations and is influenced by discourse features (§12.2) (see also Mushin (2006); Simpson & Mushin (2008), Austin (2001) particularly for Jiwarli and Simpson (2007) for Warlpiri).

Secondly, null anaphora is very common in Wanyjirra. Lexical NPs are freely omitted in a clause with cross-referencing pronominal clitics. This is generally found in sequences of the discourse where referents have been established previously or the speaker assumed that referents have been shared with interlocutors as common knowledge. The occurrence of overt argument NPs may indicate pragmatically-marked information determined by the surrounding discourse as described in Swartz (1988: 42) for Warlpiri and in Payne (1990: 24) more generally. Example (12-1) demonstrates that the participants are introduced by an overt NP as a new topic in Sentence 1, at the beginning of the story (Text 3 in Appendix 4). The same participants are only indexed by pronominal clitics in the following sentences. Then the new participant ‘white man’ is introduced by the overt NP in Sentence 5 and repeated in the main clause of

Sentence 6. Note that Sentence 6 is an example of coordinate clauses (§13.3) where null anaphora also occurs in the second clause.

(12-1)

1. **gujarra** **mawun** guya=wula.. yan-an-i \
   two.ABS man.ABS THUS=3UA.SBJ go-CONT-PAST
   Two men were walking.

2. ngu=**wula** wilinyi yan-an-i jiya-wu \
   REAL=3UA.SBJ hunt GO-CONT-PAST kangaroo-DAT
   They were going hunting for kangaroos.

3. ngu=**wula** garri-nya lulu *nao* gani bin.ga-ga \
   REAL=3UA.SBJ STAY-PAST sit NOW down creek-LOC
   Then they sat down at the creek.

.....

4. ngu=**wula**,.. barli yi-nya,... (1.4)
   REAL=3UA.SBJ find GIVE-PAST
   They found....

5. *wal*,...(0.8) **gariya**=lu \
   well whiteman.ABS=ONLY
   Well, [it was] a white man.

6. **gariya** ngu dimana-yaru yan-an-i ngu *raidim*
   whiteman.ABS REAL horse-PROP go-CONT-PAST REAL ride

   gang-an-i \.. dimana \.. gan.ga-yin \
   CARRY-CONT-PAST horse.ABS upcountry-D.ABL
   The white man was coming with the horse and he was riding on the horseback, from the upstream. [MS: 97_31.007-15]

In another example (12-2), Sentence 2, 4, 5 and 6 contain non-finite verbs or coverbs with no argument-encoding, neither overt NPs nor pronominal clitics. Only the direct object *dii* 'tea', which is co-referential to the given information yigi 'tea leaf' from Sentence 3, is overtly specified in Sentence 6. Subjects of those sentences are understood as the first person minimal inclusive 'we' from the surrounding sentences (Sentence 1 and 3). In Sentence 4, the direct object ngarin 'meat' is also elided but the referent is understandable from the preceding sentences.

(12-2)

1. wuna *na* yan-ang-gu=li /... ngurra-nggawu \
   quick NOW go-CONT-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ camp-ALL
   MS: "Come one, let's go to the camp."

2. ngurra-nggawu *na* yan-u::: ngurra-nggawu \... (0.8) < X *homing* X>
   camp-ALL NOW go-NF camp-ALL homing
   TM: "To the camp, keep going to the camp, homing."

3. nga=li=yanu yu-nya, yung-an-gu yigi *na* \
   REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ give-PAST give-CONT-FUT tea.leaf.ABS NOW
   CS#: We will give them tea leaves then.
   Note: yu-nya was presumably an error and was replaced with yung-an-gu.

4. ngarn-u=la:: marndaj \
   ingest-NF=SEQ OK
   MS: "Keep eating them, finish."

.....

5. magin:::: baru \
   sleep stand
   TM: "[We will] sleep and get up."

6. gambarn-u *dii* *na*\
   burn-NF tea.ABS NOW
   TM: "[And we will] boil tea then." [DJ: 99_40_3.057-065]

However, referents are always established at the beginning of stories or a set of utterances. Such occasions occur in cases when speakers and I have talked about what they can tell in the language before we started recording. They began stories without specifying the participants because they have already mentioned them before recording. In other cases, the speakers assume that participants, especially in traditional stories and in stories about their families, would be understood by hearers who are there at the time of recording and potential hearers who are their extended families.[328] In (12-3) extracted from Text 1 in Appendix 4, TM was telling the Dream Time story about two Namija women. At the beginning of the story, the demonstrative nyila is used to refer to them. But the identities of those referents have not been explicitly mentioned until Line 23 (Sentence 2 in this extraction).

[328] A similar issue about difficulties in reference tracking in Binij Gun-Wok narrative and conversation is discussed in Garde (2013: 135 onward). A more extreme case is also described in some Kayardild mythological narratives where the referent is never explicitly specified (Evans, 1995: 93-94).

(12-3)

1.	nyila	ngu=wula	yan-i	gan.gu-la	bardaj \...(1.0)
	DIST1	REAL=3UA.SBJ	GO-PAST	up-LOC	ascend

yala-ngga=ma \... bamarr-a=ma\...
DIST2-LOC=TOP stone-LOC=TOP
MS: Those two (Namija women) climbed up there… at the hill.
[TM: 09_0513_3.001]

…..

2.	ngu=wula=nyunu	marn-i	gabugu	*two*	Namija \..
	REAL=3UA.SBJ=RR	say-PAST	EZ.ABS	two	♀subsection.ABS

nyila=ma \
DIST1=TOP
CS#: They talked to each other, two Namija sisters, those people.
[TM: 09_0513_3.023]

Finally, discontinuous NP expressions are also found. I consider most such examples to be distinct NPs because they are separated by intonation breaks (§8.8). But there are also 'true' discontinuous NPs, where one sub-constituent is separated from other sub-constituents by other elements of the clause within the same intonation unit, and these bring specific pragmatic effects (§8.7). In (12-4), TM was talking about three brothers of white owners of Inverway Station after talking about another white man who was working at the Limbunya Station. In this sentence, there are three co-referential nominals, namely gardiya and two Kriol words *threebala* and *owner*[329]. They are all separated from each other by other words but the last one also constitutes an intonation unit by its own. Therefore it is treated as a distinct NP adding further information about the three whitemen whereas the former two nominals are considered as forming a discontinuous NP constituent. The number of the white owners 'three' is highlighted as contrastive to 'one' white man at a different cattle station, so that the word *threebala* is fronted in the sentence separated from the coreferential nominal gardiya.

[329] The attachment of the topic clitic =ma (§11.4.2) is not helpful in identifying members of NP in this example. The sub-constituent *threebala* does not take this clitic whereas other two sub-constituents do. This might be also because Kriol words do not obligatorily take Wanyjirra suffixes and clitics.

(12-4) ***threebala*** ngu=rnalu **gardiya=ma** garran-i \
three.ones.ABS REAL=1AUG.SBJ white.man.ABS=TOP keep-PAST

***owner*=ma** \ yala-ngga=ma \
owner.ABS=TOP DIST2-LOC=TOP
TT: We kept/had three white owners there [at Inverway Station].
[TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).027]

12.1 Grammatical relations

The following grammatical relations can be identified in Wanyjirra:

a. Core arguments
(i) Subject (S/A)
(ii) Direct object (DO)
(iii) Secondary object (O2)
(iv) Indirect object (IO)
b. Oblique arguments (OBL)
c. Object predicative complements (OCOMP)

Basically, core and oblique arguments are elements of a clause which are closely related to their predicates and for which a semantic role is assigned by the predicates. On the other hand, adjuncts are independent from the inherent semantic nature of the predicate and can be added to clauses to provide extra information where semantically appropriate. Like arguments, object complements are also dependent elements and are selected by predicates. But unlike core and oblique arguments, they are not arguments but predicates of one of the arguments.

Classification of grammatical relations, however, is not straightforward since there is not always conclusive and satisfactory grammatical evidence. For instance, like many other Australian languages (cf. Nordlinger, 2014: 230), Wanyjirra has no syntactically-determined rigid word order and no evidence for VP constituents which make a distinction between subjects and objects with structural hierarchies. Lexical arguments can be freely omitted given the use of cross-referencing pronominal clitics. Wanyjirra has no voice alternation (including passive, anti-passive or applicative constructions). In addition, finite subordinate clauses and purposive non-finite subordinate clauses do not provide a clue to determine grammatical relations because there are no co-

reference constraints between an argument of the main clause and that of the subordinate clause (§13.1; §13.2.1.3).

Case-marking and cross-referencing can be useful in determining grammatical functions to some extent. Since Wanyjirra is morphologically a 'split' ergative language which shows an absolutive-ergative system in NP case-marking and the equivalent of nominative-accusative system in bound pronominal marking, 'subjects' and 'objects' can be identified by a combination of these marking systems. That is, ergative-marked NPs which are cross-referenced with the subject pronominal clitic are identified as subjects of transitive verbs whereas absolutive-marked NPs which are cross-referenced with the subject clitic or the object clitic are treated respectively as subjects of intransitive verbs or (direct) objects of transitive verbs. However, the lack of a one-to-one correspondence relationship between case-marking and bound pronominal-marking also makes it hard to identify non-subject and non-direct object grammatical functions. For instance, certain NPs marked with locative, comitative, allative or elative case suffixes are also cross-referenced by oblique or object/dative clitics. In addition, such cross-referencing is also influenced by animacy, person and number of referents and affectedness (§7.2.5; §8.5.3).

The co-reference constraints of other constructions (i.e., secondary predications, reflexive/reciprocal constructions and non-finite subordinate clauses) are also useful in defining core and oblique arguments.

To summarise, Wanyjirra grammatical relations are characterised by seven morpho-syntactic features, i.e., (i) case-marking; (ii) possibilities and forms of cross-referencing; (iii) occurrence of reflexive/reciprocal (RR) clitics; (iv) coreferential relations to RR clitics; (v) to secondary predications; (vi) to non-finite subordinate clauses which express temporally anterior events; (vii) to non-finite subordinate clauses which express co-temporal events. Table 12.1 summarises those parameters of each grammatical category.[330]

[330] A different approach inductively defines a grammatical relation as a set of arguments behaving in the same way in a specific construction or grammatical rule depending on argument roles and referential properties (Bickel, 2011). In this approach, an argument can bear many grammatical relations in different syntactic contexts where it appears. Although this approach would be useful to describe

Table 12.1: Summary of morpho-syntactic properties of grammatical relations

	Case-marking	Cross-referencing	Use of RR clitics	Coreferential to RR clitics	Secondary predication	Non-finite subordinate clauses (anterior event)	Non-finite subordinate clauses (co-temporal event)
A	ERG	SBJ	-	+	+	+	+
S	ABS	SBJ	-	+	+	+	+
DO	ABS	OBJ	+	-	+	-	+
O2	ABS	-	-	-	-	-	-
IO	DAT	OBJ*/ OBL	+	-	-	-	+
	COMIT/ LOC	OBJ*/ OBL	+	-	-	-	-
	ALL/ PURP**	-	-	-	-	-	-
OBL	DAT	OBJ*/ OBL***	+	-	-	-	+****
	COMIT/ LOC	OBL***	+	-	-	-	-
	EL	OBL***	+	-	-	-	-
	ALL	OBJ*/ OBL***	+	-	-	-	-
OCOMP	ABS	-	-	-	-	-	-
ADJ	DAT LOC PURP ALL EL ABL ORIG PROP ERG	-	-	-	-	-	-

* The third person minimal category has a distinct dative form.
** Allative or purposive IO is very rare and no examples of it being cross-referenced are found in the corpus.
*** Cross-referencing is optional irrespective of animacy of referents.
**** This construction is rare.

12.1.1 Core arguments

Core arguments are inherent participants which are required to express the event expressed by the predicates (Kroeger, 2005: 58). They are classified into four categories: (i) subject; (ii) direct object; (iii) secondary object and (iv) indirect object. With the exception of secondary objects, core arguments are semantically unrestricted

Wanyjirra grammatical relations, this thesis attempts to frame grammatical relations on the basis of traditional ways and categorisation, i.e., 'subject', 'direct object' and 'indirect object' etc.

and a range of semantic roles are assigned by the predicates with which they co-occur.

Subjects are characterised as follows.

(a) They can be cross-referenced with the subject pronominal clitic and, if they overtly occur as a NP, are marked with the ergative case suffix or appear to be bare stems (in the absolutive);
(b) They can be antecedents of reflexive/reciprocal pronominal clitics (§7.2.7);
(c) They can be construed with depictive secondary predications (§12.6.1) and co-temporal non-finite subordinate clauses agreeing in cases;
(d) They can also be the pivot in non-finite subordinate clauses marked with the elative-subordinator which express an event that is/has occurred temporally prior to an event described in their main clauses (§13.2.1.1).

(12-5) **wilinyi-nginyi-lu** ngu=nbula gang-an-gu ward
hunt-EL-ERG REAL=2UA.SBJ CARRY-CONT-FUT return

ngurra-ngga
camp-LOC
After hunting, you will take them back to the camp. [TM: CSfn100909]

(12-6) gula=rna baru yan-gu **jaban-nginyi**
NEG=1MIN.SBJ stand GO-FUT awake.all.night-EL
I cannot wake up after/because of being awake all the night.
[TM: CSfn240810]

Direct objects (DO) are identified as follows.

(a) They are in the absolutive when they occur as an overt NP and can be cross-referenced with the object pronominal clitic;
(b) The object pronominal clitics which cross-reference DOs must be replaced with RR clitics in reflexive and reciprocal constructions in transitive and transitive complement clauses;
(c) They can be construed with depictive secondary predications and object complements agreeing in cases with their controlling arguments;
(d) They are negatively distinguished from absolutive-marked subjects in that direct objects cannot control reference to reflexive/reciprocal pronominal clitics and cannot control elative-marked non-finite subordinate clauses.

Secondary objects are only found in ditransitive clauses; bina yung-/bina man- 'teach' for the role of 'a thing to be taught'; biga bung- 'inform' for 'a thing to be told'; yunbarn- 'sing' for 'a song to be sung' (§12.5.9). Thus, they are semantically restricted unlike other core arguments. Like direct objects, secondary objects appear in the absolutive. However, secondary objects differ from direct objects in that the former are never cross-referenced with pronominal clitics and never control object complements and secondary predications.

Indirect objects are marked with the dative case and in some instances, alternatively with the comitative or locative case. A few predicates exceptionally take allative or purposive-marked indirect objects as well as dative indirect objects. If referents are human, oblique forms of free pronouns (oblique 1 and 2) can be used instead of nouns and adjectives in the dative case. Oblique free pronouns differ from core forms which make reference to subject and direct object humans. Oblique 2 forms plus the locative suffix is also used as equivalent to comitative or locative-marked indirect object NPs.

Dative, comitative and locative indirect objects are cross-referenced with pronominal clitics. Generally, if the coreferential NP is in the dative case, the object/dative clitic is used[331] whereas if it is in the comitative or locative case, the oblique clitic is used. However, there are some cross-cutting correspondences between dative NPs and oblique clitics, and comitative and locative NPs and object/dative clitics (§7.2.3). The first case is particularly found in clauses which have two dative NPs: one is an indirect object and another is an oblique argument. In (12-7), the dative indirect object assigned for the goal (addressee) role is cross-referenced with the oblique clitic but not the dative oblique assigned for the topic role. Note that the NP marked with the proprietive and ergative case suffixes is an adjunct expressing a means of instruction.

[331] Only third person minimal has a distinct dative clitic whereas other person-number categories have single object clitics.

(12-7) ngu=rna=**yanunggula** biyarrb marn-an-i **gardiya-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBL tell.story SAY-CONT-PAST white.man-DAT

nganingu-wu ngurra-wu jaru-yarung-gulu
1MIN.OBL1-DAT camp-DAT language-PROP-ERG
CS#: I was telling a story about my country to white men in the language.
[TM: CSfn111110]

Since indirect objects share patterns of case marking and/or pronominal clitic marking with dative, comitative and locative oblique arguments and adjuncts, it is hard to clearly make a distinction between them. One criterion is that indirect objects are obligatorily cross-referenced whether or not the referent is animate or inanimate. The exception is when animate direct objects outrank indirect objects for cross-referencing in trivalent clauses depending on person and number hierarchies (§7.3.9).

12.1.2 Oblique arguments

The category of oblique argument corresponds to 'complement' as previously used in Senge (2008).[332] However, in this thesis, I attribute NPs which can be cross-referenced but are not core elements of the predicates to oblique arguments. Major semantic roles assigned for oblique arguments are provided in (12-8).

(12-8)
a. Dative: goal; topic or content of speech or mental and emotional activities
b. Comitative: location, source
c. Locative: location
d. Elative: starting point
e. Allative: destination

Unlike adjuncts, but like core arguments, oblique arguments are part of the lexical entries of predicates. For example, verbs of motion (e.g., yan- 'go') can take oblique arguments in the dative case (animate goal of the movement), in the allative case (destination of the movement) or in the elative case (a point of departure of the movement). Another dative oblique can occur with verbs of 'talking' (e.g. marn- 'say') for content (or topic) of a talk. Locative and comitative obliques mainly express the

[332] I leave the term 'complement' for other grammatical units; (i) 'complement clause' (§13.1.1.4; §13.2.2) and (ii) 'object predicative complement' (see below). The change made in this thesis here is the status of ergative-marked or proprietive-marked NPs as instrument or means. I treat them as adjuncts because they potentially occur in a range of transitive clauses but not only clauses containing verbs of impact. One example is given in (12-7) above.

goal location of positioning (e.g. yirran- 'put'). However, grammatical and semantic relationships between oblique arguments and their predicates are less significant than those between predicates and core arguments. They are not needed to express a 'complete thought' of clauses (Kroeger, 2005:58).[333]

Oblique arguments are optionally cross-referenced with the object/dative or oblique clitics and can be linked to reflexive/reciprocal clitics. Their membership is restricted to dative, locative, comitative, allative and elative NPs. Dative obliques are optionally cross-referenced irrespective of the animacy of their referents whereas other obliques are optionally cross-referenced only when their referents are animate (§7.2.5). This differs from indirect objects in that both animate and inanimate indirect objects are normally cross-referenced. For instance, an animate dative oblique for content of the mental process ngayirra garriny- 'worry' is cross-referenced (12-9a) and inanimate (12-9b) is not whereas an animate oblique for content of bina garriny- 'know' is not cross-referenced (12-10a) and inanimate is cross-referenced (12-10b). Indirect objects (12-11a, b) are cross-referenced irrespective of animacy.

(12-9)

a. ngu=rna=**la** ngayirra garriny-ana **nganingu-wu** **jaliji-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT worry STAY-PRES 1MIN.OBL1-DAT friend-DAT
I worry about my friend. [MS: CSfn010909]

b. ngayirra ngu=n garriny-ana **ngurra-wu**
worry REAL=2MIN.SBJ STAY-PRES camp-DAT
You worry about [your] country. [MS: CSfn010909]

(12-10)

a. ngu=rna bina garri-nya **dimana-waji-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ know STAY-PAST horse-AGENT-DAT

guya=rna garri-nya *youngfala*
SUB=1MIN.SBJ be-PAST young.one
I knew about horsemen/a horse man when I was young. [MS: CSfn020909]

[333] However, strictly speaking, no argument (not even a subject argument) is obligatorily required in Wanyjirra clauses because of the existence of avalent (impersonal) clauses (§12.5.1). Therefore, optionality itself is not indicative of the status of obliques or adjuncts but it is one of the properties which distinguish them from core arguments generally.

b. 1. nyamba nyawa
what.ABS PROX1
What's this?

wagurra ngu=rna=**la** bina **murlu-wu**
NEG REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT know PROX2-DAT
I don't know this. [MS: CSfn141010]

(12-11)

a. ngu=rna=**la** **ngama-yi-wu** wangany nyang-gu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT M-KIN-DAT search PERCEIVE-FUT
I will look around for the mother. [TM: CSfn101011]

b. *The helicopter was flying. MS said that they were searching for water places around the area.*

ngu=lu=**la** wangany nyang-ana **ngawa-wu**
REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3MIN.DAT search PERCEIVE-PRES water-DAT
They are looking around for water. [MS: CSfn130509]

Unlike dative obliques, obliques in the locative (12-12), the comitative (12-13), the elative (12-14) and the allative (12-15) are optionally cross-referenced when their referents are animate. For elative (12-14) and allative (12-15) obliques, it is less common to be cross-referenced even if referents are animate.

(12-12)

a. yalu-nggu mawun-du ngu=**yanunggula** **yamayama-la** yirran-ana
DIST2-ERG man-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBL children-LOC put-PRES

majardi
loincloth.ABS
That man is putting loincloths on kids. [MS: CSfn040809]

b. yirran-i ngu **gurrgu-ngga** nyila=ma ngarin=ma
put-PAST REAL hole-LOC DIST1=TOP meat.ABS=TOP
CS#: He put the meat in the hole. [TM: CSfn170910]

(12-13)

a. nyawa ngarin ngu=rna=**lanyanda** man-i **yalu-wunyja**
PROX1 meat.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.OBL get-PAST DIST2-COMIT

wanyja-wuja
woman-COMIT
I got this beef from that woman. [MS: CSfn130809]

b. **jaja-wunyja** ngu=rna man-i
MM-COMIT REAL=1MIN.SBJ get-PAST
I got it from [my] grandmother. [TM: CSfn051011]

(12-14)
a. gungurlu nyila ngu=**yila** yan-ana jirrji-nginyi
blood.ABS DIST1 REAL=1MIN.OBL go-PRES nose-EL

nganinginy-nginyi[334]
1MIN.OBL2-EL
The blood comes out of my nose. [MS: CSfn200709]

b. ngu=rna yan-ana ward **ngama-yi-wuny-nginyi** **ngurra-nginyi**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-PRES return M-KIN-ORIG-EL camp-EL
I am coming back from mother's place. [MS: CSfn140809]

(12-15)
a. nyila yabawurru ngu=**yi** yan-ana **nganinginy-jawu**
DIST1 small.ABS REAL=1MIN.OBJ GO-PRES 1MIN.OBL2-ALL
The child is walking toward me. [MS: CSfn030810]

b. malirri-la ngu=rna yan-i ward **nganinginy-jawu**
cold-LOC REAL=1SGMIN.SBJ GO-PAST return 1MIN.OBL2-ALL

ngurra-nggawu
camp-ALL
CS#: I returned to my country in winter. [TM: CSfn121011]

12.1.3 Object predicative complements

Object predicative complements obligatorily occur as nominal predicates of the verb marran- 'call DO OCOMP' and as that of causative constructions involved with the inflecting verbs man- 'get'. Causative meanings are often expressed in the complex verb constructions where translative coverbs combine with the inflecting verb man- 'get' and express a change of state of direct object referents (§10.3.5). However, unmarked adjectives can also function as object predicative complements. Those object complements are considered as agreeing in case with their controller, i.e., absolutive direct objects. They are never cross-referenced. Examples will be given in §12.5.7.

[334] This example contains a part-whole relation. The Whole NP is an oblique argument which is cross-referenced by the oblique pronominal clitic whereas the Part NP expressed by the overt elative NP is not (§8.5.2).

12.1.4 Adjuncts

Adjuncts are never cross-referenced by pronominal clitics. They are generally independent of the meaning of a predicate and are freely added to modify the whole events or an argument of the predicate. Types of these adjuncts modifying events are: (i) dative (temporal end point, purpose and beneficiary); (ii) locative (temporal and spatial location and means); (iii) elative (temporal sequence, cause and origin of process); (iv) ablative (temporal sequence, the starting point and origin of process); (v) proprietive (means or instrument); (vi) ergative (means or instrument). Examples have been provided in §4.4.2. Directional, locational, temporal and manner nominals which are not available for marking of a full range of case suffixes also function as adjuncts (§6.2; §6.3).

12.1.5 Additional arguments

In previous subsections, cross-referencing has been taken into account as an important property of arguments. Core arguments and oblique arguments can be indexed by pronominal clitics in clitic complexes although cross-referencing is also affected by the animacy, person and number of NPs and the affectedness of referents (§7.2.5; §7.3.9). Adjuncts, on the other hand, are not cross-referenced and are added to provide information to the whole event or an argument. However, some beneficiary, purpose and location NPs in the dative and locative cases, which usually function as adjuncts, are sometimes cross-referenced with object/dative and oblique clitics respectively. I categorise such NPs by a separate grammatical function 'additional argument', instead of 'adjunct' and consider them as designating non-inherent, additional participants of the events denoted by predicates rather than expressing circumstance. Previously these 'additional arguments' were analysed as adjuncts not as 'arguments' because they potentially occur with any type of predicates where semantically compatible (Senge, 2008). However, in this thesis, such dative, comitative and locative NPs are treated as a type of arguments additional or external to the argument structures of predicates bearing a distinct grammatical relation due to the fact that they are indexed by pronominal clitics. I will demonstrate that dative, comitative and locative NPs are not like general adjuncts but have morpho-syntactic properties of arguments, especially oblique arguments.

Warlpiri has similar dative additional arguments. In this language, such dative NPs are termed as 'adjunct datives' (Hale, 1982: 235-256). Simpson (1991) suggests the term 'external objects'[335] which designate participants external to the events but share some morpho-syntactic features with (indirect) objects and at least some instances are clearly selected by predicates. Simpson (1991: 379) describes such datives as follows:

> Almost any transitive or intransitive sentence in Warlpiri can contain a Dative-marked element, which acts semantically as an ethical Dative. It indicates that the action or state denoted by the verb has some relation to another participant external to it. This participant is affected, or is intended to be affected, by the event, or is affected by the event because something which he/she/it possesses (or which is part of them) is affected by that event. In other words, these Datives cover relations sometimes described as "intentional benefactive or adversative", "unintentional benefactive, adversative", or "possessor ascension".

Wanyjirra has comitative and locative NPs as well as dative NPs which can be characterised by similar properties as Warlpiri external objects.[336] In Wanyjirra, these additional arguments are often understood as beneficiary, purpose and location with minor variations. The first examples are dative additional arguments: beneficiary (12-16), adversative beneficiary (maleficiary) (12-17), and purpose (12-18). The relevant NPs are cross-referenced and function as additional arguments in (a) of each example whereas they are not cross-referenced and function as adjuncts in (b). Note that beneficiary and maleficiary (12-16 and 12-17) are alternatively translated as possessors. If they are cross-referened as in (12-16a and 12-17a), they are alternatively interpreted as possessors of the possessor dissension construction (§8.5.3). If not as in (12-16b and 12-17b), they are as possessors of the alienable possessive construction (§8.5.1).

[335] Andrews (2007a: 191) uses the distinct term 'supplementary datives'.

[336] Other languages also have similar dative (and locative) NPs. Although they admit that such NPs show some properties similar to core arguments, researchers treat them as adjuncts in Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014) and Wangkajunga (Jones, 2011) whereas they are treated as 'external arguments' in Nyangumarta (Sharp, 2004: 358-364), or at least indicated that they are not mere adjuncts in Martuthunira (Dench, 1995a: 225-226).

(12-16)

a. ngu=rna=**la** gambarn-i mangarri **ngabu-yu-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT burn-PAST veg.food.ABS F-KIN-DAT
MS: I cooked tucker for [my] father.
CS#: ALT: I cooked [my] father's tucker. [MS: CSfn180809]

b. ngu=rna gambarn-i mangarri **nyunungu-wu** **narrugu-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ burn-PAST veg.food.ABS 2MIN.OBL1-DAT namesake-DAT
MS: I cooked your namesake's tucker.
MS: ALT: I cooked tucker for your namesake. [MS: CSfn211009]

(12-17)

a. yalu-nggu warlagu-lu ngu=**yi** jiyarn-i mangarri
DIST2-ERG dog-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ steal-PAST veg.food.ABS

nganinga
1MIN.OBL1
CS#: That dog stole food on me.
CS#: ALT: That dog stole my food. [TM: CSfn150710]

b. ngu=rna jiyarn-ana yangi mirlimirli **nyununga**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ steal-PRES one.ABS paper.ABS 2MIN.OBL1
I am stealing your book. [MS: CSfn040609]

(12-18)

a. bayan-i wirlga-nggu ngu=**la** **ngarlu-wu**
chop-PAST axe-ERG REAL=3MIN.DAT honey-DAT
CS#: He was chopping it with an axe for a sugarbag. [TM: CSfn150509]

b. ngu=rna bayan-i **ngarlu-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ bite-PAST honey-DAT
I was cutting it for a sugarbag. [TM: CSfn150509]

The benefactive reading is found with animate referents and whether it is positively or negatively beneficiary is understood from the semantic nature of the predicates and/or the context. In (12-19B), the object clitic =yi encodes a negative beneficiary. However, it could alternatively be interpreted as a positive beneficiary if TM is making an ironical remark, that is 'young men were staying in front of her house for her to watch her house or herself' because one of those men who was actually drinking alcohol made a transparent lie to her in (12-19A).

(12-19) *TM was complaining to me about that some drunken young men were making noise in front of her house last night. This is an interaction made between one of the drunken men (A) and TM (B) in the next morning and reproduced by TM.*

A: ngu=rna ngawa ngarn-an-i
REAL=1MIN.SBJ water.ABS ingest-CONT-PAST
"I was drinking water."

B: marndaj, ngu=**yi**=nda ngurra-ngga gambarri-la
OK REAL=1MIN.OBJ=2AUG.SBJ camp-LOC front-LOC

garriny-an-i
stay-CONT-PAST
"OK, *youfalas* were staying in front of the camp for me." [TM: CSfn130810]

In (12-20), the object clitic encodes a participant who is positively affected by the event of the child sleeping.

(12-20)

1. wagurra=n yilying ma-lu
NEG=2MIN.SBJ make.noise SAY-FUT
Don't make a noise.

2. yamag ma-nyja
slowly say-IMP
Talk softly.

3. yambagina ngu=**yi** magin
child.ABS REAL=1MIN.OBJ sleep
CS#: The kid is sleeping for me (so that I can relax and sleep too).
CS#: ALT: My kid is sleeping. [TM: CSfn230710]

Inanimate dative additional arguments usually express a purpose and are then cross-referenced with the dative clitics (12-18a). This is exceptional among additional arguments which are otherwise cross-referenced only if referents are animates. This also differs from Warlpiri in that purpose NPs are rarely cross-referenced (Simpson, 1991).[337] However, as in Warlpiri, some Wanyjirra examples of cross-referenced purpose NPs are interpreted as 'potential possession of the goal of the purpose' (Simpson, 1991: 410) to another participant of events and beneficiary and maleficiary can be interpreted as possessors of entities denoted by one of the arguments. In (12-18)

[337] Meakins & Nordlinger (2014) also report that the Bilinarra purpose NPs cannot be cross-referenced, hence they are adjuncts.

above, ngarlu is the purpose, which the subject referent intends to obtain, whereas beneficiary and maleficiary in (12-16 and 12-17) show a possessive relation to referents of direct objects.

However, other examples of purpose NPs may not be the case of potential possession and are not easy to understand. The purpose is sometimes only indexed by the third person minimal dative clitic with no lexical NPs hence the meaning is only understood through context. For example in (12-21), the sentence has the clitic =la without any specification. TM was telling a story about growing up one of her granddaughters who lost her parents. The subject of the clause 'those two' refers to the granddaughter's uncle and aunt who could not take care of her and asked TM to do so. This pronominal clitic =la can be interpreted as a purpose, i.e., 'for adoption' or 'for taking care of the baby' or alternatively as a beneficiary, i.e., 'for (TM's) deceased daughter'.[338]

(12-21) ngu=yi=wula=**la** yi-nya nyila yambagina
REAL=1MIN.OBJ=3UA.SBJ=3MIN.DAT give-PAST DIST1 child.ABS
CS#: They two gave me that baby for a purpose (i.e., for adoption).
[TM: CSfn071011]

Another set of examples (12-22) contain the dative interrogative nyamba-wu questioning a purpose or reason (a and b), or a dative-marked non-finite verb and noun which express a reason (c). Unlike Warlpiri (Simpson, 1991), Wanyjirra allows the interrogated purposes, reasons and non-finite verbs to be optionally indexed by the dative clitic =la. Relations of potential possession cannot be found in these examples. (12-22a) has an alternative interpretation where the dative clitic =la would specify an animate goal oblique 'to him/her' instead of purpose or reason.

[338] The verb yung- 'give' usually takes an ergative subject, absolutive direct object and dative indirect object as described in §12.5.9.1. Therefore the pronominal clitic =la should be considered as the third person minimal dative form but not as a part of the first person minimal oblique circumfix form (i.e., =yi...la) although it is also rare that a pronominal clitic complex contains three pronominal clitics (§7.3.8).

(12-22)

a. *TM was asking for a woman who came from Kununurra north to Halls Creek.*

nyamba-wu=d-gu=**la**	yan-i	gurla-rra
what-DAT=2MIN.SBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT	go-PAST	south-DIRECT

TM: Why did you come?
CS: ALT: Why did you come south to him/her? [TM: CSfn131011]

b. *TM was asking me when we were drinking the morning tea.*

nyamba-wu=n-gu**=la**	jaagib	garriny-ana
what-DAT=2MIN.SBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT	yawn	STAY-PRES

CS#: Why are you yawning? [TM: CSfn111010]

c.

ngu=rna=**la**	marrunyu	garriny-ana	**ngarin-gu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT	happy	BE-PRES	meat-DAT

ngarn-u-wu
ingest-NF-DAT
CS#: I am happy to eat the meat.
CS#: ALT: I am happy because of eating the meat. [TM: CSfn050710]

Additional arguments can also be in the comitative or locative case. Unlike dative additional arguments, they are always animate, but similarly to them, comitative and locative additional arguments designate affected participants involved in a process or action (§4.4.2.4; §4.4.2.10). For example in (12-23a-d), the comitative and locative cases encode spatial relation between two participants and/or accompaniment of one participant.[339] Sometimes it is unclear in what way referents of location are 'affected' by events (e.g. 'standing', 'chopping', 'dawning' and 'sitting'), but these events are happening or have happened in presence of the referents. Note that the oblique pronoun and the locative NP ngurra-ngga 'at the camp' are two distinct constituents in (c).

(12-23)

a.

warlagu	ngu=**lanyanda**	baru	garriny-ana	**yamaji-wunyja**	yalaba
dog.ABS	REAL=3MIN.OBL	stand	STAY-PRES	small-COMIT	close

The dog is standing by/with the child closely. [MS: CSfn130509]

[339] As mentioned in §4.4.2.4, the locative case is less common for this use and the comitative case is often used.

b. **nganinginy-ja** **ngumbarna-wuja** ngu=**lanyanda** digab bayan-i
1MIN.OBL2-LOC spouse-COMIT REAL=3MIN.OBL hack CHOP-PAST

nyila burnu wirlga-nggu, yungguj wandi-nya
DIST1 tree.ABS axe-ERG fall FALL-PAST
MS: With my husband, he cut down that tree with an axe [and then it] fell down. [TM: CSfn140610]

c. ngu=**yila** ranggarra *na* **nganinginy-ja** ngurra-ngga[340]
REAL=1MIN.OBL dawn NOW 1MIN.OBL2-LOC camp-LOC
CS#: It's getting bright now on me, at the camp. [TM: CSfn150610]

d. ngu=**lanyanda** lulu garriny-ana nyila warlagu **yamaji-la**
REAL=3MIN.OBL sit STAY-PRES DIST1 dog.ABS small-LOC
CS#: The dog is sitting by/with a child. [TM: CSfn200509]

The second common property of additional arguments is that at least animate beneficiaries (12-24 and 12-25) and locations (12-26), though not inanimate purposes, can feed reflexive/reciprocal clitics. As described in §7.2.7, only beneficiary NPs can occur overtly in reflexive/reciprocal constructions as in (12-25) whereas other NPs cannot.

(12-24) ngurra ngu=rna=**nyunu** barnany bung-gu
camp.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ=RR clean HIT-FUT
I will clean the house for myself. [MS: CSfn101110]

(12-25) ngu=wula=**nyunu** birrga man-gu **gujarra-wu** **Namija-wu**
REAL=3UA.SBJ=RR create GET-FUT two-DAT ♀subsection-DAT
CS#: Two Namija women will make them (loincloths) for themselves/for each other. [TM: CSfn110609]

(12-26) nga=liwa=**nyununggula** lulu garriny-ana
REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ=RR.OBL sit STAY-PRES
We are sitting down by each other. [TM: CSfn100712]

Furthermore, beneficiary NPs can be linked to subjects of non-finite clauses of simultaneous events like dative indirect objects and obliques. The next set of examples (12-27a-c) illustrates that dative beneficiary (a), dative animate goal (b) and dative indirect object (c) are construed with subjects of non-finite clauses which are indicated by the dative C-subordinator.

[340] This is an impersonal clause with no lexical subject arguments (§12.5.1).

(12-27)

a. ngama-nyan-du ngu=**yanu** gambarn-ana mangarri
M-3KIN.POSS-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ burn-PRES veg.food.ABS

jiwirri-g **yamayama-wu** **[magin-da-wu]**
cooked-TRNSL children-DAT sleep-LOC-DAT
CS#: His/her mother is cooking tucker [and making them] cooked for kids while they are sleeping. [TM: CSfn070809]

b. 1. duba-ngga ngu gambarn-ana
windbreak-LOC REAL burn-PRES
At the windbreak, she is cooking it.

2. ngu=la yan-i [**gambarn-u-ga-wu]** \.. **ngama-yi-wu**
REAL=3MIN.DAT go-PAST burn-NF-LOC-DAT M-KIN-DAT
CS#: He went to her, who is cooking, to [his] mother. [TM: CSfn201011]

c. ngu=rna=la yu-nya nambula wurrgal
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT give-PAST fig.ABS green.ABS

yambagina-wu **[lulu-ngga-wu]**
child-DAT sit-LOC-DAT
CS#: I gave a green fig to a kid who was sitting. [TM: CSfn181011]

In summary, additional dative, comitative and locative arguments are semantically similar to adjuncts but behave morpho-syntactically like arguments. They are characterised as similar to oblique arguments in that: (i) dative animate and inanimate NPs and comitative/locative animate NPs can be cross-referenced with the object/dative and oblique clitics respectively; (ii) these dative and comitative/locative NPs are coreferential to reflexive/reciprocal clitics and; (iii) some dative additional arguments can be coreferential to subjects of non-finite subordinate clauses. These properties of oblique and additional arguments are summarised in Table 12.2 below.

Nonetheless these additional arguments are treated separately from oblique arguments. Dative, comitative and locative oblique arguments are subcategorised for by the semantics of verbs (i.e., motion, position and speech/mental activities). On the other hand, beneficiary, purposes and location can occur with a broader range of semantic types of verbs, including verbs of stance, impact, burning/cooking, acquisition, holding, transfer of knowledge and transfer of entity, and it is hence less appropriate to analyse

these dative, comitative and locative NPs as selected by the verbs themselves. In the case of comitative and locative NPs, location can be selected as oblique arguments of motion and position verbs to designate goal of motion and of change of location. However, comitative and locative NPs (12-23 and 12-26) are not considered as being selected by non-motion and non-position verbs like other locative adjuncts. Therefore, I distinguish these additional arguments from both adjuncts and obliques.

Table 12.2 Similarities of dative and locative oblique arguments and additional arguments

Grammatical relations	Semantic roles	Animacy	Cross-referencing	Coreference with RR	Coreference with subject of non-finite subordinate clauses
Dative oblique	goal	+	OBJ*/OBL	+	+
	content	+	OBJ*	+	-?
		-	OBJ*	-	-
Dative additional argument	beneficiary	+	OBJ*	+	+
	purpose	-	OBJ*	-	-
Locative/Comitative oblique	location	+	OBL	+	-
		-	-	-	-
Locative/Comitative additional argument	location, accompaniment	+	OBL	+	-

* The third person minimal has a distinct dative form.

12.2 Constituent order

Word order is not significantly constrained by grammatical relations in Wanyjirra. Investigation is difficult due to the frequent use of null anaphora of arguments, by which sentences only consist of verbs with pronominal clitic complexes, or even without pronominal clitic complexes. Table 12.3 provides a list of patterns of order of core arguments, i.e., subjects (S and A), direct objects and indirect objects, verbal predicates and pronominal clitic complexes observed in 194 verbal clauses[341] of five texts in Appendix 4. The patterns are divided depending on whether core argument NPs are omitted from verbal clauses. In this table, V, Aux, NEG and Q refer to 'verb (a simple inflecting verb or complex verb)', 'auxiliary (attached with pronominal clitics)', 'negative particle' and 'interrogative' respectively. As seen in this table,

[341] This number excludes non-finite subordinate verbal clauses and clauses containing English verbs as main predicates.

Wanyjirra allows a range of orders.

Table 12.3: A list of patterns of relative constituent orders

With no overt arguments	No. of e.g.	With one overt argument	No. of e.g.	With two overt arguments	No. of e.g.
V (IR)	4	S Aux V	12	S NEG V IO	1
V (TR)	25	Aux V S	2	IO NEG V S	1
Aux V (IR)	44	S NEG V	1	A AUX V DO	2
Aux V (TR)	19	NEG S V	1	Aux V DO A	1
V (ITR) Aux	1	Q S NEG V	1	Aux DO A V	1
V (TR) Aux	1	A Aux V	2	DO Aux V A	1
NEG V (TR)	2	Aux V A	3	Aux DO V IO	1
V=PRO (ITR)	8	DO Aux V	11	DO A V	2
V=PRO (TR)	2	Aux V DO	10	A DO V	2
Q=PRO V (ITR)	1	Aux DO V	2	Total	12
Aux NEG V (TR)	1	V Aux DO	4		
Total	108	NEG Aux DO V	1		
		NEG V IO	1		
		Aux V IO	1		
		IO Aux V	1		
		S V	7		
		A V	1		
		DO V	4		
		V DO	4		
		V A	2		
		V S	3		
		Total	74		

Table 12.4 focuses on relative orders of A/S, DO, IO and V in affirmative clauses (N=79) excluding question and negative clauses and clauses with no overt core argument NPs from Table 12.3. If subject arguments (S/A) overtly occur, they are preverbal in 71% of clauses (29/41) whereas overt direct objects and indirect objects occur pre-verbally or post-verbally almost equally.

Table 12.4: Relative orders of argument constituents in affirmative sentences

One overt argument	No. of e.g.	Two overt arguments	No. of e.g.
S V	19	A V DO	2
A V	3	A DO V	2
DO V	17	DO A V	3
IO V	1	DO V A	1
V S	5	DO V IO	1
V A	5	V DO A	1
V DO	18		
V IO	1		
Total	69	Total	10

12.2.1 Elements in clause-initial position

Although Wanyjirra allows various orderings based on syntactic functions of NPs, it has some preferred patterns. The ordering of arguments and predicates is also influenced by pragmatic functions. Especially clause-initial positions are filled with more important or newsworthy information in discourse in Wanyjirra and many Australian languages, as well as more generally (cf. Mithun, 1992; Mushin, 2006; Simpson & Mushin, 2008). Since in the languages with bound pronominal morphemes, they most commonly occur in second positions, elements before pronominal morphemes signal prominent information (e.g. McConvell, 1996 for Eastern Ngumpin languages; Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014 for Bilinarra; Simpson, 2007 for Warlpiri). In Wanyjirra, too, interrogatives, sentence particles and subordinators typically occur clause-initially with direct attachment of pronominal clitics, or immediately followed by the realis/neutral auxiliary plus pronominal clitics. However, they are not the only elements which can occur in initial positions. Nominals, verbs and other word class members can also be found in that position depending on the pragmatic situation. The following briefly describe what types of prominent information occur clause-initially.

[i] New information

New information in the discourse appears first. (12-28) is the beginning of the story. This clause starts with the NP gujarra mawun ‘two men’ who are main characters of the story and are introduced as a new topic. The first constituent yarrirndi in (12-29) is first introduced in the same text. The inflecting verb in (12-30) also carries new information about one of the activities ‘singing’ of the whole discourse event (‘finding a Dream Time story’).

(12-28) **gujarra** **mawun**, guya=wula,.. yan-an-i \
two.ABS man.ABS THUS=3UA.SBJ go-CONT-PAST
Two men were walking. [MS: 97_31_2.008]

(12-29) **yarrirndi=lu** nga=li yunbarn-a-gu \
SONG.NAME.ABS=ONLY REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ sing-CONT-FUT
"We will sing *yarrirndi*." [MS: 97_31_2.026]

(12-30)
1. ngu=rnalu=yanu nyang-an-i wanyjan-u-ngga=ma \
REAL=1AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ perceive-CONT-PAST dance-NF-LOC=TOP
We were watching them dancing.

2. **yunbarn-an-i** ngu=lu nyila=ma jarrarda=ma \
sing-CONT-PAST REAL=3AUG.SBJ DIST1=TOP SONG.NAME.ABS=TOP
They were singing *jarrarda*. [TM: 09_0513_3.053-054]

Answers to information questions also affect the order of words in clauses. Since answers to such information questions constitute new and focalised information, they appear at the beginning of the clauses. In Sentence 2 of (12-31), the speaker seeks information about why the interlocutor needs the billycan. In the following response, ngaburlu 'breast milk', the item that is being sought, appears first in the clause.

(12-31)
1. gang-ga=yila nyila,…(1.2) diba \
carry-IMP=1MIN.OBL DIST1 billycan.ABS
"Bring me that… billycan."

2. nyamba-wu /
what-DAT
"What for?"

3. **ngaburlu** ngu=rnalu man-gu *melkembat* \
breast.ABS REAL=1AUG.SBJ get-FUT milk.CONT
"We want to milk nanny goat." [TM: 09_0923_5.061-063]

Likewise, in (12-32), the place where the speaker and addressee would go is the prompted information by the preceding question. Note that the interjection ngayi 'hey' is not counted as a first element of the clause because it is a complete utterance by itself and outside of the following clause.

(12-32)

1. wali \... **wanyjirra**=li yan-ang-gu \
   alright where=1MIN.INC.SBJ go-CONT-FUT
   "OK, where do we have to go?"

2. ngayi \ **gan.gu-la** **murla** bardaj yan-gu=li burnu-ngg \
   hey up-LOC PROX1 ascend GO-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ tree-LOC
   "Hey, let's climb up this tree here."

Similarly in the answer to the rhetorical question (12-33) about the reason why the wind didn't blow the loincloth nearby, the coverb yigirli 'far' occurs clause-initially expressing the fact that it blew the loincloth far away.

(12-33)

1. wanyji yalaba <X yin X> \
   which close ?
   "Why didn't [the wind throw it] close?"

2. **yigirli** ngu=ngaliny giyan-i garla-rra-nganang[342] \
   far REAL=1MIN.INC.OBJ throw-PAST west-DIRECT-?
   TM: The wind *bin chakem* long way *dat* way.
   CS@#: [The wind] threw ours far away to the west. [TM: 09_0513.015-016]

[ii] Important information

Some non-new information also occurs first in the clause. For example, ngama-yi-lu 'mother' in the second line of (12-34) signals a shift of topic but this participant had been introduced previously in the discourse.

[342] This element -nganang is used in Gurindji and garlarranganang means 'oriented west from the east' (Meakins et al., 2013: 34). Its meaning can be applied to this sentence although my consultants only translated it as '(threw) that way'. However, it is very rare in Wanyjirra and only a few examples of garla-rra-nganang are found in the corpus. MS suspects that this form would be Gurindji but not Wanyjirra and TM would be influenced by Gurindji speakers. Therefore, I do not include this morpheme as a Wanyjirra directional suffix (§6.2.1) in this thesis. However, the possibility that the suffix -nganang was also used in Wanyjirra still remains.

(12-34)

1.	**ngama-yi-lu**	jaja-nggu	nyamba-lu \...(0.8)	jaja-nggu \...(1.4)
	M-KIN-ERG	MM-ERG	what-ERG	MM-ERG
	sometime	ngama-yi-lu \...(1.0)	garran-u::::: \..	*growim up* /...(1.7)
	sometime	M-KIN-ER	keep-NF	grow up
	growim up \			
	grow up			

TT: [My] mother, and sometimes [my] mother's mother looked after [me].
CS%: [My] mother, mother's mother and everyone, [my] mother's mother, sometimes [my] mother grew [me] up, [they] grew [me] up, looked after [me].

2.	*dagaut*	*nao* /	ngarin	ngarn-u \
	eating	NOW	meat.ABS	ingest-NF

TT: [I was] now eating meat.
MS: *i* (meaning NP) start eating meat now.

….

3.	jingga	ngayu	lung-u \
	child.ABS	1SG	cry-NF

TT: I, a child was crying.

4.	**ngama-yi..-lu**	ngu=yi	man-an-i /…	ngamulu /
	M-KIN-ERG	REAL=1MIN.OBJ	get-CONT-PAST	in.arms

TT: [My] mother held me on her chest. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(2).019-32]

A contrastive topic also appears first as in the second sentence of (12-35). The topic in the first sentence also occurs first in contrast to some people carrying firewood described in the previous sentences.

(12-35)

1.	**yirrab**	ngu=lu	gani	*warug*	marn-an-i \...(1.1)
	some.ABS	REAL=3AUG.SBJ	down.country	work	DO-CONT-PAST
	gardiya-wu	ngurra \...(0.7)	*garden*-da \...(1.3)		
	white.man-DAT	camp.ABS	garden-LOC		
	jan.ga-jan.ga	julu \			
	RDP-woman.ABS	jointly.ABS			

Some [other men] were working at white man's camp, at [their] garden, women too.

2. **yirrab** ngu=lu dirrib garriny-an-i \
some.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ camp.out STAY-CONT-PAST
Some other people were sleeping (i.e., not working and staying in their camp).
[TM: 10_0826_5.049-50]

In addition, contrastive focus can also be placed in front. The proximal demonstrative is followed by the focus marker =la (§11.4.5) and the Kriol particle *na* (§11.4.6) in (12-36 and 12-37) respectively. In the former example, the demonstrative highlights one story which should be inherited through younger generations. In the latter, it refers to the correct loincloth which two women were looking for because the wind blew it away from them.

(12-36) **nyawa=la** ngu=n langa-ngga=ma garran-ang-gu \
PROX1=FOC REAL=2MIN.SBJ ear-LOC=TOP keep-CONT-FUT
MS: "This [one], you will have to keep it (i.e., the story) in your ears."
[TM: 09_0513_3.046]

(12-37)
1. <X ngu=wula X> …(1.0) barli nya-nya,.. nyila=ma\
REAL=3UA.SBJ find PERCEIVE-PAST DIST1=TOP
They found those (i.e., the loincloths).

2. **nyawa *na*** ngu=ngaliny giyan-i \.. wumaj-ju \
PROX1 NOW REAL=1MIN.INC.OBJ throw-PAST wind-ERG
MS: "Here now, the wind threw [loincloths] of ours."
[TM: 09_0513_3.013-014]

12.3 Nominal (verbless) clauses

Nominal clauses are distinguished from verbal clauses by the absence of verbal predicates consisting of inflecting verbs and/or coverbs. Nominal clauses typically consist of two juxtaposed NPs which function as a subject and a predicate. Although they are juxtaposed, these NPs are usually separated by an intonational boundary. Subject NPs always appear in the absolutive case whereas predicate NPs can be absolutive, dative, or locative depending on the type of nominal clause. Since nominal clauses have no inflecting verb, tense-aspect-mood information is not overtly specified. But they are usually interpreted as being in the present tense. Either the subject or predicate can occur first in clauses. Nominal clauses may also contain pronominal clitic complexes. In this case, the subject NP can be omitted and only specified by

pronominal clitics. In addition, some mood information, including realis (indicative), interrogative and negative, is indicated by auxiliaries or particles. Pronominal clitics specify the referent of the subject and/or the referent of the possessor in some situations.

Nominal clauses can be divided into five types: equative clauses (§12.3.1); ascriptive clauses (§12.3.2); having/lacking constructions (§12.3.3); possessive clauses (§12.3.4) and locational clauses (§12.3.5). A few nominal predicates can take non-subject arguments, which is demonstrated in §12.3.6. Some types of nominal clauses may also contain a copula verb (garriny- 'be') which is also used in verbal intransitive clauses with the basic meaning 'stay, exist'. These copula constructions will be described in §12.4.

12.3.1 Equative clauses

In equative clauses, the referent of the subject NP is identified as a particular entity referred to by the predicate NP. Both NPs are in the absolutive case. There are generally two sub-types: (i) a clause containing subject and predicate NPs in juxtaposition without a pronominal clitic complex (12-38); (ii) a clause containing subject and predicate NPs and a pronominal clitic complex as in (12-39 and 12-40).

(12-38)
1. Miriwuny ngurra \...
PLACE.NAME.ABS camp.ABS
TT: The place [is] Miriwuny.
CS: ALT#: The miriwuny country.

2. *name* \ Miriwuny \
name.ABS PLACE.NAME.ABS
TT: The name [is] Miriwuny. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.014-015]

(12-39) ngayu ngu=rna Wajayi yini=ma
1MIN REAL=1MIN.SBJ PERSON.NAME.ABS name.ABS=TOP
TM: My name is Wajayi. [TM: CSfn110610]
CS: LIT: I, the name is Wajayi.

(12-40) Naangari ngu=yi nganinga ngama-yi
♀subsection.ABS REAL=1MIN.OBJ 1MIN.OBL1 M-KIN.ABS
Naangari is a (CS: classificatory) mother to me. [MS: CSfn260709]

Where a subject is referred to by the demonstratives nyawa or nyila, a clause may have presentative functions introducing or identifying the entity expressed by its predicate (§6.1.4.4).

(12-41) *TM was pointing at a photo of a returning boomerang.*

nyawa,.. jaranggarri \
PROX1 returning.boomerang.ABS
This is "jaranggarri". [TM: 10_0607_2.006]

(12-42) nyila ngu=yi jaja dumal-a
DIST1 REAL=1MIN.OBJ ♀DCh.ABS middle-LOC
CS#: That is my granddaughter [sitting] in the middle. [TM: CSfn020810]

(12-43) nyila Wajayi-wu ngama-yi
DIST1 PERSON.NAME-DAT M-KIN.ABS
That is Wajayi's mother. [MS: CSfn081009]

12.3.2 Ascriptive clauses

Ascriptive clauses indicate that the subject referent has a certain property or characteristic denoted by a predicate. Ascriptive clauses are semantically distinguished from equative clauses but structurally resemble them, employing the following two general structures: (i) subject and predicate NPs are juxtaposed (12-44); (ii) two NPs are separated by a pronominal clitic complex (12-45). However, there is another sub-type having a predicate NP and pronominal clitic complex without an overt NP subject (12-46).

(12-44) ngayu yambaji /...(3.5) ngayu yambaji /...(0.9) ngayu yambaji /
1MIN small.ABS 1MIN small.ABS 1MIN small.ABS
TT: I [was] a baby/child.
CS: I [was] a child, I [was] a child, I [was] a child. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(2).001]

(12-45) nyila wanyja ngu ngilginy
DIST1 woman.ABS REAL skinny.ABS
That woman is skinny. [MS: CSfn010709]

(12-46) *aa* \ ngu=rna yunbalyi \
ah REAL=1MIN.SBJ tired.ABS
"Ah, I'm tired." [TM: 10_0607_3.045]

Predicates in ascriptive clauses can consist of a (full) NP (12-47) or a nominal with a

derivational case or derivational suffix, including the associative suffix (12-48) and the personaliser (12-49). The proprietive, privative and 'lacking' suffixes are also used in ascriptive clauses (§12.3.3).

(12-47) mangarri yura nyila=ma
veg.food.ABS good.ABS DIST1=TOP
That [is] good food. [TM: CSfn270509]

(12-48) ngayu ngu=rna Binanyi-ngarna
1MIN REAL=1MIN.SBJ PLACE.NAME-ASSC.ABS
I [am] associated to the Binanyi country (i.e., Inverway). [TM: CSfn170809]

(12-49) ngayu gambarri-ward \
1MIN front-PERS.ABS
MS: I am the first one (i.e., the first-born). [DJ: 99_40_3.096]

The part-whole relationship can also be expressed by ascriptive clauses. Their predicates refer to parts of the subject referents as in (12-50 and 12-51).

(12-50) nyundu ngu=n buya ngarrga
2MIN REAL=2MIN.SBJ body.ABS big.ABS
TM: You have a big body.
CS#: LIT: You [are] big body. [TM: CSfn160710]

(12-51) nyila yamaji /.. munda yura
DIST1 small.ABS stomach.ABS good.ABS
TM: *i gud binji*.
CS@: That child is happy.
CS: LIT: That child [has] good stomach. [TM: CSfn060710]

12.3.3 'Having' and 'Lacking' clauses

These clauses contain a predicate marked with the proprietive (§4.5.1), the privative (§4.5.2) or the 'lacking' suffix (§4.3.5) to indicate that an entity or a property referred to by the predicate is possessed by, or attributed to the referent of the subject. They are semantically related to ascriptive clauses where the predicate ascribes an attribute to the subject referent.

(12-52) ngayu ***jampa*-yaru** nyundu ***jampa*-mulung**
1MIN jumper-PROP 2MIN jumper-PRIV
TM: I have a jumper. You don't have a jumper.
CS: LIT: I am with a jumper. You are without a jumper. [TM: CSfn210610]

(12-53) ngu **langa-mulung**
REAL ear-PRIV
MS: He/she is deaf/stupid.
CS: LIT: He/she is ear-less. [MS; TM: CSfn060809]

(12-54) yamaji ngu **ngawa-wunyja**
small.ABS REAL water-LACK
The child is thirsty.
CS: LIT: The child [is] water-less. [MS: CSfn200709]

12.3.4 Possessive/benefactive clauses

Nominal alienable possessive and benefactive clauses typically comprise a subject as the possessum and a predicate as the possessor or benefactor, referred to by a dative NP (12-55), an oblique pronoun (12-56) or a kin possessor suffix (12-57). The possessor predicates can be cross-referenced with object/dative pronominal clitics.

(12-55) nyawa mangarri ngu=**la** **mugul-uwu**
PROX1 food.ABS REAL=3MIN.DAT FZ-DAT
TT: This food [is] for [my] aunt.
CS: ALT: This food is [my] aunt's.
CS: ALT: This food belongs to [my] aunt. [MS: TTfn190700]

(12-56) nyila ngarin ngu=**la** **nyanunga**
DIST1 meat REAL=3MIN.DAT 3MIN.OBL1
MS: That meat is for him.
CS#: ALT: That meat belongs to him. [MS: CSfn260609]

(12-57) nyila ngu=**la** ngama-nyan
DIST1 REAL=3MIN.DAT M-3KIN.POSS
That is the mother of him/her. [MS: CSfn081009]

Nominal possessive clauses may contain the possessor dissension construction (§8.5.3). In (12-58), the object clitic =nggu cross-references the oblique pronoun referring to the kin relator of the head of the possessive NP whereas the clitic =la cross-references the whole possessive NP marked with the dative suffix.

(12-58) nyawa ngu=**nggu=la** **ngabu-yu-wu** **nyunungu-wu**
PROX1 REAL=2MIN.OBJ=3MIN.DAT F-KIN-DAT 2MIN.OBL1-DAT
CS: This belongs to your father.
TT: This [mail] is for your father. [MS: TTfn180700]

The possessors can be only indicated by a pronominal clitic.

(12-59) nga=**yi** nyawa \
REAL=1MIN.OBJ PROX1
TT: This [is] for me.
CS: ALT: This is mine.
CS: ALT: This belongs to me. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(3).565]

12.3.5 Locational clauses

Locational clauses contain predicates referring to places or locations in which subject referents are situated. Such locational predicates are typically locative NPs in (12-60), proximal or distal demonstratives and directional nominals in (12-61 and 12-62). A locational clause may also have a presentative meaning (§5.2.3) when the predicate is specified by demonstratives as in (12-63).

(12-60) *TM was describing the picture in which an Aboriginal woman was searching for a tree.*
ngarlu **burnu-ngga**
honey.ABS tree-LOC
A sugarbag is in the tree. [TM: CSfn150509]

(12-61) nyawa=ma mawundi=ma **murla**
PROX1=TOP white.ochre.ABS=TOP PROX2
This white ochre [is] here. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.124]

(12-62) *bulug* / **gayi-rra** *gawu* **yala-ngga**=lu
bullock.ABS north-DIRECT cow.ABS DIST2-LOC=ONLY

gawu=ma / *gawu*=ma /
cow.ABS=TOP cow.ABS=TOP
TT: The bullocks [are] in the north [and] the cows [are] there.
[NP: 76_12_1_NP(3).072]

(12-63) **murla** yangi jalngi **murla** murnduj
PROX2 one.ABS king.brown.ABS PROX2 black-headed.python.ABS

murnduj **murla** murnduj
black-headed.python.ABS PROX2 black-headed.python.ABS
TT: Here [is] one king brown [and] here [is] a black snake.
[NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).085]

A few examples show that locational clauses contain nominal predicates marked with other spatial case suffixes. In Sentence 2 of (12-64), the demonstrative is unexpectedly marked with the allative suffix which generally encodes a direction of motion instead of the locative suffix. According to Tsunoda's translation, this clause is interpreted as an existential clause (§12.4). In (12-65), the predicate is in the elative case indicating origin of motion.

(12-64)
1. manyja-gawu yan-da / manyja-gawu
scrub-ALL go-IMP scrub-ALL
Go to the bush.
NOTE: the word manyja could be Jaru. Gaja would be expected in Wanyjirra.

2. gurla-ni yuga / burnu / **yala-nggawu**=la guya=ma \
south-D.LOC1 grass.ABS tree.ABS DIST2-ALL=FOC thus=TOP
TT: There are grass and trees there in the south. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.207-208]
CS: ALT: In the south, grasses and trees are there like this.

(12-65) nyundu **wanyjirra-nginyi** **ngurra-nginyi**
2MIN where-EL camp-EL
MS: Where are you from?
CS: LIT: You are from which camp? [MS: CSfn110909]

12.3.6 Nominal clauses with non-subject arguments

A small number of nominal predicates may take dative or locative arguments which are optionally indexed by pronominal clitics. The examples are listed as below.

[1] minyarn 'nothing'

The stem minyarn often occurs as an interjection with the meaning 'nothing, no' or is added to the edge of negative sentences to enhance the negative meaning. However, it is also used as a main predicate in nominal clauses with a dative oblique referring to an

entity for which the subject lacks possession or association. This dative oblique is cross-referenced with the object/dative clitic in (12-66a) but not in (12-66b, c) regardless of animacy of referents. Note that (12-66c) is analysed as a type of impersonal clause which lacks lexical subject arguments.

(12-66)

a. 1. gula=rna=nggu wanyji=la yung-gu
NEG=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ which.ABS=FOC give-FUT
I cannot give you anything.

2. ngu=rna=**la** minyarn **mangarri-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT nothing vege.food -DAT
TM: I have no food.
CS: LIT: I am nothing for food. [TM: CSfn100712]

b. ngayu ngu=rna minyarn **yamaji-wu**
1MIN REAL=1MIN.SBJ nothing small-DAT
MS: I have no kids (CS#: to take care).
CS: LIT: I am nothing with regard to kids. [MS: CSfn270709]

c. nyangga minyarn **ngawa-wu** nga=liwa wilinyi yan-gu
COND nothing water-DAT REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ hunt GO-FUT
CS#: If it doesn't rain, we will go hunting.
CS: LIT: If it's nothing with regard to rain, we will go hunting.
[TM: CSfn201010]

[2] Topic of Knowledge

The predicate nominals bugunyung 'ignorant' (12-67) and binarri 'knowing' (12-68) can take dative obliques referring to a topic of knowledge. Note that the clause in (12-68a) only has pronominal clitics without overt NPs whereas the main clause in (12-68b) lacks a pronominal clitic complex so that the dative indirect object and subject are not cross-referenced.

(12-67)

a. ngu=rna=**la** bugunyung **yalu-wu**=ma **mawun-gu**=ma
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT ignorant DIST2-DAT=TOP man-DAT=TOP
TM: I don't know that man.
CS: I [am] ignorant of that man. [TM: CSfn111110]

b. ngu=rna bugunyung **yalu-wu** **mawun-gu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ ignorant DIST2-DAT man-DAT
CS: I am ignorant of that man. [TM: CSfn060710]

(12-68)
a. wagurra=rna=**la** binarri
NEG=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT knowing
I don't know about him/her. [TM: CSfn060710]

b. **ngarin-gu** binarri guwa=n *majurrum*-garra
meat-DAT knowing SUB=2MIN.SBJ muster-CONT

man-an-i nyila *buluk* \
GET-CONT-PAST DIST1 bullock.ABS
MS: “You know about bullocks which you have been mustering."
[DJ: 99_41.177]

[3] Experiencers

Nominal predicates used in ascriptive clauses can also take optional obliques which encode experiencers. In the following examples a property is ascribed to particular circumstances or points of view of the referent of the obliques. Oblique arguments are marked with the dative suffix (12-69) or with the locative suffix (12-70) and are cross-referenced with the object/dative or oblique clitics respectively.

(12-69)
1. ngu bulbul bu-nya *rag*-gulu
REAL wrap HIT-PAST rag-ERG
She covered them with the rag.

2. ngu=**yanu** dumbiyi garriny-ang-gu **yamayama-wu**
REAL=3AUG.OBJ warm be-CONT-FUT children-DAT
It will be warm for the kids. [MS: CSfn040809]

(12-70)
1. ngu=**yila** jurndub (CS#: **nganinginy-ja**)
REAL=1MIN.OBL heavy.ABS 1MIN.OBL2-LOC
TM: *i* heavy *langa* me.
CS@: It is heavy for me.
NOTE: I added nganinginy-ja to TM’s original sentence and TM approved it.

2. gula=rna gang-gu
NEG=1MIN.SBJ carry-FUT
I cannot carry it.[TM: CSfn210710]

[4] Kin relators, possessors and purpose

Nominal predicates can also have additional arguments. In (12-71 and 12-72), oblique pronouns and dative NPs denote social (kin) or possessive relations of entities expressed by nominal predicates and are cross-referenced with object/dative clitics as in oblique possessive constructions (§8.5.3).

(12-71)

1.	wagurra	ngu=**yi**	nyandu	**nganinga**	jibini
	NEG	REAL=1MIN.OBJ	3MIN	1MIN.OBL1	lover.ABS
	He is not my boyfriend.				

2.	ngu=**yi**	jaliji
	REAL=1MIN.OBJ	friend.ABS
	He is my friend. [MS: CSfn130709]	

(12-72)	nyila	ngu=**yanu**	**yirrab-gu**	ngarin
	DIST1	REAL=3AUG.OBJ	other-DAT	meat.ABS
	MS: That is for other lot. (That's not yours.)			
	CS#: ALT: That is meat for other people. [MS: CSfn250609]			

A purpose NP can also be added to nominal predicates and is cross-referenced with the object/dative clitic, although this is not common. In (12-73), the clitic =la can be interpreted as an unspecified purpose. In this sentence, beneficiary and purpose are cross-referenced as additional arguments without overt NPs.

(12-73)	nyawa	ngu=**nggu**=**la**	bija=ma /
	PROX1	REAL=2MIN.OBJ=3MIN.DAT	grass.stem.ABS=TOP
	TT: This grass [with honey is] for you.		
	CS%: These are grass stems of/for you for it (i.e., eating honey).		
	[NP: 76_12_1_NP(3).068]		
	NOTE: TT originally analyses =nggula is the single oblique pronominal clitic. However, a possessor, relator and beneficient are usually cross-referenced with object/dative clitics. Therefore, I analyse this phonological form contains two dative forms. The former =nggu denotes a possessor/beneficiary whereas the latter =la denotes a purpose.		

12.4 Copula constructions with garriny- 'be'

Copula constructions contain the inflecting verb garriny- 'be/stay' as a copula. This verb is typically used in intransitive clauses (§12.5.2) to indicate that the subject referent stays or lives in a certain place as in (12-74).

(12-74) ngu=rna **garriny-ang-gu** ngurra-ngga yangi-ngga jimurrawu-g
REAL=1MIN.SBJ stay-CONT-FUT camp-LOC one-LOC long.time-TRNSL
I will stay in one camp for good. [MS: 76_12_1_NP(3).056'']

This verb is also used in two types of copula clause: i.e., copula ascriptive clauses and existential clauses. The former contains ascriptive nominal predicates, much as in verbless clauses (§12.3.2). Examples demonstrate that the adjective yura 'good' occurs with the copula verb (12-75a) and it is used as a predicate in a verbless ascriptive clause (12-75b). A clear semantic difference between two clauses is not always present.

(12-75)
a. nga=li yura **garriny-ana** ngandawi-la
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ good be-PRES shade-LOC
CS#: We two are fine under the shade. [TM: CSfn010710]

b. yura nyila=ma junba=ma *prapa* yura \
good DIST1=TOP corroboree.ABS=TOP proper good
CS#: That corroboree is good, very good. [TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).012]

However, since a copula clause allows the temporal setting of a state of the subject referent, it tends to imply that the subject referent is in a particular state in a certain time specified by verbal inflection. On the other hand, a verbless clause morphologically lacks tense-aspect-mood information and is usually interpreted as being in the present tense. It may identify a state as timelessly true or describes a state of the subject referent experienced at the time of speech as in copula clauses. Other examples are given below.

(12-76) ngundi-ga jiwirri **garriny-an-i** \
flame-LOC cooked be-CONT-PAST
CS#: It (i.e., the bread) was cooked on the flame. [TM: 10_0607_3.035]

(12-77) ngu=rna badawarn **garru-wu** magin-nginyi
REAL=1MIN.SBJ strong.ABS be-FUT sleep-EL
I will be strong after sleeping. [MS: CSfn050710]

The second type of copula construction is an existential clause which shows the existence of the subject referent with encoding tense-aspect-mood information.

(12-78) 1. marndaj,.. nyawa=lu=wali jaru=ma /
OK PROX1=ONLY=WELL language.ABS=TOP
MS: Alright, this is the story.
CS#: Alright, this is the proper story.

2. gula maya yangi **garriny-ana**, minyarn *na* \
NEG more.ABS one.ABS be-PRES nothing NOW
MS: There is no more [story], nothing. [DJ: 99_40_3.077-078]

Existential clauses contain locative NPs or directionals which encode where the subject referents exist. Such cases resemble locational clauses where locative NPs occur as predicates as demonstrated in §12.3.5. The difference between these clauses is similar to the difference between verbless and copula ascriptive clauses. Existential clauses tend to emphasise that the subject referent exists at a certain place within a certain time frame as in (12-78-12-81, Line 2). Verbless locational clauses, on the other hand, express that the subject referent is situated in a certain place without temporal boundedness (12-81, Line 1).

(12-79) nguyurdu maarn ngu=lu[343] **garriny-ana** gan.gulu-bala
many.ABS cloud.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ stay-PRES up-D.LOC2
There are many clouds all over the skies. [MS: CSfn101009]

(12-80) mawundi=ma **garriny-ana** bin.ga-ga \...(1.3) bin.ga-ga \
white.ochre.ABS=TOP stay-PRES river-LOC river-LOC
TT: The white ochre is/exists in a creek. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.149]
CS: ALT: There is white ochre in the creek.

(12-81) 1. gani-gani janyja-ga bigurda=ma \
RDP-down.country soil-LOC bush.potato.ABS=TOP
Bush potatoes [are generally] down under the ground.

2. nyawa burnu **garriny-an-i** guya \
PROX1 tree.ABS stay-CONT-PAST thus
There was a plant (of bush potatoes) like this.
[TM: 10_0617_7.005-006]

[343] This is a rare example where the number of the inanimate subject referent is encoded by the augmented pronominal clitic. The number of inanimate and non-human referents are often neutralised and indexed by the minimal clitics (§7.2.4.1).

12.5 Verbal clauses

Verbal clauses can be sub-categorised in terms of the transitivity/valency and argument structures of simple and complex verbs that head them. Table 12.5 (expanded from Table 9.1) gives an overview of the subclasses of Wanyjirra verbs and verbal clauses. Brackets indicate that use of the two candidate arguments is selected for cross-reference in terms of animacy, person and number hierarchies.

Table 12.5: Subtypes of Wanyjirra verbal clauses

Verb/clause types		Case frames			Cross-referencing			Examples
AVALENT	IMPERSONAL	NO ARGUMENT			NO CROSS-REFERENCING			bilij garriny- 'lightning'; ranggarra garriny- 'dawn'
MONOVALENT	INTRANSITIVE	^{S}ABS			^{S}SBJ			lulu garriny- 'sit'; burja yan- 'run'; ruyu marn- 'play'; yan- 'go/come'; wandiny- 'fall'
BIVALENT	EXTENDED INTRANSITIVE	^{S}ABS		^{IO}DAT/ ALL/ LOC/ COMIT	^{S}SBJ		^{IO}OBJ*/OBL	wangany marn- 'look around for'; dabu wandiny- 'miss out on'; burlang- 'call out'
	QUASI-TRANSITIVE	^{S}ABS	^{DO}ABS		^{S}SBJ			marn- 'talk (story)/ speak (language)'; ruyu marn- 'perform (corroboree)'
	SEMI-TRANSITIVE	^{S}ERG		^{IO}DAT	^{S}SBJ		^{IO}OBJ*	guny bung- 'wait for'; nyang- 'look for'
	TRANSITIVE	^{S}ERG	^{DO}ABS		^{S}SBJ	^{DO}OBJ		gugij ngarn- 'drink'; wirlg bung- 'kill'; yin.garn- 'trim'
TRIVELENT	TRANSITIVE COMPLEMENT	^{S}ERG	^{DO}ABS	^{COMP}ABS	^{S}SBJ	^{DO}OBJ		marran- 'call, name'; man- 'make O COMP'
	SEMI-DITRANSITIVE	^{S}ABS	^{DO}ABS	^{IO}DAT/ LOC/ COMIT	^{S}SBJ		^{IO}OBJ*/OBL	biyarrb marn- 'tell (story) to'
	DITRANSITIVE1	^{A}ERG	^{DO}ABS	^{IO}DAT/ LOC/ COMIT	^{A}SBJ	(^{DO}OBJ)	(^{IO}OBJ*/ OBL)	jirri yirran- 'show'; biga bung- 'report'; dabu man- 'starve of'
	DITRANSITIVE2	^{A}ERG	^{DO}ABS	^{O2}ABS	^{A}SBJ	^{DO}OBJ		bina yung- 'teach'; yung- 'give'
	DITRANSITIVE3	^{A}ERG	^{DO}ABS	^{IO}ALL	^{A}SBJ	^{DO}OBJ		bina gang- 'take and show'

* The third person minimal has a distinct dative form.

There are some simple and complex verbs which have alternative core argument structures with or without semantic changes (see also §9.1.1). Two types of alternation are found, i.e., (i) case (or grammatical relation) alternations between absolutive direct objects and dative indirect objects and (ii) valency alternations between monovalent,

bivalent and trivalent. Table 12.6 and 12.7 provide a list of common examples. Two verbs, biyarrb marn- 'tell' and marn- 'say', have both case and valency alternations.

(i) Case alternation

Case alternations are commonly found in verbs of ditransitive clauses. Such examples will be provided in §12.5.9. Other examples are summarised as follows.

Table 12.6: Verbs found in bivalent clauses with case alternations

Verbs	Bivalent with direct object	Bivalent with indirect object
nyang-	'ERG see/look at ABS'	'ERG look for DAT'
bura nyang-	'ERG listen to/hear ABS'	'ERG recall/think about DAT'
biyarrb marn-	'ABS tell ABS (story)'	'ABS chat with DAT/COMIT/LOC'
marn-	'ABS speak ABS (language)'	'ABS speak/talk to DAT/COMIT/LOC'

(ii) Valency alternation

Valency alternation is also found in some verbs. Only the verb marn- 'say' can be used in three valency types. The rest of verbs are used either in monovalent and bivalent clauses or bivalent and trivalent clauses.

Table 12.7: Verbs with valency alternations

Verbs	Monovalent	Bivalent	Trivalent
jirri yirran-		'ERG point at ABS'	'ERG show ABS to DAT/COMIT/LOC'
ruyu marn-	'ABS play'	'ABS perform ABS'	
marn-	'ABS speak/talk'	'ABS speak ABS (language)' 'ABS speak/talk to DAT/COMIT/LOC'	'ABS speak/talk ABS (story/language) to DAT/COMIT/LOC' 'ABS talk about DAT to DAT/COMIT/LOC'
biyarrb marn-		'ABS tell ABS (story)' 'ABS chat with DAT/COMIT/LOC'	'ABS tell ABS (story) to DAT'
yunbarn-		'ERG sing ABS (song)'	'ERG sing ABS (song) ABS (person)' 'ERG sing ABS (song) to DAT'
bangin-		'ERG scratch/dig up ABS'	'ERG dig ABS (ground) for DAT'

In addition, the verbs man- 'get' and garran- 'keep' which are normally used in

bivalent-transitive clauses may also take an object complement, as well as the verb marran- 'call' (§12.5.7).

12.5.1 Impersonal clauses

Impersonal clauses lack overt referential arguments. Wanyjirra has a small number of examples of such clauses expressing meteorological features: bilij garriny- 'lightning' (12-82); durlurlub marn- 'thunder' (12-83); ranggarra garriny-/yan- 'dawn/get light' (12-84)[344]. These clauses often contain temporal or locational adjuncts or adverbs.

(12-82) yigirli ngu bilij-garra garriny-ana
far REAL flash-REP STAY-PRES
CS#: It's lightning in the distance. [TM: CSfn111110]

(12-83) yangi-wurd durlurlub marn-ana
one-TIMES rumble SAY-PRES
It thunders once. [TM: CSfm111110]

(12-84) gaa-liyarra ngu ranggarra garriny-ana
east-around REAL dawn STAY-PRES
It dawns around the east side. [TM: CSfn150610]

12.5.2 Intransitive clauses

An intransitive clause contains an intransitive verb with an absolutive argument. All intransitive inflecting verbs are found in this clause type, i.e., garriny- 'stay'; yan- 'go'; wandiny- 'fall'; marn- 'say'; bardiny- 'fly'; barndiny- 'smell'; lung- 'cry'. The first four inflecting verbs can combine with coverbs of spatial configuration, state, motion, speech, mental and emotional processes and translative coverbs. Examples of complex verbs include: lulu garriny- 'sit'; baru garriny- 'stand'; magin garriny- 'sleep'; yigarrab garriny- 'be itchy'; wugarra garriny- 'be frightened'; yura-g garriny- 'become good'; bardaj yan- 'climb'; burja yan- 'run'; winganub yan- 'swim'; ngarrga-g yan- 'become

[344] There is an example in Tsunoda's corpus where ranggarra garriny-/yan- seems to have the subject argument ngurra 'camp/place' i.e, ngurra ngu ranggarra garriny-ana gaa-liyarra (camp.ABS REAL dawn STAY-PRES east-around). This was given by MS as a response to TT's question: nyamba ranggarra garriny-ana gaa-liyarra (what.ABS dawn STAY-PRES east-around) literally 'what is dawning (getting bright)?' (Tsunoda Fieldnotes 1999, No.3, p.54). Tsunoda is cautious about whether MS's sentence is grammatical. In addition, TM didn't approve MS's sentence and she gave me sentences without overt subject arguments as in (12-84). In this thesis, I treat this predicate as an impersonal verb rather than as an intransitive verb.

big/grow up'; wulb wandiny- 'jump off'; jag wandiny- 'fall down'; yurrug wandiny- 'spill'; yilying marn- 'make noise'; wuruj marn- 'whistle'; rung marn- 'bark'.

(12-85) ngu=lu yamayama magin garriny-ana
REAL=3AUG.SBJ children.ABS sleep STAY-PRES
The children are sleeping. [TM: CSfn171011]

(12-86) ngawa wandi-nya
water.ABS fall-PAST
Rain fell down (i.e., it rained). [TM: CSfn180509]

(12-87) nyila balaarn winganub yan-ana
DIST1 turtle.ABS swim go-PRES
The turtle is swimming. [MS: CSfn030709]

(12-88) nyila warlagu ngu rung marn-ana
DIST1 dog.ABS REAL bark SAY-PRES
The dog is barking. [MS: CSfn030909]

Although most intransitive clauses involve a monovalent intransitive inflecting verb, the complex verb jungguj bung- 'depart' is built from the transitive verb bung- 'hit'.

(12-89) yala-ngulu=ma, ...(1.7) ngu=rnalu jungguj bi-nya *na*\
DIST2-ABL=TOP REAL=1AUG.SBJ depart HIT-PAST NOW
MS: After that, we departed. [DJ: 99_40_3.124]

12.5.2.1 With oblique arguments

Intransitive clauses can be expanded by adding a range of oblique arguments (in the allative, elative, locative/comitative and dative cases).

[i] Locational obliques

The commonest examples of oblique arguments in this clause type have spatial meanings. Allative obliques (destination of motion), elative obliques (starting point) and locative or comitative obliques (goal of motion) typically co-occur with verbs of motion containing the inflecting verbs yan- 'go' and wandiny- 'fall'. If referents are animate, they are optionally cross-referenced with oblique clitics.

(12-90) ngu=rna ward yan-i **Binanyi-lawu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ return GO-PAST PLACE.NAME-ALL
I returned to Inverway. [MS: CSfn010909]

(12-91) ngu=rna yan-ana ward **gaminyjarr-nginyi**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ GO-PAST return DCh-EL
TT!: I'm coming back from Gaminyjarr.
CS%: I'm coming back from [my] grandchild. [MS: CSfn190700]

(12-92) yumali burnu-nginyi ngu=yila jag wandi-nya
bush.orange.ABS tree-EL REAL=1MIN.OBL fall FALL-PAST

nganinginy-ja
1MIN.OBL2-LOC
CS!: Bush oranges fell down on me from the tree. [TM: CSfn121010]

[ii] Dative obliques

Dative oblique arguments are interpreted as goals, topics of speech activities or mental processes with certain verbs. When they occur with motion verbs, they are usually interpreted as a spatial goal like allative obliques. The dative spatial goal differs from the allative destination in that its referent is always animate and most probably cross-referenced. Allative obliques are rarely cross-referenced irrespective of animacy. Goal obliques sometimes are ambiguous between goal, beneficiary, and purpose. In (12-93a), the dative NP can be interpreted as goal or beneficiary, e.g. in the situation that the grandkid is coming to pick Maggie up and take her back to home whereas in (12-93b) the dative NP can be interpreted as a spatial goal or as a purpose of motion.

(12-93)
a. jaja ngu=**la** yan-ana ***Maggie*-wu**
♀DCh REAL=3MIN.DAT go-PRES PERSON.NAME-DAT
A grandkid is coming to/for Maggie. [TM: CSfn141009]
Note: TM and MS (Maggie) belong to the same subsection. Therefore, MS's grandchild is also the one for TM.

b. ngu=lu **ngarin-gu** yan-ana **jarrambayi-wu**
REAL=3AUG.SBJ meat-DAT go-PRES goanna-DAT
They are going for [getting]/to the meat, the goanna. [TM: CSfn180509]

The complex verb dabu wandiny- 'miss out (on)' also optionally take a dative oblique expressing a goal of pursuit. (12-94) illustrates this complex verb without the dative oblique (a); with the overt dative oblique but not cross-referenced (b) and with the

cross-referenced dative oblique (c).

(12-94)

a. nga=liyarra dabu wandi-nya \
REAL=1UA.SBJ miss.out FALL-PAST
CS: We missed out.
TT: We [two] did not find [any] [CS: food]. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).019]

b. dabu wandiny-an-i ngu=rna **ngarlu-wu**=ma \...(2.2)
miss.out FALL-CONT-PAST REAL=1MIN.SBJ honey-DAT=TOP

nyamba-wu=ma **jarrambayi-wu**=ma \
what-DAT=TOP goanna-DAT=TOP
CS: I missed out on honey, what-its-name, a goanna.
TT: I did not find honey, goanna or anything. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).153]

c. *MS was telling me that she asked a man to come to her house to cut her big tree but that he had never come. The overt dative NP given in a bracket was added by CS and was approved by MS.*

ngu=rna**=la** dabu wandi-nya [CS: **mawun-gu**]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT miss.out FALL-PAST man-DAT
CS#: I missed out on him. [MS: CSfn020909]
NOTE: mawun-gu is added by CS and approved by MS.

Some verbs of speech activities and cognitive processes can also take dative oblique arguments which express topics of the processes. Examples include: marn- 'talk (about)'; nyirn garriny- 'forget (about)'; jinggiri marn/wandiny- 'laugh at'; riba garriny- 'be frightened (of)'; wugarra garriny- 'be frightened (of)' [345]; nguny garriny/marn- 'sulk (over)'; guli garriny/marn- 'angry with'; marrunyu garriny- 'happy for'; ngayirra garriny/marn- 'worry'. In the following examples (12-95), the complex verb guli garriny- 'angry' occurs without the dative oblique (a); with the overt dative oblique but not cross-referenced (b) and; with the cross-referenced dative oblique (c).

[345] Coverbs wugarra and riba have the identical meaning 'frighten': the former is shared with Jaru and the latter with Gurindji, although Gurindji has also the form wuukarra with the long vowel (Meakins et al., 2013: 431).

(12-95)

a. nyila ngaringga ngu guli garriny-ana
DIST1 woman.ABS REAL fight STAY-PRES
That woman is angry. [MS: CSfn240709]

b. nyila wanyja ngu guli garriny-ana **nyanungu-wu** **jibini-wu**
DIST1 woman.ABS REAL fight STAY-PRES 3MIN.OBL1-DAT lover-DAT
That woman is angry with her boyfriend. [MS: CSfn030709]

c. ngama-yi ngu**=la** guli garriny-ana **ngala-yi-wu**
M-KIN.ABS REAL=3MIN.DAT fight STAY-PRES ♀Ch-KIN-DAT
The mother is angry with [her] child. [MS: CSfn030709]

12.5.3 Extended intransitive clauses

Extended intransitive clauses take an absolutive subject, and a dative, comitative or locative indirect object.

[1] With a dative argument

This clause type contains a dative indirect object which denotes the following types:

(i) a goal of pursuit: e.g. wangany marn-'look around for' (12-96); yanggarra yan- 'follow after' (12-97); wirlng marn- 'want'; rarr yan- 'come after to attack'; wuruly yan- and yabard yan- 'sneak up'[346]; barlag yan- 'go and join with'.

(12-96) wangany marn-i nga=liyarra=**la** **murdu-wu**=ma::: \..
search DO-PAST REAL=1UA.SBJ=3SG.DAT red.ochre-DAT=TOP
TT: We looked for red ochre. [NP: 76_14_1_NP.147]

(12-97) yamaji ngu=la yanggarra yan-ana ngama-yi-wu
small.ABS REAL=3MIN.DAT follow GO-PRES M-KIN-DAT
A kid is following after [his] mother. [MS: CSfn011110]

(ii) a goal to which mental and emotional processes are directed: jamarlb marn- 'thank'; giyi marn- 'refrain from'; luyurr garriny/marn- 'feel sorry for' (12-98);

(iii) a goal of speech activities in: burling- 'call out to'; marn- 'talk to'; bawu marn-

[346] Coverbs wuruly and yabard have the same meanings 'sneak up'. The first coverb is related to the Jaru coverb wurru (Tsunoda, 1981: 149) and the latter is identical to the Gurindji coverb yapart (McConvell, 2005c; Meakins et al., 2013: 437).

'call out to'; jaaj marn- 'beg from'; guli marn- 'talk aggressively to/argue'; gurany marn- 'tell a lie to' (12-99); biyarrb marn- 'chat with' (12-100).

(12-98) ngu=rna=**la** luyurr garriny-ana **yalu-wu** **yamaji-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT sorry STAY-PRES DIST2-DAT small-DAT
I feel sorry for that kid (i.e., because he has a broken arm). [MS: CSfn061009]

(12-99) nyila mawun ngu=**yi** gurany marn-i **nganinga**
DIST1 man.ABS REAL=1MIN.OBJ tell.lie SAY-PAST 1MIN.OBL1
CS#: The man told me a lie. [TM: CSfn060910]

(12-100) ngu=rna=**yanunggula** biyarrb marn-an-i **gardiya-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBL tell.story SAY-CONT-PAST white.man-DAT
CS#: I was chatting with the white men. [TM: CSfn111110]

This type (ii) differs from other verbs of mental processes where the dative oblique is optional in intransitive clauses (§12.5.2.1). Here, in contrast, indirect objects are almost always cross-referenced with object/dative or oblique clitics with a few exceptions of inanimate indirect objects not cross-referenced (§7.2.5).

[2] With a locative or comitative argument

The complex verb barlag garriny- 'mingle with' always take a locative or comitative indirect object which denotes affected location. In (12-101), the locative NP jaliji-la can be replaced with the comitative NP jaliji-wunyja.

(12-101) ngu=**yanunggula** barlag garriny-ana **jaliji-la**
REAL=3AUG.OBL mix STAY-PRES friend-LOC
TM: She *miximap langa* friend.
CS@: She is mingling with [her] friends. [TM: CSfn230810]

Some verbs can alternatively take a locative/comitative indirect object for a goal role instead of the dative or allative indirect object. Cross-referencing clitics are often oblique forms but sometimes object/dative forms. The following examples contain a locative argument (12-102a) and the corresponding dative argument (12-102b). This case alternation is also found with other verbs burlang- 'call out to'; bawu marn- 'call out to'; biyarrb marn- 'chat with'; marn- 'talk with'; jaaj- marn- 'beg from'; barlag yan- 'go and join with'. There are no clear semantic differences between clauses taking locative, comitative and dative indirect objects. The complex verb barlag yan- can also

take an allative indirect object as in (12-103a) instead of locative and dative ones (12-103b and c) although it is very rare.

(12-102)

a. nyila wanyja ngu=**yila** bawu marn-i **nganinginy-ja**
DIST1 woman.ABS REAL=1MIN.OBL call.out SAY-PAST 1MIN.OBL2-LOC
TM: That girl *bin singout la mi*.
CS@: That woman was calling out to me. [TM: CSfn111011]

b. nyila ngu=**yanu** bawu marn-ana **yamayama-wu** ngama-yi
DIST1 REAL=3AUG.OBJ call.out SAY-PRES children-DAT M-KIN.ABS
CS#: That mother is calling out to children. [TM: CSfn121011]

(12-103)

a. ngu=liwa=**yanunggula** barlag yan-gu **nguyurdu-wariny-jawu**
REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ=3AUG.OBL mix GO-FUT many-OTHER-ALL
CS#: We will go and join with many others. [TM: CSfn090910]

b. ngu=**yanunggula** barlag yan-i **jaliji-la**
REAL=3AUG.OBL mix GO-PAST friend-LOC
CS#: She went and joined with [her] friends. [TM: CSfn230810]

c. nga=liwa=**yanu** yan-gu barlag
REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ GO-FUT mix

nguyurdu-wariny-gu **gambarri-jang-gu**
many-OTHER-DAT front-PERS-DAT
CS#: We will join with many other first people (i.e., people who went first).
[TM: CSfn200810]

12.5.3.1 With dative oblique arguments

The complex verbs biyarrb marn- ‘chat with’ and jaaj marn- ‘beg from’ can take a dative oblique argument expressing a topic/content of a talk. Note that the object and dative clitics in (12-104 and 12-105) are considered as cross-referencing the dative indirect object but not oblique arguments.

(12-104) ngu=rna=yanu biyarrb ma-lu gardiya-wu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ tell.story SAY-FUT white.man-DAT

nganingu-wu **ngurra-wu**
1MIN.OBL1-DAT camp-DAT
I will chat with the white men about my camp. [TM: CSfn111110]

(12-105) yamaji ngu=la jaaj-jaaj marn-i mawun-gu **ngarin-gu**
small.ABS REAL=3MIN.DAT RDP-beg SAY-PAST man-DAT meat-DAT
TT: The child asked the man for meat. [MS: 76_14_1_TM(2).66’’’’’]

12.5.4 Quasi-transitive clauses

The intransitive verbs marn- ‘say, speak’ and ruyu marn- ‘play, perform’ and the extended intransitive verb biyarrb marn- ‘tell a story’ have alternative argument structures which take an absolutive direct object. Such objects are especially called ‘cognate’ objects which is semantically restricted and make explicit the event denoted by predicates (cf. Austin, 1982; Simpson, 1991: 343), although these verbs and object nouns are not formally cognate in Wanyjirra. The first two intransitive verbs presented above normally occur with a single absolutive argument (§12.5.2) as in (12-106a) and (12-107a). They also take the cognate objects jaru ‘story, language’ (12-106b) or specific language names and names of ceremony (12-107b) respectively. The complex verb biyarrb marn- usually occurs in extended intransitive clauses ‘chat with’ with the indirect object (12-108a) but alternatively with the absolutive direct object (12-108b). Cognate objects are never cross-referenced.

(12-106)
a. ngu=nbula marn-i murla-ngga /
REAL=2UA.SBJ say-PAST PROX1-LOC
TM: *Yundubala bin* talk here?
CS@: Did you talk here? [TM: CSfn070509]

b. nyila mawun ngu marn-ana **gujarra** **jaru**
DIST1 man.ABS REAL say-PRES two.ABS language.ABS
That man speaks two languages. [MS: TTCSfn110901]

(12-107)

a.	nganinga	yamayama	ngu=lu	ruyu	marn-ana
	1MIN.OBL1	children.ABS	REAL=3AUG.SBJ	play	DO-PRES
	My children are playing around. [TM: CSfn021009]				

b.	wanyja	ngu=lu	**junba**	ruyu	marn-ana
	woman.ABS	REAL=3AUG.SBJ	corroboree.ABS	play	DO-PRES
	The women are performing a corroboree. [MS: TTfn160700]				

(12-108)

a.	ngama-yi	ngu=yanu	yamayama-wu	biyarrb	marn-ana
	M-KIN.ABS	REAL=3AUAG.OBJ	children-DAT	tell.story	SAY-PRES
	The mother is chatting with children. [MS: CSfn170609]				

b.	garla-mba	nga=liyarra	biyarrb	marn-an-i	**jaru**
	west-D.LOC2	REAL=1UA.SBJ	tell.story	SAY-CONT-PAST	language.ABS
	We are telling a story at the west side [TM: CSfn160810]				

12.5.5 Semi-transitive clauses

A semi-transitive clause takes an ergative subject and a dative indirect object. This clause type includes: guny bung- 'wait for' (12-109); nyang- 'look for'; bura nyang- 'think about'; wuruly gang-/yabard gang- 'sneak up on' (12-110); dabu nyang- 'overlook'.

(12-109)	*Charlene*-du	ngu=**la**	guny	bung-ana	***Darren*-gu**
	PERSON.NAME-ERG	REAL=3MIN.DAT	wait	HIT-PRES	PESON.NAME-DAT
	Charlene is waiting for Darren. [MS: CSfn070509]				

(12-110)	mawun-du	ngu=**la**	yabard	gang-ana	**jiya-wu**
	man-ERG	REAL=3MIN.DAT	sneak	CARRY-PRES	kangaroo-DAT
	A man is sneaking up on a kangaroo. [TM: CSfn190509]				

Dative arguments of semi-transitive clauses generally mark a goal or target of pursuit (12-111a and 12-112a). The verbs nyang- and bura nyang- can also be used in transitive clauses with an absolutive direct object which marks patient (12-111b and 12-112b).

(12-111)

a. liwa-nyan-du ngu=**la** nyang-ana **Jangari-wu**
♀SW-3KIN.POSS-ERG REAL=3MIN.DAT perceive-PRES ♂subsection-DAT
CS#: Her daughter-in-law is looking for *Jangari*. [TM: CSfn250610]

b. liwa-nyan-du ngu nyang-ana **Jangari**
♀SW-3KIN.POSS-ERG REAL perceive-PRES ♂subsection.ABS
CS#: Her daughter-in-law is looking at *Jangari*. [TM: CSfn250610]

(12-112)

a. **nganingu-wu** **gabugu-wu** ngu=rna=**la**
1MIN.OBL1-DAT EZ-DAT REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT

bura nyang-ana
listen PERCEIVE-PRES
I think about my sister. [TM: CSfn100910]

b. ngu=rna bura nyang-ana **nganinga** **gabugu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ listen PERCEIVE-PRES 1MIN.OBL1 EZ.ABS
I am listening to my sister. [TM: CSfn100610]

12.5.6 Transitive clauses

All transitive inflecting verbs are used in transitive clauses. Of such inflecting verbs, thirteen verbs bayan- 'bite', bung- 'hit', garran- 'hold', gang- 'carry', giyan- 'throw', gambarn- 'burn', man- 'get', ngarn- 'ingest', nyang- 'perceive', yirran- 'put', yuwan- 'send', yunbarn- 'sing', wanyjan- 'leave, dance' can also combine with coverbs. Coverbs found in these clauses are those of impact/violence, holding, cooking/burning, contact and manipulation, perception, induced change of location and spatial configuration. Table 12.8 provides selected examples of complex verbs, followed by two sentence examples (12-113 and 12-114).

Table 12.8: Selected examples of transitive complex verbs

Simple verbs	Complex verbs
bayan- 'chop, bite'	darlag bayan- 'split'; daj bayan- 'crush'; digab bayan- 'chop'
bung- 'hit, affect physically'	jarrwaj bung- 'spear'; banggilyi bung- 'hit on the head'; bulbul bung- 'wrap'; wirlg bung- 'kill'
ngarn- 'ingest'	gugij ngarn- 'drink'; junyjuny ngarn- 'suck'
gambarn- 'burn'	jilyarra gambarn- 'singe'; rdurdul gambarn- 'cook in an earth oven'
garran- 'hold, have'	wulaj garran- 'hide'; ngamulu garran- 'keep in arms'; juluj garran- 'keep on the hip'
man- 'get'	birrga man- 'create'; bad man- 'touch'; ngarra man-'recognise'; nyirn man- 'lose'; miyanggi man- 'ask'
gang- 'carry'	laja gang- 'ride (on horse)'; mambid gang- 'take and box in'; warra gang- 'take care of'
giyan- 'throw'	waj giyan- 'throw'; yurruwag giyan- 'vomit'
yirran- 'put, place'	yug yirran- 'let it go'; jaburr yirran- 'splash'
yuwan- 'send'	birrib yuwan- 'close, shut'
nyang- 'perceive'	barli nyang- 'find'; bura nyang- 'listen to'; girnig nyang- 'stare at'
yunbarn- 'sing'	burr yunbarn- 'sing'
wanyjan-'leave/dance'	wuruly wanyjan- 'sneak away'; warrgab wanyjan- 'stamp dance'

(12-113) gardiya-lu ngu=lu=yanu bu-nya warlagu
white.man-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ hit-PAST dog.ABS
White men hit dogs. [TM: CSfn271010]

(12-114) ngu=rna=nggu wanyjan-ana *na* [CS: nyunudu]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ leave-PRES NOW 2MIN
I leave you now. [TM: CSfn280710]
NOTE: nyundu was added by CS and approved by TM.

Two transitive inflecting verbs yunbarn- 'sing' and wanyjan- 'dance/leave' (when it means 'dance') typically take 'cognate objects' as absolutive direct object, i.e., names of ceremonies (songs and dances) (12-115a and 12-116a). These objects of 'sing' and 'dance' can be omitted from the clauses (12-115b and 12-116b).[347]

(12-115)
a. mawun-du ngu=lu yunbarn-ana **wangga**
man-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ sing-PRES SONG.NAME.ABS
Men are singing *Wangga*. [TM: CSfn110609]

[347] Such properties are also found in verbs of performance of Warlpiri (Hale, 1982; Simpson, 1991) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014).

b. gujarra-lu mawun-du ngu=wula yunbarn-ana
two-ERG man-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ sing-PRES
Two men are singing. [TM: CSfn220509]

(12-116)
a. nguyurdu-lu ngu=lu **junba**=ma wanyjan-ana
many-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ corroboree.ABS=TOP dance-PRES

nyila=ma
DIST1=TOP
CS#: Many [people] are dancing the corroboree, that one. [TM: CSfn091009]

b. nyila gajirri-lu ngu=lu wanyjan-ana
DIST1 old.woman-ERG REAL=3AUG.SBJ dance-PRES
CS#: Those old women are dancing. [TM: CSfn250909]

12.5.6.1 With oblique arguments

Transitive clauses optionally take spatial oblique arguments with verbs of position and physical transfer, including the inflecting verbs: yirran- 'put'; garran- 'keep'; gang- 'carry'; giyan- 'throw'; yuwan- 'send' and related complex verbs which take the ergative-absolutive case frame. They express: location in the comitative (or locative) (12-117); a source (12-118, Sentence 1); a goal (12-118, Sentence 2); destination in the allative (12-119); a start point in the elative (12-120). If obliques are animate and higher than direct objects in person/number hierarchy, they are optionally cross-referenced with object/dative or oblique clitics. However, inanimate obliques are not cross-referenced.

(12-117)
a. ngama-yi-lu ngu=**lanyanda** garlji yirran-ana **yamaji-wunyja**
M-KIN-ERG REAL=3MIN.OBL white.ochre.ABS put-PRES small-COMIT
The mother put white ochre onto the kid. [MS: CSfn081110]

b. nyila ngaringga-lu ngu=**la** yirran-ana garlji
DIST1 woman-ERG REAL=3MIN.DAT put-PRES white.ochre.ABS

murdu **yamaji-wunyja**
red.ochre.ABS small-COMIT
That woman is putting white ochre and red ochre onto the kid.
NOTE: The dative clitic is alternatively interpreted as a dative additional argument for beneficiary. [MS: CSfn220509]

(12-118)

1. ngu=rna=**yanunggula** man-gu nyila ngarin
   REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBL get-FUT DIST1 meat.ABS

   [CS: **ngaringga-wuja**]
   woman-COMIT
   I'll get that beef off them.
   NOTE: In the bracket, I provided an overt NP adding to the original sentence. MS approved of it.

2. ngu=rna=**nggu** gang-gu **nyununga**
   REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ carry-FUT 2MIN.OBL1
   I'll bring it to/for you. [MS: CSfn260609]

(12-119) yamayama ngu=**yanu** yuwan-i **nyanunginy-jawu** **jaja-nggawu**
children.ABS REAL=3AUG.OBJ send-PAST 3MIN.OBL2-ALL MM-ALL
She sent the kids to her grandmother. [MS: CSfn060809]

(12-120) warlgan ngu dub man-i **nyanunginy-nginyi**
sand.goanna.ABS REAL pull GET-PAST 3MIN.OBL2-EL

ngurra-nginyi
camp-EL
He pulled out a sand goanna from his (the goanna's) nest. [MS: CSfn081110]

12.5.7 Transitive complement clauses

Three inflecting verbs (marran- 'call', man- 'get' and garran- 'keep') are used in transitive-complement clauses with an ergative subject, absolutive object and object complement.

The verb marran- is used with an object complement 'ERG name/call ABS OCOMP'. This complement typically refers to a person's name or a subsection or kin term in the absolutive case in agreement with the direct object as in (12-121).

(12-121) nyundu ngu=**yi**=n marra-wu **Naangari**
2MIN REAL=1MIN.OBJ=2MIN.SBJ call-FUT ♀subsection.ABS
You can call me Naangari. [MS: CSfn201009]

A few causative constructions also contain an object complement with the inflecting verb man- 'get' as in (12-122a and 12-123a). Such constructions are found with the nominal object complements: yura 'good'; wan.gaj 'bad'; malirri 'cold (weather)';

jiwilying ‘cool’; duburrung ‘hot (weather)’. However, the causative meaning is generally expressed within complex predicates consisting of the inflecting verb man- and a translative coverb as in (12-122b and 12-123b).

(12-122)

a.	muwuying-gulu	**yura**	ngu=**yi**	man-i
	plum-ERG	good.ABS	REAL=1MIN.OBJ	get-PAST
	The bush plum made me good. [MS: TTfn090806]			

b.	gangirriny-ju	ngu=yi	yura-g	man-ana
	sun-ERG	REAL=1MIN.OBJ	good-TRNSL	GET-PRES
	The sun makes me better (i.e. the sun makes me warm). [TM: CSfn180610]			

(12-123)

a.	ngu=**yi**	munda	**malirri**	man-ana	ngawa-nggu
	REAL=1MIN.OBJ	belly.ABS	cold.ABS	get-PRES	water-ERG
	TM: *i* make *mi* cold, my *munda*.				
	CS@: (Drinking) water makes me, the stomach cold. [TM: CSfn: 240809]				

b.	ngu	malirri-g	man-ana	ngurra \
	REAL	cold-TRNSL	GET-PRES	camp.ABS
	CS#: It (i.e., the rain) makes the country cold. [TM: 10_0701_2.010]			

Although there is only one example found in the corpus, the verb garran- ‘keep’ may also be used in this clause type.

(12-124)	ngarin	guya=ngaliwa	garran-ana	**yura**
	meat.ABS	THUS=1AUG.INC.OBJ	keep-PRES	good.ABS
	It (i.e., the refrigerator) keeps beef good for us. [MS: CSfn0910109]			

12.5.8 Semi-ditransitive clauses

This uncommon clause type contains an absolutive subject and a direct (cognate) object, plus a dative, comitative or locative indirect object with the verbs marn- ‘talk, speak’ and biyarrb marn-‘chat with. The three examples demonstrate that overt indirect objects are in the dative (12-125a), in the comitative (12-125b) and in the dative but cross-referenced with the oblique clitic (12-125c). The comitative suffix in (b) can be replaced with the locative suffix.

(12-125)

a. [CS: gajirri] ngu=rna=**yanu** marn-ana
old.woman.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ say-PRES

jaru **yamayama-wu**
language.ABS children-DAT
CS#: I am telling the story to kids/I am speaking the language to kids.
NOTE: the overt absolutive NP in a bracket was given by CS, which was approved by TM.
[TM: CSfn091009]

b. ngu=rna=**yanunggula** marn-ana jaru **yamayama-wunyja**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBL say-PRES language.ABS children-COMIT
CS#: I am telling the story to kids/I am speaking the language to kids.
[TM: CSfn210909]

c. marn-an-i ngu=rna=**yanunggula** jaru **yamayama-wu**
say-CONT-PAST REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBL language.ABS children-DAT
I was telling the story to kids. [TM: CSfn210909]

12.5.9 Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive clauses take the following case frames as in (12-126).

(12-126)

a. Ditransitive 1 ERG-ABS-ABS
b. Ditransitive 2 ERG-ABS-DAT/COMIT/LOC
c. Ditransitive 3 ERG-ABS-ALL/PURP

Many verbs expressing transfer of goods or knowledge are used in this clause type and take more than one of these case frames. Most verbs have case frames including a dative, comitative or locative indirect object argument (b) whereas only a few verbs can take the frame with two absolutive-marked object arguments (a). Indirect objects are sometimes marked by the allative or purposive suffix (c). In ditransitive clauses, a subject and one of the non-subject arguments are normally selected to be cross-referenced based on hierarchies of animacy, person and number of referents (§7.3.9). Since argument structures of ditransitive clauses vary in predicates, I will describe them by the types of inflecting verbs.

12.5.9.1 yung- 'give'

The most common inflecting verb used in ditransitive clauses is yung- 'give'. This

shows Ditransitive 2 clause type taking an absolutive direct object and dative indirect object. That is:

(12-127)	<Actor>	<Theme>	<Goal>
	A	DO	IO
NP	ERG	ABS	DAT/COMIT/LOC
PRO clitic	SBJ	[OBJ]	[OBJ/DAT/OBL]

Absolutive or dative arguments can be cross-referenced with object/dative clitics as well as ergative arguments depending on hierarchies of animacy, person and/or number of the referents (§7.3.9). In (12-128-12-130), dative and comitative arguments are cross-referenced due to that their referents are higher than the referents of absolutive arguments in terms of the animacy and number respectively. In (12-131), the absolutive argument is cross-referenced.

(12-128) ngama-yi-lu ngu=**yanu** ngarin nguyuru yung-ana
M-KIN-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ meat.ABS many.ABS give-PRES

yamayama-wu
children-DAT
Mother gives many meats to children. [MS: CSfn190509]

(12-129) nganinga Nambiyin ngu=rna=**la** yung-ana
1MIN.OBL1 ♀subsection.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT give-PRES

Jangari-wu
♂subsection-DAT
I give my Nambiyin to Jangari. [TM: CSfn101011]

(12-130) ngayu ngu=rna=**yanu** yu-nya nganinginy
1MIN REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ give-PAST 1MIN.OBL2

mangarri **yamayama-wunyja**
veg.food.ABS children-COMIT
CS#: I gave kids food from me. [TM: CSfn020910]

(12-131) ngu=rna=**yanu** yu-nya **murrgun** **ngala-yi**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ give-PAST three.ABS ♀Ch-KIN.ABS

yalu-wu mawun-gu
DIST2-DAT man-DAT
CS!: I gave three daughters to that man. [TM: CSfn071011]

The verb yung- ‘give’ combines with coverbs of information transfer as follows:

[1] jirri yung- ‘show’

This complex verb shows the same Ditransitive 2 structure as the simple verb yung- ‘give’.

(12-132) ngu=rna=**nggu** jirri yi-nya nganinga *aus*
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ point GIVE-PAST 1MIN.OBL1 house.ABS

ngandawi [CS: **Nangari-wu**]
shadow.ABS ♀subsection-DAT
I showed a photo of my house to you, to Nangari. [TM: CSfn101110]
NOTE: A dative NP was added by CS and was approved of it by TM.

[2] bina yung- ‘teach’

This complex verb can be found in Ditransitive 1 and 2 types. Possible semantic and argument structures are given in Table 12.9 below. Ditransitive 2 type can be divided into three sub-types (b-1, b-2 and b-3). (b-2) differs from the other two in their semantic and argument structures with a dative or locative argument (b-1/b-3) or an absolutive argument for ‘Goal’ role.

Table 12:9 Semantic and argument structures of bina yung-

		<Actor>	<Theme>	<Goal>	Examples
a.	NP PRO clitic	A ERG SBJ	O2 ABS	DO ABS OBJ	(12-133)
b-1	NP PRO clitic	A ERG SBJ	DO ABS (OBJ)	IO DAT (OBJ/DAT)	(12-134)
b-2	NP PRO clitic	A ERG SBJ	IO DAT (OBJ/DAT)	DO ABS (OBJ)	(12-135)
b-3	NP PRO clitic	A ERG SBJ	DO ABS	IO COMIT/LOC OBL	(12-136)

(12-133) ngama-nyan-du ngu=**yanu** bina yung-ana jaru
M-3KIN.POSS-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ know GIVE-PRES language.ABS

ngala-nyanbarra
♀Ch-3PL.KIN.POSS.ABS
The mother is teaching her kids the language. [MS: CSfn161009]

(12-134) ngama-yi-lu ngu=**yanu** bina yung-ana **yamayama-wu**
M-KIN-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ know GIVE-PRES children-DAT

Wanyjirra-jaru
LANGUAGE.NAME-language.ABS
The mother is teaching the Wanyjirra language to children. [MS: CSfn110509]

(12-135) ngu=liwula=**yanu** bina yung-gu **yamayama**
REAL=1UA.INC.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ know GIVE-FUT children.ABS

junba-gu bin.ga-ga
corroboree-DAT river-LOC
TM: We *gata leanem*.
CS#: We will teach kids about the corroboree in the creek. [TM: CSfn191011]

(12-136) ngu=rna=**yanunggula** bina yung-gu nyila junba
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBL know GIVE-FUT DIST1 corroboree.ABS

yamayama-wunyja
children-COMIT
CS#: I will teach them the corroboree. [TM: CSfn260810]

[3] binarri-g yung- 'teach'

Although this complex verb is semantically similar to bina yung-, it only shows the Ditransitive 2 structure (b-2 in Table 12.9).

(12-137) ngayu ngu=rna=**nggu** binarri-g yung-gu
1MIN REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ knowing-TRNSL GIVE-FUT

nyundu yalu-wu dimana-wu
2MIN DIST2-DAT horse-DAT
I will teach you about that horse. [TM: CSfn280909]

12.5.9.2 yirran- 'put'

The inflecting verb yirran- 'put' is generally used in transitive clauses (§12.5.6) and

optionally takes comitative, locative or dative obliques which encode a goal location of an entity (§12.5.6.1). Where this verb combines with coverbs, complex verbs occur in ditransitive clauses.

[1] jirri yirran- 'show' (Ditransitive 2, b-1 and b-3)

(11-138)

a. ngu=**la** jirri yirran-i **yamaji-wu** yangi jiya
REAL=3MIN.DAT point PUT-PAST small-DAT one.ABS kangaroo.ABS
He showed one kangaroo to the child. [TM: CSfn170810]

b. ngu=**lanyanda** jirri yirran-i **yamaji-wunyja** nyila jiya
REAL=3MIN.OBL point PUT-PAST small-COMIT DIST1 kangaroo.ABS
He showed the kangaroo to the child. [TM: CSfn170810]

[2] marrangan yirran- 'position DO facing to IO' (Ditransitive 2, b-1)

(12-139) ngama-yi-lu ngu=**la** marrangan yirran-ana yamaji
M-KIN-ERG REAL=3MIN.DAT facing PUT-PRES small.ABS

jaja-wu
MM-DAT
TM: Mother one *putum* baby *langa jaja*.
CS@: The mother put the baby facing to her grandma. [TM: CSfn191010]

[3] biyarrb yirran-, biyarrb yuwan- 'tell a story to' (Ditransitive 2, b-1)

(12-140)

a. guya=**yi**=wula biyarrb yirran-ana ngarranggarni
THUS=1MIN.OBJ=3UA.SBJ tell.story PUT-PRES Dream.Time.ABS

jaru gujarra-lu Namija-lu [CS: **Nangari-wu**]
language.ABS two-ERG ♀subsection-ERG ♀subsection-DAT
Two Namija women told the Dream Time story to me. [TM: CSfn160609]
NOTE: The overt dative NP was added to the original sentence by CS. TM approved of it.

b. ngama-yi-lu ngu=**yanu** **yamayama-wu** biyarrb yuwan-ana
M-KIN-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ children-DAT tell.story SEND-PRES
MS: The mother is telling that to children. [MS; TM: CSfn170610]

In addition, these verbs can have indirect objects expressing a topic instead of a goal as in (12-141). In the corpus, all examples contain the reflexive clitic.

(12-141) nyila ngu=**nyunu** biyarrb yuwan-i \... **gun.ga-gu**=ma
DIST1 REAL=RR tell.story SEND-PAST dead-ERG=TOP
MS: She was telling a story about herself.
CS#: That one told a story about herself, the deceased (person).
[TM: TTfn110999]

12.5.9.3 gang- 'carry'

The inflecting verb gang- 'carry' is used in transitive clauses. Where it combines with some coverbs of information transfer, verbs can be used in Ditransitive 2 clauses.

[1] jirri gang- 'take IO and point DO to IO (i.e., show)' (Ditransitive 2)

(12-142) nganingu-wu ngabu-yu-wu ngu=rna=**wuliny** jirri
1MIN.OBL1-DAT F-KIN-DAT REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3UA.OBJ point

ga-nya **yambagina-wuyarra**
CARRY-PAST child-DU.ABS
To my father, I showed my twins. [TM: CSfn111011]

[2] bina gang- 'take IO and teach DO to IO' or 'take DO to IO and teach' (i.e., 'show')
This complex verb is semantically similar to jirri gang- but it is subcategorised into Ditransitive 2 with dative, locative or comitative indirect objects as in (12-143a, b) and Ditransitive 3 with an allative indirect object (12-144). In (12-144), the entity shown is marked with the allative suffix as an indirect object and the person to whom it is shown is an absolutive direct object.

(12-143)
a. ngu=rna=**yanu** bina ga-nya nganinga ngurra
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ know CARRY-PAST 1MIN.OBL1 camp.ABS

gardiya-wu
white.man-DAT
I showed my camp to white men. [TM: CSfn101110]

b. 1. ngu=rna=nggu gang-gu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ carry-FUT
I will take you.

2. yigirli ngu nganinga ngurra
far REAL 1MIN.OBL1 camp.ABS
My country is far away.

3. ngu=rna=**nggula** bina gang-gu [CS: **nyununginy-ja**][348]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBL know CARRY-FUT 2MIN.OBL2-LOC
TM: I will show you.
CS#: I will show it to you. [TM: CSfn170810]
NOTE: nyununginy-ja was added by me and the whole sentence was approved by TM.

(12-144) ngu=rna=**yanu** bina ga-nya **gardiya**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ know CARRY-PAST white.man.ABS

nganingu-lawu ngurra-nggawu
1MIN.OBL1-ALL camp-ALL
I took white men to my country and showed it to them. [MS: CSfn0091110]

[3] biga gang- 'report' (Ditransitive 2)

This complex verb takes a locative or comitative indirect object with an absolutive direct object, although the direct object is only indexed by the object clitic. This verb can also take a complement clause representing the event reported (§13.1.1.4).

(12-145) ngarra=rna=nggu biga gang-gu gardiya-wunyja
ADM=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ inform CARRY-FUT whiteman-COMIT
I might report you to the police. [MS: CSfn121110]

12.5.9.4 man- 'get'

[1] dabu man- 'deprive, starve DO of IO' (Ditransitive 2)

(12-146) ngu=rna=nggu dabu man-i ngawa-wu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ miss.out GET-PAST water-DAT

[CS: nyundu]
2MIN
MS: I don't want to give you water.
CS: I deprived you of water. [MS: CSfn280809]

[348] Alternatively, bina gang- takes an A argument and Goal roles without Theme as in TM's translation.

12.5.9.5 bung- 'hit'

[1] biga bung- 'inform'

This verb exhibits a range of argument structures demonstrated in Table 12.10. Since case-marking of goal and theme roles are interchangeable between dative and absolutive in the structures (b) and (c), they cause a semantic ambiguity between two alternative interpretations as in (12-148). These meanings are understood through context.

Table 12.10 Semantic and argument structures of biga bung-

			<Actor>	<Theme/Topic>	<Goal>	Examples
Ditransitive 1	(a)		A	O2	DO	(12-147)
		NP	ERG	ABS	ABS	
		PRO clitic	SBJ		OBJ	
Ditransitive 2	(b)		A	IO	DO	(12-148i)
		NP	ERG	DAT	ABS	
		PRO clitic	SBJ	(OBJ/DAT)	(OBJ)	
	(c)		A	DO	IO	(12-148ii)
		NP	ERG	ABS	DAT	
		PRO clitic	SBJ	(OBJ)	(OBJ/DAT)	
	(d)		A	DO	IO	(12-149)
		NP	ERG	ABS	COMIT/LOC	
		PRO clitic	SBJ	(OBJ)	(OBJ/DAT/OBL)	
Ditransitive 3	(e)		A	DO	IO	(12-150)
		NP	ERG	ABS	PURP	
		PRO clitic	SBJ	OBJ		

(12-147) ngama-yi-lu ngu=**yanu** biga bung-an-i **yamayama**
M-KIN-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ inform HIT-CONT-PAST children.ABS

jaru
language.ABS
The mother was telling the kids a story. [MS: CSfn110509]

(12-148) mawun-du ngu=**yanu** biga bung-an-i **yamayama**
man-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ inform HIT-CONT-PAST children.ABS

gardiya-wu
white.man-DAT
(i) A man was telling children about a white man.
(ii) A man was telling [a story about] the children to a white man.
[TM: CSfn160910]

(12-149) ngarra=rna=**nggu** biga bung-gu gardiya-wunyja
ADM=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ inform HIT-FUT white.man-COMIT

[CS: **nyundu**]
2MIN
I might report you to the white man (i.e., the Police). [MS: CSfn170909]
NOTE: I added the pronoun nyundu to the original sentence. MS approved it.

(12-150) ngu=rna=**nggu** **nyundu** biga bung-gu gardiya-wurra
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ 2MIN inform HIT-FUT white.man-PURP
I will report you to the white man. [MS: CSfn180909]

12.5.9.6 yunbarn- 'sing'

The verb of performance yunbarn- 'sing' usually occurs in transitive clauses. However, it can also be used in Ditransitive 1 and Ditransitive 2clauses.

Table 12.11: Semantic and argument structures of yunbarn- 'sing'

		<Actor>	<Theme>	<Goal>	Examples
Transitive		A	DO		(12-115)
	NP	ERG	ABS		
	PRO clitic	SBJ			
Ditransitive 1		A	O2	DO	(12-151)
	NP	ERG	ABS	ABS	
	PRO clitic	SBJ		OBJ	
Ditransitive 2		A	DO	IO	(12-152)
	NP	ERG	ABS	DAT	
	PRO clitic	SBJ	(OBJ)	(OBJ/DAT)	

(12-151) yunbarn-i ngu=wula **yarrirndi** **gardiya**
sing-PAST REAL=3UA.SBJ SONG.NAME.ABS white.man.ABS
CS#: Two people sang the white man *yarrirndi*. [TM: CSfn101011]

(12-152) ngu=lu=**yanu** yunbarn-ana nyamba **yamayama-wu**
REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ sing-PRES something.ABS children-DAT
They sing something to the kids. [MS: CSfn070809]

12.5.9.7 With oblique arguments

Ditransitive clauses rarely take a further oblique argument. Possible examples are given below. The verb yung- 'give' takes an oblique 2 pronoun which encodes a source of the thing given to the recipient as in (12-153).[349] The same verb can take a dative additional argument designating beneficiary as in (12-154) where this beneficiary is cross-referenced rather than the indirect object due to the number hierarchy.

(12-153) mawun-du ngu=yanu yu-nya **nyanunginy** mangarri
man-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ give-PAST 3MIN.OBL2 veg.food.ABS

yamayama-wu
children-DAT
CS#: The man gave food to the children from him. [TM: CSfm020910]

(12-154) ngu=rna=**la** yu-nya ngarin yalu-wu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT give-PAST meat.ABS DIST2-DAT

yamayama-wu **nyanungu-wu** **ngama-yi-wu**
children-DAT 3MIN.OBL1-DAT M-KIN-DAT
CS#: I gave meat to those children for their mother. [TM: CSfn031011]

12.6 Secondary predications

Wanyjirra has two types of secondary predications which optionally occur in main clauses; (i) depictive secondary predicates; (ii) resultative secondary predicates. They are different in terms of semantics, morphological marking and co-reference constraints between secondary predicates and an argument.

12.6.1 Depictive secondary predications

Depictive secondary predications (depictives) denote a state of a referent of one

[349] Alternatively, this oblique pronoun can be analysed as a modifier within the NP, (i.e., nyanunginy mangarri 'food from him') instead of the head of the distinct NP.

argument which holds at the time that the event of the main predicate takes place (cf. Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt, 2005; Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann, 2004). Subjects or direct objects of the clauses may take such coreferential depictives although the majority of examples found in the corpus are subject controllers. Depictives are marked by referential use of case suffixes (§3.2.3.3) agreeing in case with their controller. However, the controllers are often specified only by pronominal clitics but not by overt NPs. The following examples are subject-controlled depictives (12-155-12-157) and one direct object-controlled depictive (12-158).

(12-155) maya guya nga=liyarra giyan-ana **ngamanyi-lu** \
more thus REAL=1UA.SBJ throw-PRES poor.thing-ERG
TT: We, orphans [i.e. poor things] are painting more like this.
CS: We, poor things are throwing it (i.e. ochre) more like this.
[NP: 76_14_1_NP.137]

(12-156) wanyja-wuyarra-lu ngu=wula=nyunu nyang-ana **ngunyi-nggu**
woman-DU-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ=RR perceive-PRES jealous-ERG
MS: Two women look at each other and they are jealous.
CS%: Two women look at each other jealously. [MS: CSfn170609]

(12-157) ngu=rna **yabawurru** garri-nya ngurra-ngga
REAL=1MIN.SBJ small.ABS stay-PAST camp-LOC
I stayed at the camp [when I was] a child. [TM: CSfn290910]

(12-158) langga nyila \...(0.9) langga nyila \... ngu=lu
head.ABS DIST1 head.ABS DIST1 REAL=3AUG.SBJ

baya-rru darlag \...(1.2) **jiwirri**=ma \...(1.9) **jiwirri**=ma \...(1.0) darlag \
bite-FUT split cooked.ABS=TOP cooked.ABS=TOP split
TT: That head, they will split it as [it is now] cooked. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(1).073]

Depictives are often a simple adjective or noun as seen in the above examples but can also be nominals marked with a derivational case suffix (12-159 and 12-160). Note that (12-160) shows that a clause can have the depictive ngarin-guja-lu and the adverbial modification which is constituted by the manner nominal lingi ‘persistently’ (§3.1.1.10; §6.3.3).

(12-159) *When children are playing in a big river, they might say that:*

ngayu-marraj-ju	dilygurrb	baya-rra
1MIN-LIKE-ERG	strike	CHOP-IMP

Like me you splash water! [TM: CSfn121110]

(12-160) lingi-nggu	ngu=yi	bila-bila	man-ana
persistently-ERG	REAL=1MIN.OBJ	RDP-chase	GET-PRES

ngarin-guja-lu
meat-LACK-ERG
CS#: Persistently he, starving for beef, is chasing me. [TM: CSfn110810]

A problem of definition is that a depictive shares morpho-syntactic properties with other constructions.[350] First, some depictives can alternatively be analysed as a restrictive attributive modifier of the NP. Although sub-constituents are typically consecutive, Wanyjirra has discontinuous NPs where one nominal is separated from others expressing the same referent by other elements of the clause. I have described at least some of these separated nominals as sub-constituents of the single NPs whereas others are ambiguous (§8.7). Since depictives are often adjectives which function attributively and predicatively and often occur separately from their controllers (but not obligatorily), it's hard to draw a distinction among discontinuous NP constructions. Prosody may be useful to some extent to distinguish depictives from restrictive modifiers because the formers may be separated by intonation breaks as in (12-158). However, if nominals referring to the same entity are separated by a pause and intonation break, they can also be considered as forming distinct NPs in apposition which are functionally related to a single argument (§8.8). Unlike discontinuous and appositive NPs, depictives serve a predicative function, but not a referential function, representing a temporal state of one participant. But no morpho-syntactic difference is found between these constructions and interpretation usually depends on context. For instance, in a different context, the secondary predication in (12-158) can alternatively be interpreted as the apposed (afterthought) NPs 'the cooked (one)' which is additional information on the referent langga nyila 'that head'.

In (12-161), yura 'good' can be analysed as a part of the discontinuous NP as indicated in Tsunoda's translation and my translation (i') and as making the reference of langga

[350] Differences between depictives and adverbial (manner) modifications have been described in §6.3.3.

'head' more descriptive or more restrictive independently from the temporal frame set by the main predicate. The separated adjective appears in the same intonation unit together with other preceding elements and carries highlighted formation on the quality 'good, tasty' (see also (8-79) in §8.7). However, in a different context, it may also be analysed as a secondary predicate as in my translations (ii). In interpretation (ii), yura expresses a state of langa associated with the temporal frame of the main predicate event 'eating'.

(12-161) *In the story, they were dividing a cooked bullock into pieces for people.*

nyawa	nyawa	langga	nga-lu=liwa	**yura** \
PROX1	PROX1	head.ABS	ingest-FUT=1AUG.INC.SBJ	good.ABS

TT: (i) Let's eat this tasty head. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(1).074]
CS%: (i') Here here let's eat the tasty head.
CS: (ii) Here here let's eat the head as it is now good (i.e., because it's just cooked).

Depictives are also similar to a type of non-finite subordinate clauses in which a non-finite form of the inflecting verb and/or a coverb are marked with the ergative subordinating suffix (§13.2.1.6). Like depictives, such non-finite subordinate clauses are construed with ergative arguments and are used predicatively.

(12-162) yalu-nggu	mawun-du	ngawa	ngarn-ana	gugij	**yan-u-nggu**
DIST2-ERG	man-ERG	water.ABS	ingest-PRES	drink	go-NF-ERG

That man is drinking water while walking. [TM: CSfn100810]

However, I treat such examples as non-finite subordinate clauses rather than as depictives. The former contains a verbal as a predicate whereas a depictive contains a nominal predicate.

12.6.2 Resultative secondary predications

Resultative secondary predications (resultatives) designate a state as a consequence of the event denoted by the main predicate as opposed to depictives expressing a co-temporal state of the main predicate event. Resultatives have two types of constructions. The first is morpho-syntactically similar to depictives, although there are only a few examples. The second type is resultatives marked with the translative suffix -g.

First, in (12-163), gun.ga ‘dead’ expresses a resultant state of the direct object which would occur after the event ‘stabbing’. This unmarked adjective agrees with its controller like in depictive constructions.

(12-163) lan-gu ngu=lu::: **gun.ga** \...(1.0) *bulug*=ma \
stab-FUT REAL=3AUG.SBJ dead.ABS bullock.ABS=TOP
TT: They will stab the bullock dead. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(1).032]
CS%: They will stab it dead, the bullock.

This construction resembles causative sentences where the inflecting verb man- ‘get’ takes an object predicative complement denoting a state (§12.5.7). But resultatives differ from such object complements in that the formers are always optional and clauses do not undergo changes of semantic and grammatical structure without them.

However, most resultatives are expressed by coverbs marked with the translative suffix which signals a change of state rather than by unmarked nominals. Like other coverbs, translative coverbs form main predicates with inflecting verbs. However, they can also occur independently of main predicates and express reultative states of the events denoted by main predicates. Such resultatives link to a direct object (12-164), an intransitive subject (12-165), a dative oblique (12-166) and an additional argument in a reflexive sentence (12-167). As seen in (12-166 and 12-167), resultatives marked with the translative suffix do not need to agree in case with their controller.[351]

(12-164) **jiwirri-g** /... ngu=rnalu *gam*, *wonem* man-an-i
cooked-TRNSL REAL=1AUG.SBJ ERROR warm? GET-CONT-PAST
We used to bake it cooked. [TM: 10_0607_3.021]
NOTE: TM intended to say gambarn-an-i ‘burn-CONT-PAST’ and restated it with the complex verb *wonem* man-an-i containing the Kriol-loan coverb. The meaning of the Kriol *wonem* is not known. It might be ‘warm’.

[351] Warlpiri resultatives marked with -karda ‘translative suffix’ has functions similar to Wanyjirra resultatives with -g (Simpson, 1983: 420-424; 2005: 84-85). Resultatives with -karda are optional and do not need to agree in case with their controllers, which are mainly objects or intransitive subjects. Simpson also shows that resultatives can be predicated of transitive subjects with an optional ergative-case agreement. In Wanyjirra, however, there is no example showing that resultatives are marked with overt case suffixes agreeing with their controllers.

(12-165) ngu=n ngawa-nginyi magin garri-nya **yura-g**
REAL=2MIN.SBJ water-EL sleep STAY-PAST good-TRNSL
After alcohol, you slept and got better. [TM: CSfn1251009]

(12-166) marndaj, ngu=yi=n yirra-wu ngawa
OK REAL=1MIN.OBJ=2MIN.SBJ put-FUT water.ABS

yalu-wu nalija-wu **malirri-g**
DIST2-DAT tea-DAT cold-TRNSL
CS#: OK, you may put water into the tea for me [and make it] cold.
[TM: CSfn140709]

(12-167) ngu=rna=nyununggula **yura-g-yura-g** yirran-i
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=RR.OBL good-TRNSL-good-TRNSL put-PAST

jagarru-waji
cover-AGENT.ABS
I put a blanket on me well. [TM: CSfn240810]

Chapter 13
Subordination and coordination

13.0 Introduction

In subordination and coordination, two or more clauses can be linked together in several ways. Subordination can be divided into two major types: finite subordinate clauses (§13.1) and non-finite subordinate clauses (§13.2). The former are recognised by having independent subordinating conjunctions with pronominal clitics while the latter minimally contain non-finite verbs followed by subordinating suffixes. Coordinate constructions are not morpho-syntactically marked by traditional Wanyjirra words or suffixes. Rather, connection of the clauses is shown by connective words borrowed from English/Kriol or by prosodic clues (§13.3). Finite subordinate clause constructions can also be used in independent simple sentences and these constructions show a range of meanings and functions (§13.4).

13.1 Finite subordinate clauses

One type of complex sentence is composed of two (or more) finite clauses, whether they contain verbal or nominal predicates. Inflecting verbs in these clauses are inflected for tense, aspect or mood as in normal simple sentences. The main and finite subordinate clauses are generally adjacent to each other and the subordinate clauses may precede or follow the main clauses. Finite subordinate clauses are recognised by the existence of subordinators which are placed where the auxiliary generally occurs in simple sentences. Subordinators can host pronominal clitics in such clauses. There are three subordinators, each encoding a range of meanings: guya/guwa (§13.1.1), nyangga (§13.1.2) and ngarra (§13.1.3). In addition, two interrogatives nyamba ‘what’ and nyararra ‘how’ can also function as interrogative subordinators (§13.1.4).

The term ‘subordinate’ here is used mainly from a semantic and morphological perspective rather than in a purely syntactic sense because, in most relevant constructions, a clause has no clear evidence for syntactic dependency to another

clause, i.e., there is no clear evidence of being embedded in or functioning as a constituent of another. 'Subordinate' clauses show a range of semantic inter-clausal relationships within complex sentences including relative and adverbial clause types.

It is only the existence of subordinators which morpho-syntactically distinguishes a complex sentence consisting of a finite subordinate clause and its main clause from two simple independent sentences placed next to each other. However, this is actually not strong evidence because a clause which is formally identical to such finite subordinate clauses may also occur in isolated sentences in discourse (§13.4). These examples can be interpreted as 'insubordination' (Evans, 2007; Mithun, 2008). The difference between complex sentences and a string of isolated sentences is generally signalled by a combination of semantic, morpho-syntactic and prosodic features.

13.1.1 Guya/guwa clauses

In Wanyjirra, this subordinating conjunction has two variants guya and guwa, and marks subordinate clauses with a range of meanings. The former is also used as an adverbial demonstrative with the meaning 'thus, like this/that' (§6.1.1.2). As subordinators, both forms guya and guwa are in free variation but the former is used more frequently.

Some Jaru dialects also use these variants while one dialect uses only the latter form (Tsunoda, 1981: 165-166). As in Wanyjirra, the form guya is used as a demonstrative and as a subordinator in Gurindji (McConvell, 2005b, 2005c) and Malngin (Ise, 1999). However, these languages have another subordinator nyamu for similar functions. The regularly-corresponding form kuja is used in Warlpiri and Walmajarri for demonstrative or adverbial and subordinating functions (Hale, 1976a; Richards & Hudson, 1990). McConvell (2006) discusses the fact that certain linguistic forms used as demonstratives have been grammaticalised as subordinate clause markers in Ngumpin-Yapa languages, comparing these with examples in other Australian and Germanic languages. He gives examples including the forms guya/guwa, kuja and nyamu from the Ngumpin-Yapa group. Cross-linguistically it is also common for adverbial clause markers and subordinators to develop from manner demonstratives 'like that' or other demonstratives used as discourse deictics (cf. Diessel, 1999a).

The important differences between the subordinator guya and the demonstrative guya are: (i) the subordinator is followed by pronominal clitics in subordinate clauses whereas the demonstrative is not; (ii) the subordinator occurs in the first or second constituent of the clauses whereas the demonstrative can occur anywhere; (iii) the demonstrative can take dative and locative suffixes (§6.1.1.2) whereas the subordinator never takes case suffixes. These features are clearly observed in the following examples, showing an adverbial demonstrative modifying the predicate of the independent clause (13-1) and a subordinator linking the subordinate clause to the preceding main clause (13-2). The beginning and end of the subordinate clause is indicated by square brackets.

(13-1) ngu=rna=yanu burndan-i **guya** ngarin[352]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ collect-PAST thus game.ABS
I collected (i.e., mustered) the cattle like that. [MS: CSfn040909]

(13-2) ngu=rna marn-ana nyila=ma jaru=ma
REAL=1MIN.SBJ say-PRES DIST1=TOP language.ABS=TOP

[**guya**=rna mirlimirli-la yirran-ana]
SUB=1MIN.SBJ paper-LOC put-PRES
CS#: I speak the language which/when I record in the book. [TM: CSfn131011]

In addition to its typical subordinating and demonstrative uses, guya (and guwa) can be used in independent simple sentences through insubordination (§13.4.3). Since guya as a demonstrative has been discussed in §6.1, this section focuses on the subordinating use of guya/guwa in complex sentences.

13.1.1.1 General functions of guya/guwa as a subordinator

The subordinate clause marked with the subordinator guya/guwa is generally of the type that Hale (1976a: 78) calls an 'adjoined relative clause', which is multifunctional and placed at the edge of its main clause rather than being embedded. This type of subordinate clause is found across Australian languages (cf. Nordlinger, 2006). More recently various new terms including 'general subordinate clause' (Dixon, 2002: 88) and 'general modifying (subordinate) clause' (Nordlinger, 2006: 11) have been

[352] The word ngarin 'game' is interpreted more specifically as 'cattle'.

suggested for such clause type instead of Hale's term 'adjoined relative clause' to avoid misunderstanding: e.g., they function not only as relative clauses but also as adverbial subordinate clauses.

Generally, guya/guwa subordinate clauses occur at the right or left edge of their main clauses, like Warlpiri general modifying clauses (Hale, 1976a). Within the subordinate clause, the subordinator occurs as the first or second constituent.

(13-3) [**guya**=lu junba wanyjan-an-i yamayama-lu]
SUB=3AUG.SBJ corroboree.ABS dance-CONT-PAST children-ERG

ngu=yanu ngandawi man-i
REAL=3AUG.OBJ shade.ABS get-PAST
CS#: When the children were dancing the corroboree, she took photos of them. [TM: CSfn211009]

(13-4) ngama-nyan ngu=la nganany marn-i yamaji-wu
M-3KIN.POSS.ABS REAL=3MIN.DAT stop DO-PAST child-DAT

[**guya** mangarri ngarn-an-i]
SUB veg.food.ABS ingest-CONT-PAST
MS: A mother stopped that kid from eating tucker.
CS%#: His/her mother stopped the child who was eating food.
[MS: CSfn191009]

The subordinator guya/guwa shows a range of inter-clausal relationships. They are generally divided into two types: (i) adverbial clauses which modify the whole main clauses; and (ii) relative clauses which modify a NP of their main clauses. These types are equivalent to what Hale (1976a) defines as 'T(emporal)-relative' and 'NP-relative' respectively. In the T-relative interpretation, the subordinate clauses 'specify the temporal setting of the event depicted in the main clause' whereas in NP-relative interpretation, they are used 'to make more determinate or to supply additional information about an argument in the main clause' (ibid: 79). Such adverbial clauses and relative clauses are demonstrated in the above examples (13-3) and (13-4) respectively. However, since there is no clear formal distinction between the two main interpretations, some examples can have both as seen in (13-2) above. In addition, adverbial clause types have many different meanings other than temporal meanings (see below).

13.1.1.2 Adverbial clauses

In a typical adverbial (T-relative) interpretation, the subordinator guya/guwa is often translated as 'when' or 'while' and expresses the simultaneity of two events as in (13-2) and (13-3). It also indicates a cause, condition or reason for the proposition of the main clauses.

[1] Simultaneous events

If the tense of both clauses is identical, the subordinate clauses can be interpreted as describing simultaneous events. Note that (13-6) may have adverbial and relative clause interpretations. Typically, a relative clause interpretation is only possible when two clauses share a coreferential NP; otherwise only an adverbial interpretation is possible.

(13-5) nyamba-wu=yi=n ngurrurdu garriny-ana
what-DAT=1MIN.OBJ=2MIN.SBJ jealous STAY-PRES

[**guya**=n ngarn-ana gugij ngawa]
SUB=2MIN.SBJ INGEST-PRES drink water.ABS
TM: What for do you jealous *la* me when you drink *grog*.
CS@: Why do you get jealous of me when you drink alcohol?
[TM: CSfn110609]

(13-6) ngu=rna=nggu guny bu-nya [**guya**=n magin
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ wait HIT-PAST SUB=2MIN.SBJ sleep

garriny-an-i]
STAY-CONT-PAST
TM: when you *bin* sleep, I *bin* wait *la* you.
CS@: I waited for you when you were sleeping.
CS#: ALT: I waited for you who were sleeping. [TM: CSfn111011]

[2] Conditional events

Conditional events can also be marked with the subordinator guwa/guya. Such clauses are generally in the present tense. Future conditional and hypothetical conditional clauses are marked by the other subordinator nyangga (§13.1.2). Since the occurrence of events expressed in main clauses is conditioned by that of subordinate clause events, the tense of the subordinate clauses is interpreted as antecedent to that of the main clause event.

(13-7) [**guya**=n garran-ana ngumbarna nyununga] ngu=nbula
SUB=2MIN.SBJkeep-PRES spouse.ABS 2MIN.OBL1 REAL=2UA.SBJ

yan-ang-gu wilinyi ngarlu-wu bindi-wu magijal-uwu
GO-CONT-FUT hunt honey-DAT bush.banana-DAT bush.orange-DAT

jarrambayi-wu ngarin-gu yabawurru-wu warlgan-gu
goanna-DAT meat-DAT small-DAT sand.goanna-DAT
CS#: If you have a husband, you two might go hunting for honey, bananas, apples, (big) goannas and small sand goannas. [TM: CSfn100909]

(13-8) munda ngu=yi man-ang-gu jawilyi-g
stomach.ABS REAL=1MIN.OBJ GET-CONT-FUT cold-TRNSL

[**guya**=rna gugij ngarn-ana ngawa]
SUB=1MIN.SBJ drink INGEST-PRES water.ABS
CS#: [It] will make my belly cold if I drink water. [TM: CSfn100909]

[3] Causal or anterior events

guya/guwa subordinate clauses also describe events which are causes of the occurrence of the main clause event. More generally events expressed in such causal clauses can also be interpreted as anterior events. This is semantically similar to conditional clauses in the sense that subordinate clause events are temporally prior to events expressed by main clauses. However, causal clauses are typically in the past tense, as opposed to conditional clauses which are in the present tense.

(13-9) gariya ngu=lu guli garri-nya [ngarin
white.ma.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ fight STAY-PAST meat.ABS

guya=rnalu=yanu bung-an-i]
SUB=1AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ hit-CONT-PAST
TT: The white men were angry because we were killing the cattle.
[MS: 76_13_2NP(1).162’’’]

(13-10) [**guya**=lu gun.ga garri-nya] ward yan-ana
REAL=3AUG.SBJ dead STAY-PAST return GO-PRES

yimarug *na*
spirit.return NOW
After/because people died, their spirits come back. [TM: CSfn020810]

[4] Reason or sequential events

A few examples can also be interpreted as a reason for an event following the main clause event. This is different from conditional and causal interpretations because the subordinate clause event is temporally posterior to the main clause event.[353] In (13-11), two subordinate clauses in the future tense express reasons for the command expressed in the main clause.

(13-11) nganany bung-ga=lu=yanu yamayama /.. [**guwa**=lu=nyunu
stop HIT-IMP=AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ children.ABS SUB=3AUG.SBJ=RR

bung-an-gu *yuno*] /… [**guwa**=lu=nyunu yarr-yarr marn-ang-gu] \
hit-CONT-FUT you.know SUB=3AUG.SBJ=RR RDP-tease SAY-CONT-FUT
CS#: You stop the kids (I'm saying this) because they will hit each other you know, because they will tease each other. [TM: CSfn010910]

13.1.1.3 Relative clauses

In the relative clause type, a subordinate clause modifies an NP of the main clause rather than the whole main clause. The subordinator is, therefore, used as a relativiser which connects the modifying clause to its head. Unlike relative clauses in English, the Wanyjirra relative clause does not necessarily immediately follow the NP it modifies. In (13-12), the demonstrative at the beginning of the main clause is separated from the following guya clause by the verb whereas in (13-13) the guya clause directly follows its head NP.

(13-12) nyila nyang-ga \ [gayi-liyin **guya**=ngaliny yan-ana] \
DIST1 perceive-IMP north-D.ABL SUB=1MIN.INC.OBJ go-PRES
"Look at that, coming to us from the north." [MS: 97_31_2.018]

(13-13) ngu=lu=yanu yayib wandiny-ana yamayama-wu
REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ laugh FALL-PRES children-DAT

[**guya**=lu ruyu marn-ana]
SUB=3AUG.SBJ play DO-PRES
They are laughing at the children who are playing. [TM: CSfn201011]

In this type of relativisation, overt co-referential NPs preferably occur in the first

[353] In Kriol, the reason clauses 'because' (irrespective of temporal relationships between two clauses) can also be marked by *tumaj* which is based on 'too much'. This is often used by Wanyjirra speakers in Kriol speech but infrequently integrated in Wanyjirra speech. However, this word is used more commonly in Gurindji (McConvell, 2005c), Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014), Ngalakan (Merlan, 1978) and Walmajarri (Richards & Hudson, 1990).

clauses, whether this is the main or the subordinate clause. However, in most examples, relative clauses follow their main clauses. Therefore, overt co-referential NPs tend to occur in the main clause. The exception is where co-referential NPs express pragmatically-prominent information and occur in the initial position of the sentence, even if the relative subordinate clause precedes the main clause (§12.2.1). For example in (13-14), the first NP nyila warlagu 'the dog' morpho-syntactically belongs to the main clause but not to the relative clause. Since it is absolutive, it is the object of the transitive main clause. If this NP were a constituent of the relative clause, it would be marked with the ergative suffix because the referent 'the dog' would be the transitive subject in the guya clause. The preposed NP nyila warlagu is topicalised. In addition, this NP is separated by a short pause and a flat intonation from the guya clause which is also separated from the following main clause. Note that this subordinate clause could alternatively be interpreted as designating a causal event.

(13-14)	nyila	warlagu,..	[**guya**=yi	bila	man-i] /…	ngu=rna
	DIST1	dog.ABS	SUB=1MIN.OBJ	chase	GET-PAST	REAL=1MIN.SBJ

bu-nya \
hit-PAST
TM: That dog, *i bin chasim mi*, *ai bin hitim im*.
CS@: That dog which chased me, I hit.
CS: ALT: That dog, because it chased me, I hit it. [TM: CSfn130810]

In (13-15), the situation is less clear because -lu can be analysed either as an ergative case or as an 'ONLY' clitic to an absolutive NPs. In the former case, the Kriol element *only daadi*-lu marked with the ergative suffix would also be analysed as belonging to the transitive main clause indicated by brackets 1. Here TM first uses Kriol but she switches to Wanyjirra. There is no pause between *daadi*-lu and the Kriol relativiser *wea* but there is a longer pause after the relative clause. Alternatively, if -lu is interpreted as the clitic =lu 'ONLY' (§11.4.1), this Kriol element must be analysed as originating from the subordinate clause as an intransitive absolutive subject, which is specified by brackets 2.

(13-15) [$_2$ *only* *daadi*-lu [$_1$*wea* *im*,.. **guwa**=yanu yan-i]$_1$]$_2$/…(1.2)
only daddy-ERG|ONLY REL 3SG SUB=3AUG.OBJ go-PAST

ngu=yanu bura nyang-an-i \
REAL=3AUG.OBJ listen PERCEIVE-CONT-PAST
Only [my] daddy, who went to them, listened to them [singing].
[TM: 10_0825_4.004]

In the above examples, the subjects of the subordinate clauses are co-referential with core arguments of the main clauses, i.e., subjects (13-15), direct objects (13-12 and 13-14) and indirect objects (13-13). The examples below demonstrate which NPs of the main clauses, whether they are core arguments or not, can be co-referential with the subject or object of subordinate clauses.

[1] Main clause S + Subordinate clause S

(13-16) [nyila **guya** lung-an-i] ngu magin *na*
DIST1 SUB cry-CONT-PAST REAL sleep NOW
CS#: That [kid] who was crying is sleeping now. [TM: CSfn240810]

[2] Main clause S= Subordinate clause DO

(13-17) **ngarin** ngu yura garri-nya [**guya**=rna ngarn-i]
meat.ABS REAL good be-PAST SUB=1MIN.SBJ ingest-PAST
That meat which I ate was good. [MS: CSfn140809]

[3] Main clause dative NP =Subordinate clause S

(13-18) yan-da=yila **murlu-wu** **warluru-wu** [nyawa
go-IMP=1MIN.OBL PROX2-DAT black-headed.python-DAT PROX1

guya wulujurru garriny-ana]
SUB stretch.out STAY-PRES
TT: Come to me for this [CS: black-headed python] which is stretching out here. [MS: 76_13_2_NP(2).049']
NOTE: I changed the gloss for warluru 'black-head python' from 'carpet snake'. According to NP, waluru and murnduj ('black-headed python') is the same snake.[354]

[4] Main clause comitative NP =Subordinate clause S

[354] The word waluru means 'desert python (*Antaresia stimsoni*)' in Jaru (Deegan et al., 2010: 106) whreas it is described as a Mudbura word meaning 'black-headed python' corresponding to murnduj in the Gurindji dictionary (Meakins et al., 2013: 384).

(13-19) ngu=rna=lanyanda lulu garriny-ana **yamaji-wunyja**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.OBL sit STAY-PRES small-COMIT

[**guya** magin garriny-ana]
SUB sleep STAY-PRES
MS: I am sitting by a kid who is sleeping.
CS#: ALT: I'm sitting by a kid while sleeping. [MS: CSfn201011]

[5] Main clause allative NP =Subordinate clause location

(13-20) walima=n yan-i **yala-nggawu** [**guya**=lu=yanu
Q=2MIN.SBJ go-PAST DIST2-ALL SUB=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ

dimana laja-laja gang-an-i]
horse.ABS RDP-on.shoulder CARRY-CONT-PAST
MS: Did you go to Rodeo?
CS%: Did you go there where people were riding horses? [MS: CSfn260709]

Some examples have no overt co-referential NPs and no cross-referencing pronominal clitics in either the main or the subordinate clause, and a temporal adverbial interpretation is not suitable. Such sentences can be analysed in two ways. The first is that their co-referential NPs are merely elliptical. The second possibility is that these clauses are 'free relatives' which lack controlling nominals in sentences (cf. Andrews, 2007b).

(13-21) jirri yirra=yi [**guya**=n marla-ngga garran-ana]
point PUT=1MIN.OBJ SUB=2MIN.SBJ hand-LOC keep-PRES
MS: Show me what you have in your hand.
CS#: ALT: Show me [that] which you have in your hand. [MS: CSfn081110]

(13-22) [yunguyung **guya**=li marn-i] ngu=rna
yesterday SUB=1MIN.INC.SBJ say-PAST REAL=1MIN.SBJ

langa-ngga garran-ana
ear-LOC keep-PRES
CS: LIT: I keep in my ears (i.e., remember) what we talked yesterday.
[TM: CSfn040810]

(13-23) gula yura [**guya**=rna ngarn-i]
NEG good SUB=1MIN.SBJ ingest-PAST
CS#: [The food] which I ate was not good.
CS#: ALT: What I ate was not good. [MS: CSfn260709]

13.1.1.4 Clausal complements

Almost all examples of finite subordinate clauses introduced by the subordinator guya/guwa are clausal adjuncts. However, at least in my corpus, guya/guwa also occurs in clausal complements of a few verbs of 'saying' introducing reported speech.[355] The complex verbs biga bung- (13-24) and biga gang- (13-25) take such clausal complements as direct objects. These complement clauses can be replaced with an absolutive NP, e.g. jaru 'story'.

(13-24) mawun-du ngu=yanu biga bung-ana yamayama-wu
man-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ inform HIT-PRES children-DAT

[**guya** yigirli yan-i]
SUB far go-PAST
TT: The man told the children that he went far [for travelling].
CS%: The man is telling the children that he went far [for travelling].
[MS: TTfn170999]

(13-25) ngu=rna=nggu biga ga-nya [Wajayi-wuny-ja
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ inform CARRY-PAST PERSON.NAME-ORIG-LOC

guya=rna=la marn-an-i jaru]
SUB=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT say-CONT-PAST language.ABS
CS#: I reported to you that I was talking the story about it at Wajayi's [place].
[MS: CSfn121110]

13.1.2 Nyangga clauses

The subordinator nyangga is specialised to express adverbial conditional clauses. Like the subordinator guya/guwa, nyangga occupies the first or second position in the clause. Conditional clauses marked with guya/guwa generally contain verbs in the

[355] In Warlpiri, the subordinator kuja has a similar function (Legate, 2008).

(A) Jakamarra-rlu-ju yimi-ngarru-rnu **kuja** Japanangka-rlu marlu
WARLPIRI Jakamarra-Erg-1sg.Obj speech-tell-Past Fact.C Japanangka-Erg kangaroo

pantu-rnu
spear-Past
"Jakamarra told me that Japanangka speared a kangaroo."
(ex. 365a cited from Granites et al., 1976)

(B) Ngarru-rnu-ju kuja-ka kurli-rra ya-ni
WARLPIRI tell-Past-1sgObj FactC-PresImpf south-All go-NPast
"He told me that he's going south." (ex. 325c cited from Granites et al., 1976).

present tense (§13.1.1.2). On the other hand, nyangga marks: (i) future condition or future time with a future form of the verb and: (ii) hypothetical condition or counterfactual with an irrealis form or a past form of the verb. Generally, nyangga clauses precede their main clauses but they can also follow them.

[1] Future condition and future time

Future condition and future time clauses express the fact that an event or a state is a precondition for the occurrence of an event in future time. The events or states in both clauses have not occurred at the time of utterance. In (13-26), the subordinator occurs in the second position of the clause whereas (13-27) begins with the negative particle which negates the event of the nyangga clause.

(13-26) [maarn **nyangga** yan-gu marri] nga=li
cloud.ABS COND GO-FUT off REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ

gangirriny garran-gu
sun.ABS keep-FUT
CS#: If the cloud goes away, we will have the sun. [TM: CSfn150610]

(13-27) [wagurra **nyangga**=n lurrij nga-lu]
NEG COND=2MIN.SBJ finish INGEST-FUT

ngu=rna=la yung-gu yangi-wu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT give-FUT one-DAT
If you don't finish this honey, I will give it to another bloke.
[MS: 76_12_1_NP(1).066'']

The above examples contain future tense verbs in both main and subordinate clauses. In (13-28), the subordinate clause is also in the future tense whereas the main clause verbs are imperative forms. In (13-29), two conditional clauses have nominal predicates and are interpreted as states in future time although they morphologically carry no information on tense, aspect and mood.

(13-28) [**nyangga**=n barli nyang-gu] gang-ga ward
COND=2MIN.SBJ find PERCEIVE-FUT CARRY-IMP return
If you find him, bring him back. [TM: CSfn160910]

(13-29)

1. galu ngu=rna=lanyanda jalngag wandi-wu
   yet REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.OBL sit.on.top fall-FUT
   Wait, I will sit on him (the horse).

2. [**nyangga** yura] marndaj
   COND good OK
   If he is good (CS: i.e., calm), it's all right.

3. [**nyangga** guliyan] ngu=rna=lanyanda jalngag wandi-wu
   COND aggressive REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.OBL sit.on.top FALL-FUT
   CS#: If he is aggressive, I will sit on him. [TM: CSfn191010]

[2] Hypothetical condition

The subordinator nyangga also marks counterfactual or hypothetical conditions, an event or a state which did not occur, but if it had occurred, the event or state of the main clause would have occurred. In this case, verbs in both clauses are usually in the irrealis, which is identical to imperative forms as in (13-30) and (13-31).

(13-30) [**nyangga**=dbula yan-da wunanggu[356]]
COND=2UA.SBJ go-IRR quickly

nga=liwa nga-nyja mangarri *but* minyarn
REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ ingest-IRR veg.food.ABS but nothing
CS#: If you two had come earlier, we would have eaten food. But nothing (you didn't come). [TM: CSfn131011]

[356] The manner nominal wunanggu could be segmented as wuna-nggu 'quick-ERG' which is normally used to modify ergative subjects and this ergative suffix functions as a referential maker showing agreement with ergative subjects (§3.2.3.3). If the clause has an absolutive subject NP as in (13-30), this manner nominal should be unmarked, i.e., wuna. Therefore, in (13-30) this -nggu cannot be analysed as a referential marker. I hypothesise that -nggu has lost its function in this word and wunanggu could be a fossilised stem. But the form wuna is used synchronically as well. In the following transitive sentence, wunanggu further takes -lu which is analysed as an ergative allomorph agreeing with its controller, the implicit ergative subject NP. This process can only be observed in this one manner nominal.

(A) wunanggu-lu birrga man-da jangilany jalarni
quick-ERG create GET-IMP fire.ABS now
Quick, make a fire now. [TM: CSfn121011]

(13-31) [**nyangga**=yi yung-ga *mani* yunguyung]
COND=1MIN.OBJ give-IRR money.ABS yesterday

ngu=rna man-da ngu=rna gamba jiwirri-g
REAL=1MIN.SBJ get-IRR REAL=1MIN.SBJ burn.IRR cooked-TRNSL
CS#: If you had given money to me yesterday, I could have gotten it and I could have cooked it. [TM: CSfn190810]

These hypothetical conditions may also be expressed by past tense verbs. However, since only one example (13-32) is found in the corpus, it is unclear whether that is an anomaly, a subtly different meaning or a synonymous alternative.

(13-32) [**nyangga**=rna ngarin garran-i yunguyung]
COND=1MIN.SBJ meat.ABS keep-PAST yesterday

ngu=rna gambarn-i
REAL=1MIN.SBJ burn-PAST
If I had meat yesterday, I would have cooked it. [MS: TTfn120895]

Nyangga is also used in independent simple sentences (§13.4.1).

13.1.3 Ngarra clauses

The ngarra subordinator is used to express apprehension or admonition: that the main clause event or state should or should not be carried out in order to avoid the unpleasant consequences expressed in the subordinate clause. Therefore, the main clauses are typically in the imperative or prohibitive mood whereas subordinate clauses have future tense verbs. Ngarra is often translated as 'in case' or 'lest'. The ngarra clauses, like other finite subordinate clauses, may either precede their main clauses (13-33) or follow them (13-34). However, if main clauses include negative particles, the ngarra clauses always follow them as in (13-35) because they carry pragmatically more prominent information.

(13-33) [**ngarra**=ngaliwanggula ngawa wandi-wu] maarn
ADM=1AUG.INC.OBL water.ABS fall-FUT cloud.ABS

warra gang-gu=liwa
watch CARRY-FUT=1AUG.INC.SBJ
CS#: In case rain falls down on us, we should watch the cloud(s).
[TM: CSfn180909]

(13-34) baya-rra nuya-g \... [baga **ngarra**=n nga-lu]\
bite-IMP soft-TRNSL splinter.ABS ADM=2MIN.SBJ ingest-FUT
CS#: Bite [the tail of a goanna] soft in case you eat splinters.
NOTE: nuya may not be Wanyjirra because speakers (other than NP) usually use another word galyba. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).319-320]

(13-35) wagurra=n-gu=la yan-gu [**ngarra**=nggu yung-gu
NEG=2MIN.SBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT go-FUT ADM=2MIN.OBJ give-FUT

janga]
sore.ABS
CS#: Don't go to him, he might infect you with sickness (lit. he might give you sore). [TM: CSfn290710]

These ngarra clauses often occur in independent sentences to express an admonition, a warning, and a fear. Such examples of insubordination are in fact, more commonly found than their use in complex sentences (§13.4.2).

13.1.4 Interrogative subordinators

Interrogatives are generally used as indefinites and markers for information-seeking questions (§5.2). Two interrogatives, nyamba 'what, something' (§5.2.3.4) and nyararra 'how, in some way' (§5.2.8.3) can behave morpho-syntactically like interrogative subordinators in finite subordinate clauses. They occur in the initial position of clausal complements of knowledge and perception predicates. These complements always follow their main clauses.

(13-36) ngu=rna ngundi yan-ana [**nyamba** yirra-wu jaru]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ recall GO-PRES what.ABS put-FUT language.ABS
TM: I'm thinking what story I *gata putum*.
CS@: I am thinking what (CS: i.e., old) story [I] should record.
[TM: CSfn110610]

(13-37) ngu=rna=la bura nyang-ana [**nyararra**=rna
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT listen PERCEIVE-PRES how=1MIN.SBJ

yan-gu]
go-FUT
CS#: I am thinking how I can go (in rain). [TM: CSfn141010]

13.2 Non-finite subordinate clauses with subordinating suffixes

As opposed to finite subordinate clauses, which contain independent subordinators, pronominal clitic complexes and finite forms of the inflecting verbs, non-finite subordinate clauses essentially contain non-finite forms of the inflecting verbs, coverbs or complex verbs, but they lack pronominal clitic complexes and subject NPs. Such clauses can also contain other elements including an object NP, instrument NP, and/or locational NP. Sub-constituents of the subordinate clause are marked with subordinating suffixes identical to certain case suffixes under the general marking conventions summarised in §3.2.2. The majority of non-finite subordinate clauses are adjuncts and optionally modify either an argument of the main clause or the whole main clause with several different meanings (§13.2.1). However, the same surface structure may also function as clausal complements in very limited environments (§13.2.2).

These subordinate clauses are dependent on main clauses in the sense that their verbs carry no information about tense, aspect or mood. Since subordinate clause subjects are always omitted and there are no pronominal clitic complexes, the subjects are interpreted through control from the main clauses or through context. The following examples illustrate how a non-finite verb and coverb of the complex verb can be marked with the dative subordinator with purposive meaning in (13-38), and a non-finite verb and its object can be marked with the same subordinator in (13-39). A non-finite subordinate clause can also be composed of a single coverb as in (13-40). In these examples, subjects of subordinate clauses are interpreted as identical to the subjects of the main clauses (equi-deletion). Square brackets indicate the beginning and end of the subordinate clauses.

(13-38) ngu=wula gang-ana ngurra-nggawu ward *na*
REAL=3UA.SBJ CARRY-PRES camp-ALL return NOW

[**gambarn-u-wu** **rdurdul-uwu]**
BURN-NF-DAT cook.in.hole-DAT
CS#: They take it back to the camp now to cook it in a hole.
[TM: CSfn0100809]

(13-39) nyayang-ba=lu yan-i nyununginy-jawu
how.many-EP=3AUG.SBJ go-PAST 2MIN.OBL2-ALL

ngurra-nggawu [**mangarri-wu** **ngarn-u-wu**]
camp-ALL veg.food-DAT ingest-NF-DAT
CS#: How many people came to your camp to eat tucker? [MS: CSfn140809]

(13-40) [**birrib-gu**] ngu=li birrga man-gu
cover-DAT REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ create GET-FUT
CS#: We two make [a loincloth] to cover [private parts]. [TM: CSfn110609]

These examples are quite different from the corresponding finite independent clauses with fully inflected verbs.

(13-41) ngarin ngu=rna=ngaling gambarn-i rdurdul
meat.ABS REAL=1MIN.SBJ=1MIN.INC.OBJ BURN-PAST cook.in.hole
CS#: I cooked meat in a hole for us. [TM: CSfn170610]

(13-42) nga=liwa mangarri ngarn-ana *nao*
REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ veg.food.ABS ingest-PRES NOW
We eat tucker now. [MS: CSfn170709]

(13-43) gambarri-la ngu=wula=nyununggula birrib yirran-i \
front-LOC REAL=3UA.SBJ=RR.OBL cover PUT-PAST
CS#: They put it (i.e., a loincloth) in front on themselves. [TM: CSfn100999]

As seen in (13-38) and (13-39), non-finite subordinate clauses often occur at the right edge of the main clauses. However, it is also possible that subordinate clauses precede main clauses as in (13-40). Subordinate clauses can also be embeded in the main clauses as seen in (13-49) below.

Non-finite subordinate clauses marked with subordinating suffixes behave similarly to adjunct NPs in finite clauses. (13-44) contains a purposive non-finite subordinate clause where non-finite verb and its object are marked with the dative subordinator

whereas (13-45) has the dative-marked purpose NP, but the whole sentence is semantically similar to (13-44). It is possible to add the non-finite verb man-u-wu to (13-45), or to delete it from (13-44), without change of meaning. Therefore, (13-45) can be alternatively analysed as an elliptical version of (13-44).

(13-44) nga=liwa yan-gu *store*-wurra [**man-u-wu mangarri-wu**]
REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ go-FUT store-PURP get-NF-DAT veg.food-DAT
MS: We three will go to the store to get tucker. [MS: CSfn071009]

(13-45) ngu=wula yan-ana *store*-nggawu **mangarri-wu**
REAL=3UA.SBJ go-PRES store-ALL veg.food-DAT
They two go to the store for tucker. [MS: CSfn081110]

13.2.1 Types of clauses and subordinating suffixes

In Wanyjirra, six case suffixes (including the dative suffix, as demonstrated above) are used as subordinators to mark different types of dependent clauses in terms of their meanings and syntactic functions. In addition to those case-subordinating suffixes, there is a special subordinator -arniny which is not used as a nominal case marker. These subordinators can be divided into two types of subordinating functions in Australian languages: (i) T(emporal)-subordinator which marks a clause modifying another clause; (ii) C(oreferential)-subordinator which marks the situation where a relative clause modifies a participant of another clause (Dench & Evans, 1988).

T-subordinating suffixes generally express temporal relationships between two clauses, whether the time of the subordinate clause event is simultaneous, prior or sequential to the main clause event, or other logical relationships hold between the two clauses, e.g. cause and purpose (as illustrated in (13-38-13-40) and (13-44) with the dative subordinator).

C-subordinating suffixes, on the other hand, specify co-referential relationships between a subordinate clause subject and the NP of the main clause (§13.2.1.6; §13.2.1.7). A special obviative subordinator -arniny is a type of C-subordinator but shows non-identity of the subordinate clause subject (§13.2.1.8).

Table 13.1 provides a list of subordinating suffixes, the meanings of clauses marked

with them as T-subordinators and the identity of subordinate clause subjects (S and A) specified by C-subordinators.[357] Blank columns indicate that a subordinating suffix does not occur with either function. The dative subordinator has both T- and C-subordinating functions.

Table 13.1: Functions of subordinating suffixes

Case/subordinating suffixes	T-subordinating function	C-subordinating function
ELATIVE	anterior/causal	
DATIVE	sequential /purposive	main clause dative NP =A/S
PURPOSIVE	Purposive	
ALLATIVE	Durative	
LOCATIVE	Simultaneous	
ERGATIVE		main clause A=A/S
OBVIATIVE -arniny		No main clause NPs = A/S

The two types of subordinating function need to be distinguished because certain T-subordinators can be followed by certain C-subordinating suffixes in a form of double case-marking (§3.2.3.4). For instance, in (13-46), the coverb is marked with the locative T-subordinator which expresses a simultaneous event and then with the dative C-subordinator which relates the (omitted) subject of the subordinate clause to the dative indirect object of the main clause. As in this example, when both subordinators overtly occur in the subordinate clauses, the T-subordinator always precedes the C-subordinator and the outer C-subordinating suffix has control over the whole preceding stem and suffixes, as in other types of double case marking on NPs based on the concentric scoping rule (cf. Dench & Evans, 1988).

(13-46) ngu=rna=la yu-nya nambula wurrgal
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT give-PAST fig.ABS green.ABS

yambagina-wu **[lulu-ngga-wu]**
child-DAT sit-LOC-DAT
CS#: I gave a green fig to a kid who was sitting. [TM: CSfn181011]

However, the possible combinations of T-subordinator and C-subordinator are quite

[357] An overview of the whole functions of case suffixes was given in §3.2.1.

limited and there are only three patterns: (i) the locative T-subordinator + the dative C-subordinator (13-46); (ii) the elative T-subordinator + the ergative C-subordinator (13-49) and; (iii) the elative T-subordinator + the dative C-subordinator (13-79) below. Double case-marking at phrasal level, on the other hand, allows more combinations (Table 3.2 in §3.2.4.1).

This system of marking inter-clausal relationships with two types of subordinators does not correspond straightforwardly to a traditional 'switch-reference' system which is based on a binary distinction ('same subject' versus 'different subject'), i.e., a marker specifying the subject of the subordinate clause is the same as or different from that of the main clause (cf. Austin, 1981; Haiman & Munro, 1983; Payne, 1997 etc.). Austin's (1981) typological study of Australian languages concludes that: (i) many languages which have a locative marker signalling 'same subject' complementarily have an allative marker signalling 'different subject' or; (ii) other languages have a locative marker signalling 'different subject'. In Wanyjirra, locative and allative suffixes do not participate in a switch-reference system. They function solely as T-subordinating suffixes, marking temporal meanings, simultaneity of main and subordinate clause events (§13.2.1.4) and the end point of the main clause event (§13.2.1.5) respectively. On the other hand, C-subordinating suffixes specify: (i) identity or non-identity of the subordinate clause subject and; (ii) if they specify identity, which NP of the main clause controls the subordinate clause subject by showing agreement. For instance, the ergative C-subordinating suffix indicates that the subordinate clause subject is identical to the ergative subject of the main clause (§13.2.1.6) and the dative C-subordinating suffix relates a subordinate clause subject to a dative NP of the main clause (§13.2.1.7).

13.2.1.1 Elative in prior and causal events

The elative subordinator -nginyi is used to express a state and an event which has occurred or will occur prior to the time of occurrence of the event encoded in the main clause (13-47). Sometimes such subordinate clause events are specifically interpreted as a cause of the occurrence of the main clause event (13-48). Subjects of these subordinate clauses are always interpreted as those of the main clauses.

(13-47) [**dirrib-nginyi**] ngu=rna jungguj bung-gu
camp.overnight-EL REAL=1MIN.SBJ depart HIT-FUT
After camping, I will take off. [MS: CSfn231009]

(13-48) ngu=rna garran-ana nawun [**gumarn-u-nginyi**]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ keep-PRES cicatrice.ABS cut-NF-EL
CS: I have cicatrices because of cutting. [TM: CSfn020810]

In (13-49), the subordinate clause, which is marked with the elative T-subordinating suffix and the ergative C-subordinating suffix, is inserted inside the main clause rather than placing it at the edge of the main clause. The object of the main clause ngaburlu is prominent in discourse and occurs sentence-initially. The ergative C-subordinator clearly indicates that the subject of the subordinate clause is identical to the transitive main clause (§13.2.1.6) in contrast to other examples like (13-48) where subjects of the subordinate clauses are not overtly specified.

(13-49) ngaburlu /... [**magin-nginyi-lu**] /... ngu=rna ngarn-an-i
breast.ABS sleep-EL-ERG REAL=1MIN.SBJ ingest-CONT-PAST

ngaburlu /... ngayu /... ngama-yi nganinga /
breast.ABS 1MIN M-KIN.ABS 1MIN.OBL1
CS: Milk, after sleeping, I drank my mother's milk.
TT: I, after sleeping, drank my mother's milk. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(2).036]

13.2.1.2 Dative in purposive and sequent events

As demonstrated above in (13-38-13-40 and 13-44), the dative T-subordinating suffix is typically used to mark an event sequential to the main clause event or more specifically to mark an event that is a purpose of the main clause event. As in elative-marked clauses, subjects are not morpho-syntactically specified in subordinate clauses marked with the dative T-subordinator. However, they are usually interpreted as one of the participants of the main clause. In (13-38-13-40 and 13-44), the subordinate subjects are interpreted as identical to the main clause subjects. Another example is given in (13-50), where two dative-marked subordinate clauses appear. The subjects of these clauses are construed with the object and the subject of the main clause respectively. They semantically express two separate events and the second event is sequential to the first event which is sequential to the main clause event.

(13-50) ngu=rna jaman-ana wilarr [**gayiba-g-gu**] [**ngarn-u-wu**]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ grind-PRES seed.ABS soft-TRNSL-DAT ingest-NF-DAT
CS#: I am grinding seeds in order [for them] to become soft and in order [for me] to eat them. [MS: CSfn270509]

Dative-marked dependent clauses following the main clause may also add information like reason or purpose, as in (13-51 and 13-52). But they are slightly different from the other examples because these subordinate clause events cannot be interpreted as subsequent events.

(13-51) yangi-wariny-ju ngu marru bung-ana [**ruyu marn-u-wu**
one-OTHER-ERG REAL envy HIT-PRES play DO-NF-DAT

nyila *bambu*-wu]
DIST1 didgeridoo-DAT
MS: Another boy wants to play *bambu*.
CS%: Another boy envies him for playing the didgeridoo. [MS: CSfn260809]

(13-52) nyawa jarrambayi yura [**ngarn-u-wu**]
PROX1 goanna.ABS good ingest-NF-DAT
This goanna is good to eat. [MS: CSfn050509]

The dative subordinator can also be used as a C-subordinator (§13.2.1.7) and marks clausal complements (§13.2.2).

13.2.1.3 Purposive in purposive or sequential events

Like the dative suffix, the purposive suffix also marks purposive or sequential events. However, the use of the purposive subordinating suffix is quite restricted. There are only a few examples where the purposive subordinator follows coverbs, and they mark the sole member of the dependent clauses. Moreover, in the corpus, purposive-marked dependent clauses are only found with the verb yan- 'go' of the main clauses as in (13-53 and 13-54) as the purposive-marked NPs in the main clause occur with motion verbs (§4.4.2.6).

(13-53) marndaj ngu=liwa [**magin-gurra**] yan-gu
OK REAL=1AUG.INC.SBJ sleep-PURP go-FUT
Alright, we will go to sleep. [TM: CSfn261110]

(13-54) ngarrga ngu=rna yan-i:: [**warug-gurra**] *na* \
big REAL=1MIN.SBJ go-PAST work-PURP NOW
I, a big [woman], went to work then. [DJ: 99_40_3.153]

13.2.1.4 Locative in simultaneous events

The locative marker is used as a T-subordinating suffix to express the simultaneity of two events.

(13-55) ngu=lu=yanu warra gang-ana yamayama
REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ watch CARRY-PRES children.ABS

[**darugab-gula**]
bathe-LOC
CS#: They are watching kids while they (kids) are bathing. [TM: CSfn021009]

(13-56) ngu=yanu bura nyang-an-i, *hm* \… [**yunbarn-u-ga**] \
REAL=3AUG.OBJ listen PERCEIVE-CONT-PAST hm sing-NF-LOC
CS#: He was listening to them while they were singing. [TM: 10_0825_4.006]

In most examples, the subject of the locative-marked subordinate clause is interpreted as the object of the main clause as in the above examples. However, the subordinate clause subjects can also be interpreted as the main clause subjects, for example, the intransitive subjects in (13-57) and the second sentence of (13-58). Note that =lu of the subordinate clause in (13-58) is the clitic 'ONLY' highlighting the correct form yan-u-ngga but not the ergative allomorph.

(13-57) ngu=rna wandi-nya [**yan-u-ngga**]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ fall-PAST go-NF-LOC
I fell down while walking. [TM: CSfn280610]

(13-58) *This is a correction of a sentence which I made up and gave to her for grammatical elicitation.*

CS: *nyila yamaji ngu yan-ana lung-u-ngga
DIST1 child.ABS REAL go-PRES cry-NF-LOC
CS!: The kid is walking while he is crying.

TM: [**yan-u-ngga=lu**] nga lung-ana
go-NF-LOC=ONLY REAL cry-PRES
CS#: While he is walking, he is crying. [TM: CSfn110810]

Subjects of locative-marked subordinate clauses can also be construed with ergative subjects of main clauses as in (13-59-13-61). The main clause in (13-61) is reciprocal and its subordinate clause subject can be interpreted as both subject and object of the main clause.[358]

(13-59) ngu=rna=nggu guny bu-nya [**magin-da**]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ wait HIT-PAST sleep-LOC
CS#: I waited for you while I was lying down. [TM: CSfn071011]

(13-60) ngama-yi-lu ngu yamaji garran-ana
M-KIN-ERG REAL small.ABS keep-PRES

[**gambarn-u-ga** **mangarri-la**]
burn-NF-LOC veg.food-LOC
CS#: The mother is holding a baby while cooking bread. [TM: CSfn120810]

(13-61) gujarra-lu mawun-du ngu=wula=nyunu bung-an-i
two-ERG man-ERG REAL=3UA.SBJ=RR hit-CONT-PAST

wabugurru-lu [**guli-ngga**]
club.boomerang-ERG fight-LOC
CS#: Two men were hitting each other with club boomerangs when they were angry. [TM: CSfn070610]

Furthermore, it is also possible for the subordinate clause subject not to be identical with any participants in the main clause (13-62).[359] Therefore, the locative subordinator merely marks the simultaneity of two events but does not mark specific co-referential relationships between two arguments.

(13-62) ngu=nda magin *nao* garri-ya=lu [**gambarn-u-ga**]
REAL=2AUG.SBJ sleep NOW STAY-IMP=AUG.SBJ burn-NF-LOC
Youfalas sleep now while [I am] cooking. [MS: CSfn090909]

When absolutive NPs of the main clauses (S or direct objects) are interpreted as controllers of the subordinate clauses, the subordinate clauses are only marked with the locative T-subordinator suffix without an overt C-subordinator as in (13-55-13-58).

[358] Although the current corpus does not have an example of reflexive main clause taking a locative-marked subordinate clause, I assume such clauses have the same grammatical possibilities as the reciprocal clauses.
[359] However, when there is no co-referential NP in the main clause, the special obviative marker -arniny is preferably added after the locative subordinator to make clear that the subject of the subordinate clause is not identified with any participant of the main clause (§13.2.1.8).

The absence of an overt C-subordinating suffix is possibly related to the fact that the forms of absolutive nominals are identical to bare stems. However, when the ergative NPs of the main clauses are interpreted as controllers of the subordinate clauses, the subordinate clauses are marked either only with the locative T-subordinator (13-58-13-60) or with the single ergative C-subordinator (§13.2.1.6). This is because the (putative) underlying sequence of locative plus ergative suffixes is not allowed in Wanyjirra and simplified by the omission of either element.

However, co-referential relationships can optionally be encoded by dative C-subordinators when dative NPs of the main clauses are interpreted as controllers of the subordinate clauses. In this case, subordinate clauses are double-marked with the locative T-subordinator and the dative C-subordinator as in (13-63) (see also §13.2.1.7). On the other hand, in (13-64) the subordinate clause subject is normally understood as the absolutive subject 'my granny' but not the (non-overt) dative NP 'me'.

(13-63) **ngama-yi-wu** ngu=la yan-i [**gambarn-u-ga-wu**]
M-KIN-DAT REAL=3MIN.DAT go-PAST burn-NF-LOC-DAT
CS#: He went to the mother who was cooking it. [TM: CSfn201011]

(13-64) nganinga jaja ngu=yi marn-an-i
1MIN.OBL1 MM.ABS REAL=1MIN.OBJ say-CONT-PAST

[**garriny-u-ngga** **lulu-ngga**]
STAY-NF-LOC sit-LOC
CS#: My granny was talking to me when she was sitting down [around the fire].
[TM: CSfn110810]

Finally, locative T-subordinator subordinate clauses are often replaced by guya/guwa finite subordinate clauses. (13-65) thus corresponds to (13-59).

(13-65) ngu=rna=nggu guny bu-nya [guya=rna
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ wait HIT-PAST SUB=1MIN.SBJ

magin garriny-an-i]
sleep STAY-CONT-PAST
CS#: I waited for you while I was lying down. [TM: CSfn111011]

13.2.1.5 Allative in a 'goal' event

The allative suffix can be used as a T-subordinator, though I have only a few examples. As in (13-66), it expresses the meaning 'until'. This subordinate clause is interpreted as the future or sequential event as the end point of the event 'letting it stay'. Unlike the Jaru and Gurindji allative subordinators,[360] the Wanyjirra allative subordinator merely specifies the temporal end point or duration in contrast to the locative subordinator specifying temporal simultaneity. It occurs at least in the situations where subordinate clause subjects are co-referential to the main clause subjects (13-66) and where there are no coreferential arguments in the main clauses (3-67).

(13-66)	ngu=rnalu	diba-ngga	yirran-ana \...(1.1)	**[ward-rdawu**
	REAL=1AUG.SBJ	billycan-LOC	put-PRES	return-ALL

ngurra-nggawu]
camp-ALL
CS#: We put them in the billycan till we return to the camp.
[TM: 10_0617_4.011]

13.2.1.6 Ergative C-subordinator

The ergative subordinator is primarily used as a C-subordinator to mark co-referential relationships between subordinate clause subjects and main clause ergative-marked subjects. This C-subordinating suffix can follow the elative T-subordinator as in (13-67), though this is optional, as (13-68) shows.

[360] In Jaru examples, allative allomorphs are used to mark subordinate clauses whose subjects are construed with absolutive object NPs of the main clauses and which denote events temporally simultaneous to the main clause events. This use is only marginal and is an alternative to the locative subordinator when the referent of the subordinate clause subject is moving rather than stationary (Tsunoda, 1981: 175). In Gurindji, on the other hand, the allative suffix is more commonly used as a subordinator than the locative suffix in non-subject (absolutive or dative objects) controlling subordinate clauses (McConvell, 2005c; McConvell & Simpson, 2012). The allative suffix is preferred to the locative suffix when the main clause subject and the subordinate clause subject are "perceived as being in different locations" (McConvell & Simpson, 2012: 11), which relates to use of the Jaru allative subordinator.

(13-67) [**wilinyi-nginyi-lu**] ngu=nbula gang-an-gu ward
hunt-EL-ERG REAL=2UA.SBJ CARRY-CONT-FUT return

ngurra-nggawu
camp-ALL
After hunting, you two will take them back to the camp. [TM: CSfn100909]

(13-68) [**wilinyi-nginyi**] ngarlu gang-an-i ngurra-wurra
hunt-EL honey.ABS carry-CONT-PAST camp-PURP
After hunting, [I] was carrying sugarbag to the camp.
[NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).455']

However, the ergative subordinator cannot follow dative and locative T-subordinating suffixes because Wanyjirra does not allow such suffix sequences within noun phrases and the same morphological restriction is also attested in subordinate clauses (§3.2.4). [361] In dative-marked purposive subordinate clauses, only dative T-subordinator occur even though their controllers are interpreted as ergative subjects of the main clauses (13-38, 13-40 and 13-50 above). On the other hand, in the case of locative-marked subordinate clauses for simultaneous events, either locative T-subordinators or ergative C-subordinators can overtly occur. The locative T-subordinator, without the ergative C-subordinator, can mark subordinate clauses whose subjects are construed with ergative main clause subjects (13-59 and 13-60 above). However, most commonly the ergative subordinator occurs without the locative subordinator in the same situation as in (13-69-13-71). This is possibly because the use of the ergative subordinator can avoid ambiguity about which argument of the main clause controls the subordinate clause subject.

(13-69) mangarri nga-nyja **[baru-nggu]**
veg.food.ABS ingest-IMP stand-ERG
TT: Eat food while standing. [NP: 76_14_1_TM(2).045'''']

(13-70) **[yan-u-nggu]** ngarn-ana mangarri
go-NF-ERG ingest-PRES veg.food.ABS
TM: kid eating food *wea i* walking.
CS@: He/she is eating food while walking. [TM: CSfn130809]

[361] In addition, allative and purposive T-subordinators may not be followed by the ergative C-subordinator. Although there is no relevant example where ergative main clause subjects control allative and purposive subordinate clauses, the same restriction is found at noun phrase level (§3.2.4).

(13-71) ngu=rna barli nya-nya bindi
REAL=1MIN.SBJ find PERCEIVE-PAST bush.banana.ABS

[**yan-u-nggu wilinyi-lu**]
go-NF-ERG hunt-ERG
TM: I *bin faindim* bananas *wea I bin* go hunting.
CS#: ALT: I, going hunting, found bananas. [TM: CSfn130810]

Ergative-marked subordinate clauses can also be substituted with guya/guwa finite subordinate clauses with two possible interpretations: temporal simultaneity and co-referential relations between two arguments. Example (13-72) corresponds to (13-71).

(13-72) [guya=rna wilinyi yan-i] ngu=rna barli
SUB=1MIN.SBJ hunt GO-PAST REAL=1MIN.SBJ find

nya-nya bindi
PERCEIVE-PAST bush.banana.ABS
TM: *Ai bin faindim* bananas *wea ai bin* go hunting.
CS#: ALT: I, going hunting, found bananas. [TM: CSfn130810]

In the Wanyjirra corpus, there is no example of an ergative-marked subordinate clause which contains nominal sub-constituents. They always consist of simple verbs, coverbs or complex verbs. And these constructions resemble depictive secondary predications marked with the referential ergative suffix which express temporal states of ergative subjects (§12.6.1). In (13-73), the consultant used the locative subordinator to mark the subordinate clause whose subject is identical to the ergative main clause subject but could not accept the ergative subordinator for this example: she did not approve (13-74) with the ergative C-subordinator when I suggested it. This is possibly because this ergative-marked subordinate clause contains non-verbal sub-constituents.

(13-73) (re: 13-60)
ngama-yi-lu ngu yamaji garran-ana [**gambarn-u-ga mangarri-la**]
M-KIN-ERG REAL small.ABS keep-PRES burn-NF-LOC veg.food-LOC
CS#: The mother is holding a baby when cooking bread. [TM: CSfn120810]

(13-74) *ngama-yi-lu ngu yamaji garran-ana [**gambarn-u-lu mangarri-lu**]
M-KIN-ERG REAL small.ABS keep-PRES burn-NF-ERG veg.food-ERG
CS!: The mother is holding a baby when cooking bread. [CS: CSfn120810]

The ergative subordinator may also imply that the occurrence of the subordinate clause

event is the means by which the main clause event is achieved. This use of the ergative subordinator is related to the relational function of the ergative suffix which specifies the instrument or means (§4.4.2.2). In this case, non-finite verbs can be treated as more like nominalised verbs which can behave like instrument NPs for the instrument role.

(13-75) ngu=rna=nyurra bina yung-gu \.. *jea*,.. [**yunbarn-u-gu**] \
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ know GIVE-FUT there sing-NF-ERG
TM: "I *gata lanim yufala gata* singing."
CS@: "I will instruct you there in singing."
CS#: LIT: "I will teach you [the corroboree] there by means of singing."
[TM: 10_0820_6.009]

(13-76) yambagina-lu ngu=yi yunbalyi-g man-i [**lung-u-nggu**]
child-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ tired-TRNSL GET-PAST cry-NF-ERG
CS#: LIT: [My] kid made me tired by crying.
CS#: ALT: [My] kid who cried made me tired. [TM: CSfn191010]

13.2.1.7 Dative C-subordinator

The dative suffix is used as a C-subordinator as well as a T-subordinator. The C-subordinating use of the dative suffix merely indicates that the subject of the subordinate clause is controlled by a dative NP (including indirect object, oblique and beneficiary NPs) of the main clause but does not show the temporal sequence or purposive meaning. It follows a locative T-subordinating suffix which signals temporal simultaneity (13-77), which should be distinguished from the purposive clause marked by the dative T-subordinating (13-78). In addition, the examples where the dative C-subordinating suffix follows the elative T-subordinator (13-79) were accepted by TM.

(13-77) (re: 13-63)
ngama-yi-wu ngu=la yan-i [**gambarn-u-ga-wu**]
M-KIN-DAT REAL=3MIN.DAT go-PAST burn-NF-LOC-DAT
CS#: He went to the mother who was cooking it. [TM: CSfn201011]

(13-78) ngu=rna gang-gu [**gambarn-u-wu**]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ carry-FUT burn-NF-DAT
I will take it (i.e., beef) to cook it. [MS: CSfn041110]

(13-79) ngu=rna mangarri yu-nya yamaji-wu [**magin-nginyi-wu**]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ veg.food.ABS give-PAST small-DAT sleep-EL-DAT
CS!#: I gave food to my child after he slept. [CS: CSfn090712]

Compare examples (13-80) and (13-81). They are different in that (i) the coverb magin is followed by the locative subordinator in (13-80) and the sequence of locative and dative subordinators in (13-81); and (ii) controllers of these subordinate clauses are the absolutive subject of the main clause (13-80) and the dative indirect object in (13-81).

(13-80) ngu=rna=nggu marn-ana [**magin-da**]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ say-PRES sleep-LOC
TM: I am talking to you while I am lying down.
?CS: I am talking to you while you are lying down. [TM: CSfn201011]

(13-81) ngu=rna=nggu marn-an-i [**magin-da-wu**]
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ say-CONT-PAST sleep-LOC-DAT
CS#: I am talking to you who are lying down. [TM: CSfn201011]

Although TM first gave me the translation in the first line (13-80), in fact, she did not clearly deny the second translation that the dative NP is the controller of the subordinate clause. However, she gave me (13-81) as a better way of saying this, which is clearly interpreted as having a dative NP controller but not the absolutive subject controller. The reason why my consultant was unclear about the identity of the subordinate clause subject is that the clause (13-80) has no overt C-subordinator specifying a co-referential NP. The dative suffix in (13-81) removes this ambiguity by marking the co-referential function separately. [362]

[362] Alternatively the sequence of locative and dative suffixes might be analysed as a single allative suffix. This was also raised by one of the examiners because (1) the Wanyjirra allative allomorphs (e.g. –gawu) are historically composed of the locative -ga plus the dative -wu; (2) neighbouring languages including Warlpiri, Bilinarra and Gurindji have allative suffix forms which are not composed of LOC plus DAT (or at least cannot be analysed as separate morphemes) are used to mark simultaneous events and subjects of the subordinate clauses are objects of the main clauses (McConvell & Simpson, 2012; Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014; Simpson, 1988). In Bilinarra and Gurindji, locative suffixes are used for simultaneous events with same subjects while in Western Desert languages and Jaru the locatives are used as different subject markers (Austin, 1981; Tsunoda, 1981).

However, I do not take this alternative analysis. Wanyjirra allative and locative subordinators differ from Bilinarra and Gurindji subordinators. Wanyjirra has no such two-way switch-reference system of same-subject (locative) marker vs. different subject (allative) markers. First, the Wanyjirra allative suffix is used as a T-subordinator which marks a goal or end point of the main clause event 'until' (§13.2.1.5) but does not indicate the simultaneity of two events. The allative subordinator occurs at least in the situations where subordinate clause subjects are co-referential to the main clause subjects (13-66) or where there are no co-referential arguments in the main clauses (3-67). This is different from Gurindji and Bilinarra examples where the allative is used for simultaneous events with different subjects. The Wanyjirra allative suffix does not specify the identity of the subordinate clause subjects (hence, it is not a C-subordinator or a switch-reference marker). Second, in any case, I have already recognised a dative C-subordinator which marks co-referential relationships only between a subordinate clause subject and a dative main clause argument (not an absolutive/unmarked direct object). For example, it follows the elative T-subordinator which marks a prior event to the main clause event (13-79). This

In other examples, the subordinate clause subjects are co-referential with indirect objects of the ditransitive main clause (13-82) and the semi-transitive clause (13-83), and a benefactive NP (13-84).

(13-82) ngu=rna=la yi-nya mangarri yalu-wu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT give-PAST veg.food.ABS DIST2-DAT

ngaringga-wu [**baru-ngga-wu**]
woman-DAT stand-LOC-DAT
CS#: I gave food to that woman who was standing up. [TM: CSfn181011]

(13-83) ngu=rna=nggu guny bung-ana [**ngarn-u-ngga-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ wait HIT-PRES ingest-NF-LOC-DAT

mangarri-la-wu]
veg.food-LOC-DAT
I am waiting for you, eating tucker. [TM: CSfn201011]

(13-84) ngama-nyan-du ngu=yanu gambarn-ana mangarri
M-3KIN.POSS-ERG REAL=3AUG.OBJ burn-PRES veg.food.ABS

jiwirri-g yamayama-wu [**magin-da-wu**]
cooked-TRNSL children-DAT sleep-LOC-DAT
CS#: Their mother is cooking bread [and making them] cooked for children while they are sleeping. [TM: CSfn070809]

13.2.1.8 A special obviative subordinator

When subordinate clauses are overtly marked only with a T-subordinator, the subjects of those clauses are generally interpreted through context. Their referents are often participants of the main clause events but they can also be other referents which are not specified in the main clauses (as in (13-62)). However, if there is no co-referential NP in the main clause, its non-finite clause, which is already marked with the locative T-subordinator, can be overtly marked with the obviative suffix -arniny, glossed as

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sequence -EL-DAT cannot be analysed as a single suffix. The dative suffix functions as a C-subordinator for dative arguments here while the elative suffix functions as a T-subordinator. This analysis can also be applied to the sequence -LOC-DAT. Finally, the Wanyjirra locative suffix represents the simultaneity of events but does not function as a same subject marker. It occurs in simultaneous subordinate clauses whose subjects are co-referential to ergative or absolutive subjects, or absolutive direct objects of the main clauses. It also occurs with an obviative marker in subordinate clauses where the subjects are not construed by any arguments of the main clauses (§13.2.1.8).

OBV ('pure obviative') following Hale's (1982: 295) use of this term for the similar Warlpiri suffix -ngkarni/rlarni (see below). Unlike other subordinators, this Wanyjirra suffix is not used as a case suffix and only functions as a subordinator marking non-identity of the subordinate clause subject with respect to the main clause NPs. However, due to the small number of examples, the analysis presented here is tentative. My consultants no longer use this construction even though they understand the relevant examples recorded from another speaker in the 1970s.

In (13-85), the event expressed by the subordinate clause, marked with the locative T-subordinator plus -arniny, occurs simultaneously with the main clause event. The subject of the subordinate clause cannot be construed with any argument of the main clause, unlike all other C-subordinators showing co-reference of subordinate clause subjects to certain NPs of main clauses. The interpretation of the subject of the subordinate clause depends entirely on context.

(13-85) yamayama murla lulu garriny-an-da=lu [**yan-u-ngga-arniny**]
children.ABS PROX1 sit STAY-CONT-IMP=AUG.SBJ go-NF-LOC-OBV
The children, keep sitting down here while [I am] going [out].
[MS: CSfn090909]

In this example, the obviative suffix merely indicates that the subject of the subordinate clause is not identified as any participant of the main clause. This obviative suffix could be analysed as a type of C-subordinators encoding a non-coreferential relationship between two clauses. Additional examples show that the locative T-subordinator and the obviative suffixes also follow a sequence of non-finite verb plus object NP, in (13-86), or a coverb (13-87).

(13-86) galu gujarra-lu garra=wula=yanu nyila ngarin
still two-ERG keep.IMP=UA.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ DIST1 meat.ABS

[**ngarn-u-ngga-arniny** **mangarri-la-arniny**]
ingest-NF-LOC-OBV veg.food-LOC-OBV
MS: Y*oufalas* keep the cattle while others are eating food. [MS: CSfn090909]

(13-87) ngu=wula=nyunu jan-an-i [**magin-da-arniny**]
REAL=3UA.SBJ=RR copulate.with-CONT-PAST sleep-LOC-OBV
MS: have a play out while other people are sleeping. [MS: TTfn140898]
CS@: Two [people] were copulating with each other while [others] were sleeping.

This form of the obviative suffix is not found in neighbouring Ngumpin-Yapa languages, with the exception that Warlpiri has a clearly related obviative subordinator -ngkarni/rlarni. This Warlpiri subordinator is treated as a single suffix by Hale (1982), although the first elements -ngka/rla are locative allomorphs, like the Wanyjirra suffix-sequence -ngga-arniny/-la-arniny. Since the Wanyjirra obviative marker always follows locative allomorphs, alternatively the sequence -ngka/la plus -arniny could also be analysed as a single suffix. However, in this study I keep them as separate suffixes each of which operates in separate functional domains (marking temporal setting and co-referential relationship).[363]

The Warlpiri suffix -ngkarni/rlarni is generally used in 'pure obviative' clauses whose subjects are not identical to any core arguments of the main clauses and which express an event simultaneous to the main clause event (Hale, 1982: 295). But unlike in the Wanyjirra clauses, the subject of the subordinate clause can occur overtly and is marked with the special marker which is identical to the dative allomorph and purposive or jussive clause subordinator -ku as in (13-88a). The Warlpiri pure obviative subordinator also marks subordinate clauses whose subjects are construed with dative non-core arguments of the main clauses and thus they optionally take the dative suffix showing a co-referential relation to their controllers as in (13-88b). In addition, the subject of a pure obviative subordinate clause may be 'foregrounded' in the main clause in the form of a dative non-core argument (Hale, 1982: 296) and is cross-referenced with the dative clitic as in (13-88c).

[363] McConvell and Simpson (2012) point that this -rni is identical to the suffix or clitic -rni 'exactly, only, still etc.' used in Eastern Ngumpin languages including Gurindji and has the related meaning of simultaneity in Warlpiri. Wanyjirra has the different 'ONLY' clitic =lu for the similar meanings, but does not express simultaneity. Since in Wanyjirra, 'simultaneity' is delivered by the preceding locative T-subordinator, it is not clear that the Wanyjirra form -arniny is etymologically related to the Warlpiri form -rni of -nggarni/-rlarni. The form -arniny is also formally similar to the perlative suffix -rniny which follows demonstratives, i.e, murla-rniny 'this way' (§6.1.2.1). However, it has the vowel /a/ in the beginning of the subordinator -arniny and consequently the phonetic long vowel [a:] is recognised in the suffix-sequence -ngga-arniny/la-arniny.

(13-88)

a.	Kurdukurdu	ka=lu	manyu-karri-mi	[**ngati-nyanu-ku**
WARLPIRI	children.ABS	PRES=3PL.SBJ	play-stand-NONPAST	mother-POSS-DAT

wirlinyi-rlarni].
daytrip-OBV
The children are playing while their mothers are hunting.
(Simpson, 1988: 213: e.g. 30: gloss modified; emphasis added)

b.	Ngarrka	ka=rla	**karnta-ku**	marlaja-wangka-mi,
WARLPIRI	man	PRES=3.DAT	woman-DAT	causal-speak-NONPAST

[**ngurlu** **yurrpa-rninja-rlarni(-ki)**].
seed.ABS grind-NF-OBV(-DAT)
The man is speaking, because of (or inspired by) the woman, while she is grinding mulga seed.
(Hale, 1982: 296: e.g. 140a: gloss modified; emphasis added)

c.	kurdu-ngku	ka=**rla**	jarntu	warru-wajili-pi-nyi
WARLPIRI	child-ERG	PRES=3.DAT	dog.ABS	around-running-HIT-NONPAST

karnta-ku, [**miyi** **purra-nja-rlarni(-ki)**].
woman-DAT food.ABS cook-NF-OBV(-DAT)
The child is chasing the dog around, while the woman is cooking food.
(Hale, 1982: 296: e.g. 141a: gloss modified; emphasis added)

Although the Wanyjirra obviative subordinate clause is similar to the Warlpiri -ngkarni/rlarni clauses, it is not exactly the same as the above Warlpiri clauses. First, objects of the Wanyjirra subordinate clauses are always marked with the locative and obviative suffixes whereas they are unmarked in Warlpiri. Secondly, all Wanyjirra examples lack overt subjects. Thirdly, there are no NPs exhibiting coreferentiality between Wanyjirra main and subordinate clauses. In addition, the foregrounding of subordinate clause subjects is not observed. Given the limit of the corpus and the decline in use of this construction, it is difficult to be sure whether the Wanyjirra clause type has fewer grammatical possibilities than the Warlpiri or whether Wanyjirra sentences are always complete without specification of the subordinate clause subjects.

Since my consultants had difficulties in producing relevant Wanyjirra sentences and they wanted to avoid the ambiguities caused by omitting overt subjects of subordinate

clauses, they instead used two independent sentences each consisting of a single finite clause (13-89) or guya/guwa finite subordinate clauses (13-90). (13-89) and (13-90) correspond to (13-85) and (13-86) respectively.

(13-89)

1. yamayama lulu garriny-an-da=lu
   children.ABS sit STAY-CONT-IMP=AUG.SBJ
   Sit down, kids.

2. ngu=rna=la yan-ana mangarri-wu
   REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT go-PRES veg.food-DAT
   We go walkabout for your tucker. [MS: CSfn090909]

(13-90) gujarra-lu garra=wula=yanu guya=lu
two-ERG keep.IMP=UA.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ SUB=1AUG.SBJ

mangarri ngarn-ana
veg.food.ABS ingest-PRES
You two keep the cattle while they are having lunch now. [MS: CSfn090909]

13.2.2 Dative clausal complements

A small number of predicates select a clausal complement marked with the dative subordinating suffix. These complements function as dative arguments of verbs of mental activities (13-91 and 13-92) and acquisition/manipulation (13-93).

(13-91) ngu=lu bina *na* [**wanyjan-u-wu** **junba-wu**]
REAL=3AUG.SBJ know NOW dance-NF-DAT corroboree-DAT
CS#: They know about dancing the corroboree. [TM: CSfn070910]

(13-92) ngu=rna=la marrunyu garriny-ana [**ngarin-gu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT happy BE-PRES meat-DAT

ngarn-u-wu]
ingest-DAT
I am happy to eat the meat. [TM: CSfn050710]

(13-93)

1. ngu=yi=lu marn-i wagurra
   REAL=1MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ say-PAST NEG
   They said to me: “no.”

2. ngu=yi=lu dabu man-i [**nyang-u-wu**]
REAL=1MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ miss.out GET-PAST perceive-NF-DAT
They deprived me of seeing [men's business]. [MS: CSfn280809]

These dative clausal complements can be replaced by dative NPs. The following three examples correspond to the above three examples.

(13-94) ngu bina **junba-wu=ma**
REAL know corroboree-DAT=TOP
She knows (about) the corroboree. [TM: CSfn070910]

(13-95) ngayu ngu=rna=la marrunyu garriny-ana **ngarin-gu**
1MIN REAL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT happy BE-PRES meat-DAT
I'm happy about beef. [TM: CSfn050710]

(13-96) ngu=rna=nggu dabu man-i **ngawa-wu**
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2MIN.OBJ miss.out GET-PAST water-DAT
MS: I didn't want to give you water.
CS%: I refused you for water/I starved you of water. [MS: CSfn280809]

13.3 Asyndetic coordination

In Wanyjirra, there are no conjunctive and disjunctive words 'and', 'but' and 'or'. Wanyjirra speakers often use Kriol words *an* 'and', *but* and *or* to link two or more independent clauses.[364]

(13-97)
1. yala-nginyi ngu=wula yan-i,.. gani,
DIST2-EL REAL=3UA.SBJ go-PAST down.country
From then, the two men went down [from the tree],

2. ***en***…(0.8) ***an*** gardiya ngu marri *nao* yan-i \
and and white.man.ABS REAL off NOW GO-PAST
TM: And the white man *bin gon.*
CS#: and, …and the white man went off.

[364] These Kriol linking words are widely borrowed in Australian Languages.

3. ***an*** nyila ngu=wula,...(0.7) wuna yan-i \..
and DIST1 REAL=3UA.SBJ quickly go-PAST

bin.ga gani-mbarra,…
creek down.country-D.LOC2-DIRECT
MS: And they go down the river.
CS%: And they hurried to go down the river. [MS: 97_31_2.061-063]
NOTE: bin.ga would be expected to take the locative marker.

(13-98)

1. gulangarra=n yan-da yunguyung
wrongly.thought=2MIN.SBJ go-IRR yesterday
I thought you would come yesterday.

2. ***but*** jalarni ngu=n yan-i
but today REAL=2MIN.SBJ go-PAST
But you came today. [TM: CSfn131011]

(13-99)

1. nyangga=n-gu=la yan-gu /…(2.5) *Wave Hill*
COND=2MIN.SBJ-LINK=3MIN.DAT go-FUT PLACE.NAME

Kalkarindji /…(2.5) ma-nyja=la /…(1.5)
PLACE.NAME say-IMP=3MIN.DAT
If you visit him, [in] Wave Hill, Kalkarindji, tell him that.

2. *maybe* ringap *langa* *mi* \…(0.7)
maybe ring.up LOC 1MIN
Maybe [you/he] ring me up.

3. Nangala *matbi* yura \...(1.0) ***or*** *matbi* ngu wan.gaj /
♀subsection.ABS maybe good or maybe REAL no.good
[Tell me that] maybe Nangala is fine or maybe she is not good.
[TM: 10_0929_1.006]

However, a sentence can also simply consist of two or more juxtaposed clauses without any overt marker. This asyndetic coordinate sentence is distinguished from a sequence of independent simple sentences by intonation patterns. This construction is found in many Australian languages with some exceptions (cf. Andrews, 2007b; Blake, 1987: 137; Dixon, 2002: 86). McGregor (2004) also explains how two juxtaposed clauses are recognised as a complex sentence in Gooniyandi as follows:

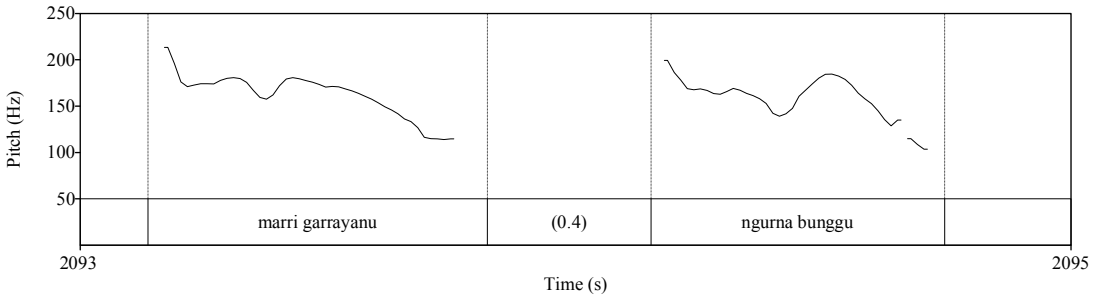
> In Gooniyandi, when the two clauses occur on a single intonation contour (a rare occurrence) they form a complex sentence. They also form a complex sentence

> when either, (a) the first has a slightly rising tone, the second, falling tone; or (b) both have falling tone, but the second is lower and shows less pitch movement throughout. Otherwise, the two clauses will normally form two distinct sentences. Similar observations seem to hold for other languages I have heard, though careful investigations have yet to be undertaken in other Kimberley languages (ibid: 332-333).

This analysis can be applied to Wanyjirra to interpret certain adjacent clauses as forming a coordinate sentence. For example, the two clauses in (13-100) belong to separate intonation units: both have falling pitch contours but the second one is lower than the preceding one as seen in Figure 13.1. This case is equivalent to Gooniyandi (a) above. Here the two clauses are connected by the expression 'so that' according to Tsunoda's translation. The event expressed in the second clause is sequential to the event expressed in the first clause.

(13-100) marri garra=yanu \.. ngu=rna bung-gu \
off KEEP.IMP=3AUG.OBJ REAL=1MIN.SBJ hit-FUT
TT: Keep them [i.e. the dogs away] so that I will hit/kill [the snake].
[NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).058]

Figure 13.1: Pitch contour in (13-100)

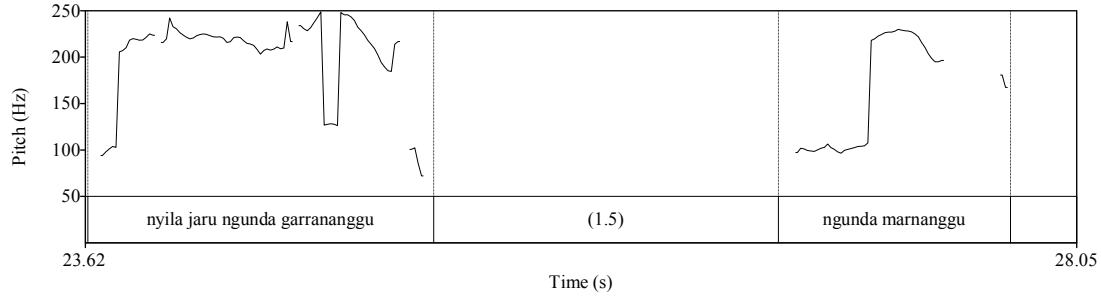


On the other hand, in (13-101), the two clauses could be interpreted as two independent clauses recognised by a longer pause (1.5 seconds) and pitch reset.

(13-101)
1. nyila jaru ngu=nda garran-ang-gu \ ...(1.5)
DIST1 language.ABS REAL=2AUG.SBJ keep-CONT-FUT
You have to keep the language.

2. ngu=nda marn-ang-gu \
REAL=2AUG.SBJ say-CONT-FUT
You have to keep speaking it. [TM: 11_1022_2.007-008]

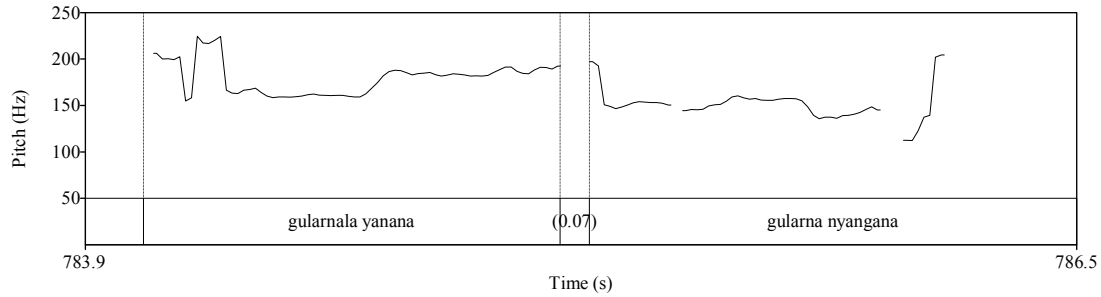
Figure 13.2: Pitch contour in (13-101)



Other examples of two independent clauses forming a coordinate sentence are given as below: two clauses occur on a single pitch contour, although there is a micro pause (less than 0.1 seconds) between them as in (13-102) or two clauses on a single contour but no pause is recognised in Sentence 2 of (13-103). The two clauses are specified by two square brackets.

(13-102) [gula=rna=la yan-ana] [gula=rna nyang-ana] /
NEG=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT go-PRES NEG=1MIN.SBJ perceive-PRES
CS%#: I haven't visited her [and] I haven't seen her [for a while].
[TM: 10_1123_1.006-007]

Figure 13.3: Pitch contour in (13-102)

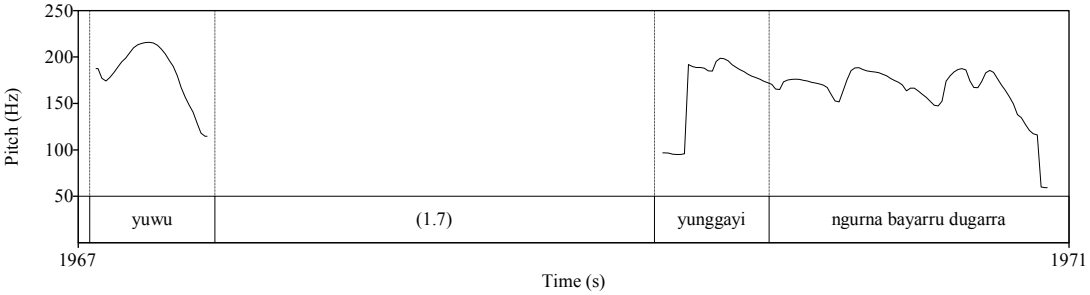


(13-103)

1. yuwu \…(1.7)
yes
TT: Yes.

2. [yung-ga=yi] [ngu=rna baya-rru dug-arra]\
give-IMP=1MIN.OBJ REAL=1MIN.SBJ CHOP-FUT smash-CONT
TT: Give it to me so that I will smash it.
CS: ALT: Give it to me, I will smash it. [NP: 76_12_1_NP(1).574]

Figure 13.4: Pitch contour in (13-103)

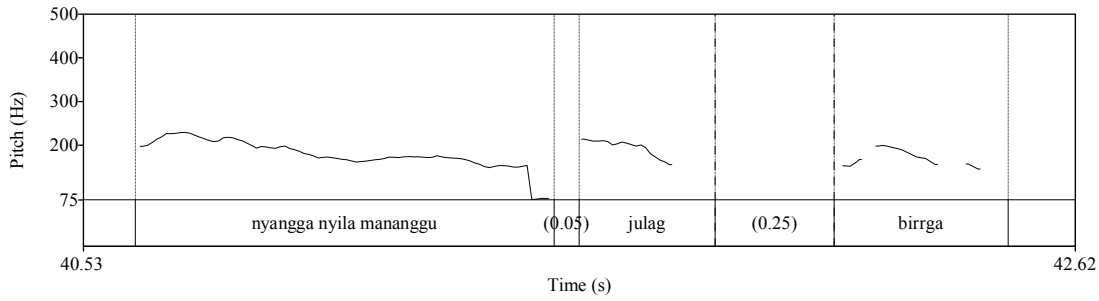


The above sentences are the only examples of (semantic) coordinating conjunctions and have been translated as 'and' and 'so that' despite the lack of any overt markers. There are no examples in the current corpus where the translation 'but' or the disjunction 'or' is used. Typically, the interpretation 'and' is possible when the two clauses are in the same temporal setting (13-102) whereas the interpretation 'so that' is possible when the first clause is in imperative mood and the second clause is in the future tense as in (13-100 and 13-103).

Another type of asyndetic linkage uses the verb nyang- 'perceive' in the first clause. Then the second clause expresses what is perceived (visually). In (13-104), the first clause contains the object of the predicate nyang-, the demonstrative nyila which is used as a cataphor for what should be seen expressed in the following clause.

(13-104) [nyang-ga nyila] [man-ang-gu \ julag \.. birrga] \
perceive-IMP DIST1 GET-CONT-FUT bird.ABS create
CS#: Look at that, he is going to make a (paper) bird.
TT#: Look at him. He is going to make a (paper) bird.
TT#: ALT: Look at him making a (paper) bird. [TM: 76_14_1_TM(1).007]

Figure 13.5: Pitch contour in (13-104)



Where two clauses share core arguments (subject and/or object), the second clause is

often reduced and lacks pronominal clitic complexes. Thus in (13-105), the second clause consists only of a complex verb. Its subject is identical to that of the preceding clause whereas the object is interpreted as the referent of the dative oblique of the preceding clause. Likewise in Sentence 2 of (13-106), the subjects of the two clauses are identical but the second clause contains an overt direct object NP as well as a complex verb and directional. In both examples, two clauses are interpreted as being in coordination.[365]

(13-105) [naangari-lu ngu=la yan-ana ngama-nyan-gu]
♀subsection-ERG REAL=3MIN.DAT go-PRES M-KIN-DAT

[ngaburru bung-gu]
comfort HIT-FUT
Naangari is coming to her mother and comforts her. [MS: CSfn120509]

(13-106) [ngu=rnalu yan-i],.. [julu-juluj garran-an-i
REAL=1AUG.SBJ go-PAST RDP-under.arm KEEP-CONT-PAST

nyawa gurla-nirra] \
PROX1 south-D.ALL
CS#: We walked to the south and kept these [swags] under the arms.
[TM: 10_0826_5.030]

13.4 Independent use of finite subordinate clause constructions

In §13.1, I described finite subordinate clauses characterised by three subordinators: guya/guwa, nyangga and ngarra. These constructions are however sometimes used in independent clauses particularly in narratives or conversations. This independent use of subordinate clause constructions, at least in some cases, can be analysed as examples of 'insubordination' (Evans, 2007: 370; Mithun, 2008).

This subsection aims to describe independent (main) clause uses of constructions which are formally the same as subordinate constructions although they are no longer complex sentences. I start with examples of nyangga clauses (§13.4.1) and then ngarra clauses (§13.4.2). I leave guya/guwa clauses until the end of this subsection (§13.4.3)

[365] Alternatively, they can be treated as the construction labelled as 'serial verbs'.

since they are the most complicated.

13.4.1 Nyangga in independent sentences

Nyangga is used to mark conditional subordinate clauses (§13.1.2). This construction also occurs without main clauses and then the nyangga clause itself behaves as the main clause in the sentence. Nyangga then expresses an epistemic modal meaning instead of encoding conditional meanings.

For example in (13-107), Sentence 3 consists of a single clause with nyangga. This is not a subordinate clause for the preceding clause (Sentence 2). Rather they are independent sentences separated by a long pause and falling intonation contour. There is no utterance following the sentence in this speech sequence. Therefore it is plausible to analyse this clause as an independent sentence. According to the translation given by MS, nyangga and the future form of the inflecting verb express prediction or uncertantiy about the potential event 'might' (in Kriol *mait* or *maitbi* 'maybe'). In independent nyangga clauses, an inflecting verb is always in the future tense so that the event described in the sentence is a matter of the future time as seen in the most common use of nyangga future conditional subordinate clauses.

(13-107) *Nangari was making tea. TM was speaking to her.*

1. Nangari /...(1.7) yangi-wurd yirra \...(3.4)
   ♀subsection.ABS one-TIMES put.IMP
   Nangari, put [sugar] once!
   Note: TT's original transcription is yara instead of yirra. yirra was given by MS. When I listened to it again, I also heard it as yirra.

2. garru-wu-rra=ngalinggula yabawurru-yal[366] \...(3.4)
   be-FUT-HORT=1MIN.INC.OBL small-?
   CS: Leave a small [amount of sugar] with us.
   TT: Let him/her stay with a small [amount of sugar] with us.

[366] One of the examiners suggested that yabawurru-yal could be yaba warrayarl (small.ABS sugar/sand.ABS). Warrayarl means 'sugar' or 'sand' in Gurindji (Meakins et al., 2013: 403) and Wanyjirra has the word warrayal 'sugar'. This is a possible analysis although I could not recognise the word warrayarl when listening back to the audio.

3.	ngandu-gu	**nyangga**=ngaling	*juga*	yung-gu
	someone-ERG	UNCERTAIN=1MIN.INC.OBJ	sugar.ABS	give-FUT

mayalu-wariny \
more-OTHER
MS: Somebody might give us sugar more.
TT: Someone will give us more sugar some time.
CS: LIT: If somebody gives us sugar some more [it would be good.]
[TM: 76_14_1_TM(2).006-008]

This example can be analysed as a type of insubordination which appears to result from conventionalising ellipsis of main clauses (Evans, 2007).[367] I provide the literal translation including the elided main clause which is analysed based on the context. MS's translation for Sentence 2 in (13-108) seems to contain the omitted main clause as well as the conventionalised nyangga clause.

(13-108)

1.	junba	ngu=rna=nggu=lu	yunba-wu \...(0.9)	guya \...
	corroboree	REAL=1SBJ=2MIN.OBJ=AUG	sing-FUT	thus

TT: We will sing a song for you like this.
MS: Corroboree, I'll sing it for you.
NOTE: In the original text, Tsunoda transcribed junbawu and tentatively analysed -wu as the dative suffix. However, I did not recognise this morpheme -wu when listening back and the dative-wu is not necessary in this transitive sentence as reflected in MS's translation. Therefore, I removed -wu from the original text.

[367] In Jaru, the same subordinating conjunction nyangga seems to have a similar function in independent sentences. Tsunoda (1981: 165) describes how nyangga, as well as marking conditional subordinate clauses, has an adverbial function of marking indefiniteness when combined with the interrogative nyayanga 'how many' in indefinite use. According to the given translation, it seems to contain a similar epistemic meaning.

(A)	nyayanga	barla	nyangga=liwa	nyina-wu
JARU	how.many	week	COND=1PL.INC.SBJ	stay-FUT

I don't know how many weeks we will have to stay.
(Tsunoda, 1981: 165, ex. 275, gloss modified)

Other Ngumpin-Yapa languages also have insubordinate constructions with the similar meaning 'might, may': for example insubordinate clauses headed by nyamu which normally occurs in general modifying finite subordinate clauses in Gurindji but it indicates uncertainty or tentativeness of the proposition in main clauses (McConvell, 2005c) and; kaji which marks conditional and temporal subordinate clauses in Warlpiri also expresses 'uninstantiated event' or 'non-fact' event in main clauses (Laughren, 1982a: 134; Legate, 2008: 17). Although the authors do not treat those constructions as a result of elision of main clauses, they are closely related to the Wanyjirra examples.

2. ngala-nga **nyangga**=yi yan-gu *too* \..
♀Ch-2KIN.POSS.ABS UNCERTAIN=1MIN.OBJ go-FUT too

gan.gu-liyin *warug*-nginyi \
up-D.ABL work-EL
MS: If that *ngalayi* comes, we will sing corroboree.
CS%: LIT: If your daughter comes for me too from the upcountry after working, [we will sing the corroboree together.]
CS#: Your daughter might come for me too. [TM: 76_14_1_TM(1).003-005]
NOTE: Tsunoda also gave the different translation "Look [ngalae] come to me", based on analysing nyangga as the imperative form of the verb nyang- 'perceive'. However, this translation does not exactly correspond to this Wanyjirra sentence. If nyangga is the verb, the object of the verb should be interpreted as ngala-nga 'your child' and 'me' specified by the pronominal clitic. Otherwise, ngala-nga would be vocative, and the second verb yan-gu would lack an overt subject. Therefore, I do not adopt this analysis.

In (13-109), the nyangga clause as a main clause even takes a non-finite subordinate clause marked with the elative case suffix in subordinating use which specifies a temporally prior event (§13.2.1.1). In (13-110) the ignorative adverb nyararra 'how/somehow' occurs at the beginning of the nyangga sentence. The sentence seems to express the speaker's uncertainty about the manner of the event.[368]

(13-109)
1. wagurra=n baru man-gu ngu magin garriny-ana
NEG=2MIN.SBJ stand GET-FUT REAL sleep STAY-PRES
CS#: Don't wake her up, she is sleeping.

2. ngu=nyunu bulbul man-i
REAL=RR cover GET-PAST
CS#: She wrapped herself [with a blanket].

3. nyandu=lu **nyangga** yan-gu magin-nginyi
3MIN=ONLY UNCERTAIN go-FUT sleep-EL
CS#: She mightcome [to talk to you] after sleeping. [TM: CSfn170910]

(13-110)
1. ngaliwa bura nyang-gu jaru \...
1AUG.INC listen PERCEIVE-FUT language.ABS
CS#: We will listen to the speech (at the meeting).

[368] Instead of the construction like (13-110), the ignorative clitic =wayi/warri which attaches to all interrogative stems in the indefinite sense is more commonly used for the similar epistemic meaning (§5.2).

2. nyararra **nyangga**=ngaliwang-gu=lu ma-lu \...
somehow UNCERTAIN=1AUG.INC.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ say-FUT
TM: what they gatta say.
CS%: They might speak in some way.

3. yura jaru ma-lu \
good.ABS language.ABS say-FUT
TM: maybe good story.
CS#: [They] will speech a good story. [TM: CSfn270710]

13.4.2 Ngarra in independent sentences

Ngarra clauses in complex sentences express apprehension about unpleasant events or states whereas their matrix clauses describe a command or prohibition to avoid them (§13.1.3). Independent sentences containing ngarra are similarly interpreted as an admonition, warning or a fear. This is a common type of insubordination in Australian languages (Evans, 2007).

(13-111)
1. guliyan jalngi nyila nyila \…(1.1)
aggressive king.brown DIST1 DIST1
CS: [That] is cheeky king brown snake, that one, that one.
TT: That [is] a venomus jalngi 'king brown'!

2. guliyan jalngi \ …(1.4)
aggressive king.brown
CS: The cheeky king brown snake.
NOTE: These two words are included in the preceding sentence in TT's original text. But I analyse them as a separate sentence separated by a longer pause and an intonation break.

3. [**ngarra**=ngali baya-rru] \ …(1.1)
ADM=1MIN.INC.OBJ bite-FUT
It might bite us.

4. [**ngarra**=yanu baya-rru bunbulu] \ …(1.0)
ADM=3AUG.OBJ bite-FUT dog.ABS
It might bite the dogs. [NP: 76_13_2_NP(2).055-057]
NOTE: bunbulu could be a Nyininy word.

Insubordinate ngarra clauses can co-occur with nyangga subordinate clauses. In (13-112), nyangga is undoubtedly used as a subordinator for a conditional subordinate clause.

(13-112) [**ngarra**=n jiwilyi garru-wu] [nyangga wandi-wu yibu]
ADM=2MIN.SBJ cold BE-FUT COND fall-FUT rain.ABS
CS#: You might be cold if rain falls down. [TM: CSfn120710]

Since insubordinated ngarra clauses keep a similar meaning to when they occur as subordinate clauses in complex sentences, the unstated or elided (true) matrix clause expressing command or prohibition can easily be inferred from the context. Although this construction has not undergone a large-scale semantic shift, the independent use of ngarra is more conventionalised than that of nyangga, and insubordinated ngarra clauses occur more frequently than complex sentences with their main clauses. Ngarra has been reanalysed as an auxiliary and used with future tense verbs for admonitive mood rather than as a subordinator. This phenomenon can be observed in neighbouring languages, e.g., Jaru (Tsunoda, 1981: 204) and Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 420).

However, there has been some semantic shift, conditioned by the person of the subject. Especially when the ngarra clause includes a first person minimal referent, it usually expresses a speaker's fear of the occurrence of an event or a state described rather than giving a warning or admonition to the addressee.

(13-113)

1. gang-ga=yila jiwilying ngawa
carry-IMP=1MIN.OBL cold.ABS water.ABS
Bring cold water to me.

2. ngu=rna man-gu
REAL=1MIN.SBJ get-FUT
I will take it.

3. **ngarra**=yi ngilygirri bung-gu
ADM=1MIN.OBJ throat.ABS hit-FUT
It (CS: i.e., the hot food) might burn my throat. [TM: CSfn130710]

In addition, a very few examples show that ngarra in a main clause marks an event or state that is not necessarily undesirable. Therefore the construction does not entail admonition. In (13-114), the ngarra clause has a nyangga conditional subordinate clause like in (13-112). The main clause event 'we will have the sun' is not negative

but rather positive in the context where the speaker and I were complaining how cold it was in winter while I was carrying out my fieldwork. Here, ngarra encodes an epistemic meaning like nyangga in independent use, irrespective of whether it refers to a pleasant or unpleasant event.[369]

(13-114)	nyangga	maarn	yan-gu	marri]	[gangirriny
	COND	cloud.ABS	GO-FUT	off	sun.ABS

ngarra=ngaliwa		garru-wu]
ADM=1AUG.INC.OBJ		stay-FUT

CS#: When the clouds go away, there will be the sun for us.
[TM: CSfn140610]

This Wanyjirra example could be interpreted as a conventionalised main clause construction which has undergone semantic expansion. Ngarra is used not only for admonition but more generally to express the speaker's attitude toward the possibility or potentiality of occurrence of events.

13.4.3 Guya/guwa in independent sentences

As a subordinator, guya/guwa forms general modifying subordinate clauses linking a clause to another clause or NP (§13.1.1.2; §13.1.1.3) and indicates indirect reported speech (§13.1.1.4). It also occurs in independent simple sentences and hosts pronominal clitics like other auxiliaries. Furthermore, the form guya is also used as an adverbial demonstrative with situational and discourse deictic functions (§6.1.3.3; §6.1.4).

Independent guya/guwa sentences cannot be treated as a comparable type of insubordination to independent nyangga and ngarra sentences because it is difficult to trace their unstated 'true' main clauses. These subordinate clause constructions always

[369] A similar possibility is also found in Jaru. Tsunoda gives the gloss 'can' to ngarra, which encodes the possibility of occurrence of the event.

(A)	ngaju-nggu	ngarra=rna	bali	wung-gu	guyu
JARU	1SG-ERG	can=1SG.SBJ	find	HIT-FUT	meat.ABS

nyangga	langga-muwa	bid	nyin-ang-gu	
COND	head-ONLY	stick	STAY-CONT-FUT	

I can find game (e.g. a kangaroo) if only a head is sticking out (of grass).
(Tsunoda, 1981: 204, ex. 274: gloss modified)

occur in spontaneous natural speech but not in elicitation. Speakers make an arbitrary decision to use this construction instead of normal simple sentences. These sentences are pragmatically (but not necessarily morpho-syntactically) dependent on a stretch of discourse providing some background information on an ongoing topic or relating sub-events to a larger pragmatic or discourse context. Mithun (2008) describes this type of insubordination as originating from the extension of the scope of grammatically dependent forms from the sentence to larger discourse domains.

However, there are also some examples which show similarities of both discourse deictic use and subordinating use of guya. In such situations, guya appears in a simple sentence as a host of pronominal clitics, and has deictic meanings at least to some extent. Given that the form guya is situated on the common grammaticalisation path from a demonstrative to a subordinator for general modifying clauses, as discussed by McConvell (2006), this independent use of guya can be treated as an intermediate step in the grammaticalisation process rather than as a different process of derivation from complex sentence constructions that results from deletion of main clauses or extension of subordinate clause constructions. Before describing insubordinate sentences (§13.4.3.1; §13.4.3.2), I will show these intermediate constructions and compare them with demonstrative and subordinating use of guya (and guwa).

In (13-115), TM provided one Wanyjirra sentence. Then MS followed it up and explained that the expression given by TM was often used by Wanyjirra adults to call out for the children in Sentence 2. Here guya is used in a simple sentence. Like in the subordinating use of guya/guwa, it is followed by pronominal clitics. However, it does not link adjacent clauses showing coreferential, temporal or other logical relationships. Rather this guya, like in the discourse deictic use of guya, may relate the proposition to the previous quoted utterance, although the demonstrative guya never takes pronominal clitics.

(13-115)
TM: yan-da yalaba-g
go-IMP close-TRNSL
MS: “Come [here] close up”.

MS: **guya**=lu=nganimba marn-an-i jaru
THUS=3AUG.SBJ=1AUG.OBJ say-CONT-PAST language.ABS
MS: They used to say this word to us. [TM; MS: CSfn160609]

In (13-116), the two consultants were explaining to me what balaarn 'turtle' was. MS first talked about the eating habits of balaarn. Then TM explained that she used a fishing line with some meat to catch balaarn. As in (13-115), guya in this sentence occurs in the initial position of the independent simple sentence as a host of pronominal clitics and relates the proposition to the previous one retaining deictic semantics 'thus/like this'.

(13-116)
MS: balaarn-rdu ngarn-ana ngarin
turtle-ERG ingest-PRES meat.ABS
A turtle eats meat.

TM: **guya**=rna=la giyan-i wuyurrun
THUS=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.DAT throw-PAST fishing.line.ABS
MS: Thus I threw a fishing line [tying some meat with the line] for it.
[MS; TM: CSfn250509]

Given that the form guya in these sentences shows properties of deictic and subordinating uses of guya, they could be the examples of bridging constructions from discourse deictic use 'thus/like this' to subordinating use. Table 13.2 summarises properties of each construction.

Table 13.2: Properties of guya/guwa in different uses

	Demonstrative	In middle constructions (13-115, 13-116)	Subordinator	In independent sentences
Placement within a sentence	Anywhere	First constituent only?	First or second constituent of subordinate clauses	First or second constituent
Attachment of pronominal clitics	NO	YES	YES	YES
Deictic function	YES	YES?	NO	NO
Linking clauses	NO	NO	YES	NO

13.4.3.1 Providing background information

This subtype of insubordinate sentences provides background or supplementary information including explanation or commentary with regard to the event described in the previous sentence, instead of advancing storylines or conversations (cf. Mithun, 2008: 82). In (13-117), I was confirming with TM about how the corroboree warndardurru had been inherited by Wanyjirra people from TM's father. TM added a further explanation to make clear whose country Wanyjirra people sang about in the corroboree to my previous utterance nyanungu-wu ngurra-wu 'his country'.[370]

(13-117)

CS:	ngu=lu	burr	yirran-i	nyanungu-wu	ngurra-wu
	REAL=3AUG.SBJ	sing	PUT-PAST	3MIN.OBL1-DAT	camp-DAT
	CS!: They (i.e., People in Inverway) sang [the corroboree] about his country.				

TM:	nganingu-wu	gilagi-wu	**guya**=lu	yunbarn-an-i
	1MIN.OBL1-DAT	FF-DAT	THUS=3AUG.SBJ	sing-CONT-PAST

yalu-wu	ngurra-wu
DIST2-DAT	camp-DAT

About my grandfather's, about [his] country they were singing [the corroboree]. [CS; TM: CSfn280910]

Similarly, in (13-118), TM and I delivered food to her friend but we didn't see her although there were many other people around her house. On the way back to TM's house, I talked to her. Then TM explained that many people come to her house for chatting and playing cards in regard to my previous utterance 'they (many people) stay in (her) house'.

(13-118)

CS:

1.	wanyjirra	Yin.ga	garriny-ana
	where	PERSON.NAME	stay-PRES

Where is Yin.ga?

[370] The possessive NP nganingu-wu gilagi-wu 'about my grandfather's' is highlighted and thus it is fronted and separated from other sub-constituents of the dative NP yalu-wu ngurra-wu which is given information. This is also an example of a discontinuous NP (§8.7).

2. ngu=lu garriny-ana ngurra-ngga
REAL stay-PRES camp-LOC
They (i.e., many people) are staying in [her] house.

TM:

1. **guya**=lu barlag-barlag garriny-ana *Lamboo*-ga
THUS=3AUG.SBJ RDP-mix STAY-PRES PLACE.NAME-LOC

nyanunginy-ja ngurra-ngga yala-ngga gajirri *alabat*
3MIN.OBL2-LOC camp-LOC DIST2-LOC old.woman.ABS all.about
[Yeah,] all old women are thus joining at her place, at Lamboo, there.

2. ngayu *visitor*
1MIN visitor
I am a visitor. [CS; TM: CSfn200810]

In (13-119), TM was telling me that the warndardurru corroboree was first acquired by TM's father through his dreaming. In his dream, he was taught it by dreaming creatures. Then after he woke up, he taught it to other Wanyjirra people. Elder women taught it to TM and to other young kids. The third sentence with guya adds information about how he acquired the corroboree within a quoted episode.

(13-119)

1. ngu=rna=nyurra bina *na* yung-gu \…(0.9)
REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ know NOW GIVE-FUT

nganinga junba \…(0.8)
1MIN.OBL1 corroboree.ABS
"I will teach you my corroboree."

2. ngu=yi=lu yu-nya *dream time* guya \...(0.7)
REAL=1MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ give-PAST dream.time.ABS thus
TM: They *bin givim mi* Dream Time *lakijat*.
CS@: They gave me the Dream Time story like this.

3. guni **guya=**rna man-an-i nyila junba /
dream THUS=1MIN.SBJ GET-CONT-PAST DIST1 corroboree.ABS
CS#: "(Because) I dreamt that corroboree."

4.	*wal*,..	ngu=rna=nyurra,…(1.2)	yirra-wu	bagara-la	*na*
	well	REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ	put-FUT	outside-LOC	NOW

junba=ma wanyjan-u-wu yunbarn-u-wu \
corroboree.ABS=TOP dance-NF-DAT sing-NF-DAT
TM: "I will *putum* this *junba la yufalas*."
CS%@: "Well… I will… train you this corroboree at the clear ground for dancing and singing." [TM: 10_0820_6.023-026]

Likewise two independent guya sentences in (13-120) provide more precise information on the event in the preceding sentence 'recording stories' (i.e., writing them in Wanyjirra and English) within a long direct quotation. Alternatively, the second guya sentence could be treated as indicating a consecutive sub-event 'writing in English' in the discourse event 'recording stories' (see §13.4.3.2).

(13-120)

1.	nyawa=ma	ngu=rna	jaru=ma	yirra-wu \...(1.4)
	PROX1=TOP	REAL=1MIN.SBJ	language.ABS=TOP	put-FUT

mirlimirli-la \
paper-LOC
CS#: "This one, I want to put stories... in the book."

2.	jaru-nggu	**guya**=rna	yirran-ana \	
	language-ERG	THUS=1MIN.SBJ	put-PRES	

CS#: "I write the stories in Wanyjirra."

3.	*English*-ju	**guya**=rna	yirran-ana \	
	English-ERG	THUS=1MIN.SBJ	put-PRES	

CS#: "I write them in English."

4. nyawa=ma \
PROX1=TOP
CS#: This one [she said]. [TM: 11_1028_5.006-009]

13.4.3.2 Signalling a chain of sub-events within a larger pragmatic or discourse context

The independent sentences with guya/guwa also express a sequence of sub-events of a larger discourse event or episode, or ideas relevant to the primary discourse topic (cf. Mithun, 2008: 107). In (13-121), TM was telling how she and her family travelled to Kalkarindji to visit their relatives for the holidays and returned to work in Inverway.

Sentence 3 with guya describes a sub-event connecting to other sub-events expressed in the previous sentences as a component of the larger discourse event 'returning to station work after holidays'. As seen below, such independent sentences are usually translated into English just like normal independent sentences with the realis auxiliary without the conjunctive word, i.e., 'and (then)'.

(13-121)

1. garra ngu=rnalu *kamaut* yan-i /…(0.8) garla-niyin-da \
   thus REAL=1AUG.SBJ come.out GO-PAST west-D.ABL-LOC
   CS#: Like that we got in there in the afternoon.
   NOTE: garra is a Jaru word. guya would be expected.

2. ngu=rnalu dirrib garri-nya,… (2.1)
   REAL=1AUG.SBJ camp.out BE-PAST
   TM: We *bin* camp *jea*.
   CS@: We camped [there in Inverway].

3. [gardiya **guya**=lu gan.gu-liyin yan-i, …(2.9)
   white.man.ABS THUS=3AUG.SBJ up-D.ABL go-PAST

   [marn-u-wu] \...(1.3)
   say-NF-DAT
   TM: Then white men *bin kam.*
   CS@: White men came from the upper area… to talk [to us].

4. *yufala gata start work na* \
   2PL FUT start work NOW
   CS@: "You should start working now." [TM: 10_0826_5.035-038]

Similarly Sentence 4 of (13-122) expresses the sub-event 'the girls who learnt women's corroboree from old people grew up' in a sequence of sub-events of the topic 'how women inherited their secret corroboree from old people'.

(13-122)

1. *wal,.. they bin finish na,*
   well 3PL PAST finish NOW
   MS: Well, they all passed away.

2. ngu=lu gun.galgal *nao*,
   REAL=3AUG.SBJ dead NOW
   MS: They all passed away.

3. gajirri-lu=ma gambarri-ward-rdu=ma guya nyila=ma
old.woman-ERG=TOP front-PERS-ERG=TOP thus DIST1=TOP

junba=ma yunbarn-an-i=ma,
corroboree.ABS=TOP sing-CONT-PAST=TOP
MS: The first old women [who gave us the story] used to sing that corroboree like this.

4. ngu=lu,...(2.0) nyila=la **guwa**=lu *growemap* yan-i /
REAL=3AUG.SBJ DIST1=FOC SUB=3AUG.SBJ grow.up go-PAST
TM: They (i.e., the girls) grew up.

5. yalu-nggu *nao* ngu=lu garran-ana nyila=ma
DIST2-ERG NOW REAL=3AUG.SBJ keep-PRES DIST1=TOP

junba=ma \... *Wave Hill*-la=ma \
corroboree.ABS=TOP PLACE.NAME-LOC=TOP
TM: Those mobs keep the corroboree now, in (new) Wave Hill.
[TM: 09_0513_3.058-062]
NOTE: Wave Hill may refer to Kalkarindji here not Jinbarrag.

In the final example (13-123), guya indicates clarification or restatement of the preceding sentence with the different verb luwarn- 'strike (with a stick)' in Sentence 3 and the last sub-event of the discourse event 'stopping kids from fighting' in Sentence 6. Note that in Sentence 4, the demonstrative guya cataphorically refers to the quotation that follows.

(13-123)
1. wagurra=wula bura nya-nya
NEG=3UA.SBJ listen PERCIEVE-PAST
MS: They didn't listen to her.

2. ngu=wuliny bu-nya
REAL=3UA.OBJ hit-PAST
MS: She (CS: a woman) hit them.

3. **guya**=wuliny luwarn-i
THUS=3UA.OBJ strike-PAST
MS: She hit them with a stick.

4. guya *na*
thus NOW
MS: [She said] like this.

5. lung-an-da=wula
   cry-CONT-IMP=UA.SBJ
   MS: “You two cry.”

6. **guya**=rnalu=yanu nganany bu-nya
   THUS=1AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ stop HIT-PAST
   MS: We stopped the children. [TM: CSfn010910]

Appendix 1 A list of data

[1] Tsunoda's corpus

[1] Published texts	
Reference (Speaker)	Source
76_11_2 (Nyun.gatya Paddy)	Tsunoda, T. (1998) A Text in the Wanyjirra Language: 76/11-2, NP, 'stock work'. In T. Tsunoda ed. *Fieldwork Reports on Minority Languages 1998*, (pp.299-314). Tokyo: University of Tokyo.
76_12_1_NP(1) 76_12_1_NP(2) 76_12_1_NP(3) (Nyun.gatya Paddy)	Tsunoda, T. (1999) Wanyjirra texts: 76/12-1, NP (1)-NP (3). In T. Tsunoda ed. *Fieldwork on endangered languages*. 1996-1998 Grant-in-Aid for International Scientific Research (Field Research), Grant No.06041008, Reserch report, (pp.9-159). Tokyo: University of Tokyo.
76_13_2_NP(1) (Nyun.gatya Paddy)	Tsunoda, T. (2001a) Wanyjirra texts: 76/13-2, NP (1) and NP (2). In T.Tsunoda ed. *Basic materials in minority languages 2001*. (Endangered Languages of the Pacific Rim B001), (pp. 115-204). Kyoto: Nakanishi.
76_13_2_NP(2) (Nyun.gatya Paddy)	Tsunoda, T. (2001b) *Basic materials in minority languages 2001 Addendum.* (Endangered Languages of the Pacific Rim B001b). Kyoto: Nakanishi.
76_14_1_TM(1) 76_14_1_TM(2) (Tiny McCale)	Tsunoda, T. (2002a) Wanyjirra texts: 76/14-1, TM (1), TM (2). In T.Tsunoda ed. *Basic materials in minority languages 2002* (Endangered Languages of the Pacific Rim 2002 B003),(pp.133-188). Kyoto: Nakanishi.
76_14_1_NP (Nyun.gatya Paddy)	Tsunoda, T. (2002b) Wanyjirra texts: 76/14-1, NP. In T. Tsunoda ed. *Basic materials in minority languegs 2002 (Part 2)*. (Endangered Languages of the Pacific Rim 2002 B008),(pp.75-146). Kyoto: Nakanishi.
[2] Fieldnotes formatted in word files	
Tsunoda Fieldnotes 1995, No.1, No.2 [Version: 1 May 2012]	
Tsunoda Fieldnotes 1996, No.1 [Version: 1 May 2012]	
Tsunoda Fieldnotes 1997, No.1, No.2, No.3 [Version: 24 October 2008]	
Tsunoda Fieldnotes 1998, No.1, No.2, No.3, No.4 [Version: 1 July 1999]	
Tsunoda Fieldnotes 1999, No.1 [Version: 17 November 1999], No.2 [Version: 10 November 1999], No.3, [Version: 2 December 1999], No.4 [Version: 12 November 1999],	
Tsunoda Fieldnotes 2000, No.2, No.3 [Version: 7 August 2000]	
Tsunoda Fieldnotes 2001, No.2, No.3 [Version: 7 December 2007]	

Tsunoda Fieldnotes 2002, No.1-Part3, No.2-Part1 [Version: 12 September 2002]	
Tsunoda Fieldnotes 2006, No.2-A. No.2-B [Version: 16 Feburary 2007]	
[3] Other manuscripts	
Reference (Speaker)	Types of data
76_5_1_NP (Nyun.gatya Paddy; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Transcription of lexical elicitation session
76_5_2_TM (Tiny McCale; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Transcription of lexical elicitation session
76_6_1_NP (Nyun.gatya Paddy; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Transcription of lexical elicitation session
76_7_2_NP (Nyun.gatya Paddy; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Transcription of lexical elicitation session
76_8_1_NP (Nyun.gatya Paddy; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Transcription of lexical elicitation session
76_8_2_NP (Nyun.gatya Paddy; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Transcription of lexical elicitation session
76_9_1_NP (Nyun.gatya Paddy; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Transcription of lexical elicitation session
76_10_2_NP (Nyun.gatya Paddy; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Transcription of grammatical elicitation session
76_14_2_NP (Nyun.gatya Paddy; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Transcription of interview
76_39_1_NP (Nyun,gatya Paddy)	Transcription of a story

[4] Audio recordings transcribed/translated by Senge, McCale, Scott and/or Long		
Reference (Speaker)	Genres	Length (m:s)
95_1_1 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview, Narrative, Lexical elicitation	31:26
95_1_2 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Lexical elicitation, Narrative, Interview	30:58
95_4_2 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview, Lexical elicitation	30:04
95_5_1 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview, Lexical elicitation	31:00
95_7_1 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Lexical elicitation, Narrative, Interview	30:48
95_8_2 (Ray Duncan; Kathleen Duncan; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	31:22
95_9_2 (Ray Duncan; Kathleen Duncan; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview, Narrative	31:36
95_10_1 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	30:36
95_11_1 (Maggie Scott, Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview, Grammatical elicitation, Narrative	31:19
95_12_1 (Tiny McCale; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Narrative	31:33
97_3_5 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	04:20
97_3_7 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	03:04
97_7_1 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview., Grammatical elicitation	22:45

97_8_1 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	30:34
97_9_1 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	13:24
97_9_2 (Tiny McCale; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	18:08
97_10_1 (Tiny McCale; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	30:23
97_22_1 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	09:23
97_26_1 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview, Grammatical elicitation	19:34
97_29_2 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Narrative (all English), Interview, Grammatical elicitation	12:04
97_31_2 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Narrative	03:14
99_10_2 (Tiny McCale; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	13:11
99_11_1 (Tiny McCale; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	08:36
99_19_1 (Dolly Jirrbngarri; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	31:44
99_25_2 (Tiny McCale; Dolly Jirrbngarri etc.)	Songs	04:10
99_26_1 (Tiny McCale; Dolly Jirrbngarri etc.)	Songs	07:37
99_26_2 (Tiny McCale; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	03:03
99_26_3 (Tiny McCale; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	00:31
99_26_4 (Dolly Jirrbngarri; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	00:54
99_26_5 (Tiny McCale; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	00:43
99_26_6 (Dolly Jirrbngarri; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	01:20
99_32_2 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview, Grammatical elicitation	15:44
99_33_1 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	31:46
99_34_1 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Interview	09:43
99_34_3 (Dolly Jirrbngarri; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Narrative	06:43
99_34_5 (Dolly Jirrbngarri; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Narrative	01:38
99_35_1 (Dolly Jirrbngarri; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Narrative, Interview	07:12
99_40_1 (Maggie Scott; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Grammatical elicitation	10:30
99_40_2 (Dolly Jirrbngarri; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Grammatical elicitation	03:49
99_40_3 (Dolly Jirrbngarri; Tasaku Tsunoda)	Narrative	17:11
99_41_1 (Dolly Jirrbngarri; Tasaku Tsunoda	Narrative	09:45
[5] Metadata description for all audio recordings		
Field Tape Report Sheets 1975-1976 [Word file version: 27 February 2006]		
Field Tape Report Sheets 1978-1979 [Word file version: 27 February 2006]		
Field Tape Report Sheets 1995-1997 [Word file version: 28 February 2006]		
Field Tape Report Sheets 1998-1999 [Word file version: 1 March 2006]		
Field Tape Report Sheets 2000 [a copy of original]		

Field Tape Report Sheets 2001 [a copy of original]
Field Tape Report Sheets 2002 [a copy of original]
Field Tape Report Sheets 2006 [a copy of original]

[2] Senge's corpus

[1] Texts		
Reference (Speaker)	Genres	Length (m:s)
09_0513_3 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	04:09
09_0513_4 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	04:43
09_0522_3 (Maggie Scott; Chikako Senge)	Narrative	02:26
09_0602_4 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	04:04
09_0923_3 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	00:47
09_0923_5 (Tiny McCale; Chikako Senge)	Narrative	03:26
09_0929_2 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	02:30
09_1019_1 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	02:55
10_0607_2 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	01:13
10_0607_3 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	03:47
10_0610_5 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	00:50
10_0610_8 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	02:12
10_0617_4 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	01:14
10_0617_5 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	00:12
10_0617_6 (Tiny McCale; Chikako Senge)	Interview, Narrative	01:32
10_0617_7 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	01:49
10_0617_8 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	00:32
10_0618_2 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	00:26
10_0618_5 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	00:42
10_0618_8 (Tiny McCale; Chikako Senge)	Interview	01:00
10_0701_2 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	01:04
10_0702_2 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	03:01
10_0715_7 (Tiny McCale; Chikako Senge)	Narrative	01:42
10_0721_3 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	00:58
10_0730_7 (Tiny McCale; Chikako Senge)	Interview	01:18
10_0730_8 (Tiny McCale; Chikako Senge)	Narrative	01:11
10_0803_2 (Tiny McCale; Chikako Senge)	Narrative	09:51
10_0820_6 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	02:08
10_0825_4 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	01:52

10_0826_1 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	02:03
10_0826_5 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	04:46
10_0831_3 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	03:22
10_0929_1 (Tiny McCale; Chikako Senge)	Narrative	05:45
10_0929_2 (Tiny McCale; Chikako Senge)	Narrative	01:08
10_0929_3 (Tiny McCale; Chikako Senge)	Narrative	02:07
10_1110_4 (Tiny McCale, Chikako Senge)	Narrative	02:36
10_1117_4 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	00:28
11_1003_1 (Tiny McCale, Chikako Senge)	Interview	01:34
11_1003_3 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	00:15
11_1003_6 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	00:31
11_1005_3 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	01:06
11_1008_1 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	05:38
11_1010_1 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	00:49
11_1011_3 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	00:53
11_1014_3 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	03:13
11_1014_4 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	02:34
11_1015_3 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	03:54
11_1018_5 (Tiny McCale; Chikako Senge)	Grammatical elicitation, Narrative	02:47
11_1018_6 (Tiny McCale; Chikako Senge)	Grammatical elicitation, Narrative	04:58
11_1022_2 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	00:48
11_1024_1 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	01:13
11_1024_2 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	02:18
11_1024_4 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	00:50
11_1025_1 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	01:41
11_1026_1 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	00:28
11_1027_2 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	01:01
11_1028_5 (Tiny McCale)	Narrative	02:07

[2] Fieldnotes formatted in text files
Senge Fieldnotes 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012 [Version: 9 October 2014]

[3] Visual stilumi	
Photos	Privately taken Photos (sites of Halls Creek, Inverway and Kalkarindji)
Picture book	Lowe, P. and J. Pike (1990) *Jilji: Life in the Great Sandy Desert*. Broome, WA.: Magabala Books

Appendix 2 Word list

This word list is based on data collected by Tsunoda and Senge. Lexicon presented here partly overlap with those compiled in Flower et.al. (2006) and Scott et.al. (2008). The significance of this word list is that it contains a number of coverbs and different combinations of coverb-verb complex verbs. Complex verbs are listed under the entries of each coverb.

Word class abbreviations: adv (adverb); cv (coverb); dem (demonstrative); dir (directional); interj (interjection); n (nominal); part (particle); pro (free pronoun); q (ignorative); v (inflecting verb). Here nominals contain: nouns, adjectives, quantifiers, locational, temporal and manner nominals. Particles contain: auxiliaries, subordinators, sentence particles and prepositional particles.

aba (n) water (baby talk)
an.gaj (interj) poor thing
ba (part) question auxiliary
baba; babayi (n) elder brother
bad (cv) touch
  bad man- touch
badawarn (n) strong
baga (n) spike, princkle
bagara (n) outside, open space
bagarli (n) cadjeput
balabi (n) bush coconut, bloodwood fruit
balmarn (cv) bump
balmarn bung- knock down (by car)
  balmarn gang- run over, bump
  balmarn man- meet s.o. and go
bamarr (n) stone, rock, hill, money
bambila (n) shoulder, blade
bambilyi (n) vine species
bambirriny (n) fresh water mussel
bandij (n) wet
bangarra (n) white cockatoo
banggily (cv) hit.head
  banggily bung- hit s.o. on the head
  banggily wandiny- fall and hit the head
bangin- (v) scratch, dig
ban.garl (n) bat
ban.girli (n) tree species
barangga (n) hot weather, summer
bard (cv) fly
  bard gang- fly
bardaj (cv) ascend
  bardaj garriny- be above
  bardaj yan- climb up
  bardaj yirran- put up
bardardi (n) ceremonial ground, 'ring place'
bardi (n) rasp-tail lizard
bardigi (n) 'Nutwood' tree
bardiny- (v) fly
bardinyuwaji (n) plane, helpicopter, something that flies
barduru; baarduru (n) circatrice
balaarn (n) turtle
barlada (n) bald
barlag (cv) mix
  barlag gambarn- cook together
  barlag gang- take s.o./sth and mix with
  barlag garriny- mix up
  barlag marn- mingle with
  barlag yan- go and join
  barlag yirran- mix s.o./sth with
barli (cv) find
  barli nyang- find, discover
  barli yung- find, discover
barnany (cv) clean
  barnany bung- shave, clean up
  barnany man- sweep, clean up
barndawurru (n) back, backbone
barndi (cv) smell
  barndi man- smell s.o./sth
barndiny- (v) smell (itr)
barndirri (n) women's dance style
barndubayid (n) turpentine wattle
barnnga (n) bark of trees, skin of fruit
barn.gu; barn.guyu (n) cross cousin
baru (cv) stand
  baru garriny- be standing
  baru man- wake s.o. up
  baru wandiny- come to stop
  baru yan- get up, stand up
  baru yirran- stand s.o. up
bawu (cv) call out
  bawu marn- call out
bawu (interj) yoo-hoo, hey
bayal (n) wide, broad
bayan- (v) bite, chop
bib (cv) catch
  bib man- catch, pick up
biga (cv) inform
  biga bung- tell a story
  biga gang- report, tell on
bigurda (n) bush yam
bija (n) grass stem (for eating honey)
bila (cv) chase
  bila man- chase
bilarli (n) teenage girl, big girl
bilij (cv) flash
  bilij garriny- be lightning
  bilij marn- be lightning (with thunder)
  bilij yan- lightning moving
bina (cv) know
  bina garriny- know (about)
  bina marn- know, understand
  bina gang- take s.o. and show
  bina yung- teach
binanyi (n) waterlily, Inverway

station
binarri (n) knowing, knowledgeble
binarri-g (cv) become knowing
binarri-g man- make s.o. knowing
binarri-g yung- teach
bindi (n) bush banana
bingi (n) ant
bin.ga (n) river, creek
bin.girr (n) feather
birdara (n) scorpion
birlbirlji (n) grasshopper
birlg (cv) leave behind
birlg wanyjan- leave behind
birlgiya; birlgiwung (n) white, white things
birlin; birlij (cv) skin
birlin bayan- bite the skin off
birlin bung- cut the skin off,
birlin man- peel, take the skin off
Birlinggurrbirlinggurr (n) Mt. Archie
birljan (cv) splash
birljan bung- hit water by hands, make noise
birlnginy (cv) lie down
birlnginy garriny- lie down, sleep
birndi (n) side
birndirr (cv) chip
birndirr bayan- cut off
birndiyi (n) rib
birrga (cv) create
birrga man- create
birrib (cv) block up
birrib bung- block sth/s.o. up, shut sth/s.o. up
birrib gang- cover sth/s.o.
birrib garriny- be blocked up
birrib yirran- cover sth/s.o. with, block sth/s.o. up
birrib yuwan- shut (gate or door)
birrililg (n) red-collared lorikeet
birrinyju (cv) separate
birrinyju gambarn- cook sth separately
birrinyju gang- take sth/s.o. away
birrinyju garran- keep sth/s.o. separate
birrinyju man- separate
birrinyju marn- talk individually
birrinyju yan- disperse
birrinyju yirran- separate sth/s.o.
biyarrb (cv) tell a story
biyarrb marn- chat with, gossip
biyarrb yuwan- tell a story
biyarrb yirran- tell a story
buduj (cv) set alight
buduj bung- set alight
buduj gambarn- burn
buduj yirran- set sth on fire
buga (n) rotten, stinking
bugulburru (n) river cooba
bugunyung (n) ignorant, unfamiliar
buju (n) vulva
bulbul (cv) wrap
bulbul bung- wrap, cover
bulbul garriny- be warpped, be covered
bulbul man- wrap, cover
bulbul yirran- put sth/s.o. in wrapping
bulga; burlga (n) greyhair, old man
bulub (cv) stir
bulub man- get sth mixed
bulub yirran- put sth in and stir
bulwarr (n) dry
bumarn- (v) blow, breathe out
burndaaru (n) quail
bundarn- (v) collect, gather
bundu (cv) blame
bundu yirran- blame, accuse
bung- (v) hit, burn, physically affect, make an impact on, play music/dance
buny (cv) kiss
buny man- kiss
bura (cv) listen to
bura nyang- listen to, hear, think about, remember
burdang (cv) steal
burdang man- steal
burdang gang- steal and take away
burja (cv) run
burja yan- run
burjawaji (n) runner, car
burlang- (v) call out to
burnu (n) tree, branch, stick
burr (cv) sing
burr yirran- sing
burr yunbarn- sing
burr yung- sing
burrbab (cv) slap thighs
burrbab bung- slap thighs
Burrgij (n) place name

burrju (n) marchfly
burrngayarri (n) bull
burrnguwun (n) sugar-leaf
burruly (cv) fail, miss
  burruly bayan- fail to chop
  burruly bung- fail to hit, fail to kill
  burruly digab bayan- fail to hack
  burruly jarrwaj bung- fail to spear
  burruly gayan- fail to kick
  burruly gumarn- fail to cut
  burruly lan- fail to stab
  burruly man- fail to catch
  burruly waj giyan- fail to throw
  burruly wanyjan- fail to dance
buya (n) body, body mass
dabarung (n) pelican
dabu (cv) dull
  dabu garriny- be dull
dabu (cv) miss out
  dabu man- deprive of, refuse to give sth to s.o.
  dabu nyang- miss
  dabu wandiny- miss out on
dagurr (cv) tumble
  dagurr wandiny- tumble down, fall down
daj (cv) crush
  daj bayan- crush, pound
  daj bung- crush, pound
dalajguna (n) friar bird
damarra (n) termnite, termite mound, antbed
dambang (n) dead person
damburrng (n) whip snake
danyan (n) perch
dan.gu (n) food
dan.gu (cv) satiated
  dan.gu garriny- full with food, be satiated
darag (cv) go down
  darag yan- (the sun) goes down
dardbu (n) narrow, tight
dardulu (interj) true, indeed
dari (n) ankle
darlag (cv) split up
  barlag bayan- chop and split up
  barlag gumarn- cut and split up
  barlag man- split up, divide
darlu (n) deep
darra (cv) warm up
  darra garriny- warm up
  darra yan- go and warm up
  darra yirran- put sth/s.o. by fire to warm up
darrugu (n) secret, scared thing
darugab; darug (cv) bathe
  barugab gang- take s.o. in water to bathe
  barugab garriny- bathe
  barugab marn- bathe
  barugab wandiny- bathe
  barugab yan- go for a bath
dawaj (cv) set on fire
  dawaj gang- bring and set fire to sth
  dawaj yirran- set sth on fire
dib (cv) go up
  dib yan- go up
diba (n) billycan, container
digab (cv) hack
  digab bayan- hack, chop
dilygurrb; dilygurr (cv) strike
  dilygurrb bayan- strike, crack
  dilygurrb bung- shoot, bang
dilygurrwaji (n) rifle
dimana (n) horse
dimarlarn (n) river red gum
dimbag (cv) full
  dimbag garriny- full
  dimbag yirran- fill up
dingarri (n) knee
dirrag; dirraginy; dirrarn (n) red-tailed black cokatoo
dinggarlb (cv) go through
  dinggarlb bung- cut through, scrape
  dinggarlb yan- go through
dirrib (cv) camp out
  dirrib garriny- camp out
  dirrb yan- go and camp out
dirriny (cv) through hole
  dirriny luwarn- pierce through a hole
  dirriny yan- move through a hole
dirrinybari (n) holey
dirrjag (cv) stuck
  dirrjag garriny- stuck
  dirrjag man- stick in
dirrmid (n) fresh water crocodile
dub (cv) pull

dub man- pull out
duba (n) windbreak
duburrung (n) hot
dug (cv) smash
dug bayan- smash
duja (n) blunt, weak, tasteless
dula (cv) scoop
dula man- scoop
dulang (n) heart
dumal (n) middle, half way
dumba (n) lower guts
dung (cv) satiated
dung bung- make s.o. satiated
dung garriny- be satiated
dung man- make s.o. satiated
dunggurl (n) headband
durldurl (cv) knock
durldurl bung- knock (door)
durludurlub; durlurlub (cv) rumble, thunder
durlurlub marn- rumble, thunder,
durlurlub garriny- thunder
durludurlub; durlurlub (n) loud noise, thunder
durrg (cv) grab
durrg gang- grab and take away
durrg man- grab
duwalngi (n) pillow, head rest
gaananin (dir) on the east side of (a hill, house)
gaananin.garra (dir) over the east side of (a hill, house)
gaani (dir) in the east
gaanimba; gaarramba (dir) stationary in the eastern side
gaanimbala (dir) across the eastern side
gaanimbalaarra (dir) across the eastern side all around
gaaninyjarrg (dir) cross river going east
gaanirra (dir) toward east
gaaniwariny (dir) further out east
gaaniyarra; gaaliyarra (dir) go around in the east
gaaniyin; gaaliyin (dir) from the east
gaaniyin.garra; gaaliyin.garra (dir) east of river
gaarra (dir) east
gaarrayin (dir) from the east
gaawirn (n) ulcardo melon
gabarru (n) haze
gabud (adv) morning, tomorrow
gabuda (n) night
gabudgariny (adv) day after tomorrow
gabugu (n) elder sister
gagalyalya (n) Major Mitchel cockatoo
gaja (n) scrub, bush, desert country
gajirri (n) old woman
gajiwa (n) coral tree
galawarr; garlawarr (n) Spinifex pigeon
galbun (n) hawk
galigurlang (n) twins
galngi (n) bush tomato
galu (adv) still, not yet
galu (interj) wait
galyba (n) soft
galyja (n) shallow
galyuburr (n) emu
galywarrg (cv) flatten
galywarrg bung- flatten, squash
galywarrg gayan- flatten underfoot, trample down
galywarrg giyan- squash by throwing
galywarrg man- make sth flat
gambarn- (v) burn, cook
gambarri (adv) first, ahead
gambarri (n) in front
gambarrijang (n) first generation, ancestors, first person before you, me or someone else
gambij (n) egg
gambun (n) vein, sinew
gaminyjarr (n) daughter's child of a woman
ganali (n) hip bone, pelvis
gang- (v) carry, take, bring
ganginy (cv) not recognise
ganginy bung- not recognise
ganginy garriny- strange, unknown
ganginy nyang- see sth/s.o. strange
gangirriny (n) sun
gani (dir) down, below, at the bottom
ganigani (dir) down into, over the lower side
ganimbala (dir) across the downstream/

	downhill area
ganimbarra (dir)	downstream, downhill
ganiyin (dir)	from the downstream/ downhill area
ganyji (n)	legs (for animal?)
ganyjingarna (n)	lightning, thunder
ganyjurra (dir)	down, downwards
gan.ga (dir)	in the upstream/ uphill area
gan.gaba (dir)	in the upstream/ uphill area, inside
gan.gani (dir)	in the upstream/ uphill area, above,
inside,	(full) up, (speak) loud
gan.garra (dir)	upstream, uphill, inside
gan.gayin (dir)	from the upstream/ uphill area
gan.gula (dir)	above, upwards
gan.guliyin (dir)	from above
gan.guluba (dir)	in the upper area
gan.gulubala (dir)	across the upper area
gan.gulurra (dir)	above, upwards
gan.gunun (dir)	on top of
gan.gunun.garra (dir)	over the top side of, over the surface of (water)
gara; garda (cv)	bury
gara bung-	bury, cover with dirt
garaj (n)	person, human beings, body
garany (n)	cooking stone
gardag (n)	container, billycan
gardbi (n)	fur, body hair of animal and human
gardiya; gariya (n)	white man, non-indigenous person
garlaba (n)	boil, skin sore
garlamba (dir)	in the western side
garlananin (dir)	on the west side of (a hill, house)
garlananin.garra (dir)	over the west side of (a hill, house)
garlani (dir)	in the west
garlanimba (dir)	stationary in the western side
garlanimbala (dir)	across the western side
garlanimbalaarra (dir)	across the western side all around
garlaninyjarrg (dir)	cross river going west
garlanirra (dir)	toward west
garlaniwariny (dir)	further out west
garlaniyarra; garlaliyarra (dir)	go around in the west
garlaniyin; garlayin (dir)	from the west
garlaniyin.garra (dir)	west of river
garlarr (n)	crab
garlarra; garlana (dir)	west
garlawara (n)	thigh, upper leg
garli (n)	hunting boomerang
garlji (n)	white ochre
garna (n)	spear
garnbag (n)	music stick
garndiya (n)	brother-in-law of a man
garrajgarraj (n)	curry orange
garran- (v)	hold, keep, posses
garrgany; girrgany (n)	chicken-hawk
garriny- (v)	be, stay, exist
garrigun (v)	yellow ochre, yellow
garrij (cv)	rest
garrij garriny-	take a rest
garrwi (n)	armpit
gawa (n)	dim (with age), blurry
gawarla (n)	coolamon
gawayin (n)	properly
gawun (n)	cold ashes
gawurlu (n)	elder sister
gawurru (n)	lower chest
gayan- (v)	kick
gayinanin (dir)	on the north side of (a hill, house)
gayi (part)	positive counter-expectation
gayinanin.garra (dir)	over the north side of (a hill, house)
gayini; gayili (dir)	in the north
gayinimba (dir)	stationary in the northern side
gayinimbala (dir)	across the northern side
gayinimbalaarra (dir)	across the northern side all around
gayinimbarra (dir)	in the northern side
gayininyjarrg (dir)	cross river going

north
gayinirra (dir) toward north
gayiniyarra; gayiliyarra (dir) go around in the north
gayiniyin; gayiliyin (dir) from the north
gayiniyin.garra; gayiliyin.garra (dir) north of river
gayirra; gayina (dir) north
gayirramba in the northern side
gida (n) clear place, open space, outside
gidgid (n) sticky
gidba (n) egg
gigi (n) star
gijal (n) raw, unripe, uncooked
gila; girla (n) bad taste, bitter, salty, unsweet
gilagi (n) child of man's son, paternal grandfather, paternal grandfather's sibling
gilbugud (n) goat
gilinygiliny (n) galah
ginarli (n) mosquito
giningi (n) lungs
girdi (cv) on.summit
  girdi garriny- be on top (of a hill)
  girdi yan- climb to the top of a hill
girlan (n) new moon
girlb (cv) click together
  girlb bung- click together
girlga (n) clean, clear
girli (n) ready
girnig (cv) stare
  girnig nyang- stare
giyan- (v) throw, chuck
giyarri (n) digging stick
giyi (cv) refrain
  giyi marn- refrain, hesitate over
gubilyibilyi (n) tadpole
gubuwubu (n) citronella grass
guda (n) short
gugij (cv) drink
  gugij ngarn- drink
gujarra (n) two
guji (n) bone
gula (part) negative
gulangarra (part) wrongly thought
gulburr (cv) destroy, mess up
  gulburr garriny- messy
  gulburr gayan- destroy by kicking
  gulburr giyan- destroy by throwing
  gulburr bung- destroy, knock down
  gulburr man- destroy, make sth broken
gulburrwari (n) useless, broken
gulgududu (n) waterlily leaf
guli (cv) fight, angry
  guli garriny- angry
  guli marn- scold at, argue, fight with
  guli yung- pick a quarrel, start fighting
gulirrid (n) magpie lark, peewee
guliyan (n) aggressive, cheeky
gulum (n) name-taboo
gulwarrang (n) black-soil plain country
gulyawurr (n) leaf
gulyjany (n) king brown snake
gulyjara (n) peaceful dove
gulyulyu (n) budgerigar
gulyurr (n) mucus, cold sick
gulyurrg (cv) cough
  gulyurrg garriny- cough
  gulyurrg marn- cough
gumarlawurru (n) magpie
gumarn- (v) cut, slice
gumbirlanginy (n) cockroach
gumbu (n) urine
gumburru (n) great-grandchild of a woman, maternal great-grandmother
gumunyjayi (n) name-taboo
gungurlu (n) blood
guni (cv) dream
  guni man- dream
guny (cv) wait
  guny bung- wait for
gunyini (n) coals
gunyjan- (v) wetten, water
gun.ga (cv) dead
  gun.ga garriny- be dead
  gun.ga wandiny- die
gun.ga (n) raw, unripe
gun.galgal (n) (all) dead

gun.gu (n) bag
gura (n) faeces, anus
guraba (n) taboo meat
gurany (cv) tell a lie
  gurany marn- tell a lie
gurdugurdu (n) little, small, young animals and inanimate entities
gurdulu (n) liver
gurduru (n) nulla-nulla, hitting stick
guri (n) fat
gurlada (n) spear
gurlala (n) nape of the neck
gurlamba (dir) in the southern side
gurlananin (dir) on the south side of (a hill, house)
gurlananin.garra (dir) over the south side of (a hill, house)
gurlani (dir) in the south
gurlanimba (dir) stationary in the southern side
gurlanimbala (dir) across the southern side
gurlanimbalaarra (dir) across the southern side all around
gurlanimbarra (dir) in the southern side
gurlaninyjarrg (dir) cross river going south
gurlanirra (dir) toward south
gurlaniyarra; gurlaliyarra (dir) go around in the south
gurlaniwariny (dir) further out south
gurlaniyin (dir) from the south
gurlaniyin.garra; gurlaliyin.garra (dir) south of river
gurlarra; gurlirra; gurlana (dir) south
gurlbab (cv) heap up
  gurlbab garriny- be in a heap
  gurlbab yirran- pile up, put into a pile
gurlurdurdug; gurlurdurdu (n) diamond dove
gurndu (n) penis
gurndurru (n) sky
gurrandal (n) brolga
gurrgu (n) hole.in.ground
gurrguly (n) young leaf, shoots
gurrij (cv) dig with a stick
  gurrij bung- dig
  gurrij man- dig and get
gurriji (n) son's wife of a woman, husband's mother of a woman
gurrubardu (n) boomerang
gurrurij (n) motor car
gurrunbu (n) name-taboo for a man
gurumurru (n) lower leg, calf, shin
gururl (n) long yam
gururrunggu (n) nail-tail wallaby
guya (part) general modifying subordinator
guya (dem) thus, like this/that, in this/that way
jaagib (cv) yawn
  jaagib marn- yawn
jaaj (cv) beg
  jaaj marn- beg, humbug
Jaangari; Jangari (n) male subsection
jaban (cv) awake all night
  jaban garriny- stay up all night
jabayang; jabayung (n) river fig
jaburr; jaburrg (cv) immerse, soak, dip
  jaburr garriny- stay in water
  jaburr wandiny- fall in water
  jaburr yan- wade
  jaburr yirran- dip, soak in water
jag (cv) (solid items) fall
  jag man- drop
  jag wandiny- fall off
jagarr (cv) cover
  jagarr garriny- be covered
  jagarr man- cover
  jagarr yirran- put sth/s.o. and cover
Jagarra (n) male subsection
jagiliny (n) moon
jaja; jaju (n) daughter's child of a woman, maternal grandmother, maternal grandmother's sibling
jalaj (cv) knead
  jalaj man- knead sth (e.g. dough)
  jalaj yirran- knead and turn over
jalang- (v) winnow, yandy
jalangurra (adv) long time ago
jalarni (adv) today, now
jalga (n) egret

jalgaji (n) woomera
jaliji (n) friend, mate
jaliny (n) kangaroo species
jalngag (cv) sit on top
  jalngag gang- ride, drive
  jalngag wandiny- mount
  jalngag yirran- put s.o. to sit on top
jalngi (n) king brown snake
jalu (n) father of the male speaker's daugther's child
jalub (cv) soak
  jalub man- soak, immerse
  jalub yirran- put sth/s.o. in water
jalungurru (n) pretty, good-looking
Jalyjirri (n) male subsection
jaman- (v) grind
jamana (n) foot, toe, footprint
jamarlb (cv) thank
  jimarlb bung- thank
  jimarlb gang- thank
  jimarlb marn- thank
Jambiyin (n) male subsection
jambun- (v) kiss
jamawun (n) sticky shrub
jaminy (n) forehead
jamud (n) bush turkey
jan- (v) copulate with
Janama (n) male subsection
janga (n) sore, sick
Jangala (n) male subsection
jangarn.ga (n) beard
jangayi (n) slingshot
jangilany (n) fire, firewood
jangu (dem) that one you know
janigi (n) loincloth
jany (cv) squeeze
  jany bung- squeeze
  jany man- squeeze
janyal (cv) lazy
  janyal garriny- be lazy, idle
  janyal marn- laze, idle
janyja (n) ground, dirt, earth
janyjal (n) roots of plants
jaranggarri (n) returning boomerang
jarany (n) frilled lizard
jarda (n) spinifex
jarlabal (cv) on belly
  jarlabal garriny- lie on belly
  jarlabal yirran- put sth/s.o. on belly
jarlwarr (n) cluster fig
jarnbij (n) silverleaf box
jarndura (n) bush turkey
jarrag (cv) tell off
  jarrag bung- tell off, advise
  jarrag marn- tell off, advise
jarraly (cv) slip
  jarraly wandiny- slilp over
jarrambayi (n) goanna species
jarrara (cv) follow
  jarrara man- follow and accompany
jarrarda (cv) elope
  jarrarda yan- elope, run off
  jarrarda gang- take a woman secretly/wrongly
jarrarda (n) women's song name
jarrg (cv) cross river
  jarrg yan- go down and cross river
jarrwaj (cv) spear
  jarrwaj bung- spear
  jarrwaj lan- spear
jaru (n) language, story, speech, word
jawaranya (n) tin container, pannikin
jawiji (n) daughter's child of a man, maternal grandfather, maternal grandfather's sibling
jawulwara (n) snake (generic)
jawurd (n) tail
jawurrug (cv) descend
  jawurrug gang- take sth/s.o. down
  jawurrug yan- go down
jibigu; jibuku (n) rabbit
jibilyugu (n) duck
jibini (n) lover, boyfriend, girlfriend
jiburd (cv) extinguish
  jiburd garriny- be out, be finished
  jiburd man- turn off (a light), put a fire out
  jiburd yirran- close, shut, turn off
jiga (n) bilby
jigarna (n) whirlwind
jigirrij (n) willie wagtail
jilamana (n) rifle

jilili (n) bush cucumber
jilmung (cv) break
  jilmung bung- break sth by hitting
  jilmung gayan- break sth by throwing
  jilmung giyan- break sth by kicking
  jilmung man- break sth
jilngin; jilngid (n) sweat
jilyarra (cv) singe
  jilyarra gambarn- singe, brand
jimarri (n) age-mate
jimbirla (n) spear head
jimbiri (n) cave
jimirrwirri (n) lightning
jimundug (cv) stir
  jimundug man- stir
  jimundug yirran- stir
jimurrawu (adv) for long time, for a while
jinajina (n) dress (of women)
jingga (n) baby, small child
jinggiri (cv) laugh
  jinggiri garriny- laugh
  jinggiri marn- laugh at
  jinggiri wandiny- laugh
jinggul (n) freshwater mangrove
jinyjil (n) navel
jirdbirdbi (n) gumnut
jiri (n) timber, tree
jirlan (n) midday
jirri (cv) point
  jirri gang- take s.o. and show
  jirri yirran- show
  jirri yung- show and teach
jirriyirri (cv) lead
  jirriyirri gang- lead, guide s.o.
jirrji (n) nose
jiwaj (cv) disagree
  jiwaj bung- disagree, not believe
jiwawurru (n) bowerbird
jiwili (n) blue-tongue lizard species
jiwilyi; jiwilying (n) cool, cold
jiwirri (n) cooked, ripe
jiya (n) kangaroo (generic)
jiyarn- (v) steal, take away
jiyarnuwaji (n) stealer, bowerbird
jubardag (cv) spit
  jubardag giyan- spit sth
juburr; juburrg (cv) round up
  juburr gang- bring together
  juburr man- round up
  juburr yirran- round up
judawuny (n) neck
judu (n) straight, correct
judug (cv) straighten
  judug gambarn- cook correctly
  judug marn- talk straight, talk correctly
  judug man- make sth/s.o. correct
  judug nyang- look properly
  judug yirran- straighten, correct
  judug yung- teach, correct
julag (n) bird (generic)
Julama (n) male subsection
julngurra (cv) face away
  julngurra garriny- face away
  julngurra yan- go away
julu (n) jointly, together, too, also, navel, umbilical cord
juluj (cv) under the arm
  juluj gang- carry under the arm (in a coolamon)
  juluj garran- hold, keep sth/s.o. under the arm
jumbaga (adv) constantly, all the time
jun- (v) swear, scold
junba (n) corroboree, song
junbi (n) rock hole
junju (n) lump (stone, wood)
jungguj (cv) depart
  jungguj bung- depart, take off
jungguwurru (n) echidna, porcupine
Jungurra (n) male subsection
junyjuny (cv) suck
  junyjuny bung- suck
  junyjuny ngarn- suck
jun.gard (n) smoke
jurdu (n) dirt, dust
jurnda (n) bush onion
jurndub (n) heavy, strong
jurrij (cv) fall
  jurrij wandiny- fall off
jurrulunggu (n) leg, trousers
juru (n) nest
juwal (n) long
juwijgurna (n) bowerbird
laja (cv) on the shoulder

laja garriny-	be on the shoulder
laja gang-	carry on the shoulder
laja garran-	hold, keep sth/s.o. on the shoulder
laja man-	take sth/s.o. and keep on the shoulder
laja wandiny-	jump on (a horse)
laja yan-	ride on horseback
laja yirran-	put sth/s.o. on the shoulder
lalga (n)	dry (plant/country)
laman (n)	hollow
lamawurd (n)	witchetty grub
lambarra; lambarr (n)	wife's father, husband's father, son's wife of a man, daughter's husband of a man
lan- (v)	spear, stab
langa (n)	ear
langga (n)	head
lardaj (n)	rough-tailed goanna
larrmu (n)	little spear
lawurr (cv)	embrace
lawurr garran-	embrace, hug
lawurr man-	embrace, hug
libi (n)	fingernail, toenail
ligirri (n)	cross-eyed
limbal (cv)	separate
limbal garriny-	be separate
limbal yirran-	put sth/s.o. apart
limbal (n)	menstruation, own business
lina (cv)	remember
lina garriny-	remember, recall
lina marn-	remember, recall
lingga (n)	king brown snake
lingi (n)	persistently, repeatedly
lirra (n)	mouth, tooth
lirrimi (n)	centipede
liwa (n)	spouse of the female speaker's child
liwaya (n)	friend, mate
liwurrab (cv)	humbug, beg
liwurrab garriny-	humbug, beg
liwurrab yan-	go around begging
lubu (n)	upper guts
lud (cv)	kneel
lud garriny-	kneel
lud wandiny-	kneel down
lud yan-	walk on kneel
lud yirran-	put someone's kneel down
ludu (n)	short
luju (n)	heel
lulu (cv)	sit
lulu garriny-	sit
lulu wandiny-	sit down
lulu yirran-	seat s.o.
luma (n)	blue tongue lizard species
lumba (n)	penis
lung- (v)	cry
lunyja (n)	snappy gum
lurr (cv)	turn back
lurr yan-	return, go back
lurrij (cv)	finish
lurrij bayan-	finish chopping or biting
lurrij bung-	finish hitting
lurrij garriny-	finish, die
lurrij gambarn-	finish cooking
lurrij ngarn-	finish eating
lurrij wanyjan-	finish dancing
lurrij yunbarn-	finish singing
lurrij (n)	whole, all
luwarn- (v)	strike (by a tool)
luwarn- (v)	respect speech verb
luyurr (cv)	sorry
luyurr garriny-	feel sorry
luyurr man-	make s.o. feel sorry
luyurr marn-	feel sorry for
maarn (n)	cloud
mabarn (n)	hollow log, native doctor
mabura (n)	conkerberry
magamaga (cv)	cranky, grumpy
magamaga garriny-	be cranky/grumpy
magamaga marn-	be cranky/grumpy
magarda (n)	hat
magijal (n)	bush orange
magin (cv)	sleep, lie down
magin garriny-	sleep, lie down
magin yan-	go for sleeping
magin yirran-	put s.o. to sleep, lay s.o. down
majaly (cv)	tired
majaly garriny-	tired, weak
majaly man-	make s.o. tired
majaly marn-	tired, weak

majarda (cv) cramped
majarda garriny- be crampted, stiff
majardi (n) loincloth
majga (adv) try, attempt
majul (n) belly, stomach
malal (cv) naked
malal garriny- be naked
malal yan- go naked
malirri (n) cold, cold weather, winter
mali; maliyi (n) wife's mother, wife's mother's sibling, daughter's husband of a woman
malju (n) small boy
malnguny (n) armpit sweat
malyarrb (cv) sprinkle
malyarrb man- sprinkle sth
mambid (cv) together
mambid gang- take sth together
mambid yirran- put all together, box up
mamurung (n) sacred site, Dreaming place
man- (v) get, take, do, make
manaring; manaaring (n) round yam
manga (n) small girl
mangarli (n) chest
mangarri (n) vegetable food, fruits, grains, bread
manyanyi (n) grass spiecies
marany (cv) rub
marany bung- rub, wipe
marany man- rub, wipe
mardiya (n) bush gum (edible)
mardugurru (n) feathers (for body decoraiton)
marla (n) hand, finger
marilng (n) shooting star
marluga (n) old man
marn- (v) say, speak, talk, do
marndaj (interj) alright, OK, that's all
marndiwa (n) men's dance style
marnaru (n) father of the female speaker's son's child
marran- (v) call, name s.o/sth
marrangan (cv) face to s.o./sth
marrangan garriny- sit facing
marrangan marn- talk facing
marrangan nyang- look at
marrangan yan- go toward
marrangan yirran- put s.o./sth facing
marrany (n) dingo
marri (cv) off
marri gang- take s.o./sth away
marri garran- keep s.o./sth away
marri wanyjan- leave s.o./sth away
marri yan- go off, go away
marri (part) maybe
marru (cv) envy
marru bung- envy, want to get s.o./sth
marru (n) house, homestead
marrunyu (cv) happy
marrunyu garriny- be happy, welcome
marrunyu man- make s.o. happy
maru (n) buttocks
marumbu (n) hand, finger, five
mawun (n) man
mawundi (n) white ochre
mawurru (n) bloodwood tree
maya (adv) more
mayarda; maarda (n) young boy before initiaion
mayawun (n) wind
mayiyi; mayi (part) similar, like
mayingany (n) vegetable food (in respect speech)
migilyi (n) brain
milarrang (n) spear
milirdi (n) hook of a spear or boomerang
milngarli (n) tears
milnginymilnginy (n) rainbow lorikeet
mingib (cv) crawl
mingib yan- crawl
minyarn (n) nothing, no
minyirri (n) shy, ashamed
minyirri garriny- be shy, ashamed
mirlimirli (n) paper, book
mirniyirri (n) throny devil, moloch horridus
miyanggi (cv) ask
miyanggi man- ask, question
mud (cv) head down
mud garriny- head down
mug (cv) quiet
mug garriny- be quiet
mugmug (n) owl
mugul (n) aunt, father's sister, mother's brother's

	wife
mugurru (cv)	lie on one's side
mugurru garriny-	lie down on one's side
mugurrgu yirran-	lay sth (animal) down, lay s.o. down on the side
mum (cv)	darken
mum garriny-	be dark
mum yan-	get dark
mumbuwung (n)	black
munda (n)	stomach, belly
mundurru (cv)	drop off
mundurru gang-	take s.o. and drop him/her off
mundurru (n)	kerosene wood
munuwu (n)	camp, country, place (in respect speech)
munggaj (n)	wife, wife's sister
murdu (n)	red ochre
murla (dem)	here, this
murlu (dem)	this
murna (n)	arm, wrist, wing
murnduj (n)	black-headed python
murrg (cov)	chew
murrg bayan-	chew, crunch (food)
murrg ngarn-	chew
murrgun (n)	three
murruba (n)	hailstone, icicle
muwuying (n)	black plum
naaga; naga (n)	(red) loincloth
Naangari (n)	female subsection
Nagarra (n)	female subsection
nagurr (n)	hole (in the ground)
nalija (n)	tea
Nalyjirri (n)	female subsection
Nambiyin; Nambiyid (n)	female subsection
nambula (n)	bush fig
Namija (n)	female subsection
Nanagu (n)	female subsection
Nangala (n)	female subsection
narrugu (n)	namesake
narrumba (n)	sibling of the speaker's paternal grandmother
nawan (n)	rock hole
nawun (n)	scar of old wound, birthmark
Nawurla (n)	female subsection
ninid (cv)	shake
ninid gang-	shiver, shake
ninid marn-	shiver, shake
niyan (n)	meat, game (in respect speech)
nungguru (n)	elbow
nunyju (n)	spit
nun.giying (n)	family, relatives, countryman
nurnaj (cv)	nod
nurnaj marn-	nod
nga; ngu (part)	realis auxiliary
ngaa (interj)	yes
ngaari; ngari (n)	coolamon
ngabanyji (n)	eye, eye balls
ngabug (cv)	smell
ngabug garriny-	smell
ngabug man-	smell s.o./sth
ngabug marn-	smell
ngabug yan-	walk past smelling
ngaburlu (n)	breast, milk
ngaburr (cv)	comfort, console
ngaburr bung-	comfort, console
ngaburr man-	comfort, console
ngabuyu (n)	father, father's brother
ngagbarn (n)	frog (generic)
ngajal (n)	sister-in-law of a woman
ngajayi (n)	younger sibling
ngajirr (cv)	sneeze
ngajirr garriny-	sneeze
ngajirr marn-	sneeze
ngajugayiny; majugayiny (n)	cat
ngalawiny (n)	child of a man, brother's child
ngalayi (n)	child of a woman, sister's child
ngali (pro)	we two, us two, you and I, you and me
ngalinga (pro)	our, ours, for us, to us (you and me)
ngalinginy (pro)	our, ours, from us, for us, to us (you and me)
ngaliwa (pro)	we, us
ngaliwanginy (pro)	our, ours, from us, for us, to us
ngaliwula (pro)	we three, us three, (you, me and another)

ngaliwulanginy (pro) our, ours, from us, for us, to us (you, me and another)
ngaliyarra (pro) we two, us two (excluding you)
ngaliyarranginy (pro) our, ours, from us, for us, to us (excluding you)
ngalya (n) face, forehead
ngalyanu (n) tongue
ngama (n) sugarbag bee
ngamanyi (n) orphan
ngamarlu (n) mouse (generic)
ngamarla (n) foam, scum
ngamayi (n) mother, mother's sister
ngambij (cv) eat honey
  ngambij ngarn- eat honey
ngamirni (n) uncle, mother's brother, father's sister's husband
ngamulu (cv) keep in arms
  ngamulu gang- carry s.o./sth in arms
  ngamulu garran- hold s.o./sth in arms
  ngamulu man- get s.o./sth in arms
  ngamulu yirran- put s.o./sth in arms
ngana (q) who, someone, anyone
nganany (cv) stop, prevent
  nganany bung- stop s.o.
  nganany man- stop s.o.
  nganany marn- warn s.o.
ngandawi (n) shadow,shade, image, photo
ngandiba (pro) we, us (excluding you)
ngandibanginy (pro) our, ours, from us, for us, to us (excluding you)
ngandu (interj) oh yeah?, indeed
ngandu (q) who, someone, anyone
nganimba (pro) we, us (excluding you)
nganimbanginy (pro) our, ours, from us, for us, to us (excluding you)
nganinga (pro) my, mine, for me, to me
nganinginy (pro) my, mine, from me
nganygirr (cv) grunt
  nganygirr garriny- snore
  nganygirr marn- grunt
nganygirrnganygirr (n) pig
nganyjaali (n) bush tomato
ngari (n) clothes (generic)
ngarin (n) meat (generic), game, edible animal
ngaringga (n) woman
ngarlu (n) sugarbag, bush honey
ngarn- (v) ingest, eat
ngarning (n) lap
ngarn.gurr (n) cheek
ngarra (cv) recognise, know
  ngarra man- recognise, know
ngarra (part) admonitive
ngarramirli (n) white gum
ngarranggarni (n) Dreaming
ngarranginy (n) blanket lizard
ngarrga (n) big
ngarrij (cv) rest
  ngarrij garriny- rest, not working
ngawa (n) water, rain
ngawuju (n) paternal grandmother, father's mother's siblings, son's child of a woman
ngawurr (cv) heat
  ngawurr garriny- be hot
  ngawurr bung- heat s.o./sth
  ngawurr man- heat s.o./sth
  ngawurr gambarn- boil, heat up
ngayi; ngiyi (interj) hey, eh?
ngayirr (cv) breathe
  ngayirr garriny- breathe
  ngayirr marn- breathe
ngayirra (cv) miss, worry
  ngayirra garriny- miss, worry about
  ngayirra marn- miss, worry about
ngayu (pro) I, me
ngila (n) semen
ngilygirr (n) throat
nginyirri (n) snappy gum
ngirljig (cv) swallow
  ngirljig man- swallow
  ngirljig ngarn- swallow
ngugu (n) water (in respect speech)
ngumayi-la (n) behind, after, later
ngumayijang (n) younger generation, following generation, a person after you, me or someone else
ngumbarna (n) spouse

ngumbid (n) Aboriginal man
ngunang (n) brother-in-law of a man
ngundi (cv) remember, think of
ngundi garriny- remember, think of
ngundi yan- remember, think of
ngundi (n) light
ngungu (cv) approve, like
ngungu man- approve, like
ngunju (n) tobacco
nguny (cv) sulk
nguny garriny- be grumpy, sulk over
nguny marn- sulk over
nguny nyang- see grumpily
ngunyi (n) jealous
ngunyulij (n) honeycomb
ngurnda (n) sore
ngurra (n) camp, country, home, place
ngurrgu (cv) blame
ngurrgu yirran- blame, accuse
ngurriny (n) fly
ngurrurdu (cv) jealous
ngurrurdu garriny- jealous
nguyurdu (n) many
nyamba (q) what, something, anything, whatisname
nyanbula (pro) they two, them two
nyandu (pro) he, she, him, her
nyang- (v) perceive, see, look at
nyangga (part) if, when
nyangula (q) when, some time
nyanuj (n) echidna, porcupine
nyanunga (pro) his, her, hers, for him/her, to him/her
nyanunginy (pro) his, her, hers, from him/her
nyararra (q) how, somehow, in some way
nyarna (n) river country, river with a permanent water-flow
nyarrulu (pro) they, them
nyawa; nyaa (dem) this, here
nyayangu; nyayang (q) how many, some
nyila (dem) that, there
nyimurrg (cv) dive
nyimurrg garriny- be underwater
nyimurrg wandiny- fall in water
nyimurrg yan- dive underwater
nyimurrg yirran- put s.o./sth underwater
nyiny (cv) dunk
nyiny garriny- drown
nyiny marn- sniffle, blow nose
nyiny wandiny- fall in water
nyiny yan- go underwater
nyinyi (n) finch
nyinyji (n) hip bone, pelvis
nyirn (cv) lose
nyirn garriny- forget about
nyirn man- lose, forget
nyirrginy (n) skinny, thin
nyunbula (pro) you two
nyunbulanginy (pro) your, yours, from you two, for you two, to you two
nyundu (pro) you
nyunguliny (cv) legs bent up
nyunguliny bung- fold up sth
nyunguliny garriny- curled up, lying with legs bent up
nyunguliny yirran- put s.o. in fetal position
nyungung (cv) move
nyungung garriny- move
nyungung marn- move
nyununga (pro) your, yours, for you, to you
nyununginy (pro) you, yours, from you
nyurrara (pro) you (augmented)
nyurraranginy (pro) your, yours, from you, for you, to you (augmented)
ramarra (cv) detour
ramarra yan- detour, go around to
rambali (n) light in weight
ranggarra (cv) dawn
ranggarra garriny- dawn
ranggarra yan- dawn, become bright
rarr (cv) attack
rarr gang- come to s.o. to attack
rarr yan- go after s.o. to attack
rarrajgaji (n) motor car
rdumbiyi; dumbiyi (n) warm, hot
rdurdurl (cv) cook in earth

rdurdurl gambarn-	cook in earth oven
riba (cv)	frighten
riba garriny-	be frightened, be scared
riba man-	frighten, scare s.o.
riba marn-	be frightened, be scared
ribaying (n)	frightened, scared
ringag (cv)	hiccup
ringag garriny-	hiccup
ringag marn-	hiccup
rirrirrirri (cv)	pull
rirrirrirri gang-	pull out, drag
rirrirrirri man-	pull and get
rlimimi (n)	temple, upper side of the face
rung (cv)	bark
rung marn-	bark
ruyu	play, perform
ruyu bung-	play a musical instrument, perform
ruyu marn-	play out, perform
wa (part)	question auxiliary
waagwaag (cv)	crow's calling
waagwaag marn-	make crowing noise
waagwaag (n)	crow
wabugurru (n)	club boomerang
waburd (cv)	unconcerned
waburd garriny-	unconcerned, quiet, uninterested in
wagu (interj)	no
wagurra (part)	negative
waj (cv)	throw
waj giyan-	throw
wajan (n)	spinifex wax
wajawurr (n)	skin, bark of a tree
waji (n)	rainbow
waji; wajiwaji (n)	wrong marriage according to kinship systems, a couple in a wrong marriage
wajurr (n)	foreskin
wala (n)	sandy soil
walarlb (cv)	serious sick
walarlb garriny-	be sick
wali (interj)	OK, alright, that' all
walima (part)	question, any...?
walmayi (n)	woomera
walyag (cv)	inside
walyag garriny-	stay inside, be inside
walyag yan-	go inside
walyag yirran-	put sth/s.o. inside
wamib; wanmib (cv)	spin, braid
wamib man-	spin, braid
wamib yirran-	spin, braid
wananga (n)	bag
wanburr (n)	blister
wandiny- (v)	fall, drop, descend, be born
wangala (n)	mad, stupid
wangany (cv)	search
wangany marn-	look around for, search for
wangany nyang-	look around for, search for
wangara (n)	man's headdress
wangarag; wangaag (n)	child of the deceased person
wangga (n)	a style of corroboree
wangguriny (n)	torresian crow
wanya (n)	emu's feather
wanyarri (n)	bauhinia
wanyja (n)	woman
wanyjan- (v)	leave, dance
wanyji (n)	alive
wanyji (q)	which, something, why not?
wanyjirra; wanyjirrang (n)	language name
wanyjirra (q)	where, somewhere
wan.gaj (n)	bad, no good
wan.gud (n)	pouch
waramburr (n)	snake vine
wararr (n)	fat, grease
ward (cv)	return, back
ward bard gang-	fly back
ward barndiny-	fly back
ward gang-	bring s.o./sth back
ward yan-	return, come back, go back
ward yirran-	put s.o./sth back
wardan (n)	upper arm
wardayi (interj)	oh dear, hey
wardayib (cv)	yelp
wardayib garriny-	suffer from pain
wardayib marn-	yelp, scream
warding (n)	collarbone
warlaburru; warlawurru (n)	eaglehawk
warlagarri (n)	supplejack

warlagu (n) dog
warlalja (n) relatives, family
warlarri (n) ghost gum
warlayarra (n) tobacco (in respect speech)
warlgan (n) sand goanna
warlig (cv) go.around
  warlig burja yan- run around
  warlig yan- go around
warluru; waluru (n) black-headed python
warna (n) snake (generic)
warnangwarnang (cv) shake head
  warnangwarnang marn- shake one's head from side to side meaning 'no'
warndaarraj (n) in line
warndardurru (n) corroboree name
warndarri (n) road, path
warndingu (n) water goanna
warn.gurr (cv) on shoulder
  warn.gurr gang- carry s.o./sth on the shoulder
  warn.gurr garran- keep s.o./sth on the shoulder
  warn.gurr man- get s.o./sth and keep on the shoulder
  warn.gurr yirran- put s.o./sth on the shoulder
warr (cv) catch up with
  warr gayan- catch up with
warra (cv) watch
  warra gang- watch out for, look after, take care of
  warra nyang- watch out for, look after, take care of
warrajba (n) women's dance style
warrard; warrardaj (cv) dry out
  warrard garriny- bask
  warrard yirran- dry out
warrarrang (cv) lull, nurse
  warrarrang bung- lull, nurse a baby
  warrarrang man- lull a baby to sleep
  warrarrang marn- lullaby
  warrarrang yirran- lull a baby to sleep
warrayal (n) sugar
warrgab (cv) stamping dance
  warrgab bung- stamp-dance
  warrgab wanyjan- stamp-dance
warrgab (n) men's dance style
warrguj (cv) collect
  warrguj man- pick up s.o./sth (by a car)
warriwarri (interj) goodness (reaction to jokes)
warrngaarra (cv) separate
  warrngaarra darug marn- bathe separately
  warrngaarra gang- carry separately
  warrngaarra man- devide, share
  warrngaarra ngarn- share sth and eat
  warrngaarra wanyjan- leave and separate
  warrngaarra yan- go separately
warugab (cv) work
  warugab marn- work
warurru (n) midnight, Milky Way
wayi (part) irrealis auxiliary
wayid (n) bush sweet potato
wayiwarrang;
wayuwarrang (n) long-necked turtle
wibilirri (n) spirit of the deceased person
widi (cv) stop fighting
  widi garriny- stop fighting
wigi (n) child of a man, brother's child of a man
wij (cv) scrape off
  wij man- scrape off, smooth down
  wij yirran- scrape off, smooth down
wilarr (n) grain seed
wilgi (n) No.7 boomerang, hook boomerang
wilgij (n) crooked
wilinyi (cv) hunt, gather (food)
  wilinyi gang- take s.o. for hunting
  wilinyi yan- go hunting
winganub (cv) swim
  winganub gang- take s.o. for swimming
  winganub yan- swim
winggaraminy (n) windmill
winyji (n) spring
winymarn (n) fine, thin
wirdin (cv) tie up
  wirdin garran- tie up
  wirdin man- tie up
wirdin.gaji (n) policeman
wirlg (cv) kill
  wirlg bung- kill
  wirlg luwarn- kill

wirlga (n) axe
wirlng (cv) want
  wirlng garriny- want, desire
  warlng marn- want, desire
wirnjirrgi (n) yam spieces
wirrgil (n) head hair, short hair
wirri (n) neck
wirriji (n) hair belt
wirringgun (n) cockatiel
wiyimi (n) women's blood
wub (cv) cook on coals
  wub gambarn- cook on coals
wugarij (n) rock wallaby
wugarra (cv) frightened
  wugarra garriny- be frightened, worried, afraid
wulaj (cv) hide
  wulaj gang- hide s.o./sth by taking
  wulaj garran- keep s.o./sth hiddem
  wulaj garriny- hide
  wulaj ngarn- hide sth by eating
  wulaj yirran- hide s.o./sth
  wulaj yung- hide s.o./sth by giving
wulb (cv) jump
  wulb wandiny- jump off
  wulb yan- hop
wuljub (n) bullock
wulmangga (n) flood
wulmib; wulmij (cv) take dirty water
  wulmib man- throw away dirty water
wulujurr (cv) legs out
  wulujurr garriny- sit or lie with legs stretched out
  wuljurr yirran- stretch legs out
wulyug (cv) wash
  wulyug man- wash
  wulyug yirran- wash
wumaj (n) wind
wumbul (cv) roll over
  wumbul bung- push over and break down
  wumbul wandiny- roll over
wuna (interj) go on, come on
wuna (n) quickly
wunanggu (n) quickly
wurdu (n) louse
wurdurdu (n) spouse of the speaker's maternal grandmother or the female speaker's daughter's child
wurl (n) soup
wurruny (n) handkerchief
wurraj (cv) uncover ground
  wurraj man- take sth (meat) out from an earth oven or hot ashes
wurrgal (n) green, green grass, harvest season
wuruny; wuruj (cv) whistle
  wuruny marn- whistle
wuruly (cv) sneak
  wuruly bung- stealthily/secretly hit
  wuruly gang- stealthily/secretly carry
  wuruly garran- stealthily/secretly keep
  wuruly garriny- be sneaky
  wuruly man- stealthily/secretly get/take
  wuruly wanyjan- stealthily/secretly leave
  wuruly yan- sneak up, go stealthily/secretly
  wuruly yung- stealthily/secretly give
wururru (n) father of the female speaker's daughter's child
wuyurrun (n) fishing line
yaagyaag (cv) cockatoo's calling
yabard (cv) sneak
  yabard gang- stealthily/secretly take
  yabard yan- sneak up, go stealthily/secretly
yabawurru (n) child, small
yaburrug (adv) all day, till sunset
yala (dem) that, there
yalaba (n) close, near
yalu (dem) that
yalbarraj; yalwarraj (cv) slip
  yalbarraj wandiny- slip over
yalyiny (cv) shout
  yalyiny marn- shout, yell
yamag (n) slowly, carefully, gently, quietly
yamaji (n) child, small
yambaji (n) child
yamayama (n) children

yambagina (n) child
yambarra (n) head hair, long hair
yan- (v) go, come, walk
yanggarni (cv) behind
  yanggarni garriny- stay behind
  yanggarni ngarn- eat later
  yanggarni yan- go, come later
yanggarnijang (n) younger generation, following generarion, a person after me, you or someone else
yanggarra (cv) follow, trace
  yanggarra man- follow, trace
  yanggarra yan- follow after
yangi (n) one
yanybal (cv) rip
  yanybal bayan- rip, tear
  yanybal bung- break up
  yanybal man- rip sth off
yarnarndi (n) tree spieces
yarr (cv) tease
  yarr marn- tease, make a joke about, mock
  yarr man- tease, bully
yarrgal (cv) fretful
  yarrgal garriny- be fretful
  yarrgal marn- grumble at, whinge
yarriji (cv) shed skin
  yarriji man- shed skin (i.e., snakes)
yarrirndi (cv) curse
  yarrirndi man- sing sorcery or a curse to harm s.o.
yarrirndi (n) magic song
yawarlwarl (n) crested pigeon
yawu (n) fish (generic)
yayib (cv) laugh
  yayib marn- laugh at
yibu (n) rain, rainy season
yiburrg (adv) in vain
yigarrab (cv) scratch
  yigarrab garriny- feel itchy
  yigarrab man- make s.o. itchy
yigi (n) tea leaf
yigilany (interj) goodness (reaction to jokes)
yigirli (cv) far
  yigirli gambarn- cook at a distance
  yigirli garriny- be/stay at a distance
  yigirli yan- go far away
yiljirri (n) wattle species
Yilwurru (n) a hill located in the south-east of Inverway Station
yilying (cv) make noise
  yilying marn- make noise by screaming, laughing or chatting
yimarl (n) rock fig
yimarug (cv) spirit.return
  yimarug yan- reincarnate, a spirit of the deceased returns
yimbab (cv) steal
  yimbab gang- take away
  yimbab man- steal
yingalg (n) soup of meat, gravy
yingga (n) spear head, quartz stone knife
yinggi (n) northern kurrajong
yingin (cv) shake
  yingin garriny- move
  yingin bung-in shake (one's body a fight)
  yingin man- shake, make s.o./sth move
  yingin yirran- shake, make s.o./sth move
yini (n) name
yinimulung (n) name-taboo
yiningarra (n) name-taboo for a woman
yiniwangga (n) name-taboo for a woman
yin.garn- (v) trim, sharpen
yiri (n) name
yirirl (n) wattle speices
yirraba; yirrab (n) some, other
yirralalang (n) black-winged stilt
yirran- (v) put/place s.o./sth
yirrbinggi (n) women's love song
yirrid (cv) emerge
  yirrid gang- take s.o./sth out
  yirrid man- make s.o./sth come out
  yirrid yan- emerge, come out
yiyi (interj) yes, yeah
yudu (n) vine of bush banana
yug (cv) let go
  yug bayan- send s.o./sth
  yug gang- bring s.o./sth

yug yirran-	send s.o./sth
yuga (n)	grass
yulgarri (n)	crescent nail-tail wallaby
yulu (n)	male red kangaroo
yumali (n)	bush orange
yumbalyi (cv)	tired
yumbalyi garriny-	be tired
yumbalyi man-	make s.o. tired
yumbu (n)	spider, spider web
yunbarn- (v)	sing
yung- (v)	give
yungguj (cv)	fall down
yungguj bayan-	chop down
yungguj bung-	knock down
yungguj wandiny-	droop (plants, breasts), fall down, hang down
yunguyung (adv)	yesterday
yunyjug (cv)	suck
yunyjug man-	suck
yunyjug ngarn-	suck
yura (n)	good
yurlwag (cv)	vomit, spit
yurlwag giyan-	vomit/spit sth
yurlwag marn-	vomit, spit out
yurlwag man-	vomit/spit sth
yurluwag yirran-	vomit/spit sth
yurrg (cv)	track
yurrg man-	track
yurru (interj)	look out!
yurrug (cv)	pour
yurrug giyan-	spill
yurrug man-	pour
yurrug yirran-	pour
yurrug wandiny-	be spilt
yurrungarna (n)	ghost, devil
yuwan- (v)	send, let s.o/sth go
yuwu (interj)	yes
yuwuwayi (interj)	yes

Appendix 3 Warndardurru (songs)

Warndardurru is a set of corroborees which Tiny McCale's father, Gurdiwirdi (English name: Joe Inverway) established and passed onto his family and other Wanyjirra people. Seven songs are included here:

[1] A windmill at Inverway Station
[2] Cabbage
[3] Archie Farquharson
[4] The flood
[5] Men dancing with wangara
[6] Two men dancing
[7] The other two men dancing

All songs were recorded in 30 August 1999 by Tasaku Tsunoda. They were mostly sung by Tiny McCale† but sometimes accompanied with Dolly Jirrbngarri† and her daughter Nora Harry†. They were transcribed and annotated by Tiny McCale†, Maggie Long and Chikako Senge in 2010.

Since song language is quite different from ordinary spoken language, it is quite hard to make word-boundaries and it is impossible to provide word-by-word translation of the song texts. Only a few words in the songs are directly translated into English by consultants. Therefore, transcription and explanation of the songs are provided here.

[1] A windmill in Inverway Station

A windmill in Inverway Station pumped up water and filled the tank with water. This windmill was dismantled and only the water tank remained in 2010. The element dilili *could be equivalent to the English song expression tra-la-la.*

Manggurrunala dilili garrinyjarrbana

yawurrngana yawurrngana

(Repeat the lines five more times)

[2] Cabbage

Cabbages were growing all around in the garden of Inverway Station. Two Dreamtime beings called these cabbages yudu*.*

Yudu ngarra mala yanya

yanamba namba

*yudu ngarra mala ganya

yanamba namba*

(Repeat lines indicated by * five more times)

[3] Archie Farquharson

Archie Farquharson was one of the Farquharson brothers who pioneered and owned Inverway Station between 1890 and 1950. Archie died in Inverway in 1950 when he was 89. Tiny's father and many other Aboriginal people performed this corroboree to mourn for him.

Some words in this song are based on Kriol. Brranda *means 'veranda' and* opunbala *means 'is open'. This is because the corroboree is for the European man. The meaning of the song is roughly: 'the veranda is open for him. His desk is in the homestead'.*

Brranda obunbala obunbala

yunyinbana marrunggalbana

(Repeat the lines five more times)

[4] The flood

A big flood came from upstream along branches of Sturt Creek to Lake Gregory (to the south of Halls Creek). All Stations, including Inverway, Birrindudu, Gordon Downs and Sturt Creek were flooded.

Amungalalana yarranyjulgarra

ganyjimana bayarranda

(Repeat the lines five more times)

[5] Men dancing with wangara

Two groups of men who wear wangara (men's headdress) come up separately from two sides of the windbreak wall. They start dancing and other people start singing.

Gambarribana malandarra malandarra

wangara jugurdagarra

(Repeat the lines four more times)

[6] Two men dancing

Two men come out and start dancing. They are painted with ochre. One of them is holding a boomerang and another is holding a woomera.

Birrirriny jilinyji

malbigurrarra jaranggulbana

(Repeat the lines four more times)

[7] The other two men dancing

Two other men stand up and start dancing. They are also painted with ochre and are wearing anklets made from leaves of bloodwood trees.

Yamanggu manggu arranda

yadina lyalyayarrana

(Repeat the lines six more times)

Appendix 4 Selected texts

Text 1: ‘About Dream Time Story’ (told by Tiny McCale†)

Text 2: ‘Trip to Daguragu’ (told by Tiny McCale†)

Text 3: ‘Two Aboriginal men first met a white man’ (told by Maggie Scott)

Text 4: ‘Hunting for echidnas, goannas and sugarbags’ (told by Dolly Jirrbngarri†)

Text 5: ‘Childhood’ (told by Nyun.gatya Paddy†)

Text 1: 'About Dreamtime Story'

Speaker: Tiny McCale†
Recorder: Chikako Senge
Recording date: 13 May 2009
Recording place: Halls Creek, Western Australia
Transcription consultants: Tiny McCale†, Maggie Scott
Transcriber: Chikako Senge
Transcription date: 13-15 May 2009
Audio file: 130509_3.wav

1. nyila ngu=wula yan-i gan.gu-la bardaj \...(1.0)
   DIST1 REAL=3UA.SBJ GO-PAST up-LOC ascend

   yala-ngga=ma \... bamarr-a=ma \...
   DIST2-LOC=TOP stone-LOC=TOP
   MS: Those two (i.e., Namija women) climbed up there… at the hill.

2. ngu=wula yan-i /
   REAL=3UA.SBJ go-PAST
   TM: They walked.

3. yala-nginyi =lu mayawun gaa-niyin yan-i \
   DIST2-EL=ONLY wind.ABS east-D.ABL go-PAST
   MS: After that, a wind came from the east.

4. wumaj=ma wumaj \
   wind.ABS=TOP wind.ABS
   MS: [It's] a wind, a wind.

5. wumaj yan-i /
   wind.ABS go-PAST
   MS: The wind came.

6. nga=linygulanyanda,…(2.3) <nga=wulanygulanyanda>
   REAL=1MIN.INC.OBL? <REAL=3UA.OBL>

   man-i / garla-rra-nganang giyan-i /
   get-PAST west-DIRECT-? throw-PAST
   MS: [The wind] took them (i.e., loincloths) from them and threw that (one) to the west.
   NOTE: TM replaced the first word nga=linygulanyanda with nga=wulanygulanyanda in transcription session.

7. *Natwut*-gula \.. nyila=ma \
nutwood-LOC DIST1=TOP
That (i.e., loincloths) were on a nutwood tree.
NOTE: Alternatively *Natwut* could refer to a place where 'Nutwood bore' is.

8. yala-nginyi=lu,.. guya gan.gu-la bardaj=lu yan-i
DIST2-EL=ONLY thus up-LOC ascend=ONLY GO-PAST

yala-ngga bamarr-a=ma ngarrga-ngga=ma garla-nirra bamarr \
DIST2-LOC stone-LOC=TOP big-LOC=TOP west-D.ALL stone.ABS
MS: After that, thus [they] climbed up there at the big hill in the west, [at] the hill.

9. ngu=wula yan-i *na /*
REAL=3UA.SBJ go-PAST NOW
MS: *Tobala bin* start going now.
CS@: Two women walked then.

10. ngu=wula=la wangany-wangany nyang-an-i
REAL=3UA.SBJ=3MIN.DAT RDP-search PERCEIVE-CONT-PAST

yalu-wu=ma \
DIST2-DAT=TOP
MS: They were searching for that (i.e., loincloths).

11. minyarn, gula=wula nya-nya \
nothing NEG=3UA.SBJ perceive-PAST
TM: Nothing. They didn't see [their loincloths].

12. garla-rra=lu mayalu-wariny nyang-an-i
west-DIRECT=ONLY more-OTHER perceive-CONT-PAST

Natwut-jawu *na,*
nutwood-ALL NOW
MS: They were searching for [loincloths] more to the west toward the nutwood tree.

13. <X ngu=wula X>…(1.0) barli nya-nya,.. nyila=ma \
REAL=3UA.SBJ find PERCEIVE-PAST DIST1=TOP
MS: They found those.

14. nyawa *na* ngu=ngaliny giyan-i \.. wumaj-ju \
PROX1 NOW REAL=1MIN.INC.OBJ throw-PAST wind-ERG
MS: "Here now, the wind threw [loincloths] of ours."

15. wanyji yalaba <X yin X> \
which close ?
TM: Why didn't [the wind throw it] close?

16. yigirli ngu=ngaliny giyan-i garla-rra-nganang \
far REAL=1MIN.INC.OBJ throw-PAST west-DIRECT-?
TM: The wind *bin chakem* long way *dat* way.
CS@#: [The wind] threw ours far away to the west.
NOTE: -nganang could be an Gurindji element. However, here it could be an error and the speaker restated 'garla-rra' in the next line.

17. garla-rra \
west-DIRECT
CS#: To the west.

18. yuwu \
yes
TM: "Yes."

19. marndaj \
OK
TM: "OK."

20. ngu=li *matbi* yangi *na* ngali birrga man-gu /
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ maybe one.ABS NOW 1MIN.INC create GET-FUT
MS: "We might make one loincloth."

21. birrib-gu,.. ngu=li gang-an-gu \
block.up-DAT REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ carry-CONT-FUT
MS: "We take it for covering up [private parts]."

22. yuwu \ marndaj \ gabugu /
yes OK EZ.ABS
MS: "Yeah, OK, sister."

23. ngu=wula=nyunu marn-i gabugu *two* Namija \..
REAL=3UA.SBJ=RR say-PAST EZ.ABS two ♀subsection.ABS

nyila=ma \
DIST=TOP
CS#: They talked to each other, two Namija sisters, those (people).

24. *Dream Time* \.. ngu=wula marn-an-i \
Dream Time REAL=3UA.SBJ say-CONT-PAST
TM: They were telling Dream Time story [to each other].

25. yala-nginyi=lu=ma yala-ngulu ngu=wula gaa-rra
DIST2-EL=ONLY=TOP DIST1-ABL REAL=3UA.SBJ east-DIRECT

ward yan-i /…(2.4)
return GO-PAST
MS: From then, they went back.
CS%: After that, they went back to the east from there.

26. gaa-rra,
east-DIRECT
MS: To the east.

27. guya=rnalu=yanu bura nyang-an-i
THUS=1AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ listen PERCEIVE-CONT-PAST

marn-u-ngga \ *yuno* /
say-NF-LOC you.know
CS#: We (i.e., young girls) were listening to them (i.e., old women) while they were talking.

28. marn-an-i guya=lu=wula <guya=lu=yanu>
say-CONT-PAST SUB=3AUG.SBJ=3UA.SBJ <SUB=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ>

burja-burja nyawa \
RDP-run PROX1
MS: When [old ladies] were talking to [girls], [some of the girls were] running away here.
NOTE: guya=lu=wula is an error because two subject clitics cannot co-occur.

29. gaji \ nyawa \
old.woman.ABS PROX1
CS#: These old ladies.

30. gajirri-walija \
old.woman-PAUC.ABS
CS#: Several old ladies.

31. gajirri \
old woman.ABS
MS: Old ladies.

32. gajirri \ *olkman* *yuno /* *old people* *yuno /*
old.woman.ABS old.woman.ABS you.know old people you.know
TM: *gajirri*, you know, old people.

33. ngu=lu marn-an-i,
REAL=3AUG.SBJ say-CONT-PAST
TM: They were talking.

34. yala-ngga *nao* ngu=lu nyawa=ma\
DIST2-LOC NOW REAL=3AUG.SBJ PROX1=TOP
CS#: It was there [where] these people were.

35. barli nya-nya ngu=wula junba=ma
find PERCEIVE-PAST REAL=3UA.SBJ corroboree.ABS=TOP

yala-ngga *nao* \.. <X gaa-rra-ng-gari-jirri X> \...(1.3) *Wave Hill*-la \
DIST2-LOC NOW east-DIRECT-?-OTHER-ALL PLACE.NAME-LOC
CS#: They two made up a corroboree there, further in the east, at Wave Hill.
NOTE: MS and TM did not recognise the word gaa-rra-ng-gari-jirri. It could be an error in speech or transcription. -jirri is a Gurindji allative allomorph.

36. *Wave Hill* nyila=ma gardiya-nginyi *Wave Hill* /
PLACE.NAME DIST1=TOP white.man-EL PLACE.NAME
TM: Wave Hill, that's white men's name, Wave Hill.

37. ngumbid-nginyi=ma Jinbarrag \
human-EL=TOP PLACE.NAME
TM: Abroginal name is Jinbarrag.

38. yala-ngga *na* ngu=lu,... barli nya-nya nyila=ma
DIST2-LOC NOW ERROR find PERCEIVE-PAST DIST1=TOP

ngu=wula junba=ma \
REAL=3UA.SBJ corroboree.ABS=TOP
MS: There, they... They two found (i.e., made up) that corroboree there.
NOTE: ngu=lu seems to be an error because according to the context, two women found the corroboree and TM restated ngu=wula later.

39. ngarranggarni \.. ngu=wula gurla-niyin guya \ *na*
Dreamtime.ABS REAL=3UA.SBJ south-D.ABL thus NOW

gang-an-i gan.ga-yid \
carry-CONT-PAST up.country-D.ABL
MS: *Tobala bin* bring the Dreamtime story from the south, from the upper stream.
CS@: They brought the Dreamtime story from the south from the upper stream.
NOTE: MS and TM said gurlaniyin and gan.gayid refer to the same place.

40. nyila=ma,.. Namija gujarra=ma \
DIST1=TOP ♀subsection.ABS two.ABS=TOP
MS: Those ones, two Namija.

41. yala-ngulu *na* ngu=lu=yanu,.. junba=ma
DIST2-ABL NOW REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ corroboree.ABS=TOP

yung-an-i yalu-rra-wu=ma \.. yalu-wu=ma \.. gajirri-wu=ma \
give-CONT-PAST DIST2-PL-DAT=TOP DIST2-DAT=TOP old.woman-DAT=TOP
MS: After that, they gave the corroboree to those [other] old women.
NOTE: MS said yalu-rra-wu=ma could mean "for those mob", i.e. -rra is a plural suffix corresponding to =yanu (3AUG.OBJ). However, it's not sure if it is Wanyjirra. This plural suffix is used for demonstratives in Gurindji and Bilinarra.

42. gambarri-ward-gu \.. gula=liwa=la bina
front-PERS-DAT NEG=1AUG.INC.SBJ=3MIN.DAT know

ngaliwa /...(0.9) minyarn \
1AUG.INC nothing
TM: We don't know about the first [person who found the Dreamtime story], nothing.

43. *and* guwa=nganimba-gu=lu biyarrb yuwan-an-i
and THUS=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ tell.story SEND-CONT-PAST

guwa=yi=lu \
THUS=1MIN.OBJ=3AUG.SBJ
TM: And they told us [the story].
NOTE: The last word guwa-yi=lu could be a restatement in regard to guwa=nganimba-gu=lu because the clause has two pronominal clitic complexes. However, TM's translation reflects to the first clitic complex, i.e., the object clitic encoding the first person augmented participant but not the first person minimal.

44. ngu=ngandiba-gu=lu \...(1.2) yabayaba-wu *you know* /
REAL=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ small.PL-DAT you know
CS#: [They told the stoy to us,] to the children, you know.
NOTE: yabayaba may not be Wanyjirra. yamayama is usually used.

45. yabawurru-wu ngu=nganimba-gu=lu binarri-g
child-DAT REAL=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ know-TRNSL

yung-an-i marn-u-wu,
give-CONT-PAST say-NF-DAT
MS: They taught us, the children to tell [the Dreamtime story].

46. nyawa=la ngu=n langa-ngga=ma garran-ang-gu \
PROX1=FOC REAL=2MIN.SBJ ear-LOC=TOP carry-CONT-FUT
MS: "This one you will have to keep it in your ears."

47. ngu=n yurrg yirran-ang-gu \
REAL=2MIN.SBJ tell PUT-CONT-FUT
"You can tell the story to some other mob."
NOTE: MS does not know the complex verb "yurrg yirran-". According to her, the complex verb biga bung- or biyarrb yirran- would be expected for the meaning 'tell (a story)'.

48. marn-u=ma \ marn-u *like* ngu=n biyarrb
say-NF.ABS=TOP say-NF.ABS like REAL=2MIN.SBJ tell.story

yirran-ang-gu *you know* /
PUT-CONT-FUT you know
MS: The [Dreamtime] story, [they said to me] like "you can talk this story", you know.

49. guya \
thus
Like this.

50. yala-ngulu *na* junba ngu=wula,.. *m*,...(0.8)
DIST2-ABL NOW corroboree.ABS REAL=3UA.SBJ ERROR

barli nya-nya \
find PERCEIVE-PAST
MS: From there, they two find the corroboree.

51. ngu=lu yunbarn-an-i *na* nyila=ma jarrarda=ma /
REAL=3AUG.SBJ sing-CONT-PAST NOW DIST1=TOP SONG.NAME.ABS=TOP
MS: They were singing then, that *jarrarda* (women's song).

52. *all way na* galu wanyjan-an-i *yuno* /...(0.4)
all way NOW still dance-CONT-PAST you.know

Wave Hill-ngarna-lu=ma \... <X malirri X> \
PLACE.NAME-ASSC-ERG=TOP cold.ABS
CS#: People from (old) Wave Hill (i.e., Jimbarrag) were still dancing all the way in cold weather.
NOTE: If the last word is malirri, the locative suffix would be expected to follow it malirri-la.

53. ngu=rnalu=yanu nyang-an-i wanyjan-u-ga=ma \
REAL=1AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ perceive-CONT-PAST dance-NF-LOC=TOP
TM: We were watching them dancing.

54. yunbarn-an-i ngu=lu nyila=ma jarrarda=ma \
sing-CONT-PAST REAL=3AUG.SBJ DIST1=TOP SONG.NAME.ABS=TOP
TM: They were singing *jarrarda*.

55. nyila=ma darrugu *mijelp* \.. *yuno*/
DIST1=TOP secret.ABS oneself you.know
TM: That's secret, you know.

56. *nomo* mawun-gu /
NEG man-DAT
MS: It's not for men.

57. yalu-wu *na* gajirri-walija-wu \...(1.6) gajirri-wu \
DIST2-DAT NOW old.woman-PAUC-DAT old.woman-DAT
MS: [It's] for those, old women, for old women.

58. *wal,.. they bin finish na,*
well 3PL PAST finish NOW
MS: Well, they all passed away.

59. ngu=lu gun.galgal *nao*,
REAL=3AUG.SBJ dead NOW
MS: They all passed away.

60. gajirri-lu=ma gambarri-ward-rdu=ma guya nyila=ma
old.woman-ERG=TOP front-PERS-ERG=TOP thus DIST1=TOP

junba=ma yunbarn-an-i=ma,
corroboree.ABS=TOP sing-CONT-PAST=TOP
MS: The first old women [who gave us the story] used to sing that corroboree like this.

61. ngu=lu,...(2.0) nyila=la guwa=lu *growemap* yan-i /
REAL=3AUG.SBJ DIST1=FOC SUB=3AUG.SBJ grow.up GO-PAST
TM: They (i.e., the girls) grew up.

62. yalu-nggu *nao* ngu=lu garran-ana nyila=ma
DIST2-ERG NOW REAL=3AUG.SBJ keep-PRES DIST1=TOP

junba=ma \... *Wave Hill*-la=ma \
corroboree.ABS=TOP PLACE.NAME-LOC=TOP
TM: Those mobs keep the corroboree now, in (new) Wave Hill.
NOTE: Wave Hill may refer to Kalkarindji here not Jinbarrag.

63. *Wave Hill*-la ngu=lu \.. *finish* nyawa garla-rra
PLACE.NAME-LOC REAL=3AUG.SBJ finish PROX1 west-DIRECT

guya *na* /
thus NOW
MS: They (the first people) passed away in (new) Wave hill in the west.

64. *la* *Daguragu* *na* \
LOC PLACE.NAME NOW
MS: In Daguragu.
NOTE: This may be correction in regard to 'Wave Hill' in the two previous sentences. Daguragu is about 2km away from new Wave Hill (Kalkarindji).

65. *Wattie Creek* \
PLACE.NAME
MS: [The English name is] Wattie Creek.

66. yala-ngga *na* ngu=lu junba=ma nyawa=rra=ma,..
DIST2-LOC NOW REAL=3AUG.SBJ corroboree.ABS=TOP PROX1=PL=TOP

yunbarn-ana ngu=lu \
sing-PRES REAL=3AUG.SBJ
MS: There, people [of Daguragu] sing these songs.
NOTE1: Here the word junba 'corroboree' is used as a generic or cover term for 'performance (song and dance)' including ordinary and secret/sacred corroboree. junba usually refers to ordinary corroboree which everybody can join and see as opposed to any secret songs and dances, e.g. jarrarda 'women's secret song/dance'
NOTE2: The pronominal clitic complex is repeated here.

67. marndaj /
OK
TM: OK.

Text 2: 'Station Life'

Speaker: Tiny McCale†
Recorder: Chikako Senge
Recording date: 26 August 2010
Recording place: Halls Creek, Western Australia
Transcription consultant: Tiny McCale†
Transcriber: Chikako Senge
Transcription date: 04 September 2010
Audio file: 260810_5.wav

NOTE: TM starts talking about a trip to the east during the summer holidays. Then she describes jobs in Inverway station.

1. Jinbarrag-gulawu=ma \.. *Wave Hill*-lawu=ma \
   PLACE.NAME-ALL=TOP PLACE.NAME-ALL=TOP
   TM: [We used to go] to Jinbarrag, to Wave Hill.
   NOTE: The firs part indicated by brackets in free translation was not recorded.

2. *Wave Hill* /...(0.8) gardiya-nginyi \...
   PLACE.NAME.ABS white.man -EL
   TM: Wave Hill is the English name.

3. ngumbid-nginyi Jinbarrag \
   human-EL PLACE.NAME.ABS
   TM: The Aboriginal name is Jimbarrag.

4. *an* ngu=rnalu yan-an-i *matbi* \
   and REAL=1AUG.SBJ go-CONT-PAST maybe
   TM: And we used to go there.

5. guya ngu=rnalu <X gurla-yin X> yan-an-i \.. yala-nggawu \
   thus REAL=1AUG.SBJ south-D.ABL go-CONT-PAST DIST2-ALL
   CS#: Thus we used to go there from the south (i.e., Inverway).

6. ngu=rnalu=yanu nyang-an-i nun.giying \...(2.4)
   REAL=1AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ perceive-CONT-PAST family.ABS

   yala-ngga=ma \
   DIST2-LOC=TOP
   TM: We used to visit [our] family... there.

7. ngu=rnalu=yanunggula garriny-an-i \...(2.2) yangi,.. jagiliny \
REAL=1AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBL stay-CONT-PAST one.ABS moon.ABS
TM: We used to stay *langa* them *yangi jagiliny*.
CS@%: We used to stay with them [for] a month.

8. yala-nginyi,.. ngu=rnalu ward yan-an-i \ ngurra-wurra *na* \
DIST2-EL REAL=1AUG.SBJ return GO-CONT-PAST camp-PURP NOW

garla-rra \
west-DIRECT
CS#: Afer that, we used to go back to [our] camp (i.e., Inverway) to the west.

9. ngu=rnalu=yanu jaru-jaru *na* ga-nya \
REAL=1AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ RDP-language.ABS NOW carry-PAST
TM: We *bin bringim* back stories *na*.
CS@%: We brought many stories [to other people in Inverway].

10. <cough>

11. <X marri galu ngaliwa X> /
maybe still 1AUG.INC
CS: “We [will] still [have to walk]”
NOTE: This clause does not contain a verb.

12. <X marri galu ngaliwa X> \
maybe still 1AUG.INC
CS: “We [will] still [have to walk]”

13. ngarra yan-an-, ngu=rnalu yan-ang-gu ward=ma \
ERROR? go-CONT REAL=1AUG.SBJ GO-CONT-FUT return=TOP
TM: “We will have to go back.”

14. nyawa=ma nyamu=rnalu ward=ma yan-gu /... *warug*
PROX1=TOP SUB=1AUG.SBJ return=TOP GO-FUT work

ngu=rnalu marn-ana gardiya-la \
REAL=1AUG.SBJ DO-PRES white.man -LOC
CS#: “When we will go back, we will work at the whiteman's place.”
NOTE: nyamu is Gurindji. guya would be expected.

15. yuwu / marndaj \
yes OK
TM: “Yeah, OK.”

16. ngu=nganimba-gu=lu yan-i \
REAL=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ go-PAST
TM: They *bin kam fo us*.
CS@%: They (i.e., our family in Jinbarrag) came for us (i.e., to see us off).

17. ngu=rnalu yan-i *na*, gaa-niyin \... ganyju-rra \
REAL=1AUG.SBJ go-PAST NOW east-D.ABL down-DIRECT
TM: We *bin go dan* from that way.
CS@: We went down [to the creek] from the east.

18. ngu=lu yan-i \
REAL=3AUG.SBJ go-PAST
CS#: They came [too].

19. gaa-niyin ngu=rnalu yan-an-i \
east-D.ABL REAL=1AUG.SBJ go-CONT-PAST
CS#: From the east (i.e., Jinbarrag), we were walking.

20. ngu=nganimba-gu=lu gang-an-i ganyju-rra
REAL=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ CARRY-CONT-PAST down-DIRECT

jawurrug bin.ga-ga=ma garla-nirra bardaj \
go.down river-LOC=TOP west-D.ALL ascend
TM: They *bin tekem mibala la* creek down and up.
CS@: They took us down to the creek and up to the west.

21. *police sta-* *police station*-da gayi-li-yarra \
police station police station -LOC north-D.LOC1-around
CS#: [We] went around in the north in the police station.
NOTE: TM refers to the police station which was located in the place called Kalkarindji, west of Jinbarrag.

22. *police man*-gu guwa=la *haus* gan.gu-la gurla-nirra \
police man-DAT THUS=3MIN.DAT house.ABS up-LOC south-D.ALL
CS#: [We went] up to the police man's house to the south.

23. garla-nirra ngu=rnalu ward *na* yan-an-i \
west-D.ALL REAL=1AUG.SBJ return NOW GO-CONT-PAST
TM: Then we *bin* go *bak* that way, Inverway.
CS@%: To the west we were going back then (i.e., after going the way round).

24. <X yalu X>=ma \... dirrib ngu=rnalu garriny-an-i
DIST2=TOP camp.out REAL=1AUG..SBJ STAY-CONT-PAST

yala-ngga=ma gayi-nirra=ma,...(1.8) gan.ga-ba \
DIST2-LOC=TOP north-D.ALL=TOP up.country-D.LOC2
CS#: We used to camp [on our way to our country] there in the north, around the upstream area.
NOTE: There were two narrow rivers around the way between Inverway and Jimbarrag. They used to camp at the place where two small rivers join.

25. ngu=rnalu ward yan-i marru-ngga=ma \
REAL=1AUG.SBJ return GO-PAST house-LOC=TOP
TM: We *bin* go *bak langa* office.
CS@: We went back to the house (i.e., Inverway Station office).

26. gan.ga-ba \
up.country-D.LOC2
CS#: [We used to camp] around the upstream area [before arriving at Inverway].
NOTE: TM's comment: gayiniyin (from the north) the river runs to the south (ganimbarra 'downstream').

27. *alibala*=lu mangarri ngarn-an-i gabud-ba=lu
early=ONLY veg.food.ABS ingest-CONT-PAST morning-EP=ONLY
CS#: In early morning we used to have food.

28. ngu=ngandiba-gu=lu marn-an-i,
REAL=1AUG.OBJ-LINK=3AUG.SBJ say-CONT-PAST
TM: They *bin talk la wi*.
CS@: They said to us.

29. marri *na* \
off NOW
TM: "[We] are off now."

30. ngu=rnalu yan-i,.. julu-juluj garran-an-i
REAL=1AUG.SBJ go-PAST RDP-under.arm KEEP-CONT-PAST

nyawa gurla-nirra \
PROX1 south-D.ALL
CS#: We walked to the south and kept these [swags] under the arms.

31. *road na* / *motor car road* \.. gurrurij *road* \
road NOW motor car road motorcar road
CS#: [We walked back on] the mortor car road.

32. garla-rra-wu,.. ngu=rnalu yan-i ward=ma \
wesT-DIRECT-DAT REAL=1AUG.SBJ GO-PAST return=TOP
TM: We *bin* go *bak*.
CS@: We walked back to the west.

33. *kam-aut* \...(3.3) Binanyi-lawu \
come-out PLACE.NAME-ALL
CS#: [And we] got in to the Inverway.

34. ngu=rnalu garri-nya,...(1.0) gujarra-wurd dirrib \..
REAL=1AUG.SBJ stay-PAST two-TIME camp.out

dumal-la=ma \.. guya=rnalu ward *na* yan-i \...
middle-LOC=TOP SUB=1AUG.SBJ return NOW GO-PAST

Binanyi-lawu=ma\
PLACE.NAME-ALL=TOP
CS#: We stayed, camped two times in middle we were going back to Inverway.

35. garra ngu=rnalu *kamaut* yan-i /...(0.8) garla-niyin-da \
thus REAL=1AUG..SBJ come.out GO-PAST west-D.ALL-LOC
CS#: Like that we got in there in the afternoon.
NOTE: garra 'like this' is Jaru. guya would be expected here.

36. ngu=rnalu dirrib garri-nya \
REAL=1AUG.SBJ camp.out STAY-PAST
TM: We *bin* camp there.
CS@: We camped [there in Inverway].

37. gardiya guya=lu gan.gu-liyin yan-i \...(2.9) marn-u-wu \
white.man.ABS THUS=3AUG.SBJ up-D.ALL go-PAST say-NF-DAT
TM: Then white men *bin kam.*
CS@: White men came from the upper area… to talk [to us].

38. *yufala gata start work na* \
2PL FUT start work NOW
CS@: “You have to start working now.”

39. *katembat wood* \
cut.CONT firewood
CS#: “Cut firewood.”

40. *kilnim,... everiwea la ofij* \
clean everywhere LOC office
CS#: “Clean everywhere at the office.”

41. ngu=nda yirran-ang-gu \
REAL=2AUG.SBJ put-CONT-FUT
CS: “You put...”

42. *an* nyurrara \
and 2AUG
CS: “And you...”

43. nyurrara \
2AUG
CS: “You...”

44. jan.ga-jan.ga ngu=nda yan-gu *wajimbat*-gu
RDP-woman.ABS REAL=2AUG.SBJ go-FUT wash.CONT-DAT

ngari-wu,.. gardiya-wu /...(1.6) *loondri*-la \.. *ainembat*-gu-burruburru \
clothes-DAT white.man -DAT laundry-LOC iron.CONT-DAT-ALSO
CS#: “Women, you will go to wash whitemen's clothes [and] also iron them at the laundry.”
NOTE: jan.ga and -burruburru would be Gurindji.

45. yuwu \ marndaj \
yes OK
TM: “Yeah, OK.”

46. nyawa <X *olkuman* X> *not too old,.. not too young* /
PROX1 old.woman.ABS not too old not too young

not too old /.. *katembat* *wood* \...(1.2) jangilany \
not too old cut.CONT wood.ABS firewood.ABS
CS#: These women, not too old and not too young, were cutting firewood.

47. gang-an-i ngu=wula gayi-nirra mundurru *kitchen*-dawu \
carry-CONT-PAST REAL=3UA.SBJ north-D.ALL drop.off kitchen -ALL
CS#: The two (people) were carrying and dropping them to the north to the kitchen.

48. *kitchen*-dawu \...(1.1) gambarn-u-wu \
kitchen-ALL burn-NF-DAT
TM: *Langa* kitchen *fo* cooking.
CS@: [They carried] to the kitchen for cooking.

49. yirrab ngu=lu gani *warug* marn-an-i \...(1.1)
some.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ down.country work DO-CONT-PAST

gardiya-wu ngurra \...(0.7) *garden*-da \...(1.3)
white.man-DAT camp.ABS garden-LOC

jan.ga-jan.ga julu \
RDP-woman.ABS jointly.ABS
TM: Some were working at white man's camp, at [their] garden, many [Aboriginal] women too.
NOTE: jan.ga is not Wanyjirra. Two words wanyja and ngaringga are usually used.

50. yirrab ngu=lu dirrib garriny-an-i \
some.ABS REAL=3AUG.SBJ camp.out STAY-CONT-PAST
TM: Some other people were sleeping (i.e., staying at their camp).

51. gabud-ba=lu ngu=lu yan-i ngaburlu-wu \...
morning-EP=ONLY REAL=3AUG.SBJ go-PAST breast-DAT

melkembat-gu \...(1.7) *nanigoat*-gu /...(1.5) *kawu*-wu \
milk.CONT-DAT goat-DAT cow-DAT
CS#: In the next morning, they went to milk goats and cows.

52. yala-nginyi /...(2.7) nyawa,...(1.9) jangilany guya=lu,..
DIST2-EL PROX1 firewood.ABS SUB=3AUG.SBJ

guya=lu bayan-an-i,...(1.2) yangi-nggu ngu=la
SUB=3AUG.SBJ chop-CONT-PAST one-ERG REAL=3MIN.DAT

bayan-an-i,...(1.0) juburr-juburr nyila=ma jangilany=ma \...
chop-CONT-PAST RDP-round.up DIST1=TOP firewood .ABS=TOP

yabayaba \
small.PL.ABS
CS#: Then, this one, firewood which they were cutting, one man/woman was (also) cutting and rounding up, the firewood, small ones.
NOTE: The pronominal clitic complex guya=lu in the second line is the repetition.
NOTE: juburr is a coverb which commonly occurs with the verb yirran- 'put'.

53. yabayaba \... digab \
small.PL.ABS hack
[He/she was] chopping them in small pieces.

54. gan.gu-la \... *wheelbarra*-la \...(1.1) gang-an-i gayi-nirra
up-LOC wheelbarrow -LOC CARRY-CONT-PAST north-D.ALL

mundurru yangi-nggu=ma \
drop.off one-ERG=TOP
CS#: One [man/woman] was carrying them to the north (to kitchen) in a wheelbarrow.
NOTE: In Sentence 47, TM used the third person unit-augemted for the participants who were carrying firewood whereas the third person minimal is used here.

55. yangi-nggu=ma nyila digab yet,.. <X *wudib* X>-gula \
one-ERG=TO DIST1 hack yet wood?-LOC
CS#: One was still chopping wood at the cutting place.

56. ngu=lu gang-an-i \
REAL=3AUG.SBJ carry-CONT-PAST
TM: They *bin carriyim*.
CS@: They were carrying [firewood].
NOTE: I'm not sure why TM used the third person augmented clitic here. The unit-augmented form and minimal form are also used in Sentence 47 and 54 respectively. It could refer to another group of people who help carrying firewood.

57. guya *na* \ marndaj *na* \
thus NOW OK NOW
TM: Like this, OK.

Text 3: 'Two Aboriginal men first met a white man'

Speaker: Maggie Scott
Recorder: Tasaku Tsunoda
Recording date: 29 August 1997
Recording place: Halls Creek, Western Australia
Transcription consultants: Maggie Scott; Tiny McCale†
Transcriber: Chikako Senge
Transcription date: 04-08 May; 04 April 2012
Edited audio file: 97_31_2.wav (Reference No.6-64)

1. *aa,* ...(1.8) *this story about two, ah*,

2. nyawa ngu=rna=nyurra jaru marn-ana \
   PROX1 REAL=1MIN.SBJ=2AUG.OBJ language.ABS say-PRES
   MS: I am telling you this story.
   CS#: ALT: Here I am telling you the story.

3. gujarra mawun, guya=wula,.. yan-an-i,
   two.ABS man.ABS THUS=3UA.SBJ go-CONT-PAST
   MS: Two men were walking.

4. ngu=wula wilinyi yan-an-i jiya-wu \
   REAL=3UA.SBJ hunt GO-CONT-PAST kangaroo-DAT
   MS: They were going hunting for kangaroos.

5. ngu=wula garri-nya lulu *nao* gani bin.ga-ga \
   REAL=3UA.SBJ STAY-PAST sit NOW down.country river-LOC
   MS: Then they sat down at the riverbank.

6. ngu=wula lulu garri-nya::,
   REAL=3UA.SBJ sit STAY-PAST
   TM: They *bin sidan*.
   MS: They sat down.

7. ngu=wula,... guya wilinyi nya-nya gayi-nirra \ gan.ga-rra /
   REAL=3UA.SBJ thus hunt perceive-PAST north-D.ALL up.country-DIRECT
   MS: Then they were hunting [food] in the north, in the upper river.

8. ngu=wula,.. barli yi-nya,...(1.4)
   REAL=3UA.SBJ find GIVE-PAST
   MS: They found…

9. *wal*,...(0.8) gariya=lu \
well white.man.ABS=ONLY
MS: Well, [it was] a white man.

10. gariya ngu dimana-yaru yan-an-i
white.man.ABS REAL horse-PROP go-CONT-PAST

ngu *raidim* gang-an-i \.. dimana \.. gan.ga-yin \
REAL ride CARRY-CONT-PAST horse.ABS up.country-D.ALL
MS: The white man was coming on horseback, riding on horseback from the upstream.

11. nyila ngu=la yangi marn-i \
DIST1 REAL=3MIN.DAT one.ABS say-PAST
MS: That one [man] talked to [another].

12. jaliji /
friend
MS: “Mate?”

13. nyila nyang-ga \ gayi-liyin guwa=ngaling yan-ana \
DIST1 perceive-IMP north-D.ABL SUB=1MIN.INC.OBJ go-PRES
MS: "Look at that, coming to us from the north."

14. yurrungarna \ yurrungarna ngu=ngaliny yan-ana \
devil.ABS devil.ABS REAL=1MIN.INC.OBJ go-PRES
MS: “A devil, a devil is coming to us.”

15. wanyji /
which
MS: “Which one?”

16. *a*,.. dardulu \ dardulu ngu nyila yurrungarna *nao*
ah true true REAL that devil.ABS NOW

ngu=ngaliny yan-ana \
REAL=1MIN.INC.OBJ go-PRES
MS: “Oh! True! True! That is a devil coming to us!”

17. wali \... wanyjirra=li yan-ang-gu \
alright where=1MIN.INC.SBJ go-CONT-FUT
MS: “OK, where do we have to go?”

18. ngayi \ gan.gu-la murla bardaj yan-gu=li burnu-ngga \
hey up-LOC PROX2 ascend GO-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ tree-LOC
MS: “Hey, let's climb up this tree here.”

19. gan.ga-ni nga=li lulu garriny-ang-gu burnu-ngga \
up.country-D.LOC1 REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ sit STAY-CONT-FUT tree-LOC
MS: “We will sit up on the tree.”

20. nga=li yunbarn-a-gu yala-ngulu *nao*,
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ sing-CONT-FUT DIST1-ABL NOW
MS: “Then we will sing from there.”

21. yarrirndi=lu nga=li yunbarn-a-gu \
SONG.NAME.ABS=ONLY REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ sing-CONT-FUT
MS: “We will sing *yarrirndi*.”

22. wali wuna \
alright quickly
TM: “OK, come on!”

23. bardaj yan-gu=li \
ascend GO-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ
MS: “Let's climb up!”

24. gan.gu-la ngu=wula bardaj *na* yan-i gan.ga-ni,
up-LOC REAL=3UA.SBJ ascend NOW GO-PAST up.country-D.LOC1
MS: Then they climbed up and [sat] up.

25. *fok*-gula ngu=wula garriny-an-i gan.ga-ni \
fork-LOC REAL=3UA.SBJ STAY-CONT-PAST up.country-D.LOC1
MS: They were [sitting] up on forks of the tree.

26. yala-ngulu *nao* ngu=wula yunbarn-an-i *nao* nyila
DIST2-ABL NOW REAL=3UA.SBJ sing-CONT-PAST NOW DIST1

gardiya *an* dimana \
white.man.ABS and horse.ABS
MS: From there, they were singing [it to] that white man and horse.

27. ngu=wula=yanu yunbarn-an-i yarrirndi=lu *na*
REAL=3UA.SBJ=3.OBJ sing-CONT-PAST SONG.NAME.ABS=ONLY NOW

yalu,... gujarra-lu \
DIST2 two-ERG
Those two men were singing *yarrirndi* to them.

28. yunbarn-i ngu=wula \ yunbarn-i ngu=wula
sing-PAST REAL=3UA.SBJ sing-PAST REAL=3UA.SBJ

yarrirndi=lu=ma:: minyarn \
SONG.NAME.ABS=ONLY=TOP nothing
MS: They kept singing *yarrirndi* [but] nothing [happened].

29. yalaba-g *na* yan-an-i nyila dimana-yaru gardiya /
close-TRNSL NOW go-CONT-PAST DIST1 horse-PROP white.man.ABS
MS: The white man [riding] on horseback is coming close now.

30. *an*,.. nga=li=nyunu marn-i,
and REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ=RR say-PAST
MS: And they talked to each other.

31. jaliji /
friend
MS: “Mate?”

32. nyamba-wuja nyila gula gun.ga wandi-nya \
what-LACK DIST1 NEG dead FALL-PAST
TM: “Why didn't they die?”

33. dardulu ngu,..
true REAL
TM: “True.”

34. *oh* dardulu ngu yurrungarna yurrungarna \
oh true REAL devil devil
MS: “True, it's a devil, devil!”

35. wali warra gang-an-gu=li murla-ngulu *na* \
alright watch CARRY-CONT-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ PROX2-ABL NOW
MS: “OK, we have to watch it from here.”

36. ngu=la,
REAL=3MIN.DAT
?
NOTE: This could be a part of the next clause where code-switching occurs.

37. gardiya *bin*,.. *kamap* *nao* \
white.man.ABS PAST come.up NOW
CS@: The white man came up then.

38. gayi-liyin gardiya yan-i yalaba-g *nao* \
north-D.ABL white.man.ABS go-PAST close-TRNSL NOW
MS: From the north, the white man came close now.

39. gan.gu-la ngu=wulany nya-nya gardiya-lu=ma guya,
up-LOC REAL=3UA.OBJ perceive-PAST white.man-ERG=TOP thus
MS: The white man looked up at these two men like this.

40. *en*,.. gardiya ngu=wul-, ngu=wulany marn-i \
and white.man.ABS ERROR REAL=3UA.OBJ say-PAST
CS#: And the white man spoke to them.
NOTE: Two pronominal complexes are here. The first is incomplete. The second is restatement.

41. yan-da=wula \.. yan-da=wula ganyju-rra \
go-IMP=UA.SBJ go-IMP=UA.SBJ down.country-DIRECT
TM: "You come down, come down."

42. ngu=wulany,...(1.7) marla=lu marn-an-i \
REAL=3UA.OBJ hand.ABS=ONLY say-CONT-PAST
MS: He was doing finger talk.
CS#: He was talking to them using hand gesture.
CS: LIT: [His] hands were talking to them.
NOTE: marla is part of part-whole (inalienable) constructions (See also Line 54 and 55).

43. *an*,...(0.8) ngu=wula=la riba garri-nya /
and REAL=3UA.SBJ=3MIN.DAT frighten BE-PAST
MS: And... they were frightened of him (i.e., the white man).

44. ngu=wula gula marn-i guya \
REAL=3UA.SBJ NEG say-PAST thus
MS: Thus they did not talk to him.

45. ngu=wula=la marn-i guya ya /
REAL=3UA.SBJ=3MIN.DAT say-PAST thus ?
MS: Thus they talked to him.
CS: Thus they responded to him.

46. warnang-warnang ngu=wula=la marn-i \
RDP-shake.head REAL=3UA.SBJ=3MIN.DAT DO-PAST
CS#: They shook their heads (i.e., meaning "No").

47. *aan* \... ngu=wulany marn-i yan-da=wula
and REAL=3UA.OBJ say-PAST go-IMP=UA.SBJ

yan-da=wula ganyju-rra \
go-IMP=UA.SBJ down.country-DIRECT
MS: And… he said to them, “You come down, come down”.

48. *an* /... wagurra ngu=lu=yanu *inglis* bina garri-nya,.. *najing* \
and NEG REAL=3AUG.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ English know BE-PAST nothing
MS: And… they did not know English at all.
NOTE: It is unknown why augmented forms =lu and =yanu are used here. Based on the story, =lu would cross-reference 'two men (unit-agumented)’ whereas =yanu would cross-reference 'English words' (see also Line 49 and 53).

49. *dumaj* ngu=lu *maiyal wan*,... nyawa \
because REAL=3AUG.SBJ myall one PROX1
MS: Because they were very wild, uneducated people.
NOTE: =lu is 3PL. If MS means two Aboriginal men, =wula would be expected. Alternatively this augmented clitic refers to Aboriginal people in general.

50. *boi*-wuyarra ngu=wula,...
boy-DU.ABS REAL=3UA.SBJ
CS#: They are two boys.

51. *inglis*-marn-u-waji gula=wula garri-nya *najing* \
English-say-NF-AGENT.ABS NEG=3UA.SBJ be-PAST nothing
MS: They were not English speakers at all.

52. gula=wula bina garri-nya gardiya-wu *inglis*-gu,.. minyarn \
NEG=3UA.SBJ know BE-PAST white.man-DAT English-DAT nothing
MS: They did not understand the white man [and] English.

53. *an* gardiya gula=yanu,.. bila bina garri-nya
and white.man.ABS NEG =3AUG.OBJ ERROR know BE-PAST

murlu-wu,... jaru-wu / *najing* \
PROX2-DAT language-DAT nothing
CS#: And the white man did not understand these [men and their] language at all.
David Nash's translation: And the white man did not -understand this - language at all.
NOTE: If my translation is really correct (though it was approved by MS), the augmented clitic =yanu seems to specify two human participants and one inanimate participant. However, it is quite rare and there is no other example where human and non-human entities are counted together and referred to by a single pronominal clitic. Thus it remains the possibility that the use of =yanu might be an error. David Nash (p.c.) suggests that this is not really an error but it is the speaker changing her mind about what to say. That is, the speaker was going to say: 'the white man did not understand these men (who spoke the language)' but changed it to: 'the white man did not understand this language (i.e., these words (augmented))' like in Line 48. This may be a more plausible analysis. Such a change or hesitation can be recognised from pauses and the actual speech error bila (which is the existing word 'chase') in her utterance.

54. ngu=lu=nyunu,.. nyawa=lu marla=lu marn-an-i \
REAL=3AUG.SBJ=RR PROX1=ONLY hand.ABS=ONLY say-CONT-PAST
MS: They were talking to each other just by hands.

55. marla=lu ngu=lu=nyunu marn-an-i /
hand.ABS=ONLY REAL=3AUG.SBJ=RR say-CONT-PAST
Just using hands, they were talking to each other.

56. yala-nginyi=ma ngu=wula yan-i,.. gani,
DIST2-EL=TOP REAL=3UA.SBJ go-PAST down.country
MS: From then, the two men went down [from the tree].

57. *en* \...(0.8) *an* gardiya ngu marri *nao* yan-i \
and and white.man.ABS REAL off NOW GO-PAST
TM: And the white man *bin gon*.
CS#: And… and the white man went off.

58. *an* nyila ngu=wula,...(0.7) wuna yan-i,... bin.ga
and DIST1 REAL=3UA.SBJ quickly go-PAST river

gani-mba-rra,..
down.country-D.LOC2-DIRECT
MS: And they go down the river.
CS%: And they hurried to go down the river.
NOTE: bin.ga would be expected to take the locative marker.

59. wilinyi *egen* \
hunt again
MS: [And they were] hunting again.

Text 4: 'Hunting for echidnas, goannas and sugarbags'

Speaker: Dolly Jirrbngarri†
Recorder: Tasaku Tsunoda
Recording date: 14 September 1999
Recording place: Nicholson Block, Western Australia
Transcription consultants: Maggie Scott; Tiny McCale†
Transcriber: Chikako Senge;
Transcription date: 26, 28, 30 June 2010; 12-13 August 2010
Edited audio file: 99_40_3 (Reference No.21-81)

1. DJ: yan-gu=li \
go-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ
TM: "Let's go."

2. TT: *mhm* \

3. D: wuna \
quickly
TM: "Come on."

4. wilinyi \
hunt
TM: "[Let's go] hunting."

5. TT: *mhm* \

6. DJ: wilinyi \... ngarlu-ngga \
hunt honey-LOC
MS: "[Go] hunting for sugarbag."
CS%: "[Go] hunting to the place where bush honey is."

7. ngu=li baya-rru \... ngarlu \…(1.1) wilinyi-lu \
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ chop-FUT honey.ABS hunt-ERG
MS: "You and me, going hunting, will cut off a honey comb."
NOTE: TM and MS comment that ngarlu 'honey' should have been ngarlu-wu, i.e., with the dative suffix meaning 'for honey'. According to them, what is chopped is burnu 'tree', although it's not overtly specified in the text.

8. *aa* wirlga \
ah axe.ABS
MS: "Ah, an axe."

9. wirlga *yu* *karrem* wirlga /
axe.ABS 2SG have axe.ABS
MS: “An axe, you have an axe?”

10. ngu=li gang-ana wirlga wali=lu
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ carry-PRES axe.ABS alright=ONLY
MS: “You and I bring an axe, alright.”

11. ngu=li baya-rru ngarlu \
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ chop-FUT honey.ABS
CS#: “You and I will cut off a honey comb.”

12. ngarlu ngu=li baya-rru \
honey.ABS REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ chop-FUT
CS#: “You and I will cut off a honey comb.”

13. TT: *go on* \

14. DJ: ngarlu, ngu=li baya-rru,…
honey.ABS REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ chop-FUT
MS: “We will cut off a honey comb.”

15. ngu=li gang-gu ngawa-nggawu
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ carry-FUT water-ALL
MS: “[And] we will carry it to the riverside.”

16. ngu=li man-gu bulub-garra ngawa-ngga *na* \
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ GET-FUT stir-REP water-LOC NOW
MS: “[Then] we will mix it up in water.”

17. ngu=li man-gu bulub-garra:: guya \ ngarlu=ma \
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ GET-FUT stir-REP thus honey.ABS=TOP
MS: “We will mix it up like this, that honey comb.”

18. ngu=li nga-lu *na* \
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ ingest-FUT NOW
TM: “[Then] we will *suckim.”*
CS@: “[Then] we will suck it.”

19. nga=li nga-lu gayi-nirra gurla-nirra yuga-nggu \
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ ingest-FUT north-D.ALL south-D.ALL grass-ERG
MS: “We will [each sitting down] at the north and the south eat it with grasses.”

20. ngu=li nga-lu: guya \...(1.6) ngandawi-la \
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ ingest-FUT thus shade-LOC
MS: “We will eat it like this, in a shade.”

21. marndaj \
alright
TM: “Alright.”

22. yala-nginyi=ma,… ngu=li wuna *na* gang-gu \..
DIST2-EL=TOP REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ quickly NOW CARRY-FUT

jungguj
depart
MS: “From then, we will go and carry it, take off.”

23. ngu=li yan-gu:::: ngurra-nggawu \
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ go-FUT camp-ALL
MS: “We will keep going to the camp.”

24. ngu=li gang-gu ngurra-nggawu *nao* /
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ carry-FUT camp-ALL NOW
MS: “We will carry [it] to the camp then.”

25. ngu=li bung-gu,.. *goanna* /
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ hit-FUT goanna.ABS
MS: “We will kill… a goanna.”

26. warlgan nga=li bung-gu warlgan \
sand.goanna.ABS REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ hit-FUT sand.goanna.ABS
MS: “A sand goanna, we will kill a sand goanna.”

27. *a:*,
Ah…

28. *a:::,*
Er…,

29. maya=lu ngu=li barli nyang-gu luma \
more-ONLY REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ find PERCEIVE-FUT blue.tongue.sp.ABS
MS: “You and me will find even more, a blue tongue lizard.”

30. luma:: yala-nginyi, … *a:* nyawa yangi
blue.tongue.sp.ABS DIST2-EL ah PROX1 one.ABS

jiwili
blue.tongue.sp.ABS
[We will get] *luma* (a blue tongue lizard)… then…ah, this one *jiwili* (a different blue tongue lizard)."

31. jiwili \...(0.8) nga=liyarra bung-gu \
blue.tongue.sp.ABS REAL=1UA.SBJ hit-FUT
MS: We will kill it.
CS%: We will kill *jiwili*.
NOTE: It is unknown why DJ switched the first person inclusive clitic to the first person exclusive is used. It could be an error and the inclusive form would be expected.

32. ngurra-ngga *na* gambarn-a-gu=li \...(1.9) ngandawi-la \
camp-LOC NOW burn-CONT-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ shade-LOC
MS: "Let's cook them in the camp, in a shade!"

33. ngandawi-la *na* \ gambarn-u=la:: jiwirri-g \
shade-LOC NOW burn-NF=FOC cooked-TRNSL
MS: "In the shade, [we will] cook them [and make them] cooked."

34. nyawa nyununguny ngu yangi \ …(0.8) luma \
PROX1 2MIN.OBL2 REAL one.ABS blue.tongue.sp.ABS
MS: "Here, one is yours, *luma*."

35. nganinga nyawa ngu=yi jiwili \
1MIN.OBL1 PROX1 REAL=1MIN.OBJ blue.tongue.sp.ABS
MS: "This is *jiwili* for me."

36. guya \...(1.0) ngandawi-la ngarn-u \
thus shade-LOC ingest-NF
MS: "Like this, [we will] eat [lizards] then."

37. wuna *na* yan-ang-gu=li /… ngurra-nggawu \
quickly NOW go-CONT-FUT=1MIN.INC.SBJ camp-ALL
MS "Come on, let's go to the camp."

38. ngurra-nggawu *na* yan-u::: ngurra-nggawu \... (0.8)
camp-ALL NOW go-NF camp-ALL

<X *homing* X>
homing
TM: "To the camp, keep going to the camp, homing."

39. nga=li=yanu yu-nya, yung-ang-gu yigi *na* \
REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ=3AUG.OBJ give-PAST give-CONT-FUT tea.leaf.ABS NOW
CS#: "We gave (ERROR), will give them tea then."
Note: yu-nya was presumably an error and was replaced with yung-an-gu.

40. ngarn-u=la:: marndaj \
ingest-NF=FOC OK
MS: "Keep eating them, finish."

41. ngarlu:: *goanna*, …(1.1) warlgan *yuno* /...(1.1)
honey.ABS goanna.ABS sand.goanna.ABS you.know

warlgan \
sand.goanna.ABS
TM: "A sugarbag and goanna, *warlgan* you know… *warlgan*.

42. *e:::*
er
Er…

<NOISE>

43. ngurra-ngga <X nga=li yan-u X > *sidan* magin *na* \
camp-LOC REAL=1MIN.INC.SBJ go-NF sit.down sleep NOW
MS: "We [go back and] sleep at the camp then."

44. magin:::: baru \
sleep stand
TM: "[We will] sleep and get up."

45. gambarn-u *dii* *na* \
burn-NF tea.ABS NOW
TM: "[And we will] boil tea then."

46. gambarn-u=la:: guya \
burn-NF=FOC thus
TM: "Keep biling [tea] like this."

47. yung-gu *na* jiwirri \
give-FUT NOW cooked.ABS
MS: "[I?] will give [you?] boiled (tea) then."
NOTE: Since there are no subject and indirect object markings, the sentence is ambiguous."

48. *billycan*-du:: guya \
billycan-ERG thus
CS#: "[pouring tea] using billycans like this."

49. gardag-gula:: guya \... (0.5) *finij* \
cup-LOC thus finish
CS#: “[pouring tea] using billycans like this… finish.”

50. ngarn-u *na* \
ingest-NF NOW
TM: “Drink it then.”

51. ngarn-u *na*:: guya \
ingest-NF NOW thus
TM: “[We will keep] drink it like this.”
CS#: [We] drink it [and] drink [it] like this.

52. wuna \ jungguj *alibala* \
quickly depart early
MS: “Come on, [we will] depart in early morning.”

53. wuna *na* /… gabud-gari=ma
quickly NOW morning-OTHER.ABS=TOP
MS: “Come on, [we will] go tomorrow morning.”

54. *e::::* ngandawi-lawu \... ngurra-nggawu \
er shade-ALL camp-ALL
MS: Er... “[we will go to] [another] shade, to [another] camp.”

55. yala-nggawu *nao* /.. gida *na* *finij* \
DIST2-ALL NOW open.place NOW finish
MS: “[We will go] there to the open place.”

56. magin *nao* /…(1.3) guya \
sleep NOW thus
MS: “[And we will] sleep then, like this.”

57. marndaj,.. nyawa=lu=wali jaru=ma /
OK PROX1=ONLY=alright language.ABS=TOP
MS: Alright, this is the story.
CS#: Alright, this is the proper story.

58. gula maya yangi garriny-ana, minyarn *na* /
NEG more one.ABS be-PRES nothing NOW
MS: There is no more story, nothing.

59. minyarn-gari \
nothing-OTHER
CS#: Nothing else.

60. nyawa=lu=wali lurrij *na* jaru \
PROX1=ONLY=alright finish NOW language.ABS
This is the end of the story.

61. Jabalyi /
♂subsection
Jabalyi?
NOTE: DJ is talking to TT.

Text 5: 'Childhood'

Speaker: Nyun.gatya Paddy†
Recorder: Tasaku Tsunoda
Recording date: 16 August 1976
Recording place: Nicholson Station, Western Australia
Transcriber: Tasaku Tsunoda
Transcription consultants: Nyun.gatya Paddy; Maggie Scott
Transcription date: 16-17 August 1976; 25-29 July 1998
Transcription modified: 29 July 2011, by Chikako Senge
The edited audio file: 76_12_1_NP(2)

1. NP: ngayu yambaji /...(1.5) ngayu yambaji /...(0.9) ngayu yambaji /
1MIN child.ABS 1MIN child.ABS 1MIN child.ABS
TT: I [was] a baby.
CS%: I [was] a baby, I [was] a baby, I [was] a baby.

2. *ai bin born alonga-,*
1SG PAST born LOC
TT: I was born at…

3. yambaji ngayu /...(1.4) *Maka*-ngga \... ngayu yambaji \
chila.ABS 1MIN PLACE.NAME-LOC 1MIN child.ABS
TT: I [was] a baby… at Muca [Outstation], I [was] a baby.
NOTE: Muca is now Revaren Station.

4. garri-nya ngu=rna:::::::: \
stay-PAST REAL=1MIN.SBJ
MS: I was stopping there.
TT: I was living [there for a long time].

5. ngarrga-g /...(1.4) *you know* /...(2.0) ngarrga-g \
big-TRNSL you know big-TRNSL
TT: [I became] big, i.e., I grew up.
CS%: [I] grew up, you know, [I] grew up.

6. *i bin,.. tekem me now /*
3SG PAST take 1SG NOW
CS: He took me then.

7. ngabu-yu-lu ngu=yi gang-an-i *buwuj*-ja *na* /...(0.8)
F-KIN-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ carry-CONT-PAST bush-LOC NOW

gaja-ngga *nao* /...(3.1) gaja-ngga *nao* /
bush-LOC NOW bush-LOC NOW
TT: Now, [my] father was taking me in the bush.
MS: His (meaning NP's) father *bin tekem* bush, *tekem* out to the bush, out in the desert country.
CS%: [My] father was taking me in the bush… in the bush … in the bush.

8. *no more* *dagaut* *yet /..* yambaji-lu /
no more eatin yet small-ERG
TT: [Being] a baby, [I had not start eating] yet.

9. wagu ngarn-u *yet* /
NEG eat-NF yet
TT#: [I had] not [started] eating yet.

10. ngaburlu ngama-yi \
breast.ABS M-KIN.ABS
MS: drinking mummy's milk.
TT: [I was drinking my] mother's milk.

11. *milk you know /*
CS: Milk, you know?

12. TT: *no English* \

13. NP: *un* \ *milk* \

14. ngaburlu \...(0.7) ngaburlu \...(1.6) yambaji-lu ngayu \...(1.6)
breast.ABS breast.ABS child-ERG 1MIN

ngayu yambaji-lu /… ngarrga-g \
1MIN child-ERG big-TRNSL
CS#: [Being] a child, I [drank] milk and grew up.
NOTE: In Tsunoda's original version, the last word was treated as a separate independent sentence.

15. *sit down now /..*
TT: [I] was now old enough to sit, rather than crawl.

16. yamaji *you know* / yamaji \... garriny-u \
small.ABS you know small.ABS stay-NF
TT: I [was] a child.
CS: A child, you know, [I,] a child was living [there].

17. garriny-u=la::::: \
stay-NF=FOC
MS: I was stopping there with my mother.
CS%: [I kept] staying [there].
TT: [I was] sitting or living [there].

18. *bilibat* *kipo::m* \
play.CONT keep.TR
TT: [And I] was playing.

19. ngama-yi-lu jaja-nggu nyamba-lu \...(0.8) jaja-nggu \...(1.4)
M-KIN-ERG MM-ERG what-ERG MM-ERG

sometime ngama-yi-lu \...(1.0) garran-u::::: \.. *growim up* /...(1.7)
sometime M-KIN-ER keep-NF grow up

growim up \
grow up
TT: [My] mother, and sometimes [my] mother's mother looked after [me].
CS%: [My] mother, mother's mother and everyone, [my] mother's mother, sometimes [my] mother grew [me] up, [they] grew [me] up, looked after [me].

20. *dagaut* *nao* / ngarin ngarn-u \
eating NOW meat.ABS ingest-NF
TT: [I was] now eating meat.
MS: *i* (meaning NP) start eating meat now.

21. *learnim* ngarin ngarn-u \
learn meat.ABS ingest-NF
MS: [They] teach me to eat beef now.
TT: [They] taught [me] the eating of meat.
TT: ALT: [They] taught [me how] to eat meat.

22. ngarn-u=la::::::::, ngarin=ma::::,
ingest-NF=FOC meat.ABS=TOP
TT: [I] ate meat.
CS%: [I] kept eating meat.

23. *full up* \
TT: [Then, I was] satiated.

24. magin \...(0.8) yamaji=ma \
sleep small.ABS=TOP
TT#: [I], a child slept.

25. yamaji=ma \... magin\
small.ABS.=TOP sleep
TT: [I], a child slept.

26. garriny-u::::::: \
stay-NF
TT: [I] sat [for a long time].
CS%: [I was] sleeping [for a long time].

27. baru \
stand
TT: [I] got up.

28. lung-ana \...(0.7) lung-ana \...(0.9) yambaji=ma \...(1.1) lung-ana \
cry-PRES cry-PRES small.ABS=TOP cry-PRES
TT: [I], a child, am crying.
CS%: [I'm] crying, crying, [I], a small child, am crying.

29. ngu=rna lung-an-i \...(0.7) yambaji \
REAL=1MIN.SBJ cry-CONT-PAST child.ABS
MS: Little kid me, *ai bin* crying.
TT: [I], a child, was crying.

30. yambaji ngayu \... jingga \...(1.3)
child.ABS 1MIN baby.ABS
TT: I [was] a child.
CS: I [was] a child, a baby.

31. jingga ngayu lung-u \
baby.ABS 1MIN cry-NF
TT: I, a child was crying.
CS%: I, a baby was crying.

32. ngama-yi..-lu ngu=yi man-an-i /... ngamulu /
M-KIN-ERG REAL=1MIN.OBJ GET-CONT-PAST in.arms
MS: Mother grabbed me and held me.
CS%: [My] mother grabbed me and held me on her chest.
TT: Mother held me [in her arms].

33. ngama-yi-lu ngamulu ngu=yi man-an-i /
M-KIN-ERG in.arms REAL=1MIN.OBJ GET-CONT-PAST
TT: Mother held me [in her arms].
CS%: [My] mother held me on her chest.

34. *kiipim /...*
TT: [She] minded [me].

35. ngu=yi garran-an-i ngama-yi-lu /
REAL=1MIN.OBJ keep-CONT-PAST M-KIN-ERG
MS: My mother was keeping me.
TT%: [My] mother minded me.

36. ngaburlu /... magin-nginyi-lu /... ngu=rna ngarn-an-i
breast.ABS sleep-EL-ERG REAL=1MIN.SBJ ingest-CONT-PAST

ngaburlu /... ngayu /... ngama-yi nganinga /
breast.ABS 1MIN M-KIN.ABS 1MIN.OBL1
CS: Milk, after sleeping, I drank my mother's milk.
TT: I, after sleeping, drank my mother's milk.

37. ngarn-u=la::::::: \
ingest-NF=FOC
MS: Milk I was still drinking mother's milk.
TT: [I] drank [milk].

38. magin *again* \...(0.8) magin *again* \
sleep again sleep again
TT: [I] slept again, slept again.

39. yamaji=ma \... yamaji=ma \...(0.8) magin *again* /..
small.ABS=TOP small.ABS=TOP sleep again
TT: [I], a child slept again.

40. *full up*=ma \...(1.2) *full up*=ma \
full up=TOP full up=TOP
TT: [I was] satiated.
CS%: [I was] satiated, [I was] satiated.

41. yambi=ma munda=ma \...(1.1) yamaji=ma \...(2.1)
big.ABS=TOP belly.ABS=TOP small.ABS=TOP

baby *one*=ma \
baby one.ABS=TOP
TT: [After drinking milk, I,] a child had a big belly.
TT: ALT: [My], a child's belly was big.
NOTE: yambi is not Wanyjirra. ngarrga would be expected here.

42. *that one* ngayu ngu=rna=nyunu biga bung-ana \
that one 1MIN REAL=1MIN.SBJ=RR inform HIT-PRES
NP: I tell you my story wea *ai bin* boy.
MS: I'm telling you story about myself when I was a baby.
TT: I am telling this [story] about myself.

43. ngu=rna ngarn-an-i:::: \
REAL=1MIN.SBJ ingest-CONT-PAST
TT: I was drinking it.

44. gang-an-i ngu=yi.. wilinyi \
CARRY-CONT-PAST REAL=1MIN.OBJ hunt
TT#: [My mother] took me on walkabout.

45. wilinyi ngu=yi gang-an-i ngama-yi-lu \...(1.4)
hunt REAL=1MIN.OBJ CARRY-CONT-PAST M-KIN-ERG
TT: [My] mother took me on walkabout.

46. ngarlu-ngga /...(0.8) ngarlu-ngga /...(0.7) nyamba-la
honey-LOC honey-LOC whatisname-LOC

yala-ngga /...(1.1) ngarlu \...(1.6) *aan* /...(1.7) jarrambayi-la \...(1.2)
DIST2-LOC honey.ABS and goanna-LOC

jarrambayi-la \...(0.7) *same* /
goanna-LOC same
MS: *i* take me hunting *jarrambayi* (i.e., goanna), sugar bag, any other thing.
CS#: ALT: [She took me] where bush honey… bush honey, whatitsname, that one, bush honey… and goannas… goannas.
NOTE: In MS' translation, the ignorative nyamba is used as an indefinite pronoun 'anything, everything'. Alternatively, it can be interpreted as 'whatisname' as a filling word. Given that many pauses are inserted between words, the speaker was trying to remember what to say here. However, it is unclear what the last word 'same' means here.

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