USE OF THESES

This copy is supplied for purposes of private study and research only. Passages from the thesis may not be copied or closely paraphrased without the written consent of the author.
A Description of Nyigina,
A Language of the West Kimberley, Western Australia

Bronwyn Stokes

Submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy of the
Australian National University

March 1982
Unless otherwise acknowledged, this thesis is the original work of the author.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables xi
List of Illustrations xvi
Acknowledgements xix
Abstract xx
List of Abbreviated Terms xx
Conventions and Layout xxi
List of Phonological Rules xxii

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO NYIGINA

1.1 INTRODUCTION 1
1.2 NAMES AND PLACES 1
1.3 GEOGRAPHY 2
1.4 SURROUNDING LANGUAGES 2
1.5 RECENT RESETTLEMENT 4
1.6 THE LAND 5
1.7 CURRENT STATUS OF THE LANGUAGE 5
1.8 OVERVIEW OF THE NYIGINA LANGUAGE 7
1.9 THE ALTERNATIVE-PREFIXING LANGUAGES 7
1.10 PREVIOUS STUDY OF NYIGINA 11
1.11 SCOPE OF THIS DESCRIPTION 11
1.12 ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC GLIMPSE 11

CHAPTER 2: PHONOLOGY

2.1 NYIGINA PHONEMES 13

2.1.1 Phoneme Inventory 13
2.1.2 The Stop Series
   2.1.2.1 Allophones of the Stop series
   2.1.2.2 Stop Contrasts

2.1.3 The Nasal Series
   2.1.3.1 Nasal Contrasts

2.1.4 The Lateral Series

2.1.5 The Rhotics

2.1.6 The Semi-vowel /w/

2.1.7 The Semi-vowel /y/

2.1.8 The dy/y Alternation

2.1.9 The g/w Alternation

PHONOTACTICS

2.2.1 Word-Initial Position

2.2.2 Medial Position
   2.2.2.1 Homorganic Nasal-Stop -CC- Clusters
   2.2.2.2 Non-homorganic Nasal-Stop -CC- Clusters
   2.2.2.3 Nasal Clusters
   2.2.2.4 Other -CC- Clusters

2.2.3 Word-Final Position

2.2.4 Monosyllabic Items

2.2.4.1 Varied Final Vowel

2.2.5 Summary of Medial Clusters

2.2.6 Summary of Word-Initial Clusters

2.2.7 Summary of Word-Final Clusters
2.3 STRESS WITHIN A WORD

2.3.1 Stress in Unaffixed Words

2.3.1.1 Primary Stress in Unaffixed Words

2.3.1.2 Secondary Stress in Unaffixed Words

2.3.2 Stress in Words which Include Affixes

2.4 PHONOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SUFFIXES IN NYIGINA

CHAPTER 3: INTRODUCTION TO SYNTAX

3.1 PURPOSE OF THIS CHAPTER

3.2 NOMINALS

3.3 INFLECTED VERBS

3.4 WORD ORDER

CHAPTER 4: NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

4.2 POSSESSIVE NOMINAL AFFIXES

4.2.1 Possessive Prefixing in Kimberley Languages

4.2.2 Incorporated Possessive Prefixing in Nyigina

4.2.3 Possessive Suffixing in Nyigina

4.2.3.1 Incorporated Possessive Suffixing

4.2.3.2 Productive Possessive Suffixing

4.2.4 Incorporated Possessive Affixing and Body Parts

4.3 GENERAL NOMINAL SUFFIXES

4.3.1 Use of Nominal Suffixing

4.3.2 Multi-Functional Nominal Suffixes

4.3.3 Serial Suffixing

4.3.4 Distribution of NP Suffixing in Multiple Constituent NP
4.3.5 Unsuffixed Noun Phrases

4.3.5.1 Types of Noun Phrases without Nominal Suffixing

4.4 THE ACTIVE SUFFIX (-ni)

4.4.1 The Morphology of the Suffixes -ni

4.5 THE DATIVE AND RELEVANT SUFFIXES

4.5.1 The Dative Suffix (-dyi)

4.5.1.1 Morphology

4.5.1.2 Uses of the Dative Suffix

4.5.2 The Extended (DAT_e) Dative Suffix (-dyiya)

4.5.3 The ANIMATE SOURCE Suffix (-dyina)

4.5.4 Aspects of Indirect Object/Goal

4.6 THE INSTRUMENTAL SUFFIX (-jany)

4.6.1 The Verbal Suffix (-jany)

4.7 THE ALLATIVE SUFFIX (-jana)

4.8 THE LOCATIVE AND RELEVANT SUFFIXING

4.8.1 The LOCative Suffix (-gan)

4.8.2 The LOCative + SURFACE (-jandl) Suffixing

4.8.3 The ALLATIVE + LOCATIVE Suffixing (-jan-an)

4.8.4 The Suffixes (-gan + -dyi) and CAUSAL (-gandyi)

4.9 THE ABLATIVE SUFFIX (-gabu)

4.9.1 Uses of the Ablative Suffix

4.10 THE INANIMATE SOURCE SUFFIX (-dyunu)

4.11 RELATIONSHIPS OF "ASSOCIATION"

4.11.1 The COMITATIVE Suffix (-barri)

4.11.2 The "Having" Suffix (-gudany)

4.11.3 The "INCLUDING" Suffix (-gananya)
4.12 THE DIRECTIONAL SUFFIX (−marru) 109
4.13 THE END-POINT SUFFIX (−dyibur(u)) 110
4.14 "FINAL" NOMINAL SUFFIXES 111
  4.14.1 The EMPHatic Suffix (−ga) 112
  4.14.2 The RELATed Suffix (−dyamu) 114
    4.14.2.1 Derivational Usage 'any/ever' 114
    4.14.2.2 Nominal Marker of Subordinate Clause 116
    4.14.2.3 Conjunctive Usage 118
  4.14.3 The "LIKE" Suffix (−gaya) 119
    4.14.3.1 Derivational Nominal Suffixing 120
    4.14.3.2 Pause Filling 121
  4.14.4 Suffixing in Exclamation and Discourse 122
    4.14.4.1 The VOCative Suffix (−ay!) 122
    4.14.4.2 The EXCLamatory Suffix (−aw!) 123

CHAPTER 5: THE NOMINAL SUFFIXES −ni

5.1 INTRODUCTION 125
5.2 THE ACTIVE SUFFIX −ni 125
  5.2.1 Active Suffixing and Verbal Prefixing 126
  5.2.2 "Ergative" Use of Active Suffixing 126
  5.2.3 The Participant 1 127
  5.2.4 Verbs in Typical "Ergative" Clauses 129
  5.2.5 The Non-subject Participant 129
  5.2.6 Active Suffixing and Atypical Examples 132
5.3 ACTIVE SUFFIXING OF NOUN PHRASES OTHER THAN THE NP pref 135
5.4 THE NARRATIVE SUFFIX −ni 145
5.5 THE REFERENTIAL SUFFIX −ni 148
5.6 ROLES OF −ni SUFFIXING 150
CHAPTER 6: PRONOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

6.1 INTRODUCTION 151
6.2 FREE FORM PRONOUNS 151
   6.2.1 Unmarked Free Form Pronouns 154
   6.2.2 Morphological Patterning 154
6.3 MORPHOLOGY OF UNMARKED FREE FORM PRONOUNS 156
   6.3.1 Third Person Singular Unmarked Free Form Pronoun 157
   6.3.2 Unit-Augmented Free Form Pronouns 158
   6.3.3 Unmarked Free Form Pronouns for Non-minimal Person Groupings 159
6.4 NOMINAL SUFFIXING AND UNMARKED FREE FORM PRONOUNS 160
6.5 DATIVE FREE FORM PRONOUNS 161
   6.5.1 Forms of Dative Free Form Pronouns 161
   6.5.2 Morphology of Dative Free Form Pronouns 162
   6.5.3 Function of Dative Free Form Pronouns 163
   6.5.4 Animate Source Suffixing to Free Form Pronouns 163
6.6 PRONOMINAL VERBAL SUFFIXING 164
   6.6.1 Direct Object Pronominal Verbal Suffixes (OPros) 165
   6.6.2 Dative Pronominal Verbal Suffixes (DatPros) 166
   6.6.3 Phonological Realization Rules 166
   6.6.4 First Person Singular as Direct Object 170
   6.6.5 Second Person Singular as Direct Object 170
   6.6.6 Status of -jayu and -dyuwa as OPros 172
   6.6.7 Occurrence of Dative Pronominal Verbal Suffixing 175
   6.6.8 Functions of Dative Pronominal Verbal Suffixing 177
   6.6.9 Multiple Non-Subject Pronouns 178
### CHAPTER 7: VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1.1</td>
<td>Types of Surface Verbs</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>USE OF INFLECTING VERBS</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.1</td>
<td>Morphology of Inflecting Verbs</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.1.1</td>
<td>Verbal Roots</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.1.2</td>
<td>Verbal Prefixing</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.1.3</td>
<td>Verbal Suffixing</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>VERBAL PRESTEMS AND VERBAL-NOMINALS</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.1</td>
<td>Verbal-Nominals</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.1.1</td>
<td>Phonology of Verbal-Nominals</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.1.2</td>
<td>Reduplication of Verbal-Nominals</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2</td>
<td>The Verbal Prestem</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.3</td>
<td>Verbal-Nominals with Nominal Suffixing</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHAPTER 8: VERBAL ROOTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>PHONOLOGY OF VERBAL ROOTS</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>MONOSYLLABIC VERBAL ROOTS</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.1</td>
<td>The Verbal Root -BA- 'see'</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.2</td>
<td>The Verbal Root -MI- 'give'</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.3</td>
<td>The Verbal Root -NI- 'sit'</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.4</td>
<td>The Verbal Root -RA₁ 'spear'</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.5</td>
<td>The Verbal Root -JARÅ- 'be, feel, become'</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.6</td>
<td>The Verbal Root -A- 'carry'</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.7</td>
<td>The Verbal Root -I- 'do, say'</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.8</td>
<td>Remaining Monosyllabic Verbal Roots</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.4 POLYSYLLABIC VERBAL ROOTS
8.4.1 Verbal Roots with Initial ı-
8.4.2 Verbal Roots with Initial n-
8.4.3 Verbal Roots with Initial w-
8.4.4 Verbal Roots with Other Initial Consonants
8.4.5 Verbal Roots with Initial Vowel

8.5 REDUPLICATION INVOLVING VERBAL ROOTS
8.5.1 Complete Reduplication
8.5.2 Partial Reduplication

CHAPTER 9: VERBAL PREFIXING
9.1 INTRODUCTION
9.2 PREFIXING REQUIREMENTS
9.2.1 Order Classes of Prefixes
9.2.2 Phonological Realization Rules

9.3 ORDER CLASS 1: PRO
9.3.1 Variable (Reduced) Representation of PRO
9.3.2 Morphology of PRO
9.3.3 PRO Morphology and Future Tense
9.3.4 PRO Morphology and Realis/Irrealis Mode
9.3.5 Prefixing "Sets"
9.3.5.1 Prefixing Patterns in the Language Subgroup
9.3.5.2 Nyigina Prefixing and the Nature of the Activity
9.3.5.3 Distribution of the Two Prefixing Sets
9.3.5.4 Alternative-Prefixing Verbal Roots
9.3.5.5 Prefix Selection with Alternative-Prefixing Roots 257
9.3.5.6 Semantics of Single Set Prefixing Verbal Roots 265
9.3.6 Non-personal Forms: The GENeral Prefix 268
9.3.6.1 Morphology of the GEN Prefix 269
9.3.6.2 Use of the Non-personal Forms 271
9.3.6.3 Non-personal Forms of Alternative-Prefixing Verbal Roots 272

9.4 ORDER CLASS 2: FUTURE 273
9.4.1 Prefixing and the Future Tense 273
9.4.2 Phonological Rules Affecting the Future Marker 274
9.4.3 Use of the Future Forms 275

9.5 ORDER CLASS 3: IRREALIS 276
9.5.1 Prefixing in Irrealis Mode 276
9.5.2 Morphology of Irrealis Prefixing 278
9.5.3 Use of Irrealis Mode 280

9.6 ORDER CLASSES 4 AND 5: NON-MINIMAL AND SET MARKERS 283
9.6.1 Order Class 4: Non-minimal Marker (-rr-) 283
9.6.2 Order Class 5: SET Marker (-a-) 286

9.7 ORDER CLASS 6: INT (p)(-ma-) 287
9.7.1 Co-occurrence with the Suffix INTs 287
9.7.2 INTrospective Affixing (-INTp-verbal root-INTs) 287
9.7.3 Co-occurrence of GEN and INTp 291

CHAPTER 10: VERBAL SUFFIXING
10.1 INTRODUCTION 293
10.2 ORDER CLASSES OF SUFFIXES 293
10.3 ORDER CLASS 1: INTs (-nydyi) 295
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>ORDER CLASS 2: TENSE</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4.1</td>
<td>Tense Specification</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4.2</td>
<td>Present or Non-Past (-n)</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4.3</td>
<td>General Past Tense (-na)</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4.4</td>
<td>The Recent Past or Past₂ (-ny)</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>ORDER CLASS 3: HABIT</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5.1</td>
<td>Use of HABIT Suffixing</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5.2</td>
<td>Present HABIT</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5.3</td>
<td>Past HABIT</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5.4</td>
<td>Future HABIT</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>ORDER CLASS 4: TOGETHER SUFFIX (-jany)</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6.2</td>
<td>Semantics of TOG Suffix</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6.2.1</td>
<td>&quot;Comitative&quot; Use of the TOG Suffix (-WITH)</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6.2.2</td>
<td>&quot;Concurrent&quot; Use of the TOG Suffix (-ABOUT)</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6.3</td>
<td>Ambiguity of Surface Forms</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6.4</td>
<td>Variable Ordering of Suffixes</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6.5</td>
<td>The Nominal and Verbal Suffixes -jany</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6.6</td>
<td>The Verbal Suffix -jany in Big Nyigina</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>ORDER CLASS 5: THE RELATIVE SUFFIX</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.7.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.7.2</td>
<td>Morphology of the REL Suffix</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.7.3</td>
<td>Use of the REL Suffix</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.7.3.1</td>
<td>REL in Subordinate Clauses</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.7.3.2</td>
<td>Use of REL in Other Clauses</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>ORDER CLASS 6: PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (PRO&lt;sub&gt;s&lt;/sub&gt;)</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.8.1</td>
<td>Pronominal Suffixing and AUG&lt;sub&gt;s&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>ORDER CLASS 7: EXP (-dyi)</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.9.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.9.2</td>
<td>Use of the EXP Suffix</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.9.3</td>
<td>Verbal EXP Suffix and Nominal Dative Suffix (-dyi)</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.10</td>
<td>ORDER CLASS 8: AUG&lt;sub&gt;s&lt;/sub&gt; (-mirri)</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.11</td>
<td>THE HERE SUFFIX (-ny&lt;sub&gt;here&lt;/sub&gt;)</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHAPTER 11: VERBAL NOMINALIZATIONS</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>VERBAL-NOMINALS</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2.1</td>
<td>Prestems in Double-Unit Verbs</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2.2</td>
<td>Verbal-Nominals and Generalizations</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2.3</td>
<td>Verbal-Nominals Referring to Unmarked Noun Phrases</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2.4</td>
<td>The &quot;Adverbial&quot; Verbal-Nominal yab 'away'</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>NON-PERSONAL FORMS OF VERBAL ROOTS</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3.1</td>
<td>Non-personal Forms with Nominal Suffixing</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3.1.1</td>
<td>&quot;LIKE&quot; Suffixing</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>NOMINAL SUFFIXING WITH VERBAL NOMINALIZATIONS</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4.1</td>
<td>REFERENTIAL SUFFIXING (-ni)</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4.1.1</td>
<td>Semantic Restrictions on Referential Suffixing</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4.1.2</td>
<td>Semantics of the Verbal Nominalization</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4.1.3</td>
<td>Semantics of the Inflecting Verb</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.4.2 Dative Suffixing
   11.4.2.1 Purpose
   11.4.2.2 Parenthesis
11.4.3 Instrumental Suffixing
11.4.4 Allative Suffixing
11.4.5 Locative Suffixing
   11.4.5.1 Stative Intransitive Inflecting Verb
   11.4.5.2 "Other" Reference
11.4.6 Ablative Suffixing
11.4.7 Comitative Suffixing
11.4.8 Inanimate Source Suffixing

11.5 VERBAL NOMINALIZATIONS AND NOMINALIZED CLAUSE (NC) SUFFIXING
   11.5.1 Serial Suffixing
   11.5.2 Direct Object of Verbal Nominalizations
   11.5.3 Distribution of Nominalized Clause Suffixing

11.6 FINAL NOTE

CHAPTER 12: SOME NOTES ON NYIGINA SYNTAX

12.1 GRAMMATICAL WORD IN NYIGINA
   12.1.1 Conjunctions Which Are Words
   12.1.2 Words Involving Incorporation
   12.1.3 Conjunctive Particles
   12.1.4 The Clitics mirri\_1 and mada\_1

12.2 CONJOINING CLAUSES
   12.2.1 The Word malu
   12.2.2 Sequence
12.3 SIMILARITY AND THE COMPARISON OF EQUALITY
   12.3.1 jarru as Derivational Nominal Suffix
   12.3.2 jarru Relating to a Noun Phrase
   12.3.3 jarru Relating to a Clause

12.4 INALIENABLE POSSESSION
   12.4.1 Kin Terms

12.5 TRANSITIVITY IN NYIGINA
   12.5.1 Active Suffixing of the NP
   12.5.2 The Use of Set I Prefixing
   12.5.3 Presence of an OPro
   12.5.4 Presence of the Verbal Suffix -jany
   12.5.5 Transitivity with Double-unit Verbs

12.6 VERBLESS CLAUSES
   12.6.1 Clauses with nila

12.7 QUESTIONS: THE MARKER gurru

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Nyigina Text
Appendix B (i): Person-Variable Possessive Nominal Prefixing
Appendix B (ii): Prefixed Forms in other Alternative-Prefixing Languages

REFERENCES
## LIST OF TABLES

<p>| T/1 | Details of Dialects or Languages 1978-79 | 9 |
| T/2 | Non-standard Words used in Conversation with dyigal | 12 |
| T/3 | Phoneme Inventory | 14 |
| T/4 | Permitted Medial Clusters | 29 |
| T/5 | Unattested Clusters Predicted by T/4 | 30 |
| T/6 | Attested Clusters Not Conforming to T/4 | 30 |
| T/7 | Possessive Nominal Prefixing in Ba:di | 45 |
| T/8 | Nyigina Nouns with Possible Incorporated Prefix | 48 |
| T/9 | Possible Incorporated Possessive Suffix (-dyina) | 49 |
| T/10 | Big Nyigina Suffixed Forms of buru 'country' | 50 |
| T/11 | Further Derivational Nominal Suffixes | 57 |
| T/12 | &quot;Final&quot; Nominal Suffixes | 112 |
| T/13 | Recurring Pronominal Units (1sg, 2sg and 3sg) | 152 |
| T/14 | Recurring Pronominal Units (Non-singular) | 153 |
| T/15 | Unmarked Free Form Pronouns | 154 |
| T/16 | Subject Pronominal Verbal Affixing for Set I Non-future Realis | 155 |
| T/17 | Dative Free Form Pronouns | 162 |
| T/18 | OPros in Small Nyigina and Big Nyigina | 165 |
| T/19 | Dative Pronominal Verbal Suffixes (DatPros) | 166 |
| T/20 | Verbal Roots in Double-unit Verbs | 182 |
| T/21 | Initial Verbal Prefixes | 187 |
| T/22 | Verbal-Nominal Morphology | 190 |
| T/23 | Frequency of Phonemes Initially in Verbal Roots | 197 |
| T/24 | Monosyllabic Verbal Roots | 201 |
| T/25 | Representative Forms in Small Nyigina of -BA- 'see' |
| T/26 | Representative Forms of -MI- 'give' |
| T/27 | Obligatory Suppletive Forms of 'sit' |
| T/28 | Representative Forms of -NI- 'sit' |
| T/29 | Underlying Forms of -RA₁ 'spear' |
| T/30 | Surface Forms of -RA₁ 'spear' |
| T/31 | Suppletive Forms of -NARA- 'be, feel, become' |
| T/32 | Representative Forms of -NARA- 'be, feel, become' |
| T/33 | Suppletive Forms from the Root -GA- |
| T/34 | Representative Forms of -A- 'carry' |
| T/35 | Series₁ Suppletive Forms of 'do, say' |
| T/36 | Representative Forms of -I- 'do, say' |
| T/37 | Series₂ Suppletive Forms of 'do, say' |
| T/38 | Series₂ Proposed Underlying Forms |
| T/39 | Proposed Analysis of Series₂ Surface Forms |
| T/40 | Polysyllabic Verbal Roots |
| T/41 | Underlying Forms of the Alternative-Prefixing Root -LUGA- 'cry' |
| T/42 | Surface Forms of the Alternative-Prefixing Root -LUGA- 'cry' |
| T/43 | Underlying Forms of -NIGA- 'follow' |
| T/44 | Surface Forms of -NIGA- 'follow' |
| T/45 | Representative Forms of -WUNBA- 'deceive' |
| T/46 | Representative Forms of -IBI- 'drink' |
| T/47 | Paradigm A -GAMA- 'laugh' |
| T/48 | Paradigm B -GAMA- 'laugh' |
| T/49 | Paradigm C -ma-GAMA-nydyi- 'laugh at oneself' |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T/50</th>
<th>Minimal Person Grouping Prefixes</th>
<th>239</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T/51</td>
<td>Non-minimal Person Grouping Prefixes</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T/52</td>
<td>Some Surface Forms of Verb -g+AM- 'laugh' in Ba:di</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T/53</td>
<td>PRO Morphology</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T/54</td>
<td>Alternative-Prefixing Verbal Roots</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T/55</td>
<td>Selection of Prefixing Set for Alternative-Prefixing Verbal Roots</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T/56</td>
<td>Set I Affixing for Mode (Italics) and Tense (Capitals)</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T/57</td>
<td>Surface Forms of the REL Suffix</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Map of West Kimberley region, showing approximate area of Nyigina country (map of Australia included for reference) 3

Figure 2. Approximate location of the alternative-prefixing languages 10

Plate 1. The Fitzroy River at Willare Bridge (dry season) 6

Plate 2. The Fitzroy River at Willare Bridge (wet season) 6
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to record my thanks to all the Nyigina people who taught me language, to all the people who helped me present that knowledge in this work and to those who supported me while I was learning and writing. Especially, I would like to thank Mrs. Gladys Johnson (Looma) and Professor Bob Dixon (Canberra), without whom no account would have been possible.
ABSTRACT

Nyigina is a highly agglutinative "prefixing" Australian language without noun classification. Verbal affixing is complex. Verbal prefixing includes specification of the person and number of the subject but does not include any direct specification of the direct object, which may be represented by pronominal suffixing. Two complete sets of verbal prefixes, which have a semantic basis, are found in Nyigina and throughout the language subgroup. Nominal suffixing is also extensive and a series of nominal suffixes may occur on a single nominal.

This thesis introduces the phonology briefly and deals at length with the language's morphology. The complex morphology provides the means of expressing considerable semantic subtlety and also many syntactic relationships. This thesis does not provide a comprehensive description of many areas of syntax.

Many examples are included throughout and a short text is presented in Appendix A. Appendix B consists of word lists illustrating possessive nominal prefixing in various members of the language subgroup.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(I) and (II)</td>
<td>set I and set II verbal prefixing</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>p. 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7.2.1.2</td>
<td>p.185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9.3.5</td>
<td>p.248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>p. 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>&quot;active&quot; nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>p. 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>p.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>p.135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT&lt;sub&gt;E&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>emphatic &quot;active&quot; nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.4.1</td>
<td>p. 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALLAT</td>
<td>allative nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>p. 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANIM.SOURCE</td>
<td>animate source nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.5.3</td>
<td>p. 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A/P</td>
<td>alternative-prefixing</td>
<td>7.2.1.2</td>
<td>p.185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9.3.5.4</td>
<td>p.255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUG&lt;sub&gt;s&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>minimal augment verbal suffix (of any pronominal affix)</td>
<td>10.10</td>
<td>p.331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causal nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.8.3</td>
<td>p. 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMIT</td>
<td>comitative nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.11.1</td>
<td>p.104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.5.1</td>
<td>p. 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT&lt;sub&gt;e&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>&quot;extended dative&quot; nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.5.2</td>
<td>p. 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT/PRO</td>
<td>dative free form pronoun</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>p.161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DatPro</td>
<td>dative pronominal verbal suffix</td>
<td>6.6.2</td>
<td>p.166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>der(subscript)</td>
<td>derivational use of nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.3.1</td>
<td>p. 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRECT</td>
<td>&quot;directional&quot; nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>p.109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>&quot;emphatic&quot; nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.14.1</td>
<td>p.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>END</td>
<td>&quot;end-point&quot; nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>p.110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL!</td>
<td>&quot;exclamatory&quot; suffix</td>
<td>4.14.4.2</td>
<td>p.123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXP</td>
<td>&quot;expectation&quot; verbal suffix</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>p.327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fut</td>
<td>future tense verbal prefix</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>p.273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>general or non-personal verbal prefix</td>
<td>9.3.6</td>
<td>p.268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>p.341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABIT</td>
<td>&quot;habitual&quot; verbal suffix</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>p.301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HERE</td>
<td>&quot;to here&quot; verbal suffix</td>
<td>10.11</td>
<td>p.332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INAN SOURCE</td>
<td>inanimate source nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>p.101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>&quot;including&quot; nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.11.2</td>
<td>p.108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>instrumental nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>p. 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT&lt;sub&gt;p&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>introspective verbal prefix</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>p.287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT&lt;sub&gt;s&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>introspective verbal suffix</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>p.295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealsis mode verbal prefix</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>p.276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIKE</td>
<td>&quot;like&quot; nominal suffixing</td>
<td>4.14.3</td>
<td>p.119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page Numbers</td>
<td>Additional Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>like</td>
<td>&quot;like&quot; derivational nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.14.3.1</td>
<td>p.120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIKE_pause</td>
<td>&quot;like&quot; pause-filling suffix</td>
<td>4.14.3.2</td>
<td>p.121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.8.1</td>
<td>p.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NARR</td>
<td>&quot;narrative&quot; nominal suffix -ni</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>p.145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NARR_E</td>
<td>emphatic &quot;narrative&quot; nominal suffix -ni</td>
<td>4.14.1</td>
<td>p.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>nominalized clause</td>
<td>4.3.1</td>
<td>p.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>p.362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative marker</td>
<td>12.2.1</td>
<td>p.376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nmin</td>
<td>non-minimal person grouping verbal prefix</td>
<td>9.6.1</td>
<td>p.283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP_pref</td>
<td>noun phrase cross-referenced in verbal prefixing</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>p.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPro</td>
<td>direct object pronominal verbal suffix</td>
<td>6.6.1</td>
<td>p.165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgOPro_1→3</td>
<td>second person singular OPros</td>
<td>6.6.5</td>
<td>p.170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>general past tense verbal suffix</td>
<td>10.4.3</td>
<td>p.299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past_2</td>
<td>recent past tense verbal suffix</td>
<td>10.4.4</td>
<td>p.300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pres</td>
<td>present tense verbal suffix</td>
<td>10.4.2</td>
<td>p.298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>unmarked free form personal pronoun</td>
<td>6.2.1</td>
<td>p.154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO_p</td>
<td>personal pronominal verbal prefix</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>p.244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO_s</td>
<td>personal pronominal verbal suffix</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>p.325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PS</td>
<td>verbal prestem</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>p.188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUEST</td>
<td>question marker</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>p.400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF</td>
<td>&quot;referential&quot; nominal suffix -ni</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>p.148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11.4.1</td>
<td>p.345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>&quot;relative&quot; verbal suffix</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>p.319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELAT</td>
<td>&quot;related&quot; nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.14.2</td>
<td>p.114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SET</td>
<td>set I verbal prefixing marker</td>
<td>9.6.2</td>
<td>p.286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURF</td>
<td>&quot;surface&quot; nominal suffix</td>
<td>4.8.2</td>
<td>p.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOG</td>
<td>&quot;together&quot; verbal suffix</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>p.304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>verbal-nominal</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>p.188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>p.335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC!</td>
<td>vocative suffix</td>
<td>4.14.4.1</td>
<td>p.122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONVENTIONS AND LAYOUT OF EXAMPLES

The examples in Nyigina are all specified for dialect: SN for Small Nyigina and BN for Big Nyigina. In the examples, words are usually segmented into morphemes and glossed morpheme by morpheme, interlinearly. However, since morphology is complex, a few modifications have been made: in the early chapters where some terms have not been discussed, the interlinear gloss is not always maximally explicit and, at various points, not all words have been maximally segmented (where this is not relevant to the immediate discussion) to avoid examples extending over several lines.

Verbal roots are indicated by capitals in the Nyigina text and underlining in the interlinear gloss:

\text{yin-MARRA-na} \\
3\text{sg(I)-burn-past} \\
'he cooked'.

Grammatical person and number are indicated by the use of 1, 2, 3 and m, where m signifies more than one additional person in the grouping:

\text{yarrdyu} \\
1+2+m\text{PRO} \\
'we all (inclusive)'.

Morpheme boundaries are indicated by - and clitic boundaries by \ldots.

Where a word is \textit{incorporated}, the link is indicated by +.

A number of other abbreviations will be found:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{Ø} & zero \\
\text{*} & unattested or unacceptable \\
\text{dem} & demonstrative \\
\text{sg, nsg} & singular, non-singular \\
\text{REAL} & realis mode.
\end{tabular}
LIST OF PHONOLOGICAL RULES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule R/1 (set I prefixing):</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a ----&gt; \emptyset / ---- + r</td>
<td>8.3.4</td>
<td>p.208</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule R/1b (set I prefixing):</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a ----&gt; \emptyset / ---- + { ^r_n }</td>
<td>8.4.2</td>
<td>p.225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.2.2</td>
<td>p.242</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Rule R/2: | |
|-----------| |
| rr + n -----> d | 8.3.3 | p.206 |

| Rule R/2b: | |
|------------| |
| rr + \{ ^r_n \} -----> d | 8.3.4 | p.208 |

| Rule R/3: | |
|-----------| |
| a -----> \emptyset / ---- + c | 9.2.2 | p.241 |

| Rule R/4: | |
|-----------| |
| \{ ^r_n \} -----> \{ ^n_1 \} / \{ ^n_1 \} + ---- | 8.3.4 | p.208 |

| Rule R/5: | |
|-----------| |
| a -----> \emptyset / ---- + V | 8.4.5 | p.231 |

| Rule R/6: | |
|-----------| |
| \{ ^n_\ddhat{\j}\} -----> \emptyset / ---- + 1 | 8.4.1 | p.225 |

| Rule R/7: | |
|-----------| |
| rr ----> 1 / ---- + 1 | 8.4.1 | p.225 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule R/8:</th>
<th>homorganic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\ddhat{\j} -----&gt; nasal / ---- + stop</td>
<td>9.2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| Rule R/9: | |
|-----------| |
| \ddhat{\j} -----&gt; \emptyset / ---- + { nasal } | 9.2.2 | p.241 |
| | { l } |
| | { r } |
| | { w } |
| | { y } |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule (a):</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$- dy$ $\rightarrow$ $- y / v +$ $\rightarrow$</td>
<td>6.6.2</td>
<td>p.166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule (b):</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$- i + - ya$ $\rightarrow$ $- a$</td>
<td>6.6.2</td>
<td>p.166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule (c):</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$- a + - ya$ $\rightarrow$ $- a$</td>
<td>6.6.2</td>
<td>p.166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule (d):</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$- a + - yu$ $\rightarrow$ $- a$</td>
<td>6.6.2</td>
<td>p.166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule (e):</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$- i + - yiC$ $\rightarrow$ $- ic$</td>
<td>6.6.2</td>
<td>p.166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule (f):</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$yiy$ $\rightarrow$ $y$</td>
<td>6.6.2</td>
<td>p.166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1: Introduction to Nyigina

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to introduce the people who speak Nyigina, their traditional culture, present life-styles and country as well as their language.

1.2 NAMES AND PLACES

There are two dialects known as Nyigina:

(a) Small Nyigina, spoken around Mount Anderson and Liveringa, which is considered "light" to the ear (that is, rather staccato and sharp), and

(b) Big Nyigina (which used to be widely spoken at Noonkanbah), considered "heavy" to the ear (that is, rather slurred and soft).

The terms "Small Nyigina" and "Big Nyigina" are literal translations of the words used in Nyigina:

1.2 E/l SN

nya  nyigina  yadyarra  yimaduwarra  "uba"  nyigina  ....
this  Nyigina  our  belonging  to  river  Small  Nyigina
....  yin-MA-na  bugarrarra-ni  ġarragjani  ....
    he-make-past  Beginning-ACTIVE  in  Dreamtime
....  yidyirra  warany  badu  nyigina  ----  "widu"
    their  other  though  Nyigina  Big

'This Nyigina of us river people is "small" Nyigina. The Beginning made (it) in the Dreamtime. The other Nyigina, though -- theirs -- is "big".'
These terms first appeared in print in the writings of Porteus (1931:71, 76)\(^1\).

Although usually known simply as "Nyigina people", speakers of Small Nyigina occasionally refer to themselves (as in the example above) as yimaduwarra '(people) belonging to the river', their country being the lower part of the Fitzroy River Valley in the West Kimberley district of Western Australia. Nyigina people regard the desert dwellers to the east as culturally alien and have traditional links with the coastal people between Derby and Broome.

1.3 GEOGRAPHY

The approximate area of the West Kimberley regarded as Nyigina country (with reference map showing the location of the West Kimberley district within Australia) is shown in Figure 1. Nyigina has been described (Capell 1940:244) as one of the "Dampier Land" languages. This is considered an inappropriate choice of name for the language subgroup, since the regional name is not in general use and Nyigina people do not live within the region. Capell and Elkin's description (1937:217) of "southern Kimberley" is acceptable insofar as it is geographically accurate but this term, too, is not in general use. Since there is no name which accurately describes this region which is also widely used, this language subgroup has been renamed, on a linguistic basis (1.8), the "alternative-prefixing" language subgroup.

1.4 SURROUNDING LANGUAGES

The language subgroup borders to the south on typical Pama-Nyungan languages: Mangala and Garadyari. "North Kimberley" prefixing languages

\(^1\)Porteus used the term "Little Nyigina"
with noun classification are adjacent to the north: Worora, Uggumi (apparently extinct) and Ujarinyin. To the east, some limited contact exists with Bunaba (classification not known), while the desert language Walmatjari with over 1,000 speakers (Hudson 1978:2) is the major neighbour. The influence of Walmatjari is probably the most significant Aboriginal threat to the language and culture of Nyigina people.

1.5 RECENT RESETTLEMENT

The Kimberley district was surveyed first by Alexander Forrest in 1879. Derby was declared a "port" in 1880 although it is situated on the edge of the vast mud flats of King Sound and no jetty was built until 1885.

European use of land followed at Yeeda (Murray Squatting Company, 1880) and at Liveringa (1882). The presence of the pastoral stations attracted immigrants from the desert, while the European police force and Resident Magistrate prevented Nyigina people from traditional defence of their tribal territory and cultural integrity.

Most Nyigina people camped on the river stations until the Pastoral Award of 1969, which provided for equal wages for Aboriginal pastoral workers. This award was followed by encouraged migration from many stations, mainly to the reserves on the fringes of either Derby or Fitzroy Crossing.

The large Aboriginal camp on Liveringa was razed by bulldozers in 1971. In 1973, an area of 19,400 acres (7,838 hectares) of the Liveringa pastoral lease was acquired by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs for the establishment of Looma Aboriginal Community (1974)\(^2\). This Nyigina land now bears a Walmatjari name and, in October 1979, it was estimated

---

\(^2\) material from Crawford (1976)
that perhaps 9% of Looma people (population 227) spoke Nyigina as their first language (Walmatjari 33%, Mangala 20%, other Aboriginal language 3% and no Aboriginal language 35%).

In 1976, the Aboriginal Land Trust (WA) purchased the Noonkanbah and Waratea pastoral leases for a cattle station operated by an Aboriginal community and financed by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs. A few Nyigina people may be distinguished at Noonkanbah; only about five people speak Big Nyigina well. The functional language, culture and even skinship system of the community is Walmatjari.

Small groups of Nyigina speakers still live on Mount Anderson and Udialla stations and around Willare Bridge. A small number of Nyigina people living in Broome and Derby have assumed European aspirations and are little different from other long term residents of any ethnic group. Other Nyigina people in the towns live in social, cultural and material poverty and have frequent recourse to drunkenness. Some town-dwellers still speak Nyigina.

1.6 THE LAND

The region has abundant vegetable food, wild life and fish. There is a monsoonal rainfall (annual average 650 mm), which makes the Fitzroy a very big river (Plates 1 and 2) during the wet season (January to April). Rainfall and flooding dominate both mythology and daily life.

1.7 CURRENT STATUS OF THE LANGUAGE

Perhaps fifty people are good speakers of Nyigina, most of them speakers of Small Nyigina. Few children have significant competence in the language; no bilingual education seems either feasible or likely. Some Nyigina people use Walmatjari as their everyday language, while the majority use either impoverished English or non-standard English
Plate 1. The Fitzroy River at Willare Bridge (dry season)

Plate 2. The Fitzroy River at Willare Bridge (wet season)
dialects, including what has been described (Sandefurs, 1979) as a creole.

1.8 OVERVIEW OF THE NYIGINA LANGUAGE

Nyigina is a highly agglutinative "prefixing" language without noun classification. Verbal affixing is complex. Verbal prefixing includes specification of the person and number of the subject, but does not include any direct specification of the object, which may be represented by pronominal suffixing on the inflected verb. Two complete sets of verbal prefixes, which have a semantic basis, are found throughout the language subgroup. On the basis of this distinctive prefixing pattern, I propose that this language subgroup be renamed the "alternative-prefixing" language subgroup. Other distinctions are reflected in verbal prefixing, including a full realis/irrealis distinction.

The language possesses complex morphology, both nominal and verbal. Mechanisms such as word order are not prominent and clauses with complex inter-relationships (such as embedded sentences, relative and subordinate clauses) are infrequent in Nyigina texts.

The phonology is unremarkable for an Australian language. The lexicon might be considered rather lacking in Common Australian items, though some can be recognized. Verbal roots appear to be a rather small class, there being only 145 on record.

1.9 THE ALTERNATIVE-PREFIXING LANGUAGES

The available data suggest to me that the following languages constitute a single language subgroup. Table T/1 summarizes my enquiries into these languages or dialects and refers to the situation in 1978 - 1979.
It is possible, although difficult to establish through paucity of data, that only two languages should be distinguished, approximately a "western" and an "eastern" language.

(1) "Western" language Dialects: Bardi
   Dyawi
   Dyabirr Dyabirr
   Nyul Nyul

(2) "Eastern" language Dialects: Big Nyigina
   Small Nyigina
   Warrwa
   Yawuru
   ?Nimanburr

(It is impossible to categorize Ngumbal and Dyugun from the data. Coastal people guess that they were like other coastal languages, that is, belonging to the "western" language.)

---

3 The last known speaker of Ngumbal died in July 1979. Two speakers of other languages were able to recall, from their childhood, a few phrases of Dyugun.
Details of Dialects or Languages (1978 - 1979)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Traditional Country (approximately)</th>
<th>No. of Speakers (approximately)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Small Nyigina</td>
<td>along Fitzroy River, west of Liveringa Station</td>
<td>less than 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Nyigina</td>
<td>around Noonkanbah Station</td>
<td>less than 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warrwa</td>
<td>around Meda Station</td>
<td>less than 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nimanburr</td>
<td>around Mount Clarkson and Disaster Bay</td>
<td>none known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yawuru</td>
<td>south of Broome, as far as Thangoo</td>
<td>less than 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyugun</td>
<td>around Cable Beach (Broome) and north as far as Willie Creek</td>
<td>none known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngumatal</td>
<td>Willie Creek to Price's Point</td>
<td>none known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyabirr Dyabirr</td>
<td>Price's Point to Carnot Bay</td>
<td>less than 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyul Nyul</td>
<td>around Beagle Bay</td>
<td>less than 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba:di</td>
<td>One Arm Point and Lombadina</td>
<td>maybe 100&lt;sup&gt;(5)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyawi</td>
<td>Sunday Island</td>
<td>less than 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These locations are illustrated in Figure 2.

---

<sup>4</sup> my own estimates

<sup>5</sup> estimates vary considerably; Metcalfe (1975:1) gives an estimate of 362
1.10 PREVIOUS STUDY OF NYIGINA

The first Nyigina material published is found in a "Vocabulary -- Lower Fitzroy River" included in a paper by R. H. Mathews (1904). The information was supplied by Mr. A. E. Clifton of Yeeda Station and 125 Small Nyigina words were classified and presented. Mjöberg, a Swedish zoologist, included in his account (1915) of his Kimberley adventures in 1910, 57 Big Nyigina words, recorded at Noonkanbah.

Capell has published linguistic material on Nyigina (1953) and has compiled a fairly extensive word list (1966), which list appears to me to have a distinctly Big Nyigina bias. Capell has also published anthropological studies including Nyigina (1952). Some Nyigina material is included in other writings of a regional nature, particularly those of Nekes and Worms from Beagle Bay.

Kerr (1968 and undated) has contributed Nyigina data but little analysis. Her study appears not to be broadly based. She worked mainly in Broome (not traditional Nyigina country) where Nyigina people often speak other alternative-prefixing languages a good deal of the time.

1.11 SCOPE OF THIS DESCRIPTION

Since Nyigina is a language with complex morphology which has not previously been described comprehensively, this study concentrates on morphology. A limited description of the phonology is also presented. Although some description of syntax is included here, a comprehensive treatment of Nyigina syntax was not possible and awaits further study.

This description deals essentially with the Small Nyigina dialect.

1.12 ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC GLIMPSE

A description of Nyigina kinship (possibly relating to Big Nyigina) has been published (Capell 1952:355). No description is included in this study.
"Mother-in-law" taboo or avoidance of one's dyigal used to be strictly observed and may still be found, even among young people. Avoidance relationships are not confined to direct mother-in-law and son-in-law relationships, although these two remain the most significant. Degrees of avoidance seem to have been practised.

Conversation with one's dyigal was barely permitted; relaying through a third person was standard practice. A number of words in standard language refer specifically to inter-actions with one's dyigal, for example, gamalg 'say to my dyigal on my behalf'. Unavoidable conversation was required to be brief. Second person non-singular forms were substituted for second person singular; non-standard (possibly archaic) synonyms and various allusive terms were employed. There seems to be no recollection of an extensive "mother-in-law language".

Some examples of non-standard words recalled by speakers are listed in Table T/2.

### 1.12 T/2 Non-standard Words Used in Conversation with dyigal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-standard Word</th>
<th>Standard Equivalent</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ladiny</td>
<td>wali</td>
<td>'meat'</td>
<td>?archaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurrjaj</td>
<td>wila</td>
<td>'water'</td>
<td>?archaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niranygurru</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>allusive: 'throat-wetting-thing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jumal</td>
<td>dyuŋŋu</td>
<td>'fire'</td>
<td>?archaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyigurrdyunu</td>
<td>waladya</td>
<td>'honey'</td>
<td>allusive: 'hollow log-from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidily magarra</td>
<td>bany</td>
<td>'goanna'</td>
<td>allusive: 'green tail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyilbidigudany</td>
<td>dyurrru</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
<td>allusive: 'guts-having'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġalar</td>
<td>-BA-</td>
<td>'see'</td>
<td>in standard language ġalar means 'peep, stare'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2: Phonology

2.1 NYIGINA PHONEMES

The phonemes of Nyigina are unexceptional for an Australian language. Morphophonemic alternations are found elsewhere in the region (for example, Ujarinyin\(^1\)) and in other members of the alternative-prefixing language subgroup (for example, Warrwa\(^2\)). Synchronically, few examples of alternation are found in Small Nyigina. Examples of both dy/y and g/w alternations are more common in Big Nyigina.

2.1.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

The phoneme inventory includes a stop and nasal series for five points of articulation (including a retroflex series but not a lamino-interdental one) which is the regular pattern for the region\(^3\). The retroflex series is represented in this orthography by a line beneath rather than a dot, to enable a standard typewriter to be used. (In other writings, a line beneath has sometimes been used to identify a lamino-interdental series.)

There is a lateral in each non-peripheral series, as is the norm for the western part of the continent\(^4\). Two rhotics are found.

The language has the common three vowel pattern; vowel length is not phonemic.

---

\(^1\) Rumsey (1978:26-27)
\(^2\) Stokes (unpublished fieldwork)
\(^3\) Busby (1980:77)
\(^4\) Busby (1980:77)
2.1.1 Phoneme Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIPHERAL</th>
<th>NON-PERIPHERAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td>dorsal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhotic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semi-vowel</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VOWELS: i, a, u (vowel length not phonemic).

A detailed description of the phonetic realization of the phonemes is not presented. Some general observations are included.

For the retroflex series, the apex of the tongue is placed fairly anteriorly (often only slightly further back than the apico-alveolar series).

The vowel /i/ is most commonly a front, close unrounded vowel [i]. It is occasionally more central [u], especially in monosyllabic words. It is rarely more open [e].

The vowel /u/ may be a back, close vowel [u]. The degree of rounding varies. The realization is often more central [O].

The vowel /a/ is unrounded and is usually fairly open and central to back [O]. It can be almost half-open [A]. It is not usually more front [æ].

2.1.2 THE STOP SERIES

Nyigina stops are unaspirated and voicing is not phonologically contrastive. Voiced symbols have been adopted in the orthography.
2.1.2.1 ALLOPHONES OF THE STOP SERIES

Stops may have voiceless realization in word-final position (and occasionally word-initially) but otherwise are usually voiced. All stops occur and contrast medially. In Big Nyigina, the phonetic realizations of /dy/ and /g/ often involve considerable lenition, especially following /l/ or intervocically, with /dy/ being realized as [j] and /g/ as [ɣ]. These variations may also be phonemic, as in the dy/y alternation and (less certainly) in the g/w alternation, which are described in 2.1.8 and 2.1.9.

2.1.2.2 STOP CONTRASTS

All stops except /d/ occur word-initially:

- bub 'at inappropriate time'
- dub 'white'
- dyub '(to) cut'
- gub 'too full, blocked up'.

All stops have been recorded word-finally (almost exclusively in the class of verbal-nominals, see 7.3.1.1):

- bab 'forget'
- bad 'successive'
- bad 'explode'
- bady '(to) skin'
- bug 'float'.

2.1.3 THE NASAL SERIES

All nasals except /n/ may occur word-initially. The apico-alveolar nasal /n/ is fairly infrequent; a high proportion (21 out of 35 = 60%) of nouns with initial /n/ involve the fossilized prefix ni-, which derives from third person singular possessive prefixing (see 4.2.2). All nasals contrast medially, although the laminal nasal /ny/ occurs infrequently.
2.1.3.1 NASAL CONTRASTS

The following nasals contrast initially:

may 'vegetable food'
nay 'chisel-like tool'
nya-yi 'this-DATIVE'
jay 'yes'.

All nasals contrast word-finally (/m/ and /ŋ/ are rare and usually occur in verbal-nominals, see 7.3.1.1):

gan 'clap with clap-sticks'
gajan 'babbler bird'
wil-an 'water-LOCATIVE'
wilan (place name)
wilany 'kind of rain cloud'
dirrim 'announce one's presence by making a small noise'
dirrin dirrin '(to) spear through the chest'.

2.1.4 THE LATERAL SERIES

Only the apico-alveolar lateral /l/ has been found word-initially, where it contrasts with the apico-alveolar stop and the retroflex continuant rhotic (the apico-alveolar rhotic does not occur word-initially):

lady '(to) throw'
dady BN '(to) call name'
rady rady '(to) crunch with feet'.

All the laterals contrast medially and also word-finally:

dul dul '(to) split, cut with axe'
dul _ '(to) boom (onomatopoeic)'
duly 'squeeze, express'.

2.1.5 THE RHOTICS

The phoneme /rr/ is realized as an apico-alveolar tap (or occasionally, trill) and contrasts with /r/ which is a retroflex
2.1.5

continuant [ɬ].

Only the retroflex rhotic may occur word-initially, where it contrasts with the apico-alveolar stop and lateral and with the semi-vowel /w/:

- rurrb 'in return, pay back'
- durrb '(to) smoke (transitive)'
- lurrb 'pound, crush'
- wurrb 'go down'.

The two rhotics contrast medially:

- marra 'nest, placenta'
- mara 'splint, spindle'

and also finally:

- warr 'light fire (controlled)'
- war 'light fire (uncontrolled)'.

2.1.6 THE SEMI-VOWEL /w/

This phoneme occurs freely in initial position, where it contrasts with initial /u/ (see 2.2.1.). It also occurs in medial position as a single consonant.

Final /w/ occurs following /a/ and /u/. When /w/ occurs following /a/ it can be clearly heard [aʊ]:

- minyaw 'cat'
- dyaw '(to) swim'
- waw '(to) hunt, spin'.

Words with final -aw take the stop-initial allomorph of certain suffixes appropriate to words without a final vowel:

2.1.6 E/2 SN

- minyaw-gan yi-NI-ny wanminy
- cat-LOCATIVE 3sg-sit-past₂ fly

'the fly sat on the cat'.
It is more difficult to ascertain the presence of a final -uw.

In this situation, final /w/ appears to result in phonetic vowel lengthening:

bu  [bu]  'go away!'
buw  [bu:]  '(to) blow'
wuw  [wu:]  '(to) kiss'.

Here the selection of the stop-initial allomorph of certain nominal suffixes confirms that the word does not have a final vowel:

2.1.6  E/3  SN

ŋir ŋir ŋa(n)-ŋ-n buw-dyunu  dyuŋgŋu-yunu
puff lsg-do-pres blowing-INAN.SOURCE fire-INAN.SOURCE
'I'm puffed from blowing the fire'.

Word-final -iw has not been recognized.

2.1.7  THE SEMI-VOWEL /y/

This semi-vowel occurs word-initially and contrasts with the laminal stop:

yalmban  'south'
dyalmbarr  'roots in the water'

and contrasts also with initial /i/ (see 2.2.1.). The semi-vowel /y/ occurs freely medially.

Final /y/ may follow any vowel:

ray  'spirit child'
muy  '(to) move'
ŋi  [ŋi]  'hum, wail'
ŋiy ŋiy  [ŋi:]  (place name)
majarriy  'food'.

Again, the presence of the final semi-vowel is confirmed by the morphology of nominal suffixing:
2.1.7 E/4 SN

malu murrngulu gu-la-rr-(a)-I majarry-dyi

NEG work 2nsg-IRR-nmin-(SET)-do food-DATIVE

'you lot don't work for (your) food'.

2.1.8 THE dy/y ALTERNATION

This alternation is perhaps the most widespread in the alternative-prefixing language subgroup. There is considerable evidence for this alternation in both Small Nyigina and Big Nyigina.

In Small Nyigina, evidence of alternation is restricted to allomorphy (which is phonologically conditioned) of suffixes which affix to nouns and inflecting verbs. The y-initial allomorph (for example -yirra in the example below) is found following a final vowel:

2.1.8 E/5 SN

yan-a-NGULIGA-yirra

1+2-fut-wait-for them

'we'll wait for them'

while the dy-initial allomorph (for example, -dyirra in the example below) is found elsewhere:

2.1.8 E/6 SN

yi-YA-n-dyirra manin-garra-yi

3sg-feel-pres-for them woman-multiple-DAT

'he wants (those) girls'.

Not all dy-initial suffixes are subject to this alternation. The nominal DATIVE suffix -dyi (see 4.5.1) alternates (-dyi/-yi):
2.1.8 E/7 SN
wal-(a)-A-yirra-mirri    gudyarra-yi    wala-baliny-dyi
2sg -(fut)-carry-to them-"two"    two-DAT    (mother+daughter)-DAT

'you bring (it) for those two -- the mother and (her) daughter!'

while the verbal (EXP) suffix -dyi (see also 10.9.1) displays no such allomorphy and the form -dyi follows a final vowel:

2.1.8 E/8 SN
yin-ANDI-na    dyujgu    wan-a-MARRA-dyi    ginya    dyugudu
3sg -pick up-past    fire/wood    3sg -fut-burn-EXP    dem    boy

'she gathered up firewood so that she could cook the boy'

(from a story like "Hansel and Gretel").

However, the majority of dy-initial suffixes are subject to alternation and there are no suffixes which are invariably y-initial.

In Big Nyigina, alternation is also found at the prefixing-root boundary of inflected forms of certain (more work needed) verbal roots (see also 8.2) such as the reduplicated verbal root -DY/YALAYALA- 'watch'.

Where this verbal root follows a prefix which is not vowel-final, the root appears with an initial stop (and a semi-vowel initially in the reduplicated portion of the verbal root), in Big Nyigina:

2.1.8 E/9 BN
yin-DYALAYALA-n    wulu-ni    ginydyina
3sg -watch-pres    father-ACTIVE    his

'his father is looking after (him)'.

Where the prefix is vowel-final, the verbal root in Big Nyigina is y-initial:
2.1.8 E/10 BN

gjan-a-YALAYALA gimi
lsg -fut-watch morning
'I'll look after (him) tomorrow'.

In Small Nyigina, alternation is not found root-initially nor within the reduplicated root, as the following example with vowel-final prefixing shows:

2.1.8 E/11 SN
wai-a-DYALADYALA-yarrga gab-ga
2sg -fut-watch-us eating-EMPHATIC
'you're going to watch us eating'.

2.1.9 THE g/w ALTERNATION

Evidence for this alternation is found in Big Nyigina. Little direct and unequivocal evidence can be cited from Small Nyigina.

In Big Nyigina, the EMPHatic suffix (see 4.14.1) is clearly -ga/-wa. The allomorph -wa is found following a final vowel:

2.1.9 E/12 BN

guwaniya-ni yim-BIGA-na dyuugu-wa
crocrocodile-ACTIVE 3sg-have-past fire-EMPH
'the crocodile had possession of the fire'.

The allomorph -ga is found following a non-vowel:

2.1.9 E/13 BN

giny-an-ga yi-NA-n
dem-LOCATIVE-EMPH 3sg-sit-pres
'he's still sitting there' (of an ancestral being).

In Small Nyigina, the emphatic suffix is rarely found in the phonological environment, which, in Big Nyigina, would require the -wa
allomorph. Only one example has been recorded of the emphatic suffix following a final vowel in Small Nyigina. The allomorph -ga occurred:

2.1.9 E/14 SN (= 4.14.1 E/207)

gabal dyani-ŋgayya wan-(a)-I-ya marrinyan-ni-ga
soon what-like 3sg-(fut)-do-to you(sg) hunger-ACTIVE-EMPH

'what will the hunger do to you soon?'.

In Small Nyigina (more work is required on Big Nyigina usage), it is possible that the -wa allomorph following a final vowel came to be represented by a substitution of the final vowel by -a (see 2.2.3.1). That is, a possible interpretation of the following example, involving the active suffix -ni, is that the final vowel substitution relates to the emphatic suffix:

2.1.9 E/15 SN (= 4.14.1 E/208)

wali manydyan gab ḥa(n)-ŋ-n-gaŋa ḥayi-n(i)-a
meat only eat 1sg-do-pres-HABIT 1sgPRO-ACTIVE-EMPH

'me, I only eat meat (not human flesh, like some people)'.

It should be noted that a g/∅ alternation is found in both dialects in the allomorphy of certain nominal suffixes, namely LOCative (see 4.8.1) and ABLative (see 4.9). In these instances, the suffixes involve an a-initial allomorph following a final vowel (which is then deleted) and a g-initial allomorph elsewhere:

dyuŋg(u)-an 'fire-LOC'
mayar-gan 'house-LOC'
dyuŋg(u)-abu 'fire-ABL'
mayar-gabu 'house-ABL'.

It is proposed that the following changes may have occurred:

\[ g > ɣ > ∅ . \]
It is possible that g/Ø alternation plays a part in the irregularity of the surface forms of the verbal root 'carry' (see 8.3.6.).

The evidence for g/Ø alternation in Small Nyigina is limited, the most convincing being the allomorphy of the locative and ablative suffixes. The surface irregularities of 'carry' are readily attributable to a suppletive verbal root (which is quite common in irregular verbs in Nyigina) and the above discussion of final vowel substitution (see also 2.2.3.1) is quite speculative.

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

The permitted distribution of phonemes, individually and in combination, is described.

2.2.1 WORD-INITIAL POSITION

The retroflex stop, nasal and lateral and the apico-alveolar rhotic are not found word-initially. That is, the contrast between alveolar and post-alveolar (retroflex) is always neutralized word-initially and is realized with alveolar articulation. The laminal lateral also does not occur in initial position. Semi-vowels occur word-initially.

The vowel /a/ is not found word-initially (although a-initial verbal roots have been analyzed, see 8.4.5). Examples of word-initial /i/ and /u/ have been recorded. Contrasts of initial vowels and semi-vowels exist:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>il</td>
<td>'gather in passing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yil</td>
<td>'resolve, settle for good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uba</td>
<td>'small'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wub</td>
<td>'singe'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No consonant cluster is permitted word-initially.
2.2.2 MEDIAL POSITION

Clusters occur within morphemes and permitted medial clusters of two (and occasionally three) consonants are listed. (There appears to be no restriction on clusters permitted across morpheme boundaries.)

2.2.2.1 HOMORGANIC NASAL-STOP (-CC-) CLUSTERS

All possible homorganic nasal-stop clusters occur.

2.2.2.2 NON-HOMORGANIC NASAL-STOP (-CC-) CLUSTERS

Alveolar and retroflex nasals are found followed by all stops. The laminal nasal occurs only with peripheral stops.

- wanbiny 'eyebrow'
- dyandu 'woman'
- gandya 'carry in mouth'
- gonga 'talk'
- banbarr 'young cockatoo'
- mandu 'louse'
- gandyaa 'push over or aside'
- wangurr 'carry on shoulder'
- binybal 'pain, ache'
- linygurra 'saltwater crocodile'.

Some minimal pairs and triplets occur:

- mandu 'foul'
- mandu 'louse'
- mandu 'pregnant'
- dyandu 'rear another's child'
- dyandu 'woman'
- wangurr 'carry on shoulder'
- wanygurr wanygurr 'carry dangling child'
- wajgurr 'wail'.


2.2.2.3 NASAL CLUSTERS

Occasional geminate clusters occur across morpheme boundaries and occasional minimal pairs (with identical stress) are found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>banag+an</td>
<td>'(name of skin group)-LOC'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ban+nagan</td>
<td>'east-close'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wan+a</td>
<td>'he will carry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wan+na</td>
<td>'he will spear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yajj+an</td>
<td>'what-LOC'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yajj+jany</td>
<td>'what-INSTRUMENTAL'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other nasal clusters have been recorded intramorphemically. They vary from being uncommon to extremely rare. (With rare clusters, the number of examples on record is indicates in square brackets [ ]). The combination found is:

\[
C_1 \quad \text{non-peripheral nasal} \\
C_2 \quad \text{peripheral nasal}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wanna</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>(person name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minjali</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>'tear drop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanminy</td>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banjju</td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>'lie on stomach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginjyman</td>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>'moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winyjar BN</td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>'trickle, emit smell'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2.4 OTHER (-CC-) CLUSTERS

A variety of other (-CC-) clusters are found. Some combinations are extremely rare. (The number of examples on record are indicated in square brackets [ ]).

2.2.2.4.1 STOP CLUSTERS

Geminate stop clusters are possible only across morpheme boundaries. The constraints of distribution of final stops (mostly in verbal-nominals, see 2.2.3 and 7.3.1.1) and the scope of nominal suffixing severely
limit the occurrence of such clusters.

wabab+barri  'covering-COMITATIVE'
gidy gidy+dyi  'joey-DAT'
wanag+gan  'lost-LOC'.

A small number of clusters involve:

\[ C_1 \text{ non-peripheral stop} \]
\[ C_2 \text{ peripheral stop.} \]

- dyadbar (?)  \[1\]  '(to) stop'
- -dg-  NOT ATTESTED
- -db-  NOT ATTESTED
- gadgu  \[1\]  'kind of eucalypt'
- didybal  \[3\]  '(to) poison'
- mandadygu  \[1\]  'caterpillar'.

A single example of the cluster -ddyi- was recorded:

giddyi  'miss, fail to kill'.

This contrasts with:

gidyi gidyi  'wild potato'
gidy gidy+dyi  'joey-DAT'

2.2.2.4.2 CLUSTERS WITH INITIAL LATERAL

Geminate clusters across morpheme boundaries occur rarely with the apico-alveolar lateral:

wal+la  'you (sg) will spear'
wal+a  'you (sg) will carry'.

Only one example of one possible homorganic lateral-stop cluster (-lydy-) has been found:

walydyarr  'pubic hair'.

The apico-alveolar lateral has been recorded preceding all stops and nasals except apicals (that is alveolar and retroflex):
The retroflex and laminal laterals occur with some peripheral stops and nasals:

dulbu
yalma
nalgu
-lij-
dyulybugu
-lym-
julygu
malyjja

Occasional examples of clusters of a lateral with the retroflex rhotic and also with the semi-vowel /w/ are found:

galra
galwa  BN
galwal

doctoral rhotic occurs in (-CC-) clusters with peripheral stops and nasals, with the laminal stop and also with the semi-vowel /w/:

dyirrbal
wilirrminy
durrdyady
-rrny-
barrgana
ğurrju
dyarrwa

'above'
'creek'
'quick'
'fight in support of another'
'(to) roll, fold'
'strap'.

'heart'
'genital infection'
'brindled bandicoot'
'beard'
'wrinkled'.

'kind of small marsupial'
'kind of small marsupial'
'beard'
'beard'
'wrinkled'.

'reveal'
'hunt'
'cottonwood tree'.

'forehead'
'rainbow lorikeet'
'(to) limp'
'(to) limp'
'cold weather'
'game, good at fighting'
'sea, shoalwater, tide'.

'cold weather'
'game, good at fighting'
2.2.2.4.3

The retroflex rhotic has been found only with the labial stop and nasal and with the semi-vowel /w/:

dyirbidy 'open up'
-BARMA- '(to) insult'
girwa 'old and frail'.

2.2.2.4.4 CLUSTERS WITH INITIAL /y/

The semi-vowel /y/ occurs rarely in (-CC-) clusters with peripheral stops (single example of cluster with dorsal stop) and with the labial nasal:

baybarra 'behind'
wirrgayman 'immediate killing'
laygil [l] (place name)
-yij- NOT ATTESTED.

2.2.2.5 -CCC- CLUSTERS

A small number of examples of clusters comprising

\[ C_1 \]
\[ \text{apico-alveolar lateral or rhotic} \]

\[ C_2 \]
\[ \text{peripheral homorganic nasal-stop cluster} \]

have been recorded. One minimal pair provides evidence that actual clusters exist and contrast with examples involving unstressed syllables:

dyalajga (kin term)
dyaljga 'cure'.

All the known examples are listed below:

dyalmbarr 'roots in the water'
dyilmbirr 'small fish (any kind)'
yalmban 'south'
dyaljga 'cure'
nilaljgul 'mosquito'
waljga 'bream'
gurrmba 'flower of bandiral tree'
-DYARRIGA- 'to lead'.

A single occurrence of the cluster -ynd- has been observed in a personal name (of a Nyigina person):

bayndarri (person name).

2.2.2.6 SUMMARY OF MEDIAL CLUSTERS

With the exception of the series of homorganic nasal-stop clusters (and also geminate clusters involving morpheme boundaries), the majority of medial clusters conform to a specifiable pattern (T/4). A few clusters predicted by this pattern have not (yet) been attested (T/5), while the attested clusters in T/6 are not predicted from the pattern of T/4.

2.2.2.6 T/4. Permitted Medial Clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( C_1 )</th>
<th>non-peripheral nasal, lateral or rhotic semi-vowel /y/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(+possible ( C_2 ))</td>
<td>peripheral nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( C_2 )</td>
<td>RESTRICTED to co-occurrence with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( C_1 )</td>
<td>apico-alveolar lateral or rhotic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( C_3 )</td>
<td>homorganic peripheral stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( C_3 )</td>
<td>peripheral stop or nasal laminal stop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.2.6 T/5 Unattested Clusters Predicted by T/4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C₁</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>ly</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>ljl</td>
<td>-lym-</td>
<td>-rg-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>ldy-</td>
<td>-lj-</td>
<td>-rgj-</td>
<td>-yg-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-rdy-</td>
<td>-ydy-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2.6 T/6 Attested Clusters Not Conforming to T/4

**GENERAL:** 1. stop clusters (tend to conform to non-peripheral or laminal stop but not all attested);

**SPECIFIC:** 2. -nd-, -n- (uncommon);
3. clusters with /w/ or /r/ as second member (rare);
4. -lny- (single example);
5. -ynd- (single questionable example).

2.2.3 WORD-FINAL POSITION

All phonemes have been found in word-final position. Clusters of the apico-alveolar lateral with the dorsal stop and of rhotics with peripheral stops occur, mostly in verbal-nominals:

dalg  'become cracked'
birrb  'turn aside'
darrg  'make a mark'
garb  'shimmer'
-garg  NOT ATTESTED

Final Vowel Loss

Comparison of cognate words between Small Nyigina and Big Nyigina (and also related languages) occasionally reveals loss of a final vowel
in Small Nyigina in situations where the same vowel is repeated on each side of a rhotic (usually the retroflex):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Small Nyigina</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gayar</td>
<td>gayara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudur</td>
<td>guduru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋur</td>
<td>ŋuru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dyibur</td>
<td>-dyiburu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirr</td>
<td>mirri(^5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This final vowel loss is not merely phonetic, as selection of the allomorph of a following nominal suffix demonstrates:

2.2.3 E/16 SN

```
mirr-dyunu       yi-ŋa-na       yi-ma-MADALI-nydyi-na
full-INAN.SOURCE 3sg-sit-past 3sg-INT-hide-INT-past
'since he was well fed, he hid himself'.
```

2.2.3.1 VARIED FINAL VOWEL

In Small Nyigina, word-final vowels may occasionally be replaced by -a, especially in story-telling. This vowel substitution may be related to the EMPHatic suffix -ga (see also 2.1.9 and 4.14.1). Both -i and -u may be affected:

2.2.3.1 E/17 SN

```
malu    gu-ya-(rr)-DI       wababguru-barr(i)-a
NEG     2nsg-fut/IRR-(nmin)-sit  blanket-COMIT-a
'you're not going to sleep with a blanket (but with the bones of the man you killed)!'
```

(from a story of police taking away in chains men involved in a tribal murder);

\(^5\) Capell (1966:27)
2.2.3.1 E/18 SN

"malu .... wajalaju jay(u)-a" yi(n)-ŋ-na-yina

NEG young man lsgPRO-a 3sg-say-past-to him

"'No .. not me, I'm a young man" he said to him'.

(This remark occurred in a story about a male "virgin" who was trying
desperately to produce a diplomatic refusal to an evil man's offer of his
own wife to the young man.)

2.2.4 MONOSYLLABIC ITEMS

Monosyllabic items are somewhat uncommon in the lexicon. For example,
for b-initial items (other than verbal roots and suffixes) included in
the lexicon (227 items), the distribution by number of syllables is as
follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllables</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>11 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>44 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>26 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>15 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the monosyllabic items (again, other than verbal roots and suffixes)
in the lexicon to date, the distribution by grammatical class is as
follows:

- verbal-nominals 77 %
- other nominals 20 %
- exclamations 3 %

The phonological characteristics of the class of verbal-nominals is
further discussed in 7.3.1.1.
2.3 STRESS WITHIN A WORD

Assignment of stress within a word appears to be influenced by a number of factors, such as the presence of affixes and etymological considerations, and cannot always be predicted by the following simple rules. The predicted patterns are found in the majority of unaffixed words but a significant number of exceptions to these stress patterns have been found.

One (only) minimal pair has been found where it appears that stress may be contrastive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affixed</th>
<th>Unaffixed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gudurr</td>
<td>'sulk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudurr</td>
<td>'pull tight (taut)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.1 STRESS IN UNAFFIXED WORDS

2.3.1.1 PRIMARY STRESS IN UNAFFIXED WORDS

Primary stress falls on the initial syllable in the majority of words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yíla</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulaba</td>
<td>'goanna of the sandhills'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bugarrarra</td>
<td>'the Dreamtime'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gularrabulu</td>
<td>'freshwater turtle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milimiliyarri</td>
<td>'for the first time (long ago)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where a word involves (non-productive) reduplication of syllables other than the initial syllable, primary stress is frequently found on the initial syllable of the part that is reduplicated rather than on the initial syllable of the word:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>balgárrárrra</td>
<td>'throw boomerang to return'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamurrumurruru</td>
<td>'throw nulla nulla or stick'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Primary stress is also found on other non-initial syllables, often where the stressed syllable has an initial liquid and is closed. These words with primary stress on non-initial syllables are listed below. It is not possible at present to formulate precise rules to account for stress assignment in these words.

- barárrga  'sorry, empathetic'
- biláy biláy 'king parrot'
- bugárrri 'dream'
- burála burála 'antpit child'
- durúg durúg 'lumpy, rough'
- galáyan 'seed of a kind of wattle'
- gidárr 'pull, drag'
- giláy 'follow'
- gubarrínbarrín 'kind of insect'
- nugúrýnygurúny 'navel'
- libirrínbirrín 'mythical jabiru (bird)'.

2.3.1.2 SECONDARY STRESS IN UNAFFIXED WORDS

Words of three syllables, where the second and third syllables are both open take no secondary stress:

- bánaga (name of a skin group)
- gúmbarri 'yellow ochre'.

Words of three syllables, where the second or third (or both) syllables is closed, take secondary stress on the final syllable:

- dyíbinymà 'large barramundi'
- dyágalay 'mud'
- dyúwidyban 'bower bird'.

Words of four syllables, where the second and fourth syllables are open, take stress on the first and third syllables:

- bándarràgu 'ironwood tree'
- mangayàrrra 'scrub turkey'
- dyármidàjga 'Mt. Anderson (the hill)'
- gánajànydyà 'emu'.
Where the second and third syllables are open but the final syllable is closed, stress falls on the first and final syllables:

- dyúduwanlny: 'water lily root'
- mádyirribål: 'fish spear'.

Where the second syllable is closed, secondary stress falls on the next (third) syllable:

- gáburrdyålíný: 'young boab tree'
- gúrrulbiyan: 'flower of gurrbídyi tree'.

It seems to be a general principle of stress assignment that any medial closed syllable which is unstressed must be followed immediately by a stressed syllable:

- nyínyingà: 'zebra finch'
- bálinydyàrrajú: 'young emu'.

It also seems that, unless stress is assigned by the presence of closed syllables, stress falls on alternate syllables for words with an even number of syllables:

- báduguýry: 'meeting'
- dyàraýjála: 'clear, still'
- bábalýárradýinya: 'flank'
- mílimýiliýýyri: 'for the first time (long ago)'

and on the first and fourth syllables for words with an odd number of syllables:

- bámbida: 'kind of lizard'
- gálurrurjárrri: 'rain from the north'
- yálabadájú: 'bush tobacco'.

Secondary stress will be reassigned to

(i) a syllable following a medial unstressed closed syllable; or

(ii) a final closed syllable (unless (i) has applied to the preceding syllable).
It should be noted that words involving five or more syllables are rare in the lexicon. A significant proportion of those found appear to involve either reduplication (in part) or compound formation, both of which processes are influential in stress assignment.

2.3.2 STRESS IN WORDS WHICH INCLUDE AFFIXES

Affixing frequently modifies the stress pattern which applies to the unaffixed word.

Where affixing changes the number of syllables from an odd number of syllables to an even number, the stress pattern changes in accordance with the principles applying to unaffixed words:

línygurra 'crocodile'
línygurrà-ni 'crocodile-ACT'
bálnydyàrrajju 'young emu'
bálnydyàrrajju-ni 'young emu-ACT'.

Where a single-syllable suffix follows an unstressed second syllable, the suffix itself is secondarily stressed:

dyúŋgu 'fire'
dyúŋgu-nì 'fire-ACT'
báŋyi 'goanna'
báŋyi-dỳi 'goanna-DAT'.

Where a suffix creates a closed final syllable, the suffix will attract secondary stress:

máduwàrra 'river'
máduwarr-àn 'river-LOC'

except, such suffixing cannot reassign secondary stress from a preceding closed syllable:
2.3.2

\[\text{dyágalay} \quad 'mud'\]
\[\text{dyágalay-gan} \quad 'mud-LOC'\]
\[\text{dyúduwaniny} \quad 'water lily root'\]
\[\text{dyúduwaniny-gan} \quad 'water lily root-LOC'\]

Words with multiple affixing such as inflecting verbs generally follow similar principles of stress assignment. They will not be discussed in detail.

2.4 PHONOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SUFFIXES IN NYIGINA

It is occasionally possible in Nyigina to establish suffix status for some items which do not fall neatly into either nominal or verbal categories. Evidence of boundness is almost invariably derived from the dy/y alternation (see 2.1.8). For example, in Big Nyigina, the bound morpheme -dyajarri 'then' displays dy/y alternation:

2.4 E/19 BN (= 12.2.2 E/760)

\[\text{bud} \quad \text{yin-GA-ny} \quad \text{manin-dyajarri} \quad \text{yi-MA-ny} \quad \text{judin} \]
\[\text{arise} \quad 3\text{sg-carry-past}_2 \quad \text{woman-then} \quad 3\text{sg-go-past}_2 \quad \text{alone} \]

'm the woman got up then went away by herself';

2.4 E/20 BN

\[\text{inydya-yaajarri} \quad \text{gurrag} \quad \text{yi-rr-(a)-A-n-mirri} \]
\[\text{going-then} \quad \text{run away} \quad 3\text{-nmin-SET-carry-pres-(they)}"two" \]
\[\text{.... buru-} \quad \text{country-ALLATIVE} \]

'then the two of them go and run away into the bush'.

However, in Small Nyigina, the related jarri 'then' is quite possibly not affixed and could be analyzed as a particle (see 12.2.2):
2.4  E/21   SN

yim-BULA-n(a)-arra  mug  ḣarri  yana-rr-(a)-I-na
3sg-come-past-to us  hit  then  1+2+m-nmin-(SET)-do-past

'he came to us then we killed him'.

Details of the actual use of various suffixes, clitics and particles
are found in Chapter 12.
Chapter 3: Introduction to Syntax

3.1 PURPOSE OF THIS CHAPTER

Since it is impossible to introduce and describe several aspects of syntax simultaneously and as the understanding of most aspects requires some appreciation of the overall syntax, this chapter aims to provide, briefly, a broad picture of the Nyigina sentence and its mechanisms. Detailed description of each aspect will be found in separate chapters.

3.2 NOMINALS

A wide range of nominal suffixes are used in Nyigina. Many nominal suffixes are clearly derivational in nature. Grammatical relationships are frequently indicated by the use of case-marking nominal suffixes.

However, other devices exist in Nyigina for designating grammatical relationships: for example, verbal prefixing to identify the subject and verbal suffixing to indicate either a direct object or a "dative" relationship.

Unmarked noun phrases are most commonly the subject of an intransitive verb or the direct object or objects (ditransitive verb) of a transitive verb. Temporal and locational nominals usually take no suffixing.

Some other noun phrases take no case-marking. For example, the unattainable indirect object takes no case-marking, although the inflected verb shows "dative" pronominal suffixing (DatPro):

3.2 E/22  SN  (= 4.5.4 E/95)

gadady  ɲan-DI-ny-dyina  [ginya  wamba]  ....  malina
search  lsg-do-past₂-3sgDatPro  dem-Ø  man-Ø  lacking
'I searched for that man  ....  in vain'.
The previous example should be compared with a successful quest:

3.2 E/23 SN (= 4.5.4 E/97)

\textit{gadady} yi(n)-Ø-na-yina \[ \text{[ginya-yi \ wamba]} \] ....

search 3sg-do-past-3sgDatPro dem-DAT man

.... yim-BULA-na-yina garrgudyi

3sg-come-past-3sgDatPro straight

'I searched for that man and came upon him straight away'.

Most of the relationships expressed by case-marking in other Australian languages are also represented by nominal suffixes in Nyigina, although it is not easy to define a clear-cut system of cases. A wide range of such suffixes is found and only a modest number of functions is served by a single suffix.

Nyigina possesses a nominal suffix whose usage usually corresponds to the ergative of other Australian languages. This suffix has some rather unusual usages and the term "ACTive suffix" has been chosen in preference to "ergative case-marker".

A large number of derivational nominal suffixes exist. Many of the derivational nominal suffixes resemble in meaning those found widely in Australian languages, for example -gudany 'having'.

More than one nominal suffix may affix to the same noun. The practice of consecutive nominal suffixing (described in detail in Chapter 4) frequently makes the distinction between case-marking and derivational nominal suffixing either difficult or irrelevant (or both).

In a noun phrase, case-marking may occur on one or more items. Occasionally, word order and the actual location of the case-marker are significant (although usually they are not), where a type of noun incorporation occurs:

\footnote{1} compare Dixon (1976:203-306)
3.2 E/24 SN (= 12.1.2 E/743)
liyan ɡan-MA-n badgurru+man-NA-n-dyi
feeling lsg-make-pres kangaroo+GENeral-spear-pres-DAT
'I (always) like kangaroo-hunting';

which should be compared with:

3.2 E/25 SN
liyan ɡan-MA-n man-NA-n-dyi badgurru-yi
feeling lsg-make-pres GENeral-spear-pres-DAT kangaroo-DAT
'(right now) I feel like hunting (some) kangaroos'.

3.3 INFLECTED VERBS

Inflected verbs convey considerable information about grammatical relationships within the Nyigina sentence. (The verbal root is indicated in capitals and underlined in the literal gloss.)

Verbal prefixing indicates the person and number of the subject:

3.3 E/26 SN
yi(n)-Ø-na-yirra-mirri dyarrada-ni yin-NA-ny-jayu
3sg-say-past-3nsgDatPro-"two" secret man-ACT 3sg-spear-past₂-me
'he said to the two of them: "The dyarrada man speared me"';

3.3 E/27 SN (= 5.3 E/265)
mandya baba yi-rr-MARRA-ny dyuʃgu-ni
many child 3-nonminimal-burn-past₂ fire-ACT
'many children were burned by fire'.

Here, the presence of the non-minimal marker in the verbal prefix indicates that the non-minimal noun phrase [many children] is the subject of the sentence and not the singular [fire] with ACTive suffixing. In the same way, the second person singular must be the subject in the following example:
Prefixing morphology may give important information about whether other entities are involved in an action:

You might get wet from the rain.

Prefixing morphology may give important information about whether other entities are involved in an action:

You tied up the dog.

You tied yourself up (that is, got dressed).

The markers (I) and (II) indicate different types ("sets") of verbal prefixing and the verbal root -GULA- 'tie' is one of a small number of verbal roots where a choice of verbal prefixing type is possible. These roots are termed "alternative-prefixing" and will be discussed in great detail.

Verbal suffixing may be used to indicate the person and number of the direct object (OPro):

He chopped them both (in) the neck.

"Dative" pronominal suffixing (DatPro) usually indicates the presence of a relationship with a noun phrase which would be marked most commonly by the
dative:

3.3 E/32  SN
yim-BULA-na-yirra  mandya-yi  baba
3sg(II)-come-past-3msgDatPro  many-DAT  child
'he came upon many children'.

Verbal suffixing may be used to signify the involvement of other entities in an action. The verbal suffix -jany 'TOgether' (see 10.6) implies some kind of involuntary or automatic involvement of a second entity:

3.3 E/33  SN
yiny-DYALGI-DYALGI-na-jany  dyinal
3sg(II)-fall-fall-past-TOG  spear
'he almost fell down with (that is, impaled by) the spear'.

3.4 WORD ORDER

Word order is rarely critical in Nyigina. Apposition may be used to indicate inalienable possession. Either the possessor or that which is possessed may occur first:

3.4 E/34  SN (= 12.4 E/779)
yin-GALBIRA-n  nilawal  ginya  manin
3sg(I)-call-pres  name  dem  woman
'he calls out that woman's name';

3.4 E/35  SN
buru  nilawal  maŋaŋanarra
place  name  (place name)
'the name of that place was Maŋaŋanarra'.
When a noun phrase with ACTive suffixing is not the subject of the sentence, the preferred position for that noun phrase seems to be sentence-finally:

3.4 E/36 SN (= 5.3 E/272)

ŋa-MA-ny maɗuwarra-ŋana gadidyina-ni
lsg(II)-go-past₂ river-ALLAT foot-ACT

'I went to the river on foot'.

However, such ordering is not obligatory. In the following example, the noun phrase in sentence-initial position has active suffixing but is not the subject:

3.4 E/37 SN

gurrdya-ni yi-ma-ŋADI-nydi-na
slime-ACT 3sg(II)-(reflexive)-cover-(reflexive)-past

'he (the water snake) covered himself with slime'.

The subject noun phrase with active suffixing may also occur sentence-finally:

3.4 E/38 SN

balu ŋaⱥil yin-GA-n warramba-ni

tree carry 3sg(I)-carry-pres flood-ACT

'the flood is bringing down a log'.

Word order may be important in some complex sentences (see 11.5.2).
Chapter 4: Nominal Morphology

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Nominals in Nyigina are defined to be those words (see also 12.1) which are able to take some or all of the large group of suffixes described in this chapter. The class of nominals includes nouns, adjectives, pronouns (described separately in Chapter 6), temporal and locational nominals and some forms related to verbs (verbal nominalizations) which are introduced in Chapter 7 and discussed, as a class, in Chapter 11.

4.2 POSSESSIVE NOMINAL AFFIXES

4.2.1 POSSESSIVE PREFIXING IN KIMBERLEY LANGUAGES

Several members\(^1\) of the language subgroup prefix for some inalienably possessed items. Such prefixing varies with the person of the possessor. Worms (1950:645) gives the following Ba:di possessive prefixing system (table presented in the orthography of the original):

### 4.2.1  T/7  Possessive Nominal Prefixing in Ba:di

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ja -</td>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>ya -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1+m/1+2+m</td>
<td>yar -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nyi -</td>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>gur -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ni -</td>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>er -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(\(m\) = one or more others).

---

\(^1\)see Appendix B
Possessive prefixing also occurs in languages of the North Kimberley\(^2\).

It appears that, in languages with possessive prefixing varying for person, prefixing occurs obligatorily for all persons or not at all. In known members of the alternative-prefixing subgroup and also at least in Ujarinyin (Rumsey 1978:57), it appears that only some inalienably possessed items can take the described prefixes.

4.2.2 INCORPORATED POSSESSIVE PREFIXING IN NYIGINA

The third person singular prefix (ni-) has been fossilized in some Nyigina (and possibly Warrwa, Yawuru and Nyul Nyul\(^3\)) nouns. Many are names of body parts, for example:

- **ni-lirr** 'tooth, various parts of mouth'
- **ni-marrajga** 'arm, hand'
- **ni-milgarr** 'eye'

but not all, for example:

- **ni-la** 'knowing'
- **ni-lamal** 'tunnel or burrow of animal'
- **ni-lawal** 'name'
- **ni-yarra** 'taste'.

On the evidence of person-variable prefixing of cognate items in other members of the language subgroup, it would seem that the following must be included as prefixed items in Nyigina:

- **n-alma** 'head, skull'
- **nu-gu** 'belly'.

It should be noted that dissecting off the various accretions (including

\(^2\)Ujarinyin (Rumsey 1978:59), Worora (Capell and Elkin 1937:228)

\(^3\)see Appendix B (i)
possessive prefixing) reveals some of the few Common Australian\(^4\) items in Nyigina:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nyigina</th>
<th>Common Australian(^4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni - LIRR</td>
<td>lirra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni - MARRA - ʒga</td>
<td>mara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni - MIL - garr</td>
<td>mil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Various factors may have operated in Nyigina to retain prefixing. The possibilities include:

1. avoidance of monosyllables (see 2.2.4 for incidence of monosyllables)
   - ni-lirr 'tooth'
   - ni-yal 'back'
   - ni-lany 'muscle'
   - nu-ʒu 'belly'

2. avoidance of word-initial vowels (2.2.1)
   - n-alma 'head'
   - n-inydyi 'back'

3. semantic differentiation
   - marradya 'shade'
   - ni-marradya 'shadow (of animate being)'
   - midi midi 'kneel'
   - ni-midi 'knee, lower leg'.

All Small Nyigina words suspected of incorporating possessive prefixing are listed in Table T/8.

\(^4\) selected from Capell (1956:81, 88 and 89) and Dixon (1980:100)
4.2.2 T/8 Nyigina Nouns with Possible Incorporated Prefix

nalma 'head, skull'
*nigarr 'whole body'
nimarradya 'shadow of animate being'
nimarranjga 'arm, hand'
nimidi 'lower leg, knee'
nimilgarr 'eye, face'
*ninydyi 'back'
*nijaminy 'chest'
nila 'knowing'
*nilamal 'tunnel or burrow of animal'
nilawal 'name'
*nilaba or nilababa 'ear'
*nilany 'muscle, flesh'
nilirr 'tooth, various parts of mouth'
niyambalu 'foot, track'
niyajalany (?obscure/archaic) 'tongue'
niyal 'back, spine'
niyarra 'taste, flavour'
nuju 'belly'.

Some evidence supporting prefix incorporation within certain words has been presented already (for example, nimarradya 'shadow'). Other evidence is derived from knowledge of cognates with person-variable prefixing in other languages. (This evidence is presented in Appendix B (ii).) No evidence supporting prefix incorporation has been found for the words indicated by an asterisk.
4.2.3 POSSESSIVE SUFFIXING IN NYIGINA

In Nyigina, possessive suffixing occurs, to a limited extent, with inalienably possessed items. Possessive suffixing is apparently productive in Nyigina, although encountered rarely (strategies for marking possession are also discussed in 12.4). It is possible that incorporated third person singular possessive suffixing, comparable with incorporated possessive prefixing, is also identifiable in Nyigina.

4.2.3.1 INCORPORATED POSSESSIVE SUFFIXING

A number of words (almost all are body parts) display a final -dyina, which is analyzed as incorporated third person singular possessive suffixing. Where the initial part of a word analyzed as incorporating possessive suffixing is apparently vowel-final, the form of the incorporated third person singular possessive suffix (-dyina) differs from the appropriate allomorph of the productive third person singular possessive suffix (-yina), although elsewhere the forms coincide (-dyina).

All Small Nyigina words suspected of incorporating possessive suffixing are listed in Table T/9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T/9 Possible Incorporated Possessive Suffix (-dyina)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>balgany-dyina (BN balgany)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buri-dyina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gadi-dyina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gana-dyina-gany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gundi-dyina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġuni-dyina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġuru-dyina (also as ġuru)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.3.2 PRODUCTIVE POSSESSIVE SUFFIXING

Occasional examples with third person, especially singular, are found in Small Nyigina:

4.2.3.2 E/39 SN
ginya yawan yi-MA-na .... ginya-jana yagu-yina
3sgPRO north 3sg(II)-go-past dem-ALLAT husband-her
'he went north .... her husband went to that spot'.

Third person suffixing is indeed productive in Big Nyigina, where this example was recorded with an English loan word:

4.2.3.2 E/40 BN
dyumangada .... magidyi "country"-yina dyumangada
(place name) (person name) country-his (place name)
'Dyumangada .... that's Magidyi's country'.

The possessive suffixing process appears to be more active in Big Nyigina, where a series of forms for all persons was elicited. (The corresponding usage with the free form dative pronoun is given for comparison.)

4.2.3.2 T/10 Big Nyigina Suffixed Forms of buru 'country'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Suffixed Form</th>
<th>With Free Form Dative Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>buru-yanu</td>
<td>buru ḫadyanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>buru-dyiya (??)</td>
<td>buru dyiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>buru-yina</td>
<td>buru ginydyina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>buru-yawu</td>
<td>buru dyawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+m</td>
<td>buru-yarra</td>
<td>buru yadyarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>buru-yuŋgurra</td>
<td>buru gudyugurra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>buru-yirra</td>
<td>buru yidyirra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>buru-yaŋida</td>
<td>buru dyayida</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The existence of dy/y alternation (see 2.1.8) confirms the affix status of these reduced forms.

The use of possessive suffixing is restricted to inalienably possessed items and kin terms. Big Nyigina speakers demonstrated this requirement nicely by use of the item buru, which may have many meanings in the general range of ground/sand/place/camp/country etc. The suffixed form buru-yina may mean 'his country (dreaming or initiation variety)' or it may mean 'his sleeping place'. It may not, however, mean 'his camp', which must use the free form dative pronoun: buru ginydyina. In the Nyigina social organization, one's sleeping place (in modern terms, the area occupied by one's swag) is thought of as inalienable. One's camp is merely a location, possibly temporary, used at some time for some purpose.

Possessive suffixing is rare in Small Nyigina. Some speakers reject all suffixed items; others accept third person forms:

4.2.3.2 E/41  SN
\[ \text{âjunu-yirra-ni} \quad \text{yim-BULA-ny-gany} \quad \text{majarry} \]
\text{sister-their-ACT} \quad \text{3sg(II)-come-past$_2$-TOG} \quad \text{food}  
\text{'their sister brought food'};

4.2.3.2 E/42  SN
\[ \text{âjunu-yina-ni} \quad \text{yim-BULA-na-gany} \quad \text{majarry} \]
\text{sister-his-ACT} \quad \text{3sg(II)-come-past-TOG} \quad \text{food}  
\text{'his sister brought food'}.

4.2.4 INCORPORATED POSSESSIVE AFFIXING AND BODY PARTS

Although a number of names of body parts incorporate possessive prefixing, for example:
4.2.4

niyambalu 'foot, track'
nilaba 'ear'

and others may incorporate possessive suffixing, for example:

gadidiyina 'foot'
ğurudyina 'anus'

still many others (30-40) show no evidence of an incorporated possessive marker, for example:

banydyá 'testicle'
dajgu 'chin'
dulbu 'heart'
dyaqgala 'lower leg'
manabalga 'buttocks'
ğamana 'breast'.

4.3 GENERAL NOMINAL SUFFIXES

4.3.1 USE OF NOMINAL SUFFIXING

Nyigina has an abundance of nominal suffixes. Not only are they numerous, but they may occur serially (often two, range 0-4) suffixed to the same noun:

4.3.1 E/43 SN

yadab-gaya yi-MA-ny ....
crawling-like 3sg(II)-go-past₂ 'she went crawling along ....

... yalmban-darri-ğany-dyunu-ni mannan balğanydyina south-side-INSTR-INAN.SOURCE-ACT spearing thigh

...[the man from the people on the south side] having speared (her) (in the) thigh'.

...
It is proposed initially that, in Nyigina, a nominal suffix may have one of three possible roles (although it is not claimed that these roles necessarily have any "psychological reality" for speakers of Nyigina):

(1) the suffix may modify the meaning of a nominal, that is, it may be used derivationally. (Derivational suffixing is indicated either by underlining if the suffix is invariably derivational, or by the subscript "der", for example INAN.SOURCE\textsubscript{der}, if the suffix may also be used as a case-marker.)

(2) the suffix may indicate a grammatical relationship of a noun phrase (that is, like a case-marker). (This role is indicated, where necessary, by the subscript NP, for example, INAN.SOURCE\textsubscript{NP}.)

(3) the suffix may indicate a grammatical relationship of a nominalized clause, indicated where necessary by the subscript NC, for example, INAN.SOURCE\textsubscript{NC}. (A nominalized clause is a clause involving a verbal nominalization (see 11.1, 11.5). Such a clause may include noun phrase suffixing.)

These three roles do not, in practice, constitute water-tight compartments but they are introduced in order to discuss the use of serial nominal suffixing in Nyigina. In some Australian languages, nominal suffixes may be classified into:

(i) case-markers or

(ii) derivational suffixes

simply on a distributional basis. For reasons that will become apparent, with Nyigina it is not possible to define a system of "case-markers"
and designate the remaining suffixes "derivational suffixes", although clearly some Nyigina nominal suffixes are more "case-marker"-like than others.

It is, however, possible to recognize a large class of purely derivational suffixes on the basis of the meaning of the suffixes, although no distributional criterion for the identification of this class is possible. These suffixes frequently eliminate the need for separate "adjectives" or other descriptive phrases and contribute a great deal to style.

It is not possible to deal with the purely derivational suffixes at length. There are nineteen derivational suffixes on record. Examples involving five of these suffixes are presented:

(i) -dyarra 'two'

This may affix to most non-abstract nominals (including malina 'lacking', see 12.1.1):

\[\text{baba-dyarra yi-(rr)-DI-na-da-mirri dyuqudu-dyarra} \]
\[\text{child-two 3-(nmin)-sit-past-HABIT-AUG boy-two} \]
\[\text{.... giny-an walgawalga} \]
\[\text{dem-LOC Manguel Creek} \]

'two little boys used to sit there, at Manguel Creek'.

(ii) -dyinabur(u) 'expert at, appropriate for doing, proper'

This suffix may affix to objects which need to be dealt with by humans, for example, crocodiles for hunting, grass for mowing and also body parts to which appendages such as spectacles, bracelets and trousers may be attached:
4.3.1 E/45 SN
guwaniya-yinaburu yiŋ-GADI-n-gada-yina ....
crocodile-expert 3sg(II)-enter-pres-HABIT-3sgDatPro

.... barrdyan-an dyimbin
hole under water-LOC inside
'the "crocodile expert" goes in after him, inside the (underwater) hole in the bank';

4.3.1 E/46 SN
nimilgarr-dyinabur nimiligarr-gan yin-GA-na-da
eye-appropriate eye/face-LOC 3sg(I)-carry-past-HABIT

'he always wore spectacles on his face'.

(iii) -gurr "that which does something"

This derivational suffix affixes to verbal-nominals (participle-like nominals, see 7.3.1). It is often used in naming machinery and other objects of introduced technology, for example, running-doer 'car' and talking-doer 'radio'.

4.3.1 E/47 SN
guru wabab-gurru ɲadjyanu ....
dark covering-doer 1sgDAT/PRO

.... ɲurr yin-ANDI-ny-dyanu
steal 3sg(I)-pick up-past 2-1sgDatPro
'she stole my black blanket from me';

4.3.1 E/48 SN
dyụŋgu-ni yi-rr-MARRA-na mandya bad-gurr
fire-ACT 3-nmin(=II)-burn-past many "bad"-doer

("bad" is onomatopoeic for the thumping noise made by a certain type of kangaroo with its tail)

'many river kangaroos were roasted by the fire'.

(iv) -nil

'many (usually people)'

This suffix is usually, although not invariably, affixed to a human, or at least animate, nominal:

4.3.1 E/49 SN
gud yirrqa .... wamba-nil ....
dead 3nsgPRO man-many
.... yagu-nil yidyirra
husband-many 3nsgDAT/PRO
'they (were) dead .... so many men .... so many of their husbands' (following a massacre on Dampier Downs, perhaps eighty years ago).

(v) -rarri

'side (rather vague)'

This occurs with north, south, east and west and, perhaps curiously, fire:

4.3.1 E/50 SN
yalmban-darri yi-ŋA-n dyirrgaliy-gan
south-side 3sg(II)-sit-pres Geegully-LOC
'he's on the south side, at Geegully';

4.3.1 E/51 SN
dyujgu-rarri wali ŋaj-GALBARRI-ny
fire-side meat lsg(II)-drop-past
'I dropped the hot (to the touch) meat'.

Other derivational nominal suffixes are listed in Table T/11.
4.3.1 Further Derivational Nominal Suffixes

- **biny**  'side (of body, only)'
- **du**  'doubtful'
- **dyagu**  'belonging to (an environment)'
- **dyina**  'thought of as a class'
- **gadiny**  'side, including of body'
- **garra**  'multiple'
- **garuļu**  ‟"thing"″
- **nagan**  'close'
- **nya**  'this'
- **ŋal**  'times'
- **ŋunya**  'side of river'
- **ŋunydyin**  'inclined'
- **ŋurrinydyin**  'very much'
- **ŋurru**  'much'

A large number of other suffixes occupy a continuum between a derivational function and a case-marking function or, in many cases, may perform both functions, so that a distinction between the two classes has no practical value.

4.3.2 MULTI-FUNCTIONAL NOMINAL SUFFIXES

Some examples are given to demonstrate the possible uses of the multifunctional INANimate SOURCE suffix -dyunu:
(1) -dyunu as derivational suffixing:

4.3.2 E/52 SN

yi-rr-MA-na-yina [wamba-ni yalmban-dyunu-ni]NP
3-nmin-go-past-3sgDatPro man-ACT$_{NP}$ south-INAN.SOURCE$_{der}$ -ACT$_{NP}$
'men from the south (that is, southerners) went to her'.

(2) -dyunu as noun phrase suffixing (that is, like a case-marker):

4.3.2 E/53 SN

dyarrb yi-rr-(a)-I-n dyarajgarr-dyunu balu
scratch 3-nmin-(SET)-do-pres beefwood-INAN.SOURCE$_{NP}$ tree
'they carve (it) from the beefwood tree'.

(3) -dyunu as nominalized clause suffixing.

Inevitably, nominalized clause suffixing occurs in rather
complicated examples, the one given below being no exception.
(The verbal nominalization mannan 'spearing' is discussed in
9.3.6.):

4.3.2 E/54 SN (= ll.5.1 E/723)

yigid-gaya yi-MA-ny ....
limping-like 3sg(II)-go-past$_2$
'she went limping along ....

.... [wamba-ni-yunu mannan baljanydyina ....
man-ACT$_{NP}$-INAN.SOURCE$_{NC}$ spearing thigh
.... from [the man spearing (her) thigh ....
.... manjul-jany-dyunu]$_{NC}$
spear-INSTR$_{NP}$-INAN.SOURCE$_{NC}$
.... with a spear'].
4.3.3 SERIAL SUFFIXING

Some restrictions apply to multiple suffixing. The only apparent restriction on multiple derivational suffixing is semantic ("if it makes sense, say it"). An example of multiple derivational suffixing was found in 4.3.1 E/43:

```
yalmban-darri-jany-dyunu-ni
south-side-INSTR\_der-INAN.SOURCE\_der-ACT\_NP
''the southerner ....''
```

No example has been recorded with a series of multifunctional nominal suffixes representing all three roles, that is:
"derivational" multifunctional suffix + NP suffix + NC suffix.
The same multifunctional suffix may not appear more than once (see also 11.5.1) in any series of nominal suffixes, even if semantically plausible:

```
*4.3.3 E/55 SN (=11.5.1 E/724)
*..[yalmban-darri-yunu-ni-yunu man-NA-n balganydyina] NC
south-side-INAN.SOURCE\_der-ACT\_NP -INAN.SOURCE\_NC spearing thigh
..'from [the man from the south spearing (her) thigh]'.
(Various less elliptical versions are possible.)
```

4.3.4 DISTRIBUTION OF NP SUFFIXING IN MULTIPLE CONSTITUENT NP

In a noun phrase with several constituents, the location of the suffix applying to the entire noun phrase is rarely critical (except, as mentioned in 3.2, with noun incorporation). It must be represented at least once, if the relationship requires specification (see 4.3.5). The noun phrase suffix rarely appears more than twice, regardless of the number of constituents of the noun phrase. Popular locations of the noun phrase suffix are:
(1) the initial item

4.3.4 E/56 SN

[gudyaarra-ni wamba]_{NP} mug yi-rr-(a)-I-ny-mirri yila
two-ACT_{NP} man hit 3-nmin-(SET)-do-past_{2-AUG} dog
'two men hit the dog'; and

(2) the most significant item

4.3.4 E/57 SN

yi(n)-$n$-dyina [ginya manin-ga wurrawurra-ni]_{NP} ....
3sg(I)-say-pres-3sgDatPro dem woman-EMPH (specific name)-ACT_{NP}
'that wurrawurra woman says to him ....'.

4.3.5 UNSUFFIXED NOUN PHRASES

In descriptions of a number of Australian languages, noun phrases without nominal suffixing are analyzed as contrasting with noun phrases with nominal suffixing. Usually, the noun phrase without nominal suffixing is designated "nominative (or absolutive) case", that is, the noun phrase is regarded as having a case-marking suffix which is zero. (In these Australian languages, such noun phrases are invariably in S or O function.) However, this method of description seems to be inappropriate for Nyigina. Since in Nyigina many relationships are expressed by verbal affixing, circumstances exist in which nominal suffixing is not necessary in order to express the relationship of the noun phrase, that is, a whole noun phrase (not just certain constituents, as mentioned in 4.3.4) may lack nominal suffixing other than (possibly) derivational suffixing. Not all such noun phrases lacking nominal suffixing correspond to the usual use of "nominative/absolutive case". To distinguish in Nyigina between noun phrases which do not require
nominal suffixing (but which could take a non-zero nominal suffix and still be grammatical although differing somewhat in meaning) from others which can only have a case-marker which happens to be zero seems undesirable.

4.3.5.1 TYPES OF NOUN PHRASES WITHOUT NOMINAL SUFFIXING

The following relationships are never indicated in Nyigina by nominal suffixing:

(1) the subject of a verb expressing an activity involving only one participant, for example, an intransitive verb (S function);
(2) the direct object of a transitive verb or both objects of a ditransitive verb (O function or "patient");
(3) the unattainable indirect object (also discussed in 4.5.4) and
(4) temporal and locational nominals.

(a) Introduction to the Expression of S and O Function in Nyigina

Nyigina possesses a number of devices for expressing relationships involving transitivity (discussed as a whole in 12.5). These include: active suffixing (which overlaps considerably with the ergative of other languages), the set of verbal prefixing (introduced in 3.3 and discussed in 9.3.5.5), the presence of the verbal suffix -gæny (see 4.6.1 and 10.6) and the use of pronominal verbal suffixing (6.6.1). Since several mechanisms exist to clarify whether or not one of the noun phrases represents an agent, it is rarely difficult to identify whether a likely unmarked noun phrase is in S or O function (or is an indirect object).

(b) The Unattainable Indirect Object in Nyigina

When an activity involves an indirect object, the inflected verb is usually marked by a DatPro pronominal suffix (see 6.6.2 and 6.6.7), which is similar in form to the dative series of pronouns. If the inflected verb
has a suffixed DatPro, and the noun phrase to which this pronominal suffix refers is explicit, then the noun phrase may take either

1. no suffix, or
2. the regular dative suffix, or
3. the extended dative (see 4.5.2) suffix

and these three usages are not interchangeable in meaning.

Where an indirect object is considered an unattainable goal (see also 4.5.4), the inflected verb takes a DatPro suffix and the relevant noun phrase takes no suffix:

4.3.5.1 E/58 SN
ginya manin yin-JULIGA-na-yina yagu ginydyina ....
dem woman 3sg(I)-wait-past-3sgDatPro husband 3sgDAT/PRO
.... malu njuy wa-l(a)-I-na-da
NEG go back 3sg-IRR-do-past-HABIT
'that woman waited for her husband (who had been shot) but he never returned'.

If, however, the indirect object is thought of as readily attainable, the noun phrase is marked by the dative suffix or, if rather less readily attainable, the extended dative suffix (details of verbal suffixing and dative nominal suffixing are found in 4.5.4).

It might be argued that the difference between the presence of dative (or extended dative) suffixing and the absence of such suffixing involves a contrast between an achievement which is confidently anticipated, that is, the relationship is assumed to exist and is therefore expressed by the use of a case-marker (the dative suffix), and an outcome which is considered improbable, that is, the relationship is unlikely to become
actual and is therefore not represented by any case-marker, while the potential relationship is expressed by the use of DatPro verbal suffixing.

It seems preferable to analyze these noun phrases expressing the unattainable indirect object as belonging to a (larger) class of unmarked noun phrases rather than attempting to analyze them as either

(i) having a zero case-marker and being in nominative/absolutive case or
(ii) unsuffixed and distinct from noun phrases in nominative/absolutive case with a case-marker of zero.

(c) Temporal and Locational Nominals

Various words, which are readily translated into English by adverbs, occur regularly without suffixing:

4.3.5.1 E/59 SN
yulburru gadady yin-DI-n(a)-awu
long ago search 3sg(I)-do-past-1+2DatPro
‘he looked for us long ago’;

4.3.5.1 E/60 SN
guwaniya-ni yim-BIGA-na dyujgu dyimbin wil-an
crocodile-ACT 3sg(II)-have-past fire inside water-LOC
‘the crocodile kept the fire inside in the water’
(from the Dreamtime story of the origin of fire).

When a noun phrase is used to express location in time, the locative suffix is found:
In this example, both the unsuffixed wanydyiy and the noun phrase with locative suffixing [warany-gan barra] refer to the time of happening.

Let us consider some examples involving miliya 'now'. Very many examples have been recorded where miliya occurs without nominal suffixing, for example:

nyamburr ḣan-(a)-I miliya
bathe lsg(I)-(fut)-do now
'I'm going to have a swim now'.

Where miliya occurs initially within a noun phrase (where it might be considered adjectival in function) referring to the time of happening, miliya may take locative suffixing relating to the whole noun phrase:

[miliy-an wila]NP wamba waj-a-RA₂ bara
now-LOC NP water man 3sg(II)-fut-become maybe
'he might become a man this wet season'.

In this example, the locative suffixing applies to the whole noun phrase and, characteristically, is represented on the first word of the noun phrase, which happens to be miliya.

However, miliya may, individually, behave in a nominal fashion and take locative suffixing, with a slight difference in meaning:
"nowadays the government is aware (of what happens to Aborigines)"

(from an account of a massacre in the early days of European settlement).

The gloss 'nowadays' for miliy-an was that provided by the speaker.

Thus it can be seen that the addition of locative suffixing to miliya (when it is not part of a larger noun phrase) is not an optional extra; its presence alters meaning. It is therefore necessary to reconsider the status of the unsuffixed form miliya. It seems inappropriate to regard miliya as nominative/absolutive case, while setting up a separate class of adverbs requires the proposition that, in Nyigina, adverbs may take nominal suffixes. It seems to me to be preferable to regard words such as miliya 'now', wanydyiy 'later', dylmbin 'inside' and baybarra 'behind' as nominals, with the unsuffixed form being regarded as just that: unsuffixed, unmodified.

In summary, since other nominal or verbal affixing often makes ambiguity unlikely in Nyigina, some noun phrases other than those in S or O function can occur without nominal suffixing. Unsuffixed temporal or locational nominals are understood in their most central meaning.

4.4 THE ACTIVE SUFFIX (-nî)

Only a brief introduction is presented here, since an entire chapter (Chapter 5) has been devoted to this suffix (and the other suffixes -nî, which are introduced briefly below).

The vast majority of occurrences of the active suffix correspond to the use of the ergative case-marker of many Australian languages, indicating the subject of a transitive verb:
Identical usage of the active suffix is found with free form personal pronouns.

However, a minority of examples differ significantly from this usage (see 5.3). Some examples resemble an instrumental relationship:

'you might get wet through rain'

though an instrumental relationship usually presupposes an agent, which is lacking in this example.

Although ergative-instrumental "syncretism" is recognized in a number of Australian languages, such an explanation is not entirely appropriate for Nyigina as there is a separate instrumental suffix (-jany), whose functions coincide closely with the instrumental case-marker of other languages (see 4.6).

Since usages exist which are not shared by the ergative case-marker of other Australian languages, a name other than ergative has been preferred for this suffix.

---

5 Dixon (1976:314), Blake (1977:44)
A suffix similar to -ni (Ba:di⁶ -nim) occurs in other members of the language subgroup. Occasional examples involving the suffix, which are apparently non-ergative in nature have been recorded (by me) in some other alternative-prefixing languages. No language in the subgroup is known to have the suffix -ni as the regular instrumental marker.

The suffix -ni also occurs in other functions in narration and in cross-referencing. Such usages are regarded as being significantly different from the functions of active suffixing and these two uses are treated as distinct homonymous suffixes -ni (described in 5.4 and 5.5 respectively).

4.4.1 THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE SUFFIXES -ni

This suffix is never involved in phonological change at the morpheme boundary and some clusters are found only at this particular morpheme boundary, for example:

- jalyag-ni "blue tongue lizard-ACT"
- gayar-ni "whiteman-ACT"
- bilyurr-ni "spirit-ACT".

These unusual clusters, not found in other situations, may indicate that the suffix is a later addition to the language or, possibly, that what was earlier a separate particle (or word) has become an affix. The cluster -rr+n- of bilyurr-ni should be compared with the inflected forms of the verbal root -NI-, where it is proposed (see 8.3.3) that an

---

6 Metcalfe (1975:82)

7 Yawuru -ni
Warraw -na
Nyul Nyul -in (final vowel deletion probably predictable)
Dyabirr Dyabirr -in
(all from unpublished Stokes fieldwork).
underlying -rr+n- cluster appears in surface forms as -d-:

\[
yi + rr + \text{NI} + n \quad \xrightarrow{R/2b} \quad \text{yidin}
\]

3-nmin-sit-pres 'they are sitting'.

In Small Nyigina, an allomorph (-na) of the active suffix and the NARRative suffix -ni (but not the REFerential suffix -ni) is found. This allomorph probably conveys some kind of emphasis (see also 2.1.9 and 4.14.1). The allomorph -na is termed ACT\text{E} for the active suffix and NARR\text{E} for the NARRative suffix -ni. All the suffixes -ni and the allomorphs -na have the same phonological characteristics.

4.5 THE DATIVE AND RELEVANT SUFFIXES

The dative suffix is very widely used. Two other suffixes are relevant to it: the "extended" dative (DAT\text{E}) -dyiya and the animate source suffix -dyina.

4.5.1 THE DATIVE SUFFIX (-dyi)

4.5.1.1 MORPHOLOGY

The dative suffix displays dy/y alternation (see 2.1.8), occurring as -yi following a vowel or as -dyi elsewhere.

4.5.1.2 USES OF THE DATIVE SUFFIX

The dative suffix characterizes a number of relationships. Many of the same relationships may also be cross-referenced on the inflected verb by means of DatPro pronominal suffixing (see 3.3 and 6.6.8). Occasionally, verbal cross-referencing may occur with a DatPro (which corresponds to the dative) but the relevant noun phrase may be unmarked (discussed in 4.3.5.1 and 4.5.4).
The dative suffix is used for the following:

(1) person affected
    (a) benefactive

4.5.1.2 E/67 SN
malu ja-l(a)-ANDI-ny-dyina ginya-yi
NEG lsg-IRR-pick up-past_2-3sgDatPro dem-DAT
'I didn't get (it) for that one!'

(b) person disadvantaged

4.5.1.2 E/68 SN
jurru ja-ANLI-ny-dyirra ....
steal lsg(I)-pick up-past_2-3msgDatPro
.... yawan-darri-jany-dyi mandadyarra
     north-side-INSTR -DAT -- der multitude
'I stole (it) from those northerners'.

(2) possessive

4.5.1.2 E/69 SN
wamba-ni mug yin-DI-ny manin-dyi yila
man-ACT hit 3sg(I)-do-past_2 woman-DAT dog
'the man hit the woman's dog'.

(3) purposive

The intended purpose of an action or activity usually takes dative suffixing; motion is not essential (the allative may be used for purpose which includes motion, see 4.7). This use of the dative implies nothing about the realization of this intention (in contrast with (8) "indirect object").
The dative is used to indicate that which is to be feared or avoided:

(4) aversive

The dative is occasionally used for this purpose. (The more usual means is the use of jarru 'as', described in 12.3. Comparison involving inequality is described in 4.9.1.)

(6) "until"

The dative is used with expressions of time to add the meaning of "until":

4.5.1.2 E/70 SN (= 10.9.3 E/630)
wanajarri yin-MI-n(a)-awu majarry-dyi
rock 3sg(II)-give-past-1+20Pro food-DAT
'he gave you and me money for food'.
(4) aversive

4.5.1.2 E/71 SN
malu nyamburr-ŋgayya ya-la-rr-MA-gada yugurrugu-yi
NEG bathing-like lnsg-IRR-nmin-go-pres/HABIT water snake-DAT
'we never go swimming for fear of the water snake'.
(5) comparison of equality

4.5.1.2 E/72 SN
gina wa-la-NI-na dyayida malu ŋjarri
same 3sg-IRR-sit-past 1+2+mdAT/PRO NEG then
'he should have been the same as us (humans), but he isn't'
(from the Dreamtime story of how a cheeky boy became the willy wagtail).
(6) "until"
4.5.1.2 E/73 SN

waj-a-NI  warany-gan-dyi  wila
3sg(II)-fut-sit  other-LOC-DAT  water

'let him wait until next Wet';

4.5.1.2 E/74 SN

ŋjan-BAGGI-ny  ŋurrəŋurrə-yi
lsg(I)-see for later-past2  afternoon-DAT

'I saw (something, for example, game) to get later on, towards afternoon'.

(7) scope of roaming movement

In Nyigina, the ablative suffix may be used alone (see 4.9.1) to indicate dispersion, usually where significant travelling is not involved, that is, the diffusion is fairly static:

4.5.1.2 E/75 BN

warany-nil  waja-(rr)-DI-ŋany  baybarr-abu
other-many  3nsg/fut-(nmin)-sit-TOG  behind-ABL

'many others will sit around (in groups) behind'.

Where a dimension of travelling is added to the dispersion, the dative suffix may be added to the ablative suffix:

4.5.1.2 E/76 SN

ŋayu  ŋaj-a-MA  banu-rarr-abu-yi
lsgPRO  lsg(II)-fut-go  east-side-ABL-DAT

'I'm going to go around (hunting) on the east side'.


(8) "indirect object"

Methods of identifying the goal which one is pursuing by means of some activity are described in detail in 4.5.4. It is necessary to distinguish between this function of "indirect object" or goal, which must refer to the aim of one's own activities, and purpose, which may relate to one's expectations of someone else's activities (as in 4.5.1.2 E/70). Use of the dative to express purpose indicates only the intention of some action or the intended purpose of some object and has no implications about whether this intention will be realized. If, however, the dative marks the goal of the person who is performing the action, selection of the dative suffix implies that the goal will be achieved predictably and efficiently:

4.5.1.2 E/77 SN
Baybarra bidybidy yi(n)-ŋ-na gunbulu-yi
behind track 3sg(I)-do-past blood-DAT
'behind, he followed up the blood'.

This use of the dative appears not to express the means by which the action is performed, since the ablative is used for this purpose:

4.5.1.2 E/78 SN (= 4.9.1 E/164)
Bidybidy yi(n)-ŋ-na niyambal-abu
track 3sg(I)-do-past foot-ABL
'he tracked by the footprints'.

(9) afterthoughts and asides ("parenthetic" dative)

This usage is found occasionally, mainly in story-telling, and most commonly with verbal nominalizations (see 11.4.2.2). The parenthetic dative usually occurs following a pause and has falling intonation.
Since this usage of the dative is usually identified by discourse factors, it is difficult to present convincing, concise examples in print.

4.5.1.2 E/79 SN
malgin ginya wamba ....
secret dem man
.... ginya nijarra wamba dyarrada .... (malgin-dyi)
dem true man (specific name) secret-DAT
'he's a secret man .... he's a real live man (that is, not mythical)
that dyarrada man .... (but secret)';

4.5.1.2 E/80 SN (= 12.5.4 E/805)
yi-rr-BANDYI-ny-ŋany-dyIRR ŋanga (warany-nil-dyi)
3-nmin-share-past-TOG-3nsgOPro talk other-many-DAT
'they were gossiping about them (other people).

4.5.2 THE EXTENDED DATIVE (DAT_e) SUFFIX (-dyiya)

The extended dative is found fairly infrequently. This suffix has the following allomorphs:
-dyiya (SN and BN) following a non-vowel;
-ŋiya (BN) following a vowel;
-ya (SN) following a vowel.

Noun phrases marked with DAT_e suffixing are cross-referenced in the inflected verb in the same way as the regular dative, by means of the DatPro pronominal suffix.

The use of the extended dative suffix appears to be closely related to the use of the regular dative. Speakers have difficulty in expressing the difference in meaning between the use of these two suffixes but
affirm that they are "not the same". It seems that the extended dative can always be replaced by the regular dative without gross distortion of meaning but not the reverse.

Use of the extended dative appears to indicate:

(1) non-immediacy

Some examples and the glosses provided by speakers are presented:

4.5.2 E/81 SN

gadadь yan-(a)-(I)-ina dyarramba-ya
hunt 1+2(I)-(fut)-(do)-3sgDatPro cherabin-DAT_e
"we'll look around a bit for cherabin (yabbies/freshwater prawns)"

4.5.2 E/82 SN

manin-dyiya : "galiya тадуану waju dyuwa"
woman-DAT_e finished 1sgDAT/PRO partner 2sgPRO
"after a while (he says) to the woman: "It's settled -- you're my woman""
(from an account of a Nyigina-style seduction)

4.5.2 E/83 SN

gan-gan-ga liŋga yi-(rr)-DI-na-yirra ginya-nil-dyiya
dem-LOC-EMPH expect 3-(nmin)-sit-past-3nsgDatPro dem-many-DAT_e
"they waited and waited there for those people (who had been murdered)"

The following example, which relates to the sending of the head of a man-eating crocodile to Derby for display, perhaps emphasizes the separation of the creature's head, usually regarded as inalienable.
(Inalienable possession may be indicated in various ways (see 12.4) but not usually by DAT_e suffixing.)
4.5.2 E/84 SN
ginya marru yi-ŋA-n linygurra-ya marru
dem head 3sg(II)-sit-pres salty croc-DAT e head
'that head is (still there) .... the crocodile's head'.

(2) non-specificity

4.5.2 E/85 SN
bangul yi-YA-n-dyina inydy-a-ya
tired 3sg(II)-feel-pres-3sgDatPro going-DAT e
"she feels tired for going anywhere" (speaker's gloss);

4.5.2 E/86 BN
gadu wamba-yiya yi-ŋA-n
dem man-DAT e 3sg(II)-sit-pres
"this (way) belongs to the people" (that is, the Aborigines).

No example of a free form pronoun with extended dative suffixing
occurred spontaneously (in a text). One speaker considered the following
example acceptable:

4.5.2 E/87 SN
gjadiy-an-ya gadady yi(n)-ŋ-o-n(a)-anu wilgirr-wilgirr
lsgDAT/PRO-DAT e search 3sg(I)-do-past-lsgDatPro circling-circling
'he went around looking for me'.

Other speakers rejected all such forms. Such usages were termed
baybarra janga 'obscure (literally 'behind') language' and speakers
were reluctant to discuss them.
4.5.3 THE ANIMATE SOURCE SUFFIX (-dyina)

This suffix, which displays dy/y alternation (allomorphs -dyina and -yina) is used to identify an animate source, which may be either material or cause:

4.5.3 E/88 SN

yin-GULALMA-na  manin  wamba-yina  dibiny-dyunu
3sg(I)-manufacture-past  woman  man-ANIM.SOURCE  rib-INAN.SOURCE

'he (God) made woman out of the rib from the man'
(from the story of Adam and Eve, which was probably told to me in the belief that I was a Bible translator).

This example contrasts the two "source" suffixes nicely. It does not seem that the words wamba dibiny constitute a single noun phrase (involving inalienable possession) and that there is a single kind of source suffixing with semantically controlled variants for animate and inanimate sources (with 'rib' being considered inanimate). Rather it means 'from the rib (inanimate) (which was derived) from the man (animate).

Some other examples show the scope of this suffix:

4.5.3 E/89 SN

yi-LI-na-da  mandya-yina  wali  gambiy
3sg(I)-eat-past-HABIT  many-ANIM.SOURCE  animal  egg

'he used to eat the eggs from many creatures';
4.5.3 E/90 SN

manydyan gab yadyarra-yina ....
only eating 1+3+mDAT/PRO-ANIM.SOURCE
.... gab wa-rr-(a)-I-ŋani
eat 2nsg/fut-nmin-(SET)-do-HABIT
'you lot are always going to just eat off us'

(it should be noted that the animate source suffix is affixed to the
dative free form pronoun);

4.5.3 E/91 SN

mandu yi-YA-ny ŋadyanu-yina
pregnant 3sg(II)-become-past2 lsgDAT/PRO-ANIM.SOURCE
'she got pregnant from me'.

The analysis of two different source suffixes, with meaning
difference apart from the type of noun phrase to which each usually
affixes, is supported by the following examples where either suffix
may occur with an animate noun phrase.

Use of the animate source suffix may relate to the human "link"
between a cause and a result:

4.5.3 E/92 SN

gud ŋa-rра-MA gabay-dyina
dead 1sg(II)-fut/IRR-go (kin term)-ANIM.SOURCE
'I might die from (someone linked with) my gabay'.

Use of the inanimate source suffix would imply a cause which is not
animate:
4.5.3  E/93  SN

gud  ɲa-rра-MA  gabay-dyunu
dead  1sg(II)-fut/IRR-go  (kin term)-INAN.SOURCE
'I might die as a result of (some offence of) my gabay'.

4.5.4  ASPECTS OF INDIRECT OBJECT/GOAL

When an indirect object is the sole object of the verb, pronominal verbal suffixing usually occurs and the pronominal suffix is invariably the DatPro, which corresponds closely to dative nominal suffixing. However, the noun or noun phrase to which the pronominal suffix refers may have either:

(1) no suffix

4.5.4  E/94  SN

gadady  yi(n)-ŋ-na-yina  [ginya wamba]  ....
search  3sg(I)-do-past-3sgDatPro  dem  man
...  yarridy  yi-WA-na
disappear  3sg(II)-sit-past
'he searched for that man  ....  he'd disappeared';

4.5.4  E/95  SN  (= 3.2 E/22)

gadady  ɲan-DI-ny-dyina  [ginya wamba]  ....  malina
search  1sg(I)-do-past-2-3sgDatPro  dem  man  lacking
'I searched for that man  ....  in vain'.

The implication of the above examples is that the searcher had virtually no chance of achieving his goal.

---

Western Torres Strait Language also makes distinctions regarding goals. Bani (1979:38-40) discusses presupposition in purposive noun phrases and the use of a dative (and a superessive) case-marker.
Similarly, if one is discussing in the abstract the catching of cherabin, for example, while sitting at home and making neither plans nor preparations, one might say:

4.5.4 E/96 SN
gadady yan-(a)-(I)-ina dyarramba
search 1+2(I)-(fut)-(do)-3sgDatPro cherabin
'let's look for cherabin'.

(2) dative suffixing

4.5.4 E/97 SN (= 3.2 E/23)
gadady yi(n)-Ø-na-yina [ginya-yi wamba] ....
search 3sg(I)-do-past-3sgDatPro dem-DAT man
.... yim-BULA-na-yina garrgudyi
3sg(II)-come-past-3sgDatPro straight
'he searched for that man and came upon him straight away'.
Here the implication is that the goal would be (and was) achieved in minimal time.

Correspondingly, if one were walking purposefully towards a spot guaranteed for catching cherabin, one might say:

4.5.4 E/98 SN
gadady yan-(a)-(I)-ina dyarramba-yi
search 1+2(I)-(fut)-(do)-3sgDatPro cherabin-DAT
'let's look for cherabin'.
(3) extended dative suffixing

4.5.4  E/99  SN

\[
\begin{align*}
gadady & \quad ^{\text{search}} \quad \text{g} & \quad \text{Ijan-DI-ny-dyina} & \quad [\text{ginya-ya} \quad \text{wamba}] & \quad \ldots \quad \ldots \\
\quad & \quad \text{1sg(I)-do-past}_2 \quad \text{3sgDatPro} & \quad \text{dem-\text{DAT}}_e \quad \text{man} \\
\quad & \quad \text{malu} \quad \text{j} & \quad \text{la-BULA-na-yina} & \quad \ldots \quad \ldots \\
\quad & \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{1sg-IRR-come-past}_3 \quad \text{3sgDatPro} \\
\quad & \quad \text{wanydyiy} \quad \text{g} & \quad \text{an-BA-ny} \quad \text{warany-gan} \quad \text{barra} \\
\quad & \quad \text{later} \quad \text{1sg(I)-see-past}_2 \quad \text{other-LOC} \quad \text{day} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'I searched for that man ... I didn't find him ... later, another day, I saw (him)'.

Use of the extended dative suffix implies that the searching took rather longer than the minimal or expected time but was ultimately successful.

The corresponding example for cherabin-hunting might be said when one sets out for a day's food-trekking, expecting to be successful some time before the day is over:

4.5.4  E/100  SN

\[
\begin{align*}
gadady & \quad ^{\text{search}} \quad \text{yan-}-(\text{a})-(\text{I})-\text{ina} & \quad \text{dyarramba-ya} \\
\quad & \quad \text{1+2(I)-(fut)-(do)-3sgDatPro} & \quad \text{cherabin-\text{DAT}}_e \\
\end{align*}
\]

'let's go hunting around for cherabin'.

4.6 THE INSTRUMENTAL SUFFIX(-\text{fany})

This suffix has a variety of uses. It is subject to some variation between dialects.

(1) instrument

This suffix is used for tools in an instrumental relationship:
'they chopped his neck with an axe right there in that place'.

Some means other than tools may be regarded in the same fashion, for example 'fire':

(we'll do it) this way with fire, we'll light (a grass fire) all around (to chase the kangaroo out)'.

Other examples involving 'fire' which use the instrumental suffix are unacceptable (discussion follows):

* 'you cook the food with fire!'

If a specific rather than a generic example is involved, the instrumental suffix construction proves to be acceptable:
The difference in usage appears to depend on whether the fire is thought of as a "force" and unable to be manipulated or as a "tool" and subject to control adequate for the purpose. This distinction is determined by both the nature of the fire in question and the purpose for which it is intended.

Where the tool interpretation is possible, the instrumental suffix can be used. Thus, in E/102, where the fire is only required to burn much as it wishes, it can be manipulated sufficiently to perform its intended function of flushing out wildlife. However, in E/103, 'fire' (generic) is not considered a tool for purposes of cooking and cannot take instrumental suffixing (a locative construction 'on the fire' is possible). A specific type of fire may be considered a tool, as 'big fire' in E/104, and instrumental suffixing is found. In the example below, 'fire' is apparently not thought of in the same way as for cooking. Its role is only to be manipulated to the extent of not inflicting injury on the user. In this context, it is subject to control and may take instrumental suffixing:

4.6 E/105 SN

dyujgunjany  gjama-MARRA-nydyi  dyuwa  garrinydyia
fire-INST   2sg(II)-fut-int, -burn-int,  2sgPRO  specific

'you'll burn yourself with fire (which you are playing around with)'.

4.6 E/104 SN

widujany  dyujgu  wal-a-MARRA  wali
big-INST  fire  2sg(I)-fut-burn  meat

'cook the meat with a big fire!'.

The difference in usage appears to depend on whether the fire is thought of as a "force" and unable to be manipulated or as a "tool" and subject to control adequate for the purpose. This distinction is determined by both the nature of the fire in question and the purpose for which it is intended.
'Fire' may take "instrumental-like" active suffixing (see 5.3) but not in association with an NP with active suffixing (that is, an "agent").

Body parts can take instrumental suffixing:

4.6 E/106 SN
nyim yi(n)-ŋ-n-dyina nimirgarr-gany manin-dyi
wink 3sg(I)-do-pres-3sgDatPro eye-INSTR woman-DAT
'he's winking (with) an eye at the woman'.

At least some body parts may also take "instrumental-like" active suffixing (see 5.2.1 and 5.3). For many body parts, the two usages appear to be in free variation. "Instrumental-like" active suffixing (never common) seems to occur most often with body parts towards the periphery of the body (hands and feet).

Instrumental suffixing is also found with language names:

4.6 E/107 SN
nyigina-gany wirrban ya-rr-(a)-I-n-dyina
Nyigina-INSTR bush onion lnsg-nmin-(SET)-say-pres-3sGoPro
'in Nyigina we call it "wirrban"'.

(2) manner

Occasional phrases, which might be described as having the common property of expressing "manner", involve instrumental suffixing:

4.6 E/108 SN
gina-gany yin-MA-na-da-yirrga
same-INSTR 3sg(I)-make-past-HABIT-3sGoPro
'"he would do the same thing to them"' (speaker's gloss);
E/109 SN

gina-ggaya yi-(rr)-DI-na wanda-ŋany
same-like 3-(nmin)-sit-past along-INSTR

"that's how they ended up every time" (speaker's gloss);

Other examples are possibly rather idiomatic:

E/110 SN (= 10.6.5 E/592)

bud yin-GA-na-da bayin-ŋany
arise 3sq(I)-carry-past-HABIT night-INSTR

"he always used to get up very early in the morning" (speaker's gloss);

E/111 SN

galiya dyirril-ŋany yi-YA-na
finished strong-INSTR 3sg(II)-become-past

"then he became big and strong" (speaker's gloss).

The following example with dyimbin-ŋany is ambiguous:

E/112 SN

gud yi-MA-ny dyimbin-ŋany
dead 3sg(II)-go-past₂ inside-INSTR

This occurred in a story about a greedy man who swallowed a heated stone and subsequently died from its effects. In context, this sentence was glossed as:

'he died from inside (himself)'.

However, in the absence of context, dyimbin-ŋany is more likely to be interpreted in a locative fashion:

'he died underneath'.
The following example illustrates this more usual use:

4.6 E/113 SN
dyimbin-ɲany ɲa-ɲa-n larrgad-y-gan
inside-INSTR lsg(II)-sit-pres boab tree-LOC
'I'm sitting under the boab tree'.

(3) derivationally

Rarely, the instrumental suffix can be followed by other nominal suffixes:

4.6 E/114 SN
[dyurrũ-ni ginya munydu-ɲany-ni]_{NP} ....
snake-\textit{ACT}_{NP} dem trick-INSTR_{der} \textit{-ACT}_{NP}
.... biliga biliga yin-MA-na-yina ginya guwaniya
close close 3sg(I)-put-past-3sgDatPro dem crocodile
'that treacherous water snake .... he put that crocodile closer and closer to him (as a lure)'.

(4) the comitative relationship in Big Nyigina

While the suffix -ɲany is also used with the instrument in Big Nyigina:

4.6 E/115 BN
nyag wal-(a)-I guduru-ɲany
hit 2sg(I)-(fut)-\textit{do} nulla nulla-INSTR
'you hit (him) with a club!'

the same suffix is used regularly in Big Nyigina to express a comitative relationship:
4.6 E/116 BN

yagu-gany ŋ-a-MA
husband-INSTR 2sg(II)-fut-go
'you go with your husband!';

4.6 E/117 BN

dambal ma-MA-n buy wanjjarri nilawal-gany
river stone GEN-put-pres around stone name-INSTR
'they put river stones all around .. stones associated with names'
(describing the traditional way of determining who is responsible for a death).

(Small Nyigina uses a separate suffix -barr] (4.11.1) for the comitative relationship.)

Big Nyigina appears to have lexicalized -ŋany in certain nominals:

4.6 E/118 BN

warany-nil waŋa-(rr)-DI-ŋany baybarr-abu ban-an-gabu-ŋany
other-many 3/fut-(nmin)-sit-TOG behind-ABL east-LOC-ABL -INSTR -der
'others, easteners, will sit around in groups behind'.

A number of similar examples of lexicalized -ŋany are also found in Small Nyigina:

4.6 E/119 SN

warany-ŋany-dyina yi-(rr)-DI-na warany-gan wila
other-ŋany-generic 3-(nmin)-sit-past other-LOC water
'the other mob camped at another water-hole';
4.6 E/120 SN
yi-(rr)-DI-n majala-barri waman yalmban-darri-jany
3-(nmin)-sit-pres Mangala-COMIT different south-side-jany
'those southerners are different (people), Mangala speakers'.

Such examples are discussed in 4.11.1.

4.6.1 THE VERBAL SUFFIX -jany

It is of interest here to allude to the verbal suffix -jany (TOG),
which was introduced in 3.3 and which will be described in considerable
detail in 10.6. This suffix introduces a meaning of "with". Many
examples are somewhat "comitative":

4.6.1 E/121 SN
majarrtiy jayi-ni jgam-BULA-ny-jany
food lsgPRO-ACT lsg(II)-come-past_2-TOG
'I brought (that is, came with) food';

4.6.1 E/122 SN
idyib yi(n)-Ø-na-jany ginya dyugudu
set out 3sg(I)-do-past-TOG dem boy
'he set out with that boy'.

An instrumental interpretation of the verbal suffix is rarely (see
10.6.5 E/588) possible. The semantic aspects of the verbal suffix
-jany are discussed at some length in 10.6.2.

4.7 THE ALLATIVE SUFFIX (-jana)

This suffix is used to indicate:

(1) intended destination
4.7 E/123 SN
dyad yan-(a)-I marradya-jana
move l+2(I)-(fut)-do shade-ALLAT
'let's move to the shade';

4.7 E/124 SN
ja-MA-ny jayu rajgarr rajgarr-gan bindinyan-jana
lsg(II)-go-past2 lsgPRO first light-LOC Liveringa-ALLAT
'I went to Liveringa at first light'.

(2) purpose, usually involving motion

4.7 E/125 SN (= 11.2.4 E/665)
yab yagu ginydyina birra wali-jana
away husband 3sgDAT/PRO bush meat-ALLAT
'her husband (was) away (out) bush after meat';

4.7 E/126 SN
muda-jana mandya-jal gu-rr-a-DYINBI-na
nothing-ALLAT many-times 2nsg-nmin-SET-talk about-past
"you lot been talking (about him) for no reason" (speaker's gloss).

(3) physical situation, stance/style

4.7 E/127 SN (= 4.9.1 E/154)
gan-gabu-dyarra-ni yi-(rr)-(a)-DA-ny ....
there-ABL der-two-ACT 3-(nmin)-(SET)-spear-past2
.... budurr-jana wanydyarri wamba
middle-ALLAT one man
'the two from there speared one man, (who was) halfway';
4.7 E/128 SN

ŋudin-ŋana yi-ŋa-na
alone-ALLAT 3sg(II)-sit-past
'she stopped alone';

4.7 E/129 SN

ŋai-ni malu bibany ŋa-LI-na ŋai-na ŋba-ŋana
1sgPRO-ACT NEG greedy 1sg(I)-eat-past 1sgPRO-ACT E small-ALLAT
'I wasn't greedy ....... I (only) ate a little'.

4.8 THE LOCATIVE AND RELEVANT SUFFIXING

4.8.1 THE LOCATIVE SUFFIX (-gan)

This suffix has two allomorphs: -an following a vowel and -gan elsewhere (g/∅ alternation). These allomorphs may reflect the series of changes

\[ g > \emptyset > \emptyset \]

with subsequent deletion of the word-final vowel.

The core meaning of locative suffixing in Nyigina is situation.

The situation may be geographical/spatial/temporal or it may be condition or state of being.

(1) geographical/spatial/temporal situation

4.8.1 E/130 SN

yurr yi-MA-ny wil-an wadal-gan warramba
sink 3sg(II)-go-past 2 water-LOC big-LOC flood
'he drowned in the big flood'.

The locative may be used with human noun phrases (including pronouns) to express "at the camp of --- (person)

...
'I'm going to stop with you';

'you stay with those people!'.

The locative may be used to express location in time:

'the other night they were cold';

'I came in the moonlight'.

'she was walking along in a sad state';
4.8.1 E/136 SN
muda-mud-an ya-(rr)-DI-na-yina
nothing-nothing-LOC lns-g-(nmin)-sit-past-3sgDatPro
'we were in complete ignorance of (what had happened to) him';

4.8.1 E/137 SN
yajg-an..mada yi-ŋA-n dymbin
what-LOC..uncertain 3sg(II)-sit-pres inside
'he's doing I-don't-know-what inside';

The following example of locative usage is rather difficult to classify:

4.8.1 E/138 SN
garnbiy-gan guly-ŋgaya yi-ŋA-na gularrabulu
egg-LOC excreting-like 3sg(II)-sit-past turtle
"the turtle was laying eggs" (speaker's gloss).

Some examples occur with verbal nominalizations (see 11.4.1.3 and 11.4.5):

4.8.1 E/139 SN (= 11.4.5.1 E/705)
midyal-an gamininy ŋa-RA₂-ny
sitting-LOC cold 1sg(II)-become-past₂
'while I was sitting, I got cold'.

Locative suffixing may be associated with a nominalized clause expressing condition:
4.8.1 E/140 SN (= 12.1.1 E/738)

budurr [mal-an wila]NC ....
middle lacking-LOCNC water

.... wididy yi(n)-ŋ-na buru
dig 3sg(I)-do-past sand

'halfway, being without water, he dug (in) the sand'.

The use of malina 'lacking' indicates temporary unavailability, whereas non-existence is expressed using malu 'not':

4.8.1 E/141 BN

yulburru-garra [mal-an ŋayu]NC ....
long ago-multiple NEG-LOCNC 1sgPRO

'long, long ago, before I (was born) ....';

4.8.1 E/142 SN

gunbulu budyu yi-YA-ny-dyina ....
blood finished 3sg(II)-become-past,2-3sgDatPro

.... [mal-an dyalŋgajerrru]NC
NEG-LOCNC doctor

'her bleeding was stopped (by smoke) .... before we had "doctors" (white)'.

(This example refers to the efficacy of the smoke from burning the wood of the conkerberry bush (Carissa ovata) as a traditional means of controlling haemorrhage in childbirth.)

4.8.2 THE LOCATIVE + SURFACE (-jandí) SUFFIXING

The addition of the suffix -jandí, which is used only in conjunction with locative suffixing, indicates that a spatial relationship significantly involves a surface or interface:
4.8.2  E/143  SN

ginya-ni  yi-ma-BARA-nydyi-ny    wil-an-jandi
3sgPRO-ACT  3sg(II)-INT_see-INT_p-past2  water-LOC-SURF
'he saw himself (reflected) in the water';

4.8.2  E/144  SN

yi-rr-a-BA-na    bal-an-jandi
3-nmin-SET_see-past  tree-LOC-SURF
'they saw (him) against the tree';

4.8.2  E/145  SN

dyalmarra-gudany  yi-GADI-ny    waragarr-gan-jandi
wing-having  3sg(II)-enter-past2  cloud-LOC-SURF
'the aeroplane went inside the cloud';

4.8.2  E/146  SN

lagaba  wil-an-jandi  niban  yi-YA-ny
fat  water-LOC-SURF  mix  3sg(II)-become-past2
'the oil spread out on the water'.

4.8.3  THE ALLATIVE + LOCATIVE SUFFIXING (-jan-an)

This combination of suffixes is found with temporal noun phrases. Phrases with this suffixing have proved difficult to gloss in English. Time specification is either particularly elusive or culturally rather vague (or both). The suffixing -jan-an seems to mean 'rather later than' or possibly just 'around about'.
Some examples of this suffixing are listed:

- gjurrajurringa-jan-an: 'late afternoon'
- mid afternoon-ALLAT-LOC
- jimbi-jan-an: "bit after jimbi"
- morning-ALLAT-LOC
- rajgarr-jan-an: 'towards sunrise'
- piccaninny daylight-ALLAT-LOC
- miliya-jan-an: 'recently'
- now-ALLAT-LOC
- giya-jan-an: 'another time later on'
- again-ALLAT-LOC
- baybarra-jan-an: '"last time"'
- behind-ALLAT-LOC

Further suffixing may follow this suffixing combination:

4.8.3 E/147 SN
miliya-jan-an-dyunu  gjam-BIGA-n  baba
now-ALLAT-LOC-INAN.SOURCE  lsg(II)-have-pres  child
'I've got a new-born baby'.

4.8.4 THE SUFFIXES (-gan+-dyi) AND CAUSAL (-gandyi)

The use of dative suffixing with time phrases marked by the locative to mean 'until' has been noted (4.5.1.2). A typical example is:

4.8.4 E/148 SN (= 4.5.1.2 E/73)
waj-a-NI  [warany-gan-dyi  wila]NP
3sg(II)-fut-sit  other-LOC-DAT  water
'he can wait until next Wet (to become a man)'.

(speaker's gloss)
This particular example can be satisfactorily analyzed as locative + dative sufffixing, each having a predictable function.

However, in other examples, sufffixing which is identical in form appears to have assumed a separate function, marking someone who is the indirect cause of some action, because of either

(1) his essential nature or habitual behaviour, or

(2) his provocative status.

This usage is more easily appreciated if some examples are considered:

4.8.4 E/149 SN

ginydyin-andyi  manin  yi-(rr)-(a)-DA-na
3sgDAT/PRO-CAUS  woman  3-(nmin)-(SET)-spear-past
'they speared (him) because of his woman (being another man's wife)';

4.8.4 E/150 SN

gud  ña-rra-MA  gabay-gandyi
dead  lsg(II)-fut/IRR-go  (kin term)-CAUS
'I might die because of my gabay (being a trouble-maker)';

4.8.4 E/151 SN

mug  yin-DI-ny  ñayu  dyuw-andyi  ....
hit  3sg(I)-do-past  lsgPRO  2sgPRO-CAUS
....  yagu-ni  ñadyanu
husband-ACT  lsgDAT/PRO
'my husband hit me because of you (being my lover)'

(a statement made by a Nyigina woman to a station European which resulted in the sudden death of her husband).
It is proposed that, with temporal noun phrases, -gandyi suffixing is analyzed as -gan + -dyi, while with human noun phrases, -gandyi is analyzed as a single suffix.

The suffix -gandyi affixed to a human noun phrase could perhaps also be analyzed as: LOCative ("situation") + DATive ("purpose"). On the grounds that the "situation" has evolved to the special case of provocative circumstances usually relating to a human being, I am proposing that -gandyi be analyzed synchronically as a single suffix (CAUSal). (The suffix displays g/∅ alternation.)

4.9 THE ABLATIVE SUFFIX (-gabu)

This suffix has two allomorphs: -abu following a vowel and -gabu elsewhere (g/∅ alternation, see 4.8.1).

4.9.1 USES OF THE ABLATIVE SUFFIX

The ablative suffix is often used when there is a notion of continuity with the source, for example:

4.9.1 E/152 SN

inydya-yunu yi-MA-na wid-gabu yi-MA-n(a)-arri

going-INAN.SOURCE 3sg(II)-go-past far-ABL 3sg(II)-go-past-REL

'he died from travelling, because he came from a long way'.

Here the use of wid-gabu does not suggest that the person was murdered at his destination because he was an alien, which is a possibility if the aspect of discontinuity is introduced by the use of the inanimate source suffix as in wid-dyunu in the following example:
Rather, E/152 implies that the person had to journey continuously over an excessive distance to his destination so that he died as a result of his exertions. Sometimes these two suffixes are used almost interchangeably or even together (see 4.10).

Use of the ablative suffix to denote geographical source may come to be used derivationally:

The source may be temporal also:

'they grew up like that from childhood';
4.9.1 E/156 SN

\textit{giny-abu} \textit{yugula} \textit{gab} \textit{yi(n)-g-na}
\textit{dem-ABL} \textit{liver} \textit{eat} \textit{3sg(I)-do-past}

'next (that is, \textit{from then}) he ate the liver'.

(2) progression ("through")

4.9.1 E/157 SN

\textit{dyaw(u)} \textit{yi(n)-g-na} \textit{walbadu} \textit{ub-abu} \textit{balma}
\textit{swim} \textit{3sg(I)-do-past} \textit{across} \textit{small-ABL} \textit{creek}

'he swam across the little creek';

4.9.1 E/158 SN

\textit{dyimbin} \textit{yiij-GADI-na-da} \textit{nanjul-abu}
\textit{inside} \textit{3sg(II)-enter-past-HABIT} \textit{small hole-ABL}

'he used to go in \textit{through a small hole}';

4.9.1 E/159 SN

\textit{gud} \textit{yi-(rr)-DI-na} \textit{... dyud} \textit{...} \textit{wanydyiy-garr-abu}
\textit{dead} \textit{3-(nmin)-sit-past} \textit{finally} \textit{later-multiple-ABL}

'they were dead \textit{... at last \textit{... eventually}'.

(3) motion involving separation ("over")

4.9.1 E/160 SN

\textit{yin-MA-na} \textit{dyimbin-gabu}
\textit{3sg(I)-put-past} \textit{inside-ABL}

'he put (it) away inside';
4.9.1 E/161  SN
wamba  dyudug  yin-DI-ny  mayar-gabu
man   inside  3sg(I)-do-past_2  house-ABL
'the man went past the house';

4.9.1 E/162  SN
yarridy  wan-(a)-(I)-arri  gularr-gab-an  gilinyman  ....
disappear  3sg(I)-(fut)-(do)-REL  west-ABL-LOC  moon
'when the moon disappears away in the west  ....'.

(4) diffusion/dispersion ("around")

4.9.1 E/163  SN
yim-BULA-na-yina  dyijjadi-jgaya  ....
3sg(II)-come-past-3sgDatPro  playing-like
....  dyilgarr-gan  nyinda-nyind-abu  malal-an
ant heap-LOC  this-this-ABL  flat ant heap-LOC
'he came upon him playing around here, on the flat ant heap'.

(5) means

4.9.1 E/164  SN  (= 4.5.1.2 E/78)
bidybidy  yi(n)-@-na  niyambal-abu
track  3sg(I)-do-past  foot-ABL
'he tracked from the footprints';

4.9.1 E/165  SN
gidarr-gidarr  yin-GA-na  nimarrajg-abu
pull-pull  3sg(I)-carry-past  hand-ABL
'he tugged her by the hand'.

(6) manner

4.9.1 E/166 SN
muda wal-(a)-ANDI gug-gabu
nothing 2sg(I)-(fut)-pick up speechless-ABL
"'shut up and get it!'" (speaker's gloss).

This usage may become derivational:

4.9.1 E/167 SN
gudyarr-abu-ni mug yi-rr-(a)-I-na-mirri ....
two-ABL derog-der act hit 3-nmin-(SET)-do-past-AUG
.... darrul dyajgala malajgul-gabu
breaking leg same-ABL
'those two (that is, together) hit (him) simultaneously and broke (his) leg'.

(7) comparison involving inequality

4.9.1 E/168 SN
idany gadyanu-nil baba dyiya-nil-gabu baba idany
long lsgDAT/PRO-many child 2sgDAT/PRO-many-ABL child long
'my kids are taller than your kids';

4.9.1 E/169 SN
mandya yila javam-BIGA-n dyuw-abu
many dog lsg(II)-have-pres 2sgPRO-ABL
'I've got more dogs than you'.

4.10 **THE INANIMATE SOURCE SUFFIX (-dyunu)**

This suffix, displaying dy/y alternation, is used to indicate the inanimate source or causal process of an object, a being or the state of a being. The source or causal process usually lacks continuity with the resulting object or state, which contrasts with the ablative suffix (4.9.1) where continuity is usual. However, in some situations, the suffixes may be used apparently interchangeably. Occasionally both the ablative and the inanimate source suffix are found; a corroboree was once described to me as "yalmban-gabu-yunu", 'south-ABL-INAN.SOURCE', for which no precise English gloss could be obtained.

Some examples of the use of the inanimate source suffix are presented:

4.10 E/170 SN

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
gayi-ni & lurrb & \text{jan-DI-ny} & \ldots \\
\text{lsgPRO-ACT} & \text{pound} & \text{lsg(I)-do-past}_2 \\
\ldots & \text{barrgura} & \text{madyala-yunu} & \\
& \text{bark} & \text{river mangrove-INAN.SOURCE} & \\
\end{array}
\]

'I pounded the bark from the river mangrove'

(referring to the traditional means of poisoning fish from the bark of the bush *Barringtonia acutangula*);

4.10 E/171 SN

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
gana & yim-BIGA-n & majul-dyunu & \\
\text{spike} & \text{3sg(II)-have-pres} & \text{spear-INAN.SOURCE} & \\
\end{array}
\]

'she's (still) got spikes from the spears'

(This example is from a Dreamtime story about a woman whose many rejected suitors retaliated by spearing her, and she became the porcupine.)
4.10

galiya wali yi-YA-na manin-dyunu
finished animal 3sg(II)-become-past woman-INAN SOURCE
'thereafter, from a woman she became an animal';

4.10 E/173 SN

winda ja-RA₂-n gadady-dyunu
exhausted 1sg(II)-feel-pres hunting-INAN SOURCE
'I'm exhausted from hunting';

4.10 E/174 SN

galbudany yi-rr-a-MA-na gud-dyunu
outside 3-nmin-SET-put-past dead-INAN SOURCE
'they put (him) outside because (he was) dead';

4.10 E/175 SN (see also 4.5.3 E/93)
ginya-yunu wamba gud, ja-rra-MA
dem-INAN SOURCE man dead 1sg(II)-fut/IRR-go
'I might die as a result of that man'.

The inanimate source suffix appears to have been lexicalized in a few words (all suspected examples are listed) with an approximate meaning of 'a little more than'. (No explanation of the presence of -dyunu (predicted -yunu) following final vowels is offered.)

mandyayunu ?mandya + -dyunu "big mob"
many
'a big mob of men went with guns'.

... 'a big mob of men went with guns'.

... yujur-yujur wanajarri .jarru
  spherical-spherical stone .as

'medium-sized round (objects) like pebbles from his (knee)'

(from a description of the effective healing of a troublesome swollen knee by a medicine man).

... 'he removed medium-sized round (objects) like pebbles from his (knee)'.

(from a description of the effective healing of a troublesome swollen knee by a medicine man).

.... when that real good medicine man, that clever medicine man

removed (them)'

(from the same account as the previous example).
4.11 RELATIONSHIPS OF "ASSOCIATION"

Nyigina has three major suffixes expressing interacting physical proximity. Although the relationships to which these suffixes apply differ sufficiently to allow separate descriptions, on occasion these suffixes may be interchanged with apparently minimal difference in meaning.

4.11.1 THE COMITATIVE SUFFIX (-barri)

This suffix is used to mark:

(1) that which is being carried;

(2) an animate being moving in company with another or others;

(3) "association".

Various things may be carried. All manner of goods may take comitative suffixing:

4.11.1 E/179 SN

ŋurrəŋurrə waja-rr-BULA-mirri wali-barri
afternoon 3nsg/fut-nmin-come-AUG₅ meat-COMIT
'the two of them will come this afternoon with meat'.

That which is carried need not be tangible:

4.11.1 E/180 SN

yi-rr-MA-na dyirrgaliy-gana waŋgurr-waŋgurr-barri
3-nmin-go-past Geegully-ALLAT wailing-wailing-COMIT
'they went, mourning greatly, to Geegully'.

One example of the comitative suffix with a body part was recorded:
Examples of moving in company with another animate being occur often:

'after that (she only had) one arm, her right'.

Other examples which include the comitative suffix express proximity without any meaning of "moving with":

With the meaning of 'carrying', the comitative suffix may be used derivationally:
The suffix is also used derivationally to designate the speakers of a language:

4.11.1 E/186 SN

majul ya-rr-(a)-I-n-gada-yina nyigina-barri-ni
"majul" 1nsg-nmin-(SET)-say-pres-HABIT-3sgPro Nyigina-COMIT-ACT
'we Nyigina people call it (spear) "majul"'.

It should be noted that the suffix -barri is confined to Small Nyigina. In Big Nyigina, the same suffix -jany is used for the comitative as is used for the instrumental (see 4.6). It is probable that the suffix -barri represents an innovation in Small Nyigina. Occasional lexicalized usages (see also 4.6) of -jany (difficult to gloss) are found in Small Nyigina:

4.11.1 E/187 SN

dyan-abu-jany-ni yin-BA-ny-dyarndyu yajgi-yunu
[where-ABL-jany]-ACT 3sg(I)-see-past-2-1+2+Pro what-INAN SOURCE
'why is that stranger looking at us?'

suggesting that, in the past, -jany may have had a function broader than the present (largely instrumental) usage and that -barri may have assumed from -jany the role of comitative suffix in Small Nyigina.
4.11.2 THE "HAVING" SUFFIX (-gudany)

In common with a large number of Australian languages, Nyigina has a suffix meaning 'having', which is used to describe people, things or places in terms of their physical attributes, personal characteristics or their orientation to the environment ('facing').

Some typical examples involving physical attributes are listed:

- iga-gudany 'sick-having'
- yambarra-gudany 'long hair-having'
- yalma-gudany 'genital infection-having'
- gamada-gudany 'blind-having'
- nuju-gudany 'belly-having (= pregnant)'.

The allusive term (see 1.12) used for 'snake' is similarly derived:

- dyilbidi-gudany 'guts-having'.

The suffix is used for terms needed for introduced technology:

- magarra-gudany tail-having 'saucepan'
- dyalmarra-gudany wing-having 'aeroplane'
- birrgi-gudany horn-having 'jetty'.

A number of place names, especially of the innumerable river sites, involve this suffix:

- dambal-gudany stone-having
- malumbu-gudany cabbage gum-having
- magandabal-gudany reed-having.

---

9 Dixon (1976:203); Blake (1977:46)
Other examples of the use of this suffix are:

4.11.2 E/188 SN
gunydyu-gudany yi-ŋA-n
secret-having 3sg(II)-sit-pres
'he's keeping (it) a secret';

4.11.2 E/189 SN
warrba wila yim-BULA-ny dyaliny-gudany
beating water 3sg(II)-come-past₂ ice-having
"there was a hail storm"! (speaker's gloss).

There are occasional examples of the 'facing' variety:

4.11.2 E/190 SN
idyib yi-rr-(a)-I-na-mirri ḩimbi yawan-gudany
set out 3-nmin-(SET)-do-past-Augₗ morning north-having
'in the morning they both set out northwards';

4.11.2 E/191 SN
ja yi-ŋA-na-yina galbuna-budany
mouth wide 3sg(II)-sit-past-3sgDatPro upwards-having
'(there) he was, facing up to him, mouth wide open';

4.11.3 THE "INCLUDING" SUFFIX (-gananya)

This suffix marks a less prominent or peripheral participant. A peripheral participant may be one which might almost be assumed, such as 'water' in the first two examples:
4.11.3 E/192 SN
malbulu yim-BADIGI-n wila-gananya
coolamon 3sg(II)-be full-pres water-INCL
'the coolamon is full of water';

4.11.3 E/193 SN
niban yin-GA-n wila-gananya
mix 3sg(I)-carry-pres water-INCL
'she's mixing (it) with water' (it being the significant ingredient).

The participant with -gananya suffixing may be less significant in the context, as in the following example:

4.11.3 E/194 SN
linygurra gab yi-rr-(a)-I-na giny-an..mirri₁ ....
salty croc eat 3-nmin-(SET)-do-past dem-LOC..certain
.... gambiy-gananya..mirri₁
egg-INCL..certain
'they ate the crocodile right there, along with the eggs themselves'
(What are crocodile eggs when one has the chance of a whole crocodile?).

A peripheral participant may be secondarily or indirectly affected by some action or activity, as in the following example:

4.11.3 E/195 SN
yiny-DYALGI-na-jany balu ginya baba-gananya
3sg(II)-fall-past-TOG tree dem child-INCL
'the tree fell down with the child (in it)'.

4.12 THE DIRECTIONAL SUFFIX (-marru)
This suffix is less common and is used to indicate general direction
or proximity:

4.12 E/196 SN

malu nyi-rra-MA biliga wila-marru

NEG 2sg(II)-fut/IRR-go close water-DIRECT

'don't you go near (towards) the water!';

4.12 E/197 SN

bug-gaya yi-ŋA-n bug-gaya gularr-marru

floating-like 3sg(II)-sit-pres floating-like west-DIRECT

'she's floating, floating over west!';

4.12 E/198 SN

ginya-ŋgaya yi-(rr)-DI-na yulburru ....

dem-like 3-(nmin)-sit-past long ago

.... birra-marru nya-marru .... malina "matches"
bush-DIRECT dem-DIRECT lacking matches

'long ago they used to be like that (using firesticks) ... in the bush here ... when they didn't have matches'.

4.13 THE END-POINT SUFFIX (-dyibur(u))

This suffix denotes the end-point of an activity. This end-point is usually unpleasant, although occasional examples with agreeable end-points have been recorded. The suffix displays dy/y alternation; in Big Nyigina, the suffix retains (see 2.2.3) the final vowel (-dyiburu).

4.13 E/199 SN

waŋgalman dalaw yim-BANDYI-na-da gunbulu-yibur

blow to head cut 3sg(II)-share-past-HABIT blood-END

'he used to hack himself around the head until he bled';
4.13 E/200 SN

ŋayi-ni mug ŋın-DI-ny uba baba waŋgurr-dyibur

lsgPRO-ACT hit lsg(I)-do-past₂ small child crying-END

'I hit the little kid until he cried';

4.13 E/201 BN

waŋ-a-MARRA bugarr-dyibur

3sg(II)-fut-burn cooked-END

'let it cook until it's done';

4.13 E/202 SN

ŋiny-abu gab ya-rr-(a)-I-n galiya mirr-dyibur

dem-ABL eat lnsg-nmin-(SET)-do-pres finished satisfied-END

'after that we eat (it) until (we're) satisfied'.

4.14 "FINAL" NOMINAL SUFFIXES

This class of suffixes was omitted from the introductory discussion (4.3.1) of possible roles for nominal suffixes. They were omitted so that the initial discussion might be manageable in scope and not drowned in a mass of detailed information.

Although these "final" suffixes differ sufficiently from the suffixes already described to be grouped together, they are nevertheless quite heterogeneous. They share two characteristics: the ability to follow all the suffixes already described and also the ability to perform some discourse function.

"Final" nominal suffixes are listed below:
4.14 T/12 "Final" Nominal Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ga</td>
<td>EMPHatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dyamu</td>
<td>RELATed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(ŋ)gaya</td>
<td>&quot;LIKE&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ay!</td>
<td>VOCative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aw!</td>
<td>EXCLamatory.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For these suffixes, word-final position is not mandatory, although it is usual. The LIKE suffix, in particular, may be used derivationally and, accordingly, occur non-finally. Rarely, two "final" suffixes may occur in series:

4.14 E/203 SN

"malu nila Ᵹayu manin-ga-ŋgaya " yi(n)-ŋ-na-yina
NEG knowing lsgPRO woman-EMPH-LIKE 3sg(I)-say-past-3sgDatPro

"I don't know (anything) at all (about) women .. like .." he said to him
(from a story about a young man trying to refuse an offer he couldn't refuse -- of another man's wife).

4.14.1 THE EMPHATIC SUFFIX (-ga)

This suffix seems to convey a fairly low-grade emphasis (stronger emphasis is conveyed by mirri 'certain', 12.1.4). The corresponding suffix in Big Nyigina retains the g/w alternation (see 2.1.9).
miliy-an-ga bur-an mundu yi-(rr)-DI-n mandya
now-LOC-EMPH ground-LOC buried 3-(nmin)-sit-pres many
'nowadays many people are buried in the ground';

dyana-wa ḫan-(a)-I
what-EMPH 1sg(I)-(FUT)-do
'what shall I do?';

ŋalyag-ga nyaŋana yurr yi-MA-na
blue tongue lizard-EMPH here-ALLAT sink 3sg(II)-go-past
'the blue tongue lizard, (coming) to here, drowned'.

One example occurred in Small Nyigina with -ga following a final vowel
(some speakers were hesitant about accepting this example):

 gabal dyani-ŋgay a wan-(a)-I-ya marrinyan-ni-ga
soon what-like 3sg(I)-(fut)-do-2sgDatPro3 hunger-ACT-EMPH
'what will the hunger do to you soon?'.

The emphatic suffix occurs only rarely (in Small Nyigina) following
vowel-final items, that is, the environment appropriate to the -wa
allomorph in Big Nyigina. This observation raises the possibility that,
in the absence of g/w alternation in Small Nyigina, the majority of
occurrences of the emphatic suffix retained in Small Nyigina represent
those that would have involved the -ga allomorph. One might speculate
on the possibility that examples of varied final vowel (see also 2.2.3.1),
where a word-final vowel is replaced by -a, might represent a reflex of the -wa allomorph of this suffix in Small Nyigina. In the following example

4.14.1 E/208 SN (= 2.1.9 E/15)

wali manydyan gab ğa(n)-dʒ-n-ga ğayi-na
meat only eat lsg(I)-do-pres-HABIT lsgPRO-ACT_E

'me, I only eat meat (not people)'

(from a story about a wicked old woman who used, like the stepmother in "Hansel and Gretel", to eat children)

the form ğayi-na might reflect an underlying ğayi-ni-ga with g/ɑ alternation and vowel deletion.

4.14.2 THE RELATED SUFFIX (-dyamu)

The following allomorphs of the suffix are found:

- dyamu SN & BN following a non-vowel
- ŋamu BN following a vowel (occasionally also in SN)
- amu SN following a vowel.

This interesting suffix is rather difficult to define concisely in English. Unremarkably, it may function at different levels. It may be used derivationally, relating only to the nominal to which it is suffixed. The same suffix is found, though somewhat rarely, as a nominal suffix indicating a subordinate clause. The commonest usage, however, is in conjoining noun phrases.

4.14.2.1 DERIVATIONAL USAGE 'any/ever'

The suffix may be used to indicate indefiniteness or generality and may occur with any type of nominal: noun phrase, temporal or locational nominal or verbal-nominal:
4.14.2.1  E/209  SN (no complete example recorded)
gularr-dyamu
west-RELAT
'any (person) west (= westerners)';

4.14.2.1  E/210  SN
maral  yi-MA-n  durrb-an  majarriy-dyamu  malina
nothing  3sg(II)-sit-pres  cave-LOC  food-RELAT  lacking
'there's nothing in the store .... there isn't any kind of food';

4.14.2.1  E/211  BN
gud  ga-ra-MA  wajga-yamu  miliya
dead  1sg(II)-fut/IRR-go  any-RELAT  now
'I might die any time at all now';

4.14.2.1  E/212  SN
malu  dyaw(u)  mi-l(a)-I-na  yulburr(u)-amu
NEG  swim  2sg(I)-IRR-do-past  long ago-RELAT
'you never swam';

4.14.2.1  E/213  SN
yadg(i)-amu  yim-BULA-ny
who-RELAT  3sg(II)-come-past 
"what's-his-name" came';

4.14.2.1  E/214  SN
ganydyirr  yin-BA-na  inydy-gjan(a)-amu
look  3sg(I)-see-past  going-ALLAT-RELAT
'she watched him every time he went';
4.14.2.1 E/215 BN

yin-BARA-n-ga~a  yarrdyu  mangayarra-ni  wid-jama-yamu
3sg(I)-see-pres-HABIT  1+2+mPRO  turkey-ACT  far-ALLAT-RELAT
'(and that's why) the turkey sees us ever so far away'
(from a Dreamtime story of how "scales" fell off the turkey's eyes).

4.14.2.2 NOMINAL MARKER OF SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

The commonest indicator of a subordinate clause is the verbal
suffix REL (see 10.7). However, some examples were recorded where the
nominal suffix RELAT appears to indicate a subordinate clause. There
may be a tendency for such subordinate clauses to refer to previously-
discussed information, although more examples are needed to confirm this
impression. (Subordinate clauses are discussed in further detail in
10.7.)

4.14.2.2 E/216 SN

yalmban-nagan  nyiya  gjalyag-dyamu  yi-[A]-n
south-close  here  blue tongue lizard-RELAT  3sg(II)-sit-pres
'here, just a bit south ... (? you know) where the blue tongue lizard is'
(that is, the place where, according to the Dreamtime story, she drowned)';
4.14.2.2 E/217 SN

yim-BIGA-na [warany-ni dyambadu gjadyanu]X ....
3sg(II)-have-past other-ACT grandfather 1sgDAT/PRO

'another one of my grandfathers (X) had (her as his wife) ....

.... [ginya-yi]Y mambadu ginydyina ....
dem-DAT brother 3sgDAT/PRO

.... brother to him (Y) ....

.... dyalaygudany-dyamu gudyi-MA-ny-dya
(place name)-RELAT dead 3sg(II)-go-past2_REL

.... the one (Y) who died at Dyalaygudany' (who I told you about in
a previous story);

4.14.2.2 E/218 SN

ginya yawan yi-MA-na ....
dem north 3sg(II)-go-past

.... birrgi-gudany-dyamu yij-GADI-n-gada
horn-having-RELAT 3sg(II)-enter-pres-HABIT

'he went north, where the jetty does down'.

Curiously, the function of both the nominal suffix RELAT and the
verbal suffix REL share the following aspects:

(1) a derivational usage indicating diffuseness/indefiniteness;

(2) indication of a subordinate clause.

The first aspect of both suffixes is illustrated in the following
example:
'all kinds of people might beat (him) up'.

The apparent conceptual unity (in Nyigina) of the two aspects of both these suffixes is perhaps evident in the subordinate clause of the following example, which involves both suffixes:

'dyan-an-dyamu yi-MA-n-dya]
where-LOC-RELAT 3sg(II)-go-pres-REL
'wherever she goes ....

.... manin-ga yin-MI-n-dyina ....
woman-EMPH 3sg(I)-give-pres-3sgOPro
he gives the woman ....

.... mandya wali walady(a)-amu
many meat honey-RELAT
plenty of meat and honey'.

The description of subordinate clauses in Nyigina is far from complete. It appears that in the subordinate clause of the previous example it is difficult (and possibly pointless) to try to determine which suffix is indicating subordinate clause status and which is signifying non-specificity.

4.14.2.3 CONJUNCTIVE USAGE

Probably the commonest usage of this suffix is in conjoining noun phrases. In the main clause of the previous example (4.14.2.2 E/220),
the following noun phrases are conjoined in this fashion:

```
mandya  wali  walady(a)-amu
many    meat   honey-RELAT

'plenty of meat and honey'.
```

Other examples:

```
4.14.2.3 E/221 SN
yi-(rr)-(a)-DA-na  majul-ŋany  dyinal-ŋany-dyumul
3-(nmin)-(SET)-spear-past type₁ spear-INSTR type₂ spear-INSTR-RELAT
'they speared (him) with stone-tipped and wooden spears';
```

```
4.14.2.3 E/222 SN
yam-BANDYI-na  rurrb  gudyarra  ....
1+2(II)-share-past in return two
....  wali-yamu  wanaŋjarri
    meat-RELAT  stone
'we exchanged meat and money (that is, meat for money OR money for meat)';
```

```
4.14.2.3 E/223 SN (no complete example recorded)
yalmban-n(i)-amu  gularr-ni
south-ACT-RELAT  west-ACT
'south west'.
```

```
4.14.3 THE "LIKE" SUFFIX (-gaya)

This suffix has two allomorphs: -gaya following a stop and -ŋgaya elsewhere. The LIKE suffix has two major functions:

(1) as a derivational nominal suffix (-like);
(2) as a pause-filler (LIKE pause).
```
4.14.3.1 DERIVATIONAL NOMINAL SUFFIXING

In some examples this suffix occurs with adjectives where it might be translated as 'like' or '-ish' (these examples remain grammatical and with similar meaning if the suffix is omitted):

4.14.3.1 E/224 SN
bilyi-ŋgay {{yin-BA-na .... walburr}} yin-MA-na-yina
red-like 3sg(I)-see-past .. penetrate 3sg(I)-put-past-3sgOPro
'he saw (her vulva) reddish .. he had intercourse (for the first time)'.

In many other examples, the suffix may not be omitted without major distortion of meaning:

4.14.3.1 E/225 SN
wanydyarri-ŋgay {{ŋa-MA-na-da
one-like 1sg(II)-go-past-HABIT
"one time after another I used to go" (speaker's gloss).

Further nominal suffixing may follow -like suffixing as in ġarragarra-ŋgay-an in the example below:

4.14.3.1 E/226 SN
dyiŋgidi-ŋgay {{yaj-a-MA ....
playing-like 1+2(II)-fut-go
.... wanyan-an mabudyun-an ġarragarra-ŋgay-an wanyanu sandhill-LOC excellent-LOC bank-like-LOC sandhill
'let's go play on that terrific sandhill .... that "sort of bank" sandhill!'.

The suffix is frequently found with verbal nominalizations (see 11.3.1.1) in which usage it may not be omitted:
4.14.3.1  E/227  SN

mandya manin yi-rr-MA-na wanbagura ɲid-gaya
many woman 3-nmin-go-past bush fruit gathering-like
'many women went gathering wanbagura fruit'.

4.14.3.2  PAUSE FILLING

The LIKE suffix occurs frequently in conversation and story-telling. It may affix to virtually any word, including an inflected verb. Its location is normally determined by the point at which the speaker pauses, usually for breath:

4.14.3.2  E/228  SN

badan ɲadyanu ɲan-(a)-A-ɲgaya
girl lsgDAT/PRO lsg(I)-(fut)-carry-LIKE pause
''I'm going to take my daughter, like'' (from conversation within a story);

4.14.3.2  E/229  SN

miliya ɲaj-a-MA mamidamidan-ɲana ....
now lsg(II)-fut-go fishing-ALLAT
.... dyimbin dyarrwa-ɲana-ɲgaya
inside shoalwater-ALLAT-LIKE pause
''I'm going fishing down to the shoalwater, like'' (as above).

Two examples were recorded with -(ɟ)gaya-ɟgaya as terminal suffixing on a verbal-nominal. No instance of nominal suffix reduplication, apart from these two examples, was recorded. It is proposed, therefore, that these two occurrences of this nominal suffix represent two different uses of the suffix, that is, that the penultimate suffix represents the regular usage with verbal nominalizations while the final suffix
represents the pause-filling role:

4.14.3.2 E/230 SN

malu  gina-ŋgayá  yi-MA-n-gáda  ....
NEG  same-like  3sg(II)-go-pres-HABIT
....  manydyan  buru  yarridy-gaya-ŋgayá
only  ground  disappearing-like-LIKE

'but he always goes along in the same fashion, just disappearing into the ground, like'
or possibly 'just sort of disappearing into the ground, like'.

4.14.4 SUFFIXING IN EXCLAMATION AND DISCOURSE

Items (including inflected verbs) used in exclamation may take optional final suffixing with -ay! or -aw! 10 (which is then stressed). Occasionally, the vocative suffix is also found as a pause-filler in story-telling.

4.14.4.1 THE VOCATIVE SUFFIX (-ay!)

Where a personal name, kin term or other nominal, used as a term of address is called, the suffix -ay! may be appended:

guya-ay!  'mother!'
manin-ay!  'woman!'
nyinyir(a)-ay!  'Nyinyira (person name)!'

It might be argued that this suffix is merely a phonetic modification to facilitate shouting and is not a nominal suffix. It should be noted that the kin term gabay, which meets this phonetic requirement, is

10 identical suffixes are found in distant languages: Kaititj (Koch, pers. comm.), Diyari (Austin 1978:474-476) and probably others.
nevertheless used with the vocative suffix added:

```
gabay-ay! 'gabay!'
```

The following is an example of the use of this suffix in storytelling:

```
4.14.4.1 E/231 SN
gularr gularr yi-MA-n(a)-ay! ... warany-ŋana buru gularr-ŋana
west west 3sg(II)-go-past-VOC! other-ALLAT place west-ALLAT
'west, west they went .. pause .. to another place to the west'.
```

4.14.4.2 THE EXCLAMATORY SUFFIX (-aw!)

Where an exclamation is not intended as a term of address, the appropriate (optional) final suffix is -aw!, on the last word of the utterance:

```
4.14.4.2 E/232 SN
gug-aw!
speechless-EXCL!
'shut up!';
```

```
4.14.4.2 E/233 SN
ya-ma-BARRI-nydyi-ny-aw!
³nsq(II)-INT -strike-INT_s-past₂-EXCL!
'we've been fighting!';
```

```
4.14.4.2 E/234 SN
baybarra gilay yin-GA-n ŋayu manin-n(i)-aw!
behind follow 3sg(I)-carry-pres lsgPRO woman-ACT-EXCL!
'the woman's following behind me!'.
```
The following example contrasts the two suffixes used in exclamation:

4.14.4.2 E/235 SN

ŋyu yi(n)-ŋ-na : "gag-ay! ŋan-BA-ny ....

go back 3sg(I)-do-past uncle-VOC! lsg(I)-see-past₂

.... ŋan-BA-ny-aw!"

lsg(I)-see-past₂-EXCL!

'he returned: "Uncle! I saw, I saw!"

(after seeing the breast excised from his mother's dead body transformed into a snake).
Chapter 5: The Nominal Suffixes -ni

5.1 INTRODUCTION

There are three nominal suffixes -ni:

(i) the ACTive suffix;
(ii) the NARRative suffix; and
(iii) the REFERential suffix.

The regular form of these suffixes is -ni; the allomorph -na (see 2.1.9, 4.4.1 and 4.14.1) is sometimes found in active suffixing and narrative suffixing. No example of -na has been found to date in referential suffixing.

5.2 THE ACTIVE SUFFIX -ni

The active suffix -ni has various uses. In order to discuss these uses, it is necessary to refer to the role of verbal prefixing in Nvigna (the subject of Chapter 9). For purposes of this present discussion, the relevant functions of verbal prefixing are:

(1) cross-referencing the subject noun phrase (the NP \text{pref}) in terms of grammatical person and number; and
(2) providing semantic information about the nature of the activity: whether it is thought of as subject to the volitional control of the doer and whether other entities are significantly involved.

It is also necessary to mention the verbal suffix -jany (see also 4.6.1 and 10.6). Use of this suffix implies that the activity conveyed by the verbal root has some further aspect, some additional involvement. It may express the fact that some other entity is involved (non-voluntarily) or it may be the indication of some second, related activity (either a simultaneous activity or the purpose or consequence of the
first activity). The suffix -jany may function as a transitivizer (see also 5.2.5).

5.2.1 ACTIVE SUFFIXING AND VERBAL PREFIXING

The noun phrase represented in the pronominal prefix of the inflected verb (the NP_{pref}) may, in certain circumstances, take the suffix -ni. The NP_{pref} may be simple or complex:

5.2.1 E/236 SN

[jayi-ni]_{NP_{pref}} \text{jan-DYALADYALA-n-dyirr-mirri} \\
1sgPRO-ACT \text{lsg(I)-watch-pres-3msgPro-AUG}_{s}

... [gugu-ni yidyiramirri]_{NP_{pref}} \\
aunt-ACT \text{3+3DAT/PRO}

'[I, their aunt] am looking after them';

5.2.1 E/237 SN

min-MURRGU-ny-jayu yila-ni \\
2sg(I)-bite-past -lsgPro dog-ACT

'[you, dog] bit me'.

Examples involving body parts may be analyzed as inalienably possessed (see 12.4) complex noun phrases, although this is not the only possible analysis (see 5.3):

5.2.1 E/238 SN

[jayi-ni] malbulu \text{jan-GULALMA-ny} [nimarrajga-ny] \\
1sgPRO-ACT coolamon lsg(I)-manufacture-past_{2} hand-ni

'[I, hand] made the coolamon' that is 'I made it with my hands'.

5.2.2 "ERGATIVE" USE OF ACTIVE SUFFIXING

Active suffixing of the NP_{pref} occurs most frequently in sentences of the general type:
participant₁ does something to participant₂.

Various aspects of such sentences will be discussed with respect to Nyigina usage.

5.2.3 THE PARTICIPANT₁

The NP with active suffixing is typically an animate being:

5.2.3 E/239 SN (= 4.4 E/65)

wamba-ni mug yin-DI-ny yila
man-ACT hit 3sg(I)-do-past₂ dog

'the man hit the dog'.

It may, however, be a force:

5.2.3 E/240 SN

dyinal ginydyina rajga yin-GA-na-yina wila-ni
spear 3sgDAT/PRO wash away 1sg(I)-carry-past-3sgDatPro water-ACT

'the flood washed his spear away'.

Rarely, something activated by a force may be thought of in the same way:

5.2.3 E/241 SN

buru-ni yin-BANDA-ny-dya-gayu
sand-ACT 3sg(I)-finish-past₂-REL-1sgOPro

'the sand covered me up'.

Very rarely, some thing may have an action attributed to it because of some inherent characteristic:

5.2.3 E/242 SN

wan-a-(rra)-D(A)-arrrdyu balu-ni
3sg(I)-fut-(IRR)-spear-l+2+mOPro stick-ACT

'the stick might spear us (if we fell on it)'.
The NP\textsubscript{pref} which takes active suffixing is usually considered to be capable of controlling the activity specified in the verb:

5.2.3 E/243 SN

gil yi-(rr)-(a)-DA-na-mirri balu ....
chop 3-(nmin)-(SET)-spear-past-AUG\textsubscript{s} tree
'the two of them chopped down the tree ....
.... yiny-DYALGI-na-gany [balu ginya] baba-gananya
3sg(II)-fall-past-TOG tree dem child-INCL
.... the tree fell down with the child in it'.

In this example, the NP\textsubscript{pref} [balu ginya] of yinydyalgina-jany is not marked by the active suffix. A tree is unable to influence its potential for falling. However, the NP\textsubscript{pref} appears to be able to take active suffixing with semantically related inflected verbs. The example below, although not strictly comparable, demonstrates the distinction nicely:

5.2.3 E/244 SN

dyambadu-ni yiny-DYALGI-DYALGI-na-gany dyinal
grandfather-ACT 3sg(II)-fall-fall-past-TOG spear
'grandfather almost fell down with (that is, impaled by) the spear'.

Here it is implied that the NP\textsubscript{pref} is capable of exerting significant volitional control over the activity.

Relevant characteristics of the NP\textsubscript{pref} with respect to active suffixing are:

1. potential to effect change; and
2. potential to exert significant volitional control over the activity (with the exception of forces).
5.2.4 VERBS IN TYPICAL "ERGATIVE" CLAUSES

The verb in such a clause usually effects some perceptible change in another entity (verbs expressing emotions are discussed in 5.2.6).

In order to discuss some aspects of the use of active suffixing, it is necessary to refer to the two "sets" of verbal prefixing (introduced in 3.3). The majority of verbal roots takes prefixes from only one set (see 7.2.1.2).

Set I prefixing typically occurs with activities which

1. are subject to the volitional control of the NP
2. significantly involve an entity in addition to the NP

Characteristically, verbs involved in "ergative" sentences have set I prefixing.

5.2.5 THE NON-SUBJECT PARTICIPANT

The second entity which is affected by the activity may be represented explicitly as an unmarked noun phrase (see 4.3.5.1) or as a noun phrase with dative suffixing or as a pronominal suffix (OPro or DatPro) to the verb or it may be implied by use of the verbal suffix -jany.

The significance of the aspect of "effecting a change in an entity other than the NP" is demonstrated in the following examples:

5.2.5 E/245 SN

lagarr  j-an-DI-ny  jayi-ni  yawada  
climb  lsg(I)-do-past₂  lsgPRO-ACT  horse

'I rode the horse'.

Here the horse is significantly affected by the activity and the NP takes the active suffix. This should be compared with:
5.2.5  E/246  SN

lagarr  yin-DI-ny  [wanydyarri  manin]  ....
climb  3sg(I)-do-past\textsubscript{2}  one  woman

....  waladya-yi  gunariny-gan  balu
honey-DAT  wild-fig-LOC  tree

'one woman climbed up in the wild fig tree for honey'

where no second entity is significantly affected by the activity and the NP\textsubscript{pref} does not take the active suffix.

The effect of the verbal suffix -\textsubscript{j}any may be to transitivize a verbal root (in the example below, the verbal root -MILI- means 'shout an insult'):

5.2.5  E/247  SN

gjayi-ni  jan-MILI-ny-jany
1sgPRO-ACT  1sg(I)-insult-past\textsubscript{2}-TOG

'I provoked (him)'.

The addition of the suffix -\textsubscript{j}any adds the information that the act of shouting an insult effected some perceptible change or that some action resulted from the insult.

The person affected by the activity may be either a direct object (in which situation no nominal suffixing is possible) or an \textit{indirect} object (where dative nominal suffixing is usual). With verbs of motion involving an indirect object, the NP\textsubscript{pref} may take active suffixing, but only because an indirect object is present:
5.2.5 E/248 SN

mandya-ni gularr-gabu wamba yi-rr-MA-na-yina
many-ACT west-ABL man 3-nmin-go-past-3sgDatPro
'many western men went to her';

5.2.5 E/249 SN

mayada-ni dyaw(u) yi(n)-Ø-na-yina dyandamarra-yi
pelican-ACT swim 3sg(I)-do-past-3sgDatPro (person name)-DAT
'the pelican swam to Dyandamarra'.

Occasionally the verbal root 'sit' is associated with an NP pref which takes active suffixing. In the two examples given below, use of the active suffix seems to express a contrast between 'sit (etc.) deliberately for some purpose' and the more usual 'be sitting' or 'be situated':

5.2.5 E/250 SN

ginya-ni linygurra ɡulumbɑ yi-ŋA-na ....
dem-ACT salty croc in front 3sg(II)-sit-past .... yiŋ-ŋULIGA-na-yina
3sg(I)-wait-past-3sgDatPro
'that crocodile was sitting ahead of him .. (the crocodile) was waiting for him';

5.2.5 E/251 SN

malgin yi-ŋA-n rambarr-ni qinydyina
secret 3sg(II)-sit-pres son-in-law-ACT 3sgDAT/PRO
'her son-in-law avoids (her) (his mother-in-law)'.

The verbal root 'be/feel/become' may also have an NP pref with active
These examples with verbal roots of a rather intransitive nature show that the use of active suffixing is associated with both volitional control and significant involvement of another participant.

5.2.6 ACTIVE SUFFIXING AND ATYPICAL EXAMPLES

Various examples are recorded which involve relationships in which it is not clear how the guidelines for active suffixing are relevant. In some of these circumstances, active suffixing appears to be optional and its presence seems to result in very little, if any, difference in meaning.

(1) emotions and mental states

Where an emotion or mental state is thought of in terms of only one participant (that is, no indirect object is expressed), active suffixing is not possible:

However, where an emotion is expressed as a *relationship*, that is, significantly involving another participant (as an indirect object), the NP\textsuperscript{pref} is frequently, although not always, marked by active suffixing:
5.2.6 E/254  SN

ŋayi-ni ŋud ŋa(n)-ŋ-n-dyina
lsgPRO-ACT happy lsg(I)-do-pres-3sgDatPro
'I am happy for him'.

The following version is equally acceptable and no meaning difference could be ascertained from speakers (who were usually emphatic about the existence of differences in meaning, even if they were unable to explicate them clearly):

5.2.6 E/255  SN

ŋayu ŋud ŋa(n)-ŋ-n-dyina
lsgPRO happy lsg(I)-do-pres-3sgDatPro
'I am happy for him'.

(2) spatial relationships (Big Nyigina)

In Big Nyigina, some examples involving the verbal suffix -ŋany, where the NP can not take active suffixing (and where the meaning expressed is rather "locative"), are found:

5.2.6 E/256  BN

dyuwa nyi-ŋA-n-ŋany may
2sgPRO 2sg(II)-sit-pres-TOG vegetable food
'you're sitting next to the vegetable tucker';

5.2.6 E/257  BN (= 10.6.2.1 E/566)

wanminy yi-ŋA-n-ŋany-ŋayu
fly 3sg(II)-sit-pres-TOG-lsgOPro
'the fly is sitting on me';
5.2.6 E/258 BN
yila yi-NA-n-jany-dyu baybarra
dog 3sg(II)-sit-pres-TOG-2sgOPro behind
'the dog is sitting behind you'.

One might possibly expect to find active suffixing of the NP pref in these examples, yet it does not occur. It is suggested that these examples imply either

(a) lack of intention on the part of the NP pref, or
(b) that the additional participant is not affected by the activity.

Perhaps the last example (E/258) might be glossed more accurately as 'it happens that the dog is sitting behind you'.

(3) biological roles

In a number of examples where it might perhaps be expected, active suffixing is not found:

5.2.6 E/259 SN
wamba guly wan-(a)-I baba
man excrete 3sg(I)-(fut)-do child
'the man will get some-one pregnant' (literally, 'will make a child');

5.2.6 E/260 SN
wamba gan manin muny yi(n)-6-n
man dem woman f*ck 3sg(I)-do-pres
"the man's rooting that woman" (speaker's gloss).

(4) reflexive and reciprocal activities

Active suffixing of the NP pref appears to be optional in this situation. There does not appear to be a correlation between active suffixing of the NP pref and intentional (in contrast with unintentional)
reflexive or reciprocal activity (\(-{\text{BANDYI}}{-}\) = 'do reflexively or reciprocally, share, exchange'):

5.2.6 E/261 SN

yulburru-garra garrgidya-ni mug yim-{\text{BANDYI}}-na
long ago-multiple chickenhawk-ACT hit 3sg(II)-share-past

'long, long ago, the chickenhawk mutilated himself';

5.2.6 E/262 SN
dyuwa tjudin dyuwa nyag nyim-{\text{BANDYI}}-ny
2sgPRO alone 2sgPRO hit 2sg(II)-share-past₂

(the same chickenhawk's wife accused him:)

'you yourself, you hit yourself!'.

(Various aspects of the expression of transitivity in Nyigina, including the use of active suffixing, are discussed in 12.5.)

5.3 ACTIVE SUFFIXING OF NOUN PHRASES OTHER THAN THE NPₚₑᵣₚ

In the corpus there are about twenty to thirty examples of noun phrases with -ni suffixing, which are definitely not cross-referenced in verbal prefixing.

In most of these examples, the function of the noun phrase with -ni suffixing could be described as "instrumental-like". (Justification for considering these usages as active suffixing follows later in this section.)

5.3 E/263 SN

budyu..mirri₁ wanaŋarri wila-ni yi-YA-ny
all..certain rock water-ACT 3sg(II)-become-past₂

'the rock got wet all over' (literally, 'the rock became all over from water');
'along with the children, the two of us got warm (by) the fire from the cold'.

Both the inflected verbs in the above examples are set II prefixing and neither satisfies the requirements for active suffixing of the NP\textsubscript{pref} yet active suffixing of a noun phrase is found. Speakers frequently gloss such noun phrases which take active suffixing by 'through ...'. Words able to occur in this situation belong to a small semantic class. The majority involve forces: natural forces, supernatural forces (for example, "dreaming") and various forces which motivate or affect humans (such as hunger, thirst, cold and exhaustion).

It should be noted that, in this usage, a natural force must be performing its primary function. 'Fire', for example, primarily burns and the following example involving direct causation which uses active suffixing of a noun phrase other than the NP\textsubscript{pref} is perfectly acceptable:

'many children were burned by fire'.

If the situation involves an indirect effect of a natural force, it appears that active suffixing can not be used in this fashion. For example, 'fire' may, through heating, cause wood to crack. The following example with active suffixing is unacceptable:
'many coolamons were cracked by fire'.

Inanimate source suffixing is acceptable in this situation:

'many coolamons were cracked from fire'.

One example occurred with the root 'burn' which included two "source" suffixes (serially):

'I got burned from the ash'

(Perhaps 'ash' is somehow intermediate between a direct cause and an "inanimate" source.)

If the prefixing set selected with the alternative-prefixing verbal root -DYANGULI- 'break' is altered from set II to set I, 'fire' may become the NP_{pref} and take active suffixing:

'so that direct causation is not a prerequisite for active suffixing of
the NP

Certain noun phrases can occur with either "instrumental-like" active suffixing:

5.3 E/270 SN

buda nyag yi-rr-(a)-I-na [wanydyarri-ni winyag]
neck hit 3-nmin-(SET)-do-past one-ACT blow to neck
'they hit his neck with a single blow'

or the regular instrumental suffixing:

5.3 E/271 SN

dalaw yi(n)-Ø-na buda..mirril galiya winyag-jany
cut 3sg(I)-do-past neck..certain finished blow to neck-INST
'then she chopped right on (the evil woman's) neck with a blow'

and with these noun phrases, no significant difference in meaning between the two usages has been detected.

Body parts may apparently occur in this "instrumental-like" usage:

5.3 E/272 BN (= 3.4 E/36)

ŋja-MA-ny maduwarru-jana gadidyina-ni
1sg(II)-go-past2 river-ALLAT foot-ACT
'I went to the river on foot'.

In this example, the NP would not take active suffixing, since the verbal root is intransitive. Many otherwise comparable examples involve verbal roots where NP can take active suffixing, for example:
This and similar examples may be analyzed as complex noun phrases (see 5.2.1). The previous example (E/272) with 'go' is difficult to analyze in this fashion. If, however, examples such as the one above with 'manufacture' are not analyzed as involving a single, complex noun phrase as the NP with active suffixing, a further question arises: can more than one noun phrase in a sentence take active suffixing? Unfortunately examples which might be cited as evidence are open to reanalysis as complex noun phrases.

Some examples suggest that the occurrence of two different noun phrases with active suffixing within the one sentence may be possible. First, the following example shows active suffixing of a noun phrase other than the NP:

5.3 E/274 SN
durrb ya-rr-(a)-I-n-dyina gunbulu [ginya-ni ğurun-ni]
smoke lnsng-nmin-(SET)-do-pres-3sg0Pro blood dem-ACT smoke-ACT
'we "smoke" the blood with this smoke' (to stop haemorrhaging after childbirth).

In this example, the NP is not explicitly represented. A comparable example suggests that the NP would take active suffixing:
It appears to be indeterminable whether two noun phrases, analyzed as two separate noun phrases, may take concurrent active suffixing, as below:

5.3 E/276 SN

**durrb** yi-rr-(a)-I-na-da-yirr

smoke 3-nmin-(SET)-do-past-HABIT-3nsgOPro  widow-ACT  woman

'the widows used to "smoke" them (the men).'

since all examples can be reanalyzed as complex noun phrases. Despite this, for practical purposes, such examples are analyzed as possessing an "instrumental-like" noun phrase with active suffixing in addition to an NP with active suffixing.

In summary, the active suffix may mark either

(a) the NP (under certain conditions), or

(b) a noun phrase not cross-referenced in verbal prefixing, or

(c) (possibly) more than one noun phrase in a clause.

There are two possible analyses of this distribution of the active suffix:

(1) that the suffix indicates two different definable grammatical relationships that have the same morphological expression, that is, a type of "case syncretism" exists, or
(2) that the suffix indicates a single semantic relationship and this relationship has more than one correlation with verbal prefixing.

If the suffix is analyzed as indicating two different grammatical relationships, it is necessary to

(i) posit yet another grammatical relationship and define it, and
(ii) ignore the formal identity of the suffixes marking these two relationships.

Alternatively, if the suffix is analyzed as representing a single semantic relationship, the following are required:

(i) a definition of the relationship, and
(ii) a definition of its correlation with the noun phrase cross-referenced in verbal prefixing.

It seems possible (and preferable) to define a single relationship reflected in two possible uses of the suffix. That single relationship is that of the "power source" of an action affecting another participant. This single semantic relationship of "power source" is compatible with

(i) more than one occurrence within a clause, and
(ii) a variable correlation with verbal prefixing.

If the relationship is analyzed as that of "power source", the possibility of more than one representation within a single clause is not precluded since an action may have more than one "power source" as, for example, in the action of a human being invoking a supernatural force to achieve some result. Both the entities may be required to effect the result. The correlation of the "power source" with the NP_{pref} is partly determined by the set of the verbal prefixing.

If verbal prefixing is from set I, one of the noun phrases with
active suffixing must be the NP\textsubscript{pref}. That is, if there is only one participant which does (or could do if it were explicitly represented) take active suffixing, then this noun phrase will be cross-referenced in verbal prefixing. If more than one noun phrase takes active suffixing, then the noun phrase of higher animacy functions as the NP\textsubscript{pref}.

Where verbal prefixing is from set II, selection of the NP\textsubscript{pref} is more complex. With alternative-prefixing verbal roots, the semantic information conveyed by choice of prefixing set varies between individual verbal roots.

'Burning' : Some Semantic Considerations

For the verbal root -MARRA- 'burn', set II prefixing indicates lack of volitional control on the part of the NP\textsubscript{pref}. However, this lack of control may be thought of from the view-point of the fire or from the view-point of that which undergoes burning.

(1) perspective of the fire ("non-patient"), where active suffixing occurs with the NP\textsubscript{pref}:

5.3 E/277 SN

wa-rра-MARRA-њayu dyu菊gu-ni
3sg-fut/IRR(=II)-burn-lsgOPro fire-ACT

'the fire might burn me'.

(2) perspective of the thing burned ("patient"), where active suffixing occurs, but not with the NP\textsubscript{pref}:

5.3 E/278 SN

ꙗ-ra-ra-MARRA љayu dyu菊gu-ni
lsg-fut/IRR(=II)-burn lsgPRO fire-ACT

'I might get burned by the fire'.
(Where volitional control is assumed (see 9.3.5.5), set I prefixing is used with 'burn' and active suffixing occurs with the NP\textsubscript{pref}:

5.3 E/279 SN (= 9.3.5.5 E/441)

wamba-ni wan-a-MARRA \textit{wali}

man-\text{ACT} 3sg(I)-fut-\textit{burn} \textit{meat}

'vethe man will cook the meat'.)

The question of which noun phrase is selected as the NP\textsubscript{pref} with set II prefixing is discussed later in this section.

'Breaking' : Semantic Considerations

With other alternative-prefixing verbal roots, such as 'break', use of set II prefixing represents lack of control only from the view-point of that which is affected (the "patient").

Some examples are given to illustrate the varying significance of selection of set II prefixing. (Set I prefixing with 'break' is included for comparison.)

(a) set I "non-patient" aspect: 'break', where active suffixing occurs with the NP\textsubscript{pref}:

5.3 E/280 SN

mandya-ni dyu\textit{gu} yi-rr-a-DYANGULI-na-yirr \textit{malbulu}

many-\text{ACT} fire 3-nmin-\text{SET}(=I)-\textit{break}-past-3msg\text{Pro} \textit{coolamon}

'many fires broke the coolamons'.

(b) set II "non-patient" aspect: 'burn', where active suffixing occurs with the NP\textsubscript{pref}:
mandya-ni dyu9gu yi-MARRA-na-yirr
many-ACT fire 3sg (II)-burn-past-3msgOPro
\[many\text{ }fires\text{ }burned\text{ }the\text{ }children\]
\[(*\text{non-minimal specification is not obligatory here -- see 9.6.1}).\]

This example is unambiguous. Since the 3msgOPro (-yirr) of the inflected verb must refer to baba, the NP \[\text{NP}_{\text{pref}}\] must be mandya-ni dyu9gu.

(c) set II "patient" aspect: 'burn' and 'break'.

In the first example, active suffixing occurs but not with the NP \[\text{NP}_{\text{pref}}\].

mandya baba yi-rr-MARRA-ny dyu9gu-ni
many child 3-nmin(=II)-burn-past fire-ACT
\[many\text{ }children\text{ }were\text{ }burned\text{ }by\text{ }fire\];

but in the following example with 'break', no noun phrase takes active suffixing:

mandya malbulu yi-rr-DYA9GULI-ny dyu9gu-yunu
many coolamon 3-nmin(=II)-break-past fire-INAN.SOURCE
\[many\text{ }coolamons\text{ }got\text{ }broken\text{ }by\text{ }the\text{ }fire\].

When set II prefixing is used with the verbal root 'burn', either the unmarked noun phrase ("patient") or the active suffixed noun phrase may be selected as the NP \[\text{NP}_{\text{pref}}\]. In these examples, it may be that selection as the NP \[\text{NP}_{\text{pref}}\] indicates whose view-point (see 9.3.5.5) is being focussed upon: that of the force or that of the "patient" affected by the force.
5.4 THE NARRATIVE SUFFIX -ni

The narrative suffix -ni is found infrequently in narration. The allomorph -na (NARR_E) is also found. The suffix marks noun phrases, which are usually involved in reiteration, where there appears to be some kind of emphasis\(^1\) or some clarification of reference. Sometimes the reiterated phrase with -ni suffixing resembles a remark in parentheses or an aside. Examples are quoted in fairly extensive context to illustrate that this role of -ni differs from the previously described "power source" or active suffixing:

5.4 E/284 SN

\[
yin\text{-}BA\text{-}na \quad yi\text{j}\text{-}GULMA\text{-}na\text{-}yina \quad \ldots \ldots
\]

3sg(I)-see-past 1sg(II)-sit-past-3sgDatPro

'he saw (it), it sat (near) him \ldots \ldots

\ldots [yajgi \text{-} wali\text{-}na?] \ldots \ldots \text{bindabinda-ni} \ldots \ldots

what animal-NARR_E butterfly-NARR

\ldots what animal? a butterfly \ldots \ldots

\ldots bindabinda yi\text{j}\text{-}GULMA\text{-}na\text{-}yina

butterfly 3sg(II)-sit-past-3sgDatPro

\ldots a butterfly was sitting (near) him'.

The NP\textsubscript{pref} of the inflecting verb yi\text{j}gulmanayina is repeated towards the end of the example: bindabinda. It is difficult to describe the role of -ni suffixing of [yajgi wali-na] or bindabinda-ni in terms of "power source", especially since the relevant NP\textsubscript{pref} can appear unsuffixed (bindabinda).

\footnote{1-nim ("agent" marker) is also described as a "topicalizer" for Ba:di (Metcalf 1975:82-84)}
5.4 E/285 SN

galiya waldya-ni galiya waldya-ni ....
finished barramundi-NARR finished barramundi-NARR

'then a barramundi, then a barramundi ....

.... warany-ni waldya warany-ni waldya ....
other-NARR barramundi other-NARR barramundi

.... another barramundi and another barramundi ....

.... yan-ANDI-ny muda
1+2(I)-pick up-past₂ nothing
.... we caught (them) with no effort at all';

5.4 E/286 SN

yi-rr-(a)-ALGA-ny ganya wamba ....
3-nmin-(SET)-beat-past₂ dem man

'they beat that man (to death) ....

.... ụjan-BA-ny-jany-dyirrga .... yirrga-na ....
1sg(I)-see-past₂-TOG-3nsgOPro 3nsgPRO-NARR

.... I saw them at it .... them ....

.... ginya-nil wamba nilawal-gudany-nil
dem-many man name-having-many

.... all these men whose names I've got';
This example is taken from a moral tale about two wives and the gathering of food. The old wife was infirm and incapable, so that the younger wife had to gather food for the whole household. The resentful younger wife (X) threw a grinding stone at the old wife (Y). The context excludes the possibility that [yagurr-na bulyarra-na nimilgarr] could be the NP pref for either yinbarrina or dyulud yinayina, for which last inflecting verb this noun phrase is represented in pronominal suffixing.

In all these examples, the -ni suffix appears to have a role either in emphasis or in clarifying points of reference.
5.5 THE REFERENTIAL SUFFIX -ni

Verbal nominalizations often resemble participles (they are described in detail in Chapter 11). The use of the suffix -ni with verbal nominalizations (or with another constituent of a nominalized clause) indicates that the verbal nominalization refers to the same entity as is cross-referenced in verbal prefixing (the NP
pref
) of the inflecting verb with which the verbal nominalization is associated. No examples of referential suffixing with the allomorph -na have been recorded.

Examples of verbal nominalizations with -ni suffixing cannot all be analyzed as part of a complex NP
pref
which takes active suffixing (although many could be so analyzed). Consider the following example:

5.5 E/289 SN (= 11.2.4 E/656)
yab-ni gud yim-MA-na
away-REF dead 3sg(II)-go-past
'after he went away, he died'

where an NP
pref
, if explicit, could not take active suffixing. Similarly:

5.5 E/290 SN
gud-di-yi-ni dubady yim-BANDYI-na ginya garrinydya
running-REF pull out 3sg(II)-share-past 3sgPRO specific
'he pulled (the spear) out himself, while he was running'.

In this example, the NP
pref
[ginya garrinydya] can not take active suffixing.

Referential suffixing may occur on a constituent of a nominalized clause other than the verbal nominalization, for example:
where the referential suffix occurs on the initial item of a nominalized clause. The following example occurred with an English borrowing:

5.5 E/292 BN
"dinner"-yunu-ni  juy wal-(a)-I ....
dinner-INAN.SOURCE-REF go back 2sg(I)-(fut)-do
.... ŋanga-ŋanga giya-ŋana
talking-talking again-ALLAT
'you come back after dinner to talk (about language)'
(literally, 'you, after having dinner, come back ....').

There are semantic restrictions (see 11.4.1.2) on the use of referential -ni suffixing with verbal nominalizations. Typically, referential suffixing is used where the subject would be in control of the action denoted by the verbal nominalization but where no other entity is significantly involved in that action. A verbal nominalization with referential suffixing may relate to the NP \( \text{NP}_{\text{pref}} \) of an inflecting verb from a wide variety of verbal roots. (The verbal root 'become' is an exception, see 11.4.1.3.)
5.5 E/294 SN (= 11.4.1.2 E/680)
mamarrangaya-ni nyi-MARRA-ny dyȗŋgu-ni
cooking-REF 2sg(II)-burn-past₂ fire-ACT

'while (you were) doing the cooking, you got burned by the fire'.

This last example illustrates the referential use of -ni suffixing (mamarrangaya-ni) and also the use of -ni suffixing (active suffixing) with a noun phrase which is not the NP_f. It should be noted also that if the NP_pref were explicit, it would be unsuffixed (dyuwa). The active suffixing of 'fire' corresponds to power source usage with a noun phrase other than the NP(pref). The referential suffixing of mamarrangaya-ni indicates that the person doing the cooking was the same person as the one who got burned.

5.6 ROLES OF -ni SUFFIXING

Examples given in this chapter show that -ni suffixing is found in three roles:

(1) "power source" marking (ACTive suffixing);

(2) emphasis in narration or (?) clarifying reference (NARRative suffixing); and

(3) indication with nominalized clauses (usually on the verbal nominalization) of same reference as the NP(pref) of the inflecting verb (REFerential suffixing).

Since it is not possible to relate these roles synchronically, they have been glossed separately.
Chapter 6: Pronominal Morphology

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The morphology of personal pronouns is relevant to various forms in Nyigina. Free form pronouns, which can take certain nominal suffixes, are considered in detail. The morphology of pronominal verbal prefixing and its relationship to free form morphology are discussed. (The overall description of verbal prefixing is found in Chapter 9.) Similarly, the morphology of pronominal verbal suffixing is described in this chapter, while other details concerning the use of these suffixes are found in Chapter 10. Morphological aspects of the rare pronominal suffixing to nouns (4.2.3) and the vestigial pronominal prefixing to nouns (4.2.2) are also related to personal pronoun morphology.

Tables T/13 and T/14 present those pronominal forms, from all these pronominal categories (that is, free forms and affixes), which display recurring pronominal units. Recurring pronominal units within these pronominal forms are indicated in these two tables by CAPITALS. Although it is possible to identify these recurring pronominal units within various pronominal forms, no further synchronic analysis is considered possible.

6.2 FREE FORM PRONOUNS

Free form pronouns have two root forms which may take further nominal suffixes: the unmarked and the dative forms. The unmarked free form pronoun takes all the possible case-marking suffixes except the animate source suffix, which has as its base the dative free form pronoun. Pronouns may participate in noun phrase suffixing (see 4.3.2):
6.1 T/13 Recurring Pronominal Units (Persons 1sg, 2sg and 3sg)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Recurring</th>
<th>Verbal</th>
<th>Verbal</th>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Unmarked Free</th>
<th>Dative Free</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>-ja-</td>
<td>-nyu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-nyu</td>
<td>-adyanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dyanu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-dyanu (DatPro)</td>
<td>BN -dyanu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>jaDyANU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dyu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-dyu BN (OPro)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>dyuwa</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-dyuwa (OPro)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>yaYu (1+2)</td>
<td>yar-Dyu (1+2+m)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dyiya</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-dyiya (DatPro)</td>
<td>BN -dyiya</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>DyiYa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?BN yaDyiYa (1+2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dyina</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-dyina</td>
<td>-dyina</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>ginyDyina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(OPro &amp; DatPro)</td>
<td>(BN &amp; SN)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

recurring units are indicated in CAPITALS
### 6.1 T/14 Recurring Pronominal Units (Non-singular)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Verbal</th>
<th>Verbal</th>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Unmarked Free</th>
<th>Dative Free</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>YAyu</td>
<td>BN YAdyiya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>YA-</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>YArRdyu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+m</td>
<td>YA-</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>YArRga</td>
<td>YAdyArRa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>- dya</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-DYAw(u)</td>
<td>BN</td>
<td>-DYAwu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>DYAw(u)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>OMITTED (SEE 6.5.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+m</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-DYAr (OPro)*</td>
<td>BN</td>
<td>-DYArRa</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>yaDYArRa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-DYArRa (DatPro)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>- gu-</td>
<td>GU-</td>
<td>-dyujGurr (OPro)*</td>
<td>BN</td>
<td>-dyujGurrA</td>
<td>GURrga</td>
<td>BN ?GUdyujGurrA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-dyujGurrA (DatPro)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>YI-</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>YIRrga</td>
<td>YIDyirra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- dyirr</td>
<td>-DYIRR (OPro)*</td>
<td>-DYIRRa</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>yiDYIRRa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-DYIRRa (DatPro)</td>
<td>(BN &amp; SN)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*alternative forms with final -ga are also possible in Small Nyigina
6.2 E/295 SN

[ginydyina-yi NP yila]NP yi-MA-n-dyina NP
3sgDAT/PRO-DAT NP dog 3sg(II)-go-pres-3sgDatPro

'he's going for (that is, to get) [his dog]'

and, rarely (see 6.4), may take derivational nominal suffixing:

6.2 E/296 SN (= 12.6 E/818)

ginydyina-nil-ga NP baba dyalågajjurruru-nil NP
3sgDAT/PRO-many-EMPH child medicine man-many NP

'her children were all medicine men'.

6.2.1 UNMARKED FREE FORM PRONOUNS

6.2.1 T/15 Unmarked Free Form Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>gaju</td>
<td>1+3</td>
<td>yarrgamirri₂</td>
<td>1+m</td>
<td>yarrga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dyuwa</td>
<td>2+2/3</td>
<td>gurrgamirri₂</td>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>gurrga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ginya</td>
<td>3+3</td>
<td>yirrgamirri₂</td>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>yirrga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>yayu</td>
<td>1+2+3</td>
<td>yarrdyumirri₂</td>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>yarrdyu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

where m = more than one person

6.2.2 MORPHOLOGICAL PATTERNING

The above table suggests the following classification of unmarked free form pronouns, according to the category of number:

- **person groups**
  - **minimal**
  - **non-minimal**
    - **unit-augmented**
    - **multiply-augmented**
6.2.2 Such a pattern has been described for other northern and western Australian languages. The term "augmented" was introduced by McKay (1975:103) to describe pronominal morphology in Rembarnga.

Two other morphological patterns suggest that the classification of person groupings into minimal, unit-augmented and multiply-augmented categories has some "psychological reality" for speakers of Nyigina.

(1) The patterning of pronominal verbal prefixing supports a three-way classification. (Only the affixes relating to subject person and number are given in the following table (T/16) of verbal prefixing.) It should be noted that for unit-augmented person groupings, verbal affixing involves both prefixing and suffixing (that is, discontinuous affixing).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person(s)</th>
<th>MINIMAL</th>
<th>u-AUGMENTED</th>
<th>m-AUGMENTED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>jana - * -</td>
<td>ya-rra - * - mirri</td>
<td>ya-rra - * -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mina - * -</td>
<td>gu-rra - * - mirri</td>
<td>gu-rra - * -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yina - * -</td>
<td>yi-rra - * - mirri</td>
<td>yi-rra - * -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>yana - * -</td>
<td>yana-rra - * - mirri</td>
<td>yana-rra - * -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

where * represents the verbal root.

(Other verbal affixes, unrelated to the subject, may occur both between the initial prefix and the verbal root and between the verbal root and the suffix -mirri.)

(2) The limit of distribution of forms from suppletive verb roots (more detail in Chapter 8) supports the reality of the distinction between minimal and non-minimal groupings. The following verbal paradigms which involve suppletions only show forms from the
suppletive root(s) in the minimal person groupings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect(s)</th>
<th>Regular Verbal Root</th>
<th>Suppletive Root(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BN</td>
<td>- BA -</td>
<td>- BARA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SN &amp; BN</td>
<td>- ŃARA -</td>
<td>- RA - and -YA-¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SN &amp; BN</td>
<td>- NI -</td>
<td>- ȲA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SN &amp; BN</td>
<td>- I -</td>
<td>- DI -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The non-future realis paradigm of BN 'see' shows the maximum possible distribution of forms from the suppletive root:

**Big Nyigina Non-future Realis Forms of - BA - 'see'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person(s)</th>
<th>Non-future Realis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ȳan - - BARA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>min - - BARA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yin - - BARA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>yan - - BARA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+m</td>
<td>ya - rra - BA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>gu - rra - BA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>yi - rra - BA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>yana - rra - BA -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The unit-augmented series show no suppletion; they resemble the multiply-augmented series with the addition of the suffix -mirri.)

6.3 MORPHOLOGY OF UNMARKED FREE FORM PRONOUNS

The unmarked free form pronouns, with the exception of Ȳayu, show little overall resemblance to pronouns outside the region¹, although

¹ Many speakers reject the 1sg suppletive root form (see 8.3.5).
² Dixon(1980:343)
occasional similarities to forms from distant languages can be noted. The Nyigina forms allow limited synchronic analysis (see 6.1 T/13, 6.1 T/14 and 6.3.3).

6.3.1 THIRD PERSON SINGULAR UNMARKED FREE FORM PRONOUN

This form is identical with the demonstrative ginya 'this, that, aforementioned'. However, the dative of the demonstrative is formed on the regular pattern for nominals and differs from the dative free form pronoun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unmarked</th>
<th>Dative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>ginya</td>
<td>ginydyina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
<td>ginya</td>
<td>ginya-yi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Speakers agree that ginydyina and ginya-yi differ in meaning, but no-one was able to specify the difference in English:

6.3.1 E/297 SN

malu ŋa-l(a)-ANDI-na-yina ginydyina
NEG 1sg(I)-IRR-pick up-past-3sgDatPro 3sgDAT/PRO
'I didn't get (it) for ?him';

6.3.1 E/298 SN

malu ŋa-l(a)-ANDI-na-yina magajarry ginya-yi
NEG 1sg(I)-IRR-pick up-past-3sgDatPro food dem-DAT
'I didn't get food for ?that one'.

Since it is not possible to distinguish between the pronoun and the demonstrative (without any nominal) for the third person singular except

---

3 ginya has been noted sporadically in Western Australia, Queensland and Victoria (Dixon 1972:258).
in the dative situation, the form of the inter-linear gloss is often (necessarily) arbitrary.

The existence of a dative form ginydyina shows that ginya, in its role as a personal pronoun, has adopted a distinctive form for the dative, a characteristic of the morphology of personal pronouns.

6.3.2 UNIT-AUGMENTED FREE FORM PRONOUNS

It should be noted that the morpheme -mirri₂ is incorporated within the unmarked free form pronouns (and also the dative free form pronouns, see 6.5.1) for all unit-augmented person groupings. The position of case-marking suffixes following -mirri₂ demonstrates this incorporation:

6.3.2 E/299 SN
yirrgamirri₂-ni yi-rr-a-MADALI-na-mirri warany gudyarra-ni ....
3+3PRO-ACT 3-nmin-SET-hide-past-AUG other two-ACT
.... wirimağurruru
club
'they two -- the other two -- hid the club';

6.3.2 E/300 SN
yiny-DYURRBA-na-ŋany dyalb-an .... yidyirramirri₂-an dyalbi
3sg(II)-rest-past-TOG camp-LOC 3+3DAT/PRO-LOC camp
'she rested in the camp .... in the camp of the two of them';

6.3.2 E/301 SN
milimil-an wan-a-MA yadyarramirri₂-yina ŋanga
paper-LOC 3sg(I)-fut-put 1+3DAT/PRO-ANIMSOURCE talk
'she's going to put down on paper our (that is, the two of us) discussion'.

---

4 for discussion of the relationship between demonstratives and third person pronouns, see Dixon (1980:277).
These examples should be compared with mirri₁ 'certain', which is enclitic and follows the case-marker (see 12.1.4):

6.3.2 E/302 SN
ginya-ŋany..mirri₁ dyaŋgurra
'yhe speared (the crocodile) with that very wire'.

6.3.3 UNMARKED FREE FORM PRONOUNS FOR NON-MINIMAL PERSON GROUPINGS

Unmarked free form pronouns for non-minimal groupings all share the marker -rr-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Unmarked Free Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1+m</td>
<td>ya - rr - ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>gu - rr - ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>yi - rr - ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>ya - rr - dyu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Previewing of the following tables of verbal prefixing shows that, for verbs whose subjects are non-minimal groupings of persons, all verbal prefixing reveals the presence of either -rr- or -rra-:

SET (I) PREFIXING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1+m</td>
<td>ya-rra-</td>
<td>yaja-rra-</td>
<td>ya-la-rra-</td>
<td>ya-ya-rra-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>gu-rra-</td>
<td>wa-rra-</td>
<td>gu-la-rra-</td>
<td>gu-ya-rra-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>yi-rra-</td>
<td>waŋa-rra-</td>
<td>wa-la-rra-</td>
<td>wa-ya-rra-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>yana-rra-</td>
<td>yana-rra-</td>
<td>ya-la-rra-</td>
<td>ya-ya-rra-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Set (II) Prefixing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1+m</td>
<td>ya-rr-</td>
<td>ya-rr-</td>
<td>ya-la-rr-</td>
<td>ya-la-rr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>gu-rr-</td>
<td>wa-rr-</td>
<td>gu-la-rr-</td>
<td>gu-la-rr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>yi-rr-</td>
<td>wa-rr-</td>
<td>wa-la-rr-</td>
<td>wa-la-rr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>yana-rr-</td>
<td>yana-rr-</td>
<td>ya-la-rr-</td>
<td>ya-la-rr-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relationship between -rr- and -rra- (which will be analysed as -rr- + -a) will be discussed in Chapter 9.

A similar morphological system marking assorted groupings other than minimal has been described in the Northern Territory. In the Djamindjungan (NT) family, free form pronouns and pronominal verbal prefixes for multiply-augmented person groupings are usually marked. Unit-augmented forms are rarely so marked and discrete markers are also found for "dual". The non-minimal/plural marker is -rr-.

6.4 Nominal Suffixing and Unmarked Free Form Pronouns

The unmarked free form pronouns can take a number of nominal suffixes. They regularly take the following:

- active
- causative
- allative
- ablative
- locative
- comitative.

(The animate source suffix affixes to the dative free form pronoun.)

Derivational nominal suffixes are found rarely with free form pronouns. The derivational suffix -nil 'many' has been recorded with

---

5 Ngaliwuru (Bolt et al. 1971:80, 82, 98, 104)
the dative free form pronoun, but only in the context of suffixing of
the whole noun phrase:

6.4  E/303  SN

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>malu</td>
<td>mandu</td>
<td>yi-rr-BANYDYU-na</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>foul</td>
<td>3-nmin(=II)-smell-past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dyayida-nil</td>
<td>ḣarruŋu-nil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2+mDAT/PRO-many</td>
<td>people-many</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'but our (dead) people stank'.

The unmarked free form pronouns ḣayu and yayu (but not yarrdyu),
when occurring with active suffixing, undergo vowel assimilation:

ḣayu  ḣayi-ni
yayu  yayi-ni

6.5  DATIVE FREE FORM PRONOUNS

The dative free form pronouns are distinct from the unmarked free
forms and cannot be related to them synchronically.

6.5.1  FORMS OF THE DATIVE FREE FORM PRONOUNS
6.5.1 T/17 Dative Free Form Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>DATIVE</th>
<th>Unmarked Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Small Nyigina</td>
<td>Big Nyigina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ḡadyanu</td>
<td>ḡayu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dyiya</td>
<td>dyuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ginydyina</td>
<td>ginya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>dyaw(u)</td>
<td>yadyiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dyarradyaw (rare)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+m</td>
<td>yadyarra</td>
<td>yarrrga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>dyujgArra</td>
<td>gudyu jigUrra (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>yidyirra</td>
<td>yirrga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>dyayida</td>
<td>yarrdyu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dative forms for unit-augmented person groupings involve addition of the morpheme \(-mirri_2\) to the multiply-augmented forms, as discussed in 6.3.2:

6.5.1 E/304 SN
dyambadu yidyirramirri_2 mulurrundudu
grandfather 3+3DAT/FRO (person name)
'Mulurrundudu was their grandfather' (of two sisters).

6.5.2 MORPHOLOGY OF DATIVE FREE FORM PRONOUNS

It is probable that the non-minimal marker \(-rr\) (see 6.3.3) is also represented in the dative free form pronouns of some non-minimal person groupings:
The form dyayida (1+2+mDAT/PRO) is regarded as an exception. As no attempt at analysis of dyayida has been made, this form has been omitted from any comparison, such as that of recurring pronominal units (6.1 T/14).

It can be observed that, with the exception of jadyanu and dyaw(u), all the dative free form pronouns show a final -a, but the significance of this observation is not known. Alternating dy/y is particularly prominent in dative free form pronouns (and in the dative pronominal suffixing series, see 6.6.2).

6.5.3 FUNCTION OF DATIVE FREE FORM PRONOUNS

Dative free form pronouns are found in the same functions as dative nominal suffixing (see 4.5.1.2).

6.5.4 ANIMATE SOURCE SUFFIXING TO FREE FORM PRONOUNS

The animate source suffix is affixed to the dative free form pronoun:

6.5.4 E/305 SN

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ya-rr-(a)-ANDI-n} & \text{ginya} & \text{waldya} & \text{ginydyina-yina} & \ldots \\
&\text{lng-nmin-(SET)-pick up-pres} & \text{dem} & \text{barramundi} & \text{3sgDAT/PRO-ANIM.SOURCE} & \ldots \\
&\text{buwjgubiny-ni} & \text{yin-NA-ny-dya} & \ldots \\
&\text{fish hawk-ACT} & \text{3sg(I)-spear-past}_2-\text{REL} & \ldots \\
\end{align*}
\]

'we grab that barramundi from him \ldots \ldots (that barramundi) which the fish hawk had caught';
6.5.4 E/306 SN

nya wila gururr yi-YA-n ɲadyani-yina
dem water dark 3sg(II)-become-pres 1sgDAT/PRO-ANIM.SOURCE

'this water is becoming dark from me' (that is, I'm changing the colour of the water with juice from crushed bark of the river mangrove).

(The dative free form pronoun ɲadyanu undergoes final vowel assimilation before the animate source nominal suffix.)

6.6 PRONOMINAL VERBAL SUFFIXING

Pronominal suffixing occurs frequently with Nyigina verbs but is rarely obligatory. There are two varieties of pronominal suffix; no more than one pronominal suffix may occur with each inflected verbal root. One pronominal suffixing paradigm (OPro) refers to the direct object of a transitive verb; the other paradigm is similar in both form and function to the dative nominal suffix and will be termed the "dative" pronominal suffix (DatPro). The morphology of pronominal suffixing differs slightly in Big Nyigina. The forms are given in the following tables, while phonological realization rules are found in 6.6.3.
6.6.1 DIRECT OBJECT PRONOMINAL VERBAL SUFFIXES (OPros)

6.6.1 T/18 OPros in Small Nyigina and Big Nyigina

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person(s)</th>
<th>Small Nyigina</th>
<th>Big Nyigina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>- ṇayu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>- dyuwa, - yi</td>
<td>- dyuwa, - dyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>- dyina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>- dyaw(u)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+3</td>
<td>- dyarrmirri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+3</td>
<td>- dyuŋgurrmirri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+3</td>
<td>- dyirrmirri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+3</td>
<td>- dyarrdyumirri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+m</td>
<td>- dyarr, - dyarrga</td>
<td>- dyarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>- dyuŋgurr, - ſgurrga</td>
<td>- dyuŋgurr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>- dyirr, - dyirrga</td>
<td>- dyirr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>- dyarrdyu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Small Nyigina, the suffixed forms with an additional -ga, such as -dyirrga, seem to imply a fairly large group. The forms *dyirrgamirri (etc.) are not found as OPros for unit-augmented groups.
6.6.2 DATIVE PRONOMINAL VERBAL SUFFIXES (DatPros)

6.6.2 T/19 Dative Pronominal Verbal Suffixes (DatPros)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person(s)</th>
<th>Small Nyigina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>- dyanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>- dyiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>- dyina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>- dyaw(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+m</td>
<td>- dyarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>- dyuŋgarra (BN - dyuŋgurra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>- dyirra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>- dyayida</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The unit-augmented groupings involve an additional -mɨrri.)

6.6.3 PHONOLOGICAL REALIZATION RULES

The phonological rules relating the forms given in the above tables (T/18 and T/19) and the surface forms in the language are as follows:

(a) - dy ----> - y / V + ----

(b) Small Nyigina only, EXCEPT with the verbal root -I- 'do, say':
    - i + - ya ----> - a

(c) Small Nyigina only:
    - a + - ya ----> - a

(d) - a + - yu ----> - a (Small Nyigina only)

(e) - i + - yiC ----> - iC

(f) yiy ----> y.
These realization rules are ordered:

(a) \[\text{Rule (a) is straightforward in application:}\]

(b) \[\text{Rule (a) cannot apply. Therefore the pronominal suffix is in the form given in Table T/19.}\]

(c) \[\text{Especially in Small Nyigina, after rule (a) has applied, one of the other ordered rules frequently applies.}\]
Rule (a) followed by rule (b):

6.6.3 E/309 SN

giya giya wal-(a)-AND(I)-anu guya
again again 2sg(I)-(fut)-pick up-lsgDatPro mother
'again, get (it) for me again, mother!'.

wal-ANDI + -dyanu

Rule (a) ——> walANDI-yanu
Rule (b) ——> walandanu.

Rule (a) followed by rule (c):

6.6.3 E/310 SN

waj-a-BUL(A)-anu
3sg(II)-fut-come-lsgDatPro
'he will come to me'.

waj-a-BULA + -dyanu

Rule (a) ——> wajBULA-yanu.

In Big Nyigina, this is the surface form:

6.6.3 E/311 BN

jayi-ni ḣjan-a-BA-yarri waj-a-BULA-yanu
lsgPRO-ACT lsg(I)-fut-see-REL 3sg(II)-fut-come-lsgDatPro
'when I see (him), he'll come to me'.

However, in Small Nyigina:

Rule (c) ——> wajabulanu.
Rule (a) followed by rule (d):

6.6.3 E/312 SN
wan-a-BA-yjurrmirri
3sg(I)-fut-see-2+2OPro
'he's going to see you two'.

Rule (a) ----> wanaba-yujurrmirri
Rule (d) ----> wanabajurrmirri.

Rule (a) followed by rule (e):

6.6.3 E/313 SN
bararrga ŋa-RA₂-ny-dyarr(i)-ina
sorry 1sg(II)-feel-past₂-REL-3sgDatPro
"'I used to feel sorry for that (far away) one"' (speaker's gloss).

ŋa-RA₂-ny-dyarri + -dyina
Rule (a) ----> ŋaRAnydyarri-yina
Rule (e) ----> ŋaranydyarrina.

Rule (a) followed by rule (f):

6.6.3 E/314 SN
waj-a-BULA-ya
3sg(II)-fut-come-2sgDatPro
'he will come to you'.

waj-a-BULA + dyiya
Rule (a) ----> waŋaBULA-yiya
Rule (f) ----> waŋabulaya.
Rule (f) must be ordered after rule (c); that is, -a + -ya $\Rightarrow$ -a or the suffix would then be eliminated.

6.6.4 FIRST PERSON SINGULAR AS DIRECT OBJECT

No morphologically distinct suffixed pronominal form (OPro) of the first person singular exists, as the following examples show:

6.6.4 E/315 SN

ŋan-a-DYUBA-yina
lsg(I)-fut-ask-3sgOPro
'I'm going to ask him';

6.6.4 E/316 SN
wan-a-DYUBA /ŋayu
3sg(I)-fut-ask-1sgPRO
'he's going to ask me'.

The nature of the boundary between wanadyuba and ŋayu is discussed in 6.6.6. (Arbitrarily, ŋayu has been analyzed as an OPro suffix in examples where ŋayu follows the inflecting verb.)

6.6.5 SECOND PERSON SINGULAR AS DIRECT OBJECT

Considerable morphological variation may occur with this pronominal suffix:

(1) -dyuwa (2sgOPro₁)

Both dialects of Nyigina may use, following an inflected verb, a pronominal form which is identical with the unmarked free form pronoun. In Small Nyigina, this form is obligatory when the suffix is not preceded by a vowel (evidence that this form is, in fact, suffixed is presented in 6.6.6):
\[\eta\text{-}n-MI\text{-}ny\text{-}dyuwa\quad \text{manin}\]
\[1\text{sg}(I)\text{-}give\text{-}past\text{-}2\text{sgOPro}_{1}\quad \text{woman}\]
'I gave you the woman'.

(2) -dyu \ (2\text{sgOPro}_{2})

In Big Nyigina only, the suffixed form -dyu may occur where the suffix is not preceded by a vowel:

\[\text{miliya}\text{-}n-MI\text{-}n-dyu\quad \text{wali}\]
\[\text{now} \quad 3\text{sg}(I)\text{-}give\text{-}pres\text{-}2\text{sgOPro}_{2}\quad \text{meat}\]
'he's giving you meat now'.

(3) -yi \ (SN) / -yu \ (BN) \ (2\text{sgOPro}_{3})

Where the suffixed 2\text{sgOPro} is preceded by -a or -u, these forms may occur:

\[\text{wan-a-rra-MURRGU-yi}\quad \text{guwaniya-ni}\]
\[3\text{sg}(I)\text{-}fut-IRR\text{-}bite\text{-}2\text{sgOPro}_{3}\quad \text{crocodile}\text{-ACT}\]
'the crocodile might bite you';

\[\text{ginya-ni}\quad \text{yin-NARI-na-yi}\]
\[3\text{sgPRO}\text{-ACT}\quad 3\text{sg}(I)\text{-}leave\text{-}past\text{-}2\text{sgOPro}_{3}\]
'he left you'.

In Big Nyigina, where the verbal root is i-final, the form -yu occurs:
6.6.5 E/321 BN

wan-i-MI-yu  
3sg(I)-fut-give-2sgOPro₃  morning

'he'll give it to you tomorrow'.

However, in Small Nyigina, where the verbal root is i-final, the form -dyuwa is preferred:

6.6.5 E/322 SN

wan-i-MI-dyuwa-dyi  
3sg(I)-fut-give-2sgOPro₁-EXP  lsg(I)-give-past₂-2sgDatPro  dem

'I gave (it) to that man for you, so that he could give it to you'.

6.6.6 STATUS OF -jayu AND -dyuwa AS OPros

In Nyigina, the direct object of a transitive verb usually follows the verb without any intervening item. It also happens that any pronominal suffix appearing will most often constitute the final suffix on the verbal root. In order to determine whether -jayu and -dyuwa may be treated as OPros as well as unmarked free form pronouns, examples involving the verbal suffix -dyi (EXP), which often marks various subordinate clauses and which belongs to an order class which follows pronominal verbal suffixes, must be considered.

6.6.6 E/323 SN

ŋa-RA₂-n  
lsg(II)-feel-pres

[I want [to ask him]';
The following version of the above example seems to be unacceptable:

* lirr  
  send message  
  send message  
  'he sent a message about them [to kill them]'.

It seems that third person pronouns (if present) are at least preferably suffixed when they represent the direct object. The usage for -dyuwa seems to be flexible, and all the following pronominal possibilities were accepted without hesitation:

yi-RA₂-n  
3sg(II)-feel-pres 3sg(I)-fut-ask-2sgOPro₁-EXP  
'he wants [to ask you]';

ŋa-RA₂-n  
1sg(II)-feel-pres 1sg(I)-fut-ask-2sgOPro₃-2sgOPro₁-EXP  
'I want [to ask you]';
With the first person (jayu), the usage appears to be slightly different. The free form version is uncontroversial:

6.6.6 E/330 SN

yi-RA₂-n  [wan-a-DYUBA-dyi jayu]
3sg(II)-feel-pres  3sg(I)-fut-ask-EXP  1sgPRO

'he wants [to ask me]'.

Some speakers will accept the version with a pronominal suffix, but this example seems to be less favoured than the corresponding example for dyuwa:

?6.6.6 E/331 SN

?yi-RA₂-n  [wan-a-DYUBA-jayu-dyi]
3sg(II)-feel-pres  3sg(I)-fut-ask-1sgOPro-EXP

'he wants [to ask me]'.

The verbal suffix AUG₈ (-mirri) also follows pronominal suffixing (see 10.8.1) and a single example involving 1sgOPro supports the proposal of affix status for jayu:
Comparing the usages between 1sgOPro, 2sgOPros and 3sgOPro is difficult. The example of 6.6.6 E/325 suggests that the suffixing of third person pronouns may be preferred, while unmarked free form pronouns seem always to be possible for first and second person singular. There may even be a preference for the unmarked free form pronoun for the first person singular.

6.6.7 OCCURRENCE OF DATIVE PRONOMINAL VERBAL SUFFIXING

Frequently the entity referred to by the DatPro is not represented elsewhere in the sentence:

6.6.7 E/333 SN

waïjgurr yi(n)-Ø-n-dyina
cry 3sg(I)-do-pres-3sgDatPro

'he's crying for her (his mother)'.

Occasionally, both suffixed pronominal form and free form dative pronoun, with the same referent, occur:

6.6.7 E/334 SN

malu wa-la-LIGARR(A)-awu  dyawu
NEG 3sg-IRR-listen-1+2DatPro  1+2DAT/PRO

'he isn't listening to you and me'.
Both a suffixed pronominal form and a noun phrase, with the same referent, may occur:

6.6.7 E/335 SN

gadādy ya-rr-(a)-I-n-dyina gambiy-dyi
hunt lnsg-nmin-(SET)-do-pres-3sgDatPro egg-DAT
'we hunt for (crocodile) egg(s)'.

A suffixed pronominal form need not appear in such a sentence, provided that the "indirect object" shows dative suffixing:

6.6.7 E/336 SN

lagarr yin-DI-ny wanydyarri manin wagadya-yi
climb 3sg(I)-do-past_2 one woman honey-DAT
'one woman climbed for honey'.

Usually (as in E/335) if the suffixed pronominal form is a DatPro, the co-referential noun phrase, if present, is marked by dative suffixing. However, in a few examples, an unmarked noun phrase and a DatPro with the same referent may appear in the same sentence:

6.6.7 E/337 SN

gadādy ġjan-DI-ny-dyina ginya wamba
search lsg(I)-do-past_2-3sgDatPro dem man
'I searched for that man (unsuccessfully)'.

Examples such as this are discussed in 3.2 and 4.5.4.

It should be noted that the DatPro suffix is obligatory in examples involving either an (unmarked) unattainable indirect object or an indirect object marked by the extended dative suffix.
6.6.8 FUNCTIONS OF DATIVE PRONOMINAL VERBAL SUFFIXING

The uses of the dative pronominal suffix correspond to most of the uses of the dative nominal suffix (4.5.1.2), namely:

(1) person affected

(a) advantage

6.6.8 E/338 SN
mug wan-(a)-I-yanu-dyi rurreb
hit 3sg(I)-(fut)-do-1sgDatPro-EXP in return
'so that he can hit (him) back for me'.

(b) disadvantage

6.6.8 E/339 BN
dyid dyid yi-rr-(a)-I-ny-dyarra
bore 3-nmin-(SET)-do-past.2-1+mDatPro
'they (mining company) bored a hole on us';

6.6.8 E/340 SN
buraju yij-GADI-ny-dyina
sun 3sg(II)-enter-past.2-3sgDatPro
'the sun set on him'.

6.6.8 E/341 SN
bindil yi-YA-na-yina buru baybarra
solid 3sg(II)-become-past-3sgDatPro earth behind
'the earth caved in behind him'.

(2) possession

The suffixed pronominal form may represent the possessor of a noun phrase elsewhere in the sentence:
6.6.8 E/342 SN

did yi-ŋA-na-yina lajar-gan

stick 3sg(II)-sit-past-3sgDatPro throat-LOC

'(it) got stuck in his throat'.

(3) goal, purpose or aversion

6.6.8 E/343 SN

wanydyiy dudyub Ꞅŋ-an -(a) -I-ya

later sneak 1sg(I)-(fut)-do-2sgDatPro

'I'll sneak up to you later';

6.6.8 E/344 SN

wididy ya-rr-(a)-I-n-dyina rambal-an
dig lnsg-nmin-(SET)-do-pres-3sgDatPro sand-LOC

'we dig for it (eggs) in the sand';

6.6.8 E/345 SN

manin-ni wadyi yi-RA₂-n-dyina yila

woman-ACT afraid 3sg(II)-feel-pres-3sgDatPro dog

'the woman is afraid of it -- the dog'.

6.6.9 MULTIPLE NON-SUBJECT PRONOUNS

No examples of multiple non-subject pronouns have been found in Nyigina texts. Speakers reluctantly translated contrived examples, such as:

6.6.9 E/346 SN

ŋan-MI-n-dyuwa ginya ginya dyina

1sg(I)-give-pres-2sgOPro₁ dem 3sgDAT/PRO

'I'm giving you that thing for him';
As can be seen from the above examples, pronominal suffixing relating to only one participant is possible.

With the ditransitive verbal root -MI- 'give', if the thing given can be represented by a third person OPro, it seems that the OPro will usually occur. Where more than one third person participant is involved, it appears that the thing given will be preferred for pronominal suffixing:

In the above example, the speaker identified the pronominal suffix with gamirri 'that, further' (which represents 'the other woman' that is, the thing given).

It was also noted that forms of the verbal root -MI- 'give' were frequently elicited (unasked) with third person singular pronominal
suffixing. Unrequested pronominal suffixing was not elicited with any other verbal root. It seems that in Nyigina the verb 'give' prefers to include an explicit representation of that which is given.
Chapter 7: Verbal Morphology

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces, without extensive discussion, the overall patterns of verbal morphology. Details of roots of inflecting verbs are found in Chapter 8, verbal prefixing is discussed in detail in Chapter 9 and verbal suffixing in Chapter 10.

7.1.1 TYPES OF SURFACE VERBS

Two large classes of surface verbs exist in Nyigina:

(i) single-unit (inflecting) verbs

These prefix (obligatorily) and suffix (optionally) as a single unit. Verbal roots may be monosyllabic or polysyllabic.

7.1.1 E/350 SN

yin-BA-ny

3sg(I)-see-past

'he saw'.

(ii) double-unit verbs

These consist of: (a) a non-inflecting verbal prestem (indicated by PS); and (b) an inflected verbal root, always with prefixing and often with suffixing (as in (i) above).

7.1.1 E/351 SN

mug yin-DI-ny

hit(PS) 3sg(I)-do-past

'he hit'.
7.2 USE OF INFLECTING VERBS

The overwhelming majority of Nyigina clauses include a personal form (that is, with a prefix indicating the person of a subject) of an inflecting verb. Inflected forms of all verbal roots may occur alone as self-sufficient verbs.

The only possible exception to date is the verbal root -BU₁ 'hit, kill', which so far has been found only in double-unit verbs (see 8.3) and is fairly rare (about four examples). With this possible exception, there appears to be no verbal root which is restricted to occurring within double-unit verbs, that is, there is no frequently occurring verbal root which is "auxiliary only" in nature.

The inflecting verbs occurring as second element of a double-unit verb are commonly derived from monosyllabic verbal roots. While a fairly large number of verbal roots are found occasionally in double-unit verbs, probably about eight verbal roots would account for the vast majority of double-unit verbs found in texts. In a survey of 312 double-unit verbs occurring consecutively in texts, the following frequency of verbal roots was found:

7.2 T/20 Verbal Roots in Double-unit Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- I - (+suppletions)</td>
<td>'do, say'</td>
<td>56 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- MA - (set I)</td>
<td>'make, put'</td>
<td>9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- A - (+suppletions)</td>
<td>'carry'</td>
<td>9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- MA - (set II)</td>
<td>'go'</td>
<td>7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- NARA - (+suppletions)</td>
<td>'be'</td>
<td>4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ANDI -</td>
<td>'pick up'</td>
<td>4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- NI - (+suppletions)</td>
<td>'sit'</td>
<td>3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- BANDYI -</td>
<td>'share'</td>
<td>3 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

95 %
Twelve other verbal roots occurred in the series, each root in not more than two double-unit verbs, and these examples accounted for the remaining 5%.

Three classes of Nyigina clauses lack a personal form of an inflecting verb. Some clauses lack any verbal form. Other clauses lack an inflecting verb but include a verbal-nominal. Since no inflecting verb is present in these, the term "prestem" is inappropriate here. Details concerning the use of the two terms verbal-nominal and prestem are found in 7.3. Yet other clauses contain a non-personal form of an inflecting verb. The GENeral prefix (see 9.3.6) used in non-personal forms is the only prefixing form which does not specify the person of the subject.

(i) no verbal item

Many of these examples involve simple apposition and might be considered "copula-lacking":

7.2 E/352 SN (= 12.6 E/817)
jayu garrbuju
1sgPRO (person name)
'I (am) Garrbuju ....' (introducing a story);

7.2 E/353 SN (= 12.6 E/821)
dyana dyudug ginya buru
where far dem place
'how far (is it to) that place?'.

There are several different types of clauses lacking any verbal item (see 12.6).

(ii) no inflecting verb, verbal-nominal (VN) present
Where a verbal-nominal occurs in the absence of an inflecting verb, it can scarcely be termed a verbal prestem. Use of a verbal-nominal without an inflecting verb may occur when a generalization is involved:

7.2 E/354 SN
marru dyub galgarra-ni manin
head cut(VN) widow-ACT woman
'widows cut their hair';

7.2 E/355 SN
ginydyina-ni baba mabudyunu-nil ....
3sgDAT/PRO-many child excellent-many
.... malu-gunydyin garrujju gab
NEG-inclined people eat(VN)
'her children (were) well-behaved .... not inclined to eat humans'.

(iii) non-personal form of an inflecting verb (GENeral prefixing)
Examples involving these forms are also non-specific in reference:

7.2 E/356 SN
manygal ma-GA-n galgarra-ni
mud GEN-carry-pres widow-ACT
'widows (customarily) wear mud'.

7.2.1 MORPHOLOGY OF INFLECTING VERBS
Inflecting verbs prefix obligatorily, taking one or more prefixes from six prefixing order classes. The maximum number of prefixes for a single inflected verb is probably four (see 9.2.1). Surface verbs with three prefixes occur quite frequently.
The verbal root follows the verbal prefix or prefixes. In some instances, the verbal root may have zero realization (see 8.3.7).

Suffixed may occur from any or none of eight order classes of suffixes. At least six suffixes may occur in any one surface verb form. Suffixing is not obligatory and the verbal root is often the terminal morpheme in the surface verb.

7.2.1.1 VERBAL ROOTS

Verbal roots do not constitute a large class in Nyigina. The number of verbal roots considered in Chapter 8 is 145. Recorded verbal roots only increased from about 120 to 145 over about three months' fieldwork. (Verbal-nominals, however, abound. New members were found daily and although the number considered in 7.3.1 is 406, there are probably hundreds more.)

7.2.1.2 VERBAL PREFIXING

Verbal prefixes vary in many respects. Overall, verbal prefixes belong to one of two parallel categories, here termed "set I" and "set II". Thus, for each grammatical distinction which is reflected in verbal prefixing, such as person of subject and time of happening, there are two possible morphological realizations. However, these two realizations coincide for a number of situations. The morphological realization is determined by the "set" of verbal prefixing appropriate either to the verbal root employed (the majority of instances) or, more rarely and only with some verbal roots, to the semantics of the situation being described. That is, for the overwhelming majority of roots of inflecting verbs, no choice is possible: prefixes from one and only one prefixing set may occur. However, for a minority of verbal
roots (about 20), a choice of prefixing set is possible. These roots are termed "alternative-prefixing" and are listed in 9.3.5.4 T/54. These verbal roots are found with prefixes from both prefixing sets, with significant meaning difference (much further detail in Chapter 9).

Inflected verbs usually indicate the person and number of the subject. The only exceptions are inflected forms having initial GEN prefixing (non-personal forms). These forms in no way indicate the person or number of a subject. They have varied uses (see 9.3.6.2) and are somewhat uncommon.

Initial verbal prefixes (essentially pronominal) from both prefixing sets are presented in Table T/21. Other prefixes, providing information concerning future tense, irrealis mode, non-minimal grouping, SET marking or reflexive or reciprocal meaning may be found between the forms shown and the verbal root. The phonological rules operating at the boundary between the prefixing and the verbal root will be discussed in 9.2.2.

7.2.1.3 VERBAL SUFFIXING

Suffixing indicating tense is probably the most usual form of verbal suffixing. Many other suffixes convey various subtleties of a somewhat "aspectual" nature. Pronominal suffixing may relate to both subject and non-subject participants.
7.2.1.2 T/21  Initial Verbal Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Set I</th>
<th>Set II</th>
<th>Set I</th>
<th>Set II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-future</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ġana -</td>
<td>ġaŋ -</td>
<td>ġan -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>mina -</td>
<td>nyiŋ -</td>
<td>wal -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>yina -</td>
<td>yiŋ -</td>
<td>wan -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>yana -</td>
<td>yaŋ -</td>
<td>yan -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>1+m</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td></td>
<td>yaŋa -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>gu -</td>
<td></td>
<td>wa -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>yi -</td>
<td></td>
<td>waŋa -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>yana -</td>
<td></td>
<td>yana -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ġa -</td>
<td>ġa -</td>
<td>ġan -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>mi -</td>
<td>nyi -</td>
<td>min -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>wa -</td>
<td>wa -</td>
<td>wan -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td>yan -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>1+m</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td></td>
<td>ya -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>gu -</td>
<td></td>
<td>gu -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>wa -</td>
<td></td>
<td>wa -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td></td>
<td>ya -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-personal: set I  mana -  
set II  ma -
In most examples involving double-unit verbs, the first unit of the verb could be described in terms of a special class of lexical items whose members are found only in this context ("once a prestem, always a prestem"). However, infrequent examples complicate such an analysis. Prestems are usually found preceding an inflecting verb (for occasional exceptions, see 7.3.2) but are separate words and are able to take nominal suffixing (see 12.1).

Some lexical items, which generally I have not analyzed as prestems, are occasionally found in association with inflecting verbs and closely resemble prestems. For example, ꦰaña 'talk' is most commonly found in nominal usage, as in the following examples:

7.3 E/357 SN

ݴ้า-MARRDYU-n- UIView ꦰaña
lsg(II)-talk-pres-TOG talk/language
'I'm discussing language with (you)';

7.3 E/358 SN

.vaadin nila ꦰा-MI-n dyuwa nyigina ꦰaña
language knowing lsg(I)-give-pres 2sgPRO Nyigina language
'I'm teaching you language .... Nyigina language'.

Less commonly, ꦰaña is found closely resembling a prestem:

7.3 E/359 SN

.vaadin yila ꦰaña yi(n)- culturally 3sg(I)-do-past-HABIT
'dem dog talk(PS) 3sg(I)-do-past-HABIT
'that dog used to talk' (from a Dreamtime story).
On the other hand, items usually found as prestems occasionally resemble nominals. For example, *gadady* 'hunt' functions most commonly as a pre-stem:

7.3 E/360  SN

*gadady* yi(n)-Ø-na-yina yagarrbada

hunt(PS) 3sg(I)-do-past-3sgDatPro hill kangaroo

'hunt for hill kangaroo'.

However, *gadady* (and other possible prestems) are also found with case-marking suffixes:

7.3 E/361  SN

*winda* ṣja-RA₂-n *gadady-dyunu*

exhausted 1sg(II)-feel-pres hunt-INAN.SOURCE

'I'm exhausted from hunting'.

To deal with these two situations, two terms will be used:

(1) verbal prestem (PS), the term used for *Ba:di*¹; and

(2) verbal-nominal (VN).

The function of verbal prestem is defined to be the occurrence preceding an inflecting verb, within a double-unit verb. The function of prestem may be performed by:

(a) a verbal-nominal (usually); or

(b) another nominal (occasionally).

The class of verbal-nominals may occur:

(a) as verbal prestems (usually); or

(b) alone and unmarked (see 11.2.2, 11.2.3); or

---

¹ Metcalfe (1975:56)
7.3 (c) with case-marking suffixing (see 7.3.3, 11.4).

It should be emphasized that, in most examples, the class of verbal-nominals (VN) and the function of verbal prestem (PS) coincide (VN=PS). However, the well-documented (though uncommon) examples involving case-marking suffixing in nominalized clauses make it desirable to use the two terms.

7.3.1 VERBAL-NOMINALS

Verbal-nominals form an open class and further study of Nyigina will doubtless reveal many, many more verbal-nominals. A total of 406 verbal-nominals are currently on record and are analyzed here.

7.3.1.1 PHONOLOGY OF VERBAL-NOMINALS

It should be noted that, while surface monosyllables are infrequent (see 2.2.4) in the lexicon (perhaps 30-40 others, including some exclamations), about one third of these verbal-nominals are monosyllabic.

7.3.1.1 T/22 Verbal-Nominal Morphology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllables</th>
<th>No. of Verbal-Nominals</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (includes 23 reduplications)</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (includes 18 reduplications)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A few (eight recorded) verbal-nominals are vowel-initial:

- ib
  - 'dive'
- il
  - 'gather in passing'
- idyib
  - 'set out on a journey'
- umag
  - 'drop down low on ground'
- urudy
  - 'lie in hole in ground'.

A few (five recorded) verbal-nominals are of the form CV:

- bu
  - 'go away!'
- dya
  - 'hand over'
- ga
  - 'open mouth wide'
- ji
  - 'hum, wail'
- lu
  - 'lie on belly'.

Sound symbolism may be relevant to the form of bu and ga (the Nyigina equivalent of the dentist's "say aah...") and also ji. However, verbal-nominals such as dya and lu require setting up a class of CV verbal-nominals. (There are no CV monosyllables recorded other than these five and possibly some exclamations.)

The remaining 127 monosyllabic verbal-nominals have the form CV(C)C:

- mug
  - 'hit, kill'
- gab
  - 'eat'
- burrb
  - 'dance'
- warrb
  - 'bite'.

Final stops, uncommon elsewhere in the language, abound; all stops occur. Of nasals, only /n/, /ŋ/ and /ny/ are found finally elsewhere in the language and then rarely. All nasals are found finally in verbal-nominals, some quite frequently:
7.3.1.1

nim  'close'
dyin  'make signal'
ŋan  'do successively'
nyuny  'blow nose'
guŋ  'drink'.

All laterals and rhotics occur word-finally, as do the semi-vowels /y/ and /w/:

yil  'resolve a dispute'
yal  'see from afar'
guly  'excrete'
lirr  'whirr boomerangs'
lar  'scrape off (own) skin'
muy  'move'
waw  'hunt out, spin'.

Polysyllabic verbal-nominals have widely varied forms, but many share the above phonological characteristics of the monosyllabic verbal-nominals.

7.3.1.2 REDUPLICATION OF VERBAL-NOMINALS

Reduplication of verbal-nominals in prestems is found occasionally, with a variable amount of semantic shift:

7.3.1.2 E/362 SN
barr  wal-(a)-I  nimilgarr
lift/open  2sg(I)-(fut)-do  eye
'open your eyes!';

7.3.1.2 E/363 SN
barra  barr-barr  yi(n)-ŋ-n
sun  open-open  3sg(I)-(do)-pres
'the sun is shining'.

7.3.1.2 E/364 SN
ginya marrgana wurr-wurr yi(n)-∅-na
dem in turn rub-rub 3sg(I)-do-past
'this one rubbed and rubbed in turn'.

7.3.2 THE VERBAL PRESTEM

A verbal-nominal functioning as a verbal stem usually immediately precedes the inflecting verb and takes no affixes. Rarely, certain particles (see 12.1.3) intervene between the verbal stem and the inflected verb:

7.3.2 E/365 SN
yim-BULA-n(a)-arra mug ājārri yana-rr-(a)-I-na
3sg(II)-come-past-l+MDatPro hit(PS) then 1+2+m-nmin-(SET)-do-past
'he came to us and we killed (him)'.

In a single example, the derivational nominal suffix -jurruru 'much' was found with a verbal stem (see also 11.2.1):

7.3.2 E/366 SN (= 11.2.1 E/641)
dalaw-jurruru yi(n)-∅-na .... malu budyi
cut(PS)-much 3sg(I)-do-past NEG unsuccessful
'she hacked away .... but in vain'.

No case-marking suffix may attach to a verbal stem although verbal-nominals may take case-marking suffixes (examples in 7.3.3) when not functioning as stems, that is, when they occur in nominalized clauses (see also 11.4). No verbal inflection may ever affix to a verbal-nominal.

A verbal-nominal may occur as a stem with an inflected verb from one of several different verbal roots, where semantically plausible:
7.3.2 194

7.3.2 E/367 SN

gudidyi yina-WIRRIGA-na
run(PS) 3sg(I)-try-past

'he tried to run';

7.3.2 E/368 SN

gudidyi yi-rr-a-MA-na mandya-ni baba buru-jana
run(PS) 3-nmin-SET-make-past many-ACT child country-ALLAT

"many children rushed to the place" (speaker's gloss);

7.3.2 E/369 SN

mandya yi-rr-(a)-I-n
many kangaroo run(PS) 3-nmin-(SET)-do-pres

'many kangaroos are running'.

7.3.3 VERBAL-NOMINALS WITH NOMINAL SUFFIXING

Verbal-nominals, not functioning as prestems, occur with a wide variety of case-marking suffixes. This usage is discussed in detail in Chapter 11. Some examples are presented, but not discussed, here:
7.3.3 E/372 SN
dubady     yin-GA-na     gudidyi-ni
extricate(VN=PS) 3sg(I)-carry-past  run(VN)-REF
'he pulled out the spear while he was running';

7.3.3 E/373 SN
wali-yi     ŋa-RA₂-n     gab-dyi
meat-DAT   1sg(II)-feel-pres  eat(VN)-DAT
'I feel like eating meat';

7.3.3 E/374 SN (= 11.4.3 E/693)
dyimbin     yi-ŋA-n     wabab-ŋany
inside       3sg(II)-sit-pres  cover(VN)-INSTR
'it's underneath, covered up';

7.3.3 E/375 SN (= 11.4.1.3 E/682)
gudidy-an  gamininy  yi-YA-ny
run(VN)-LOC  cold       3sg(II)-become-past₂
'while he was running he got cold';

7.3.3 E/376 SN
gud     ŋa-rra-MA     gab-dyunu     majarry-dyunu
die(VN=PS) 1sg(II)-fut/IRR-go  eat(VN)-INAN.SOURCE  food-INAN.SOURCE
'I might die from eating the food';

7.3.3 E/377 SN (= 11.4.4 E/699)
malu  ganydyirr  wa-la-BA  dyaw(u)-ŋana
NEG  look(VN=PS)  3sg-IRR-see  swim(VN)-ALLAT
'he (water serpent) doesn't see (one) when (one is) swimming'.

In the following chapters, except where the status of verbal-nominal is particularly relevant to the discussion, verbal-nominals other than prestems will be glossed by '---ing'. 
Chapter 8: Verbal Roots

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The class of roots of inflecting verbs will be considered separately in this chapter. Inflecting verbs may have monosyllabic or polysyllabic verbal roots. The 145 verbal roots recorded are described here.

8.2 PHONOLOGY OF VERBAL ROOTS

Most verbal roots are consonant-initial. Vowel-initial verbal roots exist; so far, no u-initial verbal root has been identified. Table T/23 gives the relative frequency of occurrence of root-initial phonemes:

8.2 T/23 Frequency of Phonemes Initially in Verbal Roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dy</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gj</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d, n, r, y, a, i (each less than 2%) total</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The status of y-initial verbal roots in Small Nyigina is difficult to assess. Apart from the monosyllabic root -YA- (see 8.3.5), no surface form in Small Nyigina demonstrates a y-initial verbal root.
However, in Big Nyigina, many verbal roots (at least some of which are dy-initial in Small Nyigina) involve dy/y alternation:

8.2 E/378 BN

ğan-DYUBA-ny-dyu
lsg(I)-ask-past₂-2sgOPro₂
'I asked you';

8.2 E/379 BN
malu wa-la-YUBA-na-yarr
NEG 3-IRR-ask-past-l+mOPro
'he didn't ask us'.

That the alternation is lacking synchronically in Small Nyigina is shown by the following example, where a dy-initial root occurs even following a vowel:

8.2 E/380 SN
ğan-a-DYUBA-yina waj-a-MA-dyi
lsg(I)-fut-ask-3sgOPro 3sg(II)-fut-go-EXP
'I'm going to ask him if he's intending to go'.

(The phonological conditioning governing the alternation in Big Nyigina may well be more complex than a rule of the type

\[
dy \quad \rightarrow \quad y \lor v +
\]

but its specification requires further work on Big Nyigina.)

No detailed cross-dialect comparison of the relevant verbal roots has been made to determine how many roots behave like -DYUBA- above, so that the possibility cannot be excluded that all the dy-initial roots in Small Nyigina correspond to verbal roots which in Big Nyigina
involve dy/y alternation, that is, historically Big Nyigina (but not Small Nyigina) may have evolved (or possibly, retained) alternation in this situation.

Certain consonants have been either not found or not recognized root-initially:

\[ d, n, l \]
\[ ny, ly \]
\[ rr. \]

8.3 MONOSYLLABIC VERBAL ROOTS

This small class of verbal roots assumes an important role in the language. Many very common verbal roots belong to this class. Most suppletive verbal roots are monosyllabic. Eighteen monosyllabic verbal roots have been recorded.

Almost all members conform to a \(-CV-\) pattern; not all possible CV combinations have been recorded. Two \(-V-\) verbal roots have been analyzed (8.3.6 and 8.3.7).

Few familiar Australian verbal roots are recognizable in Nyigina verbal forms. Three common roots occur among Nyigina monosyllabic verbal roots: \(-GA-\), \(-BU_1-\) and \(-MA-\) (set I prefixing = 'make, put'). The 'carry' root \(-GA-\) has wide usage as a self-sufficient inflecting verb and is found also in a wide variety of double-unit verbs. The 'hit, kill' root \(-BU_1-\) occurs quite rarely and does not constitute the usual means of expressing 'hit, kill'. The verbal root \(-BU_1-\) has so far been found only in double-unit verbs in a possible 'hit, kill' interpretation:

1 see Capell (1956:90-93), Dixon (1980:402-407)
Interesting phonological modifications, suppletions and other less regular forms are almost confined to this class of Nyigina verbal roots. More than half of these monosyllabic roots have surface forms which are complicated in some respect. Most of the complications are phonological, but semantic considerations are relevant to at least one verbal root (-MA-, see 9.3.5.4).

The known members of the class of monosyllabic verbal roots are listed in Table T/24.
8.3 T/24 Monosyllabic Verbal Roots

- BA - 'see'
- BU₁ - 'hit, kill'
- BU₂ - 'sing, vocalize'
- DI - 'do, say' (suppletive root of -I-)
- GA - 'carry' (suppletive root of -A-)
- MA - (I) 'make, put'
       (II) 'go'
- MI - 'give'
- NI - 'sit, be'
- ƝA - 'sit' (suppletive root of -NI-)
- ƝU - 'swallow, consume'
- LA - 'summon'
- LI - 'eat'
- RA₁ - 'spear'
- RA₂ - 'be, feel, become'
       (suppletive root of ƝARA-)
- RI - 'argue, quarrel'

(only found with reciprocal affixing)

- YA - 'be, feel, become'
       (suppletive root of ƝARA-)
- A - 'carry'
- I - 'do, say'.

The majority of monosyllabic verbal roots are set I prefixing. The roots 'sit' and 'be' are set II prefixing; the prefixing of -MA- is discussed in 9.3.5.4.
8.3.1 THE VERBAL ROOT -BA- 'see'

In Small Nyigina, this verbal root exhibits no irregularity of form except in the reflexive or reciprocal forms (see below). Representative forms from the verb paradigm are given in Table T/25 for comparison with less regular forms of monosyllabic verbal roots. The prefixing is the normal pattern for set I prefixing verbal roots which are stop-initial. (Various phonological modifications (see 9.2.2) apply to prefixing affixed to verbal roots with certain initial phonemes, for example, some nasals, all liquids and semi-vowels.)

In Big Nyigina, forms from a suppletive root are obligatory in minimal person groupings of non-future tenses in realis mode and in the non-personal form:

Suppletive Forms of 'see' in Big Nyigina

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future Realis (BN)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>gjan - BARA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>min - BARA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yin - BARA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>yan - BARA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-personal:</td>
<td>ma - BARA - n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The root, from which the reflexive and reciprocal forms of 'see' in Small Nyigina (for all person groupings) are derived by verbal affixing, is likewise -BARA-:

8.3.1 E/383 SN
nimarradya gja-ma-BARA-nydyi-ny-gayu
shadow \[ l_{sg(II)}-\text{INT} -\text{see-INT} -\text{past}_2 -\text{lsgOPro} \]
'I saw my reflection'.
### 8.3.1 Representative Forms in Small Nyigina of - BA - 'see' (set I prefixing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 1</td>
<td>gan -</td>
<td>gan - a -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>min -</td>
<td>wal - a -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>yin -</td>
<td>wan - a -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2</td>
<td>yan -</td>
<td>yan - a -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 1+m</td>
<td>ya - rr - a - BA -</td>
<td>ya - a - rr - a - BA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>wa - rr - a - BA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>wa - a - BA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>yana - rr - a - BA -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I 1</th>
<th>ga - la -</th>
<th>gan - a - rra -</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 2</td>
<td>mi - la -</td>
<td>min - a - rra -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 3</td>
<td>wa - la -</td>
<td>wan - a - rra -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 1+2</td>
<td>ya - la -</td>
<td>yan - a - rra -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+m</td>
<td>ya - la - rr - a - BA -</td>
<td>ya - ya - ra - a - BA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 2+m</td>
<td>gu - la - rr - a - BA -</td>
<td>gu - ya - ra - a - BA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 3+m</td>
<td>wa - la - rr - a - BA -</td>
<td>wa - ya - ra - a - BA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>ya - la - ra - a - BA -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-personal: ma - - BA - n
8.3.2 THE VERBAL ROOT -MI- 'give'

Vowel-final prefixing preceding this verbal root participates idiosyncratically in vowel assimilation, except in the non-personal form. Some comparable surface forms from various verbal roots are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lsg Future Realis Forms</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ħan - i - MI</td>
<td>'I shall give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ħan - a - BA</td>
<td>'I shall see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ħaj - a - NI</td>
<td>'I shall sit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ħan -(a)- IBI</td>
<td>'I shall drink'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Representative forms from the verb paradigm for -MI- are given in Table T/26.

8.3.3 THE VERBAL ROOT -NI- 'sit'

The verb paradigm in both dialects for 'sit' includes obligatory forms from a suppletive root for minimal person groupings in present and general past tenses in realis mode:

8.3.3 T/27 Obligatory Suppletive Forms of 'sit'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Present and Past Realis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ħa - ハウ -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nyi - ハウ -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yi - ハウ -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>ya - ハウ -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suppletive root involved in these forms may be analyzed as either -ハウ- or -A-, that is, the /ħa/ may be assigned to either the prefix or the verbal root:
8.3.2 T/26 Representative Forms of - MI - 'give' (set I prefixing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>⠣jan -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>⠱min -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>⠢yin -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>⠠yan -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>1+m</td>
<td>⠵ya -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>⠰gu -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>⠫yi -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>⠜yana -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>⠝ja - li -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>⠰mi - li -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>⠨wa - li -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>⠟ya - li -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>1+m</td>
<td>⠵ya - la - rr - i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>⠰gu - la - rr - i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>⠨wa - la - rr - i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>⠜ya - la - rr - i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-personal: ma - MI - n
There appears to be insufficient evidence to determine which analysis is preferable. The root -ŋR- has been adopted, arbitrarily. Since there appears to be no other set II prefixing verbal root which is potentially vowel-initial, it is only possible to specify the final nasal of non-future realis prefixing for minimal groups (see 7.2.1.2 T/21) arbitrarily as /ŋ/, as assimilation or deletion of a nasal invariably occurs at the prefixing-verbal root boundary with consonant-initial verbal roots (see 9.2.2). If there were any strong supporting evidence for ŋ-final set II prefixing for minimal person groupings in non-future tenses in realis mode, the suppletive root could equally well be analyzed as -A-.

The surface forms of the verbal root -NI- are also subject to phonological modification. A rhotic assimilation rule which appears to be both limited in application and not productive synchronically must be posited:

Rule R/2  \( rr + n \rightarrow \text{d} \).

This rule is responsible for the non-minimal forms of -NI- and the application of this rule is indicated in the verb paradigm by the appearance of the -rr- of the non-minimal prefixing in contrasting type. Representative forms from the verb paradigm are given in Table T/28.
8.3.3 Representative Forms of - NI - 'sit' (set II prefixing)

(see T/27 for obligatory suppletive forms in present and past realis)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 1</td>
<td>ja   - NI - ny</td>
<td>jaj - a - NI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>nyi  - NI - ny</td>
<td>(nyi)j - a - NI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>yi   - NI - ny</td>
<td>wa - a - NI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2</td>
<td>ya   - NI - ny</td>
<td>ya - a - NI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1+m</td>
<td>ya   - rr - DI - ny</td>
<td>ya - a - rr - DI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 2+m</td>
<td>gu   - rr - DI - ny</td>
<td>wa - a - rr - DI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yi   - rr - DI - ny</td>
<td>wa - a - rr - DI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yana - rr - DI - ny</td>
<td>yana - a - rr - DI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I 1</td>
<td>ja - la - NI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 2</td>
<td>nyi - la - NI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 3</td>
<td>wa - la - NI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 1+2</td>
<td>ya - la - NI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 1+m</td>
<td>ya - la - rr - DI -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 2+m</td>
<td>gu - la - rr - DI -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 3+m</td>
<td>wa - la - rr - DI -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 1+2+m</td>
<td>ya - la - rr - DI -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-personal: ma - NI - n

Contrasting type signifies deletion by phonological rule(s)
8.3.4 THE VERBAL ROOT -RA₁ - 'spear'

This common verbal root appears in several different surface forms, as a result of phonological change. The form -RA- appears only in the reflexive or reciprocal forms which, like other reflexive or reciprocal forms (see 9.3.5.3), take set II prefixing. Unlike the reflexive or reciprocal forms of other verbal roots, the reflexive or reciprocal forms of -RA₁- do not take -ma- (INTₚ) prefixing (see 9.7.1) but only -nydy₁- (INT₉) suffixing. On the assumption that set II prefixing is less likely than set I prefixing to effect phonological change in the adjacent verbal root (no clear example of phonological modification to the verbal root following set II prefixing has been found), -RA- has been analyzed as the verbal root. The subscript (1) has been added to distinguish this verbal root from the set II prefixing verbal root -RA₂-, a suppletive root of -NARA-, whose description follows in 8.3.5.

Proposed underlying forms are presented in Table T/29 and the surface forms found appear in Table T/30. Various phonological rules are required to relate the forms in these two tables.

A vowel-deletion rule which applies only to set I prefixing (see also 9.2.2.2) is required:

Rule R/1  a ---->  Ø / ---- + r.

An expanded rhotic assimilation rule (see 8.3.3), which has been renumbered, is also required:

Rule R/2b  rr + \{ r\n \} ---->  d.

A further rule covering progressive assimilation is also required:

Rule R/4  rr ---->  \{ n\₁ \} / \{ n\₁ \} + ----.
8.3.4 T/29 Underlying Forms of -RA₁ - 'spear' (set I prefixing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 1</td>
<td>ãn -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>mi -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>yi -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2</td>
<td>yan -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1+em</td>
<td>ya - - rr - a - RA</td>
<td>yaga - - rr-a- RA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 2+em</td>
<td>gu - - rr - a - RA</td>
<td>wa - - rr-a- RA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+em</td>
<td>yi - - rr - a - RA</td>
<td>wa - - rr-a- RA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+em</td>
<td>yana - - rr - a - RA</td>
<td>yana - - rr-a- RA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-future: man a- - RA - n

Reflexive/Reciprocal Forms (set II prefixing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 1</td>
<td>ãa - la -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>ni - la -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>wa - la -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2</td>
<td>ya - la -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1+em</td>
<td>ya - la -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 2+em</td>
<td>gu - la -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+em</td>
<td>wa - la -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+em</td>
<td>yana - la -</td>
<td>yana - a -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-personal: man - - DA - n

Contrasting type signifies deletion by phonological rule(s)

8.3.4 T/30 Surface Forms of -RA₁ - 'spear' (set I prefixing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 1</td>
<td>ãn -</td>
<td>- NA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>mi -</td>
<td>- NA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>yi -</td>
<td>- NA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2</td>
<td>yan -</td>
<td>- NA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1+em</td>
<td>ya - - DA</td>
<td>yaga - - DA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 2+em</td>
<td>gu - - DA</td>
<td>wa - - DA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+em</td>
<td>yi - - DA</td>
<td>wa - - DA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+em</td>
<td>yana - - DA</td>
<td>yana - - DA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reflexive/Reciprocal Forms (set II prefixing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 1</td>
<td>ãa -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>ni -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>wa -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1+em</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 2+em</td>
<td>gu -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+em</td>
<td>yi -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+em</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td>- RA -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-personal: man - - DA - n

Contrasting type signifies deletion by phonological rule(s)
The above rules are ordered:

\[
\begin{align*}
R/1 \\
R/2b \\
R/4
\end{align*}
\]

The points of application of these proposed rules are indicated in 8.3.4 T/29 in contrasting type. It is conceded that these rules are ad hoc in nature. They are formulated to reflect the few common phonological changes found in the paradigms of a small number of basic and common verbal roots.

8.3.5 THE VERBAL ROOT -JARA- 'be, feel, become'

This frequent verbal root includes suppletive forms, in minimal person groupings in non-future realis, from two verbal roots. The following forms are found:

8.3.5 T/31 Suppletive Forms of -JARA-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>-RA₂- Series</th>
<th>-YA- Series</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>jja - RA₂ -</td>
<td>-- 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nyi - RA₂ -</td>
<td>nyi - YA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yi - RA₂ -</td>
<td>yi - YA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l+2</td>
<td>ya - RA₂ -</td>
<td>ya - YA -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forms from the two suppletive verbal roots cannot be interchanged completely freely (see later this section). Therefore an analysis of two suppletive verbal roots has been preferred to that of a single suppletive root -RA₂- and a phonological rule of the type

\[\text{Capell (1966:3) records examples such as binbal jjaian 'I feel pain' which might correspond to a lsg form from -YA-, that is, jja-YA-n. I have been unable to find speakers who will accept this form of the verb.}\]
### 8.3.5 Representative Forms of -ŋARA - 'be, feel, become'

(set II prefixing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 1</td>
<td>ŋa - RA₂</td>
<td>ŋaŋ - a - RA₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>nyi - RA₂*</td>
<td>(nyi)ŋ - a - RA₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>yi - RA₂*</td>
<td>waŋ - a - RA₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2</td>
<td>ya - RA₂*</td>
<td>yaŋ - a - RA₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1+2+m</td>
<td>ya - rr - ŋARA</td>
<td>yaŋa - rr - ŋARA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 1+m</td>
<td>ya - rr - ŋARA</td>
<td>wa - rr - ŋARA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>gu - rr - ŋARA</td>
<td>wa - rr - ŋARA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>yi - rr - ŋARA</td>
<td>waŋa - rr - ŋARA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>yana - rr - ŋARA</td>
<td>yana - rr - ŋARA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S 1+2+m ya - la - ŋARA - yaŋa - rr - ŋARA
R 2 nyi - la - ŋARA - nyi - rra - ŋARA
R 3 wa - la - ŋARA - wa - rra - ŋARA
E 1+2 ya - la - ŋARA - ya - rra - ŋARA
I 1+2+m ya - la - rr - ŋARA - ya - ya - rr - ŋARA

I 1 ŋa - la - ŋARA - ŋa - rra - üğü - ŋARA
R 2 nyi - la - ŋARA - nyi - rra - ŋARA
R 3 wa - la - ŋARA - wa - rra - ŋARA
E 1+2 ya - la - ŋARA - ya - rra - ŋARA

Non-personal: ma - ŋARA - n

* indicates alternative forms from suppletive root -YA- (see T/31)
8.3.5

to account for surface forms with a verbal root -YA-. The -RA₂-series also occurs in minimal groupings as the only form of future realis. This is the only paradigm found with suppletions in the future realis. Various phonological considerations may influence the distribution of forms from the roots -RA₂- and -YAARA-.

Suppletive forms from -RA₂- occur only in minimal groupings. For non-minimal groups, possible forms might be predicted to undergo rhotic assimilation, for example:

\[ *8.3.5 \text{ E/384 SN} \]
\[ *yi + rr + RA₂ + ny \quad \text{R/2b} \quad \rightarrow \quad *yidany \]
\[ 3\text{-nmin(II)-be-past}_2 \]
\[ 'they were' \]

and ambiguity with surface forms of -RA₁- 'spear' would occur:

\[ 8.3.5 \text{ E/385 SN} \]
\[ yi + rr + a + RA₁ + ny \quad \text{R/1b} \quad \rightarrow \quad yi + rr + RA₁ + ny \]
\[ 3\text{-nmin-SET(=I)-spear-past}_2 \quad \text{R/2b} \quad \rightarrow \quad yidany \]
\[ 'they speared'. \]

This may be relevant to the distribution of forms from -YAARA- (and not -RA₂-) occurring in non-minimal groupings.

In future realis for minimal groupings, vowel-deletion is not predicted for set II prefixing, so that these are clearly distinguished by both the future prefix and the /ŋ/ of set II prefixing from future realis forms of -RA₁-.

The occurrence of -YAARA- forms for minimal groupings in irrealis mode
is not easily explained in terms of avoidance of ambiguity with \(-RA_1\) forms, since it does not appear from the reflexive irrealis forms of \(-RA_1\), for example

\[
E/386\quad SN
\]

\[
\text{malu} \quad ja-la-RA_1-nydyi-na
\]

\[
\text{NEG} \quad 1sg-IRR(=II)-\underline{spear-INT}_S\text{-past}
\]

'I didn't spear myself'

that vowel-deletion would occur with set II prefixing and therefore progressive assimilation of \(-RA_2\) (and possible ambiguity with \(-RA_1\)) would not be predicted.

It appears that the occurrence of suppletion in this paradigm is atypical and no further explanation is offered.

In some semantic contexts, forms from either suppletive root are found for minimal groupings in non-future realis, possibly with minimal or no difference in meaning:

\[
E/387\quad SN
\]

\[
\text{ribi} \quad yi-RA_2-ny \quad nilirr \quad ma\text{g}arr\text{i}y-dyunu
\]

\[
tingle \quad 3sg(II)-\underline{feel-past}_2 \quad \text{mouth} \quad \text{food-INAN.SOURCE}
\]

'her mouth tingled from the (sharp/bitter) food';

\[
E/388\quad SN
\]

\[
\text{ribi} \quad yi-YA-ny \quad nilirr \quad ma\text{g}arr\text{i}y-dyunu
\]

\[
tingle \quad 3sg(II)-\underline{feel-past}_2 \quad \text{mouth} \quad \text{food-INAN.SOURCE}
\]

'her mouth tingled from the food'.

However, surface forms from either root are not always freely interchangeable as the examples below (where \(-RA_2\) forms are not possible)
demonstrate:

8.3.5 E/389 SN

ribi yi-YA-ny wanydyarri-gadiny baljanydyina nimarrarjga

	tingle 3sg(II)-become-past one-side leg arm

'she became paralyzed on one side of her body';

8.3.5 E/390 SN

wamba ginya dyandamarra bugarrarra yulburru-garra ....

man dem (person name) Beginning long ago-multiple

.... wanajarri yi-YA-na

rock 3sg(II)-become-past

'that man Dyandamarra (from) the Beginning long ago .... he became a rock'.

In these examples, for those persons for which -YA- forms exist, the -YA- forms are obligatory and are perhaps more appropriately translated by 'become'. A sense of change of state is seen clearly in other examples:

8.3.5 E/391 SN

mirraŋgal yi-YA-ny

alert 3sg(II)-become-past

'he woke up';

8.3.5 E/392 SN

gab-dyi yi-YA-na

eating-DAT 3sg(II)-become-past

'he started to eat'.
8.3.6 THE VERBAL ROOT -A- 'carry'

Representative forms from this common verb are presented in Table T/34. It is proposed that the verbal root is analyzed as -A-, with suppletive forms from a root -GA- in minimal person groupings, non-future tenses in realis mode and also in the non-personal form:

8.3.6 T/33 Suppletive Forms from the Root -GA-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future Realis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>gan - GA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>min - GA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yin - GA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>yan - GA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-personal:</td>
<td>ma - GA - n .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel-deletion rule relevant to vowel-initial verbal roots (see 9.2.2):

Rule R/5 \[ \frac{R/5}{a} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{-----} + \text{V} \]

applies where a final -a of prefixing precedes the verbal root -A-.

The two roots -GA- and -A- may be related by means of g/∅ alternation (see 2.1.9), that is, the following changes may have occurred intervocalically (but this is speculative):

\[ g > \emptyset > \emptyset . \]

No other g-initial verbal root is subject to g/∅ alternation, so that no supporting evidence for such a proposal has been found. It is therefore considered not possible to relate the two verbal roots -GA- and -A- synchronically.
8.3.6 Representative Forms of -A- 'carry' (set I prefixing)
(Small Nyigina and Big Nyigina)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 1</td>
<td>ĝan -</td>
<td>- GA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>min -</td>
<td>- GA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>yin -</td>
<td>- GA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2</td>
<td>yan -</td>
<td>- GA -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I

| S 1+m   | ya -       | - rr -(a)- A - | yağa - | - rr -(a)- A |
| 2+m     | gu -       | - rr -(a)- A - | - wa -  | - rr -(a)- A |
| 3+m     | yi -       | - rr -(a)- A - | - wağa -| - rr -(a)- A |
| 1+2+m   | yana -     | - rr -(a)- A - | yana - | - rr -(a)- A |

I 1     | ĝa - l(a)-  | - A -  | ĝan - a -rr(a)- | - A |
| R 2     | mi - l(a)-  | - A -  | min - a -rr(a)- | - A |
| R 3     | wa - l(a)-  | - A -  | wan - a -rr(a)- | - A |
| E 1+2   | ya - l(a)-  | - A -  | yan - a -rr(a)- | - A |

A

| L 1+m   | ya - la - rr -(a)- A - | ya - | - ya - rr -(a)- A |
| I 2+m   | gu - la - rr -(a)- A - | gu - | - ya - rr -(a)- A |
| S 3+m   | wa - la - rr -(a)- A - | wa - | - ya - rr -(a)- A |
| 1+2+m   | ya - la - rr -(a)- A - | ya - | - ya - rr -(a)- A |

Non-personal: ma - - GA - n

( ) signify deletion by phonological rule(s)
8.3.7 THE VERBAL ROOT -I- 'do, say'

The analysis of this, the most common verbal root in the language, presents difficulties. Representative forms from the verb paradigm are given in Table T/36.

This verbal root constitutes the best evidence for analyzing verbal roots of the type -V-. Although the corresponding verbal root elsewhere in the alternative-prefixing language subgroup may be -YI-, there is no clear evidence for analyzing such a form of the root in Nyigina.

Alternative forms from two suppletive roots are found in minimal person groupings in some non-future tenses in realis mode:

8.3.7 T/35 Series₁ Suppletive Forms of 'do, say'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future Realis (present, past, past₂)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>jjan - DI -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>min - DI -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yin - DI -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>yan - DI -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-personal:</td>
<td>man - DI - n (only form possible).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consideration of series₁ suppletive forms is made difficult by the lack of other unequivocal d-initial verbal roots in the language. It is therefore impossible to describe "regular" phonological behaviour at the set I prefixing-verbal root boundary for d-initial verbal roots. A d-initial surface form of only one other verbal root has been recorded:

yin-DULGA-n or ny

3sg(I)-tell-(non-future).

---

4 In Warrwa, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lsg Forms</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REALIS</td>
<td>jjan - DI - (?suppletive)</td>
<td>ga-naj-ga-YI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRREALIS</td>
<td>jā - l - YI -</td>
<td>jjan-DYI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 8.3.7 Representative Forms of -I- 'do, say' (set I prefixing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 1</td>
<td>series₁ (T/35)</td>
<td>jan -(a)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>OR</td>
<td>wal -(a)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>series₂ (T/37)</td>
<td>wan -(a)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2</td>
<td></td>
<td>yan -(a)-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S 1+m</td>
<td>ya - rr -(a)- I -</td>
<td>yaṣa - rr -(a)- I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>gu - rr -(a)- I -</td>
<td>wa - rr -(a)- I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>yi - rr -(a)- I -</td>
<td>waṣa - rr -(a)- I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>yana - rr -(a)- I -</td>
<td>yana - rr -(a)- I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I 1</th>
<th>ga - l(a)-</th>
<th>- I -</th>
<th>jan - a - rr(a)-</th>
<th>- I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 2</td>
<td>mi - l(a)-</td>
<td>- I -</td>
<td>min - a - rr(a)-</td>
<td>- I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 3</td>
<td>wa - l(a)-</td>
<td>- I -</td>
<td>wan - a - rr(a)-</td>
<td>- I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 1+2</td>
<td>ya - l(a)-</td>
<td>- I -</td>
<td>yan - a - rr(a)-</td>
<td>- I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+m</td>
<td>ya - la - rr -(a)- I -</td>
<td>ya - ya - rr -(a)- I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 2+m</td>
<td>gu - la - rr -(a)- I -</td>
<td>gu - ya - rr -(a)- I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 3+m</td>
<td>wa - la - rr -(a)- I -</td>
<td>wa - ya - rr -(a)- I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>ya - la - rr -(a)- I -</td>
<td>ya - ya - rr -(a)- I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Non-personal:** man - - DI - n

( ) signify deletion by phonological rule(s)
Only certain d-initial forms for this verbal root (all were for the third person or third person groupings) could be elicited.

Since d-initial surface forms of verbal roots are so infrequent, it is possible that these surface forms represent the result of some unproductive phonological process, possibly involving y-initial roots. That is, some kind of y-assimilation rule, rather like

\[ y \rightarrow d / n + \]

may be responsible for these surface forms.

It may be that the series of suppletive forms of 'do, say' are surface forms of a y-initial root -YI-, but it is impossible at present to either confirm or refute this possibility. Therefore, the surface form of the verbal root found in the series has been adopted as the suppletive root -DI-.

The non-personal form man-DI-n presents further difficulties. Again, phonological behaviour at this boundary is not able to be predicted (no speaker was able to recall a non-personal form corresponding to yin-DULGA-ny). The analysis suggested for non-personal forms in 9.3.6.1 would predict *ma-DI-n for a stop-initial verbal root. The man- form of the GEN prefix is plausible in terms of a y-initial root, that is, a vowel-deletion process followed by (unproductive) y-assimilation (as proposed above) may be responsible for this form:

\[
\text{mana} + \text{YI} + n \rightarrow \text{man} + \text{YI} + n \\
\text{GEN(I)-do-pres} \rightarrow \text{mandin}
\]

'doing'

but this speculation is the only other evidence for a root -YI- in Nyigina. Since non-personal forms are rare and their phonology
incompletely understood, the form mandin is considered, for the present, to be unanalyzable synchronically.

Alternative forms (series₂) exist in minimal person groupings of present and past tenses only, in realis mode:

8.3.7 T/37 Series₂ Suppletive Forms of 'do, say'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Present Realis</th>
<th>Past Realis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yin</td>
<td>yina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>mina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yan</td>
<td>yana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no corresponding past₂ forms.

Especially in the present tense in this series, phonetic vowel length, for example [yi:n], is frequently heard. However, speakers do not appear to consciously select vowel length and no speaker expressed doubt about the acceptability of forms without phonetic vowel length. This finding of phonetic vowel length is unexplained.

The following underlying forms for series₂ are proposed:

8.3.7 T/38 Series₂ Proposed Underlying Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ŋa n - ø - n</td>
<td>ŋa n - ø - na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mi n - ø - n</td>
<td>mi n - ø - na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yi n - ø - n</td>
<td>yi n - ø - na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>ya n - ø - n</td>
<td>ya n - ø - na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The n in contrasting type is discussed on the following page.
The prefixing of the second person singular form indicates that prefixing must all be derived from set I prefixing. It is likely that minimal person non-future realis prefixes will be n-final (uncertainty about the form of the suppletive root makes prediction impossible). I was unable to detect any phonetic evidence of a geminate nasal cluster, for example [yinna], possibly corresponding to a form analyzed as yin - Ø - na. In fact, a phonetic contrast exists between

8.3.7 E/393  SN
ŋa - ? - na  [ŋana]
lsg(I)-do-past
'I said';

and the following form (see 8.3.4):

8.3.7 E/394  SN
ŋan - (a) - NA  [ŋanna]
lsg(I)-(fut)-spear
'I shall spear'

so that nasal deletion seems to be required in the suppletive forms of 'do, say'. An ad hoc nasal deletion rule must be posited, so that surface forms are then analyzed as:

8.3.7 T/39 Proposed Analysis of Series₂ Surface Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ŋa(n) - Ø - n</td>
<td>ŋa(n) - Ø - na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mi(n) - Ø - n</td>
<td>mi(n) - Ø - na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yi(n) - Ø - n</td>
<td>yi(n) - Ø - na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>ya(n) - Ø - n</td>
<td>ya(n) - Ø - na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This analysis of series₂ forms has been adopted for practical purposes, although it is far from justified. It seems that no analysis except that of prefixing morphology is dependent on the analysis of the verbal root of these suppletive forms.

The surface forms from -DI- and -Ø- do not appear to be in entirely free variation. Where the inflecting verb forms part of a double-unit verb expressing an activity over which the subject has little voluntary control, or an activity which tends to involve primarily the entity cross-referenced in verbal prefixing, series₂ forms seem to be preferred:

8.3.7 E/395 SN
ginya-ni wirr yi(n)-Ø-n-dyina yila-yi
dem-ACT afraid 3sg(I)-do-pres-3sgDatPro dog-DAT
'he's afraid of the dog';

8.3.7 E/396 SN
ŋjur yi(n)-Ø-n budyu garrgin
swell 3sg(I)-do-pres all body
'the whole body swells up';

8.3.7 E/397 SN
wila lagarr-lagarr yi(n)-Ø-n
water climb-climb 3sg(I)-do-pres
'the water is rising' (that is, 'it is flooding').

Occasionally there appears to be a detectable contrast relating to transitivity between examples using differing series of suppletive forms:
'he's jumping around' (of a fish);

although the differing series of 'do, say' is not the only difference between these two examples (see 12.5.5).

More often, no clear difference in meaning can be detected:

'long ago he went looking for the two of us';

'he hunted for hill kangaroo';

'I keep on eating meat';
8.3.7 E/403 SN

nilirr-gan yi-rr-a-MA-n-dyina galiya gab yi(n)-g-n
mouth-LOC 3-nmin-SET-put-pres-3sgDatPro then eat 3sg(I)-do-pres
'they put (meat) in her mouth, then she eats (it)'.

8.3.8 REMAINING MONOSYLLABIC VERBAL ROOTS

The remaining monosyllabic verbal roots display no major morphological irregularity. Some verbal roots (for example, -LI- 'eat') conform to more general phonological rules (see 9.2.2) applying at the prefixing-verbal root boundary. Consonant-initial roots with set I prefixing resemble -BA- 'see' (8.3.1 T/25). Roots able to take set II prefixing (for example, -MA-) resemble consonant-initial polysyllabic verbal roots.

8.4 POLYSYLLABIC VERBAL ROOTS

These are a large class (127 to date). The majority of these polysyllabic roots are disyllabic:

8.4 T/40 Polysyllabic Verbal Roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Syllables</th>
<th>No. of Verbal Roots</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>65 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>26 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2 reduplicated)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All verbal roots are vowel-final. All three vowels occur, with the following frequency, in polysyllabic roots:
Final Vowels in Polysyllabic Verbal Roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final Vowel</th>
<th>No. of Verbal Roots</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- a</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>59 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- i</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- u</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.4.1 VERBAL ROOTS WITH INITIAL l-

Phonological rules apply at the prefixing-verbal root boundary of these verbal roots (seven on record). Proposed underlying and surface forms of the alternative-prefixing verbal root -LUGA- 'cry' appear in Tables T/41 and T/42. A nasal deletion rule (see also 9.2.2) applies to the prefixes affixed to these roots:

Rule R/6 (n) \[ \Rightarrow \emptyset / \quad + 1 \]

The regressive assimilation rule (R/7) applies:

Rule R/7 rr \[ \Rightarrow 1 / \quad + 1 \]

8.4.2 VERBAL ROOTS WITH INITIAL n-

Three polysyllabic verbal roots with initial n- (all are set I prefixing) have been analyzed:

- NIGA- 'follow'
- NUGA- 'growl'
- NUGU- 'frighten'.

The set I vowel-deletion rule

Rule R/1b a \[ \Rightarrow \emptyset / \quad + \{ \begin{array}{c}
\mathbf{r} \\
\mathbf{n}
\end{array} \]

applies to these verbal roots:
### 8.4.1 T/41 Underlying Forms of the Alternative-Prefixing Root -LUGA- 'cry'

#### Non-future Tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>set I</th>
<th>set II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 1</td>
<td>џа n-</td>
<td>џа џ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>ny н-</td>
<td>ny џ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>уи n-</td>
<td>уи џ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2</td>
<td>ya n-</td>
<td>ya џ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1+m</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td>rr - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 2+m</td>
<td>gu -</td>
<td>rr - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3+m</td>
<td>yi -</td>
<td>rr - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2+m</td>
<td>yana -</td>
<td>rr - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1</td>
<td>џа -</td>
<td>la -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 2</td>
<td>nyи -</td>
<td>la -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 3</td>
<td>wa -</td>
<td>la -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 1+2</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td>la -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 1+m</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td>rr - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 2+m</td>
<td>gu -</td>
<td>rr - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 3+m</td>
<td>wa -</td>
<td>rr - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 1+2+m</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td>rr - a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 8.4.1 T/42 Surface Forms of the Alternative-Prefixing Root -LUGA- 'cry'

#### Non-future Tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>set I</th>
<th>set II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 1</td>
<td>џа -</td>
<td>LUGA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>nyи -</td>
<td>LUGA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>уи -</td>
<td>LUGA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td>LUGA -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1+m</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td>rr - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 2+m</td>
<td>gu -</td>
<td>rr - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3+m</td>
<td>yi -</td>
<td>rr - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2+m</td>
<td>yana -</td>
<td>rr - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1</td>
<td>џа -</td>
<td>la -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 2</td>
<td>nyи -</td>
<td>la -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 3</td>
<td>wa -</td>
<td>la -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 1+2</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td>la -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 1+m</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td>rr - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 2+m</td>
<td>gu -</td>
<td>rr - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 3+m</td>
<td>wa -</td>
<td>rr - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 1+2+m</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td>rr - a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contrasting type signifies deletion by phonological rule(s)
The rhotic assimilation rule may apply following set I vowel-deletion:

Progressive assimilation occurs following set I vowel-deletion:

Underlying (T/43) and surface (T/44) forms of -NIGA- 'follow' are given on the following page.

Seven w-initial verbal roots, both set I and set II prefixing, have been recorded. With set I prefixing w-initial verbal roots, some prefixing forms differ from those of other verbal roots with an initial non-vowel.

For set I prefixing verbal roots with minimal person groupings in non-future tenses in realis mode, the prefixes retain the final /a/ (see 9.2.2). The non-personal form of the verb (see 9.3.6) may follow this pattern (mana-) or it may take the same form as other verbal roots with
### Underlying Forms of -NIGA - 'follow' (set I prefixing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 1</td>
<td>gué a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gué a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>min a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa- a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>yin a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa- a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2</td>
<td>yan a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yan a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1+m</td>
<td>ya- rr a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya- rr a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 2+m</td>
<td>gu- rr a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa- rr a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3+m</td>
<td>yi- rr a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa- rr a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2+m</td>
<td>yana- rr a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yana- rr a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1</td>
<td>gué 1 a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gué a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 2</td>
<td>mi- 1 a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>min- a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 3</td>
<td>wa- 1 a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa- a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 1+2</td>
<td>ya- 1 a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya- a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 1+m</td>
<td>ya- la rr a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya- ya rr a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 2+m</td>
<td>gu- la rr a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gu- ya rr a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 3+m</td>
<td>wa- la rr a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa- ya rr a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 1+2+m</td>
<td>ya- la rr a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya- ya rr a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Surface Forms of -NIGA - 'follow' (set I prefixing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 1</td>
<td>gué-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gué a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>min-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa- a-</td>
<td>LIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>yin-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa- a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2</td>
<td>yan-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yan a-</td>
<td>NIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1+m</td>
<td>ya-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya- a-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 2+m</td>
<td>gu-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa- a-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3+m</td>
<td>yi-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa- a-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2+m</td>
<td>yana-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yana a-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1</td>
<td>gué- 1 a-</td>
<td>LIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gué a-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 2</td>
<td>mi- 1 a-</td>
<td>LIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>min- a-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 3</td>
<td>wa- 1 a-</td>
<td>LIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa- a-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 1+2</td>
<td>ya- 1 a-</td>
<td>LIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya- a-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 1+m</td>
<td>ya- la rr a-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya- ya rr a-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 2+m</td>
<td>gu- la rr a-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gu- ya rr a-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 3+m</td>
<td>wa- la rr a-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa- ya rr a-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 1+2+m</td>
<td>ya- la rr a-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya- ya rr a-</td>
<td>DIGA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-personal: man a- - NIGA - n

Contrasting type signifies deletion by phonological rule(s)
an initial non-vowel (ma-). Both forms were found (for most w-initial verbal roots) and no meaning difference was apparent.

8.4.3 T/45 Representative Forms of -WUNBA- 'deceive' (set I prefixing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-Future Realis</th>
<th>Future Realis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>jana - WUNBA</td>
<td>jan - a - WUNBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mina - WUNBA</td>
<td>wal - a - WUNBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yina - WUNBA</td>
<td>wan - a - WUNBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>yana - WUNBA</td>
<td>yan - a - WUNBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>yi - rr - a - WUNBA</td>
<td>wa:j a - rr - a - WUNBA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-personal:

mana - WUNBA - n

OR ma - WUNBA - n.

Set II prefixing verbal roots take regular set II prefixing.

8.4.4 VERBAL ROOTS WITH OTHER INITIAL CONSONANTS

All consonant-initial verbal roots not specified in the preceding sections take prefixing identical to that of the verbal root -BA- (see 8.3.1 T/25) if set I prefixing or to that of -JARA- (see 8.3.5 T/32) if set II prefixing.

8.4.5 VERBAL ROOTS WITH INITIAL VOWEL

Verbal roots with initial a- and i- have been identified. No verbal root with an initial u- has yet been recognized. Representative forms of the vowel-initial -IBI- 'drink' are given in 8.4.5 T/46.

Deletion of the final vowel of the prefixing occurs with vowel-initial verbal roots:
### 8.4.5 T/46 Representative Forms of -IBI- 'drink' (set I prefixing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 1</td>
<td>ḡan(a)-</td>
<td>- IBI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>min(a)-</td>
<td>- IBI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>yin(a)-</td>
<td>- IBI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2</td>
<td>yan(a)-</td>
<td>- IBI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 1+m</td>
<td>ya -</td>
<td>- rr - (a)- - IBI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>gu -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>yi -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>yana -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1</td>
<td>ḡa - l(a)-</td>
<td>- IBI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 2</td>
<td>mi - l(a)-</td>
<td>- IBI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 3</td>
<td>wa - l(a)-</td>
<td>- IBI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 1+2</td>
<td>ya - l(a)-</td>
<td>- IBI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+m</td>
<td>ya - la - rr - (a)- - IBI</td>
<td>ya -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 2+m</td>
<td>gu - la - rr - (a)- - IBI</td>
<td>gu -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 3+m</td>
<td>wa - la - rr - (a)- - IBI</td>
<td>wa -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>ya - la - rr - (a)- - IBI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-personal: man(a) - - IBI - n

( ) signify deletion by phonological rule(s)
8.4.5

Rule R/5  a  \implies  \emptyset / \implies + V

8.4.5  E/407  SN
yana + rr + a + IBI + na  \implies  yanarribina
1+2+m(I)-nmin-SET-drink-past
'we all drank'.

8.5  REDUPLICATION INVOLVING VERBAL ROOTS

Various examples of reduplication involving verbal roots are found. Reduplication may involve all or part of the verb root. Occasional verbal roots are found only in reduplicated form.

8.5.1  COMPLETE REDUPLICATION

Reduplication of the whole verbal root of both monosyllabic or disyllabic roots is found occasionally. It appears to convey either

(i) 'keep on doing something' or
(ii) 'commence to do something'

and the appropriate interpretation in a specific instance is probably only able to be determined from the context.

8.5.1  E/408  SN
yi-rr-a-BA-BA-na-yina  guya  ....  malina
3-nmin-SET-seen-seen-past-3sgDatPro  mother  lacking
'they looked and looked for their mother  ....  in vain';

8.5.1  E/409  SN
\text{\textgreek{gjan}}-a-MARRA-MARRA  wali
1sg(I)-fut-burn-burn  meat
'I'm going to start cooking the meat'.

8.5.2 PARTIAL REDUPLICATION

Reduplication of either the initial or the final part of a polysyllabic verbal root has been found occasionally:

8.5.2 E/410 SN

midyibirri  giny-abu  yin-NIGA-GA-na  banugu
(place name)  dem-ABL  3sg(I)-follow-follow-past  from east
'from that place Midyibirri he followed on and on .... from the east';

8.5.2 E/411 SN

yin-GALBI-GALBIRA-na-yirr  nilawal
3sg(I)-call name-call name-past-3nsgPro  name
'he went through naming them (all their) names'.
Chapter 9: Verbal Prefixing

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Nyigina has been termed a "prefixing" language. Capell (1956:32) opines that

in general the verb in the prefixing languages expresses subject and object [italics added] by prefixes.

The object seems not to be directly involved in Nyigina verbal prefixing, even in vestigial form, and I have found no evidence that such involvement occurs in any member of the alternative-prefixing language subgroup.

The following are conveyed by verbal prefixing in Nyigina:

(1) information about the person and number of the "subject";
(2) semantic information about the nature and scope of the activity denoted by the verb;
(3) indication of irrealis mode of the verb;
(4) indication of future tense (other tense information is indicated by verbal suffixing);
(5) indication that the activity is in some sense confined to the persons cross-referenced in prefixing (reflexive/reciprocal).

Three paradigms are given in the following tables to demonstrate the differences between set I and set II prefixing. The verb involved may be considered regular and the paradigms representative, though not exhaustive. Forms differing in respects other than prefixing have been omitted.
9.1 **T/47 Paradigm A**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ORDER CLASS:</td>
<td>1 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>ġan -</td>
<td>- GAMA -</td>
<td>ġan - a -</td>
<td>- GAMA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>2 min -</td>
<td>- GAMA -</td>
<td>wal - a -</td>
<td>- GAMA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>3 yin -</td>
<td>- GAMA -</td>
<td>wan - a -</td>
<td>- GAMA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>1+2 yan -</td>
<td>- GAMA -</td>
<td>yan - a -</td>
<td>- GAMA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1+m ya - - rr - a - GAMA -</td>
<td>yaga - - rr - a - GAMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>2+m gu - - rr - a - GAMA -</td>
<td>wa - - rr - a - GAMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3+m yi - - rr - a - GAMA -</td>
<td>waţa - - rr - a - GAMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2+m yana - - rr - a - GAMA -</td>
<td>yana - - rr - a - GAMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1 ġa - la₁ - - GAMA -</td>
<td>ġan - a - rra₁ - - GAMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>2 mi - la₁ - - GAMA -</td>
<td>min - a - rra₁ - - GAMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>3 wa - la₁ - - GAMA -</td>
<td>wan - a - rra₁ - - GAMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>1+2 ya - la₁ - - GAMA -</td>
<td>yan - a - rra₁ - - GAMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1+m ya - la - rr - a - GAMA -</td>
<td>ya - - ya - rr - a - GAMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>2+m gu - la - rr - a - GAMA -</td>
<td>gu - - ya - rr - a - GAMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>3+m wa - la - rr - a - GAMA -</td>
<td>wa - - ya - rr - a - GAMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>1+2+m ya - la - rr - a - GAMA -</td>
<td>ya - - ya - rr - a - GAMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subscripts (for example, -la₁ - and -la₂-) signify differing phonological behaviour (see 9.5.2).
9.1 T/48 Paradigm B -GAMA- 'laugh' (set II prefixing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ORDER CLASS:</td>
<td>1 3 4</td>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 1</td>
<td>įaį - - GAMA -</td>
<td>įaį - a - - GAMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>nyį - - GAMA -</td>
<td>(nyį)¹ - a - - GAMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>yiį - - GAMA -</td>
<td>waį - a - - GAMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2</td>
<td>yaiį - - GAMA -</td>
<td>yaiį - a - - GAMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1+m</td>
<td>ya - rr - GAMA -</td>
<td>yaią - - rr - GAMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 2+m</td>
<td>gu - rr - GAMA -</td>
<td>wa - - rr - GAMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>yi - rr - GAMA -</td>
<td>waį - - rr - GAMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>ya - rr - GAMA -</td>
<td>yana - - rr - GAMA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I 1 | įa - la II - - GAMA - | įa - - rra II - - GAMA |
R 2 | nyi - la II - - GAMA - | nyi - - rra II - - GAMA |
R 3 | wa - la II - - GAMA - | wa - - rra II - - GAMA |
E 1+2 | ya - la II - - GAMA - | ya - - rra II - - GAMA |
A 1+m | ya - la - rr - GAMA - | ya - - ya - rr - GAMA |
L 2+m | gu - la - rr - GAMA - | gu - - ya - rr - GAMA |
I 3+m | wa - la - rr - GAMA - | wa - - ya - rr - GAMA |
S 1+2+m | ya - la - rr - GAMA - | ya - - ya - rr - GAMA |

¹2sg future prefixing varies, including dialect variation (see 9.3.1)
### Paradigm C -ma-GAMA-nydyi- 'laugh at oneself'

(set II prefixing and INTrospective affixing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ORDER CLASS:</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>1+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1+m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>2+m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3+m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2+m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>1+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1+m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>2+m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>3+m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>1+2+m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.2 PREFIXING REQUIREMENTS

Although some of the order classes of prefixing may not be represented in the surface verb, no Nyigina affixing verb may appear without any preceding prefixing morpheme\(^2\).

9.2.1 ORDER CLASSES OF PREFIXES

Verbal prefixes are here analyzed into six order classes:

\[
1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 \quad \text{VERB ROOT} \quad + \quad \text{suffixing classes}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order Class</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PRO(_p)</td>
<td>personal pronominal prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>general or non-personal prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>fut</td>
<td>future tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis mode marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>nmin</td>
<td>non-minimal person grouping marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>SET</td>
<td>prefixing set I marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>INT(_p)</td>
<td>prefixing introspective marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(indicates reflexive or reciprocal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No more than four prefixes have been found with any one verbal root.

The following combinations of prefixes have not been found within the same series of prefixes (that is, do not co-occur):

(i) future + SET

(ii) future + non-minimal

(iii) SET + INT\(_p\)

(iv) GEN + order classes 2-5.

---

\(^2\) Unprefixed surface verbs possibly occur within the language subgroup. In Warrwa it seems that, in some instances, 3sg prefixing may have zero realization.
Some series of four prefixes occur in the following examples:

9.2.1 E/412 SN
malu gu-ya-rr-ma-MARRA-nydyi
NEG 2nsg-fut/IRR-nmin-INTp-burn-INTs
ORDER CLASS: 1 + 3 + 4 + 6
'don't you burn yourselves!';

9.2.1 E/413 SN
malu ya-la-rr-a-BA-na-da
NEG 1nsg-IRR-nmin-SET-see-past-HABIT
ORDER CLASS: 1 + 3 + 4 + 5
'we never saw (it)'.

The Tables T/50 and T/51 present essential data on pronominal prefixing forms. Forms involving INTp (roughly, reflexive and reciprocal) are considered later (see 9.3.5.3 and 9.7).

The terms "set I" and "set II" should be regarded, for the present, as no more than a representation of the (generalizable) morphological differences in prefixing evident in the paradigm A (T/47) and the paradigm B (T/48) respectively. Extensive justification for the use of this analysis, details of distribution and semantic interpretation follow in later sections of this chapter.
9.2.1 T/50  Minimal Person Grouping Prefixes

**SET I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ORDER CLASS:</td>
<td>1 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>1  ğana - - *</td>
<td>ğan - a - - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>2  mina - - *</td>
<td>wal - a - - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>3  yina - - *</td>
<td>wan - a - - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1+2 yana - - *</td>
<td>yan - a - - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1  ğa - laI - *</td>
<td>ğan - a - rraI - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>2  mi - laI - *</td>
<td>min - a - rraI - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>3  wa - laI - *</td>
<td>wan - a - rraI - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1+2 ya - laI - *</td>
<td>yam - a - rraI - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SET II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>1  ğaj - - *</td>
<td>ğaj - a - - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>2  nyiẓ - - *</td>
<td>(nyi)g³ - a - - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>3  yĩ - - *</td>
<td>waṉ - a - - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1+2 yaŋ - - *</td>
<td>yaŋ - a - - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1  ğa - la II - *</td>
<td>ġa - - rra II - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>2  nyi - la II - *</td>
<td>nyi - - rra II - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>3  wa - la II - *</td>
<td>wa - - rra II - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1+2 ya - la II - *</td>
<td>ya - - rra II - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* represents the verbal root
³ see 9.3.1
9.2.1  T/51  Non-minimal Person Grouping Prefixes

SET I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ORDER CLASS:</td>
<td>1 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2&amp;3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 1+m</td>
<td>ya - rr - a - *</td>
<td>yaja - rr - a - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2+m</td>
<td>gu - rr - a - *</td>
<td>wa - rr - a - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3+m</td>
<td>yi - rr - a - *</td>
<td>waja - rr - a - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1+2+m</td>
<td>yana - rr - a - *</td>
<td>yana - rr - a - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1+m</td>
<td>ya - la - rr - a - *</td>
<td>ya - ya - rr - a - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 2+m</td>
<td>gu - la - rr - a - *</td>
<td>gu - ya - rr - a - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 3+m</td>
<td>wa - la - rr - a - *</td>
<td>wa - ya - rr - a - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 1+2+m</td>
<td>ya - la - rr - a - *</td>
<td>ya - ya - rr - a - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SET II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 1+m</td>
<td>ya - rr - - *</td>
<td>yaja - rr - - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2+m</td>
<td>gu - rr - - *</td>
<td>wa - rr - - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3+m</td>
<td>wa - rr - - *</td>
<td>waja - rr - - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1+2+m</td>
<td>yana - rr - - *</td>
<td>yana - rr - - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1+m</td>
<td>ya - la - rr - - *</td>
<td>ya - ya - rr - - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 2+m</td>
<td>gu - la - rr - - *</td>
<td>gu - ya - rr - - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 3+m</td>
<td>wa - la - rr - - *</td>
<td>wa - ya - rr - - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 1+2+m</td>
<td>ya - la - rr - - *</td>
<td>ya - ya - rr - - *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.2.2 PHONOLOGICAL REALIZATION RULES

Phonological rules relating to morpheme boundaries between prefixes and verbal roots are listed here. Some of the evidence for these rules has been presented already in Chapter 8. The application of these rules is discussed in detail in some of the sections on individual prefixes.

A specific rule is required for set I prefixes for minimal person groupings in non-future realis, where the final /a/ is found only with w-initial verbal roots. (With vowel-initial verbal roots, final /a/ is deleted by vowel-deletion rule R/5.) Elsewhere, the final /a/ of PRO is deleted before consonant-initial verbal roots:

Rule R/3  a \( \rightarrow \emptyset / \rightarrow + C \).

Following the vowel-deletion described above, further nasal-deletion occurs with l-initial verbal roots:

Rule R/6  n \( \rightarrow \emptyset / \rightarrow + l \).

For minimal person groupings, non-future realis, two phonological processes apply to the final /ŋ/ of set II prefixing:

Rule R/8  ŋ \( \rightarrow \) homorganic nasal / \rightarrow + stop and

Rule R/9  ŋ \( \rightarrow \emptyset / \rightarrow + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{nasal} \\ l \\ r \\ w \\ y \end{array} \right\} \).

A general vowel-deletion rule applies to vowel-final prefixing preceding a vowel-initial verbal root:

Rule R/5  a \( \rightarrow \emptyset / \rightarrow + V \).
A more specific vowel-deletion rule, "set I vowel-deletion rule" (R/lb), applies to all a-final prefixes preceding set I prefixing verbal roots with initial /r/ or /n/:

Rule R/lb

\[ a \xrightarrow{\text{R/lb}} \emptyset / ---- + \left( \frac{r}{n} \right) \]

The rhotic assimilation rule (R/2b)

\[ rr + \left( \frac{n}{r} \right) \xrightarrow{\text{R/2b}} d \]

which is ordered after set I vowel-deletion, may apply in non-minimal person groupings.

The progressive assimilation rule R/4 applies to verbal roots with initial /r/ or /n/:

Rule R/4

\[ \left\{ \frac{r}{n} \right\} \xrightarrow{\text{R/4}} \left\{ \frac{1}{n} \right\} / \left\{ \frac{1}{n} \right\} + ---- \]

Regressive assimilation of final /rr/ of prefixing occurs with 1-initial verbal roots:

Rule R/7

\[ rr \xrightarrow{\text{R/7}} 1 / ---- + 1 \]

Some applications of these rules are presented or re-presented (many are found in Chapter 8) here:

9.2.2 E/414 SN

\[ \text{jana} + \text{BA} + \text{ny} \xrightarrow{\text{R/3}} \text{janbany} \]

\(1\text{sg(I)}\)-see-past₂

'I saw';

9.2.2 E/415 SN

\[ \text{yina} + \text{LI} + \text{ny} \xrightarrow{\text{R/6}} \text{yin} + \text{LI} + \text{ny} \]

\(3\text{sg(I)}\)-eat-past₂

'y he ate';
9.2.2 E/416 SN
yiŋ + Dyalgi + ny  \( \text{R/8} \rightarrow \) yinydyalginy
3sg(II)-fall-past₂
'he fell';

9.2.2 E/417 SN
tjaŋ + Wanydyi + ny  \( \text{R/9} \rightarrow \) tjawanydyiny
1sg(II)-climb-past₂
'I climbed';

9.2.2 E/418 SN
yi + rr + a + IBI + ny  \( \text{R/5} \rightarrow \) yirribiny
3-nmin-SET-drink-past₂
'they drank';

9.2.2 E/419 SN
yina + RA₁ + ny  \( \text{R/1b} \rightarrow \) yin + RA₁ + ny
3sg(I)-spear-past₂  \( \text{R/4} \rightarrow \) yinnany
'he speared';

9.2.2 E/420 SN
wal + a + RA₁  \( \text{R/1b} \rightarrow \) wal + RA₁
2sg(I)-fut-spear  \( \text{R/4} \rightarrow \) walla
'you (sg.) spear (it)!!';

9.2.2 E/421 SN
yajə + rr + NI  \( \text{R/2b} \rightarrow \) yajadi
1+pl(II)-nmin-sit
'we'll stay';
For the second person singular future realis in set II, the pronominal prefix can occur in reduced form:

\[ \text{regular: } nyi\text{-}a \quad \text{reduced: }  \text{-} \ a \text{-} \ . \]

The reduced form occurs most frequently with the more common verbal roots, for example, 'sit', 'go', 'come', 'keep':

9.3.1 E/424 SN

midyala  \text{-} a-NI  dyujg-an  giny-an
sit  2sg(II)-fut-sit  fire-LOC  dem-LOC

'sit down by this fire!'.

It is perhaps significant that the second person singular future is also the only form of the singular imperative, which use may favour shortened forms for shouting. Reduced \( \text{PRO}_p \) seems usually to occur when there is an imperative interpretation of the future tense. However, in Small Nyigina, the unreduced form may also be found as the singular imperative:
9.3.1 E/425 SN

galiya qiny-an nyij-a-NI darrb
finished dem-LOC 2sg(II)-fut-sit for ever
'then you stop there for good!';

while reduced forms may occur when there is no imperative interpretation, as in:

9.3.1 E/426 SN
dyundabal-dyi 2j-a-R(\text{II}),-arri 2jadyag wal-(a)-I-\text{j}ayu
ash-DAT 2sg(II)-fut-feel-REL ask . 2sg(I)-(fut)-do-lsgOPro
'if you want ashes, you ask me!';

where the form jara\text{rr}i has reduced prefixing without imperative interpretation.

In Big Nyigina, the reduced prefix appears to be obligatory in all instances of second person singular set II future realis (further checking necessary).

9.3.2 MORPHOLOGY OF PRO

The morphology of pronominal prefixing depends also on:

(i) future or non-future tense;

(ii) realis or irrealis mode;

(iii) the nature of the activity (see 9.3.5.2).

9.3.3 PROp, MORPHOLOGY AND FUTURE TENSE

The morphology of PROp is partly determined by the future or non-future tense of the surface verb. Future tense is indicated partly by the morphology of PROp, as well as by the use of the specific marker -a-, the latter occurring only in minimal groupings in all future prefixing except future irrealis set II, where it is not possible to
identify the morpheme with certainty (see 9.4.2).

Some examples are cited to illustrate the inter-relationship of future and non-future status and \( \text{PRO}_p \) morphology:

9.3.3 E/427 SN
\[\text{ŋjan-MARRA-ny wali}\]
\[\text{lsg(I)-burn-past}_2 \text{ meat}\]
'I cooked the meat';

9.3.3 E/428 SN
\[\text{ŋjayi-ni ŋjan-a-MARRA bugarr wanydyiy}\]
\[\text{lsgPRO-ACT lsg(I)-fut-burn cooked later}\]
'I'll cook (it) later'.

The two examples of prefixing above differ only in the presence of the explicit morpheme (-a-) indicating future, while comparable examples in the third person singular differ also with respect to \( \text{PRO}_p \) morphology:

9.3.3 E/429 SN
\[\text{wamba-ni yin-MARRA-n wali}\]
\[\text{man-ACT 3sg(I)-burn-pres meat}\]
'the man is cooking the meat';

9.3.3 E/430 SN
\[\text{wamba-ni wan-a-MARRA wali wanydyiy}\]
\[\text{man-ACT 3sg(I)-fut-burn meat later}\]
'the man will cook the meat later'.

These examples are cited to demonstrate a relationship between \( \text{PRO}_p \)
morphology and order class 2 or indication of future tense. Details of future prefixing follow in 9.4.

9.3.4 PRO morphology and realis/irrealis mode

Realis forms contain no single identifiable morpheme indicating their mode, although it may be suggested by the morphology of PRO_p.

Irrealis forms possess identifiable morphemes indicating the irrealis mode as follows:

- la_1 or la_II - non-future tenses, all groups;
- rra_1 or rra_II - future tense, minimal groups;
- ya - future tense, non-minimal groups.

Details of the use of these morphemes are given in 9.5.2 and 9.5.3.

Occasionally the surface form of PRO_p is identical in both realis and irrealis mode, so that irrealis mode is indicated by the specific prefix only:

9.3.4 E/431 SN

ŋa-MA-ny burrula-ŋana

lsg(II)REAL-go-past Derby-ALLAT

'I went to Derby';

9.3.4 E/432 SN

malu ŋa-la-MA-na burrula-ŋana

NEG lsg-IRR-go-past Derby-ALLAT

'I didn't go to Derby'.

In other persons, the irrealis mode may be suggested by the form of PRO_p as well as by the specific prefix:
9.3.4 E/433 SN
yi-MA-ny          burrula-jana
3sg(II)REAL-go-past_2 Derby-ALLAT
'he went to Derby';

9.3.4 E/434 SN
malu wa-la-MA-na burrula-jana
NEG 3-IRR-go-past Derby-ALLAT
'he didn't go to Derby'.

A detailed account of irrealis prefixing follows in 9.5.

9.3.5 PREFIXING "SETS"

9.3.5.1 PREFIXING PATTERNS IN THE LANGUAGE SUBGROUP

An aspect of verbal prefixing which is discussed in detail in this section is the semantic information about the nature of the activity denoted by the inflecting verb which is conveyed within verbal prefixing morphology. Manifestation of this semantic aspect has been found in all members of the language subgroup investigated to date.

Since the topic has previously been discussed in the case of Ba:di (Metcalf 1975), we will consider first the description for Ba:di. Ba:di surface forms of the verbal root 'laugh', taken from Metcalfe (1975:179-181), are presented in Table T/52. The segmentation given differs considerably from that of Metcalfe and minor changes of orthography have been made to facilitate comparison with the Nyigina paradigms presented in Tables T/47 and T/48. Terms used by Metcalfe are indicated in italic script.
9.3.5.1 249

9.3.5.1 Some Surface Forms of Verb -g+AM- 'laugh' in Ba:di

Metcalfe 1975:179-181 (Metcalfe's terms are in italics)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Extra-active</th>
<th>Intra-active</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MARKER</td>
<td>MARKER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PRESENT</td>
<td>IMPERFECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>↓</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ţa - n -</td>
<td>ţa -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mi - n -</td>
<td>mi -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i - n -</td>
<td>i -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>a - n -</td>
<td>a -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+m</td>
<td>a - rr₁ - AMA</td>
<td>a -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>gu - rr₁ - AMA</td>
<td>gu -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>i - rr₁ - AMA</td>
<td>i -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PROJECTED IMPERFECT**

| 1       | ţa - n -      | ţa -         | ţa -         | - GAMA |
| 2       | a - n -       | *ţa -        | *ţa -        | - YAMA |
| 3       | u - n -       | u -         | u -         | - GAMA |
| 1+2     | a - n -       | a -         | a -          | - GAMA |
| 1+m     | ajga - rr₁ - AMA | ajga - | ajga - rr₂ - GAMA |
| 2+m     | a - rr₁ - AMA | a -         | a - rr₂ - GAMA |
| 3+m     | ujga - rr₁ - AMA | ujga - | ujga - rr₂ - GAMA |

**PERFECT (EXCEPT IMMEDIATE)**

| 1       | ţa - na - ţ - | ţa -(?ţ)- ţ - | ţa -         | - GAMA |
| 2       | mi - na - ţ - | mi - "- ţ - | mi -         | - GAMA |
| 3       | i - na - ţ - | i - "- ţ - | i -         | - GAMA |
| 1+2     | a - na - ţ - | a - "- ţ - | a -         | - GAMA |
| 1+m     | a - ţa - rr₁ - AM | a - ţa - | a - ţa - rr₂ - GAMA |
| 2+m     | gu - ţa - rr₁ - AM | gu - ţa - | gu - ţa - rr₂ - GAMA |
| 3+m     | i - ţa - rr₁ - AM | i - ţa - | i - ţa - rr₂ - GAMA |

The subscripts (-rr₁- and -rr₂-) are not present in Metcalfe's data.

*It is not clear to me how this prefix should be segmented (Metcalfe 1975:134)*
Metcalfé (1975:85) uses the term action type and states that this concept comprehends the traditional terms 'transitive', 'intransitive', 'reflexive' and 'reciprocal'. He introduces the terms extra-action, intra-action and retro-action and posits an action type marker at prefixing position 6 of the Ba:di affixing verb, implying that the concept of action type is indicated by a single morpheme.

In Table T/52 I have attempted to segment the surface forms of the verb 'laugh' in order to demonstrate the application of this concept of action type markers. Metcalfé identifies the action type markers -n- (extra-action) and -j- (intra-action). I have been unable to determine how Metcalfé analyzes the /j/ of the intra-active perfect (except immediate) series.

This glance at Ba:di prefixing morphology and its treatment has been included to serve as an introduction to the description of prefixing morphology in Nyigina.

9.3.5.2 NYIGINA PREFIXING AND THE NATURE OF THE ACTIVITY

In Nyigina, similar problems exist with the nature of the activity and pronominal prefixing morphology is rather erratic. Let us use, for the moment, Metcalfé's terms for Ba:di:

extra-action: roughly, activity primarily involving an entity (or entities) as well as the subject;

intra-action: roughly, activity primarily involving only the entity (or entities) specified in the subject.

Some of the Nyigina surface forms require an analysis more accommodating than the addition of markers of some description. (It is not clear to me whether an "addition of markers" analysis is in fact adequate for the
Ba'di forms. Let us consider some surface forms in Nyigina:

Nyigina Second Person Singular Surface Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Extra-action/(I)</th>
<th>Intra-action/(II)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REALIS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-future</td>
<td>min- -GAMA-</td>
<td>nyij- -GAMA-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>wal-a -GAMA</td>
<td>nyij-a -GAMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRREALIS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-future</td>
<td>mi- -la_1 -GAMA-</td>
<td>nyi- -la_II -GAMA-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>min-a-rra_1 -GAMA</td>
<td>nyi- -rra_II -GAMA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One could posit markers -n- and -j- along the lines of Metcalfe's action type markers and possibly formulate fairly plausible phonological rules to account for their failure to appear in the surface form of the pronominal prefix as it is found in instances in the pronominal prefixing paradigm cited above. One would, however, be left with the problem of lack of resemblance between the initial portions of the prefixes, which are presumably pronominal in reference.

The above example shows perhaps the greatest variation in pronominal prefixing morphology, but it is by no means the only instance of differing pronominal prefixing morphology:

Nyigina Second Person Non-singular Surface Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Extra-action/I</th>
<th>Intra-action/II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REALIS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-future</td>
<td>gu- -rr-a-GAMA-</td>
<td>gu- -rr-GAMA-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>wa- -rr-a-GAMA</td>
<td>wa- -rr-GAMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRREALIS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-future</td>
<td>gu-la-rr-a-GAMA-</td>
<td>gu-la-rr-GAMA-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>gu-ya-rr-a-GAMA-</td>
<td>gu-ya-rr-GAMA-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An analysis involving non-varying pronominal prefixes, to which may be added morphemes indicating action type/future/irrealis etc. (together with phonological rules applying at the resulting morpheme boundaries) appears to be inadequate for Nyigina.

As far as order class I prefixing, which is essentially pronominal, is concerned, a rather taxonomic approach seems to offer the greatest accuracy. Such an analysis allows that order class I prefixing may convey additional information apart from the number and person of NP^pref. It is proposed that no further synchronic analysis of order class I prefixes is possible.

Two "sets" of pronominal prefixes, approximately corresponding to Metcalfe's extra-action and intra-action, are analyzed in Table T/53.
The recurrence in minimal groups of /ŋ/ in set I prefixes and /ŋ/ in set II realis prefixes is highly unlikely to be coincidental, yet it is considered impossible to further segment or analyze these prefixes synchronically. It is, however, possible to analyze a non-contiguous
marker (SET) in order class 5, which indicates set I prefixing for non-minimal groups. It is obligatorily present (following the non-minimal marker) in the sequence of prefixes for all non-minimal groups with set I prefixing verbal roots, unless deleted by phonological rule (see 9.2.2). Details of this SET marker are found in 9.6.2.

9.3.5.3 DISTRIBUTION OF THE TWO PREFIXING SETS

For the vast majority of Nyigina verbal roots, prefixes from only one prefixing set are usually possible. Some verbal roots may take prefixes from either set: this situation will be discussed later in this section. The general subject of semantic considerations is discussed at some length in 9.3.5.5.

Verbal roots affixed for reflexive or reciprocal activities always take set II prefixing. Where a verbal root, which otherwise regularly takes set I prefixing, is affixed for reflexive or reciprocal activity, set II prefixing is substituted:

9.3.5.3 E/435 SN
\[\text{ŋjan-a-ŋADI malbulu-ŋany ŋimbi majarriy} \]
\[1\text{sg(I)-fut-cover coolamon-INSTR morning food} \]
'I'll cover the food with a coolamon tomorrow';

9.3.5.3 E/436 SN
\[\text{dyuwa nyi-ma-ŋADI-nydyi-na wabaguru-ŋany} \]
\[2\text{sgPRO 2sg(II)-INT -cover-INT -past blanket-INSTR} \]
'you covered yourself with a blanket'.

These forms with reflexive or reciprocal affixing correspond to Metcalfe's \textit{retro-action} in \textit{Ba}:\textit{di}. The verbal root \textit{-BANDYI} - 'share,
exchange, do reflexively or reciprocally', which may occur alone or with a prestem and conveys reflexive or reciprocal activity, invariably takes set II prefixing. Some verbal roots may take either set I or set II prefixes:

9.3.5.3 E/437 SN
dyuwa-ni min-BANYDU-na yila mandu
2sgPRO-ACT 2sg(I)-smell-past dog stinking
'you smelled the stinking dog';

9.3.5.3 E/438 SN
jalgurru nyim-BANYDU-n
body ocur 2sg(II)-smell-pres
'you stink'.

Verbal roots which may take either prefixing set are termed "alternative-prefixing" (A/P). All members of the language subgroup which have been investigated show some evidence of prefix alternation.

9.3.5.4 ALTERNATIVE-PREFIXING VERBAL ROOTS

Verbal roots which can take either set I or set II prefixes are listed in Table T/54. The roots are given a rough overall gloss and, in addition, approximate glosses of the verbal root when used in connection with each prefixing set are listed. This list, which is almost certainly not exhaustive, consists of 20 alternative-prefixing roots (there are 145 verbal roots recorded to date for the language).

Perhaps the most semantically interesting example of prefixing alternation is with the verbal root -MA-:
### T/54 Alternative-Prefixing Verbal Roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Root</th>
<th>Gloss of Root</th>
<th>Gloss of Root + Prefixing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-BANDA-</td>
<td>'finish'</td>
<td>'make complete'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-BANYDYU-</td>
<td>'smell'</td>
<td>'perceive by smell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-BARRABU-</td>
<td>'cover up'</td>
<td>'conceal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-BUNGA-</td>
<td>'warm (person)'</td>
<td>'cause to become warm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-BURRA-</td>
<td>'dry up'</td>
<td>'cause to become beam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-DYNJGULI-</td>
<td>'break'</td>
<td>'smash'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-DYARRMA-</td>
<td>'immerse'</td>
<td>'dunk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-DYIGA-</td>
<td>'soak'</td>
<td>'put to soak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-DYUMA-</td>
<td>'warm (thing)'</td>
<td>'heat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-GAMA-</td>
<td>'laugh'</td>
<td>'mock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-GANI-</td>
<td>'grow'</td>
<td>'raise, rear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-GULA-</td>
<td>'tie'</td>
<td>'tie up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-GURA-</td>
<td>'play'</td>
<td>'entertain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-MA-</td>
<td>(?'move')</td>
<td>'put, make'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-MADA-</td>
<td>'shave'</td>
<td>'shave another'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-MADA-</td>
<td>'cover'</td>
<td>'cause to be covered'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-MANDA-</td>
<td>'wet'</td>
<td>'make wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-MARRA-</td>
<td>'burn'</td>
<td>'cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-LUGA-</td>
<td>'cry'</td>
<td>'mourn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-WALGA-</td>
<td>'dry'</td>
<td>'put to dry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
banugu-ni wamba yi-rr-a-MA-na-yina yagurr
from east-ACT man 3-nmin(=I)-make-past-3sg0Pro no good
'men from the east wounded her';

yi-rr-MA-na-yina wamba-ni ....
3-nmin(=II)-go-past-3sgDatPro man-ACT
.... yalmban-dyunu-ni wamba
south-INAN.SOURCE-ACT man
'men went to her, men from the south'.

One could posit homophonous verbal roots -MA₁ and -MA₂. However, between them, these two verbal roots account for a large proportion of affixing verbs occurring in everyday language. It would seem somewhat counter-intuitive to postulate that a language would continue to use homophones for such common items. (Perhaps, despite an historical status of homophones, these two roots have been reanalyzed by speakers as a single verbal root with alternative-prefixing.)

Although there seems to be no compelling evidence for preferring an analysis of a single alternative-prefixing verbal root to an analysis of two homophonous verbal roots, this analysis has been adopted, arbitrarily.

The term "extra-action", which has been thought of as representing the criterial semantic difference specified by the use of set I prefixes, was previously tentatively defined as 'activity significantly involving an entity or entities as well as the NPₚref'. "Intra-action", with a
corresponding relationship to set II prefixes, was similarly defined as 'activity primarily involving only the NP pref'.

For some Nyigina examples, these approximations appear to predict accurately the prefixing set:

9.3.5.5 E/441 SN
wamba-ni yin-MARRA-n wali
man-ACT 3sg(I)-burn-pres meat
'the man is cooking the meat'.

Here set I prefixing is found in an example where a specified entity (the meat) is significantly involved in the activity.

9.3.5.5 E/442 SN
dyujgu yi-MARRA-n
fire 3sg(II)-burn-pres
'the fire is burning'.

No significant entity other than the NP pref is specified in this example and one finds the predicted set II prefixing.

For other examples, this unrefined formula makes false predictions:

9.3.5.5 E/443 SN
yi-MARRA-n ɡayu dyujgu-ni
3sg(II)-burn-pres 1sgPRO fire-ACT
'the fire is burning me'.

Here application of the "extra-action" criterion would predict set I prefixing.
9.3.5.5 259

9.3.5.5 E/444 SN

dyujjgu-ni yi-MARRA-n wali
fire-ACT 3sg(II)-burn-pres meat
'the fire is cooking the meat'
OR 'the meat is getting cooked by the fire'.

The above example is ambiguous, since the person of the NP \( p \) and the other entity is identical. Let us consider the interpretation whereby NP \( p \) status is assigned to dyujjguni, that is,

'the fire is cooking the meat'

which is analogous to the previous example E/441.

Compare the following two examples:

E/441  wamba-ni yin-MARRA-n wali  'the man is cooking the meat'.
E/444  dyujjgu-ni yi-MARRA-n wali  'the fire is cooking the meat'.

One can scarcely assert that, in the speaker's view, either the nature or degree of involvement of the meat differs significantly between these two examples, yet the set of prefix occurring differs. That is, the previous proposal concerning only the variable of occurrence of specification of significant involvement in the activity of another entity or other entities as well as the NP \( p \) cannot claim to capture the single criterial semantic difference between the use of set I and set II prefixing in these two examples. While set I prefixing seems to require an explicit (or possibly implicit) entity other than NP \( p \) with major involvement in the activity, this cannot be the single criterion if set II may also, though rarely, satisfy this requirement.
I consider that a second difference between the use of the two prefixing sets (which difference may be criterial) lies in the speaker's view of the NP's degree of control over the activity specified. In the previous example E/441, the man is assumed to be cooking the meat in a controlled fashion. He may, of course, be negligent but this would be merely an occurrence in the actual rather than conceptual world. He is expected to be in control of the activity. 'Fire' however cannot be expected to be either the initiator or perpetrator of a controlled activity.

Examples in Yawuru offer some evidence that control is also part of the semantic information coded in that language (comparable examples with set I and set II prefixes for 'burn' are found):

9.3.5.5 E/445 Yawuru

dyu$gu-ni yi-LURRA-n wali
fire-3ERG 3sg(II)-burn-pres meat
'the fire is burning the meat'.

One informant asserted that, in this Yawuru example, the fire must be spoiling or charring the meat. In this view, the result of the set II activity may not be, even fortuitously, that of the corresponding controlled activity. In Nyigina, the set II prefixed form of the verb implies nothing about the outcome of the activity, only something about the assumed degree of control over the activity.

The examples considered so far could, as it happens, be predicted by the use of the single criterion of control. However, this criterion alone will not predict the set of prefix for examples of some other alternative-prefixing verbal roots:
Since the degree of control over the activity would seem comparable in these two examples, the criterion of involvement of another entity as well as the NP would predict the set of prefix here.

Let us consider some examples with the verbal root -GAMA- 'laugh':

This example definitely implies that no entity other than the NP has a major involvement. It was remarked by informants that such an utterance would be most appropriate in the context of joke or story telling, where the laughing would be an essentially involuntary activity.

In the following example both involvement of an entity as well as the NP and control criteria would predict the occurrence of set I prefixing:
9.3.5.5 E/449 SN
gamirri-ni manin yin-GAMA-n-jayu
dem-ACT woman 3sg(I)-\text{laugh}-pres-lsgOPro
'that woman is laughing at me'.

Reciprocal examples may occur with this root:

9.3.5.5 E/450 SN
yirrgamirri_2 yi-rr-ma-GAMA-nydyi-na-mirri
3+3PRO 3-nmin(=II)-INT -\text{laugh}-INT -past-AUG_s
'\text{they were mocking each other}'
OR '\text{they were laughing at themselves}'
OR '\text{they were laughing between themselves}'.

For this example, applying the control criterion would lead to the
prediction of set I prefixing (especially for the "mocking" interpretation),
while set II prefixing would be predicted from lack of involvement of
entities other than the NP_{pref}. Set II prefixing is found.

Correct prediction of prefixing set for the examples considered may
be predicted from the following flow chart:
Setting up the criterion of "major involvement of NP not the NP\textsubscript{pref}" above the criterion "control" is based on the evidence of examples such as E/447, where set II prefixing occurs with a controlled activity.

In alternative-prefixing verbal roots with set II prefixing where the NP\textsubscript{pref} could be thought of as a "patient", the entity responsible for the activity must be somehow explicit:

\begin{itemize}
  \item 9.3.5.5 E/451 SN (= 12.5.2 E/797)
  \item yi-MARRA-n barrdyaniny dyu\textsubscript{g}g-an
  \item 3sg(II)-burn-pres kangaroo fire-LOC
  \item 'the kangaroo is getting cooked in the fire'.
\end{itemize}

In this construction, it is not possible to omit dyu\textsubscript{g}g-an:
the kangaroo is getting cooked'.

(In this example, 'fire' with either locative or active suffixing is possible. If re-expressed, an agent (animate) with active suffixing and set I prefixing would also be possible.)

Only occasional verbal roots allow an NP which could be thought of as a "patient". Other verbal roots require considerable lexical reorganization to express such a perspective:

'dywa nyi-rra-NI ma-GULA-n-dyunu ....
2sgPRO 2sg(II)-fut/IRR-sit GEN-tie-pres-INAN.SOURCE
.... wan-a-rra-GULA-yi linydyu-ni
3sg(I)-fut-IRR-tie-2sgOPro3 "bitter"-ACT

'you might get tied up .... the policeman might tie you up'.

This example was elicited as a translation of 'you might get tied up by the policeman'. Active suffixing in the presence of set II prefixing is only possible with forces (see 5.3) and not with human agents. In this example, where the perspective of the "patient" is adopted, the inflected verb is from the root 'sit, be' and the nominalized (non-personal) form of the alternative-prefixing verbal root with inanimate source suffixing is used.

It is evident that the status of NP may be assigned to different entities in an activity. What then determines the NP or, which noun phrase does the verbal pronominal prefixing represent?
It is suggested that verbal pronominal prefixing is essentially a focussing device; that is, it indicates the perspective from which the situation is viewed. As only a minority of verbal roots are alternative-prefixing and since with many verbal roots, a change of perspective though perhaps possible is extremely cumbersome, it is understandable that verbal prefixing set change (either directly with some alternative-prefixing verbal roots or indirectly, for example, by means of nominalized non-personal verbal forms with others) is rarely used to alter perspective. Thus perspective is usually expressed by selection among verbal roots, whose "perspective" is lexically determined. "Patients" are only practicable as the NP pref in a small number of situations. The focus of the Nyigina sentence is therefore usually an "agent", an "actor" or possibly a "force".

9.3.5.6 SEMANTICS OF SINGLE SET PREFIXING VERBAL ROOTS

Among the vast majority of verbal roots which can take prefixes from only one prefixing set, the one available prefixing set correlates with the meaning of the verbal root in a fashion similar to the relationship between the meaning of the surface verb form and the selection of prefixing set for alternative-prefixing verbal roots. The semantic correlations identified for alternative-prefixing verbal roots (9.3.5.5) are tested for applicability to other verbal roots, in the examples which follow.

(1) Most verbal roots denoting activities significantly involving an entity other than NP pref correlate with set I prefixing:
9.3.5.6 E/454 SN
yi-rr-a-MILGA-na  bur-abu  dyimbin-gabu
3-nmin-SET(=I)-take out-past  ground-ABL  inside-ABL
'they took (him) out of the ground';

9.3.5.6 E/455 SN
yin-BILIMA-na  guwaniya
3sg(I)-steal from-past  crocodile
'he stole (the fire) from the crocodile'.

(2) Where the verbal root denotes an activity not significantly
involving an entity other than NP pref, set II prefixing is
generally found:

9.3.5.6 E/456 SN
ny-an  widu  yi-YA-ny
dem-LOC  big  3sg(II)-become-past
'she grew up here';

9.3.5.6 E/456 SN
wila  yiny-DYALGI-na
water  3sg(II)-fall-past
'it rained'.

Occasional exceptions are found where apparently uncomplicated verbal
roots seem to take a prefixing set which is inexplicable in terms of
this semantic scheme. The verbal root -MIDA- 'throw' is probably the
commonest apparent exception, taking set II prefixing instead of the
predicted set I:
'he threw the spear with a spear-thrower'.

Perhaps 'throw' is not the most accurate gloss for this verbal root, although it certainly seems appropriate to quite a number of examples. In the example below, the activity does not seem to significantly involve an entity other than NP and is possibly more consistent with the use of set II prefixing:

"it was a new moon".

(The gloss was provided by the speaker. I am unable to say anything further about the meaning of this example.)

The existence of a few exceptions to the general semantic scheme is scarcely surprising. Some verbal roots may have been imperfectly understood by me, while others may have undergone significant semantic change over time while retaining the original set of verbal prefixing. Single set prefixing verbal roots may be found in a variety of semantic situations. They may occur with widely differing verbal prestems. Some may take affixing producing significant relevant semantic modification. With the exception of introspective affixing (see 9.3.5.3), none of these changes of situation involves prefixing set change for single set prefixing verbal roots.
(1) semantic content of verbal prestem

The prestem may be inherently transitive:

9.3.5.6 E/459 SN

mandya-ni wamba mug yi-rr-(a)-I-na yila
many-ACT man hit 3-nmin-(SET)-do-past dog
'many men hit the dog';

or intransitive:

9.3.5.6 E/460 SN

juy yi-rr-(a)-I-na dyalbi-jana
go back 3-nmin-(SET)-do-past camp-ALLAT
'they returned to the camp'.

(2) semantically relevant affixing

9.3.5.6 E/461 SN

jjam-BULA-ny burrul-abu miliya
lsg(II)-come-past Derby-ABL now
'I've just come from Derby'.

Addition of the suffix -jany may alter transitivity of the surface verb
(see also 12.5.4):

9.3.5.6 E/462 SN

jjam-BULA-ny-jany-dyirra wali
lsg(II)-come-past-TOG-3nsgDatPro meat
'I brought them meat'.

9.3.6 NON-PERSONAL FORMS: THE GENERAL PREFIX

This prefix has a very limited distribution and can not co-occur
with PRO. It may only co-occur with the prefix INT_p (-ma-). The GEN
prefix is always associated with the suffix -n (non-past or present tense marker, see 10.4.2).

9.3.6.1 MORPHOLOGY OF THE GEN PREFIX

This prefix has two forms:

set I     mana -
set II    ma -.

With set I prefixing verbal roots, the prefix mana- is subject to set I vowel-deletion:

Rule R/lb a ---+ ∅ / ---- + \{ r \}_n

9.3.6.1 E/463 SN
mana + NIGA + n     R/lb ---+ mannigan
GEN(I)-follow-pres
'following'.

Vowel-deletion is also found when the prefix precedes vowel-initial verbal roots (R/5):

9.3.6.1 E/464 SN
mana + ANDI + n     R/5 ---+ manandin
GEN(I)-pick up-pres
'picking up';

9.3.6.1 E/465 SN
mana + IBI + n     R/5 ---+ manibin
GEN(I)-drink-pres
'drinking'.

If set I vowel-deletion occurs, progressive assimilation may follow:
The GEN(I) prefix mana- deletes -na- before verbal roots with initial consonants, that is:

\[ \text{mana-} \rightarrow \text{ma-} + \text{C} \]

With set I prefixing w-initial verbal roots, non-personal forms optionally delete -na- (except -WIRRIGA- 'try' where deletion is obligatory):

\[ \text{mana-WALI-n} \rightarrow \text{ma-WALI-n} \]
\[ \text{ma-WIRRIGA-n} \rightarrow \text{ma-WUNBA-n} \]
The GEN(II) prefix (ma-) is not subject to any phonological rules:

9.3.6.1 E/469 SN
ma-RA_{1}-nydyi-n
GEN(II)-spear-INT_{s}-pres
'spearing oneself'
OR 'spearing each other';

9.3.6.1 E/470 SN
ma-NI-n
GEN(II)-sit-pres
'sitting'.

9.3.6.2 USE OF NON-PERSONAL FORMS

Non-personal forms are not used frequently in the language. The presence of the GEN prefix implies that the description is somehow non-specific. Occasionally, non-personal forms may function as finite verbs, where they express a generalization:

9.3.6.2 E/471 SN
bulgabulga junydyin ma-MA-n ganydyirr-dyunu ....
weak inclined GEN-make-pres looking-INAN.SOURCE
.... dyurru-ni
snake-ACT
'the (water) snake is likely to make you powerless from staring'.

More commonly, non-personal forms express a nominalization of the verbal root and represent the process or technique of doing something, that is, they function as verbal nominalizations, which are described in detail in Chapter 11. Where a non-personal form occurs without further nominal suffixing, it can sometimes be rendered in English by the infinitive:
9.3.6.2  E/472  SN  (= 10.5.4  E/559)

dyuŋgarra  ginya  nila  wa-rr-i-MI-gani  ....
2nsgDAT/PRO  3sgPRO  knowing  2nsg/fut-nmin-SET-give-HABIT
....  [guramarrga  ma-BARRI-n]
turkey  GEN-strike-pres
'you lot teach him [to hunt turkeys] (or [turkey-hunting])!'.

As nominalizations, non-personal forms may take a variety of nominal
suffixes (see 11.4):

9.3.6.2  E/473  SN

wamba  yi-MA-n  [ma-MARRA-n-gaya  wali]
man  3sg(II)-sit-pres  GEN-burn-pres-like  meat
'the man is sitting [cooking meat]';

9.3.6.2  E/474  SN

wali  ma-MARRA-n-dyunu  ....
meat  GEN-burn-pres-INAN.SOURCE
....  baba-nil-ni  gab  yi-rr-(a)-I-na  budyu
      child-many-ACT  eat  3-nmin-(SET)-do-past  all
'the children ate all the meat [that had been cooked]'.

9.3.6.3  NON-PERSONAL FORMS OF ALTERNATIVE-PREFIXING VERBAL ROOTS

Non-personal forms of alternative-prefixing verbal roots seem always
to be glossed by the meaning which corresponds to set I prefixing:

9.3.6.3  E/475  SN  (= 9.3.6.3  E/473)

wamba  yi-MA-n  ma-MARRA-n-gaya  wali
man  3sg(II)-sit-pres  GEN-burn-pres-like  meat
'the man is sitting cooking meat'.
The following examples, which would require an interpretation corresponding to set II prefixing, are unacceptable:

* 9.3.6.3 E/476 SN
* wali yi-ŋA-n ma-MARRA-n-gaya
  meat 3sg(II)-sit-pres GEN-burn-pres-like
'the meat's in the process of being cooked';

* 9.3.6.3 E/477 SN
* dyuŋgu yi-ŋA-n wali ma-MARRA-n-gaya
  fire 3sg(II)-sit-pres meat GEN-burn-pres-like
'the fire's cooking the meat'.

A non-personal form with meaning corresponding to set I prefixed forms of the verbal root -MA- is found:

9.3.6.3 E/478 SN
yagurr-dyunu ma-MA-n gud ŋa-ra-ra-MA
bad-INAN.SOURCE GEN-make-pres dead lsg(II)-fut/IRR-go
'I might die from doing bad things'.

Despite strenuous efforts to contrive examples which might have been appropriate, it was not possible to elicit any non-personal form of -MA- meaning 'going'. Apparently a non-personal form corresponding in meaning to set II prefixing with -MA- cannot be derived by GEN prefixing. (The verbal-nominal inydiya 'travel' is commonly used as a nominalization of 'go'.)

9.4 ORDER CLASS 2: FUTURE

9.4.1 PREFIXING AND FUTURE TENSE

Although the future tense can often by inferred from the morphology
of PRON (and -Ø verbal suffixing), a specific marker (-a-) is also analyzed for minimal person groupings.

In non-future realis, the final /a/ of prefixing for minimal groups is frequently deleted (R/3):

9.4.1 E/479 SN
Ijan-BA-na
lsg(I)-see-past
'I saw'

while in future realis, an /a/ appears in the prefixing for minimal groups with the same verbal root; this is analyzed as a future marker:

9.4.1 E/480 SN
Ijan-a-BA
lsg(I)-fut-see
'I shall see'.

(This future marker cannot be identified in the prefixing forms for minimal groups in set II, irrealis mode, see 9.2.1 T/50.)

9.4.2 PHONOLOGICAL RULES AFFECTING THE FUTURE MARKER

The future marker -a- is subject to deletion before a vowel-initial verbal root (rule R/5):

9.4.2 E/481 SN
Ijan + a + IBI \[\text{R/5} \rightarrow \text{janibi}\]
lsg(I)-fut-drink
'I shall drink'.

The future marker is also subject to set I vowel-deletion (rule R/1b):
The future marker is not deleted with set II prefixing (with the same verbal root) as the following reflexive form demonstrates:

\[ \text{I shall spear} \]

The future marker is involved in vowel assimilation with the verbal root -MI- 'give' (see 8.3.2):

\[ \text{he'll give her the dog later} \]

It is evident that the future morpheme -a- does not occur between PRO and irrealis prefixing in set II future irrealis forms for minimal person groupings.

**USE OF FUTURE FORMS**

The future may indicate intention or 'be on the point of doing' or it may predict events at more distant times. Other uses are:

1. imperative

The second person future forms are also used as the only form of the imperative:
9.4.3 276

9.4.3 E/485 SN
wal-a-BA-ya warany manin
2sg(I)-fut-see-2sgDatPro other woman
''"get yourself another woman!"'' (speaker's gloss);

9.4.3 E/486 SN
lama· wa-(rr)-DI-mirri midyala
quiet 2nsg-(nmin)-sit-AUG sit
'you two sit down quietly!'.

(2) purposive

Subordinate clauses indicating purpose employ future forms (along
with the verbal suffix EXP):

9.4.3 E/487 SN
ginya yi-MA-na [wila guj wan-(a)-I-dyi]
dem 3sg(II)-go-past water drink 3sg(I)-(fut)-do-EXP
'he went [to drink water]';

9.4.3 E/488 SN
dyin yin-MI-ny-dyanu [gurrag wan-a-rr-I-dyi
signal 3sg(I)-give-past_2-1sgDatPro run away 3sg(I)-fut-IRR-do-EXP
'he made a signal to me [lest (the emu) run away]'.

9.5 ORDER CLASS 3: IRREALIS

9.5.1 PREFIXING IN IRREALIS MODE

Nyigina possesses a wide range of irrealis forms, although the number
of distinctions reflected in irrealis morphology is less than in realis
mode.
Sometimes languages marking irrealis mode in verbal morphology lack the distinction in future tenses. In contrast, Nyigina maintains discrete paradigms in both realis and irrealis mode in the future tense. It happens that the third person forms of future realis resemble morphologically the third person forms of all irrealis forms (wa-). It may be that the pronominal form wa- has an implication of lack of realization and that the selection of wa- for third person future, even in realis forms, is not coincidental but may be seen as a recognition that all future events share a lack of realization and that the difference between the future realis and the future irrealis is merely a matter of degree of likelihood of happening in the future.

The distinctions neutralized in the morphology of irrealis prefixes are:

1. set I and set II (for several persons) of alternative-prefixing verbal roots (see 9.2.1 T/50):

   9.5.1 E/489 SN
   malu /ja-la-MA-na
   NEG lsg-IRR-make or go-past
   'I didn't make' or 'I didn't go';

2. the person groupings 1+2+m and 1+m; that is, the first person non-minimal groupings do not indicate an inclusive/exclusive distinction in irrealis mode (see 9.2.1 T/51):

---

3Ugarinyin (Rumsey 1978:120)
9.5.1 E/490 SN

malu ya-la-rr-a-BA-na
NEG lnsg-IRR-nmin-SET-see-past
'we and you didn't see (it)'
OR 'we, but not you, didn't see (it)'.

9.5.2 MORPHOLOGY OF IRREALIS PREFIXING

Irrealis mode may be reflected in PRO. In addition, discrete morphemes (introduced in 9.3.4), varying with person and tense, are obligatory:

- **NON-FUTURE:** all persons  -la\_I or -la\_II
- **FUTURE:** minimal groupings  -rra\_I or -rra\_II
  non-minimal groupings  -ya-

The irrealis marker for non-future (-la-) has variable phonological behaviour, depending on the set of verbal prefixing. This behaviour is only apparent with surface forms of certain verbal roots, for example, with surface forms of verbal roots with initial /r/ or /n/. Set I vowel-deletion is found:

Rule R/1b  a  \rightarrow  \emptyset / ---- + ( \frac{r}{n} ) .

The progressive assimilation rule

Rule R/4  ( \frac{r}{n} )  \rightarrow  l / l + ----

may then apply. Thus, for set I prefixing, vowel-deletion and subsequent progressive assimilation may occur:
9.5.2 E/491 SN

malu wa + la₁ + RA₁ + na $\text{R/1b}$ malu wa + l + RA₁ + na
NEG 3-IRR(I)-spear-past $\text{R/4}$ malu wallana

'he didn't spear';

9.5.2 E/492 SN

malu wa + la₁ + NIGA + na $\text{R/1b}$ malu wa + l + NIGA + na
NEG 3-IRR(I)-follow-past $\text{R/4}$ malu walligana

'he didn't follow'.

With set II prefixing, neither deletion nor assimilation occurs:

9.5.2 E/493 SN

malu wa + la₁ + RA₁ + nydyi + na $\text{---} \rightarrow$ malu walaranydyina
NEG 3-IRR(II)-spear-INT-past

'he didn't spear himself';

9.5.2 E/494 SN

malu wa + la₁ + NI + na $\text{---} \rightarrow$ malu walanina
NEG 3-IRR(II)-sit-past

'he didn't sit'.

The future irrealis marker for minimal groups (-rra-) is also subject to set I vowel-deleting rule:

9.5.2 E/495 SN

malu min + a + rra₁ + NIGA $\text{R/1b}$ malu min + a + rr + NIGA
NEG 2sg(I)-fut-IRR-follow $\text{R/2b}$ malu minadiga

'don't you follow!';
With set II prefixing, the future/irrealis does not undergo vowel-deletion:

9.5.2 E/496 SN
malu nyi + rra_{II} + NI ----> malu nyirrani
NEG  2sg(II)-fut/IRR-sit

'don't you sit!'.

The future/irrealis prefix for non-minimal person groupings (−ya−) is necessarily followed by the non-minimal marker (−rr−) and is therefore never involved in phonological changes at the morpheme boundary with the verbal root.

9.5.3 USE OF IRREALIS MODE

Irrealis forms occur in a variety of circumstances, which share a failure to conform to observable reality.

(1) negation

The majority of examples employing irrealis forms involve uncomplicated statements with explicit negation:

9.5.3 E/497 SN
malu wirawira wa-la-rr-(a)-I-na-d(a)-anu
NEG  care 3-IRR-nmin-(SET)-do-past-HABIT-1sgDatPro

'they never cared about me';

9.5.3 E/498 SN
niżarra-du wa-rra-BULA bawuna
true-doubtful 3-fut/IRR-come  to here

"he can't come here"' (speaker's gloss).
(2) counterfactual propositions

The irrealis mode is used if counterfactual utterances are made concerning past events:

9.5.3 E/499 SN
ya-la-(rr)-DI-na-da  mabu
lnsg-IRR-(nmin)-sit-past-HABIT  good
'we should have been good (but we weren't)';

9.5.3 E/500 SN
ŋa-la-MA-na-dyi  miliya  malu  ŋa-la-MA-na
lsg-IRR-go-past-EXP  now  NEG  lsg-IRR-go-past
'I was going to go this morning but I didn't go';

9.5.3 E/501 SN
miliyarri  dumarra  ŋa-l(a)-ANDI-na
almost  take off  'lsg-IRR-pick up-past
'I nearly took off'.

Some utterances about situations in the past may appear in irrealis mode, presumably to emphasize that the speaker recognizes that the statement does not correspond to present reality:

9.5.3 E/502 SN
wa-la-(rr)-DI-na-da  idany-barri  magarra
3-IRR-(nmin)-sit-past-HABIT  long-COMIT  tail
'they used to have long tails (but they don't now)'
(referring to certain creatures in the Dreamtime).
(3) future (uncertain)

Where the future involves greater than normal uncertainty, the irrealis forms are used. Compare the following two examples:

9.5.3 E/503 BN

dyamulu .... yurr ḫaŋ-a-MA
let it be sink lsgREAL-fut-go
'it's going to happen .... I'm about to drown'
(the dying words of an ancestral being);

9.5.3 E/504 SN

malu mi-1(a)-(A)-anu májarriy ....
NEG 2sg(I)-IRR-(carry)-lsgDatPro food
.... gud ḫa-ra-MA marrinyan-ni
dead lsg-fut/IRR-go hunger-ACT
'you don't bring me any food .... I might die of hunger'
(a non-serious reproach).

In subordinate clauses involving events not yet realized, irrealis forms are found:

9.5.3 E/505 SN

ŋan-ANDI-ny badgurru [wał-ra-BUL(A)-arri ginya]
lsg(I)-pick up-past.2 kangaroo 3-fut/IRR-come-REL 3sgPRO
'I got a kangaroo [before he came]';
9.6 ORDER CLASSES 4 AND 5: NON-MINIMAL AND SET MARKERS

These two suffixes could be described together, but there seems to be little advantage in doing so. Since SET marking is obligatory for all non-minimal groups in set I prefixing and determination of prefixing set may be required to ascertain meaning, it seems reasonable to analyze -a- as a discrete SET marker, rather than as a part of a set-determined allomorph of the non-minimal morpheme.

9.6.1 ORDER CLASS 4: NON-MINIMAL MARKER (-rr-)

The non-minimal marker -rr- is found with non-minimal groupings in both prefixing sets. An association between -rr- in verbal prefixing and non-minimal groupings occurs in other alternative-prefixing languages, other Kimberley prefixing languages and elsewhere.

Specification of non-minimal number is not found in all instances. Specification of non-minimal is mandatory for an NP_{pref} which is human, unless the NP_{pref} can be thought of as a single entity, in which case minimal prefixing is possible. Both the following examples are possible and do not appear to differ in meaning:

---

4 Bardji (Metcalfe 1975:170-181)
5 Ujarinyin (Rumsey 1978:111-113)
6 West Barkly languages: Djingili (Chadwick 1975:37) and Djamindjung (Victoria R., N.T.) (Chadwick 1979:667-669, 670 and 673)
Arnhem Land languages: Gunwinygu (Carroll 1976:63, 66), Rembarnga (McKay 1975:142-143), Ngandi (Heath 1978:78) and others.
9.6.1 E/507 BN

ibala-n-amu  guya  yin-GA-na-gayu
father-ACT-RELAT  mother  3sg(I)-carry-past-lsgOPro
'mother and father took me' OR

9.6.1 E/508 SN

ibala-n-amu  guya  yi-rr-(a)-A-na-mirri  gayu
father-ACT-RELAT  mother  3-nmin-(SET)-carry-past-AUG  lsgPRO
'mother and father took me'.

Where NP \textit{pref} is of lower animacy than human, non-minimal specification is variable. If the non-human NP \textit{pref} is in control of the activity, non-minimal specification is obligatory:

9.6.1 E/509 SN

mandya  badgurru  gudidyi  yi-rr-(a)-ANDI-ny
many kangaroo  run  3-nmin-(SET)-pick up-past
'many kangaroos started to run'.

Where the NP \textit{pref} is non-human and not in control, non-minimal specification is optional:

9.6.1 E/510 SN

mandya  badgurru  yi-MARRA-n  dyuyg-an
many kangaroo  3(II)-burn-pres  fire-LOC
'many kangaroos are cooking in the fire'.

With a human NP \textit{pref}, non-minimal specification is obligatory:
Other examples of optional non-minimal specification are:

9.6.1 E/512 SN

mandya magga yiny-DYAŋGULI-ny
many boab nut 3sg(II)-break-past
'many boab nuts got broken';

9.6.1 E/513 SN

mandya dyujgu yi-MARRA-n
many fire 3sg(II)-burn-pres
'many fires are burning'.

Some entities not in control and thought of together are obliged to take minimal group verbal prefixing:

9.6.1 E/514 SN

gudyarra-ni niyambalu ġadyanu-ni yin-GA-ny-ĝayu
two-ACT foot lsgDAT/PRO-ACT 3sg(I)-carry-past-I lsgOPro
'my two feet took me';

* 9.6.1 E/515 SN

* gudyarra-ni niyambalu ġadyanu-ni ....

two-ACT foot lsgDAT/PRO-act
.... yi-rr-(a)-A-ny-mirri ġayu
3-nmin-(SET)-carry-past-I AUG lsgPRO
'my two feet took me'.
The non-minimal marker participates in rhotic assimilation:

9.6.1 E/516 SN
yi + rr + NI + na \rightarrow yidina
3-nmin-sit-past
'they sat'.

9.6.2 ORDER CLASS 5: SET MARKER (-a-)

The SET marker -a- follows the non-minimal marker. It indicates, for non-minimal groupings, that prefixing is from set I and helps to disambiguate certain non-minimal forms where order I prefixes are identical for sets I and II. The following examples, involving the alternative-prefixing verbal root -MA-, illustrate the use of this prefix:

9.6.2 E/517 SN
yi-rr-a-MA-na
3-nmin-SET(=I)-put-past
'they put (it)';

9.6.2 E/518 SN
yi-rr-MA-na
3-nmin(=II)-go-past
'they went'.

The SET marker is subject to set I vowel-deletion, which may be followed by rhotic assimilation:
9.6.2 E/519 SN

yi + rr + a + RA₁ + na \(\text{R/1b}\) yi + rr + RA₁ + na

3-nmin-SET-spear-past \(\text{R/2h}\) yidana

'they speared (it)'.

9.7 ORDER CLASS 6: INT\(_p\) (-ma-)

This prefix occurs with set II prefixing (see 9.3.5.3) and therefore may not co-occur with SET. There seems, however, to be no particular justification for grouping the two prefixes together except for superficial economy of description.

9.7.1 CO-OCCURRENCE WITH THE SUFFIX INT\(_s\)

The prefix INT\(_p\) must occur in conjunction with the suffix INT\(_s\) (-nydyi). In the majority of reflexive and reciprocal surface forms both affixes are found, although rarely the suffix (but not the prefix) may occur alone. Therefore the affixing INT\(_p\) -verbal root -INT\(_s\) will be regarded as a discontinuous affix (with infrequent exceptions).

9.7.2 INTROSPECTIVE AFFIXING (-INT\(_p\) -verbal root -INT\(_s\))

This affixing unit conveys a sense that the description regards the activity as somehow confined to or only significantly involving those cross-referenced in prefixing (NP\(_\text{pref}\)).

An illustrative example comes from a story of how the Beginning creatures tried to "sit" on some over-sized eggs:

9.7.2 E/520 SN

yi-rr-ma-WIRRI-WIRRIGA-nydyi-na mandya wali .... malu..mirri₁

3-nmin-INT\(_p\) -try-try-INT\(_s\) -past many animal NEG..certain

'many creatures tried and tried .... no luck at all' (then they asked a creature who always kept out of sight).
There is an inference that all the creatures who were together in one place tried and tried among themselves, then they went outside their immediate group.

Another example is from a story about a man who went about provoking snakes:

yi-ma-BULA-nydyi-na-ŋany yibirrr .... inydy a yin-BA-na
3sg-INT -come-INT -past-TOG King Brown going 3sg(I)-see-past
'he came upon a King Brown snake .... he saw it moving'.

The use of the singular introspective affixing implies that the significant person in the meeting was the man and that the snake was a coincidental participant (this meaning is also partly conveyed by the verbal suffix -ŋany).

Other examples demonstrate the "self-contained" interpretation:

yajgi-yunu yi-rr-ma-GAMA-nydyi-n-mirri
what-INAN.SOURCE 3-nmin-INT -laugh-INTs-pres-AUGs
'why are those two (lovers) laughing together?'.

malu wa-la-ma-LAŋGA-nydyi
NEG 3-IRR-INT -understand-INTs
'he doesn't (ever) know (what's going on)' (said of a demented person).

Introspective affixing also occurs in reflexive examples:
9.7.2 E/524 SN

nyi-ma-gADI-nydyi-na wababgurru-ŋany
2sg(II)-INT-cover-INTs-past blanket-INST
'you covered yourself with a blanket';

and also in the rather idiomatic usage:

9.7.2 E/525 SN

yagurr ŋa-ma-LIGARRA-nydyi-n
no good 1sg-INT-hear-INT-pres
'I feel dizzy';

and in reciprocal activities:

9.7.2 E/526 SN

yirrga yi-rr-ma-GAMA-nydyi-n-mirri
3nsgPRO 3-nmin-INT-laugh-INT-pres-AUGs
'they're mocking each other'.

Introspective affixing commonly occurs with verbal roots which are transitive in meaning:

9.7.2 E/527 BN

yi-rr-m(a)-ANDI-nydyi-na-yarri-yina daman
3-nmin-INT-pick up-INTs-past-REL-3sgDatPro fighting party
'a fighting party assembled against him'.

Verbal roots which are intransitive in meaning are also found with introspective affixing:
Occasionally, forms with introspective suffixing may be used "transitively", that is, involving another entity. The suffix -jany occurs in the example below and the direct object is represented explicitly as an OPro:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{warany-nil} & \quad \text{nylj-a-ma-RI-nydyi-jany-dyirr} \\
\text{other-many} & \quad 2\text{sg(II)-fut-INT}_p \text{-quarrel-INT}_s \text{-TOG}-3\text{msgOPro}
\end{align*}
\]

'you're going to growl at that other lot'.

The verbal root -RI- has not been recognized without introspective affixing. However, such a verbal root might have highly irregular surface forms (like -RA₁-) and be difficult to identify. Alternatively, an independent verbal root -MARINYDYI- (quarrelling is usually reciprocal) might be analyzed.

The verbal root -I- 'do, say' is not found with introspective affixing. Reflexive or reciprocal versions of double-unit verbs consisting of a prestem and an inflected form of -I- 'do, say' use the prestem with an inflected form of the set II prefixing verbal root -BANDYI- 'share, do reflexively or reciprocally' which is represented in the inter-linear gloss by 'share':
9.7.2 E/530 SN

dyub  njam-BANDYI-ny

cut  lsg(II)-share-past_2

'I cut myself';

9.7.2 E/531 SN

giny-andyi  wamba  mug  yi-rr-BANDYI-na-mirri

dem-CAUS  man  hit  3-nmin-share-past-AUG_s

'those two were fighting each other because of that man'.

9.7.3 CO-OCURRENCE OF GEN AND INT

As was noted in 9.3.5.3, verbal roots with introspective affixing
take set II prefixing. The allomorph of the GENeral prefix appropriate
to set II prefixing is ma- (see 9.3.6.1). The morphology of GEN(II)
is confirmed by the non-personal introspective form of -RA_s- 'spear'
(ma-RA-nydyi-n), as this verbal root takes INT_s but not INT_p (see 8.3.4).
(It should be remembered that the non-personal form of this verbal
root appropriate to set I prefixing is man-NA-n.)

9.7.3 E/531 SN

ŋunjydyn-nil  ma-RA-nydyi-n

inclined-many  GEN(II)-spear-INT_s-pres

'they're inclined to spear each other'.

When the two prefixes GEN(II) and INT_p co-occur, they are identical
in form (ma-). Thus it is impossible to establish with certainty their
serial ordering:
mabudyunu ruwan ma-ma-MADALI-nydyi-n-dyi
excellent cave ?GEN(II)-?INTp-hide-INTs-pres-DAT
'that's an excellent cave for hiding yourself in'.

(It should be noted that INTp is the only prefixing which can co-occur with GEN prefixing.)
Chapter 10: Verbal Suffixing

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Verbal suffixing occurs very commonly in Nyigina and may be extensive. It is not obligatory in all instances and the verbal root may be word-final in the inflected verb.

10.2 ORDER CLASSES OF SUFFIXES

Eight order classes of suffixes are analyzed:

Prefix(es) -- VERBAL ROOT -- 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order Class</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>introspective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tense</td>
<td>tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>HABIT</td>
<td>habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>TOG</td>
<td>together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>pronominal suffixing (i) OPro (ii) DatPro (see 6.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>EXP</td>
<td>expectation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>AUG</td>
<td>minimal augment (of NP or OPro or DatPro)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The suffix -nyhere occurs in a very limited context. It is therefore not included in this table of general suffixes. Its use is described in 10.11.)

Although eight order classes of suffixes are set up, the maximum number of suffixes yet found in any one inflected verb is six. All
combinations of suffixes (except 5 + 7) are attested. The co-
ocurrence of order class 5 (relative) and order class 7 (expectation)
is somewhat unlikely for semantic reasons. Examples involving
intention within a relative clause, for example:

'the man [who was going to come] isn't here'

might be possible but none has been recorded. Another context might be
intention within a non-relative clause, where there were connotations of
diffuseness, vagueness or non-specificity. I found it impossible to
contrive a plausible, culturally-appropriate example where intention
was explicitly vague, so this possible usage is also not recorded.

Some examples of extensive verbal suffixing follow:

10.2 E/533 SN
yi-rr-BULA-na-da ....
3-nmin-come-past-HABIT
.... yi-rr-BULA-na-da-ŋany-dyirra-dyi-mirri magarriy
3-nmin-come-past-HABIT-TOG-3nsgDatPro-EXP-AUG$p_s$ food
ORDER CLASSES: 2 + 3 + 4 + 6 + 7 + 8
'they used to come to bring tucker for the two of them';

10.2 E/534 SN
yi-rr-ma-BULA-nydyi-na-da-ŋany-mirri magarriy
3-nmin-INT-come-INT-past-HABIT-TOG-AUG$p_s$ food
ORDER CLASSES: 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 8
'they used to bring each other tucker';
10.2 E/535 SN

jam-BULA-na-da-gpanya-dya-yirr-mirria  yulburru-garra

lsq(II)_come-past-HABIT-TOG-REL-3nsg0Pro-AUG  long ago-multiple

ORDER CLASSES: 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 8

'I always used to bring two (goannas) long, long ago'.

10.3 ORDER CLASS 1: INTₚ (−nydyi)

The suffix -nydyi almost always co-occurs with the INTₚ prefix -ma-. Each affix is usually contiguous with the verbal root. (The serial ordering of the prefixes GEN and INTₚ is discussed in 9.7.3). The affixes INTₚ and INTₛ may be regarded as a single discontinuous affix¹. Use of introspective affixing has been described already in 9.7.2.

Although INTₛ is invariably present in reflexive or reciprocal forms of verbal roots, INTₚ is occasionally absent. With the verbal root -RA₁ - 'spear', INTₚ is not found (idiosyncratically):

10.3 E/536 SN

yi-(rr)-DA-nydyi-ny

3-(nmin)-spear-INTₛ-past₂

'they speared each other'.

The corresponding surface form of this verbal root which includes the prefix INTₚ is unacceptable:

*10.3 E/537 SN

*yi-rr-ma-RA₁-nydyi-ny

3-nmin-INTₚ-spear-INTₛ-past₂

'they speared each other'.

¹ Other discontinuous affixes are PROₚ + AUGₛ referring to a unit-augmented NP pref
Other examples of INT subscripts unaccompanied by INT are rare.

10.4 ORDER CLASS 2: TENSE

The tense suffix belongs to an order class situated between INT and HABIT.

10.4.1 TENSE SPECIFICATION

In Nyigina, only the future tense suffix is invariably zero. A four-term tense system is shown by the primary tense markers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- n</td>
<td>- Ø</td>
<td>present or non-past (pres)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- na</td>
<td>- na</td>
<td>general past (past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ny</td>
<td>(- na)</td>
<td>recent past (past₂)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Ø</td>
<td>- Ø</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table on the following page shows, for set I prefixing, the inter-relationship of prefixing and suffixing to indicate both mode (italics) and tense (capitals).
10.4.1 T/56 Set I Affixing for Mode (Italics) and Tense (Capitals)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
<th>General Past</th>
<th>Recent Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 1</td>
<td>גָּנַה-</td>
<td>גָּנַה-</td>
<td>גָּנַה-</td>
<td>גָּנַה-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 2</td>
<td>מִנַּה-</td>
<td>מִנַּה-</td>
<td>מִנַּה-</td>
<td>מִנַּה-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>יִינַּה-</td>
<td>יִינַּה-</td>
<td>יִינַּה-</td>
<td>יִינַּה-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1+2</td>
<td>יָנַה-</td>
<td>יָנַה-</td>
<td>יָנַה-</td>
<td>יָנַה-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1+m</td>
<td>יָא-רַר-</td>
<td>יָא-רַר-</td>
<td>יָא-רַר-</td>
<td>יָא-רַר-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 2+m</td>
<td>גּו-רַר-</td>
<td>גּו-רַר-</td>
<td>גּו-רַר-</td>
<td>גּו-רַר-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>יִי-רַר-</td>
<td>יִי-רַר-</td>
<td>יִי-רַר-</td>
<td>יִי-רַר-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+m</td>
<td>יָנַה-רַר-</td>
<td>יָנַה-רַר-</td>
<td>יָנַה-רַר-</td>
<td>יָנַה-רַר-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

General Past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>General Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I 1</td>
<td>יָגַל-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 2</td>
<td>מִי-ל-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 3</td>
<td>וָל-ל-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 1+2</td>
<td>יָל-ל-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 1+m</td>
<td>יָל-רַר-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 2+m</td>
<td>גּו-ל-רַר-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 3+m</td>
<td>ל-ו-רַר-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 1+2+m</td>
<td>יָל-רַר-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

where * represents the verbal root
10.4.2 PRESENT OR NON-PAST (-n)

This suffix possibly represents the least specific time specification and, in irrealis mode, the present tense suffixing is zero:

10.4.2 E/538 SN

malu wa-la-LIGARR(A)-ayida
NEG 3-IRR-listen-l+2+mDatPro
'his isn't listening to us'.

The suffix -n is the only tense suffix which co-occurs with the GEN prefix (ma-) in generalizations (where timing is indeterminate):

10.4.2 E/539 SN

galra yin-MA-na .... buyu-ni ma-BA-n
overt 3sg(I)-put-past all-ACT GEN-see-pres
'he made it non-secret .... everyone can see it' (of a previously secret totem).

This suffix is also found in various reported statements, on occasion when expressing a prediction made in the past:

10.4.2 E/540 SN

yi-rr-a-BUGARRI-na-yina igungumba ....
3-nmin-SET-dream-past-3sgDatPro in front
.... gabal gabal yi-MA-n dyugudu
soon soon 3sg(II)-go-pres boy
'they dreamed about him beforehand .. that a boy would soon be travelling through'.

This tense suffix is used for procedural discourse, as in the following account of how to poison fish:
10.4.2  E/541  SN
ginya balu madyala lurrb ya-rr-(a)-I-n
dem tree river mangrove crush lnsg-nmin-(SET)-do-pres
'we crush (the bark of) that river mangrove tree'.

This suffix may also be used for specific activities currently in progress:

10.4.2  E/542  SN
gan dyugudu yi-MA-n njulumba
dem boy 3sg(II)-go-pres in front
'that boy is going ahead' (of someone visible walking).

10.4.3 GENERAL PAST TENSE (-na)

This tense suffix occurs as the only past tense suffix (see 10.4.4) in irrealis mode:

10.4.3  E/543  SN
malu wa-la-MA-n(a)-anu majarrriy
NEG 3-IRR-put-past-lsgDatPro food
'he didn't leave any food for me'.

In realis mode, the general past tense tends to be used for the more distant past, contrasting with -ny, which identifies the more recent past. The general past tense is very commonly employed as the tense throughout Dreamtime stories:

10.4.3  E/544  SN
bugarrarra yi-MA-na yagurr manin gamada nimplgarr
Beginning 3sg(II)-sit-past no good woman blind eye
'once upon a time there was an old blind woman';
10.4.3  E/546  SN

yin-BUGARRI-na-ŋayu
3sg(I)-dream-past-lsgOPro
'(my father) dreamed me';

10.4.4  THE RECENT PAST OR PAST₂ (-ny)

This tense suffix relates to the fairly recent past but the period to which it is applicable cannot be precisely defined. Although the speaker's attitude to the event and its nature influence the choice of tense suffixing for past events, as an approximation, the recent past is likely to be used for single, completed events which have happened in the preceding half year. There is often a "perfect" aspectual sense and the completed action may be of continuing relevance.
already 1sg(I)-see-past₂
'I've already seen (it)';

'tiayi-ni marrgana rurrb mug įjan-(a)-I
3sgPRO-ACT in turn back hit 1sg(I)-(fut)-do
... ginya-ni įjarri mug yin-DI-ny

3sgPRO-ACT then hit 3sg(I)-do-past₂
'I'm going to hit (him) back since he hit (me first)'.

The recent past is only distinguished in realis mode, that is, the
distinction between recent past tense and general past tense is
neutralized in irrealis mode.

10.5 ORDER CLASS 3: HABIT

This suffix immediately follows any tense suffix. The form of the
suffix depends on the primary tense to which it applies. In the past,
only the general past tense suffix (-na) may take HABIT suffixing. The
HABIT suffixes are:

- present - ɡada
- past - da
- future - įjani.

(It should be noted that HABIT suffixing and GEN prefixing can not
coccur.)
10.5.1 USE OF HABIT SUFFIXING

(a) repeated activities

10.5.1 E/550 SN
malu wa-la-rr-i-MI-na-da
NEG 3-IRR-nmin-SET-give-past-HABIT
'they never used to give (him food)';

(b) activities or states persisting over an appreciable time interval (that is, "continuous")

10.5.1 E/551 SN
ya-rr-MA-n-gada bayin dyuğan-gan
lnsg-nmin-go-pres-HABIT night moonlight-LOC
'we go (all the way) at night, during the moonlight';

10.5.1 E/552 SN
banu yağ-a-MA-jani ....
east 1+2(II)-fut-go-HABIT
.... ganya gaga yi-MA-n-dyawu wid malu biliga
dem uncle 3sg(II)-sit-pres-1+2DatPro far NEG near
'we'll keep on going east .... that uncle of ours is far away, not just a little way'.

10.5.2 PRESENT HABIT

The combination of present and HABIT suffixing occurs most frequently in descriptions of life-style and customs:
10.5.2 E/553 SN
mai:yl ya-rr-(a)-I-n-ga~a nyigina-barri-ni
spear lns-g-nmin-(SET)-say-pres-HABIT Nyigina-COMIT-ACT
'we Nyigina people call it (spear) "mai:yl";

10.5.2 E/554 SN
guj yi-rr-(a)-I-n-ga~a wila gan-gan
drink 3-nmin-(SET)-do-pres-HABIT water(grog) dem-LOC
'they're always drinking alcohol there';

10.5.2 E/555 SN
wamba malu gab ja-la-LI-ga~a
man NEG eat lsg-IRR-eat-pres/HABIT
'I don't eat humans'.

10.5.3 PAST HABIT
In the past tense, HABIT examples occur fairly frequently:

10.5.3 E/556 SN
yuwarrban ja:yu yi-rr-(a)-A-na-da-ja:yu
young girl lsgPRO 3-nmin-(SET)-carry-past-HABIT-lsgOPro
'when I was young, they used to take me (mustering)';

10.5.3 E/557 SN
malu wa-la-LI-na-da wali majarry
NEG 3-IRR-eat-past-HABIT meat food
'he never ate any food'.
10.5.4 FUTURE HABIT

These forms are less common.

10.5.4 E/558 SN

mina-WUNBA-na-da dyugudu ...  
2sg(I)-deceive-past-HABIT boy
... malu gina-ŋgayya nyi-rra-NI-ŋani
NEG same-like 2sg(II)-fut/IRR-sit-HABIT
'you've been tricking (us), boy -- but you won't be any more';

10.5.4 E/559 SN (= 9.3.6.2 E/472)

dyuggarra ginya nila wa-rr-i-MI-ŋani ...  
2nsgDAT/PRO dem knowing 2nsg/fut-nmin-SET-give-HABIT
... guramarrga ma-BARRI-n
turkey GEN-strike-pres
'you lot teach him to hunt turkeys!'.

Occasionally, future HABIT may occur in a stative context:

10.5.4 E/560 SN

bana..mada widu waŋ-a-RA₂-ŋani
when..uncertain big 3sg(II)-fut-be-HABIT
'I don't know when he'll be big'.

10.6 ORDER CLASS 4: TOGETHER SUFFIX (-ŋany)

10.6.1 INTRODUCTION

This suffix seems to differ significantly from other Nyigina verbal suffixes in certain respects:

(1) TOG codes considerable semantic information about the overall event;
10.6.1

(2) the serial suffixing position possibly (see 10.6.4) cannot be predicted solely on formal grounds, that is, from proposed "order classes" as is possible for all other verbal suffixes;

(3) the verbal suffix TOG is morphologically identical with the nominal instrumental suffix (both dialects) and with the Big Nyigina nominal comitative suffix.

10.6.2 SEMANTICS OF TOG SUFFIX

Both the considerable semantic information coded by this suffix and the possibility of it occurring in variable ordering with respect to other verbal suffixes in surface forms makes it difficult to provide concise, or even adequate, English glosses for many surface forms. Some examples are ambiguous. Informants usually elect to provide a context rather than a gloss.

The available examples suggest that the suffix is most conveniently glossed in English in terms of two meaning components, although it is apparent that the Nyigina view regards these components as merely aspects of a single meaning.

These aspects may be described approximately as:

(1) a "comitative" relationship between referents of nominals (designated -WITH), whereby a significant relationship between entities is expressed by means of verbal morphology; and

(2) a "concurrent" relationship between referents of verbs (designated -ABOUT, the choice of term being somewhat arbitrary), that is, an indication that a concurrent or related event is to be considered along with the activity depicted by the affixing verb taking TOG suffixing.
"COMITATIVE" USE OF THE TOG SUFFIX (-WITH)

The comitative nominal suffix (see 4.11.1) is used to express:

1. carrying;
2. moving in company with (animate beings);
3. "association".

Comitative use of the verbal suffix -jany occurs in circumstances comparable to those in which nominal comitative suffixing might occur:

1. carrying

E/561 SN

mabu yim-BANDYI-na .... lagaba gurrag yi(n)-Ø-na-jany

good 3sg(II)-share-past fat go away 3sg(I)-do-past-TOG

'he got himself better .... he took some fat away with him'

(that is, he healed the wound by rubbing fat on it).

In the following example, a similar double-unit verb occurs with a nominalized clause with nominal comitative suffixing (-barri):

E/562 SN (= 11.4.7 E/713)

gurrag yi(n)-Ø-na banugu ginya ....

go away 3sg(I)-do-past from east 3sgPRO

.... [gagil-barri ginya gud-barri]NC

carrying on shoulder-COMITNC dem dead-COMITNC

'he went away from the east, carrying that dead (boy) on his shoulders';
bun yin-GA-na-jany galbu nilirr-gan
arise 3sg(I)-carry-past-TOG above mouth-LOC
'he got up with (the dead man) in his jaws'
(from a story of a man taken by a saltwater crocodile).

(2) moving in company with

[Out of context]

(3) "association"

widyunu ṣjud yin(n)-Ga-na-jany ginya-na
hill kangaroo happy 3sg(I)-do-past-TOG 3sgPRO-ACT
'he got used to (that is, accepted) the hill kangaroo';

wanminyi yi-WA-n-jany-ŋayu
fly 3sg(II)-sit-pres-TOG-1sgOPro
'the fly is sitting on me'.

The participant referred to or implied by the TOG suffix is usually considered to be unable to avoid complying or being involved. In many examples, the entity is not specified:
The verb in this example was glossed intransitively and the absence of active suffixing of the NP \textit{wamba} is consistent with a similar interpretation in Nyigina.

If, however, the accompanying noun phrase is more significant and therefore explicit, then the sentence is glossed transitively in English and the NP \textit{wamba} takes active suffixing:

\begin{verbatim}
10.6.2.1 E/568 SN
wamba-ni yig-GADI-ny-jany-dyirr dyimbin
man-ACT 3sg(II)-enter-past\textsubscript{2}-TOG-3msgOPro inside
'the man took them (forcibly, if necessary) inside'
OR 'the man made them go inside'.
\end{verbatim}

Thus, on occasion, the suffix may assume the role of either

(a) a transitivizer, or

(b) a causative marker.

(a) The TOG Suffix as a Transitivizer

The TOG suffix may occur with surface forms incorporating introspective affixing (and, therefore, set II prefixing) which include an OPro. That is, a surface form such as \textit{reflexive} can appear with an explicit direct object by the use of the suffix \textit{-jany}:
Sometimes the TOG suffix is found with verbal roots which are already transitive in meaning. In this situation, the TOG suffix functions rather as an indirect representation of a third person direct object, whose identity is either not thought to be significant or assumed to be known to the hearer:

(a) The TOG Suffix as a Causative Marker

The TOG suffix may be used to indicate 'cause someone else to do
something', although this apparently only occurs with certain verbs of motion and is not a general mechanism:

**10.6.2.1 E/572 SN (= 10.6.5 E/590)**

yiŋ-GADI-ny-ŋany-ŋayu  dyimbin  ruwan-gan
3sg(II)-enter-past,-TOG-1sg0Pro  inside  cave-LOC

'he took me into the cave'

OR 'he made me go into the cave'.

The inference that the participant other than NP has no control over the activity when the suffix -ŋany is included is sometimes extended to give an interpretation of "unexpectedly" to the whole activity:

**10.6.2.1 E/573 SN**

ya-rr-ma-BULA-nydyi-ŋany  yirrga
1nsg-nmin-INT,-come-INT-past,-TOG  3nsg0Pro

'we met them (unexpectedly)'.

**10.6.2.2 "CONCURRENT" USE OF THE TOG SUFFIX (-ABOUT)**

The use of the TOG suffix may indicate that some other activity is involved as well as that denoted by the verbal root taking TOG suffixing:

**10.6.2.2 E/574 SN**

ŋaj-a-MA  nyunu  ŋan-a-BA-ŋany-dyirr
1sg(II)-fut-go  over there  1sg(I)-fut-see-TOG-3nsg0Pro

'I'm going over there to see them about (something)'.

The addition of the TOG suffix to the verb suggests that the seeing is neither casual nor inconsequential. It was suggested that a likely
context would be to find out what suspicious business the other people were up to.

The purpose introduced by the use of TOG suffixing may be explicit:

10.6.2.2 E/575 SN (= 12.7 E/833)

\[
\text{gjan-a-BA-jany-dyirra} \quad \text{yidyirra} \\
\text{lsg(I)-fut-see-TOG-3nsgDatPro} \quad \text{3nsgDAT/PRO} \\
\text{\ldots} \quad \text{[gurru} \quad \text{wan-(a)-A-yirrga-dyi]} \\
\text{\text{QUEST} \quad 3sg(I)-(fut)-\underline{\text{carry-3nsgOPro-EXP}}} \\
\text{'I'm going to see (him) about (something) concerning them: [whether he will take them]'.}
\]

The concurrent or inter-related activity may relate to either the \text{NP} \text{pref} or the \text{OPro}. In the examples which follow, the participant to which TOG relates will be indicated by the use of -\text{WITH} or -\text{ABOUT} affixed to the appropriate noun phrase. For example, in E/575, the concurrent activity is related to the \text{NP} \text{pref}:

10.6.2.2 E/575 SN

\[
\text{gjan-a-BA-jany-dyirra} \quad \text{yidyirra} \\
\text{lsg(I)-fut-see-TOG-3nsgDatPro} \quad \text{3nsgDAT/PRO} \\
'\text{I (-ABOUT) will see (him) concerning them'}
\]

that is, 'I'm going to see (him) about something concerning them'

and in the example that follows, the concurrent activity may be related to the participant cross-referenced in the \text{OPro}:
10.6.2.2 E/576 SN

[marrgadu  njadyanu  gab-gaya] ....
young brother  lsgDAT/PRO eating-like
.... wal-a-BA-jany-jayu  guy-ay!
2sg(I)-fut-see-TOG-lsgOPro  mother-VOC!

'Mum! Look at me (-ABOUT) [eating my brother]!'
(from a Dreamtime story about a boy who speared and ate his younger brother).

Here the TOG suffix refers to the concurrent activity of OPro namely [marrgadu njadyanu gab-gaya].

10.6.3 AMBIGUITY OF SURFACE FORMS

Some surface forms with TOG suffixing may have either a comitative or a concurrent interpretation (in English), depending on the context:

10.6.3 E/577 SN

njam-BULA-ny-jany-dyina  wali
lsg(II)-come-past 2 -TOG-3sgDatPro  meat
'I (-WITH) meat came to him'
that is, 'I brought him meat';

10.6.3 E/578 SN

njam-BULA-ny-jany-dyina  [gab-gaya  wali] ....
lsg(II)-come-past 2 -TOG-3sgDatPro eating-like  meat
.... dyaginy-gudany-dyi
       meat taboo-having-DAT
'I came to him, meat taboo having, (-ABOUT) [eating meat]'
that is, 'I discovered him eating meat while he was still meat taboo'.
10.6.4 VARIABLE ORDERING OF SUFFIXES

As an essential preliminary to this section, it should be stated that this pattern of usage and the examples cited are not accepted by all speakers of Nyigina and that most of these examples originate from the same speaker. It should also be remarked that the first such example occurred in the course of an unrelated discussion and the speaker then volunteered other examples. Many other speakers accept only a fixed ordering (TOG before PRO) of these suffixes. These examples are presented mainly to demonstrate the subtlety which can be achieved by morphological manipulation.

Let us first consider some "comitative" examples. The sequential ordering of TOG and PRO may, in the dialect of at least one speaker, be determined by the role of pronominal referent (PRO or PRO) to which the suffix TOG refers. Thus, if the association is with PRO (that is, NP), then TOG precedes PRO:

10.6.4 E/579 SN
ŋam-BULA-ny-jany-dyina wall
lsg(II)-come-past₂-TOG-3sgDatPro meat
'I (-WITH) meat came to him'
that is, 'I brought him meat'.

Where the association is with the entity cross-referenced in PRO, the order is reversed, that is, PRO precedes TOG:

10.6.4 E/580 SN
ŋam-BULA-ny-dyina-jany
lsg(II)-come-past₂-3sgDatPro-TOG
"'I caught him red-handed'" (speaker's gloss).
This example might be interpreted as

'I came to him (-WITH)'.

It appears that it could also be interpreted in a "concurrent" fashion:

'I came to him (-ABOUT)'.

That is, the TOG suffix could be glossed as either:

'I caught him in possession' or
'I caught him in the act'.

Considerable subtlety may be achieved, both by the inclusion of TOG suffixing and by its sequential ordering. Some examples of variable ordering of suffixes with "concurrent" interpretation of TOG suffixing follow:

10.6.4 E/581 SN
jan-ŋa-n-dyina
lsg(II)-sit-pres-3sgDatPro
'I'm stopping with him';

10.6.4 E/582 SN
jan-ŋa-n-ŋany-dyina
lsg(II)-sit-pres-TOG-3sgDatPro
'I (-ABOUT) am sitting to him'
that is, 'I'm stopping with him (for some purpose of my own)';

10.6.4 E/583 SN
jan-ŋa-n-dyina-ŋany
lsg(II)-sit-pres-3sgDatPro-TOG
'I'm sitting to him (-ABOUT)'
that is, 'I'm sitting on behalf of him (for some purpose of his)'.

10.6.5 THE NOMINAL AND VERBAL SUFFIXES -gany

These suffixes are morphologically identical and semantically not dissimilar but they affix to words of different classes. Should they be identified as a single suffix? Let us review their uses:

(a) to signify that something is carried

The nominal suffix is used in the expression of this relationship. If the something carried is considered to be "cargo" and not to be used imminently as an instrument, then in Big Nyigina, such an item may take the nominal suffix -gany:

10.6.5 E/584 BN

yim-BULA-ny-dyina madyala-gany ....
3sg(II)-come-past_2-3sgDatPro river mangrove-COMIT
.... madyala ḣagil-gany
river mangrove carrying on shoulder-COMIT
'he came with the river mangrove .... carrying the river mangrove on his shoulder'.

The verbal suffix may also be used in similar circumstances:

10.6.5 E/585 BN

gil yi-rr-(a)-A-na madyala ....
cut 3-nmin-(SET)-carry-past river mangrove
.... gan-gabu gan-gabu yi-rr-BULA-na-gany
dem-ABL dem-ABL 3-nmin-come-past-TOG
'they cut down the river mangrove .... from that place they brought it'.

In Big Nyigina, it is possible for both nominal and verbal suffixes to occur in the same example:
10.6.5 E/586 BN

wali-ŋany-dyargarri ŋuy waŋa-ng(a)-I-ŋany-mirri
meat-COMIT-then go back 3nsg/fut-nmin-(SET)-do-TOG-AUG
'then with meat, the two of them will bring it back with them'.

In Small Nyigina, the relationship between the person and the thing carried, when marked by the nominal suffix -ŋany, has been narrowed to that of an agent with an instrument:

10.6.5 E/587 SN

wamba-ni mug yin-DI-ny manin balu-ŋany
man-ACT hit 3sg(I)-do-past_2 woman stick-INSTR
'the man hit the woman with a stick'.

There do not seem to be any clear examples of use of the verbal suffix which are equivalent to this usage. The following is a possible example:

10.6.5 E/588 SN

warr yi-rr-a-MA-ny-ŋany dyujjgu
burn 3nmin-SET-make-past_2-TOG fire
"they cooked her on the fire" (speaker's gloss).

This example might be analyzed as 'the cooked her with fire'.

(b) to signify moving in the company of an animate being

Again only in Big Nyigina, this relationship may be expressed by nominal suffixing with -ŋany:

10.6.5 E/589 BN

yagu-ŋany ŋa-MA-n
husband-COMIT lsg(II)-go-pres
'I'm going with my husband'.
Verbal suffixing with -jany may be used rather similarly, although such verbal usage has additional overtones of lack of voluntary participation of the entity other than the NP\textsuperscript{pref}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item[10.6.5 E/590 SN (= 10.6.2.1 E/572)]
  \text{yiij-GADI-ny-jany-jayu dyimbin ruwan-gan}
  \text{3sg(II)-enter-past\textsubscript{2}-TOG-1sgOPro inside cave-LOC}
  \text{'he went with me into the cave'.}
  \end{itemize}

\text{(c) to signify concurrent inter-related activities}

Although not common, it is possible for this relationship to be expressed by means of the nominal suffix -jany, affixed to a verbal-nominal:

\begin{itemize}
  \item[10.6.5 E/591 SN]
  \text{dyubug-jany yiny-DYALGI-ny wil-an}
  \text{diving-INSTR 3sg(II)-fall-past\textsubscript{2} water-LOC}
  \text{'she plummeted into the water'.}
  \end{itemize}

It is possible that a "concurrent" relationship is the basis of the rather idiomatic example:

\begin{itemize}
  \item[10.6.5 E/592 SN (= 4.6 E/110)]
  \text{bud yin-GA-na-da bayin-jany}
  \text{arise 3sg(I)-carry-past-HABIT night-INSTR}
  \text{"he always used to get up very early in the morning"' (speaker's gloss).}
  \end{itemize}

The verbal suffix -jany often expresses such a relationship:
yi-rr-(a)-ALGA-ny ganya wamba ....
3-nmin-(SET)-beat-past₂ dem man
.... ŋan-BA-ny-ŋany-dyirrga
lsg(I)-see-past₂-TOG-3msgPro
'they killed that man .... I saw them at it'.

The parallel nature of these morphologically identical nominal and verbal affixes strongly suggest that a single suffix is functioning in two grammatical roles (that is, is "bivalent"²).

10.6.6 THE VERBAL SUFFIX -ŋany IN BIG NYIGINA

It appears that one of the functions of the verbal suffix -ŋany in Big Nyigina may be similar to that of the Small Nyigina EXP suffix (-dyi), which suffix expresses "expectation", although a detailed study of this usage in Big Nyigina has not been made. That is, in Big Nyigina, the "concurrent" use of -ŋany may include the regular (verbal) means of expressing purpose:

ŋanj-a-MA maḍuwarra-ŋana guj ŋan-(a)-I-ŋany
lsg(II)-fut-go river-ALLAT drink lsg(I)-(fut)-do-TOG
'I'm going to the river to drink'.

This should be compared with the Small Nyigina version:

²this term was introduced by Capell (1956:77) to describe the suffix -gu in a large number of Australian languages (see -dyi in Nyigina, 10.9)
10.7 ORDER CLASS 5: THE RELATIVE SUFFIX

10.7.1 INTRODUCTION

The use of order class 5 suffixing is varied and is also subject to some dialect variation, in both phonological and semantic respects. Some aspects of Big Nyigina morphology are presented, but the description of usage is of that found in Small Nyigina.

10.7.2 MORPHOLOGY OF THE REL SUFFIX

Several allomorphs of this suffix are found. Deletion of the final syllable (surface -dya) varies with dialect/idolect. Dialects SN(a) and SN(b) represent the usage by two speakers of Small Nyigina (the difference does not appear to be regional).

10.7.2 T/57 Surface Forms of the REL Suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonological Environment</th>
<th>Dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SN(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preceding nasal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- preceding nasal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- preceding nasal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- preceding nasal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- preceding vowel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- preceding vowel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- dya
- dyarri
- arri
- yarri
The usual dy/y alternation affecting dy-initial suffixes (see 2.1.8) applies. Where there is a preceding vowel, some further modifications occur in Small Nyigina, resulting in the surface form -arri.

The use of -dyarri as opposed to -dya (where there is a preceding nasal) will be discussed after the description of the use of REL suffixing in subordinate clauses.

10.7.3 USE OF THE REL SUFFIX

This suffix has been designated REL, since it is used in relative (and other subordinate) clauses. The suffix may also be used in clauses which are not subordinate, where it adds a dimension of "diffuseness".

10.7.3.1 REL IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

This suffix occurs with a wide variety of subordinate clauses. The subordinate clauses not using the REL suffix are those where EXP suffixing (see 10.9.2) is appropriate, for example, purpose clauses and embedded sentences involving subsequent time.

The subject of the subordinate clause may be the same as the subject of the main clause:

10.7.3.1 E/596 BN

[rjan-BARA-ny-dyarri] bararrga ŋa-RA₂-ny-dyina
1sg(I)-see-past₂-REL sorry 1sg(II)-feel-past₂-3sgDatPro
'when I saw him], I felt sorry for him';

or the subject of the subordinate clause may be some other participant in the main clause:
Other examples of subordinate clauses are:

10.7.3.1 E/598 SN(b)

wal-a-DYULG(A)-anu [yaŋgi yim-BULA-ny-dya]
2sg(I)-fut-tell-lsgDatPro who 3sg(II)-come-past 2 -REL

'you tell me [who has come]'.

In the dialect SN(a), the suffixes -dya and -dyarri are considered to be separate morphemes conveying different meanings:

10.7.3.1 E/599 SN(a)

bararrga ɲa-RA₂-n-dyina [iga yi-ɲA-n-dyarri]
sorry lsg(II)-be-pres-3sgDatPro sick 3sg(II)-sit-pres-REL₁

'I feel sorry for him [when he's sick]';

compared with

10.7.3.1 E/600 SN(a)

bararrga ɲa-RA₂-n-dyina [iga yi-ɲA-n-dya]
sorry lsg(II)-be-pres-3sgDatPro sick 3sg(II)-sit-pres-REL₂

'I feel sorry for him [because he's sick]'.

There does not seem to be the same contrast in dialect SN(b), where the -dyarri forms are found rarely (see also 10.7.3.2).

10.7.3.2 USE OF REL IN OTHER CLAUSES

In clauses which are not subordinate, the REL suffix seems to have a derivational function, adding a dimension of "diffuseness". This
"diffuseness" may involve:

(a) multiplicity; or

(b) circuitous movement; or

(c) other non-specific uses (sometimes difficult to gloss).

The suffix REL may be present optionally in this situation:

10.7.3.2 E/601 BN

ŋam-BIGA-ny-dyarr-irr mandya yila
lsq(II)-have-past₂-REL-3nsGPro many dog
'I used to have lots of dogs';

10.7.3.2 E/602 SN

ginya-ŋaŋa ŋa-MA-ny-dyarri mandya-ŋal
dem-ALLAT lsg(II)-go-past₂-REL many-times
'I've been to there many times';

10.7.3.2 E/603 SN

mandya ŋam-BIGA-n(a)-arri
many lsg(II)-have-past-REL
'I used to have plenty (of saucepans)'.

By contrast, the following example is unacceptable:

*10.7.3.2 E/604 SN

*ŋam-BIGA-n-arri wanydyarri magarra-gudany
lsq(II)-have-past-REL one tail-having
'I used to have one saucepan'.
(b) circuitous movement

10.7.3.2 E/605 SN (= 10.4.3 E/547)

ibala ŋadyanu yi-MA-n-arri
father 1sgDAT/PRO 3sg(II)-go-past-REL

'my father went mustering';

10.7.3.2 E/606 SN

ŋa-MA-ny-dya birra gadidyina-ni
lsg(II)-go-past2-REL bush foot-ACT

'I've been walking around in the bush'.

(c) other non-specific uses

Other examples involve an element of non-specificity or repeated activity:

10.7.3.2 E/607 SN

dyan-an-dyamu yi-ŋA-n-dya
where-LOC-RELAT3 3sg(II)-sit-pres-REL

"he must be somewhere"' (speaker's gloss');

10.7.3.2 E/608 SN

yin-BA-n-dya ginya-ni
3sg(I)-see-pres-REL 3sgPRO-ACT

'he is looking around'.

One speaker, in attempting to explicate the use of REL in non-subordinate clauses, offered the following example as being essentially similar in

3 The nominal RELAT suffix -dyamu (see 4.14.2) has similar connotations
meaning to example E/608 which employs REL:

10.7.3.2 E/609 SN
yin-BA-BA-n-dyina
3sg(I)-see-see-pres-3sgDatPro
'he is looking and looking for him'.

Another example, which occurred during an unrelated conversation, was discussed with speakers:

10.7.3.2 E/610 SN(b)
bararrga ŋa-RA_2-n-dyarri-yina
sorry 1sg(II)-be-pres-REL-3sgDatPro
'I feel sorry for him'.

Two glosses offered were

(i) 'I still feel sorry for him';
(ii) '"walk around" kind of sorry'.

It is apparent that speakers have difficulty expressing in English the difference in meaning indicated by REL in non-subordinate clauses. It would seem that, at least in some examples, it may primarily convey a durative sense (which may also be expressed by HABIT suffixing).

In the dialect SN(a), when used derivationally, the REL suffix is usually found as -dyarṛ:

10.7.3.2 E/611 SN(a)
nyind-abu ŋa-MA-ny-dyarri
this way-ABL 1sg(II)-go-past_2-REL
'I went round and round'.

The speaker of this dialect concedes that -dya is used ("lazy way")
in this derivational function.

In dialect SN(b), the REL suffix in derivational function is usually -dya. One example of -yarri (E/610) was recorded.

10.8 ORDER CLASS 6: PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (PROs)

Pronominal suffix morphology and details of occurrence of the two types of pronominal suffix (OPro and DatPro) have already been presented in 6.6.1 - 6.6.8.

10.8.1 PRONOMINAL SUFFIXING AND AUGs

The morpheme mirri2 is used to indicate unit-augment for both unmarked and dative free form pronouns, for example:

10.8.1 E/612 SN

yirrga-ni 3+PRO-ACT
yirrgamirri2-ni 3+3PRO-ACT
yidyirramirri2 3+3DAT/PRO

and also in inflecting verbs:

10.8.1 E/613 SN

baba-dyarra bawuna wa-rr-MA-ny-mirri
child-two to here 2nsg(II)-nmin-go-past2-AUG

'you two children travelled to here'.

The AUGs may refer to the NP pref:

10.8.1 E/614 SN

gudyarra-ni yi-rr-(a)-ANDI-ny-mirri wali
two-ACT 3-nmin-(SET)-pick up-past2-AUG meat

'the two of them picked up the meat';

or AUGs may refer to NP cross-referenced in suffixing:
Occasional ambiguities result:

yi-rr-i-MI-na-yirr-mirri
3-nmin-SET-give-past-3nsg0Pro-AUG

which can mean
'they two gave them (many)'

OR 'they (many) gave them two'.

Where the morpheme mirri₂ is used with a free form pronoun, the close nature of the relationship is evident from E/612 yirrgamirri₂-ni, where the morpheme is situated between the unmarked free form pronoun and subsequent active suffixing. One might, therefore, expect the AUG suffix to occur contiguously with any preceding pronominal suffix but this sequence is not always found. The EXP suffix -dyi may occur between PRO and AUG:

biliga yi-rr-NARA-na-yirra-mirri ....
3-nmin-become-past-3nsgDatPro-AUG .... waŋa-rr-(a)-ALGA-yirrga-dyi-mirri
3nsg/fut-nmin-(SET)-be-3nsg0Pro-EXP-AUG
'they (many) got close to the two of them to beat them up'.

It should be noted that the context here makes it clear that the NP pref
is not the unit-augmented third person group.

It should also be noted that the same sequence of EXP and AUG₁ᵣ is found when AUG₁ᵣ refers to PROₚ, as in the following example:

10.8.1 E/618 SN

nya-ŋana bawuna ya-rr-MA-ny-mirri ....
dem-ALLAT to here lnsg-nmin(=II)-go-past₂-AUG₁ᵣ
.... yaga-(rr)-DI-dyi-mirri ny-an
     1+m(II)-(nmin)-sit-EXP-AUG₁ᵣ dem-LOC
'we two moved to this place in order to stay here'.

The status of AUG₁ᵣ (-mirri) as a verbal suffix is discussed in 10.10.

10.9 ORDER CLASS 7: EXP (-dyi)

10.9.1 INTRODUCTION

This suffix is used to express "expectation". If the EXP suffix occurs within a subordinate clause, then the time of the subordinate clause must be subsequent to the time of the main clause. The regular form of the suffix is -dyi but if the suffix immediately follows -ŋany (TOG), the suffix frequently, although not always, appears as -dyidyi. The use of -dyidyi cannot be adequately described at present.

The EXP suffix belongs to an order class situated between PRO₁ᵣ and AUG₁ᵣ:

10.9.1 E/619 SN

wal-a-DYULG(A)-anu-dyi malu ŋarri mi-la-DYULGA-n(a)-anu
2sg(I)-fut-tell-1sgDatPro-EXP NEG then 2sg(I)-IRR-tell-past-1sgDatPro
'you are going to tell me but you haven't told me yet';
10.9.1 E/620 SN
waŋa-rr-BULA-ŋany-dyidyi-mirri ganya-dyarra-ni
3nsg/fut-nmin-come-TOG-EXP-AUG dem-two-ACT
'those two are supposed to bring (it)'.

10.9.2 USE OF THE EXP SUFFIX

The "expectation" denoted by this suffix may be of several kinds.
It may be that the expectation is on the part of the doer:

10.9.2 E/621 SN
miliyarri lady wan-(a)-I-dyi ŋumal-ŋan-ga ....
almost throw 3sg(I)-(fut)-do-EXP fire-LOC-EMPH
.... "ŋayu ŋayu dyimarri" yi(n)-ŋ-na-yina
1sgPRO 1sgPRO peer 3sg(I)-say-past-3sgDatPro
'He was about to throw (the animal) on the fire. "I'm your mate"
it said to him';

or the expectation may be from the viewpoint of other than the doer:

10.9.2 E/622 SN
darrb waŋ-a-NI ny-an mabudyun-an buru ....
for good 3sg(II)-fut-sit this-LOC excellent-LOC place
.... wirriya waŋ-a-NI-dyi
happy 3sg(II)-fut-sit-EXP
"he's going to stop in this real good place .... he ought to feel
happy"' (speaker's gloss).
The suffix EXP regularly expresses purpose in Small Nyigina. In such usage, the future tense is found in either realis mode:

10.9.2 E/623 SN

waj-a-BULA ginya [maŋarriy wan-i-M(I)-irr-dyi]
3sg(II)-fut-come dem food 3sg(I)-fut-give-3sgOPRO-EXP

'he's going to come [to give them food]';

or, in clauses with a negative purpose (that is, prevention), in irrealis mode:

10.9.2 E/624 SN

mundu ya-rr-a-MA-n buru-jany ....
bury lnsg-nmin-SET-make-pres sand-INSTR .... [war wa-ra-NI-dyi]

burn 3sg(II)-fut/IRR-sit-EXP

'we cover (it) with sand [for fear a bushfire will start]'.

An embedded sentence which concerns subsequent time, following the verb 'say', must use the EXP suffix (embedded sentences not referring to future time use REL):

10.9.2 E/625 SN

[miliya waj-a-BULA-jany-dyi] yin-DI-ny-dyayida
now 3sg(II)-fut-come-TOG-EXP 3sg(I)-say-past₂-1\+2\+mDatPro

'he told us [he would bring (it) now]';

10.9.2 E/626 SN

jany-ni jian-DI-ny-dyina [inydya waj-a-MA-dyi]
1sgPRO-ACT 1sg(I)-say-past₂-3sgDatPro go 3sg(II)-fut-go-EXP

'I told her [to go]'.
Unfulfilled expectations may use the EXP suffix in conjunction with irrealis mode and past tense suffixing:

10.9.2 E/627 SN

ŋa-la-MA-na-dyi miliya malu ŋa-la-MA-na
lsg-IRR-go-past-EXP now NEG lsg-IRR-go-past

'I was going to go this morning but I didn't'.

Where the expectation is still current (although its realization is not possible), the future realis form may occur with EXP suffixing:

10.9.2 E/628 SN

ŋan-a-LI-dyi barulu malu ŋarri wa-la-NI
lsg(I)-fut-eat-EXP catfish NEG then 3-IRR-sit

'I was going to eat catfish but there isn't any'.

It seems that the future realis with EXP suffixing may be followed by past irrealis, which may imply that the expectation should have been fulfilled already, but that hope remains:

10.9.2 E/629 SN

waľi waŋ-a-BULA-ŋany-dyidyi miliya ....

meat 3sg(II)-fut-come-TOG-EXP now

.... malu ŋarri wa-la-BULA-na

NEG then 3-IRR-come-past

'he's supposed to bring meat now but he hasn't come (?yet)'.

10.9.3 VERBAL EXP SUFFIX AND NOMINAL DATIVE SUFFIX -dyi

Each of these suffixes occurs frequently as -dyi. However, the nominal suffix is subject to dy/y alternation (see 4.5.1.1) while the verbal suffix is found only as -dyi.
It happens that each suffix may at times express purpose:

10.9.3 E/630 SN (= 4.5.1.2 E/70)
wanajarri yin-MI-n(a)-awu maŋarriy-dyi
stone 3sg(I)-give-past-1+20Pro food-DAT
'he gave you and me money for food';

10.9.3 E/631 SN
ginya yi-MA-na [wila guŋ wan-(a)-I-dyi]
dem 3sg(II)-go-past water drink 3sg(I)-(fut)-do-EXP
'he went [to drink water]';

but there seems to be inadequate justification for considering the two as a single suffix, corresponding perhaps to the bivalent suffix 4 -ku, which is widespread in Australia.

10.10 ORDER CLASS 8: AUG_s (-mirri)

The unit-augment marker mirri may refer to either PRO_p, OPro or DatPro. Some aspects of its use have been described already in 10.8.1.

This unit-augment marker invariably follows all the suffixes of an inflecting verb with which it occurs. One might well argue that this morpheme is not actually suffixed to the inflecting verb but is a separate word or a clitic. Such a proposal for a word or clitic boundary between mirri and the inflecting verb might be supported by citing the intervention of the EXP suffix -dyi (when it co-occurs) between the AUG_s and the OPro or DatPro to which AUG_s relates. That is, if PRO_s and EXP are verbal suffixes and AUG_s is a separate word or is a clitic, when the PRO_s refers to a unit-augmented person grouping, the terminal verbal

---

4 Capell (1956:77)
suffix EXP (order class 7) might be expected to intervene between the penultimate verbal suffix PRO\textsubscript{S} (order class 6) and the following mirri. If it is proposed that mirri is a verbal suffix, the location of EXP may present no major difficulty where AUG\textsubscript{S} refers to PRO\textsubscript{P}, where it is already discontinuous. However, the proposal that an unrelated suffix (EXP) may intervene between PRO\textsubscript{S} and the suffix AUG\textsubscript{S} with the same referent is more difficult to accept, since the morpheme mirri is usually contiguous with the non-minimal pronoun to which it relates (see 10.8.1).

It seems that the question cannot be resolved further since the unit-augment marker mirri, when relating to a pronominal affix, must occur immediately following the inflecting verb and is either the most distal suffix possible or a separate word or a clitic. There is no phonological evidence to confirm or refute the presence of a word boundary in this position. For the present, -mirri is analyzed as a verbal suffix of the terminal order class (class 8).

10.11 THE HERE SUFFIX (-ny\textsubscript{here})

This suffix, indicating 'to here', is found infrequently and only in combination with second person future realis forms used as imperatives. In the examples recorded, the suffix immediately follows the verbal root. The suffix may be a fossilized remnant of the demonstrative nya 'this'.

The suffix usually occurs with the verbal root 'carry':
bawuna  wal-(a)-A-ny\textsubscript{here}  dyuwa-ni
to here  2sg(I)-(fut)-\textit{carry-HERE}  2sgPRO-ACT
'you bring (it) here!';

wa-rr-(a)-A-ny\textsubscript{here}
2nsg/fut-nmin-(SET)-\textit{carry-HERE}
'bring (it) here, you lot!'.

The suffix has been recorded with one verbal root other than 'carry':

"dagudal-ay!  \textit{ŋ-a-MA-ny\textsubscript{here}  ŋ-a-MA-ny\textsubscript{here}  bawuna}"
nightjar-VOC!  2sg(II)-fut-go-\textit{HERE}  2sg(II)-fut-go-\textit{HERE}  to here
'Nightjar! Come here, come here!'.

Occasionally the \textit{HERE} suffix is found in conjunction with other suffixing:

wal-(a)-A-ny\textsubscript{here}-dyirr
2sg(I)-(fut)-\textit{carry-HERE}-3nsg0Pro
'you bring them here!';

wal-(a)-A-ny\textsubscript{here}-dyanu
2sg(I)-(fut)-\textit{carry-HERE}-1sgDatPro
'bring (it) here to me!';
'dya wal-(a)-A-ny here -gany-dyanu

hand over 2sg(I)-(fut)-carry-HERE-TOG-lsgDatPro

.... ġayi-ni widu ġan-a-MA-nu

lsgPRO-ACT big lsg(I)-fut-make-lsgDatPro

'hand (him) over here to me, so I can bring (him) up for myself!'.
Chapter 11: Verbal Nominalizations

11.1 INTRODUCTION

There are two surface forms in Nyigina

(1) verbal-nominals, and

(2) non-personal forms of verbal roots (see 9.3.6)

which do not resemble each other morphologically but which will be
described together as verbal nominalizations, on the basis of similar
syntactic function. Verbal nominalizations share with nouns the
ability to take nominal suffixes, yet possess many verbal characteristics.

Verbal-nominals usually function as prestems (see 7.3), whereby
they appear unsuffixed, immediately preceding an inflecting verb,
forming a double-unit verb (see 7.1.1):

11.1 E/638 SW
dyugg-an lady yi-rr-(a)-I-na-yirr
fire-LOC throw(VN=PS) 3-numin-(SET)-do-past-3nsgOPro
'they threw them (the evil men) in the fire'.

The non-personal forms are derived from verbal roots by affixing
(see 9.3.6.1).

11.2 VERBAL-NOMINALS

Unsuffixed verbal-nominals are found in four different functions:

(1) verbal prestems (in double-unit verbs);

(2) finite verbs in generalizations;

(3) referring to unsuffixed noun phrases;

(4) "adverbially".
11.2.1 PRESTEMS IN DOUBLE-UNIT VERBS

The prestem regularly immediately precedes the inflecting verb forming a double-unit verb. Where verbal-nominals are analyzed as prestems, they normally take no suffixing (as in E/638). Occasionally, however, the prestem may not immediately precede the inflecting verb. Certain items, which resemble conjunctions (see 12.1.3), may intervene between the prestem and the inflecting verb:

11.2.1 E/639 SN
mug $\text{jarrri}$ wal-(a)-I
hit(PS) then 2sg(I)-(fut)-do
'well, you hit (him)!'

11.2.1 E/640 SN (= 12.1.3 E/746)
muli badu $\text{jan-(a)-A}$ baybarra
stalk(PS) though 1sg(I)-(fut)-carry behind
'I, though, will stalk behind'.

In one example, derivational nominal suffixing modifying the verbal meaning (not relating to the "subject") was found with a prestem:

11.2.1 E/641 SN (= 7.3.2 E/366)
dalaw-jurrri yi(n)-$\emptyset$-na .... malu budyi
cut(PS)-much 3sg(I)-do-past NEG unsuccessful
'she hacked and hacked .... but in vain'.

Intransitive (but not transitive) verbal-nominals may precede or follow the inflecting verb, with apparently no difference in meaning:
Intransitive (but not transitive) verbal-nominals may take derivational nominal suffixing which relates to their subject:

11.2.1 E/644 SN

inydyar-a-dyarra yi-rr-MA-ny-mirri gudyarra
go(VN)-two 3-nmin-go-past2-AUG two
'the two of them travelled';

11.2.1 E/645 SN

midyala-nil yi-(rr)-DI-na manin-garra
sit(VN)-many 3-(nmin)-sit-past woman-multiple
'a crowd of women were sitting'.

(Derivational suffixes relating to the subject are not found with unequivocally transitive verbal-nominals, for example, mug 'hit'.)

11.2.2 VERBAL-NOMINALS AND GENERALIZATIONS

Occasionally, a verbal-nominal without an inflecting verb expresses a generalization (introduced in 7.2), as the verbal-nominal warr 'burn' demonstrates in this example:
11.2.2 E/646 SN

mayar-gan yug-gana
house-LOC sleep(VN)-ALLAT

.... dyani-ggaya-du dyujgu warr
what-like-doubtful fire burn(VN)

'if one sleeps in a house, how can one light a fire (to keep warm)?'

(adding an inflecting verb would destroy the general nature, not to
mention the rhetorical style, of this example).

11.2.3 VERBAL-NOMINALS REFERRING TO UNMARKED NOUN PHRASES

Unsuffixed verbal-nominals with intransitive meanings are found
referring to unmarked noun-phrases, where they resemble participles:

(1) unmarked NP as NP

11.2.3 E/647 SN

galiya inydyayi gularr yi-rr-MA-na burrula-gana
finished travel(VN) west 3-nmin-go-past Derby-ALLAT

'then, travelling west, they went to Derby'.

In this example, the verbal-nominal inydyayi cannot be analyzed as a prestem
since it is separated from the inflecting verb yirrmana by a regular
nominal (gularr). Only certain particles (see 11.2.1, 12.1.3) are
permitted between the prestem and its inflecting verb.

11.2.3 E/648 SN

gudidyi dyugudu baybarra rug yin-MI-na
run(VN) boy behind reach out 3sg(I)-give-past

'running behind, the boy made a grab'.

Where ambiguity is possible, for example, with a transitive verb,
referential suffixing (see 11.4.1) of the verbal-nominal is required.
11.2.3

(2) unmarked NP as direct object

11.2.3 E/649 SN (= 11.4.1.2 E/669)

gudidyi ŋan-BA-ny dyurrru
run(VN) lsg(I)-see-past snake
'I saw the snake (that was) running';

11.2.3 E/650 SN

yin-BA-na-yirr-mirri inydy a baba-dyarra
3sg(I)-see-past-3nsgOPro-AUG travel(VN) child-two
'he saw the two children (who were) going along'.

The intransitive verbal-nominal may take derivational suffixing relating to its subject:

11.2.3 E/651 SN

yi-rr-a-BA-na-yirr banugu inydy a-nil
3-nmin-SET-see-past-3nsgOPro from east travel(VN)-many
'they saw that mob travelling from the east'

(absence of referential suffixing (see 11.4.1) precludes the possibility that inydy a-nil may here refer to the NP pref).

Verbal-nominals with highly transitive meanings are not found in this usage.

11.2.4 THE "ADVERBIAL" VERBAL-NOMINAL yab 'away'

The word yab 'away' (there are no clear examples with other words) is usually found preceding an inflecting verb, where it has been analyzed as a prestem:
11.2.4 E/652 SN
ginya yab yi-MA-na warany-jana wanajarri
3sgPRO away(VN=PS) 3sg(II)-go-past other-ALLAT rock/hill
'he went away to another hill'.

The word yab need not precede the inflected verb (see 11.2.1):

11.2.4 E/653 SN
galiya guджidyi yi-rr-(a)-ANDI-na yab
finished run(VN=PS) 3-nmin-(SET)-pick up-past away(VN)
'then he started to run away'
or follow it immediately:

11.2.4 E/654 SN
inydya ʤaʤ-a-MA miliya yab
go(VN) 1sg(II)-fut-go now away(VN)
'I'm just about to go away now'.

Occasionally, no inflected verb occurs with yab (see 7.2):

11.2.4 E/655 SN (= 4.7 E/125)
yab yagu ginydyina birra wali-jana
away(VN) husband 3sgDAT/PRO bush meat-ALLAT
'her husband (was) out bush after meat'.

In all these examples, yab might well be analyzed as a locational nominal.

However, nominal suffixing, such as referential -ni suffixing, occurs with yab:
11.2.4 E/656 SN (= 5.5 E/289)

yab-ni qud yi-MA-na
away(VN)-REF dead 3sg(II)-go-past

'after (he went) away, he died'.

Since the only possible interpretation here of -ni suffixing is referential (active suffixing is not possible with yimana), it must be inferred that yab represents a single word nominalized clause. Although two examples (5.5 E/292 and 11.4.8 E/714) were recorded where a single nominal other than a verbal-nominal represents a nominalized clause, this situation is very rare, while the verbal-nominal as a single word nominalized clause is extremely common, possibly even the norm.

Although it seems impossible to determine whether yab is a locational nominal or a verbal-nominal, I have chosen to analyze it as a verbal-nominal.

11.3 NON-PERSONAL FORMS OF VERBAL ROOTS

The morphology of the GENeral verbal prefix has been described already in 9.3.6.1. The occasional use of the non-personal form of the verb, that is, the form including the GEN prefix, as a finite verb in generalizations has been noted (7.2, 9.3.6.2):

11.3 E/657 SN

wajjanlaŋu-yina wamba ma-GULALMA-n garrbina
young man-generic man GEN-manufacture-pres shield

'young men make shields'.
11.3.1 NON-PERSONAL FORMS WITH NOMINAL SUFFIXING

Non-personal forms of verbal roots take a variety of nominal suffixes and participate in many of the same functions as verbal-nominals.

The LIKE suffix -(ŋ)gaya (4.14.3.1) modifies the meaning of the non-personal form and functions as a derivational suffix of the non-personal form. The LIKE suffix may therefore be followed by further nominal suffixing.

11.3.1.1 LIKE SUFFIXING

While verbal-nominals may represent the activity either as a completed performance:

```
E/658  SN
inydya-yunu  gud  yi-MA-na
go(VN)-INAN.SOURCE  dead  3sg(II)-go-past
'he died as a result of the trip';
```

or they may express an activity in progress:

```
E/659  SN
inydya-ni  ŋan-BA-ny  wamba
go(VN)-REF  lsg(I)-see-past  man
'while I was going, I saw a man',
```

non-personal forms without LIKE suffixing refer only to the completed performance:
'that one grabbed (it) from him, that meat from his (own) spearing',
that is, 'that one stole from him the animal that he had speared'.

'he saw his son dead (and) cooked'.

With non-personal forms, LIKE suffixing is necessary in order to
express an activity in progress:

'he's getting hot from doing the cooking'.

(The reduplication of the verbal root here also contributes to the
expression of a durative process.)

LIKE suffixing may also occur with non-personal forms without
further nominal suffixing and these forms may function like participles:
'they used to go, a big mob of other men gathering honey';

'That one (was) in front, waiting for him'.

LIKE suffixing is also found with verbal-nominals (and could not be omitted in the following examples):

'a flood is running';

'in long, long ago, he went about killing'.

Addition of LIKE suffixing to verbal nominalizations tends to confer a sense of ongoing activity. Since unmodified non-personal forms of verbal roots do not allow an ongoing interpretation, LIKE suffixing with non-personal forms permits a participle-like function and occurs fairly
commonly.

Intransitive verbal-nominals may occur unsuffixed in a participle-like role (11.2.3). LIKE suffixing is found fairly infrequently with intransitive verbal-nominals.

Transitive verbal-nominals never occur with a meaning corresponding to 'while ---ing'. Addition of LIKE suffixing usually results only in a "habitual" meaning.

11.4 NOMINAL SUFFIXING WITH VERBAL NOMINALIZATIONS

A common description of the general use of nominal suffixing with both verbal-nominals and non-personal forms of verbal roots (occurring in nominalized clauses) is possible. Nominal suffixing usually occurs on the verbal nominalization but it may be lacking and found instead on a constituent other than the verbal nominalization, usually the initial word of the nominalized clause (see 11.5.3).

11.4.1 REFERENTIAL SUFFIXING (-ni)

Suffixing with -ni occurs frequently with verbal nominalizations and indicates same reference (see also 5.5), that is, it indicates that the "subject" of the verbal nominalization has identical reference with the NP\textsubscript{pref}' the participant cross-referenced in the verbal prefixing, of the inflecting verb of the main clause. (It should be remembered that the NP\textsubscript{pref}' if explicit, need not take active suffixing.)

Use of -ni suffixing with verbal nominalizations is confined to use in conjunction with inflecting verbs in non-future tenses and is subject to semantic restrictions (see next section).
11.4.1.1 SEMANTIC RESTRICTIONS ON REFERENTIAL SUFFIXING

Semantic restrictions on the use of referential suffixing with verbal nominalizations relate to both

(1) the verbal nominalization; and
(2) the inflecting verb of the main clause.

11.4.1.2 SEMANTICS OF THE VERBAL NOMINALIZATION

With respect to referential suffixing, verbal nominalizations can be classified as:

(a) VERBAL-NOMINALS: transitive e.g. mug 'hit'
(b) " " "active" intransitive gu̱dīyi 'run'
(c) " " "stative" intransitive mīdyała 'sit'
(d) NON-PERSONAL FORMS mamarrangaya 'cooking'.

(a) transitive verbal-nominals

Members of this class are not found with referential suffixing.

Nominalized clauses involving these verbal-nominals and having identical reference with the NP_{pref} of the inflecting verb of the main clause are not possible; unreduced subordinate clauses (see 10.7.3.1) must be used instead. Sentences of the following type are unacceptable (an unreduced subordinate clause is possible):

* 11.4.1.2 E/667 SN

* mug-ni banīy yin-BA-na yibirirr
hit(VN)-REF goanna 3sg(I)-see-past "King Brown"

? 'while he was killing the goanna, he saw a King Brown (snake)'.

(b) "active" intransitive verbal-nominals

These verbal-nominals may take referential suffixing alone (that is, without preliminary ablative suffixing):
11.4.1.2  E/668  SN

gudidyi-ni  Ᵽan-BA-ny    dyurru
run(VN)-REF  lsg(I)-see-past₂  snake

'as I was running, I saw the snake'.

Where reference is not the same, referential suffixing with -ni is impossible. Ambiguity cannot occur:

11.4.1.2  E/669  SN

gudidyi  Ᵽan-BA-ny    dyurru
run(VN)  lsg(I)-see-past₂  snake

can only mean (as in 11.2.3  E/649):

'I saw the snake (that was) running'.

Where two verbal-nominals are associated with different participants, ambiguity is again impossible:

11.4.1.2  E/670  SN

inydya-ni  Ᵽan-BA-ny  gudidyi  yila
travel(VN)-REF  lsg(I)-see-past₂  run(VN)  dog

'while I was going along, I saw the running dog'.

(c) "stative" intransitive verbal-nominals

This class obligatorily takes ablative suffixing when same reference is involved. Additional referential suffixing with -ni is optional (but usual):

11.4.1.2  E/671  SN

midyal-abu-ni  Ᵽan-BA-ny  baba
sit(VN)-ABL-REF  lsg(I)-see-past₂  child

'while I was sitting, I saw the child';
Ambiguity is not possible, since 'I saw the sitting child' must be

11.4.1.2 E/673 SN
midyal-aba ḣjan-BA-ny baba
sit(VN)-ABL lsg(I)-see-past₂ child
'I saw the child [(who was) sitting]'.

Ablative suffixing, in addition to referential suffixing, is also possible with "active" intransitive verbal-nominals, with modification in their meaning. Use of this additional ablative suffixing (see also 11.4.6) seems to convey "being in the situation of doing x". Thus it tends to signify not merely simultaneous activity but rather causative simultaneous activity, as the following examples illustrate:

11.4.1.2 E/674 SN
gudidy-abu-ni ḣjan-BANA-ny-dyina banyi
run(VN)-ABL-REF lsg(I)-see separating-past₂-3sgOPro goanna
'because I was running (and therefore going too fast), I saw the goanna disappearing'
(that is, I wasn't able to change direction in time to catch him as I would have liked to do);
11.4.1.2 E/675 SN

gudidy-ni ṣjan-BA-ny dyurru
run(VN)-REF lsg(I)-see-past₂ snake

'while I was running, I saw a snake'

(which is a non-event, since snakes are not considered proper food, while goanna is highly prized);

11.4.1.2 E/676 SN

gudidy-abu-ni dyudug yin-DI-ny-ŋany-ŋayu
run(VN)-ABL-REF so far(VN=PS) 3sg(I)-do-past₂-TOG-lsgOPro

'because he was running, he went past me'

(that is, he didn't see me and exchange greetings).

The additional use of the ablative suffix may alter the interpretation in practical terms:

11.4.1.2 E/677 SN

inydya-ni yi-rr-ma-BULA-nydyi-ny-mirri (wanydyarri-yunu)
go(VN)-REF 3-nmin-INT -come-INT -past₂-AUG one-INAN.SOURCE

'as (one person) was going along, the two met'.

This example was considered by speakers to be most appropriate to a situation where one participant is moving and the other is stationary. (The qualification wanydyarri-yunu 'one-INAN.SOURCE' was added by way of explanation for a non-native speaker.)

If, however, both participants are moving, the following version was suggested as being more appropriate:
'as they were both going along, they met the two of them'.

\( \text{d) non-personal forms and referential suffixing} \)

Where identical reference is involved, non-personal forms can take the following suffixing (in the order presented):

(1) obligatory LIKE suffixing (see 11.3.1.1);

(2) optional ablative suffixing (see 11.4.1.2, preceding);

(3) referential suffixing (probably not obligatory if ablative suffixing is present).

'while he was cooking, he saw a goanna';

'while doing the cooking, you got burned by the fire';

'while doing the cooking, he dropped the meat'.

\( 350 \)
11.4.1.3 SEMANTICS OF THE INFLECTING VERB

With inflecting verbs from certain intransitive verbal roots (all the clear examples involve 'be, become'), referential suffixing of a verbal nominalization is impossible. With these inflecting verbs, the verbal nominalization with same reference takes locative suffixing (see also 11.4.5.1):

11.4.1.3 E/682 SN (= 7.3.3 E/375)
gudidy-an gamininy yi-YA-ny
run(VN)-LOC cold 3sg(II)-become-past
'while he was running, he got cold';

11.4.1.3 E/683 SN
ma-MARRA-n-gay-an badbad ja-RA₂-n
GEN-burn-pres-like-LOC hot lsg(II)-become-pres
'I'm getting hot doing the cooking'.

11.4.2 DATIVE SUFFIXING

Dative suffixing of verbal nominalizations occurs in two functions:

(1) to indicate purpose; and

(2) to identify parenthetic or qualifying material.

11.4.2.1 PURPOSE

As with other nominals (see 4.5.1.2, 4.5.2), the dative or extended dative suffix is used to indicate purpose:

11.4.2.1 E/684 SN
mug yi-rr-(a)-I-na-da-yirr-mirri gud malu gab-dyi
hit 3-nmin-(SET)-do-past-HABIT-3nsgOPro-AUG dead NEG eat(VN)-DAT
'the two of them used to kill them dead, but not for eating';
11.4.2.1  E/685  SN

malu liyan-ŋany ŋa-la-MA inydy-a-ŋi
NEG feeling-INSTR lsg-IRR-make travel(VN)-DAT

'I don't want to go (specifically, for example, as discussed)';

11.4.2.1  E/686  SN

malu liyan-ŋany ŋa-la-MA inydy-a-ŋa
NEG feeling-INSTR lsg-IRR-make travel(VN)-DATe

'I don't want to go (anywhere)';

11.4.2.1  E/687  SN

wababgurru ma-NI-n-dyi midyala-yi
blanket GEN-sit-pres-DAT sit(VN)-DAT

'the blanket (is) for sitting on';

11.4.2.1  E/688  SN

wali ma-MARRA-n-dyi yi-rr-a-MA-ny-dya ....
meat GEN-burn-pres-DAT 3-nmin-SET-put-past2-REL
.... gunga yi-rr-a-LI-ny
raw 3-nmin-SET-eat-past2

'although they has arranged the meat for cooking, they ate it raw'.

11.4.2.2  PARENTHESIS

Parenthetical or qualifying remarks (see also 4.5.1.2) can be expressed by a verbal nominalization and a dative or extended dative suffix:
'then he sat silent (without a word)';

'she always took him on a leash (never taking (it) off)';

'then he (went) away bush (without anyone seeing (him go))'.

A few examples of verbal-nominals with instrumental suffixing have been found.

'having first covered up the boy with a wooden dish, she said to them:
"Grandchildren, look under the dish!"'.
Since I do not fully understand the use of instrumental suffixing with verbal-nominals, I am unable to say with certainty whether the instrumental suffixing of manydyada-\texttt{jany} relates only to manydyada (I would guess that it does) or whether it relates to the whole nominalized clause involving the verbal-nominal wabab.

11.4.3 E/693 SN (=7.3.3 E/374)  
dyimbin yi-\texttt{J\texttt{A}-n} wabab-\texttt{jany}  
inside 3sg(II)-\texttt{sit-pres} cover(VN)-\texttt{INSTR}  
\?	extquoteleft it's underneath, covered up\textquoteright  
(from a description of an elaborate, roof-like corroboree totem).

Further examples are needed before an adequate description of this usage of the instrumental suffix is possible.

It should be noted that the verbal suffix TOG (-\texttt{jany}), which is formally indistinguishable from the nominal instrumental suffix, may occur with non-personal forms, for example:

11.4.3 E/694 SN  
malu junydyin ma-MIDA-n-\texttt{jany} wali  
NEG inclined GEN-throw-pres-TOG meat  
\?	extquoteleft she's not inclined to send (him) off with meat\textquoteright.

No example has been found where a non-personal form appears to take instrumental nominal suffixing, in a usage corresponding to that shown here for verbal-nominals.

11.4.4 ALLATIVE SUFFIXING  
Allative suffixing is used with nominalized clauses (the suffix commonly occurs on the first constituent of a nominalized clause) in
two functions:

(1) purpose (usually involving motion, see 4.7)

11.4.4 E/695 SN

[wanajarri-ŋana dalaw]_{NC} nyi-MA-na-da

stone-ALLAT_{NC} cut(VN) 2sg(II)-go-past-HABIT

'you've always gone to cut stone';

11.4.4 E/696 SN

miliya ŋaj-a-MA birra ŋayu ma-MIDA-MIDA-n-ŋana

now 1sg(II)-fut-go bush 1sgPRO GEN-throw-throw-pres-ALLAT

'I'm about to go (off) bush to go fishing';

11.4.4 E/697 SN

ŋuy yi(n)-ŋ-na [giya-ŋana dyuŋgu ma-GUNDI-n]_{NC}

go back 3sg(I)-do-past again-ALLAT_{NC} fire/wood GEN-cart-pres

'she went back to cart further firewood'.

(2) stance (see also 4.7)

The allative may be used to indicate the position or physical-action status of a participant other than the NP_{pref} of the main clause:

11.4.4 E/698 SN

gudidiŋi-ŋana yin-NA-ny majul-ŋany

run(VN)-ALLAT 3sg(I)-spear-past_{2} spear-INSTR

'he speared with a spear (the one who was) running';
11.4.4 E/699 SN (= 7.3.3 E/377)

malu ganydyirr wa-la-BA dyaw(u)-ŋana
NEG look(VN-PS) 3sg-IRR-see swim(VN)-ALLAT

'he (the water serpent) doesn't see (one) swimming';

11.4.4 E/700 SN

yin-BA-na wadal baba yi-MA-na ....
3sg(I)-see-past big child 3sg(II)-go-past

.... yaj-ŋana? .... dyiŋgidi-ŋgaya
what-ALLAT play(VN)-like

'she saw .... a big child went along .... doing what? .... playing'.

In some examples, such allative suffixing might be regarded as derivational:

11.4.4 E/701 SN

wali ŋan-GA-ny-dyina midyala-ŋana-yi
meat 1sg(I)-carry-past 3sgDatPro sit(VN)-ALLAT-DAT

'I brought the meat for the one sitting down'

which might be compared with the use of the purely derivational nominal suffix -dyagu 'belonging to (usually a physical environment)'

11.4.4 E/702 SN

wali ŋan-GA-ny-dyina ŋayi-ni midyala-dyagu-yi
meat 1sg(I)-carry-past 3sgDatPro 1sgPRO-ACT sit(VN)-belonging-DAT

'I brought the meat for the one sitting down'.

(There appears to be no significant difference in meaning between these two examples.)
The suffix may appear on a constituent of the nominalized clause other than the verbal-nominal:

11.4.4 E/703 SN

[balarrdyā-gana mīdyala] NC dalaw yi-rr-(a)-I-na buda
back-ALLAT NC sit(VN) cut(VN=PS) 3-nmin-(SET)-do-past neck

'they chopped his neck as he sat with his back to them'.

The nature of the "stance" designated by allative suffixing may be quite varied:

11.4.4 E/704 SN

"dyana warany-nil-ga dyiya?" gug-gana
where other-many-EMPH 2sgDAT/PRO speechless(VN)-ALLAT

'"where are the rest of you (yours)?" (he remained) silent'.

Here the suffixed nominal (arguably a verbal-nominal) constitutes the entire clause.

11.4.5 LOCATIVE SUFFIXING

Locative suffixing may be used to express state or condition (see 4.8.1). With verbal nominalizations, the locative suffix is found in the expression of

(1) the situation of \( NP_{\text{pref}} \), where the inflecting verb of the main clause has a rather stative intransitive meaning (see 11.4.1.3); or

(2) the situation of an entity other than the \( NP_{\text{pref}} \) or the direct object.

11.4.5.1 STATIVE INTRANSITIVE INFLECTING VERB

A number of examples of locative suffixing with verbal nominalizations
occur in conjunction with the verbal root \(-RA\)' 'be, feel, become':

11.4.5.1 E/705 SN (= 4.8.1 E/139)

midyal-an gamininy \(\hat{g}a-RA\-ny\)
sit(VN)-LOC cold lsg(II)-become-past₂

'while I was sitting, I got cold'.

Examples also occur with inflecting verbs from other verbal roots:

11.4.5.1 E/706 SN

yab-gan yi-MA-ny

away(VN)-LOC 3sg(II)-go-past₂

'he went (and is still) away'.

11.4.5.2 "OTHER" REFERENCE

Where the verbal-nominal refers to an entity other than the NP or a direct object, the verbal-nominal may take locative suffixing:

11.4.5.2 E/707 SN

midyal-an \(\hat{g}a\-LUGA\-ny\-dyina\) yi-NI-ny-dya

sit(VN)-LOC lsg(I)-cry-past₂ 3sgDatPro 3sg(II)-sit-past₂-REL

'I cried for the one who was sitting'.

In the following example, the nominalized clause [gud\(dy\-an\)] NC refers to a noun phrase with dative suffixing (wamba-yi):

11.4.5.2 E/708 SN

gud\(d\)-an wamba-yi yi\(i\)-GULMA-ny-dyina ....

run(VN)-LOC man-DAT 3sg(II)-sit-past₂-3sgDatPro

.... wamny \(\hat{g}un\)-dy\(ny\)-an

fly nose-LOC

'while he was running, a fly sat on the man's nose'.

358
The verbal-nominal guidy-an cannot be analyzed as part of a nominalized clause, that is \([\text{guidy-an} \ 9\text{unidyin-an}]_{\text{NC}}\), since in the example that follows, where the inflected verb includes the verbal TOG suffix -ŋany thereby converting ŋunidyina to O function (ŋunidyin-an is not possible in E/709), the verbal-nominal still takes locative suffixing:

```
11.4.5.2 E/709 SN
guidy-an wanminy yi-ŋANYDYI-ny-ŋany-dyina ....
run(VN)-LOC fly 3sg(II)-land-past,2-TOG-3sgDatPro
.... ŋunidyina
nose
'while he was running, a fly happened to sit on his nose'.
```

Thus the verbal-nominal guidy-an must be a separate nominalized clause, referring to the participant specified in the DatPro.

11.4.6 ABLATIVE SUFFIXING

The use of ablative suffixing with verbal nominalizations involving same reference has already been introduced in 11.4.1.2.

The additional use of ablative suffixing with verbal-nominals having active intransitive meaning appears to modify the meaning, possibly making it more similar to the class of stative intransitives.

Two further examples are included here to demonstrate this usage:

```
11.4.6 E/710 SN
guidyi-ni yi-rr-ma-MARRA-ŋydi-ny-mirri
run(VN)-REF 3-nmin-INT -burn-INT _-past,2-AUG
'while they were running, they burned themselves';
```
It was suggested that the first example would be more appropriate to the situation of people running while carrying fire, while the second might be used of some-one running over burnt (but still smouldering) ground.

Ablative suffixing may also occur with nominalized clauses in uses such as geographical source (see also 4.9.1):

```
11.4.6 E/712 SN
yim-BULA-na-da ginya [wanajarr-abu dalaw]NC
3sg(II)-come-past-HABIT 3sgPRO stone-ABLNC cut(VN)
'he always came from cutting stone'.
```

11.4.7 COMITATIVE SUFFIXING

Quite rarely, examples including comitative suffixing of a nominalized clause have been recorded:

```
11.4.7 E/713 SN (= 10.6.2.1 E/562)
gurrag yi(n)-Ø-na banugu ginya ....
go away 3sg(I)-do-past from east 3sgPRO
.... [ŋagil-barri ginya gud-barri]NC
carry on shoulder(VN)-COMITNC dem dead-COMITNC
'he went away from the east, carrying that dead (boy) on his shoulders'
(of an old man who starved to death a boy who was due to be initiated).
```
11.4.8 INANIMATE SOURCE SUFFIXING

This suffix marks the first of two events in sequence:

11.4.8 E/714 SN

maŋarri-yunu-ni ñuy  wal-(a)-I
food-INAN.SOURCE-REF go back 2sg(I)-(fut)-do

'after (you have eaten) food, come back!'.

Occasionally, the sequence can be interpreted as causation:

11.4.8 E/715 SN

winda yi-YA-na gudídyi-yunu
exhausted 3sg(II)-become-past run(VN)-INAN.SOURCE

'he got worn out from running'.

Often both interpretations are possible:

11.4.8 E/716 SN

man-ANDI-n-dyunu yìŋ-Galbarri-ny
GEN-pick up-pres-INAN.SOURCE 3sg(II)-drop-past.

'from (or after) picking (it) up, he dropped (it)'.

Some examples require a causal interpretation:

11.4.8 E/717 SN

(this example is incomplete; it occurred in discussion of unpleasant fates that could befall a person engaging in anti-social behaviour)

.... ma-DA-n-ŋany-dyunu ŋanga munydyu
GEN-?inform-pres-TOG-INAN.SOURCE talk deceit

'.... from telling (people) lies'.

(The suffix -ŋany- is the verbal suffix -- see 10.6.)
11.5 VERBAL NOMINALIZATIONS AND NOMINALIZED CLAUSE (NC) SUFFIXING

It has been proposed (4.3.1) that nominalized clauses (which include verbal nominalizations) may function as a single entity and take nominal suffixing on one or more constituent nominals, for example:

11.5 E/718 SN (= 11.5.3 E/730)

dun yi-YA-n ....
heavy 3sg(II)-become-pres

.... [balu-ni-yunu man-NA-n niyambalu]_{NC}

stick-\text{ACT}_{NP}-\text{INAN.SOURCE}_{NC} GEN-spear-pres foot

'he's getting tired from [the stick having speared (his) foot]'.

Here the nominal suffix -yunu is analyzed as marking the entire nominalized clause [balu-ni man-NA-n niyambalu].

11.5 E/719 SN

dulug yi-\text{NA-na} ginya wila ....
pour 3sg(II)-sit-past dem water

.... giny-an dab-an [wididy-dyun-an]_{NC}

dem-LOC hole-LOC dig(VN)-\text{INAN.SOURCE}_{NP-LOC}^{NC}

'that water was poured into the hole [which had been dug]'.

Various aspects of this use of nominal suffixing will be discussed.

11.5.1 SERIAL SUFFIXING

In E/718 above, the serial nominal suffixing of balu-ni-yunu

\text{stick-ACT-INAN.SOURCE}

is analyzed as - ni : belonging to the noun-phrase (NP)

- yunu : belonging to the nominalized clause (NC).
Various series of nominal suffixes have been recorded. (Multiple derivational nominal suffixing has been discussed elsewhere (4.3.3).)

Support for this analysis of nominalized clause suffixing is derived from examples involving nominalized clause suffixing of pronouns:

11.5.1 E/721 SN

\[
gayu \quad gadady \quad yin-DI-ny-dyanu \quad \ldots\ldots
\]

\[
\text{lsgPRO} \quad \text{search} \quad 3sg(I)-do-past_2-\text{lsgDatPro}
\]

\[
\ldots \quad \text{[gayu-\text{yi} \quad man-ALGA-n]}_{\text{NC}}
\]

\[
\text{lsgPRO-DAT}_{\text{NC}} \quad \text{GEN-beat-pres}
\]

'he's looking for me to [bash me up].'

The form gayu-\text{yi} was accepted by all speakers in this context and requires explanation, since the regular dative pronominal form would be gayanu. The explanation proposed is that

\[
gayanu = \text{lsgDAT/PRO}
\]

\[
gayu-\text{yi} = \text{lsgPRO-DAT}_{\text{NC}}
\]

That is, these two forms represent dative suffixing of two different types, the difference in type becoming apparent as a result of irregular morphology of pronouns.

It should be noted in passing that the dative free form pronoun gayanu may take dative suffixing as noun phrase suffixing:

11.5.1 E/722 SN

\[
[\text{gayanu-\text{yi} \quad manin}]_{\text{NP}} \quad \text{gulu} \quad \text{min-DI-n-dyina} \quad \ldots\ldots
\]

\[
\text{lsgDAT/PRO-DAT}_{\text{NP}} \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{not want} \quad 2sg(I)-do-pres-3sgDatPro
\]

\[
\ldots \quad \text{budurr-budurr-gan}
\]

\[
\text{middle-middle-LOC}
\]

"don't you want [my wife]_{\text{NP}} a second time?" (speaker's gloss).
With the exception of dative free form pronouns, the same suffix may not occur more than once on the same nominal, regardless of the function of the nominal suffix, as the following examples show:

11.5.1 E/723 SN (= 4.3.2 E/54)

yigid-gaya yi-MA-ny ....
limp(VN)-like 3sg(II)-go-past₂
.... [wamba-ni-yunu man-NA-n baljanydyina ....
man-ACTNₙₐₚ-INAN.SOURCEₙₐₚ GEN-spear-pres thigh
.... majul-jany-dyunu]ₙₐₚ
spear-INSTR-INAN.SOURCEₙₐₚ
'she went limping along from [the man spearing her thigh with a spear]' is acceptable; the suffixed noun
yalmban-darri-yunu-ni
south-side-INAN.SOURCEₙₐₚ-der-ACTNₙₐₚ
is acceptable, but the following example is unacceptable:

* 11.5.1 E/724 SN (= 4.3.3 E/55)
*yigid-gaya yi-MA-ny ....
limp(VN)-like 3sg(II)-go-past₂
.... [yalmban-darri-yunu-ni-yunu ....
south-side-INAN.SOURCEₙₐₚ-der-ACTNₙₐₚ-INAN.SOURCEₙₐₚ
.... man-NA-n baljanydyina]ₙₐₚ
GEN-spear-pres thigh
'she went limping along from [the man from the south side spearing (her) thigh]'.

No example of multiple nominalized clause suffixing has been recorded (Nyigina speakers do not appear to favour multiple embedding).
11.5.2 DIRECT OBJECT OF VERBAL NOMINALIZATIONS

In E/723, baljanydyina is analyzed as the direct object of the non-personal form man-NA-n 'spearing'. Word order is significant here, as a type of noun incorporation (introduced in 3.2) appears to be possible in this situation. In the following example it is proposed that noun incorporation occurs:

11.5.2 E/725 SN
yadab-yadab-gaya ginya ....
crawl(VN)-crawl(VN)-like 3sgPRO
.... [baljanydyina + man-NA-n-dyunu]_NC
    thigh(incorp.)+GEN-spear-pres-INAN.SOURCE_NCN
'she (was) crawling along from thigh-spearing (that is, having her thigh speared').

A version which does not involve incorporation and with an approximately similar meaning of the nominalized clause is possible:

11.5.2 E/726 SN
dun yi-YA-na ....
heavy 3sg(II)-become-past
.... [baljanydyina-yunu man-NA-n]_NC
    thigh-INAN.SOURCE_NCN GEN-spear-pres
'she became swollen from her thigh being speared'.

If, however, the word order in the nominalized clause is reversed, so too is the orientation of the activity:
11.5.2 E/727 SN

dun_ yi-YA-na ....
heavy 3sg(II)-become-past
.... [man-NA-n-dyunu baljanydyina (warany-nil-dyi)]_{NC}
GEN-spear-pres-INAN.SOURCE_{NC} thigh other-many-DAT_{NP}
'he became weary from spearing thighs (other people's)'.

The (warany-nil-dyi) was added to clarify for the investigator what is obvious to the native speaker.

The same kind of noun incorporation is found with verbal-nominals:

11.5.2 E/728 SN

liyan jan-MA-n [baniy + gilay-dyi]_{NC}
feeling lsg(I)-make-pres goanna(incorp.)+chase(VN)-DAT_{NC}
'I (always) like goanna-hunting'.

With person-prefixed inflecting verbs, it is not possible to use location of nominal sufffixing to establish noun incorporation. A single possible example involving an inflecting verb was recorded:

11.5.2 E/729 SN

dyujgu jan-BUNGA-ny nundurr-dyibur
fire lsg(II)-warm-past warm-END
'I ?fire-warmed myself till I was warm'.

11.5.3 DISTRIBUTION OF NOMINALIZED CLAUSE SUFFIXING

Where the relationships are already explicit (for example, from nominal sufffixing), word order in a nominalized clause may be varied. As with noun phrase suffixing, nominalized clause suffixing of the initial item seems to be preferred:
This version appears to be in free variation with both

```
dun yi-YA-n [niyambalu-yunuNC man-NA-n balu-ni]NC
```

and also

```
dun yi-YA-n [man-NA-n-dyunuNC niyambalu balu-ni]NC.
```

The nature of the initial item in the nominalized clause does not seem to affect this apparent preference for nominalized clause suffixing clause-initially:

```
[mal_u-yunu ma-BA-n]NC malgin yi-MA-ny
NEG-INAN.SOURCENC GEN-see-pres secret 3sg(II)-go-past2
'without (anyone) seeing, he went secretly (away)';
```

```
gulu yi(n)-Ø-n-dyina [bawuna-yi inydyal]NC
not want(VN=PS) 3sg(I)-do-pres-3sgDatPro to here-DATNC go(VN)
'he doesn't want to come here';
```

```
[baybarra-ni inydyal]NC jjan-ANDI-ny budyu..mirri1
behind-REFNC go(VN) 1sg(I)-pick up-past2 all..certain
'coming behind, I picked up the remainder'.
```
Only incorporated nouns appear regularly in initial position in a nominalized clause without nominalized clause suffixing.

The nominalized clause suffixing may be present on more than one item:

11.5.3 E/734 SN

[mug-dyunu lajgurr-dyunu]_{NC} ....

hit(VN)-INAN.SOURCE_{NC} possum-INAN.SOURCE_{NC}

.... winda yi-YA-na

exhausted 3sg(II)-become-past

'he got worn out from killing the possums'.

11.6 FINAL NOTE

Much more fieldwork on the usage of verbal nominalizations is required.
Chapter 12: Some Notes on Nyigina Syntax

12.1 GRAMMATICAL WORD IN NYIGINA

A "grammatical word" in Nyigina is defined to be: that which is able to occur with either nominal suffixing or verbal affixing (or, as in the case of non-personal forms of inflecting verbs, both types of affixing). In most circumstances, word status is fairly clear-cut; however, the following situations are marginal in this respect and will therefore be considered in further detail:

1. conjunctions which are words;
2. words which involve incorporation;
3. conjunctions and other particles; and
4. certain clitics.

12.1.1 CONJUNCTIONS WHICH ARE WORDS

At least two items rather like conjunctions satisfy the ability-to-take-suffixing criterion for grammatical words; they may take nominalized clause nominal suffixing, noun phrase suffixing and even derivational nominal suffixing (these terms were defined in 4.3.1):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{malu} & \quad \text{'not, NEG marker, but'} \\
\text{malina} & \quad \text{'lacking, in vain'.}
\end{align*}
\]

(For the difference in usage between malu and malina, see 4.8.1 E/140-142.)

Both malu and malina may occur clause-initially and therefore take nominalized clause nominal suffixing (see also 4.8.1, 11.5.3):
12.1.1 E/735 BN
diya yi-rr-(a)-A-na [mal-an dunjurrul]NC
club 3-nmin-(SET)-carry-past NEG-LOCNC rifle
'they used to carry clubs, before we had rifles';

12.1.1 E/736 SN
gud . jga-rra-MA [malu-yunu majaRRiy]NC
dead 1sg(II)-fut/IRR-go NEG-INAN.SOURCENC food
'I might die from not (having) food';

12.1.1 E/737 BN
banag yi-rr-(a)-I-na [malu-jany dyuRgu]NC
lost 3-nmin-(SET)-do-past NEG-INSTRNC fire
'they were at a loss, with no fire (that is, not possessing fire)';

12.1.1 E/738 SN (= 4.8.1 E/140)
budurr [malin-an wila]NC wididy yi(n)-ŋ-na buru
middle lacking-LOCNC water dig 3sg(I)-do-past sand
'halfway, being without water, he dug (in) the sand';

12.1.1 E/739 SN
madyajgula-ni manin yin-GA-na ....
single person-ACT woman 3sg(I)-carry-past
.... malina-ni yagu
lacking-ACT husband
'a single woman carried (a baby) .... (a woman) without a husband'.

The word malu can also take the derivational nominal suffix -jure
'much':
12.1.1 E/740 SN

malu-ŋurr_u ginydyina wali ginya .... yaqurr-dyi wamba
NEG-much 3sgDAT/PRO meat dem old-DAT man

'that meat (was) certainly not his .... the old man's';

12.1.1 E/741 SN

munydyu yi(n)-ŋ-na-yina malu-ŋurr_u niŋarra
decit 3sg(I)-say-past-3sgDatPro NEG-much true

'she told him lies, (it was) not at all true'.

The word malina 'lacking' can also take derivational nominal suffixing
(relating to the NP

12.1.1 E/742 SN

malina-dyarra dyuŋgu yi-rr-MA-na-mirri dyadya wila-ni
lacking-two_ fire 3-nmin-go-past-AUG_s torch water-ACT

'the two of them, without fire, went on, the torch (having gone out)
from the rain'.

12.1.2 WORDS INVOLVING INCORPORATION

Occasional examples are found where noun-incorporation results in
two words being affixed as a single grammatical word, that is, for the
appropriate meaning, nominal suffixing must be affixed to the compound
word.

The following example, involving a generalization, uses noun
incorporation:
12.1.2 E/743 SN ( = 3.2 E/24)

liyan  gjan-MA-n  badgurru+mannan-dyi
feeling  lsg(I)-make-pres  kangaroo+spearing-DAT

'I (always) like kangaroo-hunting'.

If the distribution of the dative suffixing is altered, the general nature of the statement is lost:

12.1.2 E/744 SN

liyan  gjan-MI-n  badgurru-yi  mannan
feeling  lsg(I)-give-pres  kangaroo-DAT  spearing

'(right now) I feel like hunting (some) kangaroos'.

(It is claimed that the presence of a different verbal root is not relevant to this discussion.)

12.1.3 CONJUNCTIVE PARTICLES

The particles garri 'subsequently, then' (see also 12.2.2) and badu 'though, yet' are not usually found clause-initially and never take any kind of nominal suffixing. Their position in the clause is usually following the first word but they can occasionally occur elsewhere. They are stressed on the first syllable, as is usual with independent words. The particle badu has been recorded with the clitic mirri (see 12.1.4 E/754).

Their stress pattern, variable location in the clause and ability to occur preceding a clitic favours the analysis of garri and badu as particles rather than as clitics.
12.1.3 E/745 SN
dalyarr yin-DI-ny bulu wa-la-DYALGI-na ɲarri
slip 3sg(I)-do-past almost 3-IRR-fall-past then
'he slipped and almost fell';

12.1.3 E/746 SN (= 11.2.1 E/640)
muli' badu ɲan-(a)-A baybarra
stalk(PS) though 1sg(I)-(fut)-carry behind
'I, though, will stalk behind';

12.1.3 E/747 SN
manin-ni yin-ANDI-n balu badu balu
woman-ACT 3sg(I)-pick up-pres stick though stick
'the woman is picking up her goods and chattels'
(usages such as the above are often rather idiomatic);

12.1.3 E/748 SN
yi-rr-BULA-na-yina warany-dyi badu manin j<ulumba
3-nmin-come-past-3sgDatPro other-DAT yet woman in front
'they came to yet another woman, (foraging) in front'.

12.1.4 THE CLITICS mirri₁ AND mada

These two: mirri₁ 'certain' and mada 'uncertain' are most commonly
enclitic to nouns and refer to the preceding nominal (a clitic boundary
is indicated by .. );
12.1.4 E/749 SN
galiya  min-ŋADI-n  [dyuwa..mirri₁]  nyig-a-NI
finished  2sg(I)-cover-pres  2sgPRO..certain  2sg(II)-fut-sit
'There! You're covering (them). You're the one, you sit (on them)!' (of the Dreamtime creature dagudal ?'nightjar' who was able to "sit" on some eggs which had proved impossibly large for others);

12.1.4 E/750 SN
[mabu mabu..mirri₁]  yin-GA-na  baŋarriy  gaganbalu-ŋana
good  good..certain  3sg(I)-carry-past  bark  Myroodah-ALLAT
'completely faithfully, he brought the mail to Myroodah';

12.1.4 E/751 SN
bara  [ŋanydyा..mada]  wila  ....
maybe  how many..uncertain  wet season
....  yi-(rr)-DI-na  dyimbin-ga
  3-nmin-sit-past  inside-EMPH
'I just don't know how many years they were in (gaol)'.

These clitics follow any nominal suffixing to the noun phrase:

12.1.4 E/752 SN
[dyan-an-gaya..mada]  bilyurr  yi-ŋA-n-dyina?
where-LOC-like..uncertain  soul  3sg(II)-sit-pres-3sgDatPro
'where the hell is his soul to be found?'
(of a medicine man apparently not vulnerable to wounds from the white police's gunfire).
The clitic mirri₁ can occur with the word malu 'not':

12.1.4 E/753 SN

[malu..mirri₁] gud wa-la-MA-na
NEG..certain dead 3-IRR-go-past

'nevertheless he didn't die'.

In the following example, the clitic mirri₁ occurs with the particle badu 'though'. This combination could perhaps be translated 'even though'. (This is the only recorded example of mirri₁ with a particle.)

12.1.4 E/754 BN

nyamburr [badu..mirri₁] yin-DI-ny malu-γunydyin ....
bathe though..certain 3sg(I)-do-past NEG-inclined
.... yuwumban gidily yim-BANDYI-n
unsuccesful cool 3sg(II)-share-pres
.... dambal-ni yi-MARRA-n-dyarri
stone-ACT 3sg(II)-burn-pres-REL

'even though he bathed, he can't get cool because the stone is burning (him)'

(of a man revealed by sorcery to have been responsible for a death -- the stone placed in the dead man's belly will continue to burn the guilty one).

The clitic mirri₁ 'certain' must be distinguished from -mirri₂, the morpheme indicating 'unit-augmented' in pronominal morphology
(see 6.3.2):
"the two of them gathered food for him'.

The following version is perfectly acceptable, but differs significantly in meaning:

"that same lot got food for him'

(note that the -mirri of verbal suffixing is no longer present).

12.2 CONJOINING CLAUSES

12.2.1 THE WORD malu

The word appears in two somewhat different situations. The most frequent function of malu is to express negation, where it occurs with the irrealis mode (see 9.5.3). About ten examples were recorded, where malu was associated with the realis mode, in which some contrast was expressed, for example, in unexpected or undesirable events:

'...they saw the water in the distance, but they smelled the stench (of the murdered people);
12.2.1 E/758 SN

gadady yi(n)-ŋ-na-yina yagarrbada ....

hunt 3sg(I)-do-past-3sgDatPro hill kangaroo

.... malu yim-BULA-na-yirra gudyarralayana-yi ....

but 3sg(II)-come-past-3nsgDatPro three-DAT

.... manin midyala-nil

woman sitting-many

'he was hunting for hill kangaroo .... but he came upon three

women sitting'.

12.2.2 SEQUENCE

Two events in sequence are often expressed in Small Nyigina by the

use of ĺarrir 'then', which usually occurs after the first word of the

clause describing the second event:

12.2.2 E/759 SN

bud yi-rr-(a)-A-ny-mirri gudyarra wamba ....

arise 3-nmin-(SET)-carry-past-2-AUGs two man

.... yi-rr-MA-ny-mirri ĺarrir

3-nmin-go-past-2-AUGs then

'the two men got up and went'.

It is a fairly marginal decision whether ĺarrir is analyzed as an affix,
a clitic or a particle. The analysis is complicated by differences

between Small Nyigina and Big Nyigina.

In Big Nyigina, sequence is expressed by a bound suffix which attaches
to the first word of the clause describing the second event. The suffix
displays dy/y alternation, having the allomorphs:
- yaŋarriʔ - ŋarri following a vowel; and
- dyəŋarri elsewhere.

The presence of dy/y alternation requires that -dyəŋarri be analyzed as an affix. The suffix affixes to the first word of the clause: a nominal, a single-unit inflected verb or either the prestem or the entire verb with a double-unit verb.

12.2.2 E/760 BN (= 2.4 E/19)
bud yin-ŋa-ny _manin-dyəŋarri yi-MA-ny _ŋudin
arise 3sg(I)-carry-past₂ woman-then 3sg(II)-go-past₂ alone
'the woman got up and went (away) by herself';

12.2.2 E/761 BN
bud yin-ŋa-ny _wamba-ŋarri yi-MA-ny _ŋudin
arise 3sg(I)-carry-past₂ man-then 3sg(II)-go-past₂ alone
'the man got up and went (away) by himself';

12.2.2 E/762 BN
yim-BULA-ny-dya _mug yana-rr-(a)-ɪ-ny-dyəŋarri
3sg(II)-come-past₂-REL hit 1+2+m-nmin-(SET)-do-past₂-then
'after she came, then we killed her'.

The Small Nyigina form ŋarri would seem to be related to the Big Nyigina suffix -dyəŋarri. Since Big Nyigina appears generally to be phonologically the more archaic dialect, it seems likely that the Big Nyigina suffix has become abbreviated to the Small Nyigina ŋarri. It is also possible that, in addition to losing the phonological evidence for affix status, the status itself was lost and ŋarri came to function as either a clitic or a separate particle. Although ŋarri is frequently found following the clause-initial word in the same way as Big Nyigina
-dyaŋjarri, other locations in the clause are not uncommon. This wider range of possible locations within the clause slightly supports non-affix rather than affix status. The ability to follow either nominals, prestems or inflecting verbs perhaps makes an analysis of particle status slightly preferable to clitic status and this analysis has been adopted.

12.2.2 E/763 SN

nunydyi waŋ-a-NI .... malu dyuwa ḟjarri ....
alive    3sg(II)-fut-sit NEG 2sgPRO then
....    mug ya-ya-rr(a)-I
 ......   hit 1nsfut/IRR-nmin-(SET)-do
'let (her) stay alive; and (if) you don't .... we'll kill (you)'
(how to deal with a malevolent medicine man).

The particle ḟjarri may also follow the entire double-unit verb:

12.2.2 E/764 SN

yab yi-MA-na  gud yi-MA-na ḟjarri ....
away 3sg(II)-go-past dead 3sg(II)-go-past then
....  birr-an buru
bush-LOC place

'he went away and died in the bush'

or it may intervene between the prestem and the inflecting verb:

12.2.2 E/765 SN

dyaw(u) ḟjarri wal-(a)-I yaŋja-rr-a-DYALADYALA- yi
swim(PS) then 2sg(1)-(fut)-do 1+m-nmin-SET-watch-2sgPRO

'Then you swim (across)! We'll watch you'.
Rarely, -dyajarri is also heard in use by Small Nyigina speakers:

12.2.2 E/766

\[ \text{Ija-LUGA-na barra wurrb bayin-dyajarri} \]

\[ \text{lsg(II)-cry-past sun going in night-then} \]

\[ \text{.... walga rajgarr} \]

\[ \text{sun sunrise} \]

'I cried .... (from) sunset .. then (all) night .. (till)

sunrise'.

12.3 SIMILARITY AND THE COMPARISON OF EQUALITY

This comparison is frequently expressed by the use of jarru 'as, like'. The description of jarru probably could have been included equally well in Chapter 4 but it was deferred until this chapter because this location was thought more appropriate for consideration of its additional clausal role (12.3.3).

12.3.1 jarru AS DERIVATIONAL NOMINAL SUFFIX

In certain (fairly rare) examples, -jarru functions as a derivational nominal suffix and may be followed by other nominal suffixes. It is used to indicate measure, that is, the speaker uses a visible equivalent to represent a dimension in another time or place:

12.3.1 E/767

\[ \text{ganydyirr yin-BA-na gamirri-jarr-abu} \]

\[ \text{look 3sg(I)-see-past dem-as-ABL} \]

'he looked from like there' (accompanied by gesture);
12.3.1  E/768  SN

nya-ŋarr-abu  gudidyi  yin-ANDI-na  gan-ŋarru-ŋana
this-as-ABL  run  3sg(I)-pick up-past  dem-as-ALLAT

'he started to run, from like here to there' (indicating distance with gesture).

12.3.2  ŋarru RELATING TO A NOUN PHRASE

In a large number of examples, ŋarru relates to an unsuffixed noun phrase. Since ŋarru invariably immediately follows the noun phrase, it is not possible to determine from these examples whether or not it is bound to the nominal or is enclitic:

12.3.2  E/769  SN

yuŋjur  yi-YA-n  wanajari ? ŋarru
round  3sg(II)-become-pres  stone  as

'(the moon) becomes round like a stone'.

However, it seems that an analysis similar to that of 12.3.1, that is:

wanajari-ŋarru-Ø
stone-as

is not necessarily appropriate. Other examples exist in which a nominal with noun phrase suffixing is followed by ŋarru instead of, as in E/767 and E/768, -ŋarru followed by noun phrase suffixing. Where -ŋarru occurs followed by noun phrase suffixing, it seems reasonable to analyze -ŋarru as a suffix. However, for the examples where ŋarru follows noun phrase suffixing, a different analysis seems preferable and, for the next example, ŋarru has been analyzed as a clitic:
'they were like in ignorance' (meaning 'they couldn't have cared less').

It is therefore proposed that the enclitic analysis be also adopted (somewhat arbitrarily) for the unsuffixed noun phrases. The following are other examples where *jarru* is analyzed as enclitic:

'... they shot them on the side of the hill ... in a group, like dogs' (referring to a massacre by police);

'he covered himself with a binga ... a binga (is) like a coolamon'.

The comparison of qualities (see 4.5.1.2) uses enclitic *jarru*:

'I'm not as good at hunting as him';
12.3.2  

wanajarrri..ɡarru  ḏun  yi-ɡA-na

stone..as  heavy  3sq(II)-sit-past

'she was as heavy as a stone' (of a drowned person).

12.3.3  ɡarru RELATING TO A CLAUSE

In this usage, ɡarru can follow either a nominal (which may have
nominal suffixing) or an inflecting verb and refers to the entire clause.

As with ɡarri (see 12.2.2), this ability to occur in various locations
within the clause and following either nominals or inflecting verbs
provides slight support for the analysis of ɡarru as a particle in this
usage relating to the whole clause. Although compelling evidence is
lacking, this analysis of particle status has been adopted.

12.3.3  

ɡayi-ni  marrɡana  rurrb  mug  ɡan-(a)-I

1sgPRO-ACT  in turn  in return  hit  1sg(I)-(fut)-do

....  ɡinya-ni  ɡarru  mug  yin-DI-ny-ɡayu

3sgPRO-ACT  as  hit  3sg(I)-do-past₂-1sgOPro

'I'm going to hit him back in turn, as he hit me';

12.3.3  

yi-ma-GULA-nydyi-na  balya  ....  marr-an  balya  ....

3sq(II)-INT-tie-INTₚ-past  cloth  head-LOC  cloth

....  yarrga-ni  ya-rr-(a)-A-n  ɡarru  manin-ni

1+mpRO-ACT  lnsɡ-nmin-(SET)-carry-pres  as  woman-ACT

'he put on a cloth .... a scarf .... like we women wear'.
Other examples are rather elliptical:

12.3.3 E/777 SN

ginydyina-ni ḣarru guya bararrga ḣayi-ni ....
3sgDAT/PRO-ACT as mother sorry 1sgPRO-ACT

.... ḣa-RA₂-ny-dyina ginya baba
1sg(II)-feel-past₂-3sgDatPro dem child
'I felt sorry for that child, like his own mother (would feel)';

12.3.3 E/778 SN

bararrga ḣa-RA₂-ny-dyina ginya-yi baba ....
sorry 1sg(II)-feel-past₂-3sgDatPro dem-DAT child

.... ḣadyanu-yi ḣarru baba
1sgDAT/PRO-DAT as child
'I felt sorry for that child, as (I would feel) for my own child'.

12.4 INALIENABLE POSSESSION

Inalienable possession may be expressed in a wide variety of ways:
(1) apposition

This is the commonest means of expressing inalienable possession and
the possessor and possessed may occur in either order:

12.4 E/779 SN (= 3.4 E/34)

yin-GALBIRA-n nilawal ginya manin
3sg(I)-call name-pres name dem woman
'he "sings" that woman's name';
12.4 E/780 SN
ya-rr-(a)-ANDI-ny ginya balu madyala barrgura
lnsg-nmin-(SET)-pick up-past_2 dem tree river mangrove bark
'we collect the bark of that river mangrove'.

Body parts may follow the possessor, which may be a suffixed OPro:

12.4 E/781 SN
lar yin-ANDI-na-gayu nimidi dandyi-ni buru
skin off 3sg(I)-pick up-past-lsgOPro knee hard-ACT ground
'the hard ground took the skin off my knee'.

(2) dative suffixing

The dative may express inalienable (as well as other) possession
(see 4.5.1.2), the possessor being marked by dative suffixing:

12.4 E/782 SN
nilaba ginydyina nim yi-ŋA-n
ear 3sgDAT/PRO closed 3sg(II)-sit-pres
'his ear is closed' (that is 'he is deaf').

(3) use of ginydyina (3sgDAT/PRO)

Inalienable possession is occasionally expressed by the use of
unmarked noun phrases for both the possessor and the possessed, together
with the third person singular dative free form pronoun ginydyina 'his,
hers, its'. This means of expressing possession is not common and
apparently occurs most frequently with possessors of low animacy.
12.4 E/783 SN
dilarr .... laŋgarri gagaru ginydyina
cockleshell shell cockle 3sgDAT/PRO
'dilarr .... the cockle's shell';

12.4 E/784 SN
ganajanydyar maŋjarri ginydyina ....
emu food 3sgDAT/PRO
.... malu gab ya-la-rr-(a)-I
NEG eat 1nsng-IRR-nmin-(SET)-do
'(that plant is) the emu's food .... we don't eat (it)'.

(4) productive possessive suffixing (see 4.2.3.2)
Inalienably-possessed items, kin terms and dogs may also take
productive possessive suffixing (in Small Nyigina only for third
person) on that which is possessed, while the possessor, if present,
takes dative suffixing:

12.4 E/785 BN
giliŋjirri-giliŋjirri yi-rr-a-MA-ny buru-yarra-marru
bore hole-bore hole 3-nmin-SET-make-past2 country-our-DIRECT
'they bored lots of holes around (here) in our country';

12.4 E/786 SN
gabay-dyi baba-yina-ni wirrba yin-GA-na
(kin term)-DAT child-his-ACT take away 3sg(I)-carry-past
'gabay's child took (it) away';
12.4 E/787 SN

yin-WULIGA-n waju-yina-ni
3sg(I)-wait-pres wife-his-ACT
'his wife waits (for him)';

12.4 E/788 SN

wamba-nil-dyi yila-yirr-an yig-GULMA-ny wanminy
man-many-DAT dog-their-LOC 3sg(II)-sit-past fly
'flies sat on the men's dogs'.

12.4.1 KIN TERMS

Kin terms and personal names may use the suffix -gurany 'own' to express a kin relationship:

12.4.1 E/789 SN

dyana gamida-gurany-gaya?
where "granny"-own-LIKE pause
'where's your grandchild?'.

12.4.1 E/790 SN

nya-ni .... dyalajga ɲadyanu meanya-gurany
this-NARR classif. child 1sgDAT/PRO (person name)-own
'this one .... my "daughter" -- Meanya's (= co-wife's) own child'.

Where a kin relationship is expressed without the use of a kin term, -gurany can still occur with the noun phrase denoting the related person(s):
12.4.1 E/791 SN
marr-an  marr-an  marr-an  yin-MA-na  yirrga ....
head-LOC  head-LOC  head-LOC  3sg(I)-put-past  3nsgPRO
....  baba-garra  ginydyina  uba-garra  jalyag ....
     child-multiple  3sgDAT/PRO  small-multiple  blue tongue lizard
....  ginya-gurany
dem-own
'she put them on her head, her young ones, the blue tongue lizard's own children'.

12.5 TRANSITIVITY IN NYIGINA

The coding of transitivity in Nyigina appears to me to be entirely consistent with the view advanced by Hopper and Thompson (1980:254) that transitivity is a "continuum", involving a number of variables. In their view, a number of components determine "the effectiveness with which the action takes place" (p.251).

The components which are particularly relevant to Nyigina are:
(a) the conscious activity of the agent; and
(b) the degree of effectedness of the object.

As conscious activity of the agent is associated with "high transitivity", morphological markers suggestive of high transitivity in Nyigina are:
(1) active suffixing of the NP pref; and
(2) the presence of set I prefixing (see 9.3.5.5, 9.3.5.6), especially with alternative-prefixing verbal roots.

A high degree of effectedness of the object is usually associated, in Nyigina, with:
(3) the presence of an OPro (6.6.1); and
(4) the presence of the verbal suffix -gany (10.6).

The following examples display several of these morphological markers and these clauses are also ranked "high" on the transitivity scale:

12.5 E/792 SN
yujurrugu-ni ganya yi-LI-ny-dyirrga
water snake-ACT dem 3sg(I)-eat-past_2-3msgOPro
'that water snake ate them up'
(example includes active suffixing of the NP \_pref, set I prefixing and an OPro).

This clause should rank as maximally transitive on the Hopper and Thompson scale (p.252) since, in addition to including the morphological markers already listed, the clause involves an "action" which is "punctual" (that is, not on-going), "telic" (that is, completed) (which two aspects are expressed by the use of the recent past (-ny) suffix (see 10.4.4)), affirmative and realis. The "effectedness" of someone who is gobbled up is about as total as one could imagine. The victims were indeed "highly individuated", being known characters in a Dreamtime story. The water snake, in the Nyigina view, is something like the supreme "agent": he certainly acts with "volition" (that is, intent) and he is so powerful (and malevolent) that extreme precautions are necessary to ensure survival when one is forced to enter or cross his domain.
The factors involved in the use of these morphological markers associated with high transitivity will be reviewed individually in the following sections.

12.5.1 ACTIVE SUFFIXING OF THE NP\textsuperscript{pref}

The use of active suffixing with the NP\textsuperscript{pref} is associated with high transitivity and suggests that the NP\textsuperscript{pref} ranks highly as an agent (see 5.2.3), that the NP\textsuperscript{pref} is acting purposefully and that the action will affect another participant.

Compare the following two examples:

12.5.1 E/794 SN (= 10.6.2.1 E/567)
\begin{align*}
\text{wamba} & \quad \text{yiij-GADI-ny-ŋany-.dylibra} \\
\text{man-Ø} & \quad 3\text{sg(II)-enter-past}_2-\text{TOG-3sgDatPro} \\
\end{align*}
'\text{the man went in to them with (it)}';

12.5.1 E/795 SN
\begin{align*}
\text{wamba-ni} & \quad \text{yiij-GADI-ny-ŋany-.dylibra} \\
\text{man-\textsc{act}} & \quad 3\text{sg(II)-enter-past}_2-\text{TOG-3sgDatPro} \\
\end{align*}
'\text{the man took (it) in for them}'.

The English glosses provided for these examples differ markedly in the grade of transitivity, while the Nyigina versions differ only in the
12.5.1

use of active suffixing with the NP

12.5.2 THE USE OF SET I PREFIXING

The selection of set I prefixing has been discussed at length in 9.3.5.5. With alternative-prefixing verbal roots, the selection of set I prefixing is associated with control by an animate agent NP that is, with high transitivity, for example:

12.5.2 E/796 SN
wamba-ni yin-MARRA-ny wali
man-ACT 3sg(I)-burn-past meat
'the man cooked the meat';

while selection of set II prefixing indicates lack of control by the NP that is, low transitivity, for example:

12.5.2 E/797 SN (= 9.3.5.5 E/451)
yi-MARRA-n barrdyaniny dyujg-an
3sg(II)-burn-pres kangaroo fire-LOC
'the kangaroo is getting roasted in the fire'.

12.5.3 PRESENCE OF AN OPro

The representation of one participant as an OPro is almost always associated with high transitivity:

12.5.3 E/798 SN
yin-ALGA-na-da-yirr wamba manin
3sg(I)-beat-past-HABIT-3nsgOPro man woman
'he used to kill them, men (and) women'.
12.5.3 392

12.5.3  E/799  SN

wamba-ni  yij-GADI-ny-ŋany-ɗiyrr  ruwan-gan
man-ACT  3sg(II)-enter-past_2-TOG-3nsgOPRO  cave-LOC
'the man took them into the cave'.

However, where a surface verb includes -ŋany suffixing, an OPro can sometimes occur in a clause of rather low transitivity (see also 5.2.6):

12.5.3  E/800  SN

yɪ-(rr)-DI-ny-ŋany-ɗayu
3-(nmin)(=II)-sit-past_2-TOG-1sgOPRO
'they sat with me'.

It should be remembered that active suffixing of the NPpref is not possible (see 5.2.6) in these examples:

12.5.3  E/801  BN

warany  yɪ-ŋA-n-ŋany-ɗyu
other-Ø  3sg(II)-sit-pres-TOG-2sgOPRO_2
'another (person) is sitting (close) to you'.

12.5.4 PRESENCE OF THE VERBAL SUFFIX -ŋany

The inclusion of the verbal suffix -ŋany may considerably increase the transitivity of the clause. Consider the following two clauses involving the same verbal root -BULA- 'come':

12.5.4  E/802  SN

gularr-ɗabu  ɗam-BULA-ny
west-ABL  1sg(II)-come-past_2
'I've come from the west' (low transitivity); and
'I'm going to bring the dogs' (high transitivity).

Other examples which include -jany are of rather intermediate transitivity, although the clause may be of higher transitivity than might be expected from the verbal root used:

'then, ecstatic, they acquired (it)'

(from the Dreamtime story of the first use of fire).

The suffix -jany may occur with verbs with introspective affixing (see 9.7.2), resulting in a clause of higher transitivity:

'they were gossiping about them (other people)'.

However, -jany may be present without any marked increase in the grade of transitivity:

'I took my two children';
12.5.4 E/807 SN

yin-GA-na-jany-dyina
3sg(I)-carry-past-TOG-3sgDatPro
'(the dog) lugged (the man's body) to her'
(from a Dreamtime story about an old blind woman).

Not all examples involving the suffix -jany are associated with high transitivity:

12.5.4 E/808 SN

wağa-rr-BULA dyana-yun-amu mandadyarra ....
3nsg/fut-nmin-come where-INANSOURCE-RELAT multitude
.... mandya wağa-rr-MARA-jany
many-∅ 3nsg/fut-nmin(=II)-be-TOG

'big mobs from all over the country will come .... many people will be (here) with (us)'.

12.5.5 TRANSITIVITY WITH DOUBLE-UNIT VERBS

For clauses with double-unit verbs, the grade of transitivity is influenced by:

(a) the prestem;
(b) the verbal root of the inflecting verb; and
(c) the presence of the verbal suffix -jany.

For certain prestems, the same prestem may occur in a double-unit verb in a clause of low transitivity:

12.5.5 E/809 SN

galiya ibara guln yi-MA-n
finished for long sleep 3sg(II)-sit-pres

'then he sleeps for a long time'
or in a clause with fairly high transitivity:

12.5.5 E/810 SN
ginya-ni \textit{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{2}}}
\textit{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{2}}}
\textit{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{2}}}
gulín yin-MA-na
\texttt{dem-ACT smoke-ACT sleep 3sg(I)-make-past}

'\textit{that smoke makes (the baby) sleep}'.

With a number of verbal roots, the same verbal root may occur in double-unit verbs in clauses of high transitivity:

12.5.5 E/811 SN
baba mág yi-rr-(a)-I-na-yirr
\texttt{child hit 3-nmin-(SET)-do-past-3nsgOPro}

'\textit{they used to kill the children'}

and with double-unit verbs in clauses of low transitivity:

12.5.5 E/812 SN
\textit{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{2}}}
\textit{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{2}}}
gúuy yi-rr-(a)-I-na linydyu
go back 3-nmin-(SET)-do-past bitter

'\textit{the police went back}'.

The verbal root \textit{-A-/-GA-} 'carry', which as single-unit verb is usually associated with high transitivity, can occur in double-unit verbs in clauses of fairly low transitivity:

12.5.5 E/813 SN
bud yin-GA-na ginya \texttt{wamba}
\texttt{arise 3sg(I)-carry-past dem man}

'\textit{that man got up}'.

\texttt{linydyu}
It is, however, unusual for verbal roots of low transitivity to occur in double-unit verbs associated with high transitivity.

With double-unit verbs, the presence of the verbal suffix -ŋany may increase the grade of transitivity of the clause:

12.5.5 E/814  SN
gabad  yin-DI-ny  bal-abu
jump    3sg(I)-do-past$_2$ tree-ABL
'he jumped down from the tree';

12.5.5 E/815  SN  (= 8.3.7 E/399)
gabad  yi(n)-ŋ-na-ŋany-dyirr-mirri
jump    3sg(I)-do-past-TOG-3nsgOPro-AUG$_g$
'he jumped down on the two of them';

12.5.5 E/816  SN
dyugudu-ni  ꞉ud  yin-DI-ny-ŋany  widyunu
boy-ACT  happy  3sg(I)-do-past$_2$-TOG big red kangaroo
'the boy accepted the kangaroo'
(from a Dreamtime story about a little boy who was adopted by a kangaroo and lived for a time as a kangaroo).

12.6 VERBLESS CLAUSES

Various types of verbless clauses (introduced in 7.2) are found in Nyigina. Most verbless clauses consist of a series of unsuffixed nominals, although others involve nominal suffixing (such as dative in E/822) and use of clitics (such as ꞉arru in E/820).

(1) equative clauses
12.6 E/817 SN (= 7.2 E/352)

ŋayu garrbuju

1sgPRO (person name)

'I (am) Garrbuju' (introducing a story);

12.6 E/818 SN (= 6.2 E/296)

ginydyina-nil-ga baba dyalggaŋurrru-nil

3sgDAT/PRO-many-EMPH child medicine man-many

'all her children (are) medicine men'.

(2) ascriptive clauses

12.6 E/819 SN

walibuju dyanyba nijarra dyanyba

(person name) generous true generous

'Walibuju (was) truly generous';

12.6 E/820 SN

mabudyunu ŋunu ginydyina ŋunu..ŋarru

excellent sister 3sgDAT/PRO sister..as

'she (is) pretty like her sister'.

(3) locational clauses

12.6 E/821 SN (= 7.2 E/353)

dyana dyudug ginya buru

where far dem place

'how far (is) that place?'.
(4) possessive clauses

12.6 E/822 SN

gamirri yila manin-dyi
dem dog woman-DAT
'that dog (is) that woman's'.

12.6.1 CLAUSES WITH nila

Clauses with nila 'knowing' may include an inflecting verb:

12.6.1 E/823 SN

nila nyi-ŋa-n-dyanu gurru ŋadyanu
knowing 2sg(II)-sit-pres-lsgDatPro QUEST lsgDAT/PRO
'do you know me?'.

Nila may occur in clauses which include a separate finite verb:

12.6.1 E/824 SN

lagarr yi(n)-ø-na ginya wamba nila galbu bal-an
climb 3sg(I)-do-past dem man knowing above tree-LOC
'that man, realizing, climbed up in a tree' (to call out a warning).

Nila may also (rarely) occur with nominal suffixing (for example, 4.10 E/178).

However, nila is more often found in a clause without any inflecting verb:

12.6.1 E/825 SN

yirrgra manydyan nila
3nsgPRO only knowing
'only they know';
12.6.1 E/826 SN
malu nila ginya
NEG knowing 3sgPRO
'he doesn't know'.

Clauses with nila can also include that which is known. The "knowledge" may be represented by a noun phrase:

12.6.1 E/827 SN
malu nila ḫayu dyuwa
NEG knowing lsgPRO 2sgPRO
'I don't know you'
(word order determines which participant possesses the knowledge); or it may be represented by another verbless clause:

12.6.1 E/828 SN
dyuwa nila [dyana dyilamana]
2sgPRO knowing where rifle
'you know [where the rifles (are)]';

or a nominalized clause:

12.6.1 E/829 SN
malu nila ḫayu [lagarr yawada] NC
NEG knowing lsgPRO climb(VN) horse
'I don't know [how to ride a horse]';

or a clause including an inflecting verb:
12.6.1 E/830 SN

malu nila [yi-NA-n ginya]
NEG knowing 3sg(II)-sit-pres 3sgPRO
'(he₁) doesn't know [that he₂ is (here)]'.

12.7 QUESTIONS: THE MARKER gurru

Questions in Nyigina usually include either gurru 'whether' or an interrogative word, such as yağıj 'who/what' or dyana 'where'. The marker gurru is found in direct questions:

12.7 E/831 SN

"marrinyan .... gurru wali mug yana-rr-(a)-I?"
hungry QUEST meat kill 1+2+m-nmin-(SET)-do
'(I'm) hungry. Can we kill meat?';

12.7 E/832 SN

"gurru liyan-djany min-MA-n? inydyia yaj-a-MA!"
QUEST feeling-INSTR 2sg(I)-make-pres travel 1+2(II)-fut-go
'Do you want to? Let's go!'

and also in indirect questions:

12.7 E/833 SN (= 10.6.2.2 E/575)

ŋan-a-BA-djany-dyirra yidyirra ....
lsg(I)-fut-see-TOG-3nsgDatPro 3nsgDAT/PRO
.... [gurru wan-(a)-A-yirrga-dyi]
QUEST 3sg(I)-(fut)-carry-3nsgOPro-EXP
'I'm going to see (him) about (something) concerning them: whether he will take them'.

Questions which include gurru make no assumptions about a yes/no answer.
Appendix A: Nyigina Text

1 yi-rr-NA-na-mirri banu-juny-abu  
3-nmin-go-past-AUG east-bank-ABL
The two of them travelled from over in the east,

2 yagurr gudyarra / wamba gudyarra //
no good two man two
two evil ones, two men.

3 gularr gularr gularr //
west west west
(They went) west, west, west.

4 wanydyarri manin yi-MA-na julumba judin //
one woman 3sg(II)-sit-past in front alone
One woman was sitting ahead (of her companions), alone.

5 wurr yi(n)-@-na ginya dyilgarr-gan-@andi //
rub 3sg(I)-do-past this antheap-LOC-SURF
This one rubbed on the antheap,

6 malal-an dyilgarr //
flat antheap-LOC antheap
on the flat antheap.

7 wurr yi(n)-@-na wurr yi(n)-@-na //
rub 3sg(I)-do-past rub 3sg(I)-do-past
He rubbed and rubbed.

8 gunag yim-BANDYI-na baba //
turn 3sg(II)-share-past child
He turned himself into a child.

9 yim-BULA-na-@any dyandula //
3sg(II)-come-past-TOG carrying on hip
(The other) came with (him), carrying (him) on his hip,

10 dyandula banugu //
carrying on hip from east
carrying (him) on his hip, from the east.
11 "wamba wamba yim-BULA-n-dyanu"  
man man 3sg(II)-come-pres-lsgDatPro  
"A man, a man is coming to me"

12 yin-BA-na ginya-na manin "baba-barri"  //  
3sg(I)-see-past this-ACT_E woman child-COMIT  
this woman realized, "with a child".

13 "dya wal-(a)-A-ny here -gany-dyanu  //  
hand over 2sg(I)-(fut)-carry-HERE-TOG-lsgDatPro  
"You hand over (the child) here to me,  

14 ¡ayi-ni widu ¡an-a-M(A)-anu"  
1sgPRO-ACT big 1sg(I)-fut-make-lsgDatPro  
so I can bring (him) up for myself".

15 yi(n)-Ø-na-yina  //  
3sg(I)-say-past-3sgDatPro  
she said to him.

16 yin-ANDI-na ginya-ni / yi-rr-BIGA-na-mirri  //  
3sg(I)-pick up-past 3sgPRO-ACT 3-nmin-have-past-AUG_s  
She picked up (the child). The two of them kept (the child).  

17 yi-LUGA-na yi-LUGA-na yi-LUGA-na  
3sg(II)-cry-past 3sg(II)-cry-past 3sg(II)-cry-past  
The baby cried and cried and cried  

18 yi-LUGA-na ginya baba //  
3sg(II)-cry-past this child  
and cried.

19 "wal-i-MI-na  
wal-i-MI-na ¡amana!"  
2sg(I)-fut-give-3sgOPro 2sg(I)-fut-give-3sgOPro breast  
"Give it (to him), give (him) milk!"  

20 yi(n)-Ø-na-yina //  
3sg(I)-say-past-3sgDatPro  
he told her.

21 nyarr yi(n)-Ø-na ¡amana //  
bite 3sg(I)-do-past breast  
(The baby) bit off her breast.
22 galila gud ginya manin //
finished dead this woman

Then the woman died.

23 wali yidyirramirri yi-rr-a-li-na-mirri //
meat 3+3DAT/PRO 3-nmin-SET-eat-past-AUG
The two of them ate (her) (as) their meat.

24 ginya yi-(rr)-Dl-na-mirri // gimbii yi-YA-na //
this-LOC 3-(nmin)-sit-past-AUG morning 3sg(II)-become-past
They camped there. Morning came.

25 gularr yi-rr-MA-na-mirri gularr gularr gularr //
west 3-nmin-go-past-AUG west west west
West they went, west, west, west.

26 "dyuwa marrgana" // "wurr jan-(a)-I" //
2sgPRO in turn rub 1sg(I)-(fut)-do
"(It's) your turn!" "I'll rub".

27 ginya marrgana wurr wurr yi(n)-Ø-na
this in turn rub rub 3sg(I)-do-past
He, in turn, rubbed and rubbed

28 malal-an dyilgarr-gan //
flat antheap-LOC antheap-LOC
on the flat antheap.

29 "dyuwa marrgana" //
2sgPRO in turn
"(It's) your turn".

30 yi-rr-MA-na-mirri //
3-nmin-go-past-AUG They went along.

31 yi-rr-BULA-na-yina-mirri warany-dyi badu manin
3-nmin-come-past-3sgDatPro-AUG other-DAT yet woman
They came to yet another woman

32 julumba //
in front
ahead (of her companions).
33 dyandula dyandula yin-GA-na //
carrying on hip carrying on hip 3sg(I)-carry-past
On his hip, he carried (him) on his hip.

34 ḣalar yi(n)-Ø-na nyinda manin:
look away 3sg(I)-do-past this woman
This woman saw in the distance:

35 'wamba wamba yim-BULA-ny baba-barri-ŋgayaa"
man man 3sg(II)-come-past_2 child-COMIT-LIKE pause
"A man, a man has come with a child ...".

36 yin-DYUBA-na-yina:
3sg(I)-ask-past-3sgDatPro
She asked him:

37 "dyana guya ginydyina gamirri-ya baba?"
where mother 3sgDAT/PRO that-DAT_e child
"Where's his mother, that child's (mother)?"

38 "gud yi-MA-ny / muda ŋjan-GA-n /
dead 3sg(II)-go-past_2 nothing 1sg(I)-carry-pres
"She died, I've got no-one,

39 mararramba-ŋgayaa" yi(n)-Ø-na-yina //
motherless child-LIKE pause 3sg(I)-say-past-3sgDatPro
(he's) a motherless child, like" he told her.

40 "uya waI-i-MI!
hand over 2sg(I)-fut-give
"Give (him) over (to me)!

41 ḣayi-ni widu ḣan-a-M(A)-anu-ŋgayaa"
1sgPRO-ACT big 1sg(I)-fut-make-1sgDatPro-LIKE pause
I'll bring (him) up for myself, like".

42 yin-BILIMA-na / yin-MI-na-yina //
3sg(I)-take-past 3sg(I)-give-past-3sgOPro
She took (him). He gave him (to her).

43 yi-rr-BIWA-na-mirri //
3-nmin-have-past-AUG_s
The two of them kept (him).
44 yi-LUGA-na-yina  jamana-yi  //
   3sg(I)-cry-past-3sgDatPro  breast-DAT
   He cried for milk.

45 waŋgurr  yi(n)-Ø-na  //  waŋgurr  yi(n)-Ø-na  //
   cry  3sg(I)-do-past  cry  3sg(I)-do-past
   He cried and cried.

46 "wal-i-Ml-na          jamana!"
   2sg(I)-fut-give-3sgOPro  2sg(I)-fut-give-3sgOPro  breast
   "Give it (to him), give (him) milk!"

47 yi(n)-Ø-na-yina  //
   3sg(I)-say-past-3sgDatPro
   he told her.

48 nyarr  yi(n)-Ø-na  ginya..mirri,  jamana  //
   bite  3sg(I)-do-past  this..certain  breast
   He bit off the breast itself.

49 galiya  gud  ginya  manin  //
   finished  dead  this  woman
   Then the woman died.

50 yi-rr-a-Ll-na-mirri  //
   3-nmin-SET-eat-past-AUG_s
   They ate (her).

51 yi-rr-a-MARRA-na-mirri  //
   3-nmin-SET-burn-past-AUG_s
   They cooked (her).

52 yi-rr-a-Ll-na-mirri  walli  yidyirramirri  //
   3-nmin-SET-eat-past-AUG_s  meat  3+3DAT/PRO
   They ate (her) (as) their meat.

53 yug  yi-rr-(a)-l-na-mirri  giny-an  //
   sleep  3-nmin-(SET)-do-past-AUG_s  this-LOC
   They slept in that place.

54 gularr  yi-(rr)-Di-na  gudyarralayana  manin  //
   west  3-(nmin)-sit-past  three  woman
   To the west were camped three women.
They dreamed: "Soon, soon two men (will come).

One changes his form.

The two (are) evil, the two men ....

The two of them go about looking (for people) to eat."

Sure enough, they saw (him), (coming) from the east,

(they saw) him, carrying a child on his hip,

He carried (the child) with him to her ....

He gave him (to her).

"You take (him)!

"nya ş-a-BIGA dyuwa-ni
here 2sg(II)-fut-have 2sgPRO-ACT
"You take (him)!

"gabâl gabâl gudyarra wamba //
3-nmin-SET-dream-past soon soon two man

"gabyarra yagurr / gudyarra wamba-jgayaya //
two no good two man-LIKE pause

The two (are) evil, the two men ....

The two of them go about looking (for people) to eat."
66 mararramba / malina guya-ŋgaya //
motherless child lacking mother-LIKE pause
(tthis) orphan, (this) motherless child ....

67 guya ginydyina gud yi-MA-ny-dyina-ŋgaya" //
mother 3sgDAT/PRO dead 3sg(II)-go-past 2-3sgDatPro-LIKE pause
His mother died on him ...."

68 yi-rr-BI[G]-na ginya-ni gudyarralayana manin //
3-nmin-have-past this-ACT three woman
The three women kept (him).

69 lal yi-MA-na wajgurr-ŋgaya ginya baba //
throw tantrum 3sg(II)-go-past crying-like this child
The child threw a tantrum, screaming.

70 dyan yin-BU,na-ŋjany bur-an ginya-na manin //
smash 3sg(I)-hit-past-TOG ground-LOC this-ACT woman
One of the women smashed (him) on the ground.

71 galiya gud ginya baba //
finished dead this child
Then the baby (was) dead.

72 ginya warany-ga dyurrb yi(n)-ŋ-na yagurr-ga wamba
this other-EMPH plunge 3sg(I)-do-past no good-EMPH man
The other one, the evil man, charged

73 bil[i-barri ginya-nil-ŋjana manin //
aggressive-COMIT this-many-ALLAT woman
furiously towards the women.

74 dyid yi-rr-(a)-l-na majul-ŋjany [ yaŋ-ŋjany? ]
stop 3-nmin-(SET)-do-past spear-INSTR [ what-INSTR ]
They stopped (him) with spears .... [ what with? ] ....

75 milgin-ŋjany-ga //
digging stick-INSTR-EMPH
with digging sticks.

76 guburr guburr nuju galiya gud-dylbur //
gouging gouging belly finished dead-END
Then they battered his belly until he was dead.
They made a fire with the two of them.

This really happened in the Dreamtime, long ago.
Appendix B (i): Person-Variable Possessive Nominal Prefixing

The following alternative-prefixing languages are alleged to have person-variable possessive prefixing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ba:di</td>
<td>Worms (1950:645)</td>
<td>confirmed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyawi</td>
<td>Bird (1910:180-186)</td>
<td>not investigated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyabirr Dyabirr</td>
<td>Stokes 1979: below</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyul Nyul</td>
<td>Nekes (1939:152-153)</td>
<td>some speakers deny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warrwa</td>
<td>Capell (1953:452)</td>
<td>unconfirmed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngumbal</td>
<td>Stokes 1978: below</td>
<td>possible.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DYABIRR DYABIRR**

System of Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+m/1+m</td>
<td>yarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+m</td>
<td>girr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+m</td>
<td>yirr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some Roots taking Prefixes

- anmurr 'thigh'
- alm 'head'
- m 'eye'
- mal 'hand'
- malun 'nose'
- lamirr 'ear'
- yajal 'tongue'
- yalajgun 'elbow'.

**NGUMBAL**

The speaker of Ngumbal was very frail and has since died (no other speaker is known). Elicitation was extremely difficult because of deafness and probable senile dementia. It was impossible to be certain of forms. There appeared to be variation in the forms elicited and it is possible that this variation was due to uncertainty relating to person-variable prefixing.
Possible Ngumbal roots taking prefixes:

- alma       'head'
- dyagalany  'tongue'
- mala       'hand'
- malul      'nose'
- mi         'eye'
- midi       'lower leg'
- mbal (?-yambal)  'foot'
- lababa     'ear'
- lirr       'mouth'.

POSSIBLE INCORPORATED THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PREFIXING

The following words possibly demonstrate incorporated third person singular prefixing:

NYUL NYUL

nalm    'head'
ning_   'body'
nim     'eye'
nimal (?nimal)  'hand'*
nimarrady  'spirit'
nimarragg  'hand'*
nimid     'lower leg'
nimil     '?nose'
nimbal    'foot'
nilabab   'ear'
nilirr     'mouth, parts of mouth'.

* these apparently differ in meaning (difference not clear to me)

(The root -muig 'knowing' definitely displays person-variable prefixing in Nyul Nyul.)

YAWURU

nimala    'hand'
niwal     'foot'.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nalma</td>
<td>'head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nada</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nilirr</td>
<td>'tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niyajalanany</td>
<td>'tongue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niyajgurr</td>
<td>'chin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nimala (?nyamala)</td>
<td>'arm, hand, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nimidi</td>
<td>'lower leg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niyambala</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B (ii): Prefixed Forms in other Alternative-Prefixing Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nyigina</th>
<th>Prefixed Forms</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nalma</td>
<td>ã-ALMA (lsg), ir-ALMA (3nsg)</td>
<td>Ba:di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nimidi</td>
<td>ãa-MIDI (lsg), ir-MIDI (3nsg)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nimilgarr</td>
<td>ãa-MI (lsg), ir-MI (3nsg)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nilawal</td>
<td>nga-LAWOL (lsg), nji-LAWOL (2sg)</td>
<td>Nyul Nyul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nilirr</td>
<td>ãa-LIR (lsg), i-LIRR (3nsg)</td>
<td>Ba:di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niyambalu</td>
<td>ãa-YAMBALA (lsg), ir-DYAMBALA (3nsg)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niyajalany</td>
<td>ãa-YAJALA (lsg), ir-DYAJALA (3nsg)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niyal</td>
<td>ãja-YA (lsg), ir-GA (3nsg)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niyarra</td>
<td>ni-YARA (3nsg) ir-DYARA (3nsg)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('sweetness, pleasantness')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuju</td>
<td>ãa-NU (lsg), ir-NU (3nsg)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the forms in the table above are from Metcalfe (pers. comm.) and are presented in the original orthography.
REFERENCES


Capell, A. 1940. 'The Classification of Languages in North and North-west Australia', *Oceania*, 10.241-272 and 10.404-433.


---- and Elkin, A. P. 1937. 'The languages of the Kimberley Division', *Oceania*, 8.216-246.


Worms, E. A. 1950. 'Djamar, the Creator: A Myth of the Bād (West Kimberley, Australia)', Anthropos, 45.641-658.