USE OF THESES

A Description of Nyigina,

A Language of the West Kimberley, Western Australia

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Unless otherwise acknowledged, this thesis is

the original work of the author.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

7.1   INTRODUCTION   181

        7.1.1 Types of Surface Verbs   181

7.2   USE OF INFLECTING VERBS   182

        7.2.1 Morphology of Inflecting Verbs   184

               7.2.1.1 Verbal Roots   185

               7.2.1.2 Verbal Prefixing   185

               7.2.1.3 Verbal Suffixing   186

7.3   VERBAL PRESTEMS AND VERBAL-NOMINALS   188

        7.3.1 Verbal-Nominals   190

               7.3.1.1 Phonology of Verbal-Nominals   190

               7.3.1.2 Reduplication of Verbal-Nominals   192

        7.3.2 The Verbal Prestem   193

        7.3.3 Verbal-Nominals with Nominal Suffixing   194

CHAPTER 8: VERBAL ROOTS

8.1   INTRODUCTION   197

8.2   PHONOLOGY OF VERBAL ROOTS   197

8.3   MONOSYLLABIC VERBAL ROOTS   199

        8.3.1 The Verbal Root -BA- 'see'   202

        8.3.2 The Verbal Root -MI- 'give'   204

        8.3.3 The Verbal Root -NI- 'sit'   204

        8.3.4 The Verbal Root -RA$_1$- 'spear'   208

        8.3.5 The Verbal Root -ŊARA- 'be, feel, become'   210

        8.3.6 The Verbal Root -A- 'carry'   215

        8.3.7 The Verbal Root -I- 'do, say'   217

        8.3.8 Remaining Monosyllabic Verbal Roots   224

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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.

LIST OF ABBREVIATED TERMS

(I) and (II)	set I and set II verbal prefixing	3.3	p. 42
		7.2.1.2	p.185
		9.3.5	p.248
ABL	ablative nominal suffix	4.9	p. 96
ACT	"active" nominal suffix	4.4	p. 65
		5.2	p.125
		5.3	p.135
ACT_E	emphatic "active" nominal suffix	4.4.1	p. 68
ALLAT	allative nominal suffix	4.7	p. 87
ANIM.SOURCE	animate source nominal suffix	4.5.3	p. 76
A/P	alternative-prefixing	7.2.1.2	p.185
		9.3.5.4	p.255
AUG_s	minimal augment verbal suffix (of any pronominal affix)	10.10	p.331
CAUS	causal nominal suffix	4.8.3	p. 94
COMIT	comitative nominal suffix	4.11.1	p.104
DAT	dative nominal suffix	4.5.1	p. 68
DAT_e	"extended dative" nominal suffix	4.5.2	p. 73
DAT/PRO	dative free form pronoun	6.5	p.161
DatPro	dative pronominal verbal suffix	6.6.2	p.166

der(subscript)	derivational use of nominal suffix	4.3.1	p. 53
DIRECT	"directional" nominal suffix	4.12	p.109
EMPH	"emphatic" nominal suffix	4.14.1	p.112
END	"end-point" nominal suffix	4.13	p.110
EXCL!	"exclamatory" suffix	4.14.4.2	p.123
EXP	"expectation" verbal suffix	10.9	p.327
fut	future tense verbal prefix	9.4	p.273
GEN	general or non-personal verbal prefix	9.3.6 11.3	p.268 p.341
HABIT	"habitual" verbal suffix	10.5	p.301
HERE	"to here" verbal suffix	10.11	p.332
INAN.SOURCE	inanimate source nominal suffix	4.10	p.101
INCL	"including" nominal suffix	4.11.2	p.108
INSTR	instrumental nominal suffix	4.6	p. 80
INT_p	introspective verbal prefix	9.7	p.287
INT_s	introspective verbal suffix	10.3	p.295
IRR	irrealis mode verbal prefix	9.5	p.276
LIKE	"like" nominal suffixing	4.14.3	p.119

<u>like</u>	"like" derivational nominal suffix	4.14.3.1	p.120
LIKE$_{pause}$	"like" pause-filling suffix	4.14.3.2	p.121
LOC	locative nominal suffix	4.8.1	p. 89
NARR	"narrative" nominal suffix -ni	5.4	p.145
NARR$_E$	emphatic "narrative" nominal suffix -ni	4.14.1	p. 68
NC	nominalized clause	4.3.1 11.5	p. 53 p.362
NEG	negative marker	12.2.1	p.376
nmin	non-minimal person grouping verbal prefix	9.6.1	p.283
NP$_{pref}$	noun phrase cross-referenced in verbal prefixing	5.2	p.125
OPro	direct object pronominal verbal suffix	6.6.1	p.165
2sgOPro$_{1\to 3}$	second person singular OPros	6.6.5	p.170
past	general past tense verbal suffix	10.4.3	p.299
past$_2$	recent past tense verbal suffix	10.4.4	p.300
pres	present tense verbal suffix	10.4.2	p.298
PRO	unmarked free form personal pronoun	6.2.1	p.154

PRO$_p$	personal pronominal verbal prefix	9.3	p.244
PRO$_s$	personal pronominal verbal suffix	10.8	p.325
PS	verbal prestem	7.3	p.188
QUEST	question marker	12.7	p.400
REF	"referential" nominal suffix -ni	5.5	p.148
		11.4.1	p.345
REL	"relative" verbal suffix	10.7	p.319
RELAT	"related" nominal suffix	4.14.2	p.114
SET	set I verbal prefixing marker	9.6.2	p.286
SURF	"surface" nominal suffix	4.8.2	p. 92
TOG	"together" verbal suffix	10.6	p.304
VN	verbal-nominal	7.3	p.188
		11.2	p.335
VOC!	vocative suffix	4.14.4.1	p.122

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:

yin-MARRA-na

3sg(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:

yarrdyu

1+2+mPRO

'we all (inclusive)'.

Morpheme boundaries are indicated by - and clitic boundaries by .. . Where a word is *incorporated,* the link is indicated by + .

A number of other abbreviations will be found:

∅	zero
*	unattested or unacceptable
dem	demonstrative
sg, nsg	singular, non-singular
REAL	realis mode.

LIST OF PHONOLOGICAL RULES

	Reference	Page

Rule R/1 (set I prefixing):

$$a \quad \longrightarrow \quad \emptyset \; / \; \text{----} + r \qquad\qquad 8.3.4 \qquad \text{p.208}$$

Rule R/1b (set I prefixing):

$$a \quad \longrightarrow \quad \emptyset \; / \; \text{----} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} r \\ n \end{array} \right\} \qquad\qquad 8.4.2 \qquad \text{p.225}$$

$$9.2.2 \qquad \text{p.242}$$

Rule R/2:

$$rr + n \quad \longrightarrow \quad d \qquad\qquad 8.3.3 \qquad \text{p.206}$$

Rule R/2b:

$$rr + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} r \\ n \end{array} \right\} \quad \longrightarrow \quad d \qquad\qquad 8.3.4 \qquad \text{p.208}$$

Rule R/3:

$$a \quad \longrightarrow \quad \emptyset \; / \; \text{----} + C \qquad\qquad 9.2.2 \qquad \text{p.241}$$

Rule R/4:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} r \\ n \end{array} \right\} \quad \longrightarrow \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} n \\ l \end{array} \right\} \; / \; \left\{ \begin{array}{c} n \\ l \end{array} \right\} + \text{----} \qquad\qquad 8.3.4 \qquad \text{p.208}$$

Rule R/5:

$$a \quad \longrightarrow \quad \emptyset \; / \; \text{----} + V \qquad\qquad 8.4.5 \qquad \text{p.231}$$

Rule R/6:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} n \\ \d{n} \end{array} \right\} \quad \longrightarrow \quad \emptyset \; / \; \text{----} + l \qquad\qquad 8.4.1 \qquad \text{p.225}$$

Rule R/7:

$$rr \quad \longrightarrow \quad l \; / \; \text{----} + l \qquad\qquad 8.4.1 \qquad \text{p.225}$$

Rule R/8:

$$\d{n} \quad \longrightarrow \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{homorganic} \\ \text{nasal} \end{array} \; / \; \text{----} + \text{stop} \qquad\qquad 9.2.2 \qquad \text{p.241}$$

Rule R/9:

$$\d{n} \quad \longrightarrow \quad \emptyset \; / \; \text{----} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{nasal} \\ l \\ r \\ w \\ y \end{array} \right\} \qquad\qquad 9.2.2 \qquad \text{p.241}$$

	Reference	Page

Rule (a):

      - dy   ---→   - y / V + ----   6.6.2   p.166

Rule (b):

      - i + - ya   ---→   - a   6.6.2   p.166

Rule (c):

      - a + - ya   ---→   - a   6.6.2   p.166

Rule (d):

      - a + - yu   ---→   - a   6.6.2   p.166

Rule (e):

      - i + - yiC   ---→   - iC   6.6.2   p.166

Rule (f):

      yiy   ---→   y .   6.6.2   p.166

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/1   SN

nya   nyigina   yadyarra   yimaduwarra   "uba"   nyigina   ....

this   Nyigina   our   belonging to river   Small   Nyigina

....   yin-MA-na   bugarrarra-ni   ŋarraŋgani   ....

        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

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[1]Porteus used the term "Little Nyigina"

Figure 1. Map of West Kimberley region, showing approximate area of
Nyigina country (map of Australia included for reference)
Scale: 1 cm to 18 km (approx)

INDIAN
OCEAN

One Arm Pt.   Sunday
Lombadina   I.

King
  Sound

Beagle Bay

D A M P I E R
L A N D

Derby
        Meda

Mt. Clarkson
        Yeeda
        Willare

Manguel   Mt.   Camballin
Creek   Anderson   Liveringa
        Udialla
Broome   Luluigui Looma
                Myroodah
        Dampier Downs
                Nerrima   Kalyeeda

La Grange

FITZROY RIVER

Oscar Range

Fitzroy
Crossing

Noonkanbah

St. George Range

Darwin
Derby   Fitzroy
Broome   River

W.A.

Perth

Sydney

....   roads

━ ━ ━   boundary of Nyigina country

3

with noun classification are adjacent to the north: Worora, Uŋgumi

(apparently extinct) and Uŋarinyin. 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)
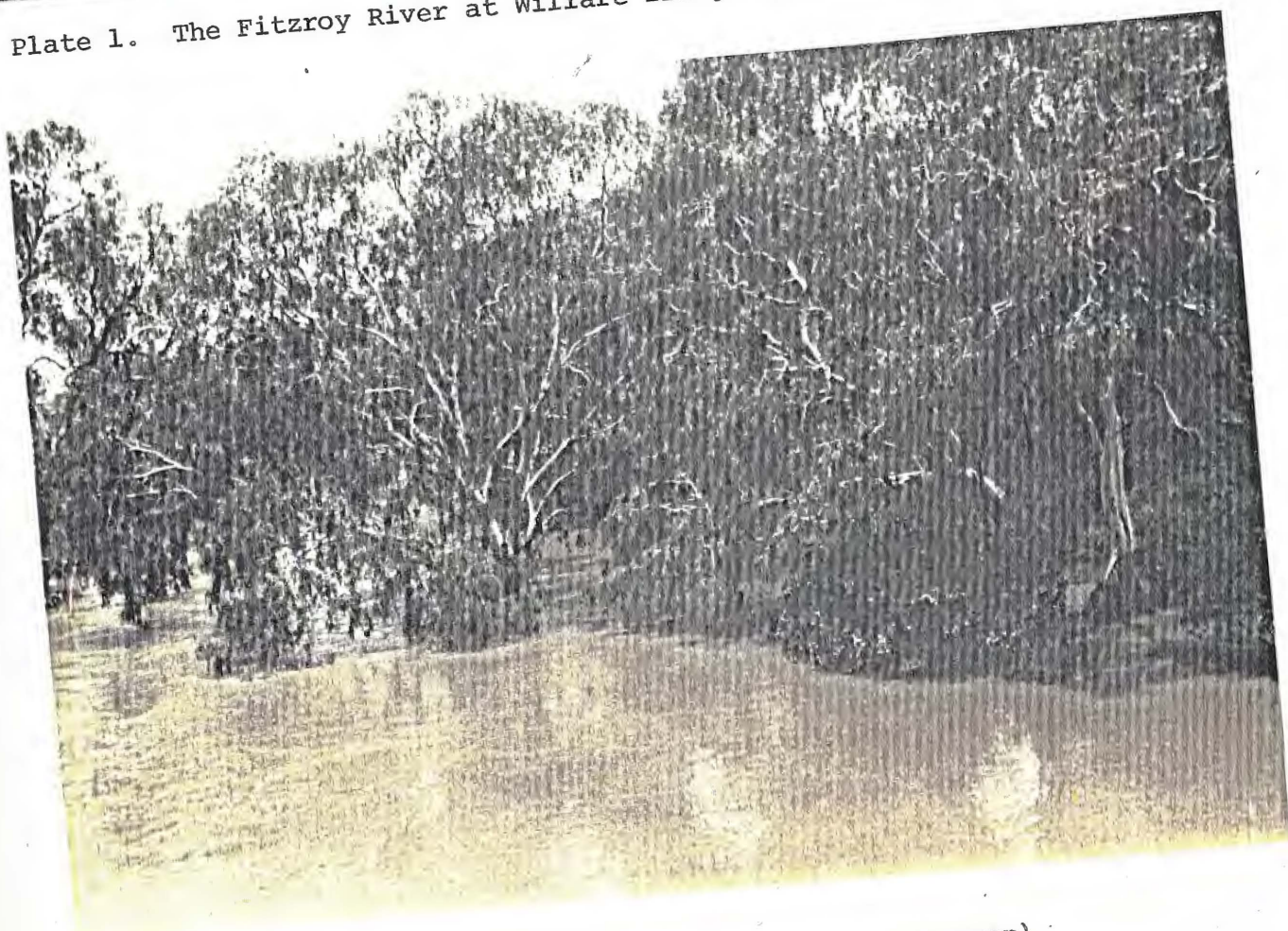
Plate 2. The Fitzroy River at Willare Bridge (wet season)

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 through-out 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: Ba:di

                                              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[3].
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.

1.9   T/1   Details of Dialects or Languages (1978 - 1979)

Dialect	Traditional Country (approximately)	No. of Speakers[4] (approximately)
Small Nyigina	along Fitzroy River, west of Liveringa Station	less than 50
Big Nyigina	around Noonkanbah Station	less than 10
Warrwa	around Meda Station	less than 5
Nimanburr	around Mount Clarkson and Disaster Bay	none known
Yawuru	south of Broome, as far as Thangoo	less than 10
Dyugun	around Cable Beach (Broome) and north as far as Willie Creek	none known
Ngumbal	Willie Creek to Price's Point	none known
Dyabirr Dyabirr	Price's Point to Carnot Bay	less than 5
Nyul Nyul	around Beagle Bay	less than 10
Ba:di	One Arm Point and Lombadina	maybe 100[5]
Dyawi	Sunday Island	less than 10

These locations are illustrated in Figure 2.

_____

[4] my own estimates

[5] estimates vary considerably; Metcalfe (1975:1) gives an estimate of 362

Figure 2. Approximate location of the alternative-prefixing languages
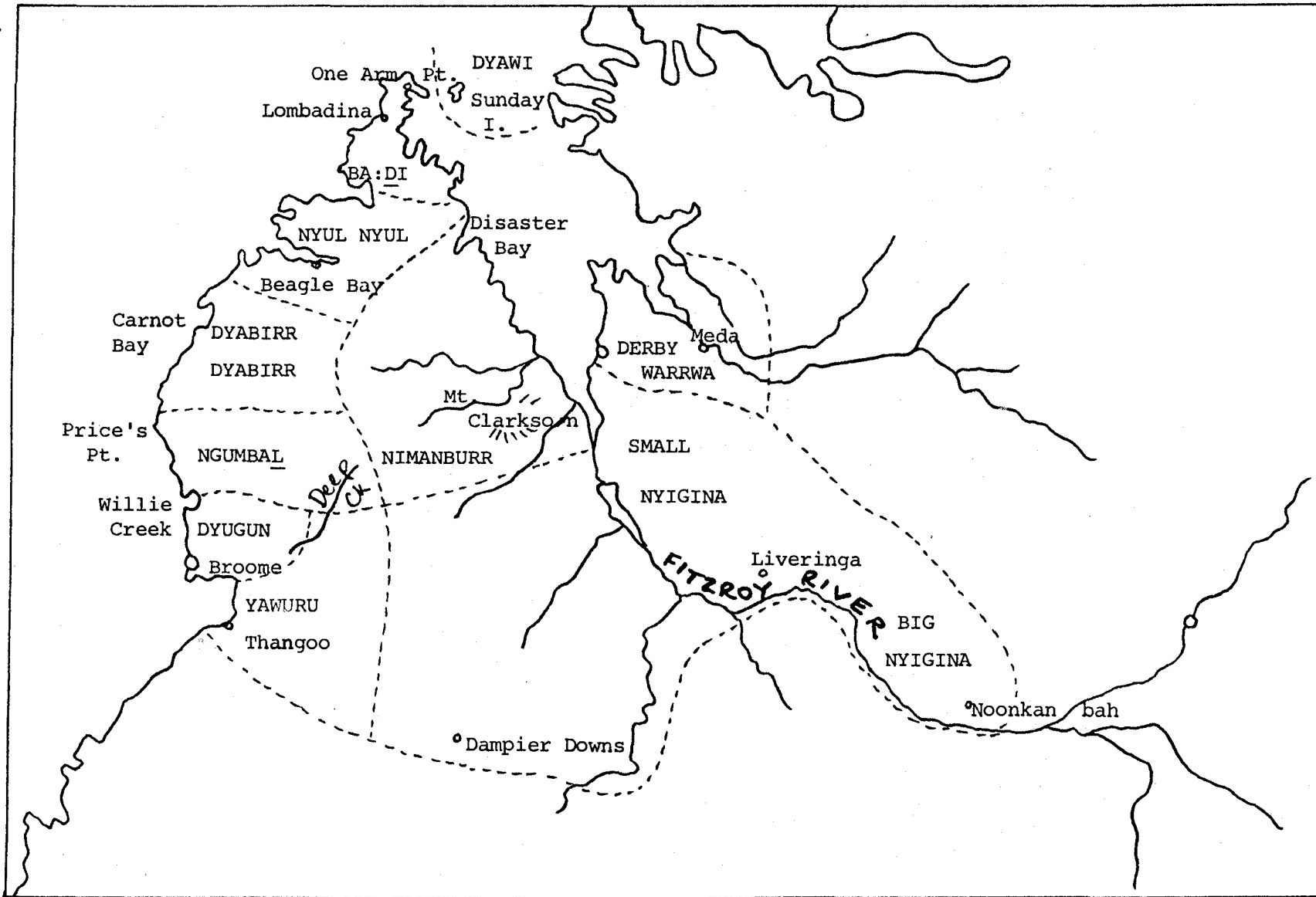
1.10 PREVIOUS STUDY OF NYIGINA

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

Non-standard Word	Standard Equivalent	Gloss	Description
ladiny	wali	'meat'	?archaic
gurrɲay	wila	'water'	?archaic
niranygurru	"	"	allusive: 'throat-wetting-thing'
ɲumal	dyuŋgu	'fire'	?archaic
dyigurrdyunu	waladya	'honey'	allusive: 'hollow log-from'
bidily magarra	baniy	'goanna'	allusive: 'green tail'
dyilbidigudany	dyurru	'snake'	allusive: 'guts-having'
ɲalar	-BA-	'see'	in standard language ɲalar means 'peep, stare'.

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, Uŋarinyin[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 <u>line</u> 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   T/3   Phoneme Inventory

	PERIPHERAL		NON-PERIPHERAL		
			apical		
	labial	dorsal	alveolar	retroflex	laminal
stop	b	g	d	d̲	dy
nasal	m	ŋ̇	n	n̲	ny
lateral			l	l̲	ly
rhotic			rr	r	
semi-vowel	w				y

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 [ʋ], 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 [ɷ].

The vowel /a/ is unrounded and is usually fairly open and central to back [ɑ]. It can be almost half-open [ʌ]. 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 intervocalically, with /dy/ being realized

as [j] and /g/ as [ɤ]. 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 /d̪/ 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'
bad̪	'explode'
bady	'(to) skin'
bug	'float'.

2.1.3   THE NASAL SERIES

All nasals except /n̪/ 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'
ŋay	'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'
gaŋgaŋ	'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

continuant [ɻ].

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-past$_2$ 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)-∅-n	buw-dyunu	dyuŋgu-yunu
puff	1sg-<u>do</u>-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)
maŋarriy		'food'.

Again, the presence of the final semi-vowel is confirmed by the

morphology of nominal suffixing:

2.1.7   E/4   SN

malu   murrgulu   gu-la-rr-(a)-I   marjarriy-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-ŊULIGA-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   walabaliny-dyi

2sg -(fut)-<u>carry</u>-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   dyuŋgu   wan-a-MARRA-dyi   ginya   dyugudu

3sg -<u>pick up</u>-past   fire/wood   3sg -fut-<u>burn</u>-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 -<u>watch</u>-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

ŋan-a-YALAYALA   ŋimbi

1sg -fut-<u>watch</u>   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

wal-a-DYALADYALA-yarrga   gab-ga

2sg -fut-<u>watch</u>-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   dyuŋgu-wa

crocodile-ACTIVE   3sg-<u>have</u>-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-ŋA-n

dem-LOCATIVE-EMPH   3sg-<u>sit</u>-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)

gabal̲   dyani-ŋgaya   wan-(a)-I-ya   marrinyan-ni-ga

soon   what-like̲   3sg-(fut)-do̲-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 -ni̲, is that the final vowel substitution relates

to the emphatic suffix:

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

wali̲   manydyan   gab   ŋa(n)-∅-n-gada̲   ŋayi-n(i)-a

meat   only   eat   1sg-do̲-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:

il	'gather in passing'
yil	'resolve, settle for good'
uba	'small'
wub	'singe'.

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'
ŋandya	'carry in mouth'
ŋanga	'talk'
banbarr	'young cockatoo'
mandu	'louse'
gandya	'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'
waŋgurr	'wail'.

2.2.2.3   NASAL CLUSTERS

Occasional geminate clusters occur *across morpheme boundaries* and

occasional minimal pairs (with identical stress) are found:

banag+an	'(name of skin group)-LOC'
ban+nagan	'east-<u>close</u>'
wan+a	'he will carry'
wan+na	'he will spear'
yarj+an	'what-LOC'
yarj+rjany	'what-INSTRUMENTAL'.

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:

$$C_1 \quad \text{non-peripheral nasal}$$

$$C_2 \quad \text{peripheral nasal}$$

wanma	[2]	(person name)
minrjali	[2]	'tear drop'
wa<u>nm</u>iny	[3]	'fly'
ban<u>rj</u>u	[1]	'lie on stomach'
gilinyman	[3]	'moon'
winyrjar BN	[1]	'trickle, emit smell'.

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 non-peripheral stop

              C_2 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):

galbu   'above'

balma   'creek'

baldya   'quick'

-MALNYA-   'fight in support of another'

balgu   '(to) roll, fold'

balŋa   'strap'.

The retroflex and laminal laterals occur with some peripheral stops

and nasals:

dulbu   'heart'

yalma   'genital infection'

nalgu   'brindled bandicoot'

-lŋ-   NOT ATTESTED

dyulybugu   'kind of small marsupial'

-lym-   NOT ATTESTED

ŋulygu   'beard'

malyŋa malyŋa   'wrinkled'.

Occasional examples of clusters of a lateral with the retroflex rhotic

and also with the semi-vowel /w/ are found:

galra   'reveal'

galwa   BN   'hunt'

galwal   'cottonwood tree'.

2.2.2.4.3 CLUSTERS WITH INITIAL RHOTIC

The apico-alveolar rhotic occurs in (-CC-) clusters with peripheral

stops and nasals, with the laminal stop and also with the semi-vowel /w/:

dyirrbal   'forehead'

wilirrminy   'rainbow lorikeet'

durrdyady   '(to) limp'

-rrny-   NOT ATTESTED

barrgana   'cold weather'

ŋurrŋu   'game, good at fighting'

dyarrwa   'sea, shoalwater, tide'.

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	[1]	(place name)
-yŋ-		NOT ATTESTED.

2.2.2.5   -CCC- CLUSTERS

A small number of examples of clusters comprising

C_1 apico-alveolar lateral or rhotic

C_2
$\left.\begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array}\right\}$ peripheral homorganic nasal-stop cluster
C_3

have been recorded. One minimal pair provides evidence that actual

clusters exist and contrast with examples involving unstressed syllables:

dyalaŋga	(kin term)
dyalŋga	'cure'.

All the known examples are listed below:

dyalmbarr	'roots in the water'
dyilmbirr	'small fish (any kind)'
yalmban	'south'
dyalŋga	'cure'
nilalŋgul	'mosquito'
walŋga	'bream'
gurrmba	'flower of bandiral tree'
-DYARRŊGA-	'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

c_1	non-peripheral nasal, lateral or rhotic semi-vowel /y/

(+possible
c_2
	peripheral nasal
	RESTRICTED to co-occurrence with
	    c_1 apico-alveolar lateral or rhotic
	    c_3 homorganic peripheral stop)

c_3	peripheral stop or nasal laminal stop

2.2.2.6   T/5   Unattested Clusters Predicted by T/4

C_1	l	ly	r	y
	-lɳ- -ldy-	-lym-	-rg- -rɳ- -rdy-	-yɳ- -ydy-

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

GENERAL:	1.	stop clusters (tend to conform to non-peripheral+ peripheral or laminal stop but *not all* attested);
SPECIFIC:	2.	-nd-, -nd- (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'
ŋarb ŋarb	'shimmer'
-rg	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):

Small Nyigina	Other		
gayar	gayara	(Ba:ḏi)	'white man'
guḏur	guḏuru	(BN)	'type of nulla nulla'
ṇur	ṇuru	(BN)	'consume'
-dyibur	-dyiburu	(BN)	END-point (4.13)
mirr	mirri[5]	(BN)	'satisfied, full'.

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-ṆA-na   yi-ma-MADALI-nydyi-na

full-INAN.SOURCE   3sg-sit-past   3sg-INT$_p$-hide-INT$_s$-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   wababgurru-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

"ma<u>l</u>u .... waɳalaɳu   ɳay(u)-a"   yi(n)-∅-na-yina

NEG   young man   1sgPRO-a   3sg-<u>say</u>-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:

Syllables	Percentage	Syllables	Percentage
1	11 %	4	15 %
2	44 %	5	3 %
3	26 %	6	1 %

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:

gudúrr	'sulk'
gúdurr	'pull tight (taut)'.

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:

yíla	'dog'
búlaba	'goanna of the sandhills'
búgarrarra	'the Dreamtime'
gúlarrabulu	'freshwater turtle'
mílimiliyarri	'for the first time (long ago)'.

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:

balŋárraŋàrra	'throw boomerang to return'
mamúrrumùrru	'throw nulla nulla or stick'.

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 bilày	'king parrot'
bugárri	'dream'
burála buràla	'antpit child'
durúg durùg	'lumpy, rough'
galáyan	'seed of a kind of wattle'
gidárr	'pull, drag'
giláy	'follow'
gubarrínbarrìn	'kind of insect'
nugurúnygurùny	'navel'
libirrínbirrìn	'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'
dyágalày	'mud'
dyúwidybàn	'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'
mángayàrra	'scrub turkey'
dyárrmidàŋga	'Mt. Anderson (the hill)'
gáṉaṉànydya	'emu'.

Where the second and third syllables are *open* but the final syllable is *closed*, stress falls on the first and final syllables:

        dyúduwanìny   'water lily root'

        mádyirribàl   'fish spear'.

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

        gáburrdyàliny   'young boab tree'

        gúrrulbìyan   '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'

        bálinydyàrraɲu   '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:

        bádugùrru   'meeting'

        dyáraɲàla   'clear, still'

        bábalyàrradyìna   'flank'

        mílimìliyàrri   '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'

        gálurruɲàrri   'rain from the north'

        yálabadàɲu   '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'
bálinydyàrraɲu	'young emu'
bálinydyàrraɲù-ni	'young emu-ACT'.

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

dyúɲgu	'fire'
dyúɲgu-nì	'fire-ACT'
bániy	'goanna'
bániy-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:

dyágalày   'mud'

dyágalày-gan   'mud-LOC'

dyúduwaníny   'water lily root'

dyúduwaníny-gan   '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 -dyaɲarri 'then' displays dy/y alternation:

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

bud   yin-GA-ny   manin-dyaɲarri   yi-MA-ny   ɲudin

arise   3sg-carry-past$_2$ woman-*then*   3sg-go-past$_2$ alone

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

2.4   E/20   BN

inydya-yaɲarri   gurrag   yi-rr-(a)-A-n-mirri   ....

going-*then*   run away   3-nmin-(SET)-carry-pres-(they)"two"

....   buru-ŋana

         country-ALLATIVE

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

However, in Small Nyigina, the related ɲarri '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   ŋarri   yana-rr-(a)-I-na

3sg-<u>come</u>-past-to us   hit   then   1+2+m-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-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	ŋan-DI-ny-dyina	[ginya	wamba]	....	malina
search	1sg-do-past$_2$-3sgDatPro	dem-∅	man-∅		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)

gaḏady   yi(n)-∅-na-yina   [ginya-yi   wamba]   ....

search   3sg-ḏo-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'[1].

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:

---

[1] compare Dixon (1976:203-306)

3.2 E/24   SN   (= 12.1.2 E/743)

liyan   ŋan-MA-n   badgurru+man-NA-n-dyi

feeling   1sg-<u>make</u>-pres   kangaroo+GENeral-<u>spear</u>-pres-DAT

'I (always) like kangaroo-hunting';

which should be compared with:

3.2 E/25   SN

liyan   ŋan-MA-n   man-NA-n-dyi   badgurru-yi

feeling   1sg-<u>make</u>-pres   GENeral-<u>spear</u>-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)-∅-na-yirra-mirri   dyarrada-ni   yin-NA-ny-ŋayu

3sg-<u>say</u>-past-3nsgDatPro-"two"   secret man-ACT   3sg-<u>spear</u>-past$_2$-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   dyuŋgu-ni

many   child   3-nonminimal-<u>burn</u>-past$_2$ 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:

3.3 E/28   SN   (= 4.4 E/66)

binda   nyi-rra-ŊARA   wila-ni

wet   2sg-fut/IRR-<u>become</u>   water-ACT

'you might get wet from the rain'.

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

3.3 E/29   SN   (= 9.3.5.5 E/446)

dyuwa-ni   min-GULA-ny   yila

2sgPRO-ACT   2sg(I)-<u>tie</u>-past$_2$ dog

'you tied up the dog';

3.3 E/30   SN   (= 9.3.5.5 E/447)

dyuwa-ni   nyiŋ-GULA-ny

2sgPRO-ACT   2sg(II)-<u>tie</u>-past$_2$

'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):

3.3 E/31   SN

dalaw   yi(n)-∅-na-yirr-mirri   buḏa

cut   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past-3nsgOPro-"two"   neck

'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-3nsgDatPro   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 -ŋany '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-ŋany   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   madaŋanarra

place   name   (place name)

'the name of that place was Madaŋanarra'.

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   maḏuwarra-ŋana   gaḏidyina-ni

1sg(II)-<u>go</u>-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-nydyi-na

slime-ACT   3sg(II)-(reflexive)-<u>cover</u>-(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   ŋagil   yin-GA-n   warramba-ni

tree   carry   3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-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

Person	Prefix	Persons	Prefix
1	ṅa –	1+2	ya –
		1+m/1+2+m	yar –
2	nyi –	2+m	gur –
3	ni –	3+m	er –

(where 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 Uṇarinyin (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-marraŋga	'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-ŋu	'belly'.

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

---

[2] Uṇarinyin (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:

Nyigina	Common Australian[4]	
ni - LIRR	lirra	'tooth'
ni - MARRA - ŋga	mara	'arm, hand'
ni - MIL - garr	mil	'eye'.

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-ŋu	'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.

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[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'
nimarraŋga	'arm, hand'
nimidi	'lower leg, knee'
nimilgarr	'eye, face'
*ninydyi	'back'
*niɲaminy	'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'
niyaɲalany (?obscure/ archaic)	'tongue'
niyal	'back, spine'
niyarra	'taste, flavour'
nuŋu	'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.

4.2.3.1 T/9 Possible Incorporated Possessive Suffix (-dyina)

balŋany-dyina (BN balŋany)	'thigh'
buri-dyina	'pancreas'
gaḏi-dyina	'foot'
gaṉa-dyina-ŋany	'spike-dyina-"with" (= porcupine)'
guṉḏi-dyina	'shoulder'
ŋuni-dyina	'nose'
ŋuru-dyina (also as ŋuru)	'anus'.

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-ŋana	yagu-yina
3sgPRO	north	3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past		dem-ALLAT	husband-<u>her</u>

'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

dyumanga<u>da</u>	....	magidyi	"country"-yina	dyumanga<u>da</u>
(place name)		(person name)	country-<u>his</u>	(place name)

'Dyumanga<u>da</u>   ....   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'

Persons	Suffixed Form	With Free Form Dative Pronoun
1	buru-yanu	buru ŋadyanu
2	buru-dyiya (??)	buru dyiya
3	buru-yina	buru ginydyina
1+2	buru-yawu	buru dyawu
1+m	buru-yarra	buru yadyarra
2+m	buru-yuṇgurra	buru gudyugurra
3+m	buru-yirra	buru yidyirra
1+2+m	buru-yayida	buru dyayida

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

ŋunu-yirra-ni   yim-BULA-ny-ŋany   maŋarriy

sister-their-ACT   3sg(II)-come-past$_2$-TOG   food

'their sister brought food';

4.2.3.2   E/42   SN

ŋunu-yina-ni   yim-BULA-na-ŋany   maŋarriy

sister-his-ACT   3sg(II)-come-past-TOG   food

'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:

　　　niyambalu   'foot, track'

　　　nilaba   'ear'

and others *may* incorporate possessive suffixing, for example:

　　　gadidyina   'foot'

　　　ṇurudyina   'anus'

still many others (30-40) show *no* evidence of an incorporated possessive

marker, for example:

　　　banydya   'testicle'

　　　daṇgu   'chin'

　　　dulbu   'heart'

　　　dyaṇgala   'lower leg'

　　　manabalga   'buttocks'

　　　ṇamana   '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-past$_2$

'she went crawling along   ....

... yalmban-darri-ṇany-dyunu-ni   mannan   balṇanydyina

　　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

      $INAN.SOURCE_{der}$, 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,

      $INAN.SOURCE_{NP}$.)

(3)   the suffix may indicate a grammatical relationship of a

      nominalized clause, indicated where necessary by the subscript

      NC, for example, $INAN.SOURCE_{NC}$.   (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):

4.3.1   E/44   SN

baba-dyarra   yi-(rr)-DI-na-da-mirri   dyugudu-dyarra   ....

child-<u>two</u>   3-(nmin)-<u>sit</u>-past-HABIT-AUG_S   boy-<u>two</u>

....   giny-an   walgawalga

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-gaḏa-yina   ....

crocodile-<u>expert</u>   3sg(II)-<u>enter</u>-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   nimilgarr-gan   yin-GA-na-da

eye-<u>appropriate</u>   eye/face-LOC   3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-past-HABIT

'he always wore spectacles on his face'.

   (iii)   -gurru   '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-<u>doer</u> 'car' and talking-<u>doer</u> 'radio'.

4.3.1   E/47   SN

guru   wabab-gurru   ŋadyanu   ....

dark   covering-<u>doer</u>   1sgDAT/PRO

....   ɳurru   yin-ANDI-ny-dyanu

        steal   3sg(I)-<u>pick up</u>-past$_2$-1sgDatPro

'she stole my black blanket from me';

4.3.1   E/48   SN

dyuɳgu-ni   yi-rr-MARRA-na   mandya   baḏ-gurru

fire-ACT   3-nmin(=II)-<u>burn</u>-past   many   "baḏ"-<u>doer</u>

("baḏ" 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

gu<u>d</u>   yirrga   ....   wamba-nil   ....

dead   3nsgPRO   man-<u>many</u>

....   yagu-nil   yidyirra

husband-<u>many</u>   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-<u>side</u>   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-pres   Geegully-LOC

'he's on the south side, at Geegully';

4.3.1   E/51   SN

dyuŋgu-rarri   wa<u>li</u>   ŋaɲ-GALBARRI-ny

fire-<u>side</u>   meat   1sg(II)-<u>drop</u>-past$_2$

'I dropped the hot (to the touch) meat'.

Other derivational nominal suffixes are listed in Table T/11.

4.3.1   T/11   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'
- garuɲju	'"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-<u>go</u>-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   dyaraŋgarr-dyunu   balu

scratch   3-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-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   (= 11.5.1   E/723)

yigid-gaya   yi-MA-ny   ....

limping-<u>like</u>   3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past$_2$

'she went limping along   ....

....   [wamba-ni-yunu   mannan   balŋanydyina   ....

man-ACT$_{NP}$-INAN.SOURCE$_{NC}$ spearing   thigh

....   *from* [the man spearing (her) thigh   ....

....   maɲul-ŋany-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-ṇany-dyunu-ni   ....

        south-<u>side</u>-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   balṇanydyina]$_{NC}$

   south-<u>side</u>-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

[gudyarra-ni   wamba]$_{NP}$ mug   yi-rr-(a)-I-ny-mirri   yila

two-ACT$_{NP}$ man   hit   3-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-past$_2$-AUG$_s$ dog

'two men hit the dog';   and

(2)   the most significant item

4.3.4   E/57   SN

yi(n)-∅-n-dyina   [ginya   ma<u>n</u>in-ga   wurrawurra-ni]$_{NP}$ ....

3sg(I)-<u>say</u>-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 -ɲany (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-ŊULIGA-na-yina		yagu	ginydyina	....
dem	woman	3sg(I)-wait-past-3sgDatPro		husband	3sgDAT/PRO	
....	malu	ŋuy	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   dyuŋgu   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:

4.3.5.1   E/61   SN

wanydyiy   ŋan-BA-ny   [warany-gan   barra]_{NP}

later   1sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past₂   other-LOC   sun

'I saw him later, *another day*'.

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:

4.3.5.1   E/62   SN

nyamburr   ŋan-(a)-I   miliya

bathe   1sg(I)-(fut)-<u>do</u>   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*:

4.3.5.1   E/63   SN

[miliy-an   wila]_{NP}   wamba   waŋ-a-RA₂   bara

now-LOC_{NP}   water   man   3sg(II)-fut-<u>become</u>   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:

4.3.5.1   E/64   SN

miliy-an   nila   yi-ŊA-n   "gabman"-ga   widu

now-LOC   knowing   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-pres   government-EMPH   big

'*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',

dyimbin '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 <u>ACTIVE</u> SUFFIX (-ni)

Only a brief introduction is presented here, since an entire

chapter (Chapter 5) has been devoted to this suffix (and the *other*

suffixes -ni, 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:

4.4   E/65   SN   (= 5.2.3 E/239)

wamba-ni   muɡ   yin-DI-ny   yila

man-ACT   hit   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past$_2$ dog

'the man hit the dog'.

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:

4.4   E/66   SN   (= 3.3 E/28)

binda   nyi-rra-ŊARA   wila-ni

wet   2sg(II)-fut/IRR-<u>become</u>   water-ACT

'you might get wet *through* rain'

though an instrumental relationship usually presupposes an *agent*, which

is lacking in this example.

    Although ergative-instrumental "syncretism"[5] is recognized in a

number of Australian languages, such an explanation is not entirely

appropriate for Nyigina as there is a separate *instrumental* suffix

(-ɲany), 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:di[6] -nim) occurs in other[7] 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:

ɲalyag-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
Warrwa   -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 + NI + n $\xrightarrow{\text{R/2b}}$ yidin

3-nmin-<u>sit</u>-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$_E$ for the active suffix

and NARR$_E$ for the NARRative suffix -ni. *All* the suffixes -ni and the

allomorphs -na have the same phonological characteristics.

4.5 THE <u>DAT</u>IVE AND RELEVANT SUFFIXES

The dative suffix is very widely used. Two other suffixes are

relevant to it: the "extended" dative (DAT$_e$) -dyiya and the animate

source suffix -dyina.

4.5.1 THE <u>DAT</u>IVE 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

malu̲   n̪a-l(a)-ANDI-ny-dyina   ginya-yi̇

NEG   1sg-IRR-<u>pick up</u>-past$_2$-3sgDatPro   dem-DAT

'I didn't get (it) *for* that one!'.

(b)   person disadvantaged

4.5.1.2   E/68   SN

n̪urru   n̪an-ANDI-ny-dyirra   ....

steal   1sg(I)-<u>pick up</u>-past$_2$-3nsgDatPro

....   yawan-darri-n̪any-dyi   mandadyarra

          north-<u>side</u>-INSTR$_{der}$-DAT   multitude

'I stole (it) *from* those northerners'.

(2)   possessive

4.5.1.2   E/69   SN

wamba-ni   mug   yin-DI-ny   manin̲-dyi   yila

man-ACT   hit   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-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").

4.5.1.2   E/70   SN   (= 10.9.3   E/630)

wananjarri   yin-MI-n(a)-awu   manjarriy-dyi

rock   3sg(I)-<u>give</u>-past-1+20Pro   food-DAT

'he gave you and me money *for* food'.

   (4)   aversive

   The dative is used to indicate that which is to be feared or

avoided:

4.5.1.2   E/71   SN

malu   nyamburr-ŋgaya   ya-la-rr-MA-gada   ·   yuŋurrugu-yi

NEG   bathing-<u>like</u>   1nsg-IRR-nmin-<u>go</u>-pres/HABIT   water snake-DAT

'we never go swimming *for fear of* the water snake'.

   (5)   comparison of equality

   The dative is occasionally used for this purpose. (The more usual

means is the use of ŋarru 'as', described in 12.3. Comparison involving

inequality is described in 4.9.1.)

4.5.1.2   E/72   SN

gina   wa-la-NI-na   dyayida   malu   ŋarri

same   3sg-IRR-<u>sit</u>-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"

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

"until":

4.5.1.2   E/73   SN

waŋ-a-NI   warany-gan-dyi   wila

3sg(II)-fut-<u>sit</u>   other-LOC-DAT   water

'let him wait *until* next Wet';

4.5.1.2   E/74   SN

ŋan-BAŊGI-ny   ŋurraŋurra-yi

1sg(I)-<u>see for later</u>-past$_2$ 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   waŋa-(rr)-DI-ŋany   baybarr-abu

other-<u>many</u>   3nsg/fut-(nmin)-<u>sit</u>-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   ŋaŋ-a-MA   banu-rarr-abu-yi

1sgPRO   1sg(II)-fut-<u>go</u>   east-<u>side</u>-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)-Ø-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)-Ø-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   niŋarra   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$_2$-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;

    -yiya   (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

gadad̠y̲   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

man̠in-dyiya : "galiya   ŋadyanu   waŋu   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)-<u>sit</u>-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   inydya-ya

tired   3sg(II)-<u>feel</u>-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)-<u>sit</u>-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

ŋadyanu-ya   gadady   yi(n)-∅-n(a)-anu   wilgirr-wilgirr

1sgDAT/PRO-DAT_e   search   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past-1sgDatPro   circling-circling

'he went around looking for me'.

Other speakers rejected all such forms. Such usages were termed baybarra ɲanga '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)-<u>do</u>-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

maṉdu   yi-YA-ny   ŋadyanu-yina

pregnant   3sg(II)-<u>become</u>-past$_2$ 1sgDAT/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

guḏ   ŋa-rra-MA   gabay-dyina

dead   1sg(II)-fut/IRR-<u>go</u>   (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   ŋa-rra-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[8]

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)-∅-na-yina   [ginya   wamba]   ....

search   3sg(I)-do-past-3sgDatPro   dem   man

....   yarridy   yi-ŊA-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   ŋan-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.

---

[8]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)-∅-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

gada̱dy   ŋan-DI-ny-dyina   [ginya-ya   wamba]   ....

search   1sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past$_2$-3sgDatPro   dem-DAT$_e$ man

....   ma̱lu   ŋa-la-BULA-na-yina   ....

        NEG   1sg-IRR-<u>come</u>-past-3sgDatPro

....   wanydyiy   ŋan-BA-ny   warany-gan   barra

        later   1sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past$_2$ other-LOC   day

'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

gada̱dy   yan-(a)-(I)-ina   dyarramba-ya

search   1+2(I)-(fut)-(<u>do</u>)-3sgDatPro   cherabin-DAT$_e$

'let's go hunting *around for* cherabin'.

4.6   THE <u>INSTRUMENTAL</u> SUFFIX(-ŋany)

    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:

4.6   E/101   SN

dalaw   yi-rr-(a)-I-na   dyamayunu-ŋany   buḏa   ....

cut   3-nmin-(SET)-ḏo-past   axe-INSTR   neck

....   giny-an..mirri₁

        dem-LOC..certain

'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':

4.6   E/102   SN

nyinda-nyinda   dyuŋgu-ŋany   bududy   yana-rr-(a)-(I)-ina   ....

this-this   fire-INSTR   light   1+2+m-nmin-(SET)-(ḏo)-3sgDatPro

....   nyinda-nyind-abu-yi

        this-this-ABL-DAT

'(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):

*
4.6   E/103   SN

*
dyuŋgu-ŋany   wal-a-MARRA   maŋarriy

fire-INSTR   2sg(I)-fut-burn   food

'you cook the food with fire!'

(this example would be acceptable with dyuŋg-an 'fire-LOC').

If a specific rather than a generic example is involved, the instrumental

suffix construction proves to be acceptable:

4.6   E/104   SN

widu-ŋany   dyuŋgu   wal-a-MARRA   wali

big-INSTR   fire   2sg(I)-fut-<u>burn</u>   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.

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

dyuŋgu-ŋany   ŋ-a-ma-MARRA-nydyi   dyuwa   garrinydya

fire-INSTR   2sg(II)-fut-INT$_p$-<u>burn</u>-INT$_s$ 2sgPRO   specific

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

'Fire' may take "instrumental-like" active suffixing (see 5.3) but *not*

in association with an NP$_{pref}$ with active suffixing (that is, an "agent").

    Body parts can take instrumental suffixing:

4.6   E/106   SN

nyim   yi(n)-Ø-n-dyina   nimilgarr-ŋany   ma<u>n</u>in-dyi

wink   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-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-ŋany   wirrba<u>n</u>   ya-rr-(a)-I-n-dyina

Nyigina-INSTR   bush onion   1nsg-nmin-(SET)-<u>say</u>-pres-3sgOPro

'*in* Nyigina we call it "wirrba<u>n</u>"'.

    (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-ŋany   yin-MA-na-da-yirrga

same-INSTR   3sg(I)-<u>make</u>-past-HABIT-3nsgOPro

'"he would do the same thing to them"' (speaker's gloss);

4.6   E/109   SN

gina-ŋgaya   yi-(rr)-DI-na   wanda-ŋany

same-<u>like</u>   3-(nmin)-<u>sit</u>-past   along-INSTR

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

Other examples are possibly rather idiomatic:

4.6   E/110   SN   (= 10.6.5   E/592)

bud   yin-GA-na-da   bayin-ŋany

arise   3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-past-HABIT   night-INSTR

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

4.6   E/111   SN

galiya   dyirril-ŋany   yi-YA-na

finished   strong-INSTR   3sg(II)-<u>become</u>-past

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

The following example with dyimbin-ŋany is ambiguous:

4.6   E/112   SN

gu<u>d</u>   yi-MA-ny   dyimbin-ŋany

dead   3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past$_2$ 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-ŋany   ŋa-ŊA-n   larrgadiy-gan

inside-INSTR   1sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-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

[dyurru-ni   ginya   munydyu-ŋany-ni]$_{NP}$ ....

snake-ACT$_{NP}$ dem   trick-INSTR$_{der}$-ACT$_{NP}$

....   biliga   biliga   yin-MA-na-yina   ginya   guwaniya

    close   close   3sg(I)-<u>put</u>-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 -ŋany is also used with the *instrument* in Big

Nyigina:

4.6   E/115   BN

nyag   wal-(a)-I   guduru-ŋany

hit   2sg(I)-(fut)-<u>do</u>   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-ŋany   ŋ-a-MA

husband-INSTR   2sg(II)-fut-go

'you go *with* your husband!';

4.6   E/117   BN

dambal   ma-MA-n   buy   wanaŋarri   nilawal-ŋany

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 -barri (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$_{der}$ -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   maɲala-barri   waman   yalmban-darri-ɲany

3-(nmin)-<u>sit</u>-pres   Mangala-COMIT   different   south-<u>side</u>-ɲany

'those southerners are different (people), Mangala speakers'.

Such examples are discussed in 4.11.1.

4.6.1   THE *VERBAL* SUFFIX -ɲany

It is of interest here to allude to the *verbal* suffix -ɲany (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

maɲarriy   ɲayi-ni   ɲam-BULA-ny-ɲany

food   1sgPRO-ACT   1sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past$_2$-TOG

'I brought (that is, came *with*) food';

4.6.1   E/122   SN

idyib   yi(n)-∅-na-ɲany   ginya   dyugudu

set out   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-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
-ɲany are discussed at some length in 10.6.2.

4.7   THE <u>ALLATIVE</u> SUFFIX (-ɲana)

This suffix is used to indicate:

(1)   intended destination

4.7   E/123   SN

dya<u>d</u>   yan-(a)-I   marradya-ŋana

move   1+2(I)-(fut)-<u>do</u>   shade-ALLAT

'let's move *to* the shade';

4.7   E/124   SN

ŋa-MA-ny   ŋayu   raŋgarr raŋgarr-gan   bindinyan-ŋana

1sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past$_2$ 1sgPRO   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   wa<u>l</u>i-ŋana

away   husband   3sgDAT/PRO   bush   meat-ALLAT

'her husband (was) away (out) bush *after* meat';

4.7   E/126   SN

muda-ŋana   mandya-ŋal   gu-rr-a-DYINBI-na

nothing-ALLAT   many-<u>times</u>   2nsg-nmin-SET-<u>talk about</u>-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$_{der}$-<u>two</u>-ACT   3-(nmin)-(SET)-<u>spear</u>-past$_2$

....   budurr-ŋana   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)-<u>sit</u>-past

'she stopped *alone*';

4.7   E/129   SN

ŋayi-ni   ma<u>l</u>u bibany   ŋa-LI-na   ŋayi-na   ᵘba-ŋana

1sgPRO-ACT   NEG   greedy   1sg(I)-<u>eat</u>-past   1sgPRO-ACT_E   small-ALLAT

'I wasn't greedy   ....   *I* (only) ate a *little*'.

4.8   THE <u>LOCATIVE</u> AND RELEVANT SUFFIXING

4.8.1   THE <u>LOCATIVE</u> SUFFIX (-gan)

   This suffix has two allomorphs: -an following a vowel and -gan

elsewhere (g/Ø alternation).   These allomorphs *may* reflect the series of

changes

$$g \; > \; \gamma \; > \; \emptyset$$

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   wa<u>d</u>al-gan   warramba

sink   3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past₂   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)":

4.8.1   E/131   SN

ŋayu   ŋaŋ-a-NI   dyuw-an

1sgPRO   1sg(II)-fut-<u>sit</u>   2sgPRO-LOC

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

4.8.1   E/132   SN

nyiŋ-a-NI   gamirri-nil-gan   ŋarruŋu

2sg(II)-fut-<u>sit</u>   dem-<u>many</u>-LOC   people

'you stay *with* those people!'.

     The locative may be used to express location in *time*:

4.8.1   E/133   SN

warany-gan   barra   bayin   gamininy   yi-rr-ŊARA-ny

other-LOC   sun   night   cold   3-nmin-<u>feel</u>-past₂

'the other night they were cold';

4.8.1   E/134   SN

ŋam-BULA-ny   gilinyman-gan

1sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past₂   moon-LOC

'I came *in* the moonlight'.

     (2) state or condition

4.8.1   E/135   SN

bararrg-an   buru   yi-MA-ny

sorry-LOC   ground   3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past₂

'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   1nsg-(nmin)-<u>sit</u>-past-3sgDatPro

'we were *in* complete ignorance of (what had happened to) him';

4.8.1   E/137   SN

yaŋg-an..mada   yi-ŊA-n   dyimbin

what-LOC..uncertain   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-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

gambiy-gan   guly-ŋgaya   yi-ŊA-na   gularrabulu

egg-LOC   excreting-<u>like</u>   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-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-RA$_2$-ny

sitting-LOC   cold   1sg(II)-<u>become</u>-past$_2$

'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   [malin-an   wila]_{NC}   ....

middle   lacking-LOC_{NC}   water

....   wididy   yi(n)-Ø-na   buru

          dig   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past   sand

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

The use of mal ina 'lacking' indicates temporary unavailability,

whereas non-existence is expressed using ma<u>l</u>u 'not':

4.8.1   E/141   BN

yulburru-garra   [ma<u>l</u>-an   ŋayu]_{NC}   ....

long ago-<u>multiple</u>   NEG-LOC_{NC}   1sgPRO

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

4.8.1   E/142   SN

gunbulu   budyu   yi-YA-ny-dyina   ....

blood   finished   3sg(II)-<u>become</u>-past$_2$-3sgDatPro

....   [ma<u>l</u>-an   dyalŋgaŋurru]_{NC}

          NEG-LOC_{NC}   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 + <u>SURFACE</u> (-ŋandi) SUFFIXING

The addition of the suffix -ŋandi, 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-ŋandi

3sgPRO-ACT   3sg(II)-INT$_p$-<u>see</u>-INT$_s$-past$_2$ water-LOC-SURF

'he saw himself (reflected) *in* the water';

4.8.2   E/144   SN

yi-rr-a-BA-na   bal-an-ŋandi

3-nmin-SET-<u>see</u>-past   tree-LOC-SURF

'they saw (him) *against* the tree';

4.8.2   E/145   SN

dyalmarra-gudany   yiŋ-GADI-ny   waragarr-gan-ŋandi

wing-<u>having</u>   3sg(II)-<u>enter</u>-past$_2$ cloud-LOC-SURF

'the aeroplane went *inside* the cloud';

4.8.2   E/146   SN

lagaba   wil-an-ŋandi   niban   yi-YA-ny

fat   water-LOC-SURF   mix   3sg(II)-<u>become</u>-past$_2$

'the oil spread *out on* the water'.

4.8.3   THE ALLATIVE + LOCATIVE SUFFIXING (-ŋan-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 -ŋan-an seems to mean 'rather later

than' or possibly just 'around about'.

Some examples of this suffixing are listed:

ɳurraɳurra-ŋan-an   '?late afternoon'
mid afternoon-ALLAT-LOC

ɲimbi-ŋan-an   '"bit after ɲimbi"'
morning-ALLAT-LOC   (speaker's gloss)

raɳgarr-ŋan-an   'towards sunrise'
piccaninny daylight-ALLAT-LOC

miliya-ŋan-an   'recently'
now-ALLAT-LOC

giya-ŋan-an   'another time later on'
again-ALLAT-LOC

baybarra-ŋan-an   '"last time"'
behind-ALLAT-LOC   (speaker's gloss)

Further suffixing may follow this suffixing combination:

4.8.3   E/147   SN

miliya-ŋan-an-dyunu   ŋam-BIGA-n   baba

now-ALLAT-LOC-INAN.SOURCE   1sg(II)-<u>have</u>-pres   child

'I've got a new-born baby'.

4.8.4 THE SUFFIXES (-gan+-dyi) AND <u>CAUSAL</u> (-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)

waɳ-a-NI   [warany-gan-dyi   wila]$_{NP}$

3sg(II)-fut-<u>sit</u>   other-LOC-DAT   water

'he can wait *until* next Wet (to become a man)'.

This particular example can be satisfactorily analyzed as locative + dative suffixing, each having a predictable function.

However, in other examples, suffixing 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   ŋa-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   ŋayu   dyuw-andyi   ....

hit   3sg(I)-do-past$_2$ lsgPRO   2sgPRO-CAUS

....   yagu-ni   ŋadyanu

        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:

4.9.1   E/153   SN

malu̱   min-a-rr(a)-ANDI   ŋadyanu   ma̱nin   ....

NEG   2sg(I)-fut-IRR-pick up   1sgDAT/PRO   woman

....   dyuwa   wid-dyunu

        2sgPRO   far-INAN.SOURCE

'you can't take my daughter (for a wife) ... you (are a) a *foreigner*'.

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 interchange-

ably or even together (see 4.10).

  Use of the ablative suffix to denote geographical source may come

to be used derivationally:

4.9.1   E/154   SN   (= 4.7   E/127)

gan-gabu-dyarra-ni   yi-(rr)-(a)-DA-ny   ....

dem-ABL_der -two-ACT   3-(nmin)-(SET)-spear-past_2

....   budurr-ŋana   wanydyarri   wamba

        middle-ALLAT   one   man

'those two *from* there speared one man (he being) halfway.

The source may be *temporal* also:

4.9.1   E/155   SN

yi-rr-GANI-na   gina..mirri_1   bab-abu   dyarriny

3-nmin-grow-past   same..certain   child-ABL   unchanging

'they grew up like that *from* childhood';

4.9.1   E/156   SN

giny-abu   yugula   gab   yi(n)-Ø-na

dem-ABL   liver   eat   3sg(I)-do-past

'next (that is, *from* then) he ate the liver'.

    (2) progression ("through")

4.9.1   E/157   SN

dyaw(u)   yi(n)-Ø-na   walbadu   ub-abu   balma

swim   3sg(I)-do-past   across   small-ABL   creek

'he swam *across* the little creek';

4.9.1   E/158   SN

dyimbin   yiŋ-GADI-na-da   nanjul-abu

inside   3sg(II)-enter-past-HABIT   small hole-ABL

'he used to go in *through* a small hole';

4.9.1   E/159   SN

gud   yi-(rr)-DI-na   .... dyud   .... wanydyiy-garr-abu

dead   3-(nmin)-sit-past   finally   later-multiple-ABL

'they were dead .... at last .... eventually'.

    (3) motion involving separation ("over")

4.9.1   E/160   SN

yin-MA-na   dyimbin-gabu

3sg(I)-put-past   inside-ABL

'he put (it) *away* inside';

4.9.1   E/161   SN

wamba   dyudug   yin-DI-ny   mayar-gabu

man   inside   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past₂   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)-(<u>do</u>)-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   dyiŋgidi-ŋgaya   ....

3sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past-3sgDatPro   playing-<u>like</u>

....   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)-<u>do</u>-past   foot-ABL

'he tracked *from* the footprints';

4.9.1   E/165   SN

gidarr-gidarr   yin-GA-na   nimarraŋg-abu

pull-pull   3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-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)-<u>pick up</u>   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_{der}-ACT   hit   3-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-past-AUG_s

....   darrul   dyaŋgala   ma<u>l</u>aŋgul-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   ŋadyanu-nil   baba   dyiya-nil-gabu   baba   idany

long   1sgDAT/PRO-<u>many</u>   child   2sgDAT/PRO-<u>many</u>-ABL   child   long

'my kids are taller *than* your kids';

4.9.1 E/169   SN

mandya   yila   ŋam-BIGA-n   dyuw-abu

many   dog   1sg(II)-<u>have</u>-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

ŋayi-ni   lurrb   ŋan-DI-ny   ....

1sgPRO-ACT   pound   1sg(I)-do-past$_2$

....   barrgura   madyala-yunu

         bark   river mangrove-INAN.SOURCE

'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

gana   yim-BIGA-n   maŋul-dyunu

spike   3sg(II)-have-pres   spear-INAN.SOURCE

'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   E/172   SN

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   ŋa-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   ŋa-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

4.10   E/176   SN

dul-gurru-barri   yi-rr-MA-na   mandyayunu   wamba

"boom"-doer-COMIT   3-nmin-go-past   big mob   man

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

      ubayunu   ?uba + -dyunu   '?bit bigger'

      (also ubadyunu)   small

4.10   E/177   SN

yin-ANDI-na-yina   ubadyunu   ....

3sg(I)-pick up-past-3sgDatPro   bit bigger

....   yuŋur-yuŋur   wanaŋarri..ŋarru

      spherical-spherical   stone..as

'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).

      mabudyunu   ?mabu + -dyunu   '"real good"'

              good

4.10   E/178   SN

....   yin-ANDI-n(a)-arri   ....   mabudyunu-ni   dyalŋgaŋurru   ....

      3sg(I)-pick up-past-REL   excellent-ACT   medicine man

....   nila-ni   dyalŋgaŋurru

      knowing-ACT   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

ŋurraŋurra   waŋa-rr-BULA-mirri   wali-barri

afternoon   3nsg/fut-nmin-come-AUG$_s$ 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-ŋana   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:

4.11.1   E/181   SN

galiya   dyurruɲuny   nimarraŋga   wanydyarri-barri

finished   right side   arm   one-COMIT

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

Examples of moving in company with another animate being occur often:

4.11.1   E/182   SN

yin-ɲARI-ny   dyuwa   warany-barri   wamba

3sg(I)-leave-past$_2$ 2sgPRO   other-COMIT   man

'she left you (going off) *with* another man';

4.11.1   E/183   SN

gurrga   mandya   wa-rr-MA   yawada-barri

2nsgPRO   many   2nsg-nmin-go   horse-COMIT

'you mob are going to ride'.

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

4.11.1   E/184   SN

ginya   wababgurru-barri   yi-NI-ny

3sgPRO   blanket-COMIT   3sg(II)-sit-past$_2$

'he sat *with* a blanket'.

With the meaning of 'carrying', the comitative suffix may be used derivationally:

4.11.1   E/185   SN

gilay   yin-GA-na-yirr-mirri   galb-abu   ....

follow   3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-past-3nsgOPro-AUG$_s$ above-ABL

....   yim-BULA-na   dyumbarrarra-barri-ni

        3sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past   knife-COMIT-ACT

'coming from above, an *angel* (that is, person *with* sword aloft)

followed them (Adam and Eve, not Aborigines)'.

The suffix is also used derivationally to designate the speakers of

a language:

4.11.1   E/186   SN

maŋul   ya-rr-(a)-I-n-gada-yina   nyigina-barri-ni

"maŋul"   1nsg-nmin-(SET)-<u>say</u>-pres-HABIT-3sgOPro   Nyigina-COMIT-ACT

'we Nyigina people call it (spear) "maŋul"'.

It should be noted that the suffix -barri is confined to Small

Nyigina. In Big Nyigina, the same suffix -ŋany 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 -ŋany (difficult to

gloss) are found in Small Nyigina:

4.11.1   E/187   SN

dyan-abu-ŋany-ni   yin-BA-ny-dyarrdyu   yaŋgi-yunu

[where-ABL-ŋany]-ACT   3sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past$_2$-1+2+mOPro   what-INAN.SOURCE

'why is that *stranger* looking at us?'

suggesting that, in the past,-ŋany may have had a function broader

than the present (largely *instrumental*) usage and that -barri may have

assumed from -ŋany the role of comitative suffix in Small Nyigina.

4.11.2 THE "HAVING" SUFFIX (-gudany)

In common with a large number[9] 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'
nuṇju-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-<u>having</u>   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-pres

'he's keeping (it) a secret';

4.11.2   E/189   SN

warrba   wila   yim-BULA-ny   dyaliny-gudany

beating   water   3sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past$_2$ ice-<u>having</u>

'"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   ŋimbi   yawan-gudany

set out   3-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-past-AUG$_s$ morning   north-<u>having</u>

'in the morning they both set out northwards';

4.11.2   E/191   SN

ṇa   yi-ŊA-na-yina   galbuna-budany

mouth wide   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-past-3sgDatPro   upwards-<u>having</u>

'(there) he was, facing up to him, mouth wide open';

4.11.3 THE "<u>INCLUDING</u>" 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..mirri$_1$ ....

salty croc   eat   3-nmin-(SET)-do-past   dem-LOC..certain

....   gambiy-gananya..mirri$_1$

          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-ŋany   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   ŋan-DI-ny   uba   baba   waŋgurr-dyibur

1sgPRO-ACT   hit   1sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past$_2$ small   child   crying-END

'I hit the little kid *until* he cried';

4.13   E/201   BN

waŋ-a-MARRA   bugarr-dyiburu

3sg(II)-fut-<u>burn</u>   cooked-END

'let it cook *until* it's done';

4.13   E/202   SN

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

dem-ABL   eat   1nsg-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-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

Suffix	Description
-ga	EMPHatic
-dyamu	RELATed
-(ŋ)gaya	"LIKE"
-ay!	VOCative
-aw!	EXCLamatory.

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   ŋayu   manin-ga-ŋgaya "   yi(n)-∅-na-yina

 NEG   knowing   1sgPRO   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 $mirri_1$ 'certain', 12.1.4). The corresponding
suffix in Big Nyigina retains the g/w alternation (see 2.1.9).

4.14.1   E/204   SN

miliy-an-ga   bur-an   mundu   yi-(rr)-DI-n   mandya

now-LOC-EMPH   ground-LOC   buried   3-(nmin)-<u>sit</u>-pres   many

'nowadays many people are buried in the ground';

4.14.1   E/205   BN

dyana-wa   ŋan-(a)-I

what-EMPH   1sg(I)-(FUT)-<u>do</u>

'what shall I do?';

4.14.1   E/206   SN

ŋalyag-ga   nya-ŋana   yurr   yi-MA-na

blue tongue lizard-EMPH   here-ALLAT   sink   3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-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):

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

gaba<u>l</u>   dyani-ŋgaya   wan-(a)-I-ya   marrinyan-ni-ga

soon   what-<u>like</u>   3sg(I)-(fut)-<u>do</u>-2sgDatPro$_3$ 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   ŋa(n)-∅-n-gada   ŋayi-na

meat   only   eat   1sg(I)-do-pres-HABIT   1sgPRO-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 ŋayi-na might reflect an underlying ŋayi-ni-ga with g/∅

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

        - yamu   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-ŊA-n   durrb-an   maɲarriy-dyamu   malina

nothing   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-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

gu<u>d</u>   ŋa-rra-MA   waŋga-yamu   miliya

dead   1sg(II)-fut/IRR-<u>go</u>   any-RELAT   now

'I might die any time *at all* now';

4.14.2.1   E/212   SN

ma<u>lu</u>   dyaw(u)   mi-l(a)-I-na   yulburr(u)-amu

NEG   swim   2sg(I)-IRR-<u>do</u>-past   long ago-RELAT

'you *never* swam';

4.14.2.1   E/213   SN

yaŋg(i)-amu   yim-BULA-ny

who-RELAT   3sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past$_2$

'"what's-his-name" came';

4.14.2.1   E/214   SN

ganydyirr   yin-BA-na   inydya-ŋan(a)-amu

look   3sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past   going-ALLAT-RELAT

'she watched him *every* time he went';

4.14.2.1   E/215   BN

yin-BARA-n-ga<u>d</u>a   yarrdyu   mangayarra-ni   wid-ŋana-yamu

3sg(I)-<u>see</u>-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   ŋalyag-dyamu   yi-ŊA-n

south-<u>close</u>   here   blue tongue lizard-RELAT   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-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   ŋadyanu]$_X$ ....

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   gud   yi-MA-ny-dya

        (place name)-RELAT   dead   3sg(II)-go-past$_2$-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   yiŋ-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:

4.14.2.2   E/219   SN

ŋarruŋu-n(i)-amu   mug   wa-ya-rr-(a)-(I)-arri

person-ACT-RELAT   hit   3-fut/IRR-nmin-(SET)-(do̲)-REL

'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:

4.14.2.2   E/220   SN

[dyan-an-dyamu   yi-MA-n-dya]   ....

 where-LOC-RELAT   3sg(II)-go̲-pres-REL

'wher*ever* she goes   ....

....   manin̲-ga   yin-MI-n-dyina   ....

          woman-EMPH   3sg(I)-give̲-pres-3sgOPro

          he gives the woman   ....

....   mandya   wali̲   walady̲(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   maɲul-ŋany   dyinal-ŋany-dyamu

3-(nmin)-(SET)-spear-past   type$_1$ spear-INSTR   type$_2$ 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   wanaɲarri

         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-ŋgaya   yin-BA-na   ....   walburr   yin-MA-na-yina

red-<u>like</u>   3sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past .. penetrate   3sg(I)-<u>put</u>-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-ŋgaya   ŋa-MA-na-da

one-<u>like</u>   1sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past-HABIT

'"one time after another I used to go"' (speaker's gloss).

Further nominal suffixing may follow -<u>like</u> suffixing as in
ɲarraɲarra-ŋgay-an in the example below:

4.14.3.1   E/226   SN

dyiŋgidi-ŋgaya   yaŋ-a-MA   ....

playing-<u>like</u>   1+2(II)-fut-<u>go</u>

....   wanyan-an   mabudyun-an   ɲarraɲarra-ŋgay-an   wanyanu

          sandhill-LOC   excellent-LOC   bank-<u>like</u>-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	ŋid-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	ŋadyanu	ŋan-(a)-A-ŋgaya
girl	1sgDAT/PRO	1sg(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	ŋaŋ-a-MA	mamidamidan-ŋana	....
now	1sg(II)-fut-go	fishing-ALLAT	

....	dyimbin	dyarrwa-ŋana-ŋgaya
	inside	shoalwater-ALLAT-LIKE_{pause}

'"I'm going fishing down to the shoalwater, *like*"' (as above).

Two examples were recorded with -(ŋ)gaya-ŋgaya 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-ŋgaya   yi-MA-n-gaḏa   ....

NEG   same-like   3sg(II)-go-pres-HABIT

....   manydyan   buru   yarridy-gaya-ŋgaya

         only   ground   disappearing-like-LIKE_{pause}

'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 story-
telling:

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!

1nsg(II)-INT$_p$-strike-INT$_s$-past$_2$-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 1sgPRO   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

ŋuy   yi(n)-∅-na   :   "gag-ay!   ŋan-BA-ny   ....

go back   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past   uncle-VOC!   1sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past₂

....   ŋan-BA-ny-aw!"

        1sg(I)-<u>see</u>-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 <u>ACTIVE</u> 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 Nyigina

(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_{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 -ŋany (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 -ŋany *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

[ŋayi-ni]$_{NP_{pref}}$ ŋan-DYALADYALA-n-dyirr-mirri   ....

  1sgPRO-ACT   1sg(I)-<u>watch</u>-pres-3nsgOPro-AUG$_s$

....   [gugu-ni   yidyiramirri$_2$]$_{NP_{pref}}$

        aunt-ACT   3+3DAT/PRO

'[I, their aunt] am looking after them';

5.2.1   E/237   SN

min-MURRGU-ny-ŋayu   yila-ni

2sg(I)-<u>bite</u>-past$_2$-1sgOPro   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

[ŋayi-ni]   malbulu   ŋan-GULALMA-ny   [nimarraŋga-ni]

1sgPRO-ACT   coolamon   1sg(I)-<u>manufacture</u>-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:

participant$_1$ does something to participant$_2$.

Various aspects of such sentences will be discussed with respect

to Nyigina usage.

5.2.3 THE PARTICIPANT$_1$

The NP$_{pref}$ 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)-<u>do</u>-past$_2$	dog

'the man hit the dog'.

It may, however, be a *force*:

5.2.3   E/240   SN

dyinal	ginydyina	raŋga	yin-GA-na-yina	wila-ni
spear	3sgDAT/PRO	wash away	1sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-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-ŋayu
sand-ACT	3sg(I)-<u>finish</u>-past$_2$-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)-arrdyu	balu-ni
3sg(I)-fut-(IRR)-<u>spear</u>-1+2+mOPro	stick-ACT

'the stick might spear us (if we fell on it)'.

The NP$_{pref}$ 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)-<u>spear</u>-past-AUG$_s$ tree

'the two of them chopped down the tree   ....

....   yiny-DYALGI-na-ŋany   [balu   ginya]   baba-gananya

         3sg(II)-<u>fall</u>-past-TOG   tree   dem   child-INCL

....   the tree fell down with the child in it'.

In this example, the NP$_{pref}$ [balu ginya] of yinydyalgina-ŋany is *not* marked by the active suffix. A *tree* is unable to influence its potential for falling. However, the NP$_{pref}$ 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-ŋany   dyinal

grandfather-ACT   3sg(II)-<u>fall</u>-<u>fall</u>-past-TOG   spear

'grandfather almost fell down with (that is, impaled by) the spear'.

Here it is implied that the NP$_{pref}$ is capable of exerting significant volitional control over the activity.

Relevant characteristics of the NP$_{pref}$ 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_{pref} and

(2) significantly involve an entity in addition to the NP_{pref}.

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

-ŋany.

The significance of the aspect of "effecting a change in an entity

other than the NP_{pref}" is demonstrated in the following examples:

5.2.5   E/245   SN

lagarr   ŋan-DI-ny   ŋayi-ni   yawaḏa

climb   1sg(I)-d̲o̲-past$_2$ 1sgPRO-ACT   horse

'I *rode* the horse'.

Here the horse is significantly affected by the activity and the NP_{pref}

takes the active suffix. This should be compared with:

5.2.5   E/246   SN

lagarr   yin-DI-ny   [wanydyarri   ma<u>n</u>in]   ....

climb   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past₂   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$_{pref}$ does not take the active suffix.

The effect of the verbal suffix -ŋany *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

ŋayi-ni   ŋan-MILI-ny-ŋany

1sgPRO-ACT   1sg(I)-<u>insult</u>-past₂-TOG

'I *provoked* (him)'.

The addition of the suffix -ŋany 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 *indirect*

object (where dative nominal suffixing is usual). With verbs of motion

involving an indirect object, the NP$_{pref}$ 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   ŋulumba   yi-ŊA-na   ....

dem-ACT   salty croc   in front   3sg(II)-sit-past

....   yin-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   ginydyina

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

suffixing:

5.2.5   E/252   SN

[manin   ginydyina-ni]   yi-RA$_2$-n-dyina

 woman   3sgDAT/PRO-ACT   3sg(II)-become-pres-3sgDatPro

'she's become wife to him' (literally: 'his wife becomes to him').

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:

5.2.6   E/253   SN

ŋayu   ŋud   ŋa(n)-Ø-n

1sgPRO   happy   1sg(I)-do-pres

'I am happy'.

However, where an emotion is expressed as a *relationship*, that is,

significantly involving another participant (as an indirect object),

the NP$_{pref}$ is frequently, *although not always*, marked by active

suffixing:

5.2.6   E/254   SN

ŋayi-ni   ŋud̲   ŋa(n)-Ø-n-dyina

1sgPRO-ACT   happy   1sg(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   ŋud̲   ŋa(n)-Ø-n-dyina

1sgPRO   happy   1sg(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$_{pref}$ 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)

wan̲miny   yi-ŊA-n-ŋany-ŋayu

fly   3sg(II)-sit-pres-TOG-1sgOPro

'the fly is sitting *on* me';

5.2.6   E/258   BN

yila   yi-ŊA-n-ŋany-dyu   baybarra

dog   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-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)-<u>do</u>   child

'the man will get some-one pregnant' (literally, 'will make a child');

5.2.6   E/260   SN

wamba   gan   ma<u>n</u>in   muny   yi(n)-Ø-n

man   dem   woman   f*ck   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-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 (-BA<u>N</u>DYI- = 'do reflexively or reciprocally, share, exchange'):

5.2.6   E/261   SN

yulburru-garra	garrgidya-ni	mug	yim-BA<u>N</u>DYI-na
long ago-<u>multiple</u>	chickenhawk-ACT	hit	3sg(II)-<u>share</u>-past

'long, long ago, the chickenhawk mutilated himself';

5.2.6   E/262   SN

dyuwa	ŋudin	dyuwa	nyag	nyim-BA<u>N</u>DYI-ny
2sgPRO	alone	2sgPRO	hit	2sg(II)-<u>share</u>-past$_2$

(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 NP$_{pref}$

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..mirri$_1$	wanaŋarri	wila-ni	yi-YA-ny
all..certain	rock	water-ACT	3sg(II)-<u>become</u>-past$_2$

'the rock got wet all over' (literally, 'the rock became all over *from* water');

5.3   E/264   SN

baba-gananya   ya-rr-BUNGA-ny-mirri   dyuŋgu   gamininy-ni

child-INCL   1nsg-nmin(=II)-<u>warm</u>-past$_2$-AUG$_s$ fire   cold-ACT

'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$_{pref}$,
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$_{pref}$ is perfectly acceptable:

5.3   E/265   SN   (= 3.2   E/27)

mandya   baba   yi-rr-MARRA-ny   dyuŋgu-ni

many   child   3-nmin(=II)-<u>burn</u>-past$_2$ fire-ACT

'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*:

*
5.3   E/266   SN

*
mandya   malbulu   yi-rr-DYAŊGULI-ny   dyuŋgu-ni

many   coolamon   3-nmin(=II)-<u>break</u>-past$_2$ fire-ACT

'many coolamons were cracked *by* fire'.

Inanimate source suffixing is acceptable in this situation:

5.3   E/267   SN

mandya   malbulu   yi-rr-DYAŊGULI-ny   dyuŋgu-yunu

many   coolamon   3-nmin(=II)-<u>break</u>-past$_2$ fire-INAN.SOURCE

'many coolamons were cracked *from* fire'.

One example occurred with the root 'burn' which included *two* "source"

suffixes (serially):

5.3   E/268   SN

dyundabal-dyunu-ni   ŋa-MARRA-ny

ash-INAN.SOURCE-ACT   1sg(II)-<u>burn</u>-past$_2$

'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 -DYAŊGULI- 'break' is altered from set II to set I, 'fire' may

become the NP$_{pref}$ and take active suffixing:

5.3   E/269   SN

dyuŋgu-ni   yin-DYAŊGULI-na-yirr   mandya   malbulu

fire-ACT   3sg(I)-<u>break</u>-past-3nsgOPro   many   coolamon

'the fire broke many coolamons'

so that direct causation is *not* a prerequisite for active suffixing of

the NP$_{pref}$.

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..mirri$_1$ galiya   winyag-ŋany

cut   3sg(I)-do-past   neck..certain   finished   blow to neck-INSTR

'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)

ŋa-MA-ny   maduwarra-ŋana   gadidyina-ni

1sg(II)-go-past$_2$ river-ALLAT   foot-ACT

'I went to the river *on foot*'.

In this example, the NP$_{pref}$ would not take active suffixing, since the

verbal root is intransitive. Many otherwise comparable examples involve

verbal roots where NP$_{pref}$ *can* take active suffixing, for example:

5.3   E/273   BN

ŋayi-ni   malbulu   ŋan-GULALMA-ny   ....

1sgPRO-ACT   coolamon   1sg(I)-manufacture-past$_2$

....   mayadin-gadiny-ni   nimarraŋga-ni

        right-side-ACT   hand-ACT

'I made the coolamon with my right hand'.

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$_{pref}$ 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$_{pref}$:

5.3   E/274   SN

durrb   ya-rr-(a)-I-n-dyina   gunbulu   [ginya-ni   ŋurun-ni]

smoke   1nsg-nmin-(SET)-do-pres-3sgOPro   blood   dem-ACT   smoke-ACT

'we "smoke" the blood with this smoke' (to stop haemorrhaging after
childbirth).

In this example, the NP$_{pref}$ is not explicitly represented. A comparable
example suggests that the NP$_{pref}$ would take active suffixing:

5.3   E/275   SN

durrb   yi-rr-(a)-I-na-da-yirr   [galgarra-ni   manin]$_{NP}$

smoke   3-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-past-HABIT-3nsgOPro   widow-ACT   woman

'the widows used to "smoke" them (the men)'.

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)-<u>do</u>-past-HABIT-3nsgOPro

....   [galgarra-ni   manin]$_{NP_1}$ [ginya-ni   ŋurun-ni]$_{NP_2}$

        widow-ACT$_{NP_1}$ woman   dem-ACT$_{NP_2}$ smoke-ACT$_{NP_2}$

'[the widows]$_1$ used to "smoke" them [with this smoke]$_2$'

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$_{pref}$ with active suffixing.

In summary, the active suffix may mark either

(a) the NP$_{pref}$ (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_{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_{pref}.

Where verbal prefixing is from set II, selection of the NP_{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_{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_{pref}:

5.3   E/277   SN

wa-rra-MARRA-ŋayu   dyuŋgu-ni

3sg-fut/IRR(=II)-<u>burn</u>-1sgOPro   fire-ACT

'the fire might burn me'.

(2) perspective of the thing burned ("patient"), where active

suffixing occurs, but *not* with the NP_{pref}:

5.3   E/278   SN

ŋa-rra-MARRA   ŋayu   dyuŋgu-ni

1sg-fut/IRR(=II)-<u>burn</u>   1sgPRO   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$_{pref}$:

5.3   E/279   SN   (= 9.3.5.5   E/441)

wamba-ni   wan-a-MARRA   wali

man-ACT   3sg(I)-fut-<u>burn</u>   meat

'the man will cook the meat'.)

The question of which noun phrase is selected as the NP$_{pref}$ with set II

prefixing is discussed later in this section.

<u>'Breaking'</u> : <u>Semantic Considerations</u>

    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$_{pref}$:

5.3   E/280   SN

mandya-ni   dyuŋgu   yi-rr-a-DYAŊGULI-na-yirr   malbulu

many-ACT   fire   3-nmin-SET(=I)-<u>break</u>-past-3nsgOPro   coolamon

'many fires broke the coolamons'.

    (b)   set II "non-patient" aspect: 'burn', where active suffixing

          occurs with the NP$_{pref}$:

5.3   E/281   SN

mandya-ni   dyuŋgu   yi-MARRA-na-yirr   baba

many-ACT   fire   3sg*(II)-<u>burn</u>-past-3nsgOPro   child

'many fires burned the children'

(* non-minimal specification is not obligatory here -- see 9.6.1).

This example is unambiguous. Since the 3nsgOPro (-yirr) of the inflected

verb *must* refer to baba, the NP$_{pref}$ must be mandya-ni dyuŋgu.

       (c)   set II "patient" aspect: 'burn' and 'break'.

            In the first example, active suffixing occurs but *not* with the

            NP$_{pref}$:

5.3   E/282   SN   (= 5.3   E/265)

mandya   baba   yi-rr-MARRA-ny   dyuŋgu-ni

many   child   3-nmin(=II)-<u>burn</u>-past$_2$ fire-ACT

'many children were burned by fire';

            but in the following example with 'break', *no* noun phrase

            takes active suffixing:

5.3   E/283   SN

mandya   malbulu   yi-rr-DYAŊGULI-ny   dyuŋgu-yunu

many   coolamon   3-nmin(=II)-<u>break</u>-past$_2$ fire-INAN.SOURCE

'many coolamons got broken by the 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$_{pref}$. In these examples, it may be that

selection as the NP$_{pref}$ 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-BA-na   yiŋ-GULMA-na-yina   ....

3sg(I)-see-past   1sg(II)-sit-past-3sgDatPro

'he saw (it), it sat (near) him   ....

....   [yaŋgi   wali-na?]   ....   bindabinda-ni   ....

        what   animal-NARR$_E$ butterfly-NARR

....   what animal?   a butterfly   ....

....   bindabinda   yiŋ-GULMA-na-yina

        butterfly   3sg(II)-sit-past-3sgDatPro

....   a butterfly was sitting (near) him'.

The NP$_{pref}$ of the inflecting verb yiŋgulmanayina is repeated towards

the end of the example: bindabinda. It is difficult to describe the

role of -ni suffixing of [yaŋgi wali-na] or bindabinda-ni in terms of

"power source", especially since the relevant NP$_{pref}$ can appear

unsuffixed (bindabinda).

---

[1] -nim ("agent" marker) is also described as a "topicalizer" for Ba:di
   (Metcalfe 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-past$_2$ 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-past$_2$ dem   man

'they beat that man (to death)   ....

....   ŋan-BA-ny-ŋany-dyirrga   ....   yirrga-na   ....

        1sg(I)-see-past$_2$-TOG-3nsgOPro   3nsgPRO-NARR$_E$

....   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';

5.4   E/287   SN

[warany-na   ma<u>n</u>in]_X   dyulud   yi(n)-∅-na-yina_Y   [ginya]_Y ....

other-ACT_E   woman_X   fed up   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past-3sgOPro_Y   dem_Y

'the other woman (X) got fed up with her (Y)   ....

....   [yagurr-na   bulyarra-na   nimilgarr]_Y   ....

old-NARR_E   dim-NARR_E   eye

....   the old one (Y) with poor eyesight   ....

....   yin-BARRI-na   niŋar-ŋany   wanaŋarri-ŋany

3sg(I)-<u>strike</u>-past   pestle-INSTR   stone-INSTR

....   she (X) struck her (Y) with a grinding stone'.

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*.

5.4   E/288   SN

ginya   bidyin-ga   dyalŋgaŋurru   [nya-ni   wamba]   ....

dem   "Pigeon"-EMPH   medicine man   this-NARR   man

'this medicine man [the first man] (was called) "Pigeon"   ....

....   ma<u>l</u>u   ŋa-la-BIGA   nilawal   ginya   wamba   warany-ga

NEG   1sg-IRR-<u>have</u>   name   dem   man   other-EMPH

....   but I don't know the name of that other one'.

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 -nĭ

Verbal nominalizations often resemble participles (they are described in detail in Chapter 11). The use of the suffix -nĭ 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 -nĭ 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   guḏ   yi-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

guḏidyi-ni   dubady   yim-BAṈDYI-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} [gĭnya garrĭnydya] can *not* take active suffixing.

Referential suffixing may occur on a constituent of a nominalized clause *other* than the verbal nominalization, for example:

5.5   E/291   BN

[birra-ni   inydya]_{NC}   gab   ya-rr-(a)-I-na

 bush-REF   going   eat   1nsg-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-past

'after going bush, we ate'

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   ŋuy   wal-(a)-I   ....

dinner-INAN.SOURCE-REF   go back   2sg(I)-(fut)-<u>do</u>

....   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_{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/293   SN

inydya-ni   yin-BA-ny-ŋayu

travelling-REF   3sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past₂-1sgOPro

'while he was going along, he saw me';

5.5   E/294   SN   (= 11.4.1.2 E/680)

mamarrangaya-ni   nyi-MARRA-ny   dyuŋgu-ni

cooking-REF   2sg(II)-<u>burn</u>-past$_2$ 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$_{pref}$ (dyuŋgu-ni). 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)

Person	Recurring Unit	Verbal Prefix	Verbal Suffix		Nominal Suffix	Unmarked Free Form Pronoun	Dative Free Form Pronoun
1	ŋa -	ŊA-	-ŊAyu		--	ŊAyu	ŊAdyanu
	- dyanu	--	-DYANU	(DatPro)	BN -DYANU	--	ŋaDYANU
2	- dyu -	--	-DYU BN	(OPro)	--	DYUwa	--
			-DYUwa	(OPro)	--	yaYU (1+2)	
						yarrDYU (1+2+m)	
	- dyiya	--	-DYIYA (DatPro)		BN -DYIYA	--	DYIYA
							?BN yaDYIYA (1+2)
3	- dyina	--	-DYINA		-DYINA	--	ginyDYINA
			(OPro & DatPro)		(BN & SN)		

recurring units are indicated in CAPITALS

6.1 T/14 Recurring Pronominal Units (Non-singular)

Persons	Recurring Unit	Verbal Prefix	Verbal Suffix	Nominal Suffix	Unmarked Free Form Pronoun	Dative Free Form Pronoun
1+2	ya -	YA-	--	--	YAyu	BN YAdyiya
1+2+m		YA-	--	--	YArrdyu	--
1+m		YA-	--	--	YArrga	YAdyarra
1+2	- dya	--	-DYAw(u)	BN -DYAwu	--	DYAw(u)
1+2+m	OMITTED (SEE 6.5.2)					
1+m		--	-DYArr (OPro)* -DYArra (DatPro)	BN -DYArra	--	yaDYArra
2+m	- gu -	GU-	-dyuŋGUrr (OPro)* -dyuŋGUrra (DatPro)	BN -dyuŋGUrra	GUrrga	BN ?GUdyuŋGUrra
3+m	yi -	YI-	--	--	YIrrga	YIdyirra
	- dyirr	--	-DYIRR (OPro)* -DYIRRa (DatPro)	-DYIRRa (BN & SN)	--	yiDYIRRa

*alternative forms with final -ga are also possible in Small Nyigina

6.2   E/295   SN

[ginydyina-yi   yila]_{NP}   yi-MA-n-dyina

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   baba   dyaĺŋgaɲurru-nil

3sgDAT/PRO-many-EMPH   child   medicine man-many

'her children were all medicine men'.

6.2.1 UNMARKED FREE FORM PRONOUNS

6.2.1   T/15   Unmarked Free Form Pronouns

Persons	Pronoun	Persons	Pronouns	Persons	Pronouns
1	ŋayu	1+3	yarrgamirri$_2$	1+m	yarrga
2	dyuwa	2+2/3	gurrgamirri$_2$	2+m	gurrga
3	ginya	3+3	yirrgamirri$_2$	3+m	yirrga
1+2	yayu	1+2+3	yarrdyumirri$_2$	1+2+m	yarrdyu

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
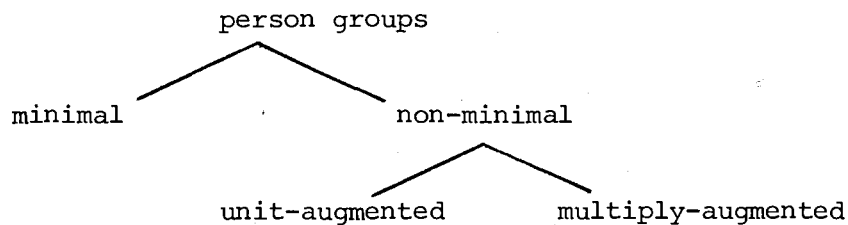
Such a pattern has been described for other northern and western

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).

6.2.2   T/16   Subject Pronominal Verbal Affixing for Set I Non-future Realis

Person(s)	MINIMAL	u-AUGMENTED	m-AUGMENTED
1	ŋana - * -	ya-rra- * - mirri	ya-rra - * -
2	mina - * -	gu-rra- * - mirri	gu-rra - * -
3	yina - * -	yi-rra- * - mirri	yi-rra - * -
1+2	yana - * -	yana-rra- * - mirri	yana-rra - * -

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

supppletive root(s) in the minimal person groupings:

Dialect(s)	Regular Verbal Root	Suppletive Root(s)	
BN	- BA -	- *BARA* -	'see'
SN & BN	- ŊARA -	- *RA* - and -*YA*-[1]	'be, become'
SN & BN	- NI -	- *ŊA* -	'sit'
SN & BN	- I -	- *DI* -	'do, say'

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'

Person(s)	Non-future Realis	
1	ŋan -	- *BARA* -
2	min -	- *BARA* -
3	yin -	- *BARA* -
1+2	yan -	- *BARA* -
1+m	ya - rra -	BA -
2+m	gu - rra -	BA -
3+m	yi - rra -	BA -
1+2+m	yana - rra -	BA -

(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 ŋayu, show little overall resemblance to pronouns outside the region[2], 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 gịnya 'this, that,

aforementioned'[3]. However, the dative of the demonstrative is formed

on the regular pattern for nominals and differs from the dative free

form pronoun:

	Unmarked	Dative
Pronoun	ginya	ginydyina
Demonstrative	ginya	ginya-yi

Speakers agree that gịnydyịna and gịnya-yị differ in meaning, but no-one

was able to specify the difference in English:

6.3.1 E/297 SN

malụ	ŋa-l(a)-ANDI-na-yina	ginydyina
NEG	1sg(I)-IRR-<u>pick up</u>-past-3sgDatPro	3sgDAT/PRO

'I didn't get (it) for *?him*';

6.3.1 E/298 SN

malụ	ŋa-l(a)-ANDI-na-yina	maɲarriy	ginya-yi
NEG	1sg(I)-IRR-<u>pick up</u>-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] gịnya 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[4], 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 -mirri$_2$ 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* -mirri$_2$ demonstrates this incorporation:

6.3.2   E/299   SN

yirrgamirri$_2$-ni   yi-rr-a-MADALI-na-mirri   warany   gudyarra-ni   ....

3+3PRO-ACT   3-nmin-SET-<u>hide</u>-past-AUG$_s$ other   two-ACT

....   wirimajurru

        club

'they *two* -- the other two -- hid the club';

6.3.2   E/300   SN

yiny-DYURRBA-na-ŋany   dyalb-an .... yidyirramirr$_2$-an   dyalbi

3sg(II)-<u>rest</u>-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   yadyarramirri$_2$-yina   ŋanga

paper-LOC   3sg(I)-fut-<u>put</u>   1+3DAT/PRO-ANIM.SOURCE   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 mirri$_1$ 'certain', which

is *enclitic* and *follows* the case-marker (see 12.1.4):

6.3.2   E/302   SN

yin-NA-na   ginya-ŋany..mirri$_1$ dyaŋgurra

3sg(I)-<u>spear</u>-past   dem-INSTR..certain   wire

'he 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- :

Persons	Unmarked Free Form
1+m	ya - *rr* - ga
2+m	gu - *rr* - ga
3+m	yi - *rr* - ga
1+2+m	ya - *rr* - dyu

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

	Realis		Irrealis	
Persons	Non-future	Future	Non-future	Future
1+m	ya-*rra*-	yaŋa-*rra*-	ya-la-*rra*-	ya-ya-*rra*-
2+m	gu-*rra*-	wa-*rra*-	gu-la-*rra*-	gu-ya-*rra*-
3+m	yi-*rra*-	waŋa-*rra*-	wa-la-*rra*-	wa-ya-*rra*-
1+2+m	yana-*rra*-	yana-*rra*-	ya-la-*rra*-	ya-ya-*rra*-

SET (II) PREFIXING

	Realis		Irrealis	
Persons	Non-future	Future	Non-future	Future
1+m	ya-*rr*-	yaŋa-*rr*-	ya-la-*rr*-	ya-ya-*rr*-
2+m	gu-*rr*-	wa-*rr*-	gu-la-*rr*-	gu-ya-*rr*-
3+m	yi-*rr*-	waŋa-*rr*-	wa-la-*rr*-	wa-ya-*rr*-
1+2+m	yana-*rr*-	yana-*rr*-	ya-la-*rr*-	ya-ya-*rr*-

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[5], 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

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[5]Ngaliwuru (Bolt et al. 1971:80, 82, 98, 104)
  Nungali   (Bolt et al. 1971:81, 83, 85, 103, 108).

the *dative* free form pronoun, but only in the context of suffixing of

the whole noun phrase:

6.4   E/303   SN

malu   mandu   yi-rr-BANYDYU-na   ....

NEG   foul   3-nmin(=II)-smell-past

....   dyayida-nil   ŋarruŋu-nil

         1+2+mDAT/PRO-many   people-many

'but our (dead) people stank'.

The unmarked free form pronouns ŋayu and yayu (but *not* yarrdyu),

when occurring with active suffixing, undergo vowel assimilation:

         ŋayu   ŋayi-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

Persons	DATIVE		Unmarked Pronouns
	Small Nyigina	Big Nyigina	Both Dialects
1		ŋadyanu	ŋayu
2		dyiya	dyuwa
3		ginydyina	ginya
1+2	dyaw(u)	yadyiya	yayu
	dyarradyaw (rare)		
1+m		yadyarra	yarrga
2+m	dyuŋgArra	gudyuŋgUrra (?)	gurrga
3+m		yidyirra	yirrga
1+2+m		dyayida	yarrdyu

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/PRO   (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:

Persons	Dative Free Form Pronoun
1+m	yadyarra
2+m	dyuŋgarra
3+m	yidyirra

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 ŋadyanu 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

ya-rr-(a)-ANDI-n   ginya   waldya   ginydyina-yina   ....

1nsg-nmin-(SET)-pick up-pres   dem   barramundi   3sgDAT/PRO-ANIM.SOURCE

....   buŋgubiny-ni   yin-NA-ny-dya

        fish hawk-ACT   3sg(I)-spear-past$_2$-REL

'we grab that barramundi *from* him   ....   (that barramundi) which the

fish hawk had caught';

6.5.4   E/306   SN

nya   wila   gururr   yi-YA-n   ŋadyani-yina

dem   water   dark   3sg(II)-<u>become</u>-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 ŋadyanu 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

Person(s)	Small Nyigina	Big Nyigina
1	- ŋayu	
2	- dyuwa, - yi	- dyuwa, - dyu
3	- dyina	
1+2	- dyaw(u)	
1+3	- dyarrmirri	
2+3	- dyuŋgurrmirri	
3+3	- dyirrmirri	
1+2+3	- dyarrdyumirri	
1+m	- dyarr, - dyarrga	- dyarr
2+m	- dyuŋgurr, - ŋgurrga	- dyuŋgurr
3+m	- dyirr, - dyirrga	- dyirr
1+2+m	- dyarrdyu	

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)

Person(s)	Small Nyigina
1	- dyanu
2	- dyiya
3	- dyina
1+2	- dyaw(u)
1+m	- dyarra
2+m	- dyuŋgarra (BN - dyuŋgurra)
3+m	- dyirra
1+2+m	- dyayida

(The unit-augmented groupings involve an additional -mirri.)

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:
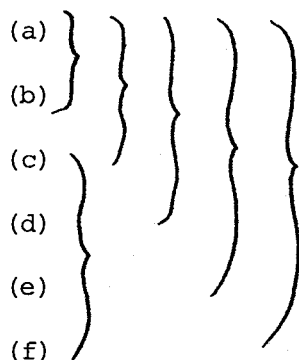
Rule (a) is straightforward in application:

6.6.3   E/307   SN

yim-BIGA-na-yirrmirri   galbudyagu-ni

3sg(II)-have-past-3+3OPro   wedge-tailed eagle-ACT

'the wedge-tailed eagle had two (family members)'.

        yim-BIGA-na + -dyirrmirri

Rule (a)   ---→   yimbiganayirrmirri.

No further rules are applicable.

6.6.3   E/308   SN

ŋayu   nila   ŋa-ŊA-n-dyiya

1sgPRO   knowing   1sg(II)-sit-pres-2sgDatPro

'I know you'.

        ŋa-ŊA-n + -dyiya

Rule (a) cannot apply. Therefore the pronominal suffix is in the form

given in Table T/19.

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)-<u>pick up</u>-1sgDatPro   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

waṅ-a-BUL(A)-anu

3sg(II)-fut-<u>come</u>-1sgDatPro

'he will come to me'.

          waṅ-a-BULA + -dyanu

Rule (a)   ---->   waṅaBULA-yanu.

In Big Nyigina, this *is* the surface form:

6.6.3   E/311   BN

ṅayi-ni   ṅan-a-BA-yarri   waṅ-a-BULA-yanu

1sgPRO-ACT   1sg(I)-fut-<u>see</u>-REL   3sg(II)-fut-<u>come</u>-1sgDatPro

'when I see (him), he'll come to me'.

However, in Small Nyigina:

Rule (c)   ---->   waṅabulanu.

Rule (a) followed by rule (d):

6.6.3   E/312   SN

wan-a-BA-ŋgurrmirri

3sg(I)-fut-<u>see</u>-2+2OPro

'he's going to see you two'.

Rule (a)   ---→   wanaBA-yuŋgurrmirri

Rule (d)   ---→   wanabaŋgurrmirri.

Rule (a) followed by rule (e):

6.6.3   E/313   SN

bararrga   ŋa-RA$_2$-ny-dyarr(i)-ina

sorry   lsg(II)-<u>feel</u>-past$_2$-REL-3sgDatPro

'"I used to feel sorry for that (far away) one"' (speaker's gloss).

          ŋa-RA$_2$-ny-dyarri + -dyina

Rule (a)   ---→   ŋaRAnydyarri-yina

Rule (e)   ---→   ŋaranydyarrina.

Rule (a) followed by rule (f):

6.6.3   E/314   SN

waŋ-a-BULA-ya

.3sg(II)-fut-<u>come</u>-2sgDatPro

'he will come to you'.

          waŋ-a-BULA + dyiya

Rule (a)   ---→   waŋaBULA-yiya

Rule (f)   ---→   waŋabulaya.

Rule (f) must be ordered *after* rule (c); that is, - a + - ya   ---→   - 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

1sg(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 (2sgOPro$_1$)

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):

6.6.5   E/317   SN

ŋan-MI-ny-dyuwa   manin

1sg(I)-<u>give</u>-past$_2$-2sgOPro$_1$ woman

'I gave you the woman'.

    (2) -dyu (2sgOPro$_2$)

    In Big Nyigina only, the suffixed form -dyu *may* occur where the suffix is not preceded by a vowel:

6.6.5   E/318   BN

miliya   yin-MI-n-dyu   wali

now   3sg(I)-<u>give</u>-pres-2sgOPro$_2$ meat

'he's giving you meat now'.

    (3) -yi (SN) / -yu (BN)   (2sgOPro$_3$)

    Where the suffixed 2sgOPro is preceded by -a or -u, these forms may occur:

6.6.5   E/319   SN

wan-a-rra-MURRGU-yi   guwaniya-ni

3sg(I)-fut-IRR-<u>bite</u>-2sgOPro$_3$ crocodile-ACT

'the crocodile might bite you';

6.6.5   E/320   SN

ginya-ni   yin-ŊARI-na-yi

3sgPRO-ACT   3sg(I)-<u>leave</u>-past-2sgOPro$_3$

'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   ŋimbi

3sg(I)-fut-<u>give</u>-2sgOPro$_3$ 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   ŋan-MI-ny-dyiya   ginya

3sg(I)-fut-<u>give</u>-2sgOPro$_1$-EXP   1sg(I)-<u>give</u>-past$_2$-2sgDatPro   dem

'I gave (it) to that man for you, so that he could give it to you'.

6.6.6   STATUS OF -ɲayu 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 -ɲayu 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 sub-
ordinate clauses and which belongs to an order class which *follows*
pronominal verbal suffixes, must be considered.

6.6.6   E/323   SN

ŋa-RA$_2$-n   [ŋan-a-DYUBA-yina-dyi]

1sg(II)-<u>feel</u>-pres   1sg(I)-fut-<u>ask</u>-3sgOPro-EXP

'I want [to ask him]';

6.6.6   E/324   SN

lirr   yin-MA-na-yirra   [mug   wan-(a)-I-yirrga-dyi]

send message   3sg(I)-make-past-3nsgDatPro   kill   3sg(I)-(fut)-do-3nsgOPro-EXP

'he sent a message about them [to kill them]'.

The following version of the above example seems to be unacceptable:

*
6.6.6   E/325   SN

*
lirr   yin-MA-na-yirra   [mug   wan-(a)-I-dyi   yirrga]

send message   3sg(I)-make-past-3nsgDatPro   kill   3sg(I)-(fut)-do-EXP   3nsgPRO

'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:

6.6.6   E/326   SN

yi-RA$_2$-n   [wan-a-DYUBA-dyuwa-dyi]

3sg(II)-feel-pres   3sg(I)-fut-ask-2sgOPro$_1$-EXP

'he wants [to ask you]';

6.6.6   E/327   SN

ŋa-RA$_2$-n   [ŋan-a-DYUBA-yi-dyuwa-dyi]

1sg(II)-feel-pres   1sg(I)-fut-ask-2sgOPro$_3$-2sgOPro$_1$-EXP

'I want [to ask you]';

6.6.6   E/328   SN

ŋa-RA$_2$-n   [ŋan-a-DYUBA-yi-dyi]

1sg(II)-feel-pres   1sg(I)-fut-ask-2sgOPro$_3$-EXP

'I want [to ask you]';

6.6.6   E/329   SN

ŋa-RA$_2$-n   [ŋan-a-DYUBA-dyi   dyuwa]

1sg(II)-<u>feel</u>-pres   1sg(I)-fut-<u>ask</u>-EXP   2sgPRO

'I want [to ask you]'.

With the first person (ŋayu), the usage appears to be slightly different. The free form version is uncontroversial:

6.6.6   E/330   SN

yi-RA$_2$-n   [wan-a-DYUBA-dyi   ŋayu]

3sg(II)-<u>feel</u>-pres   3sg(I)-fut-<u>ask</u>-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-RA$_2$-n   [wan-a-DYUBA-ŋayu-dyi]

 3sg(II)-<u>feel</u>-pres   3sg(I)-fut-<u>ask</u>-1sgOPro-EXP

'he wants [to ask me]'.

The verbal suffix AUG$_s$ (-mirri) also *follows* pronominal suffixing (see 10.8.1) and a single example involving 1sgOPro supports the proposal of affix status for ŋayu:

6.6.6   E/332   SN

ny-an   wa-rr-a-ŊARI-ŋany-ŋayu-mirri   ....

dem-LOC   2nsg-nmin-SET-<u>leave</u>-TOG-1sgOPro-AUG_s

....   maral   wa-rr-MA

        without   2nsg-nmin-<u>go</u>

'you two leave (the children) here with me   ....   you go (hunting)

without (children)'.

    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

waŋgurr   yi(n)-Ø-n-dyina

cry   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-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

ma<u>l</u>u   wa-la-LIGARR(A)-awu   dyawu

NEG   3sg-IRR-<u>listen</u>-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

gaḏady   ya-rr-(a)-I-n-dyina   gambiy-dyi

hunt   1nsg-nmin-(SET)-ḏo-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   maṉin   waladya-yi

climb   3sg(I)-ḏo-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

gaḏady   ṅan-DI-ny-dyina   ginya   wamba

search   1sg(I)-ḏo-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   rurrb

hit   3sg(I)-(fut)-<u>do</u>-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)-<u>do</u>-past$_2$-1+mDatPro

'they (mining company) bored a hole *on us*';

6.6.8   E/340   SN

buraŋu   yiŋ-GADI-ny-dyina

sun   3sg(II)-<u>enter</u>-past$_2$-3sgDatPro

'the sun set *on him*'.

6.6.8   E/341   SN

bi<u>n</u>dil   yi-YA-na-yina   buru   baybarra

solid   3sg(II)-<u>become</u>-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   laɲar-gan

stick   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-past-3sgDatPro   throat-LOC

'(it) got stuck *in his* throat'.

    (3)   goal, purpose or aversion

6.6.8   E/343   SN

wanydyiy   dudyub   ŋan-(a)-I-ya

later   sneak   1sg(I)-(fut)-<u>do</u>-2sgDatPro

'I'll sneak up *to you* later';

6.6.8   E/344   SN

wididy   ya-rr-(a)-I-n-dyina   rambal-an

dig   1nsg-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-pres-3sgDatPro   sand-LOC

'we dig *for it* (eggs) in the sand';

6.6.8   E/345   SN

maṉin-ni   wadyi   yi-RA$_2$-n-dyina   yila

woman-ACT   afraid   3sg(II)-<u>feel</u>-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   ginydyina

1sg(I)-<u>give</u>-pres-2sgOPro$_1$ dem   3sgDAT/PRO

'I'm giving you that thing for him';

6.6.9   E/347   SN

ŋan-MI-na-yi   dyuwa   ginya   ginydyina

1sg(I)-<u>give</u>-past-2sgOPro$_3$ 2sgPRO   dem   3sgDAT/PRO

'I gave you something of his';

6.6.9   E/348   SN

yin-MULARRA-ny-dyina   ŋayu   dyiya   ....

3sg(I)-<u>transfer</u>-past$_2$-3sgOPro   1sgPRO   2sgDAT/PRO

....   ŋan-i-MI-dyuwa-dyi

        1sg(I)-fut-<u>give</u>-2sgOPro$_1$-EXP

'he handed over (the meat) to me for you, so I could give (it) to you'.

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:

6.6.9   E/349   SN

wamba-ni   gamirri*   wan-i-M(I)-ina*   ginya

man-ACT   that   3sg(I)-fut-<u>give</u>-3sgOPro   this

'"the man will give the other woman to this one"' (speaker's gloss).

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$_2$

'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$_2$

'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 $-BU_1-$ '?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

Root	Gloss	%
- I - (+suppletions)	'do, say'	56 %
- MA - (set I)	'make, put'	9 %
- A - (+suppletions)	'carry'	9 %
- MA - (set II)	'go'	7 %
- ŊARA - (+suppletions)	'be'	4 %
- ANDI -	'pick up'	4 %
- NI - (+suppletions)	'sit'	3 %
- BANDYI -	'share'	3 %
		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)

ŋayu   garrbuŋu

1sgPRO   (person name)

'I (am) Garrbuŋu   ....' (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-ŋunydyin   ŋarruŋu   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).

Suffixing 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

Persons		Set I	Set II	Set I	Set II
		Non-future		Future	
R	1	ŋana -	ŋaŋ -	ŋan -	ŋaŋ -
E	2	mina -	nyiŋ -	wal -	(nyi)ŋ -
A	3	yina -	yiŋ -	wan -	waŋ -
L	1+2	yana -	yaŋ -	yan -	yaŋ -
I					
S	1+m	ya -		yaŋa -	
	2+m	gu -		wa -	
	3+m	yi -		waŋa -	
	1+2+m	yana -		yana -	

I	1	ŋa -	ŋa -	ŋan -	ŋa -
R	2	mi -	nyi -	min -	nyi -
R	3	wa -	wa -	wan -	wa -
E	1+2	ya -	ya -	yan -	ya -
A					
L	1+m	ya -		ya -	
I	2+m	gu -		gu -	
S	3+m	wa -		wa -	
	1+2+m	ya -		ya -	

Non-personal: set I   mana -

              set II   ma -

7.3   VERBAL PRESTEMS AND VERBAL-NOMINALS

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, ŋanga 'talk' is most commonly found in
nominal usage, as in the following examples:

7.3   E/357   SN

ŋa-MARRDYU-n-ŋany   ŋanga

lsg(II)-talk-pres-TOG   talk/language

'I'm discussing language with (you)';

7.3   E/358   SN

ŋanga   nila   ŋan-MI-n   dyuwa   nyigina   ŋanga

language   knowing   lsg(I)-give-pres 2sgPRO   Nyigina   language

'I'm teaching you language   ....   Nyigina language'.

Less commonly, ŋanga is found closely resembling a prestem:

7.3   E/359   SN

ginya   yila   ŋanga   yi(n)-Ø-na-da

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, ga<u>d</u>ady 'hunt' functions most commonly as a pre-stem:

7.3   E/360   SN

ga<u>d</u>ady   yi(n)-∅-na-yina   yagarrba<u>d</u>a

hunt(PS)   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past-3sgDatPro   hill kangaroo

'he hunted for hill kangaroo'.

However, ga<u>d</u>ady (and other possible prestems) are also found with case-marking suffixes:

7.3   E/361   SN

wi<u>nd</u>a   ŋa-RA$_2$-n   ga<u>d</u>ady-dyunu

exhausted   1sg(II)-<u>feel</u>-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:<u>d</u>i[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)

(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

Syllables	No. of Verbal-Nominals	%
1	140	34
2 (includes 23 reduplications)	212	53
3	33	8
4 (includes 18 reduplications)	20	5
5	1	

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'
ŋa	'open mouth wide'
ŋi	'hum, wail'
lu	'lie on belly'.

Sound symbolism may be relevant to the form of bu and ŋa (the Nyigina equivalent of the dentist's "say aah..") and also ŋi. 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/, /n̠/ and /ny/ are found finally elsewhere in the language and then rarely. All nasals are found finally in verbal-nominals, some quite frequently:

nim	'close'
dyin	'make signal'
ŋan̲	'do successively'
nyuny	'blow nose'
guɲ	'drink'.

All laterals and rhotics occur word-finally, as do the semi-vowels /y/
and /w/:

yil	'resolve a dispute'
yal̲	'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)-∅-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)-Ø-na

dem   in turn   rub-rub   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past

'this one rubbed and rubbed in turn'.

7.3.2   THE VERBAL PRESTEM

A verbal-nominal functioning as a verbal prestem usually immediately precedes the inflecting verb and takes no affixes. Rarely, certain particles (see 12.1.3) intervene between the verbal prestem and the inflected verb:

7.3.2   E/365   SN

yim-BULA-n(a)-arra   mug   ŋarri   yana-rr-(a)-I-na

3sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past-1+mDatPro   hit(PS)   then   1+2+m-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-past

'he came to us *and* we killed (him)'.

In a single example, the derivational nominal suffix -ŋurru 'much' was found with a verbal prestem (see also 11.2.1):

7.3.2   E/366   SN   (= 11.2.1   E/641)

dalaw-ŋurru   yi(n)-Ø-na   ....   ma<u>l</u>u   budyi

cut(PS)-<u>much</u>   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past   NEG   unsuccessful

'she *hacked* away   ....   but in vain'.

No case-marking suffix may attach to a verbal prestem although verbal-nominals may take case-marking suffixes (examples in 7.3.3) when not functioning as prestems, 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 prestem with an inflected verb from one of several different verbal roots, where semantically plausible:

7.3.2   E/367   SN

gu<u>d</u>idyi   yina-WIRRIGA-na

run(PS)   3sg(I)-<u>try</u>-past

'he tried to run';

7.3.2   E/368   SN

gu<u>d</u>idyi   yi-rr-a-MA-na   mandya-ni   baba   buru-ṅana

run(PS)   3-nmin-SET-<u>make</u>-past   many-ACT   child   country-ALLAT

'"many children rushed to the place"' (speaker's gloss);

7.3.2   E/369   SN

gu<u>d</u>idyi   yi-rr-a-MA-na-da-yirr-mirri

run(PS)   3-nmin-SET-<u>make</u>-past-HABIT-3nsgOPro-AUG$_s$

'they chased the two of them' (that is, 'they made them run');

7.3.2   E/370   SN

gu<u>d</u>idyi   wal-(a)-ANDI   baldya-garra

run(PS)   2sg(I)-(fut)-<u>pick up</u>   quick-<u>multiple</u>

'you start running like the wind!';

7.3.2   E/371   SN

mandya   ba<u>d</u>gurru   gu<u>d</u>idyi   yi-rr-(a)-I-n

many   kangaroo   run(PS)   3-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-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-RA$_2$-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-past$_2$

'while he was running he got cold';

7.3.3   E/376   SN

gud   ŋa-rra-MA   gab-dyunu   maŋarriy-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

Phoneme	Percentage
b	26
dy	17
m	16
g	14
ŋ	7
l	6
w	5
d, n, r, y, a, i (each less than 2%) total	9
	100

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

ŋan-DYUBA-ny-dyu

1sg(I)-<u>ask</u>-past$_2$-2sgOPro$_2$

'I asked you';

8.2   E/379   BN

ma<u>l</u>u   wa-la-YUBA-na-yarr

NEG   3-IRR-<u>ask</u>-past-1+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

ŋan-a-DYUBA-yina   waŋ-a-MA-dyi

1sg(I)-fut-<u>ask</u>-3sgOPro   3sg(II)-fut-<u>go</u>-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   ----→   y / 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:

d̲, n̲, l̲

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[1] 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)

8.3   E/381   SN

garrgudyi   wal-(a)-LA   malu   giddyi   min-a-rra-BU$_1$

accurate shot   2sg(I)-(fut)-<u>spear</u>   NEG   miss   2sg(I)-fut-IRR-<u>hit</u>

'you spear (him) first go; don't you miss!';

8.3   E/382   SN

wa<u>l</u>   yin-BU$_1$-ny   bu<u>d</u>a

wring   3sg(I)-<u>hit</u>-past$_2$ neck

'he wrung (its) neck'.

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'

    - BU_1 -   'hit, kill'

    - BU_2 -   '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'

    - ŊA -   'sit' (suppletive root of -NI-)

    - ŊU -   'swallow, consume'

    - LA -   'summon'

    - LI -   'eat'

    - RA_1 -   'spear'

    - RA_2 -   'be, feel, become'
                                (suppletive root of -ŊARA-)

    - RI -   'argue, quarrel'

(only found with reciprocal affixing)

    - YA -   'be, feel, become'
                                (suppletive root of -ŊARA-)

    - 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

Persons	Non-future Realis (BN)
1	ŋan - BARA -
2	min - BARA -
3	yin - BARA -
1+2	yan - BARA -
Non-personal:	ma - BARA - n

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   ŋa-ma-BARA-nydyi-ny-ŋayu

shadow   1sg(II)-INT$_p$-see-INT$_s$-past$_2$-1sgOPro

'I saw my reflection'.

8.3.1   T/25   Representative Forms in Small Nyigina of - BA - 'see'
                (set I prefixing)

Persons	Non-future	Future
R 1	ŋan - - BA -	ŋan - a - - BA
E 2	min - - BA -	wal - a - - BA
A 3	yin - - BA -	wan - a - - BA
L 1+2	yan - - BA -	yan - a - - BA
I		
S 1+m	ya - - rr - a - BA -	yaŋa - - rr - a - BA
2+m	gu - - rr - a - BA -	wa - - rr - a - BA
3+m	yi - - rr - a - BA -	waŋa - - rr - a - BA
1+2+m	yana - - rr - a - BA -	yana - - rr - a - BA

	Non-future	Future
I 1	ŋa - la - - BA -	ŋan - a - rra - - BA
R 2	mi - la - - BA -	min - a - rra - - BA
R 3	wa - la - - BA -	wan - a - rra - - BA
E 1+2	ya - la - - BA -	yan - a - rra - - BA
A		
L 1+m	ya - la - rr - a - BA -	ya - - ya - rr - a - BA
I 2+m	gu - la - rr - a - BA -	gu - - ya - rr - a - BA
S 3+m	wa - la - rr - a - BA -	wa - - ya - rr - a - BA
1+2+m	ya - la - rr - a - BA -	ya - - ya - rr - a - BA

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:

> 1sg Future Realis Forms
>
> ŋan - *i* - MI   'I shall give'
>
> ŋan - a - BA   'I shall see'
>
> ŋaŋ - a - NI   'I shall sit'
>
> ŋan -(a)- IBI   'I shall drink'.

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'

Persons	Present and Past Realis
1	ŋa - ŋA -
2	nyi - ŋA -
3	yi - ŋA -
1+2	ya - ŋA -

The suppletive root involved in these forms may be analyzed as either

-ŋA- or -A-, that is, the /ŋ/ may be assigned to *either* the prefix *or*

the verbal root:

8.3.2 T/26 Representative Forms of - MI - 'give' (set I prefixing)

	Persons	Non-future					Future				
R	1	ŋan -			- MI -		ŋan - *i* -				- MI
E	2	min -			- MI -		wal - *i* -				- MI
A	3	yin -			- MI -		wan - *i* -				- MI
L	1+2	yan -			- MI -		yan - *i* -				- MI
I											
S	1+m	ya -	- rr - *i* - MI -				yaŋa -		- rr - *i* - MI		
	2+m	gu -	- rr - *i* - MI -				wa -		- rr - *i* - MI		
	3+m	yi -	- rr - *i* - MI -				waŋa -		- rr - *i* - MI		
	1+2+m	yana -	- rr - *i* - MI -				yana -		- rr - *i* - MI		

	Persons	Non-future					Future				
I	1	ŋa - l*i* -			- MI -		ŋan - a - rr*i* -				- MI
R	2	mi - l*i* -			- MI -		min - a - rr*i* -				- MI
R	3	wa - l*i* -			- MI -		wan - a - rr*i* -				- MI
E	1+2	ya - l*i* -			- MI -		yan - a - rr*i* -				- MI
A											
L	1+m	ya - la - rr - *i* - MI -					ya -	- ya - rr - *i* - MI			
I	2+m	gu - la - rr - *i* - MI -					gu -	- ya - rr - *i* - MI			
S	3+m	wa - la - rr - *i* - MI -					wa -	- ya - rr - *i* - MI			
	1+2+m	ya - la - rr - *i* - MI -					ya -	- ya - rr - *i* - MI			

Non-personal: ma -   - MI - n

Persons	Possible Analyses			
1	ŋa(ŋ) – ŊA –		or	ŋaŋ – A –
2	nyi(ŋ) – ŊA –			nyiŋ – A –
3	yi(ŋ) – ŊA –			yiŋ – A –
1+2	ya(ŋ) – ŊA –			yaŋ – A –

There appears to be insufficient evidence to determine which analysis
is preferable. The root -ŊA- 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   ----→   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 T/28   Representative Forms of - NI - 'sit' (set II prefixing)

(see T/27 for obligatory suppletive forms in present and past realis)

Persons		Past₂			Future		
R	1	ŋa -		- NI - ny	ŋaŋ - a -		- NI
E	2	nyi -		- NI - ny	(nyi)ŋ - a		- NI
A	3	yi -		- NI - ny	waŋ - a -		- NI
L	1+2	ya -		- NI - ny	yaŋ - a -		- NI
I							
S	1+m	ya -	- rr - DI - ny		yaŋa -	- rr - DI	
	2+m	gu -	- rr - DI - ny		wa -	- rr - DI	
	3+m	yi -	- rr - DI - ny		waŋa -	- rr - DI	
	1+2+m	yana -	- rr - DI - ny		yana -	- rr - DI	

		Non-future			Future		
I	1	ŋa - la -		- NI -	ŋa -	- rra -	- NI
R	2	nyi - la -		- NI -	nyi -	- rra -	- NI
R	3	wa - la -		- NI -	wa -	- rra -	- NI
E	1+2	ya - la -		- NI -	ya -	- rra -	- NI
A							
L	1+m	ya - la - rr - DI -			ya -	- ya - rr - DI	
	2+m	gu - la - rr - DI -			gu -	- ya - rr - DI	
I	3+m	wa - la - rr - DI -			wa -	- ya - rr - DI	
S	1+2+m	ya - la - rr - DI -			ya -	- ya - rr - DI	

Non-personal: ma -   - NI - n

contrasting type signifies deletion by phonological rule(s)

8.3.4 THE VERBAL ROOT $-RA_1-$ '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 $-RA_1-$ do not take -ma- (INT_p) prefixing (see 9.7.1) but only -nydyi- (INT_s) 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 $-RA_2-$, a suppletive root of -ŊARA-, 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) is required:

Rule R/1   a   ---→ $\emptyset$ / ---- + r.

An expanded rhotic assimilation rule (see 8.3.3), which has been renumbered, is also required:

Rule R/2b   rr + $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} r \\ n \end{array} \right\}$ ---→   d .

A further rule covering progressive assimilation is also required:

Rule R/4   rr   ---→ $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} n \\ 1 \end{array} \right\}$ / $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} n \\ 1 \end{array} \right\}$ + ---- .

8.3.4 T/29 Underlying Forms of $-RA_1-$ 'spear' (set I prefixing)

	Persons	Non-future		Future	
R	1	ŋan -	- RA -	ŋan - a -	- RA
E	2	min -	- RA -	wal - a -	- RA
A	3	yin -	- RA -	wan - a -	- RA
L	1+2	yan -	- RA -	yan - a -	- RA
I	1+m	ya -	- rr - a - RA -	yaŋa -	-rr-a- RA
S	2+m	gu -	- rr - a - RA -	wa -	-rr-a- RA
	3+m	yi -	- rr - a - RA -	waŋa -	-rr-a- RA
	1+2+m	yana -	- rr - a - RA -	yana -	-rr-a- RA
I	1	ŋa - l a-	- RA -	ŋan -a-rra-	- RA
R	2	mi - l a-	- RA -	min -a-rra-	- RA
R	3	wa - l a-	- RA -	wan -a-rra-	- RA
E	1+2	ya - l a-	- RA -	yan -a-rra-	- RA
A	1+m	ya - la - rr - a - RA -		ya -	-rr-a- RA
L	2+m	gu - la - rr - a - RA -		gu -	-rr-a- RA
I	3+m	wa - la - rr - a - RA -		wa -	-rr-a- RA
S	1+2+m	ya - la - rr - a - RA -		ya -	-rr-a- RA

Non-personal: man a-   - RA - n

Reflexive/Reciprocal Forms (set II prefixing)

	Persons	Non-future		Future	
R	1	ŋa -	- RA -nydyi-	ŋaŋ - a -	- RA -nydyi
E	2	nyi -	- RA -nydyi-	nyiŋ - a -	- RA -nydyi
A	3	yi -	- RA -nydyi-	waŋ - a -	- RA -nydyi
L	1+2	ya -	- RA -nydyi-	yaŋ - a -	- RA -nydyi
I	1+m	ya -	- rr - - RA -nydyi-	yaŋa -	-rr- - RA -nydyi
S	2+m	gu -	- rr - - RA -nydyi-	wa -	-rr- - RA -nydyi
	3+m	yi -	- rr - - RA -nydyi-	waŋa -	-rr- - RA -nydyi
	1+2+m	ya -	- rr - - RA -nydyi-	yana -	-rr- - RA -nydyi

Non-personal: ma -   - RA -nydyi- n

contrasting type signifies deletion by phonological rule(s)

8.3.4 T/30 Surface Forms of $-RA_1-$ 'spear' (set I prefixing)

	Persons	Non-future		Future	
R	1	ŋan -	- NA -	ŋan -	- NA
E	2	min -	- NA -	wal -	- LA
A	3	yin -	- NA -	wan -	- NA
L	1+2	yan -	- NA -	yan -	- NA
I	1+m	ya -	- DA -	yaŋa -	- DA
S	2+m	gu -	- DA -	wa -	- DA
	3+m	yi -	- DA -	waŋa -	- DA
	1+2+m	yana -	- DA -	yana -	- DA
I	1	ŋa -l -	- LA -	ŋan - a -	- DA
R	2	mi -l -	- LA -	min - a -	- DA
R	3	wa -l -	- LA -	wan - a -	- DA
E	1+2	ya -l -	- LA -	yan - a -	- DA
A	1+m	ya -la -	- DA -	ya - - ya -	- DA
L	2+m	gu -la -	- DA -	gu - - ya -	- DA
I	3+m	wa -la -	- DA -	wa - - ya -	- DA
S	1+2+m	ya -la -	- DA -	ya - - ya -	- DA

Non-personal: man -   - NA - n

Reflexive/Reciprocal Forms (set II prefixing)

	Persons	Non-future		Future	
R	1	ŋa -	- RA -nydyi-	ŋaŋ - a -	- RA -nydyi
E	2	nyi -	- RA -nydyi-	nyiŋ - a -	- RA -nydyi
A	3	yi -	- RA -nydyi-	waŋ - a -	- RA -nydyi
L	1+2	ya -	- RA -nydyi-	yaŋ - a -	- RA -nydyi
I	1+m	ya -	- DA -nydyi-	yaŋa -	- DA -nydyi
S	2+m	gu -	- DA -nydyi-	wa -	- DA -nydyi
	3+m	yi -	- DA -nydyi-	waŋa -	- DA -nydyi
	1+2+m	ya -	- DA -nydyi-	yana -	- DA -nydyi

Non-personal: ma-   - RA -nydyi- n

The above rules are ordered:

R/1 ⎫ ⎫
R/2b ⎬ ⎬
R/4 ⎭ ⎭ .

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 -ŊARA- '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 -ŊARA-

Non-future Realis

Person	$-RA_2-$ Series	-YA- Series
1	ŋa $- RA_2 -$	-- [3]
2	nyi $- RA_2 -$	nyi - YA
3	yi $- RA_2 -$	yi - YA -
1+2	ya $- RA_2 -$	ya - YA -

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 $-RA_2-$ and a phonological rule of the type

---

[3] Capell (1966:3) records examples such as binbal ŋaian 'I feel pain' which might correspond to a 1sg form from -YA-, that is, ŋa-YA-n. I have been unable to find speakers who will accept this form of the verb.

8.3.5 T/32 Representative Forms of - ŊARA - 'be, feel, become'

(set II prefixing)

Persons		Non-future			Future		
R	1	ŋa -		- RA$_2$ -	ŋaŋ - a -		- RA$_2$
E	2	nyi -		- RA$_2$* -	(nyi)ŋ - a -		- RA$_2$
A	3	yi -		- RA$_2$* -	waŋ - a -		- RA$_2$
L	1+2	ya -		- RA$_2$* -	yaŋ - a -		- RA$_2$
I							
S	1+m	ya -	- rr -	ŊARA -	yaŋa -	- rr -	ŊARA
	2+m	gu -	- rr -	ŊARA -	wa -	- rr -	ŊARA
	3+m	yi -	- rr -	ŊARA -	waŋa -	- rr -	ŊARA
	1+2+m	yana -	- rr -	ŊARA -	yana -	- rr -	ŊARA

I	1	ŋa - la -		- ŊARA -	ŋa - rra -		- 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
A							
L	1+m	ya - la - rr -	ŊARA -	ya - ya - rr -	ŊARA
I	2+m	gu - la - rr -	ŊARA -	gu - ya - rr -	ŊARA
S	3+m	wa - la - rr -	ŊARA -	wa - ya - rr -	ŊARA
	1+2+m	ya - la - rr -	ŊARA -	ya - ya - rr -	ŊARA

Non-personal: ma -   - ŊARA - n

*indicates alternative forms from suppletive root -YA- (see T/31)

$$r \quad ---\rightarrow \quad y$$

to account for surface forms with a verbal root -YA-. The -RA$_2$-

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 -RA$_2$- and -ŊARA-.

Suppletive forms from -RA$_2$- occur only in minimal groupings. For

non-minimal groups, possible forms might be predicted to undergo

rhotic assimilation, for example:

*8.3.5   E/384   SN

*yi + rr + RA$_2$ + ny $\overset{R/2b}{---\rightarrow}$ *yidany

3-nmin(II)-be-past$_2$

'they were'

and ambiguity with surface forms of -RA$_1$- 'spear' would occur:

8.3.5   E/385   SN

yi + rr + a + RA$_1$ + ny $\overset{R/1b}{---\rightarrow}$ yi + rr + RA$_1$ + ny

3-nmin-SET(=I)-spear-past$_2$ $\overset{R/2b}{---\rightarrow}$ yidany

'they speared'.

This *may* be relevant to the distribution of forms from -ŊARA- (and not

-RA$_2$-) 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 -RA$_1$-.

The occurrence of -ŊARA- 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

8.3.5   E/386   SN

malu   ŋa-la-RA_1-nydyi-na

NEG   1sg-IRR(=II)-<u>spear</u>-INT_s-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:

8.3.5   E/387   SN

ribi   yi-RA_2-ny   nilirr   maŋarriy-dyunu

tingle   3sg(II)-<u>feel</u>-$past_2$ mouth   food-INAN.SOURCE

'her mouth tingled from the (sharp/bitter) food';

8.3.5   E/388   SN

ribi   yi-YA-ny   nilirr   maŋarriy-dyunu

tingle   3sg(II)-<u>feel</u>-$past_2$ mouth   food-INAN.SOURCE

'her mouth tingled from the food'.

However, surface forms from either root are not *always* freely inter-

changeable as the examples below (where $-RA_2-$ forms are *not* possible)

demonstrate:

8.3.5   E/389   SN

ribi   yi-YA-ny   wanydyarri-gadiny   balɲanydyina   nimarraŋga

tingle   3sg(II)-<u>become</u>-past$_2$ one-<u>side</u>   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-<u>multiple</u>

....   wanaɲarri   yi-YA-na

          rock   3sg(II)-<u>become</u>-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)-<u>become</u>-past$_2$

'he woke up';

8.3.5   E/392   SN

gab-dyi   yi-YA-na

eating-DAT   3sg(II)-<u>become</u>-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-

Persons	Non-future Realis
1	ŋan - GA -
2	min - GA -
3	yin - GA -
1+2	yan - GA -
Non-personal:	ma - GA - n .

The vowel-deletion rule relevant to vowel-initial verbal roots

(see 9.2.2):

Rule R/5   a $\xrightarrow{R/5}$ $\emptyset$ / ---- + 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/$\emptyset$

alternation (see 2.1.9), that is, the following changes *may* have

occurred intervocalically (but this is speculative):

$$g > \gamma > \emptyset .$$

No other g-initial verbal root is subject to g/$\emptyset$ 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 T/34 Representative Forms of -A- 'carry' (set I prefixing)

   (Small Nyigina and Big Nyigina)

Persons	Non-future		Future	
R 1	ŋan -	- GA -	ŋan -(a)-	- A
E 2	min -	- GA -	wal -(a)-	- A
A 3	yin -	- GA -	wan -(a)-	- A
L 1+2	yan -	- GA -	yan -(a)-	- A
I				
S 1+m	ya -	- rr -(a)- A -	yaŋa -	- rr -(a)- A
2+m	gu -	- rr -(a)- A -	wa -	- rr -(a)- A
3+m	yi -	- rr -(a)- A -	waŋa -	- rr -(a)- A
1+2+m	yana -	- rr -(a)- A -	yana -	- rr -(a)- A
I 1	ŋa - 1(a)-	- A -	ŋan - a -rr(a)-	- A
R 2	mi - 1(a)-	- A -	min - a -rr(a)-	- A
R 3	wa - 1(a)-	- A -	wan - a -rr(a)-	- A
E 1+2	ya - 1(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[4] 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'

Persons	Non-future Realis (present, past, past₂)
1	ŋan - DI -
2	min - DI -
3	yin - DI -
1+2	yan - DI -
Non-personal:	man - DI - n (only form possible).

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:

1sg Forms	Non-future		Future
REALIS	ŋan - - DI - (?suppletive)		ga-naŋ-ga-YI
IRREALIS	ŋa - l - YI -		ŋan-DYI

8.3.7   T/36   Representative Forms of - I - 'do, say'   (set I prefixing)

	Persons	Non-future		Future		
R	1	series₁ (T/35)		ŋan -(a)-		- I
E	2	OR		wal -(a)-		- I
A	3	series₂ (T/37)		wan -(a)-		- I
L	1+2			yan -(a)-		- I
I						
S	1+m	ya -	- rr -(a)- I -	yaŋa -	- rr -(a)- I	
	2+m	gu -	- rr -(a)- I -	wa -	- rr -(a)- I	
	3+m	yi -	- rr -(a)- I -	waŋa -	- rr -(a)- I	
	1+2+m	yana -	- rr -(a)- I -	yana -	- rr -(a)- I	

	Persons	Non-future		Future		
I	1	ŋa - 1(a)-	·· I -	ŋan - a - rr(a)-		- I
R	2	mi - 1(a)-	- I -	min - a - rr(a)-		- I
R	3	wa - 1(a)-	- I -	wan - a - rr(a)-		- I
E	1+2	ya - 1(a)-	- I -	yan - a - rr(a)-		- I
A						
L	1+m	ya - la - rr -(a)- I -		ya -	- ya	- rr -(a)- I
I	2+m	gu - la - rr -(a)- I -		gu -	- ya	- rr -(a)- I
S	3+m	wa - la - rr -(a)- I -		wa -	- ya	- rr -(a)- I
	1+2+m	ya - la - rr -(a)- I -		ya -	- ya	- rr -(a)- I

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   ---→   d / n + --

may be responsible for these surface forms.

It *may* be that the series$_1$ 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:

mana + YI + n   ---→   man + YI + n

GEN(I)-do-pres   ---→   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 (series$_2$) exist in minimal person groupings of
present and past tenses only, in realis mode:

8.3.7 T/37 Series$_2$ Suppletive Forms of 'do, say'

Persons	Present Realis	Past Realis
1	ŋan	ŋana
2	min	mina
3	yin	yina
1+2	yan	yana

There are *no* corresponding past$_2$ 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 series$_2$ are proposed:

8.3.7 T/38 Series$_2$ Proposed Underlying Forms

Persons	Present	Past
1	ŋa n – Ø – n	ŋa n – Ø – na
2	mi n – Ø – n	mi n – Ø – na
3	yi n – Ø – n	yi n – Ø – na
1+2	ya n – Ø – n	ya n – Ø – na

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]

1sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past

'I said';

and the following form (see 8.3.4):

8.3.7   E/394   SN

ŋan - (a) - NA   [ŋanna]

1sg(I)-(fut)-<u>spear</u>

'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 Series$_2$ Surface Forms

Persons	Present	Past
1	ŋa(n) - Ø - n	ŋa(n) - Ø - na
2	mi(n) - Ø - n	mi(n) - Ø - na
3	yi(n) - Ø - n	yi(n) - Ø - na
1+2	ya(n) - Ø - n	ya(n) - Ø - na .

This analysis of series$_2$ 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, series$_2$ 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)-<u>do</u>-pres-3sgDatPro   dog-DAT

'he's afraid of the dog';

8.3.7   E/396   SN

ŋur   yi(n)-Ø-n   budyú   garrgin

swell   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-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)-<u>do</u>-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:

8.3.7   E/398   SN

gabad̠   yi(n)-Ø-n

leap   3sg(I)-do-pres

'he's jumping around' (of a fish);

8.3.7   E/399   BN   (= 12.5.5   E/815)

gabad̠   yin-DI-na-ŋany-dyirr-mirri

leap   3sg(I)-do-past-TOG-3nsgOPro-AUG_s

'he jumped on the two of them (that is, on their backs)';

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:

8.3.7   E/400   SN

yulburru   gad̠ady   yin-DI-n(a)-awu

long ago   hunt   3sg(I)-do-past-1+2DatPro

'long ago he went looking for the two of us';

8.3.7   E/401   SN

gad̠ady   yi(n)-Ø-na-yina   yagarrbad̠a

hunt   3sg(I)-do-past-3sgDatPro   hill kangaroo

'he hunted for hill kangaroo';

8.3.7   E/402   SN

ibara   gab   ŋan-DI-n   wal̠i

for a long time   eat   1sg(I)-do-pres   meat

'I keep on eating meat';

8.3.7   E/403   SN

nilirr-gan   yi-rr-a-MA-n-dyina   galiya   gab   yi(n)-∅-n

mouth-LOC   3-nmin-SET-<u>put</u>-pres-3sgDatPro   then   eat   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-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

No. of Syllables	No. of Verbal Roots	%
2	83	65 %
3	33	26 %
4	1 }	6 %
(2 reduplicated)	7 }	
5	3	3 %

All verbal roots are vowel-final. All three vowels occur, with the
following frequency, in polysyllabic roots:

Final Vowels in Polysyllabic Verbal Roots

Final Vowel	No. of Verbal Roots	%
- a	75	59 %
- i	36	28 %
- u	16	13 % .

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   ($\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{n}{\dot{\eta}}$)   ---→ $\emptyset$ / ---- + l .

The regressive assimilation rule (R/7) applies:

Rule R/7   rr   ---→   l / ---- + l .

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   ---→ $\emptyset$ / ---- + $\left\{ \genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{r}{n} \right\}$

applies to these verbal roots:

Non-future Tenses   Non-future Tenses   'cry'

                set I   set II   set I   set II

Persons   Persons

T/41 (Underlying Forms)

REALIS

Persons	set I	set II
R 1	ŋa n- - LUGA -	ŋa ŋ- - LUGA -
E 2	mi n- - LUGA -	nyi ŋ- - LUGA -
A 3	yi n- - LUGA -	yi ŋ- - LUGA -
L 1+2	ya n- - LUGA -	ya ŋ- - LUGA -
I 1+m	ya - - rr - a - LUGA -	ya - - rr - LUGA -
S 2+m	gu - - rr - a - LUGA -	gu - - rr - LUGA -
3+m	yi - - rr - a - LUGA -	yi - - rr - LUGA -
1+2+m	yana - - rr - a - LUGA -	yana - - rr - LUGA -

IRREALIS

Persons	set I	set II
I 1	ŋa - la - - LUGA -	ŋa - la - - LUGA -
R 2	mi - la - - LUGA -	nyi - la - - LUGA -
R 3	wa - la - - LUGA -	wa - la - - LUGA -
E 1+2	ya - la - - LUGA -	ya - la - - LUGA -
A 1+m	ya - la - rr - a - LUGA -	ya - la - rr - LUGA -
L 2+m	gu - la - rr - a - LUGA -	gu - la - rr - LUGA -
I 3+m	wa - la - rr - a - LUGA -	wa - la - rr - LUGA -
S 1+2+m	ya - la - rr - a - LUGA -	ya - la - rr - LUGA -

T/42 (Surface Forms)

REALIS

Persons	set I	set II
R 1	ŋa - - LUGA -	ŋa - - LUGA -
E 2	mi - - LUGA -	nyi - - LUGA -
A 3	yi - - LUGA -	yi - - LUGA -
L 1+2	ya - - LUGA -	ya - - LUGA -
I 1+m	ya - - rr - a - LUGA -	ya - - l - LUGA -
S 2+m	gu - - rr - a - LUGA -	gu - - l - LUGA -
3+m	yi - - rr - a - LUGA -	yi - - l - LUGA -
1+2+m	yana - - rr - a - LUGA -	yana - - l - LUGA -

IRREALIS

Persons	set I	set II
I 1	ŋa - la - - LUGA -	ŋa - la - - LUGA -
R 2	mi - la - - LUGA -	nyi - la - - LUGA -
R 3	wa - la - - LUGA -	wa - la - - LUGA -
E 1+2	ya - la - - LUGA -	ya - la - - LUGA -
A 1+m	ya - la - rr - a - LUGA -	ya - la - 1 - LUGA -
L 2+m	gu - la - rr - a - LUGA -	gu - la - 1 - LUGA -
I 3+m	wa - la - rr - a - LUGA -	wa - la - 1 - LUGA -
S 1+2+m	ya - la - rr - a - LUGA -	ya - la - 1 - LUGA -

contrasting type signifies deletion by phonological rule(s)

8.4.2   E/404   SN

ŋan + a + NIGA $\xrightarrow{\text{R/1b}}$ ŋanniga

1sg(I)-fut-<u>follow</u>

'I shall follow'.

The rhotic assimilation rule may apply following set I vowel-deletion:

8.4.2   E/405   SN

yi + rr + a + NIGA + na $\xrightarrow{\text{R/1b}}$ yi + rr + NIGA + na

3-nmin-SET-<u>follow</u>-past $\xrightarrow{\text{R/2b}}$ yidigana

'they followed'.

Progressive assimilation occurs following set I vowel-deletion:

8.4.2   E/406   SN

wa + la + NIGA + na $\xrightarrow{\text{R/1b}}$ wa + l + NIGA + na

3-IRR-<u>follow</u>-past $\xrightarrow{\text{R/4}}$ walligana

'he didn't follow'.

Underlying (T/43) and surface (T/44) forms of -NIGA- 'follow' are given on the following page.

8.4.3   VERBAL ROOTS WITH INITIAL w-

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

8.4.2 T/43 Underlying Forms of - NIGA - 'follow' (set I prefixing)

	Persons	Non-future		Future	
R	1	ŋan a-	- NIGA -	ŋan - a -	- NIGA
E	2	min a-	- NIGA -	wal - a -	- NIGA
A	3	yin a-	- NIGA -	wan - a -	- NIGA
L	1+2	yan a-	- NIGA -	yan - a -	- NIGA
I	1+m	ya - - rr - a - NIGA -		yaŋa - - rr - a - NIGA	
S	2+m	gu - - rr - a - NIGA -		wa - - rr - a - NIGA	
	3+m	yi - - rr - a - NIGA -		waŋa - - rr - a - NIGA	
	1+2+m	yana - - rr - a - NIGA -		yana - - rr - a - NIGA	
I	1	ŋa - l a -	- NIGA -	ŋan - a -rra-	- NIGA
R	2	mi - l a -	- NIGA -	min - a -rra-	- NIGA
R	3	wa - l a -	- NIGA -	wan - a -rra-	- NIGA
E	1+2	ya - l a -	- NIGA -	yan - a -rra-	- NIGA
A	1+m	ya - la - rr - a - NIGA -		ya - -ya - rr - a - NIGA	
L	2+m	gu - la - rr - a - NIGA -		gu - -ya - rr - a - NIGA	
I	3+m	wa - la - rr - a - NIGA -		wa - -ya - rr - a - NIGA	
S	1+2+m	ya - la - rr - a - NIGA -		ya - -ya - rr - a - NIGA	

Non-personal: man a -   - NIGA - n

contrasting type signifies deletion by phonological rule(s)

8.4.2 T/44 Surface Forms of - NIGA - 'follow' (set I prefixing)

	Persons	Non-future		Future	
R	1	ŋan -	- NIGA -	ŋan -	- NIGA
E	2	min -	- NIGA -	wal -	- LIGA
A	3	yin -	- NIGA -	wan -	- NIGA
L	1+2	yan -	- NIGA -	yan -	- NIGA
I	1+m	ya -	- DIGA -	yaŋa -	- DIGA
S	2+m	gu -	- DIGA -	wa -	- DIGA
	3+m	yi -	- DIGA -	waŋa -	- DIGA
	1+2+m	yana -	- DIGA -	yana -	- DIGA
I	1	ŋa - l -	- LIGA -	ŋan - a -	- DIGA
R	2	mi - l -	- LIGA -	min - a -	- DIGA
R	3	wa - l -	- LIGA -	wan - a -	- DIGA
E	1+2	ya - l -	- LIGA -	yan - a -	- DIGA
A	1+m	ya - la -	- DIGA -	ya - -ya-	- DIGA
L	2+m	gu - la -	- DIGA -	gu - -ya-	- DIGA
I	3+m	wa - la -	- DIGA -	wa - -ya-	- DIGA
S	1+2+m	ya - la -	- DIGA -	ya - -ya-	- DIGA

Non-personal: man -   - NIGA - n

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)

Persons	Non-Future Realis		Future Realis	
1	ŋana -	- WUNBA -	ŋan - a -	- WUNBA
2	mina -	- WUNBA -	wal - a -	- WUNBA
3	yina -	- WUNBA -	wan - a -	- WUNBA
1+2	yana -	- WUNBA -	yan - a -	- WUNBA
3+m	yi - rr - a - WUNBA -		waɲa - - rr - a - WUNBA	

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 -ŊARA- (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)

	Persons	Non-future					Future			
R	1	ŋan(a)-			- IBI -		ŋan -(a)-			- IBI
E	2	min(a)-			- IBI -		wal -(a)-			- IBI
A	3	yin(a)-			- IBI -		wan -(a)-			- IBI
L	1+2	yan(a)-			- IBI -		yan -(a)-			- IBI
I										
S	1+m	ya -	- rr	-(a)- IBI -			yaŋa -	-	-rr-(a)- IBI	
	2+m	gu -	- rr	-(a)- IBI -			wa -	-	-rr-(a)- IBI	
	3+m	yi -	- rr	-(a)- IBI -			waŋa -		-rr-(a)- IBI	
	1+2+m	yana -	- rr	-(a)- IBI -			yana -		-rr-(a)- IBI	

	Persons	Non-future			Future			
I	1	ŋa - l(a)-		- IBI -	ŋan - a -rr(a)-			- IBI
R	2	mi - l(a)-		- IBI -	min - a -rr(a)-			- IBI
R	3	wa - l(a)-		- IBI -	wan - a -rr(a)-			- IBI
E	1+2	ya - l(a)-		- IBI -	yan - a -rr(a)-			- IBI
A								
L	1+m	ya - la - rr	-(a)- IBI -		ya -	- ya -rr-(a)- IBI		
I	2+m	gu - la - rr	-(a)- IBI -		gu -	- ya -rr-(a)- IBI		
S	3+m	wa - la - rr	-(a)- IBI -		wa -	- ya -rr-(a)- IBI		
	1+2+m	ya - la - rr	-(a)- IBI -		ya -	- ya -rr-(a)- IBI		

Non-personal: man(a) -   - IBI - n

( ) signify deletion by phonological rule(s)

Rule R/5   a   ---→   Ø / ---- + V .

8.4.5   E/407   SN

yana + rr + a + IBI + na $\xrightarrow[\text{----→}]{R/5}$ yanarribina

1+2+m(I)-nmin-SET-<u>drink</u>-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-<u>see</u>-<u>see</u>-past-3sgDatPro   mother   lacking

'they looked and looked for their mother   ....   in vain';

8.5.1   E/409   SN

ŋan-a-MARRA-MARRA   wal̲i

1sg(I)-fut-<u>burn</u>-<u>burn</u>   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)-<u>follow</u>-<u>follow</u>-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)-<u>call name</u>-<u>call name</u>-past-3nsgOPro	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   -GAMA- 'laugh' (set I prefixing)

Persons		Non-future				Future				
ORDER CLASS:		1	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
R	1	ŋan -			- GAMA -	ŋan -	a -			- GAMA
E	2	min -			- GAMA -	wal -	a -			- GAMA
A	3	yin -			- GAMA -	wan -	a -			- GAMA
L	1+2	yan -			- GAMA -	yan -	a -			- GAMA
I										
S	1+m	ya -	- rr -	a -	GAMA -	yaŋa -		- rr -	a -	GAMA
	2+m	gu -	- rr -	a -	GAMA -	wa -		- rr -	a -	GAMA
	3+m	yi -	- rr -	a -	GAMA -	waŋa -		- rr -	a -	GAMA
	1+2+m	yana -	- rr -	a -	GAMA -	yana -		- rr -	a -	GAMA
I	1	ŋa - la_I-			- GAMA -	ŋan -	a -	rra_I-		- GAMA
R	2	mi - la_I-			- GAMA -	min -	a -	rra_I-		- GAMA
R	3	wa - la_I-			- GAMA -	wan -	a -	rra_I-		- GAMA
E	1+2	ya - la_I-			- GAMA -	yan -	a -	rra_I-		- GAMA
A										
L	1+m	ya - la -	rr -	a -	GAMA -	ya -		- ya -	rr - a -	GAMA
I	2+m	gu - la -	rr -	a -	GAMA -	gu -		- ya -	rr - a -	GAMA
S	3+m	wa - la -	rr -	a -	GAMA -	wa -		- ya -	rr - a -	GAMA
	1+2+m	ya - la -	rr -	a -	GAMA -	ya -		- ya -	rr - a -	GAMA

Subscripts (for example, $-la_I-$ and $-la_{II}-$) signify differing phonological behaviour (see 9.5.2).

9.1 T/48   Paradigm B   -GAMA- 'laugh' (set II prefixing)

	Persons	Non-future				Future			
ORDER CLASS:		1	3	4		1	2	3	4
R	1	ŋaŋ -		- GAMA -		ŋaŋ - a -			- GAMA
E	2	nyiŋ -		- GAMA -		(nyi)ŋ[1]- a -			- GAMA
A	3	yiŋ -		- GAMA -		waŋ - a -			- GAMA
L	1+2	yaŋ -		- GAMA -		yaŋ - a -			- GAMA
I									
S	1+m	ya -	- rr - GAMA -			yaŋa -		- rr - GAMA	
	2+m	gu -	- rr - GAMA -			wa -		- rr - GAMA	
	3+m	yi -	- rr - GAMA -			waŋa -		- rr - GAMA	
	1+2+m	ya -	- rr - GAMA -			yana -		- rr - GAMA	
I	1	ŋa - la$_{II}$-		- GAMA -		ŋa - -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									
L	1+m	ya - la	- rr - GAMA -			ya -	- ya - rr - GAMA		
	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		

[1] 2sg future prefixing varies, including dialect variation (see 9.3.1)

9.1 T/49   Paradigm C   -ma-GAMA-nydyi- 'laugh at oneself'

(set II prefixing and INTrospective affixing)

Persons		Future								
ORDER CLASS:		1	2	3	4	6				
R	1	ŋaŋ - a -			- ma	- GAMA	- nydyi			
E	2	(nyi)ŋ - a -			- ma	- GAMA	- nydyi			
A	3	waŋ - a -			- ma	- GAMA	- nydyi			
L	1+2	yaŋ - a -			- ma	- GAMA	- nydyi			
I										
	1+m	yaŋa -		- rr	- ma	- GAMA	- nydyi			
S	2+m	wa -		- rr	- ma	- GAMA	- nydyi			
	3+m	waŋa -		- rr	- ma	- GAMA	- nydyi			
	1+2+m	yana -		- rr	- ma	- GAMA	- nydyi			
I	1	ŋa -	- rra$_{II}$ -		- ma	- GAMA	- nydyi			
R	2	nyi -	- rra$_{II}$ -		- ma	- GAMA	- nydyi			
R	3	wa -	- rra$_{II}$ -		- ma	- GAMA	- nydyi			
E	1+2	ya -	- rra$_{II}$ -		- ma	- GAMA	- nydyi			
A										
	1+m	ya -	- ya	- rr	- ma	- GAMA	- nydyi			
L	2+m	gu -	- ya	- rr	- ma	- GAMA	- nydyi			
I	3+m	wa -	- ya	- rr	- ma	- GAMA	- nydyi			
S	1+2+m	ya -	- ya	- rr	- ma	- GAMA	- nydyi			

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 -- VERB ROOT -- $\pm$ suffixing classes

Order Class	Abbreviation	Function
1	$\{$ PRO_p	personal pronominal prefix
	GEN	general or non-personal prefix
2	fut	future tense marker
3	IRR	irrealis mode marker
4	nmin	non-minimal person grouping marker
5	SET	prefixing set I marker
6	INT_p	prefixing introspective marker (indicates reflexive or reciprocal)

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-INT$_p$-burn-INT$_s$

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 INT$_p$ (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

Person		Non-future		Future		
ORDER CLASS:		1 3		1 2 3		
R	1	ŋana –	– *	ŋan – a –		– *
E	2	mina –	– *	wal – a –		– *
A						
L	3	yina –	– *	wan – a –		– *
I	1+2	yana –	– *	yan – a –		– *
S						
I	1	ŋa – la$_I$	– *	ŋan – a – rra$_I$		– *
R	2	mi – la$_I$	– *	min – a – rra$_I$		– *
R						
E	3	wa – la$_I$	– *	wan – a – rra$_I$		– *
A	1+2	ya – la$_I$	– *	yan – a – rra$_I$		– *
L						

SET II

		Non-future		Future		
R	1	ŋaŋ –	– *	ŋaŋ – a –		– *
E	2	nyiŋ –	– *	(nyi)ŋ[3] – a –		– *
A						
L	3	yiŋ –	– *	waŋ – a –		– *
I	1+2	yaŋ –	– *	yaŋ – a –		– *
S						
I	1	ŋa – la$_{II}$	– *	ŋa –	– rra$_{II}$	– *
R	2	nyi – la$_{II}$	– *	nyi –	– rra$_{II}$	– *
R						
E	3	wa – la$_{II}$	– *	wa –	– rra$_{II}$	– *
A	1+2	ya – la$_{II}$	– *	ya –	– rra$_{II}$	– *
L						

* represents the verbal root
[3] see 9.3.1

9.2.1 T/51   Non-minimal Person Grouping Prefixes

SET I

Persons	Non-future				Future			
ORDER CLASS:	1	3	4	5	1	2&3	4	5

R   1+m   ya -   - rr - a - *   yaŋa -   - rr - a - *

E   2+m   gu -   - rr - a - *   wa -   - rr - a - *

A

L   3+m   yi -   - rr - a - *   waŋa -   - rr - a - *

I   1+2+m   yana -   - rr - a - *   yana -   - rr - a - *

S

I   1+m   ya - la - rr - a - *   ya - ya - rr - a - *

R

R   2+m   gu - la - rr - a - *   gu - ya - rr - a - *

E   3+m   wa - la - rr - a - *   wa - ya - rr - a - *

A   1+2+m   ya - la - rr - a - *   ya - ya - rr - a - *

L

SET II

R   1+m   ya -   - rr -   - *   yaŋa -   - rr -   - *

E   2+m   gu -   - rr -   - *   wa -   - rr -   - *

A

L   3+m   wa -   - rr -   - *   waŋa -   - rr -   - *

I   1+2+m   yana -   - rr -   - *   yana -   - rr -   - *

S

I   1+m   ya - la - rr -   - *   ya - ya - rr -   - *

R

R   2+m   gu - la - rr -   - *   gu - ya - rr -   - *

E   3+m   wa - la - rr -   - *   wa - ya - rr -   - *

A   1+2+m   ya - la - rr -   - *   ya - ya - rr -   - *

L

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$_p$ is deleted before consonant-initial verbal roots:

Rule R/3   a $\longrightarrow$ $\emptyset$ / ---- + C .

Following the vowel-deletion described above, further nasal-deletion
occurs with l-initial verbal roots:

Rule R/6   n $\longrightarrow$ $\emptyset$ / ---- + l .

For minimal person groupings, non-future realis, two phonological
processes apply to the final /ŋ/ of set II prefixing:

Rule R/8   ŋ $\longrightarrow$ homorganic nasal / ---- + stop and

Rule R/9   ŋ $\longrightarrow$ $\emptyset$ / ---- + $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{nasal} \\ l \\ r \\ w \\ y \end{array} \right\}$.

A general vowel-deletion rule applies to vowel-final prefixing preceding
a vowel-initial verbal root:

Rule R/5   a $\longrightarrow$ $\emptyset$ / ---- + 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   ----➔ $\emptyset$ / ---- + ($\begin{smallmatrix} r \\ n \end{smallmatrix}$) .

The rhotic assimilation rule (R/2b)

$\qquad$ rr + ($\begin{smallmatrix} n \\ r \end{smallmatrix}$)   ----➔   d

which is ordered after set I vowel-deletion, may apply in non-minimal

person groupings.

$\qquad$ The progressive assimilation rule R/4 applies to verbal roots with

initial /r/ or /n/:

Rule R/4 $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} r \\ n \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ ----➔ $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} l \\ n \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ / $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} l \\ n \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ + ---- .

Regressive assimilation of final /rr/ of prefixing occurs with l-initial

verbal roots:

Rule R/7   rr   ----➔   l / ---- + l .

Some applications of these rules are presented or re-presented (many

are found in Chapter 8) here:

9.2.2   E/414   SN

ŋana + BA + ny $\overset{R/3}{\text{----}\!\!\!\rightarrow}$ ŋanbany

1sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past$_2$

'I saw';

9.2.2   E/415   SN

yina + LI + ny $\overset{R/3}{\text{----}\!\!\!\rightarrow}$ yin + LI + ny

3sg(I)-<u>eat</u>-past$_2$ $\overset{R/6}{\text{----}\!\!\!\rightarrow}$ yiliny

'he ate';

9.2.2   E/416   SN

yiɲ + DYALGI + ny   R/8→   yinydyalginy

3sg(II)-_fall_-past$_2$

'he fell';

9.2.2   E/417   SN

ŋaɲ + WANYDYI + ny   R/9→   ŋawanydyiny

1sg(II)-_climb_-past$_2$

'I climbed';

9.2.2   E/418   SN

yi + rr + a + IBI + ny   R/5→   yirribiny

3-nmin-SET-_drink_-past$_2$

'they drank';

9.2.2   E/419   SN

yina + RA$_1$ + ny   R/1b→   yin + RA$_1$ + ny

3sg(I)-_spear_-past$_2$ R/4→   yinnany

'he speared';

9.2.2   E/420   SN

wal + a + RA$_1$ R/1b→   wal + RA$_1$

2sg(I)-fut-_spear_   R/4→   walla

'you (sg.) spear (it)!';

9.2.2   E/421   SN

yaɲa + rr + NI   R/2b→   yaɲadi

1+m(II)-nmin-_sit_

'we'll stay';

9.2.2   E/422   SN

yi + rr + a + RA$_1$ + ny $\xrightarrow{R/1b}$ yi + rr + RA$_1$ + ny

3-nmin-SET-<u>spear</u>-past$_2$ $\xrightarrow{R/2b}$ yidany

'they speared';

9.2.2   E/423   SN

yi + rr + LUGA + n $\xrightarrow{R/7}$ yillugan

3-nmin(=II)-<u>cry</u>-pres

'they are wailing'.

9.3 ORDER CLASS 1: PRO$_p$

9.3.1 VARIABLE (REDUCED) REPRESENTATION OF PRO$_p$

For the second person singular future realis in set II, the pronominal prefix can occur in reduced form:

<u>regular</u>: nyiŋ - a -   <u>reduced</u>: ŋ - a - .

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   ŋ-a-NI   dyuŋg-an   giny-an

sit   2sg(II)-fut-<u>sit</u>   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 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   giny-an   nyiṇ-a-NI   darrb

finished   dem-LOC   2sg(II)-fut-<u>sit</u>   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   ṇ-a-R(A)$_2$-arri   ṇadyag   wal-(a)-I-ṇayu

ash-DAT   2sg(II)-fut-<u>feel</u>-REL   ask   2sg(I)-(fut)-<u>do</u>-1sgOPro

'if you want ashes, you ask me!';

where the form ṇararri 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$_p$

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   PRO$_p$ MORPHOLOGY AND FUTURE TENSE

The morphology of PRO$_p$ is partly determined by the future or non-
future tense of the surface verb. Future tense is indicated partly by
the morphology of PRO$_p$, 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 PRO_p morphology:

9.3.3   E/427   SN

ŋan-MARRA-ny   wal̲i

1sg(I)-<u>burn</u>-past$_2$ meat

'I cooked the meat';

9.3.3   E/428   SN

ŋayi-ni   ŋan-a-MARRA   bugarr   wanydyiy

1sgPRO-ACT   1sg(I)-fut-<u>burn</u>   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 PRO_p morphology:

9.3.3   E/429   SN

wamba-ni   yin-MARRA-n   wal̲i

man-ACT   3sg(I)-<u>burn</u>-pres   meat

'the man is cooking the meat';

9.3.3   E/430   SN

wamba-ni   wan-a-MARRA   wal̲i   wanydyiy

man-ACT   3sg(I)-fut-<u>burn</u>   meat   later

'the man will cook the meat later'.

These examples are cited to demonstrate a relationship between PRO_p

morphology and order class 2 or indication of future tense.   Details

of future prefixing follow in 9.4.

9.3.4   PRO$_p$ 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$_I$ or la$_{II}$ -	non-future tenses, all groups;
- rra$_I$ 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

1sg(II)REAL-<u>go</u>-past$_2$ Derby-ALLAT

'I went to Derby';

9.3.4   E/432   SN

ma<u>l</u>u   ŋa-la-MA-na   burrula-ŋana

NEG   1sg-IRR-<u>go</u>-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-ŋana

3sg(II)REAL-go-past₂   Derby-ALLAT

'he went to Derby';

9.3.4   E/434   SN

malu   wa-la-MA-na   burrula-ŋana

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 (Metcalfe 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 ortho- graphy 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 T/52 Some Surface Forms of Verb -g+AM- 'laugh' in Ba:d̲i̲

Metcalfe 1975:179-181 (Metcalfe's terms are in *italics*)

Persons	*Extra-active*				*Intra-active*			
	?MARKER				?MARKER			
	↓		*PRESENT IMPERFECT*		↓			
1	ŋa - n -			- GAMA -	ŋa -			- YAMA -
2	mi - n -			- GAMA -	mi -			- YAMA -
3	i - n -			- GAMA -	i -			- YAMA -
1+2	a - n -			- GAMA -	a -			- YAMA -
1+m	a -		- rr_1 -	AMA -	a -		- rr_2 -	GAMA -
2+m	gu -		- rr_1 -	AMA -	gu -		- rr_2 -	GAMA -
3+m	i -		- rr_1 -	AMA -	i -		- rr_2 -	GAMA -

PROJECTED IMPERFECT

Persons	*Extra-active*				*Intra-active*			
1	ŋa - n -			- GAMA	ŋa - ŋ̇ -			- GAMA
2	a - n -			- AMA	*ŋa -			- YAMA
3	u - n -			- GAMA	u - ŋ̇ -			- GAMA
1+2	a - n -			- GAMA	a - ŋ̇ -			- GAMA
1+m	aŋga -		- rr_1 -	AMA	aŋga -		- rr_2 -	GAMA
2+m	a -		- rr_1 -	AMA	a -		- rr_2 -	GAMA
3+m	uŋga -		- rr_1 -	AMA	uŋga -		- rr_2 -	GAMA

PERFECT (EXCEPT IMMEDIATE)

Persons	*Extra-active*				*Intra-active*			
1	ŋa - na - ŋ̇ -			- GAM -	ŋa -(?ŋ̇)- ŋ̇ -			- GAM -
2	mi - na - ŋ̇ -			- GAM -	mi - " - ŋ̇ -			- GAM -
3	i - na - ŋ̇ -			- GAM -	i - " - ŋ̇ -			- GAM -
1+2	a - na - ŋ̇ -			- GAM -	a - " - ŋ̇ -			- GAM -
1+m	a -		- ŋa - rr_1 -	AM -	a -		- ŋa - rr_2 -	GAM -
2+m	gu -		- ŋa - rr_1 -	AM -	gu -		- ŋa - rr_2 -	GAM -
3+m	i -		- ŋa - rr_1 -	AM -	i -		- ŋa - rr_2 -	GAM -

The subscripts (-rr_1- and -rr_2-) are not present in Metcalfe's data.

*It is not clear to me how this prefix should be segmented (Metcalfe 1975:134)

Metcalfe (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. Metcalfe identifies the *action type markers* -n-

(extra-action) and -ɲ- *(intra-action)*. I have been unable to determine

how Metcalfe analyzes the /ŋ/ 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, Metcalfe'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:

<u>Nyigina Second Person Singular Surface Forms</u>

	Tense	Extra-action/(I)	Intra-action/(II)
REALIS	Non-future	min- -GAMA-	nyiŋ- -GAMA-
	Future	wal-a- -GAMA	nyiŋ-a- -GAMA
IRREALIS	Non-future	mi- -la$_I$ -GAMA-	nyi- -la$_{II}$ -GAMA-
	Future	min-a-rra$_I$-GAMA	nyi- -rra$_{II}$-GAMA

One could posit markers -n- and -ɲ- 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:

<u>Nyigina Second Person Non-singular Surface Forms</u>

	Tense	Extra-action/I	Intra-action/II
REALIS	Non-future	gu- -rr-a-GAMA-	gu- -rr-GAMA-
	Future	wa- -rr-a-GAMA	wa- -rr-GAMA
IRREALIS	Non-future	gu-la-rr-a-GAMA-	gu-la-rr-GAMA-
	Future	gu-ya-rr-a-GAMA	gu-ya-rr-GAMA

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.

9.3.5.2   T/53   PRO~p~ Morphology

9.3.5.2   T/53   PRO_p Morphology

	Persons	Set I	Set II	Set I	Set II
		NON-FUTURE		FUTURE	
	1	ŋana -	ŋaŋ -	ŋan -	ŋaŋ -
R	2	mina -	nyiŋ -	wal -	(nyi)ŋ -
E	3	yina -	yiŋ -	wan -	waŋ -
Ａ	1+2	yana -	yaŋ -	yan -	yaŋ -
L					
I	1+m	ya -		yaŋa -	
A	2+m	gu -		wa -	
	3+m	yi -		waŋa -	
	1+2+m	yana -		yana -	
I	1	ŋa -	ŋa -	ŋan -	ŋa -
R	2	mi -	nyi -	min -	nyi -
R	3	wa -	wa -	wan -	wa -
E	1+2	ya -	ya -	yan -	ya -
A	1+m		ya -		
L	2+m		gu -		
I	3+m		wa -		
S	1+2+m		ya -		

The recurrence in minimal groups of /n/ 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 ℤ prefixing, is affixed for reflexive or reciprocal activity,

set II prefixing is substituted:

9.3.5.3   E/435   SN

ŋan-a-ŊADI   malbulu-ŋany   ŋimbi   maŋarriy

lsg(I)-fut-<u>cover</u>   coolamon-INSTR   morning   food

'I'll cover the food with a coolamon tomorrow';

9.3.5.3.   E/436   SN

dyuwa   nyi-ma-ŊADI-nydyi-na   wababgurru-ŋany

2sgPRO   2sg(II)-INT$_p$-<u>cover</u>-INT$_s$-past   blanket-INSTR

'you covered yourself with a blanket'.

These forms with reflexive or reciprocal affixing correspond to

Metcalfe's *retro-action* in Ba:<u>di</u>. The verbal root -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-BANYDYU-na   yila   mandu

2sgPRO-ACT   2sg(I)-<u>smell</u>-past   dog   stinking

'you smelled the stinking dog';

9.3.5.3   E/438   SN

ŋalgurru   nyim-BANYDYU-n

body ocour   2sg(II)-<u>smell</u>-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-:

9.3.5.4   T/54   Alternative-Prefixing Verbal Roots

Verbal Root	Gloss of Root	Gloss of Root + Prefixing	
		Set I	Set II
-BANDA-	'finish'	'make complete'	'cease'
-BANYDYU-	'smell'	'perceive by smell'	'stink'
-BARRABU-	'cover up'	'conceal'	'be covered up'
-BUNGA-	'warm (person)'	'cause to become warm'	'become warm'
-BURRA-	'dry up'	'cause to become dry'	'become dry'
-DYAŊGULI-	'break'	'smash'	'disintegrate'
-DYARRMA-	'immerse'	'dunk'	'dive in'
-DYIGA-	'soak'	'put to soak'	'be soaking'
-DYUMA-	'warm (thing)'	'heat'	'become warm'
-GAMA-	'laugh'	'mock'	'chuckle'
-GANI-	'grow'	'raise, rear'	'be growing'
-GULA-	'tie'	'tie up'	'get dressed'
-GURA-	'play'	'entertain'	'act playfully'
-MA-	(?'move')	'put, make'	'go'
-MADA-	'shave'	'shave another'	'be shaved'
-MADA-	'cover'	'cause to be covered'	'become covered'
-MANDA-	'wet'	'make wet'	'become wet'
-MARRA-	'burn'	'cook'	'be affected by heat, be aflame'
-LUGA-	'cry'	'mourn'	'wail'
-WALGA-	'dry'	'put to dry'	'dry up, shrivel'

9.3.5.4   E/439   SN

banugu-ni   wamba   yi-rr-a-MA-na-yina   yagurr

from east-ACT   man   3-nmin(=I)-make-past-3sgOPro   no good

'men from the east wounded her';

9.3.5.4   E/440   SN

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 $-MA_1-$ and $-MA_2-$. 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.

9.3.5.5 PREFIX SELECTION WITH ALTERNATIVE-PREFIXING ROOTS

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 NP_{pref}'. "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)-<u>burn</u>-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

dyuŋgu   yi-MARRA-n

fire   3sg(II)-<u>burn</u>-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   ŋayu   dyuŋgu-ni

3sg(II)-<u>burn</u>-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   E/444   SN

dyuŋgu-ni   yi-MARRA-n   wali

fire-ACT   3sg(II)-<u>burn</u>-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_{pref} and the

other entity is identical. Let us consider the interpretation whereby

NP_{pref} status is assigned to dyuŋguni, 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   dyuŋgu-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_{pref} 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_{pref}

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~pref~'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

dyuŋgu-ni   yi-LURRA-n   wali

fire-?ERG   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:

9.3.5.5   E/446   SN   (= 3.3   E/29)

dyuwa-ni   min-GULA-ny   yila

2sgPRO-ACT   2sg(I)-<u>tie</u>-past$_2$ dog

'you tied up the dog';

9.3.5.5   E/447   SN   (= 3.3   E/30)

dyuwa-ni   nyiŋ-GULA-ny

2sgPRO-ACT   2sg(II)-<u>tie</u>-past$_2$

'you got dressed'.

    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$_{pref}$ would predict the set of prefix here.

    Let us consider some examples with the verbal root -GAMA- 'laugh':

9.3.5.5   E/448   SN

dyuwa   nyiŋ-GAMA-n

2sgPRO   2sg(II)-<u>laugh</u>-pres

'you're laughing'.

This example definitely implies that no entity other than the NP$_{pref}$

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$_{pref}$ and control criteria would predict the occurrence of set I

prefixing:

9.3.5.5   E/449   SN

gamirri-ni   manin   yin-GAMA-n-ŋayu

dem-ACT   woman   3sg(I)-laugh-pres-1sgOPro

'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$_p$-laugh-INT$_s$-past-AUG$_s$

'they were mocking each other'

OR 'they were laughing at themselves'

OR '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:

9.3.5.5   T/55   Selection of Prefixing Set for Alternative-Prefixing
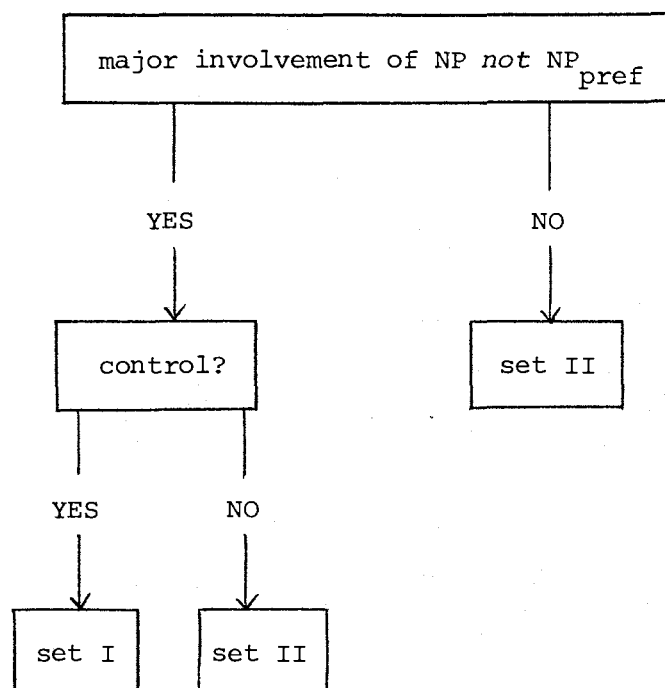
Verbal Roots

Setting up the criterion of "major involvement of NP *not* the NP$_{pref}$"

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$_{pref}$ could be thought of as a "patient", the entity responsible

for the activity must be somehow explicit:

9.3.5.5   E/451   SN   (= 12.5.2   E/797)

yi-MARRA-n   barrdyaniny   dyuŋg-an

3sg(II)-burn-pres   kangaroo   fire-LOC

'the kangaroo is getting cooked in the fire'.

In this construction, it is *not* possible to omit dyuŋg-an:

*
9.3.5.5   E/452   SN

*
yi-MARRA-n   barrdyaniny

3sg(II)-<u>burn</u>-pres   kangaroo

'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$_{pref}$ which could be thought

of as a "patient". Other verbal roots require considerable lexical

reorganization to express such a perspective:

9.3.5.5   E/453   SN

dyuwa   nyi-rra-NI   ma-GULA-n-dyunu   ....

2sgPRO   2sg(II)-fut/IRR-<u>sit</u>   GEN-<u>tie</u>-pres-INAN.SOURCE

....   wan-a-rra-GULA-yi   linydyu-ni

         3sg(I)-fut-IRR-<u>tie</u>-2sgOPro$_3$ "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$_{pref}$ may be assigned to different

entities in an activity. What then determines the NP$_{pref}$ 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-$past_2$

'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:

9.3.5.6   E/457   SN

yi-MIDA-ny   dyinal   ŋabaliny-ŋany

3sg(II)-<u>throw</u>-past$_2$ spear   woomera-INSTR

'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$_{pref}$ and is possibly more consistent with

the use of set II prefixing:

9.3.5.6   E/458   SN

gilinyman   yi-MIDA-ny-dya   uba

moon   3sg(II)-<u>throw</u>-past$_2$-REL   small

'"it was a new moon"'.

(This 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)-<u>do</u>-past   dog

'many men hit the dog';

or intransitive:

9.3.5.6   E/460   SN

ŋuy   yi-rr-(a)-I-na   dyalbi-ŋana

go back   3-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-past   camp-ALLAT

'they returned to the camp'.

(2)   semantically relevant affixing

9.3.5.6   E/461   SN

ŋam-BULA-ny   burrul-abu   miliya

1sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past$_2$ Derby-ABL   now

'I've just come from Derby'.

Addition of the suffix -ŋany may alter transitivity of the surface verb
(see also 12.5.4):

9.3.5.6   E/462   SN

ŋam-BULA-ny-ŋany-dyirra   wali

1sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past$_2$-TOG-3nsgDatPro   meat

'I brought them meat'.

9.3.6 NON-PERSONAL FORMS: THE <u>GENERAL PREFIX</u>

This prefix has a very limited distribution and can *not* co-occur
with PRO$_p$. 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/1b   a   ---→ $\emptyset$ / ---- + $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} r \\ n \end{array} \right\}$

9.3.6.1   E/463   SN

mana + NIGA + n $\xrightarrow{\text{R/1b}}$ 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 $\xrightarrow{\text{R/5}}$ manandin

GEN(I)-pick up-pres

'picking up';

9.3.6.1   E/465   SN

mana + IBI + n $\xrightarrow{\text{R/5}}$ manibin

GEN(I)-drink-pres

'drinking'.

If set I vowel-deletion occurs, progressive assimilation may follow:

9.3.6.1   E/466   SN

mana + RA$_1$ + n $\xrightarrow{\text{R/1b}}$ man + RA$_1$ + n

GEN(I)-<u>spear</u>-pres $\xrightarrow{\text{R/4}}$ mannan

'spearing'.

The GEN(I) prefix mana- deletes -na- before verbal roots with initial

consonants, that is:

        mana- $\longrightarrow$ ma- / ---- + C .

9.3.6.1   E/467   SN

mana + BA + n $\longrightarrow$ maban

GEN(I)-<u>see</u>-pres

'seeing'.

With set I prefixing w-initial verbal roots, non-personal forms

optionally delete -na- (except -WIRRIGA- 'try' where deletion is

obligatory):

9.3.6.1   E/468   SN

mana-WALI-n   OR   ma-WALI-n

GEN(I)-<u>take bush</u>-pres

'taking bush';

ma-WIRRIGA-n

GEN(I)-<u>try</u>-pres

'trying';

mana-WUNBA-n   OR   ma-WUNBA-n

GEN(I)-<u>deceive</u>-pres

'deceiving'.

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	ŋunydyin	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-ŋani   ....

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-ŊA-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-ŊA-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)-<u>sit</u>-pres   GEN-<u>burn</u>-pres-<u>like</u>

'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)-<u>sit</u>-pres   meat   GEN-<u>burn</u>-pres-<u>like</u>

'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-rra-MA

bad-INAN.SOURCE   GEN-<u>make</u>-pres dead   1sg(II)-fut/IRR-<u>go</u>

'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 inydya '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 PRO$_p$ (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

ŋan-BA-na

1sg(I)-<u>see</u>-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

ŋan-a-BA

1sg(I)-fut-<u>see</u>

'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

ŋan + a + IBI $\xrightarrow{R/5}$ ŋanibi

1sg(I)-fut-<u>drink</u>

'I shall drink'.

The future marker is also subject to set I vowel-deletion (rule R/1b):

9.4.2   E/482   SN

ŋan + a + RA₁ $\xrightarrow{\text{R/1b}}$ ŋan + RA₁

1sg(I)-fut-<u>spear</u> $\xrightarrow{\text{R/4}}$ ŋanna

'I shall spear'.

The future marker is *not* deleted with set II prefixing (with the same

verbal root) as the following reflexive form demonstrates:

9.4.2   E/483   SN

ŋaɲ + a + RA₁ + nydyi   ---→   ŋaɲaranydyi

1sg(II)-fut-<u>spear</u>-INT$_s$

'I shall spear myself'.

The future marker is involved in vowel assimilation with the verbal

root -MI- 'give' (see 8.3.2):

9.4.2   E/484   SN

gamirri-ni   wan-*i*-MI-na   yila   wanydyiy

dem-ACT   3sg(I)-fut-<u>give</u>-3sgOPro   dog   later

'he'll give her the dog later'.

It is evident that the future morpheme -a- does *not* occur between PRO$_p$

and irrealis prefixing in set II future irrealis forms for minimal

person groupings.

9.4.3 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   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$_s$ 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   guṅ   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[3].   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   ŋa-la-MA-na

NEG   1sg-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):

---

[3]Uŋarinyin (Rumsey 1978:120)

9.5.1   E/490   SN

malu   ya-la-rr-a-BA-na

NEG   1nsg-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_p. 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   ----> $\emptyset$ / ---- + ($\begin{matrix} r \\ n \end{matrix}$) .

The progressive assimilation rule

Rule R/4   ($\begin{matrix} r \\ n \end{matrix}$)   ---->   1 / 1 + ----

may then apply. Thus, for set I prefixing, vowel-deletion and subsequent

progressive assimilation may occur:

9.5.2   E/491   SN

malu   wa + la$_I$ + RA$_1$ + na $\overset{R/1b}{-\!-\!-\!\rightarrow}$ malu   wa + 1 + RA$_1$ + na

NEG   3-IRR(I)-<u>spear</u>-past $\overset{R/4}{-\!-\!-\!\rightarrow}$ malu   wallana

'he didn't spear';

9.5.2   E/492   SN

malu .   wa + la$_I$ + NIGA + na $\overset{R/1b}{-\!-\!-\!\rightarrow}$ malu   wa + 1 + NIGA + na

NEG   3-IRR(I)-<u>follow</u>-past $\overset{R/4}{-\!-\!-\!\rightarrow}$ malu   walligana

'he didn't follow'.

With set II prefixing, neither deletion nor assimilation occurs:

9.5.2   E/493   SN

malu   wa + la$_{II}$ + RA$_1$ + nydyi + na $-\!-\!-\!\rightarrow$ malu   walaranydyina

NEG   3-IRR(II)-<u>spear</u>-INT$_s$-past

'he didn't spear himself';

9.5.2   E/494   SN

malu   wa + la$_{II}$ + NI + na $-\!-\!-\!\rightarrow$ malu   walanina

NEG   3-IRR(II)-<u>sit</u>-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 + rra$_I$ + NIGA $\overset{R/1b}{-\!-\!-\!\rightarrow}$ malu   min + a + rr + NIGA

NEG   2sg(I)-fut-IRR-<u>follow</u> $\overset{R/2b}{-\!-\!-\!\rightarrow}$ 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-<u>sit</u>

'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)-<u>do</u>-past-HABIT-1sgDatPro

'they never cared about me';

9.5.3   E/498   SN

niṇarra-<u>du</u>   wa-rra-BULA   bawuna

true-<u>doubtful</u>   3-fut/IRR-<u>come</u>   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

1nsg-IRR-(nmin)-<u>sit</u>-past-HABIT   good

'we should have been good (but we weren't)';

9.5.3   E/500   SN

ŋa-la-MA-na-dyi   miliya   mal̲u   ŋa-la-MA-na

1sg-IRR-<u>go</u>-past-EXP   now   NEG   1sg-IRR-<u>go</u>-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   ' 1sg-IRR-<u>pick up</u>-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)-<u>sit</u>-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   ŋaŋ-a-MA

let it be   sink   1sgREAL-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-l(a)-(A)-anu   maŋarriy   ....

NEG   2sg(I)-IRR-(carry)-1sgDatPro   food

....   gud   ŋa-rra-MA   marrinyan-ni

        dead   1sg-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   [wa-rra-BUL(A)-arri   ginya]

1sg(I)-pick up-past₂   kangaroo   3-fut/IRR-come-REL   3sgPRO

'I got a kangaroo [before he came]';

9.5.3   E/506   SN

war   ŋa-rra-NI   ....

burn   1sg(II)-fut/IRR-<u>sit</u>

....   [dyuŋg-an-ga   biliga   ŋa-rra-N(I)-arri]

         fire-LOC-EMPH   close   1sg(II)-fut/IRR-<u>sit</u>-REL

'I might get burned [if I stop close to the fire]'.

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[4], other Kimberley prefixing languages[5] and elsewhere[6].

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] Ba:di   (Metcalfe 1975:170-181)

[5] Uŋarinyin   (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-ŋayu

father-ACT-RELAT   mother   3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-past-1sgOPro

'mother and father took me' OR

9.6.1   E/508   SN

ibala-n-amu   guya   yi-rr-(a)-A-na-mirri   ŋayu

father-ACT-RELAT   mother   3-nmin-(SET)-<u>carry</u>-past-AUG_s   1sgPRO

'mother and father took me'.

    Where NP_{pref} is of lower animacy than human, non-minimal
specification is variable. If the non-human NP_{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)-<u>pick up</u>-past₂

'many kangaroos started to run'.

Where the NP_{pref} is non-human *and* not in control, non-minimal
specification is optional:

9.6.1   E/510   SN

mandya   badgurru   yi-MARRA-n   dyuŋg-an

many   kangaroo   3(II)-<u>burn</u>-pres   fire-LOC

'many kangaroos are cooking in the fire'.

With a human NP_{pref}, non-minimal specification is obligatory:

9.6.1   E/511   SN

mandya   baba   yi-rr-MARRA-ny   dyuŋgu-ni

many   child   3-nmin(II)-<u>burn</u>-past₂   fire-ACT

'many children were burned by fire'.

Other examples of optional non-minimal specification are:

9.6.1   E/512   SN

mandya   maŋga   yiny-DYAŊGULI-ny

many   boab nut   3sg(II)-<u>break</u>-past₂

'many boab nuts got broken';

9.6.1   E/513   SN

mandya   dyuŋgu   yi-MARRA-n

many   fire   3sg(II)-<u>burn</u>-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   ŋadyanu-ni   yin-GA-ny-ŋayu

two-ACT   foot   1sgDAT/PRO-ACT   3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-past₂-1sgOPro

'my two feet took me';

*
 9.6.1   E/515   SN

*
 gudyarra-ni   niyambalu   ŋadyanu-ni   ....

 two-ACT   foot   1sgDAT/PRO-act

....   yi-rr-(a)-A-ny-mirri   ŋayu

        3-nmin-(SET)-<u>carry</u>-past₂-AUG_s   1sgPRO

'my two feet took me'.

The non-minimal marker participates in rhotic assimilation:

9.6.1   E/516   SN

yi + rr + NI + na $\xrightarrow{R/2b}$ yidina

3-nmin-<u>sit</u>-past

'they sat'.

9.6.2 ORDER CLASS 5: <u>SET</u> 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)-<u>put</u>-past

'they put (it)';

9.6.2   E/518   SN

yi-rr-MA-na

3-nmin(=II)-<u>go</u>-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 + RA$_1$ + na $\xrightarrow{\text{R/1b}}$ yi + rr + RA$_1$ + na

3-nmin-SET-<u>spear</u>-past $\xrightarrow{\text{R/2b}}$ 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   <u>INTROSPECTIVE</u> 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$_{pref}$).

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   wal<u>i</u> .... ma<u>l</u>u..mirri$_1$

3-nmin-INT$_p$-<u>try</u>-<u>try</u>-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:

9.7.2   E/521   SN

yi-ma-BULA-nydyi-na-ŋany   yibirirr   ....   inydya   yin-BA-na

3sg-INT$_p$-come-INT$_s$-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:

9.7.2   E/522   SN

yaŋgi-yunu   yi-rr-ma-GAMA-nydyi-n-mirri

what-INAN.SOURCE   3-nmin-INT$_p$-laugh-INT$_s$-pres-AUG$_s$

'why are those two (lovers) laughing together?'.

9.7.2   E/523   SN

malu   wa-la-ma-LAŊGA-nydyi

NEG   3-IRR-INT$_p$-understand-INT$_s$

'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-ŊADI-nydyi-na   wababgurru-ŋany

2sg(II)-INT$_p$-<u>cover</u>-INT$_s$-past   blanket-INSTR

'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$_p$-<u>hear</u>-INT$_s$-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$_p$-<u>laugh</u>-INT$_s$-pres-AUG$_s$

'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$_p$-<u>pick up</u>-INT$_s$-past-REL-3sgDatPro   fighting party

'a fighting party assembled against him'.

Verbal roots which are intransitive in meaning are also found with
introspective affixing:

9.7.2   E/528   SN

wanydyiy   yana-rr-ma-BULA-nydyi   marrady-an

later   1+2+m-nmin-INT$_p$-come-INT$_s$ shade-LOC

'we'll meet later in the shade'.

Occasionally, forms with introspective suffixing may be used

"transitively", that is, involving another entity. The suffix -ŋany

occurs in the example below and the direct object is represented

explicitly as an OPro:

9.7.2   E/529   SN

warany-nil   nyiŋ-a-ma-RI-nydyi-ŋany-dyirr

other-many   2sg(II)-fut-INT$_p$-quarrel-INT$_s$-TOG-3nsgOPro

'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 -RA$_1$-) 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   ŋam-BANDYI-ny

cut   1sg(II)-<u>share</u>-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-<u>share</u>-past-AUG$_S$

'those two were fighting each other because of that man'.

9.7.3 CO-OCCURRENCE OF <u>GEN</u> AND <u>INT</u>$_p$

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$_1$- '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

ŋunydyin-nil   ma-RA-nydyi-n

inclined-<u>many</u>   GEN(II)-<u>spear</u>-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:

9.7.3   E/532   SN

mabudyunu   ruwan   ma-ma-MADALI-nydyi-n-dyi

excellent   cave   ?GEN(II)-?INT$_p$-<u>hide</u>-INT$_s$-pres-DAT

'that's an excellent cave for hiding yourself in'.

    (It should be noted that INT$_p$ 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

Order Class	Abbreviation	Function
1	INT_s	introspective
2	tense	tense
3	HABIT	habitual
4	TOG	together
5	REL	relative
6	PRO_s	pronominal suffixing (i) OPro
		(ii) DatPro
		(see 6.6)
7	EXP	expectation
8	AUG_s	minimal augment (of NP_{pref} or OPro or DatPro)

(The suffix -ny_{here} 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-

occurrence 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-<u>come</u>-past-HABIT

....   yi-rr-BULA-na-da-ŋany-dyirra-dyi-mirri   maɳarriy

3-nmin-<u>come</u>-past-HABIT-TOG-3nsgDatPro-EXP-AUG$_s$ 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   maɳarriy

3-nmin-INT$_p$-<u>come</u>-INT$_s$-past-HABIT-TOG-AUG$_s$ food

ORDER CLASSES: 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 8

'they used to bring each other tucker';

10.2   E/535   SN

ŋam-BULA-na-da-ŋany-dya-yirr-mirri   yulburru-garra

1sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past-HABIT-TOG-REL-3nsgOPro-AUG$_s$ long ago-<u>multiple</u>

ORDER CLASSES: 2 +   3   + 4 + 5 + 6   +   8

'I always used to bring two (goannas) long, long ago'.

10.3   ORDER CLASS 1:   INT$_s$ (-nydyi)

   The suffix -nydyi almost always co-occurs with the INT$_p$ prefix -ma-.

Each affix is usually contiguous with the verbal root.   (The serial

ordering of the prefixes GEN and INT$_p$ is discussed in 9.7.3).   The affixes

INT$_p$ and INT$_s$ may be regarded as a single discontinuous affix[1].   Use of

introspective affixing has been described already in 9.7.2.

   Although INT$_s$ is invariably present in reflexive or reciprocal forms

of verbal roots, INT$_p$ is occasionally absent.   With the verbal root

-RA$_1$- 'spear', INT$_p$ is not found (idiosyncratically):

10.3   E/536   SN

yi-(rr)-DA-nydyi-ny

3-(nmin)-<u>spear</u>-INT$_s$-past$_2$

'they speared each other'.

The corresponding surface form of this verbal root which *includes* the

prefix INT$_p$ is unacceptable:

*10.3   E/537   SN

*yi-rr-ma-RA$_1$-nydyi-ny

3-nmin-INT$_p$-<u>spear</u>-INT$_s$-past$_2$

'they speared each other'.

---

[1] other discontinuous affixes are PRO$_p$ + AUG$_s$ referring to a unit-augmented
  NP$_{pref}$

Other examples of INT$_s$ unaccompanied by INT$_p$ are rare.

10.4   ORDER CLASS 2:   TENSE

The tense suffix belongs to an order class situated between INT$_s$
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:

<u>Realis</u>	<u>Irrealis</u>	
- n	- Ø	present or non-past (pres)
- na	- na	general past (past)
- ny	(- na)	recent past (past$_2$)
- Ø	- Ø	future

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)

	Persons	Non-Past		General Past		Recent Past		Future	
R	1	ŋana-	-*-N	ŋana-	-*-NA	ŋana-	-*-NY	ŋan-A-	-*-ø
E	2	mina-	-*-N	mina-	-*-NA	mina-	-*-NY	wal-A-	-*-ø
A	3	yina-	-*-N	yina-	-*-NA	yina-	-*-NY	wan-A-	-*-ø
L	1+2	yana-	-*-N	yana-	-*-NA	yana-	-*-NY	yan-A-	-*-ø
I									
S	1+m	ya-rr-a-*-N		ya-rr-a-*-NA		ya-rr-a-*-NY		yaŋa- -rr-a-*-ø	
	2+m	gu-rr-a-*-N		gu-rr-a-*-NA		gu-rr-a-*-NY		wa- -rr-a-*-ø	
	3+m	yi-rr-a-*-N		yi-rr-a-*-NA		yi-rr-a-*-NY		waŋa- -rr-a-*-ø	
	1+2+m	yana-rr-a-*-N		yana-rr-a-*-NA		yana-rr-a-*-NY		yana- -rr-a-*-ø	

General Past

	Persons						
I	1	ŋa-*la*-	-*-ø	ŋa-*la*-	-*-NA	ŋan-A-*rra*-	-*-ø
R	2	mi-*la*-	-*-ø	mi-*la*-	-*-NA	min-A-*rra*-	-*-ø
R	3	wa-*la*-	-*-ø	wa-*la*-	-*-NA	wan-A-*rra*-	-*-ø
E	1+2	ya-*la*-	-*-ø	ya-*la*-	-*-NA	yan-A-*rra*-	-*-ø
A							
L	1+m	ya-*la*-rr-a-*-ø		ya-*la*-rr-a-*-NA		ya- - *ya*-rr-a-*-ø	
I	2+m	gu-*la*-rr-a-*-ø		gu-*la*-rr-a-*-NA		gu- - *ya*-rr-a-*-ø	
S	3+m	wa-*la*-rr-a-*-ø		wa-*la*-rr-a-*-NA		wa- - *ya*-rr-a-*-ø	
	1+2+m	ya-*la*-rr-a-*-ø		ya-*la*-rr-a-*-NA		ya- - *ya*-rr-a-*-ø	

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-1+2+mDatPro

'he 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   ....   budyu-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   ŋulumba   ....

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   1nsg-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-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   ŋulumba

dem   boy   3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-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

ma<u>l</u>u   wa-la-MA-n(a)-anu   maɲarriy

NEG   3-IRR-<u>put</u>-past-1sgDatPro   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-ŊA-na   yagurr   ma<u>n</u>in   gama<u>d</u>a   nimilgarr

Beginning   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-past   no good woman   blind   eye

'once upon a time there was an old blind woman';

10.4.3   E/545   SN

dyinal   ginydyina   raŋga   yin-GA-na-yina   wila-ni

spear   3sgDAT/PRO   wash away   3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-past-3sgDatPro   water-ACT

'the flood washed away his spear'.

The general past tense may also be used for events in the distant, but

not mythical, past:

10.4.3   E/546   SN

yin-BUGARRI-na-ŋayu

3sg(I)-<u>dream</u>-past-1sgOPro

'(my father) dreamed me';

10.4.3   E/547   SN   (= 10.7.3.2   E/605)

ibala   ŋadyanu   yi-MA-n(a)-arri

father   1sgDAT/PRO   3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past-REL

'my father went mustering' (in his youth).

10.4.4   THE RECENT PAST OR PAST$_2$ (-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.

10.4.4   E/548   SN

badu   ŋan-BA-ny

already   1sg(I)-see-past₂

'I've already seen (it)';

10.4.4   E/549   SN

ŋayi-ni   marrgana   rurrb   mug   ŋan-(a)-I   ....

1sgPRO-ACT   in turn   back   hit   1sg(I)-(fut)-do

....   ginya-ni   ŋarri   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	- gada
past	- da
future	- ŋani.

(It should be noted that HABIT suffixing and GEN prefixing can *not* co-occur.)

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-gaḍa   bayin   dyuṇan-gan

1nsg-nmin-go-pres-HABIT   night   moonlight-LOC

'we go (all the way) at night, during the moonlight';

10.5.1   E/552   SN

banu   yaŋ-a-MA-ṇani   ....

east   1+2(II)-fut-go-HABIT

....   ganya   gaga   yi-ŊA-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

majul   ya-rr-(a)-I-n-gada   nyigina-barri-ni

spear   1nsg-nmin-(SET)-<u>say</u>-pres-HABIT   Nyigina-COMIT-ACT

'we Nyigina people call it (spear) "majul"';

10.5.2   E/554   SN

guij   yi-rr-(a)-I-n-gada   wila   gan-gan

drink   3-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-pres-HABIT   water(grog)   dem-LOC

'they're always drinking alcohol there';

10.5.2   E/555   SN

wamba   malu   gab   ija-la-LI-gada

man   NEG   eat   1sg-IRR-<u>eat</u>-pres/HABIT

'I don't eat humans'.

10.5.3   PAST <u>HABIT</u>

    In the past tense, HABIT examples occur fairly frequently:

10.5.3   E/556   SN

yuwarrban   ijayu   yi-rr-(a)-A-na-da-ijayu

young girl   1sgPRO   3-nmin-(SET)-<u>carry</u>-past-HABIT-1sgOPro

'when I was young, they used to take me (mustering)';

10.5.3   E/557   SN

malu   wa-la-LI-na-da   wali   maijarriy

NEG   3-IRR-<u>eat</u>-past-HABIT   meat   food

'he never ate any food'.

10.5.4 FUTURE <u>HABIT</u>

These forms are less common.

10.5.4   E/558   SN

mina-WUNBA-na-da   dyugudu   ....

2sg(I)-<u>deceive</u>-past-HABIT   boy

....   ma<u>l</u>u   gina-ŋgaya   nyi-rra-NI-ŋani

        NEG   same-<u>like</u>   2sg(II)-fut/IRR-<u>sit</u>-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)

dyuŋgarra   ginya   nila   wa-rr-i-MI-ŋani   ....

2nsgDAT/PRO   dem   knowing   2nsg/fut-nmin-SET-<u>give</u>-HABIT

....   guramarrga   ma-BARRI-n

        turkey   GEN-<u>strike</u>-pres

'you lot teach him to hunt turkeys!'.

Occasionally, future HABIT may occur in a stative context:

10.5.4   E/560   SN

bana..ma<u>d</u>a   widu   waŋ-a-RA$_2$-ŋani

when..uncertain   big   3sg(II)-fut-<u>be</u>-HABIT

'I don't know when he'll be big'.

10.6 ORDER CLASS 4:   <u>TOGETHER</u> 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;

(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.

10.6.2.1   "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 -ŋany occurs in circumstances

comparable to those in which nominal comitative suffixing might occur:

(1) carrying

10.6.2.1   E/561   SN

mabu   yim-BANDYI-na   ....   lagaba   gurrag   yi(n)-Ø-na-ŋany

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):

10.6.2.1   E/562   SN   (= 11.4.7   E/713)

gurrag   yi(n)-Ø-na   banugu   ginya   ....

go away   3sg(I)-do-past   from east   3sgPRO

....   [ŋagil-barri   ginya   gud-barri]_{NC}

        carrying on shoulder-COMIT_{NC}   dem   dead-COMIT_{NC}

'he went away from the east, carrying that dead (boy) on his shoulders';

10.6.2.1   E/563   SN

bud   yin-GA-na-ŋany   galbu   nilirr-gan

arise   3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-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

10.6.2.1   E/564   SN

ŋuy   wal-(a)-I-ŋany   guna

go back   2sg(I)-(fut)-<u>do</u>-TOG   over there

'you take him back over there *with* (you)'.

(3)   "association"

10.6.2.1   E/565   SN

widyunu   ŋu<u>d</u>   yi(n)-∅-na-ŋany   ginya-na

hill kangaroo   happy   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past-TOG   3sgPRO-ACT$_\text{E}$

'he got used *to* (that is, accepted) the hill kangaroo';

10.6.2.1   E/566   BN   (= 5.2.6   E/257)

wa<u>n</u>miny   yi-ŊA-n-ŋany-ŋayu

fly   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-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:

10.6.2.1   E/567   SN   (= 12.5.1   E/794)

wamba   yiŋ-GADI-ny-ŋany-dyirra

man   3sg(II)-<u>enter</u>-past$_2$-TOG-3nsgDatPro

'the man went in to them *with* (it)'.

The verb in this example was glossed intransitively and the absence of

active suffixing of the NP$_{pref}$ 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$_{pref}$ takes active suffixing:

10.6.2.1   E/568   SN

wamba-ni   yiŋ-GADI-ny-ŋany-dyirr   dyimbin

man-ACT   3sg(II)-<u>enter</u>-past$_2$-TOG-3nsgOPro   inside

'the man took them (forcibly, if necessary) inside'

OR 'the man made them go inside'.

Thus, on occasion, the suffix may assume the role of either

 (a)   a transitivizer, or

 (b)   a causative marker.

(a) <u>The TOG Suffix as a Transitivizer</u>

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 *reflexive* can appear with an

explicit direct object by the use of the suffix -ŋany:

10.6.2.1   E/569   SN

ŋa-ma-RI-nydyi-n-ŋany-dyirr

1sg(II)-INT$_p$-quarrel-INT$_s$-pres-TOG-3nsgOPro

'I'm growling *at* them'.

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:

10.6.2.1   E/570   SN

ŋarraŋgani   bugarrarra-ni   yin-MA-na-ŋany

in Dreamtime   Beginning-ACT   3sg(I)-make-past-TOG

'in the Dreamtime the Beginning made (*it*)   ....'

(a formula commonly used to conclude Dreamtime stories).

    With the ditransitive verbal root 'give', the TOG suffix may

represent that which is given. Since only one pronominal suffix may

occur in any affixing verb and one object is then represented by non-

pronominal means (-ŋany), the recipient of the giving may be

represented by an OPro:

10.6.2.1   E/571   SN/BN

wan-i-MI-ŋany-dyirr

3sg(I)-fut-give-TOG-3nsgOPro

'he'll give (*it*) to them'.

(b) 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)-<u>enter</u>-past$_2$-TOG-1sgOPro   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$_{pref}$ 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-ny-ŋany   yirrga

1nsg-nmin-INT$_p$-<u>come</u>-INT$_s$-past$_2$-TOG   3nsgPRO

'we met them (unexpectedly)'.

10.6.2.2   "CONCURRENT" USE OF THE <u>TOG</u> 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

ŋaŋ-a-MA   nyunu   ŋan-a-BA-ŋany-dyirr

1sg(II)-fut-<u>go</u>   over there   1sg(I)-fut-<u>see</u>-TOG-3nsgOPro

'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)

ŋan-a-BA-ŋany-dyirra   yidyirra   ....

1sg(I)-fut-<u>see</u>-TOG-3nsgDatPro   3nsgDAT/PRO

....   [gurru   wan-(a)-A-yirrga-dyi]

QUEST   3sg(I)-(fut)-<u>carry</u>-3nsgOPro-EXP

'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 NP_{pref}

or the OPro. In the examples which follow, the participant to which

TOG relates will be indicated by the use of -WITH or -ABOUT affixed to

the appropriate noun phrase. For example, in E/575, the concurrent

activity is related to the NP_{pref}:

10.6.2.2   E/575   SN

ŋan-a-BA-ŋany-dyirra   yidyirra

1sg(I)-fut-<u>see</u>-TOG-3nsgDatPro   3nsgDAT/PRO

'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 OPro:

10.6.2.2   E/576   SN

[marrgadu   ṇadyanu   gab-gaya]   ....

 young brother   1sgDAT/PRO   eating-like

....   wal-a-BA-ṇany-ṇayu   guy-ay!

        2sg(I)-fut-see-TOG-1sgOPro   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 ṇadyanu 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

ṇam-BULA-ny-ṇany-dyina   wali

1sg(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

ṇam-BULA-ny-ṇany-dyina   [gab-gaya   wali]   ....

1sg(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_s) 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_s may, in the dialect of at least one speaker,

be determined by the role of pronominal referent (PRO_p or PRO_s) to

which the suffix TOG refers. Thus, if the association is with PRO_p

(that is, NP_{pref}), then TOG *precedes* PRO_s:

10.6.4   E/579   SN

ŋam-BULA-ny-ŋany-dyina   wali

1sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past$_2$-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_s,

the order is reversed, that is, PRO_s precedes TOG:

10.6.4   E/580   SN

ŋam-BULA-ny-dyina-ŋany

1sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past$_2$-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

ŋa-ŊA-n-dyina

1sg(II)-sit-pres-3sgDatPro

'I'm stopping with him';

10.6.4   E/582   SN

ŋa-ŊA-n-ŋany-dyina

1sg(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

ŋa-ŊA-n-dyina-ŋany

1sg(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 -ŋany

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 -ŋany:

10.6.5   E/584   BN

yim-BULA-ny-dyina   madyala-ŋany   ....

3sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past$_2$-3sgDatPro   river mangrove-COMIT

....   madyala   ŋagi<u>l</u>-ŋany

          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)-<u>carry</u>-past   river mangrove

....   gan-gabu   gan-gabu   yi-rr-BULA-na-ŋany

          dem-ABL   dem-ABL   3-nmin-<u>come</u>-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-dyaɲarri   ŋuy   waɲa-rr-(a)-I-ŋany-mirri

meat-COMIT-*then*   go back   3nsg/fut-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-TOG-AUG_s

'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)-<u>do</u>-past₂   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   dyuɲgu

burn   3-nmin-SET-<u>make</u>-past₂-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   1sg(II)-<u>go</u>-pres

'I'm going *with* my husband'.

Verbal suffixing with -ŋany may be used rather similarly, although

such verbal usage has additional overtones of lack of voluntary

participation of the entity other than the NP$_{pref}$:

10.6.5   E/590   SN   (= 10.6.2.1   E/572)

yiŋ-GADI-ny-ŋany-ŋayu   dyimbin   ruwan-gan

3sg(II)-<u>enter</u>-past$_2$-TOG-1sgOPro   inside   cave-LOC

'he went with me into the cave'.

   (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 -ŋany, affixed to a verbal-

nominal:

10.6.5   E/591   SN

dyubug-ŋany   yiny-DYALGI-ny   wil-an

diving-INSTR   3sg(II)-<u>fall</u>-past$_2$ water-LOC

'she plummeted into the water'.

It is possible that a "concurrent" relationship is the basis of the

rather idiomatic example:

10.6.5   E/592   SN   (= 4.6   E/110)

bud   yin-GA-na-da   bayin-ŋany

arise   3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-past-HABIT   night-INSTR

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

   The verbal suffix -ŋany often expresses such a relationship:

10.6.5   E/593   SN

yi-rr-(a)-ALGA-ny   ganya   wamba   ....

3-nmin-(SET)-<u>beat</u>-past$_2$ dem   man

....   ŋan-BA-ny-ŋany-dyirrga

         1sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past$_2$-TOG-3nsgOPro

'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*:

10.6.6   E/594   BN

ŋaŋ-a-MA   maduwarra-ŋana   guŋ   ŋan-(a)-I-ŋany

1sg(II)-fut-<u>go</u>   river-ALLAT   drink   1sg(I)-(fut)-<u>do</u>-TOG

'I'm going to the river *to drink*'.

This should be compared with the Small Nyigina version:

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[2]this 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)

10.6.6   E/595   SN

ŋaɟ-a-MA   maɖuwarra-ŋana   guɟ   ŋan-(a)-I-dyi

1sg(II)-fut-<u>go</u>   river-ALLAT   drink   1sg(I)-(fut)-<u>do</u>-EXP

'I'm going to the river *to* drink'.

10.7   ORDER CLASS 5:   THE <u>REL</u>ATIVE 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 <u>REL</u> SUFFIX

Several allomorphs of this suffix are found. Deletion of the final

syllable (surface -dya) varies with dialect/idiolect. 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

Phonological Environment	Dialect		
	SN(a)	SN(b)	BN
preceding nasal	{ - dya { - dyarri	{ - dya { - ?dyarri	- dyarri
preceding vowel	- 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

[ŋan-BARA-ny-dyarri]   bararrga   ŋa-RA$_2$-ny-dyina

 1sg(I)-see-past$_2$-REL   sorry   1sg(II)-feel-past$_2$-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:

10.7.3.1   E/597   SN(a)

[yim-BULA-ny-dyarri]   ŋa-la-BA-na

 3sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past$_2$-REL   1sg-IRR-<u>see</u>-past

'[*if* he had come], I would have seen (him)'.

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-<u>tell</u>-1sgDatPro   who   3sg(II)-<u>come</u>-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   ŋa-RA$_2$-n-dyina   [iga   yi-ŊA-n-dyarri]

sorry   1sg(II)-<u>be</u>-pres-3sgDatPro   sick   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-pres-REL$_1$

'I feel sorry for him [*when* he's sick]';

compared with

10.7.3.1   E/600   SN(a)

bararrga   ŋa-RA$_2$-n-dyina   [iga   yi-ŊA-n-dya]

sorry   1sg(II)-<u>be</u>-pres-3sgDatPro   sick   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-pres-REL$_2$

'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 <u>REL</u> 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).

    (a)   multiplicity

The suffix REL may be present optionally in this situation:

10.7.3.2   E/601   BN

ŋam-BIGA-ny-dyarr-irr   mandya   yila

1sg(II)-<u>have</u>-past$_2$-REL-3nsgOPro   many   dog

'I used to have lots of dogs';

10.7.3.2   E/602   SN

ginya-ŋana   ŋa-MA-ny-dyarri   mandya-ŋal

dem-ALLAT   1sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past$_2$-REL   many-<u>times</u>

'I've been to there many times';

10.7.3.2   E/603   SN

mandya   ŋam-BIGA-n(a)-arri

many   1sg(II)-<u>have</u>-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

1sg(II)-<u>have</u>-past-REL   one   tail-<u>having</u>

'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   gaḏidyina-ni

1sg(II)-go-past$_2$-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-RELAT[3]   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)-<u>see</u>-<u>see</u>-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)-<u>be</u>-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 -dyarri:

10.7.3.2   E/611   SN(a)

nyind-abu   ŋa-MA-ny-dyarri

this way-ABL   1sg(II)-<u>go</u>-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 -dyarri (E/610) was recorded.

10.8 ORDER CLASS 6: PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (PRO$_s$)

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 AUG$_s$

The morpheme mirri$_2$ 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+mPRO-ACT

yirrga*mirri*$_2$-ni   3+3PRO-ACT

yidyirra*mirri*$_2$ 3+3DAT/PRO

and also in inflecting verbs:

10.8.1   E/613   SN

baba-dyarra   bawuna   wa-rr-MA-ny-*mirri*

child-<u>two</u>   to here   2nsg(II)-nmin-<u>go</u>-past$_2$-AUG$_s$

'you two children travelled to here'.

The AUG$_s$ may refer to the NP$_{pref}$:

10.8.1   E/614   SN

gudyarra-ni   yi-rr-(a)-ANDI-ny-mirri   wal<u>i</u>

two-ACT   3-nmin-(SET)-<u>pick up</u>-past$_2$-AUG$_s$ meat

'the two of them picked up the meat';

or AUG$_s$ may refer to NP cross-referenced in *suffixing*:

10.8.1   E/615   SN

malu   wa-la-DYULGA-na-da-yirra-mirri   guy-amu   ibala

NEG   3-IRR-<u>tell</u>-past-HABIT-3nsgDatPro-AUG$_S$ mother-RELAT   father

'he never used to tell the two of them, (his) mother and father';

Occasional ambiguities result:

10.8.1   E/616   SN

yi-rr-i-MI-na-yirr-mirri

3-nmin-SET-<u>give</u>-past-3nsgOPro-AUG$_S$

which can mean

'they two gave them (many)'

OR 'they (many) gave them two'.

Where the morpheme mirri$_2$ is used with a free form pronoun, the
close nature of the relationship is evident from E/612 yirrgamirri$_2$-ni,
where the morpheme is situated between the unmarked free form pronoun
and subsequent active suffixing. One might, therefore, expect the AUG$_S$
suffix to occur contiguously with any preceding pronominal suffix but
this sequence is not always found. The EXP suffix -dyi may occur
between PRO$_S$ and AUG$_S$:

10.8.1   E/617   SN

biliga   yi-rr-ŊARA-na-yirra-mirri   ....

near   3-nmin-<u>become</u>-past-3nsgDatPro-AUG$_S$

....   waŋa-rr-(a)-ALGA-yirrga-dyi-mirri

          3nsg/fut-nmin-(SET)-<u>beat</u>-3nsgOPro-EXP-AUG$_S$

'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 AUG$_s$ is

found when AUG$_s$ refers to PRO$_p$, as in the following example:

10.8.1   E/618   SN

nya-ŋana   bawuna   ya-rr-MA-ny-mirri   ....

dem-ALLAT   to here   1nsg-nmin(=II)-go-past$_2$-AUG$_s$

....   yaŋa-(rr)-DI-dyi-mirri   ny-an

      1+m(II)-(nmin)-sit-EXP-AUG$_s$ dem-LOC

'we two moved to this place in order to stay here'.

The status of AUG$_s$ (-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 PRO$_s$ and

AUG$_s$:

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-<u>come</u>-TOG-EXP-AUG_s   dem-<u>two</u>-ACT

'those two are supposed to bring (it)'.

10.9.2   USE OF THE <u>EXP</u> 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-gan-ga   ....

almost   throw   3sg(I)-(fut)-<u>do</u>-EXP   fire-LOC-EMPH

....   "ŋayu   ŋayu   dyimarri"   yi(n)-Ø-na-yina

        1sgPRO   1sgPRO   peer   3sg(I)-<u>say</u>-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 view-point 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-<u>sit</u>   this-LOC   excellent-LOC   place

....   wirriya   waŋ-a-NI-dyi

        happy   3sg(II)-fut-<u>sit</u>-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

waŋ-a-BULA   ginya   [maɲarriy   wan-i-M(I)-irr-dyi]

3sg(II)-fut-<u>come</u>   dem   food   3sg(I)-fut-<u>give</u>-3nsgOPro-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-ŋany   ....

bury   1nsg-nmin-SET-<u>make</u>-pres   sand-INSTR

....   [war   wa-rra-NI-dyi]

         burn   3sg(II)-fut/IRR-<u>sit</u>-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   waŋ-a-BULA-ŋany-dyi]   yin-DI-ny-dyayida

 now   3sg(II)-fut-<u>come</u>-TOG-EXP   3sg(I)-<u>say</u>-past$_2$-1+2+mDatPro

'he told us [he would bring (it) now]';

10.9.2   E/626   SN

ŋayi-ni   ŋan-DI-ny-dyina   [inydya   waŋ-a-MA-dyi]

1sgPRO-ACT   1sg(I)-<u>say</u>-past$_2$-3sgDatPro   go   3sg(II)-fut-<u>go</u>-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

1sg-IRR-go-past-EXP   now   NEG   1sg-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

1sg(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

wali   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)

wanaṇarri   yin-MI-n(a)-awu   maṇarriy-dyi

stone   3sg(I)-<u>give</u>-past-1+2OPro   food-DAT

'he gave you and me money *for* food';

10.9.3   E/631   SN

ginya   yi-MA-na   [wila   guṇ   wan-(a)-I-dyi]

dem   3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past   water   drink   3sg(I)-(fut)-<u>do</u>-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_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_s refers to PRO_p, where it is
already discontinuous. However, the proposal that an unrelated suffix
(EXP) may intervene between PRO_s and the *suffix* AUG_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$_{here}$)

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':

10.11   E/632   SN

bawuna   wal-(a)-A-ny$_{here}$ dyuwa-ni

to here   2sg(I)-(fut)-<u>carry</u>-<u>HERE</u>   2sgPRO-ACT

'you bring (it) here!';

10.11   E/633   SN

wa-rr-(a)-A-ny$_{here}$

2nsg/fut-nmin-(SET)-<u>carry</u>-<u>HERE</u>

'bring (it) here, you lot!'.

The suffix has been recorded with *one* verbal root other than 'carry':

10.11   E/634   SN

"dagudal-ay!   ŋ-a-MA-ny$_{here}$ ŋ-a-MA-ny$_{here}$ bawuna"

nightjar-VOC!   2sg(II)-fut-<u>go</u>-<u>HERE</u>   2sg(II)-fut-<u>go</u>-<u>HERE</u>   to here

'Nightjar! Come here, come here!'.

Occasionally the <u>HERE</u> suffix is found in conjunction with other suffixing:

10.11   E/635   SN

wal-(a)-A-ny$_{here}$-dyirr

2sg(I)-(fut)-<u>carry</u>-<u>HERE</u>-3nsgOPro

'you bring them here!';

10.11   E/636   SN

wal-(a)-A-ny$_{here}$-dyanu

2sg(I)-(fut)-<u>carry</u>-<u>HERE</u>-1sgDatPro

'bring (it) here to me!';

10.11   E/637   SN

dya   wal-(a)-A-ny_here-ŋany-dyanu   .....

hand over   2sg(I)-(fut)-carry-HERE-TOG-1sgDatPro

.....   ŋayi-ni   widu   ŋan-a-MA-nu

        1sgPRO-ACT   big   1sg(I)-fut-make-1sgDatPro

'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   SN

dyuŋg-an   lady   yi-rr-(a)-I-na-yirr

fire-LOC   throw(VN=PS)   3-ɳmin-(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   ŋarri   wal-(a)-I

hit(PS)   then   2sg(I)-(fut)-<u>do</u>

'well, you hit (him)!';

11.2.1   E/640   SN   (= 12.1.3   E/746)

muli   badu   ŋan-(a)-A   baybarra

stalk(PS)   though   1sg(I)-(fut)-<u>carry</u>   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-ŋurru   yi(n)-Ø-na   ....   ma<u>l</u>u   budyi

cut(PS)-<u>much</u>   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-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:

11.2.1   E/642   SN

ginya   midyala   yi-ŊA-n   dyaginy-gudany

dem   sit(VN)   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-pres   meat-taboo-<u>having</u>

'this (woman) is observing meat taboo';

11.2.1   E/643   SN

yaŋ-a-NI   midyala   mayar-gan-ŋandi

1+2(II)-fut-<u>sit</u>   sit(VN)   house-LOC-SURF

'let's sit (leaning) against the house'.

Intransitive (but not transitive) verbal-nominals may take *derivational* nominal suffixing which relates to their *subject*:

11.2.1   E/644   SN

inydya-dyarra   yi-rr-MA-ny-mirri   gudyarra

go(VN)-<u>two</u>   3-nmin-<u>go</u>-past$_2$-AUG$_s$ two

'the two of them travelled';

11.2.1   E/645   SN

midyala-nil   yi-(rr)-DI-na   manin-garra

sit(VN)-<u>many</u>   3-(nmin)-<u>sit</u>-past   woman-<u>multiple</u>

'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-ŋana   ....

house-LOC   sleep(VN)-ALLAT

....   dyani-ŋgaya-du   dyuŋgu   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$_{pref}$ (where no potential ambiguity)

11.2.3   E/647   SN

galiya   inydya   gularr   yi-rr-MA-na   burrula-ŋana

finished   travel(VN)   west   3-nmin-go-past   Derby-ALLAT

'then, *travelling* west, they went to Derby'.

In this example, the verbal-nominal inydya 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.

(2)   unmarked NP as direct object

11.2.3   E/649   SN   (= 11.4.1.2   E/669)

gudidyi   ŋan-BA-ny   dyurru

run(VN)   1sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past$_2$ snake

'I saw the snake (that was) *running*';

11.2.3   E/650   SN

yin-BA-na-yirr-mirri   inydya   baba-dyarra

3sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past-3nsgOPro-AUG$_s$ travel(VN)   child-<u>two</u>

'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   inydya-nil

3-nmin-SET-<u>see</u>-past-3nsgOPro   from east   travel(VN)-<u>many</u>

'they saw that mob travelling from the east'

(absence of referential suffixing (see 11.4.1) precludes the possibility that inydya-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-ŋana   wanaŋarri

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   gudidyi   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   ŋaŋ-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-ŋana

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   gu_d   yi-MA-na

away(VN)-REF   dead   3sg(II)-g_o-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

waŋanlaŋu-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 <u>LIKE</u> SUFFIXING

While verbal-nominals may represent the activity either as a
completed performance:

11.3.1.1   E/658   SN

inydya-yunu   gu<u>d</u>   yi-MA-na

go(VN)-INAN.SOURCE   dead   3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past

'he died as a result of the trip';

or they may express an activity *in progress*:

11.3.1.1   E/659   SN

inydya-ni   ŋan-BA-ny   wamba

go(VN)-REF   1sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past$_2$ man

'while I was going, I saw a man',

non-personal forms without LIKE suffixing refer only to the completed
performance:

11.3.1.1   E/660   SN

ginya-ni   wirrba   yin-GA-na-yina   wali   ginya   ....

dem-ACT   grab   3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-past-3sgDatPro   meat   dem

....   ginydyina-yina   man-NA-n

        3sgDAT/PRO-ANIM.SOURCE   GEN-<u>spear</u>-pres

'that one grabbed (it) from him, that meat from his (own) spearing',

that is, 'that one stole from him$_1$ the animal that he$_1$ had speared'.

11.3.1.1   E/661   SN

yin-BA-na   dyugudu   gu<u>d</u>   ma-MARRA-n-dyunu

3sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past   boy   dead   GEN-<u>burn</u>-pres-INAN.SOURCE

'he saw his son dead (and) cooked'.

    With non-personal forms, LIKE suffixing is necessary in order to

express an activity *in progress*:

11.3.1.1   E/662   SN

ma-MARRA-MARRA-n-gaya-yunu   badba<u>d</u>   yi-YA-n

GEN-<u>burn</u>-<u>burn</u>-pres-<u>like</u>-INAN.SOURCE   hot   3sg(II)-<u>become</u>-pres

'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:

11.3.1.1   E/663   SN

yi-rr-MA-na-da   waladya   ma-BULU-n-gaya   ....

3-nmin-<u>go</u>-past-HABIT   honey   GEN-<u>fill</u>-pres-<u>like</u>

....   warany-nil-ga   wamba

        other-<u>many</u>-EMPH   man

'they used to go, a big mob of other men *gathering* honey';

11.3.1.1   E/664   SN

ginya   ŋulumba   ma-ÿULIGA-n-gaya   ginya

dem   in front   GEN-<u>await</u>-pres-<u>like</u>   3sgPRO

'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):

11.3.1.1   E/665   SN

gu<u>d</u>idyi-ŋgaya   yi-ÿA-n   warramba

run(VN)-<u>like</u>   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-pres   flood

'a flood is *running*';

including transitive verbal-nominals:

11.3.1.1   E/666   SN

yulburru-garra   yi-MA-na   mug-gaya

long ago-<u>multiple</u>   3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past   hit(VN)-<u>like</u>

'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_{pref}, the participant cross-referenced in the verbal prefixing, of the inflecting verb of the main clause. (It should be remembered that the NP_{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   gudidyi   'run'

(c)   "   "   "stative" intransitive   midyala   '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   baniy   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

gu<u>d</u>idyi-ni   ŋan-BA-ny   dyurru

run(VN)-REF   lsg(I)-<u>see</u>-past$_2$ 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

gu<u>d</u>idyi   ŋan-BA-ny   dyurru

run(VN)   lsg(I)-<u>see</u>-past$_2$ 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   ŋan-BA-ny   gu<u>d</u>idyi   yila

travel(VN)-REF   lsg(I)-<u>see</u>-past$_2$ 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   ŋan-BA-ny   baba

sit(VN)-ABL-REF   lsg(I)-<u>see</u>-past$_2$ child

'while I was sitting, I saw the child';

11.4.1.2   E/672   SN

midyal-abu   ŋan-BA-ny   baba

sit(VN)-ABL   1sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past$_2$ 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

midyala   ŋan-BA-ny   baba

sit(VN)   1sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past$_2$ 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

guḍidy-abu-ni   ŋan-BANA-ny-dyina   baṉiy

run(VN)-ABL-REF   1sg(I)-<u>see separating</u>-past$_2$-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

gudidyi-ni   ŋan-BA-ny   dyurru

run(VN)-REF   1sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past$_2$ 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)-<u>do</u>-past$_2$-TOG-1sgOPro

'*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$_p$-<u>come</u>-INT$_s$-past$_2$-AUG$_s$ 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:

11.4.1.2   E/678   SN

inydy-abu-ni   gudyarra   yi-rr-ma-BULA-nydyi-ny-mirri   ....

go(VN)-ABL-REF   two   3-nmin-INT$_p$-come-INT$_s$-past$_2$-AUG$_s$

....   gudyarra-ni

         two-NARR

'as they were *both* going along, they met   ....   the two of them'.

   (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).

11.4.1.2   E/679   SN

ma-MARRA-n-gay-abu-ni   yin-BA-na   baniy

GEN-burn-pres-like-ABL-REF   3sg(I)-see-past   goanna

'while he was cooking, he saw a goanna';

11.4.1.2   E/680   SN   (= 5.5   E/294)

ma-MARRA-n-gaya-ni   nyi-MARRA-ny   dyuŋgu-ni

GEN-burn-pres-like-REF   2sg(II)-burn-past$_2$ fire-ACT

'while doing the cooking, you got burned by the fire';

11.4.1.2   E/681   SN

ma-MARRA-n-gaya-ni   yiŋ-GALBARRI-ny   wali

GEN-burn-pres-like-REF   3sg(II)-drop-past$_2$ meat

'while doing the cooking, he dropped the meat'.

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$_2$

'while he was running, he got cold';

11.4.1.3   E/683   SN

ma-MARRA-n-gay-an   badbad   ŋa-RA$_2$-n

GEN-burn-pres-like-LOC   hot   1sg(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$_s$ 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   inydya-yi

NEG   feeling-INSTR   1sg-IRR-<u>make</u>   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   inydya-ya

NEG   feeling-INSTR   1sg-IRR-<u>make</u>   travel(VN)-DAT_e

'I don't want *to go* (anywhere)';

11.4.2.1   E/687   SN

wababgurru   ma-NI-n-dyi   midyala-yi

blanket   GEN-<u>sit</u>-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-<u>burn</u>-pres-DAT   3-nmin-SET-<u>put</u>-past₂-REL

....   gunga   yi-rr-a-LI-ny

        raw   3-nmin-SET-<u>eat</u>-past₂

'although they has arranged the meat *for cooking*, they ate it raw'.

11.4.2.2   PARENTHESIS

    Parenthetic or qualifying remarks (see also 4.5.1.2) can be

expressed by a verbal nominalization and a *dative* or *extended dative*

suffix:

11.4.2.2   E/689   SN

ginya   (malu   ŋanga-yi)   galiya   gug   ginya   midyala

3sgPRO   NEG   talk(VN)-DAT   finished   speechless   3sgPRO   sit(VN)

'then he sat silent (without a word)':

11.4.2.2   E/690   SN

yin-GA-na-da   balgu-ŋany   (malu   ma-DYADI-n-dyiya)

3sg(I)-carry-past-HABIT   leash-INSTR   NEG   GEN-take off-pres-DAT_e

'she always took him on a leash (never taking (it) off)';

11.4.2.2   E/691   SN

galiya   yab   (malu   ma-BA-n-dyi)   birra

finished   away   NEG   GEN-see-pres-DAT   bush

'then he (went) away bush (without anyone seeing (him go))'.

11.4.3   INSTRUMENTAL SUFFIXING

A few examples of verbal-nominals with instrumental suffixing have
been found.

11.4.3   E/692   SN

ginya   dyugudu   wabab-ŋany   manydyada-ŋany   ŋulumba   ....

dem   boy   cover(VN)-INSTR   dish-INSTR   in front

....   "girridy   wa-rr-(a)-A   manydyada,   gamida-nil"   ....

        look under   2nsg/fut-nmin-(SET)-carry   dish   grandchild-many

....   yi(n)-Ø-na-yirra

       3sg(I)-say-past-3nsgDatPro

'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-ŋany relates *only* to manyd̪yada

(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-ŊA-n   wabab-ŋany

inside   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-pres   cover(VN)-INSTR

?'it's underneath, covered up'

(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 (-ŋany), which is

formally indistinguishable from the nominal instrumental suffix, may

occur with non-personal forms, for example:

11.4.3   E/694   SN

ma<u>lu</u>   ŋunydyin   ma-MIDA-n-ŋany   wa<u>li</u>

NEG   inclined   GEN-<u>throw</u>-pres-TOG   meat

'she's not inclined *to send (him) off with* meat'.

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

[wanaɲarri-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   ŋaɲ-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)-∅-na   [giya-ŋana   dyuɲgu   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

gudidyi-ŋana   yin-NA-ny   maɲul-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-<u>see</u>   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)-<u>see</u>-past   big   child   3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past

....   yaŋ-ŋana?   ....   dyiŋgidi-ŋgaya

        what-ALLAT   play(VN)-<u>like</u>

'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)-<u>carry</u>-past$_2$-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)-<u>carry</u>-past$_2$-3sgDatPro   1sgPRO-ACT   sit(VN)-<u>belonging</u>-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

[balarrdya-ŋana   midyala]_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-ŋana

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_{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_{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$_2$- 'be, feel, become':

11.4.5.1   E/705   SN   (= 4.8.1   E/139)

midyal-an   gamininy   ŋa-RA$_2$-ny

sit(VN)-LOC   cold   1sg(II)-<u>become</u>-past$_2$

'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)-<u>go</u>-past$_2$

'he went (and is still) away'.

11.4.5.2   "OTHER" REFERENCE

Where the verbal-nominal refers to an entity *other* than the NP$_{pref}$ or a direct object, the verbal-nominal may take locative suffixing:

11.4.5.2   E/707   SN

midyal-an   ŋa-LUGA-ny-dyina   yi-NI-ny-dya

sit(VN)-LOC   1sg(I)-<u>cry</u>-past$_2$-3sgDatPro   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-past$_2$-REL

'I cried for the one who was sitting'.

In the following example, the nominalized clause [gudidy-an]$_{NC}$ refers to a noun phrase with dative suffixing (wamba-yi):

11.4.5.2   E/708   SN

gudidy-an   wamba-yi   yiŋ-GULMA-ny-dyina   ....

run(VN)-LOC   man-DAT   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-past$_2$-3sgDatPro

....   wanminy   ŋunidyin-an

        fly   nose-LOC

'while he was running, a fly sat on the man's nose'.

The verbal-nominal gud̲idy-an *cannot* be analyzed as part of a nominal-
ized clause, that is [gud̲idy-an ŋunidyin-an]$_{*NC}$, 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

gud̲idy-an   wan̲miny   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 gud̲idy-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

gud̲idyi-ni   yi-rr-ma-MARRA-nydyi-ny-mirri

run(VN)-REF   3-nmin-INT$_p$-burn-INT$_s$-past$_2$-AUG$_s$

'while they were running, they burned themselves';

11.4.6   E/711   SN

gu_didy-abu-ni   yi-ma-MARRA-nydyi-ny

run(VN)-ABL-REF   3-INT$_p$-burn-INT$_s$-past$_2$

'while he was running, he burned himself'.

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   [wanaɳarr-abu   dalaw]$_{NC}$

3sg(II)-come-past-HABIT   3sgPRO   stone-ABL$_{NC}$ 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)-∅-na   banugu   ginya   ....

go away   3sg(I)-do-past   from east   3sgPRO

....   [ɳagi_l-barri   ginya   gu_d-barri]$_{NC}$

         carry on shoulder(VN)-COMIT$_{NC}$ dem   dead-COMIT$_{NC}$

'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

maɲarri-yunu-ni   ɲuy   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   gudidyi-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   yiŋ-GALBARRI-ny

GEN-pick up-pres-INAN.SOURCE   3sg(II)-drop-past$_2$

'*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-ɲany-dyunu   ŋanga   munydyu

        GEN-?inform-pres-TOG-INAN.SOURCE   talk   deceit

'....   *from* telling (people) lies'.

(The suffix -ɲany- 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)-<u>become</u>-pres

....   [balu-ni-yunu   man-NA-n   niyambalu]$_{NC}$

       stick-ACT$_{NP}$-INAN.SOURCE$_{NC}$ GEN-<u>spear</u>-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-ŊA-na   ginya   wila   ....

pour   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-past   dem   water

....   giny-an   dab-an   [wididy-dyun-an]$_{NC}$

       dem-LOC   hole-LOC   dig(VN)-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

        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

ŋayu   gaḏady   yin-DI-ny-dyanu   ....

1sgPRO   search   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past$_2$-1sgDatPro

....   [ŋayu-yi   man-ALGA-n]$_{NC}$

         1sgPRO-DAT$_{NC}$ GEN-<u>beat</u>-pres

'he's looking for me *to* [bash me up]'.

The form ŋayu-yi was accepted by all speakers in this context and

requires explanation, since the regular dative pronominal form would be

ŋadyanu. The explanation proposed is that

        ŋadyanu   =   1sgDAT/PRO

        ŋayu-yi   =   1sgPRO-DAT$_{NC}$.

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

ŋadyanu may take dative suffixing as noun phrase suffixing:

11.5.1   E/722   SN

[ŋadyanu-yi   maṉin]$_{NP}$ gulu   min-DI-n-dyina   ....

1sgDAT/PRO-DAT$_{NP}$ woman   not want   2sg(I)-<u>do</u>-pres-3sgDatPro

....   budurr-budurr-gan

         middle-middle-LOC

'"don't you want [my wife]$_{NP}$ 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)-<u>like</u>   3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past$_2$

....   [wamba-ni-yunu   man-NA-n   balŋanydyina   ....

       man-ACT$_{NP}$-INAN.SOURCE$_{NC}$ GEN-<u>spear</u>-pres   thigh

....   maŋul-ŋany-dyunu]$_{NC}$

       spear-INSTR-INAN.SOURCE$_{NC}$

'she went limping along *from* [the man spearing her thigh with a spear]'

is acceptable; the suffixed noun

       yalmban-darri-yunu-ni

       south-<u>side</u>-INAN.SOURCE$_{der}$-ACT$_{NP}$

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)-<u>like</u>   3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past$_2$

....   [yalmban-darri-yunu-ni-yunu   ....

       south-<u>side</u>-INAN.SOURCE$_{der}$-ACT$_{NP}$-INAN.SOURCE$_{NC}$

....   man-NA-n   balŋanydyina]$_{NC}$

       GEN-<u>spear</u>-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, balɲanydyina 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

....   [balɲanydyina + man-NA-n-dyunu]$_{NC}$

         thigh(incorp.)+GEN-spear-pres-INAN.SOURCE$_{NC}$

'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

....   [balɲanydyina-yunu   man-NA-n]$_{NC}$

         thigh-INAN.SOURCE$_{NC}$ 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

du<u>n</u>   yi-YA-na   ....

heavy   3sg(II)-<u>become</u>-past

....   [man-NA-n-dyunu   bali̯anydyina   (warany-nil-dyi)]_{NC}

         GEN-<u>spear</u>-pres-INAN.SOURCE_{NC}   thigh   other-<u>many</u>-DAT_{NP}

'he became weary *from* spearing thighs (other people's)'.

The (warany-ni l-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   ṇan-MA-n   [ba<u>n</u>iy + gilay-dyi]_{NC}

feeling   1sg(I)-<u>make</u>-pres   goanna(incorp.)+chase(VN)-DAT_{NC}

'I (always) like goanna-hunt<u>i</u>ng'.

      With person-prefixed inflecting verbs, it is not possible to use

location of nominal suffixing to establish noun ?incorporation. A

single *possible* example involving an inflecting verb was recorded:

11.5.2   E/729   SN

dyuṇgu   ṇam-BUNGA-ny   nundurr-dyibur

fire   1sg(II)-<u>warm</u>-past$_2$ 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 suffixing), 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:

11.5.3   E/730   SN   (= 11.5 E/718)

dun__   yi-YA-n   ....

heavy   3sg(II)-<u>become</u>-pres

....   [balu-ni-yunu   man-NA-n   niyambalu]$_{NC}$

        stick-ACT$_{NP}$-INAN.SOURCE$_{NC}$ GEN-<u>spear</u>-pres   foot

'he's getting tired from the stick spearing his foot'.

This version appears to be in free variation with both

        dun_ yi-YA-n [niyambalu-yunu$_{NC}$ man-NA-n balu-ni]$_{NC}$

and also

        dun_ yi-YA-n [man-NA-n-dyunu$_{NC}$ 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:

11.5.3   E/731   SN

[ma<u>l</u>u-yunu   ma-BA-n]$_{NC}$ malgin   yi-MA-ny

 NEG-INAN.SOURCE$_{NC}$ GEN-<u>see</u>-pres   secret   3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past$_2$

'without (anyone) seeing, he went secretly (away)';

11.5.3   E/732   SN

gulu   yi(n)-Ø-n-dyina   [bawuna-yi   inydya]$_{NC}$

not want(VN=PS)   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-pres-3sgDatPro   to here-DAT$_{NC}$ go(VN)

'he doesn't want to come here';

11.5.3   E/733   SN

[baybarra-ni   inydya]$_{NC}$ ŋan-ANDI-ny   budyu..mirri$_1$

 behind-REF$_{NC}$ go(VN)   1sg(I)-<u>pick up</u>-past$_2$ 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   larjgurr-dyunu]$_{NC}$ ....

hit(VN)-INAN.SOURCE$_{NC}$ possum-INAN.SOURCE$_{NC}$

....   wi_nda   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 ~~with~~ 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):

malu   'not, NEG marker, but'

malina   'lacking, in vain'.

(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   dulgurru]_{NC}

club   3-nmin-(SET)-<u>carry</u>-past   NEG-LOC_{NC}   rifle

'they used to carry clubs, before we had rifles';

12.1.1   E/736   SN

gud .   ŋa-rra-MA   [malu-yunu   maɲarriy]_{NC}

dead   1sg(II)-fut/IRR-<u>go</u>   NEG-INAN.SOURCE_{NC}   food

'I might die from not (having) food';

12.1.1   E/737   BN

banag   yi-rr-(a)-I-na   [malu-ɲany   dyuŋgu]_{NC}

lost   3-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-past   NEG-INSTR_{NC}   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)-∅-na   buru

middle   lacking-LOC_{NC}   water   dig   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past   sand

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

12.1.1   E/739   SN

madyaŋgula-ni   manin   yin-GA-na   ....

single person-ACT   woman   3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-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 -ŋurru

'much':

12.1.1   E/740   SN

malu̱-ŋurru   ginydyina   wali̱   ginya   ....   yagurr-dyi   wamba

NEG-<u>much</u>   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)-Ø-na-yina   malu̱-ŋurru   niŋarra

deceit   3sg(I)-<u>say</u>-past-3sgDatPro   NEG-<u>much</u>   true

'she told him lies, (it was) *not at all* true'.

The word mali̱na 'lacking' can also take derivational nominal suffixing
(relating to the NP$_{pref}$):

12.1.1   E/742   SN

malina-dyarra   dyuŋgu   yi-rr-MA-na-mirri   dyadya   wila-ni

lacking-<u>two</u>   fire   3-nmin-<u>go</u>-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   ŋan-MA-n   badgurru+mannan-dyi

feeling   1sg(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   ŋan-MI-n   badgurru-yi   mannan

feeling   1sg(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 ɟarri '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$_1$
(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 ɟarri and badu as
particles rather than as clitics.

12.1.3   E/745   SN

dalyarr   yin-DI-ny   bulu   wa-la-DYALGI-na   ŋarri

slip   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past$_2$ almost   3-IRR-<u>fall</u>-past   then

'he slipped *and* almost fell';

12.1.3   E/746   SN   (= 11.2.1   E/640)

muli ·   ba<u>d</u>u   ŋan-(a)-A   baybarra

stalk(PS)   though   1sg(I)-(fut)-<u>carry</u>   behind

'I, *though*, will stalk behind';

12.1.3   E/747   SN

ma<u>n</u>in-ni   yin-ANDI-n   balu   ba<u>d</u>u   balu

woman-ACT   3sg(I)-<u>pick up</u>-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   ba<u>d</u>u   ma<u>n</u>in   ŋulumba

3-nmin-<u>come</u>-past-3sgDatPro   other-DAT   yet   woman   in front

'they came to *yet* another woman, (foraging) in front'.

12.1.4   THE CLITICS mirri$_1$ AND ma<u>d</u>a

These two: mirri$_1$ 'certain' and ma<u>d</u>a '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]   nyiŋ-a-NI

finished   2sg(I)-<u>cover</u>-pres   2sgPRO..certain   2sg(II)-fut-<u>sit</u>

'There! You're covering (them). You're the one, you sit (on them)!'

(of the Dreamtime creature daguda1 ?'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   baɲarriy   gaganbalu-ŋana

 good   good..certain   3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-past   bark   Myroodah-ALLAT

'*completely* faithfully, he brought the mail to Myroodah';

12.1.4   E/751   SN

bara   [ŋanydya..ma<u>d</u>a]   wila   ....

maybe   how many..uncertain   wet season

....   yi-(rr)-DI-na   dyimbin-ga

          3-nmin-<u>sit</u>-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..ma<u>d</u>a]   bilyurr   yi-ŊA-n-dyina?

 where-LOC-<u>like</u>..uncertain   soul   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-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 mirri$_1$ can occur with the word malu 'not':

12.1.4   E/753   SN

[malu..mirri$_1$]   gud   wa-la-MA-na

  NEG..certain   dead   3-IRR-go-past

'*nevertheless* he didn't die'.

In the following example, the clitic mirri$_1$ occurs with the *particle*

badu 'though'. This combination could perhaps be translated '*even*

though'. (This is the only recorded example of mirri$_1$ with a particle.)

12.1.4   E/754   BN

nyamburr   [badu..mirri$_1$]   yin-DI-ny   malu-ŋunydyin   ....

bathe   though..certain   3sg(I)-do-past$_2$ NEG-inclined

....   yuwumban   gidily   yim-BANDYI-n

        unsuccessful   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 mirri$_1$ 'certain' must be distinguished from -mirri$_2$, the

morpheme indicating 'unit-augmented' in pronominal morphology

(see 6.3.2):

12.1.4   E/755   SN

yirrga+mirri₂-ni   yi-rr-(a)-ANDI-na-yina-mirri   maɲarriy

3+3PRO-ACT   3-nmin-(SET)-<u>pick up</u>-past-3sgDatPro-AUG_s   food

'the *two* of them gathered food for him'.

The following version is perfectly acceptable, but differs significantly

in meaning:

12.1.4   E/756   SN

[yirrga-ni..mirri₁]   yi-rr-(a)-ANDI-na-yina   maɲarriy

 3nsgPRO-ACT..certain   3-nmin-(SET)-<u>pick up</u>-past-3sgDatPro   food

'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 ma<u>l</u>u

    The word appears in two somewhat different situations. The most

frequent function of ma<u>l</u>u is to express negation, where it occurs with

the irrealis mode (see 9.5.3). About ten examples were recorded, where

ma<u>l</u>u was associated with the realis mode, in which some *contrast* was

expressed, for example, in unexpected or undesirable events:

12.2.1   E/757   SN

wila-ŋana   yi-rr-a-BA-na   ....

water-ALLAT   3-nmin-SET-<u>see</u>-past

....   ma<u>l</u>u   yi-rr-a-BANYDYU-na   mandu

        NEG   3-nmin-SET-<u>smell</u>-past   foul

'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)-Ø-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 ɟarri '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$_2$-AUG$_s$ two   man

....   yi-rr-MA-ny-mirri   ɟarri

       3-nmin-go-past$_2$-AUG$_s$ then

'the two men got up *and* went'.

It is a fairly marginal decision whether ɟarri 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:

        - yaŋarri   ?- ŋarri   following a vowel; and

        - dyaŋarri   elsewhere.

The presence of dy/y alternation *requires* that -dyaŋarri 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-GA-ny	maṉin-dyaŋarri	yi-MA-ny	ŋudin
arise	3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-past$_2$	woman-*then*	3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past$_2$	alone

'the woman got up *and* went (away) by herself';

12.2.2   E/761   BN

bud	yin-GA-ny	wamba-ŋarri	yi-MA-ny	ŋudin
arise	3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-past$_2$	man-*then*	3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past$_2$	alone

'the man got up *and* went (away) by himself';

12.2.2   E/762   BN

yim-BULA-ny-dya	mug	yana-rr-(a)-I-ny-dyaŋarri
3sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past$_2$-REL	hit	1+2+m-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-past$_2$-*then*

'after she came, *then* we killed her'.

    The Small Nyigina form ŋarri would seem to be *related* to the Big

Nyigina suffix -dyaŋarri. 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

-dyaɲarri, 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	ŋarri	....
alive	3sg(II)-fut-<u>sit</u>		NEG	2sgPRO	then	

....	muŋ	ya-ya-rr-(a)-I
	hit	1nsg-fut/IRR-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>

'let (her) stay alive; *and* (if) you don't .... we'll kill (you)'

(how to deal with a malevolent medicine man).

The particle ŋarri may also follow the entire double-unit verb:

12.2.2   E/764   SN

yab	yi-MA-na	gud	yi-MA-na	ŋarri	....
away	3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past	dead	3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-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)	ŋarri	wal-(a)-I	yaŋa-rr-a-DYALADYALA-yi
swim(PS)	then	2sg(I)-(fut)-<u>do</u>	1+m-nmin-SET-<u>watch</u>-2sgOPro$_3$

'*Then* you swim (across)! We'll watch you'.

Rarely, -dyaɲarri is also heard in use by *Small Nyigina* speakers:

12.2.2   E/766   SN

ŋa-LUGA-na   barra   wurrb   bayin-dyaɲarri   ....

lsg(II)-<u>cry</u>-past   sun   going in   night-*then*

....   walga   raŋgarr

        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 ɲarru 'as,

like'. The description of ɲarru 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   ɲarru AS DERIVATIONAL NOMINAL SUFFIX

In certain (fairly rare) examples, -ɲarru 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   SN

ganydyirr   yin-BA-na   gamirri-ɲarr-abu

look   3sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past   dem-<u>as</u>-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

yuŋur   yi-YA-n   wanaŋarri ? 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:

> wanaŋarri-ŋarru-∅
>
> 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*:

12.3.2   E/770   SN

mud-an..ŋarru   buru   yi-(rr)-DI-na

nothing-LOC..as   country   3-(nmin)-<u>sit</u>-past

'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 ŋarru is analyzed as enclitic:

12.3.2   E/771   SN

bany   yi-rr-a-MA-na   yirrga   dyimbin   ....

shoot   3-nmin-SET-<u>make</u>-past   3nsgPRO   inside

....   wanaɲarr-an   gurrgu   yila..ŋarru

      rock/hill-LOC   group   dog..as

'they shot them on the side of the hill   ....   in a group, *like* dogs' (referring to a massacre by police);

12.3.2   E/772   SN

binga-ŋany   wabab   yim-B<u>AND</u>YI-na   ....

(specific name)-INSTR   cover   3sg(II)-<u>share</u>-past

....   malbulu..ŋarru   binga

      coolamon..as   (specific name)

'he covered himself with a bïnga   ....   a bïnga (is) *like* a coolamon'.

The comparison of qualities (see 4.5.1.2) uses enclitic ɲarru:

12.3.2   E/773   SN

ma<u>l</u>u   ginya..ŋarru   ŋayu   wa<u>l</u>idany

NEG   3sgPRO..as   1sgPRO   good at hunting

'I'm not *as* good at hunting *as* him';

12.3.2   E/774   SN

wanaṅarri..ṅarru   duṉ   yi-ṆA-na

stone..as   heavy   3sg(II)-sit-past

'she was *as* heavy *as* a stone' (of a drowned person).

12.3.3 ṅarru RELATING TO A CLAUSE

In this usage, ṅarru can follow either a nominal (which may have nominal suffixing) or an inflecting verb and refers to the *entire clause*. As with ṅarri (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 ṅarru 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   E/775   SN

ṅayi-ni   marrgana   rurrb   mug   ṅan-(a)-I   ....

1sgPRO-ACT   in turn   in return   hit   1sg(I)-(fut)-do

....   ginya-ni   ṅarru   mug   yin-DI-ny-ṅayu

        3sgPRO-ACT   as   hit   3sg(I)-do-past$_2$-1sgOPro

'I'm going to hit him back in turn, *as* he hit me';

12.3.3   E/776   SN

yi-ma-GULA-nydyi-na   balya   ....   marr-an   balya   ....

3sg(II)-INT$_p$-tie-INT$_s$-past   cloth   head-LOC   cloth

....   yarrga-ni   ya-rr-(a)-A-n   ṅarru   manin-ni

        1+mPRO-ACT   1nsg-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   ŋarru   guya   bararrga   ŋayi-ni   ....

3sgDAT/PRO-ACT   as   mother   sorry   1sgPRO-ACT

....   ŋa-RA$_2$-ny-dyina   ginya   baba

       1sg(II)-<u>feel</u>-past$_2$-3sgDatPro   dem   child

'I felt sorry for that child, *like* his own mother (would feel)';

12.3.3   E/778   SN

bararrga   ŋa-RA$_2$-ny-dyina   ginya-yi   baba   ....

sorry   1sg(II)-<u>feel</u>-past$_2$-3sgDatPro   dem-DAT   child

....   ŋadyanu-yi   ŋarru   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)-<u>call name</u>-pres   name   dem   woman

'he "sings" that woman's name';

12.4   E/780   SN

ya-rr-(a)-ANDI-ny   ginya   balu   madyala   barrgura

1nsg-nmin-(SET)-<u>pick up</u>-past₂   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-ŋayu   nimidi   dandyi-ni   buru

skin off   3sg(I)-<u>pick up</u>-past-1sgOPro   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)-<u>sit</u>-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

ganaɳanydya	maɳarriy	ginydyina	....
emu	food	3sgDAT/PRO	

....	malu	gab	ya-la-rr-(a)-I
	NEG	eat	1nsg-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

giliɳirri-giliɳirri	yi-rr-a-MA-ny	buru-yarra-marru
bore hole-bore hole	3-nmin-SET-make-past$_2$	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-ŊULIGA-n   waŋu-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   yiŋ-GULMA-ny   wanminy

man-many-DAT   dog-their-LOC   3sg(II)-sit-past$_2$ 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   ....   dyalaŋga   ŋadyanu   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)-<u>put</u>-past	3nsgPRO

....	baba-garra	ginydyina	uba-garra	ŋalyag	....
	child-<u>multiple</u>	3sgDAT/PRO	small-<u>multiple</u>	blue tongue lizard	

....   ginya-gurany

        dem-<u>own</u>

'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 -ŋany (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

yuŋurrugu-ni   ganya   yi-LI-ny-dyirrga

water snake-ACT   dem   3sg(I)-eat-past$_2$-3nsgOPro

'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.

12.5   E/793   SN

dyan̲   yin-BU$_1$-na-ŋany   bur-an   ginya-na   man̲in

smash   3sg(I)-?hi̲t̲-past-TOG   ground-LOC   dem-ACT$_E$ woman

'that woman dashed (the infant) to the ground'

(example includes active suffixing, set I prefixing and the verbal

suffix -ɉany).

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$_{pref}$

The use of active suffixing *with the NP$_{pref}$* is associated with high

transitivity and suggests that the NP$_{pref}$ ranks highly as an agent (see

5.2.3), that the NP$_{pref}$ 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)

wamba   yiɲ-GADI-ny-ŋany-dyirra

man-∅   3sg(II)-e̲n̲t̲e̲r̲-past$_2$-TOG-3nsgDatPro

'the man *went in* to them *with* (it)';

12.5.1   E/795   SN

wamba-ni   yiɲ-GADI-ny-ɉany-dyirra

man-ACT   3sg(II)-e̲n̲t̲e̲r̲-past$_2$-TOG-3nsgDatPro

'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

use of active suffixing with the NP_{pref}.

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_{pref}, that is, with high transitivity, for example:

12.5.2   E/796   SN

wamba-ni   yin-MARRA-ny   wa<u>l</u>i

man-ACT   3sg(I)-<u>burn</u>-past$_2$ meat

'the man cooked the meat';

while selection of set II prefixing indicates lack of control by the NP_{pref}, that is, low transitivity, for example:

12.5.2   E/797   SN   (= 9.3.5.5   E/451)

yi-MARRA-n   barrdyaniny   dyuŋg-an

3sg(II)-<u>burn</u>-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   man<u>i</u>n

3sg(I)-<u>beat</u>-past-HABIT-3nsgOPro   man   woman

'he used to kill *them*, men (and) women'.

12.5.3   E/799   SN

wamba-ni   yiŋ-GADI-ny-ŋany-dyirr   ruwan-gan

man-ACT   3sg(II)-<u>enter</u>-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

yi-(rr)-DI-ny-ŋany-ŋayu

3-(nmin)(=II)-<u>sit</u>-past$_2$-TOG-1sgOPro

'they sat with *me*'.

It should be remembered that active suffixing of the NP$_{pref}$ is *not*

possible (see 5.2.6) in these examples:

12.5.3   E/801   BN

warany   yi-ṆA-n-ŋany-dyu

other-∅   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-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-gabu   ŋam-BULA-ny

west-ABL   1sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past$_2$

'I've *come* from the west' (low transitivity); and

12.5.4   E/803   SN

ŋaŋ-a-BULA-ŋany-dyirr   yila

1sg(II)-fut-<u>come</u>-TOG-3nsgOPro   dog

'I'm going to *bring* the dogs' (high transitivity).

Other examples which include -ŋany are of rather intermediate transitivity,

although the clause may be of higher transitivity than might be expected

from the verbal root used:

12.5.4   E/804   BN

galiya   garrada   yi-rr-ŊARA-ny-ŋany-dyina

finished   ecstatic   3-nmin(=II)-<u>become</u>-past$_2$-TOG-3sgOPro

'then, ecstatic, they *acquired* (it)'

(from the Dreamtime story of the first use of fire).

The suffix -ŋany may occur with verbs with introspective affixing

(see 9.7.2), resulting in a clause of higher transitivity:

12.5.4   E/805   SN   (= 4.5.1.2   E/80)

yi-rr-BAN<u>D</u>YI-ny-ŋany-dyirr   ŋanga   (warany-nil-dyi)

3-nmin(=II)-<u>share</u>-past$_2$-TOG-3nsgOPro   talk   other-<u>many</u>-DAT

'they were gossiping about them (other people)'.

    However, -ŋany may be present without any *marked* increase in the

grade of transitivity:

12.5.4   E/806   SN

baba-dyarra   ŋadyanu   ŋan-GA-na-yirr-mirri

child-<u>two</u>   1sgDAT/PRO   1sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-past-3nsgOPro-AUG$_s$

'I took my two children';

12.5.4   E/807   SN

yin-GA-na-ŋany-dyina

3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-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 -ŋany are associated with high

transitivity:

12.5.4   E/808   SN

waŋa-rr-BULA   dyana-yun-amu   mandadyarra   ....

3nsg/fut-nmin-<u>come</u>   where-INAN.SOURCE-RELAT   multitude

....   mandya   waŋa-rr-ŊARA-ŋany

       many-∅   3nsg/fut-nmin(=II)-<u>be</u>-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 -ŋany.

   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   gulin   yi-ŊA-n

finished   for long   sleep   3sg(II)-<u>sit</u>-pres

'then he sleeps for a long time'

or in a clause with fairly high transitivity:

12.5.5   E/810   SN

ginya-ni   ŋurun-ni   gulin   yin-MA-na

dem-ACT   smoke-ACT   sleep   3sg(I)-make-past

'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   mug   yi-rr-(a)-I-na-yirr

child   hit   3-nmin-(SET)-do-past-3nsgOPro

'they used to kill the children'

and with double-unit verbs in clauses of low transitivity:

12.5.5   E/812   SN

ŋuy   yi-rr-(a)-I-na   linydyu

go back   3-nmin-(SET)-do-past   bitter

'the police went back'.

The verbal root -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   wamba

arise   3sg(I)-carry-past   dem   man

'that man got up'.

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)-Ø-na-ŋany-dyirr-mirri

jump   3sg(I)-do-past-TOG-3nsgOPro-AUG$_s$

'he jumped down on the two of them';

12.5.5   E/816   SN

dyugudu-ni   ŋud   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 ŋarru in E/820).

(1) equative clauses

12.6   E/817   SN   (= 7.2   E/352)

ŋayu   garrbuŋu

1sgPRO   (person name)

'I (am) Garrbuŋu' (introducing a story);

12.6   E/818   SN   (= 6.2   E/296)

ginydyina-nil-ga   baba   dyalŋgaŋurru-nil

3sgDAT/PRO-many-EMPH   child   medicine man-many

'all her children (are) medicine men'.

    (2)   ascriptive clauses

12.6   E/819   SN

walibuŋu   dyanyba   niŋarra   dyanyba

(person name)   generous   true   generous

'Walibuŋu (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-1sgDatPro   QUEST   1sgDAT/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)-∅-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

yirrga   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   ŋayu   dyuwa

NEG   knowing   1sgPRO   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   ŋayu   [lagarr   yawada]$_{NC}$

NEG   knowing   1sgPRO   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-ŊA-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 yaŋgi '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-ŋany   min-MA-n?   inydya   yaŋ-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-ŋany-dyirra   yidyirra   ....

1sg(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-MA-na-mirri   banu-ɳuny-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-ŊA-na   ɳulumba   ɳudin   //
   one   woman   3sg(II)-sit-past   in front   alone
   One woman was sitting ahead (of her companions), alone.

5 wurr   yi(n)-Ø-na   ginya   dyilgarr-gan-ɳandi   /
   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)-Ø-na   wurr   yi(n)-Ø-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-ɳany   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)-<u>come</u>-pres-1sgDatPro

    "A man, a man is coming to me"

12 yin-BA-na   ginya-na   man<u>i</u>n   "baba-barri"   //

    3sg(I)-<u>see</u>-past   this-ACT_E   woman   child-COMIT

    this woman realized, "with a child".

13 "dya   wal-(a)-A-ny_{here}-ɲany-dyanu   //

    hand over   2sg(I)-(fut)-<u>carry</u>-HERE-TOG-1sgDatPro

    "You hand over (the child) here to me,

14 ɲayi-ni   widu   ɲan-a-M(A)-anu"

    1sgPRO-ACT   big   1sg(I)-fut-<u>make</u>-1sgDatPro

    so I can bring (him) up for myself".

15 yi(n)-Ø-na-yina   //

    3sg(I)-<u>say</u>-past-3sgDatPro

    she said to him.

16 yin-ANDI-na   ginya-ni   /   yi-rr-BIGA-na-mirri   //

    3sg(I)-<u>pick up</u>-past   3sgPRO-ACT   3-nmin-<u>have</u>-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)-<u>cry</u>-past   3sg(II)-<u>cry</u>-past   3sg(II)-<u>cry</u>-past

    The baby cried and cried and cried

18 yi-LUGA-na   ginya   baba   //

    3sg(II)-<u>cry</u>-past   this   child

    and cried.

19 "wal-i-MI-na   wal-i-MI-na   ɲaman̪a!"

    2sg(I)-fut-<u>give</u>-3sgOPro   2sg(I)-fut-<u>give</u>-3sgOPro   breast

    "Give it (to him), give (him) milk!"

20 yi(n)-Ø-na-yina   //

    3sg(I)-<u>say</u>-past-3sgDatPro

    he told her.

21 nyarr   yi(n)-Ø-na   ɲaman̪a   //

    bite   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past   breast

    (The baby) bit off her breast.

22 galiya   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~s~

    The two of them ate (her) (as) their meat.

24 giny-an   yi-(rr)-DI-na-mirri   //   ŋimbi   yi-YA-na   //
    this-LOC   3-(nmin)-sit-past-AUG~s~   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~s~   west   west   west

    West they went, west, west, west.

26 "dyuwa   marrgana"   //   "wurr   ŋan-(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~s~

    They went along.

31 yi-rr-BULA-na-yina-mirri   warany-dyi   badu   manin
    3-nmin-come-past-3sgDatPro-AUG~s~   other-DAT   yet   woman

    They came to yet another woman

32 ŋulumba   //
    in front

    ahead (of her companions).

33 dyandula   dyandula   yin-GA-na   //

carrying on hip   carrying on hip   3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-past

On his hip, he carried (him) on his hip.

34 ṇalar   yi(n)-∅-na   nyinda   maṉin:

look away   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past   this   woman

This woman saw in the distance:

35 "wamba   wamba   yim-BULA-ny   baba-barri-ṇgaya"

    man   man   3sg(II)-<u>come</u>-past$_2$ child-COMIT-LIKE$_{pause}$

"A man, a man has come with a child ...".

36 yin-DYUBA-na-yina:

    3sg(I)-<u>ask</u>-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 "gu<u>d</u>   yi-MA-ny   /   muda   ṇan-GA-n   /

    dead   3sg(II)-<u>go</u>-past$_2$ nothing   1sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-pres

"She died, I've got no-one,

39 mararramba-ṇgaya"   yi(n)-∅-na-yina   //

motherless child-LIKE$_{pause}$ 3sg(I)-<u>say</u>-past-3sgDatPro

(he's) a motherless child, like" he told her.

40 "dya   wal-i-MI!

    hand over   2sg(I)-fut-<u>give</u>

"Give (him) over (to me)!

41 ṇayi-ni   widu   ṇan-a-M(A)-anu-ṇgaya"

    1sgPRO-ACT   big   1sg(I)-fut-<u>make</u>-1sgDatPro-LIKE$_{pause}$

I'll bring (him) up for myself, like".

42 yin-BILIMA-na   /   yin-MI-na-yina   //

    3sg(I)-<u>take</u>-past   3sg(I)-<u>give</u>-past-3sgOPro

She took (him).   *He gave him (to her).*

43 yi-rr-BIGA-na-mirri   //

    3-nmin-<u>have</u>-past-AUG$_s$

The two of them kept (him).

44   yi-LUGA-na-yina   ŋamana-yi   //
      3sg(I)-<u>cry</u>-past-3sgDatPro   breast-DAT
      He cried for milk.

45   waŋgurr   yi(n)-∅-na   /   waŋgurr   yi(n)-∅-na   //
      cry   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past   cry   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-past
      He cried and cried.

46   "wal-i-MI-na   wal-i-MI-na   ŋamana!"
       2sg(I)-fut-<u>give</u>-3sgOPro   2sg(I)-fut-<u>give</u>-3sgOPro   breast
      "Give it (to him), give (him) milk!"

47   yi(n)-∅-na-yina   //
      3sg(I)-<u>say</u>-past-3sgDatPro
      he told her.

48   nyarr   yi(n)-∅-na   ginya..mirri₁   ŋamana   //
      bite   3sg(I)-<u>do</u>-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-LI-na-mirri   //
      3-nmin-SET-<u>eat</u>-past-AUG_s
      They ate (her).

51   yi-rr-a-MARRA-na-mirri   //
      3-nmin-SET-<u>burn</u>-past-AUG_s
      They cooked (her).

52   yi-rr-a-LI-na-mirri   wali   yidyirramirri   //
      3-nmin-SET-<u>eat</u>-past-AUG_s   meat   3+3DAT/PRO
      They ate (her) (as) their meat.

53   yug   yi-rr-(a)-I-na-mirri   giny-an   //
      sleep   3-nmin-(SET)-<u>do</u>-past-AUG_s   this-LOC
      They slept in that place.

54   gularr   yi-(rr)-DI-na   gudyarralayana   manin   //
      west   3-(nmin)-<u>sit</u>-past   three   woman
      To the west were camped three women.

55   yi-rr-a-BUGARRI-na: "gaba<u>l</u>   gaba<u>l</u>   gudyarra   wamba   //

     3-nmin-SET-<u>dream</u>-past   soon   soon   two   man

     They dreamed: "Soon, soon two men (will come).

56   gunag   yim-BANDYI-n   warany   //

     turn   3sg(II)-<u>share</u>-pres   other

     One changes his form.

57   baba   yi-YA-n   //

     child   3sg(II)-<u>become</u>-pres

     He becomes a child.

58   gudyarra   yagurr   /   gudyarra   wamba-ŋgaya   //

     two   no good   two   man-LIKE_{pause}

     The two (are) evil, the two men ....

59   yi-rr-MA-n-mirri   gab-ŋunydyin   gudyarra"

     3-nmin-<u>go</u>-pres-AUG_s   eating-<u>inclined</u>   two

     The two of them go about looking (for people) to eat."

60   niŋarra   manydyan   banugu   yi-rr-a-BA-na   /

     true   only   from east   3-nmin-SET-<u>see</u>-past

     Sure enough, they saw (him), (coming) from the east,

61   dyandula-barri   baba-barri   gamirri   /

     carrying on hip-COMIT   child-COMIT   that

     (they saw) him, carrying a child on his hip,

62   gamirri   yim-BULA-n-gaya   //

     that   3sg(II)-pres-LIKE_{pause}

     he was approaching......

63   yin-GA-na-ŋany-dyin(a)--ay!   //

     3sg(I)-<u>carry</u>-past-TOG-3sgDatPro-VOC!

     He carried (the child) with him to her ....

64   yin-MI-na-yina   //

     3sg(I)-<u>give</u>-past-3sgOPro

     He gave him (to her).

65   "nya   ŋ-a-BIGA   dyuwa-ni

     here   2sg(II)-fut-<u>have</u>   2sgPRO-ACT

     "You take (him)!

66 mararramba / malina guya-ŋgaya //
   motherless child   lacking   mother-LIKE_pause
   (this) orphan, (this) motherless child ....

67 guya   ginydyina   gud   yi-MA-ny-dyina-ŋgaya" //
   mother   3sgDAT/PRO   dead 3sg(II)-go-past₂-3sgDatPro-LIKE_pause
   His mother died on him ...."

68 yi-rr-BIGA-na   ginya-ni   gudyarralayana   manin //
   3-nmin-have-past   this-ACT   three   woman
   The three women kept (him).

69 lal   yi-MA-na   waŋgurr-ŋgaya   ginya   baba //
   throw tantrum 3sg(II)-go-past crying-like   this   child
   The child threw a tantrum, screaming.

70 dyan yin-BU₁-na-ŋany   bur-an   ginya-na   manin //
   smash 3sg(I)-?hit-past-TOG ground-LOC   this-ACT_E   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)-Ø-na   yagurr-ga   wamba
   this   other-EMPH   plunge   3sg(I)-do-past no good-EMPH   man
   The other one, the evil man, charged

73 bili-barri   ginya-nil-ŋana   manin //
   aggressive-COMIT   this-many-ALLAT   woman
   furiously towards the women.

74 dyid yi-rr-(a)-l-na   maŋul-ŋany   [yaŋ-ŋany?]
   stop 3-nmin-(SET)-do-past   spear-INSTR   [what-INSTR]
   They stopped (him) with spears .... [what with?] ....

75 milgin-ŋany-ga //
   digging stick-INSTR-EMPH
   with digging sticks.

76 guburr   guburr   nuŋu   galiya   gud-dyibur //
   gouging   gouging   belly   finished   dead-END
   Then they battered his belly until he was dead.

77 warr   yi-rr-a-MA-na-ɲany-dyirr-mirri   dyuŋgu   //
    burn   3-nmin-SET-<u>make</u>-past-TOG-3nsgOPro-AUG~s~   fire
    They made a fire with the two of them.

78 bugarrarra   niɲarra   ginya   ɲarraŋgani
    Beginning   true   this   in Dreamtime
    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:

Language	Source	Status
Ba:d̲i	Worms (1950:645)	confirmed
Dyawi	Bird (1910:180-186)	not investigated
Dyabirr Dyabirr	Stokes 1979: below	
Nyul Nyul	Nekes (1939:152-153)	?some speakers deny
Warrwa	Capell (1953:452)	unconfirmed
Ngumbal̲	Stokes 1978: below	possible.

DYABIRR DYABIRR

System of Prefixes   Some Roots taking Prefixes

Person	Prefix
1	ŋa -
2	nyi -
3	ni -
1+2	ya -
1+2+m/1+m	yarr -
2+m	girr -
3+m	yirr -

- anmurr	'thigh'
- alm	'head'
- m	'eye'
- mal	'hand'
- malun	'nose'
- lamirr	'ear'
- yaŋal	'tongue'
- yalaŋgun	'elbow'.

NGUMBAL̲

The speaker of Ngumbal̲ 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'
- dyaṅalany	'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'
nigad	'body'
nim	'eye'
nimal (?nimal)	'hand'*
nimarrady	'spirit'
nimarraṅg	'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 -muṅg 'knowing' definitely displays person-variable prefixing in Nyul Nyul.)

YAWURU

nimala	'hand'
niwal	'foot'.

WARRWA

nalma	'head'
nada	'eye'
nilirr	'tooth'
niyaŋalany	'tongue'
niyaŋgurr	'chin'
nimala (?nyamala)	'arm, hand, etc.'
nimidi	'lower leg'
niyambala	'foot'.

Appendix B (ii): Prefixed Forms in other Alternative-Prefixing Languages

Nyigina	Prefixed Forms	Language
nalma	ŋ-ALMA (1sg), ir-ALMA (3nsg)	Ba:di
nimidi	ŋa-MIDI (1sg), ir-MIDI (3nsg)	"
nimilgarr	ŋa-MI (1sg), ir-MI (3nsg)	"
nilawal	nga-LAWOL (1sg), nji-LAWOL (2sg)	Nyul Nyul
nilirr	ŋa-LIR (1sg), i-LIRR (3nsg)	Ba:di
niyambalu	ŋa-YAMBALA (1sg), ir-DYAMBALA (3nsg)	"
niyaɲalany	ŋa-YAɲALA (1sg), ir-DYAɲALA (3nsg)	"
niyal	?ŋa-YA (1sg), ir-GA (3nsg)	"
niyarra	ni-YARA (3nsg) ir-DYARA (3nsg)	"
	('sweetness, pleasantness')	
nuɲu	ŋa-ɲU (1sg), ir-ɲU (3nsg)	"

All the forms in the table above are from Metcalfe (pers. comm.) and are presented in the original orthography.

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