John Giacon

A Recovery Grammar of Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay: A description of two New South Wales languages based on 160 years of records
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Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay are closely related languages from the north of New South Wales in Australia. While these languages have dramatically declined in use, they are now being reused by many Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay people in a variety of ways. It is hoped that this book can become a basic resource for people working on the rebuilding of Gamilaraay-Yuwaalaraay.

This book expands the grammatical description of these two languages, building on wide range of sources, including materials from the mid-19th century and audio recordings from the 1970s. It sheds additional light on the grammars of these languages by using growing body of typological research on Pama-Nyungan languages, as well as descriptive work on related languages, in particular Wangaaybuwan, which along with Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaraay, Wayilwan and Wiradjuri forms the Central New South Wales subgroup of Pama-Nyungan languages.

The grammar encompasses the main features of Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay, including simple and complex clause structures, nominal and verbal morphology, which include a number of affixes distinctive to Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay. Wherever possible the grammatical analysis is presented along with extensive evidence from the different sources on the languages. References in the text to other sections of Yaluu (table of contents, sentences, tables, heading) are hyperlinked to that section, and some literature references are linked to the bibliography.
Yaluu

A recovery grammar of Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay:
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Dedication

This work is dedicated to Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay people, particularly those who have worked to preserve, rebuild and reuse their languages. Uncle Ted Fields, Garruu Gambuu, shown above near the Barwon River, Walgett, had an abiding passion for language, the people and the country. It was inspiring to work closely with him. He wanted his language to live and believed that the more people who were speaking it the more likely it was that it would survive and grow.
Acknowledgements

My interest in language started around the family kitchen table. The differences between formal Italian and dialects were often discussed, particularly the qualities of our own Vicentino dialect. No doubt my father’s experience reading grammars of Italian and English during his years as a prisoner of war in England contributed to the discussion.

Being an Italian in 1950s Australia had the potential to make one sympathetic to the situation of Aboriginal people, but my awareness of that reality increased dramatically in conversations with Moy Hitchen over a number of years. I also saw and admired Steve Morelli’s pioneering work with Gumbaynggirr language and elders.

I moved to Walgett in 1994 and gradually became involved in Yuwaalaraay and subsequently Gamilaraay. I owe a lot to many Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay people I worked with over the years. Uncle Ted Fields was a great leader, support, friend and colleague. John Brown, Suellyn Tighe and others have been involved in teaching the language and helping to bring it to life again. Alan Lamb, from Goodooga, employed me to teach Yuwaalaraay. Auntie Fay Green was a great link with the community. There are many more.

School leaders played a particularly important role in providing a place for language to be redeveloped and taught, and in providing administrative support. These included the Principals of St Joseph’s, Ray Walker and John Wright; the Catholic Schools Office – Sharon Cooke (Aboriginal consultant), Rick Johnson (Director) and Linda Page (Administration) – and Anne McGee at Walgett High. Much of the preparatory work for the thesis was done during this time.

My first linguistic study was at UNE, where Nick Reid and others provided a solid foundation for further work. Peter Austin, a linguist born in the Gamilaraay area, has been constantly encouraging and also provided materials, most notably notes of Stephen Wurm’s elicitations. He also is a link with Corinne Williams, whose Grammar of Yuwaalaraay has been such an important resource. David Nathan and Peter Thompson are important colleagues.

ANU has been an ideal setting for this study. Harold Koch has been constantly available, has a very thorough knowledge of Aboriginal languages and an extensive library which he knows well and shares generously. Luise Hercus readily answered any number of questions about language and is constantly cheerful and encouraging. Jane Simpson, both before and after her move to ANU, has been very encouraging and creative in her approach to the teaching of Gamilaraay.

The regular ANU seminars on Australian and other languages, and in particular Nick Evans’s Grammar group meetings, have provided ongoing broader understanding of language. Rachel Hendery and John Mansfield provided input into sections of the thesis.

I have appreciated the support of many at ANU over the last eight years: fellow students, colleagues and administration staff.

Huge thanks to Christine Bruderlin for her design and formatting work. It has produced a much more readable and attractive work. Christine alone knows the frustrations that Word can bring to those used to working with specialised publishing software.

Finally, thanks to Br Matt McKeon and the other Christian Brothers who have been my companions over this time and to the Order which provided me with the space and time to continue working in language.
Abstract

Yuwaalaray and Gamilaraay are closely related languages from the north of New South Wales and adjacent Queensland which had dramatically declined in use and are now being reused by many Yuwaalaray Gamilaraay (YG) people in a variety of ways.

This book expands the grammatical description of the languages, building in particular on Williams (1980). A wide range of sources from the mid-19th century to the tapes made in the 1970s are examined. Light is shed on them by the growing body of knowledge of Pama-Nyungan languages and in particular by Donaldson’s (1980) Grammar of Wangaaybuwan, which along with Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaray, Wayilwan and Wiradjuri form the Central New South Wales language sub-group.

The main topics covered are nominal morphology (Chapters 3–6), verbal morphology (Chapters 8–10) and syntax (Chapters 11–12). Chapter 2 is a relatively brief examination of phonology, Chapter 7 covers interrogatives, negatives, indefinites and ignoratives, Chapter 13 looks at particles and Chapter 14 at reduplication. Chapter 15 summarises the findings and looks at possibilities for further research in YG, and at approaches to keep developing the language.

Notable features of nominals include the complex, and not yet fully described, set of demonstratives. YG verbs have a wide range of stem forming suffixes, including distinctive Time of Day suffixes (morning, afternoon and night), and Distance in Time suffixes which subdivide the past and future. This work has the first description of the middle verb forms, which have a range of case frames.

Where possible the grammar of the languages is described, with extensive evidence from the sources. Some of the material is currently unanalysable, and this is often included to provide a starting point for further work on the languages.

Appendix B contains background YG material and material from other languages. It also has details of online access to transcriptions of many of the source documents and tapes.
Preface

Gamilaraay (GR) and Yuwaalaraay (GR) are closely related languages from the north of New South Wales (see §1.1) and my impression was that in the years before 1995 the name Yuwaalaraay had been decreasing in use. At that time only a small number of people, including Uncle Ted Fields, referred to themselves as Yuwaalaraay or spoke of Yuwaalaraay language. Since Yuwaalaraay has been taught in schools the name has become more common.

The production of a more comprehensive grammar of Yuwaalaraay Gamilaraay (YG)¹ is a further step in the description of these languages. In the modern era Corinne Williams’s Grammar of Yuwaalaraay (1980) was the first substantial work. It provided a grammar and a 1,500 item wordlist. In the 1990s Peter Austin produced two brief Gamilaraay dictionaries (1992, 1993b) and he and David Nathan produced an online version of these (1996). Austin (1993a) is a partial draft grammar of GR.

When I moved to Walgett in 1994 there was a growing movement among Aboriginal people, including YG people, to reuse and revitalise their languages. In Walgett Uncle Ted Fields was the main person working on language. Auntie Rose Fernando, then at Collarenebri, was also a strong advocate of language and had been involved in the on-line GR dictionary. Within a few years there were language programs, mainly based in schools, in Walgett, Toomelah-Boggabilla, Goodooga and Lightning Ridge.

I had mainly worked in schools, but gradually got involved in language. Uncle Ted was my main mentor and collaborator in this and we worked together until I left Walgett at the end of 2005. In 1995 a YR program began at St Joseph’s Primary School and soon after at Walgett Primary and High School. The NSW Department of Education funded courses for Aboriginal staff at Walgett TAFE, which Uncle Ted and I taught. The language information was initially from Williams (1980), gradually supplemented by information from original sources. Ted provided a wealth of local cultural knowledge.

For many years the language program at St Joseph’s was funded by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission and its various successors and St Joseph’s was the focus of language research and the production of resources. These included materials for families and early learners, school texts and a CD with text, as well as more technical resources: the Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalaraay Dictionary (Ash, Lissarrague, & Giacon, 2003) and an electronic version, Gayarragi Winangali (Giacon & Nathan, 2008).

I was also involved with other communities and schools, conducting regular classes for the YR teachers at Goodooga, consulting at Toomelah-Boggabilla and occasionally elsewhere. A special project was providing the GR for the plaques at the Myall Creek Massacre memorial. I saw another aspect of language work while on the writing team of the NSW K–10 Aboriginal languages syllabus (Board of Studies, 2003).

Towards the end of my time in Walgett, John Hobson (the Koori Centre, University of Sydney) and I saw a need for a tertiary level course, particularly for YG people wanting to learn their language and teach it in schools. We wrote a Gamilaraay course which was first taught as a non-accredited course by New England Institute of TAFE in 1995, and has been taught as Speaking Gamilaraay 1 at the University of Sydney since 2006, and at the Australian National University more recently. Speaking Gamilaraay 2 has also been taught occasionally.

Teaching these courses has only made clearer the need for a comprehensive grammar. There are no fluent speakers or long texts to help learners absorb the language – its grammar needs to be clearly expressed if people are to learn it. There is sometimes the assumption that people will learn by accessing the historical materials. Neither the written nor the tape materials are at all suitable for

¹ The language names are abbreviated: YG for Yuwaalaraay Gamilaraay; YR Yuwaalaraay; GR Gamilaraay.
that purpose. The historical materials need to be analysed and the results put in a usable format. The Dictionary did that in large part for the lexicon; this grammar provides a much more extensive analysis of other aspects of the language. Not that either work is of immediate use to most learners. Rather, learners’ materials can be developed from them.

It has also been clear that the languages need to develop. If YG are to be rebuilt, speakers need to be able to say many things that they currently can’t. The words may not have existed or been recorded. My BA Hons thesis (Giacon, 2001), Creating new words in Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay, partially addressed that lexical development.

However, much of the grammar of YG has not been explicated, and much of it had not been recorded. This book aims to describe more of the grammar findable in the sources and make a small step in developing other grammar — ideally from knowledge of related languages.

There is more to be found in the sources. Phonology and discourse structure are two areas not examined at length. Demonstratives have been examined at length, but by no means fully described. The focus in this work is on morphology and syntax.

The contents of this book are very close to those of my PhD thesis (Giacon, 2014). There has been some reordering of material. A number of appendices in the original work have been incorporated in the body of the book. A number of spelling and grammatical errors have been corrected and the text made more readable in places and there has been minor reorganisation of some sections. The actual content is largely unchanged.

The aim remains as set out in §1.5, to give a grammatical description of the language, as far as the available materials and time allow, to provide the evidence for this description, and to begin the process of language development — expanding the described grammar to fill the gaps in the recorded information. Many grammars focus on the first of the aims of this book, describing the language. A future publication may do that for Yuwaalaraay Gamilaraay, and it would be a much shorter book.

In addition to those I have thanked elsewhere, my thanks go to the examiners of the thesis, who provided comprehensive comments which added significantly to the original work. I am also very appreciative that they produced their reports in a relatively short time.
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Abbreviations and common references

Abbreviations that refer to languages, people and texts are firstly given, then Table 1 has Grammatical glosses and abbreviations.

Languages
CNSW Central New South Wales – the sub-group of languages which includes Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay. It also includes Wiradjuri, Wangaaybuwan and Wayilwan, the last two both also known as Ngiyambaa.
GR Gamilaraay, which has a number of dialects
WI Wiradjuri, a CNSW language
WN Wangaaybuwan, a CNSW language. Donaldson’s grammar of WN has helped understand many areas of YG.
WW Wayilwan. A CNSW language which borders YG on the south.
YG Yuwaalaraay-Gamilaraay. The names are given in this order since the Yuwaalaraay is the main source of information. There are many more Gamilaraay people, and GR is taught much more commonly than YR.
YR Yuwaalaraay. There are at least two dialects, Yuwaalaraay and Yuwaaliyaay, the second sometimes called Yuwaalayaay. I rarely make a distinction between these. When I do the following abbreviations can be used:
Yr Yuwaalaraay, in contrast to Yuwaalaraay and Yuwaaliyaay.
Yy Yuwaalayaay and Yuwaaliyaay, in contrast to Yuwaalaraay.
tr. transitive (verb)
itr. intransitive (verb)
[ ] This can be used to indicate uncertain analysis, e.g. -wu/u indicates uncertainty as to whether the vowel is long, uu, or short u.

People and texts
For more information about these see the annotated bibliography and biographical notes in Appendix B. When sources have both YR and GR material those letters are sometimes added to the name to indicate the language used: e.g. WurmGR indicates the text is Gamilaraay. Copies of many of the texts referred to are available in the online YR resources (see Appendix B).
AD Arthur Dodd
CW Corinne Williams; also refers to (Williams, 1980)
Emu and Bustard A text in YR from Parker (1905)
FR Fred Reece
Gurre Kamilaroi Gamilaraay Bible stories: (Ridley, 1856)
JM Janet Mathews
JS Jack Sands
Laves Gerhardt Laves: Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) MS 2188 – see Appendix B for referencing information.
LO Lynette Oates
MathewsYR R H Mathew’s Yuwaalaraay Grammar (Mathews, 1902)
MathewsGR R H Mathew’s Gamilaraay Grammar (Mathews, 1903)
Milson (Milson, c.1840)
Parker Katherine Langloh Parker
Ridley Rev. William Ridley, also refers to (Ridley, 1875)
SW Stephen Wurm: see Wurm, below
Sim Ian Sim: also refers to (Sim & Giacon, 1998)
A text of the Emu and Brolga story recorded by Norman Tindale from Harry Doolan: in Austin and Tindale (1985)

Stephen Wurm, also refers to Wurm (1955)

Other abbreviations and conventions
C  consonant
V  vowel
IIP  Initial intonation phrase (§11.2.2.1)
xx  I use xx after a word in the tape transcripts to indicate that the informant has signalled that he considers this a mistake. Generally an alternative form is given. xx by itself indicates that there has been a pause in the tape, and so likely off-tape discussion. The pause needs to be considered in interpreting the tape information.

In the following table upper case indicates that this section of the form can vary in allomorphs or may not occur at times: e.g. -DHi is found as -dhi, but has allomorphs including -i. The exception is -C, which indicates that one of a number of consonants may occur in this position, or the bare vowel may occur: e.g -Caa.

Table 235 (Appendix A) has the same suffixes in YG alphabetical order.

Table 1 Grammatical glosses and abbreviations

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<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>=3</td>
<td>third person clitic</td>
<td>=$NHa</td>
<td>§5.4.2.1</td>
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<td>A</td>
<td>Agent: subject of a canonical transitive verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
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<td>ACC</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
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<td>ALL</td>
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<td>ALSO</td>
<td>also</td>
<td>=$bula</td>
<td>§13.4.1</td>
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<td>ARG</td>
<td>additional argument</td>
<td></td>
<td>§9.3.1</td>
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<td>AUG</td>
<td>augment; big</td>
<td>-bidi</td>
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<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
<td>-ma-li</td>
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<td>close</td>
<td>-milan</td>
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<td>-Biyaay, -Baraay</td>
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<td>-DHuul</td>
<td>§4.1.2.5</td>
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<td>DIR</td>
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<td>=$laa</td>
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<td>indefinite</td>
<td>-Caa</td>
<td>§7.5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
<td></td>
<td>§3.3.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LET</td>
<td>let; also particle wana</td>
<td>-bi-li</td>
<td>§9.4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIKE</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>-giirr -guwaay</td>
<td>§3.4.1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locative</td>
<td></td>
<td>§3.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LONG.T</td>
<td>long time</td>
<td>-ayi-y</td>
<td>§8.5.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LONGER.T</td>
<td>longer time</td>
<td>-awayi-y</td>
<td>§8.5.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>middle verb</td>
<td></td>
<td>§9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIGHT</td>
<td>might</td>
<td>=badhaay YR =wadhaay GR</td>
<td>§13.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MORN</td>
<td>morning</td>
<td>-ngayi-y</td>
<td>§8.5.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOV</td>
<td>continuous-moving suffix; see CTS</td>
<td></td>
<td>§8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOW</td>
<td>now, then</td>
<td>=nga</td>
<td>§13.5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIGHT</td>
<td>night</td>
<td></td>
<td>§8.5.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NML</td>
<td>Nominaliser</td>
<td>-dhaay</td>
<td>§10.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>oblique case</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONE</td>
<td>diminutive; see DIM</td>
<td>-DHuul</td>
<td>§4.1.2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONE.DAY</td>
<td>one day, several days</td>
<td>-mayaa-y</td>
<td>§8.5.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OST</td>
<td>ostensive</td>
<td>-lay</td>
<td>§6.2.4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PD</td>
<td>personal declension</td>
<td></td>
<td>§3.2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>-galgaa</td>
<td>§4.1.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.DIM</td>
<td>diminutive plural</td>
<td>-gal</td>
<td>§4.1.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>potential</td>
<td>=yaa</td>
<td>§13.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIV</td>
<td>privative</td>
<td>-DHalibaa</td>
<td>§3.4.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pron</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td>§5.4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purposive</td>
<td></td>
<td>§3.3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Full form, Comment</th>
<th>YG form</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QUES</td>
<td>question</td>
<td>yaama</td>
<td>§7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECP</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
<td>-la-y</td>
<td>§9.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>redp</td>
<td>reduplicated</td>
<td></td>
<td>§14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
<td>-ngiili-y; -ngii-li</td>
<td>§9.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Subject: single argument of canonical intransitive verb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>SUBordinating</td>
<td>-ldaay, -ngindaay, -dhaay, -ndaay</td>
<td>§12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THEN</td>
<td>then, now</td>
<td>=nga</td>
<td>§13.5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIME</td>
<td></td>
<td>=-Cuu</td>
<td>§13.5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TO.HERE</td>
<td>to here</td>
<td>(=)dhaay</td>
<td>§13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT</td>
<td>total, all</td>
<td>-aaba-li</td>
<td>§10.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT2</td>
<td>total, all</td>
<td>-Buu, -luu</td>
<td>§13.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT3</td>
<td>total, all</td>
<td>-dhu</td>
<td>§13.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERY</td>
<td>very</td>
<td>-wan.gaan/-ban.gaan</td>
<td>§13.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WANT</td>
<td>Also called Caritative case</td>
<td>-nginda</td>
<td>§3.4.1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.LOT</td>
<td>with a lot</td>
<td>-bil</td>
<td>§3.4.1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates ungrammatical sentences, and reconstructed forms. It can also signal that a note follows the table.

# indicates that the form is hypothetical, e.g. in Table 96

+ indicates that there are substantial other uses for the item being considered

### Table 2 Common particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Full form, Comment</th>
<th>YG form</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>can’t</td>
<td>negative potential</td>
<td>waala, gamila</td>
<td>§7.4.1.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don’t</td>
<td>negates imperatives</td>
<td>garriya</td>
<td>§7.4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyp</td>
<td>hypothesis; ‘I think’</td>
<td>ngadhan.gaa</td>
<td>§13.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>just</td>
<td>just</td>
<td>yiyal</td>
<td>§13.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let</td>
<td>let; also suffix -bi-li</td>
<td>wana</td>
<td>§9.4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long.time</td>
<td>also suffix -bi-li</td>
<td>yilaalu(u); yilaambuu</td>
<td>§13.5.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>maayrr, marayrr</td>
<td></td>
<td>§7.4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not</td>
<td>not; negation</td>
<td>waal, gamil</td>
<td>§7.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not.yet</td>
<td>waaluu, gamiluu</td>
<td></td>
<td>§7.4.1.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soon</td>
<td>also prox = ‘little time ago’</td>
<td>yilaa</td>
<td>§13.5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soon2</td>
<td>baayan</td>
<td></td>
<td>§13.5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>true</td>
<td>giirr</td>
<td></td>
<td>§13.1.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>true.very</td>
<td>giirruu</td>
<td></td>
<td>§13.1.2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3  Common deictics and anaphorics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Comments</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngaama</td>
<td>3.ANA.DEF</td>
<td>function uncertain</td>
<td>§6.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhama</td>
<td>3.DEF</td>
<td>that, there, +</td>
<td>§6.3.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhalay</td>
<td>3.OST</td>
<td>this, here, +</td>
<td>§6.3.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhamalay</td>
<td>3.DEF+OST?</td>
<td></td>
<td>§6.3.3.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaarri</td>
<td>DIST.DEF</td>
<td>not a demonstrative</td>
<td>§6.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaarrima</td>
<td>DIST.DEF</td>
<td></td>
<td>§6.3.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaarrimalay</td>
<td>DIST.DEF ‘over.there’</td>
<td></td>
<td>§6.3.5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaarrigugu</td>
<td>dist.ALL (Distant-Allative)</td>
<td></td>
<td>§6.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaarrigulay</td>
<td>over.there</td>
<td></td>
<td>§6.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngiyarrima</td>
<td>there?</td>
<td>anaphoric use</td>
<td>§6.3.6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguuma</td>
<td>3.ERG.DEF YR</td>
<td>that; nominal only</td>
<td>§6.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngualay</td>
<td>3.ERG.OST YR</td>
<td>this; nominal only</td>
<td>§6.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguruma</td>
<td>3.ERG.DEF GR</td>
<td>that; nominal only</td>
<td>§6.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngurulay</td>
<td>3.ERG.OST GR</td>
<td>this; nominal only</td>
<td>§6.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguwwama</td>
<td>place.DEF</td>
<td></td>
<td>§6.3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguwalay</td>
<td>place.OST</td>
<td></td>
<td>§6.3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngiima</td>
<td>from.DEF</td>
<td></td>
<td>§6.3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngiilay</td>
<td>from.OST</td>
<td></td>
<td>§6.3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalagirrirra</td>
<td>like.that</td>
<td></td>
<td>§6.4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example sentences
The example sentences contain up to six lines. Lines 3 and 4 of the following are almost always present. The other lines are present if appropriate and available.

The source of the example is right justified, most commonly at the end of the first line.

line 1 The English given by the recorder for the informant to translate. This material is generally present when the information is from a tape.

line 2 The original orthography of examples from written sources, if there is a difference between that and current orthography. This is most commonly found with written sources.

line 3 the Yuwaalaraay or Gamilaraay given by the informant (from tapes) or the adapted version of the original orthography. Often the tape transcriptions have been ‘tidied up’, removing repetition and other material.

line 4 A morpheme by morpheme gloss

line 5 The translation given by the informant, or written source.

line 6 My translation, if different from line 5, or if there is no translation in the original. The source of the translation is given at the end of these lines, using the initials or name of the source: AD: Arthur Dodd; JG: John Giacon.

In the following example the first line shows that Corinne Williams (CW) asked Arthur Dodd (AD) to translate ‘make him go’, referring to a horse. The second line is AD’s YR, the next line a morpheme gloss, the next AD’s translation/comment, and the last line my translation of the YR.
xxvi  John Giacon

Make him go (a horse). CW/AD 3996A 1468
buma-la=badhaay nhama / barraay=nya, banaga-y
hit-IMP=MIGHT 3.DEF / fast=3?THEN, run-FUT

Telling you to hit him. You hit him then he’ll go. AD
How about you hit him. // Hit that one! JG

The next example begins with the YR from Stephen Wurm’s material, followed by my interpretation of that in current orthography, then a morphemic gloss, then SW’s English, followed by my English.

ga:liŋu bujuma bir̃alīgalīgu

SW p79
gaalingu buyumə birraali-gaali-gu
3DU.DAT dog child-DU-DAT

The dog of those (2) children. SW
Their dog, the two children’s. JG

When a particular word or morpheme is being discussed it will sometimes be glossed with the YG form rather than presume a particular English gloss. See nhama in example (261).

The most common source of examples are the Yuwaalaraay tapes held by AIATSIS. The informants on most are Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece, the recorders Janet Mathews and Corinne Williams. References begin with the tape number and then the number of seconds after the beginning of the AIATSIS digitised version of the tape: So AD2833B 206 indicates that Arthur Dodd is the informant, the tape is number 2833B, and the example begins 206 seconds into the tape. Transcripts of the tapes are available online (see Appendix B: Source materials) in various formats. Other sources are listed in Appendix B: e.g. SW refers to Stephen Wurm (1955).

Terminological conventions
A number of terminological conventions are used, many to do with nominals (Chapters 1–1). ‘Standard cases’ includes core cases, local cases and Dative case. The ‘core cases’ are Nominative, Ergative and Accusative, while ‘local cases’ includes Locative, Allative and Ablative. ‘Standard nominals’ refers to nominals which take the standard case inflections, i.e. adjectives, and nouns, except when being used as names and so taking the Personal Declension suffixes. ‘Locational nominal’ refers to words that have intrinsic locational meaning, such as mudhu ‘inside’, ngaarrigili ‘the other side’, gaburran ‘top’, and so on.

I use ‘regular’ to describe invariant YG patterns (such as English -ing) and also for the dominant pattern of a paradigm (such English as s/es plural). ‘irregular’ refers to minor patterns which are part of the language, but not part of a dominant paradigm (e.g. ‘mice’ as plural of ‘mouse’) and to one-off, but accepted forms, such as ‘children’ as the plural of ‘child’. Both regular and irregular forms are correct language – what I call ‘canonical’ language. Where there is more than one canonical form these are called alternatives.

‘Non-canonical’ (and occasionally ‘error’ and ‘mistake’) refers to expressions which are neither regular nor irregular, and probably would not be accepted by fluent speakers.

The categorisation of material in the sources into canonical and non-canonical is a judgement. It is based on the understanding that both variation and errors occur in languages, and it is not always possible to separate these. Tape informants often correct themselves, so recognising that there are correct and incorrect forms of the languages. However, there are also alternative forms due to the phonological environment, free variation and dialectal differences. These are all synchronic variations. As well, there is diachronic variation. Some of this will be language development, some language decline, and some of it will be due to the influence of other languages, including English. Changes associated with language decline are discussed in Austin (1986), Schmidt (1985) and Langlois (2004).

There can be errors in the actual language sources. With documents these errors can arise anywhere in the long trail from hearing the language to analysing it to having the material published.
Resource materials
Many of the materials used in research for this grammar are available online. See Appendix B: Source materials, for details of these.
1 Introduction

1.1 Land and people

The Yuwaalaraay (YR) and Gamilaraay (GR) lands are largely in what is now the north inland of New South Wales. They extended over 100 kilometres into what is now southern Queensland: Austin (2008: 38), Austin et al. (1980). Map 1, adapted from Austin (2008), shows approximate dialect and language boundaries. The GR area is larger, further east, wetter and more fertile than the YR country. It was colonised earlier and by greater numbers than YR. As a result the usual destruction of people and of their language and culture began earlier and had greater impact. There were a number of dialects in the GR area but information about the differences is very limited. Buckhorn (1997) and O’Rourke (1995, 1997) give further information about the history of the GR area.

YR land is west of GR, drier and covers a smaller area. While white control of the land was later and not as intense, the effect was similar to that in GR lands. As with GR there were sub-groups within YR. For example, Parker’s books (1896, 1898, 1905) are largely based on her experiences with Nhunggabarra people (nhungga ‘kurrajong tree’) whom she knew at Bangate Station, on the Narran River between Lightning Ridge and Goodooga (area 6 in Map 1).

At that time and later many other YG people also spent a lot of their lives on sheep stations or other properties. Arthur Dodd, one of the main informants, was born on Dungalear, a property between Walgett and Lightning Ridge and later worked on other properties. In later life he lived on Gingie Mission, outside Walgett.

Today many YG people are on the YG lands, but others have moved, often to regional centres such as Dubbo, or cities such as Sydney. Many of them continue to treasure their ancestral identity, and they are now in a position where they can more effectively work on retrieving their language and other elements of their identity. Many senior people involved in the struggle to reuse language, such as Rose Fernando, June Barker, Roy Barker, and Ted Fields, are not here to see the flowering of this regrowth and the new face of YG culture.

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2 Map 1 is a slightly adapted version of the map in Austin et al. (1980). The boundaries are likely to be revised with further investigation and some will remain permanently uncertain. Ray Wood (pers. comm.) has pointed out various materials that indicate that dialects of Yuwaalaraay were found well into Queensland, certainly as far as St George. Barlow (1873) includes a ‘Wirri Wirri’ wordlist that indicates that language was a dialect of YR. Mrs Ginny Rose, a YR informant of Ian Sim, came from well into Queensland. Ridley also met YR and GR people well into Queensland. Wafer (2014) discusses GR boundaries in the Hunter River area.
There is a growing group of younger YG people whose work is in language, and many more who are using language in greetings, in naming their children, in formal occasions and even in conversation. The languages are more and more being taught in schools and being published.

1.2 Languages

This is a study of two languages, Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay. These were recognised as separate languages by speakers. However, the substantial shared lexicon (Table 4) (Austin, et al., 1980: 170), and the general grammatical similarity of the languages means that they can be considered as dialects on narrow linguistic criteria.

There were dialects within YR and more prominently in GR. Information about GR language is quite limited, and information about differences between the dialects more so. This study does not generally differentiate between the various dialects of YR and GR.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gamilaraay</th>
<th>Yuwaalaraay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>73%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The language names are the word for ‘no’ (gamil and yuwaal) and the Comitative suffix: so gamil-araay and yuwaal-araay (YR now has waaa ‘no’, likely a reduced form of yuwaal). The Yuwaalaraay Comitative is -biayaay/-iyaay, but the language name incorporates the current GR Comitative. The YR Comitative is found in the dialect name Yuwaaliyaay, and another name found, Yuwaalayaay, has another form of the suffix: -ayaay. This form incorporates the common r > y difference between GR and YR: see §2.5.

The GR dialect names show that variation in the word for ‘no’ was common, and used as a distinguishing feature, with the Comitative found on gawa[m], wiriy and guyin, all ‘no’, to form the dialect names Gawambaraay, Wiriyaraay and Guyinbarraay.

3 These figures are based on a count of an unstated number of ‘basic vocabulary items’.
YG are part of the Pama-Nyungan language family (see Bowern & Atkinson, 2012) and in the Central New South Wales (CNSW) sub-group. CNSW languages share many features, including the language names all being ‘no-COMITATIVE’: Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaraay, Wayil-wan, Wangaay-buwan⁴ and Wiradjuri (see Austin, 1997a). The approximate area of these languages is shown in Map 2.

In many parts of Australia the knowledge and use of pre-colonisation languages has decreased sharply.⁵ Remnant knowledge may consist of only a few words. Apart from severely reduced use of the traditional languages, there are shifts in all areas of the remnant language as it has been influenced by English.

Working on the languages since 1995, I have occasionally heard short phrases in YG by traditional speakers, but most people had only words, perhaps 50 in older people, less with younger people. I recorded around 1,000 words from Uncle Ted Fields in over ten years working with him. He was by far the most knowledgeable language speaker, but, apart from a few imperatives and a few phrases, I never heard a sentence from him, or structures such as case forms of nouns and inflected verbs. Many of the words he remembered were not part of his everyday vocabulary, but were remembered at particular sites or events, or after requests for a particular word. There are no fluent speakers of YG, and the more knowledgeable current speakers have learnt the languages from books or classes.

Map 2 The Central New South Wales language group
(adapted from Giacon (2001: 6))

⁴ The language name Ngiyambaa (based on ngiya ‘word’) refers to both Wangaaybuwan and Wayilwan.
⁵ In this context I use the term ‘speaker’ to imply someone who is fully or substantially fluent in the language, not to someone with minimal knowledge. Imprecise use of words like ‘speaker’ leads to much lack of clarity in discussion of language revival.
1.3 Previous YG materials

There is a substantial body of material on YG produced from the 1850s onwards. Some of these materials include analyses of the languages, others consist of textual material. However, some of the textual material, particularly when collected by linguists, is aimed at gathering information about a specific area of grammar, for instance pronouns or verb inflections. As well as the written material there are around 50 hours of tapes, 30 minutes from 1955, the rest from the 1970s.

The textual material is from a limited range of genres. It mostly consists of wordlists, translations of simple sentences, a few narratives and a few traditional stories. There is very little of conversation, particularly for areas such as greetings and farewells, little recorded from women and even less from young people.

There are a range of challenges in using the sources. At the most basic level, some is difficult to decipher, for instance the Laves material is often faded and some other handwritten sources are not easily deciphered. There are inconsistencies in the orthography, and features such as vowel length are often not recognised.

The status of text material is often not clear. For instance Ridley’s *Gurre Kamilaroi*, (stories) seem to be highly simplified GR, perhaps composed by Ridley or Greenway, and so not an accurate version of GR. By contrast Parker’s *Emu and Bustard* story is much more likely to be authentic and more complex.

Some early materials are in the form of grammars. They therefore give the writer’s interpretation of the language and so miss many features of the language that were not recognised by the writer – for instance Locative case and the four verb classes are not described in early sources.

Later materials generally contain more language text and less interpretation (Williams has both). The question there is more often about the fluency of the informant. Two questions are the extent to which the language given has been influenced by English and how much of the original language the informant retains. Fred Reece often says: ‘there is a way of saying that, but old Reece has forgotten it’.

There is variation between the sources, due to dialectal differences and also to language decline. For language revival to have any prospect of success there needs to be standardisation. Apart from YR-GR distinctions no effort has been made in the current study to incorporate dialectal differences.

There are also variations within sources. Words can be differently realised – for instance final -li and -lay seem to be allomorphs, but this is not certain. Informants sometimes give different versions of the one sentence. It is not always clear if they are both grammatical or if the second is a correction of or improvement on the first.

The tape transcriptions are largely morphemic. This makes transcription much quicker, and the text much simpler to search. However, it greatly underrecords the phonetic features of the language. Since it uses the currently known body of morphemes it is possible to mistranscribe, so limiting the chance of noticing unrecognised morphemes.

The written sources and tapes are briefly considered here. More information about them is given in Appendix B: Source materials. All these sources contain valuable information, but this information needs to be evaluated. There is variation in the accuracy of any analysis, the fluency of the informants, and the completeness of the material. In many instances recorders of YG had knowledge of previous materials, and built on them, just as this study does. Published sources are in some ways easier to use but some information may have been lost in preparing the material for publication.

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6 I do not refer to incidental YG found, for instance, in letters and diaries.
1.3.1 Written YG sources

The earliest substantial source may be Milson (c.1840), a manuscript in the NSW Mitchell Library, which has words, phrases and songs. The earliest published material is from Ridley, from 1856 on. Similar material was published later, attributed to Greenway, but after his death. Both published similar texts (Ridley’s is *Gurre Kamilaroi*). They contain extremely simplified GR, without Ergative forms and with very few of other features characteristic of fluent YG, such as locational adverbs. The actual provenance of Ridley/Greenway publications is unclear. These materials include analyses, which were strongly influenced by the languages these two clergymen knew, firstly English and then the classical languages that had been part of their education.

It is likely that Mathews, working some 50 years later, knew of the earlier work on GR and built on it. Mathews (1903) is the last analysis of GR produced by someone who had contact with fluent speakers. Mathews (1902) is the first published analysis of YR.

Neither Ridley, Greenway or Mathews provide any substantial text directly recorded from speakers. Even the Mathews MS are largely pre-publication versions of articles, with relatively little verbatim text.

While they recognised cases their analyses were incomplete. All recognised Ergative case. Ridley (p6) recognised the standard and Personal Declension Locative forms, but not their functions. Mathews did not recognise Locative case. None recognised verb classes. Ridley and Mathews both emphasise Distance in Time verb suffixes. Ridley (p8) has the subordinate suffix following DIT suffixes – a feature not found elsewhere. This may well be a feature of the traditional language, or, less likely may be a misanalysis by Ridley.

Parker produced YR wordlists and a long text as part of collecting stories and writing ethnography. Her text, *Emu and Bustard*, at some 300 words, is by far the most extensive fluent YG text recorded. It may also have been partially simplified, in consideration for Parker’s understanding of language, and because she was writing it down from dictation.

Tindale’s short text, *Emu and Brolga* (40 lines, 1938), was assembled over a number of days from speakers with limited fluency. It is largely simplified GR, but does retain some elements of more complex language. It may reflect a dialect of GR influenced by Wayilwan.

Laves’s (1930s) and Wurm’s (1950s) materials consist largely of transcriptions of spoken text, rather than analysis, often collected with particular grammatical features in mind. Wurm’s material is very valuable, but on his tape there are instances of the informant repeating a phrase that Wurm speaks to him in YG, so there are some questions about the authenticity of what is recorded. His information is also from speakers of varying ability. By this stage speakers, particularly of GR, were considerably less fluent. The material contrasts in some aspects with other major sources, perhaps showing English influence. It has *nhama* ‘that’ and pronouns in first position in the sentence, whereas many other sources typically have these in second position. Wurm’s material is mostly YG sentences and an English translation, whereas Laves’s has notes which are less easily interpreted. At times the material is difficult to actually read and sometimes the correspondence between the YG and English is not clear.

Sim’s (1950s) material contains wordlists, sentences and paradigms, and shows the benefit of his collaboration with Arthur Capell, a leader in the growing study of Australian languages. Sim’s pronoun and nominal case paradigms are significant advances in the analyses of these aspects of the languages.

Corinne Williams (1980) made further major advances in the analysis of YG. She re-interpreted old material and was perhaps the first person to analyse the the tapes Janet Mathews had made, but did not have the time to examine them all closely. Her fieldwork was almost exclusively with Arthur Dodd. They made about nine hours of tapes, often examining specific grammatical structures. Just a few of the advances she makes are to point out the four verb classes, to detail major aspects of verbal morphology, to improve the analysis of pronouns, as well as to produce the most substantial wordlist to that time. She took advantage of the growing understanding of Australian languages. In particular she benefited from working with Tamsin Donaldson, who was working on Wangaaybuwan at the same time.
Peter Austin’s *Grammar of Gamilaraay* (1993a) uses the many advances in the knowledge of Australian languages to re-examine earlier GR materials and develops the analysis of GR, but is limited by the relatively small amount of GR material available.

### 1.3.2 YG tapes

The YR tapes recorded by Janet Mathews (JM) and Corinne Williams (CW), as stated, are the main source for this study. The main consultants are Arthur Dodd (AD) and Fred Reece (FR). The transcripts run to around 800 pages. Many of the language features contained there are not directly elicited. They arise when translating sentences or more commonly when the informant is telling a story. CW does more investigation of language features – for instance asking for translations of relative and adverbial clauses, and trying to find which cases in the main clause can be relativised. The responses to this material indicate that with it AD was sometimes coming to the limits of his knowledge.

There are some differences between AD and FR on the tapes. AD is more fluent, FR has clearer articulation. There are dialectal differences, such as the use of *dhina* (AD) or *baburr* (FR) for ‘foot’. Other differences may be personal language traits: AD often begins sentences with *giirr ngaama* ‘true that’, which may reflect the *ngarru nginyaa* he often uses on his Wayilwan elicitations with JM. FR uses *Giirr ngaama* much less. When FR cannot readily translate something he is likely to say: ‘there is a way of saying that, but old Reece can’t remember it’. AD, on the other hand, is likely to look for a paraphrase, something close to the elicitation.

Both AD and FR have many hesitations in their responses. In the examples these are often shown by ‘//’. However, it is not always clear if a pause is natural or reflects ‘thinking time’. There is also often repetition, sometimes as they try to come up with the right sentence. This repetition is not generally shown in the transcript. Both informants make corrections at times, and these are often included in the example sentences. At 3220B 2237 JM asks AD to translate ‘I can feel something crawling on my leg’. AD’s answer includes *nganunda, buyu-”, buyu-ga* ‘1SG.LOC, legxx, leg-LOC’. JM asks for ‘I can feel it on my leg’ and this time AD’s answer includes *nganundi, buyu-ga* ‘1SG.ABL leg-LOC’. I assume the second answer is the correct one, since AD has had time to think over his response.

The fact that informants correct themselves also implies that at other times they may not have had the chance to correct answers, or may not have realised that their answers were wrong.

There may be occasions where interpretation is affected by the informant’s English. For instance when asked to translate ‘steal’, both AD and FR use the Aboriginal English equivalent ‘shake’ (FR 2438A 3143, AD 3997A 541). In this instance the interpretation of the informant’s English is relatively easy, but it is quite likely that there are occasions when the informant’s English has been misunderstood, and so wrong conclusions can be reached.

### 1.4 Language revival

Language revival involves learning a language that is no longer used. This is fundamentally different from typical second language learning where the native, fluent speakers provide the model and learners more or less progress towards that standard, and can readily assess what their level of fluency is.

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7 There are some GR tapes but they have little information about that language. The YR tapes are very important. JM recorded 30 hours with FR in 1970–71. She recorded 19 hours with AD in 1973–4 and 1976–7, at times with Lynette Oates assisting in the elicitation. CW recorded nine hours with AD in 1976.

8 I do not consider the term ‘language revival’ an accurate description of the process YG are involved in. I suspect it suggests the process is relatively simple, similar to a person regaining consciousness. While alternative terms such as ‘language rebuilding’ might indicate both the challenge of the process, and the impossibility of recovering the traditional language fully, ‘language revival’ is widely used and is used here.
1.4.1 Hybridity of rebuilt language

Any revived language is inevitably hybrid, with elements of the traditional language, but also with much from the dominant language, from the everyday language of the re-learners and re-teachers: see Zuckermann and Walsh (2011). What can be achieved is a language which has some of the traditional language and some of the substrate language of the learners. Zuckermann (2009) points out that the language of modern Israel, which he refers to as ‘Israeli’, contains elements from traditional and Biblical Hebrew, and also has many features of Yiddish and the other first languages of its originators. In a language revival context the semantics, syntax, phonology, prosody and pragmatics of the traditional languages all change, moving towards the dominant languages,9 which, in the case of Israeli, are the first languages of the founders. Reid (2010) points out that little of traditional phonology of Aboriginal languages which differs from English phonology is retained in ‘re-awakened’ Aboriginal languages.

Hybridity is inevitable. Revived YG will be a hybrid of traditional YG and English. The degree of English in revived YG can be influenced by the material available about traditional YG and by the effort put into learning the traditional language. Any features of traditional YG that are clearly stated can potentially be part of rebuilt YG. Any features that are not explicitly stated, taught and well learnt will not be part of rebuilt YG unless they also happen to be part of English.

This has been clear in all the YG courses I have worked on. Features of YG which differ from English, such as word order, pronunciation (e.g. trilled r, word initial ng, prosody), use of the ‘past tense’ with ‘perfect meaning’ and ergativity can be taught because they have been analysed. However, they are only learnt after considerable practice, and often not even then.

Other aspects of YG which have been analysed have not been taught because they are beyond the scope of current courses, for instance the recently analysed YG exclusive pronouns (§11.4.5). These are very different from their English translations and it will take a major effort for them to be part of rebuilt YG. Another example of the influence of the dominant language is in the lexicon. For example, YG can use wila-y ‘sit’ to translate the verb ‘live’. This is appropriate for people, but presumably not for the statement ‘fish live in the water’, but wila-y has been used for that by learners after consulting the dictionary.

In brief, rebuilt YG will be English except for the features which have been analysed and learnt and retained. While the reality of hybridity cannot be ignored, the degree of hybridity is not fixed. As well, the hybridity of rebuilt languages is often ignored or denied, since it does not fit with a main aim of language revival – the desire to claim an identity and maintain continuity with a past.

1.4.2 Language continuity and development

The aim of language revival is a language which is true to traditional language and which also serves current communicative needs. It needs to have ways of speaking about everyday objects and events such as ‘days of the week’, ‘government’ and ‘schooling’. People want to use it for informal greetings and for formal events such as welcomes to country, funerals, weddings and baptisms. The existing YG material has two gaps: words and expressions that were used by traditional YG speakers that were not recorded or passed on, and words and expressions to express the new concepts that have arisen.

So there needs to be language development – development of new YG which incorporates features of the old language. Another way to express this is: if traditional YG speakers had needed to express this concept, how could they have done it? ‘How would a traditional YG speaker have said this?’ Clearly this is an ideal; the more that is known about the traditional language, or other Aboriginal languages, the closer we can approach the ideal. Application of this approach to lexical development has been discussed (Giacon, 2001)(Giacon, 2001). Examples of how traditional YG speakers expressed new concepts are found in the immediate post-colonisation YG lexicon which quickly developed words such as dhimba ‘sheep’, milambaraay ‘milking cow’ and wanda ‘white

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9 One examiner notes that ‘change may not be unidirectional towards the dominant language. In fact there may be deliberate moves in the other direction (e.g. rolled or even uvular r as in Palawa Karni). I agree. This may be due to certain features becoming iconic in the rebuilt language, and their use extended.
man’. All incorporate a significant amount of YG structure. All English borrowings have been phonologically adapted to the language: *dhimba*, probably from ‘jumbuck’ and *milam* from ‘milk’. *Milambaraay* uses the Comitative suffix. *Wanda* is likely from a Wangaybuwan word which is an adjective ‘ugly-looking’ and the name of a creature that might be called a ‘devildevil’. Fluent YG speakers adapted words instinctively, but now similar word production and use will only occur if there is careful analysis.

Another feature of development is that at times the traditional language needs to be changed. In traditional YG the word for mother, *ngambaa* or *gunii/gunidjarr*, applies to a range of women other than the biological mother, such as the mother’s sisters. In teaching YR to children in Walgett the question arose of what meaning to assign to *gunii*. It was decided to use the word with the same meaning as English ‘mother’ so that people could easily use it in school and at home. Trying to use the words with the traditional range of reference would be to try to re-establish a non-current pattern of kinship, and would only decrease the likelihood of the language being actively used. This feature of development is only rarely considered here – for example in the section on Distance in Time verb suffixes (§8.5.5). These suffixes have meanings such as ‘a few days away’ or ‘long ago’. Fred Reece and Arthur Dodd (§8.5.3.1.1) insist that the language had no words for ‘yesterday’ or ‘tomorrow’. Their translations used DIT suffixes. It may be that current realities would be better served by developing words for ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’.

Another way of developing YG is borrowing from other Aboriginal languages. This possibility is not examined in detail, but, for instance, WN has verb suffixes with glosses ‘a bit’ and ‘pity’ (Donaldson, 1980: 186) and both of these would be useful and easily incorporated in YG. Whether such development happens depends on the requests from the community and their adoption of any suggestions.

### 1.5 Aims of the grammar

As stated, the primary aim of this grammar is to provide a more complete description of YG for the purposes of language revival. This more complete description of YG will also add to the general body of linguistic knowledge, but the focus on language revival does lead to different emphases. This study has focused on areas of traditional language most likely to be retained in rebuilt language: the morphology and syntax (Zuckermann & Walsh, 2011). There are many areas of uncertainty, and these are pointed out. At the same time the rebuilt language needs a grammar, and uncertain grammar is better than no grammar. I also aim to facilitate ongoing investigation and development of YG.


While the semasiological description analyses the forms of expression and their meanings, the onomasiological description shows the interaction of various kinds of lexical and grammatical means of expression to cover particular semantic and pragmatic domains like possession, orientation in space and time, or asking questions.

While a onomasiological approach has been taken here at times, the assumption is that pedagogical materials will be developed from analytical, semasiological descriptions of the language. Just as the Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary has been the lexical reference for the development of a range of YG resources, a descriptive grammar is the basis for other aspects of such resources.

Nevertheless some aspects of the grammar have the future pedagogical use in mind. There are perhaps more than the usual number of example sentences. These can be used as part of future teaching resources and can be more useful for learners than paradigms or the bare statement of patterns.

While the aim has been to provide a comprehensive description of YG, there are many parts of the languages that remain not fully described, such as aspects of the phonology, deictics and some verbal features. The advances made herein and the more accessible resource materials that have been developed will facilitate future research in these areas.
1.5.1 Adequacy of grammatical descriptions

A full linguistic description of a language clearly captures the instinctive knowledge of a fluent speaker. This is difficult enough to do when descriptions can be tested on fluent speakers, but considerably more difficult in the situation of YG. For example, YG does not have a clear description of how to show ‘allative function’ – a situation of ‘going to’ somewhere. YG have an Allative case and it would be easy to assume this is used for allative function. However, as pointed out at §3.3.4.6, both Allative and Locative case are used for allative function, as they are in Yandruwantha and Diyari. None of the three language descriptions has a clear explanation of which case to use to translate English ‘going to’ sentences. Clearly the languages do not treat this as one situation, since they use two different cases.

Wierzbicka (1980) discusses the adequacy of language descriptions. She has over a hundred pages on the Russian Instrumental case – an indication that a detailed description of the whole language would be a massive work. Discussing the approach to functions or meanings in some earlier descriptions of case, she says (1980: xiii):

> It was generally assumed that most cases were in fact polysemous ... These meanings were given labels that were treated as self-explanatory ... It is easy to see why today most linguists regard this approach as unsatisfactory.

She points out that the meanings of cases ‘are relative to specifiable syntactic constructions’ and that:

> every meaning of every case (i.e. of every case construction) can, and has to, be stated in a precise and verifiable formula, with full predictive power; and these formulas have to be self-explanatory.

This precision of description is desirable but unachievable for YG. The grammatical description of YG could be developed, based on other Aboriginal languages, but that would be a massive undertaking and it would be a major task for anyone to learn that language.

1.6 Methodology

It had become clear in working with original sources that there were many features of the language which had not been described. While Williams (1980) had been a huge advance on previous descriptions, she clearly had limited time to work on her grammar. As well, understanding of Australian languages has grown considerably since 1980, and this new knowledge sheds light on the YG materials.

The process followed was to assemble the major sources and then to produce electronically searchable versions of them. For material to be easily searchable the text needs to be in the standard orthography (phonemic rather than phonetic). Then material from all sources on a topic was collated, compared with similar features in other Australian languages, especially with the closely related Central New South Wales languages, and in particular with Wangaaybuwan, for which there is an extensive grammar, and generally a YG description arrived at.

The major source is my YR tape transcription. There was little of value in the GR tapes but the YR tapes have a wealth of material. The YR transcriptions were collated into one document, ‘Alltapes’, for ease of searching. I have also made transcriptions of other documents. There the first stage is to produce a text file containing all the text of the original as accurately as possible. This often involves considerable use of diacritics and non-standard letters. The second stage is an interpretation of the YG in the document in terms of the currently known lexicon, orthography and grammar. Since the grammar, and to a lesser extent the lexicon, are being constantly revised and added to this second stage needs to be regularly repeated to keep the interpretation up to date.

These stages can be seen in the transcription of line one of Parker’s ‘Emu and Bustard’, below. The first line shows the line number (1), and the original text: this is stage one. Line two is the interpretation of line one in current orthography and line three a morphemic gloss: these two lines are stage two of the transcription. Line four is my translation of the sentence (Parker does not give a direct translation). Only line one is from the original.
While a phonemic and morphemic transcription is more easily searchable, it understates the variation in the language. It also runs the risk of not recognising morphemes that have not previously been recognised. For instance once the -awayi-y ‘longer time’ verb suffix (§8.5.3.3) was recognised, sections of Tindale’s *Emu and Brolga* were reinterpreted. An example of the usefulness of phonemic transcription is seen in Wurm. His *budl*, *bi bidi l*, *ba rul* and *bu rul* are all phonetic transcriptions of *burrul* ‘big’, but in the original form would not be easy to link.

Occasionally a partially phonetic transcription has been used, for example showing the elision of final *a* in *ngaya* and *nhama* – represented by *ngay’* and *nham’*, but even such a minor recording of variation can make searching for a word considerably more complex.

A phonemic transcription uses phonemes already recognised, and it runs the risk of not recognising new material. For instance a word at 8183 1190 was originally transcribed as *ngiyama*, a known form. Later a morpheme *ngii-* was recognised (§6.3.8) and on re-listening the transcription was changed to *ngiima*. (-ma is a common demonstrative final morpheme: see §6.2.4.1). The morpheme *ngii-* was also subsequently recognised in Ridgley’s *Gurre Kamilaroi*, and in fact may also be still found when other sources are re-examined. A further example is *buwadjarrngundi* (5130: 3600; *buwadjarr* ‘father’). This transcription was made only after the -*ngundi* suffix (Personal Declension, Ablative) was recognised and the tape re-listened to.

At times the status of word forms is not clear. The forms *ngaama*, *ngaarrma* and *ngaarrima* are all found. These may be allomorphs or may represent two or three words. In this case the three forms were used in tape transcriptions.

While many new features of the language have been described, many questions still remain. For instance (7) had *buna-laa??-ngundi* ‘hit-LAA??-P.D.ABL’ with -*laa* and the Personal Declension Ablative suffix. -*laa* is formally identical to a continuous suffix, but its function here is unclear. The only other Ablative on a verb is on a subordinate verb form. We currently have no explanation for this form, or for the verbs in (693) and (694), consecutive sentences, which are the only instances so far found of a reflexive on a middle verb. Further investigation of the YG sources, or comparison with other languages, may yield more information.

The description of languages is a cyclical process. As more features are described the sources can be re-examined, transcriptions revised, and the languages more fully described.

### 1.7 Word classes

Grouping words into categories is necessary if the properties of language are to be discussed. The category a word is in can vary, depending on the properties used to define the categories. As well, there can also be words that are difficult to classify when the categories have been set up.

Libert\textsuperscript{10} (2011) points out that traditional definitions of some parts of speech involved meaning, but this approach, like all others, has difficulties. Nevertheless it can be an intuitive starting point. Starting with names of common objects is a way of beginning an understanding of nouns, and similarly starting with ‘action words’ is a good way to start on verbs. Modern linguistics usually classifies words on morphological or syntactic criteria (e.g. adjectives modify nouns) or distributional criteria (e.g. nouns are the head of the subject of a clause) or the inflectional categories for which particular words can bear marking, but all of these approaches have limitations.

Hockett (1958: 221) and others suggest a hierarchical approach, with nominals and verbs as inflecting categories, but inflecting for different criteria (case for nominals, tense and other criteria for verbs) and the third category covering all non-inflecting stems. Each of these three categories

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\textsuperscript{10} This paragraph borrows substantially from Libert (2011).
can then be subdivided: YG nominals, for instance, include nouns, adjectives and pronouns and some demonstratives, and many languages have different categories of nouns – common nouns and proper nouns, for instance. Non-inflecting stems are less easily sub-categorised, but there is also less need to do so, since there are fewer generalisations to be made about them.

I take the approach that there are cross-cutting word categories: hierarchical and non-hierarchical. The grouping varies depending on which criteria are chosen. It is useful in YG to define an interrogative word-class. All these words have a set of properties in common, so setting up the group makes descriptions much more succinct. YG interrogatives are all clause initial and can all form indefinites and ignoratives (§7.5.1) and can all take the -ma ‘DEFinite’ suffix (§6.2.4.1). Interrogatives, however, come from a number of the hierarchical word classes: nominals (pronouns (who) and adjectives (which)) and adverbs (how, when).

The following hierarchical word classes can be set up for YG: verbs, nominals and non-inflecting words.

1.7.1 Verbs

Verbs are a clear word class in YG, distinguishable by a set of final inflections for tense, mood and aspect. There are four verb classes, similar to the pattern in many other Pama-Nyungan languages. There are two large verb classes: L class, with around 200 roots of which approximately 190 are transitive; and Y class, with around 100 roots of which approximately 90 are intransitive. There are two smaller classes: the NG class has around 20 roots, around ten transitive; and RR class, which has nine roots, of which six are transitive. YG contrasts with the southern Central New South Wales languages Ngiyambaa and Wiradjuri, which have L, Y and RR classes only, with the last having only two roots in Wangaaybuwan. Wangaaybuwan, however, does have a subsection of its Y class which has many cognates in the YG NG class.

1.7.2 Nominals

Nominals are inflected for case. There is a range of sub-classes within this class. I use the term ‘standard nominal’ to cover nouns and adjectives. Some languages distinguish nouns (intuitively ‘the names of things’) from adjectives (intuitively ‘words for qualities’). There has been considerable discussion in Australian languages as to whether a distinction between nouns and adjectives is justifiable. I follow Dixon (2002: 107) in maintaining the difference. Dixon (2002: 68) also quotes Alpher (1991: 22–26) who points out five criteria that distinguish nouns and adjectives in Yir-Yoront. Donaldson (1980: 68) on the other hand does not distinguish nouns and adjectives in Wangaaybuwan.

One reason for distinguishing nouns and adjectives is the semantic difference: nouns are prototypically objects or abstract concepts (tree, rock, idea), whereas adjectives refer to qualities (good, red) – cf. Dixon (1980: 271). Both nouns and adjectives are inflected for case, by means of the same suffixes. Some nouns are optionally marked for number – adjectives never or rarely are. Use of the suffix -DHuul on a noun forms a diminutive or ‘individual’ reference: yinarrduul is ‘little woman’ or ‘one woman’. The suffix on adjectives indicates an individual: wambadhuul ‘mad person’ or rarely ‘a little mad’.

Reduplication has different effects on nouns and adjectives. Reduplicated nouns form adjectives: e.g. buya ‘bone’, buyabuya ‘thin, boney’, with a meaning that is not necessarily predictable, e.g. waya ‘left hand’, wayawaya ‘crooked’. Reduplicated adjectives have the meaning of the base, either intensified or diminished: e.g. balabalaa ‘whitish’ from balaa ‘white’. The meaning is generally more predictable than that of reduplicated nouns. Some reduplicated forms have further idiosyncratic, non-predictable use: balabalaa can also be a noun, ‘butterfly’.

Nouns function as head of the NP. Adjectives cannot function as the head of a NP, except in cases of ellipsis. Wilkins (1989: 105) points out that in Arrernte a NP can contain only one noun, but more than one adjective.

Some words are found as both nouns and adjectives, e.g. wamu ‘fat’. Wilkins (1989: 104) points out that speakers of Mparntwe Arrernte distinguish the noun and adjective sense of such forms:
iperte is both ‘hole’ and ‘deep’, iperte iperte is ‘deep hole’, and speakers identify the first iperte as the noun.

Pronouns are nominals that are intrinsically specified for number (not by a suffix) and their case inflection is different to that of nouns and adjectives. Some have suppletive case forms, others a different set of case suffixes. Some pronouns have abbreviated clitic forms.

Dixon (2002: 67) states that, in Australian languages, ‘proper nouns often have slightly different morphological properties from common nouns’ and this is the case also in YG. The one word can be used as a standard nominal and as a Proper Name. The second use is distinguished by distinctive case forms: see §3.2.6. For instance gunii ‘mother’ is a standard nominal and the Proper name form is guniidhi. These are both Nominative and Accusative.

1.7.3 Non-inflecting words

Words which are not verbs or nominals tend to be variously categorised since they have fewer shared features. Adverbs prototypically modify verbs and adjectives. In YG some words such as warragil ‘straight’ are used with both adjectival and adverbial functions. There are also many which are found only with one function: e.g. barraay ‘fast’, an adverb, and wamu ‘fat’, an adjective.

Non-inflecting words which do not modify other words are mostly classified as particles. This category here includes clitic forms, not just free forms.

1.7.4 Non-hierarchical categories

There are two non-hierarchical categories used in this work. Interrogatives have been discussed above. Demonstratives (§6) can be defined as non-interrogatives which have the -ma ‘DEFinite’ or -lay ‘OSTensive’ suffix as their final element. The one demonstrative form often has a range of functions: e.g. nhama can have pronominal function: ‘that’; adjectival function ‘that dog’, and adverbial function: ‘there’.

1.8 Arrangement of the grammar

Each section of the grammar generally consists of a description of a particular feature, a substantial amount of evidence for the description, related material from other languages and finally unanswered questions about the topic.

The description of a feature often contains a paradigm or paradigms. This section sets out the current understanding of an area. The evidence is largely drawn from the YG sources. The size of this section often reflects the mixed nature of the evidence rather than the importance of the actual topic. For instance the allomorphs of the Ergative case suffix are relatively clear across the sources, and so easily described. The Allative and Dative suffixes, on the other hand, are much less frequently used but show considerable variety across the sources. There is considerable discussion as to how they should be described.

Many areas of YG remain incompletely described, and topics often conclude with the relevant questions. For instance a number of verb forms in both written and tape sources which are currently not analysable are listed at §8.5.4.

Materials such as evidence, typological material and uncertain material in the sources is treated in a number of ways. When it is relatively brief it is incorporated in the main text. Elsewhere it is in a smaller font:

Material in this format which is not a quote is background material.

Appendix A contains a number of lists, including suffixes in YG alphabetical order.

Appendix B contains further information about source materials.
The phonology of YG has been previously described, including in Austin (1993a) and in Williams (1980). It is very similar to the phonology of Wangaaybuwan, described in Donaldson (1980). As well, Austin (1997) has discussed the relation of YG phonology to that of proto-CNSW (Central New South Wales) and to the other CNSW languages. There is also important information in Ridley, MathewsGR and MathewsYR. Austin (1993a, 1997b) has also discussed the systematic sound changes between GR and YR.

This chapter is largely a brief summary of that material, and it introduces some other questions particularly about stress, prosody and word boundary features. I also draw on Oates (1988) in discussing the actual realisation of words in casual speech, particularly clitic pronouns and demonstratives. There is scope for a much more comprehensive analysis of YG phonology with the topics in Fletcher and Butcher (2014) and Baker (2014) indicating areas for investigation.

### 2.1 Limitations on phonological analysis

Current studies of YG phonology are largely based on written sources and the YR tape transcriptions, and both have limitations.

The interpretation of written sources is not straight-forward. At times recorders have not noticed features and the symbols and orthography used may be difficult to interpret. For instance while Ridley and Mathews observed that voicing of stops was not significant, neither recorded two different rhotics and Ridley did not recognise the lamino-dental nasal /nh/.

The tape transcripts are a major source for this study. The major focus of my transcription was to record lexical and syntactic features, so many phonological features are not recorded in the transcript. This also made the work of transcription simpler and made the transcription more easily searchable. At times variation in the realisation of phonemes was transcribed, for instance some examples of /nh/-/ny/ alternation after /i/ are transcribed. On the other hand the different realisations of /rr/ as trill or tap (or even as an approximant) are not noted. Even major variations in vowel quality are rarely recorded. There is room for a much more thorough study of these features. As well, the two main informants were recorded when in their 80’s, with probably few or no teeth, and at least one of them was fairly deaf – all factors which are likely to affect their sound production.

Neither the written sources or the tapes provide the visual clues which can be vital in some areas, for instance in distinguishing /n/ and /nh/. The absence of fluent speakers means that further direct studies are not possible.

YG rhotics exemplify the challenges in describing the phonology of YG. As in many other Australian languages YG have two rhotics, /r/ and /rr/, with /rr/ in particular having a number of allophones. Ridley and Mathews did not recognise phonemic differences between the two rhotics. With some other sources it is difficult to accurately interpret the symbols used. Wurm in his material distinguishes the retroflex approximant rhotic (he usually records it as ‘ṙ’, also as ‘r’) from the trill or tap (he records it as ‘ḍ’, ‘r’ and ‘r̃’). The variant realisations of /rr/ include as a tap or trill. I assume ḍ represents an alveolar tap or stop, r and r̃ a trill, but some uncertainty remains. Some of the variation in Wurm’s rhotics are seen in Table 5. Laves did not generally distinguish...
rhotics, generally using \textit{r} in all words and positions, as seen in Table 5. However, on occasions he varied the symbol, as seen in \textit{mari} and \textit{barran}, but the significance of the \textit{r} and \textit{rr} is uncertain. On the tapes it is often not possible to distinguish intervocalic /r/ and /rr/.

### Table 5 Some Wurm and Laves rhotics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wurm</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Standard orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/r/ recorded as (\text{ṙ}), interpreted as: [ɾ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>má̃ri</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>máz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bũřuma</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>bũřuma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>intervocalic /rr/</strong> recorded as (\text{ṙ}, &lt;r&gt; &lt;r̃&gt; &lt;ḍ&gt;) and (&lt;ḍ&gt;) interpreted as: [ɾ], unclear, [r] and [ɾ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jà̃řà:n, yara:n</td>
<td>gum tree</td>
<td>jà̃řà:n; yara:n?</td>
<td>yarraan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jãřa:n</td>
<td>gum tree</td>
<td>jara:n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jà̃řèl</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>jà̃řèl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jà̃ďòl</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>jà̃ďòl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>final /rr/</strong> recorded as (\text{ḍ}, &lt;ḍ&gt;), interpreted as [ɾ] and [ɾ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iňàd</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>ìňàr</td>
<td>yinarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hìňèr</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>hìňèr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bandà:ḍ</td>
<td>kangaroo</td>
<td>bandà:r</td>
<td>bandarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bândà:̌ăr</td>
<td>kangaroo</td>
<td>bandar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pre-consonant /rr/</strong> recorded as (\text{ḍ}, &lt;r̃&gt;) and (&lt;ḍ&gt;) interpreted as [ɾ], uncertain and [ɾ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mù̃řgu</td>
<td>oak tree</td>
<td>murgu</td>
<td>murgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mù̃ďgù</td>
<td>oak tree</td>
<td>murgu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murgu</td>
<td>oak tree</td>
<td>murgu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Laves:** Some Laves rhotics

| | | | |
| marc, marî | man | marî |
| dàra | thigh | dàra | dharrà |
| baran, barran | boomerang | baran? | barran |
| baràn | boomerang | baràn? |

#### 2.2 Phoneme inventory

The YG phoneme inventory is typical of Pama-Nyungan languages, as discussed in Yallop (1982), Dixon (2002: 125), Baker (2014) and Fletcher and Butcher (2014).

There are three vowels, with phonemic length contrast. Long vowels can be found in any syllable. Each vowel has a wide range of realisations.

Consonants have five places of articulation for stops and nasals.

YG have a laminal contrast, but no apical contrast, consistent with what Dixon (2002: 147) shows for the area. Voicing of stops is not phonemic. There are two rhotics, an alveolar approximant and a trill, and two glides, /w/ and /y/. Table 6 gives the YG phonemes in the standard orthography. Voiced symbols are chosen for the stops since that is their most frequent realisation.
Table 6  YG segmental phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant phonemes</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Lamino-dental</th>
<th>Apico-alveolar</th>
<th>Lamino-palatal</th>
<th>Dorso-velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dj</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tap/Trill</td>
<td></td>
<td>rr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowel phonemes

| High               | i, ii    | u, uu         |
| Low                | a, aa    |               |

Minimal pairs to establish the status of most phonemes are relatively common and listed in earlier sources. The exception is the laminal/palatal contrast. In most instances the choice of laminal or palatal is conditioned, with the majority of palatals found after i or less commonly before i. The contrast between laminal and apical stops is shown by the minimal, or near minimal pairs below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>madja</th>
<th>sorry</th>
<th>madhamadha</th>
<th>rough</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>widja</td>
<td>bread</td>
<td>wiidhaa</td>
<td>Bowerbird</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The alternation between the nasals /nh/ and /ny/ is generally conditioned by the environment, most commonly by the preceding vowel, with /ny/ generally after i and /nh/ after a, u. For instance in the past tense suffix for three of the four verb classes -NHi: (yana-nhi ‘walked’, gubi-nyi ‘he died’); and in the clitic =NHa ‘3’ (nhama=nya ‘that.there’); balu-nya ‘he died’ in (570)). Most other occurrences of /ny/ are in the environment between /i/ and /a/, e.g. minya ‘what’. Previous studies had not cited minimal pairs; cf. Williams (1980: 18), Austin (1993a: 46). Contrasts have been found. Gunyamurr ‘east wind’ is the only occurrence of /ny/ which is not preceded or followed by i. It forms near-minimal pairs with gunharr ‘kangaroo rat’, gunha ‘scorpion’ and nginunha ‘2SG.ACC’. As well, there is the minimal pair nyii ‘anus’ (and derived forms) and nhii ‘charcoal’, and nyii contrasts with a number of nhi initial words including nhiirru ‘burial bark’ and nhingil ‘saltbush’. While this shows that /ny/ is not simply a conditioned variant of /nh/, non-conditioned variation is rare.

2.3 Phonotactics

Words in YG are never vowel initial and begin with a single consonant: one of b, m, dh, nh, g, ng, w, y. That is, with a stop, nasal (but not the apicals, /ny/ and probably not /dj/) or glide. Words can end with /i/ii, a/aa, w/uu, n, l, r/ and y. That is, with any vowel, long or short, /y/ and apicals (apart from /l/ and /r/). These are set out in Table 7, which shows that the word initial (underline) and word final (shaded) phonemes are mutually exclusive, except for /y/ which occurs in both positions. /d/ /dj/ and /l/ occur in neither position. /ny/ is found word initially once. /rr/ is found word finally, intervocalically and as the first element of a consonant cluster. /l/ is found only intervocally, where it contrasts with /rr/.

11 But see below for comment on the realisation of word initial /wu/ and /yi/.
John Giacon

Table 7  Word initial and word final phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant phonemes</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Lamino-dental</th>
<th>Apico-alveolar</th>
<th>Lamino-palatal</th>
<th>Dorso-velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dj</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tap/Trill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowel phonemes

| High               | i, ii    |                |                |                |             |
| Low                | a, aa    |                |                |                |             |
| Key                |          |                |                |                |             |

Word Initial: **underline, bold**  Word final: **shaded, bold**

Austin and Williams list the intramorphemic consonant clusters found. All possible homorganic nasal-stop clusters are found: mb ng nhdh ndj and nd. The homorganic lateral-stop cluster ld is found, but the evidence is uncertain. Non-homorganic medial clusters they list are given in Table 8. Clusters listed only in Williams are labelled [CW]. Generally very few instances of these have been found, often only one.

Table 8  Non-homorganic medial consonant clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second element</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>ng</th>
<th>dh</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>rr</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>l</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F i r s t</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>yb</td>
<td>yg</td>
<td></td>
<td>ym [CW]</td>
<td>yrr</td>
<td>yn</td>
<td>yl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F i r s t</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nb</td>
<td>n.g</td>
<td>nng</td>
<td>[CW]</td>
<td>nm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F i r s t</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>lb</td>
<td>lg</td>
<td></td>
<td>ldh [CW]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F i r s t</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>rrb</td>
<td>rrg</td>
<td>rrrng</td>
<td>[CW]</td>
<td>rrm</td>
<td>[CW]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Austin (1993a: 53) points out: ‘intermorphemically a greater range of consonant combinations is found (and even more are predicted although they do not occur in the corpus) but again the first element of a cluster is restricted to one of the consonants which can occur word-finally’. Table 9 lists intermorphemic clusters given in Williams and Austin. The lists are identical except that Austin predicts that GR would have /yng/ and /nng/, but did not find examples in the corpus.

Table 9  Intermorphemic consonant clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second member</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>dj</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>ng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F i r s t m e m b e r</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>yb</td>
<td>ym</td>
<td>ydj</td>
<td>yg</td>
<td>?yng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F i r s t m e m b e r</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>lb</td>
<td>lm</td>
<td>ld</td>
<td>lg</td>
<td>lng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F i r s t m e m b e r</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>rrb</td>
<td>rrm</td>
<td>rrg</td>
<td>rrrng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F i r s t m e m b e r</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nb</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>n.g</td>
<td>?nng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One issue is the analysis of sounds described by Williams (p20) as diphthongs, including [ɛi], found for instance in [bɛin] ‘sore’. These sounds could be analysed as a $V_1G_{V_2}$ sequence, as VG or as $V_1V_2$ ($G = \text{glide}; V_1 \neq V_2$). Bosch’s (2012) analysis of the sonority indicates that they are not diphthongs and he proposes their transcription as [ɛj]. There is no evidence at this stage for choosing a two syllable or one syllable analysis of the sound. In the practical orthography they are written as ‘ay’, so bayn ‘sore’, gayrr ‘name’, with the aim of making accurate pronunciation easier for readers. Alternate spellings have previously been used: bayin and gayirr. An associated question is the orthography of the verb [wiɛili] ‘remove quills’, cf. wiyayl ‘quill’. If the verb is written wiyay-li the past tense is wiyay-y, a highly unusual form, so it is written wiyayi-li, somewhat inconsistently. Alternatively the language could introduce the rule that y need not be pronounced after another y.

Another question is whether the language has medial /ly/, whether analysed as one phoneme, or as a sequence of two phonemes. Both of these are heard in versions of maliyan ‘eagle’. The current analyses do not include an l-y phoneme or an l-y cluster.

### 2.3.1 Word structure

There are a number of GR words of one syllable, more in YR because of the /t/>/Ø/ sound change (§2.5). If the vowel is short the syllable must be closed, e.g. mil ‘eye’. Other one syllable words include maa ‘hand, YR’, waal ‘no, YR’, buu ‘leaf, testicle, base of bucket’, dha-y ‘eat-past’, baa-y ‘hop-FUT YR’. yii-y ‘bite-PST’ is pronounced as a long vowel with no consonant component since the initial y is generally not realised before i and the final glide assimilated to i.

### 2.4 Orthography

The practical orthography adopted for phonemes is seen in Table 6. Other features of the orthography include:

Consonant clusters involving digraphs are simplified, $\text{nhdh} > \text{ndh}$ and $\text{nydj} > \text{ndj}$, for instance $\text{mandha ‘bread’}$, not $\text{manhdha*}$. The sequence /nl/g/ is written n.g to prevent confusion with /ng/.

### 2.5 GR to YR sound changes

There are a number of systematic but not universally applied sound changes between GR and YR. The similarity of GR to Wangaaybuwan and Wiradjuri indicates that it is YR which has changed. Table 10 lists changes which Austin (1997: 27) points out were found in the YR cognates where GR has /t/. This /t/ can be retained in YR, but more commonly changes to Ø or y.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GR</th>
<th>YR</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/t/ &gt; Ø</td>
<td>This occurs when the GR /t/ is between two identical vowels in a disyllabic word, or there is a /y/ in a later syllable.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mara</td>
<td>maa</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhuru</td>
<td>dhuuyu</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td>cf. WN dhurru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barayamal</td>
<td>baayamal</td>
<td>black swan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/ &gt; /y/</td>
<td>This can occur between identical vowels, but also elsewhere: e.g.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mararra</td>
<td>mayarra</td>
<td>a wallaby</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuru</td>
<td>wuyu</td>
<td>throat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yira</td>
<td>yiya</td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhigaraa</td>
<td>dhigayaa</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Similar changes are found in other languages. Laughren (1982: 152) points out that: ‘Ngayi is derived from ngari by a regular process\(^{12}\) of shift from r to y in Warlpiri’.

There are other changes involving /r/ but these are rare, e.g.

\[
\text{ngarugi GR} \quad \text{ngawugi YR} \quad \text{drink}
\]

At times YR has retained the /r/ phoneme, for instance in wiringin ‘clever man’.

The following pairs have b~w change, but not in the same direction. It is not known which is the original form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GR</th>
<th>YR</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=wadhaay</td>
<td>=badhaay</td>
<td>might</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ban.gaan</td>
<td>-wan.gaan</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are other changes, including:

\[
\text{baaya-li GR} \quad \text{yaaya-li YR} \quad \text{chop}
\]

Language internal alternation is found in bulawulaarr ‘four’, a reduplication of bularr ‘two’. On the Wurm tape (2895a) (Wurm, 1955: 36) one speaker has buruma, buyuma and buuma ‘dog’, so it is likely that sound changes were still happening recently.

There is also a three-way relationship between Wangaaybuwan, Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay, with rr in WN being rr or r in GR and the y in YR as shown in the following table of examples from Austin (1997: 28ff).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wangaaybuwan</th>
<th>Gamilaraay</th>
<th>Yuwaalaraay</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gurraarr</td>
<td>guraarr</td>
<td>guyaarr</td>
<td>far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wirraN</td>
<td>yira</td>
<td>yiya</td>
<td>tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wurru</td>
<td>wuru</td>
<td>wuyu</td>
<td>throat/neck</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.5.1 Sound changes in central NSW languages

Austin ((1997) considers sound differences between the CNSW languages (Wiradjuri (WI), Wangaaybuwan (WN), Wayilwan (WW) and YG). He interprets the differences as sound changes and reconstructs proto-CNSW forms, which in almost all cases are identical to the WI forms. A common change involves word final /ng/ and /ny/, which are both WI. In WN and WW the nasals are not found in citation forms of the cognate nouns, but are found in suffixed case forms: cf. WN/WW guway ‘blood’, guway-ng-gu ‘blood-ERG’. In wordlists such WN/WW nouns are often written with a final N, guwayN (see Donaldson (1980: 31)). In YG final /ng/ is not found. The WI /ny/ changes to /y/ in both WN and YG. The variant forms shown in the table are from Austin (1997).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ProtoCNSW</th>
<th>WI</th>
<th>WN</th>
<th>YG</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*guwany</td>
<td>guwany</td>
<td>guwayN</td>
<td>guway</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ngamung</td>
<td>ngamung</td>
<td>ngamuN</td>
<td>ngamu</td>
<td>breast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{12}\) Koch (pers. comm.) suggests this change can only occur in Warlpiri when r is followed by i.
There are other changes. In some circumstances WN /rr/ corresponds to GR /r/ and to YR /r/y/Ø/, at other times it does not change. Austin gives conditions which generally govern the changes. Sporadically WN /b/ and /g/ shift to YG /w/. WI WN and WW frequently have homorganic nasal+stop clusters where YG have just the stop, for instance WN -mbil and YG -bil ‘with.much’, and Wayilwan gamba YG gaba ‘good’.

2.6 Realisation of phonemes

There is considerable variation in the realisation of many phonemes. I will not provide a detailed description of the phonemes but comment on some unusual and more important features.

2.6.1 Vowel/glide realisation and variation

There is considerable variation in the realisation of vowels but I have not studied it in detail. Expected variations can be found in Donaldson (1980: 19), who points out the many realisations of vowel phonemes in WN, with a having the greatest variety, realised as six phones. The main variations in YG are the raising of /a/ after /y/ (Williams has yinaa-y for yanaa-y ‘walk, go’) and the tendency of /a/ to be more back after /b/ and /w/. This is one factor leading to the confusion between /a/ and /u/, noted in Ridley (1875: 5) ‘[B]etween the short vowel sounds of a and u it is often difficult to determine’. This overlap is also seen in Wurm (p34) who has [burumugu] for buruma-gu ‘dog-ERG’. A few other variations have been noted in the transcriptions. FR2437B 1826 has [u] and [ɨ] as two pronunciations of the first vowel of /yurraamu/ ‘grog’. A closer study of the tapes would reveal more variation.

The glides are generally not realised or are reduced in word initial /wu/ and /yi/, so wuurri ‘will give’ is heard [u:ri], and yinarr ‘woman’ as [inaɹ] or [inad̚]. It seems that the realisation of these glides has weakened recently, since word initial /yi/ is quite common in Ridley and Mathews.

Austin (1993: 48) and Williams describe four ‘diphthongs’ in the languages. I analyse these phonetic diphthongs as having a glide consonant, either VG or VGV. The phonemic and phonetic representations Austin13 gives are:

\[
\begin{align*}
ay & \quad [ɛɪ] \\
 aay & \quad [a:i] \\
awu & \quad [ou] \\
uwa & \quad [o:u]
\end{align*}
\]

As well, word final iy is realised as a long vowel, [iː], for instance in giniy ‘stick’. There is variation in some of these ‘diphthongs’, for instance /Gamilaraay/ realised as [komilarai] or [komilaroi]. Some VGV sequences are occasionally realised as long vowels, with this happening more commonly in later sources.

2.6.2 Consonant realisation and variation

Austin (1993a: 31) describes the realisation of consonants, and variations in that realisation. He describes /dh/ and /nh/ as produced ‘with the tongue tip between and protruding from the teeth’ whereas Williams (1980: 16) has ‘produced with the tongue tip behind the lower teeth’. There may traditionally have been variation in actual production. The main feature of these phonemes is that that there is contact between the blade of the tongue and the front part of the mouth, i.e. the upper teeth and/or the alveolar ridge. Both Austin and Williams agree that /dj/ and /ny/ are ‘produced with the tongue tip behind the lower teeth’.

There is considerable variation in the realisation of rhotics. The variant realisation of /rr/ has been shown in Table 5. As well, rhotics are sometimes realised as laterals and occasionally as the glide /y/ and less commonly as /w/.

13 Austin gives dhuwarr ‘bread’ and buwadjarr ‘father’ as examples of awu. The realisation of these words by Fred Reece is [doɐɾ] and [boɐɟɐr]. Reece can be heard on Gayarragi Winangali.
/rr/ is mostly a tap intervocalically, but at times its realisation merges with that of /l/, i.e. an approximant. It is generally a stop finally, unless emphasised, when it is trilled. rr final words which are followed by a suffix often drop the rr, particularly for suffixes beginning in /l/ or /dh/. So yinarr-DHuul ‘woman-ONE/LITTLE’ is realised yinaduul. This feature is also fossilised in the word biyaduul ‘alone’, from biyarr-DHuul ‘one-ONE/LITTLE’. There are other examples of final /rr/ not being realised, for instance in ‘gündi: (gundiirr) ‘feathers’ (Wurm). FR2439A 129 has galaa-la-a-nga for ‘how then’?. The standard form of ‘how’ is galaarr, and there are other similar examples.

There are many instances of alternation between /rr/ and /l/: ‘gâlanjâ (garrangay) ‘duck’ (Wurm); gâru (ngaaluurr) ‘fish’ and babul (baburr) ‘foot’ (Laves). At AD5130 906 on different hearings the one token is heard as yilaala and yirraala ‘then’. FR1988A 1114 has gulal initially, then gularr ‘head band’. Some variation may be in the perception of the recorders, but there are many instances where the difference is in the production, and is consistently heard.

Similar variation is found in other languages, sometimes with clear conditioning factors. Threlkeld (1892: 60) points out that for Awakabal: ‘in the formation of the tenses and modifications, the letter r is changed into its relative liquid l’. Hercus (1982: 193) points out that Baagandji has ‘-la consonantal dissimilation to -ra if the verb-stem contains an l-sound’ (/r/ in Baagandji is a tap).

There is also rr ~ w alternation. AD 3999A 1791 has dhurrinba-nhi ‘hid’ whereas the usual form is dhuwbinbâni.

The laminal dental /nh/ is difficult to distinguish from /n/ auditorily, but it is recognised by Mathews, Williams (1980) and Austin (1993a). It is very common as the first segment of nhama ‘there’ and in some past and present tense suffixes. A number of recorders did not recognise /nh/. Ridley consistently has <n> or <nn> where the current analysis has /nh/. Wurm recognised /nha/ word finally a small number of times, but never recorded /nh/ word initially. Since many others who recorded the language recognised the initial laminal and initial apicals are not found in CNSW, it may be that Wurm missed the initial lamino-dental. Alternatively, since there is no contrast initially between apicals and lamino-dentals, he just wrote them all as apicals. Table 13 shows some of Wurm’s recording of /nh/.

/nh/ /ng/ and /n/ can all be modified following /l/ and /y/ across word boundaries. At times they also change in other situations, often when followed by /l/ as in nginda ‘you’ and sometimes for no clear reason. Examples are given in Table 14.

| Table 13 | Wurm’s recording of /nh/ |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First syllable | Last syllable |
| | Wurm | Standard | Wurm | Standard | Gloss |
| Common forms | [nama] | nhama ‘that/there’ | [ˈnáma] | /nə/ /ˈnə/ /ˈnámə | /nha/ | present tense |
| Rare forms | giagga | giyaanha | going to | náagà | nhanganha | boot | ngà | nganha | 1SG.ACC |
### Changes in realisation of nasals – mostly at word boundaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realisation</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/nh/ &gt; /nj/ after i#<em>, y#</em></td>
<td>nguwi nyama</td>
<td>sweat that</td>
<td>Tapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bayama-li nyama</td>
<td>catch-FUT there</td>
<td>Tapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dhaay nyama</td>
<td>to.here 3.DEF</td>
<td>Tapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nh/ &gt; /nj/</td>
<td>bunda:nj</td>
<td>fall-PST</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>munji</td>
<td>louse</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/ &gt; /ny/</td>
<td>bigu:nj</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ginjbài</td>
<td>mussel</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ng/ &gt; /nj/</td>
<td>dhii nyinda</td>
<td>meat 1SG.NOM</td>
<td>Tapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nama njinu:</td>
<td>that 1SG.DAT</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Elision/abbreviation

There is considerable elision at word boundaries, most commonly /-ma b/ > /mb/; e.g. nhama birray ‘there/that boy’ is realised as nhambirray. Ngaya ‘I’ is often realised as ngay in many phonological environments, particularly before word initial /ng/. Abbreviations are found, most commonly yanaa-y YR being realised as ‘naa-y. It would be expected that elision would be more common in phonologically unstressed environments such as the Initial Intonation Phrase (11.2.2.1).

Adjacent identical syllables are sometimes reduced, a process called haplology. For instance ngaya yanaay ‘I will go’ is generally realised ngayanaay and gi-gi ‘become’ can be reduced in inflected forms, e.g.: gi-gi.la-nha (become-CTS-PRES) realised as gilanha.

At times the (word final) present tense suffix is reduced, /nha/ > /nh/ or Ø. This is quite common in GR, including omission of the whole suffix. It is rare in YR.

In the tape transcripts and other recent documents elision of a final vowel is shown by an apostrophe; nham’birray. Haplology has generally not been shown in these documents. Verbs with reduced tense suffixes were largely recorded in older documents and no indication was given of the abbreviation, perhaps because it had not been recognised.

#### Unusual features

There are a number of distortions, generally word final. The most common is transcribed /wu/ and is heard for instance after nhama ‘that’, ganunga 3PL.NOM and=nga ‘then’, heard as [namou], [ganunjou] and [=noou]. The added sound may sometimes be a realisation of the Buu ‘all’ suffix, or of -gu (Dative, Allative), it may be an emphatic gesture or a semantically empty element.

Oates (1988: 17, 18) points out that in Muruwari (neighbouring Yuwaalaraay, and with a similar history of decline) there was ‘large-scale acceptance of consonant phonemes other than the norm in given words and utterances, particularly in word-initial position’ [emphasis added]. ‘Fluctuation occurred most frequently between peripheral phonemes, but [p], [m], [k] and [ng] were all at times realised as [w]’. Similar variation has been noted in YR, particularly in unstressed positions in the Initial Intonation Phrase. The main change is /ng/ ~ /w/, often with change in vowel/VGV realisation, for instance with what I assume is /nguwama/ realised as [wɔ:ma], [wɔma] or [wɔmu]. A rarely found alternation is /ng/ ~ /yl/, for instance yellibu or yellibu ‘also’ in Ridley.

Word initial /guw/ is generally realised as [gw] or [g[w], e.g. guway ‘blood’.
There are other variations that seem limited to individual words. In guwaali ‘tell’ the long /aa/ is pronounced [ɔː]. /aay/ is generally pronounced [ɒi] in the word Gamilaraay and in guwaay, the past tense of guwaali.

There is occasional b~nb~mb alternation. Laves has yanainbila and yanaimbila for ‘let go’, (yanaaynibila), based on yanaay ‘go’, so the variation is at what may be historically or currently a morpheme boundary: the suffix -bi-li is uncommon. Dhiidjiibawaa is common for ‘soldier bird’ but it is also heard as dhiidjiimbawaa (FR1849A 43 et al.) and dhiidjiimbawaa (AD8186 143). At 2438A 889 FR’s word for ‘other’ is heard as wurranbaa and wurrunbaa. Some of this may be due to the influence of nasal+stop clusters found more commonly in the other CNSW languages.

There is considerable variation when y-final stems are suffixed (see 3.2.3.2 on the formation of Ergative and Locative forms). Another example of this variation is FR1987B 390 ngindaa-bala ‘you.pl-CTR’ with a reduced form of the pronoun ngindaay. An irregular elision is found at FR1852A 3047, where ‘head-COM’ is realised in two ways: dhaygal-iyaay and dhaygal-yaay.

2.8.1 Free word and/or affix

A further area for later clarification is the phonological behaviour of some morphemes that have variation in their interaction with the preceding words. Some of these morphemes occur in the Initial Intonation Phrase, others elsewhere.

The second and subsequent words in the IIP do not have stress or have weakened stress. However, I define as clitics only those that can be phonologically reduced or adapted. So I define =nda ‘2SG’ as a clitic, but not the full pronoun, nginda, in the same position, even though it does not carry stress.

By this definition some particles are in some instances clitics and at other times not. For instance =Yaa ‘potential’ (§13.2.1) occurs after the first grammatical word of the clause. At times it is phonologically adapted to the previous word, and at times not. After =badhaay ‘might’ it is sometimes adapted to =aa. It can be followed by other clitics, for instance yilaa=badhaay=aa=bala (then=MIGHT=IGNOR=CTR) (‘might then’). On the other hand giirr=yaa ‘true-IGNOR’ (‘might’) and waal=yaa ‘not=yaa; YR’ (‘might not’) are common and the form shows no phonological adaptation. The analysis is further complicated by the fact that yaa is occasionally used as a sentence initial word, for instance in Milson, where it begins a question.

The form -dhalibaa ‘Privative’ is generally realised with an initial dh, irrespective of the preceding phone, and so does not have the same degree of phonological adaptation as -dh initial suffixes such as -DHuul, which begin with dj after final i and with d after final n and l. Dhalibaa is perhaps best categorised as a free particle which refers to the word it immediately follows. The semantically similar Comitative suffix -Biyaay/-Baraay is always phonologically adapted to its base.

2.9 Word stress

The acoustic realisation of stress has not been measured instrumentally, so the degree to which it is realised by pitch, loudness or length is not known. Nor is it clear that all primary stress has the same emphasis. Stress rules have been given in Williams (1980: 27) and Austin (1993a). There are exceptions, but the great majority of words are covered by these rules:

1. Long vowels are stressed, even if in adjacent syllables; e.g. dháadháa ‘grandfather’. For the purposes of stress, VG and VGV sequences count as a long vowel, e.g. ngíyaningúnda ‘1PL-LOC’.
2. If there is no long vowel, primary stress is on the first syllable, e.g. gába ‘good’.
3. Secondary stress is on syllables two and four away from primary stress: gumbulgaban ‘turkey’, bátuwa ‘slowly’.

14 But closer phonetic examination of these might lead to a different analysis.
These rules mean the verbs vary in stress. Firstly verbs with final Vy have stress on the last syllable, e.g. gubi-y ‘swim-FUT’ and buma-y ‘hit-PST’, but the same verbs, in other tenses, may have stress on the first syllable: gubi-nyi ‘swim-PST’ and buma-li ‘hit-FUT’ (rule 2). Secondly the stress on final elements depends on the number of syllables in the stem (i.e. rule 3). So bumaldanha ‘is hitting’ but gumubidanha ‘is making’, with stress on da in one word, but not the other.

There are exceptions to the rules above, including in some Purposive forms. Bumali is ‘hit’, but the stress changes to bumaligù in many realisations of the purposive, not complying with rule two (on the tapes and e.g. bu’maligo in Laves: 9 p123). A similar pattern is found with wanagi ‘throw’, which has stress is on the first syllable, but the purposive form is wana gigu. Bumali and wanagi are both three syllable stems, with all vowels short. A similar change in stress in purposive forms is found in WN. The area awaits further study.

As well, stress on some suffixed and reduplicated words does not follow the rules above, e.g. Gāmilarāy (or perhaps equal stress on the first and last syllable) and marrgamarrgāy ‘trapdoor spider’.

2.10 Prosody/intonation

2.10.1 Clause prosody

This section is not covered in any detail, but some main issues are mentioned. There are at least two prominent features of YR clause prosody. (There is insufficient material to comment on GR, but I assume that the YR features also apply there.) The first is what I call the ‘(clause) Initial Intonation Phrase’, often with several particles and/or clitics and a second position pronoun, and sometimes other words, with a single falling intonation contour, and followed by a pause. See §11.2.2.1. The rest of the clause generally also consists of short intonation phrases [IPs], of one or more words, with similar falling intonation, so there are many pauses in long clauses.

The feature is found in other Australian languages. Fletcher and Butcher (2014: 127) report that Ross (2011) found that the average IP length in Dalabon is 2.4 grammatical words and 2.3 grammatical words in Kayardild. Bishop and Fletcher (2005) report mean IP lengths of 1.9 grammatical words in Bininj Gun-wok.’

Example (1) shows the text of one AD elicitation and Figure 1 (from Praat) shows other features, including the pitch contours. (The sharp fall in the frequency graph under waaruu? is a construct of Praat, showing half the actual frequency, and probably affected by features of AD’s voice.)

Prominent features in Figure 1 include:

1. falling inflection on the first phrase, minyaarr-ma ngamu ‘which is that?’
2. falling inflection on the second ‘phrase’, dhigaraa-wu ‘bird’
3. rising, interrogative, inflection on the third phrase waaruu? ‘crow?’ (Is it a crow?)
4. falling inflection on the fourth phrase; waaruu ‘crow’ (It’s a crow/crow)
5. the pauses between word clusters which are characteristic of AD’s responses – but longer here than on average.
Figure 1: Intonation contours and gaps between intonation phrases in (1)

(1) Which bird is a crow? [It is a] crow.

What is that bird? A crow? [It is a] crow.

Statements and content questions and *(Yaama-initial polar questions)* have falling intonation. However, polar questions are more commonly asked with rising inflection, rather than by using *yaama*. However, some polar questions have a more complex inflection pattern.

Figure 2: Volume and pitch of *bayama-la* ‘catch it!’

The intonation contour of imperatives has not been studied in any detail, but the FR examples (Figure 2, Figure 3) show a rise/fall intonation pattern and do not have the steady decrease in
volume. Figure 3 has FR saying *nhama bayamala* twice, and then JM repeats it. (Figure 2 was produced with Praat. The sound is from FR 1853B 516.)

In Figure 3 the highest pitch and volume is on BAY in the first *nhama bayamala* and on nhama in second instance. The phrase is then repeated by JM. (Figure 3 was produced with Praat. The sound is from FR1853B 524.)

Other sources suggest that imperatives have word final stress. Ridley (1875: 9) has *goälla* (*guwaala*) ‘speak’ and *goällawā* (*guwaalawaa*) ‘speak; you must and shall! The emphasis of the command is measured by the prolongation of the syllable -wā’. Hercus (1982: 207) says that in Baagandji ‘all imperatives are alike in having a strong rising intonation on the final syllable’ (this includes imperatives expressed by present tense forms and future tense).
3 Nominal inflection

3.1 Inflection/derivation: introduction

Most words in YG are morphologically complex, whether through word-formation (derivation), through the use of affixes for grammatical information (inflection), or both. As has long been noted (Booij, 2000: 360), there is no hard-and-fast line between inflection and derivation and YG are no exception. Derivation, and to a lesser extent compounding, have been discussed in Giacon (2001: 4.4.3.2) and will be considered in §4.

The word class nominal and sub-sections have been discussed in §1.7. Affixation, and particularly suffixation, is a common feature of Australian languages, and this is true of nominals, so a dominant feature of the following sections are the forms and functions of various suffixes. The most common suffixes are those that show ‘standard cases’: core cases, local cases and Dative case. The morphology of pronouns and demonstratives involves more suppletion than that of other nominals, and so is often described by paradigms.

In this chapter I consider inflection, i.e. cases, of nouns and adjectives (‘standard nominals’) and in the later chapters will look at the morphology of other nominals: pronouns, demonstratives and interrogative nominals. The range of cases analysed for YG are given in §3.1.1. There are two sets of case inflections found on nouns, the standard inflections and Personal Declension inflections, found at times on kin terms and other nouns used as names. Both of these are considered in §3.2.

§3.3 looks at the uses of core, Dative and local cases. This applies to all nominals, but the section is placed after the description of the morphology of standard nominals for convenience. §3.4 considers derivational cases and §3.5 considers some theoretical issues about the definition and description of cases.

3.1.1 YG cases

The case system in YG is similar to that in many other Pama-Nyungan languages. In a YG sentence non-pronominal nominals either are unmarked for case, and so are Nominative or Accusative, or have an overt case-marker. This case-system carries the burden of expressing the roles of NPs in a clause, whether by relating them to the verb or relating them to other nominals; cf. Dench and Evans (1988: 2) and Austin (1981a).

YG cases are set out in Table 15. Forms are given for all nominal subclasses, not just those discussed in detail in this chapter, including Personal Declension nominals: see §3.2.6. The table shows the forms on a-final standard nominals and nominals with Personal Declension use. Pronouns have suppletive case forms: see §5. The case forms of demonstratives are discussed in §6 and those of interrogatives in §7.
Cases can be grouped on different criteria, cf. Wilkins (1989: 154). What I call ‘core’ cases, Nominative, Ergative and Accusative, are ‘strictly syntactic cases’. They respectively mark the semantic roles of A (Agent), S (Subject, of an intransitive verb) and O (Object). Their fundamental role is to mark the relation of a noun to its head verb. They also have other functions.

The local cases (Locative, Allative and Ablative) are primarily to do with a location (to, from, at X), but also have other functions. They frequently mark Indirect Objects. Dative case can relate a nominal to a verb (dative function) or to another nominal (possessive function). I refer to core, local and Dative cases as the ‘standard’ cases since they are recognised as case systems in most language descriptions, unlike derivational cases. Only the standard cases mark the core constituents of a predicate, and only they have pronoun forms, at least on the YG evidence.

The traditional arrangement of cases in classical Latin lists the Ablative last, and it has the widest range of functions in classical Latin and in YG. The same applies in Wangaaaybuwan, where Donaldson (1980: 86) bypasses the traditional label ‘Ablative’, instead using ‘Circumstantive’, highlighting its wide range of functions.

Apart from standard cases, YG have derivational cases (Nash, 1986; Simpson, 1991; Wilkins, 1989: 154) Their major role is to signal relation to a head noun. As well, they also have other functions. They frequently mark Indirect Objects. Dative case can relate a nominal to a verb (dative function) or to another nominal (possessive function). I refer to core, local and Dative cases as the ‘standard’ cases since they are recognised as cases in most language descriptions, unlike derivational cases. Only the standard cases mark the core constituents of a predicate, and only they have pronoun forms, at least on the YG evidence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>gilaa</td>
<td>ngambaa-dhi</td>
<td>ngaya</td>
<td>minya</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
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<td>ngambaa-?dhi</td>
<td>nganja</td>
<td>minya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
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<td>ngambaa-gu</td>
<td>ngaya</td>
<td>minyadhu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>gilaa-gu</td>
<td>ngambaa-ngu</td>
<td>ngay</td>
<td>minyangu#</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>gilaa-ga</td>
<td>ngambaa-ngunda</td>
<td>nganunda</td>
<td>minyaga#</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative (Purposive)</td>
<td>gilaa-gu</td>
<td>ngambaa-ngunda#</td>
<td>nganunda</td>
<td>minyagu#</td>
<td>dhaligu¹⁵</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>gilaa-dhi</td>
<td>ngambaa-ngundi</td>
<td>nganundi</td>
<td>minyadhi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Comitative YR</td>
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<td>ngambaadhi-biyaay</td>
<td></td>
<td>minyabiyaay#</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Comitative GR</td>
<td>gilaa-baraay</td>
<td>ngambaadhi-baraay#</td>
<td></td>
<td>minyabaraay#</td>
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<tr>
<td>Comitative+</td>
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<td>ngambaadhi-bil#</td>
<td></td>
<td>minyabil#</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prative</td>
<td>gilaa-dhalibaa</td>
<td>ngambaadhi-dhalibaa#</td>
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<td>minyadhalibaa#</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Caritative</td>
<td>gilaa-nginda</td>
<td>ngambaadhi-nginda#</td>
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<td>minyanginda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁵ Purposive meaning is conveyed by adding -gu to the future form of verbs.

# indicates unattested forms.
The suffixes -wan ‘with.PROMinent’ and -giirr/-guwaay ‘LIKE’ are discussed in §3.4. While they have some of the properties of derivational cases there are also differences and the conclusion is that they are not case suffixes. The suffixes discussed in this chapter are on a continuum. The distinction between case and not-case suffix depends on the definition of case.

3.1.1.1 Glossing of cases

Where the case is unmarked and easily determined I generally do not label it: e.g. dhulii in (148) is Accusative, but not labelled. As pointed out below, both Allative and Locative can mark ‘movement to’, and there is syncretism of these cases in pronouns. So while nganunda is both the Locative and Allative of first person singular, it is generally glossed 1SG.LOC when it is difficult to determine the actual case.

3.2 Case forms (core and local cases)

This section firstly considers the common case forms of standard nominals and later Personal Declension case forms. There is considerable overlap between the YR and GR forms, but also differences. It is to be expected that there were variations which have not been recorded in the sources, and also that there are some errors in the recorded material. Previous analyses have generally not referred to the different suffix forms which apply to the subclasses of nominals, and they have also tended to not refer to exceptions and irregularities.

Most case suffixes have allomorphs, the choice of which is largely governed by the final phoneme of the base (the final phoneme can be: a vowel: a, i, u; some apicals: l, rr, n; or the glide y). Further variation can be lexically determined, particularly with y-final words. There are also individual exceptions to the general pattern. Unvarying suffixes are rare, with -gu Allative for GR almost invariant, but rare exceptions are found.

The variation found in the sources for a particular suffix can be due to the phonological environment at the word boundary, the dialect, diachronic change (particularly due to language loss), lexical conditioning and errors.

3.2.1 Paradigms of YG case forms: standard nominals

Table 16 gives the case suffixes for standard nominals for core, Dative and local cases. For a, u and n final words, in particular, the suffixes are mostly clear and common to both languages. For others, particularly y-final words, there is variety both across and within languages, and the table shows the main patterns. Table 17 has nominals with the case allomorphs. There are two main patterns of suffixation for y-final words, with most following the pattern of ‘y’ in the table, but others following the ‘y2’ pattern.

§3.2.6 gives the forms of the Personal Declension case suffixes, but apart from that the remainder of §3.2 examines the evidence in the sources for the case forms. In general the more common case forms are clear and the less common forms are more uncertain, so a significant amount of the following examines evidence about the less common case forms.

16 General references to suffixes which have allomorphs use capital letter(s) for the suffix initial consonant(s): e.g. -Gu, indicates that the u is always found in the Ergative suffix, but the rest can vary, as in buruma-gu ‘dog-ERG’, dhayn-du ‘person-ERG’ YR; mari-dhu ‘person-ERG’ GR.

17 When word final elements are deleted in forming the case form this is shown by a strike-through. So rr means that the rr is deleted.
3 Nominal inflection

Table 16  Canonical inflections; ‘standard’ cases; standard nominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word ends</th>
<th>a,u</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>y2</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>rr</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NomAccYG</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ErgYR</td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>-dju</td>
<td>y-dhu</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>y-dhu#</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ErgGR</td>
<td>-dhu</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>y-dhu#</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LocYR</td>
<td>-dja</td>
<td>y-dha</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>y-dha#</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>y-dha#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LocGR</td>
<td>-dha</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DatAllYR</td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>y-dha</td>
<td>y-dha#</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>y-dha#</td>
<td>y-dha#</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DatGR</td>
<td>-dhu</td>
<td>y-dha#</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>y-dha#</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>y-dha#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AllGR</td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AblYR</td>
<td>-dhi</td>
<td>-dji</td>
<td>y-dhi</td>
<td>y-dhi</td>
<td>y-dhi</td>
<td>y-dhi</td>
<td>y-dhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AblGR</td>
<td>-dhi</td>
<td>-dji</td>
<td>-dhi</td>
<td>-dhi</td>
<td>-dhi</td>
<td>-dhi</td>
<td>-dhi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#Both forms, y=dhV and y-dhV, are found on some y2 words.

Table 17  Paradigm; standard (core, local and Dative) cases, standard nominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word ends</th>
<th>a,u</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>y2</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>rr</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>galah</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td>creek</td>
<td>stick/camp</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>boomerang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NomAccYG</td>
<td>gilaa</td>
<td>wii</td>
<td>bagay</td>
<td>giniy</td>
<td>walaayGR</td>
<td>mil</td>
<td>yinarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ErgYR</td>
<td>gilaagu</td>
<td>wiidju</td>
<td>bagadhu</td>
<td>giniyu</td>
<td>walaaydhu</td>
<td>milu</td>
<td>yinayu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ErgGR</td>
<td>wiidhu</td>
<td>bagadhu</td>
<td>giniyu</td>
<td>walaaydhu</td>
<td>yinarru</td>
<td>milu</td>
<td>yinayu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LocYR</td>
<td>gilaaga</td>
<td>wiidha</td>
<td>bagadha</td>
<td>giniya</td>
<td>walaaydha</td>
<td>mila</td>
<td>yinaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LocGR</td>
<td>wiidha</td>
<td>bagadha</td>
<td>giniya</td>
<td>walaaydha</td>
<td>yinarru</td>
<td>mila</td>
<td>yinayu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DatAllYR</td>
<td>gilaagu</td>
<td>wiigu</td>
<td>bagaygu</td>
<td>giniygu</td>
<td>walaaygu</td>
<td>milu; milgu?</td>
<td>yinarru;?gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DatGR</td>
<td>wiidju</td>
<td>bagaygu</td>
<td>giniygu</td>
<td>walaaygu</td>
<td>milu</td>
<td>yinarru</td>
<td>yinayu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AllGR</td>
<td>wiidju</td>
<td>bagaygu</td>
<td>giniygu</td>
<td>walaaygu</td>
<td>milu</td>
<td>yinarru</td>
<td>yinayu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AblYR</td>
<td>gilaadhi</td>
<td>wiidji</td>
<td>bagadji, bagadhi</td>
<td>giniydi</td>
<td>walaaydhi</td>
<td>milu</td>
<td>yinayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AblGR</td>
<td>wiidhi</td>
<td>baga-dhi</td>
<td>giniydi</td>
<td>walaaydhi</td>
<td>milu</td>
<td>yinayu</td>
<td>yinayi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: walaay ‘camp’ is y in GR and y2 in YR.

y-final words: Historical perspectives on suffix variation

The different case forms for y-final YG words have their origins in the two earlier forms they are derived from. These earlier, proto-Central New South Wales forms are either y-final or ny-final (Austin, 1997). Proto-CNSW y-final words have retained that form in all languages. Proto-CNSW ny-final words have retained that form in WI, but are y-final in WN and YG: blood is guvany in Proto-CNSW and WI, guwayN in WN and guway in YG. (The N represents what Donaldson (1980: 31) calls ‘a morpheme-final nasal archiphoneme’ which is realised before some suffixes.)

Words which are y-final in Proto-CNSW drop the y in both WN and WI in many case forms, for instance WI migay ‘girl’, migay-dhu ‘girl-ERG’ (cf. miyay ‘girl’ YG) and WN burraay ‘child’ burraa-dhu ‘child-ERG’.

Words which are ny-final in Proto-CNSW have a nasal-stop-vowel suffix pattern in both WI and WN: in WI by retention of the final consonant: guvany-dju ‘blood-ERG’ and in WN by the use of a homorganic nasal: so WN guway ‘blood-NOM’ and guway-nhdhu ‘blood-ERG’.
In YG there is no nasal before the stop, but variation, with both *guway-dhu* and *guwa-dhu* ‘blood-Ergative’ found once in the tapes. The common Ergative on *y*-final YR words is seen in *maadhaay-u* ‘dog-ERG’.

### 3.2.2 Nominative/Accusative forms

YG Nominative and Accusative nouns and adjectives (standard nominals) are unmarked, as in most Australian languages. There are many Nominative and Accusative nouns and adjectives in example sentences throughout the book.

### 3.2.3 Ergative/Locative suffix forms

#### 3.2.3.1 Summary

For the description of their forms the Ergative\(^1\) and Locative suffixes will be treated together since the only difference\(^2\) between the allomorphs is the final vowel; [u] for the Ergative and [a] for the Locative, for instance *dhayn-du* ‘person-ERG’ and *dhayn-da* ‘person-LOC’.

Table 18 and Table 19 give the suffix forms and a paradigm of the YG Erg/Loc suffixes. Where the YG and GR suffixes differ they are bolded. Recent analyses (Austin, 1993a; Williams, 1980: 38) had only one suffix form for *y*-final words. I analyse a further form, where the final *y* is deleted and the suffix is -dhV. I call this the *y2* form. This is lexically determined, with *y*-final words which have the alternative suffix form listed in Table 20. This analysis is supported by the fact that the presence of other non-case suffixes (e.g. -DHul §4.1.2.5) can also result in deletion of final *y*. A number of irregular forms are also listed.

As well as final *y* being at times deleted, final *rr* in YR is not retained in Ergative or Locative; e.g. the Ergative of YR *yinarr* ‘woman’ is *yinayu*.\(^3\) The GR *rr*-V form is older, since it is the form found in all the CNSW languages except YR.

#### Table 18  YG Ergative and Locative suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem ends</th>
<th>Yuwaalaraay</th>
<th>Gamilaraay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a, u</em></td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>i</em></td>
<td>-dju</td>
<td>-dja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>y2</em></td>
<td><em>y</em>dhu</td>
<td><em>y</em>du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>y</em></td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rr</em></td>
<td><em>rr</em>yu</td>
<td><em>rr</em>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n</em></td>
<td>-du</td>
<td>-da</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^1\) Obligatory marking of Ergative: In Ridley many instances of A nouns are unmarked – for instance *ŋumba* ‘mother’ (*ngambaa*), *inar* ‘woman’ (*yinar*) and many other A nouns in *Gurre Kamilaroi* are not Ergatively marked. One explanation is that when the agent is obvious, it need not be marked (e.g. ‘God made man’). Williams (1980: 98) says ‘Ergative marking is obligatory, except in cases where the context serves to disambiguate the sentence, e.g. “The dog ate the meat.”’ I have not found that the YG tape evidence supports this exception to obligatory use of the Ergative. Ridley’s material is syntactically quite simple, possibly because he composed it, and this is more likely the reason the Ergative is omitted. The fact that there is not one Ergative suffix in *Gurre Kamilaroi* supports this view.

\(^2\) The YR sources show this relationship for all seven word final phonemes. GR shows the same relationship when the data have been found: all allomorphs of the Ergative are found but only some of the Locative. The same Ergative/Locative form correspondence is found in Wangaaybuwan, a closely related and well studied language.

\(^3\) I use a strike-through to show this deletion, e.g. *rr*yu indicates that the *rr* is deleted and *yu* added.
Table 19  YG Ergative and Locative examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word_ends</th>
<th>Yuwaalaraay</th>
<th>Gamilaraay</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>guba-gu</td>
<td>guba-ga</td>
<td>guda-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>dhuyu-gu</td>
<td>dhuyu-ga</td>
<td>dhuru-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>birralii-dju</td>
<td>birralii-dja</td>
<td>birralii-dhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y2 (ay)</td>
<td>yaa-dhu</td>
<td>yaa-dha</td>
<td>galuma-dhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(river)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>maadhaay-u</td>
<td>maadhaay-a</td>
<td>bagay-dhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>burrul-u</td>
<td>burrul-a</td>
<td>burrul-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr</td>
<td>yina-yu</td>
<td>yina-ya</td>
<td>yinarr-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>dhinawan-du</td>
<td>dhinawan-da</td>
<td>dhinawan-du</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20 lists y2 words, gives their Ergative forms, and also gives other irregular (but canonical) forms. The y2 nominals form the Erg/Loc by deleting the final y and adding -dhV (-dhu/-dha). Table 20 also gives Austin’s (1997) reconstructed proto-CNSW. There is some correlation between the YG irregular forms and the presence of a final laminal in the proto-Central NSW. All the PCNSW *-any-final forms correspond to Y2 nominals in YG. However, gulay is y2, but not *-any-final in PCNSW.

Table 20  y2 words (irregular Ergative/Locative suffixes: y-dhV)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Ergative form: Y2</th>
<th>Austin ProtoCNSW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yuwaalaraay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaay</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>yaa-dhu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yayaay</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>yaya-dhu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walaay</td>
<td>camp</td>
<td>wala-dhu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngayagay</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>ngayaga-dhu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minyangay</td>
<td>how many</td>
<td>minyanga-dhu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagay</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>baga-dhu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulay</td>
<td>net</td>
<td>gula-dhu</td>
<td>*gulay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guway</td>
<td>blood</td>
<td>guwa-dhu</td>
<td>*guwaany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarray</td>
<td>beard</td>
<td></td>
<td>*yarray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yulay</td>
<td>skin</td>
<td>yula[y]-dhu</td>
<td>*yulany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamilaraay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaraay</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>yaraa-dhu</td>
<td>*yaraay (only in YG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaragay</td>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagay</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>baga-dhu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I now consider the evidence for these suffix forms. I will firstly consider the evidence for the common forms on standard nominals, then the irregular forms on standard nominals, finally the Personal Conjugation forms.
Yuwaalaraay evidence for Ergative/Locative case forms

Yuwaalaraay examples in early sources are relatively limited, but quite regular in form. Table 21 gives examples with agentive/instrumental functions from early sources. Mathews (1902: 138) called the agentive function ‘causative’ and gave one example: *Urēu*. Mathews also recognised an instrumental function which had the same suffix as the ‘causative’ and gives the example *burrndu*. Wurm’s *bila:dju* may be an error. There is no obvious reason for a palatal here. Similarly the *ld* in *biraːlidaldu* is unexpected. The expected form is *birralii-gal-u*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Urēu</em></td>
<td><em>yuurray-u</em></td>
<td>man-ERG</td>
<td>Mathews YR 138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>burrndu</em></td>
<td>with a boomerang</td>
<td><em>barran-du</em></td>
<td>boomerang-ERG</td>
<td>Mathews YR 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dinewandoor</em></td>
<td>Emu</td>
<td><em>dhinawan-du</em></td>
<td>emu-ERG</td>
<td>Parker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wurm – some irregular forms and non-canonical forms

| jajaːdu | yayaay-dhu | sun-ERG | Wurm YR |
|记laːdu | with a spear | *bilaarr-dju* | spear-ERG | Wurm YR; usual: *bilaayu* |
| Mary-dju | Mary-dju | Mary-ERG | Wurm YR |
| *biraːlidaldu* | *birralii-gal-du* | child-PL-ERG | Wurm YR; error? |

For both Ergative and Locative suffixes, the Yuwaalaraay tapes and most other sources have many examples which follow the pattern set out in Table 18 and Table 19. Most of the relatively rare exceptions relate to *rr* and *y-final* words, including non-canonical *buwadjarr-u* (father-ERG; FR2437B 783), *yaay-dhu* (sun-ERG; FR1850A 671) and *guway-dhu* (blood-instrumental; AD3217A 507) (the expected YR forms are *buwadja-yu*, *yaa-dhu* and *guway-u*). Locative forms are relatively regular, with rare exceptions such as *walaay-ga* (camp-LOC; AD5131 2523; expected is *walaay-a*), but here AD is actually repeating a form suggested by CW.

While Wurm has many canonical Ergative/Locative forms, there are exceptions. Table 21 has *jajaːdu*, an irregular, but canonical form. Mary-dju is regular, if treated as [i] final. His other examples are non-canonical, indicating there was some variety in the realisation of these suffixes.

The amount of variation for individual *y-final* words suggests that this part of the languages was in change and that variation was common.

Gamilaraay evidence for Ergative/Locative case forms

Table 22 lists many of the GR examples of the Ergative, and Table 23 gives examples of the Locative. Early GR sources recognised the existence of the Ergative case: Ridley in his analysis (p5) called it the ‘second Nominative’ and gave one form, *-dū*, for the suffix. There are no further examples in the text he provides. MathewsGR (p261) lists a Nominative-agent case, with examples *Murrīdu* and *Inaru*, and an instrumental case ‘a similar suffix to the Nominative-agent’ with example *burrandu*. On p262 he lists the forms of the Nominative agent suffix as *-du* and *-u*, an incomplete list of allomorphs, with example *baruːlu*.

---

21 The usual Ergative suffix after *l* is *u*. However, both *l* and *d* are apical, and the cluster *ld* is common, so this may be a rare variant.
Table 22  GR Ergative in sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a,u</td>
<td>dhulu-gu</td>
<td>dhulu-gu</td>
<td>stick-ERG</td>
<td>WurmGR 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>Murridda</td>
<td>maridhu</td>
<td>man-ERG</td>
<td>MathewsGR 261</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maridhu; mari-dhu</td>
<td>maridhu</td>
<td>man-ERG</td>
<td>WurmGR 55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wii-dhu</td>
<td>wii-dhu</td>
<td>fire-ERG</td>
<td>WurmGR 17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga:yi̊du</td>
<td>gaayli-du</td>
<td>child-ERG</td>
<td>WurmGR 54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>galamudu; galama:y-du</td>
<td>?galama-du galumay-du</td>
<td>brother-ERG</td>
<td>WurmGR 25, 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr</td>
<td>Inaru</td>
<td>yinarr-u</td>
<td>woman-ERG</td>
<td>MathewsGR 261</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biérdu/do??</td>
<td>biyarr-u</td>
<td>one-ERG</td>
<td>LavesGR 1386</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>buralu</td>
<td>burrell-u</td>
<td>big-ERG</td>
<td>MathewsGR 262</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>burrandu</td>
<td>with a boomerang</td>
<td>barran-du</td>
<td>boomerang-ERG</td>
<td>MathewsGR 261</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Laves has little information on the Ergative or Locative suffix. His one Ergative suffix example is biérdu/do (unclear in source), which is not the usual biyarr-u (one-ERG). He has a number of likely Locative case marked nominals, including ngunmala (ngunmal-a) ‘corral-LOC’ and milanda ‘closet-LOC’.

Neither Ridley nor Mathews used the term ‘Locative case’ but Ridley’s paradigm does have an example: mulliondā ‘in an eagle’ and his text contains examples, given in Table 23, as are the MathewsGR examples. Ridley also has (p5): ‘mullionkānda “with an eagle at rest”’, which I interpret as a Personal Declension Locative form, maliyan-ngunda.22

Table 23  GR Locative in sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>littraga</td>
<td>at Lystra</td>
<td>Lidrra-ga</td>
<td>Lystra-LOC</td>
<td>Ridley: p42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðinnaga</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>dhina-ga</td>
<td>foot-LOC</td>
<td>WurmGR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga:ja:j ba:ga</td>
<td>through sandy place</td>
<td>gayaaybaa-ga</td>
<td>sandy.place-LOC</td>
<td>WurmGR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū</td>
<td>dhulu in (top of) tree</td>
<td>dhulu-ga?</td>
<td>tree-LOC</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 267</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mudhuga</td>
<td>inside</td>
<td>mudhu-ga</td>
<td>middle-LOC</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 267</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>murridda</td>
<td>maridha</td>
<td>man-LOC</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 261</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gundi:da</td>
<td>in the house</td>
<td>gundi-dha</td>
<td>house-LOC</td>
<td>Wurm GR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr</td>
<td>bulara</td>
<td>twice</td>
<td>bularr-a</td>
<td>two-LOC</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>yarula</td>
<td>over the stones</td>
<td>yarral-a</td>
<td>rock-LOC</td>
<td>Ridley: 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burala</td>
<td>to the big (man)</td>
<td>burral-a</td>
<td>big-LOC</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 262</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mala</td>
<td>once</td>
<td>maal-a</td>
<td>one-LOC</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 268</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngunmala</td>
<td>corral</td>
<td>ngunmal-a</td>
<td>corral-LOC</td>
<td>LavesGR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yurul-a</td>
<td>in the scrub</td>
<td>yurul-a</td>
<td>scrub-LOC</td>
<td>WurmGR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunca:la:</td>
<td>plain</td>
<td>?gunyal-a</td>
<td>plain-LOC</td>
<td>WurmGR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>taonda</td>
<td>in ground</td>
<td>dhawun-da</td>
<td>earth-LOC</td>
<td>Ridley: 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>wulaidha</td>
<td>to the camp</td>
<td>walaay-dha</td>
<td>camp-LOC</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wulaidha</td>
<td>at the camp</td>
<td>walaay-dha</td>
<td>camp-LOC</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 267</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y2</td>
<td>baga:y-qa</td>
<td>in/on the river</td>
<td>bagaay-dha</td>
<td>river-LOC</td>
<td>WurmGR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

22 This might also be maliyan.-gu-nda Wedgetail-All-2sg.
The Ergative and Locative examples found generally fit the regular Gamilaraay pattern given in Table 18. The main exception is y-final nominals. There are a few examples of regular forms, i.e. -dhu or -dha, such as Wurm’s galama:y-du (brother-ERG), but also exceptions such as galamu:du (brother-ERG), with y deleted, which are considered later.

There are relatively few examples of Gamilaraay Ergative or Locative suffixes on rr final words. The Mathews examples above, yinarr-u ‘woman-ERG’ and bulaarr-a ‘two-LOC’, have the same allomorph after rr as Wangaaybuwan. There is some other slight evidence to support this pattern, with the suffix consisting of the vowel only. The suffix is likely found in the place name ‘Bundaarra’ – probably bandaarr-a ‘grey.kangaroo-LOC’. As well, the existence of rr-u/a forms in the YR tapes (next section) from informants who knew some GR is also an indication that these are the GR forms.

There are other forms which can be analysed as non-canonical, or as irregular (and so canonical). GR has dhulu ‘tree’, and Table 23 has Locative dhuluo (dhulu-wa) with suffix -wa instead of the expected -ga. This is a further example of lenition, cf. dhalaa-wu below, and likely an accepted realisation of the suffix in this context, with [g] lenited to [w].

3.2.3.2 YG ay-final Ergative/Locative

The YG and GR sources show clear lexically determined variation in the Locative/Ergative suffix for ay-final stems. There are two irregular forms in YR and one in GR. The irregular forms occur on y2 words (Table 20).

In YR the regular suffixes, after y, consist of just the vowel, and these are the only forms found with some words: there are over 100 instances of maadhaay-u (ERG) and maadhaay-a (LOC) (maadhaay ‘dog’). No other forms are found, and similarly for buluuy ‘black’ and giniy ‘stick’ (buluuyu, buluuya, giniyu, giniya). These regular forms are found on the tapes, in Wurm and in other sources. The irregular forms in YR are the more common y̶-dhV and the rarer y-dhV.

The regular GR pattern is -dhu after the full root, e.g. walaay-dha (Table 23). The y2 pattern is y̶-dhV, but some y2 words have both patterns.

The question is about the status of these forms. Are some errors or do they show variation in the traditional language? There is no way of being certain, but it seems likely the variation was traditional since the variation is found in most sources and shows some consistent patterns. Table 24 lists many of the non-regular forms found.

There are other rare variations which I will treat as non-canonical. Factors which may have encouraged the use of these forms on ay-final words include: cross-language influence of the Wangaaybuwan pattern (y̶-dhV), YR use of the regular GR pattern (y-dhV), and the intra-language influence of the pattern found with other DH initial suffixes, for instance -DHuul ‘one/small’ (§4.1.2.5). This range of patterns from similar environments easily leads to variable realisation of Erg/Loc suffixes following ay.

This analysis of suffixes on y-final words has implications for other parts of the language. Previous analysis (Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary) of baga-dha ‘on the river (bank)’ has posited baga ‘river bank’ in contrast to bagay ‘river’. Recognising the alternative suffix form suggests there is one word, bagay ‘river’. Another change involves the form gaya-dha ‘in turn’ (AD) which suggest that there is a noun gayay ‘turn’, since -dha is never used on a-final words. While the unsuffixed noun gayay has not been found, there is the verb gaya-y ‘turn’, suggesting that a pattern for nominalisation of Y class verbs. However, no other examples have been found so the productivity of such a nominalisation process is highly uncertain.
Table 24 YG Irregular Ergative/Locative after ay

V (vowel) indicates that both Locative and Ergative suffixes have been found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Suffixed form</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Source/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yuwaalaraay</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>yaay</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>Tapes et al.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yaay-dhu</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>FR 1850A 671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>yayaay</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>AD, tapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>camp</td>
<td>walaay</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>All AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>walaay-dja</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>AD inc 3998B 1629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>net</td>
<td>gulay</td>
<td>very few</td>
<td>AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gulay-a</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>regular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>how many</td>
<td>minyangay</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>Sim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>blood</td>
<td>guway</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>AD 3217A 507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>guway-dhu</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>AD 3217A 565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>river</td>
<td>bagay</td>
<td>common</td>
<td>tapes (cf. GR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bagay-dha</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>tapes (cf. GR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other (time)</td>
<td>ngayagay</td>
<td>~7</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamilaraay</td>
<td>at the camp</td>
<td>Wolla ya</td>
<td>walaay-a</td>
<td>Ridley: 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to the camp</td>
<td>walaay-ga</td>
<td>walaay-gu?</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 267; uncertain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other side of the river</td>
<td>(mulandha) bagada</td>
<td>bagay-dha</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>river</td>
<td>bagada</td>
<td>bagay-dha</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in the river</td>
<td>bagaida</td>
<td>bagay-dha</td>
<td>WurmGR: 17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are other patterns in the use of the Ergative and Locative suffix. Some common nominals are never or rarely found with Ergative or Locative suffixes. For instance, apart from one instance of birray-dja (itself irregular, FR5053 837) the common words birray ‘boy’ and miyay ‘girl’ are not found with these suffixes unless previously suffixed with -DHulu ‘small/one’; e.g. miyay-djuul-u. Ngayagay ‘other’ is common and also is suffixed with -DHulu on the tapes before any ERG/LOC suffix. It is unlikely that all restrictions of this type have been recognised.

The analysis given above is largely synchronic. There are some hints of diachronic change. It is clear from the traditional story (Parker: Gumbulgaban) that the word wiidhaa ‘Bowerbird’ is a word-play on fire-LOC, currently wii-dja in YR. It is possible that -dha[al] is an older form of the YR suffix, which has been retained on some common words. The use of invariant -gu for Dative is more common in later sources, and may be due in part or whole to Wangaaybuwan influence.

Yuwaalaraay rr-final Ergative/Locative

There is some variation in the YR Erg/Loc suffixes on rr-final words. On the tapes an irregular form is often followed by the informant correcting himself and using the regular form. The most common variation uses the GR/WN form, so is likely borrowing. There are numerous regular YR examples on the tapes and elsewhere, with the rr deleted and the suffix -yu Erg or -ya Loc. Non-regular examples include: FR2437B 783 buwadjarr-u ‘father-ERG’; FR2439A 1127 buluurr-u ‘two-ERG’; AD3999A 466 buluurr-u ‘spear-ERG’ (immediately corrected to bilaa-yu). Rarely the irregular form is given second: FR1853A 2447 has ngaaluu-ya then ngaaluurr-a ‘fish-LOC’.
Other non-regular forms in sources

There are non-regular forms found in the sources on words that are not \textit{rr} and \textit{y-final}. Jack Sands (JS) is a tape informant who is not as proficient in the language as AD and FR. He alone uses \textit{-dha} and \textit{-da} after word final \textit{a} or \textit{l} indicating that he has overgeneralised use of this allomorph. Examples are given in Table 25.

Table 25  Jack Sands’s irregular forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jack Sands</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Regular form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bindiyya-dha</td>
<td>prickle-LOC</td>
<td>bindiyya-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yurrul-da</td>
<td>bush-LOC</td>
<td>yurrul-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bii-dha</td>
<td>chest-LOC</td>
<td>bii-dja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buya-dha</td>
<td>bone-LOC</td>
<td>buya-ga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other non-regular Ergatives include: (AD3217A 2308) \textit{burrul-bidi-yu} (big-big-ERG) (The tapes have many regular \textit{burrul-bidi-dju}) and (AD3218B 2051) \textit{miyaymiyay-\textit{lu}} ‘little girl’ (girl-REDUP-ERG). This \textit{-lu} is the same form as the suffix found in exclusive Ergative pronouns (see §11.4.5): \textit{-u} or \textit{-dhu} are the expected forms.\textsuperscript{23} This is the only Ergative example of this noun. Sim has \textit{Bilgin-dju} ‘splinter-ERG’, with \textit{-dju}, not the expected \textit{-du}. I analyse all these examples as errors.

3.2.4  Dative and Allative suffix forms

§3.5 establishes Dative and Allative as distinct cases. The suffixes, with rare exceptions, are both \textit{-gu} except after word final \textit{l/rr}. There is variation between later sources about some suffixes in that environment. The Allative suffix is always \textit{-gu} in GR and, with very rare exceptions, in AD’s YR. In other YR sources it is generally \textit{-u} after \textit{l/rr}. After \textit{l/rr} the Dative is generally \textit{-u} in both YR and GR, except that in AD and Wurm \textit{-gu} is more common. This likely indicates a simplification of the suffix to one allomorph in some later sources. The information is presented in Table 26.

Table 26  YG Dative and Allative suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dative after:</th>
<th>Allative after:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{rrl/_}</td>
<td>\textit{a/l/a/y/_}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YR (Not AD, FR)</td>
<td>\textit{-u}</td>
<td>\textit{-gu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YR FR</td>
<td>\textit{-gu}</td>
<td>\textit{-u mostly, -gu rarely}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YR AD</td>
<td>\textit{-gu}</td>
<td>\textit{-u rarely, -gu mostly}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR: Ridley, Mathews</td>
<td>\textit{-u}</td>
<td>\textit{-gu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR: Wurm</td>
<td>\textit{-gu}</td>
<td>\textit{-gu}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are many instances of the regular forms throughout the book, and in particular in §3.3.2 on the uses of the cases. Here I will focus on non-regular forms. There are rare exceptions to the above paradigm. Yy \textit{gaarrimay} ‘camp’ has an irregular Allative \textit{gaarrimawu} discussed at the end of 3.2.4.1. FR has \textit{galarriin-biyaay-\textit{u}} for ‘to Collarenebri’ (5053 418), probably an error.

3.2.4.1  YR Dative and Allative evidence

Williams (p39) says:

The suffix \textit{-gu}, which shows no allomorphic variations, covers a range of functions for which no overall label is appropriate ... genitive, allative, purposive and benefactive. There are syntactic reasons [JG: which she gives on p102] for distinguishing the cases from each other.

\textsuperscript{23} One reviewer asked whether irregular allomorphs are found on words denoting humans. This is not the case: e.g. \textit{birralii-gal-\textit{u}} in (426).
The evidence in the tables above and below shows that the suffix is -gu, except after word final l/rr. In those positions early sources, i.e. all sources except AD and FR, use -u. Both AD and FR use both -u and -gu after final l and rr, but FR mostly uses -u and AD mostly uses -gu.

Table 27 presents Mathew’s YR evidence. Here, as in his GR, Mathews lists two forms of the genitive suffix, -gu and -u, with only -u after word final l/rr. Both AD and FR use both -u and -gu after final l and rr, but FR mostly uses -u and AD mostly uses -gu. Sim’s buyimawu (buyuma-gu would be expected) shows lenition of g in actual production of the word, also found with other a-final words.

### Table 27  YR Dative and Allative suffixes – Mathews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uregu burulu</td>
<td>big man’s</td>
<td>yuurray-gu burrul-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inaru</td>
<td>woman’s</td>
<td>yinarr-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bauragu</td>
<td>kangaroo’s</td>
<td>bawurra-gu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garemo</td>
<td>to the camp</td>
<td>gaarrimawu</td>
<td>also in FR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gareme</td>
<td>a camp</td>
<td>gaarrimay</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 28 gives examples of the suffixes from Laves, Sim and Wurm. They have only -u after final l, rr. Sim’s buyimawu (buyuma-gu would be expected) shows lenition of g in actual production of the word, also found with other a-final words.

### Table 28  YR Dative and Allative suffixes – later written sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original/Source</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaaluuru</td>
<td>(go) for fish</td>
<td>ngaaluarr-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu’maligo</td>
<td>to hit</td>
<td>buma-li-gu</td>
<td>many other examples with -gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhali-gu</td>
<td>to eat</td>
<td>dha-li-gu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diamaligu</td>
<td>to pick up</td>
<td>dhiyama-li-gu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wara ngana/gu</td>
<td>for honey</td>
<td>warangana-gu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bawabiiluu</td>
<td>outside</td>
<td>bawa-biil-u</td>
<td>back?-biil-u; Allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bawaguu</td>
<td>outside</td>
<td>bawa-gu</td>
<td>back-gu; Allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gandaarruu</td>
<td>other side of river</td>
<td>gandaarr-u</td>
<td>Allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buyimawu</td>
<td>(give) to the dog</td>
<td>buyuma-?wu</td>
<td>buyuma ‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birraydujuluu</td>
<td>(gave meat) to the boys</td>
<td>birraydujul-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gadaugunnguu</td>
<td>to Goodooga</td>
<td>(&gt;4 instances)</td>
<td>-ngu; Personal Declension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brrulaa-gu</td>
<td>many birds</td>
<td>brrulaa ‘many’</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhigaya-gu</td>
<td></td>
<td>dhigaya ‘bird’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Wurm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>biraligali’u</td>
<td>for the children</td>
<td>birralii-gal-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jurulu</td>
<td>(I went) into the bush.</td>
<td>yurrul-u</td>
<td>several examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga:lu’u</td>
<td>(went) for fish</td>
<td>ngaaluarr-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wurm has -gu when words are not l/rr final: e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma:odagu</td>
<td>(comes) to boss</td>
<td>maadhaa-gu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Arthur Dodd mostly uses -gu for dative, possessive, allative and purposive functions after word final l and rr, including frequent use of -DHuuil-gu ‘DIM/ONE-DATive’. He does occasionally use -u, as seen in Table 29. Other examples include (3998A 1554) bilaarr-u gimbi-li-gu ‘spear-u make-gu’ (‘to make a spear’), with -u on an rr-final word. FR on the other hand mostly uses -u after final
l and rr, as seen in Table 29. AD frequently uses bandaarr-gu ‘(grey.) kangaroo-DAT/ALL’. It might be expected that FR would use bandaarr-u#, but this is never found, with FR only using bawurra ‘red kangaroo’ and not bandaarr.

AD3219A 2558 ‘(threw some stones) at the dog’ uses maadhaay-u ‘dog-u’, perhaps due to interference from the Ergative, which has this form. I consider this an error by AD.

Table 29  YR Dative and Allative suffixes – tapes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Suffixed form</th>
<th>Number, Source, Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father’s</td>
<td>buwadjarr-u</td>
<td>1, FR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give to father</td>
<td>buwadjarr-u</td>
<td>1, FR; corrected to -gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give to father</td>
<td>buwadjarr-gu</td>
<td>1, FR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(take him) to (his) father</td>
<td>buwadjarru; buwadjayu</td>
<td>AD alternates between forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father’s</td>
<td>buwadjarr-gu</td>
<td>2, AD; 1, FR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give/take to mother</td>
<td>gunidjarr-u</td>
<td>5, all FR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give to mother</td>
<td>gunidjarr-gu</td>
<td>1, AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman’s</td>
<td>yinarr-u</td>
<td>2, FR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give to the woman</td>
<td>yinarr-gu</td>
<td>1, AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the bush</td>
<td>yurrul-gu</td>
<td>10, most FR, some AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the bush</td>
<td>yurrul-u</td>
<td>16, all AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish’s (fin)</td>
<td>ngaaluurr-u</td>
<td>1, FR 5053 2739 (slowly constructed example)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for the man</td>
<td>dhayn-gu</td>
<td>AD 8186 3118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hunt) for kangaroo</td>
<td>bandaarr-gu</td>
<td>AD 5130 1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) for fish</td>
<td>ngaaluurr-u</td>
<td>FR 2436A 1059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(give) to the kids</td>
<td>birralii-gal-gu</td>
<td>AD 3217A 785 (dative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(meat) for the child</td>
<td>birralii-djaal-gu</td>
<td>AD 3217B 2473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child’s clothes</td>
<td>birralii-djaal-u</td>
<td>AD 2833A 651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cut it) for the kids</td>
<td>birraliigal-u</td>
<td>FR 2440A 1313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the camp gaarrimay</td>
<td>gaarrima-wu</td>
<td>FR NB consistently used</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) neatly shows the variation in form of the YR Dative suffix.

(2)  wuu-rrri ngali=laa / gunidjarr-u / ngambaa-gu / baawaa-gu
     give-FUT 1DU=DIR / mother-DAT / mother-DAT / sister-DAT
We going to (bring a lot of fish home and) give it to our mother and sister. FR/JM 2436A 1107
We two will give it to mother, to mum, to our sister. JG

On the tapes the informants often correct themselves, giving a number of related forms in succession, particularly for rr final nominals. Many non-regular suffixes occur on gunidjarr ‘mother’ and others involve buwadjarr ‘father’ and yurrul ‘bush’, perhaps because these were frequently used, and so retained the traditional pattern. It is likely there has been interference from Ngiyambaa and the YR Ergative, which shares some forms with the Dative and Allative (-gu after final a or u). There is one further notable irregularity. Fred Reece uses gaarrimay ‘camp’ (AD does not use gaarrimay for ‘camp’) and gaarrima-wu for ‘to the camp’, rather than the expected gaarrimay-gu, in around 34 out of 50 translations of ‘to the camp’. He also has one gaarrima-gu and two
gaarrimay-u. As seen in Table 27, above Mathews has garemo ‘to the camp’ and gareme ‘camp’, so two sources have this Yuwaalaay form. Gaarrimay is not found in other YG dialects, which have walaay ‘camp’. The evidence points to it being an irregular form, part of traditional Yuwaalaay. One suspects that there were other irregular forms which have not been recorded.

3.2.4.2 GR Dative and Allative suffixes

The GR evidence is mixed, and the relatively few examples make any conclusions tentative. For the Dative (possessive) the early sources, Ridley and Mathews, have only -u after l and rr but the later Wurm has invariant -gu in his few examples. It is likely that Ridley and Mathews represent older GR and that Wurm’s GR reflects the influence of Ngiyambia or comes from a variant dialect of GR. The GR Allative is invariant -gu.

Ridley, in his analysis and text, gives different forms for the GR possessive suffix and the Allative/purposive suffix. He has the Personal Declension -ŋū (- ngu) as the possessive suffix in his paradigm, but in Gurre Kamilaroi also uses -u. He has only Personal Declension possessives on words with final a, u, i, y and n. He lists a separate suffix ‘-gō (to)’, and only uses this form in examples which have allative or purposive interpretation. His material is in Table 30.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>possessive examples include: (-ngu and -u)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mullionŋū</td>
<td>of an eagle</td>
<td>maliyan-ngu</td>
<td>p6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wundaŋu</td>
<td>of a whitefellow</td>
<td>wanda-ngu</td>
<td>p40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murriŋu</td>
<td>of blackfellow</td>
<td>mari-ngu</td>
<td>p40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>davidu</td>
<td>of David</td>
<td>david-u</td>
<td>p40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adamu</td>
<td>of Adam</td>
<td>adam-u</td>
<td>p40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive examples include: (-gu only)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣuddelago</td>
<td>to dwell</td>
<td>ngarrila-y-gu,</td>
<td>p40;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giwīrgo</td>
<td>for man</td>
<td>giwiirr-gu</td>
<td>p40;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gigigo</td>
<td>to be</td>
<td>gi-gi-gu</td>
<td>p41,42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣummillego</td>
<td>to see</td>
<td>ngami-li-gu</td>
<td>p42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakūllego</td>
<td>to cry aloud</td>
<td>gaga-li-gu</td>
<td>p42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative examples include: (-gu only)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muliŋō</td>
<td>to an eagle</td>
<td>maliyan-gu</td>
<td>p6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taŋgoo</td>
<td>to earth</td>
<td>dhawun-gu</td>
<td>p40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immanuelgo</td>
<td>(sent word) to Immanuel</td>
<td>Immanuel-gu</td>
<td>p41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daonmago</td>
<td>to the grave</td>
<td>dhawunma-gu</td>
<td>p41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāndigo</td>
<td>to the house</td>
<td>gundhi-gu</td>
<td>p41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣuruko</td>
<td>night ?morning</td>
<td>ngurru-gu ‘night’</td>
<td>p41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MathewsGR (Table 31) does not have the Personal Declension possessive, and has possessive allomorphs -gu and -u. Like Ridley he uses -gu for the purposive. He has no Allative examples, rather using Locative case for allative function. This is discussed at §3.3.4.6.
Table 31  GR Dative and Allative suffixes – Mathews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>murrigu</td>
<td>man’s</td>
<td>mari-gu</td>
<td>p261, 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inaru</td>
<td>woman’s</td>
<td>yinarr-u</td>
<td>p261, 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wullaigu</td>
<td>belongs to (this) camp</td>
<td>walaay-gu</td>
<td>p267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dêngu burralu</td>
<td>big man’s</td>
<td>dhayn.gu burral-u</td>
<td>p270, Wallarai dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ûngobillegu</td>
<td>(I am going) to camp</td>
<td>unknown verb-gu</td>
<td>p270 Mathew’s only? purposive use.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Locative with allative use

| Wallaidha | to the camp | walaay-dha | p261 |
| Murridha  | to the man  | mari-dha   | p261, 262 |
| burrala   | to big (man) | burral-a   | p262 |

Wurm’s GR examples (Table 32) have only the form -gu to express possessive, allative and purposive functions, unlike his YR in Table 28.

There are some unexplained Allative forms. Wurm has (p22) ‘da la:u ‘where (to)’ (dhalaa-wu) and many occurrences of dhalaa ‘where (LOC)’. It is likely the g has been lenited here – cf. dhulu-wa (from dhulu-ga) in Table 23.

Table 32  GR Dative and Allative suffixes – Wurm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>marigu</td>
<td>of (this) man</td>
<td>mari-gu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baidjargu</td>
<td>of (my) father</td>
<td>buwadjarr-gu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jillamalligu</td>
<td>to cook</td>
<td>yilama-li-gu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walaigu</td>
<td>to a camp</td>
<td>walaay-gu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da la:u</td>
<td>where (to)</td>
<td>dhalaa-(wu)</td>
<td>dhalaa is Locative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, there is quite limited information but three main sources all have invariant -gu with allative/purposive function. For Dative case Ridley has the Personal Declension form -ngu, but -u on some English words (d and m-final), indicating -u was used. Mathew’s Dative is -gu except after l/r when it is -u. Wurm is a later source and his Dative is invariant -gu, likely to be levelling in a language in decline or the result of Ngiyambaa influence. This indicates that traditional GR Dative is -gu, except after l/r, when it is -u and GR Allative is invariant -gu. This difference between the suffixes is a further reason for analysing Dative and Allative as separate cases.

3.2.5  Ablative suffix forms

3.2.5.1  Summary and conclusions

Ablative case has a core function of ‘movement from’, but also has many other functions: see §3.3.6.

My analysis of the suffix allomorphs is in Table 33. There are some changes from Williams’s analysis. The WN paradigm is included for comparison. The Ablative suffix allomorphs recorded are more varied than other case forms. The variation is likely due to variation in the traditional languages and interference, as the language declined, from other, more commonly used, case forms. The Ablative suffix has consistent forms for a, i, l and n-final words in both languages and for YR u-final and GR rr final words. As for other cases there is variation in YR words which are y and rr final. I analyse the Ablative suffix as -dji for all y-final words, with a variant y-dji/dhi for y2 words (Table 20) and some irregular forms. YR rr final words commonly alternate between -i and rr-yi Ablative forms, so both forms would seem to be acceptable, with rr-yi less common. Another
variant is \textit{rr}-dhi. The vast majority of GR suffixes have the same form on both \textit{u}-final and \textit{a}-final words. The Ablative suffix, in contrast, is \textit{-wi} after \textit{u} and \textit{-dhi} after \textit{a}.

Note: Two words behave irregularly in always having alternative forms – the Ablative of \textit{bagay} ‘river’ is only found as \textit{baga-dhi/baga-dji} and that of \textit{yinarr} ‘woman’ as \textit{yina-yi} and \textit{yina-dhi}.

**Table 33** YG Ablative suffix allomorphs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem final</th>
<th>YR</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>Wangaaybuwan (p82)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reg</td>
<td>irreg</td>
<td>reg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{a}</td>
<td>-dhi</td>
<td>-dhi</td>
<td>\textit{a}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{u}</td>
<td>-wi</td>
<td>2 tokens</td>
<td>\textit{u}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{i}</td>
<td>-dji</td>
<td>-dhi</td>
<td>\textit{i}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{y}</td>
<td>-dji</td>
<td>-dhi, -i</td>
<td>\textit{y}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{y2}</td>
<td>\textit{y}-dji, \textit{y}-dhi</td>
<td>-dhi</td>
<td>\textit{y}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{l}</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>\textit{l}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{rr}</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>\textit{rr}-yi, -i</td>
<td>\textit{rr}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{n}</td>
<td>-di</td>
<td>-di</td>
<td>\textit{n}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**YR Ablative evidence**

There are many YR tokens of the Ablative suffix, with examples of fully predictable forms in Table 34. Some of the non-regular forms on \textit{y}-final words are presented in Table 35. Table 36 has irregular forms on \textit{rr} final words.

**Table 34** YR Ablative suffix – not \textit{y} or \textit{rr} final

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vowel-final</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from the river</td>
<td>\textit{ga:wa:di}</td>
<td>\textit{gaawaa-dhi}</td>
<td>Wurm 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this is why</td>
<td>\textit{jalla girei ma?di}</td>
<td>\textit{yalagiirrayma-dhi}</td>
<td>Wurm 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(fear) of what</td>
<td>\textit{minya-dhi}</td>
<td>tapes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bit) on the leg</td>
<td>\textit{byu-} \textit{dhi}</td>
<td>tapes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from the fire</td>
<td>\textit{wi-dji}</td>
<td>\textit{wii-dji}</td>
<td>Wurm 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from the bush</td>
<td>\textit{wadi} \textit{dji/waridji}</td>
<td>\textit{wadhi-dji}</td>
<td>Wurm 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{l}-final</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from the large man</td>
<td>\textit{uredyi burna}</td>
<td>\textit{yuurray-dji burna}-i</td>
<td>MathewsYR 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hit on) ankle</td>
<td>\textit{ba?angal}</td>
<td>\textit{barangal}-i</td>
<td>Wurm 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>out of the eye</td>
<td>\textit{mil-i}</td>
<td>tapes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{n}-final</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from the emu</td>
<td>\textit{dhinawan-d}</td>
<td>\textit{dhinawan-di}</td>
<td>tapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{y}-final</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from the large man</td>
<td>\textit{uredyi burna}</td>
<td>\textit{yuurray-dji burna}-i</td>
<td>MathewsYR 139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Evidence for variation with word final y comes from MathewsYR (slight), Wurm, FR and AD. Sim’s paradigm and rare sentence instances of the suffix are regular. The variation is mostly found with words which have irregular forms with other cases – for instance wala-a-dhi, yaa-dhi (once), but there are many examples of the regular wala-a-dji on the tapes. There are a variety of patterns and few examples. For instance, while FR has a number of forms of the suffix with maadhaa, I assess the canonical form as maadhaa-dji, based on his own hesitation, and the fact that maadhaa takes the main form of other suffixes. walaay ‘camp’ is y2, but most Ablative instances retain the y: walaay-dji. In contrast bagay ‘river’ is also y2, but the only examples are baga-dhi and baga-dji. I suggest the Ablative suffix is -dji for all y-final words, with a variant y̶-dji/dhi for y2 words (Table 20). The actual form used is lexically determined. Two YR examples in Table 35 (dhiinbaay and buluuy) show the GR pattern, and dhaymaay-dhi probably is an error, since the uninflected noun is dhaymaarr.

**rr-final YR Ablative**

The Williams paradigm (p38) has -i as the only suffix allomorph for rr final words. However, variation is found, as seen in Table 36.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Source/note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>regular forms (-dji)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possum-ABL</td>
<td>mudhay-dji</td>
<td></td>
<td>tapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin-ABL</td>
<td>yulay-dji</td>
<td></td>
<td>tapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>camp-ABL</td>
<td>gaarrimay-dji</td>
<td></td>
<td>tapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>camp-ABL</td>
<td>walaay-dji</td>
<td></td>
<td>tapes; common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from the dog</td>
<td>maadhaaay-dji</td>
<td></td>
<td>tapes; many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-regular forms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from the camp</td>
<td>garemi</td>
<td>gaarrimay-i</td>
<td>MathewsYR 138, cf. regular form above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from (my) camp</td>
<td>wala:dhi</td>
<td>walaay=dhi</td>
<td>Wurm 76, cf. regular form above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from the camp</td>
<td>walaadj, wala:dji</td>
<td>walaay=dji</td>
<td>Wurm 77, cf. regular form above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from (this) camp</td>
<td>wala(i):dji</td>
<td>walaay(y)-dji</td>
<td>Wurm 90, cf. regular form above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from the river bank</td>
<td>baga-dhi</td>
<td>bagay=dhi</td>
<td>1: AD5128 2576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from the river</td>
<td>baga-dji</td>
<td>bagay=dji</td>
<td>1: AD5129A 2840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(put skin) in the sun</td>
<td>yaa-dhi</td>
<td>yaay=dhi</td>
<td>1: FR2439A 3082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(afraid) of the dog</td>
<td>maadhaaay-dhi</td>
<td>maadhaaay=dhi</td>
<td>FR5053 377, cf. above; error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maadhaaay-i corrected to maadhaaay-dji</td>
<td>dog-ABL</td>
<td>FR 1851B 2870</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear examples</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>dhiinbaay-dhi</td>
<td>dhinbaay</td>
<td>FR2437B 3419. The elicitation is unclear. (GR pattern)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘yamstick’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>buluuy-dhi</td>
<td></td>
<td>AD8186 3270 (GR pattern)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from the ground</td>
<td>dhaymaay-dhi</td>
<td>dhaymaarr</td>
<td>FR2436A 2653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘ground’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24 Change of ri to yi (less commonly ri to yi) is common in Australian languages, but the YR change is rr>y with any vowel following.
reflects the YR Ergative rr-\textit{yu} and Locative rr-\textit{ya}. The third is rr-\textit{dhi}, which may result from the transfer of the rr-du pattern seen with -DHuul on rr final words.

Table 36 shows the frequent uncertainty of the informants with rr final words. This variation could be due to interference from other patterns or be part of traditional Yuwaalaraay. The frequency of -yi suggests that the -yi is a genuine alternative Ablative form in Yuwaalaraay for rr final words. The final vowel is often not heard, so the -y(i) in the table.

### Table 36  YR Ablative on rr final words: tape evidence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixed form</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Source/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhaymaa-yi</td>
<td>dhaymaarr</td>
<td>FR 2436A 2653: error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhaymaa-y, corrected to dhaymaarr-i</td>
<td>dhaymaarr</td>
<td>FR 2437B 2571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhaymaa-yi</td>
<td>dhaymaarr</td>
<td>ground AD 3997B 1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baburr-i, babu-dhi</td>
<td>baburr</td>
<td>foot AD 1986B 2515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bandaarr-i</td>
<td>bandaarr</td>
<td>kangaroo AD 3999A 425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulii-yi, corrected to gulii-tti-i</td>
<td>gulii</td>
<td>spouse AD 3220B 826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man.garr-i</td>
<td>man.garr</td>
<td>bag, pouch AD 5130 3375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man.ga-yi</td>
<td></td>
<td>AD 3217A 2079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yina-yi</td>
<td>yinarr;</td>
<td>woman AD many in 5128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yina-dhi</td>
<td></td>
<td>(yinarr-i not found)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minyaarr-i ‘where from’</td>
<td>minyaarr</td>
<td>which Tapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minyaa-yi ‘where from’</td>
<td>minyaarr</td>
<td>Tapes (less common); Wurm: 90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 37 shows the similarities of YR Ablative to both YR and GR Ergative/Locative suffixes.

### Table 37  YR Ablative on rr-final words: summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word ends</th>
<th>YR</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>YR</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>YR</th>
<th>GR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td></td>
<td>Locative</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr,</td>
<td>rr-yi</td>
<td>rr-ya</td>
<td>rr-ya</td>
<td>rr-yu</td>
<td>rr-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr-i</td>
<td>rr-ia</td>
<td>rr-ya</td>
<td>rr-ya</td>
<td>rr-yu</td>
<td>rr-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GR Ablative evidence**

There are few examples of the Ablative suffix in the Gamilaraay sources, most of which are given in Table 38. The form of the GR suffix is uncertain after final y and u. As in YR, GR bagay-ABL drops the y; the only other y-final example is walaaydhi. As for YR I suggest the y2 suffix has variants, -dhi and y\textdaggerhead{dhi}, except for bagay, where the only form found is baga-dhi. More problematic are the u-final words. All instances have u-wi as the Ablative form. If accurate this would be the only situation where u-final and a-final words have different allomorphs of a suffix. All of the numerous YR u-final examples have u-dhi, suggesting this may also have been the GR form. On the other hand the only GR examples have u-i, which would be rendered u-wi in the current orthography.
Table 38  GR Ablative examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixed form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mulliondi</td>
<td>from an eagle</td>
<td>maliyan-di</td>
<td>Ridley: 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wullaidhi</td>
<td>from the camp</td>
<td>walaay-dhi</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murridhi</td>
<td>from the man</td>
<td>mari-dhi</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bundari</td>
<td>from the kangaroo</td>
<td>bandaarr-i</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murridhi burali</td>
<td>from the big man</td>
<td>mari-dhi burrul-i</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhului bulari biddhundi;</td>
<td>between two trees</td>
<td>dhulu-wi bulaarr-i bidjun-dí</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bugga-dhi</td>
<td>from the other side of the river</td>
<td>baga-dhi; bagay ‘river’</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yudile</td>
<td>through the bush</td>
<td>presumably yurrul-i</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhuyul-i</td>
<td>(climb) up/down the hill</td>
<td>dhuyul-i</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhulu-i</td>
<td>up the tree</td>
<td>dhulu-wi</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miri</td>
<td>near nose</td>
<td>muru-wi</td>
<td>Laves: 10 p38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>from the meat</td>
<td>dhii-dhi</td>
<td>Wurm: 41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.6  Personal Declension (PD) case forms

YG have a set of core, Dative and local case suffixes that are used predominantly with kin terms, which I call Personal Declension case forms (see also §4.1.2.8). In summary, the PD case suffixes are -DHi for Nominative and Accusative (Austin (1993a) suggests the allomorphs -di following n or l, and -dhi following a or u); the standard -Gu form for Ergative; and ‘pronoun’ case forms, which begin with -n, for Dative and local cases. As with pronouns, there is syncretism of the Allative and Locative of the PD case forms. The PD case forms are set out in Table 39. The table also has the common case endings on pronouns (when the case is not marked suppletively), the suffixes found on numbers used as pronouns, as well as the suffixes for standard nominals.

Table 39  Case suffixes compared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Personal Declension</th>
<th>#pronoun</th>
<th>#number based pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom/Acc</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-DHi</td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td>-nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg</td>
<td>-Gu</td>
<td>-Gu</td>
<td>-Gu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>-gu#</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>-Ga</td>
<td>-ngunda</td>
<td>-ngunda</td>
<td>-ngunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>-ngunda</td>
<td>-ngunda</td>
<td>-ngunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl</td>
<td>-DHi</td>
<td>-ngundi</td>
<td>-ngundi</td>
<td>-ngundi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# The Dative suffix has allomorphs in earlier sources but not in the tape sources.

Many Australian languages have a similar case differentiation. Goddard (1983a: 24-26) discusses the Yankunytjatjara ‘name status’ case suffixes which historically derive from Ergative allomorphs. These Yankunytjatjara suffixes are used when a kin term ‘is used as if it were a name’. The conditions governing use of YG PD suffixes are not well understood. They seem to be used in two main situations. The most common use is when a kin term occurs with a possessive pronoun or noun, e.g. ‘my brother’s’, ‘from your father’, ‘on the girl’s mother’. PD suffixes may also be used on other nominals when they are used as with personal reference. The first two examples in (3) may refer to dreamtime characters, and the last two have direct human reference.
3 Nominal inflection

Personal Declension case examples.

(a) **maliyan-ngu** wedgetail.eagle-DAT  
Ridley, Table 30

(b) **buurrngan-ngu** meat ant-DAT  
AD 8183 2342

(c) **wanda-ngu** white man-DAT  
AD 3220B 1068

(d) **wayamaa-ngu** old fellow-DAT  
AD 8183 2342

YG use of -dhi may be influenced by Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 124), where =DHii is the clitic first person pronoun, with object, IO and possessive function.25 It is possible the WN form has been adapted into YG with a shortened vowel and amended function. WN =dhii is first person only, and can occur after other case markers. WN ngambaa-dhi is ‘mother-my’ Nominative and Accusative; ngambaa-gu-dhi is ‘mother-Ergative-my’. YG -dhi occurs with second and third person possessives, and never after other case suffixes. WN also has a Proper Name marker, -gaN, (Donaldson, 1980: 105) which serves to distinguish Proper Name use of any term. Gumbaynggirr kin terms (Morelli, 2008: 254) also have their own set of case suffixes which have some similarity with the YG ones.

The evidence for the PD case forms is now examined, but not for Ergative, since Proper nouns have the standard Ergative form, for instance ngambaa-gu ‘mother-ERG’ (AD 5056 1773).

3.2.6.1 Personal Declension suffixes: Nominative/Accusative

Earlier sources do not give any indication of differences in meaning or use between pairs such as ngambaa and ngambaadhi, suffixed and unsuffixed kin terms.

In sentence examples from later sources the suffixed form is generally translated by a possessive pronoun and the kin term, as in: ‘my/your/his/her mother’. The most common pronoun is ‘my’ but the other singular pronouns are found. Kin terms with the -DHi suffix are found in Nominative and Accusative case.

Gamilaraay examples of -DHi on kin terms come from all the main sources. Ridley (p18) has several -DHi-final kin terms, including ‘elder brother’ daiadi (dhayaadhi). His only example which explicitly shows that the suffix may be optional is (p18): ‘children call their mother guni! or gunidi! (gunii, guniidhii)’. MathewsGR (p275) does not list alternatives but the suffix is found on many of his YR ‘family’ words: e.g. ‘older sister’ boadhi (bawadhi/baawaadhi) (1902: 180).

Parker has a number of examples of the suffix, including (1905: 143) beealahdee ‘father, and mother’s sisters’ husbands’ (biyalaadhi?baayalaadhi) and (p146) numbardee ‘mother and mother’s sisters’ (ngambaa-dhi). Her first example contrasts with Lave’s biala ‘father’ (10 p18) which is unsuffixed, but many of Lave’s other examples on this page and elsewhere have the suffix as optional: ngambaldhi (ngambaa/dhi) ‘mother’; garudi/gurudi (garruudhi) ‘uncle’; deadi (dhayaadhi) ‘younger brother’. Wurm has only Yuwaalaraay examples of the suffix: njamba:di ‘(its) mother (is standing)’ (ngambaa-dhi) and daga:ndi ‘my elder brother (is hunting)’ (dhagaan-di). The case of the noun here is not clear, since the verb (bawawunji) is not otherwise known, but the common verb for ‘hunt’, maniilay, is intransitive.

Fred Reece has a number of examples of -DHi suffixed kin terms, including garrimaay-dji ‘mother in law’ (2437B 1072). An Accusative case example is (1852A 1884) guwaa-la dhagaan-di[i] ‘tell brother (that the emu is coming)’.

Arthur Dodd has many Nominative and Accusative PD marked kin terms, suffixed and unsuffixed, with some given in Table 40.

---

Table 40  Nominative and Accusative kin terms with PD suffix: Arthur Dodd

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form/case</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngambaa-dhi</td>
<td>my mother (died)</td>
<td>3218A 883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngambaa-dhi ngay</td>
<td>(looking for) my mother; AD says: ngambaa-dhi means ‘my mother’</td>
<td>3996A 1057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngay ngambaa-dhii</td>
<td>(a snake bit) my mother.</td>
<td>3218B 3802</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Possessor is not first person**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form/case</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngambaa-dhi</td>
<td>your mother (lived)</td>
<td>3218A 897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nginu ngambaa-dhi</td>
<td>(Where is) your mother?</td>
<td>3218A 851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngambaa-dhi nguungu</td>
<td>his mother</td>
<td>2833A 1410</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is rare to find examples where there is not a possessive pronoun or noun modifying the kin term; i.e. explicit mention of who the kin term is connected with.

3.2.6.2  Vocative nominals

There is mixed evidence about the vocative use of family terms. With kin terms the -DHi form does not seem to be used vocatively.

The exclamation mark in Ridley’s (p18, quoted above): ‘children call their mother guni! or gunidi! (gunii, guniidhi[i]) implies that both forms can be used vocatively, if it is assumed that ‘call’ indicates what the children say to their mother. ‘Call’ can also mean ‘what they call their mother when speaking to others’. The tape evidence, including (4), suggests the unsuffixed form is used vocatively.

(4)  
garriyawu dhagaan, garriyawu dhilaagaa ‘wait brother, wait uncle’.  
FR 5053 1351

AD also uses the unsuffixed form vocatively: ngambaa ‘mother, (cook us some meat)’ (2833B 206). In non-vocative settings, however, the PD forms are generally used: FR has dhagaan-di (two examples given above) and AD ngambaa-dhi, dhilaagaa-dhi (2832B 2810).

3.2.6.3  Personal Declension: Dative case

The PD Dative suffix is -ngu, also found in the Dative of most pronouns, and in the final elements of Locative pronouns -ngu-nda; and Ablative pronouns -ngu-ndi. For instance the third person singular YR pronouns are ngu (Erg) ngu-nga (Dat) nguu-ngu-nda (Loc) and nguu-ngu-ndi (Abl).

These same forms (-ngu, -ngunda, ngundi) are found after some kin terms, in Yuwaalaraay most commonly after ngambaa ‘mother’, but they are also found after other person terms, or words such as numbers and demonstratives with a person reference (see §5.3.2: pronouns).

Ridley lists the Dative suffixes as -ngu and -u, and does not record the common form, -gu. It may be that he has mistaken a specialised form for a general one. -ngu occurs in his Gurre Kamilaroi in murringu ‘of Gamilaraay people’ (mari-ngu), wundangu ‘of white people’ (wanda-ngu) and baiaangenu ‘of god’ (Baayami-ngu), as well as in ngerngu ‘belonging to him’ (ngiyarr-ngu), a pronoun based on the demonstrative root ngiyarri ‘there’. These all have human reference.

Wurm (p79) has two Datives, in successive examples:

26 The fact that dhilaagaa has very similar use to dhilaa suggests that -gaa may mark proper names, similar to the -gAN used in WN.
There is no obvious reason for the change in the form of the Dative, but it does provide evidence for use of -ngu other than on pronouns. The analysis of birralii-gal-uu-ngu is uncertain. The -u/uu- may be the ‘TOTal’ suffix. A potential other instance using -ngu is ngay-u-ngu (1SG.DAT-u-ngu) ‘my’ in ‘for my father’, with possible double Dative suffixes (see 3.3.7). Table 41 gives examples of Personal Declension Dative suffixes from AD.

### Table 41  Arthur Dodd: kin terms: Dative examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngambaa-ngu nguungu</td>
<td>for his mother</td>
<td>5130 3631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maadhauy nhama dhagaan-ngu ngay</td>
<td>dog belongs to my brother</td>
<td>2833A 545</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, standard Dative suffixes are also found on kin terms, e.g. buwadjarr-gu ‘father’s’ (father-DAT, AD3220B 1025); and ngambsaa-gu ‘(carrying the water) for my mother’ (AD5058 515). The conditions governing the choice of suffix are not understood. At times AD uses the PD form when there is a double Dative: 2833A 532: dhagaan-ngu ngay ‘brother-DAT.PD 1SG.DAT’ ‘(that dog there) belongs to my brother’. At other times he is uncertain. FR is less likely to use PD forms.

There are other occurrences of -ngu which are currently unexplained. Gambuu is a male social section, and Wurm has:

(5)  gámbuu náìà
     gambuu-ngu ngaya
     Gambuu(Section)-DAT?? 1SG
     I am Gambu (Gambuu)  WurmGR p12
     SW

Sim & Giacon (1998: 32) has ‘poor me’ ngarragaa-ngu; cf. ngarragaa ‘poor thing’. Milson (p9) has ‘herself’ yennir malgnoo (yinarr maal-ngu; yinarr ‘woman’; maal ‘one’) and Sim (pers. comm.) has the same form: maal-ngu ‘alone’. The function of the suffix in these examples is not clear.

### 3.2.6.4  Personal Declension: local cases

PD Locative examples are common (with locative and allative function), Ablative examples less so. Some recent instances are given in Table 42. Most, but not all, are in a possessive phrase. Guduuggu-ngu[u] is the only instance found of -ngu[u] as an Allative suffix, the only example to suggest that the PD Allative and Locative are not identical. The example also suggests that PD suffixes are used on proper names.

See §3.2.3 for Ridley’s mullionkùnda ‘with an eagle at rest’, which I interpret as maliyan-ngunda. Maliyan is a common character in traditional stories, and this could be an example of the word being used as a name.

In (6) AD first uses the standard Ablative ngambaa-dhi, and then presumably corrects himself and uses ngambaa-ngundi ‘mother-PD.ABL’ (the case of the one asked with miinba-y varies, mostly Ablative and Dative).
### Table 42  Personal Declension local cases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngambaa-ngunda</td>
<td>on (the girl’s) mother</td>
<td>AD 5130 3617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngambaa-ngunda nginu</td>
<td>(Run) to your mother</td>
<td>AD 5130 3624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngambaa-ngunda nguungu</td>
<td>(show the meat) to his mother</td>
<td>AD 5129A 1758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhilaagaa-ngunda</td>
<td>(going) to my old brother</td>
<td>FR 2436A 2574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ablative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buwadjarr-ngundi</td>
<td>(run away from) your father</td>
<td>AD 5130 3605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buwadjarr-ngundi</td>
<td>(got frightened) of his father</td>
<td>AD 5130 3661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngambaa-ngundi</td>
<td>The little girl is holding onto (hanging from) her mother.</td>
<td>AD 5058 597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayamaa-ngundi</td>
<td>(ask that) old fellow (for some more meat)</td>
<td>AD 3217A 841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Allative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guduuguu-nguu</td>
<td>(go, take) to Goodooga (4 examples)</td>
<td>Sim: 47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6)  I am going to ask mother for some yams. CW/AD 5057 1844

giirr ngaya gi.yaa.nha ngambaa-dhi / ngambaa-ngundi miinba-y ngaam, milaan true 1SG going.to mother-ABL / mother-PD.ABL ask.for-FUT that, yam

The same words can have both PD and standard suffixes. The non-kin Ablative *ngambaa-dhi* occurs 35 times in the tapes, as in: *man.ga-yi ngambaa-dhi* ‘(poke head) from his mother’s pouch’ (bag-ABL mother-ABL) (3217A 2023; cf. 3217A 2079, (1111)). The kin-term Ablative is found three times. Again the factors conditioning the choice of standard or PD case form are not clear.

There is a currently unexplained use of *-ngundi* seen in (7) on a verb (the only instance so far found of this putative verb suffix *-laa*). A similar use with a verb is seen in (8). These examples suggest *-ngundi* as an apprehensive suffix on verbs.

(7)  I’m frightened of you hitting me. FR/JM 1852A 2306

giyal ngaya gi-yaa.nha nginundi, buma-laa??-ngundi nganha afraid 1SG get-MOV-PRS 2SG.ABL hit-laa??-PD.ABL 1SG.ACC

(8)  Take the meat away from her child. CW/AD 5130 3580

dhinggaa nhama gaa-nga, ngiim’ birralii-djuul-i meat 3.DEF take-IMP, FROM.DEF child-DIM-ABL

CW (not heard) AD dha-li-ngundi ngawuma eat-FUT-ABL?? there

Take the meat from that child, so that she won’t eat it. JG

### 3.3  Uses of cases

#### 3.3.1  Uses of Core cases

Nominative, Accusative and Ergative are referred to as syntactic or core cases.

##### 3.3.1.1  Uses of Nominative case

The Nominative case has a number of uses.

(i)  It is the unmarked and citation form of nominals. It is used in address forms, e.g. ‘you silly boy’ (171).

---

27 *ngiim* was earlier transcribed *nhiim*, but is now recognised as the demonstrative *ngiima*: see §6.3.8.
(ii) It is the case of the S, the subject of intransitive verbs, e.g. ‘man’ in ‘one white man came to my camp’ (147); and ‘crow’ in ‘the crow flew towards the fire’ (106).

(iii) Unmarked nominals appear as predicates in adjectival attributive sentences: e.g. (170) (‘you are mad, stumpy wings’), and as the subject complement in equational sentences (9). These instances could be construed as having Nominative case in agreement with the S of the sentence.

These uses are similar to those described by Donaldson for WN.

(9) I am a strong man. JM/FN 1852A 2016

walanbaa ngaya dhayn
strong(NOM) 1SG person(NOM)

Middle and reflexive verbs have complex case structure, as seen in §9.2 and in Arrernte, where for instance ‘I’ and ‘chest’ in ‘my chest is hurting me’ (Wilkins, 1989: 167) are both in Nominative case even though the verb is usually transitive.

3.3.1.2 Uses of Accusative case

The Accusative case is prototypically used for the Object of transitive verb. No other uses have been found in YG.

No double Accusative verbs have been found in YG, i.e. verbs such as ‘give’, ‘talk’, ‘show’ and ‘tell’ have only one Accusative argument, the theme, which is generally inanimate; the other argument being in Dative or Locative case. This contrasts with Gumbaynggirr where double Accusative verbs are found, e.g. *ngurra* ‘give’ (Morelli, 2008).

3.3.1.3 Uses of Ergative case

In this analysis YG have Ergative case which has agentive and instrumental function, and perhaps other functions. In some analyses, e.g. Williams (1980), these are regarded as separate cases on syntactic grounds, even if the forms are identical.

Ergative case prototypically marks A, the subject of transitive verb – semantically often the Agent. There are many examples, including (10)–(15).

Ergative marks A when it is an animate being, as in (10) and (11).

(10) A snake bit me. JM/FN 1848A 3011

dhuyu is snake // dhuyu-gu nganha yii-y / maadhaay-u nganha yii-y
dhuyu is snake // snake-ERG 1SG.ACC bite-PST / dog-ERG 1SG.ACC bite-PST
A dog bit me. Snake bit me. ‘dog’ is *maadhaay*.

Note that in (11) the thing given is not overtly expressed.

(11) Who gave it to you? SW p83

nga:ndu ɲiɲu u:nni
who.ERG 2SG.DAT give-PST

(a) ngaanda nguɲu ɬu:n-hi
who.ERG 2SG.DAT give-PST

The man gave it to me. SW

de:ndu ɡiɲ u:nni

(b) dhayn-du ɲay u:n-hi
man-ERG 1SG.DAT give-PST

(12) and (13) show Ergatively marked inanimate A.
(12) They were rolling on top of bindi-eyes.

They rolled on the bindi-eye, and the bindi-eye must be sticking in them.

(13) ***muyaan-du nganha dhuvi-nyi / maa-dhi.***

Stick stuck into my hand.

Ergative case also marks instrumental function. It commonly marks an instrument in a sentence with a transitive verb and Ergative case A, as in (14) and (15). The verb ‘duh-ri’ ‘poke’ is rarely found without a specified instrument, e.g. *bilaa-yu dhu-ri* ‘to spear’ has ‘spear-ERG’ and *nhaayba-gu dhu-ri* ‘stab’ has ‘knife-ERG’. Other examples of instrumental function include (112) and (514).

(14) ***wanda-gu nganha dhuul-gu huma-li***

The white man will hit me with a stick.

(15) ***giirr nhama / dhuyn-galga-gu / bilaa-yu dhu-dha-y / dhinawan***

The men will be spearing emu.

Separation of agentive and instrumental functions is on semantic and syntactic grounds. Instruments are typically inanimate (e.g. knife, hammer, gun, spear) while Agents are predominantly animate. Nominals in instrumental function are frequently adjuncts, commonly located after the main clause. They typically occur in the same clause as an Ergatively marked Agent.

No examples have been found so far of nominals with instrumental function co-occurring with intransitive verbs, as in ‘he walked with a stick’. In some Australian languages this is possible, as is pointed out by a number of contributors in Dixon (1976) and by Breen (2004: 77). In others, e.g. Warlpiri, Ergative case is only used for instruments when the A has Ergative case (Simpson (pers. comm.)).

3.3.1.3.1 Other uses of Ergative case

There are a number of non-prototypical uses of Ergative case in YG. One involves middle verbs (see §9.2). The middle form of the verb is most commonly intransitive, e.g. (654) ‘the spear broke’, with a Nominative subject. However, there are examples such as (272) (part repeated in (677)) ‘did your husband wash himself?’ and (655) ‘the woman washed her hand’ which have Ergative subject with a middle verb. The conditions governing this use are unclear. In (128)(a) ‘the prickles stuck into my foot’ – ‘prickles’ is Ergative but ‘me’ and ‘foot’ are Locative rather than the expected Accusative/Ablative (cf. (13)). I have no explanation for this.

No YG personal pronouns in instrumental function have been found. They are semantically unlikely but not impossible, and Wilkins (1989: 171) describes pronouns with instrumental function in Arrernte.

(16) is one of the very few instances on the tapes where the A is not Ergatively marked. However, the structure might be a topicalised NP, and then null anaphora of the Ergative pronoun, as suggested in the JG translation.
(16) Your big dog bit me.

\[
\text{giirr nginu maadhaay / yii-y nganha / buyu-dhi}
\]

true 1SGEN?DAT dog / bite-PST 1SG.ACC / leg-ABL

Your (big) dog bit me on the leg.

That dog of yours, it bit me on the leg.

There are also occasional instances where not all the constituents of the NP are Ergatively marked, e.g. \textit{burrulaa-gu dhayn} ‘many-ERG men’ in (422). The rarity of such instances points to these being errors.

3.3.1.4 Ergative in other languages

Other languages also have uses of the Ergative which are outside the basic pattern. Breen (2004: 77) lists non-prototypical uses of instrumental in Yandruwantha, some of them given in Table 43.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence/phrase</th>
<th>Instrumental nominal</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I hit my foot on a rock.</td>
<td>rock- ERG(inst)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I made it out of wood</td>
<td>wood- ERG(inst)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comes in the dark</td>
<td>dark- ERG(inst)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wear a hair belt</td>
<td>belt- ERG(inst)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caught it by the tail</td>
<td>tail- ERG(inst)</td>
<td>but other Yandruwantha speakers use Nominative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are idiomatic uses of Ergative, for instance in Arrernte (Wilkins, 1989: 172) ‘I’m suffering from the cold’ is translated with ‘cold-ERG’ and ‘me(ACC)’.

3.3.2 Uses of Dative case: possessive, purposive, benefactive

Most uses of the YG Dative can be described in terms of a number of functions. Examples of other uses which are currently not understood are given at the end of this section.

The first function is possession, an adnominal function – the Dative nominal qualifies another nominal (‘my hat’, ‘his spear’ etc.). There are also a range of predicative functions, usually separated into possessive (x is ‘ours’); dative (give ‘to us’); benefactive and purposive (‘for us’); and also with a verb (come here ‘to eat’). These are English semantic categories and it is not clear to what degree they are applicable to YG, nor is it always clear what function a Dative nominal has in a particular clause.

Possession. When Dative has possessive use the possessive nominal qualifies the possessed and usually follows it as in (17)(=(894)), (18), (23), (26), (27) and (864). In rare instances the possessive precedes the possessed, as in (19). At least some of these may be the result of English influence.

(17) The man brought his boomerang and also his spear.

\[
dhayn-du dhiyama-y [barran nguungu] bilaarr gaalanha
\]

man-ERG pick.up-PST boomerang 3SG.DAT spear 3DU.ACC

(18) That dog there belongs to my brother.

\[
nham=bala=nha [maadhaay nguungu]
\]

that=CTR=3? dog 3SG.DAT

That’s his dog there.
(I stayed behind to catch possums) and she (my wife) disappeared, was lost. JM/AD 3219B 3334

Pronouns in possessive function are very common but the sources have comparatively few instances of nouns in possessive function. An example is bɔadjəɖu ‘father’s (dog)’ (buwadjarr-gu (Wurm p69)).

There are many situations, particularly with reference to body parts, and more so for third person singular possessors, where English would use a possessive but in YG no pronoun is used; e.g. ‘my eye’ (870) and ‘his leg’ (875).

I suspect there has been considerable influence from English on information in more recent sources about whole-part situations, including body parts (see §11.4.4), with results such as dhinawan-gu dhil ‘emu’s tail’ (emu-DAT tail; 5050 1607 CW/AD) where the traditional pattern would have both nominals in the same case, and not use a Dative.

The Dative can be the main predicate in verbless sentences or those that use the copula, as in (20), (21) and (22)(a). The alternative translation of (22)(a)(i) is stilted but shows the subject and predicate.

(20) Those children are ours. JM/FR 1852B 2050

ngalingu nhama birralii
1DU.DAT 3.DEF child
Them children is ours. FR

Those children are ours. JG

(21) maayrr=nga ngiyaningu=laa dhuwaarr gi-gi
none=THEN 1PL.DAT=DIR bread be-FUT
We’ll have no bread directly. AD/CW 5129A 2203

There will be no bread of/for us soon. JG

(22) They say: ‘I’m not going to give you some’.

(a) giirr=bala ngiyaningu dhingga, (ii) dhingga-biyaay ngali
true=CTR 1PL.DAT meat, meat-COM 1DU
We’ve got meat (There is meat for us), (ii) we (two) have got meat. AD/CW 5056 1844

(b) waal gi.yaa.nha nginaayngu wuu-dha-y
not going.to 2PL.DAT give-EAT-FUT
We aren’t going to give you any. JG

While the general predicative sense is clear in (20), (21) and (22)(a) the detailed semantics, the subtleties, are not. With predicative use the Dative pronoun tends to be near the start of the clause. With adnominal use the Dative follows the possessed nominal.

Dative case nouns and pronouns with dative function are very common as in (22)(b), (23), (24), all expressing the recipient of the verb wuu-gi ‘give’.

(23) I gave the meat to the man I saw yesterday. CW/FR 5053 1003

dhingga ngaya / wuu-nhi / garrugi-gu / garrugi-gu ngay
meat 1SG / give-PST / uncle-DAT / uncle-DAT 1SG.DAT
I give the meat to my uncle. FR
As well as being used for the case of an argument that is inherently part of the meaning of a verb, such as the recipient of an action of giving, Dative is also used for nominals representing entities that are associated with the event in loose ways. These can include benefactive, purposive, and instances where it is hard to distinguish between the two.

### Benefactive use of Dative case

The broad definition of ‘benefactive’ function is that it shows an action or object is ‘for’ someone or something. It is seen with pronouns in (25) and (700) (ngay ‘for me’) and with nouns in (26) and (27).

(25) The boy will catch one for them.   CW/AD 5130 1086  
\[giirruu \ nguuru=laa, \ birralii-djuul-u / bandaarr \ bayama.ali-y \ ganungu\]  
true.very 3SG.ERG?\textordmasque\=DIR child-DIM-ERG / kangaroo catch-ARG FUT 3PL.DAT  
He, that boy, will catch a kangaroo for them. JG

(26) I am going to take it home to the camp for my kiddies now.   CW/AD 3997B 1183  
\[gaarrima-wu \ ngaya \ gi.yaa.nha \ gaa-gi=nga \ / \ warangana / \ birralii-gal-gu \ ngay\]  
camp-ALL 1SG going.to take-FUT=NOW / honey / child-PL.DIM-DAT 1SG.DAT  
I am going to take it home to the camp for my kiddies now. FR/JM 2438A 1931

Benefactive use of the Dative is sometimes, but not always, associated with use of the additional argument verb suffix, as in (25): see §9.3.1.

### Purposive use of Dative case

Purposive function indicates the reason something is done. It is also shown by Dative case on nominals (28), (29) and (1132) and on the future form of verbs28 (29) and (59) (for purposive verbs see §8.3.4).

(28) FR The man killed that red kangaroo. JM To eat it, for food.  
\[dhinggaa-gu \ nguuru \ buma-y, \ dhinggaa-gu\]  
meat-DAT 3SG.ERG kill-PST; meat-DAT(PURP)  
He killed it for meat, for meat. JG

(29) I go for water to dip it from the river   SW p84  
\[gungan-gu \ ngaya \ gaarri-y, \ dihiyarra-li.gu \ gaawaa-dhi\]  
water-PURP 1SG get.down-FUT, dip-PURP river-ABL  
I will bend down for water, to dip it from the river. JG

Dative with purposive use is common in complements of verbs of speech. See (917) (You told me to cut the skin. \textit{garra-li.gu} ‘cut-PURP’) and in what might be called negative purposive situations, as in (30).

---

28 The combination of future suffix and Dative, e.g. \textit{-li.gu} in (29), is glossed PURP(osive).
In fact the terms ‘purposive’ and ‘benefactive’ are poorly distinguished in some contexts. In a statement such as ‘bring some water for me’, ‘for me’ could be described as both ‘purposive’ and ‘benefactive’. ‘Purposive’ is more obviously applied to situations such as (28) where the benefactive reading does not fit. Dative case with purposive function is the only instance of the core or local cases occurring on a YG verb (the suffix can be on any future form of the verb). With verbs such as ‘cook’ and ‘bring’ the more likely function is benefactive (e.g. cook/bring ‘for us’) (26), (27) and (25). (28) shows purposive use on a noun (kill it ‘for meat’) and (29) shows purposive on a verb (go ‘to dip’).

3.3.2.1 Dative case: questions

As elsewhere there are currently unexplained uses and scope for further investigation and a more fine-grained analysis. The uses of the Dative in (31) and (32) do not fit any of the functions given above.

It is not clear that the purposive use of the Dative in (31) represents a general pattern. The Ablative or Aversive might be expected but Ablative is not found on verbs in YG (although its use on a Subordinate form of the verb would not be unexpected) and there is minimal evidence for an Aversive case: see §3.3.6.3.

The young fellow was afraid to go hunting. (maniila-y.gu ‘go.hunting-PURP’)

I would normally expect the Caritative suffix (see §3.4.1.4) to be used to translate the elicitation sentence in (32). The informant may have been influenced by English ‘for’, or it may be a traditional use of the Dative.

The children are crying for food. They are getting hungry.

3.3.3 Uses of local cases

The fundamental use of local cases is to describe spatial scenes. In the terms of Levinson and Wilkins (2006: 3):

[T]hey describe the location or motion of one thing with respect to other things. Thus in a spatial description, something – call it the ‘figure’ (theme or trajector) – is generally located with respect to something else – call it the ‘ground’. [my bolding]

The ground can be further differentiated into a Source, a Goal and a Path.

Local cases also have semantically linked non-core functions, and often a range of other uses which are not predictable or explainable, including semantically governed uses. The core function of Locative case is in situations where the relationship between the figure and ground is constant, e.g. ‘the child is in the room’, ‘It is running around the table’, ‘It is lying/walking on the table’. The core function of Ablative case is when the figure moves away from the ground (Source): ‘the child might fall off the table’, ‘It came out of the room’, ‘take it away from there’. The core function of Allative case is when the figure moves towards the ground (Goal): ‘go to school’, ‘he is going to the river’. (33) exemplifies these core functions.

(a) I cut a hole in the tree

Local cases – core functions

(a) I cut a hole in the tree

muyaan-da

tree-LOC
However, there are many local uses of these cases in YG which do not fit this pattern. Seemingly similar situations can be encoded by a number of cases. (34)(=(73)) shows a non-core use of the Ablative, associated with ‘movement into’, not ‘movement from’.

(34) I put my hand inside the hole.  
\textit{maa ngaya wuu-nhi biyuu-dhi}  
hand 1SG go.in-PST hole-ABL  
I put my hand down the hole.  

(34) and (35) all involve what might be called ‘illative’ function – ‘going into an enclosed space’ – but shown by all three local cases. Some atypical uses are lexically governed. For instance \textit{wuu-gi} ‘go in’, found in (34) and (35) always takes the Ablative case. However, ‘hide’ (35)(a) does not normally use Ablative to mark location: cf. (35)(b).

(35) Local cases – other local functions
(a) They hid it in a hole \textbf{in the tree}.  
\textit{muyaan-di}  
tree-ABL  
(b) He hid \textbf{in the bushes}.  
\textit{yurrul-da?-a}  
bush-LOC  
(c) He disappeared \textbf{into the bush}.  
\textit{wadhi-gu}  
bush-ALL  
(d) Put something \textbf{in a bag}.  
\textit{man.ga-ya}  
bag-LOC  
(e) Goannas going \textbf{in[to] the ground}  
\textit{dhaymaa-yi}  
ground-ABL

Table 44, adapted from Donaldson Table 4.1.4a/b, uses some traditional terms for locational functions, and points out some differences between the cases used in YG and WN to encode these spatial relations, with YG having a more complex system. For instance in WN only Allative is used for allative function, but in YG Locative and Allative are used: see §3.3.4.6. The table also adds functions not given in Donaldson, for instance the perlative.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Wangaaybuwan case marking and spatial orientation}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Motion} & \textbf{Gloss} & \textbf{Function} & \textbf{YG} & \textbf{WN} & \textbf{Gloss} & \textbf{Function} & \textbf{YG} & \textbf{WN} \\
\hline
none & be.on/at & adessive & LOC & LOC & be.in & inessive & LOC & ABL \\
to & go.to & allative & LOC/ALL & ALL & go.into & illative & ABL/LOC & ABL \\
from & go.from & ablative & ABL & ABL & go.out.of & elative & ABL & ABL \\
other & & & & & & & & \\
on/near & go around & & & & & LOC & & \\
through & go through & perlative & LOC/ALL/ABL & & & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}
The relationship between the core uses of a case and its non-local uses varies. At times there is a clear relationship. Many languages use Ablative case to mark the material something is made from. There is an understandable relation between the starting point for movement and the ‘starting material’ for a process. At times there is no simple relationship between the core use and other uses, as seen most clearly in the many unpredicted uses of the Ablative. As in Latin the YG Ablative has something of the role of a ‘left-overs’ marker, taking on roles which do not fit with other cases.

3.3.4 Uses of Locative case

The core use of Locative case is for:

Situations where the relation between the ground and figure is constant It is also used for:

- Movement to a ground – in some instances
- Some marking of time
- The Indirect Object of some verbs including ‘talk’.

3.3.4.1 Local uses of Locative case

A single Locative case nominal can be used to specify location as the predicate in a nonverbal sentence (36) (37), as the locational adjunct with stative verbs (38) and with motion verbs such as ‘swim’ in (39) (= (158)). (36) also shows the informant using the GR form of the Locative suffix in YR.

(36) *burrulaa buya nhama ngaaluuy-yaa, ngaaluurr-a*
many bone 3.DEF fish-LOC, fish-LOC[irreg]
The fish got a lot of bones in him.
There are a lot of bones in the fish.
FR/JM 1853A 2447

(37) *maayrr gungan nhama / gaawaa-ga*
none water there / river-LOC
No water there in that river, in that gaawaa.
JM/AD 8183 3284

(38) *waal=bala nguwama / dhuu-ga yilawa-ya*
not=CTR there / fire-LOC sit-IMP
Don’t sit at the fire.
JM/FR 2438A 3474

(39) *giirr ngaam birralii-gal-galga, Burrul-bidi / wunga-yi Nhi ngiyarrma, gaawaa-ga*
true that child-PL:DIM-PL, big-AUG / swim-CTS-PST there, river-LOC
A mob of big boys went swimming in the river.
CW/AD 5131 2264

The local use of Locative case covers a wide range of situations, as is seen by the many English translation equivalents. Table 45 shows some of the many English prepositions which are found translated by a single YG nominal in Locative case, and Table 46 gives a variety of translations of *gungan-da* ‘water-LOC’ YR. In (38) JM uses the preposition ‘near’, but FR uses ‘at’, probably reflecting the broad use of Locative case in YG.
Table 45  English prepositions translated by Locative case

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Non-verbal and intransitive verb</th>
<th>English translation of YG Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in</td>
<td>stones in the river</td>
<td>walk in the bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sun is in the sky</td>
<td>throw/cook in the fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>spears sticking in his chest</td>
<td>feet are in your shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hole in the coolamon</td>
<td>sit in the canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at</td>
<td>at the camp/fire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>there is paint on his chest</td>
<td>sit on my knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>get on your knees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near</td>
<td>near the tree</td>
<td>near the fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>along</td>
<td>go along the edge</td>
<td>crawl along the ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>through</td>
<td>fire is burning through the scrub</td>
<td>walk through a sandy place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under</td>
<td>sit under the tree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over</td>
<td>the tree is leaning over the river</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive verb: location of object</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>put it inside the hut (but using the verb we-li ‘put in’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>cut him on the chest</td>
<td>throw stones on the fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>against</td>
<td>lean against the tree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beside</td>
<td>put the tomahawk beside the tree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive verb: location of action</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>around</td>
<td>hold a snake around the (its) neck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 46  Translations of gungan-da ‘water-LOC’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Inside the water</th>
<th>Drop it in the water</th>
<th>Swim in the water</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fall</td>
<td>drop in the water</td>
<td></td>
<td>swim in the water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duck the girl</td>
<td>drown in the water</td>
<td></td>
<td>hop into the water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grow near the</td>
<td>slime on the water</td>
<td></td>
<td>froth on the water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>jump across the water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.4.2  Multi element Locative NPs

Multi-element ‘NPs’ in Locative case are common, with each element case marked. Most commonly these NPs indicate (a) a whole-part relationship, (b) include a locational nominal (see Table 53), or (c) include a noun and adjective. I use ‘locational nominal’ to refer to words that have intrinsic locational meaning, such as mudhu ‘inside’, ngaarrigili ‘the other side’, gaburran ‘top’, and so on. Their meaning is intrinsically relational – they have something else as their point of reference (‘inside the house’, ‘the other side of the river’, ‘near the fire’) which may be explicit or ellipsed. This classification does not create mutually exclusive classes, since some words such as mudhu ‘inside’ fit into both the whole-part and locational nominal groups. However, other words such as ngaarrigili do not.

3.3.4.3  Locative case whole-part NPs

Whole-part NPs which have the part as the focus have all elements in Locative case, as seen in (40) and the other examples below (see §3.3.6.4 for whole-part NPs which have the whole as the focus).
The baby dribbled on its chest.

Other whole-part constructions include: (41) ‘blood on his face’ with ‘he’ and ‘face’ both Locative and ‘in the shade of a tree’ malawil-a maalaabidi-dja (shadow-LOC big.tree-LOC) (3218A 2133), and (42) (‘in the fork of a tree’) can also be analysed as whole-part.

That child, it’s dribbling saliva on its chest.

Other whole-part constructions include: (41) ‘blood on his face’ with ‘he’ and ‘face’ both Locative and ‘in the shade of a tree’ malawil-a maalaabidi-dja (shadow-LOC big.tree-LOC) (3218A 2133), and (42) (‘in the fork of a tree’) can also be analysed as whole-part.
I am going to sit on this side of the river. JM/AD 3217A 982

ngawu-gili-dja ngaya gi.yaa.nha wila-y.la-y / gaawaa-ga
this-SIDE-LOC 1SG going.to sit-CTS-FUT / river-LOC

Not all uses of locational nominals are with another nominal. (48) shows a Locative nominal used as a secondary predicate, predicated of the Accusative nominal dhinawan.

Cut the emu in the middle. JM/FR 1852A 2537

bidjun-da garra-la dhinawan
middle-LOC cut-IMP emu

When the other referent is implicit the locational nominal may occur by itself as in the use of bani-dja ‘front-LOC’, e.g. ‘I am walking in front’ (1853B 1660); and in ngaya-ga ‘behind-LOC’ ‘I am walking behind’ (1853B 1649). Such uses are not common. An exception is mudhu ‘inside’, which is not found on the tapes in apposition with another nominal (cf. mudhu-gu ‘inside-ALL’ 5055 840) but it is found with another nominal in Wurm (46).

3.3.4.6 Unexpected allative use of Locative case

The generalisation in §3.3.3 that Locative case is ‘used for situations where the relationship between the figure and ground is constant’ has some notable exceptions, which generally involve movement to a location, and so where Allative might have been expected. Similar uses of Locative case are found in other languages. Breen (2004: 81) lists one of the functions of the Yandruwantha Locative as ‘to mark motion to a location followed by rest in that location or return from it’. In Diyari ‘there is a contrast with these (motion) verbs between allative case expressing the place TOWARDS which something moves, and locative case specifying the place INTO or ONTO which motion occurs’ (Austin, 1978: 124). In both these languages Locative is used when the figure remains in/on the ground, irrespective of its previous motion.

This seems to be the case in YG, since it uses Locative in many cases of where there is ‘motion to’, and so allative function in English. For instance MathewsYR uses the Locative suffix to indicate ‘movement to’ (p139) urēa burula (yuurray-a burrul-a) ‘to the big man’, as he does in GR (p262) Murridha (mari-dha) ‘(come) to the man’. Tape 5056 2622 has: ‘take the kid back to his mother’ with ngambaa-ngunda ‘mother-PD-LOC. See also (49) and (50).29

Other verbs which encode the concepts of both ‘movement’ and subsequent ‘being at rest’ mainly use Locative case. Verbs such as wiima-li ‘put down’ (90), (84) and warrayma-li ‘stand ,

29 It is not clear if (50) could be translated ‘I jumped (while) on the log.’, nor is it clear how these two senses would be distinguished.
which include the idea of an object remaining at rest after moving, mark the location where the object rests with Locative case, not with the Allative.

Similarly the verbs dhuwinba-li 'hide, tr' and dhuwinba-y 'hide, intr' use Locative in the great majority of instances: for ‘in the grass’ (335), ‘in the bushes’ (3999A 1786); ‘in the camp’ (3218B 3464). On rare occasions other cases are used: Allative for ‘is hiding in the bush’ (3219A 2337). At 2438A 3229 both Ablative and then Locative are used for ‘looking at a tree’ and then Ablative is used for ‘they may have planted (hidden) it in the hole’. These may be errors, but more likely reflect subtle differences in meaning.

The verbs, wa-li ‘put in’ also involves movement followed by non-movement while wa-y ‘be in’ involves a fixed figure-ground relationship. Both verbs mark location with Locative case: wa-li in (51) and Table 45 and wa-y in (52), (53)(=part of (665)), (291) and (1080).

(51) She caught a few crayfish

\[
\text{ngiyama=nga man,ga-ya wa-y there=THEN bag-LOC put.in-PST}
\]

She put it in the bag (some of it, some crayfish). AD

(52) man,ga-ya wa-y.la-nha ‘is in the pouch (bag-LOC be.in. M-CTS-PRS)

AD3217A 1963

(53) dhina=bala / wa-y.la-nha manduwii-dja

foot=CTR / be.in.M-CTS-PRS boot-LOC

Your foot inside the boots. AD/JM 2833A 85

However, variation is found. FR (2437B 3454) translates ‘take that yamstick to your mother’ with gunidja-ya ‘mother-LOC’ and then gunidjarr-u ‘mother-ALL’. Perhaps he is uncertain, perhaps both translations are correct, but in different contexts. He also has the Locative and then Allative of gandaarr ‘other side of river’ in translating ‘to the other side’ (1853B 1081). Apparently WN does not have this use of the Locative: Donaldson makes no mention of this choice and (p91) has ‘shadow-ALL’ for ‘the snake crawled into the shadow’, where it presumably stayed.

There are situations which involve ‘staying at a location’ which do not use Locative case. See wuu-gi ‘go in’ (§3.3.6) where locations are marked with Ablative case. Mathews’s ‘between two trees’ (76) is also in Ablative case.

3.3.4.7 Locative: non-local use

There are many non-local uses of the Locative case. One is to mark the IO of some verbs. When ‘show’ has a nominal object the IO is in Locative case (722). ‘Show the meat to the woman’ is translated with nguungunda ‘3SG.LOC – her.LOC’ (5056 2787). If ‘show’ has a clausal complement the IO is in Accusative case, e.g. FR2437A 2741 ‘I showed my wife how to cook an emu’.

The IO of speech verbs are at times Locative, but the case frames of these verbs can vary. The verb ‘talk’ is a phrase in YG; gaay guwaa-li (YR)/garay guwaa-li (GR) (lit. ‘tell words’) and the addressee is in Locative case (988), (647) and 2832B 1478; see footnote 263. However, guwaa-li can be used as ‘tell’, for instance with a clausal complement, and the ‘spoken to’ is then in Accusative case. Dhubaama-li ‘tell’ has a subordinate clausal complement and the ‘told-to’ is in Locative case.

(54) shows Wurm’s guˈganda, presumably guyungan-da ‘self-LOC’. This may be another instance of the addressee of a speech verb being in Locative case.
Soon this one will sing himself. SW p66

3 Nominal inflection

The IO of wuuarri ‘give’ is almost always in Dative case, but there are rare exceptions where Locative is used, as in (152). This may be a rare alternative, a specialised use, or an error.

3.3.4.8 Locative case and time

Locative case is used in a number of time expressions: to indicate a time or situation, and to indicate the number of times. This use is found on numbers, on time of day words such as ‘night’, and associated words such as ‘sun’ (sun-LOC is used for ‘day’). The Locative is also found on ngayagay ‘other’ and minyangay ‘how many’ when these modify time words. Table 47 gives a sample of time uses of the Locative. Note: the interpretation of najagadoy is unclear, but it is likely ngayaga-dha-wu; the Locative of ngayagay ‘other’ with a final distortion or the time suffix -uu/u ($§13.5.6$), (or perhaps the Allative or Total suffix). In some instances, such as ‘two nights ago’, the interpretation also depends on the Distance in Time suffix and tense of the verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 47</th>
<th>Locative marking of time: examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Original</strong></td>
<td><strong>Gloss</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mala</td>
<td>once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulara</td>
<td>twice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>budlaga</td>
<td>often, several times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulu:ja</td>
<td>(eat) for 2 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulu:ja</td>
<td>2 nights ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulu:ya yayaay</td>
<td>2 nights (on the road)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guliba-ga</td>
<td>3 days ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>najagadoy ja:da</td>
<td>yesterday evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minyang-dha buluuy-a</td>
<td>how many nights?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buluuy-a</td>
<td>last night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buluuy-a</td>
<td>(was cold) at night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulu:ga, bulu:ia:gu</td>
<td>early in the morning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are other time expressions which use other suffixes. Wurm (p88) has ila: bululu:ui ‘late in evening’ (yilaa bululuwi ‘then evening’) which has no case marking.

3.3.4.9 Locative case and situations

The use of Locative to mark a ‘situation’ is not common in YG sources. One instance is (55) (Emu-Brolga):

(54) jilalu guˈganda30 namala: buira:βuldɛ

The only current analysis for Wurm’s guˈganda is guyungan-da, which is consistent with ‘himself’ in the English, and perhaps the apostrophe also indicates elision.
When you’ve got no wings. Tindale/Doolan: line 35
bungun-dhalibaa-ga
arm-PRIV-LOC

Other YG examples include: ‘flood-LOC’ ‘in flood’ (2437B 3072) ‘sleep-LOC’ ‘in a dream’ (3217B 1004); (‘to dream’ is ‘see sleep-LOC’).

Instances where locative are used in neighbouring languages but for which we don’t have YG translation equivalents include secondary predicates. For example, Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 94) uses: ‘dry-LOC’ in ‘I don’t eat bread dry’; ‘in earnest’ is ‘truth-LOC’; ‘in jest’ is ‘play-LOC’ and ‘she pretends to be wild’ is ‘she acts anger-LOC’. Arabana and Wangkangurru (Hercus (pers. comm.)) both use the structure ‘1SG.LOC nothing-LOC’ to express ‘before I was born’.

There is no known YG translation of this English expression.

3.3.4.10 Questions about Locative case

There are a number of instances of two element NPs with one constituent in Locative case and the other in Allative, e.g. (56).

(56) close to the log (previous elicitation: ‘We saw them.’) CW/AD 5130 3255

guwiiinbaua-ga, nhaadhiaaan-gu
close-LOC, log-ALL

The four elicitations on tape 5130 that follow (56) are all ‘close to (the river, his mother ... )’ and all use Locative case on both constituents, so raising questions about the accuracy of (56), where there is also a pause between the two words. FR2438B 1372 translates ‘to another camp’ with murrumbaagau gaarrimay- a ‘other-ALL camp-LOC’, again with different cases on each constituent. These examples may be errors or may in fact be a correct traditional construction with unknown semantics.

3.3.5 Uses of Allative case

The Allative case is prototypically used to signal movement towards or to something. With nominals the suffix is mostly -gu, but some YR sources have -u after final l/rr. Pronouns have syncretism of Locative and Allative, with Allative use seen in (779)(a). (57) shows Allative case used with an intransitive verb and (58) with a transitive verb.

(57) I swam back to the other side of the river. CW/AD 5057 1012

giirr ngaay’ / ngaarri-gili-gu / wunga-w.wu-nyi
true 1SG / far-SIDE-ALL / swim-BACK-PST

(58) (They) got to shift from one camp to another with the smoke. FR/JM 2438B 1382

yalagitirma=laa / wamba-li / nhama dhuabaar ganungawu-gu / gaarrimay-gu
like.that=DIR / carry-FUT / 3.DEF smoke 3PL.TOT2-ALL / camp-ALL.

Going to take it all around to all the camps. FR

Therefore they will take the smoke to all the camps. JG

Allative can be used with gaa-gi ‘bring’, for instance ‘(bring) to the camp’ walaay-gu ‘camp-ALL’ (5130 1945). (59) shows the Allative on a destination and Dative case (purposive function) on wii and the verb.

(59) Take an axe in the bush to chop firewood. SW p88

ju:nudu: diamala wi:gu ya:ri jurullu wi: garaligu
yuundu dhiyama-la wii-gu ngaarri yurrul-u wii garra-li.gu
axe pick.up-IMP firewood-DAT distant bush-ALL firewood cut-PURP
As noted in §3.3.4.6, the Locative is used in some situations which indicate motion to a place, perhaps when there is no further motion. In (57) the Allative is used, perhaps because the swimmer did not ‘stay on the other side’. In (58) it is clear people do not ‘stay at the camp’, so the use of the Allative is expected. There are other situations where the conditions governing the choice of Locative or Allative are not clear, for instance ‘I fell on my face’. 2436A 2438 has ngulu-gu ‘face-ALL’ in a situation where ‘face’ is not the point moved to.

3.3.5.1 Non-local uses of Allative case

No clear use of Allative for non-movement functions has been found in YG, but such uses are found in other languages. I give just a few WN examples which indicate other possible YG functions (Donaldson, 1980: 95-96):

Blow the (kangaroo) pouch into a ball. ball-ALL
He drinks to the point of drunkenness. drunk-ALL
We swapped fish for sugar. sugar-ALL

A further use is found in Yandruwantha Breen (Breen, 2004: 80).

Chest deep water. chest-ALL water

This list is indicative, and may be added to with further comparative work.

One might expect time use of the Allative in expressions ‘until tomorrow’ but such use has not been found. Ngurru is ‘night’ and ngurru-gu is given in some sources as ‘tomorrow’. Formally this is ngurru-ALL/DAT, but there are no obvious generalisations from this.

3.3.6 Uses of Ablative case

The core role of Ablative case, ablative function, is to mark a physical source or origin. This function is seen with intransitive verbs such as ‘walk’ and transitive verbs such as ‘take’ and ‘pick up’. It is also seen in non-motion situations such as ‘hanging from’ and in marking a reference point: ‘X is a long way from Y’.

There are a number of non-local uses of Ablative. It is used with some asking/seeking verbs: ‘ask something from someone’. It can mark a material source: ‘made out of wood’ and some causes ‘laugh at someone’, ‘afraid of something’. Ablative marks the standard of comparison: cf. Donaldson (1980: 98): (A is big B-ABL: A is bigger than B), and also marks things to be avoided, filling much of the role of the Aversive case found in some Australian languages.

There are unexpected uses. Some verbs select Ablative case on locations even though there is no apparent relation to ‘source’. Ablative is always used with wuu-gi31 ‘go in’ and galiya-y ‘climb’. Other verbs sometimes select Ablative locations. Other verbs change their semantics when a location is Ablative, e.g. ‘jump’ with Ablative is ‘jump over’ in (79); ‘sit’ can become ‘ride’ (80).

When an affected part and whole are realised in a clause the whole is Accusative and the part Ablative, e.g. ‘hit the possum-ACC on the head-ABL’. The case also has partitive use: ‘a few of the children’. There are also unexplained uses.

3.3.6.1 Ablative case: local functions

The local functions of Ablative case are ablative, inessive and elative.

3.3.6.1.1 Ablative case: ablative function

Ablative case with ablative (movement from) function is exemplified in (60) with an intransitive verb, and with transitive verbs in (61)–(62).

31 An exception is found at 5055 840, where ‘he went inside the house’ is translated with wuu-gi, but mudhu-gu ‘inside-ALL’ is used. This may be because the nominal does not refer to the location entered, i.e. the house.
(60) The boy ran away from the woman.        CW/AD 5128 2528
\textit{giirr ngaam birralii-djuul banaga-nhi / yina-yi}
tue that child-ONE run-PST / woman-ABL.

(61) The man took the meat from the woman.    CW/AD 5128 2541
\textit{giirr ngaama dhinggaa / dhayn-du, gaa-nhi / nhama yina-yi / manuma-y}
true that meat / man-ERG, take-PST / 3.DEF woman-ABL / steal-PST.

The man took the meat from the woman, stole it.  JG

(62) Take the meat away from that man.        JM/FR 1849B 1594
\textit{gaa-nga nguungundi dhinggaa}
take-IMP 3SG.ABL meat
Take that meat away from that man.   FR
Take the meat away from him.          JG

Other examples of ablative function include: ‘the wind is blowing from the kangaroo’ (8187 1040); ‘she picked it up off the ground’ (2437B 2571); ‘the tears ran out of her eye’ (2438A 1068).

(63) contrasts inessive function (be in), shown by the Locative, and elative function (movement out of), shown by the Ablative. It also shows variation in the realisation of the suffix with rr-final words. Elative use of Ablative is also seen in ‘take goanna out of hole’ (8186 3769) and in gungan-di ‘out of the water’ (5130 2426).

(63) There is a prickle in my foot.            JM/FR 1986B 2505
(a) \textit{bindiyaa nhama ngay babu-ya //}
prickle 3.DEF foot-LOC //
(There’s a prickle in my foot) Take the prickle out of my foot.  FR

If inalienable possession were used, (63) would have nganundi instead of ngay. The use of ngay may reflect English influence or could have a benefactive meaning: ‘for me’. (389), ‘go away from this camp’ has an Ablative adverb ngiima ‘from there’ agreeing with wala-\textit{dji} ‘camp-ABLative’. The Ablative phrase in ‘drive him out of my camp’ Wurm (p 76, 77) is translated nganundi wala-dii/dhi, ‘1SG.ABL camp-ABL’.

The Ablative can also be used in non-movement situations, as in (64) where the English has no indication of the Ablative, but the use of the case in YR is probably selected by the verb binda-y ‘hang’.

(64) The little girl is holding onto her mother. CW/AD 5058 591
\textit{giirr nhama birralii-djuul / ngambaa-ngundi / binda-waa-nha}
tue that child-DIM / mother-PD.ABL / hang-MOV-PRS

‘Where from?’ in YR is minyaayi?, based on minyaarr ‘which’, with Ablative suffix. The one example found of GR ‘where from’ is dhalaayi (7.3.2). Before this was found dhalaa-dhi was used (dhala ‘where’?, -dhi Ablative).\footnote{minyaarr ‘which’, with Ablative suffix. The one example found of GR ‘where from’ is dhalaayi (7.3.2). Before this was found dhalaa-dhi was used (dhala ‘where’?, -dhi Ablative).\footnote{babu-dhi is non-canonical, by the criteria adopted.} WurmYR (p 64) has miŋjaru ‘where from?’ A speculative analysis is that this includes miŋyarurru ‘where.to’ and some element of the Ablative demonstrative base ngii- (found in ngiima, ngiilay). See §6.3.8.}
3.3.6.1.2 Ablative case: illative function

Illative function refers to ‘movement into’ something. As with many function names, ‘illative’ is not precisely defined.

In WN Donaldson (1980: 89) reports that illative function is shown by Ablative case. In YG the situation is that the verb wuu-gi ‘go in’ always marks location entered with Ablative, and wunga-y ‘dive, swim’ occasionally does: see (74) and (75); wunga-y is almost certainly historically a compound including a reflex of wuu-gi ‘go in’.

FR uses wuu-gi for any illative situation, using it to translate English verbs/phrases such as ‘go in’, ‘run in’, ‘poke (fingers) into’ and ‘put (hand) in’ whereas AD uses a range of verbs. (65)–(69), (71)(c), (72) and (73) show Ablative used with wuu-gi. I do not know why a MOVing continuous verb is used in (66) to describe a static situation.

(65) (A man is being chased.)

marrama=nha banaga-waa-nha, gaarrimay-dji wuu-nhi
over.there?=3 run-MOV-PRS, camp-ABL go.in-PST
He’s running over there then, he run into a humpy. FR

(66) The snakes are in their holes because it is winter.

giirr ganunga / dhaymaa-yi wuu-waa-nha, ngandabaa
true 3PL / ground-ABL go.in-MOV-PRS, snake
They all gone in the ground now, the snake. AD
They are all going into the ground, the snakes. JG

(67) When he’s eaten the grass he’ll hop back into his mother’s pouch.

giirr nguu dha-ldaay / ngiyarrma buunhu / barray ngaama / man ga-yi wuu-nhi yaluu
true 3SG.ERG eat-SUB / there grass / quickly that / bag-ABL go.in-FUT again
He’ll get in that pouch again quick. AD
When he’s eaten that grass, he will quickly get into the pouch again. JG

(67) follows (1111) which has Ablative with ‘hop’ for ‘hop out of’. The initial use of a Locative in (68) possibly shows the AD’s uncertainty, or perhaps he was about to use the verb ‘run’, but he then uses the Ablative, consistent with wuu-gi, the verb he finally chooses, perhaps because he considers the area under the log a confined space and he knows the echidna would then burrow into the ground. His comment may suggest he found the combination of ‘porcupine’ and ‘run’ incongruous. It is not clear if there is a systematic combination of the Ablative with ngadaa ‘down’. (69) is a further example with wuu-gi with Ablative. However, there is at least one counter-example. (70) has wuu-gi with mudhu-gu ‘inside-Allative’, rather than with an Ablative.

(68) The porcupines ran under logs.

bigibila ngaama / ngaadhiyaan-da / ngadaa ngaadhiyaan-di / wuu-nhi
echidna that / log-LOC / down log-ABL / go.in-PST
The porcupine/echidna went under the log. JG

(69) giirr=nha ganunga yurrul-i wuu-nhi ‘they’ve gone to the scrub now’.

JG/FR 2440A 345

(70) mudhu-gu wuu-nhi ‘inside-ALL go.in-PST’ (Went inside the house.)

CW/AD 5055 840

AD, in (19) and (191), uses the verb yanaa-y ‘go’ with yurrul-gu for ‘go into the bush’ whereas FR, in (69) and (71)(c), uses the Ablative and the verb wuu-gi ‘go in’. The interpretation of (71) is not certain, but it seems that in (a) and (b) FR uses Allative for ‘movement towards’, then uses Ablative for ‘movement into’ and then in (d) uses Locative for action inside the bush.
(71)  (In the narrative the speaker’s father is chasing another man.)
(a)  *banaga-waa-nha*= nga = nha, *yurrul-u*
    run-MOV-PRS=NOW=3,  bush-ALL
They are running towards the bush.
(b)  *buvadja-yu ngay  gawaa-nhi  /  yurrul-u,*
    father-ERG  1SG.DAT chase-PST  /  bush-ALL
My father chased him into the bush.
(c)  *yurrul-i*= nga=nha  *bulaarr-na wuu-nhi*
    bush-ABL=NOW=3  DU  go.in-PST
They going into the scrub now.
(d)  they are fighting *yurrul-a*  (scrub-LOC)  in the scrub.

*Wuu-gi* is generally intransitive, but it is also used in situations such as those in (72) and
(73)=(34)), where in English there is an agent and an instrument, and the English verb
is transitive. The YR case frames are uncertain. Koch (pers. comm.) points out that in
many Australian languages both the whole and part in sentences like (72) and (73), with an intrasitive
verb, would be Nominative. This fits the forms of the whole and part nominals in both sentences. It
leaves the putative Ergative *=ngu* in (72) unexplained. Translations of ‘poke’ which do not involve
a body part use *dhu-rri*.

(72)  She poked her fingers in the thin woman’s eyes.
     *yiiliyaanbaa?=ngu?= nga,  mil-i  maa wuu-nhi*
     savage=3SG.ERG=THEN,  eye-ABL  hand  go.in-PST
The savage woman poked her finger in the other woman’s eye.

(73)  I put my hand inside the hole.
     *maa ngaya wuu-nhi  biyuu-dhi*
     hand 1SG  go.in-PST  hole-ABL
I put my hand down the hole.

Another verb with Ablative-marked locations is *wunga-y*, which has a number of translations,
including ‘swim’, ‘dive (in)’ and ‘go swimming’. It is found with both Locative and Ablative
marked locations. The evidence is not clear, but open to the interpretation that Ablative is used
when the meaning is ‘enter the water’, and Locative used when the swimmer is already in the
water. Other verbs take Locative case when describing ‘into the water’: e.g. ‘slip’ (2436A 1537,
2436A 1545); ‘throw (stones/lines)’ (2436A 1545, 3219B 1671); ‘jump’ (5053 2616). (74)(b) and
(75) show *wunga-y* used with ‘water-ABLative’ and Table 48 shows uses of it with Locative case.

(74)  I climbed/got out of the river and was covered in mud.
(a)  *giirruu ngaya gungan-di galiya-nhi / bidjaay-bil  /  all over mud /
     true.very 1SG  water-ABL  climb-PST  /  mud-with.lot  /  
     I climbed out of the water covered in mud.
(b)  *yaluu ngaya=laa gungan / gungan-di wunga-y*
     again 1SG=DIR  water  /  water-ABL  go.in-FUT
     I am going to go back in the water again (to have a swim, to wash the mud off)
     and I am going to go back in to the water.
Garrbaali (Shingleback) wants Emu’s sinews, which Emu has taken off and put on the ground. He urges Emu to swim, to dive deep, so he can steal the sinews and become strong. The sentence structure is not totally clear.

We might swim/dive in the water then?

Table 48  Locative case with wunga-y ‘dive/swim’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>swim in river</td>
<td>gungan-da baawan-da</td>
<td>water-LOC</td>
<td>5128 2467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swim (in river)</td>
<td>gaawaa-ga</td>
<td>deep.water-LOC</td>
<td>3998A 374, 3998B 1574</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Inessive’ is ‘being inside a place’. In YG this function is generally expressed by Locative case, as seen above. A possible exception is (76) but the lack of context makes the function of the Ablative here uncertain. It is not clear if this refers to an inessive situation (e.g. ‘sat between two trees’) or an illative one (e.g. ‘ran between two trees’). The speaker may have used wuu-gr ‘go in’.

(76)  dhului bulari biddhundi

    dhulu-wi bulaarr-i bidjun-di
tree-ABL two-ABL inside-ABL
between two trees

MathewsGR p267

3.3.6.2  Other local uses of Ablative case

There are other local uses of the Ablative case. The first is lexically determined. All locations associated with galiya-y ‘climb’ are Ablatively marked, counter-intuitively when it comes to climbing ‘up/on’ (78), less so when climbing ‘down’. MathewsGR (p267) has: ‘up/down the hill’ dhuyul-i; and ‘(climb) up the tree’ dhulu-i (dhulu-[w]i). At 2439A 3395 a possum climbs ‘up a tree’ muyaan-di (tree-ABL). See also (504). (390) uses the Ablative demonstrative ngiima ‘from there’ (§6.3.8) for ‘climb there’. One exception is found in Wurm who has (p53) yarraan-gu ‘River red gum-ALL’ for ‘(climb) up the gum tree’.

Wiradjuri also uses Ablative for ‘climb (up)’ (77).

(77)  Guin kalianna madandi

    guwiny galiya-nha madhan-di
he climb-PRS tree-ABL  jg
He is climbing up the tree.

Wiradjuri: Günther sentence 33

Note that in (78) the ‘whole’ is Ablative case and ‘leg’ is Locative. I have no explanation for this mixture of cases.

(78)  I can feel it (centipede crawling) on my leg.

    giirr ngaya nhamalay / dhama-laa-nha /
true 1SG 3.DEF+OST / feel-MOV-PRS /
    galiya-waa-ndaay nganundi, buyu-ga / barranbarraan
climb-MOV-SUB 1SG.ABL, leg-LOC / centipede

Ablative case is sometimes used with other verbs, but seems to modify the meaning. Donaldson (1980: 92) shows WN circumstantial case (similar to YG Ablative) used to translate ‘going through the hill’ and ‘stepping over the child’. In (79) the use of the Ablative with baa-y ‘jump’ seems to change the meaning to ‘jump over’. With a Locative the sentence would presumably mean ‘jump on/near/around’. (80) illustrates the use of the Ablative with ‘sit’ to translate ‘ride’.

(79)  ngali=badhaay=nga / gungan-di / wunga-y.gu ngali
IDU=MIGHT=THEN / water-ABL / swim/div-PURP IDU
We might swim/dive in the water then?

JG
(81) uses the Ablative in ‘sit on’. I have no explanation for this. There are other indications that Ablative has wider uses, such as the Wiradjuri sentence which has ‘camp-ABL’ in ‘he will sleep at the camp’.  

(79) The little boy is jumping over the sticks.  
* bubaa-daajul nhamaa baa-y.la-nha /
  little-DIM 3.DEF hop-CTS-PRS /  
The little one is hopping.  
* birralii-daajul / ngaama ginii / giiyi-dji baa-y.la-nha  
  child-DIM / that stick / stick-ABL hop-CTS-PRS  
That child is hopping over the sticks.  

(80) She is riding a pretend horse.  
* ngiyama=nha / yina[rr]-djuul ngaama / yarraaman-di wila-waa-nha  
  there=3 woman-ONE that / horse-ABL sit-MOV-PRS  
The woman is riding a horse.  

(81) The dog sat on the boy.  
* maadhaay nhamaa / birray-dja / birray-daajul-i / yilawa-y.la-nha  
  dog 3.DEF / boy-LOC / boy-ONE-ABL / stick-CTS-PRS  
That dog is sitting on the boy.  

3.3.6.2.1 Ablative: reference point/comparison  
Ablative case is used to mark a locational reference point, as in (82) and as in WN is used to mark the standard of comparison (83).  

(82) Sit a long way away from the ants’ nest.  
* [hesitation] biyuu-dhi wila-y.la-ya / ngiyaarroma / giidja-i-dhi  
  [hesitation] long-way-ABL sit-CTS-IMP / there / ant-ABL  

(83) I am older than my wife.  
* giirr=bala ngaya / burrul-wan.gaan=bala ngaya / guliirr-i ngay /  
  true=CTR 1SG / big-VERY=CTR 1SG / spouse-ABL 1SG.DAT /  
I am bigger than my wife.// I am much bigger than my wife.  

3.3.6.2.2 Multiple cases  
The following examples contrast some uses of local cases. (84) shows three local cases being used in one sentence: Allative *biyuu-gu* to show endpoint is a long way off, Locative *baga-dha* to show endpoint of ‘put’, Ablative *miimii-dji* to mark a reference point, and then Allative *gungan-gu* to show endpoint of falling.  

(84) The two men, put the fish high on the river bank.  
* aa / ngiyaarroma=nha bulaa-yu ngaama guduu, ngaarribaa / biyuu-gu gaa-nhi,  
  aa. / there=THEN two-ERG that cod. up.there / long.way-ALL take-PST,  
The two of them took the cod a long way up (high),
**3 Nominal inflection**

---

**3.3.6.2.3 Ablative case: source material**

The Ablative marks the material something is made from: kangaroo skin in (85).

(85) The women rolled the sinews on their knees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḏidi</td>
<td>I became ill from the meat.</td>
<td>dhi-dhi</td>
<td>meat-ABL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Causes of fear with *garigari* ‘afraid’

- afraid of the dog: maadhaay-dji dog-ABL 3220B 1056, (319)
- afraid of the snake: ngandabaa-dhi snake-ABL (1000), 8184 2228
- afraid of what?: minya-dhi what-ABL’ (921)

Causes of fear with *giyal* ‘afraid’

- afraid of the boss: maadhaa-dji boss-ABL 5053 377
- afraid of the dog: maadhaay-dji dog-ABL 5053 370
- afraid of you hitting me: buma-laay-ngundi hit-??-PD.ABL (9)

---

‘Afraid’ occurs with different case marking when the complement is a verb: in (921) ‘afraid’ occurs with a purposive verb, and in 5128 3450 the complement is the verb *garungga*-y ‘drown,
with the SUBordinate suffix, -ngindaay. It may be that this is actually Ablative -ngindaay-i, but the Ablative suffix is not phonologically realised.

At 2833B 706 AD translates JM’s ‘look out for snakes’ with ngandabaa-dhi ‘snake-ABL’ and he uses the English ‘from the snake’. At 2832A 1782 AD sits ‘in a shady tree, yayaay-dhi ‘sun-ABL’, indicating that the sun is a potential cause of harm. Another use of Ablative case with potential causes of harm is seen in (86).

(86) I’ll burn manure in the fire; and that keeps them away. JM/AD 8184 2374

giirr ngaya=laa.wu / nguwama dhuu, gimbi-li / mungin-di / TRUE 1SG=DIR.DIST / there fire, make-FUT / mosquito-ABL / I’ll make a fire, because of the mosquitoes, JG

nguwama nga / dhuu-ga wila-la-y there=THEN / fire-LOC sit-CTS-FUT
and then (I’ll) stay there near the fire. JG

AD has a non-Aversive use of Ablative in using yaa-dhi ‘sun-ABL’ in translating ‘put out skin to dry in the sun’ (2439A 3067). The interpretation here is likely to be causal (the sun will cause the drying) rather than locational, and so the use of the Ablative. Other non-Aversive causal uses of Ablative are seen in (87).

(87) gungan-dhi water-ABL in ‘got a full belly’ AD 3217B 856
yarray-dji beard-ABL in ‘(I can’t see his eyes) from the beard.’ AD 3219B 2551

The first word of (496) is uncertain, but may be yalagiirrayma-dhi, with yalagiirrayma, related to yalagiirray ‘like this’ and yalagiirrma ‘like that’. The final syllable is likely the Ablative suffix -dhi.

The Ablative marks the cause of laughter, used with gindama-y ‘laugh’ in (88) and 3219A 265. See Table 50 for other similar verbs.

(88) All the men laughed at the women. CW/AD 5131 1041

giirr dhayn-galgaa, nhama / gindama-w.aaba-lda-nhi / yina-yi true man-PL, 3.DEF / laugh-TOT-CTS-PST / woman-ABL

3.3.6.3.1 Clothing
Koch (pers. comm.) points out that in many Australian languages ‘putting on clothes’ is described as ‘entering’ them. There are relatively few expressions to do with clothes in the sources, but many of those use wuu-gi ‘go.in’ and Ablative case for ‘putting on’ apparel one ‘gets into’ (shirt, shoe, trousers, etc.). At other times Locative case is used.

(89) shows use of Accusative for clothes one is wearing and Ablative with wuu-gi ‘go.in’ to translate ‘put on’. In (90) FR uses the Locative case for putting on a boot, but the structure is different, using a transitive verb with boot as Object.

(89) The day was cold and the big man wore a coat made of kangaroo skin. JM/AD 3220A 1132

ngiyarrma nga / gaa-gi-la-nhi / guudii / there 3SG.ERG=THEN take-CTS-PST / coat.ACC /

He was wearing a coat (there). JG

35 The case frame of emotion adjectives seems to be lexically determined. One might expect yili ‘angry’ to take Ablative complements as ‘afraid’ does, but it takes Locative: yili ynganunda ‘wild 1sg.LOC’ ‘wild with me’ (2438B 2679). The cause of crying has not been found in Ablative case, but has been found in Locative and Caritative (e.g. guliirr-nginda ‘(crying) for his wife’ (spouse-WANT) FR5053 451, AD5055 1523). I would have expected yu-gi ‘cry’ and gindama-y ‘laugh’ to have the same case frame.
3 Nominal inflection

He put on a coat, kangaroo skin.

The big man put a boot on his foot.

In (53) AD uses wa-y ‘be.in’ and ‘boot-LOC’ in a sentence he translates as ‘your foot inside the boots’.

3.3.6.3.2 Ablative case: predicate complements

There are a number of ‘seeking’ verbs (e.g. ‘ask’, ‘look for’) which consistently or occasionally have an argument in Ablative case. Miinba-y is ‘ask for’ and the thing sought is Accusative case, the one asked is mostly Ablative as in (91).

However, at times the one asked is Accusative or Locative. In both (6) and 5052 2499 AD first has the nominal indicating the one asked in Accusative case, and he then changes it to Ablative. At 3219A 1379 the one asked is in Locative case: nganunda (1SG.LOC).

(92) shows an Ablative marked theme of gayarra-gi ‘look for’. However, in other sentences the object of gayarra-gi is Accusative case, as is the object of ngaawa-y ‘look for, find’. I have no explanation for the different uses.

Table 50 gives predicates which have an unexpected obligatory or optional Ablative argument.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb/adjective</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Use of Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>galiya-y</td>
<td>climb</td>
<td>Abl used on all locations of climbing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuu-gi</td>
<td>go in</td>
<td>Abl used on all locations entered, and wuu-gi used to translate many English verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wunga-y</td>
<td>swim/dive</td>
<td>Abl used when ‘entering water’ is being described</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gidama-y</td>
<td>laugh</td>
<td>Abl used on cause of laughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miinba-y</td>
<td>ask for</td>
<td>Abl used on the ‘one asked’ (Ask something from someone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giyal/garigari</td>
<td>afraid</td>
<td>Abl used on cause of fear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.6.4 Ablative case: affected part

When a whole is the object of a verb, and a part is specified as affected, the whole is in Accusative case and the part in Ablative. For instance ‘hit the possum on the head’ has ‘possum-Accusative’ and ‘head-Ablative’; ‘grab possum by the leg’ has ‘possum-Accusative’ and ‘leg-Ablative’. There are many such examples. At times the whole is not expressed, but the part nominal is still in Ablative case. In WN Donaldson (1980: 97) states that a point of contact where a thing is seized is
marked with Ablative case. The YG rule is more general, used with a wide range of verbs, as seen in (93)–(97).

A range of case frames are found when the verb has reduced valency (reciprocal, reflexive and middle) and a part is specified. There are also as yet unexplained Ablatives, such as legs-Ablative in (102) ‘the woman rolled the sinews on their legs’. This may suggest that Ablative can be used for perlative function ‘along their legs’.

In (93)–(97) A ≠ O, i.e. the verb is not reciprocal, reflexive or middle. The examples have all or some of: an Ergative Agent, an Object whole in Accusative case (underlined in the examples) and a part in Ablative case. (93), (94) and (95) have explicit whole and part. In (96) the whole is not expressed but the part is Ablative. In (97) AD corrects himself to use the Ablative; the whole may be realised by ngaama.

(93) The spear hit the kangaroo in the neck.

wuyu-dhi nguu  dhu-nhi / bawurra
neck-Abl 3SG.ERG pierce-PST / kangaroo

He speared the kangaroo in the neck.

(94) The fat man hit the skinny fellow on the top of the head.

burrul-bidi-dju ngaama  dhayn-du /
big-AUG-ERG  3.ANA.DEF man-ERG /

buma-y ngaarrma.wu / bubaay-djuul dhayn / dhaygal-i
hit-PST there.DIST / small-ONE man / head-Abl.

The great big man hit the little man on the head.

(95) I grabbed the possum, and pulled it out of the hole.

mudhay ngaya bayama-y, buyu-dhi, buma-y ngaya=nha dhaygal-i
possum 1SG catch-PST, leg-Abl, hit-PST 1SG=3 head-Abl.

I pulled the possum out by the leg and I killed him.

I caught possum by the leg and I hit him on the head.

(96) There’s a man coming there to kill the goanna.

muyaan nguu / gama-lau-nha / gayawi-y nguu / giirr dhaygal-i-wan.gaan
stick 3SG.ERG / break-MOV-PRS / pelt-PST 3SG.ERG / true head-Abl-VERY

He broke a stick and he pelted the goanna and he hit him first go on the head.

He is breaking a stick, he pelted it right on the head.

(97) The fat man had knocked out his (skinny’s) front tooth.

ngiyama=nga burrul-bidi-dju dhaynxx / dhayn-du ngaama ngaungu /
there=THEN big-AUG-ERG manxx / man-ERG that 3SG.DAT /
yiya buma-y / yiya-dhi buma-y, nhama=nga yiya dhurraaba-y-??
tooth hit-PST / tooth-Abl. hit-PST, 3.DEF=THEN tooth make.come.out-PST-??

Then the big fat man hit his tooth, hit him on the tooth, and made the tooth come out.

Other similar examples include:

The little boy hit him on the nose with a stick. (nose-Abl)  (3998A 1890)
The girl scratched her brother on the arm. (arm-Abl)  (3218B 2051)
The skinny fellow kicked the fat man in the stomach. (stomach-Abl)  (3219B 105)
He hit the man on the chin. (chin-Abl)  Wurm 98

There are some exceptions to the basic pattern. In (98) FR has the ‘part’ in two cases, Locative and then Accusative; neither of them Ablative. I take this as a sign that he was unsure of the correct form.
(98) The man hit the woman on the head with the boomerang. CW/FR 5053 747

\[ \text{dhayn-du nhama \( \text{vinarr} \), buma-y, \( \text{dhaygal-a} / \text{dhaygal} \), barran-du} \]

\text{man-ERG 3.DEF woman hit-PST, head-LOC / head.ACC / boomerang-ERG}

There are a number of other examples where the affected part is in Locative case. ‘I hit him on the head with my tomahawk’ (99) has ‘head-LOC’ and no explicit object. FR2439A 2666 also uses \( \text{dhaygal} \) ‘head-LOC’ in ‘threw spear at kangaroo and hit him on the head’. These may or may not be errors.

(99) I hit \textbf{him} on the head with my tomahawk. JM/FR 2438A 649

\[ \text{Buma-y ngaya, \( \text{dhaygal-a} \), girrgal-u.} \]

\[ \text{hit-PST I head-LOC tomahawk-ERG} \]

When the affected part is part of the agent (e.g. ‘I rubbed my arm’) the verb is reflexive or middle and a number of case frames are found, likely expressing fine distinctions in meaning which have not been explicated. The Agent is either Nominative or Ergative, and the affected part Accusative, Locative or Ablative.

(639) ‘we cut off our arms’ has a reflexive verb, ‘arms’ is the Object and is Accusative. The pattern is the same for ‘head’ in (637): ‘he hit himself on the head’. Table 173 lists similar examples which have the part in Accusative, Locative and Ablative case.

(100)(=691) follows the pattern established for non-reflexive verbs, with O Accusative and the affected part Ablative. No A is expressed and the verb is middle.

(100) \textbf{I} hit my ankle. SW p101

\[ \text{baranggal-i nganha buma-nhi} \]

\[ \text{ankle-ABL I hit.M-PST} \]

(101) is a complex example, showing a wide range of combinations of case frames. The subjects are \textbf{bold.underlined} and the verbs are all middle. In (a) \( \text{gaarra-nhi} \) is intransitive, but in (c) it is probably Ergative, shown by \( \text{=ngu} \), and the affected part is Ablative. In (b) \( \text{wiima-nhi} \) is middle, has a Nominative Subject, but unexpectedly for an intransitive verb has an object, \( \text{waa} \). In (c) AD corrects himself to use the Ablative.

(101) The women stuck feathers to their skin and wore shells around their necks. JM/AD 8187 1748

(a) \text{ngiyarrma / nhama ganunga gaarra-nhi, \( \text{vinarr-galgaa} / \text{nhama ngayagay} \) / there / 3.DEF 3.PL rub.M-PST, woman.PL / that also /}

\text{The women painted themselves, and also JG}

(b) \text{maanggii-gu ngaama waa / nguama \( \text{vinarr} \) / wiima-nhi / \( \text{dhaygal-a} \) / mussel-DAT that shell / there woman / put.down.M-PST / head-LOC}

\text{put mussel shells on their heads/in their hair. JG}

(c) \text{nhama=ngu ??nhu / mubalxx / mubal-i ngayagay / \( \text{dhirra gaarra-nhi} \) / 3.DEF=3ERG?? / stomach.ERROR / stomach-ABL also / flash rub.M-PST}

\text{They painted their bellies really well. JG}

The English structure of (102) ‘the women rolled sinews on their legs’, is similar to that of (101)(b) ‘the women put shells in their hair’. However, the YR structures are quite different. While both sentences have a middle verb and an affected body part, in (101)(b) the Subject is Nominative and the body part Locative whereas in (102) the Subject is Ergative and the body part Ablative.
(102) The women rolled the sinews on their bare legs. JM/FR 2439A 3234

After thinking, and after tentatively saying mabun-da (thigh-LOC) FR says:
yina-\(y\)u \(\ldots\) mabun-di gi.yaa.nha nhama yabi-li \(\ldots\) dhunbil
woman-ERG \(\ldots\) thigh-ABL going.to 3.DEF twist-FUT / sinew

They going to plait it, twist it, on their thigh. FR
The women are going to twist the sinews on their legs. JG

The structure of reflexive sentences, particularly when the verb has multiple arguments, is semantically and structurally complex.

It seems likely that when the ‘affected part’ construction is used the focus is on the whole. Syntactically there are two phrases, one indicating the ‘whole’ and the other the ‘part’. This contrasts with situations where the ‘part’ is the focus. Then the ‘whole’ nominal and the ‘part’ nominal are in the same case. In English this second situation generally has a possessive nominal for the whole (I hit the possum’s head). Three such examples are given in (103). In these NPs the whole and part nouns can be adjacent or separated by a pause or by other words.

(103) Whole-part, with part in focus.
touch my father’s head father.ACC my head.ACC (873)
Take prickles from your back you-ABL … back-ABL (871) (1082)
Drop a stone on his mother’s head mother-LOC head-LOC AD3998A 1137

See §11.4 for more on whole-part constructions.

3.3.6.5 Unexplained uses of Ablative case

There are other relatively common unexplained uses of the Ablative case, with some listed here for future investigation. In the Emu and Brolga story (Tindale, line 17) Brolga says: ‘ Husband, will we kill some of our children?’ using kainkal gulbir-i ‘children few-Ablative’. This could be seen as whole-part, with kainkal (gaaynggal) ‘children’ as the whole and gulbir (gulbirr) ‘few’ as the part, but it is not an obvious parallel to the examples above which involve a body part. Laves (10 p38) has mu’rui ‘near nose’ (muru-[w]i). If this is Ablative it, like a Mathews example dhului above, has the suffix as ‘i’ after ‘u’.

Yuulngin (yuul ‘food’) is found for ‘hungry’, but yuulngindi is more common, including at (122), (137) and (227). Yuulngindi could be analysed as Ablative, yuulngin-di ‘hungry-ABL’, but it does not seem to have any of the functions usually associated with Ablative case.

Wurm (p52) has what may be an unexplained use of Ablative or an error:

\(\eta\)a:nuda gayri ‘what is your name?’ (ngaangunda gayrr-i ‘who.LOC name-ABL’)

3.3.6.6 Ablative case in other languages

The analyses and uses of Ablative in other languages is similar, but not identical to those in YG. Breen (2004: 83), speaking of Yandruwantha, has:

The Ablative case … is used to denote origin, in a wide range of senses. These include the place from which a person or thing comes, whether the sentence involves motion or not, the mother from whom a person comes, the origin of some state, the reference point of a statement about distance or direction, the point from which an action is directed.

Wanggaaybuwan has a case suffix -DHi, a cognate of the YG Ablative. Donaldson (1980: 96) lists ‘non-local uses’ of -DHi and comments on the semantic unity in these functions:

In all its non-local uses -DHi marks a NP which has a (logically) prior existence to the rest of the sentence and in some way explains it ... The organs of speech and perception may have instrumental

---

36 While in (c) the English has an ‘affected part’ structure, I assume AD did not interpret it this way.
case-marking. Alternatively, they may be marked with -DHi, as the source of an utterance or perception. (the origin or cause of a psychological or emotional state (is also marked by -DHi).

Many of these functions have parallels in YG, but there are other YG uses of the Ablative which do not seem to be related to the concept of source, and there are uses such as the marking of organs of speech, which has not been found in YG but could be used. Some such examples are given in Table 51. It is possible YG had these uses, especially since no translation equivalents have been found in the corpus.

### Table 51 Other uses of Ablative: Wangaaybuwan, Yandruwantha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wangaaybuwan</th>
<th>Standard, Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tying leaves around their shins with string</td>
<td>‘string-ABL’ (p93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tying people into the burrba (initiation)</td>
<td>burrba-ABL (p92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am pleased with the dress.</td>
<td>‘dress-ABL’ (p97)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I thought he was a bird.</td>
<td>‘bird-ABL’ (p98).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yandruwantha</th>
<th>Standard, Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I’ve been in water before. (= ‘I can swim. I am used to water.’)</td>
<td>‘water-ABL’ (Breen, 2004: 84)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.3.7 Double case marking

Double case marking is rare in the YG sources. On the basis of what is found in other languages (cf. Dench & Evans, 1988) it is expected with derivational cases but might also be found with Dative (used with possessive function).

The only examples found of likely YG double marking on non-derivational cases possibly have other case markings following a Dative form. They are found in MathewsGR (p264) and given in Table 52. Pronouns generally do not carry further case marking, but clearly do here, with a further Dative (benefactive) or Locative suffix. The -u-/a- in ngai-u-ngu and ngay-a-ga are currently not understood but may be epenthetic, with the choice of vowel based on vowel harmony. Alternatively ngayu may be an archaic Dative form, but this does not explain ngaya-ga.

### Table 52 Mathews: potential double case marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard, Analysis</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gaigu ngaiangu</td>
<td>for my child</td>
<td>gaay-gu ngay-u-ngu child-DAT 1SG.DAT-u 2-DAT</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bainduulngu ngaiangu</td>
<td>for my father</td>
<td>baayan-duul-ngu ngay-u-ngu father-one-DAT 1SG.DAT-u 2-DAT</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngar ngaiaga willaidha</td>
<td>at my camp</td>
<td>ngaarr ngay-a-ga walaay-dha far 1SG.DAT-a-LOC camp-LOC</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 267</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In WN a Dative suffix (with possessive function) can be followed by another case suffix. Donaldson (p107) comments:

-Gu is unlike any other case inflection in that it may [my emphasis] be followed by a further case inflection. A NP with any case function may contain a nominal marked with the Dative -gu to indicate a possessor. The case inflection appropriate to the NP as a whole is attached after -gu:

(104) … (I am frightened of this) woman’s dog.  Wangaaybuwan Donaldson (4–56)

… winarr-gu-dhi mirri-dji
… woman-DAT-CIRC dog-CIRC (CIRC=ABL)
Donaldson’s analysis suggests that such double marking was optional, perhaps used only when needed for clarity. Optional features can be relatively easily lost, and this may be why possible YG examples are found only in early sources.

One would expect derivational case suffixes to be followed by standard case suffixes but this is rare in YG. There is a clear example of a Comitative suffix (with inflectional use) followed by an Ablative suffix in (105) and possibly by an Ergative suffix in (115)(b).

(105)  He jumped up from the ashes, sat on them and jumped up quick.  

\[
\text{dhuu-biyaay-dji} / \text{girran-di nguya baa-nhi} \\
\text{fire-COM-ABL} / \text{ashes-ABL 1SG jump-PST} \\
\text{I jumped up from the hot (things), from the ashes.}
\]

WN has examples of the Ergative suffix following the Comitative (Donaldson, 1980: 109,110), e.g. \text{gugurr-buwan-du maying-gu ‘stick-COMIT-ERG person-ERG’}.

3.3.8 YG ‘grammar of space’

An ideal grammatical description specifies which construction to use in any particular situation. This section provides some brief information on a YG ‘grammar of space’ but is far from a comprehensive coverage of that area. There is room for a more thorough analysis of the sources and for grammatical development. I examine locational nominals and suffixes, show the incompleteness of the data and analysis by examining YG translations of ‘through’, and then give some of the main information on ‘space’ in the sources. Some relevant material is found in other sections: Local cases §3.3.3; and demonstratives §6.

Levinson and Wilkins’s Grammars of Space ‘is about the way languages structure the spatial domain’ (2006: 1). The titles of the chapters on grammars of space in Australian languages: (McGregor (2006) ‘Prolegomenon to a Warrwa grammar of space’, Schultze-Berndt (2006) ‘Sketch of a Jaminjung grammar of space’ and Wilkins (2006) ‘Towards an Arrernte grammar of space’ (emphases mine)) indicate that, even for well-resourced languages, developing a full grammar of space is a major task, so it is understandable that this will be an incomplete study of YG description of space.

3.3.8.1 Locational nominals and suffixes

In YG location can be broadly described with local case marked nominals, and can be more specifically described using locational nominals and suffixes (referred to as ‘locational’ for convenience). These are a semantically defined set, which specify a location with reference to another entity, for instance ‘the side’, ‘the front’ or ‘near’. A number of words have both a locational meaning and a non-locational one, e.g. \text{bawa ‘back’ and ‘behind’, wagi ‘plain’ and ‘outside’}. Some locational morphemes are free, others, e.g. \text{milan ‘close’} are at times suffixes and at other times free, and others, e.g. \text{-gili}, are bound.

Some locational nominals indicate only an area separate from the reference location (e.g. \text{milan ‘near the fire’}). Others, e.g. \text{bawa ‘back’}, can indicate both a location separate from the reference point (behind the fire) or a part of the reference point (the back of the fire). \text{Mudhu ‘inside’} is one of the rare forms that can refer only to a part of the reference location. The details of such distinctions in YG have not been fully described (e.g. how to distinguish ‘at the back of the fire’ from ‘behind the fire’). Table 53 lists the main YG locational nominals found with examples of their use. Table 54 lists locational suffixes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Source/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>bawa</strong></td>
<td>back</td>
<td>mostly a body part term</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bawa-ga nganunda</td>
<td>back-LOC 1SG.LOC</td>
<td>behind me</td>
<td>3217A 1158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bawa</strong></td>
<td>back-LOC</td>
<td>(carries child) on her back</td>
<td>1852B 1041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maadhaay-a, bawa-ga</td>
<td>dog-LOC/back.LOC</td>
<td>(jumping) on dog’s back</td>
<td>3998A 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bawabiil</td>
<td>behind</td>
<td>only in Sim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ngaya</strong></td>
<td>behind</td>
<td>cf. ngayagay ‘other, as well’; not found in apposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaya-ga</td>
<td>behind-LOC</td>
<td>(I am walking) behind.</td>
<td>1853B 1649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bani</strong></td>
<td>front</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bani-dja</td>
<td>front-LOC</td>
<td>(I am walking) in front.</td>
<td>1853B 1664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>biri</strong></td>
<td>front (chest)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarra-biri-dha</td>
<td>??-chest-LOC</td>
<td>that in front</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nhirrin</strong></td>
<td>side</td>
<td>mostly a body part term</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhirrin-da</td>
<td>side-LOC</td>
<td>beside</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhirrin-da</td>
<td>side-LOC</td>
<td>(sleeping) on their sides</td>
<td>3217A 1593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mirrun</strong></td>
<td>beside</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirrun-da</td>
<td>beside-LOC</td>
<td></td>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gaburran</strong></td>
<td>top</td>
<td>cf. gabu ‘head’ WN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaburran-da</td>
<td>top-LOC</td>
<td>at the top (of the tree)</td>
<td>3218A 2948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaburran-di</td>
<td>top-ABL</td>
<td>(climbed up) the top (of the tree)</td>
<td>3217B 3577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaburran-di</td>
<td>top-ABL</td>
<td>(fell) out of the tree</td>
<td>3217B 3672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaburran-biyaay</td>
<td>top-COM</td>
<td>big tall (fellow)</td>
<td>3218B 2529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaarribaa / gaburran-da</td>
<td>up/top-ABL</td>
<td>way up (in the sky)</td>
<td>3220B 2572.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mudhu</strong></td>
<td>the inside</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mudhu-ga</td>
<td>inside-LOC</td>
<td></td>
<td>many sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mudhu-ga walaay-dha</td>
<td>inside-LOC camp-LOC</td>
<td>inside the camp</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mudhu-gu wuu-nhi</td>
<td>inside-ALL go.in-PST</td>
<td>went inside</td>
<td>5055 840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bidjun</strong></td>
<td>middle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhulu-wi bulaarr-i bidjun-di</td>
<td>tree-ABL two-ABL middle-ABL</td>
<td>between two trees</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidjun-da</td>
<td>middle-LOC</td>
<td>in the middle</td>
<td>5055 912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>wagi</strong></td>
<td>outside, plain</td>
<td></td>
<td>YR only?; also wagibaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wagi-dja</td>
<td>outside-LOC</td>
<td>outside</td>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wagi-dja</td>
<td>outside-LOC</td>
<td>(leave it) outside</td>
<td>3218B 3440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wagibaa-gu</td>
<td>outside-ALL</td>
<td>(went) outside</td>
<td>8184 3146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Form</strong></td>
<td><strong>Gloss</strong></td>
<td><strong>Translation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Source/Notes</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wagibaa-ga</td>
<td>outside-LOC</td>
<td>(walked) to an open space</td>
<td>8186 2333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guniyal</td>
<td>outside, plane,</td>
<td></td>
<td>GR only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guniyal-a</td>
<td>outside-LOC</td>
<td>outside</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guwiinbaa</td>
<td>near</td>
<td>rarely guwiin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guwiinbaa-ga/gungan-da</td>
<td>near-LOC water-LOC</td>
<td>near the water</td>
<td>8185 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biyuuy/ biruugr</td>
<td>far</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biyuuy-ga ngaarr</td>
<td>far-LOC ??</td>
<td>far away (yet)</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biyuuy-gu</td>
<td>far-ALL</td>
<td>(go) far, long way</td>
<td>Wurm; 1851A 811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biyuuy-dhi</td>
<td>far-ABL</td>
<td>(fell/came) a long way</td>
<td>6215 1775; 1850B 624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miimii</td>
<td>edge</td>
<td>often of river</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miimii-dja</td>
<td>edge-LOC</td>
<td>(stand) on the edge</td>
<td>3217B 1690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miimii-gu</td>
<td>edge-ALL</td>
<td>(run) to the edge</td>
<td>3219B 1593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miimii-dji</td>
<td>edge-ABL</td>
<td>from the edge</td>
<td>3219B 1633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gandaarr</td>
<td>far side of river</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tapes, Sim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gandaarr-u</td>
<td>far.side-ALL</td>
<td>(swam) to the far side</td>
<td>5053 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gandaarr-ya</td>
<td>far.side-LOC</td>
<td>on the other side of the river</td>
<td>5055 1052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burrumbi</td>
<td>corner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burrumbi-dja</td>
<td>corner-LOC</td>
<td>in a corner</td>
<td>Only in Wurm 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gahnagay</td>
<td>below</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sim only</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of YG locational suffixes are given in Table 54. Their function is the same as that of locational nominals, specifying a location in relation to a reference point.

The suffix -gili is translated ‘side’. It is rare in early sources. MathewsYR: 142 has nuggili ‘this side’ (nha-gili). Almost all instances are suffixed to demonstrative roots, e.g. ngaarri-gili-dja ‘far-side-LOC’. As with other locationals, the most common occurrence is with the Locative suffix as at (47), (354), (386) and (387). (57) has an Allative case example. Notably all examples are from YR sources, but none from FR.
Table 54  YG locational suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Ref/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-gili</td>
<td>side</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nha-gili</td>
<td>this-SIDE</td>
<td>this side</td>
<td>1853B 3817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngawa-gili-dja,</td>
<td>this-SIDE-LOC/river-LOC</td>
<td>(sit) on this side of the river</td>
<td>3217A 995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaawaa-ga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaawa-gili-dja</td>
<td>this-SIDE-LOC 1SG.LOC</td>
<td>(sit) alongside of me</td>
<td>3217A 1152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nganunda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaarri-gili-dja</td>
<td>far-SIDE-LOC water-LOC</td>
<td>on the far side of the river</td>
<td>3220B 1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gungan-da</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngadaa-gili /</td>
<td>down-SIDE/ up-SIDE</td>
<td>(The big stone is) underneath (and the grinding stone) above.</td>
<td>3219A 1303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaarribaa-gili</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minyaarr-gili-dja</td>
<td>which-SIDE-LOC</td>
<td>(standing) at which side</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngiyarr[1]-gili</td>
<td>here-SIDE</td>
<td>other side?</td>
<td>meaning uncertain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-milan</td>
<td>close/near</td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. milan ‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wii-milan-da</td>
<td>fire-NEAR-LOC</td>
<td>near the fire</td>
<td>5056 2282 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaawaa-milan-da</td>
<td>river-NEAR-LOC</td>
<td>near the river</td>
<td>3219B 2112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhil-milan-da</td>
<td>tail-NEAR-LOC</td>
<td>near the tail</td>
<td>8184 3375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-barraan</td>
<td>around</td>
<td>cf. barran ‘boomerang’; found only? on wii ‘fire’ and once on guwiin ‘near’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wii-n-barraan-di</td>
<td>fire-AROUND-ABL</td>
<td>(go) away from the fire</td>
<td>2833A 961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wii-m/barraan-da</td>
<td>fire-AROUND-LOC</td>
<td>(sat) around the fire</td>
<td>3219A 2945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guwiin?-barraan-da</td>
<td>close?-AROUND-LOC</td>
<td>beside (the fire)</td>
<td>3219A 3632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biil</td>
<td>side</td>
<td></td>
<td>rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bawa-biil-a</td>
<td>back-SIDE-LOC</td>
<td>afterwards</td>
<td>Wurm p89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The locational suffix -milan can apparently be attached to any appropriate nominal, in contrast to -gili. It has been found only in AD material, suffixed most commonly to wii ‘fire’; see (106), (107) and also (954).

(106)  The crow flew towards the fire.  
| giirruu nhama / waan / bara-waa-nha / wii-milan-da |
| true.very 3.DEF / crow, / fly-MOV-PRS / fire-CLOSE-LOC |
| near the fire                                                                                       | AD |
| That crow was flying near the fire.                                                                | JG |

(107)  I saw a big man beside the river.  
| giirr nga ya ngaama ngaarra-y / burrul-bidi warra-y.la-naaay / gaawaa-milan-da |
| true 1SG that see-PST / big-AUG stand-CTS-SUB / river-CLOSE-LOC |
| I saw the big one standing near the river.                                                          | JG |

The suffix -barraan is found on wii ‘fire’ on the tapes as wiinbarraan and wiimbarraan, translated ‘alongside the fire’ when in Locative case, and ‘away from the fire’ when in Ablative case, and as guwiinbarraan-da ‘alongside the fire’.

The suffix -biil is rare, found suffixed to waya ‘left hand’ forming wayabiil ‘left side’ and in buwabiil-a ‘afterwards’ (all from Wurm p89). Sim has bawabiil ‘behind’, from bawa ‘back’.
Compare WN -biil ‘towards’; Donaldson (1980: 144, not 114 as listed in her index) gives examples including ‘there-biil’ ‘to the side’, ‘right-biil’ ‘(turn) right’ and ‘me-biil’ towards me’.

### 3.3.8.2 YG translations of ‘through’

This section has an example of an important area for which no clear YG grammatical description has been found: a clear description of how to translate ‘through’ in YG.

In some Australian languages ‘Perlative’ case can be used to translate ‘through’. Yankunytjatjara has a Perlative case (C. Goddard, 1983a: 45) with marker -wanu (common nouns) and -lawanu (name-status nouns). The case ‘usually indicates that an action was performed through or across something or that a state exists around something’. Goddard gives examples which include the phrases: ‘through open country’, ‘close around here’, ‘by way of Unkalypalangu’, ‘around Yalata’, and ‘high-PERL’ is used in ‘(calling out) loudly’.

Similarly Dixon (2002: 151) defines ‘perlative’ case/function as ‘through’, or ‘along by the side of’ something and (p166) says it is also called ‘pergressive’. Neither the descriptions and names of the functions nor the examples give a clear description of the conditions governing use of the case.

YG have no separate Perlative case, so it might be expected that there is a perulative function which is signalled by one case. This is not so. Even the common, primary, description of perulative function, equivalent to the English preposition ‘through’, is translated using all three local cases in YG, as seen in Table 55. A preliminary conclusion is that when the motion is towards the speaker, irrespective of the verb, (-)DHaay ‘to here’ is used, and the location is in Ablative case. Dhaay is not found in the first example, from Mathews, but that sentence may well be incomplete.

In other situations Locative and Allative are used to translate ‘through’. I have no indication of what governs the choice between these cases, and in fact both cases are used in one example (3220A 1288). In the final example (3219A 1412) ‘through the smoke’ is likely an English idiom. The verb used is bayama-li ‘hold’ and the use of the Locative is consistent with the stationary relationship between the one held and the smoke.

#### Table 55 English ‘through’ translated with different cases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(I came) through the scrub.</td>
<td>yudile (yurrul-i)</td>
<td>bush-ABL</td>
<td>MathewsGR p267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creeping through the scrub</td>
<td>yurrul-i-djaay</td>
<td>bush-ABL-to.here</td>
<td>3220A 3381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coming through the bush</td>
<td>dhaay ... yurrul-i</td>
<td>to.here bush-ABL</td>
<td>3219B 2056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake is sliding through the grass</td>
<td>dhaay, buunhu-dhi</td>
<td>to.here ... grass-ABL</td>
<td>3220A 3739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she ran through the grass</td>
<td>buunhu-ga</td>
<td>grass-LOC</td>
<td>3217B 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he walked through the long grass</td>
<td>buunhubuunhu-gu</td>
<td>grassredup-ALL</td>
<td>3220A 1288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walking through the bush</td>
<td>yurrul-da</td>
<td>bush-LOC</td>
<td>JS3216A 1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>going for his life there through the scrub</td>
<td>yurrul-gu</td>
<td>bush-ALL</td>
<td>3219A 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hopping through the scrub</td>
<td>wadhi-gu</td>
<td>bush-ALL</td>
<td>2833B 914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walks through the scrub</td>
<td>yurrul-a</td>
<td>bush-LOC</td>
<td>3217A 2307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father put him through the smoke</td>
<td>dhuu-ga</td>
<td>smoke-LOC</td>
<td>3219A 1412</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.3.8.3 Major sources for a ‘grammar of space’

The main sources for the this section are the YR tapes, Sim37 (p42; given as Table 56, in the original orthography) and Wurm (p89). Wurm’s data on ‘left’ and ‘right’ are given in Table 57.

---

37 Table 56 is taken directly from Sim, with minor alterations.
Table 56  YR locationals in Sim

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>in front</th>
<th>Allative</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss (of Root)/Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baniguu</td>
<td>banidja</td>
<td>banidji</td>
<td>bani</td>
<td></td>
<td>times and place: this means the front of and before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behind</td>
<td>bawaguu</td>
<td>bawaga</td>
<td>bawadi [sic]</td>
<td>bawa</td>
<td>the back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bawabiluu</td>
<td>bawabiila</td>
<td>bawabiili</td>
<td>bawa</td>
<td></td>
<td>the back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>mudhuagu</td>
<td>mudhuaga</td>
<td>mudhuadhi</td>
<td>mudhuu</td>
<td>the inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beside</td>
<td>nirrin.gu</td>
<td>nirrinda</td>
<td>nirrindi</td>
<td>nirrin</td>
<td>the side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outside</td>
<td>wagigu</td>
<td>wagidja</td>
<td>wagidji</td>
<td>wagi</td>
<td>the outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between</td>
<td>bidjun.gu</td>
<td>bidjunda</td>
<td>bidjundi</td>
<td>bidjun</td>
<td>the middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other side</td>
<td>ngaarrigiligu</td>
<td>ngaarrigilidja</td>
<td>ngaarrigildji</td>
<td>ngaarrigili</td>
<td>other side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this side</td>
<td>ngagili</td>
<td>ngagilidja</td>
<td>ngagildji</td>
<td>ngagili</td>
<td>this side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on top of (a tree)</td>
<td>gaburran.gu</td>
<td>gaburranda</td>
<td>gaburrandi</td>
<td>gaburran</td>
<td>(the top of a tree only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>below</td>
<td>ganhagay</td>
<td>gahagadha</td>
<td>gahagadhi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(other side of) river</td>
<td>gandaarruu</td>
<td>gandaaya</td>
<td>gandaadhi</td>
<td>gandaarr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 57  Wurm data on ‘left’ and ‘right’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wurm</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Wurm</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>we:ja</td>
<td>waya</td>
<td>left hand</td>
<td>we:ja:bil</td>
<td>waya-bil</td>
<td>on left side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dju:ja:l</td>
<td>dhuuyaal</td>
<td>right hand</td>
<td>dju:ja:l</td>
<td>dhuuyaal</td>
<td>on the right side</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some uses of local cases are not clear. At 3220A 1269, AD translates ‘behind the trees’ with ngaarri-gili-dja ‘far-side-LOC’ in Locative case, and maalaabidi ‘trees-NOM’, rather than the expected Locative. I suspect this is a performance error.

3.4  Derivational cases

Grammars of Australian languages describe cases corresponding to the YG core, Dative and local cases. As pointed out (§3.1.1) there are other suffixes which have some of the properties of these cases but are also different. I classify the YG suffixes in Table 58 as Derivational cases.

Table 58  YG derivational cases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Yuwaalaray</th>
<th>Gamilaraay</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COMitive</td>
<td>-Biyaay</td>
<td>-Baraay</td>
<td>with, having</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM+</td>
<td>-bil</td>
<td>-bil</td>
<td>with lots</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIVative</td>
<td>-DHalibaay</td>
<td>-DHalibaay</td>
<td>without</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WANTing</td>
<td>-nginda</td>
<td>-nginda</td>
<td>need/want</td>
<td>-ngin+da?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
similar suffixes as ‘productive noun stem formatives’, grouping them with number suffixes and other suffixes. Another approach is taken by Dench (1995: 63) who makes no distinction ‘between a class of “inflections” and a class of “derivations”’. See Wilkins (1989: 155) for more discussion of the issue.

With inflectional use ‘derivational’ case suffixes have similarities to other case markers. Both signal the role of an NP in a larger structure. In some languages (e.g. Warlpiri) derivational case suffixes have the same distribution as other case markers – for instance being used on all members of an NP when other cases markers are so used. However, compared to other cases, they are more commonly followed by other case markers, although few instances of this have been found in YG.

Derivational suffixes commonly have a second, derivational use, being involved in the creation of a separate lexeme whose reference is different to that of the stem, and whose meaning may not be compositional. Use as a species name or placename is especially strong evidence of this lexicalisation. These uses can be readily distinguished, as Wilkins (1989: 155) points out. Inflectional use is productive and the inflected form has a predictable meaning, while derivational use may be non-productive with resulting idiosyncratic meaning. The two uses of the one suffix are clearly seen in (113).

As with other areas of YG the description of derivational case suffixes is constrained by the incomplete source information. The ‘having’ suffix is described in Ridley, common in recent sources (Wurm, Sim and the tapes), absent in Mathews and rare elsewhere. The other suffixes are much rarer and it is quite possible that there are other similar suffixes which have not been recorded at all.

The suffixes -wan ‘with prominent’ and -giirr/guwaay ‘like’ have some case-like properties, but are not cases: see §3.4.1.5, §3.4.1.6.

3.4.1 Suffixes about presence or absence

It is common for Australian languages to have a suffix which has meanings such as ‘with’ or ‘having’ which is called Comitative or proprietive. Dixon (1976: 203-312) has a large section on what he refers to as ‘the derivational affix “having”’, including a section on WN (Donaldson, 1976). It is also relatively common to have a suffix with the opposite meaning, ‘without’, sometimes glossed ‘private’. In WN and YG there are a number of other suffixes with related meanings such as ‘with much’, ‘with prominent’, and (in WN only) ‘nasty with’. Both YG and WN have a caritative suffix -nginda ‘want/need’. These suffixes prototypically form an adnominal of predictable meaning from a noun, for instance guliirr-iyaay ‘spouse-having’ (= ‘married’). Such adnominals can then become names (nominals), most commonly of places or creatures and also the language names Gamil-araay and Yuwaal-araay, both ‘no-COM’.

3.4.1.1 -Biyaay/-Baraay ‘COMitative’

The suffix -Biyaay YR, -Baraay GR is glossed ‘COMitative’. The form is -biyaay/-baraay except after word final l or rr when it is -iyaay YR and -araay GR. There is also variation in the form of the YR suffix, with both -Biyaay and -Bayaay found (110). The latter is less common.

38 Derivational cases are similar to Dative (possessive) case in prototypically forming adnominals, which can be regarded as adjectives.

39 YG does not have suffixes corresponding to WN -girr ‘nasty with’, -bura ‘with prominent’ and -bidjaal ‘with big’.


41 The regular r > y change (GR > YR) would result in -Bayaay, and in fact the dialect name Yuwaalayaay has that form, indicating that a further sound change has taken place, from -Bayaay to -Biyaay. At times it is difficult to distinguish the two vowel glide sequences iya and aya, and yiyaayay has been heard, as well as yiyaayay, for ‘firestick’. Wurm has billigia:n bajai: billy can-bayaay, ‘with the billycan’: p 100). One Sim example, dhaandiyayaay, has the suffix -diyaay after #n, but -biyaay is generally found after final n.
The core meaning of Comitative case is that one thing has or is accompanied by another. Dixon (1976: 306) describes it as having a number of semantic functions: ‘attribute/characteristic’, ‘possession’, ‘accompaniment’ or ‘presence of’.\(^{42}\)

Attributive use is seen in (108), but it is more commonly predicative, as in (109) or as a second predicate (110).

(108) The man with the big beard slept for a long long time.  
\[
\text{ngaarama ngama }\text{yarray-biyaay dhayn }/\text{bamba }\text{dhandwi-nyi}
\]  
there that beard-COM man w.energy sleep-PST  
He went to sleep for a long time (till the sun nearly coming up).  
The bearded man slept soundly./The man with a beard slept soundly.  
JG

(109) The water leaked out of the dish.  
\[
biyuu-biyaay=yaa \text{ nhama }\text{dhindhirr}
\]  
hole-com=POT 3.DEF dish.  
That dish must have a hole in it.  
JG

(110) Another man is walking along with his spears and a fighting club.  
\[
nhama ngayagay dhayn yanaa-waa-nha /\text{bilaarr-ayaay/iyaay}
\]  
3.DEF other man walk-CTS-PRS /spear-COM/  
That other man is walking along with his spear,  
and barran-biyaay / bundi-biyaay  
and boomerang-COM / club-COM  
He’s carrying his spear and boomerang, and bundi.  
and with a boomerang and a club.  
JG

(111) He wrapped it (the python he caught) around his waist to carry it.  
\[
\text{ngiyama-}?? /\text{yanaa-w-uwi-nyi} \text{ ngaama} /\text{yabaa-biyaay/bayaay}
\]  
there / go-BACK-PST that / python-COM  
(He tied it round his waist) and went back/home with the python.  
JG

(110) and (111) show accompaniment and (112) contrasts bilaarr in Comitative and Ergative (instrumental) cases.

(112) He is walking along spearing kangaroos.  
\[
giirr \text{ nhama=Na yanaa-waa-nha } /\text{bilaarr-iyaay}, \text{ngiyama nguu}
\]  
true 3.DEF=3 go-MOV-PRS /spear-COM, there 3SG.ERG  
bilaayu dhu-ri.gu / bandaarr  
spear-ERG spear-PURP / kangaroo  
He is going along with his spear, so he can spear a kangaroo.  
JG

The suffix can have a quantitative implication rather than simply indicating a presence, as seen by its translation as ‘all’ in (261) where ‘mud-COM’ is ‘(the ground is) all mud’ and its translation as ‘covered in’ in (1136)(b) where ‘blood-COM’ is ‘covered in blood’. However, in (451) ‘blood-COM’ is ‘there is blood on’.

The suffix has both derivational and inflectional use. The suffix is common, with derivational use, in GR placenames such as Collarenebri, Galarin-baraay ‘blossoms-COM’. Galarin-baraay can also have inflectional use: dhulu galarin-baraay ‘a tree with blossoms on it’ (dhulu ‘tree’). The suffix is less commonly used to form other names, such as those of animals: milam-baraay ‘cow’ (milk-having).

\(^{42}\) These terms are useful but have the usual lack of precision and incompletely describe the uses of the suffix.
In (113) -Biyaay occurs twice: firstly with derivational use in ‘net’ (dhaal is usually ‘cheek’). The meaning dhaaliyaay is clearly idiosyncratic. Then -Biyaay is used as an inflection.43

(113) To fish with a net.

\textit{innabiligu da:lijai biaia}

\textit{yinabi-li.gu dhaaliyaay-biyaay-a??}

\textit{fish-PURP net-com-LOC??}

Other examples of derivational uses are seen in Table 59. The use of the suffix to form new words such as \textit{milambraay ‘cow’}, \textit{yurraamubiyaay ‘drunk’} and \textit{‘water-bag-biyaay’} (3220A 899) shows that it was highly productive even recently.

Williams (p105) gives two examples of ‘weak instrumental’ use of the suffix (she does not define the term). One is ‘caught a cod with a hook’, but this example is very atypical and likely an error. The second is ‘walked with a stick’. This is probably from AD5056 1994 and examination of the tape does not support an instrumental interpretation. However, (113) shows instrumental use and (114) could be interpreted as weak instrumental\(^{44}\) use of the Comitative. (114) also shows bayaa/ biyaay variation in the form of the suffix.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Original} & \textbf{Gloss} & \textbf{Standard} & \textbf{Base} & \textbf{Source} \\
\hline
\textit{dhaaliyaay} & net & \textit{dhaal-iyaay} & \textit{dhaal ‘cheek’}? & Dictionary \\
\textit{gubiyaay} & a yam & \textit{gu} not known. & Dictionary \\
\textit{milambraai} & milkers (cows) & \textit{milam-baraay} & \textit{milam from ‘milk’} & Ridley \\
\textit{jura:mu brai} & drunk & \textit{yurraamu-biyaay} & \textit{yurraamu ‘rum’} & Wurm \\
\textit{wibiyaay} & hot & \textit{wit-biyaay} & \textit{wit ‘fire’} & Sim \\
\textit{dhaandiyaay} & leaning & \textit{dhaan ‘sideways’} & Sim \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

(114) I paddled the canoe close to the river bank. \textit{JM/AD 8184 492}

\textit{giirruu ngaama / ganunga, dhagaan-biyaay / dhanduvi-y.aaba-lada-nha}

\textit{true.very that / 3PL, brother-COM / sleep-TOT-CTS-PRS}

That’s where they sleep. \textit{AD}

All the brothers gave their mother their meat. \textit{CW/AD 5130 150}

\textit{giirruu / ngiyarrma / dhagaan-biyaay-u dhanggaa wuu-nhi, gunidjarr-gu}

\textit{true.very / there / brother-COM-ERG meat give-PST, mother-DAT}

(All) The brothers give meat to (their) mother. \textit{JG}

43 This distinction of roles is not contradicted by the fact that the instrumental suffix would normally be expected, not the Comitative, or by the unexplained final element.

44 It may be that the Comitative is used more commonly with instrumental function with intransitive verbs.

Personal accompaniment can be shown by a purely inclusory construction (§11.4.4) and/or by use of a Comitative. (116) shows both strategies used in the one phrase ‘we2 father-COM’ = ‘father and I’. Wurm’s English in (117) suggests the same phrase (albeit in different order) has another interpretation, referring to three people, but his English may be a misinterpretation of the Yuwaalaraay.

I went yesterday (we 2) with my father hunting.

(117) bɔ: djɛdjai ngali bajawi
buwadjarr-iyaay ngali bayawi-y father-COM 1.DU hunt?-PUT
We two will go hunting with my father.

Another use of the Comitative in a neighbouring language is as an existential: Donaldson (1976: 235) has: Garraa yanaa. Dhuurr-buwan (don’t go. IMP man-COM) ‘Don’t go. There is a man’, showing that a single Comitative-suffixed word can be used as an existential sentence in WN. No clearly existential uses of the Comitative have been found in YG. However, (118) and, less likely, (119) can have existential interpretations: (‘there is a hole’ ‘there are clubs’), but both can also be interpreted as predicative: (‘the tree has a hole in it’ ‘they have clubs’)

(118) It might be under a tree. Look under the tree.

muyaan-di ngaarrrma / muyaan-da ngaarrrma ngaarra-la / biyuu-biyaay tree-ABL there / tree-LOC there look-IMP / hole-COM
Have a look at that tree there. There’s a hole in it.

(119) They had some nullanullas.

giirr bundi-biyaay true club-COM
(They) had clubs.

As in English there are a number of ways of encoding similar meanings. In (120) ‘got a beard’ is translated with the Comitative suffix, but ‘his hair is long’ is not. In (121) ‘got kids’ is translated firstly by the suffix, and then by the verb gaa-gi ‘take/bring’. I do not attempt to analyse the differences in meaning.

(120) a beard, like that

yarray / yarray-biyaay / yarray-biyaay=bala nhamaa wanda / guyaarrruula=Na dhaygal beard / beard-COM / beard-com=CTR 3.DEF white.man / long=3 hair
That man got a long beard and his hair is long.

Donaldson points out (1980: 107) that in WN the Comitative suffix ‘cannot be suffixed to first or second person pronouns, demonstratives or names since it cannot mark forms whose reference is definite’. However, Buwadjarr-iyaay (116) (117) has definite reference, so it seems that restrictions on the use of the suffix are not as wide in YG as they are in WN. The suffix has not been found on

45 See Merlan and Heath (1982) for more on ‘Dyadic Kinship Terms’.
interrogative words (e.g. minya-biyaay# ‘what with?’ but I see no reason why this should not occur as such uses do occur in other Australian languages; e.g. Simpson (1991: 57) gives an example of ‘what’ and ‘that’ followed by the Comitative/proprietive suffix in Warlpiri.

Another WN use not yet attested in YG is the appearance of the suffix on a verb to indicate ‘ability to’. Donaldson (1980: 110) points out:

A verb root plus conjugation marker followed by -buwan/-DHalibaaN- (COMitative/PRIVative) indicates the ability/inability to perform the action or experience the state referred to by the verb root. Giyanhdha-y-djalabaanN- means ‘fearless, unable to fear … and yana-y-buwan means ‘able to walk’.

Similar examples are not found in YG, but again it is quite possible that this is because of the incomplete records.

The syntax of the suffix is at times uncertain. One would have expected to commonly find derivational case suffixes followed by core and local case suffixes. However, there are very few examples: followed by an Ablative suffix in (105), Allative in galariin-biyaay-u ‘to Collarenebri’ (5053 418) and possibly by an Ergative in (115).

Usually all elements of a YG NP are case marked, but multiple use of the Comitative in a YG NP has not been found. Compare Yidiny where Dixon (1980: 325) points out that the Comitative suffix goes on both the head noun and a modifying adjective (e.g. ‘man three-COM wife-COM’ = ‘man with three wives’). Similar use is found in WN: ex 4–66, and to a less degree 4–68. In (121) only the final element of burrulaa birralii ‘many children’ has the Comitative suffix. I presume the alternative pattern, with all elements having the Comitative, is more traditional.

(121) giirr ngaya buma-y / birralii ngay / true 1SG hit-PST / child 1SG.DAT / I killed my kids,

nginda=bala nhamaa=nga / burrulaa birralii-biyaay, 2SG 3.DEF=THEN? / many child-COM, but you got a lot.

ngaya=bala=N/a/nha bulaarr / bulaarr gaa-ji.la-nha 1SG=CTR=3 two / two take-CTS-PRS

But I only got two. JG

3.4.1.2 -DHalibaa ‘PRIVative’

The suffix -DHalibaa indicates an absence of something. Its meaning is the opposite of the Comitative, which indicates the presence of something. It is found a number of times with a paraphrase which uses maayrr ‘none’ instead of the suffix: (123) and (124). Table 60 and the sentences show typical uses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Root gloss</th>
<th>Source/Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guliirr-dalibaa</td>
<td>unmarried (spouseless)</td>
<td>spouse</td>
<td>Ridley: 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wii-djalibaa</td>
<td>no fire(wood)</td>
<td>fire(wood)</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhalay-djalibaa</td>
<td>dumb</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>Sim (non-compositional)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gugirrii-djalibaa</td>
<td>weak</td>
<td>sinew</td>
<td>Sim (non-compositional)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiya-dhalibaa</td>
<td>gummy, no teeth</td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>FR 1848A 1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunidjarr-dhalibaa</td>
<td>with no mother</td>
<td></td>
<td>FR 2438A 1311</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the examples (especially in the tapes) show inflectional use. Mildly derivational use is seen in Table 60, particularly in dhalaydjalibaa. The suffix is found on nouns, forming adjectives. Its use could be expanded to use on verbs, to parallel the suggested use of -Biyaay/Baraay with verbs. No examples have been found of the suffix followed by another case suffix but there does
not seem to be any reason why these should not occur, as happens for the Comitative suffix. The suffix is found in the fairly widespread placename Weetalibah; *wii-dhalibaa* ‘fire-PRIV’, but not in other placenames or creature names.

The form of the suffix varies. It can be *-dhaliiba* in all environments, but is usually *-dalibaa* after final *n*, *l* and *rr*, and more commonly *-djaliiba* after final *y* and *i*. Some realisations of *rr-DHaliiba* delete the rhotic, as in *yina-dalibaa* (*yinarr* ‘woman’). While the form is generally described as a suffix and it is only found immediately after the word it qualifies, the variation in realisation and intonation suggest that it was originally a separate word.

The suffix is found often in some recent sources, particularly the tapes and Sim, but not in earlier sources. It most likely was missed by the early recorders of the languages. Evans (1990: 138) suggests that in some languages the Privative suffix is derived from the word for ‘bad’, but there is nothing to suggest that pattern in YG.

The WN privative is *-DHalabaaN* (Donaldson, 1980: 107), clearly cognate with the YG.

(122) Their children were always hungry.

   giirruu nham birralii-gal / yuulngindi / banaga-y.la-nha
true.very that child-PL.DIM / hungry / run-CTS-PRS
Those kids are (running around) hungry;

   dhuwarr-dhalibaa yuulngindi banaga-y.la-nha /
bread-PRIV hungry run-CTS-PRS /
with no food, hungry; running around;

   nhama=Na?nga yuulngindi wila-y.la-nha
3.DEF=3?THEN hungry sit-CTS-PRS
He’s sitting down there nothing to eat, he’s hungry.

   They are (sitting down) hungry.

(123) Soon there will be no meat left.

   maayrr=laa ngiyangu dhinggaa gi-gi //
none=DIR 1PL.DAT meat be-FUT //
There will be no meat for us;

   dhinggaa-dhalibaa ngiyani yanaa-y.la-y
meat-PRIV 1PL walk-CTS-FUT
we’ll be without meat.

(124) There are no clouds.

   maayrr gundaa / gundaa-dhalibaa nhama gunagala.
none cloud / cloud-PRIV 3.DEF sky
The sky has got no cloud in it.

   There are no clouds. The sky is cloudless.

3.4.1.3  *-bil* ‘W.LOT: with a lot’

The YG suffix *-bil* is generally translated ‘with a lot’. Its form is invariant. No GR examples have been found. The WN cognate is formally identical and has the same gloss. Donaldson (1980: 112) has:

When a place, object or person is in some way remarkable for a characteristic, suffixes are used which include some extra information, in addition to meaning ‘having’ or ‘(being) with’. These suffixes function grammatically like *-buwan*.

YG *-bil* has very limited occurrence in the early sources and its use there is likely derivational. There are a number of other *-bil*-final words which may also be examples of derivational use, or accidental occurrence of *-bil* word finally: see Table 61. Parker has *dirrahbeel* probably ‘showing off’, just possibly *dhirra-bil*. Sim has *‘dhirrabilaaay* and *dhirrab*; smiling, grinning, smirking; lit.
“with lots of teeth’. The -aay is unexplained, and dhirra is not the usual word for ‘tooth’, so this is possibly a fossilised use of the suffix. FR has bidjaay-bil (mud-bil) ‘covered in mud’ (2437B 2837), dhaymaarr-bil ‘earth-bil’ in ‘mouth full of dirt’ (2436A 2442).

The difference between -bil and -biyaay likely has both a factual component (-bil implies greater quantity) and a discourse component (the speaker uses -bil to emphasise the notable or unexpected or amusing nature of the ‘having’) but the full traditional difference will never be fully known, since the evidence is so limited. There are a number of instances where FR in particular uses -bil and -biyaay in the same answer, usually with -biyaay first; e.g. (126). I assume the second form he gives is his preferred option. In (127) FR uses gungan-bil ‘water-bil’ a number of times to describe ‘wet clothes’, but changes to gungan-biyaay to describe ‘wet ground’, and then gives an explanation based on ‘in’ contrasting with ‘on’ which does not really help to distinguish the two suffixes.

At 5129A 1602, CW and AD are discussing the blood (guway) spilling over the gilaa’s face (ngulu). AD describes it as: guway-biyaay ngulu. CW asks: Can you say guway-bil? AD replies: ‘guway-biyaay means a lot’. See also (1064). There seems to be overlap of use between the two suffixes.

No instance of multiple NP components marked with -bil have been found in YG. Donaldson (1980: 112) points out that in WN multiple component NPs have -bil on only one component: wurran baamirr-bil ‘hair long-bil’, making it different from non-derivational case suffixes. This may be the result of language decline. Examples of -bil are seen in (125)–(128), Table 61, (74), (1064) and probably (1053).

(125) The fish isn’t very good to eat. jam/JM FR 1853A 2458
gagil nhama biirrnga, buya-bil bad 3.DEF bony.bream, bone-W.LOT
The Bony Bream is no good, he got a lot of bones. FR

(126) and (127) show -bil and -Biyaay in the same elicitation.

(126) nose, runny FR
mirril, mirril-iyaay muya, mirril-bil snot, snot-LOC nose, snot-W.LOT
You are a snotty nosed devil. FR
Snot, snotty nose, lots of snot on it. JG

(127) wet FR
(a) gungan-bil nginu hayagaa water-W.LOT 2SG.DAT clothes
You got wet clothes, your clothes are wet. FR
The ground is wet. (JM) FR 1851A 2555
(b) dhaymaarr gungan-bil; or gungan-biyaay dhaymaarr ground water-W.LOT, or water-LOC ground
Practically the same thing: ground got water on it, that’s the difference; clothes got water in it. FR

(128) The man says: I have some burrs in the sole of my foot, they are hurting me. JM/AD 3218B 1752
giir=baa ngaunuda / dhin-ga nhlay / bindiyaay / bindiyaay-gu dhuwi-nyi / true=CTR 1SG.LOC / foot-LOC this / prickley / prickley-LOC stick-in-PST /
burrula-gu bindiyaay-gu dhuwi-nyi / nham=baa ngay / many=LOC prickley-LOC stick-in-PST / that=CTR 1SG.DAT /
dhinay bayn / bindiyaay-dhi / bindiyaay-bil foot sore / prickley-ABL / prickley-W.LOT
That’s the bindiyaay sticking in my foot and hurting it. AD
A lot of bindi-eyes stuck in my foot, and my foot is sore, full of bindi-eyes. JG
Table 61  (Possible) examples of -bil ‘with lot’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Derivational use</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buwabil</td>
<td>possessions</td>
<td></td>
<td>GYY Dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhirra-bil</td>
<td>showing off</td>
<td>?dhirra ‘flash’;</td>
<td>Emu and Bustard line 82; Sim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhirra-bil-aay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhunbil</td>
<td>sinews</td>
<td>cf. dhun ‘tail’</td>
<td>GYYD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inflectional use</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamugamanu-bil</td>
<td>(meat) covered with maggots</td>
<td>maggot</td>
<td>3218B 2159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhaymaarr-bil</td>
<td>(meat fell on ground) got dirty; my face/my clothes is/are dirty (after falling)</td>
<td>dirt</td>
<td>3220A 341 2436A 2442 2436A 2667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhay-bil</td>
<td>(tree) with lot of knots</td>
<td>knot</td>
<td>1852A 1220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidjaay-bil</td>
<td>covered in mud, all over mud</td>
<td>mud</td>
<td>2437B 3379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhulaan-bil</td>
<td>slimy</td>
<td>slime</td>
<td>2437A 1536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuu-bil</td>
<td>dusty (clothes)</td>
<td>dust</td>
<td>1851A 3476</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another example of derivational use is the town name Coonamble. AD5052 394 gives a story describing the situation that led to the name Coonamble (gunambil), based on guna ‘excrement’ (with a homorganic nasal preceding the suffix, indicating that this is a Wayilwan word). A plaque in the main street gives another version of the derivation, presumably with the same meaning. It has: ‘name for the site of the first cattle camp on the bank of the river’. The suffix may be involved in Boggabilla (bagay ‘creek’) but the final ‘a’ is unexplained. It may be the Locative suffix. In WN dhigarr-bil-a (dhigarr ‘spear’) is ‘echidna’, who, in a story, was speared many times in the back. The YG name bigibila retains the last two syllables, but bigi is unanalysed. Kangaroo and emu sinews, dhunbil, consist of many individual fibres which were separated and then used to form rope. Dhun is ‘tail, penis’ and also occurs in dhun.gayrra ‘forked lightning’, so dhunbil can be analysed as ‘having lots of long bits’.

There are numerous instances of -bil in transcripts of the JS tapes, but this generally seems to be his pronunciation of -biyal ‘just, only’ (see §13.3.5), especially (1053). In (129) AD seems to correct himself, changing from -biyal to -bil, although either suffix is understandable in translating the elicitation.

(129) Some places are stony and some are sandy.               JM/AD 3220B 3140

minyaayawaa / nhamalay / gagil / dhaymaarr / walanbaa /  
somewhere there / bad ground / hard /  

maayama-biyalxx / maayama-bil  
stone-JUST(error) / stone-W.LOT  
Some places are bad ground, hard, just rock (corrects), covered in rocks.  JG

3.4.1.4 -nginda ‘WANT/need’; Caritative case

The suffix -nginda is glossed ‘WANT’ and is commonly translated ‘need/want’. It can also be referred to as Caritative case.

It is found most commonly on nouns (130)–(132), but also on interrogatives (133), (134) and on verbs (135), and see §12.2.2.1. Other examples include: (234) (minya-nginda ‘what-need’); (184)

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46 The distinction drawn here between derivational and inflectional is based on the predictability of the meaning of the word.

47 When the site was visited in June 2016 the plaque had been replaced by a garden.
(dhii-nginda ‘tea-wanting’); 5129A 1742 (buya-nginda ‘bone-wanting’); (922) (dhinggaa-nginda ‘meat-wanting’).

When -nginda is suffixed on a noun the resulting word could be regarded as an adjective. It is typically a second predicate rather than part of an NP. In both Wangaaybuwan and YG -nginda is never found followed by a further case inflection. There are no YG examples of multiple use of the suffix in NPs.

-nginda is rare in early sources, but bungun-nginda ‘wing/arm-needing’ is found twice in Parker including in (130). It is relatively common in the tapes, with around 100 instances.

(130) (The Bustard is taunting the Emu, and says:) Wahl boonoong ninderh doorunmai. Parker: line 19

waal bungun-nginda dhuurranmay.
not wing-WANT chief
(Every bird flies.) The Dinewans, to be the king of birds, should do without wings. Parker
The king does not need wings. JG

(131) I don’t want it // i.e. the axe is not mine

wa:l qaia damija: qinde

waal ngaya dhamiyya-nginda
not 1SG tomahawk-WANT
I don’t want the tomahawk. JG

(132) Could you say he died from thirst?

gungan-nginda / nhama, maadhay balu-nhi
water-WANT / 3.DEF, dog die-PST
It was from lack of water that the dog died. JG

(133) I don’t know what did the girl hit his mother for.

minya-nginda=waa nhama / birralii-duul-u, ngambaadhi nguungu buma-y
what-WANT=IGNOR 3.DEF / child-DIM-ERG, mother.PD 3SG.DAT hit-PST
I don’t know what she wanted, that kid, that she hit her mother. JG

(134) Why (you) are those two men hitting each other

minjinja qinda nama de’in bumatawanna?

minya-nginda nhama dhayn buma-la-waa-nha
what-WANT 3.DEF man hit-RECP-MOV-PRS
What are those men fighting for? JG

(135) here sleep: you and I are sleepy old uncle

ðanduwi yiinda qa:ja gilanna garophygi mu:ð

dhanduwi-y.nginda ngaya gi-gi.la-nha garruugii muurr
sleep(verb)-WANT 1SG be-CTS-PRS uncle ??
I need to have a sleep, Uncle. JG

There is an example very similar to (135) at AD5056 1461.

Minya-nginda is often followed by a suffixed second person pronoun, e.g. minya-nginda=nda ‘what-WANT=2SG’ and (136).

(136) Why do you two keep on fighting?

minya-nginda=ndaali, buma-la-y.la-nha
what-WANT=2DU, hit-RECP-CTS-PRS

Historically, the suffix seems to be composite, with the initial element -ngin found in words like galingin ‘thirsty’ (water-ngin) and yuulngin ‘hungry’ (yuul is rare as an independent word for ‘food’) and probably in ngingin ‘sexual desire’ (Mathews, 1903: 276). The forms -nginda and
-ngindi, formally, can be analysed as -ngin and the appropriate forms of the Locative and Ablative suffixes after n. However, synchronically there seems to be no distinction in meaning: yuul-ngin (~20 instances) and yuul-ngindi (~40 instances) are both common on the tapes, with no difference in meaning found. The common way of translating thirsty is gungan-nginda (gungan ‘water’). So -gin, -gindi and -ginda are all found with no clear distinction in meaning. (137) shows -gindi and -ginda used about the same situation, so presumably with the same meaning. -ginda is the only currently productive form. Yuulngindi is also found in Laves (227) and Sim points out the yuulngin/yuulngindi variation, noting that the di is optional, i.e. he noticed no difference in meaning.

(137) I am hungry for a meal of emu.

There is an exact formal and semantic equivalent in WN (Donaldson, 1980: 113) glossed ‘caritative’. However, Donaldson points out a use that is not found in the YG sources, with -nginda suffixed to pronouns, demonstratives and personal names. She has the example nginuu-nginda ‘you.OBL-nginda’, ‘lonely for you’. The OBLique form of the pronouns has O, IO and POSS function. I assume that ‘wanting you’ in YG is nginunda-nginda (2SG.ACC-WANT).

Donaldson says (p115) ‘-nginda is a suffix with idiosyncratic qualities’, and had been abandoned when she began fieldwork, functionally replaced by wandidma-li, a verb based on English ‘want’. There is a Wiradjuri cognate, the free word ngindi ‘want’.

The following two suffixes, -wan and -giirr/-guwaay, are not classified as case suffixes.

3.4.1.5 -wan ‘with.prominent’

This rarely found suffix has been discussed in Giacon (2001: 146). It is most commonly found with derivational use, as in the noun dhina-wan ‘foot-with.prominent’ ‘emu’, and once forming an adverb barraay-wan ‘straight away’ from the adverbal use of barraay ‘quickly’, rather than from its adjectival use ‘quick’. Its meaning when used with an adverb is ‘very’.

Ridley (p21) glosses it ‘strong’. Sim (1998: 32) has ‘prominent, emphatic/emphasised’ but later (1998: Appendix: 8) has ‘-wan is similar to barrul (‘big’), but “emphasised” is a better translation’. A common path for formation of names such as dhinawan is for an adjective to be reanalysed as a name. The fact that -wan is found on an adverb, albeit only once, suggests that other similar suffixes may similarly be more productive than the limited extant records show.

Most of the corpus occurrences of -wan so far found are given in Table 62. It is possible that the words given in the later section of the table are not occurrences of the suffix, but words that coincidently end with -wan.
Table 62  Tokens of -wan ‘with prominent, strong, very’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixed</th>
<th>Meaning/gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhinawan</td>
<td>emu (foot-strong/prominent)</td>
<td>dhina</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td>Ridley, Sim, many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biwanbihiwan</td>
<td>chest puffed out or expanded, Poss. arms thrown out; braggart, boasting; Black-faced Woodswallow (bird)</td>
<td>bii</td>
<td>chest</td>
<td>Sim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biwanmali</td>
<td>puff out, inflate chest</td>
<td>bii</td>
<td>chest</td>
<td>Sim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhuwiwan</td>
<td>Western grey kangaroo</td>
<td>nhuwi</td>
<td>stinking</td>
<td>Sim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baraaywan</td>
<td>straight away</td>
<td>baraay</td>
<td>quick</td>
<td>Sim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Possible instances of -wan

- -wan may be part of YR -wan.gaan ‘very’: see §7.4.5. A counter-indication is that GR has -wan in dhinawan, but the GR cognate of -wan.gaan is -ban.gaan, so there may not be a relationship between -wan and -wan.gaan.

3.4.1.6  -giirr YR/GR; -guwaay GR ‘LIKE’

Another suffix which does not fit neatly into a major category is -giirr\(^{48}\) YR/GR; -guwaay GR ‘like’. -giirr has been discussed in Williams (1980: 140). The most common use is to form a secondary predicate. A rare instance of adnominal use is the description of opals as yuluwirrii-giirr maayama ‘rainbow-LIKE stones’ (AD, FR/CW 5129A 2591). It is also found with derivational use: phonologically -giirr can be regarded as a suffix, since it does not have separate stress.

(138) He runs fast, like a horse.

\(\text{CW/AD 3996A 791}\)

\(\text{bamba nham' banaqo-y.la-nha / yaraamaan-giirr}\)

\(\text{hard that run-CTS-PRS / horse-LIKE}\)

However, similar suffixes in other languages have a broader range of functions, and this, combined with the very limited YG evidence, suggests the YG suffix also had a wider use.

3.4.1.6.1  -giirr: Yuwaalaray

Sim and Giacon (1998: 31) gives the forms of the suffix as -giirr and -djirr, and its meaning as ‘likeness to’. They (p47) have wayamaa-giirr-aa ‘old man’ (old.man-giirr-aa) which possibly includes the form but is currently unanalysable. (139)–(141), from Sim, Wurm and AD, show the most common use of the suffix, as part of a secondary predicate. (141) is one of around 20 instances on the tapes.

\(^{48}\) -giirr is a homophone of giirr ‘true’ (§13.1.2.1) but the two are clearly distinguished by their position: giirr is clause-initial, and -giirr is suffixed to a nouns.
That kangaroo is as big as a man. (standing like a man) Sim p43

minyagaa wamba-laaw-nha // bawurra-giirr ngarra-waa-nha
something carry-MOV-PRS // kangaroo-LIKE look.M-MOV-PRS

They are going to fight with their hands, one woman walked out, they are going to fight with their hands.

true=3?NOW // hit-RECP-MOV-PRS 3DU? / man-LIKE
They fighting now, like two men.
The two of them are fighting now, like men.

On the tapes the suffix is not explicitly sought – both informants use the suffix spontaneously, indicating that it was a common part of the language even at a late stage. Dodd’s (5058 906) use of ‘grapes-giirr’ to describe milaan ‘yam’ shows that the suffix was still productive in the 1970s. I have heard -giirr used in recent years by YG people in Walgett, Lightning Ridge and Sydney suffixed on English words; for instance: ‘she swims fish-giirr’ and ‘he looks Barry-giirr’. The speakers did not realise they were using a Yuwaalaraay suffix. (142) gives some other tape examples.

More YR examples of -giirr ‘like’
(a) yinarr-giirr ‘woman like’ ‘He’s got long hair, like a woman.’
(b) maadhaay-giirr ‘dog-like’ ‘They going to bury him like a dog.’
(c) bibirrgaa-giirr ‘pig-like’ ‘That big tall man was snoring like a pig.’
(d) bibirrgaa-giirr ‘pig-like’ ‘I laid in the mud like a pig.’
(e) bibirrgaa-giirr ‘pig-like’ ‘Eat like a pig.’

Note: There is no Ergative case suffix on ‘pig’ in the two examples with transitive verbs. However, see (144) and (145), where WN examples have the similar suffix following an Ergative and Locative suffix.

The suffix can also follow nominalised verbs: e.g.: balu-ngindaay-giirr ‘die-SUB-giirr’ in (979) (‘pick it up as if it is dead’).

It is found in a small number of names: Baan.giirr (baan ‘mistletoe’) is both ‘Black-tailed Native-hen’ and the location Bangate. Imbergee, a waterhole, is from buyudjiirr ‘lower.leg-LIKE’ (Sim & Giacon, 1998: 31). Walgett may be waal-giirr; analysis not known.

There are a number of particles which include -giirr, the basic one being YR yalagiiirr ‘like’ and also forms derived from yalagiiirr: §6.4. Parker (Emu-Bustard) has boorool luggeray Dinewan ‘big like the emu’ (burrul yalagiiirray dinawan). There seem to be two phrasal structures, with similar meaning: a nominal followed by -giirr/-guwaay, and the same word preceded by yalagiiirr/yalaguywaay. ‘Big like a kangaroo’ can be translated: burrul bandaarr-giirr or burrul yalagiiirr bandaarr (burrul ‘big’, bandaarr ‘kangaroo’). (For –ay, see §6.2.4.)

The only GR example of -giirr found is murrigir ‘like a man’ (mari-giirr), given as a single word, not in a sentence (Mathews MS 8006/3/9 Bk3 p17). GR also has -guwaay in particles/manner adverbs which include the meaning ‘like’: §6.4. Ridley (Gurre Kamilaroi) has yealokwai ‘like’ (yiylaguywaay) four times (143), each time as part of a second predicate. Yealokwai corresponds to YR yiylala-giirr, indicating correspondence between giirr and guwaay.
Ridley examples of yealokwai ‘like’
(a) murruba yealokwai ngerma ‘good like him’ (maaruba a yiyalagwaa ngiyarrma) (twice)
(b) yarine yealokwai giwir ‘come down like men’ (yaarrinyi yiyalagwaa giwiir)
(c) giwir yealokwai ngindai ‘men like you’ (giwiir yiyalagwaa ngindaay) (2 examples)

The GR evidence is very limited, and it is possible that GR used both -giirr and -guwaay with the same functions, perhaps as alternatives or perhaps in different dialects.

Donaldson (1980: 249) describes the Wangaaybuwan clitic, -gulaay ‘like’, clearly cognate with the GR -guwaay. It marks a constituent in topic position as a simile. It indicates reference to something ‘like’ the reference of the form to which it is attached.

The meaning is very like the YG particles; however, the WN lexeme is different in that it attaches to the first constituent of the clause, and to a wider range of word classes than is attested for YG.

-gulaay is found on nouns, pronouns, interrogatives and verbs, and is found on case marked words in (144) and (145). (146) shows it having scope over a sentence, attached to the sentence-final verb.

Wangaaybuwan examples of -gulaay ‘like’
(a) ngindu-gulaay ‘you-LIKE’ ‘like you’
(b) minyang-gu-gulaay what-DAT-LIKE ‘like (the track) of what’
(c) minyang-gulaay ‘what-LIKE?’
(d) biyaga-buwan-du-gulaay tobacco-COM-ERG-LIKE ‘like someone with (plenty of) tobacco.

Wangaaybuwan

(145) yarudhaamiyi=dju buna-la-nhaara=nam-bulaa garii-g-gulaay
hit-RECP-CIRCUM=3ABS-DU truth-LOC-LIKE
I dreamt the two of them were fighting each other as if it was real. Donaldson 9–42 p250

(146) Nina-laa dhibi ginda-nha-gulaay
this-EST bird laugh-PRS-LIKE
(It is) as if this bird is laughing. Wangaaybuwan Donaldson 9–43 p250

There is also a Wiradjuri form -guliya ‘like’, with probably similar use. However, it is attested as deriving a noun rather than an adjective. It derives maying-gulia ‘likeness, image of a person’ from the noun maying ‘person’ (Günther, 1892: sentences 36 and 5.4): ‘I made a man’s likeness with charcoal’ and ‘don’t you people-like make!’ These sentences presumably translate a Biblical injunction against making images.

Many other languages have a similar construction, sometimes called semblative case or suffix: cf. Dench (1995: 134). Wilkins (1989: 157) discusses Arrernte arteke ‘semblative’. The properties are similar to WN -gulaay. He gives syntactic and morphological reasons for not analysing arteke as a case suffix. The Arrernte semblative, like the WN, can also attach to pronouns and to case markers. In the Arrernte dictionary (Henderson & Dobson, 1994) arteke has virtually the same meaning as -giirr/-gulaay and it is found after Ergative and Dative marked nouns, and after a verb, often having scope over a phrase or clause. The dictionary does not give a part of speech for arteke, but Wilkins (p347) classifies it as a particle.

The consistency of properties of semblative markers in other languages suggest that, since there is no evidence from the YG sources, the YG description should incorporate these widespread features.
3.5 Approaches to case description

The grouping of cases into various categories such as core and local cases has been outlined in §3.1.1. Wilkins (1989: 154) gives background to this classification.

The case analysis used here varies from that used in the main previous descriptions of central New South Wales languages. Firstly, I have included derivational cases, which are not analysed as cases in Williams and Donaldson. See 3.1.1 for a list of others who analyse these as cases. Secondly, I have taken the classical approach to case description, which leads to a different analysis of core cases from that presented in Williams and Donaldson. The reasons for this are given in §3.5.1. Thirdly, there are different analyses of individual cases. In contrast with the analysis in Williams (1980: 36) I have Ergative case with ergative and instrumental functions, rather than separate cases, and I separate Dative and Allative cases. These are discussed now.

Australian Grammars often describe an Instrumental case, which is formally identical to the Ergative, or in fewer languages identical to the Locative case, in fewer again a derivational suffix meaning approximately ‘having’ covers the instrumental sense and in a small number there is a formally distinct instrumental suffix (Blake, 1977: 44). When instrumental and ergative functions have the same forms, they can be described as separate cases because they can be separated on syntactic and semantic grounds as Williams (1980: 36) says ‘may be’ done, and as Blake (2001: 48) does in Kalkatungu. It is, however, consistent with the classical approach to case description to define this as one case, Ergative case, with ergative and instrumental functions. Breen (2004: 77) has this analysis, calling the case ‘Operative’. Similarly Goddard (1983a: 39) has a Locative case with locative and instrumental functions.

Dative and Allative cases have different forms for sub-classes of nominals, and so are separate cases. These cases are formally distinguished in pronouns, Personal Declension suffixes, the GR suffixes and probably in minya ‘what’, as seen in Table 63. For instance with first person singular the forms are ngay (Dative) and nganunda (Allative). For most pronouns the Dative case ends in -ngu and the Allative ends in -ngunda. (147) shows that the Allative pronoun is distinct from the Dative (ngay ‘my’) and has the same form as the Locative. As well, there are differences in the GR suffixes (see Table 26) with Dative being -u after l/rr, but the Allative suffix is invariant -gu. Table 63 makes the Dative/Allative differences clear, and also points out the syncretism between Allative and Locative found in some nominals.

(147) One white man came to my camp. SW p73
bijəḍ nama wanda na:wana nganunda walaigu
bijarr nhama wanda ‘naa-waa-nha nganunda walaay-gu
one 3.DEF white.man come-MOV-PRS 1SG.LOC/ALL camp-ALL
One white man is coming to my camp. JG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case function</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Basic nominal</th>
<th>Pronoun: 1SG</th>
<th>Personal Declension: ngamba ‘mum’</th>
<th>minya? ‘what?’</th>
<th>GR suffix yinarr ‘woman’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>possession</td>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>gilaagu</td>
<td>ngay</td>
<td>ngambaanguu</td>
<td>minyangu?</td>
<td>yinarr-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recipient</td>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>gilaagu</td>
<td>ngay</td>
<td>ngambaanguu</td>
<td>minyangu?</td>
<td>yinarr-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goal</td>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>gilaagu</td>
<td>nganunda</td>
<td>ngambaangunda</td>
<td>minyagu</td>
<td>yinarr-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>location</td>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>gilaGa</td>
<td>nganunda</td>
<td>ngambaangunda</td>
<td>minyanga??</td>
<td>yinarr-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In tables of one subclass of nominals the various cases may not be given separate columns – for instance Locative and Allative case pronouns have the same form, so those two cases are shown in one row.
3.5.1 Alternative approaches to core cases

There have been two main approaches to analyses of the core cases in descriptions of Pama-Nyungan languages. I firstly consider the ‘classical’ approach to case description, which I follow, and then an alternative approach. This topic has been extensively discussed, for instance Goddard (1983a: 22), Wilkins (1989: 163) and Blake (2001: Chapter 2).

The concept of case is used in the description of many languages, including classical languages such as Greek and Latin, and modern languages such as German and Turkish. The description of cases in these languages is generally based on the classical approach, which has a number of principles:

- All words with the one grammatical function are in the same case, irrespective of their word class or subclass. For instance any S (subject of an intransitive verb) is Nominative case, whether a noun, pronoun, demonstrative or interrogative. Also any adjective modifying the S is also Nominative case.
- A case is typically named after the core function it signals. Ablative case has that name because it signals ‘movement from’.
- A number of grammatical functions can be signalled by one case. For instance Ablative in Latin, and in YG and many Aboriginal languages, signals a range of function. Blake (2001: 3) points out this distinction: it is necessary to make a further distinction between the cases and the case relations or grammatical functions they express. These terms refer to purely syntactic relations such as subject, direct object and indirect object, each of which encompass more than one semantic role, and they also refer directly to semantic roles such as source and location, where these are not subsumed by a syntactic relation and where these are separable according to some formal criteria.
- Case syncretism is common. In other words a number of cases can have the same form within nominal subclasses, e.g. in YG Nominative and Accusative nouns have the same form. In German there is widespread case syncretism, with Nominative and Accusative articles the same except in Masculine singular.
- Cases are distinguished on the basis that some class of nominals distinguishes the forms. For instance while Standard German determiners distinguish Nominative and Accusative only in masculine singular (not in Feminine, Neuter or any plural) this one distinction makes them separate cases. As Comrie (1991: 41) puts it: ‘the tradition of describing Latin operates essentially on the principle that if any nominal evinces a formal case distinction, then this case distinction must be carried over to all nominals’.

Goddard (1983a: 22) points out that this classical concept, found in Indo-European linguistics, ‘is that a “case” is, roughly speaking, a class of nominal forms mutually interchangeable in certain semantic or syntactic contexts … (which) must be rigorously distinguished from case-marking – which deals with the realisation or signalling of the category’.

The classical tradition of placing weight on the formal case distinction has been adopted by some for the description of core cases in Australian languages. S: Subject of an intransitive verb is Nominative case; A: Subject of a transitive verb is Ergative; and O: Object of a transitive verb is Accusative.

An alternative approach (I will call it the Dixon approach) is taken in Dixon (2002: 152) and is also found in his earlier works, e.g. (Dixon, 1977) and in others, such as his students Williams (1980) and Donaldson (1980). In this approach cases are named on the basis of common forms in a nominal subclass, and different subclasses of nominals can have different cases for the one relation or function since core cases display a number of syncretism patterns: see Table 64. For first and second person pronouns the Nominative and Ergative have the same form (e.g. ngaya ‘I’); for other nominals the Nominative and Accusative share a form (e.g. gilaa ‘galah’ and minya? ‘what?’).

So in the Dixon system ngaya, whether the S of an intransitive verb or the A of a transitive verb, is one case, his Nominative, whereas in the classical system it would be Nominative and...
Ergative respectively. Elsewhere Dixon has Absolutive case where the classical system has Nominative and Accusative. The Dixon approach, in YG, results in one case system for nouns and third person pronouns and another system for the first and second person pronouns. The different approaches are exemplified in Table 64.

Table 64   YG core cases: Classical and Dixon analyses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic role</th>
<th>Classical cases</th>
<th>Standard nominals</th>
<th>Dixon cases</th>
<th>1st and 2nd person pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>gilaa-gu</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>ngaya ‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject: Intr verb</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>gilaa ‘galah’</td>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>ngaya ‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>gilaa</td>
<td></td>
<td>nganja ‘me’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Dixon system does have some advantages, pointing out the similarity in form, but it also has disadvantages. Using the classical system means that there is case harmony between replaceable elements and between agreeing elements. In (148), in the classical system, both the subject ‘I’ and the agreeing adjective ‘alone’ are Ergative, while the Dixon approach has the pronoun ‘I’ as Nominative and the ‘agreeing’ adjective as Ergative.

(148)   I ate all the goanna myself

\[
gurra-y ngaya ngaama, dhuulii \quad / \quad biyaduul-u
\]

\[
eat.all-PST 1SG.ERG that, goanna-ACC alone-ERG
\]

Goddard case system

\[
eat.all-PST 1SG.NOM that, goanna-ABS alone-ERG
\]

Dixon case system

In (149), in the classical approach both the pronoun A, ngaya, and noun A, bigibila-gu, are Ergative case, whereas using the Dixon approach the pronoun is Nominative and the noun is Ergative. The Dixon system also has difficulties when some pronouns have three forms corresponding to A, S and O role (e.g. YG third person dual (Table 91) and Gumbaynggirr), since it needs a further set of terminology to describe the cases of these pronouns, whereas they fit neatly into the classical system. In fact even YG at times formally distinguishes the three core cases, even if rarely. See Table 91, for this distinction in the GR dual third person pronouns.

(149)   I/The echidna heard the dog.

\[
buruma ngaya/bigibila-gu winanga-y,
\]

\[
dog-ACC 1SG.ERG/echidna-ERG hear-PST
\]

Goddard case system

\[
dog-ABS 1SG.NOM/echidna-ERG hear-PST
\]

Dixon case system
4 Nominal derivation

This chapter considers derivational nominal suffixes and two nominal derivational processes, reduplication and compounding. All the suffixes considered in §3 have to do with the relation of one nominal to another word. The suffixes considered in this chapter do not create a form that relates to another word, rather they modify the meaning of the original word. I adopt Donaldson’s (1980: 99) classification of these suffixes into two groups. The first set of suffixes (number, size, status) give further information about the referent of the root nominal: two dogs, a big/small dog, etc. The second group of suffixes create a new nominal whose reference is generally not related to that of the root. For instance using the suffix -barra can create a word which refers to a group of people from plant names.

Derived nominals with predictable meanings can also take on new meanings. For instance wii-bidi ‘chest-BIG’ transparently means ‘a big chest’ but is also the name of a gecko. Balabalaa (balaa ‘white’ reduplicated) is predictably ‘whitish’ but also means ‘butterfly’.

Also considered briefly are a number of word final forms that may be, synchronically or historically, suffixes. There is also a brief look at some other languages to indicate if YG suffixes have been lost, or if there are suffixes and processes common in other Australian languages that YG might adopt.

4.1 Derived nominal has the same reference as the root
Most of the suffixes in this section refer to number, size and qualities such as seniority and status.

4.1.1 Quantity in other languages
Number marking in Aboriginal languages has features which are quite different from English. A survey of number marking in other languages helps in analysing the YG data and also indicates how complete the data is.

It is common in Aboriginal languages that there is no obligatory marking of number except for pronouns. Number is mostly marked by suffixes, but can also be shown by reduplication. Number suffixes often differentiate singular, dual and plural, and often also indicate qualities such as size or maturity.

In WN under the heading ‘No change in reference’ Donaldson (1980: 99-106) has three singular suffixes (-DHul Diminutive, -gaa Immature and -bidi/giran Augmentative), two plural suffixes (-galgaan- Diminutive and Immature and -galaan Augmentative), as well as dual, group, reciprocal plural, ‘party’ and Proper Name suffixes. This is considerably more such suffixes than are found in YG.

Many languages have number marking strategies that are very restricted in their use. Hercus (pers. comm.) points out:

---

49 Number and quantity suffixes are considered in this chapter even though it is debatable whether they are derivational.
There is a ‘special’ suffix -mul in Wemba Wemba which occurs only with lerk ‘woman’ to form lerk-mul ‘the woman mob’. There is also one other special reduplicating plural gal-wil-gal ‘a mob of (useless) dogs’ (gal ‘dog’); the meaning of wil is not known.

She (pers. comm.) also notes that Baakandji has the pluralising suffix -naara which is only used with muurpa ‘child’, and Wemba Wemba has a special reduplicated form in the word for children: paingkuk ‘child’; pengpengkuk ‘children’. It is common in Australian languages (Koch, (pers. comm.)) to have a plural marker which is used only on ‘child’ and a small number of related concepts or words. Dench, (1995: 97) commenting on languages from the Pilbara region, notes that ‘only one idiosyncratic plural form has been discovered in Martuthunira to date’. Kapuyu ‘little’ has plural kupiyaji. He also points out: ‘all languages of the area show different plural forms for either or both of the words ‘child’ and ‘little’. Wordick (1982: 51) points out that in Yindjibarndi there is one dual number marker, many (10+) plural markers of which -rraa is used only with mangkura ‘child’.

4.1.2 Quantity and size
YG have no obligatory marking of number (number is inherently included in pronouns). Number suffixes often indicate qualities such as size or maturity as well as number. Table 65 gives the main quantity suffixes and words, apart from numbers. They are discussed in detail later. Unlike case marking, in most sources there is no need for all constituents of an NP to have the same number marking: e.g. (156). Mathews’s comment (1902: 138) that ‘adjectives succeed the nouns they qualify, and take the same inflexions for number and case’ may reflect usage at that time, or a simplified analysis.

YG have a number of strategies for signalling number, including suffixes (plural, diminutive plural, dual, singular and ‘all’), grammatical marking (including numbers and quantity words: bulaarr ‘two’ and burrulaa ‘many’ are by far the most common), reduplication and marking on the verb (-aaba-li ‘TOTal’ §10.1.2). The use of one, more, or none of these seems to be largely governed by the nature of the referent, with animacy a major factor, and by discourse considerations.

Number is more often marked on nouns referring to humans, less frequently on those referring to other animates and rarely on those referring to inanimates. Examples of marked number are included in the discussions of the various forms. Examples of unmarked number on animates include ‘strangers’ in (248), ‘(you) boys’ in 2440A 1849 (but it has ngindaay ‘2PL’); ‘emus’ in 8187 642, ‘emus’ and ‘turkeys’ in 3220B 665 (‘emus are bigger than turkeys’); ‘women’ in 8187 245. (150) has unmarked plurals of inanimates, ‘trees’ and (165) (b, d, e) have no plural on ‘spears’ but the NP contains numbers and the modifying adjective is marked for number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Number/meaning</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-galgaa</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>mostly on human, but not obligatory; rare on other animates, also on ngayagay ‘other’; use elsewhere is marked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gal</td>
<td>plural (?)diminutive</td>
<td>on birralii ‘child’; once on birray ‘boy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gaali</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>Used to mark duals: cf.(164). Also has common derivational use; e.g. gulayaali ‘pelican’ (net-two); wirrigaali ‘goat’ (dish-two, referring to the udder)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-DHual</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>also diminutive meaning; cf. bubaay, badjin ‘small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bidi</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>cf. burrul ‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Bau</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>See §13.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ili</td>
<td>affectionate diminutive</td>
<td>rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burrulaa</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>cf. burrul ‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maayrr YR /marayrr GR</td>
<td>none/nothing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Demonstratives are not marked for number, and interrogative pronouns have not been found marked for number (but both can be in some other languages). The common plural suffix on human referents is -galgaa, apart from on birralii ‘child’. The suffix -gal is found frequently on birralii ‘child’ and very rarely elsewhere.

The markers -DHuul and -bidi generally encode both size and singularity, and (165)(e) is a rare instance where one is followed by other number suffixes.

(150) shows that number marking is not obligatory.

(150) Water is dripping from the trees.

4.1.2.1 Quantity information in sources

The sources vary in the way they show number information encoded. There may have been dialectal variation across the YG area. Ridley does not use number suffixes, sometimes marking number by -galgaa ‘many’, -bular ‘two’, or leaving it unmarked. MathewsGR (p261) states: ‘nouns have no special inflection for the dual and plural numbers, but these are represented by introducing a word meaning two, or several, as bular (bular) “two”, gunubila “several” (unknown elsewhere, but cf. gunu “all”).’ In his vocabulary (p278) he has gunabila [sic] as ‘few’. However, in MathewsYR we find: ‘Number. There are three numbers, the singular, dual and plural. Wan, a crow; wangali, a couple of crows; wamburala, several or many crows (Waan, waan-gaali, waan burlulaa).’ Similarly Wurm has no number suffixes in his GR, but that is consistent with the overall grammatical simplification found there. In YR he has the suffixes -galgaa plural’, -gal ‘dim, plural’ and -gaali ‘dual’. This may indicate a GR-YR difference, but it is more likely that the GR knowledge had declined. The main information about number suffixes is from the AD/FR tapes.

4.1.2.2 -galgaa ‘PLural’

The common plural suffix is -galgaa. It is found mostly on names of adult referents, less commonly on animal names, and rarely on nouns referring to inanimates. It contrasts with -gal and -gaali (below). Typical use on human referents is seen in (151), 3999A 1182 and 3219B 2937. The suffix can have more specific meaning: ‘all’ (152) and ‘many’.

It is found in Tindale, Sim, Wurm and the tapes. Of the 170 occurrences in the tapes, 120 are on dhayn ‘man/person’ or yinarr ‘woman’. Other instances include: nine times on ngayagay ‘other’ and five times on bubay ‘small’ (when these have human or animal reference); on bandaar ‘kangaroo’ (365) and on gadu ‘cod’ (5131 2321) and (8184 422). It is found with non-animate reference only on wugan (913) and muyaan (2440A 705), both ‘wood’, but the suffixed form mostly refers to ‘pieces of wood’, for a fire. Other examples include (294), (365), (338) and (1070).

(151) shows the common multiple marking of plurality, which is signalled by both the pronoun (which occurs twice) and the suffixed noun. In (152), AD specifically comments that the plural dhayn-galgaa means ‘the lot of them’. The first NP ‘two men’ has a singular pronoun and no dual marking on ‘men’.

(151) The women collected yams yesterday.

(152) We gave food to them all.
-galgaa is rarely found on names or adjectives which imply ‘small/young’. Exceptions include a few occurrences on bubaay ‘small’, birray-galgaa (boy-galgaa), which is found once (as is birray-gal) and (155) shows the suffix on a reduplicated miyay ‘girl’. (In fact miyay and birray are rarely used by informants, with birralii ‘child’ used to translate ‘boy’ and ‘girl’ in the vast majority of cases). (165)(e) is one of the few occurrences of -galgaa following -DHuul ‘one, diminutive’. It also shows the tendency to have adjuncts which give extra information about arguments, here an adjective which has two size/quantity suffixes attached. At AD3218A 586 gurru-galgaa ‘little hollows’ (gurru ‘hole’) the suffix may have atypical use, with it possibly having diminutive meaning.

The degree of number marking varies, as seen in (153), which has four consecutive elicitations. All Objects are inanimate and unmarked for number. The Subjects are all human and plural: (a) has the plural indicated by burrulaa ‘many’, but not on the noun; (b) has a plural pronoun and -galgaa. In (c) the subject is not explicit; and in (d) the subject is explicit, twice, neither with a marker of plurality.

(153) The other people were very noisy.  
(a) girriinba-lda-nhi ngiyama burrulaa-gu dhayn[-du]  
make.noise-CTS-PST there many-ERG people[-ERG]  
A lot of people were making a lot of noise.  
The young men were dancing all around the fires.  
(b) giirr ganunga yulu-gi.la-nhi / nguwama / dhayn-galgaa / wii-nbarran-da  
true 3PL dance-CTS-PST / there / people-PL / fire-around-LOC  
A lot of people were dancing (there,) around the fires.  
The women were clapping their hands together.  
(c) nguwama=nga=bala / maa / mara / buma-la-ngila-nhi  
there=THEN=CTR / hand(YR) / hand(GR) / hit-RECP-CTS(Wayilwan)-PST  
Others? were clapping their hands.  
The old men were hitting boomerangs together  
(d) giirr=bala wuulman-du ngauma / wayamaa-gu / barran / buma-lda-nhi  
true=CTR old.man-ERG 3ERG.DEF / old.man-ERG / boomerang hit-CTS-PST  
The old men were hitting boomerangs.  

(154) shows the relatively common situation of CW checking a grammatical feature (here looking for diminutive plural, a feature found in WN), AD giving one answer, and CW checking the grammaticality of an alternative. The ‘xx’ indicates the tape has been stopped, and presumably there has been some discussion. The first AD response has burrulaa ‘many’ and the second -galgaa modifying the Object. The Subject is human, but plurality is not marked.

(154) Men killed a mob of little possum.  
(a) giirr ngaama / dhayn-du / burrulaa mudhay ngaama buma-y  
true that / man-ERG many possum that kill-PST  
The men killed a lot of possums.  
xx mudhay-galgaa ngaama buma-y  
tape.stopped possum-PL that kill-PST  
CW Does it mean the same? AD Yes.  
They killed possums.
A rare pattern is seen in (155), where plurality is signalled three times, by the pronoun, by reduplication, and by -galgaa on the reduplicated word. The significance of the various patterns of plural marking is not clear.

(155) The girls were paddling in the water.

\[\text{giirr=bala nhama ganunga / miyaymiyaay-galgaa / wunga-y.la-nha}\]
\[\text{true=CTR 3.DEF 3.PL / girl.REDP-PL / swim-CTS-PRS}\]

The girls are swimming/paddling.

(156)–(158) are examples where -galgaa does not have simple plural use. In (156) the GR gaaynggal burrul-galgaa is translated 'most children'. It is likely that burrul-galgaa is 'most'. No other translation for 'most' is found in YG. (156) contrasts with gaaynggal-galgaa ‘many children’ a few lines later in the same text, one of the few uses of -galgaa with ‘child’.

(156) \text{ah! yea! kill children the greater part. (Said by the Brolga husband)}

\[\text{ŋa ki:r! ʹbumali ʹgaingal ʹpuralgalgar}\]
\[\text{ngaa, giirr buma-li gaaynggal burrul-galgaa}\]
\[\text{yes, true kill-FUT baby big-PL}\]
\[\text{Oh yes. (we will) Kill most of the children.}\]

Another non-plural use is seen in (157). AD, presumably looking for a translation for ‘long grass’, uses three forms: an NP including an adjective, a plural form, and a reduplicated form.

(157) He walked through the long grass.

\[\text{giirr nhama=nha / guyaarrrala buunhu / buunhu-galgaa / yanaa-nhi=nya}\]
\[\text{true 3.DEF=3 / long grass / grass-PL / go-PST=3}\]
\[\text{buunhubuunhu-gu / buunhu-ga}\]
\[\text{grass.REDP-ALL / grass-LOC}\]

That long grass, grasses?, he walked, ?through the grassy area, in the grass.

(158)\(\approx(39)\) is a very rare example which has two ‘plural’ suffixes on one word: -gal and -galgaa. Birralii-gal-galgaa is said as one word, with no pause, and AD gives no indication he might consider it a mistake. This, with burrul-bidi, could be the correct way to encode the complex features: plurality (mob), junior status (boy/child) and bigness (big).

(158) A mob of big boys went swimming in the river.

\[\text{giirr ngaaum birralii-gal-galgaa, burrul-bidi / wunga-y.la-nhi ngiyarrma, gaawaa-ga}\]
\[\text{true that child-PL.DIM-PL, big-AUG / swim-CTS-PST there, river-LOC}\]

The big boys, great big, were swimming there, in the river.

Fossilised use of the suffix is found in gawugalga ‘small insects’ (gawu also ‘egg’). Sim (1998: 12) says gawugalga refers to ‘any swarm of small insects, e.g. as seen around a lamp at night, a cloud of midges, etc.’

Formally -galgaa can be analysed as -gal (PL.DIM)+gaa (SENIOR §4.1.2.8), but even if correct this analysis is historical rather than synchronic.

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50 gaay is ‘small’ and gaay-n-gal historically likely incorporates the demonstrative plural –gal, see §4.1.2.3, but the word is currently used as a singular ‘child’. It may have plural use here. burrul ‘big’ is also found in burrulaa ‘many’. Burru-
galgaa may also be a word play on burraalga ‘brolga’.
4.1.2.3 -gal ‘PL.DIM: plural+diminutive’

The diminutive\(^{51}\) plural suffix -gal is found mainly in YR, almost exclusively on birralii ‘child’. There are very rare instances of an -al allomorph (169), the expected form after final rr and l. There are around 180 instances of birralii-gal in the tapes, including (159)(=26)), (153) and 2438A 1438. -gal is found once on birray ‘boy’ (FR2435B 738). Current GR has the word gaaynggal ‘child’. This likely includes gaay ‘small’ and -gal, but the structure, with the homorganic nasal preceding the suffix, may have been borrowed from WN or Wiradjuri.

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There are around 180 instances of birralii-gal in the tapes, including (159)(=26)), (153) and 2438A 1931. I am going to take the honey to the camp now for my kids.  

Wurm has the word ‘children’ many times. It is translated birralii twice (p 34, 72); birralii-gal around 15 other times and birralii-galgaa once (p 72).

Sometimes birralii-gal has further unanalysed suffixes. In birraligalla ‘all the children (will swim)’ (Wurm: 73), the final vowel is currently unanalysable. In birralii-gal-u-ngu (160)(=224). the -u is probably a reflex of -Buu ‘Total’, §13.3.3, and -gal-u probably means ‘all’.

FR does not use the suffix -gal in his first 20 or so tapes, and it is possible he (re)learnt it from Ernie Sands, who was recorded after him on tape 1988A, where Sands (1988A 2366) says: ‘birralii-gal “a lot of children”; birralii “one”.’ FR then uses birralii-gal a number of times in tape 2435B, including (159).

Use of the suffix is not obligatory for plurality, as seen in (161) and (162).

There is a homophonous suffix glossed ‘mob’ discussed in §4.2.4. There is a GR word bambugal ‘fingers, toes’ which may include a fossilised form of the suffix. Fingers and toes are referred to as ‘hand-child’ and ‘foot-child’ in a number of Aboriginal languages.

There are uses of the suffix which are not fully analysed. In (163) the elicitation subject is singular. AD’s response uses a plural pronoun, the standard plural, -galgaal on an adjective, then the diminutive plural, -gal and then a singular pronoun, =nda. I have no explanation for the variation, but it may be that -gal is not used on adjectives.

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\(^{51}\) The fact that -gal is found on a number of stems whose meaning includes or implies smallness suggests that its use is restricted to such stems. The fact that it is rare except on birralii may suggest that it is not a diminutive plural, rather one restricted to use on words for ‘child’.
You silly boy, stand somewhere else.

You are really a mad little lot, you kids.

Go somewhere, go over there, and you(1) stand there.

4.1.2.4 -gaali 'DUal'

The suffix -gaali indicates duality. There is no indication that it also includes information about size or maturity, but see Sim’s comment (§5.4.3) that it indicates some natural pairing. The final element is variously recorded as i and ay. I will use i in this discussion. There is an allomorph -aali after l and presumably after rr. While lg and rrg are permissible clusters, a number of g initial suffixes drop the g after these apicals. There is an identical free form, which I analyse as a pronoun (§5.4.3). The suffix is found in MathewsYR (p137): wangali (waan-gaali) ‘a couple of crows’; Ridley (p6): mullionkâle ‘with an eagle in motion’ which I interpret as maliyan-gaali ‘two eagles’; Sim, Wurm and perhaps 15 occurrences in the tapes.

On the tapes Jack Sands uses the free pronoun gaali.nya ‘they two’ (see §5.4.3) frequently, often in the story of Emu and Brolga. MathewsYR (p138) has Uregali burulali ‘a couple of large men’ (yuurray-gaali burrul-aali ‘senior.men-DUAL big-DUAL’), with the suffix on both elements of the NP. The suffix occurs on an afterthought in (164). Dhayn.gaali could presumably be Ergatively marked (dhayn-gaali-duj) but apparently does not need to be.

The men dug the hole together.

Sim (165) has two occurrences of the suffix in a list of similar sentences, where the number and size of spears varies. The dual and plural suffix occur only on the sentence final adjunct adjective. The information is redundant, since number has already been expressed. (165)(e) also has the plural suffix, -galgaa. There is an unexplained suffix -ul in (165)(c).

Sim Appendix p4

Give me 2 spears.

Give me 2 big spears.

Give me 3 big spears.

Give me 2 small spears.

52 One examiner asks whether the suffix -ul may be related to gulibaa ‘3’.
Give me 3 small spears.

Gulibaa ngay bilaarr wuu-na, dhugaadjulgalgaa

(e) gulibaa ngay bilaarr wuu-na, dhuga-djuul-galgaa
three 1SG.DAT spear give-IMP, small-DIM-PL

Give me 1 small spear.
Biyaduul ngay bilaarr wuuna, dhugaadjul.

(f) biyaduul ngay bilaarr wuuna, dhuga-djuul
only 1SG.DAT spear give-IMP small-ONE

(208), from Wurm, has both the Dative pronoun gaalingu and the noun birralii-gaali-ngu. Birralii-gaali also occurs in (214) and (732).

It is likely that fossilised forms of the suffix occur. Gulayaali is ‘pelican’ (gulay ‘net (bag)’) and there is a story of the pelican having two nets. It is likely in mangun.gali ‘goanna’ and murrayin.gali ‘corroboree leader, dance leader’ (Sim).

4.1.2.5 -DHuul ‘DIMinutive, ONE’
The suffix -DHuul\(^\text{53}\) is found on nouns and adjectives, with a number of broad semantic effects, most commonly indicating singular number. At other times it adds a diminutive meaning. The form is first considered and then the more detailed semantics. The allomorphs of -DHuul are set out in Table 66.

-DHuul is mostly realised as -duul after rr and l. However, at times the rrDH cluster is simplified to d, particularly in what might be fossilised forms of the suffix, such as biyaduul ‘alone’ (biyarr ‘one’) and common combinations such as yinaduul (yinarr ‘woman’). Y-final words also have variant realisation. Bubaydjuul and bubaaadjul are both found, with the second less common (bubaa ‘small’). Birraydjuul is common, but there is one token of birradhuul (birray ‘boy’) in Ridley.

The suffix, on a noun, adds the meaning ‘one’ or ‘small’ and in a few instances ‘just/only’. With adjectives it can derive a noun meaning ‘a person or thing with that quality’. Less commonly it has a softening effect on the adjective: warranggaldhuul in Table 68. With both nouns and adjectives at times there is no discernible effect. It may be that the suffix merely emphasises singularity or smallness, particularly when suffixed to words that already have a diminutive sense. There are other poorly understood uses and a few instances where it occurs as part of a nominal with plural reference. The suffix is often open to several interpretations, as seen in the translations of examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Root gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a, u</td>
<td>-duul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i, y</td>
<td>-duul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y⁵²</td>
<td>-duul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr</td>
<td>-duul, rrduul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l, n</td>
<td>-duul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{53}\) See Nash (2014) for the use of -DHuul in YR placenames. There are many such YR names, and many GR names with -Baraay.

\(^{54}\) There is often variation in ay-final words with other suffixes. Ridley has (p 18) birri (birray) ‘boy’ and birridiål (birradhuul or birraydhuul) ‘boy/youth’ but on p 14 has birraduul ‘youth’ (birradhuul). Mathews has (GR: 275) mea (cf. miyay) ‘girl’ and mēadiål (miya-djuul) ‘maid’ (cf. Ridley: 14, 18) mē and mēiål ‘girl’. (miyay, miyaydhuul). ‘The variation in the root is clear.

YR ngayagay ‘other’ is generally found as ngayaga when suffixed, but it may be that these are fossilised forms rather than instances of a currently productive process. ngayagay is found in Ergative ngayaga-djuul-u 26 times and ngayagay-djuul-u 13 times on the tapes.
Table 67 gives the more common occurrences of the suffix, and Table 68 a few less common examples. -DHuul is found most commonly on terms for people and on words which already have a diminutive sense.

The most common occurrence, on birralii ‘child’, at times has diminutive effect and at times emphasises singularity. **Diminutive:** birralii-djuul is translated ‘baby’ in 3217A 3049; ‘little boy’ in (1094), (897), (283) and (319); ‘little fellow’ (referring to a kangaroo) in 3217A 1356. **Singularity:** birralii-djuul is translated ‘boy’ in (1013) and (232); ‘girl’ in (133).

The semantics are unclear since other informants commonly use birralii as ‘baby’, as AD does at times. Some words, particularly person words that include ‘smallness/immaturity’ in their meaning, rarely occur without -duul, for instance miyay ‘girl’ (1050) (1069) and birray ‘boy’ (168) and (724). There are other words such as bubay, badjin ‘small’ and ngayagay ‘other’ which very frequently occur suffixed with -DHuul.

The second most common occurrence, dhayn-duul, (dhayn ‘Aboriginal man, person’) is found with singular meaning (a man) in (318), (321), (411), (506) and (483). The suffix can be used to emphasise singularity. Sim has dhayn-duul ‘just one man’. The diminutive meaning of dhayn-duul is less common, but is seen in (166).

(166) **dhuay yanaa-ya, dhayn-duul**
to.here go-IMP, man-DIM
Come here little dark fellow. FR/JM 1988B 3731

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root Gloss</th>
<th>Suffixed form</th>
<th>Glosses</th>
<th>Number in Tapes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>birralii-djuul</td>
<td>one child, little child, baby</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man, person</td>
<td>dhayn-duul</td>
<td>one man, little man</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>yinarr-duul, yina-duul</td>
<td>one woman, little woman</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girl</td>
<td>miyay-duul</td>
<td>one girl, little girl</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boy</td>
<td>birray-duul</td>
<td>one boy, little boy</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>ngayagay-duul</td>
<td>other, other one; another one</td>
<td>25 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small</td>
<td>bubay-duul, badjin-duul</td>
<td>small, little one, baby</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>biya-duul</td>
<td>alone, by self</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sad, pitiful</td>
<td>ngarragaa-duul</td>
<td>sad (person)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixed form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Gloss or description</th>
<th>Source/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>birradul</td>
<td>youth</td>
<td>birray-dhuul</td>
<td>having something of the boy left</td>
<td>Ridley 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miēdūl</td>
<td>maiden</td>
<td>miyay-dhuul</td>
<td>having something (not much) of the girl left</td>
<td>Ridley 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warungguldūl</td>
<td>somewhat mighty</td>
<td>warranggal-duul</td>
<td>strong-diminished</td>
<td>Ridley 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moobidule</td>
<td>tattoo</td>
<td>mubirr-duul</td>
<td>mubirr ‘scar’</td>
<td>Milson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarralduul</td>
<td>place, name, stony place</td>
<td>stone-duul</td>
<td>yarral ‘stone’; a noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabadhuul</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>gaba-duul</td>
<td>gaba ‘good’; an adjective</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The suffix has not been found on nouns or adjectives that specifically include bigness as a quality. So *wamu-dhuul (fat-one) and *burul-duul (big-one) are not found, whereas those adjectives are the most common with -bidi ‘big’. The noun maalaa ‘tree’ is commonly found in maalaa-bidi, but never in maalaa-dhuul, suggesting the maalaa itself indicates largeness. However, the suffix is found on warranggal ‘strong’ Table 68, with warranggal-duul glossed ‘somewhat mighty’. This suggests that it might be used on other adjectives to lessen their force: so wamu-dhuul might be ‘plump’ and burul-duul ‘biggish’: wamu ‘fat’, burul ‘big’.

Use of -DHuul to derive a noun which represents a person from an adjective is relatively common, as is its use to derive an adjective that modifies a person noun. Ridley, in Gurre Kamilaroi, has: tunggordul and baindul ‘lame man’ (dhan.gurr ‘lame’; bayn ‘sore/sick’). Milson (p5) has Naragathule ‘poor fellow’ (ngarragaa ‘pitiful, poor’) and Wurm (p100) babaduul ‘small one’ (bubaa ‘small’). The suffix is common on ngayagay YR/ngaragay GR ‘other’ with the result often translated ‘another’. FR says: ‘badjinduul means small, little fellow, something like that’ (1850A 2133) and ‘badjinduul is a little fellow, little boy, little girl; duul makes it little; fellow’ (1849A 1190). He then, in both instances, uses the phrase ‘badjinduul birralii: little kid’, where badjinduul has adjectival use. This use of the suffix is seen in buyabuya-duul-i in (167).

(167) The cranky woman took a handful of her hair.  

yiilianaanaa-ghu nhama, buurra-y dhaygal / buyabuya-duul-i / dhaygal-i  
savage-ERG 3.DEF, pluck-PST hair / thin-DIM-ABL / head-ABL  
The savage woman pulled the hair out of the thin woman.  

There are numerous examples where the suffix seems to have no impact on the meaning of an adjective. Laves (9 p95) has kaba dul ‘good’ (gaba-duul; gaba ‘good’). Sim has gagildjul ‘unhappy, despondent’ (gagilduul; gagil ‘bad’). 1848B 353 has badjinduul maayama ‘little stone’ (badjinduul, badjin ‘little”).

There are other uses of the suffix which I merely list. Ridley (p14) has two uses which do not fit with the main uses described. Firstly in yarraduul the suffix forms an adjective from a noun. Secondly in ‘birraduul’ and ‘miyay-dhuul’ (birra-dhuul and miyay-duul) the suffix forms a word referring to the end of boyhood/girlhood, not a diminutive.

-dul is an adjectival suffix: as ‘yarul’ a stone ‘yaruldul’ stony. -dul is used with a diminutive meaning; thus, ‘warunggul’ mighty, ‘warunguldul’ somewhat mighty or strong, yaragē, other; yaragédil, another; ‘birraduul’ (youth) and ‘miyay-dhuul’ (maiden), meaning having something of the boy, and having something (not much) of the girl left.

In contrast in Gurre Kamilaroi, Ridley has miedul (miyay-dhuul) as ‘little girl’ a number of times, with the suffix clearly having diminutive use.

Suffixed forms regularly occur as afterthoughts, as in (148) and dhugaa-duul in (165)(f) which also has biyaduul ‘just one/alone’. It is not clear if the suffix in biyaduul emphasises ‘just one’, ‘one little’, or whether it has some combination of these functions.

In most instances the suffix is used only when the referent is both singular and small. There are exceptions. In (165)(e) -djuul is followed by -galgaa ‘plural’, so presumably has only diminutive effect. (168) has ‘girls’ translated with -DHuul. In (1071) birralii-djuul translates as ‘children/kids’, with unexpected plural use. Sim has bulaarr-djuul ‘only two’ (bulaarr-duul), where the suffix seems to have limiting rather than diminutive effect.

(169) has a range of unusual number features. Each word of two or three word phrases has explicit number reference (bulaarr, -aali and -gaali in (a), burruulaa, -al and reduplication in (b)) but, relevant to the present discussion, it has two instances of -DHuul followed by a non-singular suffix: dhugaa-djuul-aali with a dual, dhugaa-djuul-al with a diminutive plural, and (165)(e) has dhugaa-djuul-galgaa, with the plural suffix.
The girls all hit him. 

That boy, the girl/girls were hitting him.

In (169) -aali is an allomorph of the dual suffix -gaali, and -al fills the same slot in the second phrase. Number is marked three times in the first phrase: by buluaarr and by two suffixes.

(a) buluaarr dhugaa-duul-aali birray-gaali
(b) burrulaa dhugaa-duul-al birraybirraay

The suffix is used a number of times in address terms, as in (170), an early instance from Parker, and (171), both with a suffixed adjective forming an adjective.

(170) Wombah ninderh byjundool boonoong. 

wamba nginda badjin-duul bungun
mad 2SG little-DIM wing
(I haven’t cut my wings at all.) You are mad, stumpy wings.

(171) His mother said: ‘You silly boy, you dropped the yamstick’.

wamba-duhuul birralii, minya-gu=nda wana-nhi dhinbaay
mad-ONE child, what-PURP=2SG throw-PST yamstick
You silly boy, why did you chuck the yamstick away for?

The suffix has idiosyncratic uses. Milson (p3) has Naraguthule ‘second finger’ (ngaraga-duhuil-i? ‘other-one’); buyuma-duhuul (dog-duhuul) is ‘glutton, glutton-bloke’(5130 949 AD). It is fossilised in a number of words, most commonly biyaduul/milanduul ‘alone, one’ (biyarr, milan ‘one’). These words tend to vary in form, with Sim, for example, having biirrduul ‘alone, by yourself’; biyaduul and biyarrrduul ‘one’, all based on biyarr ‘one’.

While many GR placenames include the Comitative suffix, this is not the case for YR. The suffix -DHuul is common in both GR and YR placenames. See Nash (2014). Sim lists milduul ‘Mildool’ (mil ‘eye’) and specifies that ‘it does not mean “little eye”, but something like “eye there”; garradhuul (garra “crack, split”) “because of the cracks there”; and warranggaldual “Angledool”; (warrang “powerful”) “because of some feature of the river there when in flood”’. Ridley (p26) has Tarildul (commonly called Drildool) (dharildul) ‘having reeds’.

There is a general tendency across languages for diminutives to have affectionate connotation. Ridley (p39) also has an instance of affectionate use: gulirdul ‘my love’55 (gulirr-duul ‘spouse-DIM’) and FR2440A 722 uses gaba-duhuul (gaba ‘good’) for ‘good little (camp)’, and there are other similar uses of gabadhuul. The WN cognate, -DHul, can be used with affectionate connotation, even of things that are not small. It seems -DHuul is similarly used in YG. An unexplained use in YR is gulibaadhuul ‘a few or more than three’ (guliba ‘three’) (Sim).

4.1.2.6 -bidi ‘AUGment/big’

The following is largely taken from Giacon (2001: 119; 4.2.2.3). The common suffix -bidi is attached to adjectives and nouns. It has no allomorphs. On nouns and some adjectives (e.g. wamu
‘fat’) it is usually translated ‘big’, on other adjectives it has an intensifying effect (great big, really savage, really deep). With some words, especially maalaa ‘(big) tree’, there is generally no difference in the translation between the suffixed and unsuffixed form. The suffix may be used to indicate maturity as well as size: FR (843) uses burrul-bidi in ‘you are a big boy. You can wash your clothes yourself’ (burrul ‘big’). It contrasts with -DHuul ‘Diminutive’.56

The suffix is not found with dual or plural suffixes, and rarely with non-singular reference. A few nouns have been found which can have both -bidi and -DHuul as suffixes; dhayn-bidi and dhayn-dual (dhayn ‘man’) and maayama-bidi and maayama-duul (maayama ‘rock’). The combination of -bidi and -DHuul in one phrase is not found: so *burrul-bidi dhayn-dual ‘one big man’ is not found.

-bidi is rare in most sources. It is not found in GR sources nor in YR sources before Wurm, who has one example (maalabidi), and Sim, who only heard the suffix in the combination burrul-bidi. It occurs around 250 times on the tapes, from both FR and AD. Almost half the tape occurrences are as burrul-bidi ‘great big’; (burrul ‘big’). Another 70 occurrences are in the fairly fixed expression maalaa-bidi ‘(big) tree’ (maalaa occurs around ten times without -bidi.) There are 30 wamu-bidi ‘big-fat’. The suffix is found on: body-part terms (e.g. mubal ‘stomach’, ngay ‘mouth’, ngama ‘breast’ and yilli ‘lips’, the last probably with a sexual connotation); geographic terms (e.g. gurru ‘hole’, gaawaa ‘deep water/river’, mayama ‘stone’); animal names (gudu ‘cod’, wuulaa ‘lizard’); and rarely on other words. (172) has typical uses of -bidi.

(172) The big fellow had a big stomach.

There are many examples of adjectival use of burrul-bidi: (158) and (97) (with Ergative suffix), (139), (833) and (850). There are a few examples of ‘nominal-bidi’ used as an existential statement: AD3994A 868 translates nhan-bidi (nhan ‘neck’) as ‘you got a big neck’, and FR1849B 3552 has ‘burrul-bidi; ooh, he’s a big one’ (burrul ‘big’).

One idiomatic use has been found: dhalay-bidi ‘tongue-big’ = ‘talkative person’. Table 69 lists some occurrences of the suffix.

Table 69 Examples of -bidi ‘big’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>root+ -bidi</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Root gloss</th>
<th>Number in tapes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>burrul-bidi</td>
<td>great big</td>
<td>big, big tree</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>maalaa-bidi</td>
<td>big tree, tree</td>
<td>tree, big tree</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>wamu-bidi</td>
<td>big fat</td>
<td>fat</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>body parts</td>
<td>mubal-bidi</td>
<td>big guts</td>
<td>stomach</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yilli-bidi</td>
<td>big lips</td>
<td>lips</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjectives</td>
<td>yilliyaan-bidi</td>
<td>really savage</td>
<td>savage</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gagil-bidi</td>
<td>no gloss</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people</td>
<td>yungiirr-bidi</td>
<td>cry-baby</td>
<td>cry-baby man</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dhayn-bidi</td>
<td>big man</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geographic terms</td>
<td>gumbugan-bidi</td>
<td>high hill</td>
<td>(sand) hill</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nhaadityaan-bidi</td>
<td>no gloss</td>
<td>log</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gaawaa-bidi</td>
<td>really deep (water)</td>
<td>deep water</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals</td>
<td>gudu-bidi</td>
<td>big cod</td>
<td>cod</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wuulaa-bidi</td>
<td>lizard</td>
<td>lizard</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

56 Koch (pers. comm.) points out that ‘It is common in Australian languages for “very” to be expressed by “big”, i.e. “big” can modify an adjectival sense to intensify it.’ -Dhuul (above) has in at least one instance the opposite effect, weakening the meaning of an adjective.
(173) shows alternative translations of the one English sentence, with (a) -bidi and (b) -baa-wan.gaan alternative intensifiers.

(173) That dog is more savage, is really savage. CW/AD 5131 199
(a) nhama maadhaay, yiilyaan-bidi / yii-li nguuma ngiunha
  3.DEF dog, savage-AUG / bite-FUT 3ERG.DEF 2SG.ACC
  He'll bite you.
  That dog, he’s really savage. He'll bite you. JG
(b) yiilyaan-baa-wan.gaan nhama, maadhaay
  savage-baa-VERY 3.DEF, dog
  He's really savage, that dog. AD

AD8185 1471 has burrul-bidi referring to ‘two big fat goannas’, perhaps the only use of YG -bidi with non-singular reference. The suffix is probably found in fossilised form in wiibidi ‘gecko (lizard)’ (wii ‘fire’).

It is found in one dialect of WN, with meaning ‘big’ when suffixed to nouns and indicating singular number. It and -DHul are used on adjectives in WN to form modified comparisons (a lot bigger, a little bigger) with the standard of comparison in Ablative case.

(174) It is a lot smaller than an eaglehawk. Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1977: 123: 4-45)

bubay-bidi=na maliyan-di ga-ra
small-AUG=3 eaglehawk-CIRC be-PRS

(174) is from Donaldson’s thesis and the published grammar (1980: 101: 4.45) has a parallel sentence with baamirr-dhul (tall-diminutive) ‘a little taller’, and states: ‘contradictory combinations (such as bubay “small” -bidi “big”: jg) are not used, except in sentences which make comparisons of size’. This use is not found in YG but could be adapted into YG, and so gaba-dhul (gaba ‘good’) would be ‘a little better’, and gaba-bidi would be ‘a lot better’, in appropriate contexts.

YG does have the suffix used in a comparison in (175) (bigger) and (139). (175) shows that the informant struggles with comparisons.

(175) That fellow is bigger than the other kangaroos. JM/AD 3217A 1433

ngaarrma=badhaay / ngaam’, burrul / bandaarr / burrul-bidi=bala ngaama=nga
3.ANA.DEF=MIGHT / 3.ANA.DEF, big / kangaroo / big-AUG=CTR 3.ANA.DEF=THEN

ngaam=bala ngayagay-galgaa, bubay-galgaa=bala ngaama bandaarr
3.ANA.DEF=CTR other-PL, small-PL=CTR that kangaroo
All them other little kangaroos and this big fellow, he’s the biggest. AD
That a big kangaroo, really big, and those others are smaller kangaroos. (lit) JG
That kangaroo is the biggest / is bigger than the others. JG

(139) translates ‘as big as a man’ with burrul-bidi dhayn-giirr.

As might be expected, just as -DHul has affectionate connotations, -bidi has pejorative ones. Gagil-bidi (bad-bidi) is found twice in the tapes, with no precise translation, but negative connotation, and gaba-bidi (good-bidi) is not found.

-Buu
The suffix -Buu ‘TOTal’ is discussed at §13.3.3. -Buu is similar to number and quantity suffixes in that it does not change the reference of the word, but quantifies it, for instance changing ‘us’ to ‘all of us’.

57 Koch (pers. comm.) points out that comparison in Australian languages is usually by one of two forms. The more common is: ‘This one is (big), that one is (small)’; the other is ‘This one is (big) from that one’.
4 Nominal derivation

4.1.2.7  -ili ‘DIMinutive, little’ (affectionate use)

This fairly rare suffix is defined by Sim (1998: 87) (see Giacon, 2001: 118: §4.2.2.2) as ‘diminutive, affectionate, exactly as in Johnny’. It occurs in dhagaan-ili ‘little older brother’ (dhagaan ‘older brother’), which is also the familiar name of the owlet nightjar (a bird) and the name has an affectionate connotation. It is also found in Ghanhanbili (Ghanhan ‘pig weed’), the name of one of the Creator’s wives. The two examples and Sim’s description all involve kin terms or names. This is not currently a productive suffix in the YG sources.

4.1.2.8  -Gaa ‘senior’

This treatment of the suffix builds on that in Giacon (2001: 121; §4.2.2.7). The suffix -Gaa has at least two uses. The first is to indicate that a person is older or has some status. Examples are set out in Table 70 and then discussed. An associated possible use is as a Proper name marker. There may also be another homophone, with as yet unanalysed use.

The suffix is -gaa, except presumably after rr when it is -aa. The form after l is uncertain, but yaayngarralgaa ‘clock’ (yaay ‘sun’ ngarral ‘looker’) suggests the form there is -gaa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhilaagaa</td>
<td>brother-gaa</td>
<td>older brother</td>
<td>FR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinarr-aa</td>
<td>woman-aa</td>
<td>head woman, lady, a title of respect</td>
<td>FR Parker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinarr-aa-galaa</td>
<td>woman-aa-galaa</td>
<td>head woman, lady, a title of respect</td>
<td>Sim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mullyangah</td>
<td>wedgetail.eagle-gaa</td>
<td>Chief/wisest of the maliyan</td>
<td>Parker 1898</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The effect of the suffix is discussed by informants. FR discusses the difference between dhilaa ‘brother’ and dhilaagaa ‘older brother’ on a number of occasions including 5053 1138, where he says that the second means: ‘brother too, but an old man’. There he also points out that yinarraa (woman-aa) was used of Mrs Parker and adds: ‘It’s like when the queen give you “Dame” or “Lady”, you different to an ordinary woman’. Parker (1905: 146) has yinarraa as ‘woman with camp of her own’. A speculative analysis of wayamaa ‘old man, old person’ is that the -aa is historically from -Gaa, perhaps with waya ‘left’ also part of the etymology.

The suffix also occurs in Mullyangah/Mullian-ga (Maliyan.gaa) ‘chief or wisest of the maliyan “Wedge-tail eagles”’. Here the suffix could also be an indication of seniority or it could be a Proper Name marker.

Many Aboriginal languages have a Proper Name marker and many others do not. Hercus (1994: 88) points out a Proper Name suffix -nha in Arabana/Wangkangurru but did not find one in Baakantji. (The Proper name marker in Western Desert languages is -nya.) Breen did not find one in Yandruwantha. -Gaa is similar in form to the WN Proper name marker, -gaN (Donaldson, 1980: 105) which is added to all uses of names except vocative use. It may be that -Gaa has changed meaning, or the Proper Name use may have been one of the early post-colonisation losses. One indication that YG did not have a Proper Name marker is that the suffix does not appear on the names of many characters in stories – Parker’s or others’.

The existence of another suffix -Gaa is more speculative and is based on the occurrence of compound words which include -Gaa and whose meaning is related to the unsuffixed form, or at least could be related to that meaning. Table 71 shows many such words, and others where no base is suggested. At times (bayaga, walaayga) there is little or no difference between the meaning of the two words. No consistent meaning has been found for the potential suffix. The form -aa is an allomorph of both -Gaa and -Baa (§4.2.1), so at times of uncertain origin, for example in bibilaa.
Table 71  

Examples of -Gaa (unknown function)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>likely/possible Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bayagaa</td>
<td>clothes</td>
<td>baya</td>
<td>clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bittan.gaa</td>
<td>stone axe</td>
<td>birra</td>
<td>axe handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buunggaa</td>
<td>armband</td>
<td>bungun</td>
<td>arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buwarrgaa</td>
<td>dead person’s things</td>
<td>buwarr</td>
<td>sacred things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaavangarralgaa</td>
<td>clock</td>
<td>yaay; ngarral</td>
<td>sun; watcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walaaygaaga</td>
<td>bird’s nest</td>
<td>walaay</td>
<td>camp, nest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bibila</td>
<td>belonging to the bibil country</td>
<td>bibil</td>
<td>bibile tree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Root not known or uncertain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Root Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wirringgaa</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>wayamaa</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>Sim: 1 Sim: 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galinggaa</td>
<td>sheep intestines</td>
<td>gana</td>
<td>liver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganagaa</td>
<td>wart</td>
<td>wayamaa</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gidjiirrgaa</td>
<td>budgerigar</td>
<td>wayamaa</td>
<td>old man +strongest</td>
<td>Wurm 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gundhilgaa</td>
<td>town</td>
<td>gundhi</td>
<td>house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mugiin.gaa</td>
<td>sandfly</td>
<td>mungin</td>
<td>mosquito</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>budhuulgaa</td>
<td>white-faced heron</td>
<td>wayamaa</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garraagaa</td>
<td>white-faced heron</td>
<td>wayamaa</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yararragaa</td>
<td>matrilineal totem</td>
<td>wayamaa</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhuwaarrgaa</td>
<td>thunder</td>
<td>dhuwarr?</td>
<td>bread</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wurrugaa</td>
<td>owner</td>
<td>wayamaa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.2.9  -galaa ‘old’

The YR suffix form -galaa has been found only a few times, all of them listed in Table 72. All examples incorporate the meaning ‘old’. Wurm’s (p59) has wayamaa-galaa ‘old man, can’t do anything’. This suggests the suffix has to do with ability. Sim (1998: 44) has the same word in a sentence translated ‘that old man is the strongest of us all’. These are inconsistent, but do not affect the basic meaning.

Table 72  

Examples of -Galaa ‘old’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Root Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wayamaagala</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>wayamaa</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>Sim: 1 Sim: 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we:ma: gola,</td>
<td>old man, can’t do anything</td>
<td>wayamaa</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>Wurm 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayamaagala</td>
<td></td>
<td>wayamaa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinarraagalaa</td>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>yinarraa</td>
<td>old woman senior woman</td>
<td>Sim 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo*mbi: gola,</td>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>yambuli (yambi)</td>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>Wurm 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yambuligala</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Possible instances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Root Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guwaygalaa</td>
<td>red soil</td>
<td>guway</td>
<td>blood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhann.-galaa-dhil</td>
<td>message bird, grave digger bird</td>
<td>dhawun??-dil</td>
<td>earth ??bird</td>
<td>Sim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunagalaa</td>
<td>toilet</td>
<td>guna</td>
<td>shit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

58 See Giacon (2013: 265) for more on this potential suffix.
WN has a formally similar -galaan Augmentative plural (Donaldson, 1980: 100), used to mark plurality in ‘things that are remarkable for their size’ and -galaan ‘late (deceased)’ (p106), generally used on kin terms to refer to deceased persons. Neither of these corresponds closely to the meaning of the YG suffix, which is singular.

4.1.2.10 **-aala ‘very’?**

The potential suffix -aala is found only on one word, so it is quite tentative. It is included here as an example of a form that may be assigned a use in YG, and that could be clarified with study of other languages. Guyaarraala ‘(very) long/tall’ is found around 30 times on the tapes, clearly derived from guyaarr ‘long/tall’ and with the suffix likely adding the meaning ‘very’. The same word is recorded by Wurm as guja:кла (guyaarrla), but rrл is not permissible in YG, so this is likely a casual realisation. At 2437B 427, FR has guyaarrala and guyaarrala with variation in the form.

4.1.2.11 **Reduplication**

Plurality and perhaps other size/maturity information is conveyed by reduplication for a small number of YG words: miyay ‘girl’, birray ‘boy’, indefinites and possibly interrogative pronouns. For other reduplications see §0 and Giacon (2001: 141; §4.3).

Reduplicated indefinites have universal meaning: see §14.3.2. One example from there is minygaa ‘something’ > minyamininygaa ‘all, everything’ (minya ‘what’). Arrernte interrogatives have a similar process which produces both universals and plural interrogatives (Wilkins, 1989: 132).

The reduplication of miyay and birray follows a non-standard process: the word is repeated to the right, and the vowel of the diphthong lengthened, producing miyaymiyay and birraybirraay. The sources record two effects, diminutivisation and plurality, as well as derivational use of the forms as names; see §14.3.1.

4.2 **Derived nominal has different reference from root**

This section considers a number of suffixes which derive nominals, mostly from other nominals. The suffixes may not be currently productive. The most common is -Baa ‘DOMain’. The form and meaning of some is clear, but uncertain for others. The root is clear in some examples, e.g. yaay ‘sun’ yaay-baa ‘summer’, but not in others. Many of the suffixes considered derive nominals which refer to people.

4.2.1 **-Baa ‘DOMain’**

The suffix -Baa is glossed ‘DOMain’ since it often derives forms which have a meaning like ‘time of, place of, context of’, for instance walaaybaa ‘campground’ (walaay ‘camp/shelter’; yaaybaa ‘summer’ (yaay ‘sun’). At other times the suffix seems to add no extra meaning to the root. There are also -Baa final words where the putative root has not been attested, e.g. budhanbaa (budhan is not known).

The meaning of the suffixed form is sometimes predictable from the root: maayama-baa ‘place with a lot of stones’, maayama ‘stone’; but often not: gulabaa ‘coolabah tree’, gula ‘fork in tree’; presumably the coolabah has forks; barranbaa ‘Brigalow tree’, presumably a source of wood for barran ‘boomerang’. Milson (Table 76) has the only instance of yinarrbaa ‘woman-baa’, which presumably means something like ‘womanhood’. In other instances the gloss ‘DOMain’ does not describe the effect: e.g. dhalay-baa (tongue-baa) ‘sharp’.

Donaldson (1980: 118) discusses the Wangaaybuwan suffix -baaN – ‘DOMAIN’ which derives inflecting forms (nominals) such as ngurram-baa (camp-baa) ‘homeland, tribal territory’ and

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59 The heading is adapted from Donaldson (1980: 107).

60 Budhanbang also occurs in Yuin languages, e.g. Ngarigu, so is not likely to have a YG analysis.
adverbial forms such as *yurru-m.baa* (rain-baa) ‘in rainy weather’ and *dharriyal-baa* (heat-baa) ‘in summertime’. See (176).

The form of the YG suffix varies, but not consistently. Some *y* and *rr* final words have -*aa* and other -*baa*.

**Table 73**  
-**BAa after final rr and y**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base gloss</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yaay-baa</td>
<td>summer</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>manday-aa</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>penis, testicles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhandarr-aa</td>
<td>winter</td>
<td>ice, frost</td>
<td>gunidjarr-baa</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buurr-aa</td>
<td>bora</td>
<td>string, rope</td>
<td>buurr-baa</td>
<td>full man</td>
<td>string, rope</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 74**  
Examples of -**BAa** suffix: root known

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Root Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The suffixed word has a different meaning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhandarr-aa</td>
<td>winter</td>
<td>frost/ice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaay-baa</td>
<td>summer</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yayaay-baa</td>
<td>summer</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunidjarr-baa</td>
<td>thumb</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunidjarr-baa</td>
<td>female / mother one</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>Reece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buwadjarr-baa</td>
<td>father (in heaven)</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>Laves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manday-aa</td>
<td>buck, male</td>
<td>penis?, step</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buurr-aa</td>
<td>initiation process</td>
<td>string/rope</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buurr-baa</td>
<td>full man</td>
<td>string/rope</td>
<td>Ridley: 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barran-baa</td>
<td>Brigalow (tree)</td>
<td>boomerang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhalay-baa</td>
<td>sharp</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawu-baa</td>
<td>egg yolk</td>
<td>egg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gula-baa</td>
<td>coolabah tree</td>
<td>fork</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurruu-baa</td>
<td>deep</td>
<td>gurru ‘hole’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayama-baa</td>
<td>place with a lot of stones</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wagi-baa</td>
<td>plain (country), clear (ground), bald (head)</td>
<td>open ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walaay-baa</td>
<td>camp-ground/nest/home country</td>
<td>camp/nest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warragil-aa</td>
<td>unswerving</td>
<td>straight</td>
<td>Sim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaraan-baa</td>
<td>station name</td>
<td>yarran: a tree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiiyiyaan-baa</td>
<td>savage</td>
<td>yii-li ‘bite’ yii-li-yan ‘biter?’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The suffixed word has the same meaning as the root</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murrgu-baa-ga</td>
<td>both ‘near murrgu trees’</td>
<td>she.oak-baa-LOC she.oak-LOC</td>
<td>Wurm: 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwiin-baa</td>
<td>close</td>
<td>close</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaban-baa</td>
<td>light</td>
<td>light (rare)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madhan-baa</td>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>heavy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yurrul-aa</td>
<td>(the) bush</td>
<td>bush</td>
<td>Sim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murr-baa</td>
<td>good (cf. maaru ‘good’)</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>Mathews: 262</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1-final roots add -aa, e.g. *burrulaa* ‘many’, but lb is a permissible cluster.

Table 74 has examples of clearly derivational use of -Baa, Table 75 possible instances of -Baa, and Table 76 some further examples from Milson, a short early source.

Table 75  -Baa suffix: ‘base’ unknown or speculative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixed word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Root/Analysis</th>
<th>Root Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>giliinba[a]</td>
<td>clean</td>
<td>giliin</td>
<td>clean</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baayanbaa/</td>
<td>mate</td>
<td>?baayna</td>
<td>father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baayambaa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>budhanbaa</td>
<td>black duck</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-DHalibaa</td>
<td>PRIVative</td>
<td>dha-li?</td>
<td>eat??</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhugaalubaa</td>
<td>shrimp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giibaabu</td>
<td>early in the morning</td>
<td>be?-baa-TOT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarrawidhalba</td>
<td>father in law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngandabaa</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td>cf. nganda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngandanganda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayambaa</td>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>?wa-y</td>
<td>be in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiyaybaa</td>
<td>stranger, foreign</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(176) indicates that *yayaaybaa* is a nominal, with Ergative inflection, unlike the corresponding Wangaaybuwan which is a time adverbial.

(176)  The thunder tells them that warm weather has come.  JM/AD 8184 1111

\begin{align*}
\text{giirr ganugu} & \quad \text{*yayaay*,baa-gu} \quad / \quad \text{gawaa-l-da-nha ganunga} / \quad \text{*yayaay*,baa} \\
\text{true} & \quad 3\text{PL.ERG summer}-?\text{ERG} / \quad \text{tell-CTS-PRS} \quad 3\text{PL} / \quad \text{summer be}-\text{MOV-SUB} \\
\text{The } ?\text{heat tells them that summer is coming.} & \quad \text{JG}
\end{align*}

The AD elicitation in (177) indicates the productivity of the suffix, the uncertainty of the speaker about its use, and the fact that there are a number of similar suffixes. AD initially uses *bidjaay-baa* to translate ‘muddy place’, and then changes to *bidjaay-gaa*, suggesting -gaa is more appropriate. This use of -gaa is not understood.

(177)  This place is muddy and that place is dry ground.  JM/AD 3220B 3187

\begin{align*}
\text{nhalay=} & \quad \text{naa-la-??} / \quad \text{*bidjaay-baa} / \quad \text{*bidjaay-gaa} / \\
\text{here=} & \quad 3\text{La-??} / \quad / \quad \text{mud-baa} / \quad / \quad \text{mud-gaa} / \\
\text{ngaarri-gili=}= & \quad \text{bala-??ngu} / \quad \text{dhaymaarr} / \quad \text{nhalay=}= \text{bala bidjaay} \\
\text{distant-SIDE=CTR-??} & \quad / \quad \text{ground} / \quad \text{this=CTR} / \quad \text{mud} \\
\text{This is muddy, that’s } ?\text{good ground on the other side but this is mud.} & \quad \text{JG}
\end{align*}

Table 76 shows that the suffix is frequent in Milson’s limited corpus. Table 77 has Wangaaybuwan examples, where the b is pre-nasalised.

Table 76  -Baa: examples in Milson

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixed word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yenirbahg meace</td>
<td>young woman</td>
<td>yinarr-baa miyay</td>
<td>woman-baa girl</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groolebah</td>
<td>7 (number)</td>
<td>guruli??-baa</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boondoba</td>
<td>all about</td>
<td>?bunda-baa</td>
<td>?bunda-gi ‘fall’</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boorillabah</td>
<td>a deal of</td>
<td>burrulaabaa</td>
<td>many-baa</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moogoobah</td>
<td>blunt</td>
<td>mugu-baa</td>
<td>blunt-baa</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.2 -barra ‘belonging to the country of’ ‘typical of’

The suffix is discussed in Giacon61 (2001: 131; §4.2.3.9). The most common occurrence is in Parker, who gives three examples of the suffix: see Table 78. The suffix occurs mostly in the names of groups of people or in adjectives meaning ‘belonging to the country of … ’. Neither garrii ‘tree orchid’ or nhungga ‘kurrajong’ are visually dominant in country, but may be chosen because they are important in other ways. According to Dixon (1980: 324) the affix -barra ‘pertaining to, belonging to (a place)’ occurs in Yidiny and Dyirbal, and in most of the languages south of these two the names of local groups within tribes typically involve -barra’.

The use of presumably the same suffix in guwaymbarra ‘red’ suggests a broader meaning: X-barra is something that is typically associated with X. The homorganic m in guwaymbarra suggests that the word is borrowed from Ngiyambaa.

### Table 78  Examples of -barra ‘from country of’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>garrii-barra</td>
<td>from tree-orchid country</td>
<td>garrii</td>
<td>tree orchid</td>
<td>Parker: 1905 p145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhungga-barra</td>
<td>from kurrajong country</td>
<td>nhungga</td>
<td>kurrajong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirrii-barra</td>
<td>from lignum country</td>
<td>mirrii</td>
<td>lignum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other likely use:

| guway-m-barra | red                      | guway      | blood       |             |

4.2.3 -gayaluN ‘inhabitant of’

This suffix has been found twice, both in Sim. He has (1998: ix) ‘Narrin.gayalu, inhabitants of the Narran River’ and (1998: 31) glosses the suffix as ‘inhabitant of’. There is a WN cognate, -giyaluN- (Donaldson, 1980: 116) glossed ‘belonging to’. Some WN examples are given in Table 79. Burrba-ng-giyalu indicates an experience people have had and shows that the meaning is not restricted to inhabitants of a place. The WN suffix can inform wider use of the YG suffix.

### Table 79  Examples of Wangaaybuwan -giyaluN- ‘belonging to’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WN form</th>
<th>analysis</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngurga-ng giyalu</td>
<td>camp-giyalu</td>
<td>(their) wives (cf. English ‘house–wife’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burrba-ng-giyalu</td>
<td>bora-giyalu</td>
<td>men who have been through the rules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilaarr-giyalu</td>
<td>she-oak-giyalu</td>
<td>people from the she-oak country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gali-nj-djaliba-giyalu</td>
<td>water-PRIV-giyalu</td>
<td>people from the dry country</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(178) has two other YG words whose form and analysis may suggest that there was variation in the form of the suffix, or another suffix with similar meaning. The evidence is not clear, and there are other possibilities, including that this suffix is actually -gaali ‘dual’.

---

61 Two other examples of -barra there are now not seen as accurate: barra in gayiya-barra ‘spider web’ is likely ‘thread’ and dha-l-barra ‘eats’ is actually a mishearing of Wayilwan dha-l-ga-ra ‘eats’.

62 See §2.5.1 for the homorganic nasal found before some Wangaaybuwan suffixes.
4 Nominal derivation

(178)  
garra-gali  animal like a little rat  lives in garra ‘ground cracks’
wagaay-gaali Richard’s pipit (a bird)  lives on the wagaay ‘open country/plain’

4.2.4 -gal ‘mob’

The suffix -gal ‘diminutive plural’ has been discussed in §4.1.2.3. Another use, or a homonym, discussed in Giacon (2001: 133; 4.2.3.11), is considered here, and a further use of the form is discussed in the next section. This suffix -gal is used to create a nominal which refers to a group of people: people from an area or with a characteristic. The YG evidence is limited but consistent and is set out in Table 80. Sim (1998: ix) has:

JR (Mrs Jinny Rose) referred to three main northern groups of Yualeiai (Yuwaalayaay) by the names Narrin gayaluu, Bukuarragal and Baluun gaal, i.e. literally inhabitants/people of the Narran, Bokhara and Balonne (Rivers). Whether these were ‘original’ names I do not know.

In the YG cosmology all animals and people belong to one of dhurrungal ‘the furry ones’, giinbalgal ‘the scaled ones’ (giinbaligal in Sim) or digaaya ‘birds’, with two of those names including -gal. The suffix also occurs in wululgal ‘noisy mob’. A number of Aboriginal languages have a similar use of -gal, for instance the Sydney language with words such as Gadigal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixed</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhurrungal</td>
<td>the furry ones</td>
<td>dhurrun</td>
<td>fur</td>
<td>Sim et al.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giinbalgal</td>
<td>the scaled ones</td>
<td>giinbal</td>
<td>scale (reptile, fish)</td>
<td>Sim et al.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People: of a place or with a characteristic</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bukuarragal</td>
<td>Bokhara mob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluungaal</td>
<td>Balonne mob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wululgal</td>
<td>noisy mob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.5 -gal: ‘unknown effect’

There are a significant number of other words which are -gal-final, many listed in Table 81. At times these may be examples of -gal ‘dim plural’ or ‘mob’; for instance gaaynggal ‘child’, now not marked for number, is historically likely gaay-ng-gal or gaany-gal child-PL.DIM, using a Wanggaaybuwan suffixing pattern which includes a homorganic ng, and similarly for buunnggal. However, in many instances the semantics do not fit those two suffixes, so suggesting a further -gal. In at least one instance, gurrugal, it seems to derive an adjective from a noun and this may be the case also for warranggal.
Table 81 Other possible instances of -gal ‘unknown effect’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixed</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Probably suffixed (at least historically)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhirragal</td>
<td>teeth on edge</td>
<td>dhirra</td>
<td>flash; dhirra ‘teeth’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mouth wrinkled up</td>
<td></td>
<td>in some languages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baranggal</td>
<td>ankle</td>
<td>??barran</td>
<td>boomerang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bigal</td>
<td>navel</td>
<td>??bii</td>
<td>chest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burrenggal</td>
<td>coolabah tree grub</td>
<td>burrun</td>
<td>type of moth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buunggal</td>
<td>native potato</td>
<td>cf. buu</td>
<td>ball/testicle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaaynggal</td>
<td>baby</td>
<td>gaay</td>
<td>small</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Gawubuwan)</td>
<td>Boobera Lagoon,</td>
<td>cf. gunii</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunigal</td>
<td>Macintyre River</td>
<td>guninii</td>
<td>queen bee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurrugal</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>gurru</td>
<td>round (hole)</td>
<td>Ridley: 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warranggal</td>
<td>strong, powerful</td>
<td>cf. warra-y</td>
<td>stand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>warran</td>
<td></td>
<td>tree stump</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wurunggal</td>
<td>peep hole</td>
<td>cf. wuru-gi</td>
<td>go in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bambugal</td>
<td>fingers, toes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>More speculative examples</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhaygal</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>??</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bin.gal</td>
<td>fish fin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bin.gawin.gal</td>
<td>needlewood tree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhalagal</td>
<td>frilled lizard</td>
<td>?dhalay</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhan.gal</td>
<td>shelly log</td>
<td>?dhaan</td>
<td>lean</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhinggal</td>
<td>foetus, seed</td>
<td>cf. dhii</td>
<td>meat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giigal</td>
<td>scab</td>
<td>?gii</td>
<td>heart</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giirrgal</td>
<td>tomahawk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gilgal</td>
<td>small waterhole</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galigal</td>
<td>bee droppings, placename</td>
<td>Guli</td>
<td>placename, a grass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gumbilgal</td>
<td>bark container</td>
<td>gumbi</td>
<td>a water weed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munggal</td>
<td>only</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. mugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mugal</td>
<td>only child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. munggal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murragal</td>
<td>bird trap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhaagal</td>
<td>bora ground spirit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanggal</td>
<td>toy roller</td>
<td>wangga-li</td>
<td>to roll, tr.</td>
<td>Nominalisation of verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waygal</td>
<td>woven bag</td>
<td>cf. wa-y</td>
<td>be in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yugal</td>
<td>song</td>
<td>cf. yu-gi; yuga-li</td>
<td>cry; celebrate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Possibly related</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayagaal</td>
<td>left-handed</td>
<td>waya</td>
<td>left hand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.6  
-DHaan ‘skilled at’

There is limited YG evidence found for a suffix -DHaan which derives a nominal referring to a person who has a particular skill. (179) translates ‘good hunter’ with dhiiidhaan (dhii ‘meat, game’). Ted Fields (pers. comm.) remembered dhiiidhaan (or dhaydhaan) as ‘leader of the hunt’ but could not remember -dhaan being attached to other words. Parker (1905: 147) has wulbuldaan – ‘game; riding on bent branch’ (wulbun ‘bendy stick’), with the suffixed word, as recorded, referring to a game, not a person. Finally ngarraadhaan ‘bat’ may be from ngarra-li – ‘see’; the name a reference to its ability to ‘see’ at night.

(179) Good hunter that man.  (GR) SW p15

\[ \text{dhii-dhaan nhama mari} \]
\[ \text{meat-dhaan 3.DEF man} \]

There is a WN suffix -ngaan ‘skilled at catching’ (Donaldson, 1980: 117) which was accepted only on the name of creatures ‘whose flesh is esteemed as food, provided there is some skill involved in hunting it’, for instance girrbadja ‘kangaroo’. If nothing else it shows that suffixes with the meaning ‘skilled at’ are found. There is insufficient evidence to determine the precise meaning of the YG suffix, but the examples suggest it was broader than the WN suffix.

4.2.7  
-gaalu ‘pretend’

The suffix -gaalu is discussed in Williams (1980: 45). She glosses it ‘make believe’. It is added to nouns to indicate that an object is, in pretence, something else: for instance I can be a ‘pretend-doctor’ and a stick can be a ‘pretend horse’. There is an identical suffix in Wangaaybuwan and the YR instances on the tapes are a result of explicit elicitation for this suffix by CW, who was aware of the WN suffix. At 5131 2736, CW asks for: ‘the boy was pretending to smoke tobacco’ and biyago-gaalu ‘tobacco-gaalu’ is added by AD as an afterthought, perhaps after some off-tape discussion. The other tape use is yarrawamaan-gaalu, used after CW had asked for ‘she is riding a pretend horse’ (5131 2487). Again AD only says this after some off-tape discussion. Williams (p45) has a further example, walaay-gaalu ‘pretend camp’ (see the WN below).


4.2.8  
-(b)iyan ‘blossom of, fruit of’

This suffix is discussed in Giacon (2001: 135; §4.2.3.14) and is treated only briefly here. It is found in words referring to a plant product such as flower, fruit, bean pod or manna. The word may or may not contain the name of the plant. The actual form of the suffix varies considerably, indicating that the suffixed forms have long been seen as monomorphic words. Table 82 has examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source plant</th>
<th>Plant gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>birraa-wiin</td>
<td>whitewood blossom</td>
<td>birraa</td>
<td>whitewood tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dharraa-biin</td>
<td>manna on bark</td>
<td>dharraa</td>
<td>flaking bark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gagilaarrin</td>
<td>carbeen blossom</td>
<td>gaabiin</td>
<td>carbeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bambul-ngiyans</td>
<td>bumble blossom</td>
<td>bambul</td>
<td>bumble tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunbarr-iyan</td>
<td>rosewood fruit</td>
<td>bunbarr</td>
<td>rosewood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurrulay-ngiyans</td>
<td>river wattle blossom</td>
<td>gurrulay</td>
<td>river wattle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.9 -dhaa ‘feminine’?

In YG gender is generally not marked morphologically, but by the use of separate terms such as gunidjarr63 ‘mother’, buwadjarr ‘father’ and so on, as pointed out in MathewsGR (p261). However, some Aboriginal languages have a suffix which marks feminine, e.g. -gan in Gumbaynggirr (Morelli, 2008: 272). In YG there is a clear relationship between male and female section terms, as seen in the Table 83. The female term is formed by adding -dhaa to a modified form of the male term. Other occurrences of -dhaa with this meaning might include yarudhagaa ‘matrilineal totem’ possibly yaru-dha[a]-gaa, with -gaa ‘senior’ as discussed elsewhere and the meaning of yaru unknown.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Probable Derivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marrii</td>
<td>Maadhaa</td>
<td>Ma[arrii]dhaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabii</td>
<td>Gabudhaa</td>
<td>Gab[ua]dhaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambuu</td>
<td>Buudhaa</td>
<td>[Gam]buu-dhaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yibaay</td>
<td>Yibadhaa</td>
<td>Yiba[ay]-dhaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.10 -ngaa

The suffix -ngaa is relatively common in kin terms, as seen in Table 84, although there is often some modification of the putative base. This may be due to the poverty of the historical sources, so that the form of the original is not accurately known, or as in the case of ‘nephew’ not known. As well, there is bulaanngaa ‘pair’, which also possibly has the suffix. No consistent meaning has been found for the suffix, and its restricted occurrence and specialised use indicates that it is not productive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixed</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>possible primitive</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bawanngaa</td>
<td>granddaughter</td>
<td>baawaa</td>
<td>sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galimingaa</td>
<td>grandson</td>
<td>galumaay</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunubingaa</td>
<td>nephew</td>
<td>?gunu-bi-ngaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunugayngaa</td>
<td>nephew</td>
<td>?gunu-gay-ngaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nganawayngaa</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
<td>nganuwaay?</td>
<td>potential spouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulaanngaa</td>
<td>pair</td>
<td>bulaurr</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of tentative and potential suffixes are now briefly discussed.

4.2.11 Tentative and potential nominal suffixes

Table 85 (adapted from Table 4.1 in Giacon (2001)) lists a number of possible nominal suffixes. Some have been discussed above, others not. More such forms may be recognised with further work. It is likely that traditional YG had more derivational suffixes than have been recorded or recognised since better recorded languages such as WN and Gumbaynggirr have many such suffixes than have been found in YG. The status of these forms may change with further investigation.

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63 McConvell (2008: 316) discusses the suffix -(ny)jarr in kin terms.  
64 Koch (pers. comm.) points out that these masculine and feminine section names are shared with other languages including Ngiyambaa, Wiradjuri and Muruwari, so it is not likely they have an etymology in YG.
Possible YG derivational suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible suffix</th>
<th>Possible base</th>
<th>Base Gloss</th>
<th>Occurrence, notes</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-gal</td>
<td>various; see above</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-laa?</td>
<td>dhiidja-li</td>
<td>lick</td>
<td>dhiidjala</td>
<td>licker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-laa</td>
<td>gindama-li?</td>
<td>make laugh</td>
<td>gindamala</td>
<td>cause of laughing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aala</td>
<td>guyaarr</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>guyaarr-aala</td>
<td>very long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aan</td>
<td>gayaay</td>
<td>sand</td>
<td>gayaayaan</td>
<td>sandhill FR1987B 3064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aay</td>
<td>dhuulirral</td>
<td>drop of water</td>
<td>dhuulirral-aay</td>
<td>affected by water dripping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-baal</td>
<td>giniy</td>
<td>stick, tree</td>
<td>giniybaal</td>
<td>corner post YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-baarr</td>
<td>dhuu</td>
<td>smoke, fire</td>
<td>dhuu-baar</td>
<td>misty rain, like smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-baraan</td>
<td>wii</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td>wii-n-barraan</td>
<td>alongside of the fire; cf. barran ‘boomerang’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bi, -bin</td>
<td>bagan</td>
<td>stripe</td>
<td>bagan-bi, Poss. bagabin</td>
<td>stripy lizard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-djjil</td>
<td>baan</td>
<td>mistletoe</td>
<td>baan-djjil</td>
<td>mistletoe bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-djaal</td>
<td>milan</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>milan-djaal</td>
<td>only one, just one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bulaarr</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>bulaa-djaal</td>
<td></td>
<td>only two, just two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-djuurr</td>
<td>walan</td>
<td>hard</td>
<td>walan-duurr</td>
<td>hard hearted, someone who won’t yield, won’t soften</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf.WN duurr ‘man’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gaaal</td>
<td>waya</td>
<td>left (hand)</td>
<td>waya-gaal</td>
<td>left hander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yull</td>
<td>gaba</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>gaba-yul</td>
<td>pleased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-djuuul</td>
<td>gagil</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>gagil-djuul</td>
<td>unhappy, despondent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dhaal</td>
<td>girran</td>
<td>ashes</td>
<td>girrandhaal</td>
<td>rake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dhaa</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>see above: §4.2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-may</td>
<td>gali</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>gali-n-may</td>
<td>water bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-may</td>
<td>?nyii</td>
<td>anus</td>
<td>nyin-may</td>
<td>penis head GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-may</td>
<td>?ma-y</td>
<td>be up</td>
<td>nyin-maya</td>
<td>foreskin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rr</td>
<td>gaya-y</td>
<td>turn</td>
<td>gayarr</td>
<td>back of knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ra-gaa?</td>
<td>gindama-y</td>
<td>laugh</td>
<td>gindarraga</td>
<td>funny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-waa</td>
<td>mandi</td>
<td>step, level</td>
<td>mandi-waa</td>
<td>climbing notch (in tree)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Borrowing suffixes and derivational processes

The next section briefly considers a topic which is relevant to language revival, but not to traditional grammatical description.

As YG develops it will inevitable expand its lexicon. This typically happens when people look for a word, either when a translation is requested (What is the word for ‘Deputy principal’, or ‘Religious education coordinator’s office’?) or when language workers prepare lexicon for a topic: what are the YG words we need to talk about telephones: ‘telephone’, ‘call’, ‘hold’, ‘answering machine’, ‘dial’, etc.)

One approach is to look at other Australian languages and consider what lexicon and processes YG might borrow. Here I consider some nominal derivation processes that YG might copy from Wangaaybuwan and Arrernte.
Wangaaybuwan nominal derivational suffixes
WN singular and plural suffixes given below (Donaldson p99;) are clearly related to many of the YG suffixes discussed above.

The forms -galgaa and -bidi are common to both languages, WN -DHul is a cognate of YG -DHuul. WN is different in having a separate ‘immature’ suffix (used for things like a ‘young kangaroo’), which can in fact be used with -DHul. (WN: mirri-gaa-dhul ‘little puppy’; mirri ‘dog’), and in having an augmentative plural. The YR -galaa form could well be a cognate of -galaan, with a singular rather than plural meaning. The table, to some extent, overstates the semantic division. Donaldson states (p101) ‘-galgaaN- is the plural form chosen … when size is irrelevant’.

Given the clear similarity of number suffixes in YG and WN, and the limited YG data, it is quite likely some of the other WN suffixes also had cognates in YG. WN suffixes that would be useful for YG, and which have not been found in the YG data, are now listed, with the relevant Donaldson reference.

Some WN suffixes are not suitable for borrowing into YG. For instance: -gaa ‘immature’ (p100): The suffix form is already in YG as ‘senior’.

Some of the productive Arrernte suffixes below (Wilkins, 1989: 140ff) have clear semantic parallels in the YG and WN. Listing these Arrernte forms is largely to suggest a direction for future work on expanding the YG lexicon. Many of the Arrernte suffixes have limited productivity.

Arrernte

Some of the productive Arrernte suffixes below (Wilkins, 1989: 140ff) have clear semantic parallels in the YG and WN. Listing these Arrernte forms is largely to suggest a direction for future work on expanding the YG lexicon. Many of the Arrernte suffixes have limited productivity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Gloss, Note</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-artweye</td>
<td>custodian</td>
<td>cf. WN -bilaarr ‘owner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-anternenhe</td>
<td>huge, giant, huge amount of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-angketyarre</td>
<td>place abundant in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-atye</td>
<td>grub: on plant names</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ampe</td>
<td>honey: on source of honey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-althe</td>
<td>bad character: on words like</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘lie’ ‘shy’ ‘steal’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nye</td>
<td>temporal nominal: lyete-nye</td>
<td>lyete ‘today, now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘brand new’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-me</td>
<td>unified quantity: therre-me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘both’ (two-me)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 86 Wangaaybuwan suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diminutive</td>
<td>-DHul</td>
<td>-galgaaN-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immature</td>
<td>-gaa</td>
<td>-galgaaN-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augmentative</td>
<td>-bidi/-girran</td>
<td>-galaan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Gloss, Note</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-artweye</td>
<td>custodian</td>
<td>cf. WN -bilaarr ‘owner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-anternenhe</td>
<td>huge, giant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-angketyarre</td>
<td>place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-atye</td>
<td>grub: on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ampe</td>
<td>honey: on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-althe</td>
<td>bad character: on words like</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nye</td>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>lyete ‘today, now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nominal:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-me</td>
<td>unified</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quantity:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>therre-me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘both’ (two-me)</td>
<td>cf. YG -Buu, WN -bu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Compounding is potentially a major source of new lexicon for YG. Much of this development could be calques of compounds found in other languages. One such process is pointed out by Wilkins (1989: 145). Arrernte has compounds which refer to body parts, the first element of which is a body part, often including the part the compound refers to, for instance; in Arrernte: ‘eye-egg’ is ‘eyeball’ and ‘hand-stomach’ refers to ‘palm of hand’. YG does not have words for ‘eyeball’ or ‘palm of the hand’ but could easily borrow the Arrernte patterns.

4.3 Compounding

YG nominal compounding has been discussed at some length in Giacon (2001: 172; §5.1). A brief treatment is given here. Table 88 gives examples which show the variety of structures found in YG compounds. A ‘?’ question mark indicates a speculative analysis. Formally, a nominal compound consists of two or more lexical stems, each of which may also exist as a free or bound morpheme.

YG free morphemes found in compounds are typically nominals or nominalised verbs.

Compounds of three or more elements are found in YG, most typically in bird names; see Giacon (2013). Bird names also often include onomatopoetic elements, which are rare elsewhere. Compounds often have idiosyncratic meaning, i.e. it is not predictable from the elements of the compound.

It is sometimes not possible to determine if a particular name is a compound or phrase. For instance YG ‘slow worm’ is *bina-dhi-wuubi-yan* or *bina-dhi wuubi-yan* (‘ear-enterer’; earABL + perhaps a nominalisation and modification of *wuu-gi* ‘go.in”).

Table 88 has a number of compounds which show noun-adjective order and a recent compound, *gumba-djina*, which is adjective-noun. This supports the view that noun-adjective is the traditional YG order but that recent YG have tended to noun-adjective order. Table 89 shows compounds found which include the morpheme *dhun*, illustrating how productive compounding can be.

### Table 88 Examples of YG compounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noun-adjective</td>
<td>dharra-wawul</td>
<td>thigh-narrow</td>
<td>Place name; Terewah</td>
<td>a narrow branch of Narran Lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wirri-gaali</td>
<td>dish-two</td>
<td>goat</td>
<td>from the shape of the udder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun-noun</td>
<td>bungun-bundi</td>
<td>arm-hitting.club</td>
<td>Red-wing Parrot</td>
<td>Perhaps a reference to its strong wing-beat when flying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(whole-part)</td>
<td>yulu-wirri</td>
<td>(finger).nail-dish?</td>
<td>rainbow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mirri-ngamu</td>
<td>dog-breast</td>
<td>jagged spear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun+nominalised verb</td>
<td>bidjaay-mamal</td>
<td>mud-sticker</td>
<td>Fairy Martin</td>
<td>bird with mud nest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective-noun</td>
<td>gumba-djina</td>
<td>very hard-foot</td>
<td>walks a lot</td>
<td>Sim’s nickname; recent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun-?</td>
<td>ngulu-gaayrr</td>
<td>face/forehead-?name</td>
<td>plaied net headband</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three elements</td>
<td>gali-maramara</td>
<td>water-hand-hand</td>
<td>Flock Bronzewing</td>
<td>refers to the unusual way the bird can land on water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onomatopoeia</td>
<td>buyuwaalwaal</td>
<td>leg-dog.sound-dog.sound</td>
<td>Black-winged Stilt</td>
<td>bird has long legs and ‘yaps’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 89  YG compounds probably including *dhun* ‘tail/penis’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Gloss/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dhun-barra</em></td>
<td>tail-split</td>
<td>welcome swallow (a bird)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dhun-barr</em></td>
<td>tail-?</td>
<td>grass seed when ready for grinding; fairy grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dhun.gayrra</em></td>
<td>tail-?</td>
<td>chain lightning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dhun.gul</em></td>
<td>tail-</td>
<td>a vegetable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>murru-n-dhun-mal-i</em></td>
<td>backside?-tail + verbaliser?-i?</td>
<td>descending colon; the final i is unusual; only one source so the form may not be accurate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dhun-midjirr</em></td>
<td>tail-umbrella.bush?</td>
<td>a native rat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.3.1 Nominalisation of verbs

There are a number of processes which form nominals from verbs, discussed in §10.3.
5 Pronouns

5.1 Introduction

YG personal pronouns share features with those in many other Pama-Nyungan languages. They are obligatorily marked for number (singular, dual or plural) but in the stem, not with number suffixes as used with other nominals, where number marking is generally optional. They have case forms which are different from those of standard nominals. Many of these forms can be analysed as having the Personal declension case suffixes §3.2.6, for instance -ngu ‘Dative’. There are suppletive forms, particularly in first and second person singular core cases. Some pronouns have clitic forms.

Except for a few suppletive forms, some exceptions in third person pronouns and some minor changes in second person pronouns, YG pronouns have a regular derivational pattern. Non-core case forms are derived from the Ergative. The Dative is the Ergative plus the suffix/final syllable -ngu. The Allative and Ablative are built on the Dative by adding -nnd/-ndi. The use of the Dative forms as an ‘Oblique stem’ (Dixon, 2002: 318) is common cross-linguistically. First and second person Accusative pronouns mostly add -nha/-nya to the Ergative. Dual YG first and second person pronoun stems end in -ali or -aali, likely reflecting the dual suffix -gaali, which as a free morpheme is one of a wide variety of third person dual pronoun. Some other third person dual pronouns are formed by adding the Personal Declension suffixes to bulaar ‘two’ and gaali.

First and second person pronouns have syncretism of Nominative and Ergative case, while third person has syncretism of Nominative and Accusative, like other nominals. It was established in §3.5 that pronouns have syncretism of Allative and Locative. YG pronouns are not found in derivational cases.

There are other major differences between deictic reference to first and second person and deictic reference to others, usually referred to as ‘third persons’, a group that actually includes other animates and inanimates. First and second person reference is to participants that are directly involved in the discourse and so generally human and easily identified. Third person reference applies to a much wider range of situations. The identity of the referent may be established in a number of ways: in the text (anaphoric), by gesture (ostensive) or may be shared knowledge. In YG deictic reference to ‘third persons’ can be by pronouns, demonstratives, or often no explicit reference (null anaphora), the latter particularly so for third person singular core cases. This is very different from first and second person reference.

There is one clear pronoun form for each slot of the pronoun paradigm (first, second and third person, singular, dual plural; and five case forms) with two lots of exceptions. In the third person singular YR nguu corresponds to GR nguru, and there are a plethora of forms for each third person dual case. Many of the latter are derived from or include bulaar ‘two’ and -gaali ‘two’. Third person plural pronouns are derived from ganu ‘all’. Some demonstratives are derived from some third person pronouns.

As is common in Australian languages, YG distinguishes first person inclusive and exclusive, but YG are relatively unusual in that exclusive pronouns distinguish Nominative and Ergative, unlike the inclusive. YG pronouns of all persons can be used in inclusory constructions.
5.2 Syntax

Pronouns are typically in second position in the clause and unstressed. When there is more than one pronoun the Subject pronoun (Nominative or Ergative) precedes other pronouns (180), and pronouns are regularly adjacent (180). When a pronoun is the focus of a sentence it takes first position: ngaya and nginda in (378); (202) has nguu ‘3SG.ERG’ first and various pronouns are clause first in (244)–(246). Clitic pronouns have less prominence than free pronouns in second position, and are more commonly used when the participant has been previously mentioned: cf. nhama and later =nha in (233) and possible ngaya and =dhu in (227).

While zero anaphora of third person core case pronouns is common, particularly for singular pronouns, this does not apply when there is a change in transitivity in successive clauses. Then a Nominative pronoun occurs with the intransitive verb and an Ergative pronoun with the transitive, as in (181) and perhaps in (182). Third person pronouns in the IIP (Initial Intonation Phrase, §11.2.2.1) can be the sole representations of an argument but they can also cross-reference other representation of the argument later in the clause. Such cross-referencing pronouns are found in other Australian languages including Warlpiri. In YG they are not obligatory. Examples are given in §5.3.2.

(180)–(182) show free subject pronouns in second position (nguu) and bound subject pronouns in the IIP (=nha). Other pronouns follow: nginundi in (180).

(180) They are hiding from them.

```
guuma-y.la-nha ganunga nginundi
```

hide-CTSPRS 3PL 2SG.ABL

They are planting/hiding from you.

(181) boollarh noo garwannee. Baiyan neh woggee goo nahnee.

```
bulaarr nguu gaa-waa-nhi, baayan=nha wagi-gu ‘naa-nhi
two 3SG.ERG take-MOV-PST, soon2=3 plain-ALL go-PST
```

Then she went down (from the ridge) to her camp, taking only two children. Parker

She was taking two. Then she went out into the plain.

(182) He is lazy.

(a) `garrimay-a=nha / yilawa-y.l[dl]a-nha

```
camp-LOC=3 / sit-CTS-PRS
```

He stops in the camp (all day).

(b) `waal nguu / waal nguu yanaa-y.la-nha, ngaaluurr bayama-li.gu

```
not 3SG.ERG / not 3SG.ERG go-CTS-PRS fish catch-PURP
```

and he won’t go to catch fish.

He stays in the camp and he doesn’t go to catch fish.

Dative pronouns with possessive function are typically not in second position since they generally follow the possessed nominal, sometimes with a gap between the two, as in (268).

An exception to ‘Subject-Object order’ is 5057 1712, an interrupted elicitation where AD responds to ‘they beat me all up’ with giirr nganha ganugu ‘true 1SG.ACC 3PL.ERG’ and then stops. I would expect that, as with most other word order rules, ‘subject first’ is subordinate to ‘focus first’, so that in this sentence the speaker is focusing on himself as the victim. In (283) and

---

65 This is similar to the position of clitics in classical languages described by Wackernackel (1892) and known as Wackernackel’s law. There is considerable variety in the sources, but this is a clear feature of the tape sources.

66 The extensive use of zero anaphora for third person arguments, particularly for Nominative and Accusative, occasionally for Ergative, but not for other cases is discussed at §11.2.4.

67 A more general comment about such structures is found in Blake (1987: 159): ‘Where an entity is referred to by more than one word, for instance a noun and an adjective, a generic and a specific or a pronoun and a noun, the reference is often made discontinuously with the more general word appearing earlier in the clause and the more specific word later’.
(318)(b) *ngaya* is in 3rd position, after demonstratives which likely are functioning as Accusative pronouns.

Bound pronouns are a common feature of Australian languages including YG. The forms are given in §5.3.3 and the evidence for them in §5.5.

### 5.3 Pronoun paradigms

The forms of free and bound pronouns are given here. Discussion and evidence for the forms and their uses is found later.

#### 5.3.1 First and second person pronoun paradigm

Table 90 lists the YG first and second person free pronouns, with the simpler, inclusive forms of first person dual and plural. Some pronouns in the table are segmented to emphasise regularities in their structure. Exclusive first person forms, other phrasal forms and bound pronouns are discussed later.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case/Person-Num</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Allative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First person</strong>&lt;br&gt;Singular</td>
<td><em>ngaya</em></td>
<td><em>nga-nha</em></td>
<td><em>ngay</em></td>
<td><em>nganu-nda</em></td>
<td><em>nganu-ndi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual-Incl</td>
<td><em>ngali</em></td>
<td><em>ngali-nya</em></td>
<td><em>ngali-ngu</em></td>
<td><em>ngalingu-nda</em></td>
<td><em>ngalingu-ndi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural-Incl</td>
<td><em>ngiyani</em></td>
<td><em>ngiyani-nya</em></td>
<td><em>ngiyani-ngu</em></td>
<td><em>ngiyani-ngunda</em></td>
<td><em>ngiyani-ngundi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second person</strong>&lt;br&gt;Singular</td>
<td><em>nginda</em></td>
<td><em>nginu-nha</em></td>
<td><em>nginu</em></td>
<td><em>nginu-nda</em></td>
<td><em>nginu-ndi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td><em>ngindaali</em></td>
<td><em>ngin-aali-nya</em></td>
<td><em>ngin-aali-ngu</em></td>
<td><em>nginaali-ngunda</em></td>
<td><em>nginaali-ngundi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td><em>ngindaay</em></td>
<td><em>nginaay-nya</em></td>
<td><em>nginaay-ngu</em></td>
<td><em>nginaay-ngunda</em></td>
<td><em>nginaay-ngundi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 5.3.2 Third person pronoun forms

As already discussed, third person reference is more complex than first and second person reference. While first and second person pronouns only have animate reference, third person pronouns (Table 91) can have inanimate reference, quite frequently in the case of =nha. Any one English third person pronoun can have many YG translations, particularly for the core cases, more so for Nominative and Accusative pronouns. Actual pronouns are frequently used, as are clitic pronouns. There is common zero anaphora, and demonstratives are also used.\(^{68}\)

Table 91 has YG third person pronouns as currently analysed. The Gamilaraay forms in particular are based on a small number of examples. The variety of forms of the dual pronouns indicates that there was variation here. The variation could be synchronic, diachronic, semantic or have elements of all three. Representation of third person singular Nominative/Accusative is with the clitic =NH\(a\), null anaphora or demonstratives such as *nhama*. There is no free form pronoun as such. The Ergatives are cognate *nguru* GR and *nguu* YR. The dual forms are transparently derived from *bulaarr* ‘two’ and the dual suffix -gaali/gaalay, albeit by different process in YR and GR. The plurals are derived from *ganu* ‘all’. All Nominative and Accusative third person pronouns have an element *Na* (where \(N=nh, ng, ny\) or *n*), mostly word finally.

---

\(^{68}\) Much of the discussion here is based on YR data. I assume the conclusions also apply to GR, where data is scarce.

\(^{69}\) However, as pointed out in §6 demonstratives can have many functions, and it is often not clear when they have pronominal function.
Pronouns mostly incorporate Personal Declension case suffixes. The exception is the Ergative case, where some forms are suppletive (nguu, nguru), some are irregular (galaadhu) and others the regular case forms (bulaayu, ganugu).

### Table 91  YG third person pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Locative/Allative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yuwaalaraay singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguu</td>
<td>=NHha</td>
<td>nguungu</td>
<td>nguungunda</td>
<td>nguungundi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gamilaraay singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguru</td>
<td>=NHha</td>
<td>ngurungu</td>
<td>ngurungunda</td>
<td>ngurungundi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yuwaalaraay dual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galaadhu</td>
<td>galaanha</td>
<td>gaalayngu</td>
<td>gaalayngunda</td>
<td>gaalayngundi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulaayu</td>
<td>bulaarrnga</td>
<td>bulaarrngu</td>
<td>bulaarrngunda</td>
<td>bulaarrngundi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gamilaraay dual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngura-gaalay</td>
<td>nhama-gaalay</td>
<td>ngura-gaalaynya</td>
<td>ngura-gaalayngu</td>
<td>ngura-gaalayngunda</td>
<td>ngura-gaalayngundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yuwaalaraay Gamilaraay plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganugu</td>
<td>ganunga</td>
<td>ganungu</td>
<td>ganungunda</td>
<td>ganungundi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are significant differences between the YG third person pronouns and the much simpler Wangaaybuwan pronouns. WN third person deictic representation is by clitic pronouns listed in Table 92 (WN has no free third person pronouns), zero anaphora or demonstratives. WN has fewer forms and number is marked by suffixes, not by changes in the base.

### Table 92  Wangaaybuwan third person bound pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Case form</th>
<th>3rd singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>=lu, =yu</td>
<td>add -bula</td>
<td>e.g. =lubula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S, O, IO</td>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>=niN- (visible) =naN- (other)</td>
<td>e.g. =lubula</td>
<td>e.g. =lugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>=luguN-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 5.3.3 Clitic pronoun forms

Many Australian languages have pronouns predominantly in second position (Mushin & Simpson, 2008), with the pronouns often being reduced. In Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 124) some first and second person bound pronouns are reduced forms, others are the full free forms, but without the typical stress. The only WN third person pronouns are bound pronouns. Some other languages have clitic pronouns, sometimes on auxiliaries (which are referred to as ‘catalysts’ in Warlpiri).

YG have a number of clitic pronouns (Table 93) overwhelmingly found on the first word of the clause. They are transparently related to their free form equivalents except for the first person singular =DHu and third person singular Ergative =lu. Second person Nominative/Ergative clitics omit the first syllable of the free forms. First person Nominative/Ergative dual and plural forms are rare, but inclusive forms consist of the final syllable of the free forms, and exclusive clitics consist of the inclusive clitic form plus further suffixes.

Second person clitic pronouns are found across the YG area. There are numerous YR examples but the GR evidence consists of one paradigm in MathewsGR (p266) and three instances of the singular in Ridley. The third person Nominative/Accusative singular clitic =NHha is very common.

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70 Donaldson (1980: 126), adapted.
in YR but no examples have been found in GR. There is limited evidence for first person Nominative/Ergative clitic pronouns. There are at least two examples of likely YG clitic Dative pronouns, (241) and (242), and a tentative example of a clitic first person dual pronoun: \(=\text{li}i\) in Table 100.

Blake (1987: 100) points out that the languages adjoining YG have ‘bound pronouns’, except those to the east of GR. Dixon (2002: Map 8.1) includes YG in the languages which have bound pronouns. One interpretation of the YG system is that it had a fairly full set of bound pronouns, covering a wide range of person, number and case, and that much of this has recently been lost, possibly as part of the normal process of language change, possible as part of language decline, or possibly as a result of both. If decline is the main reason for the loss, then it would be appropriate to posit an expanded set of bound forms for rebuilt YG. Alternatively YG could have been in the process of acquiring bound pronouns.

Table 93 shows the current maximal list of YG clitic pronouns, from very common to very rare forms. Note that \(=\text{NH}a\) (third person) is both Nominative and Accusative. The evidence for first and second person clitic pronoun forms are discussed at §5.5 and for \(=\text{NH}a\) at §5.4.2.1.

Second position pronouns, reduced or not, are often followed by clitics (e.g. \(=\text{laa} \text{ 'DIRectly'}\) (183), \(=\text{nga} \text{ 'then', } =\text{NH}a \text{ '3'}\)). The \(=\text{bala} \text{ 'contrast' and } =\text{badhaay} \text{ 'might'}\) clitics more frequently attach to pronouns in first position, presumably since these pronouns are the focus, and the clitics refer to the word they are attached to. Examples include: \(\text{ngaya}=\text{bala} \text{ (24) (377) (378); } \text{nginda}=\text{bala} \text{ (121) (378); } \text{ngaya}=\text{badhaay} \text{ (1021), } \text{nginda}=\text{badhaay} \text{ (917). In this analysis reduction of the first syllable is a prerequisite for classification of pronouns as clitics. Clitics are preceded by ‘-’ in the glossing. The free form YR third person Ergative is \(\text{nguu}\) and while the vowel is often shortened when the pronoun is in second position this is not a segment deletion, so I have not glossed it as a clitic.\(^{71}\)

\(\text{(183) meet or come together} \quad \text{JM/FR 1850B 1037} \quad \text{FR}\)

\(\text{minyaaya } \text{ngaya}=\text{laa} \text{ nginunha ngarra-li} \quad \text{where.LOC 1SG=DIR 2SG.ACC see-FUT} \quad \text{FR}\)

Where will I see you?

\(^{71}\) Also the tape transcriptions do not regularly record a distinction between \([\text{ŋu}]\) and \([\text{ŋu}:].\)

\(^{72}\) (242) suggests that there may be a Dative clitic \(=\text{ngu}.\)

Table 93  Reconstructed YG clitic Nominative/Ergative pronoun paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First person</th>
<th>Clitic forms</th>
<th>Full forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>(=\text{DH}u)</td>
<td>(\text{ngaya})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual.Incl</td>
<td>(=\text{li})</td>
<td>(\text{ngali})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual.Excl</td>
<td>(=\text{li}-\text{nya})</td>
<td>(=\text{li}-\text{lu})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(=\text{li}-\text{nguru} \text{ GR})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural.Incl</td>
<td>(=\text{ni})</td>
<td>(\text{ngiyan})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural.Excl</td>
<td>(=\text{ni}-\text{nya})</td>
<td>(=\text{ni}-\text{lu})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second person</th>
<th>Clitic forms</th>
<th>Full forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>(=\text{nda})</td>
<td>(\text{nginda})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>(=\text{ndaali})</td>
<td>(\text{ngindaali})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>(=\text{ndaay})</td>
<td>(\text{ngindaay})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third person</th>
<th>Clitic forms</th>
<th>Full forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>(=\text{NH}a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>(=\text{ngu})</td>
<td>(\text{ganugu} \text{ Table 100})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4 Evidence for pronoun forms and functions

5.4.1 First and second person pronoun forms

While the pattern of first and second person pronouns is clear, enabling the full paradigm to be set out, some forms are very common and others rare: ngaya occurs well over a thousand times in the tapes, nginaalingu once, and nginaalingundi and nginaalingundidi never. The forms found are the same across almost all sources. The forms ngaya, nginda and ngali are clear on the tapes. Ridley and Mathews both have: ŋaia, ŋgaia ‘I’, ŋinda, ŋginda ‘you, singular’ and julle, ngulli as we (dual, inclusive), clearly the same as the forms in Table 90. MathewsGR (p264) has nginnangu and nginana, recognisable as the current nginaayngu and nginaaynya. MathewsYR (p139) has ngeanengu recognisable as ngiyaningu.

However, Mathews also has forms which at first glance vary from those in the table. This may be a result of his orthography, abbreviation by the speaker, mishearing by Mathews or they may be actual variants. For instance there are a number of examples in Mathews where the first person plural ‘base’ seems to be ngani rather than the standard ngiyani, e.g. his YR (p139) has Accusative ngannino (cf. ngiyaninya). This may contain an alternative, relic first person stem, ngani, which is the first person plural in Yandruwantha (Breen, 2004: 56). There is other rare variation in first and second person pronoun forms. Austin (1993a: 69) points out that Tindale (line 18) contains ‘ŋaleikiŋundai (ngali-gi(i)-ngundi) ‘from us two’ similar to the Wangaaybuwan Ablative ngaligiinydji (the usual YG form is ngalingundi). This suggests that he was recording a dialect of Gamilaraay which had some features in common with Wangaaybuwan.

There are numerous examples of pronouns throughout the book. (184) shows non-verbal, Nominative use of ngaya and nginda (and the formally similar Caritative suffix -nginda).

(184) (You say:) would you like some tea, and I say ‘no’

\[\text{yaama nginda nhama dhii-nginda? waal=bala ngaya dhii-nginda, waal ques 2SG 3.DEF tea-WANT no=CTR 1SG tea-WANT, no}\]

You want any of this tea? No, I don’t want any.

(185) shows ngaya and nginda as Ergative (and nginunha as Accusative) and (186) has nganha ‘1SG.ACC’.

(185) I hear you speaking, miimii.

\[\text{giirr ngaya nginunha winanga-lada-nha / miimii // gwaa-la-nginda gaay / true 1SG.ERG 2SG.ACC hear-CTS-PRS / granny // tell-CTS-SUB 2SG.ERG word /}\]

I can hear you, granny, when you were talking.

\[\text{ngaama=yaa-wu / dhayn-galga ga-buma-la-ngindaay that=POT-DIST / man-PL hit-RECP-SUB}\]

I just tell you that I ... heard them fools fighting and I was going to tell you that I heard them fighting about those men fighting.

(186) Tell me if he hits you.

\[\text{gwaa-la nganha / buma-ndaay nginunha tell-IMP 1SG.ACT / hit-SUB 2SG.ACT}\]

Tell me if he hits you.

While there is syncretism of Nominative and Ergative in first and second person, the agreeing adjective biyadual shows ngaya is Nominative in (187), and Ergative in (188).

(187) I camped at the creek while I was on my way here.

\[\text{giirr ngaya ngiyama dhanduwi-nyi, biyadual true 1SG there sleep-PST, alone}\]

I slept/stayed there by myself.
I ate all the goanna myself. JM/AD 8184 3331 (188) gurra-y ngay' ngaama, gurra-y / dhuulii / biyaduul-u

eat.all-PST 1SG 3.ANA.DEF, eat.all-PST / goanna / alone-ERG

Mathews and Ridley do not have Locative/Allative and Ablative forms of the pronouns in their published material, but MathewsYR (p140) refers to their existence: ‘there are forms of the pronouns meaning “towards me,” “away from me,” etc.’ and he has examples in MathewsMS (e.g. 3/9 Bk p12).

There is common elision of ngaya to ngay’ before word initial ng and y: e.g. ngaya yanaay ‘I will go’ is often realised as ngay’ yanaay or even ngayanaay, and ngaya nginunda (1SG 2SG-LOC) is realised as ngay’ nginunda. In at least one instance (AD6216 1138) the first person dual pronoun has a long final vowel, ngalii, whereas it is normally ngali. The variation may be due to the influence of the Ngiyambaa cognate, ngalii.

5.4.2 Singular third person pronouns

Table 91 gives third person singular pronouns as currently analysed. Table 94 shows a range of forms analysed as third person singular pronouns in earlier sources. Only the current analysis and Wurm have separate forms for the Nominative and Ergative,73 and have syncretism of Nominative and Accusative. Also in the current analysis a distinction is made between demonstratives (-ma or -lay-final) and pronouns. Demonstratives are often used with pronominal function. There are many Australian languages which use demonstratives for all or some third person pronoun function, cf. Wangaaybuwan: Table 92.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Erg</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Acc</th>
<th>Dat</th>
<th>Loc/All</th>
<th>Abl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gamilaraay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ridley</td>
<td>ngiarrrma (he/she)</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>ngiarrrgu</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngiarrrngundi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenway</td>
<td>ngiarrrma</td>
<td>ngiarrrma</td>
<td>ngiarrrmgamg</td>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>ngiarrrmag</td>
<td>dative function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathews</td>
<td>nguru</td>
<td>nhama</td>
<td>ngurungu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsMS</td>
<td>ngiarrrma; nguru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuwaalaraay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parker</td>
<td>nguu</td>
<td></td>
<td>nguungu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathews</td>
<td>nguu</td>
<td>nhama</td>
<td>nguungu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>nguu</td>
<td>nhama</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurm</td>
<td>nguu</td>
<td>~nhama</td>
<td>nguungu</td>
<td>nguungunda</td>
<td>nguungundi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams</td>
<td>nguu</td>
<td>nhama</td>
<td>nguungu</td>
<td>nguungunda</td>
<td>nguungundi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapes</td>
<td>nguu</td>
<td>=nhama</td>
<td>nguungu</td>
<td>nguungunda</td>
<td>nguungundi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

73 It is unclear why earlier sources have nguu or nguru as Nominative. Sim (1998: Appendix: 2) lists it as Nominative in his pronoun paradigm, but give no example sentences. Williams (1980: 48) has a sentence with nguu as the subject of banaga-y ‘run’, an intransitive verb, but I have not found that sentence in the tapes. There nguu is used with reflexive and middle verbs, but in situations where these verbs are transitive, i.e. any Subject will be in Ergative case. For instance in (196) the presence of a body-part object likely makes the verb transitive. (196) is followed by the sentence “They did hit themselves” where the subject is ganunga, clearly Nominative, but there is no expressed object, so there the reflexive verb is intransitive. In (182) nguu is the subject of yanaay, an intransitive verb. However, the final verb is hayamali ‘catch’, which is transitive, and Fred Reece may have associated nguu with this verb. The false start to the response may also have led to a performance error. No instances have been found of nguu/nguru as the subject of simple intransitive verbs such as walk/run/stand, either in the tapes, in the many examples in Wurm or elsewhere.
Ridley, the oldest source, does not list any of the currently recognised forms. He has ngiyarrma, a demonstrative, as the root of his paradigm. Ngiyarrma is also used extensively as a pronoun in Greenway, who was a source for Ridley, and is listed as a pronoun in Mathews. There are demonstratives derived from pronouns: nhama from nha and nguuma/nguruma from nguu/nguru are very common. Mathews has nha as a free form, Accusative only, whereas the current analysis has =NHa as an enclitic pronoun, Nominative and Accusative, based on its usage in later sources.

An example of earlier analysis is seen in Mathews (n.d. MS 8006/3/9 Book 3 p4) which has ‘Yerma bunalda “he is hitting”; ngooroo for yerma if close’ implying that both yerma (ngiyarrma) and ngooroo (nguru) are Ergative, with the difference in meaning having to do with distance. I interpret the first sentence as having a Ø Agent and ngiyarrma ‘there’, whereas nguru bunalda[nha] is simply ‘she/he is hitting’. Ngiyarrma is common in recent YR, but not with pronominal use. It may be that it was common in GR with pronominal use, but more likely that Mathews and Ridley did not recognise zero anaphora but expected explicit pronouns, and interpreted ngiyarrma as a pronoun when in fact it had other uses.

5.4.2.1 Nominative/Accusative third person singular pronouns

Third person singular Nominative and Accusative YG pronominal reference is often by use of the clitic =NHa,74 (see also 6.3.3) but this is also used for non-singular and for non-animate reference, as are demonstratives. Williams did not discuss (=)NHa, either as a bound or free bound form and (1980: 47) found no third person singular Accusative, but points out ‘third person pronouns, especially singular forms, are frequently replaced by the demonstrative nhama’ (see §6.3 for nhama, but other demonstratives such as ngiyarrma are also used with this function). Mathews (1902: 139) lists nha as the third person singular Accusative pronoun and does not indicate that it needs to be cliticised. Historically *nha was a free form which has developed in two ways – as clitic =nha and as demonstrative bound root.

In recent sources =NHa occurs as a clitic, functioning as a Nominative/Accusative pronoun and sometimes cross-referencing arguments in these cases. (189), (190) (twice), (191) and (192) have it in Nominative case (and ngaama as a locational in (191)). (192) also has nhama Accusative. (193), (198), (233) and probably (194)(b) have =NHa Accusative. (192) may have =NHa Accusative, but an alternative analysis, supported by the AD translation, is that =nya is an allomorph of =nga ‘then’, with Ø representation of the S of ‘run’. The =Na in (192) might also be =nga ‘then’. Such uncertainties are common.

(189) minyana
  minya=nha
  what=3
  What’s this?

(190) ngiyama=nha wila-nhi / yinggil=Na gi-nyi
  there=THEN=3  sit-PST / tired=3  get-PST
  He was tired and sat down there.

(191) Why has he gone into the bush?
  minya-gu-ma=nha nguuma / yurrul-gu ‘naa-nhi
  what-PURP-DEF=3  there / bush-ALL go-PST
  What did he go there for, in the bush?

---

74 The clitics =NHa and =nga ‘then’ can both adapt to the preceding segment and they can occupy the same position in the SIC, so it is often not possible to distinguish which clitic is intended. At times =Na is used to indicate that it is not clear which nasal is present.
(192) Make him go. (a horse)

*buma-la=badhaay nhama / barraay=nya, banaga-y*

hit-IMP=MIGHT 3.DEF / fast=3?THEN?, run-FUT

(telling you to hit him; You) hit him then he’ll go.

How about you hit him. (Hit that one!). Then he will run fast.

(193) I will see him tomorrow.

*giirr ngaya=laa=nha / ngarra-Lngayi-y*

true 1SG=DIR=3 / see-MORN-FUT

(194)(a) shows the A referred to first by a pronoun and then explicitly, and (194)(b) likely shows the Subject pronoun preceding the Object pronoun.

(194) This dog, spewed all the meat up.

(a) *giirr nguuy / maadhaay-u / burrul, dhinggaa dha-ldaay /*

true 3SG.ERG / dog-ERG / big, meat eat-SUB

The dog which ate a lot of meat,

(b) *giirruu ngiyama nguuy=Na gaawi-y*

true.very there 3SG.ERG=3?THEN vomit-PST

spewed it all up.

spewed up then.

Examples of *nha* are given in Table 95 (I assume that *nha-* and *nga-* are variants). The combination *nhama=nha* is common, often translated as a singular pronoun ‘s/he, him her, etc.’. See also §6.3.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nha</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>MathewsYR: 140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nha</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 264</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuggili</td>
<td>this side</td>
<td>nha-gili</td>
<td>MathewsYR: 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngagili</td>
<td>this side</td>
<td>nga-gili</td>
<td>Sim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhubbo</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>nha?nga-buu</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nābū</td>
<td>here (beside me)</td>
<td>nha-buu</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nungurrage</td>
<td>that other</td>
<td>nha-ngaragay</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngungaraguli</td>
<td>beyond you</td>
<td>nga-ngarraagulay</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuddhai</td>
<td>this way</td>
<td>nha-dhaay</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhama=nha</td>
<td>he/she</td>
<td>common, tapes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mathews has *nha* as an independent word in (195). However, the Subject of (195) would be in Ergative case, so there is some error or incomplete analysis here. It may be that *nha* there has adverbial use, and there is zero anaphora of the Agent. The usual ‘cut’ is *garra-li*, so the verb is also unclear.

(195) *Nха ngunna kurriduldha.*

*nha nganha garrida-lda-nha??garra-lda-nha*

that 1SG.ACC ??/cut?-CTS-PRS

This touching me.

That is cutting me.?
5.4.2.2 nguu/nguru. Ergative third person singular pronouns

The third person singular Ergative pronouns are the cognates nguu YR and nguru GR. Non-Nominative/Accusative third person singular pronouns are derived from these two (see following section). Like NHa, and unlike dual and plural third person pronouns and first and second person pronouns, they form demonstratives when suffixed with -ma and -lay: nhama, nhalay, nguuma, ngualay. Like NHa and demonstratives, nguu sometimes cross-references an explicit argument of the verb, as in (194)(a), (268)–(270), (273), (428) and (865). Unlike Williams (1980: 47) I analyse nguu as only Ergative, not also Nominative. Williams may have analysed nguu as Nominative because of sentences like (196) (see footnote 73). While reflexive verbs are often intransitive, it seems they are transitive when there is an expressed object, as here.

(196) buma-ngiili-nyi / nguu dhaygal
hit-REFL-PST / 3SG.ERG head
He hit himself on the head. FR/JM 1989A 95
He hit his (own) head. JG

It seems that often second position nguu is phonologically reduced, without independent stress and sometimes the vowel is shortened. The specifics of these changes have not been determined in detail.

Nguu is very common in the tapes and in most YR sources. There are rare sentence examples of GR nguru but it is common in Mathews’s paradigms, as an independent word and in compounds. Ridley (p7) has the derived demonstrative nāruma (nguru-ma) which he glosses ‘that by you (iste)’). The gloss does not seem to capture the function of nguru. There is a likely example of nguru in Milson but none in Laves, Tindale or Wurm. The examples below illustrate features of the YR pronoun, and I assume these also apply to GR.

(181) is an early example of nguu. It, (197), (198) and (199) have typical features including nguu in the second position. In (197)–(199) nguu and nha(ma) contrast, signalling a change in transitivity in consecutive clauses.

(197) He reached the camp and put the meat that he had killed on the ground. JM/AD 3220A 1915

(198) I hit him because he took my meat.

(199) That’s a good dog. It doesn’t bite.

There are a few instances where the change of transitivity is not marked, as in (200) where S in (b) is likely not realised.

75 As elsewhere, for convenience, just the Yuwaalaraay form is used in discussion.

76 Iste, in Latin, is ‘that near you, referring to a person or thing away from the speaker but close to the listener’.
5 Pronouns

(200) He drank a lot of water and felt better. JM/AD 3219B 458

(a) giirruu ngiyama nguu / bamba ngaam’ / gungan ngawu-nhi /
true.very there 3SG.ERG / w.energy 3.DEF.ANA / water drink-PST /

(b) ngiyama=nga gaba gi-dja-nhi
there=THEN good get-EAT-PST

There are instances where nguu is not in second position. It is found in third position after giyaanha ‘going to’, and after nhama in (201). In (202) nguu is in first position likely because nguu is the focus of the sentence (cf. Mushin and Baker (2008)). In (203) nguu is not in second position in the IIP, but is second in the next intonation phrase.

(201) wagi nhama nguu giwaa-lu-da-nha
lie 3.DEF 3SG.ERG tell-CTS-PRS
He’s telling you a lie.
He/she is telling lies. FR/JM 1850B 3052

(202) nguu gaa-nhi
3SG.ERG take-PST
He/she took it. FR/JM 1853B 3061

(203) giirr ngiyaningu / dhinggaa nguu wuu-nhi
true 1PL.DAT / meat 3SG.ERG give-PST
He gave us some meat. FR/JM 1988B 2635

(204) and (205) illustrate some common questions. One is the confusion between the third person clitic =NHa and the time suffix =nga. Another is the order of nguu and these clitics. In (204), and commonly in previous examples, =NHa/=nga follows nguu. In (205) the order is reversed. This may be a pragmatic use to emphasise either the ‘now’, the ‘she’ or both. It does show that the order is not absolutely fixed.

In (204) the nga in bulaarrnga is the Personal Declension Accusative suffix. Bulaarrnga is common. It may be that ngaarringaarri=nga also includes the same suffix, and so has personal reference, something like ‘them far away’.

(204) yilaa nguu=nha ngarra-y / ngaarringaarri nga / bulaarr nga
soon 3SG.ERG=3 see-PST / far.away.pron / 3DU
Then he saw them, off in the distance, the two of them. AD 3217A 1182

(205) giirr=nga?Na nguu / yaya-laa-nha
true=THEN?3 3SG.ERG / rouse-MOV-PRS
She’s starting to rouse now. FR/JM 2440A 123

5.4.2.3 Other cases – third person singular pronouns

As mentioned, the Dative is derived from the Ergative, and local cases from the Dative. The YG forms are relatively common: nguungu (Dative) is seen in (206), (804) and 8186 976; nguungunda (Locative) in (232), 8187 642; and nguungundi (Ablative) in (206) and (62). Again they are most commonly in second position. Pronouns based on GR nguru are seen in Table 94.

(206) Take the meat away from that fat man. JM/AD 3217B 2732

dhinggaa nguungundi gaa-nga / gariya nguungu wuu-dha-ya
meat 3SG.ABL / take-IMP / don’t 3SG.DAT / give-CTS?EAT-IMP
Take all the meat away from that fat man and don’t give him any. AD
5.4.3 Dual third person pronouns

There is limited information about dual third person pronouns. This, and the fact that there are three sets of these pronouns (with initial *bulaarr* ‘two’, *gaalay* ‘pair’ and *nguru* ‘3.ERG’), means this analysis is to some extent uncertain. Table 91 gives three complete paradigms. The evidence from older sources is in Table 97. Notable features are the use of *gaala/gaalay* in both YR and GR, the use of Personal Declension case suffixes on *bulaarr* ‘two’ to form pronouns, and the GR duals whose stems consist of singular third person forms plus *-gaalay*. The existence of three dual paradigms contrasts sharply with the one paradigm found in all sources for first and second person pronouns.

The limited information available suggests that these pronouns follow the usual pronoun syntactic patterns. YG dual pronouns are generally realised and rarely if ever have zero anaphora. This is similar to other languages, as Blake (1977: 15) points out. He also gives *pula* as a common dual form, similar to *bulaarr* in YG.

*Bulaarrnga* is realised as the phonologically modified *bulaanga* at times, including at 3217B 2098.

The form *gaalay/gaalay* is common in dual pronouns. In YR it forms the stem of one paradigm, in GR it is suffixed to a singular pronoun form. It is related to the suffix *-gaali* ‘two’ (e.g. *birralii-gaali* ‘two children’ in (214)), which also is rarely found as a free morpheme – see Milson (p8) for a possible example. It shows the variation between final *i* and *ay* found elsewhere. *Gaali* is phonologically, and perhaps etymologically, related to other duals, the widespread and very old form *ngali* (first person) and *ngindaali* (second person). The other stem is *bulaarr* ‘two’.

The Dative and local cases are formed by adding the Personal Declension suffixes *-ngu*, *-ngunda* and *-ngundi*. There is variation in forming the core cases. In the Nominatives *gaala.nha* may have =$NHa$, the clitic 3SG pronoun, and *bulaarrnga* (Nominative and Accusative) includes the Personal Declension suffix *-nga*. The Gamilaraay form is like most first and second person pronouns, forming the Accusative by adding *-nya* to the Nominative (or a slightly modified Nominative).

The Ergatives are also formed by different processes. YR has *gaaladhu* and *bulaayu*. The first has *(y)-dhu*, using the same suffix as the Ergative of *minya* ‘what’. *Bulaayu* is both the regular and Personal Declension Ergative. GR *ngurugaalay* suffices *gaalay* to the singular Ergative pronoun.

Most textual examples of *gaalafyl/gaali* ‘3DU’ are from Wurm, including (207)(=(652)), (208) and (209). (208) contrasts the pronominal and nominal Dative suffixes, *-ngu* and *-gu*.

(207) jallu naga:lanha bumallawannna  
    yalu=nha gaala.nha buma-la-waa-nha  
    again=3 3DU hit-RECP-MOV-PRS  
    beginning again the same two to fight  
    Those two are starting to fight again.  
    SW p81

(208) ga:linu bujuma birraligaligu  
    gaalingu buyuma birralii-gaali-gu  
    3DU.DAT dog child-du-DAT  
    the dog of those (2) children  
    Their (2) dog, the two kids’.  
    SW p79

(209) nji:ri ga:laatu bumali  
    ngiyarri?? gaaladhu buma-li  
    there? 3DU.ERG hit-FUT  
    They 2 will hit.  
    SW p93

77 Parker (1905: 52) has *milan-ngu* in ‘give to one’ with the kin term Dative when reference is to a person.
78 The use of *gaalanhua* in inclusory constructions is discussed in §11.4.4.
In YR bulaarr is found as a numeral, with standard nominal suffixes, and also as a pronoun ‘they two’, with Personal Declension case suffixes. Table 96 shows the attested and expected case suffixes for the two uses, with the unattested pronominal suffixes based on other pronoun paradigms. Forms not attested are marked #.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case/Use</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard</td>
<td>bulaayu</td>
<td>bulaarr</td>
<td>bulaarr-gu#</td>
<td>bulaaya</td>
<td>bulaayi#</td>
<td>bulaarrngundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>bulaayu</td>
<td>bulaarrnga</td>
<td>bulaarrngu?</td>
<td>bulaarrngunda#</td>
<td>bulaarrngundi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the Personal Declension Ergative and the standard Ergative are bulaa-yu. Personal Declension Nominative bulaarrnga is very common (5129A 2774, 5130 1461 and many more), the Accusative less so (3219B 2634, 8186 2349). Other cases are rare, with only the Ablative found so far in the tapes (AD3217A 2506, 5128 2506). The standard Nominative bulaarr is common (3220B 912, 3220B 2592) as is the Accusative (3994A 204, 3994A 310). At times it is impossible to distinguish Personal Declension bulaarrnga from bulaarr followed by =nga ‘then’.

The form of the Dative is uncertain. There is no instance of bulaarr-gu, the expected nominal form, and only one instance of the expected pronominal form bulaarrngu, in an uncertain text, 8185 233, as the object of ‘tell’. It is not an expected use of the Dative, but does indicate AD had some familiarity with the form. The standard Locative, bulaaya, is found (3218B 3802 ‘twice’, 3220A 3600 ‘for two days’) but not the pronominal Locative. The pronominal Ablative bulaarrngundi is found, but not the standard form.

(210) shows standard nominal/adjectival use of bulaarr and (211) pronominal use of bulaarrnga. (212) has bulaarrnga (Nom) and bulaayu (Erg), both pronominal, with no mention of ‘two’ in English.

(210) The two men were talking to each other.

\[ \text{giirr nhama bulaarr dhayn / gaay guwaa-la-y.la-nhi} \]
\[ \text{true 3.DEF two man / word tell-RECP-CTS-PST} \]

(211) Baiyan boollarhgeh gwallannee. Parker: Emu and Bustard line 44

\[ \text{boayan bulaarr.nga guwaa-la-nhi} \]
\[ \text{soon2 3DU talk-RECP-PST} \]

And again the two of them were talking. Parker

(212) The boy and girl sat down next to one another and ate their meat.

\[ \text{giirr ngaam bulaarr.nga wila-nhi / bamba ngiyarrna bulaaa-ya / bigibila dha-y} \]
\[ \text{true there 3DU sit-PST / with.energy there two-ERG / porcupine eat-PST} \]

They had a good feed of porcupine. AD

They sat down and had a good feed of porcupine/echidna. JG

Many examples of bulaarrnga are with reciprocal verbs, as in (210), (211) and (213), and similarly with gaalanha in Wurm. (214) has bulaarr – adnominal rather than pronominal and (215) has the usual Ergative form of bulaarr used as a pronoun.

(213) waal bulaarr.nga yaluu buma-la-nhi
\[ \text{not 3DU again hit-RECP-PST} \]

They never fought no more. AD/JM 3219A 3407
(214) (The two children) They will come back later on. CW/AD 5129A 2321

giirr ngaama yanaa-w. wi-y dhaay / bulaarr / birralii-gaali
true that go-BACK-FUT to.here / two / child-DU

These come back directly, them two little fellows. AD
They will come back here, the two children. JG

(215) In the story of Guniibuu (Robin red-breast) two people had hidden a kangaroo from a hunter and were waiting for him to go. JM/AD 3996B 1521

yilaal=ba la ngaama=nga / yanaa-ngindaay dhaay / ngii.muu, bulaay-yu / dhwima-y
soon=CTR that=THEN / go-SUB man / from-?, two-ERG pull.out-PST

When the man had gone they (two of them) pulled it out (the kangaroo). JG

The GR paradigm is found only in MathewsGR. All forms are based on the GR singular third person singular paradigm followed by a dual suffix, -gaalay. The core cases contain the bases nhama (Nominative), and nguru (Ergative). Case marking occurs after the dual suffix. The case marking in the core cases is unique in distinguishing Nominative (nhama-gaalay), and Accusative (nhama-gaalayngu), creating the only three-way core case distinction so far recognised in YG, apart from exclusive pronouns. Dative and Local cases have Personal Declension suffixes.

I interpret Mathews’s Dative, ngurugallingu, as an error, with ngurugallinge (nguru-gaalingu) being the correct form, since all his other third person duals and plurals are formed with gaali (dual) or ganu (plural) after nhama or nguru.

A possible origin for these is a phrasal Dative with both constituents case marked, ngurungu gaalilingu dual and ngurungu ganungu plural, which have then been reduced to Mathews’s forms, which I interpret at ngurugallingu and nguruganungu.

Table 97 gives the forms actually found in the sources. MathewsYR is presumably based on his yuwarri79 ‘that (further)’ and on bulaarr ‘two’. Yuwarri80 has not been recognised elsewhere and the forms based on it are not included in the paradigms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>ngurugale</td>
<td>nummagalena</td>
<td>ngurungullingu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
<td>yuwari</td>
<td>bulanga</td>
<td>yuwarlingu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parker (YR)</td>
<td>boollarhgnah</td>
<td>boollarhgnah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD/FR (YR)</td>
<td>bulayyu</td>
<td>bularrnga</td>
<td>bularrnga</td>
<td>bularrngu? bulaarrngundi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sim (YR)</td>
<td>gaaladhu</td>
<td>gaalanha</td>
<td>gaalanha</td>
<td>gaalayngu gaalay-ngunda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurm (YR)</td>
<td>ga:laŋa</td>
<td>ga:lanha/ga:lan’aa</td>
<td>ga:liŋa</td>
<td>ga:leŋunda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sands (YR)</td>
<td>has only one form, gaali-nha, in a number of case roles.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MathewsGR (p268) has yagale! ‘calling attention to two people’ This is yaa, a vocative particle, followed by gaali/gaalay. These typically have third person use, but Koch (1994: 58) points out that in the Western Desert language Ngaanyatjarra third person forms are used with imperatives, i.e. with second person function, and it may be that a similar pattern is found in YG vocatives.

The number of paradigms and the variation within the paradigms indicate that there were many ways of expressing YG third person duals. It is quite likely that actual usage was even more varied

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79 yuwarri may well be a mistake: Mathews (1902: 140),(1902) has yuari ‘That (further)’ which is probably ngaarri ‘far’, and yuwarri may be a representation of the same word. Nothing like yuari/yuwarri occurs in any other pronoun list, and there are other instances where initial y in Mathews likely represents ng.

80 It is found in Laves as a demonstrative: see Table 122.
than suggested in Table 91. It is possible both YR and GR used the three paradigms. No conditions have been found that would govern a choice between the two YR paradigms. However, Sim (pers. comm.) points out that gaalay refers to a pair, a group of two with some natural bond, such as a married couple, rather than simply indicating a number.

5.4.4 Plural third person pronouns

YG third person plural pronouns are given in Table 91. They are relatively straightforward compared to other third person pronouns. They consist of the nominal ganu ‘all’ with the Personal Declension case suffixes. They are used mainly for personal reference, and occasionally with other uses. Variation in the limited GR evidence is considered later as is non-pronominal use of these forms.

Nominative ganunga is seen in (180), (155), (947) and elsewhere. Accusative ganunga is rare, even with human reference. One instance is (216)(=176) which also has ganugu, the Ergative, but the example is unclear: the function of ganugu is not pronominal, since it is not replacing a noun, but may be adnominal. The meaning of yayaaybaa-gu is also not clear: yayaaybaa usually refers to ‘summer’.

(216) The thunder tells them that warm weather has come.

\[ \text{giirr ganu}gu \text{ yayaay.baa-gu / giwaa-lda-nha ganun}ga / yayaay.baa gi-yaa-ndaay } \]

\[ \text{true 3PL.ERG summer?-ERG / tell-CTS-PRS 3PL.ACC / summer be-MOV-SUB} \]

The ?heat tells them that summer is coming.

In general Accusative English ‘them’ seems to be translated with Ø, with a demonstrative or optionally with ganungawu when it has human reference. The form ganungawu is common, consisting of ganunga suffixed with a reflex of -Buu ‘all’, and is more commonly translated ‘all of them/they all’. Nominative ganungawu is seen in (217)(b) and Accusative in (217)(c).

(217) They drank the water, all of them drank the water.

(a) \[ \text{giirr ngaama ganu}gu, gungan ngawu-nhi } \]

\[ \text{true there/that 3PL.ERG, water drink-PST} \]

They, all of them, went to the river.

(b) \[ \text{giirr ganungawu, bagay-gu yanaa-nhi } \]

\[ \text{true 3PL.TOT2 river-ALL go-PST} \]

I hit all of them with a bundi.

(c) \[ \text{giirr ngaya ganungawu ngaam’, bundi-dju buma-y } \]

\[ \text{true 1SG 3PL.TOT2 there, club-ERG hit-PST} \]

(216), (217)(a) and (218) show the Ergative, ganugu. (219) has an example of the Dative ganungu. The Locative is rare, with (220) perhaps the only certain occurrence. There ganungunda seems to agree with walaadha. The Ablative, seen in (221), is also rare.

(218) The women had a lot of children.

\[ \text{burrulaa birralii-gal ganu}gu gaa-waa-nha } \]

\[ \text{many child-PL.DIM 3PL.ERG bring-MOV-FR} \]

They bringing a lot of kids with them.

(219) Goomblegubbondoo birrahleegul oodundi gunoonoo garwil. Parker: Emu and Bustard line 43

\[ \text{gumbulgaban-du birralii-gal-gu wiu-dha-ndaay ganu}gu gaawil } \]

\[ \text{turkey-ERG child-PL.DIM-DAT give-CTS/eat-SUB 3PL.DAT regurgitate/vomit} \]

Where the Gumbulgaban (turkey, bustard) was feeding her children. Parker

The turkey was feeding her children with regurgitated food.
When the sun was setting I arrived at the camp. JM/AD 8184 3446

(220) When the sun was setting I was arriving at their camp. JG

The dog ran away from all of them.

(221) The dog ran away from them. JG

While Nominative and Accusative have forms that incorporate -Buu ‘Total’ (see §5.7 for its use with pronouns) the other forms do not, and their translations can include ‘all’ as in (221) and (222). The phrase nguuma ganugu suggests that plural pronouns do not take the demonstrative suffix -ma ‘DEFinite’, but that demonstrative effect is achieved by having a modifying singular demonstrative such as nguuma.

(222) All of them ate the meat.

These pronoun forms also have adnominal use, generally with human reference, as seen in (223), where ganungawu seems to qualify ngiyani, and perhaps in (224)(= (160)). (224) follows a similar dual example given in (208). The structure of birraligalungu is not clear. The -u might be a reflex of -Buu ‘all’ and is followed by the Personal Declension suffix.

(223) ganungu birraligalungu bujuma

ganungawu bujuma

It seems that the unsuffixed form, ganu, can also have pronominal use. MathewsGR (p268) has ya-ya-ganu (likely yaa-yaa ganu ‘hey, all (you)’) ‘calling attention to several people’; cf. yaa gaali above. Likely Ergative, pronominal use of ganu is seen in AD2438A 2121 and AD3998B 1664). The standard Locative ganu-ga, rather than Personal Declension form ganungunda, is used at AD8186 1245 in ‘they told the others’.

The very limited GR information is summarised in Table 98, which also includes Mathews YR information. (Later YR sources largely have the forms found in Table 91.) Ridley has njarma ‘they’ in his paradigm. Both Ridley and Greenway, in their texts, often have Ø for ‘they’. They rarely use plural pronouns in their Gamilaraay, but often using burrulaa-buu ‘all’ and ganungawu ‘all’, the latter modifying nominals.
5 Pronouns

YG third person plural pronouns in early sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative (Ergative)</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ridley/Greenway</td>
<td>kānuƾo/kanuƾo (ganunga??ganungawu)</td>
<td>kānuƾo (ganungu)</td>
<td>generally ‘all’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yārma (ngaarrma) Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mostly Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>Ngurugunnaga (nguru ganunga)</td>
<td>Nummagunnunga (nhama ganunga)</td>
<td>Ngurugunnugu (nguru-ngu-ganungu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
<td>Gunnugu (ganugu ERG)</td>
<td>Gunnuga (ganunga)</td>
<td>Gunnungu (ganungu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Current orthography shown in (brackets).

Ridley’s kānuƾo/kanuƾo are found in Gurre Kamilaroi. His forms do not distinguish Nominative, Accusative and Dative, and have pronominal and adnominal use, with human and inanimate reference: (‘Eve is the mother of all’, ‘God made everything’) He has (p7): ‘Indefinite pronouns’ kānūƾō ‘all’ (ganungawu); gūnō ‘all’. It seems highly likely that kānū and gūnō represent the same morpheme.

Mathews’s GR forms are clearly combinations of the third person singular forms (nguru, nhama) and ganu forms, paralleling his dual forms. He does not differentiate Nominative and Ergative, or show the syncretism between Nominative and Accusative. It is not clear that these were widespread GR forms, but they do have similarities to Wangaaybuwan, where the dual and plural (suffixed) third person forms are the singular with a dual or plural suffix. I have interpreted these as phrases, partly on the basis of another example he gives (p266) ‘let them beat’ Ngurwunnagunnaga bumulli, likely nguru wana ganunga bumali ‘he/she let them hit-FUT’. Without text examples it is difficult to know how the Mathews structure would be used. It seems that Mathews’s gunna and gunnu represent ganu.

5.5 First and second person clitic pronouns

All first and second person clitic pronouns found are Nominative/Ergative case, except for two likely Dative examples discussed later. The clitics occur predominantly, but not solely, on the first word of the clause, most commonly when that word is a and u-final. They follow all other clitics except =NHa ‘3’. The clitics occur most commonly on interrogatives and particles. The second person clitics are the only bound pronouns Williams (1980: 52) gives, and she suggests that they are ‘found almost exclusively on … negatives and interrogatives’, both of which are sentence-initial morphemes.

5.5.1 First person clitic pronouns

Table 99, part of Table 93, shows first person clitic pronouns. Only Nominative and Ergative forms are found. As with free pronouns I assume that inclusive bound pronouns do not distinguish Nominative and Ergative.\(^{81}\) However, first person dual and plural free, exclusive pronouns do distinguish Nominative and Ergative (§11.4.5) so I assume the bound forms do. YG exclusive forms (free and bound) are best understood as inclusory constructions (ICs): see §11.4.4. For instance the dual exclusive Ergative -li-lu consists of -li, a suffixed form of ngali ‘dual’, and -lu, an element which is singular, third person and Ergative.

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\(^{81}\) One examiner points out that it is ‘dangerous to assume the case marking on bound pronouns will match that on the corresponding free forms’. However, in the absence of any YG evidence to the contrary, that seems the most likely situation.
Table 99  YG first person clitic pronoun paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitic forms</th>
<th>Full forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>=DHu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual.Incl</td>
<td>=li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual.Excl</td>
<td>=li-nya#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=li-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=li-nguru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural.Incl</td>
<td>=ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural.Excl</td>
<td>=ni-nya#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=ni-lu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two Mathews paradigms are the only sources for dual and plural first person clitic pronouns. These paradigms include inclusive and exclusive forms used with *buma-li* 'hit', so will be Ergative. There are no attested corresponding Nominative forms. The expected Nominative forms in Table 99 are marked #.

Table 100  Some clitic pronouns in MathewsYR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Standard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>YR =Yuwaalaraay; KW= Kawambarai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=duh</td>
<td>YR I beat</td>
<td>Bumul-ddndh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KW I beat</td>
<td>Bumulddhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>YR Thou beatest</td>
<td>Bumulddmindu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=nda</td>
<td>KW Thou beatest</td>
<td>Bumulddondu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>YR He beats</td>
<td>Bumulddmangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ngu, =nguru [Erg]</td>
<td>KW He beats</td>
<td>Bumulddanguru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>YR We, incl, beat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=li[i]</td>
<td>Bumulddnali</td>
<td>bu-ma-ldanh=li(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=li[i]-yu</td>
<td>Bumulddngali</td>
<td>bu-ma-ldanh=li(i)-yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=li[i]-nguru</td>
<td>Bumulddlinguru</td>
<td>bu-ma-lnda=nguru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>YR You beat</td>
<td>Bumulddndhale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ndaali</td>
<td>KW You beat</td>
<td>Bumulddndale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>YR They beat</td>
<td>Bumuldbulaia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulaayu[Erg] /=]/gaali [Nom]</td>
<td>KW They beat</td>
<td>Bumulddgale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>YR We, incl, beat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=nii[i]</td>
<td>Bumulddmane</td>
<td>bu-ma-lda-nha=nii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=nii[i]-yu</td>
<td>Bumulddmanni</td>
<td>bu-ma-lda-nha=nii-yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=nii[i]-yiyal</td>
<td>Bumulddnayel</td>
<td>bu-ma-lda=nii-yiyal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>YR You beat,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ndaay</td>
<td>Bumulddmadai</td>
<td>bu-ma-lnda=ndaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KW You beat</td>
<td>Bumulddndai</td>
<td>bu-ma-lnda=ndaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>YR They beat</td>
<td>Bumulddmnagungu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganugu =nugu [Erg]</td>
<td>KW They beat</td>
<td>Bumulddmnagungu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Yuwaalaraay information is on p. 140, the Kawambarai on p. 146.
Singular first person clitics are found in a number of sources, mostly earlier ones. Williams does not include first person bound pronouns, and they are very rare in the later sources.

Mathew's YR and KW (Kawambra, a dialect of Gamilaraay) paradigm examples are presented in Table 100. (Second and third person evidence is included here for convenience.) I do not regard the paradigm as totally accurate. He does not have clitic pronouns in the corresponding GR paradigm.

In Table 100 the YR examples are given on one line and the Kawambra on the following line. Notable differences include the non-realisation of the present tense suffix, -NHa, in KW; the use of nguru, GR 3SG.ERG, in KW (contrasting with YR nguu); and the variation between YR and KW in the 1PL.EXCL. I interpret =ni-yu as =ni ‘1PL’ and -yu[u] as ‘TOT-al’ and =ni-yiyal as ‘1PL’=ni and -yiyal ‘just’. see §5.7.

There is considerable evidence for =DHu as the first person bound form in a range of YR sources. Mathews has an Ergative example in Table 100 and (226) and a Nominative one in (225). He (p141) gives a number of verb paradigms (‘I beat (a while ago/yesterday)’; ‘I am beating myself; etc.) in which all the YR forms are dhu or dyu-final. Laves has Nominative use in (227) and (228). Laves gives a number of texts including (227) which neatly contrast the suffixed and free forms of the pronoun. AD5055 561 translates ‘when I go hunting’ with maniila-y.ngindaay=dju ‘hunt-SUB-1SG’. AD5057 1061 has yaluu=dhu ‘again I’. It seems that AD has retained an earlier usage, perhaps influenced by the use of =DHu in Wayilwan which he also spoke. There are possible GR instances of =dhu: ngali=dhu in (908), from Wurm, who also has (p17, in his GR) maruntu ‘well I’; possibly maaru-n?-dhu, maaru ‘well’ and with the n unexplained. Use of =DHu in YG seems to have decreased.

(225) Strong I am. MathewsYR p140
Wallundhu ginye,
walan=du=dhu gi-nyi
strong=1SG be-PST

(226) I will beat presently MathewsYR p141
Bumullidyu
buma-li-dju
hit-FUT-1SG

(227) I’m hungry Laves 116
yuulngindi ngaia gi=nyi yuulngindi dyu gi=nyi
hungry 1SG be-PST hungry=1SG be-PST

(228) Eat I would. Laves 116
dalinginda du gi=nyi
dha.li-nginda=dhu gi-nyi
eat=WANT=1SG be-PST

The form =DHu is identical in form and meaning to the WN first person singular clitic, which is clearly from the WN free pronoun ngadhu, whereas in YR the free form is ngaya. The YG dual forms (-li and -ligu) are similar to the WN suffixes, but the YG and WN plurals are quite different, with WN suffixing the full form of the pronoun.

---

82 I would have expected the stop to be assimilated to d after n.
83 The origin of =DHu is uncertain. It may be that CNSW languages had a Nominative/Ergative distinction in first person singular, possibly ngaya/ngadhu, and that this distinction has been neutralised, with ngaya retained in YG and ngadhu in Ngiyambaa, but both languages have retained the =DHu clitic.
84 The Mathews material was given in Capell (1962: 17) with modified spelling, and in Williams.
The dual and plural inclusive bound forms -li and -ni are the final syllable of the respective free forms, ngali and ngiyani. The vowel is likely short, but could be long as is the WN bound forms, -lui and -nui.

However, the form of the exclusive bound forms is less certain. The only actual examples are Mathews’s, in Table 100. The YR dual is given as -li-gu and the plural as -ni-yu. The free exclusive Ergative pronouns are ngali-lu and ngiyani-lu[u] (§11.4.5). It seems likely that the -gu is an error (it is not found elsewhere as an exclusive suffix), and -yu a realisation of -Yu ‘all’: (see §5.7.), which is easily misinterpreted as an exclusive suffix.

Mathews’s GR suffixed dual exclusive is -li-nguru, adding the third person Ergative pronoun to the inclusive. His plural is -ni-yiyal. This incorporates yiyal ‘just’ (see §13.3.5) which is not a marker of exclusivity.

The variety of suffixes given (-gu, -yu, -nguru and -yiyal), the ease with which these can be misinterpreted, and the consistent use of -lu in free, exclusive, Ergative pronouns suggests that the actual bound, exclusive, Ergative forms are -li-lu (-li-nguru in GR) and -ni-lu, as listed in Table 93.

5.5.2 Second person clitic pronouns

Second person Nom/Erg clitic forms =nda, =ndaali, =ndaay are very common throughout the sources. They are derived from the free pronouns by deletion of the first syllable, as seen in Table 101, which also shows the corresponding WN clitics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YG</th>
<th>Wangaaybuwan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>full pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>nginda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>ngindaali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>ngindaay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most common occurrences, following clause initial particles and interrogatives which are a and u-final, are exemplified in (229)–(232). Other positions are relatively common, e.g. (233) and (234). The suffixes have been found on all word final segments, often with phonological modification when the word ending is not a or u: (235)–(240).

(229)  Where are you?

   minyaaya=nda / minyaaya nginda,
where.LOC=2SG / where.LOC 2SG
Where are you?  FR

(230)  Do you remember when you fell into the mud this morning?

   yaama=nda winanga-y.la-nha bidjaay-a=nda bundaa-ngindaay ques=2SG remember-CTS-PRS mud-LOC=2SG fall-SUB
Do you remember when/that you fell in the mud?  JG

(231)  Find the camp before you light a fire.

(a)  waalu=nda wii wiima-lana-w / ngiyarrma ngiyani=nga wila-y.la-y / not.yet=2SG fire make-SUB / there IPL=THEN sit-CTS-FUT /

(b)  yalagirrmawu=nda wii wiima-li / that.time=2SG fire make-FUT
You can make a fire there after when we sit down.  AD
Don’t be making the fire yet. We’ll sit down, and then you’ll make the fire.  JG
Don’t let the boy go near the bad man. JM/AD 3219A 106

garriya=ndaay nhama yanaaynl-ya, birralii-djuul / guwiinbaa-ga nguungunda /
don’t=2PL 3.DEF let.go-IMP, child-DIM / close-LOC 3SG.LOC /
Don’t let him (go) near him (because he is a dangerous man). AD
Don’t let the kid go near him. JG

The bound forms are not in first position in both parts of (233) and in (234). The position of =nda in (233)(a) means it is not after rr, a non-favoured position.

Miimii (Granny), how are you going to kill that snake? JM/AD 3220B 1989
(a) gulaarr gi.yaa.nha nhama=nda ngandabaa buma-li
how going.to 3.DEF=2SG snake hit-FUT

How are you going to kill that snake? JG
(b) minya-dhu gi.yaa[nha]=nda=nha buma-li
what-ERG going.to[abbrev]=2SG=3 hit-FUT
What will you kill it with? JG

What did the boy eat it for? CW/AD 3998B 1072

What did the boy eat it for?

What are you eating that kangaroo for? AD

The next examples show the clitics following word final sounds other than a or u, but such cases are very rare, with often only one or two instances.

l

The sound in (235) is unclear, but it seems the l has been deleted before the clitic, and (236) shows a similar deletion in GR after gamil ‘no’. *Ind is not a permissible consonant cluster.

(The mother said to the girl; you naughty little girl,) you must be fr
I am going to give you a hiding. JM/AD 3219A 3586.
waa/waal=ndaali gaba gi-gi.la-nha, bamba=laa ngayaa nginunha badha-y
not=2DU good be-CTS-PRS, hard=DJR 1SG 2SG.ACC hit.punish-FUT

If you two are not good I will thrash you (one). JG

ʹkaminda burula: nguðaruldeigo Tindale?Doolan line 14

gamjq[=nda] burrunlla ngudha-rru-lda-y-gu
not=2SG many feed.?=?-CTS-PURP

Then you won’t have to feed so many. Tindale

n
(643) has minya-ngin=ndaali ‘what.want-you.2’.

rr

(237) has the clitic on a rr final word, and again it seems the rr is not actually realised, at least in some pronunciations of this.

Miimii, how are you going to cross the river? JM/AD 8184 1802
galaa/galaarr=nda gi.yaa.nha nhama / ngaarri.gili-dja yanaa-y / baawan-da
how=2SG going.to 3.DEF / far.side-LOC go-FUT / Baawan-LOC

How are you going to get to the far side of the Barwon? JG

y

(238) shows the suffix after word final y, with no phonological modification. A similar example is found at 2895A 25, where AD says gaa-g.uwi-y=nda ‘take-back-FUT-2SG’.
(238)  
\[ \text{bawi-lda-ya}=\text{badhaay}=\text{ndaay} / \text{bawi-lda-ya } \text{ngindaay} \]

sing-CTS-IMP=MIGHT=2PL / sing-CTS-IMP 2PL.

How about you sing. Sing you lot.  
(English JG) AD/JM 2832B 2493

i

(239) is one of the rare examples with \(i=nda\).

(239)  
Who do you want to see?  
\[ \text{ngaaandi}=\text{nda } \text{gi.yaa.nha } \text{ngarra-li} / \]

who.acc=2SG going.to see-FUT / 
\[ \text{yal/yiyal}??=\text{bala}=\text{nda} / \text{dhaay }'\text{naa-waa-nhi} \]

just=CTR=2SG / to.here come-MOV-PST

Who are you going to see? Or were you just coming here?  
JG

(240) shows another rare occurrence, where the pronoun is attached to an \(a\) final word, but the \(a\) is not realised.

(240)  
The old man says: you two be quiet, you can come here for a little while, 

but we don’t want to feed you.  

\[ \text{nguwama } \text{ngindaali, } \text{dhaay } \text{yanaa-waa-ya, } \text{baluwaa } / \text{nguwam}=\text{ndaali } \text{wila-ya} \]

here 2DU to.here come-MOV-IMP, slowly / here=2DU sit-IMP

Come here you two, and sit down here quietly.  
JG

The examples show how readily the clitic form of the pronouns and the free forms alternate.

The only evidence for first and second person clitic pronouns in other than subject function are 
two possible bound Dative forms. The first is seen in (241), from Wurm’s GR: the suggested form 
and translation differ from Wurm’s – \(=\text{ndaali}\) rather than \(=\text{dhali}\), and dual rather than plural 
translation. However, there is no other likely interpretation of what he presents.

(241)  
\[ \text{nama}=\text{ndaalingu } \text{bura} \]

your (plural) dog

\[ \text{nhama}=\text{ndaalingu } \text{bura} \]

your (dual) dog

SW p19

The second example has \(-\text{ngu}\) in a situation where the 2SG.DAT, \(\text{nginu}\), would be expected. 
AD8185 3701 has what I hear as \(\text{giirr }\text{ngaya-ngu }\text{yilama-ldaay ‘true 1SG-ngu cook-SUB’} \) (‘when I 
cooked it for you’). The \(-\text{ngu}\) then may be a suffixed form of \(\text{nginu}\), but at this stage that remains a 
very speculative analysis. Wangaaybuwan has suffixed Dative/Accusative second person singular 
\(=\text{nuu}\).

5.6 Third person clitic pronouns

Unlike first person singular and second person clitics, third person clitics do not have synchronism 
of subject of transitive verb and subject of intransitive verb. Instead, as discussed above, the clitic 
\(=\text{NHa}\) is used for both subjects of intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs. As for subjects 
of transitive verbs, the YR form \(=\text{ngu}\) sometimes appears in the IIP, apparently a reduced form of 
the full pronoun \(\text{nguu}\) (§5.4.2.2). As well, the same syllable \(-\text{ngu}\) appears once in a context where it 
arguably acts as Dative clitic, similar to the second person Dative clitics discussed above. (242) is 
from a song sung to young children. The \(\text{ngu}\) is likely a reduced form of the Dative pronoun 
\(\text{ngungu}\). As this is from a song, the use of a Dative clitic may be an archaism. The Dative 
\(\text{ngungu}\) occurs around 200 times on the tapes, but no corresponding suffixed form has been found 
there.
The phonological attachment of full third person pronouns forms to the first word of the clause is also suggested by some MathewsYR examples (p 140, 145). His ‘they (plural) beat’, *Bumuldunagnunagu* is *bumaldanka ganugu: ‘they are beating’*. His ‘they (dual) beat’, *Bumulbulai*a may end with *bulan-ya* ‘two-ERG’. (But the reduced verb form, presumably *bumal*, is not understood.)

### 5.7 Pronominal suffixes

I here consider two suffixes, -yiyaI and -Buu, that have been misinterpreted when used with pronouns, and a potential suffix, -waayaal.

#### 5.7.1 -Yuu ‘TOTal’

The suffix -Yu[u],\(^{85}\) which I analyse as a reflex of -Buu ‘TOTal’ (§13.3.3), is very common in both older and tape sources. I will show the vowel length as recorded in transcripts, but use the more common long vowel in discussion, except for -wu on the third person plural pronoun. The forms recorded are -yu[u] after i, -wu after y and rr and -wu after a. The main meaning is ‘all possible’, so it is translated ‘all’ with plural pronouns and ‘both (of)’ with dual pronouns. It is also sometimes translated ‘together’. Common examples are shown in Table 102.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base pronoun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Suffixed pronoun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Uses found</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>1DU.NOM.ERG</td>
<td>ngali-yyu</td>
<td>both of us</td>
<td>Nom/Erg/Inc/Exc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngiyanni</td>
<td>1PL.NOM.ERG</td>
<td>ngiyani-yyu</td>
<td>all of us</td>
<td>Nom/Erg/Inc/Exc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngindaay</td>
<td>2PL.NOM.ERG</td>
<td>ngindaay-uu</td>
<td>all of you</td>
<td>rare; Nom/Erg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulaarr</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>bulaarr-uu</td>
<td>all of them</td>
<td>Nom/Acc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganunga</td>
<td>3PL.NOM.ACC</td>
<td>ganunga-wu</td>
<td>all of them</td>
<td>Nom/Acc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I will firstly show more recent examples of the suffix, then give earlier analyses which tended to see it as having inclusive function, or more rarely exclusive function. (243)–(246) show the suffix on first person pronouns: dual in (243) and (244), plural in (245) and (246), with Nominative case in (243) and (245), and Ergative case in (244) and (246). In (243) I interpret *ngali-yyu* as elaborating *ngali*. It is possible that it is a correction.

(243) Will you come fishing with me?  
*yaama nginda yanaa-waa-y / ngali, ngali-yyu*  
ques 2SG go-MOV-PUT / 1DU, 1DU-TOT2  
*ngali-yyu* means me and you (AD then uses *ngali* with the same reference)  
Will you go with me, (2), the both of us?  
AD

(244) We two saw our faces in the river.  
*ngali-yyu ngarra-y ngulu ngalingu gungan-da*  
1DU-TOT2 see-PST face 1DU.DAT water-LOC  
We both saw our face in the water. (inclusive use)  
FR

\(^{85}\) Both -yu and -yyu are found. I assume they are variants, but this may not be the case. For instance -yu may be Nominative and -yyu Ergative.
Many instances of first person pronouns with -Yuü have clearly inclusive reference, e.g. (243) and at 1853A 3837 where FR uses ngali-yuu as explicitly inclusive, and Ergative. There are many more instances where first person pronouns with -Yuü are most likely inclusive, e.g. ngiyani-yuu in (245) and (246). However, (247) is one of the few examples where ngiyani-yuu clearly has exclusive use. So inclusive meaning is a common implication but not an entailment of use of the suffix.

All of you went back to the camp.  CW/AD 3997A 2013

No examples have been found where the -Yuü and -lu (which forms an Ergative exclusive: §11.4.5) co-occur. In (248) Dodd firstly uses -yüü, but then changes it to -luu, suggesting he had to choose between -Yuü and -lulu.

The strangers asked for some food.  JM/AD 8187 1557

Second person use of -Yuü is rare. Wurm (p77) has qindeju ‘you all’ (ngindaay-uu) (given as a single word, so no case specified) and Sim (1998: Appendix: 2), in a paradigm, has the same form as second person plural Ergative. I interpret ngindaay-uu as ‘2PL.NOM/ERG-All’. -Yuü has not been found with second person dual, but I would expect it can be used there with translation ‘both of you’ corresponding to the first person use. See also (250)–(252).

Third person pronouns with -Yuü have two functions, as pronouns and as modifiers of other nominals, creating phrases like ‘all the children’. Pronominal use of bulaar-uu is relatively common and is seen in (249), where it is Ergative. In (250)–(252)86 bulaar-uu modifies Nominative and Accusative second person pronouns, adding the meaning ‘both’. All examples of bulaar-uu are from FR.

They were both yelling.  JM/FR 2438A 1180

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86 (252) has bulaar-uu with a suffixed singular pronoun, not the expected dual form. FR does not use the suffixed second person dual and plural, -ndaali -ndaay, likely a sign of language loss.
You are two silly women.

(250) **bulaarr-uu ngindaali wamba**

two-TOT2 2DU mad

You’re both mad.  

FR

(251) He (policeman) will shut you both up.

(252) **dhabi-ya bulaarr-uu=nda**

be.quiet-IMP two-TOT2-2SG

Stop it the two of yous.

FR/JM 2436A 545

Be quiet, both of you.

JG

Third person plural pronouns are built on *ganu*, which has rare independent use as ‘all’ (e.g. Wurm p3). The Nominative/Accusative pronoun is *ganunga*. The form *ganungawu* is relatively common. The *-wu* was earlier thought to be a distortion but on closer examination it is found that almost all instances have explicit reference to ‘all’. I therefore analyse *-wu* as an allomorph of *-Buu*. At 5057 1643 the translation includes the word ‘together’, suggesting an alternative gloss for *-Buu*. This is an area for further investigation. (253)(=664)) shows *ganungawu* with pronominal function. *Ganungawu* also modifies ‘meat’ in (254) and ‘camps’ in (58). Surprisingly it is also found modifying a first person plural pronoun, *ngiyani*. Wurm (p81) has *gannunjou njɛ:ni (ganunga.wu ngiyani) ‘all of us’.

(253) **ngiyama=nga ganungawu / hayama-nhi**

there-THEN 3PL.TOT2 / catch.M-PST

They all got caught in the net. (the ducks)

AD/JM 8187 1295

(254) All the meat was eaten.

(a) **ganungawu=nga // ganugu dha-y dhinggaa**

(3PL.TOT2)all=THEN // 3PL.ERG eat-PST meat

(b) **ganungawu ganu.xx, ganugu dhinggaa dha-y**

(3PL.TOT2)all all.err, 3PL.ERG meat eat-PST

They ate all the meat.

FR

*Ganunga*, without *-wu*, is at times translated ‘all’, but considerably less frequently than *ganungawu*. *Ganunga* is ‘they’ in (965) and (966) and ‘they all’ in (66).

It seems that third person Ergative pronouns do not have a form incorporating *-Yuu*. *Ganugu* is both ‘they’ and ‘all of them’ (Ergative): the latter in (217).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
<td>Ngulliyu</td>
<td>We2, exclusive</td>
<td>ngali-yuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>Ngeaneyu</td>
<td>We, exclusive</td>
<td>ngiyan-yuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>ngiyanayu</td>
<td>We, inclusive</td>
<td>ngiyan-yuu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffix has, understandably, at times been misinterpreted as an exclusive or inclusive marker (see §5.5.1). Unlike the actual YG inclusive/exclusive markers, it does not differentiate Nominative
and Ergative. Table 103 shows -Yuu interpreted as inclusive and exclusive in earlier sources, with my comments.

### 5.7.2 yiyal ‘just’

The particle yiyal ‘just’ is considered in §13.3.5. It is found as a pronoun suffix in a number of early examples including some in Table 100 and Table 210. Mathews at times interprets it as an inclusive marker. The actual meaning is context dependent. ‘Just us’ can have many meanings, including inclusive or exclusive. I have not found any pronoun+yiyal instances in the tapes, where yiyal generally limits the meaning of a sentence, (e.g. ‘I was just walking’) rather than of an argument (*‘just me was walking’*).

Sim records a further post-pronoun particle/suffix, whose basic meaning remains elusive. He (1998: Appendix: 2) has:

> The particle wayal added to 1st person inclusive Plural forms the exclusive. Ngiyaniwayal; added to 2nd exclusive Plural forms emphatic exclusive: ngindaaywayal affirms the exclusive.

Sim re-examined his notes and now concludes (pers. comm.) that the basic meaning is not exclusive. The particle includes the ‘ignorative’ suffix -yaa, the form may be -waayaal or -wayaal, and, on the basis of limited information the best interpretations are: ngindaaywaayaal ‘most of you, you all but not me’ and ngiyaniwaayaal ‘most of us’, perhaps ‘all of you but not me’. This suffix may be a reflex of -yiyal. I have come to no conclusions about it.

### 5.7.3 Questions about pronouns

In addition to the third person pronoun forms already discussed there are forms found on the tapes and in earlier sources which are similar in form and location and for which there is currently no analysis. As at other times there can be uncertainty about the actual form, partly because the words are often in the IIP, so unstressed and often said quickly and casually. The realisation of nguuma blends readily into that of nguwama ‘there’, and at times it is difficult to distinguish nguuma and ngaama. These three forms are all found in second position in the clause. In producing a transcription it is generally necessary to make a choice, so at times the transcription has the ‘best fit’ rather than a sure representation of a word. As Ridley (p5) pointed out, in these languages [a] and [u] are often difficult to distinguish and at times vowel length is uncertain and at times it is not clear whether there is a long vowel or diphthong. Some currently unanalysed forms are transcribed nguumu/nguumuu and ngaamu/ngaamuu. These suggest a suffix -mu[u] which can be attached to nguu and probably other pronouns or morphemes. Below are examples which point to the existence of this form.

The form nguumu/nguumuu is relatively common in the YR tape transcripts, but there is often more or less uncertainty about the form. In (25) nguumu cross-references birralii-duul-u ‘child-DIM-ERG’ and at 2833A 382 it cross-references birralii-gal-u ‘child-PL.DIM-ERG’, but at other times it may have some Dative or instrumental component. The YR form is potentially based on the pronoun nguu.

In (255) AD begins with nguumu, but after a pause uses two third person singular Ergatives, nguuma presumably with instrumental function and ngu with Agent function. It may be that nguumu combines the instrumental demonstrative nguuma and the pronoun ngu. There are other indications of such combined forms, including the Wurm example (256). The very tentative conclusion is that these forms at times represent the combination of two pronouns, of which at least the second is u or uu-final.

(255) The boy hit his sister with a stone.  
CW/AD 3998B 156

(a) giirr nguuumu // giirr nguuma ngu buma-y / dhaygal-i // CW: once_more  
true ?? // true 3ERG.DEF 3ERG hit-PST / head-ABL /
5 Pronouns

(b) *giirr nguuma nguu buma-y / dhaygal-i / maayama-gu*

true 3ERG.DEF 3ERG hit-PST / head-ABL / rock-ERG

CW He hit her on the head with a stone. AD Yeah.
CW/AD He hit her on the head with it. He hit her on the head with a stone. JG

Milson has (p9) ‘himself’ *gnooroo gnoomoo* (probably *nguru nguumu*). This suggests the existence of the form, but does not help analyse it.

Wurm has *ŋumu* or *numu* around five times. (256) involves a double possessive ‘my brother’s spear’ and the Wurm gloss (this brother’s) suggests that *nguuumu* has both demonstrative and possessive function. The fact that *galumaay* is not case marked supports this analysis. (256) is GR, and so *ngumu/nguuma* is not based on the GR pronoun *nguru*.

(256) *ŋai numu galumoŋi numu bila:r*  

1SG.DAT 3SG.?? brother 3SG.?? spear  

mine this brother’s this spear (i.e. this spear is my brother’s spear) SW

The form *ngaamu* is seen in (804).
6 **Demonstratives**

6.1 **Introduction**
YG demonstratives are a closed word class. They begin with a demonstrative forming root (e.g. a root with case such as *nha* Nom/Acc, or one that specifies distance such as *ngaarri* ‘far’) and contain one of the two demonstrative suffixes -ma ‘DEFinite’ and -lay ‘OSTensive’ (§6.2.4). Some have further elements such as -bao ‘up’. The most common demonstrative in recent sources is *nhama* (*nha* Nom/Acc, -ma ‘definite’), generally translated ‘that’ or ‘there’ and occasionally ‘this’ or ‘here’. While the analysis here builds on previous ones (Williams, 1980: 87) it is clear that YG had more forms than described here and that this analysis does not capture the full features of YG demonstratives.

6.1.1 **Definition of demonstratives**
While there is general agreement that demonstratives include what are generally called demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives, some linguists give a broader definition, for instance Diessel (1999: 2) points out that:

Many studies confine the notion of demonstrative to deictic expressions such as English *this* and *that*, … but the notion I use is broader. It subsumes not only demonstratives being used as pronouns or noun modifiers, but also locational adverbs such as English *here* and *there*.

For reasons that will become apparent the notion of demonstrative in this study is even broader. As well as considering YG equivalents of expressions such as English *this*, *that*, *here* and *there* it also considers YG manner terms translated *like this*, *like that* and some time terms such as ‘*at that time*’.

Diessel (1999: 2) lists syntactic, pragmatic and semantic features in his description of demonstratives:

First, demonstratives are deictic expressions serving specific syntactic functions …

Second, demonstratives generally serve specific pragmatic functions. They are primarily used to focus the hearer’s attention on objects or locations in the speech situation (often in combination with a pointing gesture), but they may also function to organize the information flow in the ongoing discourse. More specifically demonstratives are often used to keep track of prior discourse participants and to activate specific shared knowledge …

Finally, demonstratives are characterised by specific semantic features. All languages have at least two demonstratives that are deictically contrastive: a proximal demonstrative referring to an entity near the deictic centre and a distal demonstrative denoting a referent that is located as some distance to deictic centre.

6.1.2 **Demonstratives in other languages**
As will be seen later the interpretation of the data on YG demonstratives is far from complete, so some examples of demonstratives from other languages will be briefly considered. For instance there are features of Arrernte for which, at this stage, no YG parallel has been found. Wilkins has
‘the single form nhenge “remember” which indicates that an entity has been mentioned previously’. This may be helpful in further analysis of ngaama, and he also points out ‘a certainty/uncertainty distinction’ which might also be relevant for further analysis of YG demonstratives.

Some aspects of demonstratives vary considerably as Dixon (2002: 335) points out:

The forms of demonstratives vary widely – sometimes between languages in a group, and sometimes even between dialects of a language.

In many Australian languages demonstratives have a nominal-like structure. There is a root which often incorporates a two or three way distinction in distance, followed by a case morpheme. For instance the Wangaaybuwan demonstratives listed in Table 104 (Donaldson, 1980: 135 Table 5.2.1) have a proximal/distal distinction: ngi- for close and nga- for distant. Wiradjuri demonstratives (Grant & Rudder, 2010) have a three way distance distinction, nginha (close to speaker), nganha (further) and nganhi (distant).

At times the distance distinctions are not marked word initially. In Pitta Pitta (Blake, 1979: 194) third person pronouns are suffixed by -yi (near the speaker), -ka (further away) or -aarri (further away again).

Demonstrative roots can also indicate other information, such as visibility or previous mention in discourse.

Demonstratives often have case. Table 104 shows the basic case forms of Wangaaybuwan demonstratives. Many of these, however, are not the usual case suffixes. Wangaaybuwan demonstratives can also mark number, using the standard nominal markers -bulaa ‘dual’ and -gal ‘plural’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case form</th>
<th>‘this’</th>
<th>‘that’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erg/inst</td>
<td>ngilu</td>
<td>ngalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs</td>
<td>ngina</td>
<td>ngana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>ngigu</td>
<td>ngagu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>ngini</td>
<td>ngani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circ (Abl)</td>
<td>ngidji</td>
<td>ngadji</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>YG</th>
<th>Wangaaybuwan</th>
<th>Wiradjuri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>up</td>
<td>-baa</td>
<td>-ynja</td>
<td>-wal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down</td>
<td>-daa</td>
<td>-DHarr</td>
<td>-dar; -dhar; -dhar-ngura ‘underneath’; -dya-gunur ‘underneath’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yonder</td>
<td>?-gulay; -malay</td>
<td>-yN ‘yonder’</td>
<td>-yany ‘through’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side</td>
<td>-gili</td>
<td>-ngurr</td>
<td>-ngurar-guwar; -ngurar-ma ‘behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>through</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-gulung ‘this way, through here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towards</td>
<td>-biil rare: Table 54</td>
<td>-biil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>further</td>
<td></td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>-wal(-laa)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A further feature of YG demonstratives is that they can be semantically complex; for example, with one word corresponding to an English phrase such as ‘over that way’ or ‘from up here’. This
is achieved in part by the use of suffixes on simpler demonstratives. YG, Wangaa ybuwan and Wiradjuri demonstratives all incorporate ‘up’, ‘down’ and ‘side’ suffixes, as seen in Table 105.

In Australian languages often one demonstrative form has both nominal and adverbial (locational) use. For example, Wilkins’s (1989: 110) points out that in Arrernte ‘all (spatially deictic demonstratives) can have both nominal and adverbial uses. Thus, a form like nhenhe can mean either “this” or “here”’. Donaldson (1980: 136) states that it is often ‘more convenient’ to translate a Wangaa ybuwan demonstrative with an English Locative adverb, e.g. WN ngina is ‘this’ or ‘here’ and ngana ‘that’ or ‘there’. Hercus (pers. comm.) points out that Arabana generally uses locational adverbs where English uses demonstratives: for instance ‘this (girl)’ is translated with nhiki ‘here’. See also Guugu Yimidhirr (Diessel, 1999: 14).

YG demonstratives are still not fully analysed but seem to be less straightforward than those referred to above. Some demonstrative roots indicate case, for instance nha (Nominative/Accusative) and ngii (Ablative). At least one indicates distance (ngaarri). The function of others, e.g. ngiya and ngaa, are uncertain. The roots yalagiirr/yalaguaay ‘like’ are used in demonstratives that relate to actions (‘do it like that’) rather than objects. There are very rare demonstratives such as ngii-baa-ma (Ablative-up-definite) ‘from up there’.

A more complex system of demonstratives is found in Martuthunira (Dench, 1995: 109). It has more distance distinctions, more cases and topic-tracking demonstratives as well as six adverbial demonstratives, which have a proximal-distal distinction, as well as a locational/non-specific/non-visible distinction. The existence of this system supports the view that YG had a more complex system than currently known.

6.1.3 Limitations to the description of YG demonstratives

While this analysis of YG demonstratives is more detailed than previous ones, there are a number of reasons why it is far from a complete analysis. Demonstratives are generally a complex part of language and so a full description would take more time and space than is possible in this work. Secondly, as pointed out above, demonstratives relate to the speech situation. However, study of YG demonstratives is not based on speech situations but on previous analyses, or on texts, which do not capture the details of the speech situation. So, at the most basic, it is often not possible to know whether a referent is near or distant, let alone seeing the gestures or other context which are often vital to understanding the function of a particular demonstrative.

The recorded YG demonstrative system is quite extensive and it is clear that historically it was more extensive, as Mathews’s (1903: 268) comments make clear. His note indicates the extent and complexity of the system and strongly hints that he did not fully understand it.

NOTE. It should perhaps be mentioned that in all the expressions illustrating the several grammatical cases in the Kamilaroi and other languages herein described, the demonstrative pronouns are purposely omitted, for the two-fold object of saving space, and avoiding confusion by introducing any more words than the sentence really required. For example, where I have given “Murridu mindere kauai” (man at padamelon threw) (mari-dhu mindarri?? garawi-y) would be expressed by the black fellow: “this man-in-front at yonder-on-left padamelon threw,” or as the subject might require. These remarks apply to every example [my emphasis] of aboriginal sentences throughout the several languages contained in this article.

The few sentence examples in Mathews are of little help in understanding the use of complex demonstratives. Any current analysis also needs to take account of probable misinterpretations in earlier sources. Ridley (p36) has mutta (which I interpret as ngadaa ‘down there’) as ‘there, on the right’. While Mathews uses ‘on left’ and Ridley ‘on the right’, these two terms are generally not found in specification of location in Australian languages, again suggesting that these writers had not fully understood the terms they were describing.

Often there is a many-to-one correspondence in glosses and translations, indicating that the full meaning of a YG demonstrative has not been captured. ‘Over there’ in Wurm’s English corresponds to around ten YG words and at times there is no corresponding word in the YG. At 5055 772 CW gives the elicitation sentence ‘I saw the boy come from behind the rock’. A series of elicitations follow, about the boy’s actions. Each of AD’s responses has a demonstrative. These
include ngaama, ngiyama, ngaama=nha, ngaarrma=nha, nhama and possibly ngaama=nga (=nga ‘then’). They are all translated ‘he/him’, or not translated. This illustrates both the range of YG demonstratives and the limited understanding we have of the distinctions between them.

6.1.4 Morphology and semantics of YG demonstratives

The structure of demonstratives is: (demonstrative-forming root)((non-demonstrative suffixes))(demonstrative suffixes), with the double brackets indicating non-compulsory elements. Demonstrative-forming roots are listed in Table 106 and have a range of functions. Both types of suffixes are given in Table 107. The demonstrative ngaarribaama ‘up there’ includes the root ngaarri ‘far’, the non-demonstrative suffix -bāa ‘up’ and the demonstrative suffix -ma ‘Definite’. These elements are found in the demonstrative ngaarrima ‘over there’ and in ngaarribaa ‘up’. The last describes a direction, but not a specific location, and so is not a demonstrative. The demonstrative suffixes can co-occur as -ma-lay. Some other word classes can take the -ma ‘Definite’ suffix, including interrogatives: see Chapter 7. Demonstratives can be formally defined as non-interrogatives which include a demonstrative suffix: -ma or -lay.

YG demonstratives do not take case suffixes, unlike those in many other Australian languages, but there are at least four suppletive roots which indicate case. Some rare demonstratives with case suffixes are discussed later. There are rare examples of demonstratives which do not fit the pattern given above.

Demonstratives in a particular language generally differentiate along a number of categories. Those clearly found in YG include distance (near/far from the speaker); and height: up/down. Possible YG categories include ostensive (being pointed to or otherwise indicated). In Wangaaybuwan and Wiradjuri movement is also encoded in demonstratives, while Wangaaybuwan demonstratives also indicate whether the referent is visible.

At this stage the semantics of some YG demonstrative-forming roots are not clear. While the meaning of some complex demonstratives is compositional, this is not always the case.

6.1.5 Syntactic uses of demonstratives

Diesel (1999: 4) has four grammatical/pragmatic functions for demonstratives: pronominal, adnominal, adverbial (locational) and identificational, the last used in expressions such as ‘this is an … ’. As common in Australian languages, some YG forms are used for all four functions. For instance nhama has pronominal use (282) ‘do that’, adnominal use (287) ‘that woman’, locational use (285) ‘there’ (and see nhama in (36) (37)), and identificational use in (257).

(257) That’s the mate of the bloke who killed my dog. JM/FR 2437A 3714

nhama mirr gala / dhayn-gu buma-ldaay / ngay maadhaay
3.DEF mate / person-DAT hit-SUB / 1SG.DAT dog

That’s the mate belonging to the man who killed my dog. FR

Many YG demonstratives have both nominal and locational function. Some YG demonstratives have time use, some can have both personal and non-personal reference and some can qualify pronouns. For instance nha (that/there=3) is commonly modified by nhama (157) and (291), and ngaama (258).

(258) He went to the side of the river.

Giir ngaama=nha yuna-nhi ngaarrigili-dja
true 3.ANA.DEF=3 go-PST far.side-LOC

He went to the far side. (That there one went to the other side.) JG

87 The glosses -ma ‘DEFinite’ and -lay ‘OSTensive’ do not define the functions of these suffixes, which are not fully understood.
YG demonstratives, with locational function, are a major way of linking and situating discourse. It is likely demonstratives can also be largely semantically empty forms which are part of an individual discourse style. Arthur Dodd uses sentence initial giirr nhama/giirr ngaama much more frequently than other sources, and it seems to parallel his use of sentence initial ngarru nginyaa in his Wayilwan tapes with both phrases often seeming to be semantically empty.

6.1.6 Pragmatic uses of demonstratives

Diessel (1999: 6; Chapter 5) discusses the pragmatic uses of demonstratives:

- Demonstratives are primarily used to draw the hearer’s attention to entities in the speech situation (exophoric function), but they may also serve a variety of other pragmatic functions (endophoric functions).

The endophoric functions he lists are anaphoric, discourse deictic and recognition. Anaphoric demonstratives are co-referential with an NP in the previous discourse. Discourse deictic demonstratives refer to a chunk of the surrounding discourse. Recognition of use of a demonstrative indicates that the speaker and hearer are familiar with the referent due to shared experience.

The multiple possible functions a demonstrative can have, the relatively free YG word order, the frequent use of zero anaphora and the relatively optional nature of many discourse connectives often make it impossible to decide the function a demonstrative has in any particular occurrence.

These multiple functions of demonstratives are well exemplified by nhama. It is translated by the speakers as an English locational ‘there/here’, as an English Nominative and Accusative adnominal demonstrative ‘that/this’, and also as a Nominative pronoun ‘he/she/it’ and as an Accusative pronoun ‘him/her/it’.

Complex English translations of a single demonstrative, such as ‘that there’ in (259), are relatively common. At 2833A 1863 AD says nginu nhama mil (nginu ‘your’, mil ‘eye’) and translates it ‘that’s your eye there’ suggesting both ‘that’ and ‘there’ as simultaneous translations for nhama.

(259) Put down that tomahawk. JM/FR 2438A 3106

\[
\text{Put down that there tomahawk, you might cut your foot.}
\]

AD also translates nhama as ‘that there’ at 3218A 2685: ‘whose boot is that there on the ground’. The expressions ‘that there’ and ‘this here’ are common in Walgett Aboriginal English. These uses may reflect similar uses in non-standard Australian English (and in Cockney English), the meaning of demonstrative in Aboriginal languages, or both.

6.1.7 Co-occurrence of demonstratives

Multiple YG demonstratives are often found in the one clause, mostly clause initially or nearly so. The co-occurrence of a number of demonstratives with a range of possible functions makes it difficult to determine the function of each. Most commonly demonstratives with an (apparently) locational use such as ngiyarrma are first in the clause, as are time and manner deictics. When used adnominally or pronominally they are frequently in second position in the clause: see §Error! Reference source not found.

The co-occurrence of multiple demonstratives and pronouns is seen in (260) (part of a story about a man killing and cooking an emu) where these are the first three or four words of each clause. The example also illustrates the common locational framework of YG discourse, both in the constant use of ngiyarrma, and in AD’s use of ‘there’ in his translation of (a) and (b).
AD describes cooking an emu. JM/AD 5130 923

(a) ngiyarrma nguu ngaama=nga / buurra-y //
there 3SG.ERG that=?THEN / pluck-PST //
He plucked him there and;

(b) ngiyarrma nguu=Na / ngaarrma, gurru mawu-nhi / dhawuma-li,gu
there 3SG.ERG=3 / there?, hole dig-PST / cook-PURP
dug a hole there (to cook it) and,

(c) ngiyarrma nguu=nha?nga / ngaam bamba dha-y / buyuma-dhuul
there 3SG.ERG=3? / there?, w.energy eat-PST / dog-DIM (=glutton)
He gulped it down (ate with energy), the glutton.

He plucked him, and then dug a hole to cook it. And then he ate it up, the glutton.

6.1.8 Demonstrative phonology

There is a general discussion of phonology in Chapter 2. There is variation in the pronunciation of many demonstratives, partly because they typically occur in the IIP (Initial Intonation Phrase) where they are mostly unstressed, but there is also replacement of elements, particularly initial consonants. This often makes it difficult to determine the actual form of the word. There is frequent adaptation of word initial nasal to the preceding sound: ng and nh regularly are realised as n after apicals and ny after i and y. The final ma in demonstratives is often elided to m. (261)–(265) show elision and adaptation of the initial consonant. (There are also unexpected examples of elision where there is a pause after the nhama as in (447).)

(261) dhaymaarr=bala nham’ bidjaay-biyaay
ground=CTR 3.DEF mud-com
That ground’s all mud. AD/JM 2833A 622
But that ground is muddy. JG

(262) nham’ mudhay
3.DEF possum
that possum AD/JM 3218B 2554

(263) The women are smiling.
JM/AD 3218B 2597
nham=badhaay=nga=bala / yinarr-galgaa=bala nhamalay yaluw gindama-y,la-nha
3.DEF=MIGHT=THEN=CTR / woman-PL=CTR there? again laugh-CTS-PRS
they, those women, are laughing again. JG

(264) garigari nyama dhayn
afraid 3.DEF man
He is afraid. AD/JM 3219A 159
That man is afraid. JG

(265) barraay nyam’ buugalaa bayama-la
fast 3.DEF ball hold-IMP
Hold that ball fast. AD/JM 3217A 582
Catch that ball quickly. JG

At times it is also difficult to distinguish word initial nasals. At times it is not clear whether a particular word is nhama or ngama. The tape at 3220B 2929 has been listened to by a number of people, with some hearing marragulay and others ngarragulay.

Another area of uncertainty concerns vowel length, particularly the contrast between a and aa in the first syllable. The word ngaarri is found as an independent word and with a number of suffixes. There length of the first vowel varies and is at times unclear.

There are other sets of ‘words’ and suffixes which may be allomorphs or separate morphemes. Four sets are given below, each with a gloss.
Allomorphs or separate morphemes?

ngiyarrima, ngiyarrma, ngiyama anaphoric ‘there’
ngaarrma, ngaama ‘that?’
ngaarrima, ngaarrma ‘over there’
-lay, -li, -la, l’ ‘visible?/pointed out (OSTensive)

More details about these are given when each morpheme is discussed.

6.2 Demonstrative morphemes

YG demonstrative stems are given in Table 106, suffixes found in demonstratives are given in Table 107 and some of the derived forms are given in Table 108. Table 109 lists manner and time demonstratives.

6.2.1 Demonstrative roots: Summary

As discussed YG demonstratives consist of a root and one or more suffixes. Table 106 includes the roots recognised in this analysis, with glosses for the root and for the derived form suffixed with -ma ‘DEFinite’, when the gloss is known. Roots which include case information are listed first, then those with location or other deictic information. Nha is included twice, because at times it carries case, but at other times seems to form case-less locationals ‘there/here’. The roots are discussed in more detail later.

The analysis of ngaa and nga is uncertain. It is likely that ngadaa ‘down’ consists of nga, a variant of nha, and -daa ‘down’, so is not a root. Ngaama may be a reduced form, derived from ngaarrima.

Table 106 YG common demonstrative roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base (YR/GR)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>+ma</th>
<th>Gloss/comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominal/locational deictics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Root has case</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nha</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>Nom/Acc</td>
<td>nhama</td>
<td>that, this (here/there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguu YR, nguru GR</td>
<td>3SG,ERG</td>
<td>Erg</td>
<td>nguuma</td>
<td>she/he/it; with it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguwa</td>
<td>place</td>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>nguwama</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngii YG,GR, ngiri GR</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>Abl</td>
<td>ngiima</td>
<td>from there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Root does not have case</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nha</td>
<td>3SG?</td>
<td>nhama</td>
<td>here/there (that, this)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaarri</td>
<td>far</td>
<td>ngaarrima</td>
<td>over there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngiyarri</td>
<td>?in discourse</td>
<td>ngiyarrma</td>
<td>there (discourse)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marra</td>
<td>?close</td>
<td>marrama</td>
<td>one instance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marra?</td>
<td>?distant</td>
<td>marrama</td>
<td>over there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner deictics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalagiiirr YR</td>
<td>so, as, like</td>
<td>yalagiiirrma</td>
<td>like that</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaluguwaay GR</td>
<td></td>
<td>yaluguwaayma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Related form</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngArrA</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ngaa</td>
<td>ngaama</td>
<td>that?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarriba</td>
<td>up</td>
<td>ngarribaama</td>
<td>up there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?nga-daa</td>
<td>down</td>
<td>ngadaama</td>
<td>down there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

88 = nga ‘then’ may be a variant of ngaa, and cf. the WN root nga ‘that’: Table 104.
The glosses are indications of the meaning of the demonstratives, not a detailed description. Demonstratives formed from roots which signal case contrast with other YG nominals, which mark case word finally. The paradigm of case marked demonstratives roots is defective, with no Dative or Allative case. However, the rare Dative forms ngiyarrngu and ngiyarrimangu (see below), derived from ngiyarri, are found, and they may fill that slot in the paradigm. Some other roots do have Allative forms, e.g. ngaarri-gu-lay (far-ALL-OST) ‘over that way’, so it may be that there was no Allative demonstrative root.

There is limited evidence for describing ngArrA ‘other’ as a demonstrative root, with ngarraagulay ‘an/the other way/direction’ the only demonstrative that incorporates ngarraa. NgArrA has not been attested with the suffix -ma ‘DEFinite’.

Manner deictics are included in Table 106 since they share many of the properties of demonstratives, including the suffixes they can take.

### 6.2.2 Demonstrative suffixes: Summary

Table 107 lists demonstratives suffixes and demonstrative root-forming suffixes. The function of demonstrative suffixes is not totally certain, and may also vary from situation to situation. If there are a number of likely glosses the more likely one is given first. Non-demonstrative suffixes such as -gu Allative found between the root and final suffix are also listed, as is -uu, a time suffix, and -Buu ‘total’. -ma-lay and -gu-lay are the most common of many compound suffixes found in demonstratives and related forms.

### Table 107 Demonstrative forming suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Main uses/meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>known</td>
<td>ngaarri-ma</td>
<td>that, far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lay</td>
<td>near speaker? ostensive?</td>
<td>nguwa-lay</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Demonstrative root forming suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Main uses/meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>Allative (§3.2.4)</td>
<td>ngaarri-gu</td>
<td>over that way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-baa</td>
<td>up</td>
<td>ngaarribaa</td>
<td>up.there?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-daa?</td>
<td>down?</td>
<td>ngadaa</td>
<td>down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gili</td>
<td>side (see Table 54)</td>
<td>ngaarrigili</td>
<td>far side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-uu</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>yalagiiyu[u]</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Buu</td>
<td>total</td>
<td>ngaarribuu</td>
<td>very long ago</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Suffix combinations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Main uses/meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ma-lay</td>
<td>identifiable + visible?</td>
<td>nhama-lay</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gu-lay</td>
<td>Allative + visible?/ostensive</td>
<td>ngaarri-gu-lay</td>
<td>over that way</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.2.3 Demonstratives: Summary

Table 108 gives the main demonstratives found. A ‘Y’ indicates the combination of root and suffix is found. ‘WR’ indicates the form is found only in Ridley. Some forms not listed in the table are given after it.
Table 108  YG demonstratives: base+suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Combination is found</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nha</td>
<td>DEF?</td>
<td>Y Y Y Y WR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguu</td>
<td>3SG.ERG</td>
<td>Y Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguwa</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Y Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngii</td>
<td>FROM YR</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngiri</td>
<td>FROM GR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaarrjī</td>
<td>far</td>
<td>Y Y Y Y WR -baa-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngiyarrr</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaa</td>
<td>anaphoric?</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maRa</td>
<td>close</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarraa</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other forms found include:
- nha-ngaragay this/that other
- ngarri-gaay ‘other’
- MathewsGR
- ngarri-baa-lay-gu likely
- 3216B 1820
- Ridley

Table 109  Manner and time demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>-ma</th>
<th>-lay</th>
<th>-uu</th>
<th>-ma-wu/u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yalagiirr</td>
<td>YR</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiyalaguwaay</td>
<td>GR</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiyalima</td>
<td>Ridley</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.4  Demonstrative suffixes – details

The functions of demonstrative suffixes are now discussed, then complete demonstratives, consisting of roots and suffixes.

6.2.4.1  -ma ‘DEFinite’

The suffix -ma is glossed ‘DEFinite. It is very common on demonstratives, and is also found on other word classes including interrogatives and third person singular pronouns. The current analysis is that -ma emphasises that the speaker expects the hearer knows the identity of what is being discussed, whether because it has been previously mentioned, or because it is being pointed to, or is shared knowledge.

Its use with interrogatives indicates that -ma can be used when the speaker does not have definite information but the hearer does. With the suggested analysis, minya? is ‘what?’ and

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89 Simpson (pers. comm.) points out that in Mudbarra -ma indicates that a referent has been previously mentioned. It can be attached to pronouns. However, in YG -ma seems to have a wider use.
minyama? makes it clear that the asker expects the hearer to know the answer. The same interpretation fits Sim’s (1998: 40) translation of both minyaayi=dhaay and minyaayi-ma=dhaay as ‘from where?’ (Where.ABL=(ma)=to.here). The second could be used in the question: ‘Where did you come from?’, where it is clear the hearer knows the answer. I assume the use of -ma in demonstratives to be similar. For example, since ngaarri is ‘far’, ngaarrima is ‘over there (you know where)’.

On pronouns, -ma is mostly, but not exclusively, found on core cases. A Dative example is seen in §6.3.3 and the demonstrative ngaarrima is found in Dative case.

The suffix -ma is also likely a historical formative in the interrogative yaama.

-ay is also used with other word classes, being found on the nominals Minyaminyamagaa and barriindjii. Minyaminyamagaa ‘everything’ is derived from minya ‘what’ and/or minyagaa ‘something’. It translates as ‘everything’ at 8186 1727 where (he opened the bag and pulled) everything (out of it). -ma is presumably used because the whole story has been about the fire that is hidden in the bag, and so the details of ‘everything’ are clearly known. However, the location of -ma, before -gaa, is not currently accounted for. At 2832B 3181 AD responds to ‘What kind of bird was that?, with minya-ma ‘what-ma’, indicating that he expects the other person to know, and then says barrriindjiin-ma=yaa ‘peewee-ma-INDEF’, which I presume indicates that he expects that the questioner knew the bird was a peewee.

Other instances of -ma are found in (266)(=(757)), where clearly the questioned knows the answer, in (191) and (1010). The suffix is also found in (901) but there the meaning is not so clear: ‘(they all said:) how can we get the fire (from the pelican)?’ The question is addressed to themselves, and they do not know the answer.

(266) Where are you all?  CW/AD 5055 1823

minyaaya-ma ngindaay gii-b.aaba-y // ngindaay means ‘all of you’
where.LOC-DEF 2PL get-TOT-PST // 2PL

Where were you all? JG

The suffix occurs in nhama, the most common demonstrative in recent sources. The difference in the meaning of =NHaa and nhama is not clear, since both seem to assume the hearer knows the identity of the referent. =NHaa is found only as a clitic in recent sources, and it may be that nhama has replaced it as a root form. -ma often contrasts with -lay (next section), as in the pairs nhama ‘that’, nhalay ‘this’, nguwaama ‘there’, nguwalay ‘here’. -ma is found on many compounds derived from demonstrative roots, for instance ngaarri-baa ‘up’: ngaarribaa-ma is ‘up there’. The only demonstrative root -ma has not been attested on is ngarraa ‘other’.

6.2.4.2 -lay ‘OSTensive’

The demonstrative suffix -lay is less common. It is found only on demonstrative stems, unlike -ma. Its meaning is not certain but the current tentative gloss is ‘OSTensive’. Many uses of -lay fit the assumption that the speaker is pointing to or in some other way indicating the referent, particularly when it occurs after other demonstrative suffixes, as in ngaarri-gu-lay ‘out that way’ and nha-malay, which refers to a distant object. When it occurs on a simple stem, ‘nearness to the speaker’ is the more obvious interpretation, as in nha-lay ‘this/here’, rarely ‘that’ and nguwa-lay ‘here’. In those instances -lay generally, but not always, contrasts with -ma, which almost always indicates distance from the speaker: so nha-ma ‘that, there’, and nguwa-ma ‘there’. The fact that *ngaarrilay ‘distant-lay’ is not attested supports -lay meaning ‘close to the speaker’. Another possible meaning of -lay is that the referent is visible.

The sources often have a final -li on demonstratives, which I interpret as a variant of -lay. The suffix -la is found in a number of demonstratives and may be an allomorph of -lay but this is far from certain. No obvious gloss has been found for -la and I leave it for later investigation.
6.2.4.2.1 

-ma-lay, -gu-lay

The compound suffix -*malay* is relatively common. The meaning of the suffix is difficult to determine from the sources, but it may mean ‘definite and pointed to’, although the referent is often ‘definite and visible’. These are the best current interpretations and neither of them is consistent with the -*lay* indicating ‘near the speaker’. The most common occurrence is in *nhamalay*, generally glossed ‘that’. The use of -*lay* with other suffixes is discussed when those suffixes are discussed. The suffix also occurs in *ngaarribaalay* (§6.3.5.6), where its use is consistent with it indicating a direction.

The compound suffix -*gu-lay* is also relatively common. It seems to indicate a direction, perhaps the direction that the speaker is actually pointing to or otherwise showing.

It may be that the meanings of the compound suffixes -*ma-lay* and -*gu-lay* are not compositional. For the possibility of a -*Lay-ma* suffix combination see §6.4.3.1.

The following are not demonstrative suffixes, but occur, or potentially occur, in demonstratives.

6.2.4.3 

-gu ‘Allative’

The Allative suffix -*gu* is discussed in §3.2.4. It forms stems with some demonstrative roots, for instance *ngaara-gu* ‘other-ALL’, ‘over there’ and *ngaarri-gu* ‘far-ALL’ (no gloss); (both at 3219B 948). I assume *ngaaraagu* could be better glossed as ‘(to) somewhere else’ and *ngaarri-gu* as ‘(to) far away’. The demonstratives *ngaarrigulay* *ngaarraagu* are presumably derived from *ngaarrigu* and *ngaaraagu*. They occur most frequently in the set phrase *ngaarrigulay ngaarraagu* ‘far-gulay other-gulay’ an idiom often translated ‘this way and that’. In these contexts the meaning ‘near speaker’ for -*lay* is not possible. These forms are found with verbs such as ‘go’, ‘take’ and ‘throw’. In one instance at least (example after Table 108) -*gu* occurs after -*lay*. The effect of this suffix order is not known.

While *ngaarraagulay* ‘over that way’ likely refers to an indicated direction, *ngaarrimalay*, also glossed ‘over that way’, likely refers to a distant and pointed to location.

6.2.4.4 

-daa ‘down’

There is limited YG evidence for the suffix, but the cognate in WN and WI (Table 105) supports this analysis. The form *ngadaa* ‘down’ is *nga-daa*, with a suffix -*daa* indicating down, just as -*baa* is ‘up’. See also *nguuadaa*, §6.3.7.1.1. The suffix could be further used in YG. So *ngadaama* would be ‘down there’: cf. *ngarribaama* ‘up there’ and *ngiridaa* ‘from below’. It may be that the suffix is also found in *bunda* fall, since *bun* is a verb-root-initial element and in *binda*-y ‘hang’. Both verbs include the concept of ‘down’. See §10.5 for the compound nature of many YG verb roots.

6.2.4.5 

-baa ‘up’

There are homophous suffixes -*baa* ‘up’ and -*Baa* ‘Domain’, the latter considered at §4.2.1. The most common occurrence of -*baa* ‘up’ is in *ngaarribaa* ‘up’. It also occurs in *njirri* ‘from above’ (*ngiriba*) (Ridley: 36). -*baa*-ma occurs in (356) with *ngarribaama* as part of the translation of ‘(I see honey) up there’. *Ngaarribaa* ‘up’ contrasts with *ngarribaama* ‘up there’. -*baa*-ma is also found in *nyirri-baa-ma=dhaay* ‘(swooped) down’ AD3220B 2452, with *nyirri* probably a reflex of *ngii*-. -*baa* is possibly an element of *ngadaabali* in (393)(b) and *ngiyarri-baa* in (393)(d). It is likely that the -*baa* ‘up’ could be used on other demonstrative roots.

The form is also found in *guwinbau* ‘close’ (*guwiin*, also ‘close’) but this may be a different suffix. Milson (p5) has *bow* ‘above’, which may be the suffix -*baa*.

There is no clear example of the suffix in YG verb roots. It is likely coincidence that *YR baay* ‘hop’ is formally similar to the suffix and that *bumbaali* ‘jump in’ (319)(h) has the syllable -*baa*. Both YG and WN have a transitiviser -*ba-li*, and a small number of the verbs so formed include the concept of up, for instance YG/WN *wamba-li* ‘carry’, WN *ganaa-ba-li* ‘put on shoulder’ (*ganaa*

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90 *ngadaabali* is very uncertain, but may be *nga-daa-baa-lay*; there-DOWN-UP-OST ‘(looking) down from up here’.
‘shoulder’); garul-pa-li ‘rear, as in a snake rearing up’ (?garul ‘stone’) WN does not have verb roots with a final long vowel.

6.2.4.6 -Buu ‘TOTal’

The suffix -Buu ‘Total’ is discussed in §13.3.3. It adds a meaning like ‘totally’ or ‘as much as possible’. It is not found with demonstratives, but is found with demonstratives roots, with most instances in the old sources. Examples of -Buu are given in Table 110. These are all given in wordlists, apart from the AD token, which occurs in the sentence ‘over there the water is shallow’.

I assume the suffixes -ma and -lay could be used with these words, so forming demonstratives, for instance with ngaarribuugulay ‘totally far away over there’ being similar to, but stronger than, ngaarrigulay.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nābū</td>
<td>here (beside me)</td>
<td>nha-buu? ngaag-buu?</td>
<td>here-totally = very close</td>
<td>Ridley: 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urribuu</td>
<td>far</td>
<td>ngaarribu</td>
<td>far-very = very far</td>
<td>Ridley: 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaribu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MathewsGR: 268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nubodha</td>
<td>more this way</td>
<td>nha-buu-dhaay?</td>
<td>-dhaay ‘to.here’</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murrabu</td>
<td>that (behind)</td>
<td>maRa-buu</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>MathewsYR: 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over there</td>
<td>ngaarri-buu</td>
<td>far-very = very far</td>
<td>AD3217B 919</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 110 Locational use of -Buu ‘TOTal’

6.3 Details of demonstratives

This section deals with the details of demonstratives, beginning with those formed from third person singular pronouns nguu(YR)/nguru(GR) Ergative, then the Nominative/Accusative nha. The form ngaama is treated next. The relatively common nguwa ‘place’ and ngii/ngiri ‘FROM’ are then considered. After the case forms ngaari ‘far’, ngiyarri (meaning unclear) and then ngArrA ‘other’ are considered, followed by a number of less common and uncertain roots. Manner and time demonstratives are considered at the end of the chapter.

6.3.1 Pronouns as demonstrative-forming roots

Demonstratives based on personal pronouns are found in other languages. For instance in Pitta Pitta (Blake, 1979: 194) ‘third person pronouns are almost always followed by (one of three) deictic clitics’. These clitics refer to proximity to the speaker, something relatively far from the speaker, or ever further from the speaker.

In YG the simple third person singular core case pronouns =NHa (Nom/Acc) and nguu/nguru (Erg). When suffixed with -ma or -lay these are demonstratives which can function as pro-nominals or ad-nominals (pronouns or adjectives) and with animate and inanimate reference. They can modify singular or plural nominals.

The most common forms are nhama ‘that’, nhalay ‘this’ (Nominative, Accusative) and nguuma/nguruma (Ergative). nhamalay and nguumalay are much less common and the only example of nguualay is seen in (277). There are numerous examples of nhama and fewer of nhalay throughout the grammar.

The conditions governing the choice of the simple pronoun or the corresponding demonstrative are not clear. It may be that there is some element of choice for the speaker. On p97 Wurm has a short narrative. In the first line reference is made to ‘a good dog’ and no demonstrative is used. The dog is referred to in each of the following four sentences, with nguuma ma:daiju (nguuma

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91 These words are often unstressed and it is sometimes unclear if the word is nguuma or nguuma ‘there’.
maadhaayu) if the verb is transitive, and with namma ma:ðai (nhama maadhaay) if the verb is intransitive. In many other similar situations simple ngu and =nha are used.

There are rare examples of demonstratives which include non-core case pronouns. §6.3.3 lists ngiyarrima-ngu, nguulay-ngu and ngurungu-ma. The first two have the Personal Declension Dative suffix after the demonstrative suffix, and in the third order is reversed.

6.3.2 nguu/nguru (Ergative pronouns) + -ma/-lay

Demonstrative suffixes are common on the Ergative third person singular pronouns nguu (YR) and are found on nguru (GR), with -ma much more common than -lay. Nguuma has pronominal use in (267) and (271), seems to have adnominal use in (268), and in (269) and (270) where it follows the co-referential noun, and probably has cross-referencing use in (272) and (273).

(267)  He held it.  
      CW/AD 3994B 470
      giirr nguuma  bayama-lda-nha
      true 3ERG.DEF hold-CTS-PRS
      He is holding it.  JG

Wurm has ngu:ma nga and ngu:ma, all of which I have transcribed as nguuma. In (268) nguuma can be interpreted as cross-referencing rather than adnominal, but Wurm’s written material does not indicate pauses so this interpretation is not certain. In (268) the demonstrative precedes the noun. In (269) and (270) it follows the noun, but in all three, in (267) and twice in (271) the demonstrative is second, again illustrating the importance of this syntactic consideration.

(268)  wa:l nguuma ma:deiju ñei birrali:gal i:ðanni  
       waal nguuma maadhaay-yu ngay  birrali:gal yi:i-lda-nhi
       not 3ERG.DEF dog-ERG 1SG.DAT child-PL bite-CTS-PST
       The dog didn’t use to bite children.  SW
       That dog of mine didn’t bite children.  JG

(269)  ma:deiju nga maadhaay-yu nguuma  dhirra gula-lda-nhi
       dog-ERG 3ERG.DEF flash bark-CTS-PRS
       The dog quickly (in a flash) barks.  SW

(270)  deveinu ngu uma manumai ñanija: deveindi  
       dhayn-du nguuma manuma-y dhamiyaa dhayn-di
       person-ERG 3ERG.DEF steal-PST tomahawk person-ABL
       He stole it from the other man.  SW
       That man stole the tomahawk from (another) man  JG

In (271) nguuma contrasts with nhama to mark the change of transitivity.

(271)  While the dog was mad he bit the kid.  JM/AD 3220B 3662
       maadhaay nhama wamba / yilaa nguuma,  birralii-djuul / nhama
       dog 3.DEF mad / soon 3ERG.DEF, child-DIM / 3.DEF
       That dog was(is) mad. Then he, the kid  JG
       bamba yii-y,  buyu-dhi
       hard bite-PST, leg-ABL
       bit him hard, on the leg.  JG

In (272)(a) the first use of nguuma is cross-referential, as it is in (273). When asked for a similar sentence AD in (272)(b) firstly uses a Nominative form, but then seems to correct himself and
again uses nguuma. The verb is middle with reflexive meaning, and CW’s question suggests she expected it to be intransitive, but the subject is Ergative, as AD confirms when questioned.

(272) Say to me: He washed himself. CW/AD 3995B 1869
(a) Yaama nguuma / nginu gulii-yu / wagirrbuma-nhi? ques 3ERG.DEF / 2SG.DAT spouse-ERG / wash.M-PST
Did he, your husband, wash (himself)? JG
That means: your husband washed himself; say just: ‘he washed himself’. CW
(b) yaama / yaama nhama=Na / yaama nguuma / wagirrbuma-nhi? ques / ques 3.DEF=3 / ques 3ERG.DEF / wash.M-PST
Did he wash himself? JG
Followed by: CW nguuma? AD yeah, nguuma.

(273) A little short man had caught two goannas. JM/AD 8187 84
giirruu nguuma, babay-jiul-u dhayn- / bulaarr / dhuulii bayama-y true.very 3ERG.DEF, small-DIM-ERG person-ERG / two / goanna catch-PST

In (274) nguuma and nguulay are adnominal to an Ergative Agent. They are in focus position, first in the sentence.

(274) That man talks Ngiyambaa very well. JM/AD 3220B 323
(a) nguuma=bala dhayn-duul-u / ngayaga-duul-u / maayu / Ngiyambaa guwaa-lada-nha 3ERG.DEF=CTR man-ONE-ERG / other-ONE-ERG / well / Ngiyambaa speak-CTS-PRS
That other man talks Ngiyambaa well. JG
This man speaks Muruwari very badly
(b) nguulay=bala ngayaga-duul-u dhayn-du / Murruwari / maayu guwaa-lada-nha 3ERG.OST=CTR other-ONE-ERG man-ERG / Muruwari / well speak-CTS-PRS
But this (other) man talks Muruwari well. JG

While the vast majority of instances of nguuma and nguulay have ergative (Agent) function, there are clear instances of nguulay with instrumental function as in (275), and in the immediately following sentence in Wurm. In (276) nguuma likely has instrumental function, cross-referencing bilaayu.

(275) ðinna:wan naja nu’ulci bila:ju ðunni dhinawan ngaya nguulay bilaay-yu dhu-nhi emu 1SG 3ERG.OST spear-ERG pierce-PST
I’ve speared an emu with this spear. SW

(276) I fight well with my spear and shield. JM/FR 2437B 3838
gaba nguuma, ngaya, giirr ngaya gaba gaywi-lada-nha, bilaay-yu good 3ERG.DEF, 1SG, true 1SG good pelt-CTS-PRS, spear-ERG
I can throw the spear very good. FR
I can hit it well with that spear. JG

The combination -ma-lay occurs on pronouns. Nhamalay is common, found around 60 times in the tapes. Nhamalay and the sole occurrence of Nguumalay are seen in (277), with the pronouns in contrasting cases. Alternative translations indicate possible structures and the underlining and bolding shows the possible NP structure, but even for YG the discontinuity of the NPs is surprising. The example may not be reliable.
While *nguu* is a singular pronoun the demonstrative *nguuma* modifies plurals on a number of occasions: *bubaay-galgaa-gu* ‘little ones’ in (278) and *ganugu* ‘3PL.ERG’ in (222). The singular pronoun *nguu* seems to modify the plural *birraliigalu* ‘children’ in (426).

(278) The children had eaten the possum.  

They, the little ones, the children, we were eating the possum.

Table 111 has most demonstratives which are pronouns suffixed with -*ma* or -*lay* and a number of other rare but likely related forms. Other examples may well be found, particularly some formed from dual and plural third person pronouns. It does not include *nhama* and *nhalay* since *nha* does not generally occur as a free form.

### Table 111 Demonstratives: pronouns suffixed with -*ma/-lay*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Source/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Common forms</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nguuma</em></td>
<td>that (adnominal,</td>
<td><em>nguuma</em></td>
<td>YR: tapes; Wurm; Laves; other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pronominal)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nguulay</em></td>
<td>with this (spear)</td>
<td><em>nguulay</em></td>
<td>YR: Wurm: 97, 98; tapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ŋūruma</em></td>
<td>that by you (iste) [Latin]</td>
<td><em>ŋūruma</em></td>
<td>GR: Ridley: 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ŋurumalay</em></td>
<td>this fellow (in action)</td>
<td><em>ŋurumalay</em></td>
<td>GR: MathewsGR: 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(none given)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rare forms</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ŋgiyarimangua</em></td>
<td>(Give) it to him. (here)</td>
<td><em>ŋgiyarima-ngu</em></td>
<td>YR: Sim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ŋguulingua</em></td>
<td>Give it to him. (here)</td>
<td><em>ŋguulayngu</em></td>
<td>YR: Sim: 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ŋurungu-ma</em></td>
<td>of this (camp)</td>
<td><em>ŋurungu-ma</em></td>
<td>GR: MathewsGR: 267</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.3 **NHa (Nominative/Accusative) + -*ma/-lay***

The Nominative/Accusative pronoun *nha*, found as a clitic in recent sources but reported as a free form in earlier sources, has been discussed at §5.4.2.1. Here I consider demonstratives are derived from *nha*. The most common form is *nhama*, less common are *nhalay* and *nhamalay*.  

(279) shows Janet Mathews eliciting information about demonstratives. The common translation of ‘that’ and the expected translation of ‘those’ is *nhama*. If the details of the elicitation situation were known it would help to specify more closely the meanings of *ngaarrma* and *nhamalay*.

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92 Williams (p 91) lists *ngaama* as a variant of *nhama*. I later examine the possibility that it is a distinct morpheme.
6 Demonstratives

NHama is the most common demonstrative in recent sources, with around 2,000 occurrences. It is found over 400 times in Wurm, mostly recorded as nama, occasionally as nhama. It is less frequent in earlier sources. This may indicate that the demonstrative system found in the recent sources varies from that in older sources. NHama has the phonologically conditioned forms nham’, nyama and nyam’, and the initial nasal tends to be realised as [n] after word final apicals.

The common translations of nhama reflect its multiple functions. It is commonly translated ‘that’ (pronominal/adnominal) and ‘there’ (locational). NHama ‘this’ is found in Ridley (p7); in Mathews (1903: 264) who translates it ‘this fellow, at rest’; and in recent sources. NHama is also translated as ‘he/she/it’ (Nominative) and ‘her/him/it’ (Accusative) and perhaps as ‘the’ in combination with a nominal. At times there is no translation of nhama given in the English. At other times it seems to have a discourse use: fairly semantically bleached and part of a formulaic sentence starting strategy.

Often it is not possible to determine the function of nhama, in part because of the common use of zero anaphora for third person singular referents in core cases. Nhalay and nhamalay presumably have the same range of uses, but there are fewer examples than of nhama. The form nhama=nha, a combination of a demonstrative and pronoun, is relatively common, mostly in second position.

6.3.3.1.1 nhama: examples

The sources have many examples of the different uses of nhama. (280)–(284) show nhama most likely with likely pronominal use, Nominative in (280) and (290) (animate and inanimate) and Accusative in (281)–(284). NHama is ‘this’ in (280) and (282) and has human reference in (283).

(280) minja nama
minya nhama
what 3.DEF
SW p66, 90
What is that? (p66) What is this? (p90) SW

(281) Do that!
gimbi-la nhama
do-IMP 3.DEF
JM/FR 1853B 369

(282) Catch this.
nhama bayama-la
3.DEF catch-IMP
JM/FR 1853B 524

(283) dhiiirra-y nhama ngoya / birralii-djuul
know-PST 3.DEF?there I / child-DIM
I knew him when he was a little boy. FR 2437B 1223

In (284) nhama and =nya93 likely both refer to the horse. It seems likely that at times there is a choice between nhama and =NHa, with nhama preferred for the first mention and =NHa subsequently.

93 However, the AD translation suggests that =nya may be a variant of=NGa ‘then’.
Make him (a horse) go.  

NW/AD 3996A 1476 (284)
(a)  

Telling you to hit him.

Hey about you hit him.  // Hit that one!  

JG

(b)  

(You hit him) then he’ll go.

He will run fast then.  

JG

Nominal use is clear in (280)–(284). Locational use is clear from the translation in (285), and in (286)(b), since nhama there cannot refer to ‘snake’, which is Ergative case.

(285)  

There’s a lot of birds there.

FR 1853A 1416

(286)  

The snake is chasing you.

FR 1851B 1750

At other times it is not possible to distinguish nominal function and locational function. In (287) nhama could be adnominal to ‘woman’, both Nominative, or could be a locational. In (288) nhama is likely locational, but could be adnominal to ‘water’. Native speakers often have a locational interpretation of nhama, as seen in the translation of (288).

(287)  

That woman is very sick.

FR 2437B 444

That woman is sick.  

JG

(288)  

He is in the house sitting down.  

FR 1988B 608

Whether it has locational or nominal function the use or not of nhama seems to depend on discourse considerations. For instance nhama with locational use is found in (286)(b) but not in the similar (286)(a).

Since zero anaphora of third person singular pronouns in core cases is common (see §11.2.4 and (289)) there is often no way to determine the function of nhama in a sentence such as (290).

(289)  

He is climbing (to get) the possum.  

SW

(290)  

He is in the house sitting down.  

SW
Often there is a combination of a demonstrative and a clitic pronoun, the most common being \textit{nhama=nha}, which is ‘that/him’ in (291). Because of the various uses of \textit{nhama} the interpretation of \textit{nhama=nha} is not always clear. (291) has \textit{nhama} in two clauses. The JS translation suggests that in the first it is an Accusative pronoun, ‘him’, and in the second a demonstrative, ‘there’, with the subject in the second clause realised by =\textit{nha}, i.e. \textit{bindiyaa-dha nhama} forms a locational phrase. An alternative analysis is that \textit{nhama} is ‘there’ in both clauses and that there is no explicit object in the first clause.

(291) At last he found the lizard. JMJ/JS 3216B 684
\begin{align*}
\text{bindiyaa-dha} / \text{nhama} & \text{ ngu} \text{ ngarra-}y / [\text{bindiyaa-dha} \text{ nhama}]=\text{nha} \ \text{wa-y.}la-\text{nha} \\
\text{prickles-LOC} / 3.\text{DEF?there} & \text{3SG.ERG see-PST} / \text{prickles-LOC} \ \text{there=}3 \ \text{be.in-CTS-PRS}
\end{align*}
He seen him, laying in the grass there. JS

In (292)(a)(=794)) \textit{nhama} could be interpreted as adnominal, but could be locational. A locational interpretation is more likely in (292)(b) and a locational interpretation is given in the translation of (292)(b)(ii).

Similarly in (293) the pronominal function is taken by =\textit{nha} and the function of \textit{nhama} is likely adverbial.

(292) Turn that log over. FR/CW 5053 1702
(a) \textit{gayma-la nhama} \ nhaadhiyaan
\begin{align*}
turn-\text{IMP} & \ 3.\text{DEF?there} \ log
\end{align*}
(b) \textit{garra-la} (i)\textit{nhama}=\text{nha}=/\text{nhaadhiyaan} / \text{warangana} (ii)\textit{nhama} \ wa-y.\text{la-nha}
\begin{align*}
cut-\text{IMP} & \ \text{there=}3=\text{THEN} \ log / \text{honey there be.in-CTS-PRS}
\end{align*}
Cut that log open, there’s honey in it. FR
Cut that there log now, there’s honey inside it. JG

(293) He was sitting down by himself, over there. He was sitting down by himself. CW/AD 3999A 602
\textit{giirr nhama}=\text{nha}, \ wila-y.\text{la-nhi}, \ biya-duul
\begin{align*}
\text{true there=}3, & \ \text{sit-CTS-PST, one-ONE}
\end{align*}
He was sitting (there), alone. JG

There are many examples of \textit{nhama} followed by other clitics and suffixes such as =\textit{nga} ‘then’ and =\textit{dhaay} ‘to here’. (294) shows \textit{nhama} followed by three such clitics. The interpretation of this complex is uncertain. The form \textit{nhama-dhaay} (295) can be used as a warning ‘watch out’ (‘something is coming’).

(294) The women are smiling. JMJ/AD 3218B 2593
(Previous elicitation: The men are laughing)
\textit{nham}=\text{badhaay}=\text{nga}=\text{bala} / \text{yinarr-galgaa}=\text{bala nhama-lay} \ \text{valuu gindama-y.}la-\text{nha}
\begin{align*}
\text{nhama} & =\text{MIGHT=}\text{THEN=}\text{CTR} / \text{woman-PL=}\text{CTR} \ 3.\text{DEF-OST} \ \text{again laugh-CTS-PRS}
\end{align*}
And there now, the women over there are laughing too. JG

(295) \textit{dhinawan nhama-dhaay} \ yanaa-waa-\text{nha}
\begin{align*}
\text{emu} & \ \text{there-TO.HERE} \ \text{go-MOV-PRS}
\end{align*}
The emu coming there. FR 1852A 1893

6.3.3.1.2 \textit{nhamalay} ‘that there’
\textit{Nhamalay} is relatively common in the tapes, with around 50 occurrences, and a further 30 transcribed \textit{nhamal} which I assume are the same word. It has nominal and locational function. The semantics of \textit{nhamalay} are unclear. With nominal use it most often has to do with a visible thing: (296), (297) and (300) (‘see that nest’, ‘climb that stone’, etc.). With locational use it generally refers to a visible location. In (298) ‘dog’ is Ergative and so \textit{nhamalay} is not adnominal but
locaational, and presumably referring to a visible location. In (299) the snakes are not visible, and the location is likely also not visible, so the use of nhamalay there is inconsistent with the working description: that nhamalay is used to refer to definite visible objects or locations, whose visibility is being emphasised.

(296) \textit{bilaarr nhama-lay/li} / guyarraala
spear nhama-OST / long
long spear he got \quad JM/AD 3219A 1120
That spear is long. // That spear, it’s a long one. \quad JG

(297) This bambul is ripe. \quad JM/AD 3218B 2693
(a) \textit{nhalay}=badhaay=nga ngaam bambul / 
this=MIGHT=NOW ngaam native.orange / 
(b) \textit{giirr}=bala nhama.lay gaba
indeed=CTR 3.DEF-OST good 
This is good. \quad AD 3218B 2701
This bambul, it is good now. \quad JG

(298) \textit{maadhaay-u nhama-lay}, bura / gayarra-gi-la-nha
dog-ERG 3.DEF-OST, bone / look-CTS-PRS
He (the dog) is looking for his bone. \quad AD 3998A 284

(299) \textit{giirr nhama-lay}, ngandabaa, wuu-waa-nha dhaymaa-yi
indeed nhama-OST snake go.in-MOV-PRS ground-ABL
They all gone in the ground now, the snake. \quad AD 3996A 875
There the snakes are going into the ground. \quad JG

In the following example it is likely that the addressee is holding the meat.

(300) Put the meat down there. \quad JM/AD 3217B 2767
\textit{dhinggaa nhama-lay/la??} / wiima-la nguwama /
meat nhama-LAY / put.down-IMP there /

\textit{Nhamalay} also occurs in (277) and (279), both suggesting that \textit{nhamalay} does not refer to things near the speaker.

6.3.3.2 \textit{nhalay} ‘this, here’

The word \textit{nhalay} is formally a compound of \textit{nha} (3SG.NOM/ACC) and -\textit{lay} ‘OSTensive’. It is most commonly translated as ‘this’ or ‘here’, but other translations such as ‘that’ are also found. It is not found in Ridley (he has \textit{nummo (ngaama?) or numma (nhama)} as ‘this’). It is found in MathewsYR (1902) as ‘that (near)’ and in MathewsGR (1903) as ‘this’. Laves has it as ‘this’ and ‘here’, twice each. There are around 15 occurrences of \textit{nali} ‘this’ in Sim. Wurm has \textit{nali, nalei, nallei, *allei} and \textit{gallei} which are all likely to be \textit{nhalay}, but see below for discussion of the last. His translations include ‘this’, ‘that’, ‘over there’ and ‘the’. It is not found in Tindale or Parker. The word occurs around 120 times in the tapes, transcribed as \textit{nhalay} approximately 100 times, and around 20 as \textit{nhali}. Williams (p91) has it as \textit{nhalay}. Table 112 shows older sources of \textit{nhalay}, and two sources which have \textit{nha} as ‘this’.
Like *nhama*, *nhalay* seems to have a number of functions. Pronominal function is not common, but is seen in (301). In (302)–(306) *nhalay* has adnominal function. The common nominal function translation is ‘this’. *Nhalay* can have locational function, translated ‘here’ when there is no associated noun (307), or when there is a noun: (308), (309) and (310). Often *nhalay* has no translation in English, as in (311) and (312)(a). (312) shows that *nhalay* can be optional in Yuwaalaraay, its use decided by discourse considerations, one of which is the YG tendency to have frequent locational reference. This is seen in (313), where the interviewer’s ‘this’ is translated as *nhalay*, which Arthur Dodd then twice translates as ‘here’. (314) has *nhalay* as both ‘this’ and ‘here’ in the English. The use of *nhalay* with reference to the speaker’s body parts: (302), (311) and (312) strongly indicates that it indicates proximity to the speaker.

(301) **nhalay** gimbi-la
   this  do-IMP
   Do this.94
   FR 1853B 440

(302) **nhalay** maa – this hand
   JM/FR 1852B 2379

(303) This is a good camp.
   gaba **nhalay** gaarrimay
   good this camp
   JM/FR 2437B 2047

(304) gagil **nhalay** barran / wana-gi ngaya gi.yaa.nha
   bad this boomerang / throw-FUT 1SG going.to
   This boomerang is no good, I am going to throw it away.
   FR 2439A 1667

(305) What is this stone lying on the ground?
   minya=bala **nhalay** macyama / wi.ya-lha / dhyamaa-ya
   what=CTR this stone / lie-CTS-PRS / ground-LOC
   JM/AD 3218A 2688

(306) ḏamiya: ṇyu: günda nallei wu:na
   dhamiyaa nguungunda **nhalay** wuu-na
   axe 3sg this give-IMP
   Give him this axe.
   SW p100
(307) It’s not here, I must look in another place. JM/AD 3218B 825

\[ \text{waa=bala } \text{nhalay } \text{wi-y.la-nha} / \text{minyaaya-waayaa ngaama} \]

not=CTR here lie-CTS-PRS / where-IGNOR that

It is not here. I don’t know where it is. JG

(308) \text{nhalay gaarrimay} 

here camp  

The camp is here. FR 1989A 84

(309) \text{dhaay yanaa-ya maa, milaan nhalay;} 

to.here go-IMP Mum, yam here

Come here mum, there’s a yam here. FR 1849B 781

(310) We all have a little meat here. JM/AD 3219B 978

\[ \text{bubaa=bala ngiyaningu dhinggaa nhalay} \]

little=CTR 1PL.DAT meat here

(311) numb; My hand’s numb, and couldn’t feel anything. JM/AD 8185 83

\[ \text{giirr ngay maa nhalay } \text{/yuumba gi-nyi} \]

ture 1SG.DAT hand this?here / numb get-PST

My hands got numb. JG

(312) My stomach is empty and my inside is rattling. JM/AD 8184 1676

(a) \text{mubal nhalay ngay / dhirranba-y.la-nha} / 

stomach this?here 1SG.DAT / shake.M-CTS-PRS /

(b) \text{mubal ngay dhirranba-y.la-nha} 

My stomach (here) is shaking. JG

(313) This meat belongs to him. JM/AD 3218B 3364

\[ \text{nhalay=badhaay dhinggaa nguungu / nhalay wi-y.la-nha} \]

nhalay=MIGHT meat 3SG.DAT / here lie-CTS-PRS

Here’s his meat laying here. AD

(314) \text{gaba=bala nhalay dhaymaarr} 

good=CTR this?here ground  

This is good ground here. FR 1851A 2779

6.3.3.2.1 Questions: nha forms

There is variation in the source forms interpreted as nhalay, and it may be that they represent more than one morpheme. The final segment is variously analysed as a diphthong ay, or a vowel i. This variation is common in YG, so is not likely to indicate that there is more than one morpheme. There is considerable variation in the initial consonant. Table 112 shows it recorded as an apical, lamino-dental and velar. It may be that the forms currently grouped as allomorphs of nhalay are actually separate historical forms. Table 112 has velar-initial forms from both Mathews and Wurm (see also (315)) currently assumed to be allomorphs of nhalay. The gloss in (315) is ‘up there’, quite distinct from the usual ‘here’, also suggesting a different morpheme, perhaps with the word initial nga found in ngadaa ‘down’. However, the evidence at this stage is slight. -b

(315) \text{ðamaï gianna gunda: ñalci ịjarâla} 

dhama-y gi.yaa.nha // gundaa nhalay??ngalay ngarra-la 

rain-FUT going.to // cloud here?? look-IMP

It’s going to rain: look at the clouds up there. SW
Apart from the common nhama, nhalay and nhamalay, there are a number of rare forms derived from nha. Ridley’s nābū ‘here, (beside me)’ and possibly his gubbo ‘this’ may be nha-buu, with the -buu ‘total’ (see §6.2.4.6), and so meaning ‘right here’. Mathews’s nabbru ‘more this way’ may begin with the same word, but the dha is not clear. It may be a reflex of -dhaay ‘to here’ (§13.6) but -dhaay is usually suffixed on a word that indicates distance, not proximity.

6.3.3.3 Discourse uses of nhamalay/nhalay

There is a common discourse pattern in Arthur Dodd tapes, where the initial reference to a close object involves nhalay, but once the identity is established further reference uses nhama. In (316)(a) nhalay is used in reference to the little fellow, but in (316)(b) the demonstrative is nhama. A similar pattern is seen in (317)(a) and continues in (b).

(316) That fellow is bigger than this fellow. JM/AD 3217B 3078
(a) ngaarrim’-wan.gaan / burrel / nhalay=bala bubaay / over.there-VERY? / big / this=CTR small /
The one way over there is a big fellow, but this one is small. JG
(b) garriya=bala nhama bubaay dhu-na
don’t=CTR 3.DEF small pierce-IMP
Don’t spear the little fellow, (spear this big fellow). AD

(317) This spear is mine. JM/AD 3217B 3106
(a) nhalay=bala ngay bilaarr / ngay=bala nhama bilaarr /
this=CTR 1SG DAT spear / 1SG DAT=CTR 3.DEF spear /
This is my spear. That is my spear. JG
(b) guyungan, guyungan nhama ngay bilaarr
(my.)own, (my.)own, 3.DEF 1SG DAT spear
That’s my own spear, my own spear. AD
My own, that’s my own spear. JG

(318) illustrates again that the use of nhalay is not easily predicted. In (a) and (b) the man is referred to by ngaama. Nhalay is used in (c), presumably to indicate that the location of reference has changed, and is now ‘here’, rather than further away, where the speaker was previously looking.

(Previous elicitations) Can you see the man walking from the tree towards the camp? Did you see that man?
(318) No, I can’t see him yet, I am looking for him. JM/AD 3219B 2436
(a) waaluu ngaama ngaya ngarra-y, not.yet 3.ANA DEF 1SG see-PST,
I can’t see him yet. JG
(b) waaluu ngaama ngaya ngarra-y, minyaaya-waayaa ngaama / dhayn-duul gi-nyi not.yet 3.ANA DEF 1SG see-PST, where-IGNORE 3.ANA DEF / person-ONE get-PST
I can’t see him yet. I don’t know where that man is. JG
I see him now, he is coming closer JM/AD 3219B 2459
(c) oh / gitir ngaya=Na ngarra-y, nhalay / dhayn ‘nnaa-waa-ndaay / guwinbua-ga ngamunda
oh, / true 1SG=3 see-PST, here / to here come-MOV-SUB / close-LOC 1SG LOC
Ah, I see him now, here, coming here, close to me. JG

6.3.4 ngaama ?anaphoric

The function of the demonstrative ngaama remains to be fully discovered, but (319) and other examples indicate that it is used predominantly as an anaphoric demonstrative, referring to a previously mentioned argument. This contrasts with nhama and nhalay, which may be used at the
first mention of a referent: e.g. (280)–(284) for nhama; (301)–(306) for nhalay. This analysis contrasts with Williams, who has (p91): ‘The form nhama alternates freely with nyama and ngaama’. Ngaama occasionally has adverbial locative use, and it can be part of semantically fairly empty sentence-initial phrases that are particularly part of Arthur Dodd’s personal style. I treat ngaama, ngaarrma and ngaama as variants.

Ngaama is not found in all sources. It has the usual phonological adaptations of other demonstratives and their predominantly second position in the clause.

6.3.4.1 Examples of ngaama

(319) is a continuous narrative where CW gives the English and AD translates. Reference to participants can be explicit (e.g. maadhaay ‘dog’), a pronoun, a demonstrative, both a demonstrative and explicit, or there can null anaphora.

Table 113 shows the reference made to the participants in each sentence of (319). When participants are first mentioned the demonstrative nhama is used (twice for birralii), or there is no demonstrative (twice for maadhaay). Subsequent mentions involve nhama (once), ngaama (8 times) or no demonstrative (4 times). There is a strong tendency in this passage to use ngaama for non-initial demonstrative reference to Nominative/Accusative participants.

The Dem/Pron column shows the demonstrative or pronoun used, the Expl(icit) column shows if the name of the participant (e.g. maadhaay) is used, or N/A indicates that there is no reference to that participant in the sentence. Nhama, ngaama or =NHa can be used when the participant is Nominative or Accusative, and nguu or nguuma when the participant is Ergative. No demonstrative or pronoun is used when the participant is not in a core case. Null anaphora is common.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>line</th>
<th>Dem/Pron</th>
<th>Nom*</th>
<th>Dem/Pron</th>
<th>Nom*</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>nhama</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Dog: Ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>nhama</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Dog: Ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ngaama x2</td>
<td>Yes (1)</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Dog: Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>ngaama</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>(null anaphora)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>nguua</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>murky ‘nose’ explicit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>nhama</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dog: Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>ngaama</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Dog: Accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>ngaama</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ngaama</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>ngaama=nha, =nha</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>bunbun ‘grasshopper’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>nguuma</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguu</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>ngaama</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>bunbun: Accusative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Nom = the explicit nominal is present.

The context for (319) is that Corinne Williams is eliciting translations of locational prepositions. There are at least six elicitations. The boy is previously mentioned, the dog not.
The boy hopped towards the river.
The grasshopper ran away from the fire; hopped away
The little boy ran away from the river.

(319) The little boy ran away from the dog.

(a) \textit{giirruu nhama, birralii-dujul banaga-nhi, maadhaay-dujil}
true 3.DEF, child-DIM run-PST, dog-ABL
The little child ran away from the dog.

(b) \textit{giirruu nhama garigari gi-gi.la-nhi maadhaay-dujil}
true,very 3.DEF afraid get-CTS-PST dog-ABL
He was afraid of the dog.

(c) \textit{giirruu ngam‘ maadhaay-u gawaa-nhi / ngam‘ birralii-dujul}
true,very 3.ANA.DEF dog-ERG chase-PST / 3.ANA.DEF child-DIM
It caught him and tried to bite him.

(d) \textit{giirruu ngam‘ / buyama-y / ngiyma=nga / yii-laai-nhi}
true 3.ANA.DEF / catch-PST / there=THEN / bite-MOV-PST
It caught him and then was trying to bite him.

(e) \textit{nguwxam=ba-la nguu / giniy-u / muyu-dhi numa=y / giniy-u / muyu-dhi numa-y}
there=CTR 3SG.ERG / stick-ERG / nose-ABL hit-PST / stick-ERG nose-ABL hit-PST
He hit him with a stick.
He hit him on the nose with a stick, hit him on the nose with a stick.

(f) \textit{giirruu nham‘ / maadhaay /amba gula-y / and banaga-nhi=nga}
true,very 3.DEF / dog / with.energy bark-PST / and run-PST=THEN
(gula-li ‘bark’ is usually transitive)
Then the little boy hit him on the nose with a stick.

(g) \textit{nguwxama?=nga birralii-dujul-u gawaa-nhi ngam‘: maadhaay}
there?=THEN child-DIM-ERG chase-PST 3.ANA.DEF, dog
The boy jumped into the river.

(h) \textit{giirruu ngam‘ birralii-dujul / gaawaa-ga / bumbaali-nyi /}
true 3.ANA.DEF child-DIM / river-LOC / jump.in?-PST /
And he swam to the other side.

(i) \textit{ngaarrigulay ngaama wunga-nhi}
over.that.way 3.ANA.DEF swim-PST
When he got to the other side he got out.

(j) \textit{giirruu ngaama=Na / ngaarrigul-li-gu / yanaa-ngindaay / ngiyma=nga=nhu / dhuurra-y}
true 3.ANA.DEF=3 / far.side-ALL / go-SUB / there=THEN=3 / come-PST
He saw a grasshopper.

(k) \textit{giirruu nguu / nuuma bunbun ngarra-y /}
true 3SG.ERG / 3ERG.DEF grasshopper see-PST /
He threw a stone at the grasshopper.

(l) \textit{giirruu ngu‘u /amba ngaam‘ bunbun / gayawi-y}
true,very 3SG.ERG / with.energy 3.ANA.DEF grasshopper / pelt-PST

Not all examples of \textit{ngaama} clearly show its anaphoric role. For instance the tapes give no indication that the participants of (320) and (321) have been previously mentioned.
(320) The boy let go of the dog (it was tied up).  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nguwama ngu} & \quad \text{ngaama} / \quad \text{birrali-diul-u} / \quad \text{maadhaay ngaama} \quad \text{yulaa-luay} \\
\text{there} & \quad 3\text{SG.ERG} \quad 3\text{ANA.DEF} / \quad \text{child-DIM-ERG} / \quad \text{dog} \quad 3\text{ANA.DEF} \text{ tie.up-SUB}
\end{align*}
\]

The child there, (let go) the dog that was tied up.  

JG

(321) I stabbed the bad man with a knife.  

\[
\begin{align*}
giir & \quad \text{ngaya ngaama} / \quad \text{nhaayba-gu} / \quad \text{ngaarrma dhayn-duul} / \quad \text{dhu-nhi} \\
\text{true} & \quad 1\text{SG} \quad 3\text{ANA.DEF} / \quad \text{knife-ERG} / \quad 3\text{ANA.DEF} \text{ person-ONE} / \quad \text{pierce-PST}
\end{align*}
\]

I stabbed the man with a knife.  

JG

As with other deictics some uncertainty remains, but ngaama could be used as a participant tracking demonstrative, as illustrated above, not used to introduce participants, but for later tracking of them. There are other languages which have a range of participant tracking anaphorics. In Martuthunira\(^5\) Dench (1994: 114) points out that ‘the topic-tracking forms of the distal demonstrative play an extremely important role in maintaining text cohesion’. In Yankunytjatjara, Goddard (1983a: 53) calls panya the ANAphoric demonstrative, since its function is to direct attention to something with which the listener is already familiar but which is not present.

6.3.4.2 ngaama: form and sources

The form ngaama may be derived from ngaarrima (ngaarri ‘far’) via the intermediate form ngaarrma. Ridley’s use of ngaarrma is very similar to Dodd’s use of ngaama. The form yārma (ngaarrma) is common in Ridley, particularly in Gurre Kamilaroi, clearly intended to correspond to ‘they’ (Nominative and Ergative) and ‘them’ (Accusative).

Dodd, however, seems to regard ngaarrima ‘over.there’ and ngaarrma as equivalent and ngaama as a different word. In (322) Corinne Williams is checking forms and Arthur Dodd correcting, and his final statement suggests that ngaarrma and ngaarrima are equivalent. There are other instances where ngaarrma and other ngaarri forms are used in adjacent phrases, referring to the one place, indicating ngaarrma is a reduced form of ngaarrima.

(322) AD ngaandi-ma ngaarrma CW ngaani AD ngaandi ngaarrma.  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{AD who-DEF} & \quad \text{over.there} \quad \text{CW ngaani} \quad \text{AD who} \quad \text{over.there} \\
\text{CW ngaandi ngaarrima} \\
\text{AD no, ngaarrma, oh you could say ngaarrima, just the same, ngaandi ngaarrma} \\
\text{CW that means: Who’s that over there?, AD yes}
\end{align*}
\]

At 3217B 2796 AD has: ngaarrima ngaama burrul-bidi dhayn (over.there that big-BIG man), with the words adjacent, and so not having the same function. (323) has both ngaarrma and ngaama, with apparently different functions, even if the function of ngaarrma there is not clear. (323) is the beginning of the story of others getting fire from a bird.\(^6\)

(323) That little pelican was once a woman.  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngaarrma / biligin / ngaarrma / yilaalu ngaama yinarr gi-gi.la-nhi /} \\
\text{ngaarrma / ‘pelican’ / ngaarrma / long.ago ngaama woman be-CTS-PST /} \\
\text{Long time ago it (the pelican) was a woman.}
\end{align*}
\]

That pelican there, long ago it was a woman.  

AD

Ngaama is not found in Ridley and neither ngaarrma or ngaama in Mathews. Laves has ngamang (word final ng does not occur in YG, so likely a borrowing from Wiradjuri) that may be a

---

\(^{5}\) Dench’s table ‘Anaphoric demonstrative tracking in text’ (1994: 115) provided the pattern for Table 113 here.

\(^{6}\) In this version the bird is a pelican, since AD said he knew the YR name, whereas he didn’t know the YR for other birds JM suggested. However, he still uses biligin, rather than the usual gulayaali.
variant of *ngaama*: *Ngaama* is found only once or twice in Wurm and is very rare in the Fred Reece tapes, however, it occurs over one thousand times in the AD tapes.

This distribution indicates that *ngaama* may be a word that has developed or greatly expanded in Arthur Dodd’s Yuwaalaraay, perhaps matching some feature of Wayilwan, the other Aboriginal language he was fluent in.97

As with *nhama* there are examples where the use of *ngaama* seems to be optional. In (324) and (325) there are interchanges between Dodd and Williams, where Williams questions the form of verb Dodd has used. He gives modified translations, with the verb changed, and with no *ngaama*. While in (325) *ngaama* could refer to ‘them’, there is no referent for it in (324).

(324)  Don’t cover yourself up.  CW/AD 2915
(a)  *garriya ngaam’ buluwa-ya*  don’t ngaama cover.M-IMP
    CW: *buluwa-ya* AD mm
    AD Don’t cover yourself!
(b)  *garriya Ø buluwa-ya* AD

(325)  (a)  *ngaama / baga-dha wana-gi.la-y*  3.ANA.DEF / bank-LOC throw-CTS-FUT
    Chuck them on the bank  (CW then says: “Once more”)  CW/AD 3999 1095
    (b)  *baga-dha wana-gi.la-y*  bank-LOC throw-CTS-FUT

Other questions remain. The form *ngaama-ga* in (326) is not currently understood. It is most likely a performance error, which coincidently has the same form as a Locative. Perhaps AD started to say *garrangay*, and then changed the word order.

(326)  Some of the men went down to the river to catch some ducks.  JM/AD 8187 1193
*giirr ngaama gulbirr dhayn / yanaa-nhi / ngaama-ga??, ngarra-li.gu garrangay*  true 3.ANA.DEF few man / go-PST / ngaama-LOC??, see-PURP duck

6.3.5  *ngaarri* forms: ‘DISTant, FAR’

The form *ngaarri* indicates ‘distant’ and is found as a word, but more frequently as part of the derived forms given in Table 114. The derived forms, demonstratives and others, generally include suffixes listed in Table 107, but a few other derivations are found. The semantics of the derived forms are not necessarily compositional. Table 114 gives typical glosses in the sources, which often do not capture the full meaning. For instance *ngaarri, ngaarraima, ngaarrimalay, ngaarrigu* and *ngaarrigulay* have all been translated ‘over there’. Many of the forms in Table 114 are common, but some are rare, or found only once, or of uncertain form. It is also to be expected that there were other forms which have not been recorded. I assume that final -li and -la are allomorphs of -lay and that *ngarri* is a variant of *ngaarri*.

---
97 It is interesting to compare the demonstratives in Wurm and Dodd. In Wurm, *nhama* (he mostly writes it *nama*) occurs over 400 times, *nguuma* nine times and *ngaama* two times. On the Dodd/Reece tapes, *nhama* is found around 2,000 times, *ngaama* 1,000 (almost all in Dodd tapes) and *nguuma* around 240 times. I suspect that the Wurm tapes have a simplified form of the language.
I will firstly give an interpretation of the various ngaarri forms, based on the morphemes they contain and on their use, then examples of the forms.

Ngaarri, by itself, indicates distance and can be translated ‘at a distance, far away’. Ngaarri-ma, with the Definite suffix indicates a distant, known location and can be translated ‘over there’, indicating a location, not a direction. Ngaarri-ma-lay adds the Ostensive suffix, and so is presumably used of a known location which is also pointed out in some way by the speaker. Ngaarri-gu includes the Allative suffix, and indicates direction or movement to a distance. It could be used in sentences such as ‘go away’ or ‘go far away’. Ngaarri-gu-lay adds the Ostensive suffix so presumably has the meaning ‘over that way’, with the direction indicated by the speaker.

Ngaarri-baa ‘up’ is not a demonstrative but ngaarri-baa-ma ‘up there’ is. Ngaarri-baa-gili is ‘above, on top’; -gili ‘side’. Ngaarri-buu (-buu ‘TOTal’) presumably means ‘very far’/‘as far as possible’. Ngaarri-gili ‘far side’ is common.

The form ngaarri-lay with the OSTensive suffix is found only once and is difficult to interpret. It occurs in a sentence which might be best translated ‘Will you come out hunting?’ so presumably the location is distant. That is inconsistent with the usual function of -lay. The reduplicated ngaarringaaari seems to indicate a greater distance. Examples of ngaarri forms follow.

6.3.5.1 ngaarri ‘far’

Ngaarri and ngaarrima are often treated as equivalent in the sources, since the effect of -ma is not generally explicit. Ridley has quri ‘there (in front)’. Ngaarri is found 15 times in Wurm, often not translated, or apparently translated as ‘the’, and at other times as ‘over there’. He also has seven ngaarrima ‘over there’ (and a further four ngaarrimalay, also translated as ‘over there’ or in one instance not translated).
Sim has ngaarri or ngaarrigü ‘there, over there’, and labels both ngaarri and ngaarrima as demonstrative adjectives and adverbs. (327) illustrates the adjectival use and indicates that Sim interpreted the two forms as equivalent.

(327)  I hit that man.

Sim p41

Ngaya ngaarrima/ngaarri· dhayn buma-y.
1SG that/distant person hit-PST

However, there are uses which differentiate the forms. Wurm (p101) uses ngaarri guwiinbaa (‘distant’ ‘close’) as ‘not far’. This use does not indicate a definite location. (328) has multiple uses of ngaarri, which are consistent with the meaning ‘further’ (which is not definite), but as commonly one cannot be sure of the interpretation of ngaarri or of the final ngaarrima.

(328)  Other man says: No, that is a better one over there.  JM/AD 3219B 1361

Garriya=bala nhama / yuraun gaa nga / ngaari, ngaari, ngaari=bala
Don’t take that road, further, further, further,

ngayaga-djuul-[g]u, yuraun, ngaari / gaba, gaba gaba, gaawaa-gu ngaarrima
other-ONE-ERG?ALL road, distant / good, good, good, river-ALL over.there

The other road is the better one.

AD
to the other one. The further road is good for the river. Over there.

JG

In (329) the Wurm English indicates a definite location, but the sentence suggests that the hearer does not know the location, since the speaker adds further information: ‘on the right’.

(329)  My father is standing over there, on the right side.

 ngaari (over there) nei bo:dje dvdja:la warência
 ngaari ngay buwadjarr dhuual-al warra-yal-[nha]
distant 1SG.DAT father right-LOC stand-CTS-PRS

My father is standing over there, on the right side.

SW

In (330) ngaarri is used when the location is indefinite (out into the bush) and in (331) also the location can be interpreted as indefinite. In both sentences the YR specifies location and distance more than the English does.

(330)  Go out into the bush, little boy. Bring back some wood.

 JF/FR 2438A 2956

dhuu-gu yanaa-ya / ngaari yurrul-gu?u
firewood-PURP go-IMP / distant bush-ALL

You go to the bush and get some wood (and we’ll make a fire).

FR

Go for wood, out (far) in to the bush.

JG

(331)  I wanted to warm myself near her fire.

 JF/AD 8185 175

ngaaari=bala ngaya yanaa-nhi ngsnundu / guulaabi-y-gu / wii-dja nguungu
distant=CTR 1sNE go-PST 3SG.LOC / warm.M-PURP / fire-LOC 3SG.DAT

I went over there to her, to warm (myself) at her fire.

JG

6.3.5.2  ngaarrima ‘over there: distant-DEFinite’

While the examples suggest ngaarri can be used when the hearer cannot identify the location, there are many examples which make it explicit that ngaarrima refers to a place the hearer can see. Ngaarrima is the most common of the ngaarri forms, with around 50 examples on the tapes. In most instances ngaarrima clearly has adverbial use, specifying a location, e.g. (332) and (333).
Can you see him, man standing over near tree. JM/FR 2437B 10 82 (332)

There’s something shining over there. FR/JM 1988A 1953 (333)

There are examples where ngaarrima seems to have adnominal use, translated ‘that’. It does not have case marking, and the sentences maintain their sense if ‘that’ is replaced with ‘over there’, as in (334) and (335).

That flower is red. Sim p46 (334)

Ngaarrima guurrayn guwaymbarra.
over.there flower red
The flower over there is red. JG

buunhu-ga ngaarrima=nga, ngarra-la / dhuwinba-y-garra ganugu ngaarrima buunhu-ga
grass-LOC over.there=NOW, look-IMP / hide-PST-?? 3PL.ERG over.there grass-LOC
You go and have a look in that grass, I think they planted (it) in that grass.98 FR/JM 2438A 3210 (335)

After the sentences ‘Do this!’ (nhalay) and ‘Do that!’ (nhama), comes (336), where Fred Reece uses ngaarrima in a sense which clearly does not involve a visible space. The word murrumba is not well attested, so the meaning of ‘ngaarrima murrumba’ remains somewhat obscure, but ngaarrima here may have the sense of ‘quite (different)’ – something ‘distant’ from other things being considered.

Do the other thing. JM/FR 1853B 450 (336)

Ngaarrima-dhaay indicates that someone visible and distant is coming, as in (338).

Ngaarrima-dhaay indicates that someone visible and distant is coming, as in (338).

6.3.5.3 ngaarrimalay ‘over there’

Like ngaarri and ngaarrima, ngaarrimalay is also often translated ‘over there’. Ngaarrima refers to a location, ngaarrimalay to a direction and is very frequently used with verbs of looking and motion by the hearer, as in (337), (339), (340) and (341). I gloss both ngaarrimalay and ngaarrima ‘over.there’.

(337) and (338), consecutive sentences, contrast ngaarrima and ngaarrimalay, as does (339) (part repeated in (556)).

Look over there. CW/AD 3999A 163 (337)

98 -garra may be from Wangaaybuwan ‘I think’.
I can see some people coming. CW/AD 3999A 181 (338)

You, there’s a snake over there *(ngaarrima)*, lying rolled up. SW p98

I want you to have a look, over there. AD/CW 3994A 2405

Don’t go over there. (ngaarrimalay). JG

Don’t crawl over there. CW/FR 5053 1771

That is yours over there. JM/AD 3217B 3128

Take it outside. Sim p48

Most occurrences on the tapes involve the verb ‘look’ or a motion verb, as in (343), (344) and (345).
He looked into the distance/long away/long way off across the plain.

He was looking carefully over there/into the distance.

(345) (Father says;) go over there.

Go over there. Don’t come here.

The sources do not show differences in meaning between ngaarrimalay and ngaarrigulay, with both used in very similar sentences: e.g. ‘go over there’ in (340) and (345), ‘look over there’ in (337) and (344). One would expect that ngaarrigulay indicates movement to a distant place, whereas ngaarrimalay is more locative in meaning.

Another possible difference may be in the specificity of the direction. Ngaarrigulay implies movement away, but not necessarily in a direction which is explicit, known to the hearer, as shown by the translations: ‘outside’ (343); ‘into the distance’ (344); and ‘different directions’ (346). This contrasts with ngaarrimalay, which generally refers to a more specific location or direction: cf. (340)–(341).

(347) shows both ngaarrimalay and ngaarrigulay used in the one context. The ngaarrimalay occurs immediately after Mathews’s elicitation of ‘over there’, a specific location. Dodd then uses minyaarruwaaw ‘somewhere’ which is explicitly non-specific, and then uses ngaarrigulay to describe the location or perhaps direction of the old man’s walk.

We all walked in different directions, looking for wood.

I am here, and the old man has gone over there.

AD2833A 1660, when asked for a word for ‘east’, gives two glosses for ngaarrigulay. He says:

There is no word for ‘east’. Say ‘up there’ ngaarrigulay; ‘out that way’ ngaarrigulay.

The analysis of ngaarrigulay remains incomplete.

6.3.5.3.1 ngaarrigulay – Xgulay

There are around 30 instances on the tapes where two words, both ending in -gula[y], form what seems to be an idiomatic expression, generally with a meaning like ‘this way and that’, ‘backwards and forwards’ or ‘everywhere’. The most common pair is ngaarrigulay ngarraagulay as in (348)–(350) and (352).100 Most frequently ngaarrigulay is first, but it is also found second, as in (351). Where a translation is given by the informant the phrase refers to an extended area: ‘everywhere’ in (348) and the elicitation sentences also suggest an extended area, e.g. ‘all over the ground’ in (350).

---

99 This is the form of the exclusive Ergative, but the verb here is intransitive, so the form is not appropriate.

100 There are the usual word final variations: -lay, -la, -li. As well there is variation in the length of vowels in ngarra, which is likely ‘other’, possibly a cognate of ngaya ‘other’ YR.
In (353) the second word is *ngiyarri-gula[y]*, and the meaning of the pair is different, referring to the separate locations of two people, rather than a path or area.

(348) They all sang and danced together.  

*giirr ngiyama ganugu bawi-lda-nhi //*

true there 3PL.ERG sing-CTS-PST //

*ngiyarra *nga / *ngaarrigula[y] ngarragulay,* baa-ya.ndaay / dhayn-galga

They were singing, everywhere.  
They were all singing while they were dancing all over the place, those people.  

(349) The drunk man is staggering.  

*ngaa, ngaarrigula ngarragula bundaa-waa-nha*

yes, over.there other.way fall-MOV-PRS

Yes, he is falling this way and that/all over the place.  

(350) AD: When the sun rose, CW there was frost all over the ground.  

*giirr ngaama yayaay dhurra-ldaay / yalagiirrmawu ngaam’ /*

true that? sun come-SUB, / at.that.time there? /

*ngaarrigula m/ngarragula ngaa-??yay?? / dhandharr wana-ngndaay*

over.there other.way ?? / frost throw??-SUB

The hawks/eaglehawks are circling in the sky.  

(351) The Wedgetail eagle is flying around up there. All over the sky, and it sees something on the ground.  

(352) The two men stood some distance apart.  

*giirr yaluu / bulaarr.Na / warra-nhi ngaarrigulay / ngiyarrigulay]*

true again, / 3DU / stand-PST over.there / ngiyarrigulay

Again the two of them stood apart / one over this way, one over that way.  

Often the actual form of the word transcribed as *ngaarrigulay* is uncertain. Different people have heard the first sound of the one token as *m* or *ng*; often the length of the first vowel is unclear, and the last syllable is sometimes indeterminate between *lay* and *la*. Some of these features are illustrated in (352).

6.3.5.4  *ngaarri-gili* ‘far side’

For *-gili* ‘side’ see Table 54. It is found on a number of demonstrative stems. It derives a standard nominal which can take local case suffixes. Sim (1998: 42) has the following table:
In the tapes *ngaarrigili-dja* ‘far.side-LOC’ occurs 22 times and *ngaarrigili-gu/dju* ‘far.side-ALL’ five times. The locative use is shown in (354), part of (386).

(354) Don’t sit on that side of the humpy.  

\[\text{gARRiYa=bala ngaRri.gili-dja / nguwa.gili-dja wila-ya} \]
\[\text{don’t=}\text{CTR far.side-LOC / this.side-LOC sit-IMP} \]

You sit on this side of the humpy, not on the other side.  
Don’t (sit) on the far side, sit on this side.  

Sim’s *nga-gili* again raises the question of the morpheme *nga-.* At this stage I am treating it as a variant of *nha*, but this may change with further study.

6.3.5.5  *ngaarringaarri* ‘far away’

The reduplicated form, *ngaarringaarri*, is rare. Williams has *ngaarringaarri*[nga] ‘right over there’, translated as ‘off in the distance’, in (204). There are two instances in the tapes, neither of them with a clear translation. One may refer to a ‘very long way’ and possible meanings for the second instance, (355), include ‘very long way’ or ‘long time’.

(355) It was a long time before the boys came back to the old man.  

\[\text{ngaarringaarri} / 'nAA-nhi} \]
\[\text{ngaarringaarri} / \text{go-PST} \]

They went ??far.away ??away for a long time??.

For the effects of reduplication on different word classes see Chapter 14. It seems, from the limited examples, that the effect on demonstratives is intensification.

6.3.5.6  *ngArribaa* ‘up’

The word *ngarribaa* ‘up, above, high’ generally has a short *a* in the first syllable, but at times the syllable length is indeterminate, and a few times long. I will consider *ngarribaa* and *ngaarribaa* as variants. The meaning of the word is not in question, rather its form, and its relation to *ngaarri*. The suffix -baa has the meaning ‘up’. The meaning of *ngaarribaa* is simply ‘up’ or ‘above’, and ‘distant/far’ is not found in any translation. See (84) for *ngaarribaa* and (351) and (730) for *ngarribaa*. Forms derived from *ngaarribaa* are rare, and include: *ngaarribaa-gili* ‘up-side’, translated ‘on top of’ at 8185 1515; and *ngaarribaa-lay* (presumably a version of *ngaarribaalay*) including 2832B 2692 where AD uses it to translate ‘(the bird put his tail) in the air’ and 2833B 761 where he uses it to translate ‘(walking) uphill’.

(356) is taken from both the Wurm notes and his tape. The translation of *ngaarribaa-ma/ngaarribaa-ma* here and at 3217B 3607 is consistent with the gloss of *ma* as ‘DEFinite’.

(356) \[\text{waRra nyanna ngARri.baa-ma nA:ja narei} \]
\[\text{waRranga nay} 'ngARri-ra-y, ngaARri.baa-ma} \]
\[\text{waRranga ngaRri.baa-ma ngaYa ngaARra-y} \]

honey up-DEF 1SG see-PST  
I see honey up there.  
I saw honey up there.
Sim has ngarribaa as ‘east’ and ‘upstream’ and also has it (p28) in a number of phrases: ngarribaa dhuni ‘mid-morning’ and ngarribaa bidjunda ‘middle of the day’, the last including a locative, bidjun-da ‘middle-LOC’.

6.3.5.6.1 Questions about ngaarrri

Questions remain about ngaarrri forms. The relationship of the forms ngaarrima, ngaarrma and ngaama has been discussed at §6.3.4. There are also ngaarrri-initial forms which are currently unexplained. Three of these are from Wurm, two of them begin with ngaarriga. Da:rigali in (357) could be a rendering of ngaarrigulay, a common form, and the literal gloss would be ‘go over there/go far away’, but it is more likely that the form finishes with -galay or -galaay, which are not currently analysed. In (358) na:rigalagu has the Allative suffix last, again suggesting a suffix -g(a)alay.

One instance of ngaarrigulaa is found, 3219A 311, part of the translation of ‘she was coughing and spluttering and spitting’ includes gunhugunhu dhu-dha-nhi, ngaarrigulaa-nhii (gunhugunhu dhu-dha-nhi ‘was coughing’), and ngaarrigulaa may be an adaptation of ngaarrigulay, before a further suffix, but the word is not understood.

The third unclear form from Wurm is na’rinnu in (359). I have assumed it is ngaarrinu, but na’rinnu might be ngayirri-nu which does not correspond to any recognised form.

(357) na:jə na:rigali SW p90
‘naa-ya ngaarrigaali
Go-IMP far-?
go away from here.

(358) na:jə ya:rigalagu SW p90
‘naa-ya ngaarragalagu
Go-IMP far-?-ALI
chase away
Go far away.?

One instance of ngaarrigulaa is found, 3219A 311, part of the translation of ‘she was coughing and spluttering and spitting’ includes gunhugunhu dhu-dha-nhi, ngaarrigulaa-nhii (gunhugunhu dhu-dha-nhi ‘was coughing’), and ngaarrigulaa may be an adaptation of ngaarrigulay, before a further suffix, but the word is not understood.

The third unclear form from Wurm is na’rinnu in (359). I have assumed it is ngaarrinu, but na’rinnu might be ngayirri-nu which does not correspond to any recognised form.

(359) bula:r na’rinnu wa:n SW p90
bulaarr ngaarrri-nu? waan
two distant-nu crow
two over there crow

(360) uses ngaarribaa, but also has ngaarrma followed by -gu, possibly Allative or Dative, and a combination not found elsewhere.

(360) When the sun was high in the sky, the visitors went back to their own country. JM/AD 3219A 768

giirr ngaama yayaay dhuurla-ldaay / ngaarribaa, yilaa=laa ngaarrma /
true there sun come-SUB / above, soon=DIR there /
When the sun had come up, and it was above, JG

ganungu / dhayn dharraval-awi-nyi / ngaarrma-gu ganungu
3PL / people return-BACK-PST / there-ALL 3PL.DAT
they, the people went back, to their …

6.3.6 ngiyarrri and derived forms

The form ngiyarrri occasionally occurs as a free word. I assume it is found in set of common derived demonstratives which seem to be variants, ngiyarrma, ngiyama and ngiyarrima. Table 115 lists these, some other uncommon derivations and some uncertain forms. The interpretation of these forms remains uncertain since no clear description of the meaning of ngiyarrri has been found. The glosses for ngiyarrri forms do not serve to distinguish them from other demonstratives. For
instance both *ngiyarrma*[^101] and *ngaarrima* are translated ‘over there’ and in some sources *ngiyarrma* is translated as ‘he/she’, just as *nhama*, *nguu* and *nguuma* are.

The tentative interpretation is that *ngiyarri* primarily serves to link discourse, referring to earlier sections of the discourse,[^102] and that other uses are derived from this. Like *ngaarrri* ‘far’, *ngiyarri* is not found with the *-lay* ‘OSTensive’ or ‘near’ suffix.

There are a few instances in the sources which indicate pronominal use for *ngiyarri* forms, in particular a few case marked examples.

### 6.3.6.1 ngiyarri

*Ngiyarri* as an entire word, or with case suffixes, is rare and is glossed as ‘there’ and ‘over there’. At 5055 398 AD contrasts *nguwalay* ‘(put it) here’ and *ngiyarri* ‘(put it) over there’. *Ngiyarri-gu*, with an Allative suffix, is also translated ‘over there’. *Ngiyarrigulay* is found once in *ngaarrigulay ngiyarrigulay* in (353), translated as ‘some distance apart’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>common gloss</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ngiyarri</em></td>
<td>there, over there</td>
<td>so not close; incompatible with <em>-lay</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngiyarrima</em>, <em>ngiyarma</em>, <em>ngiyama</em></td>
<td>over there, he</td>
<td>The most common forms. Pronominal use is rare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngiyarrigu</em></td>
<td>over there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rare forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>common gloss</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ngiyarringu</em></td>
<td>his</td>
<td>Dative; rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngiyarrimangu</em></td>
<td>his, to him</td>
<td>Dative; rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngiyarrigulay</em></td>
<td>none given</td>
<td>(353)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngiyarri-baa</em></td>
<td>up on top</td>
<td>5055 1038; <em>-baa</em> ‘up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngiyarri=dhaay</em></td>
<td>from the north</td>
<td>3217A 3168; <em>dhaay</em> ‘to.here’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Possible forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>common gloss</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ngiya-laa-gu</em></td>
<td>none given</td>
<td>(374)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngiyarra-ma-lay</em></td>
<td>3219B 3419, §6.3.6.2.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngiyarrma-ma-??</em></td>
<td>‘out there’</td>
<td>3220B 554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngiyarruma</em></td>
<td>location previously mentioned</td>
<td>2436A 2120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngiyamu</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>(375)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.3.6.2 ngiyarrma ‘there’

Previous discussion of *ngiyarrma* has been in terms of the English locationals ‘there’ and ‘over there’,[^103] but the suggestion here is that it primarily refers to other parts of the discourse. It has anaphoric use, where *ngiyarrma* at the start of a clause or sentence serves to indicate continuity of location with the previous sentence, perhaps referring to a specific location. There is also

[^101]: I assume that *ngiyarrma*, *ngiyarma* and *ngiyama* are all variants, with identical use, and use *ngiyaroma* in discussion, irrespective of the form in examples. The reduced forms *ngiyaroma* and *ngiyama* are much more common. It is clear that *ngiyama* is a simplified form since there are many instances where a phrase is repeated, first with *ngiyama*, and then with *ngiyarrma* (e.g. 3219A 3169; 3220A 3149).

[^102]: A very speculative suggestion is that *ngiyarri* is linked to Wanggaybuwan/Wayilwan *ngiya* ‘say’ and *ngiya* ‘word’. It’s meaning could then be ‘that which has been or will be spoken about’. However, this is often the meaning of other demonstratives. *Ngarrri* and derived forms are used with mention of a specific location, but less commonly than *ngiyarri* forms.

[^103]: For instance in a discussion of *ngiyarrma* CW asks if it means ‘there’, and AD agrees that it does. (5055 666: CW ‘ngiyarrma means there?’ AD ‘Yeah’. ) It is regularly translated ‘over there’.
cataphoric use. A particular anaphoric use is in subordinate clauses. Ngiyarrma is also used in what may be a relatively semantically empty way, to create a locational framework for discourse. It also has adnominal and pronominal use, but this is rare apart from Ridley. Ngiyarrma may also refer to time. Ngiyarrma includes the common -ma ‘DEFinite’.

Anaphoric use is seen in (361) and (362). The elicitation before (361) was ‘the girl scratched the boy and pushed him over’ so the situation, and therefore a location, have been established. (361) then has three instances of ngiyarrma, but none is translated in English. This is consistent with the emphasis on location in YR discourse. In (362), as commonly found, the original location is in Locative case, here wiinbarraan-da.

(361) They rolled together on the grass and fought and fought.

(362) They sat around the fire and had a good feed.

Use of ngiyarrma in relative clauses, which generally follow the main clause, is seen in (363). (363) is potentially ambiguous – nguu in (b) could refer to the woman or the child, and ngiyarrma may serve to disambiguate, but the mechanism is not understood.

(364) I will lie down when I get home.

(365) Those kangaroos belong to the hills.
In (366) ngiyarrma could be adnominal to gungan, or it could be seen as the tendency of YG to frequently include a locational demonstrative in sentences.

(366) I am swimming under the water

I am swimming, in the water, in the deep water/river.

6.3.6.2.1 ngiyarrma: time use

In (367) both uses of ngiyarrma possibly refer to time. Neither use has an antecedent. It could be that ‘ngiyarrma=nga, ngiyarrma ngayagadjuula’ is idiomatic for ‘at some time, at other times’ or even for ‘sometimes’.

(367) Some days we go hunting, some days we stay at home.

Sometimes? we sit down, and at another times we will hunt.

6.3.6.2.2 ngiyarrma: pronominal and adnominal use

The main indications that ngiyarrma or related forms have pronominal use are in Ridley, particularly in Gurre Kamilaroi, and a small number of case marked forms – mostly Dative case.

Gurre Kamilaroi has highly simplified language, possibly composed by Ridley, and the many pronominal occurrences of nērna (ngiyarrma) in it are not a good indication of the traditional function of the word, but more likely reflect Ridley’s analysis. His pronoun descriptions show incomplete understanding of GR.  He has (p7):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Current orthography, Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nērna</td>
<td>he or she</td>
<td>ngiyarrma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nērgū or gūndi</td>
<td>his or her</td>
<td>ngiyarrngu (Dative) and presumably ngiyarrngundi (Ablative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstrative pronoun nērna that yonder (ille) ille is Latin and indicates distance from both speaker and hearer

The use of null anaphora for third person singular reference in core cases and the common use of locational was probably not noticed by Ridley, and this contributed to his misinterpretation of the use of ngiyarrma. In (368) he seems to interpret it as an Ergative pronoun. This is very unlikely – no other third person pronoun has the same form in Accusative and Ergative. In (369) Ridley interprets ngiyarrma as Accusative but again does not have the Agent in Ergative case.

(368) nērna gir burula wibil murruba gimobi

Ridley: Gurre Kamilaroi line 26

Ridley misunderstood some other deictics. He has ngūruma (nguruma) ‘that by you’ (this is Ergative, not location dependent). He also has nutta ‘that yonder’, likely ngadaa ‘down’.

104 The interpretation of Ridley text often raises questions. Here it seems likely that a middle form of the verb is being used, so there may be no object. It seems Ridley did not recognise middle forms of verbs.
Ridley’s ‘ţērű or ūndi “his or her”’ (Table 116) and (370)(b) show case marked forms of ngiyarri with pronominal use.

The interpretation of these examples is not clear. With two Datives, ngiyarr- ngu and ngiyarrna-ngu, it is possible that there were two pronominal paradigms, based on ngiyarri and ngiyarrna. However, the data are very meagre. Sim’s list also includes ngiyarri-gu ‘(put it) over there’, which has the standard suffix -gu rather than the PD Dative suffix -ngu, indicating that there were pronominal and non-pronominal ngiyarri forms.

The one example found of ngiyarrni-baa (5055 1038; -baa ‘up’) refers to a previously mentioned location ‘up on the top of the tree’.

**ngiyarrna: sources**

Ngiyarri forms are not found in all the major sources. There are none obvious in Mathews or Wurm. There are over 500 instances of ngiyarrna in the Yuwaalaraay tapes, with only a few from Fred Reece, and a number of that few are in song, and so not necessarily reflecting his general language use. AD uses ngiyarrna and ngiyama frequently. Williams does not have ngiyarrna, but she (p91) has ‘nhirrma, usually “there” but also as nominal’. This may be her interpretation of the word given here as ngiyarrna.

**ngiyarrna: questions**

The function of ngiyarrna is often not clear, and there are also rare related forms whose meaning is not clear. The function of ngiyarrna in (371)(c) may be anaphoric, but that is speculative.

In (372) Fred Reece seems to be testing his language and eventually rejects ngiyarrna and chooses ngaarrima as the more correct word for ‘over there’, perhaps because ngaarrima is more appropriate for ostensive use. This indicates that the two words have distinguishable functions.
(372) Stand the straight stick over there. JM/FR 2437B 191

ngiyarrima ngiyarri / ngaarrima?? / ngiyarrma
ngiyarri ma, ngiyarrma / ngaarrima / ngiyarri
ngaarrima warraya-la, muyaan nhama, warragil
ngaarrima stand-IMP stick 3.DEF, straight
Stand that stick up straight over there. FR

There are a number of ngiyarri derivations whose function is unclear. (374) includes ngiya-laagugu-bala (the actual form is uncertain), likely related to ngiyarri.106 (373) immediately precedes (374).

(373) Put the wood over there and here is a firestick. JM/AD 3219B 1145

nhalay=bala=nga / yiyabiyay gua-waa-ya / ngiyama=nda=nga / gudhuwa-li
this=CTR=THEN firestick take-MOV-IMP / ngiyarrima=2SG=THEN burn-FUT
You can take this fire stick and make a fire over there. AD

(374) Put the wood (previously mentioned) over there and here is a firestick. JM/AD 3219B 1158

?=?ngiya=laa-gu=bala ngaamu / wugan wiima-lla-y
=?=DIR?-ALL=CTR that / wood put.down-MOV-FUT
(uncertain) Put that wood down over there. JG

Ngiyarnationi (probably ngiyarr-ma-lay, with the previously discussed -malay) is found at 3219B 3419 (‘pick up the tomahawk and stand it against the tree’). At 3220B 554 AD uses a fairly indistinct word which I interpret as ngiyarrmala-ma-?. The word has anaphoric use, and is part of the translation of ‘when he is out there hunting’. FR 2436A 2120 has ngiyarruma (‘at the place already mentioned’). That is the only occurrence of this form.

(375) has ngiyamuu, which is also not found elsewhere. It might be an anaphoric Ergative, referring back to bandaarr and in agreement with bandaayu. There are other demonstratives which are -mu/-muu final and which are not currently understood.

(375) The kangaroo jumped up to hit the dog. CW/AD 3998A 1433

aa / bandaarr nhama baa-nhi / maadhaay-a
aa / kangaroo there?3.DEF hop-PST / dog-LOC
The kangaroo hopped near the dog, JG

ngiyamuu / maadhaay buma-y, bandaayu
there??-ERG / dog hit-PST / kangaroo-ERG
The kangaroo hit the dog. AD
and then the kangaroo hit the dog. JG

At 3217A 3168 AD gives ngiyarri-dhaay as ‘from the north’. This use ngiyarri is not found elsewhere. As with other parts of the language, these rare forms and the limited sources suggest that the currently known ngiyarri forms are an incomplete record.

Some examples currently transcribed as ngiyarri forms may be reanalysed. The Ablative demonstrative root ngii- was only recognised long after the tape transcriptions and interpretations of early sources were done, and some words initially glossed as ngiya- may be in future recognised as ngii- forms.

6.3.7 nguwa ‘place’ and derived forms

Another word from which demonstratives are derived is nguwa which I will gloss ‘place’. The bare form nguwa is relatively frequent, as are nguwama (-ma ‘DEFinite’) and nguwalay (-lay

106 (374) includes Wayilwan wugan, and there may be Wayilwan influence in AD’s use of ngiyarrma.
6 Demonstratives

The other common form is *nguwa-gili* ‘this side’. There are also some currently unanalysed *nguwa* forms.

*Ngwu* forms are much more commonly used ostensively than anaphorically, and often in apposition with locative nominals. *Ngwu* is not found with the Allative suffix, as some other demonstrative roots are.

*Ngwu* and *nguwalay* are typically translated ‘here’ and *nguwama* ‘there’. There is nothing in the glosses to distinguish *nguwa* and *nguwalay*, but I assume that the latter is used when there is some ostensive action. The difference between *nguwa-nguwalay* and *nguwama* seems to be that the first two refer to the immediate vicinity of the speaker, and the later to a more distant location, often the location of the hearers, but not necessarily so. However, ‘close’ and ‘distant’ are relative terms, context dependent. When used ostensively *nguwa* forms typically occur with stance or movement verbs such as *wila-y* ‘sit’.

*Ngwala* (379) and more frequently *nguwama* ((319)(g) and (153)(b,c)) are also used with discourse function, linking clauses. *Ngiyarri* has a similar use, and the factors governing the choice between *nguwama* and *ngiyarrma* in such situations are not known. Table 117 gives common, rare and possible *nguwa* forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Suffix glosses</th>
<th>Typical gloss</th>
<th>Comment/source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common forms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nguwa</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>here</td>
<td>fairly common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nguwala</em></td>
<td>OSTensive</td>
<td>here</td>
<td>common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nguwama</em></td>
<td>DEFinite</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nguwamawu</em></td>
<td>DEFinite+?TOTal</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>uncommon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nguwagili</em></td>
<td>side</td>
<td>this side</td>
<td>fairly common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rare/uncertain forms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nguwala</em>-la-<em>ma</em></td>
<td>-la-DEF</td>
<td>this is where</td>
<td>(382)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nguwala</em>-la-<em>m.bala</em></td>
<td>-la-DEF?-CTR</td>
<td></td>
<td>3218B 1574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nguwa</em>-daa</td>
<td>down</td>
<td>there/down there</td>
<td>Sim: p37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nkuari; nguwa-ri</em></td>
<td>ri?</td>
<td>over there</td>
<td>Laves: ??ngaarri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forms derived from *nguwa* have the usual word final phonological variations, but also wide variation in the realisation of *nguwa*. The final -lay is also transcribed at times as -la and -li and final -ma elides frequently. The variation in the realisation of diphthongs, and in the realisation of word initial *ng* has been discussed in §2.6. As a result of this variation there is considerable uncertainty about numerous instances now transcribed as *nguwama*. There are many instances where the tape transcription of one word has moved backwards and forwards between *nguwama* and *waama* and even *nguuma* on different hearings. The form *nguwamawu* has also been recorded. The additional syllable may be a word final distortion or may be a realisation of the -Buu ‘TOTal’ suffix.

*Ngwu* is found in Ridley (p36 *ngowo* ‘here’), MathewsGR and Laves. Wurm has the forms *nguwa* ‘here’, *nguwalay* ‘here’ and *nguwama* ‘there’. Sim has *nguwali* ‘here’ and other less common forms. On the tapes *nguwa* is found around 20 times, *nguwama* 30 and *nguwalay* around 30. *Ngwu-gili* ‘this side’ is found around ten times. A number of less common forms which are not well analysed are discussed at the end of this section.

6.3.7.1 *nguwa*: details and examples

*Ngwu* and *nguwalay* refer to places that are relatively close to the speaker. In (376) *nguwa* twice refers to ‘on the speaker’, in (377)((1140)) it refers to an extensive area, the camp, but the context
here is that the speaker is going away, so the contrast is between the camp and the speaker’s future location away from the camp, as it is in (378). Similarly in (379) nguwalay contrasts the speaker’s current and previous, distant location. Nguwalay is also used in the expression ‘It will rain here’, which can refer to an extensive area. The form ngawumarr in (376) is currently not analysed, but may be a variant of nguwama.

(376) Sit on my knee. JM/AD 3217A 1186

(a) nguwa=badhaay nganunda dhinbi-ya wila-ya // dhinbirr means knee // nguwa nganunda
place=MIGHT 1SG.LOC knee-LOC sit-IMP // place 1SG.LOC
Sit here on my knee, JG

(b) dhinbi-ya wila-ya / giirr=badhaay nginda / gaba ngawumarr, wila-y. ya-ya
knee-LOC sit-IMP / true=MIGHT 2SG / good place?? sit-CTS-FUT
Sit on (my) knee – you might be comfortable there. JG

(377) You stop, you stop here and mind the camp. JM/AD 3218A 1913

nguwa=badhaay=bala nginda / walaay ngarrangarra-la(?)da-ya / ngaya=bala yanaa-ya
place=MIGHT=CTR 2SG / camp look.after-CTS-FUT / 1SG=CTR go-FUT
You stop here, look after the camp while I go away. AD
You will look after the camp here, and I will go. JG

(378) I must go but you must, but you must not go JM/AD 3218A 1884

ngaya, ngaya=bala gi.yaa.nha yanaa-ya, nginda=bala nguwalay / wila-ya.ya-ya
1SG, 1SG=CTR going.to go-FUT, 2SG=CTR place.OST / sit-CTS-IMP
I'll go, but you [are] not going, you stop. AD
I am going to go but you stay here. JG

(379) indicates that nguwalay can have a clause linking function.

(379) I came in while you were talking. JM/AD 3220B 3538

yiyal ngaya dhurra-ya / nguwa=nda guay guwaa-la-ndaay
just 1SG come-PST / place.OST=2SG word tell-CTS-SUB

In (380) nguwalay-dhi may well be an error on Fred Reece’s part, corrected to nguwalay, but perhaps not.

(380) Wadhuurr ngaya gi.yaa.nha / gimbi-li // nguwalay-dhi / nguwalay dhuyul-a
windbreak 1SG going.to / make-FUT / place.OST-ABL / place.OST hill-LOC
I am going to make a break on this little hill. FR/JM 2438A 3555
I am going to make a windbreak, here-?, here on the hill. JG

(381) includes both nhalay ‘this/here’ which refers to a noun ‘water’ and nguwalay associated with a verb ‘drink’. This suggests that nhalay has adnominal use in comparison with nguwalay which is more a locational.

(381) We can get fresh water here. JM/AD 3220B 3424

giirr nhalay gaba yungan / ngiyani / ngawu-gi nguwalay ngiyani
true this good water / 1PL.ERG / drink-FUT place.OST 1PL.ERG
This is good water and we will have a good drink here. JG

(382) has the unique example of nguwalay-la-ma, a form for further investigation. The location is referred to later in (382) by nguwama.
This was where the pelican caught the crayfish. The informant’s translation, but not the elicitation, contains the word ‘there’. In (384) AD does not translate his own YR, but again there is no locational word in the elicitation sentence. The context for (384) is a distant part of the river, so nguwama is chosen.

In (383) nguwama refers to the hearer’s location. Anaphoric use, referring to a location established in the discourse, is seen (382).

The situation of (385), which uses nguwama, is similar to that of (377) where nguwa is used, and (378) where nguwalay is used. However, the initial contrast seems to be between the location of the speaker and that of the fire, so nguwama is used rather than the other forms. These choices are highly context dependent.

Ngua-gili ‘this-side’ is a nominal which is generally found with Locative case marking, but there is no reason why it should not be used with other cases. (386) shows a straightforward use of nguwagili, and contrasts it with ngaarrigili ‘far side’. (387), however, is less clear, with a translation ‘here alongside (of me)’.

Sit on this side of the humpy. Don’t sit on that side of the humpy.
(387) [Mum to little boy]: Sit in front of me, little boy. JM/AD 3217A 1132
birralii-djuul / nguwa-gili-dja nganunda / wila-ya / child-DIM / place-SIDE-LOC 1SG.LOC / sit-IMP

Kid, sit alongside of me; sit quietly alongside me.

6.3.7.1.1 nguwa: questions
There are a number of unanalysed forms which probably involve nguwa. Sim (p37) has nguwadaa in ‘(he sat) there’ and (p37) ‘put that spear down here’ and in a few other examples. The first two are consistent with -daa ‘down’, so that nguwadaa is likely to be ‘down here’. Laves (9 p39) has ñuari in ‘(I’ve been drinking) over there’. This may be nguwarri with -rri unanalysed, or possibly ngaarri ‘far’. The form ngawumarr in (376) is currently not analysed. Nguwala-la-ma is found in (382), and nguwalay-la-m.bala in (388). It is likely the m is pre-nasalising, which does occur at times. I have no analysis for these.

(388) We are sitting near the river, we always sit here. JM/AD 3218B 1568

We sit here on the bank.

As well, there are a number of uncertain words in both the written sources and tapes which may be nguwama, but might also be ngaama, nguuma or perhaps other forms.

6.3.8 ngii-/ngiri- ‘from’ and derived forms
While nguwa is a free root with intrinsic Locative function the evidence suggests ngii.107 YR is a bound root with intrinsically Ablative function. I gloss it ‘FROM’. Examples are given in Table 118. Two GR examples have been found. One has ngiri-, consistent with the common r > Ø change between GR and YR, but the other has ngii-, the same form as YR.

There are relatively few examples of ngii-. The more common are ngii-ma and ngii-lay mostly translated ‘from that/there’, ‘from this/here’. They are found over ten times each, mostly on the tapes. A rarer form is ngibaa ‘from up’: (-baa ‘up’). There are other examples that may include ngii but are currently unanalysable and there may well have been other forms not recorded or currently recognised.

Likely adnominal use of ngiima is seen in (389) and likely locational use in (390). (390) shows ngiima with galiyay, a verb which takes an Ablative location. (391) shows the Ablative used with baay ‘hop’, apparently to add the meaning ‘across’. The verb baay does not usually take an Ablative location.

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107 In preparing the tape transcripts and interpreting earlier written sources, uncertain forms were generally transcribed with known morphemes, and since ngii- was not analysed in earlier sources some instances of it may have been glossed as ngiya- forms, for instance ngiima interpreted as ngiyama, so further examples of ngii- may be found when transcriptions are revised. One would expect the usual phonological adaptations and variations in ngii- forms.
Table 118 ngii-/ngiri-: derived forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Suffix gloss(es)</th>
<th>(typical) Gloss</th>
<th>Comment/source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Common forms</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngii-ma</td>
<td>DEFinite</td>
<td>from there/?that</td>
<td>common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngii-lay</td>
<td>OSTensive</td>
<td>from here/?this</td>
<td>common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uncommon forms</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngii-baa</td>
<td>UP</td>
<td>from up</td>
<td>5055 1006; cf. uncertain ngii-gu at AD2833A 961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyirri-baa-ma-dhaay,</td>
<td>UP-DEF-to.here</td>
<td>(swooped) down</td>
<td>AD3220B 2452; nyirri??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngiri-baa-dhaay</td>
<td>UP-to.here</td>
<td>from above</td>
<td>Ridley: Gurre: GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngii-ma=bala=nga</td>
<td>from.there</td>
<td>away from there</td>
<td>Tindale: line 27: GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uncertain forms</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngii-gu</td>
<td>?Allative</td>
<td>away from</td>
<td>AD2833A 961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngii-mu</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>from there; from it</td>
<td>AD 2833B 424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyii-nhawu, buwadja-yi</td>
<td>from?, father-ABL</td>
<td>Wurm: 64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minyaarru-ngi??</td>
<td>where from</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngi</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>here</td>
<td>Laves: 9 p100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(389) naa:ja ngi:ma walai(i):dji
'naa-ya ngiima walaay-dji
go-IMP FROM.DEF camp-ABL.
Go away from this camp. SW p90

(390) His mother said: ‘come down from that tree and don’t be so silly’. JM/AD 3219A 1185
(a) dhurra-la nyiima, dhurra-la nyiima, nyiima=nga / maalaabidi /
come-IMP FROM.DEF come-IMP FROM.DEF FROM.DEF=THEN / big.tree /
Come (down) from there. Come (down) from there. From there now, the tree. JG\textsuperscript{108}
(b) waaal nyiima galiya-ya,
not FROM.DEF climb-IMP,
Don’t climb there. JG

(391) Jump over. JM/FR 1988A 1790
bba-ya ngiima=nga nhaadhiyaan-di
jump-IMP FROM.DEF=THEN log-ABL.
Jump off that log. or Jump over the log. FR

Ngiiay is also commonly found with motion verbs. (392) shows both ngiilay ‘from here’ and nguwalay ‘(at) here’ in the one sentence, referring to the same location.

(392) Go away from here. JM/AD 3220A 3503
yanaa-ya ngiilay, yanaa-ya / garriya=bala nguwalay wila-y-la-ya, yanaa-ya
go-IMP FROM.OST, go-IMP / don’t=CTR here sit-CTS-IMP, go-IMP
Telling him to go now.
Go away from here, go. Don’t stay here. Go. AD

\textsuperscript{108} I would have expected maalaabidi in (390) to be in Ablative case.
Laves (9 p38, 100) has two examples which do not fit the pattern outlined. He glosses ngiilay as ‘here’, with apparently Locative use in: ‘I you wait for here’. He also has ngiij apparently as ‘here’, again with Locative use and as a free, not bound, form.

Ngii-baa/ngiri-baa ‘from up’ has been found twice. In (393)(b) it is not used with a motion verb, but indicates where the speaker was looking from. It contrasts with the likely but uncertain ngiyarri-baa in (c). The second instance is in Ridley’s Gurre Kamilaroi, with njirribatai in ‘(Immanuel) from above (came down)’. Dirribatai is likely ngiri-baa-dhaay ‘FROM-UP-to.here’, with ngiri the GR cognate of YR ngii. This is not a demonstrative but nyirri-baa-ma is: Table 118 and (394).

(393) I saw the river underneath me, below.              CW/AD 5055 1006
(a) giirr ngay’ ngaama ngarra-y /     true 1SG that see-PST /
   I saw it                          JG
(b) ngii-baa ngay’ ma-y.la-ndaay / maalaabidi-dja
   from.up 1SG be.up-CTS-SUB / big.tree-LOC
   from up where I was in the big tree.     JG
(c) ngadaa.bali? ngaama / gaawaa ngarra-Lda-nhi //
   down. that / river look-CTS-PST [pause]
   (I) was looking down at the river,          JG
(d) ngaya=bala ngiyarri-baa ma-y.la-nhi
   1SG=CTR there??-UP?? be.up-CTS-PST
   I was way up on the top of the tree, looking down at the gaawaa.  AD
   I was up there.                  JG

(394), from the YR story of getting fire, includes a form very similar to ngiibaa. Nyirri is probably related to ngii, but any change in meaning is not clear.

(394) Wedgetail was flying around above, and          CW/AD 3220B 2452
nyirri-baa-ma-dhaay=bala=nha wuuli-nyi bamba /    from?-UP-DEF-TO.HERE=CTR=3 swoop-PST w.energy /
   He come straight down (when he seen the meat, on the ground,) he flewed straight down (and picked it up and flew straight up in the air again and got away with the meat).       AD

6.3.9 marra ‘over.there2’
This section and the next deal with uncertain forms and meaning. In this section the rhotic is uncertain, and there may in fact be more than one form, or less likely, homophones, and the basic meaning or meanings are also uncertain.

The form, from the YR tapes, is marra (even though Wurm’s example in Table 120 has a retroflex rhotic) but there may also be another demonstrative mara, suggested by Ridley’s marra ‘there (at your hand)’, with a different meaning (cf. mara ‘hand’ GR). Glosses for the various maRa forms include ‘over there’, ‘here’, ‘that in front’, ‘that behind’ and ‘at hand’.

It is reasonably clear there is a form marra, whose basic meaning is some relatively distant location, since that fits most of the data, but this analysis may be revised. I gloss marra ‘over.there2’. It is similar in use to ngaarri ‘distant’ but ‘far’ and ‘distant’ are not found in glosses of marra. As with ngaarri, marra is not found with the suffix -lay ‘OSTensive’. Marra is found in a wide range of sources. Table 119 gives more common or more recent examples and Table 120 contains examples from earlier sources.

109 ngadaabali is very uncertain, but may be nga-daa-baa-lay; there-DOWN-UP-OST ‘(looking) down from up here’.
110 Capital R indicates that the rhotic may be /r/ or /rr/.
111 At times it seems as if ngaarra and marra are variants.
The bare stem marra is found as ‘over.there’ at 3218A 3112, in the story of Wedgetail and Bowerbird. However, the word may be in Wayilwan, since that language occurs in the story. Marra is also seen in (1141) as ‘out here’, from the story of Emu and Brolga. At 3999A 79 AD has marra in ‘(there he [his] house), over there’.

**Table 119** marra ‘over.there2’ and derived forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Suffix gloss(es)</th>
<th>Typical gloss</th>
<th>Comment/source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Main forms</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marra</td>
<td></td>
<td>over there, that; out here</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marra-ma</td>
<td>-ma DEFinite</td>
<td>over there; there</td>
<td>common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marra-dhaay</td>
<td>to here</td>
<td>fairly common</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marra-ma-dhaay</td>
<td>DEFinite-to here</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marra-gu</td>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>over there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marra-gu-lay</td>
<td>DEFinite=to here</td>
<td>?over here</td>
<td>fairly common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rare/uncertain form</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marram[binma]</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>that other mob</td>
<td>AD2440A 999</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 120** marra in old sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>murrungadhai</td>
<td>round this way</td>
<td>marragumadhagay</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murrungumadhai</td>
<td>round this way</td>
<td>marrgamadhagay</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marrama-thy</td>
<td>(come) this way</td>
<td>?marram dhaay</td>
<td>Milson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marra-thy</td>
<td>(come) this way</td>
<td>?marram dhaay</td>
<td>Milson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marrama</td>
<td>(It’s) here</td>
<td>marra-ma</td>
<td>Milson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marrama-thy</td>
<td>(come) this way</td>
<td>?marram dhaay</td>
<td>Milson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marrama</td>
<td>over there is flying (can no longer be seen)</td>
<td>?mara-gu</td>
<td>WurmYR: 43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form marrama is much more common. It is translated ‘over there’ in (395) and has the same meaning in (65) and AD5054A 1288.

(395) I saw it over there. CW/AD 3996A 248

giirr ngay' ngaama, **marrama** / ngaara-y // **marrama** means 'over.there'

true 1SG that, over.there2 / see-PST //

At 1852B 2541 FR has marrama in ‘there’s his house’ which he contrasts with nhalay in ‘here’s his house’. AD3999A 57 has marram=bala and AD3996A 259 and AD5054A 1288 have marrama ‘over there’ and AD3220B 2592 has marrama in ‘that bird is sitting on its nest’, with no explicit equivalent in the English. AD3218A 3325 has Bowerbird saying repeated marram’, then ngaarri, then repeated ngaarri, then repeated nhama all seeming to have the translation ‘over.there’. There is no obvious distinction in meaning.

The form marrama-dhaay is relatively common and is consistent with the meaning of marra indicating distance from the speaker.
The forms marragu and marragulay are relatively common. Marragu or marra-u is seen in (1034) as ‘out here’. Wurm (Table 120) has marragu ‘over there’, but a location that ‘can no longer be seen’. At 3220A 41 AD translates ‘(when I fell in the mud I left my yamstick) on the ground’ saying the stick fell marra-gu dhaymaya-ya (marra-Allative ground-Locative). This use of marra may be consistent with a distant location, but is not obviously so. Nor do I have an explanation for the change of case between the two nominals.

In (396) marra may be followed by a Dative suffix and have pronominal function. This analysis is far from certain, and the fact that the Personal Declension Dative, -ngu, is not used suggests that marragu does not have pronominal function. Ngaalima, possibly a realisation of ngaarrima, in the same sentence, may also have pronominal function. The unanalysed suffix -la occurs twice in (396), where ngaali may be a realisation of ngaarri ‘far’.

(396) I’ll give that yam to her.

that+close-DAT-la=MIGHT give-IMP / yam that? / that?-?DEF-LA give-IMP

Give it to her. Give that yam to that one.

NGAALIMA

NGAALIMA

that woman-ONE-DAT

Give that to that little woman there.

Give it to that little woman.

The form marragula[y] is found a number of times, often paired with ngaarrigulay and with the phrase meaning something like ‘this way and that’, ‘here and there’. At 5130 673 the cockatoo is ‘(jumping about) over there and over here’ with ‘over there’ ngaarrigula and ‘over here’ marragula?ngarragula (there is often uncertainty if the initial consonant is m or ng). At 2437B 1022 FR translates ‘he walks this way and I walk that/the other way’ with marragulay and ngarragulay. I take it that marragulay means ‘this way’, which could refer to the manner of walking or the direction. Ngarragulay is ‘other.way’.

Other questions remain. A few uses of marra can be interpreted as having the meaning ‘other’, but this meaning is more commonly associated with ngaarra, below. At 2440A 999 the form marram[binma] is used in translating ‘that other mob’ (the function of [m]binma is not known) but marra is likely ‘other’. MathewsGR (p268) has murrugumadhai (mar[r]aguma-dhaay) ‘round this way’. The combination -gu-ma is currently unanalysed. As well, the difference between marra and ngaarri remains unclear.

6.3.10 ngaarra ‘ahead’; ngARA ‘other’

There seem to be a number of forms which can be written ngARA, with variation in the length of the vowels and in the rhotic.

The form ngaarra ‘ahead’ which is found in the tapes and Laves clearly has the meanings ‘ahead’ and ‘in front’. Ngarraa may not be a demonstrative root since it is not conclusively found with the suffix -ma or -lay but it does occur with other suffixes found on demonstrative roots. (397) and (398) show ngaarraa, and the contrast between it and ngayaga ‘behind’, which is likely ngaya-ga ‘back-LOC’: see §13.4.2.

(397) Laves examples of ngaarraa

(a) ngara or ya’ra: (ngaarraa) (You go) ahead. 9 p137 (also p50)
(b) naiaga (ngayaga) (I’m coming) behind.
(c) ngaara: (ngarraa) ahead. 9 p137 et al.
The man will walk behind his wife.  JM/AD 3220A 389

ngayaga nhama gulii-ya nguungu 'nnaa-waa-nha / nhama dhayn-duul //
behind 3.DEF spouse-LOC 3SG.DAT go-MOV-CTS / 3.DEF man-ONE //
That man is walking behind his wife.  JG

ngayaga=bala=nha 'nnaa-waa-nha //
behind=CTR=3.DEF go-MOV-CTS //
He’s walking behind.  JG

ngarraa=bala nguungu gulii=xNa yanaa-waa-nha
ahead=CTR 3SG.DAT spouse=3 go-MOV-CTS
He’s walking behind his wife.  AD
His wife is walking in front.  JG

In (399) the meaning of ngarraa is unclear but may be related to ‘in front’.

(399)  (The best part was the pink meat) near the tail.  JM/AD 8184 3371

ngarraa=badhaay dhiil-milan-da
ahead=MIGHT tail-CLOSE-LOC

The YR form ngaya- occurs in both ngayaga ‘behind’ and ngayagay ‘other’. It may not be co- incidental then that ngarraa is both ‘in front’ and ‘other’.

Derivations from ngarraa include ngarraagu, ngarraagulay, ngarragili ‘other side’, with ngarraagulay ‘other way/direction’ being the most common. The form ngarraama is not found. I presume because ‘other’ and -ma ‘definite’ are not easily compatible. However, it is possible for an ‘other’ to be definite, so ngarraama is possible. Also Sim (p39) has ngararama as ‘it’ in ‘what’s it alongside of?’. I presume this is ngarraa ‘other, in.front’, and it supports the existence of ngarraama.

The form ngarraa-gu is rare. At 3219B 948 it is used to translate ‘(we all have a lot of water) over there’ but again there is no indication of its precise meaning. Sim has ngarraagu in ‘(put it) there’ and ngarraaguwanu as ‘further over’ (-wanu is currently unanalysable).

The form ngarraagulay is common, with perhaps 50 examples. It is often consistent with the meaning ‘away’ (400) and (114), or ‘other way’.

(400)  Then I walked to the next camp.  JM/AD 8184 3416

yaluu ngay’ / nguama=nga / ngarraagulay / ngayago-djuul-gu, walaay-gu yanaa-nhi
again 1SG / that=THEN / other.ALL.OST / other-ONE-ALL, camp-ALL go-PST
Then went away again, to another camp.  JG

The meaning ‘other’ is seen in the common demonstrative ngarraagulay ‘other way’ seen in (401) (part of (528)). AD here uses both ‘away’ and ‘other way’ in his English, but he also has two YR words, ngarraagula(y) and minyaarruwa, so the precise meaning of each word is not clear. 2833B 1300 ‘go and sit somewhere else’ also uses ngarraagulay minyaarru-waa. Ngarraagulay could be ‘to another place’ or ‘in another direction’.

(401)  (That man is staring at me,) tell him to look somewhere else.  JM/AD 3218B 1964

wana nguu ngarraagula minyaarru-waa ngarra-lda-y /
let 3SG.ERG other.way somewhere.ALL look-CTS-FUT /
Let him look elsewhere, somewhere.

gorrarriya=bala nganha / ngarra-lda-ya
don’t=CTR 1SG.ACC / look-CTS-IMP
Tell him to look away, the other way, and tell him not to look at me.  AD
Don’t keep looking at me.  JG
John Giacon 

200 
(402) has ngarragulay with a manner rather than direction meaning.112

(402) (He) can’t he throw it another way. JM/AD 3220B 219

waalaa / waalaa ngu  // ngarragulay / gayawi-lda-nha / maayu
why.not??can’t?? / can’t?? 3SG.ERG // other.way / pelt-CTS-PRS / well
He can’t throw it another way, properly. JG

3218B 825 uses ngarraagula in translating: ‘(it’s not here, I must look) in another place’. Ngarraagulay is also found in 3219A 2585 ‘(the bad man had a lame leg and limped off) into the bush’. Both ‘away’ and ‘to another place’ are consistent with this use. A similar use is found at 3996B 1730, in the story of the Gunibulu ‘Red-capped Robin’, where the hunter, after questioning the others about his kangaroo, ‘(went) away’ ngarraagulay.

Many examples of ngarraagulay involve a contrast which might be glossed ‘that way and the other way’ as in (350) and at 2437A 703, where FR is warning someone about a snake: ‘don’t come this way (marragulay) go round there (ngarraagulay)’, consistent with ngarraagulay meaning ‘another way’.

Ngarragili ‘other side’, found only in Sim, is also consistent with ngarrau ‘other’. In the tapes ‘other side’ is ngaarrigili (‘far side’) or gandaarr (‘far side of river’).

Another variant, or perhaps a related word, is ngarra. There are only a few instances on the tapes. A potential occurrence is the form ngaangaarran, which is likely based on a reduplication of ngaarra. It occurs in the story of Bigibila ‘Echidna’ (5129A 1355), who is telling the young hunters whose emu he is stealing to go further, to get the leaves for the fire. They ask, about a tree, ‘this one?’, and he says: ‘no, ngaangaarran, ngangaarraan-gu’ ‘no, further, further on’. There is no firm analysis at this stage, but this could be a variant of ngarrau ‘ahead’.

The GR sources have some evidence for ngARA, but they are likely to be more confused than the YR sources. YR ngaya ‘back’ has y as the medial consonant, whereas the GR cognate, ngara, has a rhotic, and so is easily confused with ngARA. The GR sources generally do not distinguish vowel length or rhotics, so it will generally not be possible to distinguish these two forms. (397) and (398) both distinguish YR ngarrau and ngaya-. GR does not have a cognate of ngayaga ‘behind’, but YR ngayagay ‘other’ corresponds to ngaragay GR. Ridley (p35) has nyrka ‘after’, which is likely ngara. MathewsGR (p264) has a number of likely related forms, given in Table 121, but they await further analysis.

Table 121  Mathews forms with likely ngarrau

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nhurragwannu</td>
<td>that farther one</td>
<td>ngarra-gu-waa-nha</td>
<td>uncertain: ahead?; ?-waa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘indefinite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngurragudhai</td>
<td>that (farther this way)</td>
<td>ngarra-gu-duhay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngungaraguli</td>
<td>beyond you</td>
<td>nha-ngarra-gulay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaraguguddhera</td>
<td>Beyond that</td>
<td>ngarraagugudh-??</td>
<td>unclear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That concludes the discussion of locational and anaphoric demonstratives which aims to describe the form and functions of each demonstrative. However, grammars are also a guide for creating text, as well as for interpreting existing text, so the next section looks at some guidelines for when to use YG demonstratives, and which ones to use. After a brief discussion of those choices some other unanalysed forms are given, and then manner and time demonstratives discussed.

---

112 Waalaa is likely waal-aa not-ignorative ‘I don’t know if he can’t’.
6.3.11 Choice of demonstratives

The factors governing the use of demonstratives and related forms is not well understood, so it is not possible to provide a comprehensive, or even substantial guide to use of these words in constructing new YG. The forms can generally be recognised in the YG sources, but that is very different from creatively using them. Nevertheless some initial guidelines are now presented which can later be expanded on and corrected.\(^\text{113}\)

*Nhama* is the default definite demonstrative. *Nhalay* is used when the object is definite, being pointed to and near the speaker. *Nhamalay* is used with a definite and indicated object not near the speaker. *Ngaarrima* is used for a distant definite object when the distance is being emphasised and *ngaarrimalay* when the object is also being indicated. *Ngaarrigu* indicates direction, as do forms derived from it.

*Nguwa* forms are basically locative, with *nguwalay* referring to a place around the speaker and *nguwama* to a distant area. *Ngii/-ngiri-* forms are Ablative, and reasonably straightforward in their use. A question remains as to whether *nguwa* and *ngii* forms have pronominal use: e.g. ‘on this’; ‘from this’. *Ngiyarrma* is problematic since we have no clear definition, but the indications are that it has mainly anaphoric use. It often seems equivalent to other forms. In particular there seems to be considerable overlap between the use of *ngiyarrma* and *nguwama*.

*Ngarraa* is here analysed as ‘ahead’ and also as ‘other’. The uncommon form *marra* is similar in meaning to *ngaarrri*, but with less focus on distance.

There is often a choice of which demonstrative to use, but there is also the question of when to use one or more demonstratives in a clause. YG generally uses many more demonstratives than are found in the equivalent English statement, but that is not all that helpful in making specific decisions.

6.3.12 Unanalysed and rare demonstratives

Questions remain about the more common demonstratives but there are many other forms found which are even less well understood. Some occur a small number of times, others only once, and some of these are likely to be just errors rather than actual words. Some have been listed in the earlier discussion. Others are listed here in Table 122 for later investigations.

At 3217B 1852 AD, in translating ‘the wind changed direction and blew the fire another way’, has *ngaya-lu, gayrra-nhi* (*gayrra-nhi* ‘turn-PST’). The *ngayalu* is probably derived from *ngaya* ‘behind’, but the specifics are not clear. In the next sentence he uses *ngaarruuli=nga* (*=nga* ‘now’) and translates the sentence: ‘It’s burning right back now, it’s turned round and burning right back’. *Ngaarruuli* is unanalysed but likely contains -uu (allomorph of -Buu ‘TOTal’) and -li as a variant of -lay.

The number of unanalysed forms which contain recognisable morphemes again suggests that the YG system of demonstratives and related word was extensive and detailed.

\(^{113}\) Investigation of YG demonstratives is being undertaken in 2016, and results will be published in the YG resource site: see Appendix B.
Table 122  Unanalysed or rare demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Note/comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ridley Wordlist (p 35–36)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ƾuribu</td>
<td>very long ago</td>
<td>ngaarri-buu</td>
<td>ngaarri ‘far’ buu ‘total’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ƾāribū</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>ngaarri-buu</td>
<td>cf. very far, very long ago; uncertain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naialle</td>
<td>here</td>
<td>ʔngaya-lay?</td>
<td>uncertain; cf. ngaya ‘back’ YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aro</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>anaphoric: Gurre Kamilaroi line line 9, 112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagggu</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>nha-gu?</td>
<td>-gu: Allative?, Ergative?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nhawurre</td>
<td>this (in rear of speaker).</td>
<td>nhu?ngay warray (warray ‘stand’); cf. nguyaga ‘behind’</td>
<td>Unique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuddhai</td>
<td>this way.</td>
<td>nha-daay</td>
<td>Unique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngunnundhi</td>
<td>this (in front of the speaker).</td>
<td>nganundi (1SG.ABL)</td>
<td>misinterpretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murrangurragai</td>
<td>that other</td>
<td>mara-ngaragay</td>
<td>mara ‘close’?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuari</td>
<td>over there Loc</td>
<td>ngaarri??</td>
<td>uncertain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaraba</td>
<td>above</td>
<td>ngarraa-baa; ngarraa ‘in.front’</td>
<td>possibly -baa ‘up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngargu</td>
<td>he Erg</td>
<td>ngaarr-gu</td>
<td>unique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngad*a’ma</td>
<td>(walking) down there</td>
<td>nga-daa-ma</td>
<td>indicate that -ma and -lay can follow -baa, -daa etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngada’la</td>
<td>down</td>
<td>nga-daa-la[y]?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲa:nba:le</td>
<td>Collarenebri over there I go to work.</td>
<td>ngaan-baa-lay?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4  Manner and time words
YG have a series of manner and deictics derived from the ‘manner bases’ yalagiirr YR and yyalaguwaay (and yiyalaguwaay) GR by using the usual -ma ‘DEFinite’ and -lay ‘OSTensive’ suffixes. There are time words derived from the manner bases and from demonstratives by use of a -Cuu ‘time’ suffix.

Table 123  Main YG manner and time words based on yala-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>YR</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>like</td>
<td>yalagiirr</td>
<td>yiyalaguwaay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>like that</td>
<td>yalagiirrma</td>
<td>yiyalaguwaayma</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>like this</td>
<td>yalagiirray</td>
<td>#yalaguwaaylay</td>
<td>-lay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the same</td>
<td>yalagiirruu</td>
<td>#yalaguwaaybuu</td>
<td>-Buu ‘Total’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the same as that</td>
<td>yalagiirruuma?</td>
<td>#yalaguwaaybuu?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the same as this</td>
<td>#yalagiirruulay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>yalagiyu[u]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at that time</td>
<td>yalagiyyuuma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at that very time</td>
<td>yalagiyyuuma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then, therefore</td>
<td>yalagiirrmawu</td>
<td>#yalaguwaaymawu</td>
<td>Very common.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 123 shows the attested forms which include yalagiirr and yalaguwaay, and some hypothesised forms (marked #) which would expand the paradigm. Table 124 contains less common GR manner words.

6.4.1 yalagiirr/yiyalaguwaay and derived forms

Historically the forms yalagiirr YR/GR and yiyalaguwaay GR are complex, formed from yiyal ‘just’ and -giirr YR/GR, -guwaay GR ‘like’ (§3.4.1.6), with frequent deletion of the first syllable in later sources, i.e., in YR. The a following yiyal could be a Locative suffix, but if so the reason for using it is not clear. The words are compared with Wangaaybuwan manner forms later and alternative GR forms are also discussed then.

There are over 100 words based on yalagiirr in the tapes, the most common of which is yalagiirmawu (>40) and yalagiirrma (>20). There are 12 yalagiiyu ‘now’. These words are not found in the Fred Reece tapes. A few examples are found in Wurm. The GR sources are much more limited.

(a) You will frighten me if you pull faces like that. CW/AD 5058 1628
   giirr nginda=laa / nganha / giiyanma-li / yalagiirr, ngulu nginu
   true 2SG=DIR 1SG.ACC / frighten-FUT / yalagiirr, face 2SG.DAT
   You will frighten me, with such a face. JG

(b) Cook the wallaby like this. CW/AD 5128 2820
   yalagirrma ngaama / bandaarr // bandaarr / yilama-la, yalagiirr
   yalagiirurma that / kangaroo // kangaroo / cook-IMP, yalagiirr

6.4.1.2 yalagiirr/yiyalaguwaay + -ma, -lay

Yalagirurma/yiyalaguwaayma are glossed ‘like.that’ and yalagirrray, yiyalaguwaaylay# are ‘like.this’, both referring to a way of acting. Yalagirurma also has consequential meaning: ‘therefore, as result’. The sole example of yiyalaguwaayma is in a wordlist and glossed ‘likewise’ by Ridley. The form yiyalaguwaaylay# is not found, but formed by regular derivation.

YR yalagirurma is common and is generally translated ‘like that’ or ‘in that manner’. This comparative use is shown in (403) and (404) (part of (545)), probably in (406) and in sentences like CW/AD5058 731 ‘don’t choke like that’, and CW/AD5058 544 ‘don’t carry the spear like that’.

(c) Don’t dance like that. CW/AD 5058 1329
   garriya=ndaay / yalagirurma yulu-gi.la-ya
   don’t=2PL / like.that dance-CTS-IMP

(d) You shouldn’t do it. CW/AD 3998B 1415
   waal nginda / yalagirurma gimbi-lda-y
   not 2SG / like.that do-CTS-FUT
   Don’t behave like that. JG
On the few occasions yalagiirrma introduces a consequence it has translations such as ‘because’, ‘as a result’ or ‘that’s why’. For the present I assume that the y on the end of yalagiirrma in (408) is not significant. Nor will I consider further the use of the Ablative in (409), or consider whether other local suffixes could be used with yalagiirrma.

(407) That’s why the gilaa has a red chest and a bald head.

\[\text{yalagiirrma nhama=Na ‘naa-y.la-nha, giwaymbarra bii}{}\]

like.that 3.DEF=3 go-CTS-PRS, red chest

That’s why he has a red chest./That’s why he walks around, red chested.

(408) The sun is too high up in the sky and it is hot, that’s why.

\[\text{yalagiirrmal}{} /\text{ngi}{}\text{yani malawil-a wila-y.la-nhi}{}\]

like.that 1PL shade-LOC sit-CTS-PST

We sitting in the shade there.

And so we were sitting in the shade.

(409) That was why he was so fat.

\[\text{yalagiirrma-dhi}{} /\text{nhama=nha wamu gi-dja-nhi}{}\]

like.that-ABL 3.DEF=3 fat get-EAT-PST

In at least two instances, (410) and (411), yalagiirrma can be interpreted with a time connotation, but a manner interpretation is also possible. Time is more usually conveyed by yalagiiyu and yalagiirrmawu, discussed below. (410) occurs in a description of smoking a child who has been naughty. The child is ‘choking with the smoke’, so yalagiirrma could be ‘then’, or have a consequence interpretation: ‘when he is like that’. Its function in (411) is not clear.

(410) (A child is nearly choking from being smoked.)

\[\text{yalagiirrma ganugu yanaaynbi-y}{}\]

yalagiirrma 3PL.ERG let.go-FUT

Let him go then.

Therefore they let him go.

(411) That man looked at me as he walked past.

\[\text{giirr nganha / ngaama / dhayn-duul-u, bamba ngarra-y}{} /\]

true 1SG.ACC / that?there / man-ONE-ERG, with.energy look-PST /

That man really stared at me.

\[\text{yalagiirrma / ngaarriguli yanaa-waa-ndaay / bamba nganha ngarra-laa-nhi}{}\]

like.that, / over.there go-MOV-SUB / hard 1SG.ACC look-MOV-PST

He was looking at me hard when he is walking along.

Like that, as he was walking over there. He was staring at me.

(412) also contains a currently unexplained form, yalagiirrama. This could be yalagiirr-LOC-ma, or an error. However, the word could be a nominal, ‘like this thing’, the object of ‘see’, rather than an adverb.

(412) I showed him the porcupine, and the constable really laughed.

\[\text{waal nguu yalagiirrama ngarra-y / yilaalu}{}[u]/\]

not 3SG.ERG yalagiirrama see-PST / long.time /

He never ever seen a porcupine before in his life, [he said].

He had never seen such a thing before.

Two examples have been found which are assumed to be yalagiirray ‘like this’. Parker has boorool luggeray Dinewan (burrul yalagiirray Dhinawan) ‘(how can my children be) big like the
emu’s?’ and Wurm (496) has jalla giri mađđi (yalagiirr-ay-ma-dhi) ‘this is why (I don’t tie my dog up at night)’. The form in Wurm is analysed as having three suffixes: -lay ‘OSTensive’ -ma ‘DEFinite’ and Ablative. It suggests a richness of possible, but unrecorded, similar forms. Given the limited GR sources it is no surprise that no GR equivalent of yalagiirray has been found.

### 6.4.1.3 yalagiirruu ‘the same’

Yalagiirruu includes the -Buu ‘TOTal’ suffix, so ‘totally like’ or ‘the same’, in contrast to ‘like’. The one clear occurrence is in (1083) ‘(hit me, and I will spear you in turn) the same way’. A possible occurrence is AD3220B 206, which has yalagiirruu-m-bala in response to ‘he always throws it like that’. The m may be prenasalising or ellipsed -ma. If the latter then this is the only occurrence of yalagiirruu-ma ‘the same as that’. The use of -ma and -lay on yalagiirruu and the hypothesised GR equivalent #yalaguwaaybuu is consistent with the use of these suffixes elsewhere.

### 6.4.1.4 yalagidaay ‘right round’

The form yalagiirr also combines with -dhaay ‘to.here’ to form yalagidaay114 ‘around, right.round’; e.g. ‘the boomerang went right round’. The combination does not seem to be compositional. The form is seen in (413) and (414).

(413) The man threw away an old boomerang and it came back and cut off his head.
JM/AD 8184 2068  
\[giirr nhama, wayamaa-gu / barran / wana-nhi / nguarrigulaay /\]
true 3.DEF, old.man-ERG / boomerang / throw-PST / that.way /  
The old man threw the boomerang right out there.  
yalagidaay=bala ngaama / barran / gayrра-nhi,  
right.round=CTR that / boomerang / turn-PST,  
The boomerang turned right round.  
yaluu-dhaay=nga?, ngaarruuli, nguwama=Nza=nga dhaygal-i buma-y  
again=to.here=THEN? ???, there=3=THEN head-ABL hit-PST  
It came back again ?from out there and hit him on the head.  

(414) Turn around.
CW/AD 3994A 2767  
yalagidaay=badhaay dhurra-la / yalagidaay / dhurra-la  
right.round=MIGHT come-IMP, / right.round / come-IMP  
Will you turn around?  
AD  
Turn right around. Turn right round.  
JG

Yalagidaay is also found in translations of: ‘look round everywhere’, ‘walk around the lagoon’, ‘twist round and round’ and ‘sit around the fire’.

### 6.4.2 Time forms derived from yalagiir

#### 6.4.2.1 yalagiiyu ‘now’

Here I consider only time forms derived from YR yalagiirr. No time forms have been found derived from GR yalaguwaay. For other time words see §13.5. Yalagiiyu115 is the common YG word for ‘now’, clearly derived from yalagiirr ‘like’ and -Cuu ‘time’ (see §13.5.6; see §2.3 for rr > y in YR). In a number of instances -ma ‘DEFinite’ is suffixed to yalagiiyu. (415) shows the use of yalagiiyu while (416) hints that consequence, as well as present time, can be part of the meaning.

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114 Phonologically the boundary between the morphemes varies, but the most common realisation is yalagidaay, but yalagidaay and yalagidaay have also been recorded. The reason for the short i is not known.

115 Final YR rr changes to y when some case forms are formed. The short final vowel is used in the GYY Dictionary. The sources vary, but final uu is more likely the traditional form.
Now; I’m going now. CW/AD 3994B 3491

That is why the crow is black. JM/AD 8186 1849

I will eat meat tomorrow. CW/AD 3996A 1539

(415) Now; I’m going now.

giirr ngay’ yanaa-waa-nha / yalagiiyu
true 1SG go-MOV-PRS / now
I am going; now. JG

(416) That is why the crow is black.

now / yalagiiyu / that’s why / buluuy nyama=Na=nga gi-nyi
now / now / that’s why / black 3.DEF=3=THEN get-PST
Now, that’s why it is black now. JG

Yalagiiyuuma,\(^\text{116}\) with -ma, refers to a definite time: ‘then’, or ‘that.time’, as in (417). It is not clear whether -lay ‘OSTensive’ can be suffixed to yalagiiyu.

I will eat meat tomorrow. CW/AD 3996A 1539

yaluu ngaya=laa / giibaabu warnaay=ma-y.ngindaay.
again 1SG=DIR / early.morning stand-??-SUB
When I get up early in the morning. AD

yalagiiyuuma ngaya, dhinggaa dha-li
that.time 1SG, meat eat-FUT
Then I will eat meat. JG

(418) also illustrates yalagiiyuuma, one of the rare yalagiirr words found in Wurm. The final -wu is possibly a distortion but more likely a realisation of -Buu ‘TOTal’, so a more precise gloss is ‘right then’, or ‘right at that time’.

(419) I am the same age as my mate/friend.

bulaarr / ngali.nya / yalagiirrmawu, bulaarr gaangang Nhi / ngali.nya
two, / 1DU.EXCL / that.time, two be.born-PST / 1DU.EXCL
Two, we two were born at the one time JG

6.4.2.2 yalagiiirrmawu ‘then’

The most common yalagiirr word is yalagiiirr-ma=wu[\(\text{wu}\)], which is generally translated ‘then’. In most examples yalagiiirrmawu appears to have a sense of logical consequence rather than specifying a time. Another possibility, consistent with most examples here, is that yalagiiirrmawu refers to an extended time whereas yalagiiyuuma refers to a point in time. The actual occurrence of the word is at times uncertain, since the final -wu is often very faint, and may be a distortion rather than a significant morpheme.

The examples for yalagiiirrmawu are necessarily complex, since the word is basically a clause/sentence level conjunction, and so a number of clauses or sentences are necessary to show the role of the word. In (350) and (419) yalagiiirrmawu does not imply a time or logical sequence, but simultaneous events. In (420)–(423) yalagiiirrmawu is associated with a strong sense of logical consequence as well as simultaneity.

\(^{116}\) Words tend to keep final vowel length when a suffix is attached, so (417) is also a strong indication that what is commonly heard as yalagiiyu actually has a final long ‘uu’ (see also 3219B 2014).
They stay underground until they hear some thunder. When the cold comes they dig into the ground then they went to sleep, hear-CTS-FUT 3PL/ERG thunder / w.energy thunder / come-MOV-SUB / and they hear the thunder, the loud thunder coming

The men can’t see where they are walking because of the fog. Let this fog fall down and then they’ll be able to see then. The other people were very noisy.

Lots of people were making a racket and so I couldn’t get to sleep.

They were fat children and she fed them well.

yalagiirrmawu ‘that.time’ and =nga ‘then’ are often found in the one clause. The effect of having the two time words is not understood. In (421) yalagiirrmawu is followed by =nga ‘then’. In other examples like (423) yalagiirrmawu is followed by a demonstrative, which has =nga attached.

(424) contains what seems to be a case marked form, but may be a production error, with the -a being part production of ganunga.

The children looked at the dancing before they fell asleep.

(AD talks of the children watching and the others dancing, then has:) They danced all night, and when it was getting light, then they all went to sleep.
Other yalagiirrmawu examples are: (640); (710) ‘then emu picked up the sinews and ran away with them’ and (942).

6.4.3 Other manner forms
This is a very brief consideration of alternative GR manner words. Table 124 lists forms which do not include the suffix -giirr or -guwaay. Historically it seems that there is little or no difference to the meaning between the simpler and longer forms. That is, yala and yalaguwaay seem to have the same meaning, as do yiyalayma and yiyalaguwaayma. Milson has yalla (likely yaalaa or yala); see Table 124. The form is likely the same as Wangaaybuwan yaalaa ‘that’s the way’ (Donaldson, 1980: 137). It could be from a dialect of GR with similarities to WN, rather than a widespread GR alternative. Two possible derivation paths for the current YG forms are: from YG yiyal ‘just’ or from WN yaay ‘thus’ and yaalaa ‘that way’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Source, comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yalla</td>
<td>the same as this</td>
<td>yala??yaalaa</td>
<td>Milson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalla</td>
<td>like (he speaks)</td>
<td>yala??yaalaa</td>
<td>Milson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jele</td>
<td>like (me), this way</td>
<td>yalay?yaalay</td>
<td>Tindale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jalei</td>
<td>(over) this way</td>
<td>yalay?yaalay</td>
<td>Tindale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yallaqui</td>
<td>like this</td>
<td>yalagawaay</td>
<td>Milson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalliboo</td>
<td>like that</td>
<td>yalaybuu</td>
<td>Milson; -Buu 'Total’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yallimall</td>
<td>that is right</td>
<td>yiyal-i/ay-ma[1]</td>
<td>Milson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ridley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeäl /yeal</td>
<td>merely/only</td>
<td>yiyal</td>
<td>also YR; some have yal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeälö/yealo</td>
<td>furthermore/again</td>
<td>yiyal-a? //</td>
<td>cf. yaluu YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeälima</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>yiyal-i/ay-ma</td>
<td>Not analysed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ellibu</td>
<td>also</td>
<td>yiyal-i?-bau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalwunga</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>yaliwunga</td>
<td>yiyal-(i)-wu-nga?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only one example has been found that indicates that simpler forms were also found in YR. (425) is from Sim, but -aylay is unknown and the derivation of the meaning is currently not understood.

(425) Our boomerangs are the same. Sim
ngalingu barran yiyal-aylay-gaali
1DU.DAT boomerang just-aylay?-DU.

6.4.3.1 Questions: yalagiirr/yalaguwaay
There are some forms related to those above which are currently not or incompletely understood. Some are listed in Table 124, including the suffix combination -Lay-ma, also found in Yalagiirr-ay-ma-dhi in (496).

---

117 The table also includes non-manner words, such as yaliwunga ‘always’ and [yi]yaluu ‘again’.
118 Other related WN forms include yaay ‘thus’ and yaanhdhu ‘at this/that time’ (Donaldson, 1980: 135).
6.5 Definiteness

It is not clear if YG have a pattern for marking definiteness. There are many examples which suggest it can be marked by the use of cross-referencing pronouns or by use of demonstratives, but there are also some examples of apparent definiteness where these deictics are not found.

A nominal is regarded as definite if the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify the particular referent. There is sometimes syntactic marking of definiteness, for instance by the definite article ‘the’ in English. In the sentence “Who put the water on the table?” the speaker assumes that the hearer knows which water and table are being referred to; cf. Chafe (1970: 187). Not all instances or definiteness are marked with the definite article. In ‘mum is coming home tomorrow’ ‘mum’ is definite, identifiable, because she is unique. Personal pronouns and proper names are intrinsically definite.

In some Aboriginal languages demonstratives and pronouns are used to mark definiteness. Wangaaybuwan marks only absolutive (Nominative/Accusative) nominals as definite. It has only =ni (visible) and =na (other) as third person singular Absolutive pronouns. These also have dual and plural forms. Donaldson (1980: 127) points out:

They [Third person absolute pronouns] act as determiners, and are ADnominal as well as PRonominal … A third person absolute pronoun marks an absolutive nominal which it proceeds, not as closer to or further from the speaker, like the demonstratives do, but simply as definite, without any further deictic information … and their absence marks the nominal as indefinite.

In Arrernte as well, third person pronouns and their location mark definiteness. Wilkins (1989: 165) states:

case is marked on the last element of a phrase, and when the NP is non-definite the final element of the phrase is a nominal, but when it is definite the final element will be a form of the third person pronominal.

Definiteness has not been discussed in previous YG studies, nor was the topic explicitly raised in elicitation. However, one would expect YG to be similar to other Aboriginal languages and so mark definiteness, at least for some cases.

No absolute statement can currently be made about YG definiteness, but there is strong correlation between definiteness and the use of pronouns in the IIP to cross-reference a nominal, as in (426)–(429). Further examples include (with the pronoun given): =nha in (1013) and (733), nguu in (194) and (796), nguuma in (268)–(270) and ganugu in (797).

(426) wa:l nyu biŋaligaldu winanjalda
waal=ngu birralii-gal-u winanga-lда-nha
not=3ERG child-PL.DIM-ERG listen-CTS-PRS
The children aren’t listening.

(427) gagil na biŋaligal
gagil=na birralii-gal
bad=3NOM child-PL.DIM
They are BAD CHILDREN.

(428) They ran and ran the other way around the lagoon.
waal nguuma gulaanbalidiŋu ngarra-li.gu
not 3ERG.DEF pelican-ERG see-PURP
So that the pelican would not see (them).

(429) dhalaybaa nhama wiyayl
sharp 3.DEF quill
The quills are sharp.
But not all YG examples which have definite reference have cross-referencing pronouns. However, in most instances there is a locative demonstrative which may make the reference of the nominal definite. *Ngiyama* in (430) may indicate the definiteness of *yinayu*, but *ngiyama* seems to commonly have locational meaning ‘there’, or be used to link discourse. It does not agree in case with *yinayu*. In (431) ‘camp’ is definite, possibly indicated by *nguwalay* ‘here’.

(430) The woman made me wild.  
\[ giirr \ ngiyama \ / \ yinayu \ nganha \ / \ yilay \ burranba-y \]  
true there / woman-ERG 1SG.ACC / angry change-PST

(431) I am going hunting, you all stay at the camp.  
\[ manila-y \ ngaya \ gi.yaa.nha, \ ngindaay=bala \ nguwalay \ yilawa-ya \ gaarrimay-a \]  
hunt-FUT 1SG going.to, 2PL=CTR here sit-IMP camp-LOC
I’m going hunting, you can all stop in the camp.  
I am going to go hunting. You stay here, in the camp.

However, it seems that at times definiteness is not marked. In (432) and (433) the English object is definite and in (434) the Agent is definite, but none has a marker of definiteness in YR.

(432) Sweep.  
\[ biinba-la \ / \ biinba-la \ dhaymaarr \]  
sweep-IMP / sweep-IMP ground
Sweep! Sweep that ground!  
FR

(433) Let the dog go.  
\[ yanaa-y.n.bi-la \ maadhaay \]  
go-let-IMP dog
Let the dog go.  
FR 1851A 1151

(434) The bird whistled.  
\[ dhigayaa-gu \ wiila-nhi \]  
bird-ERG whistle-PST
The bird whistled.  
FR

Definiteness in YG remains a topic for further investigation.
Interrogatives, negatives, ignoratives

Interrogative clauses are polar or content questions. Polar interrogative clauses can be formed in two ways: firstly by intonation (see §2.10.1) – the words are the same as the statement, but the intonation rises; secondly by clause initial yaama. Content interrogative clauses have clause-initial content interrogatives.

Interrogative words are considered as a group because they often share semantic, syntactic and morphological features. They typically occur clause initially. They can be suffixed with the definite suffix -ma (§6.2.4.1), the indefinite suffix -Waa (§7.5.1) and the ignorative suffix -Waayaa (§7.5.2).

Interrogatives belong to a range of word classes. Interrogative pronouns, minya ‘what’ and derived forms are nominals. Yaama is a particle. Others such as galawu ‘when?’ are adverbs.

The current impression is that interrogative sentences formed with an interrogative word have the same intonation pattern as non-interrogative sentences, but this awaits further investigation.

There are some uses of YG interrogatives that do not correspond totally with their English glosses, for instance ‘what is your name?’ is asked using ngaandi/ngaana ‘who’: see (446). In both YR and GR there are interrogatives of uncertain form, or with alternative forms. All sources may reflect English influence in the recording or use of interrogatives.

The polar interrogative particle yaama is considered first, then content interrogatives, some formally derived from other interrogatives such as minya ‘what’. Table 125 lists YG interrogatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polar interrogative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaama (yaa)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative nominals: Nominative/Accusative form</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaandi/ngaana</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minya</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minyaarr</td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minyangay</td>
<td>how many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative adverbs: no case forms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulaarr/galaarr</td>
<td>how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulAwu/galAwu YR wiyarruaa GR</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minya-gu, minya-dhi</td>
<td>what for, why</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It has been assumed that -wa and -gaa are lexically determined alternatives of the ignorative suffix. However, there are examples that suggest a semantic difference, such as the use of -gaa, not -wa, in ngaangunda-gaa (452).
7.1  **yaama ‘QUESTion’; ‘polar interrogative’**

Yaama is infrequent in early sources. Ridley (p35) has ‘note of interrogation yamma’ and: “‘yamma” is placed at the beginning of a question’. MathewsGR (p268) has ‘Yamma and yelle appear to have the sense of “if”’.

The particle yaama\(^{120}\) begins a polar question (435). The same question can be asked without yaama by using rising intonation. (436)\(^{(}=272)\) has yaama. (437) is a hypothetical (constructed) equivalent, using question intonation and with word order changes to keep the pronoun/demonstrative in second position. (844) and (845) are other intonation questions.

(435) You carry this for me, my basket/box.  
\textit{LO/AD 6215 1087}  
\texttt{yaama=nda nhama / yaama nginda means ‘will.you’ nhama ngay box gaa-waa-y}  
\texttt{ques=2SG 3.DEF / ques 2SG 3.DEF 1SG.DAT box carry-MOV-FUT}  
You carry my box along.  \hspace{1cm} \textit{AD}  
Will you carry my box? \hspace{1cm} \textit{JG}

(436) Say to me: He washed himself.  
\textit{CW/AD 3995B 1869}  
\texttt{Yaama nguuma / ngingu gulii-yu / wagirrbuma-nhi?}  
\texttt{ques 3ERG.DEF / 2SG.DAT spouse-ERG / wash.M-PST}  
Did he, your husband, wash (himself)? \hspace{1cm} \textit{JG}

(437) He washed himself?  
\textit{CW/AD 3995B 1869}  
\texttt{wagirrbuma-nhi nguuma / ngingu gulii-yu}  
\texttt{wash.M-PST 3ERG.DEF / 2SG.DAT spouse-ERG}  
He washed, your husband? \hspace{1cm} \textit{JG}

Other examples of yaama include (230) and (243). Yaama is often followed by a second person clitic pronoun ((435) and (243)), but only rarely has the =NHa ‘3’ clitic (438) (The only three examples are from Reece, and even yaama ngu (‘Did s/he.ERG?’) is uncommon.)

(438) Tell me whether he’s coming or not coming.  
\textit{JM/FR 2437A 3312}  
\texttt{yaama=nha dhuay yanaa-waa-nha}  
\texttt{ques=3 to.here come-MOV-PRS}  
Is he coming here? \hspace{1cm} \textit{FR}

Yaama has idiomatic non-polar use. It has been used in YG area for many years as a single word greeting. (439) has a phrase which appears twice in Wurm, with slightly different translations, but clearly also a greeting. (440) also illustrates idiomatic use. If interpreted literally it would be ‘Is that a match?’

(439) ja:mana  
\textit{SW p95, 97}  
\texttt{yaama=nga}  
\texttt{ques=NOW}  
How was it? How is it going?

(440) ja:ma búrı  
\textit{SW p10}  
\texttt{yaama búrı}  
\texttt{ques match}  
Where is match? \hspace{1cm} \textit{SW}  
Is there a match (for lighting a cigarette)? \hspace{1cm} \textit{JG}

\(^{120}\) See yaa ‘question2’ at §7.1.1, which apparently previously had the same function. Yaama is formally a combination of yaa and -ma ‘DEFinite’: see §13.2.1, §6.2.4.1
Yaamagaa, (-gaa ‘indefinite’) most commonly occurs translated ‘perhaps/if’ in indirect questions: (441). In (442) it is used to make a suggestion, an implicit question and in (443) it indicates uncertainty.

(441) I asked her for a spear. (tidied response) CW/AD 5057 1851

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{giirr ngay } & \text{ ngaamu / ngambaadi ngay dhaya-y /} \\
\text{true 1SG that / mother.MY 1SG.DAT ask-PST, /} \\
\text{yaama.gaa ngay bilaarr wuu-rrri} \\
\text{whether 1SG.DAT spear give-FUT} \\
\text{I asked my mother if she would give me a spear.}
\end{align*}
\]

(442) We might go swimming. CW/AD 5131 572

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aa / yaama.gaa / ngali wunga-y} \\
\text{aa / perhaps / 1DU swim-FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

(443) Perhaps I will be fat. Sim p46

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yaama.gaa ngaya wamu gi-gi} \\
\text{perhaps 1SG fat be-FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

7.1.1 yaa ‘QUESTION2’

In more recent sources polar questions are expressed by intonation or by use of the particle yaama: §7.1. However, in some early sources yaa by itself can form a polar question, a use lost in later sources.121 The evidence at this stage is mainly from Milson (c.1840) with one potential example in Wurm. Milson’s evidence (p8) is presented in Table 126.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Original gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ya Ninda</td>
<td>Have you?</td>
<td>Yaa nginda?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yandabooruldie</td>
<td>Did you eat enough?</td>
<td>yaa=nda burlul dha-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya geer</td>
<td>Is it ready? done? Did you get it? Will that do?</td>
<td>yaa giirr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya geer booruldee</td>
<td>Did you eat plenty?</td>
<td>yaa giirr burlul dha-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya burra</td>
<td>Will it come off (bark)?</td>
<td>Yaa buurra-y (past tense)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ya connithoo | How far | yaa ???

On p6 she has: ‘yanda is an abbreviation of ya ninda and seems to imply: will you, have you, did you, do you’. Wurm’s (444) also suggests a free particle, yaa – but that depends on my translation of the sentence, so it is not the strongest evidence.

(444) já:ndɔ wi:βilì

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yaa=nda wiibi-li} \\
\text{pot=2SG be.sick-FUT} \\
\text{You are sick.}
\end{align*}
\]

Will you be sick? SW JG

See also §13.2.1: =yaa ‘POTential’ which is formally identical and semantically related.

---

121 The analysis of yaa as a free morpheme is strengthened by the similar process seen with nha ‘that/3’ which is found only as a bound form in more recent sources (as nha-ma most commonly, which also adds -ma to a previous free form), but is found as a free form nha in Mathews. So quite possibly both yaa and nha have changed from free to bound YG forms in recent history.
7.2 Interrogative pronouns

YG interrogative pronouns are set out in Table 127. There is variation in the Nominative/Accusative forms: ngaana is used in Yuwaalayaay, ngaandi in Yuwaalaraay, and both in Gamilaraay. Other forms are the same in both languages. The table has the same forms as in Williams (1980: 55). Sim(1998: Appendix: 3) has a full Yuwaalayaay paradigm.

Table 127 YG interrogative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>Nominative/Accusative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngaandu</td>
<td>ngaana Yy, GR</td>
<td>ngaanngu</td>
<td>ngaanngunda</td>
<td>ngaanngundi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaandi</td>
<td>ngaanda Yr, GR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms can be interpreted as built on the root ngaan-, a common form for ‘who?’ in Australian languages (Dixon, 2002: 372), or at least in Pama-Nyungan languages (Koch, 2014a: Table 7). Both Nominative/Accusative forms, ngaan-a and ngaan-di, are idiosyncratic: ngaan would be expected for these cases. However, it is common for uninflated interrogative pronouns to take some kind of augment (Koch, (pers. comm.)). The other pronouns use the Personal Declension case forms: §3.2.6.

Interrogative pronouns occur clause initially since, unlike the common use of other pronouns, they are the focus of the sentence. Furthermore they provide the base for indefinites, e.g. ngaandi-yaa ‘someone Nom/Acc’, and ignoratives e.g. ngaandi-yaayaa ‘I don’t know who’.

Ngaana (Accusative) is seen in (445), and Ngaana (Nominative) in (909). Ngaandu (Ergative) is seen in (448) and (11).

(445) ngaana ninda gia·naˈgayawili Laves: 9 p91

who.ACC 2SG going.to pelt-FUT

Who are you going to pelt? Laves JG

Ngaandi Nominative is seen in (446), which also shows the use of the ‘personal’ pronoun to ask about names.122 Goddard (1983a: 126) points out that in Yankunytjatjara:

ngana ‘who, what name?’ is used to seek not only the identity of a person, but the identity of named places and other named things such as songs.

In (446) ‘man’s name’ is referred to by a whole-part construction, not by a Dative.

(446) ngaandi nama de:inj geː′r gigilana123 YR: SW p93

who 3.DEF man name be-CTS-PRS

Who’s that man coming over this way? SW JG

What is that man’s name?

The indefinite suffix -Waa is generally translated ‘some’ (447), but at times is given ignorantive use (448), which is more commonly conveyed by the ignorantive suffix (449). The English negative indefinites (no-one, etc.) are formed by the negative (waal, gamil) and the relevant YG indefinite, as in (450).

122 Goddard (1983a: 126) points out that in Yankunytjatjara: ngana ‘who, what name?’ is used to seek not only the identity of a person, but the identity of named places and other named things such as songs. There is no evidence about the YG practice in such instances.

123 This is an example of the whole-part construction considered in §11.4.2.6.
(447) shadow, somebody’s shadow, on the ground; 
\textit{ngaanngu-waa, nham’ / malawil} 
whose-INDEF, 3.DEF / shadow. 
That is someone’s shadow. 

(448) \textit{ngaandi-yaa ngaama wiyaya dhayn} 
who-INDEF that stranger man 
I don’t know who that is, he is a stranger. 

(449) \textit{nya:ndi jaja ngaandi-yaayaa} 
who-IGNOR 
I don’t know who he is. 

(450) He (a pet emu) got used to me; he would stand halfway along the track, stopping people since (he) didn’t want no-one to go near me. 
\textit{waal nganunda ngaandi-yaa=badhuaa yanaa-y-ga.y} 
not 1SG.LOC who.INDEF=MIGHT go-FUT-?? 
So that no-one would come near me. 

(451) and (452) show Locative and Ablative indefinite pronouns. The alternative forms seen in (452) are currently unexplained. The indefinites are later in the sentence in (450) and (452). 

(451) There’s human blood on that spear. 
\textit{guway-biyaay nhama biluarr nginu / ngaanngundi-yaa nhama dhurra-y} 
blood-COM 3.DEF spear 2SG.DAT / who.ABL-INDEF that come-PST 
That spear come out of somebody, and blood on it. 
That spear of yours has blood on it, it came out of someone. 

(452) (Be quiet,) or I’ll give you to someone else. 
\textit{yalagiirrmawu ngaya=laa nginunha wuu-rri ngaanngunda-gaa / ngaanngunda-waa} 
that.time 1SG=DIR 2SG.ACC give-FUT who.LOC-INDEF / who.LOC-INDEF 
If you do (cry) I will give you to somebody. 

The YG evidence for interrogative pronouns is clear and relatively common. The GR evidence is fairly sparse. GR has both absolutive forms: \textit{ngaandi} is found once in Ridley, and \textit{ngaana} twice in MathewsGR. The total Ridley evidence is (1875: 7): ‘\textit{\’andi?} (\textit{ngaandi}) who? [hence the verb “\textit{anduma}” tell who]’ [\textit{anduma} is not a verb, but \textit{ngaandu-ma}, with -\textit{ma} ‘DEFinite’ §6.2.4.1]. MathewsGR has \textit{ngandu (ngaandu)} in an Ergative role. He has \textit{ngaana} ‘whose’ and \textit{ngannudnyi} ‘who from?’ [sic] which suggest an alternative, perhaps archaic, Dative, \textit{ngaanu}. The common form is \textit{ngaanngu}. There are a number of interrogative pronouns in Wiradjuri which include \textit{ngaanu}, further indicating this form was found. 

Mathews gives number marked interrogative pronouns for YR (1902: 139) (set out below) but not in his GR. However, the forms do not show any of the expected patterns. This is the only currently found information about such number marking in YG. It is clearly found in other languages including Wangaybyuwan. It may well have been a feature of traditional YG but the evidence is slight.
Table 128  Number marked interrogative pronouns in Mathews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngana</td>
<td>Who (singular)?</td>
<td>ngaana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngananumma</td>
<td>Who (dual)</td>
<td>ngaana nhama</td>
<td>not dual, but: ‘who is that?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngangananumma</td>
<td>Who (plural)</td>
<td>nga-ngaana? nhama</td>
<td>reduplication?, possibly ngan-ngaana nhama.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3  *minya* ‘what’ and derived forms

Minya ‘what’ is the most common YG interrogative. There are similar forms in many Australian languages, often *minha*. YG *minyaarr* ‘which’ and *minyangay*124 ‘how much/how many’ are presumably derived from *minya*. In YR the locational interrogatives are derived from *minyaarr*.125 The records suggest that *minya* can occur in the full range of cases, although Caritative is the only derivational case found. Fewer case forms of *minyaarr* and *minyangay* have been found, but again that likely reflects the sources rather than the possibilities of the languages. Table 129 shows the attested and hypothesised case forms of these interrogatives and the GR locational interrogatives (forms marked # have not been attested but are consistent with the paradigm).

Table 129  Case forms of some interrogatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>What</th>
<th>How.many</th>
<th>Which</th>
<th>WhereYR</th>
<th>WhereGR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>minya</td>
<td>minyangay</td>
<td>minyaarr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>minya</td>
<td>minyangay</td>
<td>minyaarr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>minya-dhu</td>
<td>minyanga-dhu</td>
<td>minyaayu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>minya-gu</td>
<td>minyangay-gu</td>
<td>minyaarr-gu#</td>
<td></td>
<td>minyaarru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>minya-gu</td>
<td>minyangay-gu#</td>
<td>minyaarr-gu#</td>
<td>minyaayi</td>
<td>dhalaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>minya-dha</td>
<td>minyanga-dha</td>
<td>minyaaya</td>
<td>minyaayi</td>
<td>dhalaaawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>minya-dhi</td>
<td>minyanga-dhi</td>
<td>minyaayi</td>
<td>minyaayi</td>
<td>dhalaaayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>minya-gu</td>
<td>minyangay-gu#</td>
<td>minyaarr-gu*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caritative</td>
<td>minya-nginda</td>
<td>Forms which would occur in this cell are not found, but all are probable.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>minya-biyaay#</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privative</td>
<td>minya-dhalibaad#</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.1  *minya* ‘what’

The most common content interrogative is *minya* ‘what’ It asks for the identity of a non-personal referent. Case forms found are given in Table 130. Ergative and Locative have irregular suffixes. The Dative might have been *minyangu*; however -*ngu*, the common irregular Dative suffix, is found only on personal pronouns, so this is unlikely. Sim is the only source. His Accusative *minyaa-nguu* is likely a misinterpretation of sentence-initial *minya=nguu*, *nguu* ‘3SG.ERG’.

---

124 This word suggests that the count/non-count distinction is not found in YG, nor is it common in other Australian languages.

125 In GR they are derived from *dhalaa* (or *dhalaarr*) ‘where’.
Table 130  Some minya ‘what’ case forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sim</th>
<th>Wurm</th>
<th>Tapes</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Standard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>minya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>minya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>minya(a)-ngua*</td>
<td>minya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>minya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg</td>
<td>minya-dhu</td>
<td>minya-dhu</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
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<td></td>
<td>minya-gu</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Purp</td>
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<td>minya-gu</td>
<td>minya-gu</td>
<td>Parker Minyah goo</td>
<td>minya-gu</td>
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<td>minya-dhu</td>
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<td>Desid</td>
<td>minya-nginda</td>
<td>minya-nginda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>minya-nginda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Nominative/Accusative form is common, found in sentences like: *Minya nhama? ‘What’s that?’* and (453) and (454).

(453)  In a story bigibila ‘porcupine’ hears something fall and asks:  
\[ \text{aa / minya ngaama bundaa-nhi? bamba ngaam bundaa-nhi} \]
\[ \text{aa / what there fall-PST hard that fall-PST} \]
What was that that fell? It fell with a crash.  
JG

(454)  What did you see?  
\[ \text{minya=nda ngaama ngarra-y} \]
\[ \text{what-2SG there see-PST} \]
What did you see?  
AD

The Ergative/instrumental form is fairly common, used to show an agent in (455) and instrument in (456), the latter being an indirect statement. The function of -waa in (456) is unclear.

(455)  bayn mubal gi-ngindaay / minya-dhu-waayaa / bayn burranba-y  
\[ \text{sore stomach get-SUB / what-ERG-IGNOR / sore cause-PST} \]
That little fellow’s stomach was aching and don’t know what the matter with him.  
AD/JM 3217A 2542.
\[ I \text{ don’t know what made his stomach get sore.} \]  
JG

(456)  Them kids think that I killed that bird, but,  
\[ \text{waal=bala ngaya gwaa-y minya-dhu-waa ngaya buma-lday} \]
\[ \text{not=CTR 1SG tell-PST what-ERG-INDEF 1SG hit-SUB} \]
I never told them what I killed him with.  
AD

Dative minya-gu is found with purposive function ((457) and (458)) but not with other functions except in Sim (Table 130). The only examples of Allative (459) or Locative (460) case minya are also from Sim. The Locative suffix is -dha, not the standard -ga, and is similar to the Ergative -dhu. (see Table 18 for case allomorphs.)

(457)  minjagunda ðurai  
\[ \text{minya-gu=nda dhurra-y} \]
\[ \text{what-PURP=2SG come-PST} \]
Why did you come?  
SW
(458) minya-gu ḋinda ḋami-lda  
minya-gu ḋinda ḋami-lda-nha  
what-PURP 2SG look-CTS-PRS  
What are you looking for?  
SW

(459) To what did he walk?  
minya-gu =nda ngaarimali ‘naa-nhi  
what-ALL=2SG over.there go-PST  
What did you walk to?  
JG

(460) What’s it alongside of?  
minya-dha ngaarara wi-y.laf-nha  
what-LOC over.there lie-CTS-PRS  
Ablative case has the usual local (461) and causal (462) uses.

(461) From what did he walk?  
minya-dhi =nda ḋhaay ḋharra-wu- wyjaśni  
what-ABL=2SG to.here return-PST  
From what (?what cause, ?what thing) did you come back here?  
JG

(462) Why won’t you come?  
minya-dhi-yaayaa  
what-ABL-IGNOR  
I don’t know, why he didn’t come.  
AD  
I don’t know why.  
JG  

Caritative case minya-nginda ‘what-wanting’ is common, often in minya-nginda=nda ‘What do you want?’, e.g. (133), (134), (136) and (234).

7.3.1.1 minyangay ‘how many’

Minyangay is a nominal which asks ‘what amount’: number or quantity. Evidence for minyangay is considerably less than for minya. It is found in earlier sources: Ridley minyungai; MathewsGR minyungai; MathewsYR minyangi. MathewsGR also has minyangguddha ‘how many times?’ (minyangga=dha, Locative). Minyangay is common in the tapes, commonly translated ‘how many’ but ‘how much’ is also found.

Sim’s paradigm (1998: Appendix: 3) includes most of the non-derivational cases of minyangay: see Table 129. The -dhu (Ergative) and -dha (Locative) suffixes are sometimes found on (a)ay-final words with deletion of the y. The Dative and Ablative suffixes have the standard forms, -gu and -dhi, but the Ablative also involves deletion of the final y before dh.

The form is also occasionally minyanga when followed by a clitic or pronoun (463). FR1852B 1987 has: minyangay then minyanga nginu (‘How many have you?’). AD3217A 917 has minyangay=nya then minyanga-ma (how.many=3, how.many-DEF) in response to ‘How many pieces can you eat?’.

(463) You might ask me: How much you want? I’ll ask you:  
minyangay=nda / minyangay nginda // minyanga nginu // ngay’ wuu-raa-nha  
how.many=2SG / how.many 2SG(Wayi) // how.many 2SG // 1SG.DAT give-MOV-PRS  
How much, how much are you giving me?  
JG
Sim has two idiomatic uses for Locative case (464), and a similar structure for ‘how many nights’. This suggests minyangadha as a suitable way of asking ‘how long’ with reference to time.126

(464) How many days?  
minyang-dha-\(waayaa\) yaadha [yaay-dha]  
how.many-LOC-IGNOR day [sun-LOC]  
I don’t know how many days.  

Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 267) has minyangalmay ‘what quantity’ and it is also used, but in Nominative case, for time questions.

7.3.1.2 minyaarr ‘which’

Minyaarr ‘which’ asks for one of a group to be selected, e.g. ‘which camp?’, ‘which woman?’. The case forms are given in Table 129, many hypothesised. It is common with -\(ma\) ‘DEF’. It is common in the tapes as are the (historically) derived YG local interrogatives minyaaya ‘where.at’, minyaarru ‘where.to’ and minyaayi ‘where.from’. Minyaarr is not found in Mathews. Ridley has minnima? ‘which?’, likely minya-\(ma\), not minyaarr. It is not found in Laves. Wurm has it twice: once in the translation of ‘Which is your father?’ and in (465). The other examples show common uses.

(465) Which one standing around is your father  
minyaarr-gili-dja nginu bù:dwadjarr warr-la-y.laf-nha  
which-LOC 2SG.DAT father stand-CTS-PRS  
What side is your father standing on?  

When minyaarr is found with -\(ma\), it is often then repeated without the suffix.

(466) Which track?  
minyaarr-\(ma\) ngaama / yuruun, minyaarr ngaama yuruun ngaama gaawaa-gu  
which-DEF that / road, which that road that river-ALL  
Where the road to the river?  

The Sim paradigm has the regular YR Ergative minyaayu. AD, in his one example (467), has minyaarru, the GR Ergative.

(467) Which brother of yours took your father’s meat?  
minyaarr-u, minyaarr-u-\(ma\) / ngaandu-\(ma\) ngaamu, dhiinggaa ...  
which-ERG, which-ERG-DEF / who.ERG-DEF that?, meat ...  
Which one, which one, who there?? (did it) meat.  

(468) contains the one instance found of minyaarr with the indefinite suffix.

(468) We don’t know which one.  
minyaarr-aa / minyaarr-aa nhama berralii  
which-INDEF / which-INDEF 3.DEF child  
I don’t know that kid. It is something like what you asked.  
I don’t know which/who that child is. [That child is some-which].  

126 This is typical of Australian languages: ‘How many (nights)?’ for ‘How long?’
In Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 149, 266) minyaarr is ‘which part’, and used in sentences like: ‘Which part of the rabbit did you eat?’ and ‘I don’t know where he got hit (on which part)’. Wanhdha (Donaldson, 1980: 267) is ‘which, where’ as in: ‘Which dog stole the meat?’. WaNHDHa is common as ‘where’ in many Pama-Nyungan languages (Dixon, 2002: 375). The WN Locative (Donaldson, 1980: 307) is wandha-la ‘where(at)’ and Dative (allative) wandha-gu is ‘where to?’. Wandhala is presumably related to GR dhalaa ‘where?’. 

7.3.1.3 YR minyaaya/minyaarru/minyaayi ‘where’

As seen in Table 129, forms derived from minyaarr are used as locational interrogatives in YR: minyaaya ‘where.LOC’, minyaarru ‘where.ALL’, minyaayi ‘where.ABL’.\(^{128}\) There are numerous instances of minyaaya and minyaarru in the tapes, fewer of minyaayi. Minyaaya occurs in early sources but not the other cases. (469) shows minyaaya. See also (577).

\[(469) \text{ minjaja: balla ginu: walaai gilanna } \quad \text{SW p97} \]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{minyaaya} &= \text{bala nginu } walaay gi-]gi.la-nha} \\
\text{where.LOC} &= \text{CTR 2SG.DAT camp} \quad \text{be-CTS-PRS}
\end{align*}\]

Where is your camp?

(470) shows the use of the Locative with dhaay ‘to.here’ where the English has an Ablative construction. This contrasts with the use of Ablative minyaayi in 0.

\[(470) \text{ Where do you come from? } \quad \text{Sim p47} \]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{minyaaya dhaay nginda} &= \text{naa}-waa-nhi} \\
\text{where.LOC to.here} &= \text{2 SG go-MOV-PST}
\end{align*}\]

Indefinite minyaaya-waa ‘where.at-INDEF’ is seen in Wurm (p99): ‘fire is burning somewhere else’.

Minyaarru ‘where.to?’ is seen in (471). There are over 50 instances on the tapes. (472) has an indefinite example.\(^{129}\) Use with -ma ‘DEF’ is common, as is minyaarru-waayaa ‘don’t know where to’.

\[(471) \text{ minja:ru nama jiru:un gianna } \quad \text{SW p101} \]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{minyaarru} &= \text{yama yuruun gi-yaay-nha} \\
\text{where.ALL 3.DEF road} &= \text{be-MOV-PRS}
\end{align*}\]

Where does this road go to?

\[(472) \text{ (I stayed behind to catch possums and) she (my missus) disappeared, was lost. } \quad \text{JM/AD 3219B 3334} \]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ngam} &= \text{bala ngay } \text{gulirr minyaarru-waa} \text{ yurrul-gu } 'nnaa-nhi' / \text{wanggara-nhi-yaa} \\
\text{that}=\text{CTR 1SG.DAT spouse where.to-INDEF bush-ALL go-PST } / \text{get.lost-PST=POT}
\end{align*}\]

He [sic] might have got lost. \(\text{AD}\)

My wife went somewhere into the bush; maybe she got lost. \(\text{JG}\)

The YR Ablative interrogative is minyaayi. The form of the YR Ablative on words ending in \(rr\) varies, with both -i and \(rr\)-yi found e.g. the Ablative of dhaymaarr ‘earth’ is found as both dhaymaarri and dhaymaayi. However, *minyaarri is not found. Minyaayi is phonologically similar to minyaaya’, the elided form of minyaaya, so at times it is difficult to determine the underlying form. In 1853A 258 minyaay ‘ganunga ‘where are they?’ minyaay’ is clearly Locative. In (473) nyama suggests the interrogative is minyaayi, as does the initial y in -yaayaa in (475).

\(^{127}\) Dixon (2002: 332-3) points out that wanhdha is very common for ‘where?’ and that in a number of languages ‘where?’ may be derived from it by dropping the initial syllable.

\(^{128}\) It is common in Australian languages for ‘where?’ to be literally ‘which way’.

\(^{129}\) (472) also illustrates AD’s use of ‘he’ with feminine reference.
Where did that man come from?  

\textit{minyaay}'  

\textit{nyama/nhama dhayn dhurra-y}  

where-LOC?ABL 3.DEF man come-PST  

Where did that man come from?  

FR

(474) has the variously interpretable \textit{minja:aj(i) (minyaay(i))}, most likely the Ablative, while in (475) the case of \textit{minyaay} is unclear.

(474) \minja:aj(i) nginda na:wanji  

\textit{minyaay} \textit{nginda dhaay 'naa-waa-nhi}  

where.ABL 2SG to.here come-MOV-PST  

Where have you come from?  

SW

We all don’t know this man.  

\textit{minyaay}' \textit{yaayaa nhama-dhaay}' \textit{naa-waa-nhi}  

where.LOC to.here go-MOV-PST  

(We don’t know these two strangers,) don’t know where they come from.  

AD

Sim and Giacon (1998: 41, 47) have the ambiguous \textit{minyaay-dhaay} and \textit{minyaay-ma-dhaay}, where again \textit{minyaay} could be from either \textit{minyaaya} or \textit{minyaayi}.

A number of YG translations of ‘where from?’ are found. \textit{Minyaaya dhaay ‘where.LOC to.here’} uses the Locative and \textit{dhaay} (470). (473) seems to use just the Ablative \textit{minyaayi} and 0 most likely has the Ablative plus \textit{dhaay}.

The conditions governing the choice of structure are not certain. On the tapes, when the question is ‘Where did you come from?’, in most or perhaps all instances some form of \textit{minyaaya nginda dhaay} is used. Questions about a third party seem to use the Ablative, \textit{minyaayi}.

### 7.3.2 GR dhalaa/dhalaawu/dhalaayi ‘where’

The three cases of the GR locational interrogative are given in Table 129 and much of the evidence for them in Table 131. (476) shows the Locative and (477) the Allative. The Locative is \textit{dhalaa} except for one \textit{tala:ra (dhalara-r-a?)} in Tindale. There are at least four instances of the Allative, \textit{dhalaawu} (perhaps \textit{dhalawu}), likely lenited from \textit{dhalaa-gu}, which has the Allative suffix on the Locative form. The Ablative is \textit{dhalaayi}, with the only example from Mathews’ notebooks (as are two of the Allative examples). Mathews has only the Locative in his published GR. Laves has \textit{dalenda} in ‘Where you going?’ and \textit{dilenda} (=nda ‘2SG’) in two sentences translated: ‘Whither he going?’ and once ‘where (he) going?’ The \(e\) in the second syllable and some translations suggests these represent the Ablative form.

### Table 131 Where? GR: evidence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Current</th>
<th>Suffix gloss; Note</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ridley</td>
<td>tulla</td>
<td>where?</td>
<td>dhalaa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>thulla</td>
<td>where.LOC sentences</td>
<td>dhalaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>thullawu</td>
<td>where goest: Allative</td>
<td>dhalawu</td>
<td>MS8006/3/9: 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>thullo</td>
<td>where (going): Allative</td>
<td>dhalawu</td>
<td>MS8006/3/9:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>thullai dhai</td>
<td>whence: Ablative</td>
<td>dhalayi dhaay</td>
<td>MS8006/3/9:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tindale</td>
<td>tala:ra</td>
<td>where.LOC sentence</td>
<td>dhalaa-rra</td>
<td>only ex. with \textit{rra}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tindale</td>
<td>ta'la-wa-nda</td>
<td>where.LOC sentence (476)</td>
<td>dhalaa-waa=nda</td>
<td>INDEF=2SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laves</td>
<td>dalenda</td>
<td>where.ALL sentence</td>
<td>?dhalaa=nda</td>
<td>=2SG; LOC?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laves</td>
<td>dilenda</td>
<td>where.ABL 2 sentences</td>
<td>?dhalaayi=nda</td>
<td>=2SG; ABL?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laves</td>
<td>2 sentences</td>
<td>where.ALL 1 sentence</td>
<td>?dhalaa=nda</td>
<td>=2SG; LOC?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wurm</td>
<td>dala:</td>
<td>where.LOC sentences</td>
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<td>Wurm</td>
<td>'dalu:nda:</td>
<td>where.ALL sentence</td>
<td>dhalawu=ndaay</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wurm</td>
<td>'da,la:+u</td>
<td>where going: Allative</td>
<td>dhalawu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\textbf{7.3.3 \textit{gulaarr}/galaarr ‘how’}

\textit{YR} has \textit{gulaarr}/galaarr\textsuperscript{130} in free variation for ‘how’. I use \textit{gulaarr}, the form in earlier sources. The word is occasionally heard and written \textit{gurraarr}. As with other interrogatives the semantics are not obvious, with uses that do not correspond to English ‘how?’ . The only GR evidence is \textit{gwirrar} in MathewsGR (p268), which may not be the same form.

\textit{Gulaarr} and \textit{galaarr} occur in fairly equal number in the tapes with a tendency for \textit{AD} to use \textit{gulaarr} more and \textit{FR} \textit{galaarr}. Wurm has one of each. Parker has \textit{gullarh} and \textit{gullahrah} ‘somehow’ (535). The word has not been found in other sources.

(478) shows the \textit{gulaarr}/galaarr variation in an elicitation where the informant wants the material to be realistic as well as grammatical. It also has -\textit{ma} ‘DEF’.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(478)} Little boy; how do you skin a goanna? JM/AD 3218B 2410
\item \textbf{(a)} \textit{galaarr-\textit{ma}=ndaay nhamalay / yulay / garra-lda-nha} \textit{how-DEF=2PL that / skin / cut-CTS-PRS}
\begin{itemize}
\item How do you. Pl cut that skin. JG
\item AD: They don’t skin them. JM: well, skin a possum. AD They might do, but;
\end{itemize}
\item \textbf{(b)} \textit{galaarr-\textit{ma} nginda nhama mudhay / yulay / gaa-gi.\textit{la}-nha / garra-lda-nha} \textit{how-DEF 2SG 3.DEF possum / skin / take-CTS-PRS / cut-CTS-PRS}
\begin{itemize}
\item How do you. 1 that possum, skin, take (off), cut. JG
\end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

\textit{Gulaarr} is also seen in (233), (832), (847) and (901). \textit{Gulaarr} is used at times when \textit{minya} ‘what’ might be expected: (479) and (480). The JG translation of (479) tries to capture the literal structure of the sentence. Similar uses are found elsewhere, as seen in Hercus (1994: 227):

\begin{itemize}
\item The use of ‘how do you think?’ for ‘what do you think?’ is a regional feature that is shared with Western Desert languages.
\end{itemize}

See also Goddard (1983a: 250).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(479)} In the story of fire \textit{Biliirr} (red-tailed black cockatoo) is wondering what to do to distract the fire carrier. CW/AD 5130 591
\item \textit{gulaarr=bala gi.yaa.nha nhama / ngiyani gimb\textit{i-li}} \textit{how=CTR going.to 3.DEF / 1PL.ERG do-FUT}
\begin{itemize}
\item What’ll we do with him? AD
\item How are we going to do him? JG
\end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{130} Since there are no case forms these words are adverbs.
What is the matter? JM/FR 2437B 2853

gulaarr-ba* gi-nyi
how-ba131 be-PST

What’s the matter? FR
How is it? JG

Galaarr translates ‘what’ at 3219B 3521, where AD uses it to translate: ‘What’s the matter with you?’. (481) includes gulaarr-aayaa, with the ignorative suffix.

I don’t know how he saw me. CW/AD 5129A 1954

gulaarr-aayaa / nguumu maadhaay-u nganha ngarra-y
how-IGNOR / that.ERG?? dog-ERG 1SG.ACC see-PST

I don’t know how that dog saw me. JG

However, gulaarr-aa, with the indefinite suffix, does not have the expected translation of ‘somehow’. Rather it is found in sentences which imply a wrong manner or a strange manner: (482).

Miimii (granny), why does he throw it like that? JM/AD 3220B 179

miimii / minya-gu=bala ngama ngu / barran-du gayawi-lda-nha / gulaarr-aa
miimii / what-PURP=CTR that 3SG.ERG / boomerang-ERG pelt-CTS-PRS / how-INDEF

Granny, why is he throwing the boomerang any old way/anyhow/somehow? JG

Gulaarr-ma has similar use, as seen in (483) and (484).

What’s wrong with that man? JM/AD 3220B 1370

gulaarr-ma nhama dhayn-duul gi-nyi / gagil nhama guuyay gi-nyi
how-DEF 3.DEF man-ONE be-PST / bad that mood be-PST

What’s wrong with that man? He is in a bad mood. JG

What’s wrong with those clouds that it doesn’t rain? JM/AD 3220B 1406

gulaarr-ma nhama gundaa gi-nyi / waal dhama-y / waal gi.yaa.nha dhama-y
how-DEF 3.DEF cloud be-PST / not rain-FUT / not going.to rain-FUT

It won’t rain. AD

What has happened to the clouds. It will not rain. It’s not going to rain. JG

In (978) ‘he doesn’t know how you made the spear’ is translated using a verb for ‘know’ and gulaarr-aa where just gulaarr might have been expected. These semantics require further investigation.

7.3.3.1 YR galawu/gulawu ‘when’

As with ‘how?’ YR and GR have different forms for ‘when?’. There are two YR forms, currently transcribed galawu132 and gulawu, in free variation. At 2833B 2023 AD uses galawu then gulawu in the space of a few seconds. The fact that these are derived from galaarr/gulaarr ‘how’ by use of the time suffix -uu suggests the vowel in the second syllable should be aa.

The word is found in only a few sources. Laves has kalau, Sim has gulawu, Wurm guloy and galoy.

I will generally use galawu – the more common form. The use of present tense in (485) for future action may be due to the influence of English.

131 The -ba in (480) could be abbreviated -bala, a mistake, or an unknown suffix.
132 The form is more likely galaawu. Galawu is the main form in the GYY dictionary and I will use this in the discussion in the next section. galaawu is a lenition of galaarr-u ‘how-u’. WN widju-baarr-u ‘when?’ is derived from widjubaarr ‘what like’ which is derived from widju ‘how’.
When will you go home?

\[\text{galawu}=\text{nda} / \text{yanaa-waa-nha} / \text{walaay-gu nginu}\]

When you going home to you [sic] camp?

\[\text{AD}\]

\[\text{Galawu would be expected to be used with the usual suffixes. Some found are: galawu-waa AD5055 544 and galawu-waayaa AD2833B 2053, both ‘don’t know when’. However, galawu-waa is found only with ignorative use, not as a true indefinite. (608) has galawu-ma.}\]

In (486) galawu is used as the informant tries to find a translation of ‘long time’. (1115) gives the next part of the answer.

\[\text{It is a long time since I have eaten emu.}\]

\[\text{galawu-waayaa ngaya / dhinawan nhamal[i dhadh-a-y}\]

\[\text{I don’t know when I (last) tasted emu.}\]

\[\text{JG}\]

\[\text{7.3.3.2 GR wiyarru ‘when’}\]

Four instances of GR ‘when’ have been found. Ridley has wírū and MathewsGR the similar wearru. Wurm has two similar sentences in future tense which include ‘when’, (487) beginning with wírila: and another beginning with wírila.

In the GYY Dictionary GR ‘when’ was given as wirralaa, but as a ‘very uncertain’ form. The current analysis is that GR ‘when’ is wiyarruu, with Wurm’s sentences having the interrogative followed by =lād\(^{133}\) ‘DIRectly’. The form may be disyllabic, as given in three instances, but diphthongs can easily be heard as long vowels, and words simplified as language declines, so the Mathews version is the more likely.

\[\text{wírila: ma:da duöli}\]

\[\text{wiyarra=laa maadha dhurra-li}\]

\[\text{When is the boss coming?}\]

\[\text{SW}\]

\[\text{7.3.4 Interrogatives: pragmatics}\]

As well as formal strategies for forming questions, there are social strategies. (488)(b) is an intonation question, but (488)(a) shows a different question strategy. Instead of a question, a suggestion is made, which is a common way of seeking information without the directness of a question. A suggestion gives the hearer more room to structure an answer.

\[\text{Why didn’t/he/you have any meat?}\]

\[\text{(a)}\]

\[\text{miimii, waal=gaa=ndaay ngaama / yaa, dhingga / gaa-gi:la-nh[i}\]

\[\text{Grannie, not=ignore=2PL.ERG there / perhaps, meat / take-CTS-PST}\]

\[\text{(b)}\]

\[\text{dhinggaa-dhalibaa nginda}\]

\[\text{meat-PRIV 2SG [rising tone]}\]

\[\text{Grannie, maybe you lot didn’t have any meat. You’ve got no meat?}\]

\[\text{JG}\]

Some English content questions are translated as polar questions. It seems that questions about qualities (How big? How long? What colour?) are traditionally asked by asking about one or more qualities (Is it big or small? Is it short? Is it red?) as in (489) and (490) (which follows (484)).

\[\text{FR (2438A 2284) has galawu=laa, parallel to the structure as suggested here, in the translation of: ‘When are the other mob coming?’}\]
How big is the boomerang?

How big is it? [a cloud]

7 Interrogatives, negatives, ignoratives

7.4 Negatives

This section considers YG standard negatives (‘the basic means that languages have for negating declarative verbal main clauses’ (Payne, 1985: 198)), imperative negatives, nominal/existential negatives and forms derived from them. Negation can be indicated in other ways, including by suffixes: -DHaliba ‘Privative’ §3.4.1.2, -nginda ‘Caritative’ §3.4.1.4, -Waa, -Gaa ‘Indefinite’ §7.5.1 and -Waayaa ‘Ignorative’ §7.5.1.

The basic YG negators are: waal134 YR, gamil GR ‘no, not’ (standard negation), garriya (imperative negation) and maayrr YR, marayrr GR (nominal negation). There are a number of negatives derived from these. Negatives, including derived forms, putative forms (underlined) and forms which are less prototypically negatives, are listed in Table 132. It is common for all negators that have scope over other elements to be used as single word statements when the ellipsed material is recoverable from the context.

### Table 132 YG negating particles

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<th>Scope/comment</th>
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<td>CAN’T</td>
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<td>NOT=POT; not likely</td>
<td>waal=yaa</td>
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<td>waal=badhaay=yaa</td>
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<td>Imperative negators</td>
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<tr>
<td>DON’T!</td>
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<td>garriya</td>
<td>imperative verb</td>
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<td>NOT.YET, hold on</td>
<td>gariyawa[u]</td>
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<td>Existential negators</td>
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<td>NONE</td>
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<td>marayrr</td>
<td>Ø, nominal</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maayrrngay</td>
<td>marayrrngay</td>
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<td>Other negators</td>
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<td>LET, wait</td>
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<td>wana?</td>
<td>verb</td>
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<td>stop it!</td>
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<td>wanagidjay?</td>
<td>generally none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUST.NOT</td>
<td>wanaa</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 example found</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

134 For convenience, generally only the YR form is used in discussion.
135 In YG and other Central New South Wales languages the standard negator is prominent since the language name is the negator with the Comitative suffix. A number of dialects of Gamilaraay are also recorded, again distinguished by the negative particle. (In Yuwaalaray the particle has been reduced to waal from yuwaal.) The language names, with the negator bolded, are: Gamil-araay, Yuwaal-araay (‘no’ is now waal), Wiradjuri (wirraay-dhurraay), Wangaay-buwan and Wayil-wan. Poorly recorded dialects of Gamilaraay include: Guwin-baraay, Wirray-araay and Waal-araay.
7.4.1 waal YR/gamil GR

Waal/gamil\(^{36}\) are the standard YR/GR negatives, and the most common. They negate a predication, which can be verbless or verbed. They are glossed ‘not’ and also correspond to the English single word statement ‘no’. These negators are almost always clause initial. There are rare examples where waal/gamil negate imperatives.

The most common use of waal/gamil is to negate non-imperative verbal clauses such as (491), (492) and (495)(c) which show the typical clause initial position for the negator and the frequent clause final verb.\(^{137}\)

(491) You did not put the fire out.  
\textit{waa}l $\text{nginda nhama wii buubi-y}$  
not 2SG 3.DEF fire blow-PST

(492) not I speak Kamilaroi  
\textit{gami}l $\text{naa gamilarai g'$oldda}$\(^{138}\)  
\textit{gami}l $\text{ngay} '\text{Gamilaraay gwuaa-l}da\text{-nha}$  
not 1SG Gamilaraay speak-CTS[-PRS]  
I don’t speak Gamilaraay.

(493) and (494) are negated verbless predications.

(493) It is not thine, it is mine.  
\textit{gami}l\[sic\] $\text{niinu: nama }\text{naa}$  
\textit{gami}l $\text{nginu, nhama ngay}$  
not 2SG.DAT 3.DEF 1SG.DAT

(494) I am getting very bald now.  
\textit{waa}l=$\text{bala ngaya wagibaa dhaygal}$  
not=CTR 1SG plain head  
I’m not bald headed.

It is common for negators to be used in sentences where verbs or other recoverable information are omitted. (1106) has $waa$l $yala$gi$iyuu$ ‘Not now’, abbreviated from ‘I won’t cook it now’. This is seen in other languages. In Yandruwantha, Breen (2004: 70) points out ‘[negators occur] frequently in “a, not b” [statements] where the clause “b” is very elliptical’. Single word use of waal or gamil is seen in (495)(b), (184) and (498). (495) is part of the only YR conversation recorded between fluent speakers. AD and FR spoke briefly, initially about opals.

(495) (a) FR: Who is hiding them? AD You!  
FR $waa$l, $maa$yrr, $maa$yrr ngay $maayama / maayrr$  
FR no, none, none 1SG.DAT stone / none  
FR: No, none. I’ve got no opals. None.
(b)  
FR not=CTR=THEN people-LOC show-PURP
AD: So that (you don’t have to) show them to people.

As in English, it is possible to have the negative twice in one statement, as in $Waa$l, $waa$l=$bala$ ngaya wagibaa dhaygal: ‘No, I am not bald-headed’.

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\(^{36}\) I assume that the semantics and use of waal and gamil are the same, with the only difference being in the form. As is commonly the case, the majority of the information is from Yuwaalaraay.

\(^{137}\) Other examples are: \textit{waa}: (1115), (1117), (456) and (484); \textit{gami}: (1050). (1050) also includes garrinya.

\(^{138}\) (492) shows the common GR feature of omission of the present tense suffix.
(496) is an uncommon instance of the negator not being clause-initial. Its position here may stress that ‘tie up’ is being negated. Donaldson (1980: 238) points out that for Wangaaybuwan the negative particle does not occur in topic position when the scope of negation is less than the entire clause.

(496) jalla girei maddi nama ñaja wa:l bindée bılıdanna ma:dei ni: buuluja
yalagirrayma-dhi nhama ngaya waal bindaybi-lda-nha maadhaay ngay buluyu-ay like.that??-ABL 3.DEF 1SG not tie.up-CTS-PRS dog 1SG.DAT dark-LOC
This is why I don’t tie my dog up at night.

Commonly imperatives are negated with garriya, but both waal and gamil occasionally do so: waal in (497) and gamil in (498). I presume use of waal/gamil is less forceful than the use of garriya. As well, (498) may well reflect Ridley’s incomplete knowledge of Gamilaraay.

(497) Don’t answer that question.
vmaal gaya-lda-ya not answer-CTS-IMP
Don’t answer it.

(498) immanuel, wurume baiamegu, goe “kamil. kamil nginda ngarma bumala, Gurre Kamilaroi line 20
immanuel, wurrumay baayama-gu guwaa-y “gamil. gamil nginda ngaarrrma bumala-la,
Immanuel, son god-DAT say-PST ‘no. not 2SG that hit-IMP
Immanuel, Son of God, said, ‘Not so. Not thou them smite,’ Ridley

Waal/gamil often begin purposive subordinate clauses, as in (499)(=929)) and (495)(c).

(499) Baiyan noo winnanunnee boonoong gurrahgoo, wahlneh burraylaygoo. Parker: line 9
baayan ngu binga-nhi bungun garra-y.yu, waal=nga bari la-y.yu soon2 3SG.ERG think-PST arm cut.M-PURP, not=3 fly-CTS-PURP
Then she thought to get the emu’s wings cut, so she couldn’t fly. Parker
Then she thought to get the emu to cut her wings, so she couldn’t fly. JG

(500) shows waal used in both parts of a conditional sentence.

(500) wa:l njinda wi: garandai; wa:l ya wi: wi:mali
wmaal njinda wii garra-ndaay / waal=nga wii wiima-li
not 1SG fire cut-SUB / not=THEN fire make-FUT
If you don’t chop wood you can’t make a fire.

Since waal/gamil are typically clause initial they frequently host elitics. In a few instances waal=nda (not-you.1) is phonologically reduced to waa=nda.

Waal=yaay (=yaay ‘POTential’ §13.2.1) indicates that the speaker thinks that something may potentially not happen. Waal=yaay is translated ‘(I) don’t think … ’ in (1011)(=501). It is translated ‘probably not’, ‘think not’ and ‘not likely’ elsewhere.

(501) My missus (wife) will never come back.
wmaal=yaay ngay guliirr dharrawalawu-y
not=POT 1SG.DAT partner return-FUT
I don’t think my missus will come home.

Sim (1998: 42) has waalnga ‘neither one’, possibly. ‘none’. The translation does not seem totally consistent with the structure.
The ignorative clitic =Waayaa ‘Don’t.know’ has not been attested added to waal, but such use could be expected. If =Waayaa replaced =yaa, (501) would be ‘I don’t know why my missus won’t come home’.

In (503) =badhaay ‘MIGHT’ is used with waal=yaa. Similar use of waal=badhaay=yaa/aa ‘he might not …’ is seen in (502) and at 5131 2641 waal=badhaay=aa it is translated ‘I don’t suppose (you’ll be gone for long)’.

(502) waal=badhaay=yaa ngaama dhurra-l da-nha
not=MIGHT=POT that come-CTS-PRS
He mightn’t come back. AD/JM 2832B 2968

(503) It might stop raining in the morning. JM/AD 3218B 1291

7.4.1.1 waal/gamil derivations
There are a number of derived forms of waal/gamil, with varying amounts of evidence. I assume that any suffixes found are applicable to both waal and gamil.

7.4.1.1.1 waala/gamila ‘CAN’T’140
The form waala is quite common.141 No examples of gamila have been found. Waala modifies a verb, indicates ‘inability to’ and is generally translated ‘can’t’ or ‘couldn’t’. Waala is always found clause initially, generally separated from the verb it modifies. With past or future tense it refers to a specific event: (504); (1101) ‘I won’t be able to carry all the eggs’. With past tense the sense is often of having tried but failed. With continuous tenses it can refer to a general inability: (505); (589) ‘can’t walk properly’; or to an extended event ‘can’t find’.

(504) He tried to climb the big rock, but he couldn’t.
waala=nha galiya-nhi, maayama-bidi-dji can’t=3 climb-PST stone-AUG-ABL
He couldn’t get up/climb up the big stone. FR

(505) I do not know how to throw a boomerang.
waala ngaya wana-gi.la-nha barran can’t 1SG throw-CTS-PRS boomerang
I can’t throw a boomerang. FR

7.4.1.1.2 waaluu ‘NOT.YET’,142 garriyawu ‘don’t.yet’
Waaluu and the putative, but unattested GR equivalent gamiluu# consist of waal/gamil ‘no’ and -Cuu (§13.5.6), which adds time meaning to a range of words. Waaluu indicates that an action has not yet happened. It is translated ‘not yet’ with non-subordinate clauses (506) and ‘before’

140 I have no suggestion for the derivation of waala/gamila. Formally they are identical to waal/gamil with the Locative suffix, but that suffix is found only on nominals, so that does not seem a likely source of the word.
141 Over 180 on the tapes, many in other sources.
142 Waaluu occurs around 35 times in the tapes, and the only other instance found is as ‘before’ in Sim. A similar use of one term (‘top’; from ‘stop’) to translate both English ‘wait’ and ‘until’ is found in a pidgin sentence from Sydney in the 1820’s attributed to Bungaree: ‘Top ‘top, bail me do it that yet, ‘top nudda gubbana come.’ (‘top from ‘stop’)
‘Wait, I won’t do it [imitate the present governor] yet; wait until the next governor arrives’. (Koch, 2000: 17). ‘top’ here has the same function as waaluu in YR.
when it occurs in subordinate clauses: (946)–(948). *Waaluu* is used to negate imperative verbs: (507). As a single word statement it is translated ‘wait, hold on’, as is *garriyawu*.

*Waaluu* occurs clause initially, and is often separated from the verb it modifies.

(506) I can’t see him yet, I am looking for him.  
\[\text{jaa waluu ngaama ngaya ngarra-y / minyaaya-waaya ngaama / dhayn-duul gi-nyi} \]
\[\text{not.yet that 1SG see-PST / where.LOC-IGNOR that / man-ONE be-PST} \]
I can’t see him yet. I don’t know where that man has got to.  

(507) *waaluu* gimbi-la dhuu  
\[\text{not.yet make-IMP fire} \]
Don’t make the fire yet.  

7.4.1.1.3 *waalaa/gamilaa*# ‘WHY.NOT’

*Waal=aa* is historically probably derived from *waal* and *Yaa* ‘question2’ §7.1.1, with *Yaa* atypically used as a suffix.

*Waalaa* is used when the speaker asks why something did not happen: (508), (509) and (510). *Waalaa* is clause initial.

(508) Why didn’t you plant [hide] that meat?  
\[\text{jaa waalaa=nda ngaama dhaingguu, dhuwinba-y} \]
\[\text{why.not=2SG that meat, hide-PST} \]
Why didn’t you plant that meat?  

(509) Miimii (grandmother), why don’t you cook it now?  
\[\text{miimii, jaalaa=nda ngaama / dhinawan / yilama-lda-nha} \]
\[\text{grandmother why.not=2SG that / emu / cook-CTS-PRS /} \]
\[\text{nguwama ngiyani.lu dha-li.gu} \]
\[\text{there 1PL.EXCL.ERG eat-PURP} \]
Why don’t you cook it [the emu] now so we can eat it?  

(510) It is better to sit than stand.  
\[\text{jaalaa=ndaay wila-y} \]
\[\text{why.not=2PL sit-FUT} \]
Why don’t you sit? Why will you not sit?  

7.4.2 *garriya* ‘DON’T’; *garriyawu* ‘not.yet’

The imperative negative *garriya* occurs in both YR and GR, unlike the standard negatives. As a single word *garriya* is mainly translated ‘don’t!’; for instance in Wurm (p 39, 42) and 1853A 1075. Ridley has *garriya* with single word use ((p37), translated ‘avaunt!’ i.e. ‘be gone’ ‘away’) and negating imperatives: (511). MathewsGR also uses it in sentences including ‘beat thou not’ (p268). (511)–(514) illustrate sentence uses of *garriya*.

With imperative verbs *garriya* is always clause initial and the verb clause final, or near final, as in (511)–(514), (206) and (232). The only clitics reliably found on *garriya* are =bala (the most common) (514) and second person pronouns (513). =badhaay ‘might’ is not found on *garriya*. The meanings of the two are likely incompatible.

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143 *Garriya* occurs around 200 times in the tapes. The form on the YR tapes clearly has the tap rhotic. Williams’s form (1980: 107) has the retroflex rhotic, as does Wurm, who generally transcribes it as *garrija*. I presume that Wurm’s informants had been influenced by English and had lost the trill/tap.
(511) *Karria yāŋa*

*garrinya* yu-nga

don’t cry-IMP
Cease weeping.

Ridley p41

(512) *Karia da-na*

*garrinya* dhuu-na

don’t crawl-IMP
Don’t crawl.

Laves: 9 p98

(513) *garrijanda:li bummaleja*

*garrinya*=ndaali buma-la-ya

don’t=2DU hit-RECP-IMP
Do not fight, you two.

SW p82

(514) Go and spear the biggest kangaroo in the bush.

*garrinya*=bala bubay-djuul dhu-na /

don’t=CTR small-DIM pierce-IMP /
Don’t spear the little ones,

JG

*burrul-bidi, burral / bandaarr ngaama dhu-na / bilaa-yu*

big-AUG, big / kangaroo that pierce-IMP / spear-ERG
Don’t spear the little fellows, spear the big ones.

SW

The great big, spear the big kangaroos.

AD

The derivation of *garrinya* is not certain. Williams (1980: 108) points out:

Austin (pers. comm.) reports that *gariya* acts as a verb in Gamilaraay. It does not, to my knowledge, function as a verb in Yuwaalaraay, although the form is identical to the imperative of a Y conjugation verb.

It seems likely that *garrinya* is actually an imperative, with GR having some evidence for a verb *garrri*-y ‘stop, cease doing’, likely a defective verb.

Garriyawu\(^{145}\) (or *garriyawuui*) is derived from *garrinya* and the ‘time’ suffix -Cuu. It is most commonly used as a one word statement: ‘hold on! wait! wait a while; wait for me’. It is not used to negate imperative verbs: *waaluu* or *gamiluu* do that. Instances include (515) and (516).

(515) *garriyawu* dhiilaagaa / *garriyawu* guliirr

don’t.yet uncle / don’t.yet spouse
Wait for me missus, wait for me uncle. Something like that.

JG

Hold on uncle, hold on missus.

FR/CW 5053 1351

(516) *garriyawu*; dharduwi-y ngaya gi.yaa.nha

don’t.yet; sleep-FUT 1SG going.to
Wait a while. I am going to go to sleep.

JG

FR/JM 1989A 434

7.4.3 *maayrr*/*marayrr* ‘NONE’

*Maayrr* (YR)/*marayrr*\(^{146}\) (GR) can be used as a single word ‘none, nothing’ and to negate nominals, translated ‘no’. No inflected forms of *maayrr* have been found, indicating that it is a particle, not an adjective. There are idiomatic uses and forms derived from it.

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\(^{144}\) Wangaaaybuwan has *garrraa* with similar use to *garrinya*. Donaldson (1980: 239) says: ‘This is used exclusively in imperative sentences such as *garrraa yaa* “Don’t go!”’. She also points out that, as in YG, the imperative verb can be clause final, and separated from the negative.

\(^{145}\) *Garriyawu* is found in many sources, including the tapes, Laves, Sim and Wurm.

\(^{146}\) The pair shows the common r > Ø sound change.
In the sources maayrr/marayrr precedes the noun being modified except at 3216B 2723 where Jack Sands has: ‘dhinggaa maayrr “no meat”’. He is one of the less fluent informants, but in this instance may be the one retaining the more traditional usage, with the qualifier following the noun. Maayrr and the qualified nominal are often separated, as in (123) (“none our meat”).

Single word use is seen in (517)(a), (518) and (495)(b). In (518) maayrr is possibly translated ‘no-one’. Phrasal use is seen in (517)(b), (519) and (520). Another construction involves the use of a Dative pronoun or noun, as in (521) and (522). The meaning is that the referent in Dative case ‘has none’, rather than ‘there is none’.

(517)  (a) maayrr nothing (he had none) Sim p42
(b) maayrr maaa no handing
(c) wanda maayrrngay The ghost was gone. (see below for maayrrngay)

(518) She looked under the logs. (for her son) JM/AD 3217B 76
ngawu=nga? ngadaa nhaadhiyaan-da ngaarra-y / waala / maayrr ngaama there??=THEN? down log-LOC look-PST / can’t / nothing there
(That little fellow, he’s planted somewhere, won’t let his mother see him,) she looked under the log, couldn’t find him, none was there. AD
Then she looked under the log, couldn’t (see), no-one there. JG

(519) maayrr dhuwarr ‘no bread’ JM/JS 3216B 1596
maayrr gungan ‘There’s no water.’ AD/JS 3218B 1878

(520) maayrr=nga dhinggaa, dha-y ngiyani none=THEN meat, eat-PST 1PL.ERG
There’s no meat, we ate it. FR/JM 2436A 3391

(521) Don’t spill the water. JM/AD 3218B 1141
maayrr=laa nga / nginu gungan / gi-gi none=DIR=THEN / 2SG.DAT water / be-FUT
(If you spill that water) you’ll have no water at all. AD

Maayrr is also seen in (124) and (1042) which has maayrr-wan.gaan, with the intensifying suffix. Maayrr is sometimes realised as maarr.

The YG suffix -dhalibaa ‘PRIVative’, §3.4.1.2, expresses the idea ‘without’. In AD’s comments and elicitations this seems to express a stronger sense of absence than maayrr. At 5056 2181 (after AD says maayrr wii means ‘no fire’, CW asks ‘what about wii-dhalibaa?’) AD replies ‘there’s no fire at all’, and see the similar comparison in (522).148

(522) We have no meat. CW/AD 3996A 720
maayrr=bala ngay dhinggaa / dhinggaa-dhalibaa=bala ngay
none=CTR 1SG.DAT meat / meat-PRIV=CTR 1SG.NOM?DAT
We got no meat, and we haven’t got no meat at all. AD
I’ve got no meat. I haven’t got any meat. JG

One likely example, with idiomatic use, has been found in early sources. Ridley (p18) has marēdūl ‘childless woman’, probably marayrr-DHuul, realised as maraydhuul or marayduul, literally ‘none-one/small’ (immediately followed by gūlīr-taliba ‘spouseless, unmarried’). There are three WurmGR instances: (p7) ‘marēdūl dìi: ‘no meat’ (marayrr dhi:); (p27) marēdūl (marayrr)

147 No similar negator is reported in Wangayaaybuwan.
148 I have no explanation for the singular ngay here where the plural is used in both English sentences. With -dhalibaa the ‘deprived’ is usually in Nominative case – so one would expect ngaya as the final word in (522). Elision to ngay’ occurs, but is unexpected sentence finally.
‘nothing’ and (p55) *maayrr* *baran* (*marayrr* *barran*) ‘no boomerang’; and one WurmYR example (p87) *maid*/mair *wi* ‘there’s no wood here’ (*maayrr* *wii* ‘no firewood’). There are around 60 examples on the tapes. The form may be related to *maa/mara* ‘hand’.

*Maayrrngay* is derived from *maayrr*. It is translated ‘no more’, ‘was gone’ and ‘no’, the second in situations where ‘no more’ would also fit. It is glossed ‘NO.MORE’ and indicates the absence of something that was present: wings in (523), spilt water in (524) and a departed ghost in (517). The form -*ngay* is also found in *minya-ngay* ‘how many?’ (*minya* ‘what?’) but no consistent meaning for it has been found.

(523) Narahgahdool myrenay boonoong. Parker: *Emu and Bustard* line 38

*Maayrr=nga* (524) may be elision of *maayrrngay* or may include =*nga* ‘now’.

(524) I spilt my drink because of you. JM/FR 2436B 2122

You spilt my water and I’ve got no water now. FR

You spilt my water and I’ve got no water now. JG

Parker (*Emu and Bustard* story) has many examples of wordplay, some using *maayrr*. *Maayrrngay* appears in line 11 and 20 (see (600) and text) where it can be interpreted as *maayrrngay* ‘none-now’, or as *maayyr* *ngay* ‘none my’ (the phrase is: *myrenay* *boonoong* (*maayrrngay* *bungun*), translated ‘I have no wings’). However, the same words, *myrenay boonoong*, in line 38, are used in the sentence ‘that sad creature with no wings’, where the ‘my’ interpretation is not possible.

(525) is the only instance of *mayerboo* (*maayrrbuu*) found, which is followed by repeated *ngay* (ngay’ 1SG.ERG and *ngay* 1SG.DAT in my analysis). *Maayrrbuu* ‘not at all’ is presumably *maayrr-* *buu*: -*buu* ‘TOTal’ (§13.3.3). Parker’s English does not really fit the YR sentence. *Gurrah wahl dunerh* looks more like *garrawa-lda-nha* ‘am storing’ rather than *garra-lda-nha* ‘am cutting’, so likely another word play. Given the word play and uncertainty of the text, no clear translation is available.

(525) *Mayerboo* *nay*, *nay boonoong*, *gurrah wahl* *dunerh*. Parker: *Emu and Bustard* line 35

Parker (*Emu and Bustard* story) has many examples of wordplay, some using *maayrr*. *Maayrrngay* appears in line 11 and 20 (see (600) and text) where it can be interpreted as *maayrrngay* ‘none-now’, or as *maayyr* *ngay* ‘none my’ (the phrase is: *myrenay* *boonoong* (*maayrrngay* *bungun*), translated ‘I have no wings’). However, the same words, *myrenay boonoong*, in line 38, are used in the sentence ‘that sad creature with no wings’, where the ‘my’ interpretation is not possible.

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7.4.4 *wana* ‘let’; *wanagidjay* ‘leave.it’

Four particles which are almost certainly related are considered here, three of which clearly have negative meaning. *Wana* and *wanagidjay*, at least, are closely related to *wana-* *gi* ‘throw, leave’, found in YR but not in GR. Numerous Australian languages have a particle ‘don’t’ which is related

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149 A number of languages have words with meanings similar to *maayyr*/*marayyr* which are derived from the word for ‘hand’. Alyawarr (Green & IAD, 1992) has *iltyant* ‘empty-handed’, from *iltya* ‘hand’ and *-ant* ‘only, just, exclusively’. Kaytetye (Turpin & Ross, 2011) has *eltye* ‘hand’ and ‘*eltyant*’ empty-handed’ (also ‘barren’, ‘bachelor’). Pitjantjatjara (C. Goddard, 1992) has *maga* ‘hand’ and *maral(pa)* ‘empty handed’. The example sentences all have something like ‘I came back from hunting empty-handed, nothing, no meat’. It is likely that the first part of *maayyr*/*marayyr* is also based on *maa/mara* ‘hand’. The last may be related to *viyal* ‘just, only’, but that is much more uncertain. The similarity in derivation/etymology across languages is clear; YG could also use other, related forms in the development of YG vocabulary. For instance derived forms of Kaytetye *eltyant* have meanings including ‘give away things you don’t want’, ‘give away things that belong to someone who has passed away’, concepts that YG have no words for.
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to the verb for ‘leave’. Wanaa ‘mustn’t’ and wanaal ‘forbidden’ are much less common that wana and wanagidjay.

Wana is a particle used with future forms of the verb. It is often translated ‘let’ as in (526), (527) and SW p75 ‘let it get cold’. It is also used to direct someone to perform an action, as in (528) ‘(401) ‘tell him to ... ’. It can be seen as having a negative element: ‘let’ can be interpreted as ‘do not prevent’. Wana is found in both GR and YR.

(526) He’s a big strong man.        JM/AD 3219A 390
wana ngu u buma-li nhama dhinawan
let 3.ERG hit-FUT 3.DEF emu
Let him kill that emu. 

(527) Let him beat.         MathewsGR 266
Nguruwunna bumulli.
wana  wana buma-li
3SG.ERG let hit-FUT

(528) That man is staring at me, tell him to look somewhere else.        JM/AD 3218B 1964
(a) nguum’=badhaay nganha / dhaay, dhayn-duul-u, bamba=nga ngarra-lda-nha,
3.ERG.DEF=MIGHT 1SG.ACC / to.here, man-ONE-ERG, w.energy=NOW? look-CTS-PRS
That man is staring at me, staring this way.
(b) wana ngu u ngarraagula minyaarru.waa ngarra-lda-y /
let 3SG.ERG other.way?? somewhere.ALL look-CTS-FUT /
Let him look elsewhere, somewhere
(c) garriya=bala nganha ngarra-lda-ya,
don’t=CTR 1SG.ACC look-CTS-IMP
Tell him to look away, the other way. Don’t look at me.150
Don’t be staring at me.

Ridley (p38) has: ‘far be it’ wunna! (wana), indicating wana can be used as a one word statement, but the meaning here is not obviously ‘let’ or ‘tell’. Sim (p48) glosses wana ‘until’. This may be related to the earlier uses: ‘waiting until something happens’ is similar to ‘letting something happen’; cf. (529).

(529) ði:mala. wanna nama baleja: gigi
 dhiyama-la. wanna nhama baliyaa gi-gi
take.out-IMP. let 3.DEF cold get-FUT
Take it out! First it should be cold.
Pick it up. Let it get cold.        SW p75

The particle wanagidjay ‘leave it, stop it’ is clearly related to wana. Wanagidjay is one of the few YR words still currently used, typically as a single word exclamation, translated ‘stop it!’ It is relatively rare in the sources, where it mainly occurs as a single word statement, also translated ‘stop it!’ (AD 5052 2421, Sim p32). In (530) it governs a subordinate verb. A unique example is found at FR2436B 3101, where wanagidjay is translated ‘chuck (it) away’.

(530) He said: ‘Stop that, you two silly women’.        JM/FR 2438A 1204
wanagidjay=nha / waal, waal=nga, buma-la-ya. wanagidjay=nga buma-la-ya ldaay
stop.it=3 / not, not=NOW, hit-RECP-IMP. stop.it=NOW hit-RECP-CTS-SUB
Now stop that fighting, and don’t be fighting any more.

150 I assume (c) is intended as direct speech, what would be said to the man.
Sim (p32) has *wanaa* ‘mustn’t’ as in *wanaa gimbila* ‘mustn’t do it’ (*gimb-li* ‘do, make’) and *wanaal* ‘forbidden’, prohibited, taboo; a food prohibition, person under such a prohibition’. Here *wanaa* occurs with an imperative verb, quite different from the use of *wana* ‘let’ seen above, and could easily represent a different morpheme, but vowel length in the sources is not always reliable.

### 7.4.5 Softened or emphatic negatives

YG have relatively common examples of negatives whose meaning is ‘softened’ by the use of =*badhaay* and =*badhaay*=*[y]*aa ([§13.3.2]), and only one example found of emphatic or ‘hardened’ negatives. As elsewhere =*badhaay* generally does not have any impact on the English translation offered, whereas =*yaa* generally does. When =*badhaay*=*[y]*aa is added the glosses include ‘might’. The difference between =*yaa* and =*badhaay*=*[y]*aa seems to be minor. \(^{151}\) Instances of Negative+*badhaay* are listed in Table 133 with the clitic found on *maayrr*, *waal*, *waala*, *garriya* and *garriyawu*. Some suggested interpretations of the YR are included. Glosses with a ‘?’ are interpretations – there is no gloss in the text.

**Table 133  Softened or emphatic negatives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss with =<em>badhaay</em></th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>maayrr</em>=<em>badhaay</em></td>
<td>?maybe none</td>
<td></td>
<td>3218B 1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>waal</em>=<em>badhaay</em>=<em>nha</em></td>
<td>?not</td>
<td></td>
<td>2832B 2585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>waal</em>=<em>badhaay</em>=<em>yaa</em></td>
<td>might not</td>
<td>(if you fell in the long grass, you would not hurt yourself)</td>
<td>3217B 3794, 3218B 1311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>waal</em>=<em>badhaay</em>=*[y]*aa</td>
<td>would not</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>waala</em>=<em>badhaay</em></td>
<td>won’t be able</td>
<td></td>
<td>2440A 1721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>waala</em>=<em>badhaay</em></td>
<td>couldn’t</td>
<td>maybe he couldn’t</td>
<td>3998B 904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>garriya</em>=<em>badhaay</em></td>
<td>don’t (sit)</td>
<td>you might not want to (sit on the ant nest)</td>
<td>2833B 1276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>garriyawu</em>=<em>badhaay</em></td>
<td>wait</td>
<td>do you mind waiting?</td>
<td>3218B 922</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

YG emphatic negatives \(^{152}\) are rare. Examples include *maayrr-*wan.gaann (*-wan.gaann* ‘very’ – §13.3.4) in (1042) and 3219B 1195, with no explicit translations given, and *maayrr-*biu in (525)

### 7.4.6 Negative indefinites

As in the CNSW languages and many other Australian languages, English negative indefinites are translated by using negatives with an indefinite. \(^{153}\) For instance ‘no-one’ (Nom/Acc) is *waal ngaandi.yaa*, as in (531). (532) and (533) show the Ergative indefinite.

(531) He (my pet emu) got used to me; didn’t want no-one to go near me.

*waal ngaanda nganu.na ngaandi.yaa* =*badhaay yanaa-y-ya*y
not 1SG.LOC anyone=MIGHT go-FUT-??
So that no-one would come near me.

---

\(^{151}\) There has been no systematic investigation of the use of the suffix with other negatives, such as *waala*, *waalu*, *maayrrngay*, *wana* and *wanagidjay*.

\(^{152}\) Both Wangaaybuwan and Yandruwantha have emphatic negatives, and I would expect that YG also did. Donaldson points out (1980: 239): ‘*-DHil* is added to *wangaay* “no” to convert it into a negative of impossibility. As a complete response *wangaay-djil* is translated “impossible!”.’ A common YG emphatic suffix is -*Bu*, but most YG negatives use it (or a phonologically similar form) with time reference – see *waalu*, *gamilu* and *garriyawu* above (and -*Bu* has similar use with Wangaaybuwan negatives).

\(^{153}\) For a list of YG indefinites see §7.5.1. They consist of an interrogative followed by -*Waa*.
7 Interrogatives, negatives, ignoratives

235
She put down the dilly bag on the ground.

JG

waal ngaanduwaa ngarra-li.gu
not anyone.ERG see-PURP
She put down that bag so no-one will see it.

AD
so no-one would see it.

JG

The little girl was very shy and nobody gave her any meat.

 JM/AD 3218B 2208

3aa, birralii-djuul nhama / miyaymiyaay garigari / gi-gi.la-nhi
child-DIM 3.DEF / little.girl afraid / be-CTS-PST

waal ngaandu.waa=badhaay nguungu dhinggaa wuu-dha?dhi-y
not anyone.erg=MIGHT 3.SG.DAT meat give-eat?FUT

(534) is an unclear example, but illustrates the use of waalu ‘not.yet’ with minyagaa ‘something’ to translate an English indefinite, ‘nothing’.

(534) That woman is here again, she is hungry.

JG
nhama=nga miyaluu?? yinarr-duul / yuulngindi /
3.DEF=NOW again?? woman-ONE / hungry /

waalu / minyagaa gi-yaa-nha=nga ngiyani dha-li
not.yet / something going.to=NOW 1PL.ERG eat-FUT

That woman hungry, and nothing to eat.

AD
?There’s that woman again, hungry, and we aren’t going to eat anything for a while.

JG

See (983) for waal minyagaa ‘nothing’ (not anything).

7.5 Incomplete knowledge particles

‘Incomplete knowledge’\textsuperscript{154} is an attempt at a cover term for a set of formally and semantically related particles.\textsuperscript{155} Their features are summarised in Table 134. Formally they all begin with allomorphs of -Waa, and semantically they all indicate incomplete knowledge.

The first particle, invariant Yaa, occurs as a sentence-initial word. It is found only in old sources, and creates a polar question: see §7.1.1. The second particle is a clitic =yaa (rarely -aa), glossed ‘potential’ which indicates uncertainty about a proposition: see §13.2.1. The third, discussed in detail here, is a suffix with original form -gaa that has lenited to -waa after many words, and is then altered to -yaa and -aa in particular environments. This turns interrogative stems into indefinite ones. When the ‘might’ particle -yaa is added it forms -Waaya-a, an ignorative suffix.

\textsuperscript{154} The YG suffixes are related to similar suffixes in WN, but there are also major differences in the forms and uses. WN has two suffixes, -waa or -gaa, which have similar functions to the YG forms and to YG yaama. WN interrogatives and indefinites both obligatorily have one of the suffixes. Donaldson (1980: 148) points out: ‘Indeterminates [interrogatives, JG] are used, in combination with -waa or -gaa, to represent constituents whose precise reference the speaker cannot identify’ but on p262 indicates that there is another use, when [the speaker] does not care to identify the reference. These two uses are similar to the YG INDEFinite suffix. In WN -gaa and -waa can both be used with ‘topics’ (p263) and indefinites (interrogatives).

\textsuperscript{155} Williams (p 58) recognised three forms (-waaya(a), -waa and -yaa) of one dubitative suffix.
Table 134  Incomplete knowledge particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Variants</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yaa</td>
<td></td>
<td>question</td>
<td>clause initial</td>
<td>archaic: cf. yaama; §7.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yaa</td>
<td>rarely -aa</td>
<td>potential/might</td>
<td>IIP clitic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Waa</td>
<td>-gaa on minya, yaama, -yaa after final i</td>
<td>indefinite ‘some’</td>
<td>on interrogatives (rare exceptions)</td>
<td>The English often has ‘some’: minya ‘what’, minya-gaa ‘something’, gulaarr ‘when’, gulaarr-aa ‘ sometime’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Waaya</td>
<td></td>
<td>ignorable: ‘don’t know’</td>
<td></td>
<td>indefinite+yaa: minya-gaa-yaa ‘don’t know what’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.5.1  -Waa ‘INDEFinite’

The clitic -Waa is found only on interrogatives, including the polar question particle yaama. It derives an indefinite\(^{156}\) from an interrogative, as seen in Table 135.

Table 135  Indefinites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Indefinite</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>minya</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>minyagaa</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaama</td>
<td>QUESTION</td>
<td>yaamagaa</td>
<td>if, whether</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaandu</td>
<td>who?ERG</td>
<td>ngaanduwaa</td>
<td>someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaandi</td>
<td>who?NOM/ACC</td>
<td>ngaandiyaa</td>
<td>someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaannngu</td>
<td>whose?DAT</td>
<td>ngaannnguwa</td>
<td>someone’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaannngunda</td>
<td>on.whom?LOC</td>
<td>ngaannngundawaa</td>
<td>on someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulaarr</td>
<td>how?</td>
<td>gulaarraa</td>
<td>somehow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minyaarr</td>
<td>which</td>
<td>minyaarraa</td>
<td>we don’t know which</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Presumed forms

| ngaannngundi# | from.whom?ABL | ngaannngundiyaa# | from someone |
| minyangay#    | how many/much | minyangay.yaa#   | some amount |

The derived forms are translated as indefinites (‘someone/something/somehow’) and also as ignoratives (‘I don’t know who/what/how’). An indefinite can indicate that the speaker does not know, but also that the speaker does not wish to be specific: e.g. ‘Who were you with?’ ‘Somebody’. YG have forms which are unambiguously ignoratives, discussed in the next section. The factors governing the choice between an indefinite and an ignorative to convey ignorance are not clear. Examples of indefinites are found in (535) and (536) and also with the discussion of individual interrogatives throughout Chapter 7.

(535)  [Emu is looking to get revenge on the bustard, who has tricked her into cutting off her wings.]

illah naye minnernah gullahrah gimbehlee  
yilaa ngaya=nga nginunha gulaarr-aa gimbi-li
soon 1SG=THEN 2SG.ACC how-indef do-FUT
I will do you in somehow.  

Parker: Emu and Bustard line 39  

JG

\(^{156}\) There are no i and n-final interrogatives, so no examples in these environments.  

\(^{157}\) YG are different in this from the many other Australian languages which have no formal distinction between interrogatives and indefinites (Dixon, 2002: 277).
I can smell something cooking. JM/AD 3220B 1823

(536) giirr ngaya buwi-y. la-nha / minya.gaa / minya.gaa ganugu yilama-l-ndaay
true 1SG smell-CTS-PRS / something, / something 3PL.ERG cook-CTS-SUB

smell good, whatever it is AD
I can smell, something, (that) they are cooking something. JG

7.5.2 -Waayaa ‘IGNORative’

While the INDEFinite suffixes in §7.5.1 are sometimes translated ‘(I) don’t know’, the matter can be put beyond doubt with the ignorative suffix -Waayaa. Formally it consists of the indefinite suffix followed by -yaa, the ‘uncertain’ suffix. It is found on precisely the words the indefinite clitic attaches to.

The suffix is rare in earlier sources and was apparently not recognised there. For instance in Wurm (p23): dhalaa-waayaa (Where.LOC-IGNOR) is translated ‘it is lost’, not ‘I don’t know where it is’. Some examples are given here, and more when individual interrogatives are discussed. (537)–(539) all have explicit ‘I don’t know’ translations, and comparison of (537) and (538) shows that the form is different for minya and minya-dhu.

(537) barriindiin=badhaay=yaa buma-y, minya-gaayaa ngaama buma-y
peewe[bird]=MIGHT=POT hit-PST, what-IGNOR that hit-PST
I don’t know what he killed, might be peewe.

It might have been a peewe he killed? I don’t know what he killed. AD/JM 2832B 3211

(538) The heel of my foot is hurting me. JM/AD 3218B 1682

dhanga=bala nhama ngay // bayn / minya-dhu-waayaa bayn burranba-y
heel=CTR 3.DEF 1SG.DAT // sore / what-ERG-IGNOR sore cause-PST
He don’t know what made his heel sore. AD
That heel of mine is sore. I don’t know what made it sore. JG

(539) minyaaya-waayaa ngaama wi-y.la-nha
where.at-IGNOR that lie-CTS-PRS
I don’t know where (my spear) is. AD

There are rare examples of ignoratives which do not follow the pattern outlined above. (540) is an uncertain example, but it seems the suffix is used on dhaay ‘to.here’, which is not an interrogative.

(540) bijuga dei wa:ja gundaiwalanna
biyuu-ga dhaay-waayaa gundawa-y.la-nha
far-LOC to.here-IGNOR burn-CTS-PST
It is coming from a long way away, flaming up. SW
It’s burning far away. Don’t know if it is coming here. JG

At 3220A 3707 AD uses minyaaarru-waa=bala=yaa, (where.ALL-INDEF=CTR-POT) with the ignorative presumably split by =bala. No translation is given, but it presumably approximates ‘but I don’t where to’.

7.5.3 Questions about interrogatives

Questions remain about YG interrogatives. One has to do with recorded expressions which are currently unanalysed. Some of these have been mentioned above. Another, Gulaway ‘which colour’ (Sim, p40), is likely an implicature of a term that might mean ‘How does it look like?’ (terms such as ‘colour’ are normally absent in Australian languages). Sim (p49) also has Yaama yiluu? glossed ‘any more?’ This is possibly and error, with yiluu used instead of yaluu ‘again’. 
Interrogatives in other languages can also inform the use of YG interrogatives, and suggest patterns for developing YG. I merely list some. WN has widjubaarr ‘what like?’ for which no YG equivalent has been recorded. *Minya-giirr* (see ‘giirr ‘like’ §3.4.1.6) is a candidate. Wilkins (1989: 132) details Arrernte compounds based on interrogatives. ‘In the first type of compound *peke* “might, maybe” is attached to the basic interrogative form to form nominals which equate with English pronominal forms derived from interrogatives compounded with “ever”. For example; *ilengare-peke* (when-maybe) “whenever” and *ngwenhe-peke* (who-maybe) “whoever”.’ He also describes another compound which forms words similar to English ‘what-its-name’ or ‘thingo’. Such structures probably existed in the traditional YG.

The *-ngay* in YG *minyangay* ‘how much/many?’ has not been recognised on other words. Arrernte has *ngare* ‘happens X number of times’ (Wilkins, 1989: 341). Uses of *ngare* include: *therre-ngare* ‘two-TIMES’ = ‘twice’ and *awethe-ngare* ‘more/again-TIMES’ = ‘sometimes’ (i.e. at other times). Similar uses of *-ngay* in YG could be investigated.
8 The main verb inflections

The structure of YG verbs, like the verbs in all CNSW (Central New South Wales) languages, is quite complex, with actual verbs consisting of a root and at least one, but commonly more, suffixes. Inflections\textsuperscript{158} to do with tense, aspect and mood are in the right-most slots. These include final suffixes (§8.2, §8.3); continuous suffixes (§8.4) and ‘Time’ (Time of day; Distance in time) suffixes: §8.5. The derivational suffixes considered in §9 occur immediately after the root and typically involve a change in valency. §9.1 considers ‘Voice’ derivations, reciprocal and reflexive; and §9.2 middle verbs. These three typically reduce the valency of the verb. §9.3 considers valency increasing derivations such as the additional argument and causative. §10.2 considers other verb morphology. §10.1 and §10.2 examines a number of suffixes which have no effect on valency and are found between the derivational and inflectional slots of the verb. §10.3 looks at nominalisation of verbs and §10.4 at verbalisation of nominals. Finally §10.5 examines the compound nature of many YG roots.

8.1 Introduction

YG verbs inflect for tense, mood, aspect and other properties. The minimal YG verb consists of a root and final inflectional suffix. The final inflection marks tense, imperative mood, and subordination, as seen in Table 136. A wide range of other derivational and inflectional suffixes can occur between the root and final inflection. The structure of YG verbs can be represented as: \textit{root-[Derivational suffix]\textsubscript{D}-[Medial suffix]\textsubscript{M}-[Time suffix][Continuous suffix]-final suffix}.

There are two mutually exclusive continuous suffixes. The final present tense suffix is only found after these continuous suffixes. Medial suffixes mark such concepts as ‘all’, ‘back’ and ‘associated eating/mouthing’. One derivation, the formation of a middle verb, does not involve an overt suffix, but rather can be analysed as a change of verb class (at least for L class stems). Many of these features are illustrated in (541): (a) shows the transitive verb, (b) the derived, middle, intransitive verb, (c) has -\textit{aaba-li} ‘TOTal’, one of the few suffixes that is L class, (d) has both -\textit{aaba-li} and a continuous suffix, and so on.

(541) Examples of verb forms including the transitive root \textit{gama-} ‘break’:
(a) \textit{gama-li} will break (transitive)
   break(tr)-FUT
(b) \textit{gama-y} will break (intransitive) – middle verb
   break(intr)-FUT
(c) \textit{gama-laaba-li} will break all (transitive)
   break(tr)-TOT-FUT
(d) \textit{gama-laaba-lda-y} will be breaking all (transitive)
   break(tr)-TOT-CTS-FUT

\textsuperscript{158} Some suffixes, e.g. tense suffixes, are clearly inflectional and others, e.g. causative, are clearly derivational. I generally do not consider which, if either, of these categories most suffixes fall into.

\textsuperscript{159} ‘Medial suffix’ is used for convenience to cover the suffixes discussed in §10.1 and §10.2.
Between the derivational and inflectional suffixes a number of other suffixes are found. I do not attempt to classify them as derivational or inflectional. Nor is the information available to group them into slots and to order those slots. In fact it is quite possible that some of these suffixes have variable ordering, with semantic impact. It is also often unclear which suffixes are mutually exclusive.

YG verb roots belong to one of four classes. Each class has a distinctive set of final inflections, as seen in Table 136, which are often complex and may include a verb Class Marker (CM). The verb classes are labelled according to the consonant that most typically realises the CM (i.e. the consonant that is common in verb-final suffixes and which commonly occurs between the verb root and other suffixes). L occurs in four of the five L class verbs in Table 136 and y in three of the five Y class verbs.

The final and continuous suffixes are analysed as monomorphemic. Other suffixes are analysed as consisting of a common element preceded by a verb Class Marker (CM).

The choice of CM is determined jointly by what precedes (the class of the immediately preceding stem and/or its final vowel) and by the suffix. Table 187 lists many CMs for Medial verb suffixes. As elsewhere, upper case is used to signal morphologically determined alternation. It has W as the Y class CM for -uwi- ‘BACK’. The W indicates that the actual CM is w after a-final stems, and y after i-final stems. CMs for -uwi-y are seen in Table 137.

### Table 136  Paradigm of simple YG verbs (root + one morpheme)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb class</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>NG</th>
<th>RR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>bring</td>
<td>give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUTURE</td>
<td>dha-la</td>
<td>banaga-ya</td>
<td>gaa-gi</td>
<td>wuu-rrri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>dha-y</td>
<td>banaga-nhi</td>
<td>gaa-nhi</td>
<td>wuu-nhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>dha-la</td>
<td>banaga-ya*</td>
<td>gaa-nga</td>
<td>wuu-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBORDINATE</td>
<td>dha-ldaay</td>
<td>banaga-ngindaay</td>
<td>gaa-ngindaay</td>
<td>wuu-dhaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURPOSIVE</td>
<td>dha-li.gu</td>
<td>banaga-y.gu</td>
<td>gaa-gi.gu</td>
<td>wuu-rrri.gu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Irregular imperatives are discussed later.

If a non-final suffix is added to a verb stem, the resulting verb is Y class, with one exception, -aaba-li ‘ALL’: for instance all the verb stems created by -CM-uwi- in Table 137 are Y class, irrespective of the class of the root.

YG are similar to many other Pama-Nyungan languages in having verb classes, and in the properties of the classes: cf. Dixon (2002: Chap6.5, p 209) and Koch (2007: 35; 2014b). The YG properties are summarised in Table 138.

---

160 The purposive suffix is considered a single element, consisting of the future suffix + gu, e.g. -li.gu.

161 The shading shows suffixes that are shared by a number of verb classes.
The main verb inflections

The verb root could be rendered *baarrayi*-li, making it vowel final. However, this less accurately renders what is heard. As well all other *i*-final verb stems have -*ni* as the past tense allomorph. This verb has past tense -*ni*. Fred Reece on one occasion gives the verb as L class, *baarrayi*-li, indicating this was a variable part of the language.

---

**Table 137  Verb Class Marker examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Class Marker</th>
<th>Verb Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>buma-luwi-y</em></td>
<td>will hit back</td>
<td><em>l</em></td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>banaga-w.uwi-y</em></td>
<td>will run back</td>
<td><em>w</em></td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gubi-y.uwi-y</em></td>
<td>will swim back</td>
<td><em>y</em></td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gaa-g.uwi-y</em></td>
<td>will tack back</td>
<td><em>g</em></td>
<td>NG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wuu-rr.uwi-y</em></td>
<td>will give back</td>
<td><em>rr</em></td>
<td>RR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 23 NG class verbs currently recognised are in Table 236, in Appendix A. There are three pairs of YR/GR cognates. The nine RR class verbs currently recognised are in Table 237. Both transitive and intransitive verbs are common in NG and RR classes. These two classes are the only ones with *u*-final roots, and have a relatively high proportion of monosyllabic roots, particularly the RR class, where four of the nine roots are monosyllabic. RR class verbs include some whose root is problematic.¹⁶² *baarray-ri* ‘split’ and *dhilay-ri* ‘throw out’. *Baarray-ri* is derived from *baarra-y* ‘split, intransitive’. There is no evidence that *dhilay-ri* is derived. These are the only verb roots that are not vowel final. There is evidence that indicates the root *baarray* is L class, but stronger indications that it is RR class. These verbs await further analysis.

**Table 138  Properties of YG verb classes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Class /properties</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>NG</th>
<th>RR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>size</td>
<td>large: ca 200</td>
<td>large: ca 100</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valence</td>
<td>mostly transitive</td>
<td>mostly intransitive</td>
<td>mixed transitivity</td>
<td>mixed transitivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllables</td>
<td>mostly polysyllabic</td>
<td>mostly polysyllabic</td>
<td>high proportion monosyllabic</td>
<td>high proportion monosyllabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>root</td>
<td><em>a</em> or <em>i</em>-final</td>
<td><em>a</em> or <em>i</em>-final</td>
<td><em>a, i</em> or <em>u</em>-final</td>
<td><em>a, i</em> or <em>u</em>-final some <em>y</em>-final</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

YG verbs share many features with other CNSW languages, some of which are given here. There are many verb roots which are identical (or cognates) across the languages, e.g. *buma-li* ‘hit’ and *yana-y* ‘go’ (*yanaa-y* in YR). The present and past tense suffixes, -*NHa* and -*NHi* are the same in all CNSW languages. The -*li* suffix is found on L class verbs in all CNSW languages, ‘future’ in YG, purposive elsewhere. All languages have *a*-final imperatives. Many of the inflectional suffixes are similar or identical in form, e.g. -*la-y* ‘reciprocal’ is found in all CNSW languages. The ‘morning’ suffixes are cognates: -*ngarri*-y and -*ngayi*-y. Most L class roots consist, at least historically, of two morphemes: cf. Donaldson (1980: Chap 7) and §10.5.

There are also differences. Other CNSW languages have three verb classes: L, Y and RR as in YG, but no NG class. The other languages can use the present tense suffix after a root; YG can use it only after a continuous suffix: e.g. *yana-nha* ‘go-PRS’ (‘is going’) is found in other CNSW languages but not in YG. In YG the future is the citation form; in the other languages the purposive is the citation form and there is a separate future: *buma-li* is future ‘hit-FUT’ in YG, but purposive in WN, with future *buma-laga*.

The rest of this chapter considers form and functions of final suffixes and other suffixes which convey tense and aspect information. These include the two series of continuous suffixes, Time of Day (TOD) suffixes, Distance in Time (DIT) suffixes and other Time suffixes. For each group a paradigm and summary is first given, then the historical information the paradigm is based on is
examined. The functions of the suffixes are then discussed. The use of the copula as an auxiliary is also examined. Other suffixes and middle forms of verbs are considered in following chapters. Subordinating final inflections are considered in Chapter 1.

8.2 Forms of verb-final inflections

A paradigm of simple verbs is given in Table 136 and the final inflections are seen in Table 139. A number of features stand out. Three of the four futures end in i. All the imperatives end in a. Three of the classes have -NHi as the past tense suffix. The subordinate suffixes are likely derived from -dhaay, which is realised as -daay after l and n. The RR SUBordinate suffix -dhaay is likely to be the realisation of rr+dhaay. The purposive in every case consists of the future verb +-gu. As noted above, there is no simple present tense in YG. Some GR Y class verbs use an irregular imperative suffix, -nga: see §8.2.1. Continuous suffixes are seen in Table 143.

Table 139  YG verbs: final inflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inflection</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>NG</th>
<th>RR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FUTURE</td>
<td>-li</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>-gi</td>
<td>-rri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRESENT (only after CTS/MOV)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>-NHi*</td>
<td>-NHi*</td>
<td>-NHi*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>-ya/-nga</td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBORDINATE</td>
<td>-ldaay</td>
<td>-ngindaay</td>
<td>-ngindaay</td>
<td>-dhaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBORDINATE (CTS/MOV)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURPOSIVE</td>
<td>-li-gu</td>
<td>-y-gu</td>
<td>-gi-gu</td>
<td>-rri-gu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Upper case NH indicates that there are allomorphs.

8.2.1 Evidence for the simple verb forms

The forms of attested final verb inflections are now considered. YR forms are well attested in the tapes for all verb classes. GR information is much more limited, with little on the Y and RR class verbs. In fact Ridley and Mathews do not seem to have recognised verb classes. The interpretation of older written material depends to some extent on paradigms developed from the later material. For instance kāne ‘took’ (Table 140), is interpreted as gaa-nhi, with a lamino-dental and i in the suffix, since that is the form found on the tapes.

Table 140 has some of the verb material from written sources and the current interpretation.

A number of irregular imperatives have been found in GR: the regular imperative suffix is for Y class verbs is -ya. GR yanay163 ‘go’ and barra-y ‘fly’ have an irregular Imperative -nga. All other GR Y class imperatives found have the regular -ya. Ridley (p13) has two irregular imperative forms of gi-gi ‘be’: gi-nya and gi-ya. He also has an irregular subordinate gi-ndaay. The regular gi-ngindaay is found in other sources. There are many verbs for which no information is available, and so for which the traditional imperative form is not known. In YR no irregular forms have been recognised.

The evidence for irregular imperatives is presented in Table 141 and comes from Ridley’s Biblical text, Mathews’s sentences and phrases, a phrase in Milson and Wurm’s sentences. Ridley and Mathews give paradigms for individual verbs.

---

163 Dixon (1980: 424) points out that ‘Dyirbal also has one irregular root yanu-l~yana-l “go”.’
Table 140  Interpretation of simple verbs from written sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ridley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goällle</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>guwaa-li</td>
<td>tell-FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goë</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>guwaa-y</td>
<td>tell-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goällla</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>guwaa-la</td>
<td>tell-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wümulle</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>wiima-li</td>
<td>put-FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wömi</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>wiima-y</td>
<td>put-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wümulla</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>wiima-la</td>
<td>put-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>käge</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>gaa-gi</td>
<td>take-FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>käne</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>gaa-nhi</td>
<td>take-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>käña</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>gaa-nga</td>
<td>take-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginyi</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>gi-nyi</td>
<td>be-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gigi</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>gi-gi</td>
<td>be-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginyi</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>gi-nyi</td>
<td>be-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gingga</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>gi-nga</td>
<td>be-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumulli</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>buma-li</td>
<td>hit-FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumi</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>buma-y</td>
<td>hit-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumulla</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>buma-la</td>
<td>hit-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WurmGR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,bumali</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>buma-li</td>
<td>hit-FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu:mi</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>buma-y</td>
<td>hit-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumala</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>buma-la</td>
<td>hit-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WurmYR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jenai, janai</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>yanaa-y</td>
<td>go-FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jana:nni</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>yanaa-nhi</td>
<td>go-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'na:ni</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>(ya)nan-nhi</td>
<td>go-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>janna:ja</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>yanaa-ya</td>
<td>go-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginji</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>gi-nyi</td>
<td>be-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumali</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>buma-li</td>
<td>hit-FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumai</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>buma-y</td>
<td>hit-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bumala</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>buma-la</td>
<td>hit-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yanai</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>yanaa-y</td>
<td>go-FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naa</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>(ya)naa-ya</td>
<td>go-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da-lani</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>dhaala-nhi</td>
<td>be.sick-PST</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

164 The initial syllable of yanaa-y YR and yana-y GR ‘go’ is often elided.
165 While Wurm’s use of nn in jana:nni, two lines earlier, may reflect the laminal normally used here, I have no explanation for use of nn here. He has many instances of the verb with a single n here.
Table 141  Some Gamilaraay Y and NG class imperatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ridley:</td>
<td>42 taiyanuŋa</td>
<td>come here</td>
<td>dhaay yana-nga</td>
<td>to.here go-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR: 264 dhai yannunga</td>
<td>Come here.</td>
<td>dhaay yana-nga</td>
<td>to.here go-IMP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milson:</td>
<td>thy aninga</td>
<td>Come this way.</td>
<td>dhaay yana-nga</td>
<td>to.here go-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurm: 20</td>
<td>ða:ja naŋa</td>
<td>Come here.</td>
<td>dhaay yana-nga</td>
<td>to.here go-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurm: 54</td>
<td>ða:ya yana-ŋa</td>
<td>Come here.</td>
<td>dhaay yana-nga</td>
<td>to.here go-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurm: 38</td>
<td>jindai janaŋa</td>
<td>You go.</td>
<td>ngindaay yana-nga</td>
<td>2PL go-IMP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other verbs

| Ridley: 42 | waria | arise | warra-ya | stand-IMP |
| Ridley: 43 | warraia | turn | warra-ya | ?? |
| Wurm: 43 | gaŋiŋa baraŋa | Do not fly away. | garri-ya barra-ŋa | neg-IMP fly-IMP |
| Wurm: 38 | banageja | run | banaga-ya | run-IMP |
| Wurm: 43 | gubilja | swim! | gubi-y.la-ya | swim-CTS-IMP |
| Wurm: 43 | gubilje | swim! | gubi-y.la-ya | swim-CTS-IMP |

NG class verbs

| Ridley: 13 | ginya, gia, or kia | be! | gi-nya, gi-ya | be-IMP |
| Ridley: 11 | kana | take! | goa-nga | take-IMP |

8.3 Uses of the final inflections

The next section discusses the main uses of the suffixes listed above. It will be clear that there are alternative analysis available for some suffixes. For instance while I will continue to refer to ‘past’ and ‘future’ tense, Donaldson’s (1980: 160) analyses of the same forms in WN as realis and irrealis mood could also be used of YG. There are socio-linguistic considerations as well. This is particularly clear with the imperative. English imperative elicitation sentences are often translated as YR requests or suggestions.

8.3.1 Imperative

Imperatives are almost always used to issue a command, i.e. the addressee(s) are second person. They are a few examples with first person addressees, optative function: ‘let’s …’. Positive Imperatives are frequently clause initial. An exception is (544). Negation of imperatives is generally by use of clause initial garriya (§7.4.2). There are a number of strategies for modifying imperatives. They can be softened, including by use of =Badhaay (§13.3.2) or =Yaa (§13.2.1). Strengthening is considered at the end of this section.

(542) and (543) have typical use of imperatives: clause initial and no direct mention of the addressee in positive imperatives. In (544) and Wurm (p38) (Table 141) the addressee is explicit, presumably for emphasis. In (544) the verb is not clause initial. With negative imperatives it is more common for the addressee to be explicit, often via an enclitic pronoun, as in (545) and (547), but this is by no means obligatory, as shown by (546) and (548).

166 Donaldson’s analysis is: ‘There is a three-term tense system, involving two contrasts, one of actuality (actualis versus irrealis) and, within the actualis category, one of time (past versus present). The past and present inflections indicate actual events which have taken or are taking place.’ Her irrealis corresponds to the YG future.
8 The main verb inflections

(542) banaga-ya barraay
run-IMP fast
Run quickly. JG; AD/CW 3997A 138

(543) dhadha-la nhama dhinggaa
taste-IMP 3.DEF meat
Taste that meat. FR/JM 1851B 3378

(544) You make a fire for yourself.
JG/AD 8185 288

giirr nginda wii wiima-la / guyangan ngimu
true 2SG fire put.down-IMP / self 2SG.DAT

The common negative imperative particle garriya ($7.4.2$) is seen in (545), (546) and (547). Rarely the non-imperative negative waal or gamil is used with an imperative verb: (548).

(545) Don’t dance like that.
CW/AD 5058 1329
garriya=ndaay / yalagirrma yulu-gi-la-ya // garriya=ndaay yalagirrma yulu-nga
don’t=2PL / like.that dance-CTS-IMP // don’t=2PL like.that dance-IMP

(546) garriya=bala ngay bilaarr gaa-nga
don’t=CTR 1SG.DAT spear take-IMP
Don’t take my spear (because I get savage when you take my spear). AD/JM 3217B 3305

(547) Beat thou not.
MathewsGR 266
Kurriandu167 bumulla
garriya=nda buma-la
don’t=2SG hit-IMP

(548) waal ngiima / galiya-ya
not FROM.DEF / climb-IMP
Don’t climb up that tree. AD/JM 3219A 1202
Don’t climb it/there. JG

Garriya is also used as a one word sentence, translated ‘don’t!’ or ‘have done!’

Often when the interviewer presents an imperative sentence for translation the informant replies with a question, as in (549). There are clearly social factors which influence when an imperative is appropriate. In this case it may be inappropriate to use an imperative with a senior relation.

(549) Miimii, give that yam to me.
JM/AD 8183 3026
yaama=nda ngay / miimii / nhama wuu-rrri, milaan,
ques=2SG 1SG.DAT / grandmother / 3.DEF give-FUT, yam
Granny, will you give me that yam? JG

With first person addressees the Imperative is translated ‘let’s’. In (550) the verb is a simple imperative, but in (551) the imperative is followed by the POTential =yaa. (The analysis of (551) is not certain.) Future forms are also translated ‘let’s’. It may be that the imperative form is stronger and indicates a more emphatic suggestion on the part of the speaker than the future form does.

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167 The 2SG clitic is consistently =nda, so this is likely an error.
Ridley (p9) is the only source for an emphatic imperative, formed by adding -waa to the regular imperative. He has goälla ‘speak’ and goällawă ‘speak, you must and shall’ (guwäala and guwaala-waa) and the same pattern in his other verb paradigms. He adds: ‘The emphasis and urgency of the command is measured by the prolongation of the syllable -wä’. No other evidence has been found for this suffix.

In the next section the functions of YG ‘future’ and ‘past’ tense suffixes are discussed. Their functions are much broader than suggested by the glosses, and include aspectual and modal as well as tense uses. See Comrie (1985: 6, 349) for description of ‘tense’ and ‘aspect’, the first having to do with ‘grammaticalised expression of location in time’ and the second with ‘the internal temporal contour of a situation’. Modality has to do with the degree of necessity, obligation, probability or ability to perform an action.

### 8.3.2 Future tense functions

The YG future has a wide range of interpretations, but these are often the result of other factors as well as the verb form: both the discourse situation and other elements of the sentence. For instance a future verb used with giirr ‘true’ will generally be translated by the simple future. The combination indicates the speaker’s confidence that the event will occur. The use of a future with =yaa ‘POTential’ indicates the speaker’s uncertainty, and is often translated with ‘might’. It is relatively uncommon for a future tense verb to occur in a clause without some other modifying morpheme.

Use of YG future tense does not on its own confidently predict an event will happen. Rather it signals that an event is likely to happen at some time subsequent to the moment of speaking or other reference time. The context or other elements in the clause can make the meaning more or less certain. Future has a number of less common modal uses, when it is translated ‘should’, ‘let’s’, ‘can’ (ability to perform an action) and ‘want to’.

The early sources use future tense almost exclusively to translate English ‘will’, i.e. with reference to events that are confidently expected to happen. Ridley glosses all simple future forms with ‘will’ while Mathews translates them as ‘will X presently’ as in ‘will beat presently’, limiting the simple future suffix to situations that will happen relatively soon, and having other suffixes for more distant events. The futures of many derived stems such as reciprocals are also expressed as simple futures in Mathews: e.g. ‘we will beat each other: ngulli bumullê (ngali buma-la-y hit-RECP-FUT).

Future tense can be used when the speaker is confident that the event will occur. (552)(=640) shows a more recent example where the future is translated ‘will’. Other examples include (487) ‘when is the boss coming?; (549) ‘will you give?; (553)(=661) ‘the rock will break’; (680) ‘you will fall and will break your back’, multiple sentences in Table 156, and 5058 1070: ‘I will dig it then and you will wash it’. (553) ‘the rock will break’ also confidently predicts an event.

Talking about a snake:

(552) yalagirrmawu nguu / wiima-li ngaama dhaygal nguungu, then 3SG.ERG / put.down-FUT that head 3SG.DAT, 
He will put his head down then,
Future events in YG can also be conveyed by a compound verb structure using giyaanha and the future form of the main verb: §8.4.3.3. A compound verb including giyaanha seems to indicate that the speaker is convinced the predicted situation will eventuate – see (479), (484), (1101), (1129) and (1131).

A simple future verb can also signal uncertainty as to whether the event will happen, as in (554).

(554) The baby might crawl away (if you don’t watch him).

It is common for sentences which include both =laa ‘DIR’ and a future tense verb to have ‘might’ in the translation, as in (555)(b). FR actually gives two translations, one indicating certainty, the other doubt. (555)(b) shows another use of the future, to indicate necessity.

(555) There’s a lot of clouds coming up, today.

(a) yiyyu=laa bundaa-gi
rain=DIR fall-FUT

It’s going to rain, I think it’s going to rain directly, FR

(b) gaarrimay=laa ngiyan / warra.y.ma-li
camp=DIR 1PL / build-FUT

we better put our camp up. FR

(556) also has two translations of the one sentence. The Wurm translation is from his notes, AD’s is in response to listening to the sentence on the Wurm tape. Wurm’s translation of yii-li ‘bite-FUT’ is the simple future ‘will bite’ while Arthur Dodd’s is ‘might bite’.

(556) Don’t go over there, the snake will bite you.

Don’t go over there to the snake lying over there, he might bite you. AD 5050 457

These uses of the ‘future’ are also found in other Australian languages. Donaldson (1980: 160) does not refer to a future in Wangaaybuwan, but to an irrealis, and points out:

Future forms in, for example, English, Latin and Urdu indicate a confident prediction that the event will be actualised … By contrast, the Ngiyambaa irrealis inflection encompasses the notion of lack of control over actualisation, as in [557], Donaldson’s] 6–11 which is as appropriately and as frequently translated ‘It might rain’ as ‘It will rain.’

(557) yurrung-gu ngidja-l-aga
rain-ERG rain-cm-FUT

‘It might rain’/‘It will rain.’ Wangaaybuwan Donaldson 6–11

The default interpretation of English future tense seems to be that the event is confidently expected, but this expectation can be altered by use of words such as ‘might’. In contrast the
default interpretation of YG and Wangaaybuwan future is neutral, and modifications can indicate more or less confidence that the event will occur. Other uses of future are now considered.

**Ability:**

(558) and (559) are rare instances where future tense indicates ability\(^{168}\) to perform an action. The present continuous is used more frequently with this function.

(558) Can you break this stick?  
\(yaama\hspace{1mm} nhalay\hspace{1mm} muyaan\hspace{1mm} nginda\hspace{1mm} gama-li\)  
ques this stick 2SG break.L-FUT  
Can you break this stick?  
JM/FR 2439A 1579

(559) I can do it.  
\(Giirr\hspace{1mm} ngaya\hspace{1mm} gimbi-li\)  
true 1SG do-FUT  
Sim: p48

**Optative ‘let’s’:**

A few examples have been found where the future translates ‘let’s’: Wurm (p96, 98) has future for ‘let’s go’, as does Laves (9 p26), who also has future for ‘let’s stop’ (9 p23).

The translations given here do not exhaust the possibilities for the YG future – another translation is ‘must’ in (566).

**Relative future:**

Most uses of the future are about a situation that is an ‘absolute future’ – after this moment in time, after now, but there are uncommon uses where it refers to a ‘relative future’ – after some other established point in time. This is seen in (560), where it may be that use of the future has to do with subsequent action being a result of the previous action. The elicitation had been about a fight. One man was injured, and the other is then obliged to provide for him. The verbs ‘catch for’ and ‘make fire’ are in future tense.

(560) (Because the thin man won the fight) he had to give the fat man fish and water, meat, everything.  
\(nguwam=badhaay\hspace{1mm} ngaama\hspace{1mm} ngarragaa-gu\hspace{1mm} wana\hspace{1mm} ?\hspace{1mm}?\hspace{1mm}?\hspace{1mm}wana\hspace{1mm} nguangu\hspace{1mm} /\)  
there=MIGHT there / poor-ERG / let / ?let 3SG.DAT /  
.to that poor fellow, let him for him  
\(bayama-a\hspace{1mm} lda-y\hspace{1mm}^{169}\hspace{1mm} minyamininyagaa\hspace{1mm} /\hspace{1mm} dhinggaa\hspace{1mm} /\hspace{1mm} dhuwarr\hspace{1mm} /\hspace{1mm} wii\hspace{1mm} wiima-li\)  
catch-ARG-CTS-FUT everything / meat, bread, make.fire-FUT  
keep catching everything, meat, bread, make the fire.  
JM/AD 8186 3051  
JG

AD3219B 2377 speaks of a situation where the second action might also be regarded a result of the first. AD says: ‘the old men told good stories and we used.to/would listen intently’. The verb ‘listen’ is future continuous.

A further use of the future with (absolute) past reference is seen in (561). It involves the auxiliary verb \(giyaanhi\) ‘were going to’. The present auxiliary, \(giyaanha\) ‘are going to’ (found in many examples), is used with the future of the main verb, and it seems so is \(giyaanhi\), with three verbs in future tense following it in (561).

\(^{168}\) In Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 111) the future with COMitative or PRIVative suffix indicates ability/inability to do something.

\(^{169}\) The verb is non-canonical, with an L class continuous suffix. The additional argument suffix creates a Y class stem: \(bayama-ali-y.la-y\) is the regular form.
They were going to kill a lot of meat and have a great feed in the evening. (561) They were going to kill a lot, sand goannas, tree goannas, (They will bring them back here.) (They will cook them here.) That’s when they are going to have a good feed.

The two main uses of YG past tense are to refer to a simple action which occurred in the (recent) past and secondly to indicate ‘perfect’ aspect – referring to a situation which has changed and has current relevance. In older sources the first use is limited to recent actions. More distant actions require the use of ‘Distance in time’ suffixes: §8.5.3. While in English past tense is used to refer to past continuous actions, e.g. ‘we talked’, this is much less common in YG, which generally uses continuous aspect in such situations.

Use of simple past tense with reference to a past action is seen in (562) and (486) ‘I ate’; (481) ‘he saw’ and many more. Table 140 has examples from old sources.

The MathewsGR verb paradigms (p262 ff) often have ‘just’ in translations of simple past. ginyi ‘was just now’; bumi ‘beat just now’ (buma-y ‘hit-PAST’), in contrast with other past forms such as ‘was/beat this morning’, ‘was/beat yesterday’ and so on. Laves also has ‘just’ in some translations of the simple past: (563) and ŋauni (ngawu-nhi) ‘just had a drink’, “just now” drank’ (9 p39). This use of the simple past as a recent past is not found in more recent sources, which generally use the particle yilaa for ‘just’: (564).

Past tense can be used with perfect meaning. Comrie (1976: 52) says, of perfect aspect:

(The perfect) is rather different from (other) aspects, since it tells us nothing directly about the situation in itself, but rather relates some state to a preceding situation. … the perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation.

YG use of the past with perfect meaning is very common, often to refer to a relatively recent event and with the English translation being present tense. There are many such examples with gi-
gi ‘be, get’ (565) (cf. (604)), (566) and (571)(b, c) but also found with other stative verbs such as ‘be.sick’ (567). This use is also found with active verbs such as ‘come’ in (568) and ‘see’ in (569). ((568) contains a YR idiom which includes *dhurra-li* ‘come, emerge’.)

(565) **Youlnindee gnaia ginee**

 Youlnindee gnaia ginee

hungry 1SG get-PST

Hungry I am. Parker

Parker: Woggeeguy (1930: 7)

The second clause of (566) shows perfect use of *gi-nyi*, as well as modal use: ‘mustn’t eat’, of a future phrase, *waal dha-li*:

(566) **dhainggaa ... dhaymaarr-iyay / gi-nyi / waal nhama nguu=laa  dha-li**

meat ... dirt-COM / get-PST / not 3.DEF 3SG.ERG=DIR eat-FUT

(Take that meat from the kid); he mustn’t eat that meat because it has been dropped in the dirt.

The meat is dirty. He mustn’t eat it.

CW/FR 5053 2592

(567) They feel sick.

**dhaala-nhi gununga**

be.sick-PST 3PL

Sick they are.

FR

(568) **I feel** lonely.

**Gana ngaya dhurra-y**

liver 1SG come-PST

(569) No, I **can’t see** him yet, I am looking for him.

**waaluu ngaama ngaya ngarra-y**

not.yet that 1SG see-PST

I haven’t seen him. I can’t see him.

JG

(570) Talking about anybody dead.

**balu-nhi=nya**

die-PST=3

He’s dead.

FR

The following continuous section from a tape (slightly tidied) shows the complexity of verb translation. In (571)(a) the YG sentence is verbless, indicating a constant state. In (571)(b) English present corresponds to YG past/perfect, in (571)(c) the English past corresponds to YG continuous past, and the final sentence by AD is non-standard English, and captures the multiple time reference of perfect aspect – the past situation (‘got’) and the present relevance (‘now’).

(571) **The man that came yesterday was mad.**

(a) **wamba, wamba ngaama dhayn**

mad, mad that Aboriginal.man

He’s mad, that blackfellow.

My eye’s O.K. **now, It** was sore, but it’s all right now.

CW

(b) **giirr ngaama mungu mil gi-nyi**

true 3.DEF 1SG.DAT good eye get-PST

My eye is good.

JG
It was sore.

(c) giirr nhama bayn gi-gi.la-nhi. giirr=Na gaba gi-nyi
true 3.DEF sore get-CTS-PST. true=3 good get-PST.
It got all right now.
It was sore. It is all right now.

Past tense is also used to translate some English present tense weather expressions such as: ‘It is very hot today’ (1996), presumably because the reference is to a situation that has recently changed.

8.3.4 Purposive and subordinate

This section gives the form of the purposive and relative suffixes: Table 142. Their uses will be looked at in §12.

The analysis I adopt is that the verbal purposive suffix consists of the future suffix and -gu. The two elements are written with a full stop \(^{170}\) between them to show that while this is one suffix, it is composed of two elements, a future suffix and -gu, the latter related to the Dative and Allative suffixes -Gu (§3.2.4). (-gu is also found on nominals, with purposive meaning.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb class</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>NG</th>
<th>RR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>dha-li ‘eat’</td>
<td>yanaa-y ‘go’</td>
<td>gaa-gi ‘bring’</td>
<td>wuu-rrri ‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>dha-li.gu</td>
<td>yanaa-y,gu</td>
<td>gaa-gi,gu</td>
<td>wuu-rrri.gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBordinate: non-CTS</td>
<td>dha-ldaay</td>
<td>yanaa-ngindaay</td>
<td>gaa-ngindaay</td>
<td>wuu-dhaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBordinate: CTS</td>
<td>dha-lda-ndaay</td>
<td>yanaa-y,la-ndaay</td>
<td>gaa-gi,la-ndaay</td>
<td>wuu-dha-ndaay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The purposive is commonly found on continuous future forms as in yulu-gi.la-y.gu (dance-CTS-PURR) ‘in order to dance’. (572) shows purposive buma-li.gu ‘in order to hit’ and dha-li-gu ‘to eat’.

(572) The woman cooked the meat because she was hungry.

bamba / dha-li.gu / ngiyama
w.energy / eat-PURP / there
The woman cooked the meat quickly so she could eat it soon.

Purposive verbs do not always follow the regular stress patterns: buma-li.gu ‘to hit’ most commonly has the primary stress on the second syllable ma, rather than on the first syllable, as predicted for words where all syllables are short.

For use of the subordinate suffix see §12.3; the forms are given in Table 142. This suffix is unique in having different forms on non-continuous Y class verbs (-ngindaay) and continuous verbs, which are also Y class (-ndaay). FR uses -ndaay for the L class subordinate suffix, while others have -ldaay. The analysis in Table 142 is the same as Williams’s (p113) except that she has the RR class subordinate suffix as -ndaay.

\(^{170}\) This convention was initiated by Wilkins (1989).
8.4 Continuous aspect\(^{171}\)

8.4.1 Continuous suffixes

I now discuss two aspectual markers, the continuous suffixes, which, if present, are in the penultimate verb slot. One continuous suffix prototypically encodes linear motion (glossed MOVing) and the other prototypically indicates non-motion (glossed CTS). Table 143 shows the actual suffixes and Table 144 has paradigms of the two sets of suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 143</th>
<th>YG continuous suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb Class</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moving</td>
<td>-l.aa-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Moving</td>
<td>-lda-y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 144</th>
<th>Paradigm of continuous YG verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inflection</td>
<td>Non-moving continuous (Example)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>dha-ld ‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS+FUT</td>
<td>dha-lnda-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS+PRS</td>
<td>dha-lnda-nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS+PAST</td>
<td>dha-lnda-nhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS+IMP</td>
<td>dha-lnda-ya</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| MOV+FUT    | dha-la-y  | yana-waa-y# | gaa-waa-y# | wuu-raa-y |
| MOV+PRS    | dha-la-nha | yana-waa-nha | gaa-waa-nha | wuu-raa-nha |
| MOV+PAST   | dha-la-nda-y | yana-waa-nha-y | gaa-waa-nha-y | wuu-raa-nha-y |
| MOV+IMP    | dha-la-nda-y | yana-waa-nda-y | gaa-waa-nda-y | wuu-raa-nda-y |
| MOV+SUB    | dha-la-nda-y | yana-waa-nda-y | gaa-waa-nda-y | wuu-raa-nda-y |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Moving continuous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>will be (eating)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>is (eating)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>was (eating)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>keep (eating)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>when+ (eating)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These suffixes form a Y class stem, so all the final suffixes in Table 144 are those found on Y class roots (Table 136), except for the present tense suffix -nha which only occurs after the two continuous suffixes.\(^{172}\) The non-moving suffixes have a short vowel, a, and the moving suffixes a long aa. The non-moving suffixes are different for each verb class. Three of them include the Class Marker commonly used by that class; i for L class, y for Y class and gi for NG class.

\(^{171}\) Much of the material in this section has been previously discussed in Giacon (2008). However, some rules for use of the suffixes that were presented there as universal are now recognised as very strong tendencies, albeit with rare exceptions.

\(^{172}\) Present tense typically refers to an ongoing event, so there is little need for a punctual present. See §8.4.2.3 for variations in GR realisation of the present and past suffixes.

\(^{173}\) The Y and NG Class Markers are the respective future suffixes, again showing the similarity between these classes.
that there are middle forms of L class verbs (§9.2), which are identical in form to Y class verbs, and which use the Y class continuous suffixes. There are many similarities between the Y and NG class continuous forms. Their non-moving suffixes consist of the future suffix + -la and their moving suffixes are the same. Similarly the L and RR suffixes share features. The non-moving suffixes both include a stop, unlike the other classes, and the moving suffixes include the consonant of the future form, l and rr respectively.

8.4.2 The functions of continuous suffixes

The prototypical difference between the continuous suffixes is that one encodes linear motion and the other no linear motion. (573) and (574) both contain the one verb, baa-y ‘hop’. In (573), with reference to a kangaroo hopping, the MOVing suffix is used on the verb. However, in (574), with reference to a dying fish flapping in the bottom of a canoe, the CTS suffix is used on the same root. While the dog is chasing the possum, ‘barking’ has the MOVing suffix (575)(a), but, when the dog is standing at the base of the tree, ‘barking’ has the CTS suffix (575)(b).

(573) The kangaroo is hopping along. 
Bandaarr nhama baa-waa-nha
grey.kangaroo 3.DEF hop-MOV-PRS

(574) The fish were jumping in the bottom of the canoe.
guduu baa-y.la-nhi ngiyarmma, ganuu-ga, 
fish hop-CTS-PST there, canoe-LOC

(575) The dog is running this way and he’s barking at something,
(a) maaadhaay dhaay banaga-waa-nha, gula-laa-nha 
dog to.here run-MOV-PRS bark-MOV-PRS
The dog is running here and barking. JG

(b) ngaarrma nguu gula-lda-nha,
there 3SG.ERG bark-CTS-PRS
He chased the goanna up the tree and now he is barking. FR
He is barking there now (at the base of the tree). JG

Continuous suffixes indicate that the ongoing nature of the event is focused on. In contrast, simple verb suffixes indicate a non-continuous event, or focus on the result. For instance in (663) a continuous form translates ‘(tree) is shaking’ and a simple future ‘will break’. In (669) ‘they had all eaten the kangaroo, it tasted good’ a simple past is used for ‘had eaten’ and past continuous for ‘tasted’. In (670) ‘when he was eating, he choked on the bread’ continuous is used for ‘eating’ and simple past for ‘choked’. See also (685) ‘was cooking’ (continuous) and (674) ‘(baby) burnt himself’ (past).

As well as their prototypical use, each suffix has other common and uncommon uses. The CTS suffix often has habitual meaning, on any type of verb. The MOVing suffix commonly has inchoative meaning, particularly on stative verbs, and it occasionally has inceptive meaning.

The function of the suffixes depends on the semantic class of the verb root they are attached to. The important distinctions are between active and stative verbs, with active verbs further divided into those which usually involve linear motion and those which do not. Active verbs are those where the action is controlled by those who perform them (e.g. ‘eat’, ‘run’) or those which involve linear motion, even if uncontrolled (e.g. ‘fall’). Other verbs are stative. When continuous suffixes are attached to the YG copula (gi-gi) the interpretation is as for stative verbs.

174 These are in the shaded area in Table 144.
175 This is slightly different from Donaldson (1980: 74), who defines active verbs as: ‘verbs denoting actions controlled by those who perform them, such a baga-l “dig”, bibuwa-y “run” and stative verbs as: ‘verbs [that] denote physiological or emotional states which are not controlled by those who experience them, except in so far as they expose themselves to their causes, or avoid them. Examples are girrambi-l “sick, in pain”, birrabi-l “hungry”, dharrambi-l “fond”, walindja-l
The interpretation of continuous suffixes on active verbs is discussed first, then on stative verbs, then the use of one suffix to indicate habitual aspect. Some rare uses of the suffixes are then considered, and finally some examples are given which do not fit the current analysis.

8.4.2.1 Continuous suffixes on active verbs

On active verb roots the MOVing suffix shows linear motion, and the CTS suffix indicates absence of linear motion, as seen in (573)–(575). People ‘walking to’ (576) are described with the MOVing suffix, ‘walking about’ uses the CTS (577) (and the Locative minyaaya, not the Allative).

(576) You two are going into town.
\[ \text{giirr ngindaali yanaa-waa-nha} \]
\[ \text{true 2DU go-MOV-PRS} \]
You two are going.  

(577) Where was you walking about?
\[ \text{minyaaya=nda yanaa-y.la-nhi} \]
\[ \text{where.at=2G go-CTS-PRS} \]
FR/JM 1853B 1931

(578) shows the CTS suffix on a non-motion verb and (579) shows MOVing suffixes on motion (‘crawl’) and non-motion (‘eat’) verbs.

(578) What are you doing?
\[ \text{minya nginda gimbi-lida-nha} \]
\[ \text{what 2SG do-CTS-PRS} \]
CW/AD 3996A 498

(579) The kangaroo is going along slowly eating grass.
\[ \text{giirr nhama bandaarr dhuu-raa-nha, buunhu nhama dha-la-a-nha} \]
\[ \text{true 3.DEF grey.kangaroo crawl-MOV-PRS grass that eat-MOV-PRS} \]
JM/AD 2833B 886

Exceptions: There are rare exceptions, when the MOVing suffix, on an active verb, has an inchoative meaning, as in (580), (581) and (582). In fact (582) is about ‘trying’ rather than actually ‘beginning’.

(580) The dog is just about to run away.
\[ \text{buruma nama banagwa:n} \]
\[ \text{buruma nhama banaga-waa-nha} \]
\[ \text{dog 3.DEF run-MOV-PRS} \]
SW p38

(581) They begin again to fight.
\[ \text{jallu bumallawanna} \]
\[ \text{yaluu buma-la-waa-nha} \]
\[ \text{again hit-RECP-MOV-PRS} \]
SW p82

(582) It caught him and then was trying to bite him.
\[ \text{giirr ngaam’/ bayama-y / ngiyama-nga / yii-la-a-nhi} \]
\[ \text{true 3.ANA.DEF / catch-PST / there=THEN / bite-MOV-PST} \]
CW/AD 3997A 1872

“lonely”. According to Donaldson’s definition, verbs such as ‘fall’ in (589), which typically do not involve a ‘controlled action,’ are stative.
Another rare use occurs in (78), where *dhama-laa-nha* ‘feel.tr-MOV-PRS’ refers to someone feeling a centipede moving on their leg. Here the moving suffix refers to the object of the verb, rather than to the subject.

**Continuous suffixes on stative verbs.** With stative verbs or the copula the CTS suffix indicates present continuous aspect, with no change, for instance no change in the emotion being felt in (583) and (584), and the MOVing suffix indicates inchoative aspect – change is taking place, as in (585) and (586). Inchoative aspect can be understood as metaphorical motion, moving from one state of being to another.

(583) *I am* lonely.

*walindja-l-da-nha ngaya*

be.lonely-CTS-PRS 1SG  

(584) *(The boy) was* really frightened.

*giirr nhama garigari gi-gi-la-nhi*

true 3.DEF frightened be-CTS-PST  

(585) *My dog is dying.*

*maadhaay ngay balu-waa-nha*

dog 1SG.DAT die-MOV-PRS  

(586) *It’s getting light.*

*giirr ngarran gi-yaa-nha*

true dawn be-MOV-PRS  

Again there are rare exceptions, when stative+MOVing does not have an inchoative meaning. In (587) *gi-yaa-nha* may be used since the road is typically used for motion. In (588) *gi-yaa-nha* may be inchoative, or indicate motion.

(587) *It goes to my camp.*

*walaigu yei nama juːruːn gianna*

camp-ALL 1SG.DAT 3.DEF road be-MOV-PRS  

(588) *A strong wind is coming here.* / *The wind is getting strong here.*

*Bamba mayrraa / nhama-dhaay / gi-yaa-nha*

with.energy wind / there-TO.HERE / be-MOV-PRS  

**Habitual aspect.** The CTS suffix can also indicate habitual aspect as shown below with motion verbs, *yanaa-y.la-nha* and *bundaa-gi.la-nha* (589); with an active, non-motion verb, *dha-l-da-nhi* (590); with a stative verb, *dhanduwi-y.l-a-nha* (591); and on the copula, *gi-gi.la-nha* (592).

(589) *The baby falls over all day, all the time.*

*birralii bundaa-gi.la-nha, waala maayu yanaa-y.la-nha*

child fall-CTS-PRS, can’t well walk-CTS-PRS  

Can’t walk. AD The child falls over all the time, it can’t walk properly.
We used to eat kangaroo.

giirr ngiyani bandaarr dha-lda-nhi
true 1Pl. grey.kangaroo eat-CTS-PST

I always sleep; at night.

giirr ngaya maayu dhanduwi-y.la-nha
true 1SG well sleep-CTS-PRS
I always sleep well.

and I am not frightened.

waal=bala ngaya garigari gi-gi.la-nha
not=CTR 1SG afraid be-CTS-PRS
I don’t get frightened.

The rules for use of the continuous suffixes in YG are listed below and set out in Table 145.

- The MOVing suffix indicates continuous aspect and linear motion when used with an active verb (motion or non-motion).
- The MOVing suffix, when used on stative verbs and the copula, has an inchoative meaning.
- A rare usage of the MOVing on active verb is with inceptive meaning (‘begin to’).
- A rare usage of the MOVing on stative verb is to indicate linear motion.
- The CTS (non-moving) suffix can be used with any verb with a habitual meaning or to indicate continuous aspect.
- When used to show continuous aspect on active verbs, the CTS suffix specifies that there is no linear motion.
- When used to show continuous aspect on stative verbs and the copula, it indicates a steady state (there is no change happening).
- The MOVing suffix occurs most commonly on motion verbs and the CTS suffix on non-motion verbs. The use of a MOVing suffix with a non-motion verb or of a CTS suffix with a motion verb is marked. The use of a MOVing suffix on a non-motion verb such as dha-li ‘eat’ is an example of associated motion, but YG have a much smaller range of such suffixes than Arrernte (Wilkins, 1989: 270), which has over 15 of them, and Kaytetye (Koch, 1984, 2006).

There is potential ambiguity between the continuous and habitual uses of the CTS suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 145</th>
<th>Examples of main uses of the continuous verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suffix</td>
<td>MOVing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>rare use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active verbs</td>
<td>non-movement: (eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inceptive – ‘begin to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>movement: (hop)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>is hopping.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(moving)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative verbs</td>
<td>dhanduwi-yaa-nha moving: e.g. sleeping in car</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#Marked uses are shown in bold.

In situations such as ‘talking’ which are likely to be extended in time, English simple past or future tense is often translated by a continuous YG verb, as in (593).
The main verb inflections

They talked to one another.

They are having a good feed now, the big mob.

They are eating meat, a lot of people.

He felt sick and couldn’t leave the camp.

Granny, you didn’t/why didn’t you really run

8.4.2.2 Use of continuous suffixes to derive a denominal verb

There are rare examples of what seems to be the continuous suffixes, moving and non-moving, attached to a nominal to form a verb. In all examples some questions remain, but the cumulative evidence is enough to suggest a process that was productive but was not recognised by early recorders and had largely been lost when later recorders arrived. When JM asks for ‘sleepy’ (yuwar ‘sleep, noun’) FR says yuwarra-nha, presumably ‘sleep-MOV-PRS’. There is also a rare verb, yuwarra-y ‘go to sleep’. The two AD examples also have uncertainties. (597)(a) may contain a verb formed from giwina(a) ‘close, adj’ and the MOVing suffix. In (597)(b) the suffix is y.lda-y, a mixture of Y and L class forms, and the free adjective is baliyaa ‘cold’, so the hypothesised verb involves modification of the root. The subordinate suffix is not quite the expected form, but is similar to that found on continuous verbs.
The baby was shivering with the cold and moaning.

The baby, who is shivering.

There I/my(baby) was shivering in the cold. [very speculative]

8.4.2.3 Allomorphs of final suffixes

This section considers reductions in the realisation of present tense suffix after a continuous suffix, and reduction of past tense suffixes on stems which include a continuous or ‘Time’ (Time of day/Distance in time: §8.5) suffix. This is common in GR, very rare in YR. The present tense suffix -nha only occurs after a continuous stem. Table 146 shows that in GR this suffix is frequently absent after a non-moving suffix and sometimes contracted to n after a moving suffix. It also shows one non-realisation of the past tense suffix -nhi. Table 147 shows that at times the suffix was fully realised, and that the past suffix, -nhi, was generally realised in the same environment.

A similar absence or contraction of the past suffix occurs in GR after non-final time suffixes. Table 148 has examples of the MORNING suffix, but the same pattern is found for the other time suffixes. Typically the vowel is omitted, but the Ridley example shows that whole final syllable can be omitted. The MathewsGR example also omits the final syllable, but the MathewsYR example shows the full form of the verb (followed by a suffixed pronoun). The deleted element is bolded in the tables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix/class</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Original source</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Stem gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absence: None of -nhV realised</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS L</td>
<td>Ridley</td>
<td>goaidla</td>
<td>speaks</td>
<td>gwaa-lda[-nha]</td>
<td>tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS L</td>
<td>tamulda</td>
<td>touches</td>
<td>dhama-lda[-nha]</td>
<td>touch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS NG</td>
<td>gigila</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>gi-gi.la[-nha]</td>
<td>get/be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS L</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>bumulda</td>
<td>beat</td>
<td>buma-lda[-nha]</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS L</td>
<td>babiabulda</td>
<td>several lying</td>
<td>baabi-y.aaba-lda[-nha]</td>
<td>lie-all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS L</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
<td>wa:lda</td>
<td>can throw</td>
<td>waa-lda[-nha]</td>
<td>throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS L</td>
<td>gwolda</td>
<td>speakest</td>
<td>gwaa-lda[-nha]</td>
<td>tell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS L</td>
<td>pari ja:bulda</td>
<td>have sat</td>
<td>ngarri-y.aaba-lda[-nhi]</td>
<td>sit-all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS L</td>
<td>daldla</td>
<td>are eating</td>
<td>dha-lda[-nha]</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS Y</td>
<td>nadjila</td>
<td>is sitting</td>
<td>ngarri-y.la[-nha]</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS Y</td>
<td>nadlda</td>
<td>are sitting</td>
<td>ngarri-?-lda[-nha]</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS L</td>
<td>Sim Yy</td>
<td>dhurra-lda</td>
<td>is coming</td>
<td>dhurra-lda[-nha]</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraction: -nhV realised as N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOV Y</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
<td>janowan</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>yana-waa-nh[a]</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOV NG</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
<td>gawan</td>
<td>carry</td>
<td>gaa-waa-nh[a]</td>
<td>bring</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 147  Non-modification of -NV after a continuous suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix/class</th>
<th>Source(tense)</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Stem gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CTS L</td>
<td>Ridley(Pres)</td>
<td>gimbildona</td>
<td>makes</td>
<td>gimubi-lda-nha</td>
<td>do/make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS Y?</td>
<td>babillona</td>
<td>is asleep</td>
<td>baabi-lda-nha</td>
<td>sleep</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS Y</td>
<td>yanelina</td>
<td>could walk#</td>
<td>yana-yla-nha</td>
<td>go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS NG</td>
<td>yugillona</td>
<td>were weeping#</td>
<td>yu-yla-nha</td>
<td>cry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS L</td>
<td>Ridley(Past)</td>
<td>goäldone</td>
<td>spoke</td>
<td>guwaa-lda-nhi</td>
<td>tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS L</td>
<td>Laves(Pres)</td>
<td>kalkudone</td>
<td>said</td>
<td>gaga-lda-nhi</td>
<td>call.out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS L</td>
<td></td>
<td>daldana</td>
<td>eating</td>
<td>dha-lda-nha</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# I have no explanation why Ridley’s GR is present tense and the English past.

### Table 148  Realisation of -NV after the ‘morning’ suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Stem gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-nhV realised as N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ridley</td>
<td>goälŋain</td>
<td>spoke today</td>
<td>guwaa-lnayi-nyi</td>
<td>tell-MORN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>bumulŋēn</td>
<td>beat just now</td>
<td>buma-lnayi-nyi</td>
<td>hit-MORN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nhV fully realised</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
<td>Bumulŋenyyedhu</td>
<td>I beat a while ago</td>
<td>buma-lnayi-nyi=dhu</td>
<td>hit-MORN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 8.4.3  gi-gi – predicates formed with continuous forms

The verb *gi-gi* ‘become, be’ is often found with one of the two continuous suffixes. With the non-moving suffix it generally forms a predicate with a nominal and has stative or habitual meaning. Predicates consisting of the *gi-gi* with the MOVing suffix and nominals have inchoative meaning, but *gi-gi* with the MOVing suffix also occurs frequently as an auxiliary verb, used with a future tense form of the main verb.

#### 8.4.3.1  gi-gi with CTS (non-moving) suffix

*Gi-gi*, with the non-moving suffix, typically refers to a non-changing situation, as in (599) (600). (These examples also show the common Yy practice of omitting one of a sequence of identical syllables. The realisation is *gi-la-nhi* rather than the *gi-la-nhi* found in other dialects.) See also (604)(b), (571)(c), (584) and (592).

(599)  

*Dinewan boorool diggayah gillunnee*  

Dhinawan burlul dhigayaa gi-(gi).la-nhi.  

emu big bird be-CTS-PST  

Emu was the big bird.  

Parker: *Emu and Bustard* line 1

(600)  

*Myrenay boonoong gillunneh*  

Maayrr ngay bungun gi-(gi).la-ndaay  

no.none 1SG.DAT wing be-CTS-SUB  

I have no wings.  

Parker: *Emu and Bustard* line 1, 20

When I have no wings. (*Myrenay* may be *maayrr ngay* ‘no more’.)  

JG

---

176 *gi-gi* with the CTS suffix is found in Ridley, Parker, and the tapes (around 80 instances) but not in Mathews, Sim, Tindale or Wurm.
8.4.3.2  gi-gi with MOVing suffix

Gi-gi with the moving suffix and a standard nominal forms an inchoative predicate. The verb is most commonly in present tense: (601) and (602). One future example has been found: (603). The imperative is in (605). (604) (cf. (565)) clearly illustrates the difference between the inchoative use of the MOVing suffix and the ‘steady state’ use of the CTS suffix. (587) ‘the road goes ... ’ seems to be an idiomatic use of giyaanha.

(601)  It is dark and the moon will come up soon.  JM/AD 3218A 2243

\[buluuy\ gi-yaa-nha\]

It is getting dark.

(602)  ja:ma nyinda julndindi gia:nnu gu\(d\)u bamba dalligu  SW p99

\[yaama nginda yuulngindi gi-yaa-nha\]  guduu bamba dha-li.gu

 ques 2SG hungry be-MOV-PRS cod eat-PURP

Are you hungry for fish (cod) to eat.  SW

Are you getting hungry, to eat a lot of fish?  JG

(603)  When he gets better he can go hunting again.  JM/FR 2436B 3577

\[barraay wana=nha maayu gi-yaa-y / maniila-y.gu ngali\]

 quick  let=3 well be-MOV-FUT / hunt-PURP 2SG

You let him get better quick so we can go hunting.  FR

(604)  hungry  JM/FR 1850A 938

(a)  yuulngin ngaya gi-yaa-nha  FR

hungry 1SG be-MOV-PRS

I am getting hungry.

I was hungry yesterday.  JM

(b)  no word for yesterday - yuulngin ngaya gi-(gi).la-nhi  FR

no word for yesterday - hungry 1SG be-CTS-PST

I was hungry.

(605)  CW: Be good. AD gaba giyaaya; Off tape discussion:  CW/AD 5129A 2129

put that in if you like, gaba gi-nga / but gaba gi-yaa-ya is the best, plainer

put that in if you like, good be-IMP / but good be-MOV-IMP is the best, plainer

8.4.3.3  Auxiliary use of gi-gi with MOVing suffix

The more common use of gi-gi with the MOVing suffix is as an auxiliary verb, occurring with a future form of the main, lexical verb. The various tenses of gi-yaa-y, with this use, are glossed ‘going.to’ and the verb is shown as one unit, usually: gi.yaa.nha. This use is not found in the older sources, but is in all the post-1900 YR sources.

Donaldson does not mention a similar structure in Wangaaybuwan. Breen(2004: 132) reports a similar structure frequently used in Yandruwantha, but with a different auxiliary:

The verb ngana ‘to do’ (in present tense) in association with a verb in the future tense forms a construction that can be translated as ‘was just about to’, ‘was on the point of’, or equivalent.

This structure contrasts with the simple future in that it is never given a modal translation (‘might, let’s, should’, etc.) nor is it used with qualifiers such as =badhuay ‘might’ and =yaa ‘POTential’. The most common subject of the auxiliary gi.yaa.nha is ngaya ‘I’. The semantic purpose of the auxiliary is not clear, but it seems likely to indicate that the event will happen in a short time, as the Yandruwantha ngana does, and also that it is relatively certain to occur.

There are many clauses which include this auxiliary, a main verb and pronoun, with the order of these elements being highly variable. The auxiliary has not been found first in the clause. It is
second in (606) and (607)(a) and third in (607)(b). The auxiliary can precede or follow the main verb and can be separated from it. (607)(b), with pronoun in second position, may be a correction. A similar change of pronoun from third to second position occurs at 1853B 2017. (607)(c), with a plural subject, does not use the auxiliary construction, perhaps because the individual cannot speak with authority for the group. The auxiliary occurs with negatives (607), and also with interrogative particles, as in (608).

(606)  
\[
\text{maniila-y } \text{gi.yaa.nha=nga } \text{ngaya} \\
\text{hunt-FUT going.to=THEN 1SG} \\
\text{I am going to go hunting.}
\]  
FR/JM 1849A 2148

(607)  
I don’t want to go away. 
JM/FR 1850A 1743

(a)  
\[
\text{waal=bala } \text{gi.yaa.nha } \text{ngaya } \text{yanaa-y} \\
\text{not=CTR going.to 1SG go-FUT} \\
\text{I’m not going to go.}
\]  
JG

(b)  
\[
\text{waal=bala } \text{ngaya } \text{gi.yaa.nha } \text{yanaa-y} \\
\text{not=CTR 1SG going.to go-FUT} \\
\text{I’m not going to go.}
\]  
FR

(608)  
We’re not going to go away. \textsuperscript{177} 
JM

(c)  
\[
\text{waal=bala } \text{ngiyani } \text{yanaa-waa-nha} \\
\text{not=CTR 1PL go-MOV-PRS} \\
\text{We not going.}
\]  
FR

The auxiliary is used with non-simple future forms (609), and with \text{gi-gi} (610).

(609)  
\[
\text{yanaa-y.ngayi-y } \text{gi.yaa.nha } \text{gaawaa-gu} \\
\text{go-MORN-FUT going.to river-ALL} \\
\text{I am going to go to the river tomorrow.}
\]  
FR/JM 1850A 1021

(610)  
\[
\text{yinggil } \text{ngaya } \text{gi.yaa.nha } \text{gi-gi} \\
\text{tired 1SG going.to be-FUT} \\
\text{I am going to get tired.}
\]  
FR

The past tense form of the auxiliary is much less common than the present. In (611), a procedural text, it refers to a situation which regularly happens. In (612) it refers to a fairly certain situation and in (613) it is used in reference to a counterfactual situation.

(611)  
\[
\text{biyuu-ga } \text{gi.yaa nhi=nga } \text{wana-gi garril} \\
\text{hole-LOC going.to.PST=THEN throw-FUT leaf} \\
\text{Then they throw leaves in the grave.}
\]  
JM/FR 2438B 1074

(They) were going to throw leaves in the hole then. 
JM

\textsuperscript{177} The use of present-continuous with future meaning probably reflects the influence of English.
All the people were going to have a great feed. JM/AD 8186 3420

giirruu ngaama burrulaa dhayn / nhama ganugu gi.yaa.nhi bamba dha-li
true.very that many people 3.DEF 3PL.SG going.to.PST with.energy eat-FUT

He would have come, but he got sick. CW/AD 5056 2206

giirr gi.yaa.nhi nyama / dhayy yanaa-waa-y / bayn=badhaay=nha=bala gi-nyi
true going.to-PST that / to.here come-MOV-FUT / sore=MIGHT=3=CTR be-PST

There is no word (noun or verb) ‘work’ in traditional YG, but Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece both use waan as a noun for work, and a phrasal compound of waan and gi-gi as the verb. In Dodd when the verb is continuous the vowel of gi- is lengthened: (614).

He will sit down when he is finished his work. CW/AD 3997B 2361

yaama-gaa ngaama / wila-y / maayu=nda??nha waan gi-gi.lu-ndaay
ques-INDEF that / sit-FUT / well=3 work be-CTS-SUB

He might sit down when he has finished working. JG

8.5 Other ‘time’ suffixes

The next section considers a number of non-final verb suffixes which carry information about time, beginning with a review of earlier analyses and a summary of the current analysis in §8.5.1. The most common of the suffixes are the Time of Day (TOD) and Distance in Time (DIT) suffixes.

The DIT and TOD suffixes are relatively uncommon in the tape material, and much more common in earlier material. It may be that these suffixes declined in use as the language declined. Any language will have more esoteric elements which will disappear more quickly in the process of language decline. It may also be that esoteric elements were of more interest to recorders once they have been recognised, and so the early recorders elicited a disproportionately large sample of them.

8.5.1 Previous analyses of time suffixes

Early analyses, specifically Ridley and Mathews, grouped these suffixes into one category. Wurm (below) clearly separates them into ‘cross-cutting systems’, i.e. two inflectional categories. Capell (below) makes no attempt to distinguish the various ‘time’ suffixes. Donaldson (1980: 184) points out that WN TOD suffixes are mutually exclusive, so recognising them as an inflectional category. She does not describe any DIT suffixes. Williams’s (p74) analysis is purely in terms of DIT suffixes, which have TOD ‘overtones’. The analysis here is similar to Wurm’s.

These suffixes are a prominent part of the verb paradigms presented by the early sources, Ridley and Mathews, and some of them are also relatively common in later sources such as Laves, Wurm, and the tapes.

Capell (1956: 53) pointed out that time suffixes were found in CNSW languages and other relatively close languages: ‘The principle of specifying a point of time more exactly than simply past or future is common to all the languages’.

Some of the suffixes he has are: -ngarri- ‘in morning’ found in three languages, Ngiyambaa, Wiradjuri and Bigumbil; -awa- ‘immediate,’ -gura – ‘yesterday past’ and -una- ‘remote past’ in Wiradjuri. For Ngiyambaa he lists: -ngabi- ‘evening, past and future’ and -be:n-agaa- ‘all day’. For Awabakal he gives two ‘morning’ verb forms, two other futures, and two pasts.

Wurm (1972: 140) notes that:

The languages of the Main Wiradjuric Subgroup show a considerable proliferation of tenses, and a cross-cutting system of markers [emphasis added] indicating that an action takes place at a certain point of time during the day or night (shared with Tiwi of the Tiwian Family).

178 A language of the NSW coast, near Newcastle.
The current analysis is that suffixes related to time can, semantically, be divided into 'time of day' (TOD) suffixes (with meanings like ‘in the morning, in the evening’), ‘distance in time’ (DIT) (with meanings like ‘recently, long ago’) and a residual group with a variety of uses (meanings like ‘before, again’). YG tense is marked in the final verb slot, and all of the suffixes discussed here are never verb-final, so they are not tense suffixes. They are generally in the second last slot, but some are found followed by continuous suffixes.

Williams (1980: 75), the most recent YR analysis, has no TOD suffixes, but two DIT suffixes and two other time suffixes:

- ngayi-y ‘recent past, immediate future’
- mayaa-nhi (Y class) ‘yesterday’ sometimes with implication of in the evening.
- ngayi-li ‘all day’
- ay-li or ayla-y ‘before’

This is fewer than the number of forms presented in earlier sources.

Table 149 gives a Ridley (p12) paradigm, with four past and two future forms. His paradigm for gaa-gi ‘take’ (p10) has five past forms. Table 149 has four tense distinctions in ‘subordinate’ forms. Modern sources make no tense distinction in subordinate verbs. Table 151 gives part of MathewsGR’s only comprehensive verb paradigm (p265) (he also has a short paradigm of gi-gi ‘become’). It has five past forms and three futures. He does not have subordinate forms, but does have a range of other inflections such as reciprocal and ‘before’.

Table 150 is an analysis of Table 149, and of Ridley’s range of subordinate verbs. Table 152 is an analysis of Table 151 with time suffixes bolded in both analyses. The past tense is often reduced in the originals. The full form, -nyi or -nhi, is given in the analysis.

Table 149 (Part of) Ridley’s verb paradigm: gimubi-li ‘make’

| INDICATIVE         |
|--------------------|----------------|
| gimbî or gimbì     | make           |
| **Past**           |                |
| gimbî              | made           |
| gimbîlêen          | made (to-day)  |
| gimbîlmêen         | made (yesterday)|
| gimbîllêen         | made (long ago)|
| **Present**        |                |
| gimbuldona         | makes          |
| **Future**         |                |
| gimbîlle           | will make      |
| gimbîlgari         | will make to-morrow |
Table 150  Analysis of Ridley’s verb paradigm in Table 149

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDICATIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>gimbi or gim’bi</td>
<td>make</td>
<td>gimubi-y (Past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gim’bilibiŋen</td>
<td>made (today)</td>
<td>gimubi-l-ngayi-nyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gim’bilmiŋen</td>
<td>made (yesterday)</td>
<td>gimubi-l-maya-a-nhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gim’biliben</td>
<td>made (long ago)</td>
<td>gimubi-layi-nyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present:</td>
<td>gimbildona</td>
<td>makes</td>
<td>gimubi-l-da-nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future:</td>
<td>gim’bille</td>
<td>will make</td>
<td>gimubi-li (Fut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gim’bilgari</td>
<td>will make tomorrow</td>
<td>gimubi-l-ngarri-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARTICIPLES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gimbildendai</td>
<td>making</td>
<td>gimubi-l-da-ndaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gimbilŋendai</td>
<td>having made</td>
<td>gimubi-l-ngayi-ndaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gimbilmiendai</td>
<td>having made yesterday</td>
<td>gimubi-l-maya-a-ndaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gimbillendai</td>
<td>having made long ago</td>
<td>gimubi-layi-ndaay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 151  (Part of) Mathews’s GR verb paradigm: buma-li ‘beat’

*Past Tense.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I beat just now</td>
<td>I beat this morning</td>
<td>I beat yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I beat some time since</td>
<td>I beat long ago</td>
<td>Ngaia bumi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>These five variations of the verb are repeated for each of the two remaining persons of the singular, for all persons of the dual, and for all the persons of the plural, by merely substituting, in succession, the requisite pronouns, ngxel, ngxaru, ngxuli, and so on. See table of pronouns.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Future Tense.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I will beat presently</td>
<td>I will beat to-morrow</td>
<td>I will beat at a future time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and so on through all the persons and numbers. It will be observed that the pronoun ngxula becomes ngxiala in the future tense.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While Ridley glosses all the forms in terms of DIT, Mathews does have one form glossed in TOD terms (‘this morning’).

While this analysis of these suffixes into two groups, TOD and DIT, is not the only possible one, there are a number of factors which support this division, firstly the semantic distinction of the two lots of suffixes – TOD suffixes neatly divide the day into mutually exclusive sections (morning, afternoon, night) while DIT suffixes have to do with remoteness (how far away in time). Secondly WN has a clear TOD category, supporting the use of this category in YG. Finally Yandruwantha has both TOD and DIT categories, so YG would not be unique in having the same categories. In Yandruwantha the TOD and DIT categories are clearly distinct since they occupy
different slots in the verb, with DIT verb final, replacing other tense suffixes while TOD suffixes are non-final.

Table 152  Analysis of Mathews’s verb paradigm in Table 151

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense/gloss</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Standard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past Tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ngaia</td>
<td>Ngaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I beat just now</td>
<td>Ngaia bumi</td>
<td>..buma-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I beat this morning</td>
<td>Ngaia bnumulngén</td>
<td>..buma-lngayi-ny(i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I beat yesterday</td>
<td>Ngaia bnumulmyên</td>
<td>..buma-lmayaa-nhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I beat some time since</td>
<td>Ngaia bnumullên</td>
<td>..buma-Layi-ny(i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I beat long ago</td>
<td>Ngaia bnumullawillên</td>
<td>..buma-lawayi-la-ny(i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-(Future)</td>
<td>Ngaiala</td>
<td>Ngaya=laa 1SG=DIR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will beat presently</td>
<td>Ngaiala bumlahli</td>
<td>..buma-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will beat tomorrow</td>
<td>Ngaiala bumullingê</td>
<td>..buma-lngayi-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will beat at a future time</td>
<td>Ngaiala bumullingurri</td>
<td>..buma-lngarri-y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 153  ‘Time’ suffixes – current paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Typical Meaning</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time of day (TOD)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngayi-y</td>
<td>morning</td>
<td>MORNING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nga-y</td>
<td>day/afternoon</td>
<td>DAY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(y)-aa-y</td>
<td>night</td>
<td>NIGHT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngabi-y*</td>
<td>night*179</td>
<td>DAY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance in Time (DIT)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mayaa-y</td>
<td>~one day distant</td>
<td>IDAY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ayi-y</td>
<td>&lt; ~ 1 week</td>
<td>LONG.Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-awayi-y</td>
<td>&gt;~ 1 week</td>
<td>LONGER.Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (see §8.5.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dhiy-ay</td>
<td>for a long time</td>
<td>LONG.TIME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Nhumi-yy</td>
<td>before (uncertain)</td>
<td>BEFORE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dhiya-li</td>
<td>after (uncertain)</td>
<td>AFTER</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand there are indications that the TOD/DIT division does not correspond to traditional YG. One is that the DIT and morning suffix share qualities. They are listed together in early sources, e.g. Table 149 (from Mathews) where they are all in past tense. Similarly the ‘morning’ suffix and DIT suffixes occur together in the Ridley lists (1875: 8–13), firstly in past tense, and then with the subordinate suffix.

Ridley and Mathews do not have TOD suffixes, apart from the morning suffix, in their analysis. It may be that they did not recognise the ‘day’ and ‘night’ suffix, perhaps because they were rarely

179 As seeb below the evidence for -aa-y ‘night’ is slight. It may well be that YG had the same pattern as WN, with a -ngabi-y ‘night’ suffix, and that form was not recorded. YG revivers may chose to use -ngabi-y, perhaps developing another function for aa-y.
used, or in Ridley’s case partly because he did not recognise any TOD suffix, glossing the ‘morning’ suffix as ‘today’ if past tense and ‘tomorrow’ if future.

The morphotactics of the TOD and DIT suffixes is uncertain. They are commonly found in the second last verbal slot. Some, including the most common -ngayi-y, and the relatively common-maya-a-y, are never found followed by continuous suffixes. However, some of the less common forms such as -aa-y ‘at NIGHT’ are.

The TOD and DIT suffixes are never found co-occurring. Logically they could co-occur. The absence of evidence may suggest they did not, but it may just be that the combinations were never recorded by early observers and had fallen out of use by the time later informants were recorded.

While the evidence is mixed, the most likely historical situation is that there were two sets of suffixes, TOD and DIT, and that they could co-occur, as they can in Yandruwantha (Breen, 2004: 125). The current analysis of these suffixes, and other ‘time suffixes’ is shown in Table 153.180

8.5.2 Time of Day (TOD) suffixes
YG have three TOD suffixes: ngayi-y ‘MORning’, -nga-y ‘DAY’ and -(y)-aa-y ‘NIGHT’. -ngarri-y is ‘MORning’ in Ridley’s GR and ‘at a future time’ in Mathews. The first three divide the 24-hour day into three exclusive sections.181 The ‘day’ and ‘night’ suffixes can be followed by continuous suffixes (e.g. (616) and (617)) and presumably so can the ‘morning’ suffix, although examples have not been found. The TOD/DIT suffixes and the continuous suffixes are the only ones which have -ndaay as the subordinate suffix (Ridley p9). Table 154 shows the CMs for the suffixes. # indicates the CM has not been found in actual examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 154 YG ‘Time of Day’ paradigm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb class</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngayi-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nga-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(y)-aa-y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.5.2.1 -ngayi-y ‘MORning (tomorrow, today)’
The verb suffix -ngayi-y is found in all major sources, mostly in past and future tense. Ridley does not have the future form, but has -ngarri-y with future use. Typical examples are given in Table 155, Table 156, (615), (1095) and (778).

The basic meaning of -ngayi-y is that the event occurs in the morning. The future tense suffix, -ngayi-y, is most commonly translated ‘tomorrow’,182 but is also translated ‘morning’. Translations of the more common past tense suffix, -ngayi-nyi (Table 155), are more evenly spread between those including ‘(earlier) today’ and those that have ‘morning’.

Ridley does not use TOD glosses, mainly glossing the past tense ‘today’. Mathews has ‘a while ago’ and ‘this morning’. Wurm183 uses ‘morning’ in about half of his examples, as well as having

---

180 At times the simple past is glossed as near past, e.g. ‘just now’ in Table 152.
181 The corresponding Wangaaybuwan suffixes are (Donaldson, 1980: 184): -ngarri-y (sunrise to noon), -nga-y (noon to sunset) and -ngahi-y (night). These can refer to a point in time or length of time, unlike YG. Wangaaybuwan also has -garraa-y ‘all day’. Wiradjuri (Grant & Rudder, 2001: 16) has: -ngarri- ‘morning’, -ngariawa- ‘tomorrow’, -gurra- ‘yesterday’, -garrima- ‘all day’, -ay-gowabi- ‘all night’, -na- ‘after’, -numi- ‘first’ and -ali- ‘repeated action’.
182 While this superficially favours a DIT interpretation rather than a TOD translation, Buck (1988: 999) points out that, for many Indo-European languages, ‘Most of the expressions for “tomorrow” are derived from words for “morning”’. It is likely that a similar extension of meaning has taken place here.
183 His example ba:buنجi ‘last night’ (baaba-ngayi-nyi ‘sleep-ngayi-PST’) is probably an error or a form which is not-understood. Laves has ba:buنجi which I interpret as the same word, and he glosses it ‘this morning’.
yesterday morning’ at least once. He does not use ‘morning’ in glossing the future forms, generally having only ‘tomorrow’. Laves, AD and FR all mostly have the gloss ‘morning’.

Table 155 gives examples of the past tense suffix and Table 156 the future. It is not always clear what phonological form a source intends by a particular example. Ridley has: -ŋē, -ŋēn, -ŋe and -ŋain, all of which may be abbreviations of -ŋayi-nyi, or perhaps of -ŋayi-nhi. Other writers also have a number of forms which I interpret as this suffix. Mathews: -ŋenye, -ŋēn and -ŋēn, Wurm: -ŋe:ini, -ŋeini and -ŋa:ni. The absence or contraction of some verb final syllables, as seen in the tables, is discussed at §8.4.2.3.

Table 155  -ŋayi-nyi ‘morning’ (past): examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Original gloss</th>
<th>Source/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>goälŋē</td>
<td>guwaa-ŋayi-nyi</td>
<td>spoke today</td>
<td>Ridley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wīmulŋē or wīmulŋain</td>
<td>wiima-ŋayi-nyi</td>
<td>put down today</td>
<td>Ridley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>käŋe</td>
<td>gaa-ŋayi-nyi</td>
<td>took today</td>
<td>Ridley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumulŋēnedhu</td>
<td>buma-ŋayi-nyi=dhu</td>
<td>I beat a while ago</td>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>humungēn</td>
<td>buma-ŋayi-nyi</td>
<td>did beat this morning</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>humatingilēngēn</td>
<td>buma-ngiili-ŋayi-nyi</td>
<td>[I] beat myself</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba ‘baŋe njī</td>
<td>baaba-ŋayi-nyi</td>
<td>slept this morning</td>
<td>Laves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumal ngi:ni</td>
<td>buma-ŋayi-nyi</td>
<td>hit yesterday morning</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðudlĩnji</td>
<td>dhurra-ŋayi-nyi</td>
<td>He came yesterday</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guţelŋa:nji</td>
<td>guðha-ŋayi-nyi</td>
<td>I cooked it yesterday</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba:buŋe njī</td>
<td>baaba-ŋayi-nyi</td>
<td>will sleep tomorrow</td>
<td>Laves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?-ŋayi-nyi</td>
<td>ngarra-ŋayi-nyi</td>
<td>[saw] this morning</td>
<td>FR, AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dha-ŋayi-nyi</td>
<td>ate it in the morning</td>
<td>AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galiya-ŋayi-nyi</td>
<td>climbed yesterday</td>
<td>AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question marks indicate the gloss may be unreliable.

Table 156  -ŋayi-y ‘morning’ (future)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Original gloss</th>
<th>Source/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bumuŋe:du</td>
<td>buma-ŋayi-y-dju</td>
<td>I will beat tomorrow</td>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumullingē</td>
<td>buma-ŋayi-y</td>
<td>will beat tomorrow</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba ‘baŋe</td>
<td>baaba-ŋayi-y</td>
<td>will sleep tomorrow</td>
<td>Laves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumalŋa</td>
<td>buma-ŋayi-y</td>
<td>will hit later on</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dalŋai</td>
<td>dha-ŋayi-y</td>
<td>will eat by and by</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarra-ŋayi-y</td>
<td>will see tomorrow</td>
<td>FR, AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarra-ŋayi-y</td>
<td>will see in the morning</td>
<td>AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuu-rr.ŋayi-y</td>
<td>will give in the morning</td>
<td>AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhama-ŋayi-y</td>
<td>will rain tomorrow</td>
<td>AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentence examples of -ŋayi-y include (615)(=(193)), (609), (778) and (1095).

The sources need to be interpreted with care. There is a tendency for later authors to investigate analyses published by earlier writers. This may be one reason that there are so many examples of -ŋayi-nyi/-ŋayi-y. As well elicitors can misinterpret informants. Dodd only translates -ŋayi-nyi as ‘yesterday’ when agreeing with Williams’s question or suggestion. He never volunteers that translation. He does translate his own -ŋayi-y as ‘tomorrow’ on a number of occasions.
The Class Marker is clear for three verb classes; but only one example has been found for Y class verbs, and that CM is uncertain. CW suggests (5057 1352) wunga-y-ngayi-y for ‘will swim tomorrow’. Arthur Dodd, characteristically, agrees, but then says: wunga-ngayi-y, with Ø CM. The suffix -ngindaay ‘subordinate’ is, like -ngayi-y, ng-initial and its CM is Ø, so I assume the same CM for -ngayi-y/-ngarri-y.

The suffix -ngarri-y ‘tomorrow/later on’ is problematic. There are two sources: see Table 157. Ridley has -ngayi-nyi ‘morning-PST’. He does not have -ngayi-y ‘morning-FUT’ but does have -ngarri-y ‘morning-FUT’. Mathews has both forms, -ngayi-y ‘morning-FUT’ and -ngarri-y referring to a longer time. -ngarri-y is also the WN cognate of -ngayi-y, and may have been retained in some dialects of GR.

The fact that no past tense example of -ngarri-y has been found suggests that it is a variant of -ngayi-y, and not a separate suffix. An alternative, but less likely, interpretation is that Mathews is correct in having these suffixes with different meanings.

Table 157  -ngarri-y ‘tomorrow/later on’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ridley</td>
<td>Goäîñari or goaalqurri</td>
<td>guwaa-l.ngarri-y r or rr?</td>
<td>will speak tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wëmuñëari</td>
<td>wiima-l.ngarri-y</td>
<td>will put tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kâñari</td>
<td>gaa-ngarri-y</td>
<td>will take tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>ginguurri</td>
<td>gi-ngarri-y</td>
<td>will be later on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bumaclingurri</td>
<td>buma-l.ngarri-y</td>
<td>will beat at a future time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.5.2.2  -nga-y ‘(in the) DAY’

I analyse -nga-y ‘DAY/afternoon’. This contrasts with Williams’s (p78) -ngayi-li ‘all day’ but has the same form as, and similar meaning to, Wangaaybuwan -nga-y ‘afternoon’.

The only certain evidence is on tape 5131, and each example involves the pattern seen in (616). Williams asks for an ‘all day’ translation, AD responds with a simple continuous form. The tape is stopped, and AD then uses a form containing -nga-y lda-.

A possible instance of the suffix from FR is also given in Table 158. He gives no translation for the verb, but the meaning ‘in the afternoon/day’ is consistent with the context. The only alternative at present is that -nga-y has an inceptive function.

The suffix, in Williams’s analysis, is highly unusual. It forms an L class verb. No other time suffixes do this, and few other verb suffixes do. Moreover, while Williams gives the form as -ngayi-li, no vowel is heard between the ngay and the continuous suffix which always follows. What is heard is -ngayl(d)a-. There are about five such examples beginning 23 minutes into tape 5131. After 47 minutes of the tape there is one more ‘all day’ elicitation. The same pattern occurs.

185 I render the rhotic as rr since that is the form in Wangaaybuwan, but it could be r.
This time, however, the ‘all.day’ verb given is bundaa-nga-y.la-nha ‘fall-DAY-CTS-PRS’ (5131 2818), with a Y class continuous suffix.

It is likely that AD was unfamiliar with the suffix, and so accepted L class suffixes initially, but some time later he gives this single, correct, Y class example. Table 158 gives all examples found.

Table 158  -nga-y ‘day’: examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Verb root class</th>
<th>CM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AD: L class continuous suffix</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5131 1346</td>
<td>yanaa-y.nga-y.la-nhi</td>
<td>walked all day</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5131 1371</td>
<td>ya-nga-y.la-nhi</td>
<td>cried all day</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5131 1387</td>
<td>dhu-rr.nga-y.la-nhi</td>
<td>speared (kangaroo) all day</td>
<td>RR</td>
<td>rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5131 1394</td>
<td>wunga-nga-y.la-nhi</td>
<td>swam all day (616)</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD: Y class continuous suffix</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5131 2818</td>
<td>bundaa-nga-y.la-nha</td>
<td>falls over all day</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FR: Possible example (the only one from FR)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849B 1462</td>
<td>yanaa-y.nga-y</td>
<td>(We are) going to walk.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An alternative approach is to regard this suffix as a product of elicitation, rather than part of traditional YR. However, given that ‘morning’ and ‘night’ suffixes are found in spontaneous YG it is likely that the suffix is authentic. The suffix is found only with a following continuous suffix, but it is likely this is the result of the limited evidence rather than a reflection of the historical use. The other TOD suffixes are found without a following continuous suffix.

8.5.2.3  -(y)-aa-y ‘(at) NIGHT’

The final TOD suffix is -aa-y ‘at night’. There are only a handful of instances, almost all from AD, and some uncertain examples from other sources, including some that suggest another form. The clear examples are given in (617)–(619). In (620) the suffixes following -aa-y are unclear. The AD examples all have the suffix followed by the continuous suffix, and the combination is translated ‘all night’. (621)(a) is probably an example of the suffix not followed by the continuous suffix. The verbs in (617)–(619) are NG class, but only (619)(b) has a common NG class CM, g. The others have y, which is very unusual.

(617)  yulu-ya.aa-ya.l-ndaay yinggil gi-b.aaba-y
      dance-NIGHT-CTS-SUB tired get-TOT-PST
They got very tired corroboreeing all night.  AD/JM 3219A 812
They all got tired dancing all night.          JG

(618)  bayn dhina gi-nyi /amba yulu-ya.aa-ya.l-ndaay
      sore feet get-PST / with.energy dance-NIGHT-CTS-SUB
Their feet got sore, dancing all night.         AD/JM 3219A 867

(619)  yulu-??.aa-ya.l-y // (b) yulu-g.aa-ya.l-y
      dance-??NIGHT-CTS-FUT // dance-NIGHT-CTS-FUT
You can dance all night.                       AD/JM 3220B 2942

(620)  gunhu-gunku dhu-rr-aa-y.(+unclear material)
cough (noun) poke-NIGHT-?
      (The woman) coughed all night. (dhu-rr is an RR class verb) AD/CW 5129A 2055
The following are less certain examples. (621)(a), from Laves, may be the suffix not followed by a continuous suffix. The li between the root and -y-aa-y could be the CM in this situation, to avoid an ly cluster. (621)(b) is from the Emu-Brolga story, and the Emu couple are talking about cutting their wings off. The English translation of (621)(b) suggests it may have the suffix, but the form is highly uncertain. The reflexive suffix forms a Y class verb, so the l before -aa-y is problematic, and ei is more likely to represent ay than aay. An alternative analysis is given, which fits the form better, but fits less with the translation given. The analyses remain speculative. (621)(c) is material that is crossed out in Mathews’s notes. It is listed here since ‘all night’ is in the gloss. No analysis is attempted.

(621)  
-CM-aa-y ‘night’: Other possible examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original, Source</th>
<th>Yuaalaaraay</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) duraliyay</td>
<td>dhurra-li-y.aa-ya</td>
<td>coming back <strong>tonight</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laves 9: pp99,100</td>
<td>come-FUT?³⁸⁶-NIGHT-IMP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) karaɲeileigo</td>
<td>garra-ngayi-y.la-y.gu</td>
<td>(we) will cut them off tonight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tindale line 42</td>
<td>cut-MORN-CTS-PURP (spec)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Less likely) garra-ngiili-y.laa-y.gu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cut-REFL-??-NIGHT-PURP (spec)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) yuggudhuriellialin</td>
<td>No analysis attempted. It possibly includes dhu-rri ‘spear’ and -la-y ‘reciprocal’.</td>
<td>fighting all night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathews MS 8006/3/9: Bk3 p16 (deleted material)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.5.3 Distance in Time (DIT) suffixes

Verb forms which specify distance in time, from very recent to long ago, are prominent in early sources. There seems to be a related suffix which means ‘for a long time’. Information about many of these forms is very limited, so much of the analysis remains tentative.

MathewsGR (p265), Table 151, and Ridley (p10) give paradigms with five past tense time distinctions. In the current analysis they consist of: 1. The simple past tense, used for an event that is quite recent. 2. The ‘MORNing’ suffix, used for events earlier in the day. 3. DIT suffixes. Mathews has the first three forms from Table 159, Ridley the first two and then an unanalysed form. Table 159 also has -dhii-y, a form not found in Mathews or Ridley. The few examples indicate it has a durative meaning, rather than the punctiliar meaning of the other suffixes.

Table 159 gives the meanings of YG DIT suffixes, the CMs used with them, and indicates if the suffix has been found in future tense and followed by continuous suffixes. All the suffixes are found in past tense. Languages with a DIT system, including Yandruwantha, typically make fewer distinctions in future tenses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIT suffix</th>
<th>Verb class</th>
<th>Future use found</th>
<th>Cts use found</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Form</td>
<td>Class Marker</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mayaa-y</td>
<td>ONE.DAY</td>
<td>1 day</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ayi-y</td>
<td>LONG.T(ime)</td>
<td>1 day to 1 week</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-awayi-y</td>
<td>LONGER.T(ime)</td>
<td>&gt; 1 week</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dhii-y</td>
<td>FOR.LONG.T(ime)</td>
<td>l, Ø</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³⁸⁶ The future suffix cannot occur before the ‘night’ and ‘imperative’ suffixes so this analysis cannot be correct, but there is currently no alternative.
8.5.3.1 -mayaa-y ‘ONE.DAY’ ‘yesterday/tomorrow’

-mayaa-y is a DIT suffix, almost always indicating a day away: ‘yesterday’ and, in the only future example found, ‘tomorrow’. This suffix is attested in most sources except FR: see Table 160. It is not as common as -n gayi-y.

The form heard on the tapes is clearly -m ayaa-nhi (-nhi ‘past’). Wurm has a range of written forms: mejanji is very close to the tape form, but he also records mc: nj, me: nj, mayn and m(i)ja: nji, the first two monosyllabic and GR. MathewsGR has myên and myen, MathewsYR maiani and Ridley has miên. Ridley describes ê as ‘ey’ in ‘obey’. Laves has mayani and me’ ni. The written records have considerable variety, some of it possibly recording casual speech. -mayaa-y is the most likely traditional form.

Table 160 shows that the CM is l (L class) and rr (RR class). Ø is expected for NG class. The written evidence for Y class is mixed (yannamyen and waraim ɛ’ni). In general Y class verbs include a y CM before m-initial suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Past tense</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ridley</td>
<td>god miłości + many more</td>
<td>guwa-l-mayaa-nhi #i</td>
<td>spoke yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathews YR</td>
<td>bumulmaianidhhu</td>
<td>buma-l-mayaa-nhi -dhù</td>
<td>I beat yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>bumulmyên</td>
<td>buma-l-mayaa -nhi #i</td>
<td>[I] beat yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yannamyen</td>
<td>yana-mayaa-nhi</td>
<td>garamulmyên</td>
<td>went yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laves</td>
<td>waraim’e’ni</td>
<td>warra-y-mayaa-nhi</td>
<td>I got up yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laves</td>
<td>‘wurmayani</td>
<td>wuu-rr.mayaa-nhi</td>
<td>fetched [gave] yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laves</td>
<td>ba-hanc:äh</td>
<td>baabi-mayaa-nhi</td>
<td>sleep I had daytime (yesterday)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WurmGR</td>
<td>ðalm:enj/ðalm:e:nj</td>
<td>dha-l-mayaa-nhi</td>
<td>ate the other day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WurmYR</td>
<td>bumalmjejanji</td>
<td>buma-l-mayaa-nhi #</td>
<td>hit it yesterday; hit it last night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other glosses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a couple of days ago; a few days ago; (many instances) 3 days ago;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba:bum(i)ja:nji</td>
<td>baabi-mayaa-nhi</td>
<td></td>
<td>no translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD</td>
<td>wuu-rr.mayaa-nhi</td>
<td></td>
<td>gave, like yesterday!³¹⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gama-l-mayaa-nhi</td>
<td></td>
<td>broke a long time ago (CW)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Future tense**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mathews</td>
<td>MS8006 /3/9: Bk3 p63</td>
<td>gim-me-ai</td>
<td>gi-mayaa-y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#‘Last night’ in the second Wurm translation is consistent with an action happening ‘yesterday’ but is not, on the evidence, implied by the form given.

8.5.3.1.1 ‘yesterday/tomorrow’

Both FR and AD state clearly and a number of times that YR had no words for ‘yesterday’ or ‘tomorrow’. The words recorded as ‘yesterday’ actually incorporate the -mayaa-y suffix. Ridley

³¹⁷ This is the only example where AD uses -mayaa-y spontaneously, and his translation ‘yesterday’, is significantly different from that of the prompted examples, such as the next line, where CW provides the translation. She says: Can you say gama-l-mayaa-nhi and AD agrees, and uses the word.
and Mathews have many sentences such as (622) with ‘yesterday’ in the gloss, and -mayaa-nhi in the verb, but no time adverb. They also have words which are glossed as ‘yesterday’. Ridley (p35) has gimiandi (gi-mayaa-ndaay ‘be/get-mayaa-SUB’). MathewsGR p268 has yilagimyên ‘yesterday’ (yilaa gi-mayaa-nhi ‘prox get-mayaa-PST’). Laves has a similar construction. This information led to an entry, gimiyandi ‘yesterday’, an adverb, in the GY dictionary, but this is clearly a verb form. The dictionary entry reflects the tendency to modify YG so that it fits English patterns, rather than realising that there will be significant differences between the languages.

(622)  

*Murr u ngaia gimyên*  

maaru ngaya gi-mayaa-nh[^i]  

well 1SG get-ONE.DAY-PST  

Good I was yesterday.  

Mathews GR p262

### 8.5.3.2  -ayi-y ‘LONG.Time’

The DIT suffix -ayi-y glossed ‘LONG.T(ime)’ is found only a small number of times, only in past tense, and mainly in old sources. The actual time referred to is not clear. From one day to a week or so is common in the sources, but the gloss is often ‘long ago’. It has been found followed by continuous suffixes. The gloss then is ‘for a long time’.

Williams (p79) proposes a suffix -ayla-y ‘before’. Many of the examples she gives are consistent with the form being -ayi-y.la-y ‘LONG.T-CTS-FUT’. For an alternative ‘before’ see -Nhumi-y, §8.5.4.

Much of the evidence for this suffix is in the GR written materials. Table 161 has the complete Ridley evidence and Table 162 evidence found in other sources.

Only three YR examples have been found, including the only two more modern examples. The Wurm example involves interpreting -li-nj[^i] as -Layi-ny[^i]. There is no obvious alternative. There is also a difference in gloss between the old and modern sources, the former having ‘long ago’, ‘a week ago’, ‘some time since’ and the latter ‘yesterday’. It is possible that there are two suffixes, but unlikely.

Reasons for the paucity of recent information may be that the suffix had gone out of use and that researchers did not give it the prominence that they gave other suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>L class verbs</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goällën</td>
<td>guwaLayi-ny[^i]</td>
<td>spoke long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wimmullën</td>
<td>wiwaLayi-ny[^i]</td>
<td>put down long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wínupullain</td>
<td>wíngaLayi-ny[^i]</td>
<td>heard long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gimblën</td>
<td>gimbaLayi-ny[^i]</td>
<td>made (long ago)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goällendai</td>
<td>guwaLayi-ndaay[^#]</td>
<td>having spoken long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gimbellendai</td>
<td>gimbaLayi-ndaay</td>
<td>having made long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NG class verbs</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>känjën</td>
<td>gaa-ng.ayi-ny[^i]</td>
<td>took some days ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gínjën</td>
<td>gi-ng.ayi-ny[^i]</td>
<td>was long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gínvyändai</td>
<td>gi-ng.ayi-ndaay</td>
<td>Participle [no translation given]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>uncertain form</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kábaniu</td>
<td>gaa-b.ayi?-nyi-yuu?</td>
<td>took long ago</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8 The main verb inflections

273

-ayi-y 'LONG.Time': other evidence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Standard, Analysis</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
<td>bumulênyedhu</td>
<td>buma-L/ayi-nyi=dhu</td>
<td>I beat, say a week ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>bumullên</td>
<td>buma-Layi-ny[i</td>
<td>[I] beat some time since</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR/</td>
<td>gibbailandhê/</td>
<td>gi-b.ayi-la-ndaay</td>
<td>formerly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS8006/3/9–3–20</td>
<td>gibbailandhai</td>
<td>stand-LONG.T-CTS-PRS</td>
<td>[good at] using weapons; warra-y 'stand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenway1878 243</td>
<td>Nariba ghibalindi</td>
<td>gi-b.ayi-la-ndaay</td>
<td>long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngaarribuu ‘far-TOT’</td>
<td>be-LONG.T-CTS-SUB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tindale 28</td>
<td>ŋari wailani</td>
<td>ngarri-w.ayi-ya-la-nhi</td>
<td>She stayed away for some time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tindale 30</td>
<td>jeneweinje</td>
<td>yana-w.ayi-nyi</td>
<td>went away … a long time ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurm YR</td>
<td>huŋaw a: bali-nji</td>
<td>wunga-w.aaba-Layi-nyi</td>
<td>they were [all] swimming yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD 3217A 62</td>
<td>ngarra-Layi-nyi</td>
<td>be-LONG.T-PST</td>
<td>saw yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD5131 1541</td>
<td>dhu-rr.ayi-y.la-nhi</td>
<td>spear-LONG.T-CTS-PST</td>
<td>spear[ed] yesterday; Form suggested by CW.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The NG class examples have two Class Markers, b and ng. With ng the suffix is -ng.ayi-y, homophonous with -ngayi-y ‘morning’.

Questions remain. There is no satisfactory analysis of Ridley’s kābaniu. CW suggests dhu-rr.ayi-y.la-nhi for ‘speared yesterday’. AD is non-committal but, when asked again, agrees with CW.

8.5.3.3 -awayi-y ‘LONGER.Time’

There is some evidence for a suffix -awayi-y glossed ‘LONGER.Time’. The evidence so far found is presented in Table 163, which also includes two inflections of gaa-gi ‘take’ which have ‘long ago’ in their glosses, but seem to have a different suffix.

-awayi-y indicates a longer time than -ayi-y ‘LONG.T(ime)’. This is suggested by the contrasting translations of these two in Tindale line 28 and 29, and by the explicit contrasts in Mathews. Some -ayi-y forms from Table 161 are repeated in Table 163 to point out the contrast. -awayi-y has been found only in past tense, and in six of the seven instances is followed by the continuous suffix.

The analysis is far from certain. The form represented in the sources, all written, is often uncertain. In (623) the interpretation of ŋinanja and the last two syllables of the verb are quite speculative. Many of the examples have verbs that are often found with the reciprocal suffix, so the first -la (e.g. bumullawillên) may be this suffix, at least in some cases.
Table 163  -awayi-y ‘LONGER.Time’: evidence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Original Standard (-la ‘CTS’; -NHi ‘PST’)</th>
<th>Translation: Original; Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
<td>bumulawailummedhu</td>
<td>I beat long ago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>buma-awayi-y.la-nhi=dhu</td>
<td>=dhu ‘I’ -la-nhi ‘continuous-past’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf. -ayi-y form</td>
<td>bumlênyedhu</td>
<td>I beat, say a week ago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>bumalawillên</td>
<td>[I] beat long ago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>buma-awayi-y.la-nhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf. -ayi-y form</td>
<td>bumlênd</td>
<td>[I] beat some time since.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>giawillên</td>
<td>[I] was long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gi-ya.awayi-y.la-nhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurm 64</td>
<td>ɲadlawelanjii</td>
<td>[I] have [not] seen him for a long time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngarra-l.awayi-y.la-nyi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurm 64</td>
<td>ɲadluwe:lenji</td>
<td>[I do not] remember [you]. See (623)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngarra-l.awayi-y.la-nyi</td>
<td>['have not seen for a long time?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tindale 29</td>
<td>ɲareia weilani</td>
<td>[you] stayed away a long time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngarri-.awayi-y.la-nhi</td>
<td>ngarri-‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf. -ayi-y form Tindale 28</td>
<td>ɲari wailani</td>
<td>stayed away for some time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngarri-w.ayi-y.la-nhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tindale 32</td>
<td>karal weinji</td>
<td>[I cut off [my arms]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>garra-l.awayi-nyi</td>
<td>[cut long ago?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibly related</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurm 3</td>
<td>ga:βalinji</td>
<td>had [dog] a long time ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goa-B-aalayi?-nyi</td>
<td>Not the same suffix.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ridley p10</td>
<td>kābaniu</td>
<td>took long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goa-B-aa-nhi-yu?</td>
<td>Cf. previous.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(623) wa:l nama ɲaŋa ɲinanja ɲadluwe:lenji
waal nhama ngaya ?nginunha?nginaaynya ngarra-l.awayi-y.la-nhi?
not 3.DEF 1SG 2SG.ACC 2PL.ACC see-LONGER.T-CTS-PST
I don’t remember you
I have not seen you for a long time.

8.5.3.4  -dhii-y ‘for a LONG.TIME’
The suffix -dhii-y\(^{188}\) has been found five times: see Table 164, (624) and (625). The meaning seems to be that an action has been occurring for a long time. In three of the four Wurm examples the YG verb is past tense, but the English is present tense, so the suffix may indicate that the action continues till the present. The Dodd translation ‘my mother died long ago’ could be paraphrased: ‘she has been dead for a long time’. The analysis remains uncertain.

\(^{188}\) Diphthongs are sometimes realised as long vowels, so this suffix may be formally related to -dhiya-li?y in the Mathews GR sentence: Ilanu ngaia bumadhiale ‘[I] will beat (after some event) [buma-dhiya-li??]. However, that link is very speculative.
8 The main verb inflections

-dhii-y ‘long time’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wurm</td>
<td>ðaði:nj</td>
<td>dha-dhii-ny[i</td>
<td>is eating meat for a long time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namiði:nj</td>
<td>ngami-Ldhii-ny[i</td>
<td>am looking at [the kangaroo] for a long time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namiði:nj</td>
<td>ngami-Ldhii-ny[i</td>
<td>[no translation]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumaði:nj?</td>
<td>buma-dhii-ny[i</td>
<td>hitting [the dog] for a long time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD (625)</td>
<td>balu-dhii-ny[i</td>
<td>died a long time ago</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(624) Wurm -dhii-y sentences.
nama maɾi ɗi ɗad:i:nj (dha-dhii-ny[i)
This man is eating meat for a long time.  
ŋali banda:d namiði:nj (ngami-l-dhii-ny[i)
I [we] am looking at the kangaroo for a long time.  
nama maɾi banda:d namiði:nj (ngami-l-dhii-ny[i)
That man looked at the kangaroo for a long time.
.nama maɾi buɾuma bumaði:nj?? (buma-dhii-ny[i)
The man is hitting the dog for a long time.

(625) yilaalu=bala balu-dhii-ny[i?? ngarragaa ngay / ngambaa.dhi
long.ago=CTR die-dhii-PST sad my / mother.PD
My mother died a long time ago.  
?My mother has been dead a long time.?  

8.5.4 Questions about time suffixes

Questions remain about the suffixes listed above, about forms that have not been analysed, and about gaps in the YG time lexicon.

It is not clear if TOD and DIT suffixes can both be used in the one stem. No example of them co-occurring has been found in the YG sources, but such sources rarely contain material of that complexity. No indications can be obtained from Wangaaybuwan, since it does not have the DIT category. In Yandruwantha the categories can co-occur (627), but the situation is not totally parallel, since its DIT suffix is a tense suffix, verb-final, unlike the YG DIT suffixes. My suggestion is that DIT and TOD be treated as two categories which can be used on the one stem.

Some suffixes are now considered for which there is little or unclear evidence.

Mathews

Mathews GR (p267) has a range of verb forms, some with imprecise translations, such as ‘I beat again’ Ngaia bumulluiŋ. The verb is buma-l.uwi-nyi ‘hit-BACK-PST’ and ‘beat again’, Yalu bumaluuiŋ. The verb is again buma-Luwii-ya (Imperative).

However, he also has a number of examples which while not currently interpretable are almost certainly actual GR forms, all derived from buma-li ‘beat’.

1. -nhumi-y
One is: ‘beat first (before some event)’, Bumunummiŋ wurrea. Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1977: 187) and Wiradjuri have a suffix -Nhumi-y ‘before’ used in, e.g. ‘I have been there before’. It is very likely the GR verb is buma-nhumi-ya ‘beat-BEFORE-IMP’. If so this is the only example of GR -nhumi-y found. Wurrea may be warra-ya ‘stand-IMP’ or an adverb.

2. -dhiya-li
(626) is another Mathews example with an uncertain suffix, oo-dhiya-li.
Ilanu ngaia bumadhiale
yilaa-nu ngaya buma-dhiya-li
then-?? 1SG hit-dhiya-FUT

Ilanu is unknown, but is related to yilaa ‘soon’.

3. -ngwül-li
Another uncertain form is found at least twice in Mathews. His MS (8006/3/9 Bk3 p64) has: Bumulli (buma-li) ngwül-li-dya ‘I will beat immediately’. Ngwül-li is probably a future tense L class verb, awaiting analysis, perhaps nguwa-li. MathewsYR (p141) has a similar form in: Bumullingwullidyu ‘I will beat sometime’ (buna-li ?wungwa-li). In Toomelah-Boggabilla Yanay wungwali (yanay ‘go’) has a meaning something like ‘I’m going but will return soon’. (wungwali is uncertain. The GYY dictionary has wun.gali ‘return’, based on the same original information.)

4. Another unanalysed Mathews example is ‘beat on behalf of another’ Bumullandhummi. One could expect the verb to include the benefactive suffix (see §9.3.1) but there is no evidence in the form given.

Laves
Laves has a number of unanalysed forms. (9 p50) has yila ƾaya/ƾinda nayalawai ƾaiaga ‘soon I/you go behind’. Yila is yilaa ‘soon’, ƾaiaga is ngayaga ‘behind’, nay is (ya)naa-y ‘go and wai may be -waa-y ‘MOV-FUT’, ala remains unanalysed.

(9 p49) has a number of obscure examples:
y’aŋgaiŋaut in ‘I’m coming back tomorrow (early)’ may include yanaa-y ‘go’ -ngayi-y ‘MORNing’ and -uwi-y ‘BACK’. Or may be yaa (uncertain) ngay’ ‘naa-w.uwi-y, with ngaya ‘I’ and yanaa-y ellipsed.

ŋan gai ꞑ)iyaŋy/ŋan’gaiŋauyayɔ in ‘you hither come back tomorrow’ may include ‘naa-y (abbreviated from yanaa-y ‘go’) -ngayi-y ‘morning’ and -uwi-y ‘back’. A possible analysis of duraliyayɔ ‘coming tonight’ is given in (621).

Wurm
Wurm’s (p66) translation of ‘I had this dog a long time ago’ includes ga:βalinji bila:lu: with yilaaluu ‘long.time’ and gaa-gi ‘take/bring’, possibly with a suffix-aali-y, which in Wangaaybuwan is ‘again’.

Tapes
Another unexplained example is at 5131 1528. CW asks for ‘I’ve been here before’. AD’s response contains an uncertain form, which I have transcribed: yanaa-y yaa-la-nhi, with a tentative analysis (‘go-ya-yaa-CTS-PRS’). This suggests a suffix -(y)aa-y, similar to -aa-y ‘night’. AD translates his sentence: ‘I was there, like yesterday’.

The actual suffixes found in other languages can inform the interpretation of YG, as seen with -nhumi-y. As well, the patterns found in other languages can also help understand YG. Breen (2004: 148) gives a long list of Yandruwantha ‘bound aspect markers’ which are also found as free forms or with other uses. It is likely that warra-ya in Bumunnuminna wurrea (above) has such use.

There are a range of verbal markers found in other languages which have not been found in YG, but which could well have been there. Examples from Wangaaybuwan, Yandruwantha and other languages are set out in Table 165–Table 167 and they provide patterns for potential expansion of YG.

8.5.5  Time suffixes in other Australian languages
Since the YG information is quite limited I consider in some detail a similar phenomena in other languages, firstly Wangaaybuwan and other languages in the CNSW group. A significant number
of languages have such a system. This is not an exhaustive survey. The MORNing suffix, -ngayi-y has a clear cognate -ngarri-y in WN and Wiradjuri, and probably Wayilwan (See Table 163, 164).

Table 165 lists the recorded YG forms relevant to ‘time of day’ and ‘distance in time’, and compares them with three other languages, including an incomplete examination of Wiradjuri.

Table 165  ‘Time’ suffixes in other languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss /Category</th>
<th>YG</th>
<th>Wangaay-buwan</th>
<th>Wiradjuri preliminary</th>
<th>Yandruwantha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TIME OF DAY</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morning</td>
<td>-ngayi-y FUT [-ngarri-y GR]</td>
<td>-ngarri-y</td>
<td>-ngarri-y</td>
<td>-warka [uncertain]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>-nga-y</td>
<td>-nga-y</td>
<td>-nga-y</td>
<td>nhina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afternoon</td>
<td>-ngabi-y</td>
<td>(y)-aa-y</td>
<td>-ngabri-y</td>
<td>-yukarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>-garraa-y</td>
<td>-ngarima-y</td>
<td>-ngarima-y</td>
<td>1 ex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAST</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple past</td>
<td>-NHi/-yi</td>
<td>-NHi/-iyi</td>
<td>-NHi/-??</td>
<td>-na [immed past]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>-mayaa-y</td>
<td>-guRa-y</td>
<td>1 ex</td>
<td>nhama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>few days</td>
<td>-aali-y</td>
<td>-nhukada(ni)</td>
<td>-n.ga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long time</td>
<td>-ayi-y</td>
<td>-ayi-y</td>
<td>-lapurra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longer time</td>
<td>-ayi-y</td>
<td>-ayi-y</td>
<td>-lapurra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[for] long time</td>
<td>-dhii-y</td>
<td>-dhii-y</td>
<td>-dhii-y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all day</td>
<td>-garraa-y</td>
<td>-garraa-y</td>
<td>-garraa-y</td>
<td>1 ex</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.5.5.1 Central New South Wales languages

**Wangaaybuwan.** Wangaaybuwan has TOD suffixes and other time suffixes, but not DIT suffixes. Table 166 shows three suffixes which specify a TOD, another which specifies duration during a part of the day (‘all day’) and others which can have time meanings. For instance -gaa-y ‘a bit’ can mean ‘a short time’. Many of the other suffixes in the table have parallels in YG.

Table 166  Some Wangaaybuwan verb suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wangaaybuwan</th>
<th>WN gloss</th>
<th>(Donaldson, 1980)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time of day suffixes (mutually exclusive)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngarri-y</td>
<td>in the morning</td>
<td>6.3.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nga-y</td>
<td>in the afternoon</td>
<td>6.3.4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngabi-y</td>
<td>at night</td>
<td>6.3.4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-garraa-y</td>
<td>all day</td>
<td>6.3.4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other suffixes with (potential) time use</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gaa-y</td>
<td>a bit</td>
<td>6.3.4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aali-y</td>
<td>again</td>
<td>6.3.4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-NHumi-y</td>
<td>before</td>
<td>6.3.4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-waaga-li</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td>6.3.4.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ga-li</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>6.3.4.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wa-y</td>
<td>moving</td>
<td>6.3.4.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngila-y</td>
<td>continued action</td>
<td>6.3.4.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Other CNSW languages

Table 167 is taken from McNicol (1989) and Grant and Rudder (2001, 2010). It shows that Wiradjuri had at least a partial system with clear parallels to Wangaaybuwan. The Wiradjuri sources are relatively incomplete and more suffixes may be recognised with further analysis.

**Table 167 Some Wiradjuri verb time suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wiradjuri</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Rudder/Grant</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ngarri-y</td>
<td>in the morning/close</td>
<td>ngarri-girri (fut)</td>
<td>= WN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngarri-nhi (past)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nga-y</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngari-y-awa-y</td>
<td>tomorrow (morning)</td>
<td>ngari-y-awa-girri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>all night</td>
<td>-[n]ay-guwabi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>all night</td>
<td>-guwabi-girri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other suffixes with [potential] time use</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-guRa-nhi</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>-guRa-nhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngarima-y</td>
<td>all day</td>
<td>-ngarima-girri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ali-y</td>
<td>again</td>
<td>-ali-girri</td>
<td>= WN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>after</td>
<td>-ali-girri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-NHumi-y</td>
<td>before</td>
<td>-NHumi-girri</td>
<td>= WN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>before</td>
<td>-NHumi-girri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-awa-y</td>
<td>immediacy?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>long-continuous</td>
<td>-awa-gunha-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>continuous</td>
<td>-awa-gunha-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-guna-y</td>
<td>continuous</td>
<td>-guna-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Information on Wayilwan is also limited. Bickerdike (2006) is an honours thesis and the most extensive analysis of the language available. It is not a complete study, having largely focused on one of the around 90 Wayilwan tapes. It makes no mention of TOD or DIT suffixes, but that by no means guarantees that they will not be found with a more extensive review of the tapes.

Similar features in other Australian languages, particularly Karnic languages, are briefly considered below.

### Time suffixes in Karnic languages

**Yandruwantha**

The Karnic languages Yandruwantha (Breen, 2004: 28 ff) and Wangkumara (Robertson, 1985?) are some distance from YG, but do share a number of features with them. They have very full systems of time specification. The ‘distance in time’ (DIT) is shown by a series of verb-final tense markers, while the ‘time of day’ (TOD) can be shown by non-final suffixes. Other time information and many other types of information can be incorporated in the verb, often with parallels in YG.

Yandruwantha has five ‘punctiliar past tenses’, i.e. DIT suffixes (Breen, 2004: 126). There are four TOD suffixes, which are not verb final, and so form another category. There are also three suffixes which give information about relative timing – simultaneous or consequent, and another which indicates repeated action. This is a very extensive system. Yandruwantha also has a further series of over 20 ‘formatives’ (Breen, 2004: 149) with glosses like ‘up, down, around, eat, enter’ and ‘spend the night’ – the last also carrying time information. Yandruwantha DIT and TOD suffixes are shown in Table 168 and other time suffixes are shown in Table 169.
Table 168  Some Yandruwantha time suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td>immediate past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nhama</td>
<td>near past (a day or so)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nhukada(ni)</td>
<td>recent past (a few days)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n.ga</td>
<td>far past (weeks or months)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lapurra</td>
<td>remote past (years)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Future tense suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-nga</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nga nganarla</td>
<td>Immed. Future</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time of day suffixes (non-final)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Meaning as free morpheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-thalka-</td>
<td>in early morning (probably)</td>
<td>up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-warrka- (uncertain)</td>
<td>in morning</td>
<td>to throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nhina-</td>
<td>during the day</td>
<td>to sit, stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yukarra-</td>
<td>at night</td>
<td>to lie; (rare) spend the night</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 169  Other Yandruwantha time suffixes: non-final

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-rnanga</td>
<td>Contemporaneous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kaldri</td>
<td>Repeated action</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ndji</td>
<td>Immediate sequence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rlayi</td>
<td>Simultaneous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nhina</td>
<td>Continued action</td>
<td>(also ‘in daytime’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Yandruwantha TOD and DIT suffixes can co-occur: (627).

(627)  maka yundrutji wanga-thalka-na
      fire you make-MORN-IMMED.PAST.
      You made the fire this morning                     Yandruwantha Breen 2004 p134

Wangkumara

The Wangkumara information is from Robertson (1985?: 201 et al.). There are obvious similarities between Wangkumara and Yandruwantha but Wangkumara seems to have less data.

Wangkumara also has many other verb formatives, many of which have parallels in YG. For instance: -dhika ‘back’ corresponds to YG -uwi-y.
Table 170  Wangkumara time suffixes with parallels in YG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Note</th>
<th>Ref</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-garla</td>
<td>present tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘distance in time’ final suffixes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nga</td>
<td>past tense; immediate</td>
<td>(that day)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-garli</td>
<td>past tense; recent</td>
<td>(few days)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gada</td>
<td>simple past continuous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-marni</td>
<td>past tense; distant, continuous</td>
<td>(long time)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-thanyi</td>
<td>past tense; continuous</td>
<td>(longer time) ‘used to’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dhí</td>
<td>past tense; continuous</td>
<td>(shorter time) ‘used to’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time of day suffixes (non-final)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>up, in the morning</td>
<td></td>
<td>p179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-waga</td>
<td>at night</td>
<td>(waga ‘to sleep’)</td>
<td>p183</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Punthamara

Punthamara is also a Karnic language and minor use of one TOD suffix has been recorded. Holmer (1988: 145) points out that ‘the directional -p.a- … marks either upward direction … or “action in the morning”’.

Other languages

Time suffixes are found in a number of other languages from central Australia to South Australia and western NSW.

Mathew (1899: 203) points out that Arrernte has a number of verb forms which incorporate what is now known as Associated Motion, but also indicates that associated motion suffixes could indicate Time of Day.

From ilkuma ‘eat’ are formed:

ilku-yilkalama ‘I eat downwards’; or figurative use: ‘to eat in the evening’
ilku-yilkalama ‘I eat upwards’; or figurative use: ‘to eat in the morning’

Carl Strehlow (The South Australian Register, 7-12-1921, quoted in (Strehlow, 2011: 181)) seems to suggest that Arrernte also had a DIT system:

Aranda … has not merely the usual tenses (present, imperfect, perfect and future) but also three aorist forms (aoristus remotus, remotior and remotissimus)

Malyangapa is the only one of the three languages in the Yarli sub-group that has special time-marking suffixes on verbs, with two TOD suffixes ‘in the morning’ and ‘in the evening’ (Luise A. Hercus & Austin, 2004: 217). The first suffix is formed from the word for ‘morning’ while the origin of the ‘evening’ suffix is unclear.

Diyari is a South Australian Karnic language not far south of the Yarli group (Austin, 1981a: 89). It specifies time not with suffixes but with a set of optional auxiliary verbs: Table 171. These have tense and modal functions, which include specifying ‘distance in time’. Each auxiliary also has independent use as a complete verb. The auxiliaries create a 4-way division of past time and a single future, relatively similar to the YG system. As well, the use of ngana ‘be’ to indicate future tense is similar to the YG use of giyaanha discussed in §8.4.3.3.

---

189 He refers to the ‘Language at the Macdonnell Ranges’. Koch (pers. comm.) points out that this is Arrernte.
190 Austin (1981a: 88) points out, ‘there seems to be no semantic connection between the meanings of these roots and the functions of the auxiliaries’.
191 ngana is glossed ‘to do’ in Breen (2004: 132).
The main verb inflections

8 The main verb inflections 281

Table 171  Diyari auxiliary verbs with time/tense use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
<th>Homophonous root</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wanti-</td>
<td>t̪</td>
<td>distant past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wapa-</td>
<td>to go</td>
<td>habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>intermediate past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pada-</td>
<td>to lie</td>
<td>recent past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>widi-</td>
<td>to enter</td>
<td>yesterday past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wara-</td>
<td>to throw</td>
<td>immediate past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngana-</td>
<td>to be</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tiwi\(^{192}\) has TOD suffixes on verbs, and these can combine with location and direction suffixes (Osborne, 1974: 45). Verbs may be marked for time of day by atə- ‘morning’ or kə- ‘evening’. Distant location can be expressed by nə-, which also has time use: (628).\(^{193}\)

(628)  ny-atu-apa
I-morn-eat
η-nu-atu-apa
I-LOC-morn-eat

The expression of time of day is optional in Tiwi; and it is most commonly used to refer to current time (‘now, this evening’).

The languages just considered will help in interpreting the incomplete and often unclear YG information. Of particular significance is the division between TOD and DIT suffixes. When time specification is found in well recorded nearby languages there are relatively complete paradigms, and when both occur (in the Karnic languages) the two systems are quite distinct.

Evidence of TOD/DIT suffixes continues to be found. Harold Koch, in August 2015, pointed out that they are found in Malyangapa, one of three Yarli languages. Hercus and Austin (2014: 219) give the following suffixes for Malyangapa (I have added hyphens to highlight the structure).

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>-nganta-</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>-yi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>last</td>
<td>-nganti-nta-</td>
<td>evening future</td>
<td>-nganti-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>-miRi-nganta-</td>
<td>morning future</td>
<td>-miRi-yi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This suggests -yi- as a future suffix which follows TOD suffixes -nganti- and -miRi-, and -nganta- as a past suffix, which follows TOD suffixes, with modification after -nganti-. Hercus and Austin also list -la- as ‘yesterday past’, suggesting Malyangapa had at least one DIT suffix.

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\(^{192}\) Off the coast of northern Australia

\(^{193}\) The details of the semantics and phonological processes are not considered.
§9.1 and §9.2 deal with processes that typically, but not always, reduce the valency of verbs. §9.1 examines Reflexive verbs (do to oneself) and Reciprocal verbs (do to each other), §9.2 considers middle verbs. Reflexive and reciprocal verbs always, and middle verbs sometimes involve a reduction in the number of explicit arguments. The subject of all three is frequently, but not always, in Nominative case. All three are derived from transitive verbs. Since reflexive and reciprocal derivations share many features they are treated first. The rest of the chapter examines valency increasing suffixes.

9 Valency changes

§9.1 Valency reduction

In most Australian languages, including YG, reciprocals and reflexives are expressed by ‘valency decreasing derivations’ on the verbs. In YG the suffixes are -ngiili-y ‘reflexive’ and -la-y ‘reciprocal’. Less commonly languages use special reflexive/reciprocal pronominal elements (Dixon, 2002: 320).

Reciprocal and reflexive verbs have one fewer argument than the root. Commonly a single argument verb (e.g. ‘throw (self)’) (630) is derived from a two place verb (629). The original has Ergative A and Accusative O. The derived verb has one Nominative argument, S.

(629) A strong man threw his spear at a kangaroo.

giirrau nguuma? / Burrul-bidi-dju dhayn-du / bamba / bilaarr wana nhi
true.very 3SG.ERG / big-AUG-ERG man-ERG / with.energy / spear.ACC throw-PST
A great big man threw his spear hard.

(630) The pelican threw herself/himself down then.

ngaam=bala=nga / gulaanbali / wana-ngiili-nyi
there=CTR=THEN / pelican.NOM / throw-REFL-PST
He chucked himself down. [The pelican]

JG

AD/JM 8186 181
The pelican threw herself/himself down then.

JG

There is also relatively common valency reduction of three-place verbs to two place verbs. As with two place verbs, it is the argument that has the same referent as the subject that is deleted. With three-place verbs this is the IO: 194 (632) and (647). The reflexive derived verb in (632) has two arguments, with the Locative IO deleted and the ‘Agent’ in Nominative case. In (631) the Agent, Object and Indirect Object are labelled.

194 The verb guwaali ‘tell’ has at least two argument structures. ‘Talk’ in YR is gaay guwaal-li ‘word tell’, with the spoken to, the IO, in Locative case and the object gaay ‘word’ Accusative: (631) and (647). When guwaali is used as ‘tell’ with a phrasal, purposive complement, the addressee is Accusative: (648). When used reciprocally, at (632), (647) and (649), the IO, the Locative addressee is deleted, the subject is Nominative but gaay remains as the Accusative object. Actual examples of guwaal-li with three explicit arguments, such as (631), are very rare. With other objects (‘lies’, etc.) guwaal-li is ‘tell’.

282
The old man was telling stories / told stories to the children. CW/AD 3997B 2006

The old man was just telling the children tales.

The two men were talking to each other.

Table 172  Reciprocal and reflexive suffixes and CMs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Verb class</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>NG</th>
<th>RR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ngiili-y</td>
<td>REFlexive</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>rri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngii-li</td>
<td>(before continuous suffix)</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>rri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-la-y</td>
<td>RECiprocal</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>#Ø</td>
<td>#Ø</td>
<td>#rri#rri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One could expect that reciprocal, reflexive and middle derivations are all in one inflectional category, and occupy one slot in the verb. These derivations are often referred to as voice. Reflexive and reciprocal are clearly mutually exclusive and never co-occur. However, (693) and (694) do raise the question as to whether middle and reciprocal derivations can be used on the one verb to describe multiple argument situations such as ‘tying something to oneself’.

9.1.1  -ngiili-y/-ngii-li ‘REFLexive’

The YG reflexive suffix is unique in having two forms. The suffix is -ngiili-y, deriving a Y class stem, when the verb inflection is non-continuous, as in (634). It is -ngii-li, deriving an L class stem, when the verb is continuous:195 (635). The reflexive mawu-ngii-lda-ya in (635) would be *mawu-ngiili-ya if there were no variation in the suffix form. The change in form of the suffix simplifies the reflexive verb and may involve quasi-haplology, replacing the possibly similar syllables li-ya- with -lda-). (630) and (633)–(636) show prototypical reflexive verbs, with a single Nominative argument and derived from two place verbs. They show the reflexive suffix on L, NG and RR class roots. Y class verb roots are overwhelmingly intransitive, and none have been found with a reflexive suffix. However, (693) shows the suffix after yulaa-y, likely a middle verb derived from transitive yulaa-li ‘tie’. Variation in the L class CM is discussed below.

(633) giirr nhama / birlali-djuul / garra-ngiili-nyi, nhaayba-gu
true 3.DEF / child-ONE.NOM / cut[L]-REFL-PST, knife-ERG

The boy cut himself with a knife. AD/CW 5131 1565

---

195 No reflexive+MOVing continuous forms have been found, but many reflexive + continuous suffix verbs are found. See also Table 174. Rarely suffixes have different forms for different verb classes, for instance the ARGument raising suffix, §9.3.1.

196 The verb class is shown: e.g. [1].
9.1.1.1  Non-prototypical case frames

There are examples of reflexives with non-prototypical case frames, mostly involving a presumably Accusative case body part and an Ergative subject, as in (637)(=(196), (838)). It contrasts with (638), a similar sentence which has no expressed Object and where the Subject is clearly Nominative. (639) has an object, but no expressed subject, so the case frame is not obvious.

(637)  *buma-ngiili-nyi / nguu dhaygal*
  hit-[REFL-PST] / 3SG-[ERG head]-ACC
  He hit *himself* on the *head*. FR/JM 1989A 95

(638)  *giirr ganunga buma-ngiili-nyi*
  true 3PL-[NOM hit-[REFL-PST]
  They did hit *themselves*. FR/JM 1989A 141

(639)  *ki:r bojon karajilinji* (Emus talking) Tindale line 45
  *giirr bungun garra-ngiili-nyi*
  true wing cut-[REFL-PST]
  Yes we did cut off our arms. Tindale
  (We) cut our/my arms. JG

However, Ergative subject is found, rarely, with a reflexive verb when there is no expressed object. In tape 5129A 2822ff CW elicits many sentences with reflexives: e.g. ‘The man painted *himself*, ‘The girl pinched herself’. In one of the ten or so examples the subject is clearly Ergative: *maadhaay-u* ‘dog-[ERG]’ in ‘the dog scratched itself’. It may also be Ergative in ‘the man shaved *himself*’ which has guyungan.gu, possibly an irregular ‘self-[ERG]’ (the regular form is guyungandu), and nothing for ‘man’. The motivation for these uses of the Ergative is not known.

Atypical Reflexive case frames, involving a body part, are listed in Table 173, with case frames for middle verbs with similar use. Often it is not possible to determine the case of an argument.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>Body part case</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive verbs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Acc?</td>
<td>Refl</td>
<td></td>
<td>I hit my foot on a stone. FR2439A 1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg</td>
<td>Acc?</td>
<td>Refl</td>
<td></td>
<td>He hit himself on the head. (196)(=(637))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>Refl</td>
<td></td>
<td>I hit myself on the head with my tomahawk. FR2438A 1775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle verbs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Abl</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td></td>
<td>I tripped on a stick and fell down. AD (689)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Me.Acc</td>
<td>I hit me (my foot) up against that rock. AD (690)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are a range of strategies available for statements that involve action on oneself and the conditions governing the choice of strategy are not clear. As well as reflexive and middle verbs, standard transitive verbs can be used with their normal cases frame, as seen in (640)=((552)). The sentence is about a snake that is very cooperative with the hunter, and ‘puts his head down’ to be killed. The use of the Ablative in (b) has to do with a selected body part: §3.3.6.

Talking about a snake: AD/CW 5051 643

(640) yalagiirrmawu ngu / wiima-li ngaama dhaygal nguungu, then 3SG.ERG / put.down.L-FUT that head 3SG.DAT, He will put his head down then, JG
(b) buma-li-gu nginda dhaygal-i hit-PURP 2SG head-ABL He will put his head down, so you can kill him. AD/CW 5051 643 so that you can hit him on the head. JG

FR2438A 1805 uses a standard transitive verb to translate ‘I had to wash the blood off myself’ but a few seconds later uses a middle form of ‘rub’ to translate ‘I am going to put some porcupine fat on it, on the sore’. Again the motivation for the choice is not clear.

9.1.1.2 Questions about reflexives

There are many aspects of reflexives which remain unclear. Table 174 gives some of the reflexives in Mathews’s published (GR p266, YR p141) and unpublished material, all derived from buma-li ‘beat’, an L class verb. They illustrate the properties outlined above, but also some variations in form. Most have no CM, but some have l and others have y. Lng is not generally found as a consonant cluster, but l is a common CM for L class verbs, so lng may be an alternative CM making no semantic difference.

Table 174 Examples of reflexives in Mathews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Mathews Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ngiili-y reflexive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YR bumangilidyu</td>
<td>buma-ngiili-y=dju</td>
<td>I will beat myself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YR bumulngilia</td>
<td>buma-[l].ngiili-ya</td>
<td>Beat thou thyself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR ngaiala bumaingili</td>
<td>ngaya=laa buma-[y].ngiili-y</td>
<td>I will beat myself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR bumaingilia</td>
<td>buma-[y].ngiili-ya</td>
<td>beat thou thyself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngii-li reflexive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YR bumulngildunnadhu</td>
<td>buma-[l].ngii-lda-nha=dhu</td>
<td>I am beating myself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR ngaia bumaingilda</td>
<td>ngaya buma-[y].ngii-lda-[nha]</td>
<td>I am beating myself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR ngaia bumaingilingen</td>
<td>ngaya buma-[y].ngiili-ngayi-ny[i]</td>
<td>I beat myself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YR bumangildunnidyu</td>
<td>buma-ngii-lda-nhi=dju</td>
<td>I was beating myself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notes MS 8006/3/9 Bk3 p64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YR Ngulli bumangildunna</td>
<td>ngali buma-ngiili-lda-nha</td>
<td>We (2) are beating ourselves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YR Ngulli humunggee-lee</td>
<td>ngali buma-ngiili-y[ngii-li]</td>
<td>We (2) are beating ourselves.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Mathews also appears to have yng at some suffix boundaries, so those verbs are clearly not L class. However, the middle form of buma-li is buma-y, so these verbs are likely to consist of the middle verb and the reflexive suffix. This is an unexpected combination and the semantic effect of
this combination is not known. There is no indication of the effect in Mathews’s glosses. The same CM is seen in (641). That sentence has an explicit instrument but that would not normally influence the verb. (633) and (642) also have an instrument, but the CM is Ø.

(641)  
\[ \text{dein buma\text{-}linji ju\text{-}ndu\text{-}gu} \]
\[ \text{dhayn buma\text{-}y, ngiili\text{-}nyi yuundu\text{-}gu} \]
\[ \text{man hit\text{-}REFL\text{-}PST axe\text{-}ERG} \]

The man hit himself with the axe.

(642)  
\[ \text{The big man hit himself with the line.} \]
\[ \text{buma\text{-}ngiili\text{-}nyi ngaama=nga / burrul-bidi dhayn // yalaayn-du} \]
\[ \text{hit\text{-}REFL\text{-}PST that\text{=}THEN / big\text{-}AUG man \text{=} line\text{-}ERG} \]

While ‘the essence of a reflexive is coreference’ (Kemmer, 1993: 44) and in the simplest reflexives this co-reference is between A and O, it has been seen above that this co-reference can be between A and IO. Another possible use of reflexive verbs is seen in a Wiradjuri sentence (Hale sentence 291). It uses what appears to be a reflexive form of *winanga\text{-}y ‘think’ in a sentence that is translated ‘I thought I should have died’ and glossed ‘I thought\text{-}to\text{-}myself die should\text{-}I’ (emphasis mine). In this instance there is no reduction in arguments, since ‘think’ is a one-place verb. A similar use may occur in Günther’s Wiradjuri sentence 49, which has *Gialngingidyillidya ‘be ashamed of yourself’. I do not have an analysis, but giyal is ‘ashamed’ and it seems likely that the verb contains a Wiradjuri reflex of -DHili\text{-}y, perhaps on the copula, also an intransitive verb.

Another unexplained use of the reflexive suffix occurs in (693). The verb there is unique in apparently being middle voice and also including the reflexive suffix. It will be discussed later. The reflexive function of middle verbs is considered in §9.2.

Like YG, Wangaaybuwan derives reflexives by use of a suffix, -DHili\text{-}y.

9.1.2  
\text{-la\text{-}y ‘reciprocal’}

Reciprocal situations are more complex than reflexive ones because they intrinsically involve more than one participant and the event is commonly non-symmetrical or non-simultaneous. For instance while reciprocal ‘they scratched each other’ can be both simultaneous and symmetric, ‘they followed each other’ cannot. See Evans et al. (2011) for discussion of the complexity of reciprocals.

The YG reciprocal suffix is -la\text{-}y. Only reciprocals derived from L class verbs have been found. I assume that other transitive verbs such as ngaawa\text{-}y ‘look for’, mawu\text{-}gi ‘scratch, dig’ and dhu\text{-}rrri ‘spear, poke’ can form reciprocals. CMs are listed in Table 172. I assume that the CMs for Y and NG class is the same as those used for the homophonous -la\text{-}y ‘continuous’. For RR class I assume the CM is -rrri\text{-}, as found in Wangaaybuwan RR class.

The prototypical use and case frame of reciprocals is seen in (643)–(646). The underived verb is a two place (transitive verb), the derived verb is one-place, with a Nominative subject. A and O are co-referential.

(643)  
\begin{enumerate}
\item (a) ngindaali, garriya=ndaali buma-la\text{-}ya, yaluu / 2DU, don\text{=}t=2DU hit\text{-}RECP\text{-}IMP, again / You two, don’t you two fight (hit each other) again.
\item (b) minya-ngin=ndaali buma-la\text{-}y,y.la-nha what=WANT=2DU hit\text{-}RECP\text{-}CTS\text{-}PRS What you two fighting over? Don’t fight no more.
\end{enumerate}
They are walking along hitting each other.

(644) giirr nhama 'naa-waa-nhi / buma-la-waa-nha nhama / bulaarr birrali
true 3.DEF go-MOV-PST / hit-RECP-MOV-PRS 3.DEF / two.NOM child.NOM
They were walking along hitting each other, the two kids.

(645) giirr nhama bulaarr dhinawan ngarra-la-nhi
true 3.DEF two.NOM emu.NOM look-RECP-PST
The two emus looked at each other.

The dogs are biting each other.

(646) giirr nhama maadhaay / yii-la-y.la-nha
true 3.DEF dog.NOM / bite-RECP-CTS-PRS
The dogs are biting each other.

With three-place verbs the co-referential arguments are the A and IO. The only reciprocals found of three-place verbs involve guwaa-li ‘tell’. Non-reciprocal use of guwaa-li is seen in (647), (648) and (631) (see footnote 194).

(647) Don’t talk to any other blackfellows about it.

Garriya gaay guwaa-lда-ya=nga / dhayn-galgaa-ga
don’t word tell-CTS-IMP=THEN / person-PL-LOC
Don’t talk to any blackfellows.

(648) shows guwaali with an Accusative addressee and a clausal complement.

(648) She made me eat the possum.

giirruu ngiyaama ngu / yina-yu nganha / guwaa-y, dha-li.gu nhama mudhay
true.very there 3SG.ERG / woman-ERG 1SG.ACC / say-PST, eat-PURP 3.DEF possum
She, the woman, made me eat the possum.

Reciprocal ‘talk’ is seen in (649) and (632). The IO has been deleted and the reciprocal verb has a Nominative subject and an Accusative object, gaay.

(649) The women who were talking ran away.

ngaama yinarr-galgaa, gaay guwaa-la-y.la-ndaay, banaga-nhi ngaama
there woman-PL.NOM, word.ACC say-RECP-CTS-SUB, run-PST that/there
The women who were talking, ran there,

ganunga / minyaarru-waayaa
3PL.NOM / where.to-IGNOR
… [I] don’t know where they run to.

They ran, I don’t know where to.

The reciprocal suffix has not been found on other three-place verbs. Williams (1980: 82) analysed (650) as reciprocal, with dh as the RR class CM and the suffix as -ala-y. However, the subject is Ergative, and -dha-y is the ‘Associated mouthing’ suffix, §10.1.3. It is clear that -la- is the non-moving continuous suffix, not the continuous suffix since the continuous suffix can be followed by the present tense suffix -nha but the homophonous reciprocal suffix -la- cannot.

(650) They give meat to each other.

giirr nhama, bulaa-yu / dhinggaa, wuu-dha-y.la-nha
true 3.DEF, two-ERG / meat, give-EAT-CTS-PRS
Those two are giving meat.
However, I would expect that the reciprocal could be used with ‘give’ and other three-place verbs. It is likely the informant had lost that part of the language.

**Semantics.** A number of English verbs which lexicalise reciprocal action, at least in some senses, are explicitly reciprocal in YG. The most common are *buma-la-y* ‘hit-RECP’ = ‘fight’: Table 175, (207), (513), (581), (643) and (652); and *guwaα-la-y* ‘talk-RECP’ = ‘converse, talk (to one another)’ (632) and (649). Also found is *yaya-la-y* ‘rouse.on-RECP’ = ‘quarrel’ (205).

According to Donaldson, sentences such as ‘the dog and cat saw each other’, with multiple A arguments, cannot be translated into Wangaaybuwan by use of reciprocals. However, Evans et al. (2009: 21) give a Wambaya reciprocal example which includes multiple subjects: ‘The sun and the moon took each other’s child’. Revived YG may decide to adopt the Wambaya pattern.

9.1.2.1 Reciprocal in old sources

There are few reciprocals in the old sources. None have been found in Parker, Laves or Tindale. Mathews has a range of YR and GR examples which vary mainly in the pronoun preceding the verb (I, we dual, we plural). A sample is presented in Table 175.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original YR</th>
<th>Original GR</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Mathews Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngulli bumullelunna</td>
<td>ngulli * bumullela**</td>
<td>buma-la-y.la[-nha</td>
<td>We are beating each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngulli bumulluñ</td>
<td>buma-la-nhi</td>
<td></td>
<td>We beat each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngulli bumullelunni</td>
<td>buma-la-y.la-nhi</td>
<td></td>
<td>We beat each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngulli bumullê</td>
<td>buma-la-y</td>
<td></td>
<td>We will beat each other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ngulli = ngali [2dualNom/Erg, ‘we (two)’]**

**often verb final -nha/- nhi is not realised in GR**

Wurm has many examples of reciprocals, e.g. (651), and (652), which shows the reciprocal suffix followed by the MOVing suffix, with the latter having an inchoative use.

(651) *deinga:li bumal:ilal[	extsuperscript{197}]*

\hspace{1cm} dhayn-gaali buma-la-y.la[-nha

\hspace{1cm} man-DU \hspace{1cm} hit-RECP-CTS-PRS

Two men hit each other/fight. \hspace{1cm} SW

Two men are fighting. \hspace{1cm} JG

(652) *jallu naga:lan na bumallawanna*

\hspace{1cm} yaluu=nha gaala.nha buma-la-waa-nha

\hspace{1cm} again=3 DU hit-RECP-MOV-PRS

beginning again the same two to fight \hspace{1cm} SW

The two of them are starting to fight again. \hspace{1cm} JG

(653) is a reanalysis of a Williams (1980: 82) reflexive. She gives the suffix as -ala-y.

(653) The dogs are biting each other.

\hspace{1cm} giirr nhama maadhaay / yil-la-y.la-nha

\hspace{1cm} true 3.DEF dog / bite-RECP-CTS-PRS

\textsuperscript{197} This is a rare instance of the final syllable not being realised in a YR verb.
9.1.3 Complex reciprocals and reflexives

As in some other languages, the simple uses of YG reciprocals and reflexives are well understood, but these derivations have some atypical syntactic structures with other uses, and their description is incomplete.

Evans et al. (2009: 3) refer to ‘clean’ solutions to reciprocal constructions which have only straightforward transitive and intransitive clauses, and to other solutions which are more complex. They (2009: 33) point out that, with three-place verbs, these valency reduction strategies can ‘signal that there is no overt indirect object’ rather than no direct object. In such a situation there is a Nominative subject and an Accusative object. Furthermore they report (2009: 29):

- a generalization that appears to be widespread if not universal in languages that form reciprocals by valence-changing verbal affix: in reciprocals from ditransitive verbs, coreference is established between the subject and the indirect object.

They (2009: 22) discuss the syntactic treatment of body parts in reciprocal/reflexive sentences. The body part can remain in Accusative case, and so again the S is Nominative and there is an Accusative argument. They also (2009: 33) point to more complex valency reduction situations which await description.

If, as Hopper and Thompson (1982) suggest, transitivity is a continuum, then there are likely to be verbs which are not prototypically transitive which will have reflexive/reflexive forms, for instance ‘cognate object’ verbs. Talking of these verbs Austin (1982: 45) points out: ‘[T]hey take highly specific objects which can be understood as closely connected semantically with the meaning of the verb’. YG examples include bawi-li ‘sing’, wiila-y ‘whistle’, maaya-li ‘whisper’, dhayaamba-li ‘whisper’, and gaawi-li ‘vomit’. In fact these verbs are often used without an explicit object. It may be that cognate object verbs could also have reflexive/reflexive forms, with meaning such as ‘sing to each other’.

9.1.3.1 Questions: reciprocals, reflexives

There are a small number of unclear examples of reciprocals and reflexives. A number of verbs in Table 174 seem to have a middle form of the verb with a reflexive suffix. They begin with buma-ly.ingiili-, with y preceding the suffix.

What may be an unexplained use of the reciprocal is seen in Parker’s Emu and Bustard story. Line 74 has bunna gairlehwahndi, which may be banaga-y.la-waa-ndaay ‘run-RECP-MOV-SUB’. No clear English translation is provided, but it has to do with ‘the little ones running beside her’. If the analysis is correct this is an intransitive verb with a reciprocal suffix, with a meaning something like ‘act together’.

9.2 Middle verbs

9.2.1 Introduction

This section considers what I call ‘middle voice’ and ‘middle verbs’. As Kemmer (1993: 1) points out, the term is not precise. It can be used to refer to morphological processes, including verb inflection, which result in a range of effects such as valency reduction and reflexive meaning. I use it to refer to a process which is clearly exemplified in YG L class verbs and which has parallels in many other Australian languages. Formally, a YG middle verb derived from an L class verb can be

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198 From Evans et al.: ‘The attentive reader will have noticed that we do not touch on a whole host of other questions one could ask about reciprocals of ditransitives, that would result from applying to ditransitives the sorts of tests for the implicit presence of the coreferential indirect object argument that we applied in §3 and §4 to transitives – what happens with secondary predications, complement clauses and so forth? These would be fascinating questions to pursue, but unfortunately we have yet to find a skerrick of relevant data in the descriptions we have, so further research on this will have to wait until more detailed grammatical data on reciprocals of ditransitives becomes available’ (Evans, et al., 2009: 33).
analysed as taking Y class suffixes: for instance from the transitive verb *garra-li* ‘cut’ is derived the middle verb *garra-y* ‘cut’. The syntactic and semantic effects vary as seen in (654) and (655), which show two of a wide range of possible effects. (654) contrasts original and middle forms of the same verb. *gama.M* is middle, and takes a Nominative subject and has no object. *gama.L* has an Ergative subject and an O. The middle verb in (655) derives from *garra.L* ‘cut, transitive’ but has an Ergative subject, a body-part object and reflexive meaning.

(654)  
\[ gama-nhi=bala nhamu nguugu bilaarr / ngaanda nhamu gama-y \]

His spear is broke and who broke it?

(655)  
\[ giirr nhama yina-yu / maa garra-nhi \]
true 3.DEF woman-ERG / hand cut.M-PST
cut her hand

The woman cut her hand.

This section firstly considers some general features of middle verbs, largely based on Kemmer (1993). It then looks at similar derivational processes in some other Australian languages, including Wangaaybuwan, which has a formally identical process. Then it looks at YG middle verbs, considering their syntax, function and the wide range of uses of some specific middle verbs. Middle forms of RR, NG and Y class verbs are not clearly evident in the YG sources, but likely forms for such verbs are considered. Finally a number of unexplained examples, which may be middle verbs, are considered.

9.2.2 Middle verbs in other languages

It will be seen later that YG middle verbs have many of the uses Kemmer (1993: 16-20) points out as typical functions of middle verbs across languages. YG uses of middle verbs also mentioned by Kemmer include semantically reflexive uses such as:

- grooming or body care (wash, get dressed, shave) and
- nontranslational motion (stretch one’s body, turn, bow, clench (fist)),
  as well as:
  - cognition (think, ponder, believe) and
  - passive and impersonal use (be seen, sell well).

Other uses of middle verbs which Kemmer lists, but which are not recognised in YG include:

- change in body posture (sit down, get up)
- indirect or self-benefactive events (acquire, ask, take for oneself)
- naturally reciprocal events (meet, embrace, converse, agree)
- translational motion (walk, fly)
- emotional situations (be angry, grieve, complain)
- speech acts (confess, boast)
- spontaneous events (germinate, grow)
- logophoric situations (i.e. coreference of participants in main and dependent events in reportative contexts; e.g. ‘Margaret says she will win the election’).

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199 For convenience I will mark the gloss with the verb class or middle derivation when helpful: so *break.L* indicates the verb is L class and *break.M* indicates the verb is the middle derivation.

200 The Y class future suffix is *-y* and the past is *-NHi*. L class has future *-li* and past *-y*. This ambiguity of forms (the L class past is homophonous with the middle future) may help explain why middle verbs had not been previously noticed in YG.
The term ‘middle verb’ is not generally used in descriptions of Australian languages. However, many Australian languages have a derivational suffix which derives verbs with many of the qualities of middle verbs.

Dixon (2002) has some general points about this suffix and examples of its use in Yidiny. He (2002: 206; 531) states:

There is a recurrent derivational suffix, which probably had original form *-dharrir which has reflexes, including -dharrir-, -dhi-, -dji-, -yir-, -rrir-, -djirri- and -li- in modern languages.

This suffix can be used for the four basic valency-decreasing derivations he lists (2002: 206):
\begin{itemize}
  \item Passive (original O argument becomes S of the derived intransitive i.e. O \(\rightarrow\) S),
  \item Antipassive (A \(\rightarrow\) S, original O to peripheral, possibly omitted),
  \item Reflexive and Reciprocal.
\end{itemize}

But he also points out (2002: 531) that: ‘a reflex of *-dharrir- has the syntactic effect of detransitiviser … However, it can have just a semantic effect, without involving any change in valency’ [my emphasis]. He gives the example of Yidinj (2002: 532) whose reflex of *-dharrir- is -:dji and whose:

\[
\text{grammars appear to be based on the following principle: the syntactic argument which is in A function should be identical with the semantic role of ‘controlling agent’. The suffix} -:dji\text{ is used to mark any instance of this identity NOT holding. In a purposeful reflexive situation (e.g. ‘he cut himself deliberately’) we do have a controlling agent (underlying A) but it is identical with the patient (underlying O) and is mapped onto S in a derived intransitive construction; this is marked by -:dji- since the controlling agent is no longer in A function … when the A argument is something inanimate, which is inherently incapable of control (e.g. ‘the fire burnt me’), or when the A argument is human but achieves some result accidentally (e.g. ‘by chance I saw the coin by the roadside’). In these two instances the clause remains transitive, with an A argument, but this is not the controlling agent and hence the inclusion of -:dji-.
\]

(A fuller discussion is in Dixon (1977: 274-93).) Yidinj -:dji is also used for antipassive constructions, where the controlling agent is also in S rather than A function.

Breen (2004: 191) discusses -yindri, the Yandruwantha reflex of *-dharrir-, in a chapter he calls ‘Variations on transitivity’. The derived verb can form an intransitive verb whose uses include as a reciprocal and reflexive (2004: 64). However, -yindri verbs are found in other case frames which do not have the properties of either ‘typical’ intransitive or of transitive verbs. Some of these ‘intermediate transitivity’ case frames and their uses are (2004: 187):

\begin{itemize}
  \item an ‘intransitive’ verb with a Nominative subject which continues to take a direct object and which has the added meaning ‘action for one’s own behalf’ or ‘about oneself’ (e.g. to tell about yourself). This use is not fully productive.
  \item to form a passive, almost always ‘agentless’. The only argument is Nominative.
  \item to form a verb with the meaning ‘action on one’s own behalf’, which has Ergative subject.
\end{itemize}

Patz (2002: 104, 148) discusses the -ji suffix in Kuku Yalanji, presuming it is a reflex of *-dharriy-y. Its main use is in reflexive constructions, where it forms an intransitive verb. It can also form passives and antipassive s, and has other uses. The suffix is also used when A is of lower animacy than O, or the action is accidental (Patz calls this a ‘chance passive’). In these instances the case of the arguments changes, A to Locative and O to Nominative; unlike Yidiny discussed above, where the case frame is that of a transitive verb. Patz has a smaller number of case frames for the derived verb than Dixon or Breen.

Donaldson describes a verb derivation which is likely to also involve a reflex of *-dharrir-, but the only syntactic effect she describes is intransitivisation: ‘transitive stems of the L class have intransitive counterparts which are members of the Y class’ (Donaldson, 1980: 168), as in (656). The two WN RR class verbs (both transitive) have intransitive\(^{201}\) Y class counterparts whose stem is the RR root plus rrr. The original and derived verbs in (656)–(658) are: gaanba-li/gaanba-y and

\(^{201}\) I have reproduced these sentences as in Donaldson. Her analysis does not have Ergative case first person pronouns. With the analysis used in this thesis the S in (657) would be Ergative.
dlu-rri/dhurri-y. (656) shows a derived gaanba-y. (657) shows the transitive verb dhu-rri and (658) the derived intransitive verb. The WN L class process is identical to that found in YG, albeit with fewer functions. No similar RR class derivations have been found in YG.

(656) burraay ngulu gaanba-nhi
child+ABS face+ABS wipe-INTR+PAST
'A child wiped (its) face.' (cf. gaanba-li ‘wipe, tr’) Wangaaybuwan Donaldson 6–33

(657) ngadhu=nuu dhu-rr-aga mura-gu
I+Nom=2obl spear-CM-IRR(FUT) spear INST
'I will spear you with a spear.' Wangaaybuwan Donaldson 6–30

(658) ngindu dhu-rr-ya-aga mura-gu
you+NOM spear-INTR-IRR(FUT) spear-INST
'You will get (yourself) speared by a spear.' Wangaaybuwan Donaldson 6–31

In WN the S of the intransitive verb is the O of the transitive verb, and the A of the transitive verb is not explicated or ‘specifically implicated in any way at all in the interpretation of the sentence’ (Donaldson, 1980: 169). Donaldson explores some of the restrictions and semantic uses of the process.

Transitive verbs where the only possible instrument is a body part controlled by a NP marked for A function do not have intransitivised Y class forms: dha-l ‘eat’, ngiya-l ‘say’ and miima-l ‘hold, for instance.

Intransitive forms of the corresponding verbs have not been found in YG, but dhadha-li and dhadha-y ‘taste’, transitive and intransitive respectively, are common, so YG does not follow the WN description fully. In WN there are exceptions to the above restriction: Transitive verbs where the NP in O function is the body or a body part, such as ‘grooming’ verbs, do have such forms. The interpretation is that the body or body part ‘gets groomed’ by its owner, as in (656) (Donaldson, 1980: 169).

Wangaaybuwan
(659) burraay dharawidal dhunma-nhi
child+ABS trousers+ABS remove-INTR+PAST
'A child removed (its) trousers.' (cf. dhunma-li ‘remove’, tr) Donaldson 6–35

Donaldson (1980: 170) also points out that ‘clothing removing’ (and presumably ‘putting on’) verbs have intransitivised forms used when a person is acting on their own clothing, and the piece of clothing is made explicit – for instance in (659), which is an exact parallel with (656), since in Wangaaybuwan clothing, when worn, is treated as inalienably possessed. Note that in both these sentences the O is a ‘body-part’, and the subject is in Nominative case (or Absolutive, in Donaldson’s terms), so the WN derivation is not simply intransitivising.

Donaldson (1980: 170) also points out that some middle verbs such as birrma-y ‘scratch+INTR’ can have two meanings, ‘getting scratched’ by an inert object one passes, or ‘scratching oneself’. Donaldson’s description, while perhaps incomplete, alerts us to two features of middle verbs. One is the multiple uses the one case frame can have and the other is the semantic restrictions, often quite intricate, on particular verbs. The uses Donaldson describes for derived Y class forms are all found in YG, but in fact the YG range of uses is much larger, and the YG derived verbs occur with a variety of case frames.

Historically, what seems to have happened in CNSW languages is that their reflex of -dharri-y (which is -dyi, -ji and -yindri in the other languages discussed) is -y when suffixed to an L class verb, so there is no formal way of distinguishing an underived Y class verb (e.g. banaga-y ‘run’) from forms derived from an L class verb. However, the derived forms will have a different range of uses and case frames, compared to the single case frame of underived Y class verbs.
The above gives some Australian information which will help to understand the YG suffix, but many Australian grammars have not examined this feature in detail. Dixon states (2002: 532): ‘grammars of other languages (other than Yidinj and Kuku Yalanji; JG) invariably just refer to the detransitivising effect of *-dharri’.

9.2.3 YG middle verbs

YG middle verbs found in the sources are formally identical to Y class verbs and they are derived from transitive L class verbs, e.g. (654) and (655). They have a range of case frames, showing that YG transitivity is a continuum rather than a two-way division. Table 179 has an extensive list of YG middle verbs found. As in many other areas, very little of this information is from GR sources, but a surprising amount is from early, written texts; but not from early analysis. Middle verbs are found in ‘natural’ language or co-incidental with other material being elicited. They are part of the informant’s response, rather than being a feature that was being explicitly sought and elicited for. It is to be expected that there will be uses of the middle verb which do not occur in the source material. The examples make clear that this is a complex area: a wide range of case frames are found, often there are multiple arguments, and factors such as animacy and deliberateness would be expected to affect the syntax. It is clear this will not be a comprehensive analysis of the topic.

The simplest middle structure involves passives and what might be called ‘spontaneous events’. The O (i.e. the Object of the L class verb) corresponds to S (i.e. the Subject of the middle verb) (O → S). (654) shows gama.M- ‘break’ with passive use, with an implied agent and (661) shows it describing a ‘spontaneous event’ with no implied agent. Transitive gama.L- ‘break’ is seen in (654) and (660).

The middle verb in (662) is derived from nhamura-li ‘bury, tr’, in (663) from dhirranba-li ‘shake, tr’ and in (664) from bayama-li ‘catch, tr’.

(660) Can you break this stick?  

\[yaama nhalay muyaan nginda gama-li\]  
ques this stick 2SG break.L-FUT  
Can you break this stick?  

(661) The rock will break.  

\[maayama-bidi ngaama=laa gama-y\]  
rock-AUG that=DIR break.M-FUT  
The big rock will break.  

(662) maadhaay ngiyama / nhamura-y,la-nha  
dog there / bury,M-CTS-PRS  
(Dig up that ground there,) there’s a dog buried there.  

(663) That tree is no good, it is too shaky.  

\[gagil nhamalay / maalaabidi / dhirranba-y,la-nha nhama / gama-y=badhaay=aa\]  
bad that+?? / big.tree / shake,M-CTS-PRS 3.DEF / break,M-FUT=MIGHT=POT  
It might break when the wind blow.  
That big tree is no good. It is shaking. It might break.  

(664) ngiyama=nga ganungawu / bayama-nhi  
there=THEN 3PL.TOT2 / catch.M-PST  
They all got caught in the net. (the ducks)  
They all got caught there.  

The elicitation sentence for (665) is not recorded, but presumably it was something like ‘You are wearing boots’. It uses the middle form of wa-li ‘put in’, has a Nominative subject and a Locative adverbial clause.
Middle ‘sensory’ verbs also have a Nominative S and no other argument: $O_t \rightarrow S_M$. *Ngarra-li* is ‘see, tr’. The middle *ngarra-M-y* ‘look’ is found some 15 times in the tapes, always in continuous form, including (666); the only non-continuous example is in Parker (667). It is one of a number of middle verbs found in this text from around 1900.

(666) **He looks like a grasshopper.**

\[
\text{giirruu nhama baiyan-nghi / ngaarra-y,la-nha}
\]
\[
\text{true.very 3.DEF grasshopper-LIKE / look.M-CTS-PRS}
\]

When Dinewan reached the place where Goomblegubbon was, she stopped her booing.

\[
doorundi, baiyanneh eelay nurrunnee.\]
\[
\text{Parker: Emu and Bustard line 75}
\]

(667) **Dhadha-li** is ‘taste, tr’ (668) and the middle form occurs some 12 times in the tapes, always in continuous aspect, including (669).

(668) **Dhadha-la** nhama dhinggaa

\[
taste.1.-IMP 3.DEF meat
\]
\[
\text{Taste that meat.}
\]

(669) They had all eaten the kangaroo, it tasted good.

\[
giirr ganugu banduur ngaama dha-y / gaba ngaama dhadha-y,la-nhi
\]
\[
\text{true 3PL.ERG kangaroo that eat-PST / good that taste.M-CTS-PST}
\]

Other sensory verbs have not been recognised in both transitive and middle forms. *Buwi-y* is recorded as ‘smell’ both transitive and intransitive. The source information may not be accurate. No corresponding transitive form has been found for *Yy ngaawi-y* ‘smell, intr’. It may be that these are actually middle verbs, but that the *L* class verbs have not been recorded. *Winanga-y* ‘think, know, remember’ is the middle form of *winanga-li* ‘hear, tr’ and is discussed at §9.2.3.2.

The case frames of middle verbs are often unclear, for the usual reasons. It is often not possible to distinguish some cases (Nominative and Accusative for most nominals, Nominative and Ergative for first and second person pronouns) or some functions (ergative and instrumental). When there is zero anaphora the case of the understood argument is not known. There are often few examples of a particular structure, so limiting the comparisons and generalisations that can be made.

The case frames of middle verbs in (670)(b), (671)(b) and (672) are ambiguous. Either there is a Nominative *S* and the Ergative marks an instrument or there is an Accusative *O* and the Ergative marks an agent.

(670) The child choked, himself, on a piece of bread. He choked on a piece of bread.

(a) \[
giirr / ngiyarrma nga / dhuwarr dha-lda-ndaay /
\]
\[
\text{true / there 3SG.ERG bread eat-CTS-SUB /}
\]
\[
\text{When he was eating the bread,}
\]

(b) \[/ngawuma=nga / dhuwa-yu / garra-nhi
\]
\[
\text{there=THEN / bread-ERG(instr) / Ø(NOM?ACC) choke.M-PST}
\]
\[
\text{he choked on the bread / the bread choked him.}
\]
9 Valency changes

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A kangaroo with sore foot, in pain;

That kangaroo has a sore foot.

His foot must be burning.

His foot must be burning with the pain.

/ The pain is burning (hurting) his foot.

Look at the emu bush, how it covers itself with berries to feed my big family.

Look at the emu bush, covered in food.

9.2.3.1 Reflexive use of middle verbs

The following examples show reflexive (in a broad sense) uses of middle verbs. A range of case frames are found, particularly when body parts, instruments or causes are explicit. There are degrees of reflexivity. A verb such as ‘roll (self)’ is less reflexive than ‘wash’. Rolling can be accidental and can be used of inanimate objects whereas ‘wash’ cannot easily be so used.

The only clear YG examples of a middle movement verb involve biyuurra.M-y ‘roll intr’ (cf. biyuurra-li ‘roll tr’) found mostly in stories, such as the crow rolling in the fire to put it out, or Gilaa (galah) and Garrbaali (lizard) rolling in the burrs (673) as they fought.

They were rolling on the bindi-eyes.

They were rolling on the bindi-eyes, the two of them.

It may be relevant that the rolling in (673) was not a deliberate act, rather the result of a fight.


(674) uses a middle verb to refer to a situation which is reflexive (‘baby’ is agent and object) but presumably not deliberate. It has a Nominative subject. (There are similar and more complex examples involving gudhuwa.M- later.)

The baby burned himself on the fire.

The women stuck feathers to their skin and wore shells around their necks.

(675) (= (101)) shows a number of case frames. There are three reflexive uses of middle verbs: (a) has a Nominative subject, no object, (b) also has a Nominative subject, and an Accusative object, and (c) seems to have an Ergative subject and an Ablative selected body part. I have no explanation for the apparent difference in case frames between (a) and (c), where the same middle verb is used.
(b)  maanggii-gu ngaama waa / yinarr / wiima-nhi / dhaygal-a / mussel-DAT that shell.ACC / woman.NOM / put.down.M-PST / head-LOC / mussel shells, the woman put in their hair.  

(c)  nhama=ngu? / mubal.xx / mubal-i ngayagay / dhirra gaarra-nhi 
They painted themselves on their bellies really well.
Other uses of YG middle verbs may include an antipassive use and semantic use. The details are not clear, partly because there are so few examples. Dixon (above) points out that in Yidiny the ‘middle’ suffix can have purely semantic effect, with no change in the argument structure when the S is ‘not in control’ or of lower animacy. (681) where YG middle verbs are found with non-animate A, follows the same pattern as Yidiny. The subject is inanimate and Ergative case and the Object is unambiguously Accusative. Examples like (681) are not common. It is from the story of Wuulaa ‘lizard’ and Gilaa ‘Galah’ who are throwing boomerangs. Wuulaa is speaking. I assume that nguuumuu, an unanalysed form, refers to the boomerang.

(681) (a) banaga-ya barraay / buma-y nguuumuu nginunha barran-du
run-IMP fast / hit.M-FUT 3SG.ERG+?? 2SG.ACC boomerang-ERG
No good, he wouldn’t get out of the road till after the boomerang hit him. AD/CW 3997A 138
Run quickly. It will hit you, the boomerang. JG
(b) giirr nginunha buma-nhi
true 2SG.ACC hit.M-PST
Gee, it hit you. JG

(682) and (683) are complex sentences which have a middle verb, buma.M-y; in (682) in a purposive clause, in (683) in co-ordinated clauses. In (682) it seems that use of the middle verb is motivated by the inanimate agent of the second clause, maayama ‘rock’. This is not antipassive use since the object is Accusative.

(682) Don’t pelt at me, don’t hit me.

(683) Spears were whistling through the air and cracking onto the shields.

JG

(682) Don’t pelt at me, don’t hit me. AD/CW 3994B 940
garriya dhaay maayama wana-nga, buma-y.gu nganha
don’t to.here stone throw-IMP, hit.M-PURP 1SG.ACC
Don’t throw no more stone to hit me. AD

In (683) on the other hand the clauses are co-ordinated. The subject, bilaarr, is Nominative in (a). In (b), the second clause, there is nothing to show a change of subject case (changes of subject case are usually explicitly shown) and the ‘object’ is demoted to Locative case, with a middle verb. This is a classical antipassive construction (Nominative subject, object in local case, changed verb) (Dixon, 1980: 462). However, this is the only evidence for this structure in YG.

However, (c) has the same subject, but it is now clearly Ergative (=ngu), the verb (gama-li) is L class, the object, buriin, is Accusative case. I have no explanation for the change from middle to L class verb, or for the change in case of the subject.

(683) Spears were whistling through the air and cracking onto the shields. JM/AD 8186 2413

(a) bilaarr=bala ngaama, bamba bara-waa-nhi,
spear=CTR that, hard fly-MOV-PST
The spears flew quickly, JG
(b) ngaarrrma=nga buriin-da / buma-nhi,
there?=THEN?3 shield-LOC / hit.M-PST,
and hit the shield, JG
(c) ngiyarrrma=ngu buriin ngaliman gama-y
there=3SG.ERG shield nearly break.L-PST
and they nearly broke those shields. JG

202 Another example is in tape 3218B, where the boomerang throwing contest is also described, with similar use of buma.M-y. There Dodd corrects himself twice: once from buma-y (past tense of the buma-li) to buma-nhi (past tense of the buma.M-y) and the affected body part changes from dhaygal-i ‘head-ABL.’ (Ablative marking an affected part) to dhaygal ‘head-ACC’. This indicates that Dodd was not totally familiar with this area of grammar, and suggests caution in building too much on these examples.
Further examples of two common middle verbs, *gudhuwa.M-y* ‘burn’ and *buma.M-y* ‘hit’, are now considered and the case frames found are summarised.

(684)–(687) include *gudhuwa.M-y* ‘burn’. The case frames are given in Table 176. While no attempt is made at a complete description of the use of this verb, it is clear it can be used with both standard intransitive and transitive case frames, or have no arguments (684). It can also be used with reflexive meaning. On the available evidence the L class verb is used only when there is an animatic agent: (688).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Subject case</th>
<th>Object case</th>
<th>Reflexive</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(684) Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>A comment on the weather</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(685) Nom</td>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>simple intransitive; fire-LOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(686) Erg (Inanimate)</td>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>fire-LOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(687) Ø (Inanimate)</td>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ø indicates the argument is not realised.

(688) *gudhuwa-li*

I don’t know what he is going to burn.

(689)–(691) include *buma.M-y* ‘hit’. The case frames found here and elsewhere are summarised in Table 177. The sentences are often complex, involving a person, affected body part and instrument, and often with a reflexive interpretation. No passive, simple intransitive uses of *buma.M-y* have been found (e.g. ‘You were hit’). This is in contrast to *gudhuwa.M-y* ‘burn’, *gama.M-y* ‘break’ (654) and *nhamurra.M-y* ‘bury’ (662). (690), like many examples with complex syntax, begins with a correction, indicating that the informants were uncertain about the structure.

The analyses of (689)–(691) remain unclear. None has an explicit subject. Accusative objects are common, as are Ablative affected body parts. (689) could have *giniy-u* as A, with *buyu-dhi* as the affected part, but there is no explicit whole (‘nganha’ ‘1SG.ACC’ is expected) as found in almost

---

203 It appears that AD has corrected himself in (686), with ‘ashes’ originally in Nominative case, then in Ergative.
all ‘affected part’ examples. Both (690) and (691), from different sources, have Accusative pronouns with a middle verb when describing a reflexive, non-deliberate situation.

(689) I tripped on a stick and fell down in the mud.
JM/AD 3219B 3567

\[\text{giniy-u buma-nhi buyu-dhi / bundaa-nhi nga ngaya}\]
\[
\text{stick-\text{ERG} hit.L-PST leg-ABL / fall-PST=\text{THEN} 1SG}\]

A stick hit (me on the) leg and I fell down.
JG

(690) I stepped on a rock and hurt my foot.
CW/AD 3994B 1189

\[\text{maayama ngaama ngaya ?correction maayama-dhi nhama / nganha / dhina / buma-nhi}\]
\[
\text{rock that 1SG ?correction rock-ABL 3.DEF / 1SG.ACC / foot / hit.L-PST}\]

I hit me up against that rock.
AD

(691) \text{baŋŋali ŋanna bumanni}
SW p101

\[\text{baranggal-i nganha buma-nhi}\]

\[
\text{ankle-ABL 1SG.ACC hit.L-PST}\]

I hit my ankle.
SW

I hit me on the ankle. ?? It hit me on the ankle.
JG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Subject case</th>
<th>Object case</th>
<th>Refl</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(689)</td>
<td>Ø?</td>
<td>Abl of affected part</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Is giniy A or instrument?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(690)</td>
<td>Ø?</td>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>Yes?</td>
<td>reason for Abl on maayama is not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(691)</td>
<td>Ø?</td>
<td>Acc; Abl of affected part</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 177 Case frames of \textit{buma-y} ‘hit.M’

There are a range of verb forms that can be used to describe a reflexive event: middle, reflexive and the simple root. (689)–(691) show use of the middle verb, \textit{buma.M-y}, for apparently non-deliberate events. In (637) (he hit himself on the head) the reflexive meaning is shown by the reflexive suffix. It has many parallels with (676) ‘wash your face’: presumably deliberate action and certainly a body part as the affected object. It is not clear why (637) uses the reflexive suffix and (676) a middle verb. Nor is it clear why (637) does not use an Ablative affected body part nominal.

In (692) the action is reflexive, but the verb is neither reflexive nor middle. I have no explanation of the conditions motivating the choice between these three verb inflections.

(692) \text{(He’s got a dirty face.) He should wash it.}
CW/AD 3998B 307

\[\text{giirruu waa} \text{ wagirrbuma-lda-nha}\]
\[
\text{true.very not wash.L-CTS-PRS}\]

He really doesn’t wash it.
JG

There are other examples which, if accurate, show that even greater complexity is possible with middle verbs. (693) and (694), consecutive sentences on the tape, have a form of \textit{yulaa-li} ‘tie’ which seems to be both middle voice and have the reflexive suffix. The sentences both involve ‘tying leaves to oneself’, but use different case frames. In (693) the subject is Ergative and ‘leaves’ Accusative. In (694) the subject is Nominative and ‘leaves’ in Ergative case with instrumental function. The YG reflects the English – with ‘leaves’ as object in (693), and instrument in (694).
A man had stuck some leaves to his skin with beefwood gum and was holding a branch in front of him. He tied a lot of leaves to himself. He was pretending to be a tree. He tied himself up with leaves. But the man who had tied himself up with leaves.

9.2.3.1.1 The semantics of reflexive strategies

YG have two common reflexive strategies: use of the reflexive suffix and the use of middle verbs. Typology can help inform the different functions of these strategies. Kemmer (1993: 24) points out that in languages such as Russian and Turkish, which have distinct reflexive and middle markers, one is usually a ‘heavy’ and one a ‘light’ marker. The weight is measured ‘in terms of the number of segments and degree of phonological dependence on the verb root’ (1993: 25). The middle marker is light. In YG the strictly reflexive marker is -ngiili-y and the middle marker is -y (for L class verbs), clearly following the pattern Kemmer points out. The heavy marker is generally very or totally productive, with a clear reflexive meaning. The middle marker is often quite restricted in use, and often its meaning is non-reflexive. The two ‘reflexives’, when they exist, can have different meanings, for instance (Kemmer, 1993: 27) Russian ‘exhaust+reflexive’ translates as ‘exhaust oneself’ whereas ‘exhaust+middle’ is ‘grow weary’. The light form also indicates situations where there is typically less control, or the reflexive aspect of the situation is less emphasised. These differences between heavy (strictly reflexive) and light (middle) forms are found in YG.

9.2.3.2 Lexicalised middle verbs

Winanga-y ‘think, know’ and dhama-y ‘rain’ appear to be lexicalised middle forms, with meanings significantly different from those of the potential original verbs; winanga-li is ‘hear, listen; tr’ and dhama-li ‘feel, tr’.

Winanga-y has a large number of glosses including ‘understand, know, remember, think, love’. The meaning of winanga-y and winanga-li is related to bina ‘ear’, with both verbs including wina-, a lenited form of bina. The ear is clearly involved in hearing, but it is also the base for metaphors about knowledge in most Aboriginal languages, so ‘think, understand’ and so on are all related to ‘ear’ in Aboriginal languages. Middle verbs have reflexive use, and many Aboriginal languages have ‘hear oneself’ as the translation for words like ‘understand, think, know, remember, love’: see Turpin (1997) and Evans and Wilkins (2000). As Kemmer (1993: 127) points out, middle verbs are widely used in the domain of mental events or cognition, the domains winanga-y is used in.

If winanga-y is a middle verb it could have a range of case frames, as other middle verbs do. In the dictionary winanga-y is described as always transitive, but there is at least one example, 3217A 3728, where it translates ‘want’, that appears to be intransitive. There is also a form that is not currently analysable, winanga-y-nyi at 3219B 421, used to translate ‘felt sick’.

Winanga-y is often translated ‘think’, as in (695), where the complement of ‘think’ includes a finite verb.
My kids think I can beat anyone. JM/AD 3220A 2937

My kids think he can thrash them all. JG

I was expecting you to come earlier. JM/AD 3220A 2742

I was thinking you, that you would soon come here, to me. JG

Those kids think that I can hit that bird with my throwing stick. JM/AD 2832B 3110

Analysing winanga-y as the middle form of winanga-li retains the semantic link between the two verbs, which is lost in the current analysis.

YG dhama-li is ‘touch, feel, tr’ and dhama-y is ‘rain’. There is no obvious semantic connection between the verbs, so the similarity in form may be coincidental.

One would expect the middle verbs derived from winanga-li and dhama-li to have simple intransitive use, in the manner found with the pair ngarra-li ‘see, look, tr’ and ngarra-y ‘look, intr’. If middle verbs were derived with similar meanings they would be *winanga-y ‘sound, intr’ and *dhama-y ‘feel, intr’. However, these verbs are not found, perhaps because of the other uses of these forms. YG have no obvious way of expressing the concepts: ‘sound, intr’ and ‘feel, intr’.

RR and NG class middle verbs

YG have clear examples of middle verbs derived from L class verbs, but not from transitive verbs in other classes. In contrast Wangaybuwan RR class verbs do have middle forms (658) (WN has no NG class). It seems likely that YG did have middle verbs derived from RR and NG class transitive verbs.

Using -rr- as the CM, some examples of the putative RR class middle verbs, and the original root, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original rr verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Middle verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhu-rr</td>
<td>spear</td>
<td>dhu-rr-y</td>
<td>get speared, spear self, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuu-rr</td>
<td>give</td>
<td>wuu-rr-y</td>
<td>be given, give self, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An area for further investigation is the suggestion that *dhuwi*-y ‘stick into’ is actually a middle verb derived from *dhu-rr*. It has a number of middle qualities, including variant case frames. In (13) *dhuwi*-y has an Ergative, inanimate subject. There is the derived forms, *dhuwima-li* ‘remove, tr’ ((63) et al.) and *dhuwinba-li* ‘hide, tr’ ((335) et al.) which suggests *dhuwi*-y can also be intransitive, a prerequisite for such derivations. Further there is common *uwii/urri* alternation in base and middle forms of *dhuwinba-li*, e.g. *dhurrinba-nhi* (hide-M-PST) (938).

There are at least three unclear examples which suggest middle forms of NG class verbs were found, possibly using a suffix -ngi-y, or -ngi[i]-y, with simplification of the middle form by haplography in many circumstances.

(698) suggests *mawu-ngi*-y as the middle form of *mawu-gi* ‘dig, scratch’, with the actual verb possibly *mawu-ngi[i]-ya* ‘dig-middle-imp’. The hesitation and range of forms offered show Fred Reece was not confident about this form.

(698) Scratch.

*mawu-ngi*-ya / *mawu-ngi-la*? corrects / *mawu-ngi[i]-ya*
scratch.M?-IMP / scratch.M?-IMP corrects / scratch.M?-IMP

Scratch (yourself).?

At 8184 2829 AD, asked to translate ‘there was frost all over the ground’, has *dhandarr wana-ngindaay* ‘frost throw-SUB’. The verb would be expected to be intransitive, the middle form of *wana-gi* ‘throw, tr’, which would be *wana-ngi-ngindaay*.

The third example comes from Wurm who has transitive and intransitive versions of an NG class verb *gwe:gi* which is related to *wiya-gi* ‘cook’ (it may be *guwiya-gi*). One transitive example is (p32) *gwe:nji* ‘(I) have already cooked’. An intransitive example is (p24) *gúɛnji* ‘is already cooked’: (999). Apart from the absence of the final vowel there is no substantial difference between these two verbs.

The Wurm and Dodd evidence suggests the NG class middle has the same form as the standard verb, the Reece example suggests the NG class suffix is -ngi-y. If the Reece suggestion is followed, the subordinate middle of *wana-gi* is *wana-ngi-ngindaay*, which could easily be reduced by haplography to *wana-ngindaay*, and the same process could explain the similar or identical forms of the past regular and middle verb in the Wurm examples.

Some of the transitive NG class verbs which could have middle forms include: *gaa-gi* ‘bring’, *ngawu-gi* ‘drink’, *mawu-gi* ‘dig, scratch’, and *wiya-gi* ‘cook’.

It could also be that there were middle forms of Y class verbs. A problem with this is that there is no obvious way of forming the middle stem from the Y class stem. There are relatively few transitive Y class verbs. Some are: *ngaawa-y* ‘look for’, *badha-y* ‘give a hiding’, *minba-y* ‘ask for’, *wiila-y* ‘whistle’ and *dhuvi-y* ‘stick into’. I do not speculate as to what the form may be.204

**Unanalysed verbs**

This section looks at verbs which are clearly derived, but the process has not currently been described. A long chain of derivations has already been suggested: *dhu-rr* ‘pierce’ > *dhuwi*-y ‘pierce, middle’ > *dhuwinba-li/dhurrinba-li* ‘hide, tr’ > *dhuwinba-y/dhurrinba-y* ‘hide, middle’. Below are other examples which seem to have a further suffix on a middle verb.

(699), like (693) and (694), appears to have a suffix following the future middle form.

(699) They singe him, first to get all the hair off him,

*dhurrun nhama / gudhuwa-y-li bandaa-ya*
fur 3.DEF / burn.M-FUT?::li kangaroo-LOC

(They) will burn that fur, on the kangaroo.

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204 There are a number of examples which seem to have a further suffix on a middle verb, or other intransitive or intransitivised verb. These are listed in Appendix B.
Table 178 has other verb forms which are currently unanalysable. They all have final y-nhi. - nhi is the past tense suffix for Y class verbs, the common class for derived verbs. - y is the future tense suffix on a middle verb, but this cannot be its function here, since there can only be one tense inflection. The first example comes from a story and refers to heat causing the Bower Bird’s head to burst and the brains to come out, after it was thrown on a fire. It seems to include dhurraaba-y, the middle form of dhurraaba-li ‘make come out’, but the final suffix, - nhi, is unexplained. Other similar verbs are listed in the table. See also examples in Table 174 which contain - y-ngiili-. These seem to be a middle verb followed by the reflexive suffix.

### Table 178 Unanalysed ‘intransitive’ verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb form found</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Transitive verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhurraaba-y-nhi</td>
<td>make.come.out-y-PST</td>
<td>burst: intr</td>
<td>dhurraaba-li</td>
<td>make come out</td>
<td>5128 1884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhadhawa-y.la-y-nhi</td>
<td>taste-CTS-y-PST</td>
<td>tasted intr</td>
<td>dhadhawa-li</td>
<td>taste</td>
<td>8185 1665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buma-y.la-y-nhi</td>
<td>hit-CTS-y-PST</td>
<td>clapped (hands)</td>
<td>buma-li</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>3219A 642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warra.yma-y-nhi</td>
<td>stand.tr-y-PST</td>
<td>stood up</td>
<td>warrayma-li</td>
<td>stand</td>
<td>3219B 3154</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Intransitive verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb form found</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Transitive verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bundaa-y-nhi</td>
<td>fall-y-PST</td>
<td>?fell</td>
<td>bundaa-gi</td>
<td>fall</td>
<td>3220A 1549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banaga-la-y-nhi</td>
<td>run-CTS-y-PST</td>
<td>running about</td>
<td>banaga-y</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>3220A 1549</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.2.4 YG middle verbs in sources

Table 179 lists most of the YG verbs found with middle forms, with glosses given in the Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary (Ash, et al., 2003).

### Table 179 YG middle verbs and their source verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L class, trans</th>
<th>Languages, Gloss</th>
<th>Middle verbs</th>
<th>Languages, Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bayama-li</td>
<td>YR; catch, hold</td>
<td>bayama-y</td>
<td>YR; be caught</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biyuurra-li</td>
<td>YR; roll</td>
<td>biyuurra-y</td>
<td>YR; roll (self)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buluba-li</td>
<td>YR; cover</td>
<td>buluba-y</td>
<td>YR; cover (self), be covered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buma-li</td>
<td>YG; hit, kill</td>
<td>buma-y</td>
<td>YR; be hit, hit self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burranba-li</td>
<td>YG; cause (a change)</td>
<td>burranba-y</td>
<td>YR; become</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhadha-li</td>
<td>YG; taste</td>
<td>dhadha-y</td>
<td>YR; taste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhirranba-li</td>
<td>YG; shake</td>
<td>dhirranba-y</td>
<td>YR; shake, shiver, wag, rattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhuinwinba-li</td>
<td>YR; hide (plant)</td>
<td>dhuinwinba-y</td>
<td>YR; hide (self)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaarra-li</td>
<td>YG; rub</td>
<td>gaarra-y</td>
<td>YG; paint (self)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gama-li</td>
<td>YG; break, block (deflect)</td>
<td>gama-y</td>
<td>YR; break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garra-li</td>
<td>YG; cut</td>
<td>garra-y</td>
<td>YR; be cut, choke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudhuwa-li</td>
<td>YG; burn, cook</td>
<td>gudhuwa-y</td>
<td>YG; burn, be hot, burn with pain, cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mama-li</td>
<td>YG; stick</td>
<td>mama-y</td>
<td>YR; stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marramba-li</td>
<td>YR; wrap up, cover up</td>
<td>marramba-y</td>
<td>YR; be wrapped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muurra-li</td>
<td>Y; fill</td>
<td>muurra-y</td>
<td>Y; fill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarra-li</td>
<td>YR; see, look, watch</td>
<td>ngarra-y</td>
<td>YR; look</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.3 Valency increase

There are two distinct sets of valency increasing derivations. The first has only one member, the additional argument suffix (this section), which adds an argument to both transitive and intransitive verbs. The ‘transitivising’ suffixes ($§9.4$) form transitive verbs from intransitive verbs, and many of them also have a verbalising function, being added to nominals to form verbs.

### 9.3.1 -:li-y/-n.giili-y ‘Additional ARGument’

This suffix adds an additional argument with various semantic effects. From a one place verb the suffix derives a two place, transitive verb. From a two place, transitive verb, it derives a three-place verb, usually with a Dative third argument, but once with a clausal complement (705). The third argument is optional with the unsuffixed verb but obligatory when the suffix is used.

The suffix is very unusual in having two distinct forms: -:li-y for L and Y class stems, and -n.giili-y for NG and RR class stems. The L and Y class suffix lengthens the final vowel of the stem. There is no CM for L, Y and NG classes. I propose -rri as the RR CM.

The most common use is with benefactive meaning. The beneficiary is the subject of the original verb, when that is intransitive, but not when the verb is transitive. The derived verb can have non-benefactive use, e.g. (711) where the extra argument is the material the flood ‘carried away/ran away with’.

The suffix is seen on transitive verbs in (700)$^{209}$–(706), all except (705) having a Dative marked beneficiary. Use on intransitives is seen in (708)–(711).

(700) The men made the boys carry the spears. CW/AD 5129A 3377

\[\text{gaa-n.giili-yaa-ya} / \text{ngay} \]
\[\text{bring-ARG-CTS-IMP} / 1SG,DAT \]
\[\text{Carry along for me. (Williams, p85, has: Bring it for me.) AD} \]
\[\text{Bring them for me. JG} \]

---

$^{205}$ No term has been found which applies to all the various uses of this suffix. It can have benefactive use and is in some ways similar to Applicative suffixes (cf. Hogan, (2011: 910)), but neither term is satisfactory, so the somewhat awkward ‘Additional Argument’ has been used.

$^{206}$ This use, with a transitive verb, is the only one Williams (1980: 85) describes.

$^{207}$ The two RR examples, from AD, are dhu-rru-n.giili-\(y\) (future) and dhu-rr-\(g\)iili-\(y\)i (past). The first has rr\(u\) as the CM, the second has no CM and modifies the initial element of the suffix. Williams (1980: 85) gives the CM as rr\(u\), but the resultant three consonant cluster, -rr-n.g(\(iili\)-), is not found elsewhere in the language, so a better solution is to use -r\(ri\) as the CM, as happens with a number of WN suffixes. The verb that AD was using is then dhu-rr-n.giili-\(y\). A simpler form might be dhu-rr-\(g\)iili-\(y\), but this then posits a third version of the suffix.

$^{208}$ See Smith (2010: 72) for discussion of the typology of benefactives.

$^{209}$ The example Williams gives.
(701) Miimii, why don’t you go out and catch an emu for me?  
Miimii, nginda / gaya-dha-nga yanaa-ya / dhinawan nginda ngay bayama-ali-y
granny, 2SG / turn-LOC=NOW go-IMP / emu 2SG 1SG.DAT catch-ARG-FUT
Miimii, you go out now and catch an emu for me (so I could have a good feed of emu).  
AD Granny, you, go, in your turn then, and you will catch an emu for me.  
JG

(702) The man built the camp for them.  
CW/AD 5130 1164

giirr nguuma / dhayn-du / nhama walaay / warrayma-ali-nyi / ganungu
true 3ERG.DEF / man-ERG / 3.DEF camp / build-ARG-PST / 3PL.DAT

(703) wii wiima-ali-nyi fire put.down-ARG-PST made a fire (for them)  
AD 5130 1123

(704) wii gudhuwa-ali-nyi fire burn-ARG-PST made a fire (for them)  
AD 5130 1140

In (705) the beneficiary is expressed in a complement clause, not a Dative marked nominal.

(705) The boys had to sing for the corroboree.  
[very tidied version] CW/AD 5131 1735

giirr nguuma / birralii-gal-u / bawi-il-y / nguama ganungu / yulu-gi.la-ndaay
true 3ERG.DEF / child-PL.DIM-ERG / sing-ARG-FUT / there 3PL / dance-CTS-SUB
That’s when they’s corroboreeing.  
AD They, the children, will sing for them when they corroboree.  
JG

(706) mawu-n.giili-y dig-ARG-FUT dig for (you)  
AD5130 1217

However, benefactive meaning can be conveyed without the suffix, as seen in (707).

(707) I have killed a kangaroo for you.  
JM/FR 2439A 1379

bawurra ngaya buma-y ngimu
red.kangaroo 1SG kill/hit-PST 2SG.DAT
I killed a kangaroo for you.  
FR

The suffix is on banaga-y ‘run’ in (708)–(711). It is rare on other intransitive verbs, probably found on bara-y ‘fly’ at 3220B 2456.

(708) He is stealing them now. (Dog stealing bones).  
CW/AD 3997B 1543

giirr nguu / nhama / banaga-ali-yaay-ndaay
true 3SG.ERG / 3.DEF/there / run-ARG-MOV-SUB
He is running away with it.  
AD

(709) The man stole another man’s wife.  
CW/AD 3997B 1480

giirr ngaam / ngayagay-djuul-u dhayn-dual-u / yinarr ngaama banaga-ali-nyi
true that / other-ONE-ERG man-ONE-ERG / woman that run-ARG-PST
The other man ran away with that woman.  
AD/CW 3997B 1497

(710) (The emu is running away with shingleback’s sinews, which emu will then put in his own leg, giving him great speed)

yalagirrirmawu=bala dhinawan-du / nhamalay / dhumbil / dhiyama-y / banaga-ali-nyi
that.time=CTR emu-ERG / there / sinews / pick.up-PST / run-ARG-PST
Then emu picked up the sinews and ran away with them.  
AD/CW 3997B 346
A flood washed it away.

A flood ran away with it.

In (711) the suffix does not have benefactive meaning, nor does it in *dhurra-ali-nyi* ‘bring (a message)’ (*come-ARG-PST*; Sim (pp35, 37)).

No instances of benefactive suffixes have been found earlier than Sim (711). Mathews GR (p267) has *bumullandhummi* with benefactive translation, ‘beat on behalf of another’. The verb is not currently analysable but does not contain the suffix discussed here.

There are numerous examples of the additional argument suffix in Wurm. The tapes have around 20 L and Y class examples and around eight NG and two RR class examples. In almost all instances AD uses the simple form of the verb first and then substitutes the suffixed form as in (712), indicating that this suffix was not part of his everyday YR. (707) shows benefactive meaning without the additional argument suffix being used, likely the result of language loss.

There are possible occurrences of the suffix. At 8186 3066 AD has *bayama-a-lda-y* ‘catch-?ARG-CTS-FUT’, ‘will be catching for’. The expected form is *bayama-ali-y.y*; AD has re-analysed the stem as L class. Without further evidence it is not clear if this is a mistake or a regular pattern.

(713) may include the suffix. However, the form *yilawa-y.li-[y]* is irregular. The standard additional argument form is *yilawa-ali-y*. As well, if =nya is third person, it is Nominative, and the additional argument verb requires an Ergative subject.

It is clear that the sources do not give a full range of uses of this suffix. For instance there is no YG information on the effect of the suffix on three-place verbs, but such use is found in WN. Donaldson (1980: 179-183) has a long discussion of WN -yili-y which she glosses ‘ulterior focus’. When used with ‘give’, a three-place verb, it derives a four-place verb: A gives B to C ‘on my (D’s) behalf’. It has many of the functions of the YG additional argument, but there are differences. The extra argument in WN cannot be in Accusative case, but is in a local case. The WN suffix can have malefactive function. There is no evidence the YG suffix can.

While the YG additional argument can be used on intransitive verbs for events which involve self-interest, WN (Donaldson, 1980: 177) has a separate suffix -dha-y ‘reflexive focus’ for this, with a similar suffix -thayi in Yandruwantha (Breen, 2004: 164). The ‘reflexive focus’ and ‘associated eating’ suffixes in WN are formally identical, -DHa-y. Similar benefactive use of ‘eat’ is found in other languages: Creissels (2010: 59) points out that ‘eat’ verbs can ‘grammaticalize as operators in autobenefactive periphrases’. It is possible that YG had a suffix which signalled self-interest on transitive verbs and it may have been -dha-y.

A Muruwari suffix may be related, but at this stage the link is more speculative. (Oates, 1988: 186) has a morpheme -tha glossed ‘Object focus (OBJ)’. Oates’ 5.405 is reproduced here as (714).

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210 The form may be *buma-la-ndhami?*-y ‘hit-RECP-WANT-FUT. Cf. *-Nhami-y* above.
9 Valency changes

Her other example of the suffix, 5.406, includes the verb kaa-tha ‘take’ in the sentence: ‘Go and get water and have a drink’. Both occurrences of -tha are open to an ‘Associated eating’ interpretation. It may be that an ongoing investigation will find examples of related morphemes in other languages.

(714) Ti-tjana maa-tha-ga tapa-ku

that put-OBJ-IMP supper-DAT

Put the billy on for supper.

Oates 5

9.4 Other argument increasing suffixes

While the additional argument suffix is found on both transitive and intransitive verbs, the suffixes considered in this section are found only on intransitive verbs, and sometimes on nominals. The most common transitivising suffix is -ma-li, both in YG and elsewhere. Dixon (1980: 435) points out that ‘both -na-l and -ma-l occur quite commonly as transitive verbalisers, onto intransitive roots and onto nominals’. Dixon later (2002: 75) points out that a similar process exists for for ming intransitive stems from nominals:

Almost every Australian language has derivational processes for deriving both intransitive and transitive verbal stems from nouns and adjectives – an inchoative suffix (as in ‘become an emu’, ‘become big’) and a factitive suffix (e.g. ‘make big’, ‘make into an emu’).

These undoubtedly originated in a coverb-plus-simple-verb construction … the recurrent factitive suffix is -ma-, undoubtedly related to one of the two widely occurring simple verb ma-l ‘do, make, tell’ and ma(:)-njin ‘hold, take, get’.

Wangaaybuwan has a number of transitivising suffixes, some of them with very restricted use (Donaldson, 1980: 163). The simple causative is -ma-li. Others include -gijama-li ‘cause by heating’, -Dhinma-li ‘cause by hitting’ and -ganna-li ‘cause by behaviour’, all including -ma-li as their final element. It also has -ba-li, found only on ‘laugh’ and ‘cry’, forming verbs ‘laugh at’ and ‘cry at’, and finally -ganna-li, a causative, found on ‘laugh’ and ‘fear’. Yandruwantha also has -ma as a causative (Breen, 2004: 184) and Breen also notes that a number of verbs with final ma may be historical compounds. Yandruwantha also has a less common causative, -lka.

YG also has a range of transitivising suffixes, but the semantic distinctions between them may have gradually been lost. For instance YG have a number of verbs for ‘wash’ derived from the English word. All include wagirr (from ‘wash (it)’) but have a number of final morphemes: wagirrba-li (rare), wagirrbuma-li, wagirrbama-li and wagirrma-li. There is no indication in the sources of any distinction in meaning between these four forms.

Variation in the root final suffix is also seen in the variety of words (or phrases) given for ‘put out (fire)’: balu-wa-li, balu-burra-li, balu-burranka-li/balu burranka-li, balu-bunma-li/balu bunna-li. Each has balu ‘dead/out’ as the first element followed by a suffix or separate verb. The suffix -wa-li may be related to the verb wa-li ‘put in’ or be a lenited form of -ba-li. Wa-li, burra-li ‘begin’, burranka-li ‘cause a change’ and bunma-li ‘cause a change’ all occur as words. In the list above only -wa-li is unquestionably a suffix. Significantly none of the verbs include -ma-li, perhaps since ‘hand’ would not be used directly to put out the fire, and ‘use of hand’ is at times implicit in -ma.

Table 180 lists the YG transitivising (and additional argument) suffixes and gives the Class Markers used with them.
Table 180  Valency increasing derivational suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Verb class/Class Marker (CM)</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>:li-/n.giili-y</td>
<td>additional ARGument</td>
<td>Ø  Ø  Ø  rr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma-li</td>
<td>CAUSative</td>
<td>l? y  Ø  rr</td>
<td>mainly on nominals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ba-li</td>
<td>DELOCutive</td>
<td>? ?  Ø? rr?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bama-li</td>
<td>CAUSative2</td>
<td>? ?  Ø ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mi-li</td>
<td>SEE</td>
<td>? ?  Ø ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wa-li</td>
<td>GO.IN?</td>
<td>Ø? Ø  Ø  rr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Often middle forms of the transitivising suffixes are found: for instance -ba-y (§9.4.2). The transitive and middle suffixes are discussed together, often with little discussion of the middle form since its functions are generally predictable.

The semantics of a suffix are often best understood by considering the range of functions one form can have. For instance -ma-li is found as a:

- causative suffix on intransitive and intransitivised verbs: warra-y-ma-li ‘stand’
- (part of a) root final element, naturalising English verbs into YG: wagirrma-li ‘wash’
- factitive suffix on nominals and adverbs (see Dixon (2002: 75) for ‘factitive’): maaruma-li ‘heal’; from maaru ‘well’.

Other suffixes are also found as free verb root: wa-li ‘put in’, dha-li ‘eat’.

9.4.1  -ma-li/ma-y ‘CAUSative/do with hand’

The form -ma-li is found as a verb suffix and with many other uses. It is likely there are two homophonous suffixes. One is as general causative suffix. The other is also causative, but, as in Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 206), has the more restricted meaning ‘do with hand’. It is often impossible to distinguish which a particular instance is. Williams (1980: 84) records -ma-li as a transitiviser and notes its use in deriving Yuwaalaraay verbs from English ones. The CMs for the first function are given in Table 180.

When -ma-li suffixes an intransitive verb, the S of the original verb is the O of the new verb and a new argument is introduced as A. The form of the suffixed stem is predictable when the intransitive verb is originally intransitive, but when the intransitive is a middle verb a range of boundary elements precede -ma-li.

There are restrictions on the causative use of -ma-li. Williams (1980: 84) notes Donaldson’s comment for Wangaaybuwan that ‘ma-l is only used where the introduced “causer” is directly responsible for the events taking place’. That is, if an action requires active cooperation on the part of the subject of the intransitive verb, the causative -ma-li cannot be used. So it could be used on ‘run’ if the meaning is to ‘make the car run’ but could not be used on ‘run’ if the meaning is ‘to make a person run’, since in the latter case the person needs to agree to the action. At 3997A 1698 AD initially translates ‘I let him go’ with yanaa-y.ma-li (yanaa-y ‘go’) but then changes to yanaa-y-nbi-li, using another transitivising suffix. (716) is perhaps a borderline case, since the child has limited control over its action. As in Wangaaybuwan, Yuwaalaraay uses ‘tell X to do Y’ to translate ‘make X do Y’ when the subject has control of the action: see (719). -ma-li is not found on transitive verbs, presumably since the event generally involves the consent of the Agent.

Derived forms often have some restricted semantics, or a preferred restricted meaning. For instance -ma-li is most commonly found on warra-y ‘stand’: (715) and (716); and the resulting
verb often translated ‘build’. However, other interpretations are found: *warra-y.ma-li* can refer to ‘standing a stick up’ (2437B 185). *-ma-li* is less commonly found on position verbs such as ‘sit’ and ‘lie/sleep’ and on movement verbs such as ‘fall’ and ‘crawl’. *Dhanduvi-y.ma-li* is ‘put to sleep / make lie down/put to bed’ from *dhanduvi-y ‘sleep/lie down; intr’*. The suffix is found on few other Y class verbs, and those generally occur only one or two times. One is Ridley’s (533) *pindemulle (binda-y.ma-li) ‘hang, tr’ from binda-y ‘hang, intr’. Another is *gayla-ma-li ‘burn’, but this is irregular in not having y as the CM. The suffix is relatively common in *bundaa-ma-li ‘knock down’ in (717) from *bundaa-gi ‘fall (NG class), and in *dhuu-ma-li ‘pull’ in (718), from *dhuu-rr ‘crawl (RR class)’ but rare on other NG and RR verbs, and has not been found on L class verbs, which are predominantly transitive. (715) and (716) show *-ma-li* on Y class verbs, (717) on NG class and (718) on RR class.

(715) *dhuyul-a gi.yaa.nha ngaya dhaadhurr warra-y.ma-li*  

hill-LOC going.to 1SG hut stand-y.ma-FUT  

I am going to pitch my humpy on that high knob.  

FR/JM 1987A 978  

I am going to make my humpy on the hill.  

JG

(716) *ŋarima ŋaia birali ŋai (warimei/lauw(i)mei) ‘durdeguna*  

ngaarrima ngaya birrali ngay *warra-y.ma-y, yilawa-y.ma-y dhuu-dha-y.gu=Na*  

there 1SG child 1SG.DAT stand-y.ma-PST, sit-y.ma-PST crawl-CTS-PURP=3  

that place I my child (stood up/sat down) crawl purpose  

Laves  

I stood/sat my child over there for it to crawl.  

JG

(717) *Don’t knock that bird down from the tree.*  

garriya nhama / *bundaa-ma-la / dhigayaa*  

don’t 3.DEF / fall-ma-IMP / bird  

Don’t knock that bird down.  

JG

(718) *The man is pulling a log across the grass.*  

girrr nhama=nha, nhaadhiyaan / burral nhaadhiyaan / *dhuu-rr.ma-laa-nha*  

ture 3.DEF=3, log / big log / crawl-rr.ma-MOV-PRS  

He’s got that big log there, rolling it.  

AD  

That log, the big log, he’s rolling it.  

JG

*Dhuuurrna-li* is found with a range of other translations: ‘pulling a canoe while swimming’, ‘shift the log’, ‘pull someone’s hair’, ‘take something down from a tree’. (719) shows that *-ma-li* is not used when the action requires the consent of the actor.

(719) *They made him walk along the river.*  

girrr ngaama / biyadul / guwaay nguawama / baga-dha yanaa-waa-y.gu  

true that / one / tell-PST there / river-LOC go-MOV-PURP  

(They) told that one, there, on the river bank, to walk.  

JG

9.4.1.1 Other uses of *-ma-li*

**Intransitivised verbs:** *ma-li* can follow a root that, historically at least, is a derived intransitive stem. For instance the common YR verb, *ngarranma-li*211 ‘show’ is clearly derived from *ngarra-li ‘see’. However, it is likely that *-ma-li* is suffixed on the middle form, *ngarra-y* rather than on the transitive verb. The basic meaning of *ngarranma-li* then is ‘cause to be seen’ rather than ‘cause to see’. A similar process, but with the detransitivising step made clear in the gloss, is seen in *bumanabille (bumana-bi-li) ‘allow to be beaten’ (buma-li ‘beat’): Ridley (p8).

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211 The derivation suggested here assumes that *-ma-li* can only be suffixed to intransitive roots. Ridley (723) suggests this is not so, and that the transitive *ngam-li ‘see’ is here suffixed.
The middle form, ngarra-y, is seen in (720), and the transitivised form in (721) and (722). However, there is an n between the root and- ma-li, rather than the y found for Y class intransitive verbs.

(720) The moon was shining brightly. 

\[ \text{ngu\text{wama} gaba ngarra-y.la-nhi / } \text{gilay / ngiyama buluuy-a} \]
there good look.M-CTS-PST / moon / there dark-LOC
It looked good, the moon, at night. 

(721) Show the meat to the girl's mother. 

\[ \text{ngarra.n.ma-la} \]
show-IMP
Show it! 

(722) The child who fell over showed me his boomerang. 

\[ \text{giyrr nganunda birralli-dju, ngarra.n.ma-y barran} / \text{bundaa-ngindaay=nya} \]
true 1SG.LOC child-ERG, show-PST boomerang / fall-SUB=3

n also precedes- ma-li in presumably derived verbs such as ngarrdanma-li ‘make mouth water’ (the presumed, but not attested, verb is ngaarrrda-y ‘mouth waters’, with -da-y a reflex of -da-li ‘eat’) and when- ma-li has factitive use, as in gaba.n.ma-li ‘heal’ (gaba ‘good’) but no general condition has been found governing its use.

Ridley (723) has a derivation from GR ngami-li ‘see’, with the CM l rather than n. However, it is not clear that the meaning is the same as that of ngarranma-li.

(723) nginda yai yaräman Ñummilmulla

\[ \text{nginda} \text{ ngay yarraaman ngami-l.ma-la} \]
2SG 1SG.DAT horse see-l.ma-IMP
you my horse show (make to see) 

You show my horse. (uncertain) 

There are other irregular derivations with- ma-li. Ridley (p32) has tubbiamullu ‘allay’ (JG: ‘allay fear’). This appears to be derived from dhabi-y ‘be quiet, be calm’; the a preceding the -ma-li is irregular. Gaya-y is ‘turn, intr’ and gayma-li ‘turn, tr’. The regularly derived form (not found) would be gaya-y.ma-li. The actual form can be explained by the regular deletion of one of a pair of adjacent diphthongs. There is also gayla-y ‘burn; intr’ and gayla-ma-li ‘burn; tr’ (rather than the expected gayla-y.ma-li). This may be the simplification of a frequently used transitive form. Mathews (GR p279) has thamaiamullu ‘search’ (dhama-ya-ma-la?). The first element, presumably dhama-y, is probably related to dhama-li ‘touch/feel’, but the derivation of dhamaya is not understood.

**Factive use**: -ma-li can form a verb from a nominal or adverb. Examples are given in Table 181. The meaning is sometimes relatively predictable (gaba-n.ma-li, giyran.ma-li) and at times not (dhawu-ma-li). There is frequent modification of the original nominal and a variety of forms found at the nominal/adverb-ma-li junction, including Ø, deleted n (dhawan.mali from dhawun ‘earth’) and inserted n (gaba.n.ma-li). This suggests these are long-standing forms which have been reanalysed as monomorphic, rather than being regular derivations.

**In verb roots**: There are many verbs roots which end in -ma-li. Many of these are historically compounds, e.g. YG dhama-li ‘touch’,

\[ ^{212} \text{The root element dha- has the meaning ‘test’ and is found in dha.dha-li ‘taste’ (test-eat) and dha.ya-li ‘ask’ (test-say).} \]

| WN verb root initial nga- ‘test’ has a similar range of occurrences. |
semantic content of the -ma-li and other root final elements. For instance Fred Reece (1851A 2401), asked to translate ‘put out the fire!’, gives baluma-la (balu-gi ‘die’, balu ‘dead’, -la ‘IMPerative) but then corrects himself and says baluwa-la, with a different suffix on balu. Donaldson’s analysis of such Wangaaybuwan roots as compounds is discussed in §10.5.

Table 181  Examples of factative use of -ma-li

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Nominal/adverb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhawu-ma-li</td>
<td>cook in the ashes, cover (with earth)</td>
<td>dhawun</td>
<td>earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biiwan-ma-li</td>
<td>puff out chest</td>
<td>bii ‘chest’; -wan ‘with prominent’</td>
<td>orphan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaban-ma-li</td>
<td>make better</td>
<td>gaba</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giiyan-ma-li</td>
<td>frighten</td>
<td>giyal</td>
<td>afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maayu-ma-li</td>
<td>heal; YR</td>
<td>maayu</td>
<td>well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maaru-ma-li</td>
<td>heal; GR</td>
<td>maaru</td>
<td>well</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

English borrowings: As in many other Aboriginal languages (e.g. Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 212)), many English verbs borrowed into YG include a suffix which includes -ma-li. The YG suffix is at least i-C-ma-li, where C is n, rr or Ø. Examples are given below. There is considerable variation, even in the suffix on one English verb. N precedes m if the preceding consonant is a laminal (dh or dj) or rr, and rr (rarely Ø) precedes m otherwise.214

Table 182  Some YG verbs derived from English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English verb</th>
<th>YG verb</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wash</td>
<td>wagirrmal-li; wagirrbama-li; wagirrba-li</td>
<td>-irrma-i, -irrbama-li, -irrba-li</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kick</td>
<td>gig-i-rr-ma-li, gigima-li</td>
<td>-irrma-li, -ima-li</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pick</td>
<td>pick-i-ma-li</td>
<td>-ima-li</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boil</td>
<td>baayl-i-rr-ma-li</td>
<td>-irrma-li</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lose</td>
<td>*yuluurr-i-n-ma-li</td>
<td>-inma-li</td>
<td>initial yu-added; initial l is not possible in YG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>win</td>
<td>bidji-i-n-ma-li</td>
<td>-inma-li</td>
<td>from ‘beat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>dhuudhi-i-n-ma-li;</td>
<td>-inma-li</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*yuluurr-i-n-ma-li ‘lose’ has yu added since YG words cannot be l initial.

9.4.2  -ba-li/-ba-y ‘DELOCutive, causative2’

The suffix -bama-li is also discussed here, since it is formally and functionally similar. Often -ba-li has a clear delocutive function (to do with speech) but there are many other occurrences of the suffix for which no common function has been found. With delocutive function it occurs only on nominals and adverbs, and even with other functions it rarely if ever suffixes a verb.

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213 See §9.4.3 for -bi-li with this use in WN.
214 Koch (pers. comm.) comments that early loanwords came via Pidgin English, in which transitive verbs ended in -im or -it. It appears that the -irr forms above could be from -ir final verbs and a form like pickima-li from ‘pick’em’. The ones that add n may be more recent and follow the strategy of native derivations.
Table 183 gives many examples of verb final -ba-li. All the verbs in the first section are delocutive. The first element sometimes describes what is said (gayrr ‘name’) but many are not analysable: dhayaam may be ‘a whisper’, but there is no other evidence for this. At other times the first element is a bound root. The meaning of miin- is probably ‘towards/for the speaker’. Evidence for this comes from minba-y but also from minna-li ‘pull’ and WN minba-y ‘cadge’, min.bay-ma-li ‘beg’ and min.ga-y ‘fancy sexually’.

Girribal ‘riddle’ is a nominal, but may be derived from girrribal (an unattested verb) by a regular nominalisation process.

In WN -ba-li can be suffixed to actual words (wangaay ‘no’) or onomatopoeic elements. No such verbs are found in YG but the nominal dhiidjiibawaa suggests this can occur. Dhiidjiibawaa (also dhiidiimba-waa) is ‘Soldier bird/Yellow throated miner’. Arthur Dodd (8186 153) says of the bird: “dhii dhii”, he goes like that. The presumed delocutive verb from this call is dhiidjiiba-li ‘say dhii dhii’. The suffix -awaa is ‘habitual’, and so dhiidjiibawaa is ‘the thing that always says dhii dhii’.

The last section of Table 183 lists other -ba-li and -ba-y-final verbs. The first verbs in this section may have a factitive meaning ‘sharpen, teach, heal’, a function found for -ba-li in other languages and guwiinba-li216 ‘come near’ has inchoative meaning. However, quite a few of the uses of the suffix are unexplained.

There are other examples, or potential examples, of the suffix. At 8184 3198 JM asks AD to translate ‘It made a hollow sound and I knew a goanna must be hidden underground’, referring to someone hitting the ground with the point of a stick. In an unclear response AD seems to say: dhurradhurra-ba-lda-nhi dhaymaarr (-lda-nhi ‘-CTS-PST’). The verb seems to mean something like ‘thumping the ground so that it made a noise’. Dhurra is likely to be related to dhu-rii ‘poke’ or be onomatopoeic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Element gloss/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gayrrba-li</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>name</td>
<td>gayrr</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girriinba-li</td>
<td>intr</td>
<td>make a lot of noise</td>
<td>girriin</td>
<td>noise?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhayaamba-li</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>whisper</td>
<td>dhayaa?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buuba-li</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>fart</td>
<td>buu</td>
<td>air/wind?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gidjigidjiba-li</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>tickle</td>
<td>gidjigidji?</td>
<td>armpit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minba-y</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>ask for</td>
<td>miin</td>
<td>for speaker#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiilamba-li</td>
<td>(word from TF)</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>contradict</td>
<td>yiili/yilay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girribal</td>
<td></td>
<td>riddle</td>
<td>girri?</td>
<td>nominal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nominal from delocutive verb which includes actual thing said

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Element gloss/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhiidjiibawaa</td>
<td></td>
<td>soldier bird</td>
<td>dhii-dhii</td>
<td>‘he says dhii dhii’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-Delocutive use of -ba-li

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Element gloss/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yadhaba-li</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>sharpen GR</td>
<td>yadhala?</td>
<td>sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burranba-li</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>change</td>
<td>burran?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buluba-li</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>cover</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maru-fulme:nj</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>heal (maaru-ba-l-mayaa-nhi: well-ba-ONE.DAY-PST)</td>
<td>maaru</td>
<td>well; Wurm 40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

215 Some roots may be -ba-li-final but not include the suffix.
216 This verb is clearly intransitive in its three occurrences in the tapes, but the expected intransitive form is guwiinba-y.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Element gloss/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ūrūunbulle: ??-ba-li</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>teach (make to know)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ridley 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garranba-li</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>push against, shove, stop</td>
<td>cf. garra-li</td>
<td>cut?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhuwinba-li</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>hide</td>
<td>dhuwi-y</td>
<td>stick into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biinba-li</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>sweep</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhurraaba-li</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>make come out (blood, teeth, vomit)</td>
<td>dhurra-li</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guwiinba-li</td>
<td>intr</td>
<td>come near</td>
<td>guwiin</td>
<td>close</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulagarranza-li</td>
<td>intr</td>
<td>come back</td>
<td>gula</td>
<td>fork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulagarrana</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>come back boomerang</td>
<td>garra-li</td>
<td>cut?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#cf. WN min-ba-li ‘cadge’, min-ga-li ‘fancy sexually’

CW (3998A 1595) asks AD to translate: ‘the boy scared the girl with a grasshopper’. AD uses garigari-ba-lay (garigari ‘afraid’) in the answer, but other elements in his sentence suggest he may be using Wayilwan.

There are other possible instances of the suffix. Dhurraaba-li is ‘make come out’ and seems to be derived from dhurra-li ‘come’. It occurs in sentences like: ‘make (someone) vomit’ and ‘the baby dribbled’. It may contain the suffix, but there is no explanation for the long a before -ba-li. Another possible example is a verb found only once, which also has -aba-li. AD3220A 2796 uses winanga-aba-li for ‘think’, derived from winanga-y, also ‘think’.

9.4.2.1 -ba-li/-ba-y in other languages

The discussion of YG -ba-li/-ba-y has been informed by similar suffixes in other languages. Dixon (2002: 76) points out: ‘some Australian languages have a delocutive derivational suffix … which forms a verb “say X” from lexeme X’.

WN has many examples of delocutive -ba-li/-ba-y, some with the suffix on an actual word, others with the suffix on an onomatopoeic element. The delocutive uses of the suffix include phonologically irregular verbs including dagnba-li and ngabba-li: Table 184. The suffix has other uses including inchoative and causative.

The uses on WN ‘laugh’ and ‘cry’ are unusual in that the effect is S > A, forming verbs ‘laugh at’, ‘cry at’, not S > O, as with most transitivising derivations. The range of WN uses of -ba-li/-ba-y, some not well understood, are seen in Table 184 (many of these examples are from Donaldson’s unpublished draft dictionary). They suggest that YG also had a wide range of uses for these suffixes.

The WN evidence suggests that, as for -ma-li, there is a restriction that -ba-li can only be suffixed on a verb where the agent does not have control of the action. So it is suffixed on ‘cry’ and ‘laugh’, which are typically involuntary, but not on ‘talk’ or ‘sing’, which are typically voluntary.

A similar suffix is found in other languages. In Kuku Yalanji, Patz (2002: 98) says that the ‘state causative verbaliser -bunga-l has a reduced allomorph -ba-l’. These suffixes form verbs like ‘make hard’ from ‘hard’ and ‘teach’ from ‘know’.
Table 184 Some Wangaaybuwan examples of -ba-li/-ba-y

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>element</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sangaaymaba-y</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>refuse</td>
<td>wangaay</td>
<td>wangaay ‘no’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaawaampa-y</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>agree</td>
<td>ngaawa</td>
<td>ngaawa ‘yes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daguna-li</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>go ‘dag’</td>
<td>dagn</td>
<td>phonologically irregular: Text 5–20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Delocutive’ on onomatopoeic element, sound type, or verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>element</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gulgula-li</td>
<td>intr</td>
<td>make ‘odd little noise’</td>
<td>gulgul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngabba-li</td>
<td>intr</td>
<td>fizz out</td>
<td>ngab</td>
<td>like ‘phut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhunba-li (&lt; dhun-ba-li)</td>
<td>intr</td>
<td>go ‘dhun’</td>
<td>dhun217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murrubba-li</td>
<td>intr</td>
<td>thunder</td>
<td>murr?</td>
<td>onomatopoeic?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngalamba-li</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>abuse</td>
<td>ngalum</td>
<td>?swearing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginda-y-ba-li</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>laugh at</td>
<td>ginda-y</td>
<td>laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yunga-y-ba-li</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>cry (at)</td>
<td>yunga-y</td>
<td>cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minba-y</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>cadge</td>
<td>min?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inchoative non-Delocutive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>element</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>milana-y</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>get close to</td>
<td>milan</td>
<td>close?, one in YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bugaba-y</td>
<td>intr</td>
<td>get rotten</td>
<td>buga</td>
<td>rotten, dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ban.ga-y-ba-y</td>
<td>intr</td>
<td>dry out, perish, die</td>
<td>ban.ga-y</td>
<td>be dry; dry (Adj)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other non-Delocutive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>element</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>balabba-li</td>
<td>intr</td>
<td>twitch</td>
<td>balab?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badjulba-li</td>
<td>intr</td>
<td>shoot out</td>
<td>badjul?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girrba-y</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>torment</td>
<td>girr?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gananbaa-li</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>put on shoulder</td>
<td>ganaay</td>
<td>legs apart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gananbaa-y</td>
<td>intr</td>
<td>ride (horse)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.4.2.2 -bama-li ‘(DELOCutive) causative3’

The suffix -bama-li, like -ba-li seems to have a delocutive function and a more general causative function. Its unique use is as a causative (on a sound emission verb) forming yu-bama-li ‘make cry’ from yu-gi ‘cry’ (724). It is also found alternating with -ba-li in a number of verbs including dhubraabar[ma]-li ‘make come out’. There is generally no discernable difference in meaning. Formally -bama-li is a compound of -ba-li and -ma-li, but the logic of the combination is not clear (perhaps cause by hitting?). It may be that semantically there is no difference between -ma-li and -bama-li in many situations, or that the -ba in -bama-li is epenthetic, as it often is in Wangaaybuwan. Donaldson (1980: 163) notes:

Except for stems formed by attaching -ma-li[i] to Y1 conjugation roots, all the stems of transitivised Y conjugation verbs contain the syllable ba, either because the transitiviser -ba-li[i] is added to the root, or because the root itself ends in ba, or because an epenthetic ba occurs between the root and whichever causative suffix follows. But in the latter two cases the suffix has no discernable function.

There is much about this suffix that is not understood.

217 Ngabba-li is ‘fizz out’ approximating English ‘go phut’. Dhubba-li is from a story, and refers to someone ‘saying dhub’ over and over. Information from unpublished Wangaaybuwan dictionary MS.
(724) shows yu-bama-li. Whereas -ba-li in WN changes ‘cry’ to ‘cry at’ (S > A) the YG -bama-li changes the S of the original verb (yu-gi) to the O of the derived verb.

(724) The boy made the baby cry.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
giirr \quad nhama \quad birray-djuul-u \quad nhama \quad bubaay-djuul \quad / \quad yu.bama-y
\end{array}
\]

true 3.DEF / boy-ONE-ERG / that / small-DIM / made.cry-PST

Some examples suggest that at times -ba-li and -bama-li are equivalent. ‘Cover up’ is found as both buluba-y (middle form, 5052 2921) and bulubama-li (1850A 1271). FR also has a fairly uncertain bulubama-li (2439A 3520). ‘Make come out (e.g. blood, teeth)’ is both dhurraaba-li (previous section) and dhurraabama-li. (725) is unusual in have ‘nose’ as the Ergative subject. A similar situation uses a middle form of the suffix (726). AD tried other forms of the verb before settling on dhurraabama-nhi. It is likely he was not sure of the appropriate form.

(725) The baby’s nose was running.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
muya, \quad muyu-ga-la \quad ngaungu \quad ngaama \quad / \quad mirril \quad dhurra.a-bama-lда-nhi
\end{array}
\]
nose, nose-ERG-la? 3SG.ERG?DAT that / snot come out+a-bama-CTS-PST

(726) The baby cried and dribbled down its chin.

(a) giirr nhama biralii-djuul / yu-gi.la-nhi /

true 3.DEF child-DIM / cry-CTS-PRS /

(b) ngaama=bala=Na wiiluan dhurraa?-y / dhurra.a-bama-nhi

that=CTR=3 dribble come?-.PST / come+a-bama.M-PST

The same root form, this time L class and transitive, is found in (727), with a different meaning. AD translates it as ‘catch up’.

(727) He joined the other kangaroos (and they all hopped a long way into the bush).

\[
\begin{array}{l}
giirr \quad ngaama=nha, \quad ngaarrma \quad nguu / \quad dhurra.a-bama-y
\end{array}
\]

true that=3, that 3ERG / come+a-bama-PST

He caught them up.

AD

-bama-li also occurs in the verb wagirr-bama-li, one version of Yuwaalaraayised ‘wash’. There is a verb bama-li ‘squash, knead (bread)’, but there is no obvious relationship to the suffix.

9.4.3 -bi-li/-wi-li ‘LET, move away’

The form -bi-li\textsuperscript{218} is found a few times as a suffix on intransitive verbs, with a meaning that can broadly be described as ‘let’. It, and its lenited form -wi-li, are common as verb root final elements with meanings ‘away’ and less commonly ‘let’, but not all verbs with root final -bi-li and -wi-li obviously include the meaning ‘away’\textsuperscript{219} or ‘let’. Intransitive verbs suffixed with -bi-li ‘let’ form a transitive verb, and with original S > O and a new Agent argument introduced. When -bi-li occurs on a verb stem with meaning ‘away’, it seems to have no syntactic effect.

The verb yanaaynbi-li ‘release, let go’ (yanaa-y ‘go’) is common; (728) and (232). The suffix here can be analysed as incorporating both ‘let’ and ‘away’. In the elicitation of (728) Dodd

\textsuperscript{218} Other potential occurrences have been recently found. Greenway (Science of Man, Sept 1 1911 p106 line 18) has maiaiba for ‘put his (arms) around (his neck)’ in a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son. This may include the verb ma-y ‘be up’ and -bi-y, the middle form of -bi-li ‘away’.

\textsuperscript{219} WN -bi-li (Donaldson, 1980: 202) has similar uses.
initially says \( yanaaymay \), then corrects it to \( yanaaynbiy \). A difference from the causative suffixes previously discussed is that the Object of the verb does have an active role in the result of the verb: they chose to go. The suffix is also found in \( bindaybi-li \) ‘hang, tr.’ (730) \( (binda-y \) ‘hang intr’). These uses indicate that the suffix is productive. I have no explanation for the differences found at the root-suffix junction: \( y \) in \( bindaybi \), \( yn \) in \( yanaaynbi \). Further variation is found. Laves (729), (9 p148) has \( yanaimbila \) \( (yanaaymbi-la) \), with \( ym \) at the junction.

(728) I let him go.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{giir} \ nguay \ yanaaynbi-y \\
&\text{true} \ 1SG \ \text{let.go-PST}
\end{align*}
\]

Laves 9–67

(729) \( yanaimbila \) \( yalanina \)

\[
\begin{align*}
&yanaaymbi-la \ ngalinnya \\
&\text{let.go-IMP} \ 2DU.ACC
\end{align*}
\]

coming for us

Let us (2) go.

Laves

(730) \( bindaybi-la \) \( ngarribaay muaan-da \)

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{hang-IMP} \ \text{up} \ \text{tree-LOC}
\end{align*}
\]

Hang it up on the tree.

The suffix also occurs, rarely, on intransitivised verbs. Ridley (p8) has \( humanabille \) \( (bumabili-li) \) ‘allow to be beaten’ \( (buma-li \ ‘beaten’) \). Like \( ngarramba-li \) ‘show’, this appears to be the result of a two stage process, firstly the intransitivising of \( buma-li \ ‘hit’ \), then the addition of a causative suffix. However, the form \( buma-na \) is not currently analysable. Intransitivised/middle \( buma-li \) is \( buma-y \).

There are a number of verbs which may historically incorporate the suffix. They are listed in Giacon (2001: 73). Some, with the likely first element of the root, are: \( gurrububi-li \) ‘swallow’ \( (guru ‘hole’) \), \( wululabi-y \ ‘sun oneself, get warm’ \( (wuulaa ‘lizard’) \), \( dhabi-y \ ‘be quiet’ \( (\text{-dha-y ‘mouthing’) \) and less likely \( dhubi-li \ ‘spit’ \( (\text{dhurri ‘poke’) \). \)

Mathews\( YR \) has \( kaiiaabilla \ ‘masturbation’ \). The structure of the verb is uncertain but is likely to incorporate \( gaa-y ‘turn’ \) and \( \text{-bi-li} \). \( Gaya-y \) and a lenited \( -bi-li \) are likely to be part of \( gayawi-li \ ‘pelt’. \) Milson has \( thoorobineea ‘let out’ \) and \( ooroobineea ‘put in’. \) These may be derived form \( dhurra-li ‘come’ \) and \( wuru-gi ‘go in’ \), suffixed with \( \text{-bi-y} \) and with \( nea \) representing \( =nya ‘3ACC’ \). \) She also has \( wanoobilla ‘let go, \) likely \( wana-bi-la ‘let-bi-IMP’ \). \) These suggest the suffix was relatively common. Wurm (p71) has \( gaa:bi: ‘to keep’ \( (\text{gaabiy-y: possibly from gaa-gi ‘take’) \), possibly using the middle form of the suffix or perhaps past tense of \( gaabi-li \).

Sim (1998: 67) has \( yulayambilanhi \) \( (yulaa-y-m-bi-y-la-nhi) \ ‘tangled’. This seems to be the result of multiple derivations and presumably incorporates \( yulaa-y \), the middle verb from \( yulaa-li ‘tie’, \) \( \text{-bi-y} \) and the continuous suffix. \) I do not attempt to untangle the semantics.

Another likely occurrence of the suffix is in \( binadhi wuubiyaan ‘slow worm’, \) which Arthur Dodd indicates is based on \( bina ‘ear’ \) and \( waa-gi ‘go in’ \) \( (\text{-dhii Ablative and -yaan nominaliser). \) The meaning of \( \text{-bi-y} \) here is not clear.

More uncertain examples are found in Laves. He has (9 p65) \( ninda \ yana-wiyaiya ‘you can go’ \( (yana-y ‘go’ \), the gloss consistent with \( \text{-wi-y} \) being a reflex of \( \text{-bi-li} \). \) At the same place he has \( yana-wiya ‘hither you going’ \), a similar verb but likely to be intransitive, and so inconsistent with the suffix. \( \) At (9 p91) he has \( gayawila ‘throw’ \) and \( gayarabili ‘throw in return’. \) The first is \( gayawi-la ‘throw-IMP’ \), the second not analysed but likely contains \( \text{-bi-li} \).

In Wangaaybuwan \( \text{-li} \) is found in compound verbs with the gloss ‘move away’ and when used to categorise verbs it is associated with verbs like ‘give’ and ‘throw’. It is not found with the meaning ‘let’. \) WN examples include: \( gaabi-li ‘vomit’ \) \( (\text{cf. YR gaawi-li; gaa-y ‘bring, WN’ gaa-gi ‘bring, YR’}) \), \( magambi-li ‘hiccup’, ngudharrbi-li ‘feed’ \( (ngu-y give, dha-y ‘eating’) \). An interesting comparison is the WN and YR adaptations of English ‘shoot’: \( huuudhimbi-li \) and \( huuudhimma-li \)
respectively. The WN verb incorporates -bi-li ‘away’, whereas the YR has the general transitiviser -ma-li, suggesting YR language knowledge had decreased when it formed this verb.

In WN -bi-y (p188) is an aspectual suffix ‘behind’, e.g. on wii-y ‘sit’ forming ‘stay behind’. Other occurrences include on ‘red’ to form ‘show red’ as in ‘the car lights showed red’.

### 9.4.4 -mi-li/-mi-yI ‘SEE/eye’

The morpheme -mi-li is found in a small number of compound YR verb roots whose meaning includes or likely includes ‘looking’. The morpheme is almost certainly historically related to mil ‘eye’. There is slight evidence that it could be a productive verb suffix. WN has a partially productive verb suffix -mi-y ‘watch’ and probably a verb stem formative -mi-li. As is many other instances there is less YG evidence than WN.

Table 185 has all -mi-li-final YG verbs. All have ‘see’ as a clear or likely component of their meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WN verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Possibly related morphemes/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngami-li</td>
<td>see; tr; GR</td>
<td>cf. YR ngarra-li ‘see’, WN ngaa-y ‘see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhurraami-li</td>
<td>wait for; tr</td>
<td>cf. dhurra-li ‘come’; it is ‘meet’ once, 8186 3293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuumi-li</td>
<td>peep; intr?</td>
<td>wuuni-go ‘in’; wuumi-li is probably intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunmi-li</td>
<td>watch; tr</td>
<td>Uncle Ted Fields translates this word as ‘cadging, look at something with a greedy look, a wanting look in the eye’. Cf. WN gunmi-li ‘look-want’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuwaanmi-li?</td>
<td>lose; tr</td>
<td>?yuwaal ‘no’*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The relation of yuwaan to yuwaal, the older form of ‘no; YR’, is speculative.

Ngami-li ‘see, GR’ is likely derived from a root related to ngaa-y ‘see’. Dhurraami-li (731) is likely derived from dhurra-li ‘come’, with the lengthening of the final vowel seen in other derivations. It has an added A argument: the S of dhurra-li > O of dhurraami-li.

The common transitive use of dhurraami-li is seen in (731). Its use in (732) is unclear. There is no indication that the verb in (732) is transitive. It could indicate it is the children who will come back after looking, but that means the suffix can have different transitivity effects.

Wuumi-li is rare. It is found at AD 3217A 2023, used of a joey (young kangaroo) peeping out from its mother’s pouch, clearly involving the two concepts of ‘going in/be going in’ (wuu-gi) and ‘looking’. JS3216B 652 uses it to translate ‘looking in the grass’. His use is further proof that the word was found in YG, but does not clarify its structure.

(731) CW I waited for you. FR I waited for you.

\textit{giirr ngay' nginunha dhurraami-y}

true 1SG 2SG.ACC wait.for-PST

(732) (The two children went looking for the horse, they didn’t know where it had gone.)

They will come back later on.

(AD 5129A 2321)

(a) \textit{giirr ngaama / dhurraa-mi-Luwii-y}

true that / wait.fo??(come-SEE)-BACK-FUT

(speculative) They will come back after looking.  JG

(b) \textit{giirr ngaama yanaa-w.uwi-y dhaay / buluarr / birralii-gaali}

true that go-BACK-FUT to.here / two / child-DU

These come back directly, them two little fellows.  AD

They will come back here, them two, the two kids.  JG
A potential example is found in Wurm (p86). He has *wäreːmi-i* in a sentence ‘to the two children he said to look for the horse’. The verb may be *warray-mi-y* ‘stand-mi-past’.

The WN evidence in Table 186 is from the published grammar and also from examination of the WN pre-dictionary (unpublished). It shows that WN verb final-*mi-li* and -*mi-y* are quite common. Many of the verbs in the table do not have recorded YG equivalents, and the WN could serve as a model for developing YG verbs.

Donaldson (1980: 172) describes the suffix *-mi-y* ‘watching’, one of a number of ‘implicative’ suffixes, which imply an additional argument in the sentence. The verb remains intransitive, with the thing watched in Locative case. -*mi-y* has only been found attached to the three verbs of position which also function as existential verbs: *wi-y* ‘sit’, *wara-y* ‘stand’ and *yuwa-y* ‘lie’. The first two entries in Table 186 suggest the suffix is also found in other historically compound roots.

The -*mi-li* verbs in Table 186 all have meanings related to ‘seeing’ and the suffix is in each instance attached to a recognisable or at least probable separate morpheme. This suggests that -*mi-li* could be added to the list of WN bound verb forms (Donaldson, 1980: 202). There is clear WN evidence for -*mi-li* and -*mi-y* as suffixes, with at least some ongoing productivity. Compounds containing -*mi-li* are all transitive.

### Table 186 WN examples of -*mi-li/-mi-y* ‘watch/see’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WN verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Suffix -mi-y</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wii-mi-y</em></td>
<td>sit look; intr</td>
<td>derived from <em>wii-y</em> ‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>banmi-y</em></td>
<td>wait for; tr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mayi(i)mì-y</em></td>
<td>seem, look; intr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Suffix -mi-li</strong> – all transitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mugami-li</em></td>
<td>stare</td>
<td>cf. YG <em>muga</em> ‘blind, blunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>walimi-li</em></td>
<td>dislike</td>
<td>cf. <em>walindja-li</em> YG, WN ‘be lonely’, so <em>wali</em> as a meaningful morpheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gulami-li</em></td>
<td>not find</td>
<td>cf. <em>gula-ma-y</em> ‘hunt-fail; intr’ WN; <em>gula- ‘fail’</em> could be added to ‘bound modifiers’ and -<em>mi-li</em> to the list of ‘bound verb forms’ Donaldson (p202).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gunmi-li</em></td>
<td>look-want</td>
<td>cf. GR <em>gunmi-li</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>manmi-li</em></td>
<td>follow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>manaymi-li</em></td>
<td>sight (game)</td>
<td>cf. <em>manabi-y</em> ‘hunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>guunggaygmi-li</em></td>
<td>look round something at</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10 Other verbal morphology

This chapter considers other suffixes which do not change the transitivity of verbs. They may be described as medial suffixes since they occur after valency changing suffixes (Chapter 9) and before the inflectional suffixes (Chapter 8). It also includes potential verbal suffixes, and a number of other areas of verb morphology including nominalisations.

10.1 Verbal derivations with no effect on valency

This section gathers together a number of YG verbal derivational suffixes which, in Donaldson’s terms (1980: 183), ‘have no syntactic effect whatsoever’ on the verb. The suffixes are listed in Table 187, along with the Class Marker (CM) which precedes each suffix.

The suffixes discussed first are found many times and have clear meaning. Suffixes lower in Table 187 are progressively less well understood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Verb class/Class Marker (CM)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb class</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-uwi-y</td>
<td>BACK</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aaba-li</td>
<td>TOTal</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-DHa-y</td>
<td>EAT</td>
<td>Æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngila-y</td>
<td>TOGether</td>
<td>Æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mayi-y</td>
<td>UP</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Nami-y</td>
<td>WANT</td>
<td>Æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mi-y</td>
<td>DARE</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nhumi-y</td>
<td>BEFORE</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dhiya-li</td>
<td>AFTER</td>
<td>Æ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Upper case W indicates that the CM is w after a or u and y after i.

10.1.1 -uwi-y ‘BACK’

The predominant use of the suffix -uwi-y ‘BACK’, is to indicate motion back to some established point of reference. It is common with intransitive and intransitive motion verbs such as ‘go’, ‘run’ and ‘carry’ or ‘throw’. The movement back is of the subject: (733) and (734) ‘go, run’; the object: (738) and (739) ‘give, throw’; or both: (735) and (736) ‘carry’. Relatively uncommonly it is used to indicate return to a previous state: ‘go back to sleep’ or other events that do not actually involve motion, such as ‘look back’. Some recent uses may involve calques of English expressions such as ‘lean back’. It has a range of translations, such as ‘back’, ‘home’ and at times it is not explicitly

220 The continuous and TOD/DIT suffixes discussed previously also have no syntactic effect.
translated, for instance in: ‘bring it home’, ‘the strangers walked away (back to their place)’ and ‘the men (after hunting) carried the meat’. There are a number of examples which suggest a broader use for the suffix. Historically the morpheme may have been used in creating compound nouns and verbs, with some phonological adaptation. The CMs for all verb classes are given in Table 187 and seen in (733)–(738), which include transitive and intransitive verbs. The NG class CM varies. For gaa-gi ‘bring, take’ the CM is g except in rare FR instances when it is w (gaa-w.uwi-y). These are best treated as unsurprising phonetic lenition of stop following a long vowel. W and g are found once each as the CM with wana-gi ‘throw’.

There are many clear examples of -uwi-y in later sources. There are likely occurrences in earlier sources but they are generally not clear. The suffix occurs around 180 times on the tapes, with over 50 instances involving gaa-g.uwi-y ‘bring, take-BACK’, around 50 yanaa-w.uwi-y ‘go, come-BACK’, 30 dhurra-l.uwi-y ‘come-BACK’ and ten dharrawu-L.uvi-y ‘return-BACK’.

(733) (Two men speared the kangaroo then) went back to camp.  CW/AD 3217A 2322

yanaa-w.uwi-nyi=nya ngaam' buluarr=nga

that two=THEN

The two of them went back then.  JG

(734) The kids were happy when their father came home.  JM/FR 2437A 1306

gayaa nhama birrali-gal gi-nyi / buwadjar ganungu dhurra-L.uvi-ngindaay

happy 3.DEF child-PL.DIM get-PST / father 3.PL.DAT come[1]-BACK-SUB

The kids are all pleased because the father come home.  FR

The kids are pleased because their father has come back.  JG

(735) There he is bringing it home now.  AD/JM 8187 113

nguwama / nhama nguu ngaara-la / gaa-g.uwi-yaa-ndaay

there / 3.DEF 3SG.ERG look-IMP / bring[NG]-BACK-MOV-SUB

Look at him there, bringing it back.  JG

(736) The men carried the ducks and emus in the net.  JM/AD 8187 1415

(a) ngaama ganugu gula-dha / gaa-g.uwi-yaa-nhi / dhinawan garrangay

that 3PL.ERG bag-LOC / bring[NG]-BACK-MOV-PST / emu duck

They were bringing them back in the net, emus, ducks.  JG

(b) minyaminymambul, ngaama, ngiyama ganugu walaay-gu gaa-g.uwi-nyi

everything, that, there 3perg camp-ALL bring[NG]-BACK-PST

They brought everything back to the camp.  JG

(737) He might crawl back to the camp.  CW/AD 5129A 2040

giirr=badhaay=aa ngaama dhuu-rr.uwi-y

true=MIGHT=POT that crawl[RR]-BACK-FUT

He might crawl back.  JG

(738) Give back my spear.  CW/AD 5056 2644

wuu-rr.uwi-ya nhama ngay bilaarr
give[RR]-BACK-IMP 1SG.DAT spear

You give it back to me.  AD

Give me back that spear.  JG

(739) and then she put the little thing back into her bag.  JM/AD 8186 776

yaluu ngaama dhuwinba-L.uwi-nyi

again that hide[1]-BACK-PST

She planted it again, (you might as well say).  AD

(She) hid it again.  JG
There are instances of the suffix which are less obvious. One is *gaga-l.uwi-y* ‘call back’: ‘sing out to him, make him come back, he’ll get drowned’ (AD/JM 3220A 2593). Another is seen in (740), with a position verb. It is unclear if the boy is returning to a previous position, or if ‘sit back’ refers to the way of sitting. The same ambiguity occurs in the English, and the YR may actually be a calque from English.

The boy sat back against the log.  

\[
giirr \ ngaam / nhaadiyaan-da \ ngaam \ birralii-djuul / wilaw.uwi-nyi
\]

true / log-LOC that child-DIM / sit-BACK-PST

Another unusual use of -uwi-y is in *dhurraami-l.uwi-y* ‘wait-BACK-FUT’, which occurs in an unclear passage about two children who had gone to look for a horse (CW/AD 5129A 2331). AD quickly replaces it with *yanaa-w.uwi-y* ‘come- BACK-FUT’ ‘these (children) will come back directly’. The interpretation of the original verb is not obvious, but could be ‘wait (for the horse), then come back’, encoding two actions by the children.

The verb *wana-gi* has two main senses, ‘throw’ and ‘leave, let’. There is one example of *wana-w.uwi-y* ‘throw-BACK’ (5130 957) and there is one instance of *wana-g.uwi-y* ‘leave’ (AD3217A 1384) in ‘they left him back there while they all went away’. In the latter ‘back there’ refers to a previous position of the subject, but not one they are necessarily returning to. In a similar example CW (5131 1904) uses *ngarra-l-uwi-nyi* for ‘look back at the baby’. AD agrees with the translation, rather than offering it.

(741) is one of the few clear examples of the suffix in the old sources, with Mathews apparently glossing the suffix ‘again’. Here the suffix may refer to an action being ‘done back’, with the original Patient now the Agent.

(741) Ngaia bumulluin Yalu buraluui

(a) ngaya buma-Luwi-nyi

1SG hit[1]-BACK-PST

I beat again.  

JG

I hit (him) back. (I hit him.)

(b) yaluu buma-Luwi-ya

again hit[1]-BACK-IMP

Beat again.  

JG

Hit him back again.

In modern sources -uwi-y is well attested on *dhurra-li* ‘come’ and also on *dharravu-li* ‘return’, where its use seems redundant. What are likely related forms are found in early sources, but are often unclear. Ridley (p39) has *Turrawulla* ‘go back’. MathewsGR (p267) has *Thurrawullai* ‘go home’. Laves has some clear examples including *daravaluinji (dharrava-Luwi-nyi)* unglossed, in a sentence to do with boomerangs (9 p110). Wurm (p84) has a less clear example of the same verb: *dgawalu(w)uy* ‘will return’.

10.1.1.1 Fossilised use of -uwi-y

There are a number of now monomorphic YG words which may historically be compounds including *uwi*. There is formal and semantic evidence for this.

YR **dhaygaluwi**\(^{221}\) ‘pillow’ is clearly based on *dhaygal* ‘head’. As AD points out when discussing the word (5052 1770), a pillow is where ‘you put your head back’. YR has *dhaan* ‘sideways’. It is possible that the first syllable of the verb *dhanduwi-y* ‘sleep, lie’ is cognate with *dhaan* and the second part is *uwi*, giving it a compositional gloss something like ‘lean back’.

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\(^{221}\) Jane Simpson (pers. comm.) points out an alternative derivation, that *uwi* may have been historically a verb with a meaning such as ‘lie’. There are correspondences in other languages of *yawa* as a position verb; cf. Yandruwantha *yaka*. 
There are similar suffixes in other languages, including Wangaaybuwan, which has -buna-y, -burri-y ‘back’ (in different dialects) (Donaldson, 1980: 192). While Williams (1980: 81) mentions use of -uwi-y only with ‘intransitive verbs of motion and position’, Donaldson also gives examples of use of the suffix with transitive verbs of motion such as ‘give’ and ‘blow’. She also records ‘sporadic’ use with transitive verbs when ‘the agent performs the actions “back(wards)”’, such as ‘look back’ and ‘think back’. She suggests these may be calque formations based on English. Bickerdike (2006) does not have a similar suffix, but preliminary study of the Wayilwan tapes suggest -wuna-y ‘back’ is found.

In Yandruwantha (Breen, 2004: 152) the form thika can be a free form ‘return’ or can be the second part of a compound with a range of functions including:

a) ‘action back to a previous spot (often the camp)’: minithika ‘to run back’ (mini ‘run’), pakathika, pakanathika ‘to bring back, to carry home’ (and many others)

b) ‘action followed by a return to a previous spot (often the camp)’: kunathika ‘defecate’ (kuna is a noun, ‘faeces’; and the only verb for ‘defecate’ in the Yandruwantha dictionary is kunathika), warrkathika ‘to leave [over there]’ (warka ‘to throw’), mandrithika ‘to go and get’ (mandri ‘pick up, get, take’), thangguthika ‘to go and visit’ (thangu ‘stand’), nhinatharrathika ‘to go and visit’ (nhina ‘sit, stay, live, be’; tharra ‘fly’) (and many others)

c) ‘action directed back to the point of origin of an action to which it is a response’: nganathika ‘to tell [someone] back’ (and many others)

d) ‘action carried out on behalf of someone other than the actor’: nhapithika ‘to mix (damper)’ (nhapi ‘roll up; mix’), wawawawanathika ‘to look after’ (wawa ‘see, look’).

There are also some unanalysed uses of the suffix.

The Yandruwantha uses a and c specify the direction of the action, similar to the uses seen in YG. Use of b, as described, specifies two actions – that of the main root, and a ‘movement back’. This is ‘associated motion’ as described initially by Koch (1984, 2006) and since by Wilkins (2006) and others. Evans (1985) points out that in Kayadild ‘verb-return’ means ‘go and verb and return’. No examples of such use of -uwi-y have been found.

10.1.2 -aab-li ‘TOTal’

The function of -aab-li ‘TOTal’ is largely as described by Williams (1980: 80):

The suffix indicates the completive aspect, and adds the meaning ‘all’ to the sentence. The suffix operates Ergatively, indicating ‘all’ O [Object] for a transitive sentence, ‘all’ S [Subject] for an intransitive.

However, there are other uses which are less common and so more difficult to specify precisely. With verbs of intermediate transitivity the suffix has variant meaning. There are instances where the meaning is ‘many’ rather than ‘all’, and other instances where ‘totally’ or ‘thoroughly’ are more appropriate translations than ‘all’. It may have an emphatic meaning when used with dual referents. With three-place verbs it may be that the use can vary. In (745) the meaning is all O, in (746) it is all the indirect object. The CMs are as set out in Table 187.

The common meanings are seen in (742)–(745): all O in (742) and (745), all S in (743) and (744).

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222 The b use is not always as straightforward as the description suggests. The suffix -thika is attached to a noun, not a verb, in kunathika. In nhinatharrathika ‘to go and visit’ the suffix is attached to a combination of two verbs, and the meaning is not compositional, or in thangguthika. On p154 Breen points out that verbs can have both use a and b. Wawathika ‘see-return’ is used for ‘look-back’ but wawathika is more often used to mean ‘go and see, go and visit’. There is potential for YG to use -uwi-y more broadly with the ‘associated motion’ meanings found in b. For instance there is no recorded YG word for ‘visit’. The list above includes three Yandruwantha words glossed ‘(go and) visit’: nhinatharrathika (nhina ‘sit, stay, live, be’; tharra ‘fly’), thangguthika (thangu ‘stand’), wawathika (wawa ‘see’). YG calques of these could easily be formed. The semantic differences between the three Yandruwantha words are not explicated.
(742) garrangay ngayagay ngaama / yilama-l.aaba-y
duck other that / cook-TOT-PST
and they cooked all the ducks
AD/JM 8187 1459 JG

(743) They all hopped a long way into the bush.
yurrul-gu ngaama baa-w.aaba-y
bush-ALL that hop-TOT-PST
They all hopped into the bush. JG

(744) All the children were quiet and went to sleep.
giirr=nga ganunga dhanduwi-y.aaba-y
true=NOW 3PL sleep-TOT-PST
They are all asleep now. FR

(745) The boys gave all the bread to the woman.

giirr nguuma?? / birralii-djuul-u / dhuwarr ngaama wuu-rr.aaba-y / yinarr-gu
true 3ERG.DEF / child-DIM-ERG / bread that give-TOT-PST / woman-DAT

Non-simple uses are seen in the following examples. The Wurm translation of (746) gives no indication that all of the A or O is meant, and all O is semantically unlikely. However, the previous sentence of the story includes ‘all the children had got hungry’. In (746) ‘children’ is the IO, so indicating that -aaba-li can mean ‘all IO’.

(746) Yesterday the mothers collected food for the children

Sw p72
gi:ð gunədjɛr
̃ u gɛruβa:βai ðuwaḍ bir
̃ aligal˙u

giirr gunidjarr-u gayarra-b.aaba-y dhuwarr birralii-gal-u giirr
ture mother-ERG find-TOT-PST food child-PL.DIM-ERG true

The mothers collected food for all the children. JG

There are other examples where the suffix seems to refer to the O, but with meaning ‘thoroughly’ rather than ‘all’; for instance in (747) where -aaba-li seems to translate ‘into small bits’. So it is not the amount referred to, but the completeness of the action. Wurm, in the sentence following (747), uses gama-l.aaba-li again and his translation is ‘break the firewood into two’, again a variant use for the suffix.

(747) I break this stick into small bits.
gini nama gamala: fiula

Sw p71
giniy nhama gama-Laaba-la
stick 3.DEF break-TOT-IMP

Break that stick up totally. JG

(748) I broke the stick into little pieces/I broke it all up.

Sw AD 5057 1735
nhama ngaya bubay / giniy / gama-aba-y
3.DEF 1SG small / stick / break-aba-PST (later) ??break-aba-FUT

I broke the stick all up into little pieces. ??Will break it all. JG

In (749) also -aaba-li has a meaning like ‘thoroughly’ or ‘really’.223

223 The first two words of (b) are probably Wayilwan.
The kangaroo killed the dog with his claws.

The kangaroo pinched the dog, pinched him all over / really scratched him.

That dog nearly dying now when that kangaroo scratched him.

There is nothing in the English of (750) which indicates ‘all the S’ but there are two other quantity words which may be translated with -aaba-li: ‘very tired’ and ‘all night.

With ‘talk’, whether the transitive verb or the derived reflexive verb, -aaba-li seems to indicate all the subject, or to have a meaning such as ‘together’. Wurm has three sentences with ‘talk’ where -aaba-li corresponds to ‘together’ rather than ‘all’. (751) has the reciprocal verb, but the next sentence on p77 and one on p64 have non-reciprocal ‘talk’ (guwaa-l.aaba[-l.nha ‘say-TOT-CTS[-PRS’), translated ‘we all talk together’.

We 2 talk together.

We (2) are (both) talking.

The only other example found involving guwaa-li and -aaba-li has unclear meaning in a halting elicitation. AD begins to answer the elicitation and gives (752) before stopping, and then giving a sentence he translates with ‘they are talking about me and you’. However, (752) shows that guwaa-Laaba-li was found.

The other people talked between themselves.

In (753) the function of -aaba-li is not clear, but again may mean ‘thoroughly’ or could indicate ‘all the crayfish’.

She dusted the ash off the crayfish.

In (754) also -aaba-li has a non-standard meaning: ‘for a long time’, if the analysis is correct. There are a number of questions. Gindama-y is usually intransitive, and the final two syllables of Wurm’s verb are uncertain.

English ‘talk’ is translated in YR by gaay guwaa-li ‘words tell-FUT’, with gaay the Object of guwaa-li. If -aaba-li here means ‘all O’ gaay guwaa-l.aaba-li would be ‘say everything’. However, this is not the translation found. When ‘talk’ has a reciprocal sense it is translated by gaay guwaa-la-y.la-y ‘words tell-REC-CTS-FUT’. This is a verb phrase which has an object, but is reciprocal and the Subject is in Nominative case. So the verb has a Nominative subject and an object. The simple analysis for TOTal does not cater for this situation.
The man has laughed a long time.  
\( \text{maridhu gindo } \text{mua:fil} \) 
\( \text{man-ERG laugh-TOT-CTS]-PST} \)

In (755) the meaning is ‘all the O’ but the expected verb is \( \text{dha-l.aaba-li} \). The verb stem \( \text{dhal}-y/\text{dhalu}-y \) is unexplained. The same morpheme, \( \text{dal } \) ‘eat+?’, occurs a few times in Wurm. In the absence of further information I will treat it as a variant form of the root.

He will eat it all up.  
\( \text{daluwa:fi} \) 
\( \text{eat-LA-TOT-COM} \)

The translation given for (756) has no completive meaning. The use of the suffix here remains unexplained.

[What] are you carrying about?  
\( \text{njinda ga:fi} \) 
\( \text{bring-TOT-CTS]-PRS} \)

You are carrying it all.  
\( \text{boma’la:bilika} \)

There are around 40 clear instances of the suffix in Wurm, in both GR and YR. This is a surprising change of frequency from earlier sources. The suffix in Wurm generally begins with a long \( a \) but then there is considerable variation. Examples include: \( a:bu, a ^{c}f i, a ^{c}fi, a:f i, a:fi, a:fi, a:fi, a:fi, a :fi, a:fi, a:fi, a:fi \) (the past tense is \( -aaba-y \)). There are two instances in Wurm of the
irregular CM b: yana-b-aaba-la ‘go-TOT-IMP’ ‘all go’. I will treat these as irregular forms. There are around 100 examples of the suffix in the tapes.

Irregular verbs are quite rare in YG. However, gi-gi ‘be/become’ sometimes lengthens the first syllable vowel in a number of contexts, most commonly in gii-b.aaba-y ‘get-TOT-PST’ (‘all became’). The verb vowel is generally, but not always clearly, lengthened. A number of NG class verbs use b as the CM with -aaba-li.

Jack Sands uses giibaabay (and at times gibaabaya) ‘be-TOT-PST’ in a number of sentences such as: ‘They got hungry’, ‘Where did they get to?’ Arthur Dodd also uses it a number of times, for example (757).

(757) Where are you all?  

\[\text{minyaaya-}ma \ ngindaay \ gii-b.aaba-y \big/ ngindaay \text{ means ‘all of you’} \]

where.LOC-DEF 2PL.  get-TOT-PST // 2PL.

Wurm (758) has a regular form of the verb, with short i.

(758) geruwa:n'a ðuwað biðaligu:juÆ~gin giða:bai  

\[\text{gayarra-waa-nha dhuwar} \ birrali-gu \big/ yuulngin \ gii-b.aaba-y \]

collect-MOV-PRS bread child-PURP // hungry \ be-TOT-PST

They are collecting food for the children. They have become hungry. SW

They are collecting food for the children. They are all hungry. JG

There is a commonly found time adverb, giibaabu ‘(early) in the morning’, whose form suggests a relationship with gii-b.aaba-li and the -uu time suffix, but the detailed derivation is not understood.

10.1.2.2 ‘TOTal’ in other languages

-aaba-li does not have cognates in nearby languages, but there are affixes with similar meanings. Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 202) has a verb prefix muun- ‘do to all’, which refers exclusively to verb objects. In Yandruwantha the reduplicated form of thika ‘back’, thikathika, is a verb suffix meaning ‘widespread action, action affecting many objects’. Breen (2004: 156) has ‘it probably means action over the whole of the available area or affecting all the available objects’. With ‘run’ it is translated ‘run around all the time’. One difference between it and -aaba-li is that thikathika never refers to ‘all the subject’. While there is some overlap in meaning, neither of these is closely related to the YG suffix.

10.1.3 -DHa-y ‘EAT; associated mouthing’

The suffix -DHa-y\(^{225}\) conveys the meaning that there was some sort of ingestion associated with the action of the main verb. There are quite a few YG examples of the suffix, but no examination of its effect in elicitations,\(^{226}\) so the description is derived from spontaneously occurring examples and the cognate Wangaaybuwan suffix.\(^{227}\) The suffix is clearly related to dha-li ‘eat’. The term ‘associated mouthing’ is an adaption of ‘associated motion’ (see Koch, 1984, 2006). Both terms refer to suffixes which create a stem which indicates two events: that of the root and that of the

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\(^{225}\) Much of this section has been published in Giacon (2008).

\(^{226}\) The suffix has been found at least once in early descriptions of Yuwaalaray, in Mathews’s Notebooks. (759) clearly has the suffix, and (760) possibly does. Williams (1980: 74) notes Mathews’s statement about a suffix that means ‘after eating’ but she did not find it elsewhere.

\(^{227}\) Donaldson (1980: 175-6) states that in Wangaaybuwan the ‘associated eating’ suffix ‘indicates that an event occurs in association with eating and/or drinking. When -DHa-y is attached to verbs indicating position (e.g. sit) the eating or drinking is concurrent with the event referred to by the verb root. When (it) is attached to other, active, verbs, (e.g. lean over, cook) it indicates that the action is undertaken in order to eat or drink. When -DHa-y is attached to a stative verb or ga-d “be” in a nominal predicate construction, it indicates that the state results from eating or drinking (e.g. “choke from eating”) (my emphases).
suffix. For instance balu-dha-y (balu-gi ‘die’) ‘die as a result of eating’ refers to both ‘dying’ and ‘eating’.

It is glossed ‘EAT’, since eating is the most common action referred to, but it also refers to ‘drinking’ and ‘smoking’, and perhaps to other actions. One example each of the last two has been found in the YG sources. The association can take many forms but is mainly temporal (761) or causal (765). Often the translation does not make any reference to the suffix. -DHa-y does not affect the transitivity of the main verb. The complex stem which incorporates the -DHa-y suffix can refer to two agents – one which is the subject to the main verb and one which is the subject of ‘eating’, as shown in (763) and (764), where the subjects of ‘give’ and ‘eat’ are different, and in similar examples. The CMs are set out in Table 187. The current analysis of the suffix is summarised in Table 189.

Mathews has a clear example of the verb in (759) and a possible example in (760), from successive pages of his MS8006. In (759) the verb bumadhe and the translation make it clear this includes -DHa-y. (760) has bumudhe. The l is not found in other examples. The translation includes ‘frequently’ and is either an error or the verb has another, not currently known, suffix. The meaning, ‘after eating’ occurs in (759) and in (761), from a tape made in the 1970s. The meaning ‘after, but not caused by, eating’ does not occur in the Wangaaybuwan analysis, where the suffix can only mean ‘concurrent eating’, ‘in order to eat’ or ‘as a result of eating’.

(759) Illa bumadhe Mathews’s Notebook 3: 62/ Williams p74
ingga buma-dha-y
soon hit-EAT-FUT
I’ll beat after eating.
(Will) beat after eating. Mathews

(760) Illa bumudhe MathewsYR: 142; Mathews MS8006 Bk3: 63; Williams p74
ingga buma-dha?-y
soon hit-EAT?-FUT
To beat frequently. MathewsYR: 142; I’ll beat often or continually. Mathews MS8006 Bk3: 63
(Will) beat after eating. JG

(761) They all danced after the meal. JM/AD 3220A 2097
giirr=bala ngaama ganunga yulu-dha-nhi / bamba ganunga yulu-dha-nhi,
true=CTR there 3PL dance=EAT-PST / hard 3PL dance=EAT-PST
They danced after eating, they really danced after eating. JG

More often the interpretation is causal. It is ‘for the purpose of eating’ on verbs such as gaa-gi ‘take’ and wuu-rri ‘give’: (762), (763), (764) and (765)(b). The translation is ‘as a result of eating’ on verbs such as gi-gi ‘become’ and balu-gi ‘die’: (765)(b), (766), (769) and (762)–(765)(b); and ‘as a result of drinking’ in (767). With a copula (766) or stative verb (769) the suffix is not explicitly translated. In (768) ‘get hungry’ the use of the suffix is not strictly causal.

(762) I am going to take my meat across the river. JM/AD 3217A 946
ngaarrri=bala ngaya gi.yaa.nha gaa-dha-waa-y
there-CTS 1SGSA going.to take-EAT-MOV-FUT
I’ll take this meat to across (to eat). AD
I am going to take it across (to eat). JG

(763) The strangers asked for some food. JM/AD 8187 1557
waal ngiyani.luu wuu-dha-y.la-nha
not 1PLEXCL.ERG give-EAT-CTS-PRS
We are not going to give (them) any. AD/JM 8187 1574
(This sentence follows a statement that some people had asked for food.)
John Giacon

The old man gives the children some emu.

\[ \text{wayamaa-gu wuu-dha-y.la-nha birrali-gal-gu, ngaarrma dhinawan} \]

The old man give the emu to the kids to eat.

They were fat children and she fed them well.

\[ \text{giirr ngaama ganungu wamu gi-dja-nhi} \]

They got fat (from eating).

\[ \text{ngambaa-gu maayu dhuwarr ganungu wuu-dha-nhi} \]

Their mother gave them lots of food (to eat).

They walked to the river and had a drink.

\[ \text{giirr ganunga ngaama yanaa-nhi / gaawaa-gu /} \]

They walked to the river, and drank some water.

\[ \text{ngiyama / dhumbi mubal gi-dja-nhi / gungan-di} \]

They had a good drink of water and got a big belly full of it.

They got hungry (for food/eating).

The stinking meat wouldn’t make the dog sick.

\[ \text{nhama maadhaay-u dha-li, waal nhama balu-dha-y} \]

He’ll eat that stinking meat, it won’t hurt him.

The dog will eat it but won’t die (from eating).

(770) and (771) illustrate further meanings of the suffix. (770) is the only one found where the suffix is associated with ‘smoking’ and (771), a comment on a goanna being cooked, can be seen as casual, but is the only instance found with buwi-y ‘smell’.

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228 After a version of the 2008 paper was presented, Harold Koch noted that a number of Australian languages semantically linked eating, drinking and smoking and that this suffix might follow that pattern. The ‘smoking’ example was found on a subsequent re-examination of the tape transcripts.
The boy was pretending to smoke tobacco. CW/AD 5131 2736

(770) ngaama nguu gagil dhaygal gi-dja-nhi, that 3?ERG?DAT bad head get-EAT-PST
He was smoking that tobacco and he got a headache out of it. AD
His head got bad (from smoking). JG

(771) ngaama gaba buwi-dja-nhi, mangun.gaali that good smell-EAT-PST tree.goanna
The goannas smelt good (to eat). JG

The smell of the goannas was good. JM/AD 8185 1717

Table 189 has ‘developed semantics’ of -DHa-y. That is, it shows the uses found in YG, and some other uses expected in YG (marked#) since they are found in WN. It is also assumed that the use of the YG suffix is obligatory in the same circumstances that the Wangaaybuwan suffix is obligatory. The YG evidence points to this but is not conclusive.

There is potential for more examination of the suffix, including the ordering of the suffix when it co-occurs with other derivational suffixes. One relevant instance is at 3217A 3511, which has an unclear verb that may be gaa-dha-y.uwi-yaa-nha ‘take-EAT-BACK-MOV-PRS’ ‘is taking (honey) home’.

Table 189  Developed semantics of -DHa-y ‘associated mouthing’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb type</th>
<th>Yuwaalaraay Gamilaraay</th>
<th>Wangaaybuwan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>for purpose of eating; after eating</td>
<td>for purpose of eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>position</td>
<td>concurrent eating#</td>
<td>concurrent action + eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>results from eating#</td>
<td>results from eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copula</td>
<td>results from eating</td>
<td>results from eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copula+</td>
<td>anticipation/result of eating</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffix is not discussed in the Gamilaraay sources, but may occur in the story of Emu and Brolga (Austin & Tindale, 1985: 12, 13) in the verb ngudharruldeigo (ngu-dha-rru-lда-y.gu). This is likely ngu- ‘give’ in Wayilwan and Wangaaybuwan, so perhaps in dialects of Gamilaraay) followed by -dha- ‘eat’, Ru (unknown meaning), -lda ‘CTS’ and y.gu ‘PURP’. Unusually for a derived stem, it forms an L class verb.

A number of questions about the suffix arise from the sources. While the Mathews example (760) has l as the L class CM, examples in Wurm have Ø; l-dh is not usually found, so I have listed Ø as the CM. 2437B 3324 has a verb nhiidja-rrri ‘cook’ not found elsewhere. It is likely derived from nhi ‘charcoal’ and a form related to the suffix; but nhiidja-rrri is RR class, and -DHa-y Y class.

In WN -DHa-y is obligatory whenever some NP argument in the sentence has to be interpreted as being ingested, e.g. (772). (773) shows the WN suffix having to do with drinking.

Wangaaybuwan

(772) badhaambadhaanh-dhi+ni balu-nh.dha-y-gwa-nhi
poison-CIRC=3ABS+vis die-EAT-CM-PITY-PST
It was because of eating poison that this poor fellow died. Donaldson’s (6–53)

(773) ngadhu nginu-ga gaanh-dha-nha
I+NOM you+OBL-LOC carry-DRINK-PRS
I am bringing (some) for you to drink. Wangaaybuwan, Donaldson’s (6–55)
10.1.4 -ngila-y ‘together’

The YG suffix -ngila-y is glossed ‘TOGether’. In many examples it could mean ‘in a group of two’. It has not been previously described. The meaning is not fully certain since the glosses vary and there are relatively few instances. The CMs, given in Table 187, would be expected to be the same as for other -ng initial suffixes. The sources are Matthews, and one each from Ridley, Doolan/Tindale and Fred Reece.

There is a Wangaaybuwan continuous suffix of the same form (Donaldson, 1980: 191) and apparently also in Wayilwan since AD occasionally uses it in YR elicitation when he slips into Wayilwan. However, when -ngila-y co-occurs with a YG continuous suffix it cannot be continuous. Moreover the continuous use is clearly found only in AD material. All examples of the suffix found are given below, apart from a few Mathews examples similar to those in Table 190.

Mathews, in his GR (p267) and YR (p142) gives dual forms of verbs. (He also gives plural forms which contain the suffix -aaba-li and the translation ‘several’.) Table 190 shows some of these examples. They all finish with the present suffix -nha/Ø, preceded by one of the two continuous suffixes, -la-y or -Caa-y. Most of Mathews’s examples contain an element more or less interpretable as -ngila-y. A few, like ‘fighting’, do not: it has a reflexive and continuous suffix. The form varies. While his YR evidence suggests the form is -ngila-y, Mathews’s GR suggests -ngilli-y, the Reflexive suffix. The meaning in Mathews is consistently ‘dual’. This is not always the meaning found elsewhere.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Mathews’s gloss</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Standard, Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YR p142</td>
<td>A couple sitting</td>
<td>illaingillellunna</td>
<td>yilawa-ngila-y-la-nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A couple fighting*</td>
<td>bumullellunna</td>
<td>buma-la-y-la-nha (reflexive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A couple running</td>
<td>Bunnagangillellunna</td>
<td>banaga-ngila-y-la-nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A couple standing</td>
<td>Warringillellunna</td>
<td>warra-ngila-y-la-nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR p267</td>
<td>Two walking</td>
<td>Yannungillawan</td>
<td>yana-ngila-waa-nha[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Couple of people beating</td>
<td>Bumullainyiilila</td>
<td>buma-la-ngili-y-la-nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two lying</td>
<td>Babingiilila</td>
<td>baabi-ngili-y-la-nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two sitting</td>
<td>Ngurringiilila</td>
<td>ngaarri-ngili-y-la-nha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This does not include the suffix, but has ‘couple’ in the English.

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229 AD occasionally mixed Wayilwan with his YR elicitation (and often corrected it). The tapes contain a number of instances of -ngila-y. Some are clearly the Wayilwan suffix, as in 8184 3004 where AD uses the suffix on a Wayilwan verb ginda-y ‘laugh’. Other uses clearly refer to a singular: ‘The old man was snoring’ (2832B 2042). In both the translation is continuous, there is no other continuous suffix, so -ngila-y is ‘continuous’.

230 Some of Mathews’s examples suggest the suffix has the same form as the reflexive. There is evidence in other languages that reciprocal/reflexive suffixes can have wider uses than their names suggest. It may be that -ngila-y is derived from the YG reflexive, -ngilli-y, or in fact in GR be identical to it. Dench (1987: 332) quotes Morphy (1983) who argues against the conventional treatment of the unitary reflexive/reciprocal suffix -mi in Djapu. … First, inherently intransitive stems may also take the reflexive/reciprocal suffix. Further, when attached to intransitive verbs the suffix denotes an activity which the participants engage in together … This meaning is also available for transitive verb stems. 

The Ngayarda languages are atypical of Pama-Nyungan Australian languages in that they operate on a Nominative-Accusative system, so that may influence their use of reflexive/reciprocal forms. However, the system there may also inform the use of suffixes in YG. Dench’s paper (1987: 337) has investigated the functions of a verbal derivational suffix … [which] … appears to be very like the reflexive and reciprocal suffixes described for many Australian languages.

However, in the Ngayarda languages the central meaning of the suffix is collective activity … [my emphasis]. The Ngayarda suffix can also be used to signal that the activity is carried out by members of the same generation set in the Ngayarda kinship system.

The existence in other Pama-Nyungan languages of suffixes which indicate ‘collective activity’ is an indication that such suffixes might be found in YG.
(774) is the one possible instance of the suffix in Ridley. The subject is ngiyani ‘we (plural)’ – clearly not dual. The meanings ‘together’ and ‘continuous’ are both consistent with the translation ‘we are reconciled’ and with the verb form. The literal meanings with the two interpretations of the suffix are ‘we are sitting well again’ or ‘we sat well together again’.

(774) yealo jeane murru purrigilone Ridley p43
[372x795]jilyaluu ngiyani maaru?? ngarri-ngila-nhi
again 1PL well sit-ngila-PST
We are reconciled. Ridley

(775) jana nilani ‘mo:qi’lani Tindale/Doolan: line 11
yana-ngila-nhi mawu-ngila-nhi
go-ngila-PST dig-ngila-PST
(Emu and Brolga) went (to gather roots) (They spent time) digging. Tindale
They went together, they dug together. JG

The subject is dual, and the suffix could refer to duality or be continuous, since this text has Ngiyambaa influence. However, the first phrase in not likely to be continuous.

The context makes it clear there are more than two children involved in (776). The MOVing suffix means -ngila-y cannot be continuous. The meaning of the suffix is not clear, but ‘action together’ does fit the sentence.

(776) gawaa-ngila-waa-nha=nga gununga
chase-ngila-MOV-PRS=NOW 3PL
They (the kiddies) chasing one another now. FR/JM 2440A 1475

10.1.5 -mayi-y ‘move up’
There is a previously undescribed suffix of uncertain form and meaning found only on AD tapes on warra-y ‘stand’. It is heard as -mayi-y and -Nayi-y. The initial consonant is uncertain, as are the final elements of the suffix. If the final segments are yi the past tense suffix expected is -nyi, the usual form after stem final i, but -nhi is found. Two meanings consistent with the use of the suffix are ‘adopt position’ and ‘move up’. As an interim measure I propose the form -mayi-y, the most commonly found form, and the meaning ‘move up’. The CMs, Table 187, would be as for other m-initial suffixes: l, y and r in those verb classes and Ø for NG class. Examples of the suffix are now presented, and similar suffixes in other languages discussed.

In (777) and (778) the suffix is written as -mayi-y, but at times it is heard as -ngai-y. This latter is unlikely since that is the form of the ‘morning’ suffix (§8.5.2.1) and the two suffixes co-occur in (778). Other examples of the suffix, AD3220A 3673 and AD3220A 3578, also have the same uncertainty. In (779) and AD5056 324 the suffix is heard as -nayi-y or -nayi-y. In AD5056 2575 the suffix is heard as -hay-nhi after being heard a few seconds earlier as -mayi-y.

(777) Get up or I’ll hit you.
(a) barray=badhay ngiyama warra-y.mayi-ya / waal nginda
quick=MIGHT there stand-y.mayi-IMP / not 2SG
Stand up quickly. If you don’t JG
(b) warra-y.mayi-ya ngaanaay? buma-li ngaya gi.yaa.nha nginunha
stand-y.mayi-SUB? hit-FUT 1SG going.to 2SG.ACC
stand up I’m going to hit you. JG

(778) Get up, I am going to get up early in the morning.
(779) I will get up in the morning. CW/AD 5058 1673

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The emus came close to have a look at him. JM/AD 8187 642 (779)

(a) guwiinbaa-ga nhama / dhinawan / nyiyarrna nguungunda / dhurra-y close-LOC 3.DEF / emu / there 3SG.LOC / come-PST.

The emus came close to him. JG

(b) nyiyam=bala=nha barray warra-Nayi-nhi / bitaarr-iyaay nyiyam=bala=nha there=CTR=3 quickly stand=nayi-PST / spear-COM there=CTR=3

(When the emus got close) he stood up quickly with his spear. JG

The meaning of the suffix is also uncertain. It is found only on warra-y. There is no discussion of its meaning on the tapes, the only source. However, nearby languages and similar forms in YG give clues to its meaning. Wangaybuwan has an ‘adopt position’ suffix -NHaani-y (Donaldson, 1980: 193) which

is added only to the three verbs of position which also function as existential verbs, wii-y ‘sit’, wara-y ‘stand’ and yuwa-y ‘lie’. -NHaani-y converts these … to verbs of motion, ‘sit down’, ‘sit up’ (from lying position), ‘stand up’ and ‘lie down’.

In Yandruwantha (Breen, 2004: 161) there are suffixes which specify the direction of action: -pandi ‘action directed downwards’, -thalka ‘action directed upwards’ -walpirri and -pada ‘action directed across’. All of these also occur as free form adverbs. Examples include nhina-pandi! ‘sit down’ and thanggu-thalka! ‘stand up!’ Some other instances of -thalka are in: ‘crawl up (leg)’ and ‘gallop (horse up hill)’. The WN and YA examples suggest two alternative interpretations for -mayi-y. One is ‘adopt position’, the other is ‘movement-up’. The meaning assigned the suffix would effect what other verbs it could be used with.

A further piece of evidence is the Yuwaalaraay verb ma-y ‘be up’ (780). This is only found in continuous form and is given as ma-y in the GY dictionary, but with suggestion there that the form could actually be maya-y or maaya-y. The form remains uncertain.

(780) He (the child) is on top of the stone. CW/AD 3996A 1238

giirr nhama ma-y-la-nha // (repeated) maaya-y.la-nha true 3.DEF be.up-CTS-PRS // (repeated) be.up-CTS-PRS

He’s there, (on the stone). AD

He’s up there. JG

The form of the suffix is similar to that of the verb ‘be up’, suggesting a meaning ‘move up’ rather than ‘adopt position’. While the evidence is inconclusive, at this stage the most likely form is -mayi-y and the most likely meaning ‘move up’.

The scant information about this suffix suggests that other similar suffixes may not have been recorded. This may be an area for development of YG, ideally informed by a clear analysis of similar suffixes in other languages. One example is the Arabana-Wangkangurru (Luise A. Hercus, 1994: 198) inceptive suffix based on the verb wanka- ‘to rise’.

10.1.6 -Nami-y ‘want?’

There is a (potential) suffix, -Nami-y, whose most likely meaning is ‘want’. Most instances found are given in Table 191. The form is clear, apart from the initial nasal, which is given as n in many examples, ng in one Wurm example, ñ and ā in Laves, and nn in Ridley and Mathews. This suggests n, but the evidence is not overwhelming; I use -Nami-y to show the uncertainty of the initial nasal. The first vowel is a, typically found as a and ū in written sources. None of the examples suggest the use of a CM. I have no indication of the meaning of da in the last Laves example.

The most common gloss is ‘want’, which is found explicitly two times and can be read into other translations. Not all examples fit the meaning ‘want’ neatly. Ridley’s ‘if you dare’ is usually translated with -mi-y, below. Mathews’s ‘may as well’ is not strong evidence for ‘want’ but Laves
10 Other verbal morphology

ngaru-nami-y ‘I am thirsty’ (drink-nami-FUT) could well be ‘I want to drink’, and his other ‘drink’ and ‘lie down’ examples could well include the meaning ‘want’, as could Wurm’s ‘talk’ examples.

No instances have been found in the AD/FR tapes. Despite the lack of more modern examples the existence of the suffix is fairly certain, given its frequency and the range of sources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original/Source</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Ref/note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ridley</td>
<td>y ‘FUT’; -ya 'IMP'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wimunnumiía</td>
<td>Put down, if you dare.</td>
<td>wiima-Nami-ya</td>
<td>p10: cf. -mi-y ‘dare’: §10.1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngulli guRri</td>
<td>We (dual) may as well</td>
<td>buma-Nami-y</td>
<td>p266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumunnami</td>
<td>also beat him.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaru-nami</td>
<td>thirsty I</td>
<td>ngaru-Nami-y</td>
<td>8–3, 9–161, 9–164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yamadi yinda yaru</td>
<td>Will you have a drink?</td>
<td>ngaru-Nami-y</td>
<td>9–173; the d in ndami is unexplained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndami*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba (?!) biñami*</td>
<td>lie down-will I</td>
<td>baabi-Nami-y</td>
<td>8–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba·banami-(e)</td>
<td>I am going to lie down for a while</td>
<td>baabi-Nami-y</td>
<td>9–132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘gu·radanamile-a</td>
<td>rub something on it (e.g. grease)</td>
<td>gaarra-da?-Nami-y,la-ya</td>
<td>10–37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(rub-da-NAMI-CTS-IMP)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guyön ĵài ĵaumuni</td>
<td>I want to drink water, (I am dry.)</td>
<td>ngaru-Nami-y</td>
<td>p71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gài ĵali gwalunumi:</td>
<td>We two will talk.</td>
<td>guwaa-la-Nami-y</td>
<td>p72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga: ĵali gwaluŋami:</td>
<td>Sit down we 2 will talk.</td>
<td>guwaa-la-Nami-y</td>
<td>p76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĵu·ma ĵalundu</td>
<td>Sit down there.</td>
<td>wila-Nami-y</td>
<td>p76: May not be -nami-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wilan mi:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga:j ĵaja ĵu·</td>
<td>I want to talk to him.</td>
<td>guwaa-Nami-y</td>
<td>p84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qunda gu·nami</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The nd and the ū in the next example may indicate that the consonant is nh.

There is at least one other possible occurrence of the suffix. MathewsGR (p267) has bumunnamiya ‘beat first (before some event)’. This may include the suffix but it may be -NHumi-y ‘first’ §8.5.4.

YG have another way of expressing ‘want’, by suffixing -nginda to the future form of the verb: §3.4.1.4. At present there is nothing to separate the meaning of these two processes.

No equivalent forms are reported in Wangaaybuwan or Yandruwandha. The only formally similar verb suffixes are WN -mi-y ‘watching’ and-ngama-y ‘busy’ (Donaldson, 1980: 172, 173) which do not seem to be related.
10.1.7  -mi-y231 ‘dare’

There is a suffix -mi-y found only a small number of times, glossed ‘if you dare’, ‘if you can’ or ‘yourself’ by Ridley, the most common source. The detailed semantics remain unclear. Ridley (p9) says:

The ironical imperative is common to all verbs. It is remarkably indicative of the character of the race – scornful and jocular; irony is ingrained in their nature.

In all Ridley’s examples the suffix is followed by -ya ‘Imperative’. The other examples seem to be future tense.

All likely examples found are given in Table 192: some may be instances of -Nami-y §10.1.6, but currently unexplained -na- is found a number times elsewhere, for instance in humanabille (bumana-bi-li) ‘allow to be beaten’ (Ridley p8).

Table 192  -mi-y ‘DARE’ examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss/note</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From Ridley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goaîlmia</td>
<td>speak, if you can, or if you dare</td>
<td>guwaa-l.mi-ya</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wîmulmia</td>
<td>put down, if you dare</td>
<td>wiïna-l.mi-ya</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wîmunnumîa</td>
<td></td>
<td>wiïna-na.mi-ya</td>
<td>Y?</td>
<td>na uncertain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kânamîa</td>
<td>take, if you dare</td>
<td>gaa-na.mi-ya</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wînûulmia</td>
<td>hear, if you can</td>
<td>winanga-l.mi-ya</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gim’bilmia</td>
<td>make it yourself (I won’t)</td>
<td>gimubi-l.mi-ya</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daijalumi</td>
<td>see (781)</td>
<td>dhaya-la.mi-y</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Tindale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wilan mi</td>
<td>Sit down there</td>
<td>wila-n.mi-ya</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Wurm p76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is variation at the suffix boundary. For L class examples Ridley has l as the CM, apart from wîmunnumîa and Tindale has la.

(781) ‘ki:r! daijalumi koli:r gai ‘weira kolli kei ‘riar
(Emu speaks) Tindale/Doolan: line 41
Giirr! Dhaya-la-mi-y guliirr ngay wayrra[?] guwaa-li giirruu
ture ask-[IMP-mi-FUT say-FUT spouse 1SG.DAT ??] absolutely
I’ll ask my husband if he will say I can. Tindale
Definitely! I’ll be brave and ask my husband if he will say ‘yes’. (tentative translation) JG

At 3219B 3139 AD’s translation of JM’s ‘get up or I’ll hit you’ includes a very uncertain form, currently transcribed warra-y-ma-y-mi (warra-y ‘stand’). This may include -mayi-y, §10.1.5, and -mi-y.

Neither WN nor Yandruwantha report a similar suffix.

10.1.8  Ordering of suffixes

While information is incomplete, what we do have indicates that the suffixes discussed in §10.1 come after the valency changing suffixes (reciprocal, reflexive, middle, causative, additional argument etc.) and before time suffixes, continuous suffixes and final suffixes (Tense, Mood, Subordinate).

It is not clear if there is a set order of the suffixes discussed in §10.1 or if the order can be varied for semantic purposes. The scarcity of co-occurrence is illustrated by the fact that none of -uwi-y ‘BACK’, -aaba-li ‘TOTal’ and -DHa-y ‘EAT’ ever co-occur in the examples in the book.

231 See §9.4.4 for -mi-y1.
even though they are all found there individually many times. A possible exception is *gaa-dha-y.uwi-yaa-nha*: see §10.1.3. In (732) *-uwi-* follows the transitivising suffix *-mi-li* ‘see’.

## 10.2 Possible suffixes

There are a number of other potential verb stem forming suffixes, with varying amounts of evidence. The more likely are discussed below.

### 10.2.1 -wa-li/-wa-y

The potential suffix *-wa-li* is considered in Giacon (2001: 79). There is considerable evidence which suggests *-wa-li/-wa-y* is a verb suffix, or at least as historically a stem forming element. The forms *-wa-li* and *-wa-y* are found suffixed on existing verb roots, probably suffixed on nominals, and as the final element of verb roots, often with the rest of the root being a recognisable morpheme. There is a verb *wa-li* ‘put in’ and its middle form, *wa-y* ‘be in’. Verbs which are *-wa-li-*final are transitive, those which are *-wa-y-*final are intransitive. Some examples of the suffix are given in Table 193.

AD uses suffix *-wa-y* on *dhadha-y* ‘taste intr’ around five times on the tapes, including (782). *Dhadha-wa-y* is generally translated ‘taste’ (as *dhadha-y* is) but once is ‘testing (the meat)’. In a number of instances Dodd then repeats the sentence with *dhadha-y* instead of *dadhawa-y*, omitting the suffix, and indicating that he was aware of the alternate forms.

(782) Chicken tastes good.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Compare</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhadhawa-y</td>
<td>taste, intr</td>
<td><em>dhadha-y</em></td>
<td>taste; intr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oorrwalla</td>
<td>bury</td>
<td><em>wua-gi</em> (Milson)</td>
<td>go in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(wuu-rr.wa-la)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>wuru-gi</em> GR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garrawa-li</td>
<td>keep, store</td>
<td><em>garra; garra-li</em></td>
<td>a crack; cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gandawa-li</td>
<td>cover</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muyuwa-li</td>
<td>duck (in water)</td>
<td>?muyu ‘nose’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudhuwa-li</td>
<td>burn, tr</td>
<td>also <em>gudhuwa-y</em> intr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gundaawa-li</td>
<td>burn, tr</td>
<td><em>gundaa</em></td>
<td>cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaawa-y</td>
<td>look for</td>
<td><em>WN ngaa-y</em></td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buwawa-li</td>
<td>attack</td>
<td><em>buwama-li</em></td>
<td>shake down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhanggiwa-li</td>
<td>deceive, play a trick on</td>
<td><em>dhanggi</em></td>
<td>trick, deception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baluwa-li</td>
<td>put out (fire)</td>
<td><em>balu ‘dead’; balu-gi</em> die</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Milson’s *oorrwalla* ‘bury’ (*wuu-rr.wa-la* ‘go.in-wa-IMP’) is the only occurrence of that word. Its meaning is consistent with *-wa-li* ‘go in’. The next three examples, ‘store’, ‘cover’ and ‘duck (in water)’, all involve movement into something. This implication is not found in the remaining examples. However, comparison of *buwa-wa-li* and *buwa-ma-li* strongly suggests a root-forming morpheme *buwa*, and is good evidence for a suffix *-wa-li*. *Dhanggiwa-li* likely has the suffix on a nominal, and *balu-wa-li* may involve *balu ‘dead’* or *balu-gi ‘die’*. The existence of the suffix is relatively certain, but its function is quite unclear.

An indication that YG *wa-li* ‘put in’, a free verb, could also act as a bound suffix is the fact that a similar situation exists in Yandruwantha (Breen, 2004: 148), where a number of free form...
morphemes also act as bound aspect markers. As free forms ten are verbs (e.g. *thayi* ‘eat’; as suffix ‘do for oneself’; *tharra* ‘fly’; as suffix ‘following; completion, thoroughness’) and five are adverbs (e.g. *walpirri* ‘across’; as suffix ‘across’). That is, there is a large group of verbs which act as verb suffixes but whose meaning changes when used as suffixes. This suggests that the meaning of -*wali* could be quite different from that of the verb *wa-li/wa-y*.

10.2.2 -r-ra-li/-r-ra-y

Here I briefly consider another possible suffix -r-ra-li/-r-ra-y. It is discussed at greater length in Giacon (2001: 78).

As with other suffixes discussed, the evidence for the suffix is the existence of the form on verb stems and other morphemes. There are a number of verb ‘roots’ which consist of what is clearly like a morpheme + -r-ra-li, e.g. *dhiyarra-li* ‘dip’ (*dhiya*- ‘move up’), *dhulirra-li* ‘drip; intr’ (*dhuli-y* ‘bend down’) and *ngarra-li* ‘see’ (cf. WN and proto-Australian *ngaa-y* ‘see’). On tape 2436A FR uses *gaba-r-ra-y* before using *gaba giyanha* ‘getting good’ (*gaba* ‘good’), a possible indication of inchoative use for -r-ra-y or -rra-li.

(783) shows the likely occurrence of -r-ra-li on *wii-‘lie’* (a verb stem element). This is the only occurrence of this *wiirra-li* (there is homophonous *wiirra-li* ‘shear’), and shows -r-ra-li as a transitivising suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(783)</th>
<th>tului wirri</th>
<th>Ridley: Gurre Kamilaroi line 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhulu-i</td>
<td>wii-r-ra-y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree-ABL</td>
<td>lie-r-ra-FST</td>
<td>Ridley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on cross fastened</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.2.3 -Nhumi-y -*ga-y*, -dhi-y, -nga-y

There is even less evidence for these suffixes. For the one instance of -Nhumi-y, possibly ‘before’ and its WN cognate, see §8.5.4. One instance of -*ga-y* is AD5130 764. AD is talking of his pet emu who ‘didn’t want no-one to go near me’ and uses *yanaa-y.ga-y* ‘go-y.ga-FUT’; see also Table 194: 5.

-dhi-y is found at 2438A 537, where AD uses *gaa-dhi-y* (*gaa-gi* ‘bring’) in a sentence he translates ‘he’s gone home to get a mate to help him carry the kangaroo’. The -dhi-y may represent -dha-y ‘eating’, but this is by no means certain.

There is a suffix -nga-y ‘(in the) day’ (§8.5.2.2), but there may be a homophonous morpheme. The verbs *wunga-y* YR and *wurunga-y* GR ‘dive, swim’ are quite possibly compounds of *wu-gi* YR *wu-gi* GR ‘go in’ and -nga-y, which currently has no gloss. The FR verb *yanaa-y.nga-y* ‘go-nga-y’. Table 158 may also contain an instance of this second -nga-y suffix.\(^{232}\)

10.2.4 Questions about verb morphology

Questions remain about some verbs found in the sources.

10.2.4.1 y-final verb roots

One is how to analyse a number of L and RR class verbs whose stem is written as y-final. All other verb roots end in a vowel.

There are a number of L class verbs whose stem is heard as y-final. The Dictionary has *yaaya-li* ‘chop’, but that does not reflect the realisation of many instances on the tapes. FR5053 2078 has what is heard variously as yaa-li and yaay-li. AD3994B 1285 has *yaayli* three times, and 3994B 1253 has *yaay-li-na* ‘is chopping’. *Baarra-y* is ‘split, intransitive’. AD5054A 159 has a transitive form, *baarray-li*, three times. FR2439A 3155 has *baarramay-li* ‘tease out (the sinews)’ (cf. *baarra-y* above) and then the common transitivised form *baarrama-li* ‘tear off’.

\(^{232}\)Positing -nga-y as an element in the middle verb winanga-y suggests that the original verb winanga-li ‘hear’ is also compound, as does the fact that the first element is clearly a modified form of *bina* ‘ear.’ This suggestion is not followed further here.
Other apparent y-final L class stems are found in: FR2438A 1529 buma-la.y-li. Buma-la-y is ‘hit-RECP’ = ‘fight’; AD3999A 1605 gudhuwa-y-li ‘?singe'; cf. gudhawa-y (intr), gudhuwa-li (tr) ‘burn’.

RR class verbs which seem to have y-final roots are:

- baarray-rrri ‘burst, split, crack (transitive). The tapes have 12 examples of baarray-nhi, past tense. (There are also three examples of baarray-li: apparently an L class future.)
- dhilay-rrri ‘push away, throw out’ (both FR and AD) and possibly buulay-rrri ‘be hot’ (Wurm).

One issue for the L class verbs is that the past tense suffix is y, so the past tense verb has y-y, e.g. yaay-y ‘chopped’. This is inconsistent with the phonological rules as formulated and there is nothing in the tapes to indicate how this word would be pronounced. Perhaps an underlying yy sequence is realised as simply y.

10.2.4.2 Unanalysed verbs

There are also a range of verbs in earlier sources whose structure is not clear. Some of them have been discussed earlier. An incomplete list of other such verbs is given in Table 194. The analysis in all instances is subject to revision. Further study of these sources is likely to lead to some further understanding of traditional YG.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Standard, Analysis</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 bumumallilin</td>
<td>buma-ma-la-y.lay-nhi hit-CAUS?-RECP-LONG.T?-PST</td>
<td>have already fought</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 huŋaw a: bali-ŋi</td>
<td>wunga-w.aaba-li?Layi-nyi swim-TOT-LI?LONG.T -PAST</td>
<td>were swimming yesterday</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 bumal ɛɛlɛ:nji</td>
<td>buma-la-y.layi-nhi hit-RECP-LONG.T-PST</td>
<td>Yesterday evening they were fighting together</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ba:bungejni</td>
<td>baaba-ngai-nyi sleep-MORN-PST</td>
<td>slept well last night</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 yan’yaigeui</td>
<td>yana-ngayi-ga-y,uwi-y go-MORN-GA-BACK-FUT</td>
<td>coming back tomorrow</td>
<td>Laves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 ŋan’gai ŋauwiyayə</td>
<td>??-uwi-ya ??-BACK-IMP</td>
<td>come back (tomorrow)</td>
<td>Laves: 9 p49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1 the syllable -mu- is unexplained. The form of 2 could suggest the benefactive/additional argument suffix, so that the verb is wunga-w.aaba-ali-ŋi but the translation does not reflect this. If 3 involves -ayi-y ‘long time’, formally the most likely interpretation, one would not expect the suffix to be preceded by l. The translation includes ‘yesterday evening’, which does not fit the formal analysis. 4 may literally be ‘I slept till the morning’ but this interpretation is not obvious. 5 has an unexplained syllable, likely -ga- or -gay-. 6 contains -uwi-y ‘back’ and possibly an initial ’na, an abbreviated form of (ya)na-y ‘go’, but the rest is currently unanalysed.

10.2.4.3 YG verbal lexical development.

As discussed, current YG needs to develop: to fill the gaps in what has been recorded and to communicate in a new environment. One way to do that is to borrow from other languages. Table 195 lists some WN suffixes for which there is no current YG equivalent. YG could borrow these suffixes, either directly or after further analysis to find if there are more appropriate forms to use in YG.
Some Wangaaybuwan verb suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wangaaybuwan</th>
<th>WN gloss</th>
<th>Ref: (Donaldson, 1980)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-bi-y</td>
<td>behind</td>
<td>6.3.4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-biya-y</td>
<td>of necessity</td>
<td>6.3.4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-DHunma-y</td>
<td>in a group</td>
<td>6.3.4.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-NHaani-y</td>
<td>adopt position</td>
<td>6.3.4.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-guwa-y</td>
<td>pity</td>
<td>6.3.4.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.3 Nominalisation of verbs

Nominalisation of verbs has been covered in some detail in Giacon (2001: 129-44). Here I largely summarise that treatment and add a little new information.

Comrie and Thompson (1985: 349) and Goddard (1983a: 50) classify nominals formed from verbs and adjectives into two classes:

A) action/state nominals. These are ‘the name of an activity or state designated by the verb or adjective’ (Comrie, 1985: 349). Examples of action nominals are ‘running’ and ‘creation’. Examples of state nominals are ‘sitting’ and ‘quietness’.

B) other. I will use Goddard’s term ‘Characteristic nominalisations’ (1983a: 76) to cover this second group which includes semantic areas such as: agentive nouns, instrumental nouns, manner nouns, locative nouns, objective nouns, reason nouns and other categories.

Comrie and Thompson (1985: 349) distinguish the two classes by pointing out that the first group (action/state nominals) often ‘retain certain properties of the verbs or adjectives they are related to, while those in the second group typically behave like other nouns in the language, bearing only morphological and (often unpredictable and idiosyncratic) semantic relations to the associated verb or adjective’.

The subordinate suffix forms what might be called ‘action/state nominals’ and these are considered in Chapter 1. As in Yankunytjatjara (C. Goddard, 1983b: 75) this process is totally productive.

‘Characteristic nominalisation’ is considered here. YG forms ‘Characteristic nominals’ from the bare verb stem or by suffixation. The most common processes are seen in Table 196. For most processes there are relatively few examples. Agent nominalisation processes are generally distinct from non-agent processes. The limited sources means it is often not possible to determine how productive a particular process is.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Class</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Suffix, Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Agent nominalisation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>buma-li</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>bunal</td>
<td>hammer</td>
<td>-l; common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>garra-li</td>
<td>cut</td>
<td>garra</td>
<td>crack, split</td>
<td>Ø suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>warra-y</td>
<td>stand</td>
<td>warra</td>
<td>standing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Agent nominalisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Class</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Suffix, Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>manuma-li</td>
<td>steal</td>
<td>manuma-dhaay</td>
<td>thief</td>
<td>-dhaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>buma-li</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>buma-li-yaan</td>
<td>hitter</td>
<td>-yaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>gubi-y</td>
<td>swim</td>
<td>gubiyaan</td>
<td>swimmer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>gudhuwa-li</td>
<td>cook</td>
<td>gudhwan</td>
<td>cook</td>
<td>-n; uncommon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10.3.1 Non-agent nominalisation

There are two moderately common processes of non-agent nominalisation found. In the first the nominalising suffix is identical to a common CM. In the second the bare stem forms the nominal. Williams (1980: 106) describes the stem + CM process, giving L and Y class examples. There are many examples of the process with L class verbs. I have found no evidence for the Y class examples she gives, dhamaay ‘rain, noun’, but consider others later. The meaning of the nominal is not predictable, and Table 197 shows the main semantic roles the nominal can have.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic role</th>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instrument</td>
<td>bumal</td>
<td>hammer</td>
<td>buma-li</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>product</td>
<td>dhibil</td>
<td>spit, saliva</td>
<td>dhubi-li</td>
<td>spit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patient</td>
<td>wiyayl</td>
<td>quill (of echidna)</td>
<td>wiyay-li</td>
<td>remove quills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>location</td>
<td>garrwal</td>
<td>a store</td>
<td>garrwa-li</td>
<td>keep</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gayay</td>
<td></td>
<td>turn</td>
<td>gaya-y</td>
<td>turn</td>
<td>uncertain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instrument</td>
<td>bumaluwiy</td>
<td>hammer</td>
<td>buma-l.uwi-y</td>
<td>hit back</td>
<td>uncertain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RR class (a very tentative example)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agent</td>
<td>muundhuurr</td>
<td>hornet</td>
<td>dhu-rrri</td>
<td>pierce</td>
<td>fossilised form</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two possible examples of this process with Y class verbs are given in Table 197. There is only one instance of verb and nominal bumaluwiy. Gayay has not previously been recognised as a noun. There are three occasions on the tapes where the gaya-dha (gayay-LOC) is found, with the meaning something like ‘in turn’, including (784) and (701).

(784) Gilaa threwed that, and he said to the Wuulaa then, AD/CW 3994A 420
wuulaa, nginda gaya-dha=nga wana-nga
Lizard, 2SG turn-LOC=THEN throw-IMP
Wuulaa, you, in turn now, throw it. JG

There is very slight evidence for a characteristic nominalisation process with RR class verbs. The word muundhuurr ‘hornet’ contains a WN ‘bound verb modifier’ (Donaldson, 1980: 202) muun- ‘do to all’ and presumably a reflex of dhu-rrri ‘pierce’. If so then the name appropriately means ‘stings all’.

There is a small number of examples where the root of the verb (or something homophonous with the root of the verb) is found with a meaning that is at least possibly related to that of the verb (see Giacon, 2001: 137).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>garra-li</td>
<td>cut</td>
<td>garra</td>
<td>crack, split (nouns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buma-li</td>
<td>hit, kill</td>
<td>buma garriya</td>
<td>a name for the place where the death of the Garriya occurred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warra-y</td>
<td>stand</td>
<td>#warra</td>
<td>standing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barra-li</td>
<td>sharpen</td>
<td>barra</td>
<td>thread, filament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*balu-gi</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>balu</td>
<td>dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*guna-gi</td>
<td>defecate</td>
<td>guna</td>
<td>shit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The derivation here is likely to be from noun to verb.

233 There is a long list of similar derivations in Giacon (2002: 136). dhiirral ‘teacher’ from dhiirra-li ‘teach’, is an agent. However, this is almost certainly a recent derivation, and use of this process for agent nominalisation is most likely due to the loss of language knowledge.
10.3.2  Agent nominalisation

There are a number of agent nominalisation processes, with examples in Table 199. The semantic differences, if any, between the processes are not clear. The first process, stem + -DHaay, has been recorded only with reference to humans. The second uses the suffix -(y)(a)an and mostly has human reference. The final suffix, -awaa, is only found forming names of animals but may have a wider range of reference.

The suffix -DHaay is found deriving the names of human agents on a small number of L class verbs and possible once on an NG or RR class verb. It is found many times on manuma-li ‘steal’ (785) and there are a number of rare or less certain instances with other roots. It is formally quite similar to the subordinate suffix (-ldaay, -ngindaay, -dhaay, -ndaay on different verbs).

(785)    That little boy is a thief to take the nardoo.  JM/AD 3219A 1400
         manuma-dhaay nyama, birralii-djuul // see, manuma-dhaay means thief
         steal-NML 3.DEF, child-DIM // see, manumadhaay means thief.

That little child is a thief.  JG

There is one similar L class example in Sim, guluma-lldhaay (possibly ‘foster parent’); cf. galuma-li ‘care for’. The l in the suffix might be an error, or a traditional variation. Parker (1905: 145) has a similar nominalisation: doore-oothai ‘a lover’234 (dhurriwuudhaay): dhu-rri ‘pierce’, wuu-gi ‘go-in’ or wuu-rrri ‘give’. It is reasonable to assume that this was a more productive process in traditional YG, but that limited evidence has been recorded.

There is evidence, largely from Sim but also from Ted Fields and others, for another nominalising suffix -(y)(a)an, added to the future tense verb. For Y class verbs it is realised as -(a)an. The nominal is most commonly the name of a human agent, but occasionally of a non-human, or an adjective. It has been found with L, Y and RR class verbs.

Arthur Dodd has binadhiwuubiyan ‘it goes into your ear’: the name for ‘earwig’, an insect. This seems to be -y(aan on what is substantially a phrase including bina ‘ear’, -dhi Ablative, and wuu-gi ‘go in’, but the function of -bi- is uncertain.

There is slight evidence for a verb stem + n derivational process. As well as dhiinbin (Table 199) there is a lily called dhaygal baarrayn (dhaygal ‘head’ and ‘baarray-rrri ‘split’) whose name is given two interpretations. One is reference to the bulb, which looks like a brain, with a split in it. The other is that eating it can give you a severe headache: this is a less likely origin since ‘splitting headache’ may not be a traditional YG metaphor.

The suffix -awaa, glossed ‘habitual’, was recorded by Sim (1999), who would have received it from his fluent informants. It is found on one verb and a number of phrasal compounds.

There are other pairs of morphologically and semantically related verbs and nominals which indicate other derivational processes.

AD3218A 2397 has murru-dhi gindalamaa ‘Venus’: murru-dhi ‘bum-ABL’ and gindalamaa derived from gindama-y ‘laugh’, interpretable as ‘the one who laughed (at the lady’s bum)’. However, there are no other occurrences of -laa as a derivational suffix.

There is an adjective dhirrandhirran ‘shaking’, which indicates the existence of unreduplicated dhirran. The derivational history of dhirran is not clear, but there are obviously related forms dhirranba-li ‘shake, tr’, dhirranba-y ‘shake, intr’ and dhirra-li ‘wake up, int’.

Table 200 lists more verbs and probably derived nominals without further comment.

---

234 duri is used in some NSW Aboriginal Englishes as both a noun and verb for ‘intercourse’. 
Table 199  More common agent nominalisation processes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Gloss/Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stem + DHaay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manuma-li</td>
<td>steal</td>
<td>manuma-dhaay</td>
<td>thief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galuma-li</td>
<td>care for</td>
<td>galuma-l'dhaay</td>
<td>possibly ‘foster parent’; form uncertain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhu-rr</td>
<td>pierce</td>
<td>doore-oothai (dhurri-wuu-dhaay)</td>
<td>lover; cf. dhu-rr below</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem + fut + [y][a]an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buma-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiili/yiilay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhuba-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banaga-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gubi-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhiinbi-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhu-rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhabi-y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem + n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gudhuwa-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhiinbi-y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem + CM? -awaa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wunga-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhiidjii-bali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaga-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garra-li</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 200  Further nominalisation of verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yungiirr, yumbu</td>
<td>cry-baby</td>
<td>yu-gi</td>
<td>cry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binamayaa</td>
<td>saltbush</td>
<td>ma-y?</td>
<td>be up</td>
<td>bina ‘ear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarraadhaan</td>
<td>bat</td>
<td>ngarra-li</td>
<td>see</td>
<td>-dhaan ‘expert at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warragil</td>
<td>straight (adjective)</td>
<td>warra-y</td>
<td>stand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is likely that ongoing examination of YG sources will reveal further potential derivational processes.

10.3.3  Nominalisation in other languages

Nominalisation processes in other languages have some parallels with YG, but in general nominalisation is not widely used. Dixon (2002: 75) points out that
There is a derivational suffix -(nj)dja, found in a number of languages, which derives an action nominal from a verbal stem. However, on the whole Australian languages do not have much in the way of nominalisation strategies; in particular, there are rather few agentive and patientive nominalisations.

But later he says (2002: 237):

Nevertheless there are a fair number of languages that have nominalising derivations. These often form an agentive nominal … There may also be a suffix which derives a nominal referring to the action or state described by the verb.

Examples he gives include: ‘hunter’ from ‘hunt’, ‘butcher’ from ‘meat-get’ and ‘dying’ from ‘die’ as in: ‘he’s talking about dying’.

Donaldson (1980: 199) lists two Wangaaybuwan nominalising suffixes. The first, -DHaayN-, is cognate with YG -dhaay, but unlike it has agent and non-agent function. It is apparently totally productive forming what Donaldson calls ‘participles, i.e. de-verbal nominals’. The nominal can refer to the agent or form an adjective (e.g. mularri-djaay ‘shiverer, shivering’ from mularri-y ‘shiver’; ngalamba-daay ‘foul-mouthed’ ‘swearer’ from ngalamba-li ‘swear’; ngiya-l-garraa-dhaay ‘talkative, talker’ from ‘say-ALL.DAY’). The second nominalising suffix is -warra ‘prone to’, and is found on a small number of verbs and nouns.

A brief inspection of Wangaaybuwan data shows that it also, like YG, can form a nominal from an L class stem by adding l, as seen in the following WN examples: yarrmal ‘mischievous’, yarrma-li ‘play’, mamalmamal ‘policeman’, mama-li ‘catch’ and makumal ‘once’, from makuu ‘one’ and -ma-li, causative suffix.

### 10.4 Verbalisation of nominals

There are relatively few YG examples of verbs formed from nominals: some are given in previous sections: §9.4.1.1 lists some formed with -ma-li and §9.4.2 has others formed with -ba-li. There are two possible examples (guna-gi, balu-gi) in Table 198.

AD 3220B 1744 has guwiinba-laa-ndaay ‘close-MOV-SUB’, with a moving suffix on the adjective guwiinbaa ‘close’. FR1850B 3337 has nhuwi-y.la-nha ‘smell(rotten)-CTS-PRS’ ‘smells (rotten)’ presumably derived from nhuwi ‘smelly’. A few seconds later FR uses ngawi-y-la-nha ‘smell-CTS-PRS’ of something that smells good. It may be that the verbs have separate meanings, or FR may have confused them.

### 10.5 Compound structure of some verb roots

Many YG transitive verb roots are historically compound. Recognising this compound structure makes the semantics of the verbs clearer, informs the interpretation of the verb elements in other contexts and opens the way to lexical expansion by using other combinations of the elements found in compound roots.

Examples of compound root are seen in dhai-dhai-li ‘taste tr’, dhai-ma-li ‘feel tr’, dhai-ya-li ‘ask tr’. These have a common element dhai- which can be glossed ‘test’. The second elements above are -dhai-li ‘do.with.mouth’, -ma-li ‘do.with.hand’ or ‘general transitiviser’ and -ya-li ‘speak’.

Similar compound verb roots are found in many Australian languages (Dixon, 1980: 408). The extent of compounding varies considerably (Dixon, 1980: 280). Some other languages with compound stems include Warlpiri (Nash, 1986: 47) and Yankunytjatjara (C. Goddard, 1983a: 120). Of particular relevance to YG is the compound nature of many Wangaaybuwan transitive roots (Donaldson, 1980: Chapter 7). Donaldson’s analysis of them has informed the study of similar verbs in YG.

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235 This topic has been more extensively discussed in Giacon (2001: Chapter 3).
10.5.1  Bound modifiers and bound verbs

Donaldson calls the first elements in compound roots ‘bound modifiers’ (Table 201) and the second elements ‘bound verb forms (or bound verb roots)’ (Table 202). Bound modifiers are followed by a bound verb root to form a verb stem. The process of combining the two root elements is highly productive in WN, but not all combinations of modifier and bound stem are found. WN and YG verb stem elements are set out in Table 201 and Table 202.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wangaaybuwan</th>
<th>Yuwaalaraay Gamilaraay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Form</strong></td>
<td><strong>Gloss</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Action-oriented</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunuN-</td>
<td>with energy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bala-</td>
<td>with little energy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayN-</td>
<td>fail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulan-</td>
<td>repeatedly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhugaN-</td>
<td>satisfyingly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Object-oriented</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muaN-</td>
<td>(do to) all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garruaN-</td>
<td>(do to) none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manuN-</td>
<td>(do to) somebody else’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gibayN-</td>
<td>(do in return to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga-</td>
<td>test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Result-oriented</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bun-</td>
<td>change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-</td>
<td>break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bun-ga-</td>
<td>open (change-break)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wirrba-</td>
<td>split</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burra-</td>
<td>snap off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuruaN-</td>
<td>(move) out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhiira-</td>
<td>(move) up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wirri-</td>
<td>(move) down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhilan-</td>
<td>shake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayuN-</td>
<td>(move) in circles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yan-</td>
<td>join up with</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many elements such as manu- are identical in both languages, while others (e.g. wirri, wii) are cognate and some have different forms, but the same function (nga-, dha-).

Donaldson divides the Wangaaybuwan bound modifiers into three groups: action oriented, object-oriented and result-oriented. YG morphemes corresponding to some of the second two WN groups have been recognised.

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236 Table 202 contains proposed bound roots not given in Donaldson. It is to be expected that ongoing research will lead to such expansion of knowledge – see below. Table 202 has only transitive roots. Donaldson gives intransitive counterparts to only some of the transitive roots. I assume transitive verbs have middle forms where semantically possible, and that ‘absence of evidence’ of middle forms is not ‘evidence of absence.’ For instance -dha-li ‘eat’ does not have an intransitive form -dha-y in Donaldson’s list, but -dha-y is very common in YG, in dhadha-y ‘taste, int’.
Table 202 Transitive bound verb forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wangaaybuwan</th>
<th>Yuwaalaraay Gamilaraay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Form</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma-li</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-giyama-li</td>
<td>heat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-DHinma-li</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bi-li</td>
<td>move away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-DHa-li</td>
<td>do with mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-DHi-li</td>
<td>do with foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ga-li</td>
<td>pierce</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additional bound verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-mi-li</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ba-li</td>
<td>dhirran-ba-li shake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bound modifiers and bound roots are recognised by their occurrence in a number of verb stems with recognisable meaning. They may have cognates in other languages. For bound verb roots there may be identical free forms and suffixes.

For instance dha- is found as the sole element of the root in the verb dha-li ‘eat’, as the second element in dha; dha-li ‘taste tr’ (see above), as a verb suffix -dha-y ‘associated mouthing’ (§10.1.3) and in nominals such as dhalay ‘tongue’ and dhaal ‘cheek’. It is also found at FR1848A 2944 in the imperative verb bidja-la ‘bidja-IMP’ which FR says means ‘something like “bite it”’. This is the only instance of this verb bidja-li, analysable as bi-DHa-li, which includes dha-‘do, with mouth’ and an unanalysed bi-.

There is some evidence that the YG had a more extensive system of compound verb stems than has been recorded, as seen in the verbs used to translate ‘steal’. For ‘steal’, done by humans, informants in WN and YG use manu.m.a-li. In WN this is analysed as a bound modifier manu-‘do to other’s’ and a bound root -ma-li ‘transitiviser/do with hand’. When it is a dog stealing, the WN is manu.dha-li, (-dha-li ‘do with mouth’) since the dog steals with its mouth, not with its hand.

It seems AD was aware that manuma-li was not appropriate to describe a dog stealing something. He often uses manuma-li for ‘steal’, including at 3220A 3006, which refers to ‘a person stealing meat’. But, at the same place, he uses dha-li ‘eat’ rather than manuma-li for the act of the dog stealing the meat. At 3997B 1521 he is asked to translate ‘the dog stole the meat’. He initially uses manu.m.a-li, but then changes to banaga.al-li ‘run away with’. I take this to mean the Dodd realised that manuma-li was not appropriate for the action of the dog, but that he did not know manu.dha-li as a YR word, and so uses banaga.al-li and dha-li. I assume earlier YG speakers would have used manu.dha-li.

The process of recognising verb root elements is cyclical. Once a potential element has been recognised, for instance bi- in bi.dja-li, it can be further investigated. It is likely that with further investigation more bound modifiers and bound verbs will be recognised in both languages. It seems there is a bound modifier wali- to do with negative feelings, and a bound verb -mi-li, to do with seeing. The element walli- is found in WN walimi-li ‘dislike’, in WN and YG walindja-li ‘be lonely’ and in YG walingay ‘out of place’, ‘lonely, sulky’.

while not L class is likely derived from ban-mi-li.) As well as showing that -mi-li is a common, and presumably productive bound root, these examples point to potential previously unanalysed bound morphemes such as gun-, man-, muga and manay/manii. They will not be further examined here.

Other YG verbs are also compounds, but less transparently so. The verb winanga-li ‘hear’ has wina, a lenited form of the bina ‘ear’. The word for ‘ear’ is often found incorporated in the verb ‘hear’ in Australian languages. The semantics of the element -n-ga-li are not clear, but may be related to WN ngaa-y ‘see’.

Another potential bound modifier is gaya- ‘in turn’. It is found on dhu-rri ‘pierce’: see (786)(=(1083)). The element also occurs in gayarrabi-li ‘throw at in return’ found only in Laves: 9 p91. The form gaya is found with very similar meaning in gaya-dha ‘in turn’ (gayay-LOC), and with related meanings in gaya-y ‘turn’, gayawi-li ‘pelt’, gayma-li ‘stir, turn tr’.

(786) 
\text{ŋaia ŋinanə 'bumali // bumala ŋana : ŋaia ŋinanə 'gaidyuri/yalagiru??} 
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
YR & Laves: 9 p92 \ 
ngaya ngingunha buma-li // bumpa-la nganha // & JG \ 
1SG & 2SG.ACC hit-FUT // hit-IMP 1SG.ACC // 
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll} 
I will hit you. // Hit me, & 
1SG. ACC in.turn-pierce-FUT / just.like \ 
ngaya ngingunha gaya-dju-rri // yalagirruu & Laves \ 
1SG & 2SG.ACC I you hit will // I you hit you back 
\end{tabular}

and I will spear you in turn the very same way. & JG

Further YG verbs can be developed from combinations of bound modifiers and bound roots. This process can use elements found in YG, but in new combinations. For instance manu ‘do to other’ and -dha-li ‘eat’ are found in YG, but not the combination manudha-li discussed above. The process can also use elements not recorded in YG. For example, WN has the bound verb -dhi-li ‘with foot’, found in nga.dhi-li ‘feel/test with foot’ and bu.dhi-li ‘hit with foot’. The YG forms corresponding to these are dha.dhi-li and bu.dhi-li. The latter could be used for ‘kick’: YG currently uses the English borrowing gigirrma-li.
Chapter 11

Simple sentences and NPs

This chapter considers simple YG clauses which consist of a single statement, typically non-verbal or with a single verb, and then NPs, a concept that has some applicability to YG. Subordinated compound sentences are considered in Chapter 12. Compound coordination is either unmarked, or more frequently uses locational demonstratives and/or time words (Chapter 6). I begin with a consideration of the sources, and the effect they have on the study of this topic.

11.1 The sources of information

The analysis of simple sentences and clauses needs to take account of the variation in the sources. This variation, and its causes, have already been discussed in §1.3. Some features of the sources are particularly relevant to the analysis of sentence structure. Pauses and intonation are not recorded in written sources. At times it appears that texts do not reflect fluent YG. The texts may have been composed, or partly composed by the English writer, rather than being a record of a fluent speaker, or the speaker may have simplified the language for the non-fluent reader. Language which is being dictated will also be different from normal continuous speech. The tapes have more information about sentence structure but they were made in the 1970s and the informants may well have been influenced by language loss and by English.

Ridley’s and Greenway’s sentences have a very English word order and they generally do not use Ergative case. Parker has relatively few demonstratives and uses time words as sentence connectors, not the locationals and demonstratives found in later sources. Wurm almost always has nhama in first position, and often has pronouns there, unlike later YR sources which have these in second position, e.g. (787) (=290).

Fred Reece’s sentences have fewer demonstratives and pauses than Arthur Dodd’s, but he does have more of these than the earlier, written, texts. His sentences tend to be more English-like than AD’s, for instance with fewer epistemic particles. He does share other features with AD, such as pronouns in second position.

AD’s texts have the greatest proportion of demonstratives, epistemics and cross-referencing. His YR sentences share a number of features with the sentences on his Wayilwan tapes. His YR may have been influenced by his Wayilwan, his mother’s language. The separation of sentences into intonational units is also clearer in AD. While some of his pauses are clearly part of fluent YR, at times they are due to his uncertainty about how to say something. §11.2 considers properties of simple clauses, including constituent order, intonation patterns, cross-referencing, null anaphora and predicative possession. §11.3 considers a number of clause types, including nominal and verbal clauses, and then the illocutionary force of clauses. §11.4 examines what might be called noun phrases in YG.
11 Simple sentences and NPs

11.2 Simple clauses

The concept of sentence is taken as a given. In ‘real speech’ there is often considerable ellipsis which is only briefly considered here.

YG sentences and clauses share a number of properties with many other Pama-Nyungan languages, and also have less common features. They generally show the properties that Hale (1983: 5) describes as typical of ‘non-configurational’ languages: ‘(i) free word order, (ii) the use of syntactically discontinuous expressions, and (iii) extensive use of null anaphora’.

Word order is now considered, then the tendency of YG to group the words of a simple sentence into small ‘clusters’ or ‘intonation phrases’ and then the use of cross-referencing pronouns.

11.2.1 Word or constituent order

Rather than ‘free word order’ YG have ‘variable word order’ since there are some clear rules and also strong tendencies in word order.

Within those constraints YG follows principles found in other Australian languages. Blake (1987: 155) (quoted in Wilkins, 1989: 443) points out that two principles of discourse which are common in Australian languages are: ‘(a) topic precedes comment, (b) focus comes first’.

Speakers were aware that word order could be varied with no obvious impact on meaning. At 1987B 139 Fred Reece and Janet Mathews have a discussion about word order, and then FR gives a number of examples where one English sentence is given a number of YR translations, including (788). In a later tape he gives (789), again with alternative versions of the YR sentence, and both times he comments on the fact that the variation in word-order does not change the meaning.

(788) (Discussion from FR about word order) JM/FR 1987B 145
(a) ganadhaa nhama / dhaymaarr / mawu-nhi, wanda-gu
depth there / ground / dig-PST, white.man-ERG
White man dug a deep hole [biyuu] there. FR
‘white man’ is last, or you can say: FR
(b) wanda-gu nhama ganadhaa / biyuu mawu-nhi
white.man-ERG there depth / hole dig-PST
It doesn’t matter which way [word order] you say it to a black man, it all sounds right. FR

(789) I hit the dog with a stick. JM/FR 2436B 294
(a) maadhay ngaya buma-y muyaan-du
dog 1SG hit-PST stick-ERG
(b) muyaan-du ngaya maadhay buma-y
You can say it back the front. It is just the same. FR

However, word order is by no means random. Factors which influence YG word order include:

- Words that are obligatorily in first position. These include interrogatives (§7) and many particles (§13). Words that are overwhelmingly in first position include negatives, time words, and forms derived from the demonstrative root yalagiirr/yalaguwaay- ‘like’, such as yalagiirrma ‘like that’.
- Focus first. The most salient information or new information is given first.
- Pronouns (§5) and demonstratives (§6) are generally in second position, or if there are more than one, in second and subsequent positions. These pronouns and demonstratives in second position tend to be unstressed or weakly stressed.
- The default order seems to be AOV or SV.
- YG often has sentence final afterthoughts, such as nominals in local cases and instrumental case, e.g. (789)(a), or adjectives.
- Clitics are often on the first word of the clause. When not they are often at the end of the IIP (§11.2.2.1).
Terms such as AOV are not really adequate for discussing YG word order. One reason is that YG sentence constituents are often discontinuous. NPs are often discontinuous and main and auxiliary verbs are also frequently separated, e.g. (479). Secondly YG have frequent use of null anaphora, discussed later.

An examination of the first 70 lines of Text 6, a narrative about people getting fire, gives an indication of the distribution of constituent orders in YG. Table 203 gives the order of the verb and main arguments, where applicable, in these sentences. The results seem to be broadly consistent with other YG texts. It is clear that a wide range of arrangements is found, with no absolute restriction on the order of arrangement of A, O and V. That said, it is clear that V final is strongly preferred (57 out of 71 sentences which have at least one argument realised are AOV or SV). There are four V initial sentences and three which have no argument realised.

A very strong feature of this text is the number of constituents represented by pronouns. Predominance of pronouns is typical of most oral texts. This pattern would not be expected in non-continuous text.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 203</th>
<th>Constituent order frequency in Text 6, lines 1–70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All arguments realised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrans</td>
<td>SV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trans</td>
<td>AOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some arguments not realised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Ø]AV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Different constituent orders can be seen in many examples including: OVA (788)(a); AOV (788)(b); OAV (789)(a); AOV (789)(b); OAV (868). In (789) the instrumental nominal is sentence-final in (a) and sentence-initial in (b). The OAV order in (868) is influenced by the need to have the pronoun in second position.

11.2.1.1 Focus first
If possible the focus, i.e. the most salient information, comes first in the sentence. However, salience is at times difficult to determine, since it depends on the speaker’s understanding of what is most important.

In (790)(a)=(287)) the focus is on the woman’s illness. In (b) the new information, the focus, is ‘when the sun came up’, and this is first. (Nhama is second in both of the clauses it occurs in.)

(790) She is very ill. JM/FR 2437B 434
(a) **dhaala-nhi nhama yinarr**
    be.sick-PST 3.DEF woman

That woman is very sick.
FR
She was very sick when the sun came up. JM/FR 2437B 472
(b) **yaay dhurra-la-ndaay / bamba nhama yinarr dhaala-nhi**
    sun come-MOV-SUB / with.energy 3.DEF woman be.sick-PST

She was very sick at sunrise. FR 2437B 472

The elicitation sentence in (791) has no connection with the previous discussion. FR translates ‘the kids were happy’ three times, each time using the same four words, but in different orders. Twice he has gayaa first, indicating this is the focus. (c) is probably FR’s preferred version: when an informant changes a structure, the last structure is likely to be a correction of or improvement on
the earlier ones. \(^{237}\) (b) has *buwadjarr* as the first word, indicating that is the focus. There is variation in the order of the constituents of the NP *birralii nhama*.

(791) The kids were happy when their father came home. JMF/FR 2437A 1282

(a) (i) *gayaa* gi-nyi [nhama birralii], (ii) [birralii-gal nhama] *gayaa* gi-nyi.

happy get-PST nhama child, child-PL.DIM nhama happy get-PST

The kids were happy. JG

(b) *buwadjarr* dhurrrawu-Luwi-ngindaay

father come-BACK-SUB

When their father came back. JG

(c) *gayaa* [nhama birralii-gal] gi-nyi

happy nhama child-PL.DIM get-PST

The kids were happy. JG

In summary, there are some absolutes in the ordering of words in YG sentences, some very strong tendencies, some variation that seems to have pragmatic importance, and also some random variation. Word order is also likely to be influenced by individual style, and one would expect that all records have been influenced by the English of the recorder or speaker.

### 11.2.2 Intonation patterns of YG sentences

Phonologically YG sentences typically consist of a number of intonation phrases.\(^{238}\) Each phrase consists of a relatively small number of words, generally four or fewer. This intonation unit has little or no pause between words, generally decreasing volume and, in declarative statements, falling pitch. It is separated from the next intonation phrase by a pause.\(^{239}\)

Intonation phrases are clearly seen in Figure 4 (from Audacity) and Figure 5 (from Praat), which show the volume, frequency and pauses in (792). Figure 4 shows falling volume in four of the five intonation phrases and Figure 5 shows the falling pitch in these units. The text for each unit is aligned with the start of the volume or frequency contour.

(792) Sometimes she collected mussels and fish. JM/AD 8185 2211

(a) yalagiirrmawu ngaama=nga / yaaa-y.la-nha /

at.that.time there=THEN / walk-CTS-PRS

She kept going around, and JG

(b) maanggii ngayagay ngaama ngu / guama-lda-nhi / guduu ngayagay

mussel other that 3SG.ERG / gather-CTS-PST / cod other

she also collected mussels, and fish. JG

---

\(^{237}\) There could be at least two factors at play here. One is a not fully fluent FR recovering language as he uses it. Another is the intrinsic variability of word order. Hale (1983: 6) points out that in Warlpiri it is unusual for a sentence to be repeated with the same word order by a fluent speaker.

\(^{238}\) There has been some discussion of this in §2 on phonology. See Figure 1. This is very much a preliminary study of YG sentence intonation.

\(^{239}\) A comma in the YG of tape transcriptions indicates a small pause, a slash (/) a longer pause, and two slashes (//) an even longer pause. Some pauses are features of fluent language but some, especially the longer ones, have other causes, including uncertainty on the part of the speaker.
The difference between AD’s YG intonation, seen in Figure 4 and Figure 5, and his English intonation seen in Figure 6 (from Praat) is clear. Figure 6 has the volume above and the frequency below.

(792) has other typical YR features, including the unclear function of ngaama and the separation of the English NP ‘mussels and fish’ into two separate and discontinuous YR elements.

11.2.2.1 Initial intonation phrase (IIP)

The first word cluster, which I call the Initial intonation phrase (IIP), is phonologically similar to other IPs, but the content is distinctive. It alone contains morphemes which are obligatorily early in the clause. Elements found only in the IIP are first position particles, interrogatives, clitics (including clitic pronouns) and discourse connectives. Other pronouns are overwhelmingly in the IIP, particularly pronouns in core cases, as are demonstratives. Clitics are always found in the IIP, but at times the IIP includes elements to the right of clitics, for example ngarray ‘saw’ in yilaa nguu=nha ngarray ‘then he saw them’ in (204).

The IIPs of 100 example sentences from early in the Grammar were examined. (Examples from written sources were not considered, nor were coordinated or subordinated clauses.) The IIPs varied considerably in length: one word: 18; two words: 28; three words: 36; four words: 18. Most of the four-word IIPs were verb final. Clitics were not counted as words.240

The most common words in the first three slots of IIPs in the sentences examined are listed in Table 204. It shows that particles (40) and nominals (39) are the most common sentence-initial

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240 Clitics are obligatorily phonologically bound. They include reduced pronoun forms but not pronouns that may be unstressed but do not have deleted segments.
words, and also that pronouns are predominantly in second position. *Giirr ngaya* ‘true I’ and *giirr nhama* ‘true that’ are very common as the first two words.

There are many other examples of IIPs throughout the book. (868) begins with *baburr ngaya=laa*, with the clitic =*laa* indicating the right boundary of the IIP. In (788) *nhama* indicates the end of the IIP, in both (a) and (b).

Other languages, including Wayilwan, have intonationally defined units similar to the IIP. In Wayilwan (Bickerdike, 2006: Chapter 6) the initial intonation unit includes an obligatory auxiliary, similar to those found in some other languages including Warlpiri.

**Table 204  Components of YR Sentence Initial Cluster**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Number in position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>giirr or giirruu</em></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interrogative</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other first position particle</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(other) nominal</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg (<em>ngaya</em>)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other pronouns</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nhama/ngaama</em></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other demonstrative</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>giyaanha</em> (going.to)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other verbs</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**11.2.3  Cross-referencing pronouns**

Pronouns (including some demonstratives) in the IIP can be the sole manifestation of a verb argument, or they can cross-reference another nominal with explicit identity later in the clause. Cross-referencing pronouns are mostly third person singular in core cases: *=nha, nhama, nguuma* and *nguu*, with *nguu* perhaps the least common. However, others are found, for instance *ganugu* (3PL.ERG) in (797) (which precedes (424)).

The cross-referenced nominal and the cross-referencing pronoun are generally both before the verb: e.g. *=nha* and *biralii-djuul* in (793), *=nha* and *nhaadhiyaan* in (794)b, *nguu* and *ngambaa-gu* ‘mother-ERG’ in (423). They can be separated by the verb, but rarely: e.g. *=nha* and *bulaarrnga* (3DU.ACC) in (204) and *bulaayu* (3DU.ERG) and *dhayndu* (man-ERG) in (164). In (795) *nhama* and *maadhaay* both follow the verb.

Examples of cross-reference include (793) (=1013)): *=nha* cross-references *biraliiidjua* in the first clause (and is the sole representation of the S in the second clause). *=nha* cross-references *nhaadhiyaan* in (794)b (=292)).

(793)  The boy fell over and hurt himself.

*giirruu nhama=nha / birralii-djuul bundaa-nhi / nhama=nha=yaa / yu-gi-la-nha*

true.very that=3 / child-DIM fall-PST / that=3=POT / cry-CTS-PRS

He’s crying there. AD
The child there fell over, and she/he is crying there. JG

(794)  Turn that log over.

*FR/CW 5053 1702*

(a)  *gayma-la nhama nhaadhiyaan*

turn-IMP that/there log
Nhama can have pronominal, adnominal or locational function. It can only cross-reference when it has pronominal function, as it seems to have in (795), (232) and (173) where there is a pause between nhama and a co-referential nominal.

(795) I will hit him with a stick.

The singular Ergative pronoun ngu apparently cross-references the plural birraliigalu in (796)(=426)). I would expect a pause between ngu and birraliigalu, but Wurm’s text rarely indicates pauses. Nguu has cross-referential use in (194). Nguuma often has cross-referential use, including (272)(a) and (273).

(796) The children aren’t listening.

As often happens, the change of verb transitivity is signalled by the case of the IIP pronouns in (797), with an Ergative pronoun in the first clause and a Nominative in the second.

Pronouns are found early in the sentence in other languages, with cross-referencing function or as the sole representative of the argument. Bickerdike (2006: Chapter 6) points out that clitic pronouns are obligatorily attached to the Wayilwan second position auxiliary. In Warlpiri clitic pronouns are also obligatory and are found on the auxiliary which is found in second (or Wackernagel’s) position. Mushin and Simpson (2008) point out that second position pronouns are common in Australian languages.

It may be that the YG cross-referencing pattern extends beyond core constituents to other parts of the sentence; for instance that locational NPs can be cross-referenced with a demonstrative; cf. ngiyarrma and walaa-dha in (804)(b).

11.2.4 Null anaphora/reduced reference

The ellipsis or omission of an argument, also called null anaphora, is very common in Aboriginal languages including YG, particularly with identifiable third person singular arguments in core roles (A, S andO). Hale (1983: 7) defines null anaphora as ‘the situation in which an argument (e.g. subject, object) is not represented by an overt nominal expression in phrase structure’.

(798) shows null anaphora: of the subject in both clauses (both third person; Nominative singular and Ergative plural respectively) and of the object (Accusative, third person singular) in the second clause (with the English for these **bolded**).
Null anaphora is seen in sentences probably elicited in isolation – ((799) (800) (801) all have no expressed O) – but more commonly in connected text such as (802) and (803) where the referent can be more readily be identified from the context. The bolded English shows the omitted referents.

(799)  *dhaygal buma-la* ‘Hit **him** on the head’ [head hit-IMP]  
JM/FR 1849B 56

(800)  *garriya dha-la* ‘Don’t eat it.’  
JM/FR 1987A 207

(801)  *gidjidjiba-la*  
tickle-IMP  
Tickle **him**!  
FR/JM 1851A 33

(802)  *giirr ganugu nhamura-y*  
true 3PL.ERG bury-PST  
They buried **him** all right.  
FR/JM 2440A 637

(803) has ‘predicate nhama Subject’ structure in the first clause and null anaphora of the Object in the second.

(803)  That coolamon has a hole in it.  
JM/FR 1850A 3453

* gagil nhama wirri, wana-nga  
bad 3.DEF dish, throw-IMP  
That wirri is no good, chuck it away.  
FR

(804) shows null anaphora of Ergative and Accusative third person singular arguments (and ngiyarrma as a linking adverb, but easily interpretable as a pronoun); see also (289) and (319)(d). (581) shows a dual S not realised.

(804)  Her mother took her home and put her to bed.  
JM/AD 3219A 3133

(a)  *giirr ngaamu / ngamba-gu nguungu / gaa-g.wi-nyi /*  
true 3SG.ERG?? / mother-ERG 3SG.DAT / take-BACK-PST /  
She, her mother, took her home.  
JG

(b)  *ngiyarrma=nga / bulaanggiin-du / bulubama-y // wala-dha / dhanduwi-y.ma-lda-nhi /*  
there=THEN / blanket-ERG / cover-PST // camp-LOC / lie.down-CAUS-CTS-PST /  
and covered **her** with a blanket, at the camp, **she** put **her** to bed.  
JG

(c)  *ngiyarrma dhanduwi-y.ma-y*  
there lie.down-CAUS-PST  
**she** put **her** to bed.  
JG

Null anaphora of S in a finite clause is found, but this is more common in subordinate clauses, as in (805).

(805)  I pulled her out of the river.  
JM/AD 3219A 3085

* dhuwima-y nga ya ngaama / ngaliman gorungga-ngindaay  
pull.out-PST 1SG that?there / nearly drown-SUB  
I pulled her out. She was nearly drowning.  
JG
Null anaphora is found with non-third person arguments. For instance in (806) where two English second person pronouns are not realised in the YR.

(806)  dhala-baruay / dhala-baruay / mil
       eye.dirt-COM / eye.dirt-COM / eye
       You got gum on your eyes.  AD/LO 2833A 1882

There is considerable difference between English and YG as to when possessive pronouns are required, particularly when the ‘possessed’ is a body part.

AD also (1989A 660) translates ‘where will you make the fire?’ both without and with a second person pronoun, and at 2437A 3167 has no explicit IO in the second clause of ‘be good to them women and give them plenty of tucker [food]’.

It will often not be possible to determine precisely the causes of variation in completeness of reference. Factors will include context and individual style, as well as syntactic requirements. (807) shows a range of ways a participant is referred to. The O of the main clause is never explicitly referred to and is the same person as the S of the subordinate clause, which is referred to by Ø in (a), a clitic pronoun in (b) and a noun (c). The bolded English pronouns in (807) have null anaphora in the YR.

(807)  I saw him when he turned around.  CW/AD 5054A 366
   (a)  giirr ngaya ngarra-y / gayrra-ngindaay
        true 1SG see-PST / turn-SUB
        I will see him turn around, I will see him when he turns around.  CW
   (b)  giirr ngaya=laa ngarra-li / gayrra-ngindaay=nya
        true 1SG=DIR see-FUT / turn-SUB=3
        I will see him, when he turns around.  JG
   (c)  giirruu ngaya=laa ngarra-li / gayrra-ngindaay ngaama dhayn
        true.very 1SG=DIR see-FUT / turn-SUB there person
        I will see him, the man, when he turns around.  JG

While null anaphora is very common, reference can also be reduced in other ways, for instance by using only an adjective when the full reference would also include a noun. This is found in other languages, including English, but is more common in YG, such as Parker (Emu and Bustard line 46) using bulaarr ‘two’ to refer to ‘two children’.

Since demonstratives can have pronominal or adverbal function it is not always possible to determine if there is null anaphora or if a demonstrative such as nhama represents the argument. In the first 40 pages of Wurm, sentences with ‘he (Nominative)’ as often have no explicit subject, e.g. (808)(=289)) as they have nhama, e.g. (809)(=290)). (808) clearly has null anaphora, (809) may.

(808)  buhaigu galiawa:n
       possum-PURP climb-MOV-PRS
       for the possum he is climbing up
       He is climbing (to get) the possum.  SW p17

(809)  nama gundida naqilala
       nhama gundhi-dha ngarri-y.laj-nha
       nhama house-LOC sit-CTS-PRS
       He is in the house sitting down.  SW p27
11 Simple sentences and NPs

11.2.5 Predicative possession

This section considers a semantic topic, predicative possession. This is not a closely defined concept, but includes the concepts included in English sentences such as ‘I own that car’, ‘I’ve got a car’, ‘The car is mine’ and ‘There’s a hole in the dish/The dish has a hole in it’.

The aim is to gather the major relevant YG structures to make it easier to see the range of structures available and the situations in which they might be used. As in many other topics considered, the treatment here will be limited.

Predicative possession has been found expressed in YG by the use of the Comitative and Dative cases and by collocation of elements, as well as verbally. In YG it is often not possible to distinguish attributive possession (‘that is his dog’) from predicative possession (‘that dog is his’), and in fact the distinction may sometimes not be valid.

Verbless predicative possessive constructions found in YG include:

- a Datively marked possessor: e.g. (810)(=(20)) ‘Those children are ours’ and (811) (=21) ‘There will be no bread of/for us soon./We’ll have no bread soon’. (812) (=18) translates an English predicative sentence: ‘That dog belongs to my brother’ with attributive possession: ‘That’s his dog there’.

(810) Those children are ours.

ngalingu nhama birralii
1DU.DAT 3.DEF child
Them children is ours.
Those children are ours.

(811) maayrr=nga ngayaningu=laa dhuaaarr gi-gi
none=THEN 1PL.DAT=DIR bread be-FUT
We’ll have no bread directly.
There will be no bread of/for us soon.

(812) That dog there belongs to my brother.

nham=bala=nha maadhbaay nguungu
that=CTR=3? dog 3SG.DAT
That’s his dog there.

- Comitatively marked ‘possessed’: (813) (=109) ‘there’s a hole in the dish’; (814) (=118) ‘the tree has a hole in it’; (119) ‘they had clubs’ and (120) ‘man with a beard’.

(813) The water leaked out of the dish.

biyyu-biyaay=yaa nhama dhindhirr
hole-COM=POT 3.DEF dish.
There must be a hole in the dish.

(814) It might be under a tree. Look under the tree.

muyaan-di ngaarrma / muyaan-da ngaarrma ngaarra-la / biyyu-biyaay
tree-ABL there / tree-LOC there look-IMP / hole-COM
Have a look at that tree there. There’s a hole in it.

- unmarked (671) ‘the kangaroo with the sore foot’.

(815) A kangaroo with sore foot, in pain;

ngarrma bandaarr / bayn dhina / ngaarrmu /
there kangaroo / sore foot / there? /
That kangaroo has a sore foot.

(816)(=22)(a) uses Dative and Comitative in two renditions of ‘we’ve got meat’.
They say: ‘I’m not going to give you some’. AD/CW 5056 1844

\( \text{giirr=bala ngiyaningu dhinggaa, dhinggaa-biyaay ngali /} \)
\( \text{true=CTR 1PL.DAT meat, meat-COM IDU /} \)

We’ve got meat (There is meat for us.), we (two) have got meat. JG

(816) is not the only sentence which has variant ways of showing possession. (120) ‘the man has a beard and long hair’ uses Comitative on yarray ‘beard’ but has no marking on guyarraala=nha dhaygal ‘long=3 hair’. This is consistent with McGregor’s (2001: 343) finding that qualities of an inalienable part are commonly expressed without use of marking such as Comitative or Dative.\(^{241}\)

(121) ‘you have many kids but I’ve only got two’ uses Comitative case in the first clause and the verb gaa-gi ‘take/bring’ in the second. (817) also uses two different strategies to show possession, Dative in the first clause and Nominative in the second.

(817) I have more meat than that man / you have.

\( \text{maayrr nginu dhinggaa, giirr=bala ngaya burlulaa} \)
\( \text{none 2SG.DAT meat, true=CTR 1SG many} \)

You got no meat, but I got plenty. FR

Tentative conclusions are:

- Unmarked constructions are used when referring to a quality of body part (has a ‘sore foot’).
- Dative is used more for alienable possession (children, bread).
- Comitative is used for both alienable and inalienable possession.
- All the above constructions can use word order to signal the possessor or possessum as topic by fronting it.

### 11.3 Clause types

YG sentences can be divided into two groups. The first consists of verbless sentences (nominal clauses) and sentences where verbs give only tense and aspect information. In the second group verbs carry semantic information.

#### 11.3.1 Nominal clauses and related sentences

Nominal clauses are relatively common. They are generally assumed to imply present tense and continuous aspect. Alternatively tense and aspect information is conveyed by a semantically bleached verb, most commonly the copula gi-gi, but also by stative verbs (‘sit/lie/stand’), common motion verbs (‘walk, run’) and perhaps by others.

(818)(=1018)), (819)(=9), (820) and (823)(a) are typical nominal clauses (but note that AD’s translation is different from the elicitation in (823)(a)).

(818) I’m stronger than you.

\( \text{ngaya gugirri-biyaay, nginda=bala gugirri-dhalibaa} \)
\( \text{1SG sinews-COM, 2SG=CTR sinews-PRIV} \)

I have muscles (am strong) but you have no muscles (are weak). JG

\[^{241}\text{McGregor (2001) discusses the Predicative possession in Nyulnyulan languages, looking at, inter alia, the range of verbal and non-verbal constructions involved and their formal and semantic differences.}\]
I am a strong man.  

\[-(\text{walanbaa ngaya dhayn})\]

\[-(\text{strong(NOM) 1SG person(NOM)})\]

Gagil nhama yinarr  
bad 3.DEF woman  
That woman is no good.  

\[-(\text{Gagil nhama yinarr})\]

\[-(\text{3.DEF woman})\]

In (821)\((=\text{(571)})\) gi-gi provides tense and aspect information. In (b) and (c) the past tense is used with perfect meaning.

The man that came yesterday was mad.  

\[-(\text{wamba, wamba ngaama dhayn})\]

\[-(\text{mad, mad that Aboriginal.Man})\]

He is mad, that blackfellow.  

\[-(\text{My eye’s ok now. It was sore, but it’s all right now.})\]

\[-(\text{AD})\]

\[-(\text{CW})\]

\[-(\text{(a)})\]

\[-(\text{giirr nhama ngay gaba mil gi-nyi})\]

\[-(\text{true 3.DEF 1SG.DAT good eye get-PST})\]

\[-(\text{My eye is good.})\]

\[-(\text{JG})\]

\[-(\text{CW})\]

It was sore.  

\[-(\text{It was})\]

\[-(\text{true})\]

\[-(\text{3.DEF})\]

\[-(\text{sore})\]

\[-(\text{get-CTS-PST})\]

\[-(\text{My eye is all right now.})\]

\[-(\text{JG})\]

\[-(\text{CW})\]

\[-(\text{(b)})\]

\[-(\text{giirr nhama bayn gi-gi.la-nhi. giirr=Na gaba gi-nyi})\]

\[-(\text{true 3.DEF sore get-CTS-PST. true=3 good get-PST.})\]

\[-(\text{It got all right now.})\]

\[-(\text{AD})\]

\[-(\text{JG})\]

\[-(\text{(c)})\]

\[-(\text{giirr nhama bayn gi-gi.la-nhi. giirr=Na gaba gi-nyi})\]

\[-(\text{true 3.DEF})\]

\[-(\text{sore})\]

\[-(\text{get-CTS-PRS})\]

\[-(\text{true=3})\]

\[-(\text{true=3})\]

\[-(\text{good})\]

\[-(\text{get-PST})\]

\[-(\text{My eye is all right now.})\]

\[-(\text{JG})\]

\[-(\text{JG})\]

\[-(\text{(822) has a moving continuous verb with inchoative meaning.})\]

I am getting sleepy.  

\[-(\text{garriyawu, dhanduvi-\text{-}y.nginda gi-\text{-}yaa-nha ngaya})\]

\[-(\text{wait.on, sleep-WANT get-MOV-PRS(getting) 1SG})\]

\[-(\text{I want a sleep.})\]

\[-(\text{AD})\]

\[-(\text{JG})\]

Wait on, I am getting sleepy.  

\[-(\text{AD})\]

\[-(\text{JG})\]

\[-(\text{(823)\((=\text{(446)})\) has a present continuous verb, but the sentence would seem to have the same meaning without the verb.})\]

\[-(\text{nya:ndi nama de:\text{-}inj ge:’r gigilana})\]

\[-(\text{Who’s that man coming over this way?})\]

\[-(\text{SW})\]

\[-(\text{JG})\]

\[-(\text{Other verbs carry tense and aspect information. Banaga-y ‘run’ in (824)\((=\text{(122)})\) (a) and (b); wila-y ‘sit’ in (824)\((c)\) and yanaa-y ‘walk’ in (825)\((=\text{(123)})\).})\]

Their children were always hungry.  

\[-(\text{giirruru nham birralii-gal / yuulngindi / \text{banaga-y.la-nha})}\]

\[-(\text{true.very that child-PL.DIM / hungry / run-CTS-PRS})\]

\[-(\text{Those kids are (running around) hungry;})\]

\[-(\text{JG})\]

\[-(\text{dhuwarr-dhalibaa yuulngindi \text{banaga-y.la-nha} /})\]

\[-(\text{bread-PRIV hungry run-CTS-PRS /})\]

\[-(\text{hungry, (running around) with no food;})\]

\[-(\text{JG})\]
The semantics of nominal clauses is often not clear. The following is a very preliminary discussion of three types of English sentences which are often translated by YG nominal clauses. Attributive English sentences (A (noun) is B (adjective)) are most commonly translated by a YG sentence consisting of: (adjective demonstrative noun) or (adjective pronoun/noun); for instance (820), (821)(a) and the second clause of (831) (= (124)).

Existential and equational sentences are sometimes topic initial, as in (826), (827) and (828) (= (63)(a)). However, in (829) FR’s translation is existential but his YR is adjective initial. Clearly the analysis is far from complete. Other exceptions to the above generalisations are due to word order considerations. For instance (830)(a) (= (137)) has two similar clauses. In the first giirruu is obligatorily in first position, but it does not appear in the second, where the adjective takes first position.

The two clauses of (831) (= (124)) show that quite different nominal clause structures can have very similar meanings.
There are no clouds. 

Nominal clauses can be quite complex, as seen in (832), which has seven words. The examples seen indicate that for most nominal clauses there are a set of quite similar structures, presumably generally having subtle differences in meaning. For instance it is easy to construct YR near-equivalents to (833), just as there are a range of English translations, but the semantic effects of the variation are not clear.

11.3.2 Verbal clauses

The case frames of YG verbs are briefly treated here, then the illocutionary force of sentences is discussed.

11.3.3 Case frames in verbed clauses

The majority of verbs are intransitive or transitive. An intransitive verb is defined as having a single, Nominative argument, and a transitive is defined as having an Ergative argument, and usually an Accusative argument. Some verbs, e.g. bawi-li ‘sing’ typically have only the Ergative argument. Three-place verbs (e.g. wuu-rri ‘give’) have an indirect object in Dative or Locative case. Many derived verbs, including reflexive, reciprocal and middle verbs, can have a variety of case frames.

(834) dead bullock

giyrral nhama balu-nhi
cattle.NOM there die-PST
The cattle are dead. 

(835) That white woman caught the ball.

bugalaa nhama wadjijin-du bayama-y
ball.ACC there white.woman-ERG catch-PST

(836) He gave us some meat.

giirr ngiyaningu dhinggaa ngu wuu-nhi
true 1PL.DAT meat.ACC 3SG.ERG give-PST
He gave us some meat.
The boy cut himself with a knife.

He hit himself on the head.

The discussion of illocutionary force applies equally to verbed and verbless sentences, except that verbless sentences cannot be imperatives. The basic sentence type is a statement. Negation has been discussed at length in §7.4. Briefly, statements are negated by the use of particles waal YR and gamil GR. Imperatives are negated with garriya. (Nominals can be negated with maayrr YR marayrr GR.)

Imperative sentences use an imperative verb form, many examples of which are found in Chapter 8, particularly §8.3.1. In positive imperative sentences there is a tendency for the verb to be in first position: (841) and (843), and trivially so in (840), a one word sentence. This is consistent with the verb being the focus in such sentences. Negative imperative sentences begin with garriya ‘don’t’: (842) and §7.4.2; positive imperative sentences generally do not contain an explicit subject, but there are exceptions such as (839) and 5057 873, where AD uses the dual ngindaali ‘you’, perhaps to make it clear whom the imperative is addressed to.

Negative imperative sentences often include a second person free or suffixed pronoun as in (545). It is relatively common for the third person singular object of imperatives not to be made explicit, as in (840), (799) and (800). There is slight evidence that Imperative verbs are used to indicate hortative sense: ‘let us/me’ as in (550) and (551). There is a tendency for AD to translate imperatives in English elicitations with YR questions: (435) and (549). At least once, (843), FR translates an English statement with an imperative.

Stop running!

Don’t run! Sit down! Don’t run away.
11 Simple sentences and NPs

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You are a big boy, you can wash yourself.

burril-bidi=nga birralii gi-nyi, bayagaana nginda / wagirrna-la guyungan-du
big-AUG=NOW child get-PST, clothes 2SG / wash-IMP self-ERG

You’re a big kid now, you can wash your clothes yourself.

FR

[You] are a big kid now. You wash the clothes yourself.

JG

11.3.4.2 Interrogative sentences

Polar questions are considered first, then content questions.

11.3.4.3 Polar questions

Polar questions are most commonly indicated by question intonation, a rising tone at the end of the statement: see §2.10.1. The other way of asking a polar question is with the particle yaama (§7.1), which, added to the start of a statement, changes it to a question. When yaama is used polar questions have the same intonation pattern as statements. (844) and (845) are tonal questions. They have the same structure, the same word-order, as statements, but with rising final intonation.

(844) Are you cooking the emu?

giirr=nda yilama-la-a hínaw?
true=2SG cook-MOV-PRS emu [rising tone]

That’s the word you want. Are you cooking the emu?

FR

You are cooking the emu?

JG

(845) ˈnama ˈñiniː wādjɨnˈhɨnɔr

Nhama nginu wadjin/yinarr
3.DEF 2SG.DAT white.woman/black.woman

This thy black woman?

SW

That’s your white.woman/black.woman?

JG

(846) is a question with rising intonation (it follows 3994B 645 ‘bury him!’). It shows other typical YG sentence features: initial giirr, a pronoun in second position and null third person singular object.

(846)  giirr nginda nhamurra-y?

true 2SG bury-PST [rising tone]

Did you bury him?

AD/JM 3994B 692

11.3.4.4 Content questions

Content questions have a sentence-initial interrogative, as in (847). Chapter 7 examines interrogative particles and has many examples of such sentences.

(847) How did you do it?

gulaarr ngaama=nda / ngarra-y
how that/there=2SG / see-PST

How did you see it?

AD

As well as in Chapter 7 and elsewhere in the book, there are many interrogative sentences in texts. Some are listed below, with the interrogative used:

    Emu/Brolga; lines 7, 49; gulaarr ‘how?’; lines 17, 45 minya-gu ‘what for’; line 68 minyaaya ‘where.LOC?’

    Text 6 Fire lines 40, 110 gulaarr ‘how?’; lines 57, 60 minyaaya ‘where.LOC?’; line 111 minya ‘what?’

    Text 4 lines 20, 21, minya-gu ‘what for/why?’;
11.4 Noun phrases

I use the term 'noun phrase' to refer to nominals in a clause that have the same referent and are in the same case. This is not the classical use of the term, which also generally assumes other qualities, such as that the NP constituents are adjacent, and the NP itself is moveable.

An argument of a verb can be represented by a single element NP, a multiple element NP or by null anaphora. A single element NP can consist of standard nominal (noun or adjective), a pronoun or a demonstrative with nominal function. The same constituents can be part of a multiple member NP. None of the elements is obligatory. Further discussion generally refers to NPs with more than one element.

The relevance of the concept of an NP for some Australian languages has been often discussed. Blake raises the question of the status of the NP in the subset of non-configurational languages he calls word-marking languages – ‘languages that mark case on all relevant words’ (1987: 86), i.e. on all constituents of the potential NP. YG are word-marking languages. He (1987: 89) refers to his description of Kalkatungu, which does not use the NP concept, but rather he considers that the head noun and modifiers are in apposition. He also discusses Heath’s (1978: 52) questioning of the status of NPs in word-marking languages. See also Nordlinger (2014).

To facilitate discussion I will treat cross-referencing pronouns as parts of the NP. Nominals that are left or right dislocated and agree in case with the head of the NP are treated the same way. Because of their multiple functions, it is often not possible to determine if demonstratives are part of the NP or have an adverbal function.

11.4.1 NPs in Pama-Nyungan languages

Pama-Nyungan languages generally have a number of types of multi-constituent NPs with different syntactic properties. I will consider the analyses of these NPs in Yankunytjatjara and briefly in other languages to provide background for the analysis of YG.

Single constituent NPs have a single nominal and are not problematic. Goddard’s treatment of Yankunytjatjara NPs ((1983a: 47-53), summarised in Table 205) has parallels with what is found in YG and indicates that there are more NP types than are sometimes analysed. It shows the complexity that can be found in these structures when a strong language is carefully analysed. In fact Goddard (1983a: 47, 53) notes that there is room for even more investigation of these structures in Yankunytjatjara. Variation in the constructions includes whether elements must be adjacent, whether the head is first in the construction, and in fact whether the construction has multiple heads; whether the final element only, or all elements, are case marked and whether there is a fixed order for the elements. As well, there are semantic rules about the use of some of the constructions.

Type 1(a) in Table 205 is non-controversial. The remaining NPs consist of multiple nouns, multiple pronouns or a noun and a pronoun, and the division into various types is less obvious. Goddard gives reasons (which I do not go into) for separating 1(b), Generic-specific, from 2(a), Noun compounds. A simpler analysis could easily regard these as one category. The Yankunytjatjara Inclusive construction is clearly a separate construction since it is the only one where elements must be adjacent and all elements are case marked, and similarly the Personal construction is the only one where the constituents can be separated, and also has the semantic condition that the Primary constituent can only refer to a person. Again both elements indicate case.
Table 205  Some Yankunytjatjara NP types

1. HEAD-MODIFIER CONSTRUCTIONS; elements adjacent; final element case marked

(a) Noun-adjective e.g. *papa tjapu* ‘dog small’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun (head)</th>
<th>descriptive adj</th>
<th>quantifying adj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(b) Generic-specific e.g. *kuka malu* ‘meat kangaroo’ [kangaroo meat]; *kapi piti* ‘water hole’ [water from a hole]; *waru puyu* ‘fire smoke’ [smoke from a fire]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>generic noun (head)</th>
<th>specific noun+Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

2. MODIFIER-HEAD CONSTRUCTIONS; elements adjacent; final element case marked

(a) Noun compounds (Whole-part is a common but not only use of the construction) only for things, not people; ‘part’ need not be attached to ‘whole’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun (attributive)</th>
<th>noun (head)+Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(b) Generic-specific e.g. *apara makaly* ‘gum hollow-branch’ [hollow branch of a gum tree]; *ngura walytja* ‘place owner’ [owner of a place]

3. Non [head-modifier] constructions

(a) INCLUSIVE CONSTRUCTION; elements adjacent; all elements case marked

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pronoun/noun+Case</th>
<th>pronoun+Case (broader reference)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

e.g. *nyuntu ngali* ‘2SG 1DU.NOM’ [you and I];

(b) PERSONAL CONSTRUCTION; elements optionally adjacent; element order variable; all elements case marked; Primary (broader reference) always denotes a person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>whole (noun/pronoun) – part (noun); ‘part’ broadly understood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

e.g. *wati-ngka* verb *kuru-ngka* ‘man-LOC – eye-LOC’ [in the man’s eye]; *tjina-tja* ‘foot.ACC-1SG.ACC’ [(hit) my foot]; *mama tjina* ‘father foot’ [father’s tracks]

Others have also commented on NPs that consist of multiple nouns/pronouns. Blake (1987: 93) discusses three ‘superordinate’ putative noun phrase types: (‘which have in common that one nominal is more inclusive and one more specific’); inclusive constructions (my inclusor §11.4.4); generic specific and whole-part, ‘where reference is made to a whole and a part of that whole as in man’s head, leaves of tree, bank of the river,’ etc. As he points out (1987: 95) ‘In some languages on the east coast the genitive is an option frequently used, but in most other suffixing languages (emphases added) the genitive is rare for my hand, your foot, etc.’ The distribution of this feature, and others, may well be an indication of the strong influence of English rather than traditional language. He points out that whole-part NPs are often different from other NPs, as seen in Yankunytjatjara (above).

Dixon (1980: 293) points out that:

Almost all Australian languages have two distinct ways of marking possession. A genitive suffix can be added to the possessor noun … to indicate ‘alienable possession’. Inalienable possession … is shown by just apposing possessor and possessed nouns, without any special suffix such as genitive.

He takes a similar position later (Dixon, 2002: 59, 77) but does not indicate that these structures have a wider application than ‘inalienable possession’. Inalienability in a number of languages is explored in Chappell and McGregor (1996). They point out (p3) that in languages of many families (as in Australian languages) possession can be shown by two methods. One method is used for body parts and other ‘personal’ things, and another method for other possession. Both methods can be used for one noun, with different meaning; e.g. ‘my liver’ can indicate my body part or the liver I am going to cook, depending which method is chosen.

242 However, see Goddard below. It is not obvious that the bank is part of the river, and Goddard’s comment raises questions about the non-person ‘whole’ such as ‘tree’.
With humans, inalienability generally applies to what Chappell and McGregor refer to as the ‘personal domain’, which is language and context dependent, and typically contains some of: kin terms, body parts and culturally basic possessed items. The same structures may apply to non-human whole-part expressions and or spatial relations. McGregor (1996) points out that protective clothing is inalienably possessed in Nyulnyul, a non-Pama-Nyungan language.

Donaldson (p230) describes two types of possession (an imprecise term):

… one in which the possessed item is part of or relative to the possessor, indicated simply by apposition, and one in which it is separate from the possessor, indicated by prior dative marking of the possessor.

Her inalienable possession construction is used while something is part of the whole, e.g. a person’s hair, or clothes that are being worn, but a Dative possessive is used when the part is separated from the whole, e.g. when the hair has been cut or the clothes are not being worn.

Some of Donaldson’s other examples of the first type are: *gurrugu ngamu* (cow breast/milk) ‘cow’s udder’, *dhagarr malda* (ice lump) ‘lump of ice’, *Ivanhoe-ga milan-da* (Ivanhoe-LOC neighbourhood-LOC) ‘in the neighbourhood of Ivanhoe’. The last two are not strictly whole-part. It may be that recent Wangaaybuwan has collapsed some previously syntactically distinct structures, or there may have been just one structure.

It is quite likely that traditional YG had a similar variety of NP structures to Yankunytjatjara, but with differences in detail. Recorded YG quite likely does retain some of the earlier complexity. It may be revealed by further research. It is also likely that relatively similar constructions have to some extent coalesced. The analysis below is therefore incomplete and revisable. YG NP structures recognised include whole-part arrangements and distinctive inclusory constructions.

11.4.2 YG NPs

11.4.2.1 Properties of YG NPs

A YG NP can have more than one standard nominal and in instances such as inclusory constructions can have more than one pronoun.

The constituents are all in the same case.

The constituents need not be adjacent, and even if adjacent are often separated by pauses.

The order of constituents can vary, but traditionally modifiers follow the noun they qualify.

The use of multiple modifiers in one NP is not common, and when there are multiple modifiers it is rare for them not to be in separate Intonation Phrases. The less salient modifier is generally said after a pause, still agreeing in case. This can be regarded as an ‘afterthought’ or apposition construction.

NPs that consist of just a modifier are relatively common.

While possessive NPs are not simple NPs they are like simple NPs in having variable constituent order and constituent separability, although they are more likely to have the modifier follow the head. The possessive constituent is in Dative case and takes no further case marking.

Topicalisation, where an argument is introduced at the beginning of a sentence, before a pause, also occurs. Here, however, the topicalised phrase is generally Nominative case, irrespective of the function of the argument in the main part of the clause, as in (848)\(^{(40)}\), where the next reference to ‘baby’ is by the Ergative *nguuma*.

(848) The baby dribbled on its chest. JM/AD 3220B 2634

\[\text{nhausa} \text{birralili-djiul} / \text{nguuma} / \text{bii-dja} \text{ nguungunda} / \text{gaarrra-ya-la-nadaay wiiluun} \]

\[3.\text{DEF} \text{ child-DIM} / 3\text{ERG.DEF} / \text{chest-LOC} 3\text{SG.LOC} / \text{spill-CTS-SUB} \text{ dribble} \]

That child, (it is) dribbling stuff on its chest. [halting response by AD to the question] JG
11.4.2.2  One-constituent NPs

One-element NPs are common. *Dhayn*, in both parts of the (849), is the O NP. The clitic *nda* in (849)(b) is the sole constituent of the Subject NP.

(849)  Do you see someone?  JM/FR 2437A 3248
(a)  `yaama dhayn ngarra-y / (b) yaama=nda dhayn ngarra-y`
ques person see-PST / ques=2SG person see-PST

Did you see a man?  FR

An NP can consist of just a modifier. Unlike English, where use of an adjective as a noun often has syntactic consequences such as the article in ‘I like a red’, there is no such marking in YG. In (850) *burrul-bidi*, an adjective, is the O NP (*bubaay-djuul-u* contains an adjective *bubaay* nominalised by use of *-dhuul*).

(850)  The skinny fellow kicked the fat man in the stomach.

   ngiyama=nga bubaay-djuul-u / girrgima-y ngaama / **burrul-bidi** mubal-i
   there=THEN small-ONE-ERG / kick-PST there / big-AUG stomach-ABL

   It is relatively common for a number to be the sole constituent of an NP, especially in Parker (*Emu and Bustard*) and it is also found in Wurm (851). This feature is more common in YG than in English.

(851)  bula:ḍ nama ba:bilo

   bulaarr nhama baabi-y.la-y
   two there sleep-CTS-FUT

   Two people are sleeping.  SW
   Two people will be sleeping.  JG

11.4.2.3  NP constituent order

The general rules for constituent order have been set out in §11.4.2.1. These rules are constrained by sentence-level rules, particularly the location of pronouns. The patterns found vary between sources. It seems that later sources in particular have been influenced by English. Since modifier-noun order was permitted, but not common in traditional language, it may have been relatively easy for speakers to move to this as the predominant pattern.

Mathews (1903: 262) has, of GR, ‘adjectives follow the nouns they qualify, and take the same inflections for number and case’ and of YR (1902: 136) has: ‘an adjective qualifying either the nominative or objective, follows the noun’. He gives numerous examples to illustrate the feature, including (852) from (1903: 263).

(852)  Mathews noun-adjective order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)  Murri bural,</td>
<td>A man large.</td>
<td>mari burrul</td>
<td>man big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)  Murridu buralu</td>
<td>The big man (is beating the child.</td>
<td>mari-dhu burrul-u</td>
<td>man-ERG big-ERG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ergative]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)  Murrigu buralu</td>
<td>The big man’s (boomerang)</td>
<td>mari-gu burrul-u</td>
<td>man-DAT big-DAT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most authentic old text is Parker’s *‘Emu and Bustard’*. It has few multiple element NPs, the most common modifiers being *burrul* ‘big’, *burrulaa* ‘many’ and *maayrrngay* ‘none’. In this text

\(^{243}\) (849)(a) is a rare instance of zero realisation of second person pronoun.
these immediately precede nouns and *ngay* ‘my’ generally precedes the head noun, but is also found following it. The order here contrasts with Mathews.

Indirect evidence that modifiers traditionally follow the noun comes from compound words and other languages. YG names such as *dhuyubagan* ‘bandy bandy (a snake)’ (*dhuyu* ‘snake’, *bagan* ‘stripe(d)’) generally have the modifier second and likely retain more traditional usage. In many other Australian languages adjectives and quantifiers follow the noun, for instance in Pitjanjatjara (C. Goddard, 1983a: 17) and Wangkumara (Hercus, pers. comm.). In Gumbaynggirr, a closer language, the adjectives also predominantly follow the noun (Morelli, 2008: 258-62).

In the tapes and other recent sources there is a variety of noun-modifier arrangements. Most commonly the modifier immediately precedes the noun, but it can also follow the noun or be separated from it. In particular, quantity words are generally found before the noun, but there are exceptions.

The following examples show a variety of NP arrangement in later sources. Most commonly the adjective immediately precedes the noun, particularly for quantity adjectives. Other arrangements are also frequent. Possessive pronouns follow the noun more commonly than other modifiers. **Non-quantifier adjectives.** (853)(a) has the *gagil* preceding the noun in an NP. (853)(b) includes one of the rare examples of a non-quantity adjective with Ergative marking, but the noun and adjective are separated and again it is not certain they form an NP, as the alternative translation suggests.

(853) This is bad water, we can’t drink it.  
(a) *nhalay=bala gagil gungan / waala ngiyani / ngawu-gi*  
this=CTR bad water / can’t 1PL.ERG / drink-FUT  
This is bad water. We can’t drink it.  
(b) *gagil / gagil-u ngaama / gungan-du / ngiyaninya bayn burranba-li*  
bad / bad-ERG there / water-ERG / 1PL.acc sore change-FUT  
The bad water will make us sick.//The bad stuff, the water, will make us sick.

In (854)(b) *gaba* precedes the noun and probably forms an NP with it. (854)(a) shows the quality adjective *gagil* following and preceding the noun, but with pauses, so no clear conclusion can be drawn about NP structure. In (1025) *gagil* is used twice, both preceding and following the noun.

(854) There’s no bad meat in the camp.  
(a) *maayrr nhalay dhanggaa / gagil / dhanggaa / (b) giirr gaba dhanggaa nhalay*  
none this/here meat / bad / meat / true good meat this/here  
Only good meat here.  
There is no bad meat here, there’s good meat here.

(855)(b) shows the adjective following the noun. While (b) is likely an NP, ‘cold water’, it may be a verbless clause: ‘It’s cold water’.

(855) The water was cold.  
(a) *baliyaa=bala nhama gungan / (b) gungan baliyaa*  
cold=CTR 3.DEF water / water cold  
That’s water very cold.  
That water is cold. Cold water.

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244 An area for further investigation is the relative infrequency of case marked adjectives in later YG sources. In (852) Mathews has *burrul* with Ergative and Dative suffixes. There are over 250 tape instances of *burrul*, all in Nominative and Accusative case. There are over 600 instances of *gaba* ‘good’ or *gagil* ‘bad’ on the tapes, but only six are case marked. Exceptions are *bulaarr* ‘two’ and *burrulaa* ‘many’, with a combined total of 600 instances, 70 of which are Ergatively marked.
Quantifiers. There are numerous NPs consisting of a noun and a quantifier. They can be adjacent((856)(b) and (858)), or separated ((856)(a) and (857)), but adjectives generally precede the noun on the tapes.

(856) A whole lot of us are walking.  
(a) burrulaa yanaa-waa-nha dhayn  
many walk-MOV-PRS man  
A lot of blackfellows walking.  
(b) yanaa-waa-nha burrulaa dhayn  
walk-MOV-PRS many man

(857) bijəḍ ƾaja bumai banda:d  
burrulaa yanaa-waa-nha dhayn  
many walk-MOV-PRS many man  
yanaa-waa-nha dhayn  
many walk-MOV-PRS many man

(858) is one of the relatively few instances where the quantifier follows the noun.

(858) giːdü nama mari budla ɲari ja-bulda  
giirr nhama mari burrulaa ngarri-y.aaba-lda-nha  
true 3.DEF Aboriginal.person all  
true 3.DEF Aboriginal.person all  
true 3.DEF Aboriginal.person all  
true 3.DEF Aboriginal.person all  
All these man have sat down/they are sitting.  
All the Aboriginal people are sitting down.

11.4.2.4 Multiple modifiers in an NP

It is relatively uncommon to find multiple modifiers in one NP, and if a NP has more than one adjective they tend to be separated, often with one coming at the end of the sentence. (859) shows the three NP elements (a noun and two adjectives) separated by pauses.

(859) We two ate a lot of fish.  
We ate a lot of fish. It was gaba, good.  
We ate a lot of fish, good and fat.

In (860) two English adjectives have been rendered with two YR clauses, one adjective being in Locative case and one in Nominative case. In the first clause gunganda and baliyaaga are intonationally separated.

(860) The baby fell into the cold black water.  
The child fell into the water, [in the] cold.  
The child fell into the water, [in the] cold.

The NP in (861) also has two adjectives, both separated from the noun by pauses and in one instance by the verb. It is not clear that there is a multi-element NP here. Ngarragaa-gu could be ‘(that) poor thing’ and biyaduul-u is likely a secondary predicate, so neither of them qualifying yina-yu.
The little old woman sang a song.

That poor old woman was singing alone. [?? = not understood]

In (862) the Agent is represented by four Ergative constituents, most separated from other constituents by pauses or other words. It is unlikely they form one NP.

A thin hungry boy ate all the fish.

That hopeless person, the little kid,

I smashed the black ants’ nest.

I broke the meat ants’ nest.

(864) shows at least three intonationally separated Ergative nominals referring to ‘my poor mother’.

(865) has a complex NP, including the simple NP gaba ngulu (‘good face’) ‘good looking’ which modifies dhayn, but gaba and ngulu are separated. The reason for the intonation structure of this NP, with a pause after dhayndu, is not clear. All constituents of the A NP are Ergatively marked. (865) contains nguuma, a cross-referencing pronoun, discussed in §6.3.2.

The good looking man made a joke (and all the people laughed).

245 The constituent order (863) depends on the interpretation of the first section. If ngaama is seen as a cross-referencing demonstrative, or if the object is regarded as a non-realised third person pronoun, then the sentence is AOV, with O explicated after the verb. Otherwise the order is AVO.
Almost invariably nominals in one YG NP have the same case. There are numerous examples above. Others include (40)–(47), 2436A 2220 ‘(I slipped off the) smooth tree’ with ‘smooth’ and ‘tree’ Ablative and adjacent, and 2438B 1679 ‘we put clean clothes on the children’ with ‘clean’ and ‘clothes’ both Ablative and separated by nhama.

11.4.2.5 Possessive NPs
By ‘possessive NP’ I mean one with an explicit nominal or NP in possessive function, i.e. Dative case. Only the head is marked with the case appropriate for the higher level NP. Often English possessives are not translated explicitly in YG. For instance at 2833A 77 ‘your foot’ is dhina nginu twice and dhina once. See also below on whole-part.

MathewsGR (p264) has the possessive pronoun second: Gai ngai ‘child my’ (gaay ngay), whereas the alternative order is seen in AD’s 3219B 3334 (ngay guliirr ‘my wife’) and elsewhere in recent sources. (866) shows AD using noun-possessor order once and his more common possessor-noun order twice.

Again the noun and qualifier can be separated, as in (867) and (868), both also showing the possessive pronoun following the noun in relatively recent sources. (121) also has noun-possessor order in a recent source, but this may be influenced by the fact that this is a traditional story, and so has kept more of the traditional structure.

(866) My dog barked at yours.

(a) buyuma-gu ngay / (b) bamba ngay buyuma-gu / gula-lda-nha /
dog-ERG 1SG.DAT / w.energy 1SG.DAT dog-ERG / bark-CTS-PRS /
My dog, my dog is barking loudly

JG

(c) nginu / buyuma
2SG.DAT / dog
at your dog.

JG

Don’t you eat my meat, else I will hit you.

SW p76

garija ńin.do ńiŋa: ḏalla ńai, bumala:flali
garriya nginda dhingga dha-la ngay, bum-a-laaba-li
don’t 1SG meat eat-IMP 1SG.DAT, hit-ALL-FUT
Don’t eat my meat. [I will hit [you] all.

JG

In (868) the NP constituents baburr and nginu are separated by the A, probably because pronouns tend strongly to second position. See a similar pattern in (198).

(868) I will tickle your feet.

JM/FR 1986B 2547

baburr ngaya=laa nginu / gidjigjidjiba-li
foot 1SG=DIR 2SG.DAT / tickle-FUT

11.4.2.6 Whole-part NPs
There are two YG NP constructions which consist of two nominals which can be nouns or pronouns. One is the whole-part construction, and the other the Inclusory Construction: §11.4.4.

Inalienable possession has been discussed in §11.4.1. In YG the elements are in the same case: e.g. birralii bungun ‘child arm’, with both elements Nominative case. The list of what is inalienably possessed varies from language to language. What could be ‘inalienably possessed’ in YG is not clear. In other languages it is typically body parts and personally significant items such as voice, name, shadow, clothes or track.

The predominant YG order is whole first, part second with the nominals commonly adjacent, but this is not universal.
In the current analysis YG inalienable possession covers the functions of Goddard’s ‘generic-specific’, ‘noun compounds’ and ‘personal construction’, suggesting that the YG analysis is simplifying a more complex reality.

Inalienable possession (the NP is underlined) use of whole-part structure is seen in (869), the first two words of (870), in (871)(part of (1082)) and in the examples that follow.

(869) What is your meat? (Social Section)  

minya=bala nginda dhingga, minya  
what=CTR 2SG meat, what  

Laves: 9 p83

(870) mil ngaia da’lani gi’an* mil ngaia wal g’il bama246  

mil ngaya dhaala-nhi // gi.yaa.nha[a mil ngaigirrbuma-y  
eye.NOM 1SG.NOM be.sick-PST // going.to eye.ACC 1SG wash.M-FUT  
eye I sick bushes [sic] eye I wash  

My eyes got sick and I am going to wash my eyes.  

JM/AD 3219B 701

(871) (Mum has taken burrs from the girl’s back,) then she said to the boy:  

‘I’ll take the burrs from your back too’.  

ngaya, ngimundi ngayagay / ngaya / bawa-dhi dhuwima-li / bindiyaa,  
1SG, 2SG.ABL as.well / 1SG / back-ABL take.out-FUT / prickle,  
So he stooped down.  

I’ll take the prickles out of your back too.  

JM/AD 3219A 3478

At 3998A 1134 AD translates ‘(he dropped the stone) on his mother’s head’ with ngambaa-ga dhaygal-a ‘mother-LOC head-LOC’ and repeats the sentence, but with dhaygal-alngambaa-ngunda, with -ngunda, the Personal Declension Locative. The order is reversed and the constituents separated. As well, there is no reflex of ‘his’ in the YR.

At 5129A 1577 AD twice translates ‘(there was blood) on his face’ with nguungunda nguulu-ga ‘3SG.LOC face-LOC’. He (8184 2013) translates ‘(the boomerang might cut) your (head off)’ with nginunha dhaygal ‘2SG.ACC head.ACC’. Even AD’s English reflects his use of this construction. At 2833B 519 he uses ‘he head’ where standard English would use ‘his head’, and at 5052 218 says: ‘dhaygal means you head’.

There are instances where the whole-part construction might be expected, but AD uses a Dative possessor. At 5056 847 ‘the dog’s tail (is wagging)’ is dhiil (dhirranba-y,la-nha) maadhaay-gu; ‘tail ... dog-DAT’ and at 8186 976 ‘(the yamstick made) his head (very flat)’ has dhaygal nguungu ‘head 3SG.DAT’. This refers to a lizard. It may, or may not, be coincidence that both these NPs have non-human referents. The whole-part construction is not (or very rarely) used by FR. For instance at 1987B 1582 ‘(cut) my hair’ has ngay dhaygal ‘1SG.DAT hair’, with the same phrase at 2438A 991. As noted above by Blake the use of a Dative in this construction is common in Eastern Australia and Hercus (2005) suggests it is the result of English influence.

No information has been found on whether YG used whole-part structure with inanimates such as ‘tree leaf’.

There are other uses of the ‘whole-part’ construction, in NPs that contain what might be called an attributive noun. The examples below are not inalienable possession since the body part has been separated from the body. The attributive noun can have a wide range of semantic functions – cf. generic nouns and noun compounds in Goddard. However, there is also currently unexplained variation in the YG structure used for what seems to be identical English structures. Sometimes the whole-part structure is used and at other times a Dative possessor is used. For instance ‘kangaroo skin’ (Nominative/Accusative) is found many times in the tapes, mostly translated bawurra-gu yulay ‘red.kangaroo-DAT skin’.247 However, 2439A 3211 ‘(the women are going to make a bag)

246 The ‘*’ is in Laves. He has a note: ‘*certain bushes used for sore eyes’. It seems more likely he has misinterpreted the word.

247 bawurra-gu yulay is sometimes found even when further case marking on yulay would be expected, for instance (8184 1499) ‘we stuff the feathers in a kangaroo skin’ uses bandaarr-gu yulay, where I would expect a Locative suffix on
out of kangaroo skin’ has bawurra-dhi; yulay-i bawurra-dhi, with Ablative marking on both nouns. The two structures are also found in translations of ‘(make a bag) out of possum skin’. AD3220A 955 has mudhay-gu yulay, but in (872) FR uses the whole-part structure with both constituents Ablative.

(872) I have a good bag, it is made of possum skin.

There was a special name for possum skin. I’ll have to say mudhay-gu yulay-dji.

I made a good bag out of that possum skin.

Locational NPs also use the whole-part structure. Here what I call a locational nominal and a referential nominal have the same case. In some instances the locational nominal indicates part of the reference nominal, as in (53) mudhu-ga walaay-dha ‘inside the camp’, where the inside is part of the camp. Both nominals are in Locative case. On the other hand the referential nominal may not include the area indicated, as in the Locative case examples: guwiinbaa-ga nganunda ‘close to him’ (308) (guwiinbaa ‘close’); cf. ‘close to the water’ guwiinbaa-ga, gungan-da (AD8186 782, gungan ‘water’) and ‘close to me’ nganunda guwiinbaa-ga (AD8185 161), ngaarri-gili-dja, gungan-da ‘on the other side of the water’ (ngaarri-gili ‘far-side’; 3220A 1782). The order of the referential nominal and locational nominal is variable, with the locational found first in most instances.

More complex whole-part structures are found, often as part of a currently unanalysed structure. (873) and (874) are ‘whole-part’ constructions where one constituent is itself a multi element NP: buwadjarr ngay in the first.

(873) I can touch my father’s head.

A man with long arms, gets out the porcupine.

It does suggest that the languages had structures for such uncommon, but not unrealistic, phrases.

Another area which is not fully analysed has to do with sensations and effects on body parts. English has multiple possible structures, fairly closely related, and with often subtle semantic differences for such situations. For instance: ‘my hand is sore/hurts’, ‘I hurt my hand’, ‘my hand is hurting’, ‘my hand is hurting me’, ‘I’ve got a sore hand’ and more similar sentences. I expect YG had similar complexity. I do not attempt to analyse the YG found, rather to list some elements of the structures and give some examples. It may be that there is influence from English in this YG.

(875)(a) has zero anaphora of the whole – neither the ‘he’ or ‘his’ is realised in the YR. In (875)(b) the =nga may be 3SG but is more likely to be ‘then’. Gama-nhi is a middle verb.

yalay. At 8185 1121 AD translates ‘(I wrapped the baby) in a kangaroo skin’ with the confusing bandaa-ya yula-dhu which is apparently (kangaroo-LOC skin-ERG).
(875) JM He hurt himself. FR don’t know ‘hurt’ JM He broke a leg.  JM/FR 1849B 1803  
(a) *buyu*  *gama-nhi*  
leg  break.M-PST  
He broke his leg.  FR  
(b) *bundaa-nhi=nga*  *muyaan-di,*  *buyu*  *gama-nhi*  
fall-PST=3?THEN  tree-ABL,  leg  break.M-PST  
He fell off the tree and broke his leg.  FR  

(876) The boy touched the hot stone.  CW/FR 5053 2366  
*dhuu*-biyaay  *maayama* /  *bayama-y*  *maa-gu* /  *maa*  *gayla-nhi*  
fire-COM  rock / pick.up-PST  hand-ERG / hand  burn-PST  
Burnt his hand.  FR  
He picked up the hot rock with his hand, and burnt his hand.  JG  

In (877) the subject, ‘my hand’, is inalienably possessed, but a Dative is used, not a whole-part construction. The use of a possessive here, rather than Ø, may have to do with the fact that the referent is not third person. However, in (878), with a second person referent, the possessive is used in (a) but not repeated in (b).  

(877) sore  JM/FR 1850A 1136  
*bayn* //  *bayn*  [ngay  *maa*]  
sore //  sore  1SG.DAT hand  
My hand is sore.  FR  

In general, the possessor is not mentioned twice (cf. English: she hurt her foot) as in (878) where the possessor is only explicit in (a). (676) has ‘wash your face’ with a middle verb and face-ACC, and no ‘your’.  

(878) your eye  LO/AD 2833A 1853  
(878) *(a)*  *nginu*  *nhama*  *mil*  
2SG.DAT 3.DEF  eye  
That’s your eye there.  AD  
(b)  *dhala-baraay* /  *dhala-baraay* /  *mil* /  *dhala-baraay*  
eye.dirt-COM /  eye.dirt-COM /  eye /  eye.dirt-COM  
You got gum on your eyes.  AD  

In contrast with (877), (690) has a first person referent but includes a whole-part construction *nganha dhina huma.nhi* ‘1SG.ACC foot.ACC hit.M-PST’ ‘I hit my foot (against a rock)’, and also has a middle verb. On the other hand 2438A 3464 has ‘your foot (might burn)’ as *baburr nginu*, with the Dative following the body part and (538) also uses a Dative in a similar sentence.  

Both (879) (=689)) and (690) have the middle form of ‘hit’; they both involve contact between the speaker’s foot and something on the ground (stick, rock) and a result (falling down; being hurt). The answers given do not closely reflect the elicitations, and the constructions are quite different. Both have middle verbs. (879) has ‘foot-ABL’. In (690) ‘I hit me up against that rock’, ‘me’ and ‘foot’ are Accusative. There are further similar examples in §9.2.  

(879) I tripped on a stick and fell down in the mud.  JM/AD 3219B 3567  
*giniy-u*  *buma-nhi*  *buyu-dhi* /  *bundaa-nhi=nga*  *ngaya*  
stick-ERG  hit,M-PST  leg-ABL /  fall-PST=THEN  1SG  
I hit my foot on a stick and fell down.  JG
(880) illustrates some of the complexities of analysis and of the structures. *Biiwii-dju wamu-gu* is clearly a whole-part construction, in Ergative case with instrumental function. *Bigibila-gu* could be either Ergative or Dative (the suffix for both is -gu). The FR translation suggests that *bigibila-gu* *wamu-gu* is Ergative with ergative function, but the absence of a transitive verb suggests it has instrumental function. These two phrases are then whole-part constructions. At first glance the first phrase is attributive, ‘your leg is sore, (rub it with)’, but the final phrase suggests that *bayn buyu* is a whole-part construction, as suggested in the alternative JG translation. I arrive at no definite conclusions, except that there is great complexity in this area of YG.

We will rub goanna on our sores, festering sores. JM/FR 2438A 3734

> sore 3.DEF 2SG.DAT leg / rub.M-IMP / fat-ERG // goanna-ERG fat-ERG /
> Rub your sore leg (your leg sores) with fat, with goanna fat;

> [bigibila-gu wamu-gu] nhama gaba gimbi-li.gu, bula / bayn nhama nginu
> echidna-ERG. fat-ERG 3.DEF good make-PURP; also / sore that 2SG.DAT
> Porcupine fat will make it good too.

> or with echidna fat, to make it better, as well; those sores of yours.

Factors which may be relevant to variation in the syntax include whether an action is deliberate (e.g. I washed my face), or not (e.g. I broke my leg), discourse factors such as assumed or established knowledge, and whether the sentence refers to third persons or not. Analysis and development of YG would be assisted by other studies, such as (Wilkins, 1989) Wilkins’s (1989: 167) section on ‘body parts causing pain’ in Arrernte.

The use of Ablative marking for affected parts (e.g. ‘hit him on the leg’) is discussed at §3.3.6.4. In (879) the body part is Ablative and the Agent/possessor is not realised. Other structures with similar English translations include:

- body part unmarked, Agent/possessor not expressed: (875), (876), (676).
- body part unmarked, possessor as Dative pronoun: (877).

11.4.3 Coordination in NPs

In YG as in other Australian languages, coordination of syntactically equivalent nominals is commonly effected by ‘simple juxtaposition’ (Blake, 1987: 91), cf. Wilkins (1989: 404). Coordination involving people (‘me and you’, for instance) is done by use of Inclusory constructions: §11.4.4. An additional topic can be introduced by ngayagay YR/ngaragay GR ‘as well’.

Simple juxtaposition is seen in (881) below, and in 8186 3079 where *dinggaa*, *dhuwarr* ‘meat, bread’ are juxtaposed and in 8186 3341 where *burrulaa ngaama guduu, burrulaa ngaama yin.ga* ‘many that cod, many that crayfish’ translates ‘fish and crayfish’.

(881) After that they could all cook their fish and meat.

> wii ganugu / guyangan / gimbi-lda-nhi / nguwama=nga ganugu /
> fire 3PL.ERG / each / make-CTS-PST / there=THEN 3PL.ERG
> Each made their own fire, and then they

> ddinggaa / guduu / yin.gu / gudhuwa-lda-nhi
> meat / cod / crayfish / cook-CTS-PST
> See how they cooking everythings there then.

> were cooking the meat, fish and crayfish.

Wilkins (1989: 405) points out that in Arrernte, elements which are conjoined by simple listing ‘cannot be used for the subject of symmetric (e.g. reciprocal) predicates, although conjoined NPs formed by any other strategy may be’. YG information is not sufficient to make such detailed observations.
11.4.3.1 Adjective coordination

The use of multiple adjectives modifying one noun has been discussed at §11.4.2.4. The interpretation of (882) (which follows (829)) is not clear, but it is likely that the two adjectives are alternatives rather than conjoined (‘bad or lazy woman’).

(882) She is lazy and can’t cook.

\[ \text{gagil} \text{ nhama yinarr, } \text{yinggil} \text{ or } \text{yinggil} \text{ nhama yinarr, } \text{gagil} \]
bad 3.DEF woman, tired/lazy or tired/lazy that woman, bad
very tired woman that, or lazy

That woman is bad/sick, and lazy. or That woman is lazy, sick, you could say.

11.4.4 Inclusory constructions

Inclusory constructions (IC) are common in Australian languages and are found in YG. ICs correspond to English coordinated NPs. An IC refers to a group. The IC consists of a superset, non-singular pronoun which includes all members of the group and a subset nominal or nominals which refer to a member or members of the superset.

In (883)(a) the superset pronoun is third person, gaalanha ‘3DU’, and the subsets are dhayn ‘man’ and yinarr ‘woman’, with all referents of the superset pronoun explicitly mentioned. This is not the case when the superset pronoun is first or second person. The speaker or addressee is not explicated. For instance in (883)(b) and (c) the superset is ngali ‘1DU’, and the subsets are nginda and =nda ‘2SG’. The speaker is not explicated as a subset – there is no ngaya ‘1SG’.

(883) Examples of YG inclusory constructions:

(a) \[ \text{dhayn gaalanha yinarr} \]
man 3DU woman

(b) \[ \text{ngali nginda} \]
1DU 2SG

(c) \[ \text{ngali=nda} \]
1DU =2SG

(d) \[ \text{baawadhi ngay ngali} \]
sister 1SG.DAT 1DU

(e) \[ \text{ngiyaninya ganunga} \]
1PL.ACC 3PL.ACC

(f) \[ \text{ngaana ngindaali} \]
who? 2DU

The superset is bolded.

Exclusive pronouns in YG are best considered as ICs, and are looked at in the next section.

The superset pronoun can be dual or plural, of any person and of any case. The most common superset pronoun is ngali ‘2DU’. Singer (Singer, 2001a, 2001b)(2001a, 2001b) has extensive studies of ICs in a number of Australian languages. She notes that the most common superset is the dual, but plural pronoun supersets are found. Singer also notes that examples in non-core cases are rare, but do exist, as seen the Kayteyte Aversive case example she gives (2001b: 13). Sim (1998: Appendix: 2) gives a YR paradigm of ICs of all cases with the first person dual superset pronoun.

Other syntactic features of ICs include:

- The elements are generally, but not always, contiguous, and most commonly the superset element is first.
- Subsets are of the same case as the superset pronoun.
- Subset elements can be free pronouns, clitic pronouns, nouns or NPs.

There are a few cases such as (888)–(890) where the subset noun has a Comitative suffix. The semantic implications of this are not clear, nor are the semantic effects of variations in the relative positions of the IC constituents.

While the number of ICs in YG sources is relatively small the examples cover a wide range of case forms and pronoun number, particularly those in Sim. It likely that current sources do not show the prevalence or range of IC structures traditionally found. There are a number of reasons for this. ICs are a complex structure, and easily lost as languages decline. More complex instances of ICs are less likely to be retained and recorded. They could easily be missed by recorders creating
paradigms, and finally many IC structures were probably rare. The fact that ICs are found in many languages suggests that they were more common in YG.

11.4.4.1 ICs with at least one noun

This section considers ICs with at least one noun in the subset or subsets. (884)–(886) have simple ICs, ngali as the superset and a noun as the subset element. Most such examples so far found are in Wurm, but (886) is from FR. In the Wurm examples, (884) and (885), the subset nominal precedes the superset pronoun, but in (886) the subset nominal is not contiguous with the pronoun and follows it (while the superset pronoun is Ergative, garrimaaydji is Nominative, so perhaps an error). Ngali usually has an inclusive meaning, but not so in these and many other ICs.

(884) hinər nama ngali janæwai
ynarr nhama ngali yana-waa-y
woman 3.DEF 1DU.NOM go-MOV-FUT
The woman with me come.

(885) ba:wadi yei ngali bu:ru:nja: yei ngali
[bawaadhi ngay] ngali // baawaangaa?? ngay ngali
sister 1SG.DAT 1DU.NOM // sister 1SG.DAT 1DU.NOM
We 2, I and older sister. // We 2, I and younger sister

(886) I can’t go near my mother in law.
waal=bala ngali gaay guwaa-lđa-nha / [garrimaay.dji ngay]
not=CTR 1DU.ERG words tell-CTS-PRS / mother.in.law.NOM 1SG.DAT
We don’t talk, me and my mother in law.

Other constructions are found which seem to be variations on the basic IC pattern. The IC in (887) could be seen as: ngaya yinayu ngali-yuu, with two subsets – a pronoun ngaya and noun yinayu. Alternatively yinayu ngaliyuu could be regarded as a separate NP, and this structure as a way of adding a constituent: ‘and the woman with me’. Ngaliyuu contains -yuu ‘TOTal’, introducing a new element into the possible structure of the IC.

(887) I saw the snake and so did the woman.
ngaya dhuyu ngarra-y, yina-yu ngali-yuu
1SG snake see-PST, woman-ERG 1DU.ERG-TOTAL?EXCL?

Elements of (888)–(890) have some similarities to ICs but the structure remains uncertain. (888) and (889) are IC-like in having ngali with exclusive use (it is usually inclusive) and a subset element, but the subset element is in Comitative case, and is intonationally separated from the superset element, unlike in (884)–(886).

(890) is different again, having ngalinya, the exclusive Nominative dual, as the apparent superset. It may be that (890) does not contain an IC, but that birralii-biyaay is a dyadic form: see (115). Alternatively it may indicate that the speaker is in control of the child. The Comitative nominals in (888) and (889) may have similar use. This is an area for further investigation.

(888) yanaa-y / gulirr-iyay, ngali gi.yaa.nha yanaa-y, wadhi-gu
go-FUT / spouse-COM, 1DU.NOM going.to go-FUT, bush-ALL
Me and my missus gonna walk in the bush.
My little boy can stay behind with me.  

We are going to stop at the camp, me and the kid.

We two – baby and me – feel good now.

Sim also has the dual gaalanha in (893), a dual superset while the sum of the subsets is more than two. Again I take this to be an error, and that the plural pronouns ganunga (Nominative) or ganugu (Ergative) would be more correct. In (894)(=17) gaalanha has non-animate reference, showing that ICs can have animate and inanimate use.

My father and his brothers.

The man brought his boomerang and also his spear.

This section first considers inclusive/exclusive constructions in other languages then the use of the inclusive constructions to distinguish these meanings in YG. YG exclusive pronouns are single word ICs with a suffixed pronoun as the subset element. Phrasal ICs, consisting of two pronouns, can also have exclusive meaning as well as other uses, including YG emphatic inclusives.

Many Australian languages make a distinction in first person dual and plural between inclusive pronouns (‘we’ includes the addressee(s)) and exclusive pronouns (‘we’ does not include the addressee(s)); cf. Dixon (2002: 69). One way this is done is with special pronoun forms, often with the inclusive as the unmarked form. This is the pattern in Gumbaynggirr (Morelli, 2008: 283) where the exclusive of all cases is formed by adding -gay to the inclusive. Sometimes there are minor changes to the inclusive form, or other variations, such as an infixed -gay in the Allative exclusive: ngalimbagaygu ‘1DU.EXC.ALL’. Table 206 shows some Gumbaynggirr inclusive and exclusive pronouns, with -gay bolded.
The other common way languages form inclusives or exclusives is by a phrasal or morphological compound of pronouns, i.e. an Inclusory Construction. So, for instance, ‘we.pl-you’ is inclusive, since it says there is a group which includes the speaker, and the addressee is also included. ‘we.pl-they’, on the other hand, specifies that the speaker and some others are included, and it is understood that the addressee(s) is not included.

There is a fundamental difference between the two approaches. The Gumbaynggirr approach details whether the addressee is excluded or included. However, in YG when an IC is used, that is only true when the superset is dual. Then the YG exclusive IC specifies that the referrents are the speaker and a third party, explicitly excluding the addressee. When the superset pronoun is plural, the number referred to is indeterminate, so the fact that a third party or parties are referred to does not entail exclusion of the addressee(s), i.e. exclusivity. However, that exclusion is generally implied.

Two approaches to distinguishing inclusive and exclusive pronouns have been found in YG. The most common has the inclusive as the unmarked, and the exclusive as marked, the pattern more common in Australian languages.

YG inclusive meaning is usually conveyed by the bare pronoun, e.g. ngali ‘1DU’ and exclusive meaning is conveyed or implied by an inclusory construction, consisting of the first person pronoun and (synchronically or historically) a third person pronoun. This is most clear in GR, where ngali-nguru (MathewsGR: 264) is transparently ‘1DU-3SG.ERG’. It uses the full forms of the pronouns and has the explicit meaning ‘s/he and I’, and so has exclusive meaning. It is not clear if this is a phrase or a single morphological unit.

An alternative pattern is found in Sim (1998: Appendix: 2). He has the dual inclusive as always phrasal, e.g. ngali nginda ‘1DU 2SG’ (we 2). He has the exclusive as a single word for some cases, e.g. ngali, and phrasal for other cases: e.g. ngalinguu nguunguu ‘1DU.DAT 3SG.DAT’ ‘ours (mine and hers/his)’. This is the less common pattern in the YG sources and typologically. The rest of the discussion assumes that the traditional YG pattern has the inclusive as unmarked.

### 11.4.5.1 Nominative/Ergative inclusive and exclusive

The unmarked YG inclusives are dual ngali 1DU and ngiyan 1PL. The Nominative exclusives are ngaliyna and ngiyaninya formed by adding =nya, an allomorph of =NHa ‘3’. (Ngaliyna and ngiyaninya are homophonous with the inclusive Accusative forms.) The YR exclusives are ngalilu(u) and ngiyanilu(u), formed by adding -lu(u). This suffix is not found elsewhere in YG, but is possibly derived from or a cognate of the Wangaaybuwan =lu, the third person clitic pronoun. -lu is also a widespread Ergative suffix in other languages. The Nominative/Ergative distinction in exclusive pronouns was not recognised in earlier analyses. Evidence for the GR exclusives is very limited, but indicates they are ngali-nguru and ngiyan-nguru. Nguru ‘3SG.ERG’ is elsewhere a free pronoun, but may be bound here.

Sentence examples are YR, mostly from the tapes. (895)–(899) show dual inclusive and exclusive pronouns. (895) and (896) have the inclusive ngali, Nominative and then Ergative. (897)
and (898) have the exclusive, Nominative ngalinya and then Ergative ngalilu. The Nominative and Ergative exclusive are contrasted in (899).

(895) I will go with you.

\[\text{yanaa-waa-y=badhaay ngali} \quad \text{go-MOV-FUT=MIGHT} \quad \text{1DU.INC.NOM}\]

I’ll go with you.

Lit: ‘We two may go.’

(896) ngali gi.yaa.nha dha-li ngaaluurr

IDU.INC.ERG going.to eat-FUT fish

Me and you going to eat fish. Ngali means two.

(897) I am going to lie down and the little boy can stay behind with me.

\[\text{nhama ngayagay birralii-djuul / ngali.nya, dhanduwi-y.la-y, nguwalay} \quad \text{3.DEF other child-DIM / 1DU.EXCL.NOM, sleep-CTS-FUT, here}\]

(I am going to stay) and that other child too, we will stay here.

(898) AD describes cooking a porcupine, then he and another man ate it.

\[\text{ngiyarrma ngali.lu dha-lnda-nhi / there 1DU.EXCL.ERG eat-CTS-PST /}\]

The two of us [he and I] were eating it (there).

(899) two men (say): We two are going fishing, we’ll catch a big cod/catfish tonight.

\[\text{yilaa ngali.nya=laa yanaa-y / guduu-gu / soon 1DU.EXCL.NOM=DIR go-FUT / cod(fish)-PURP /}\]

\[\text{ngiyama ngali.lu gaygay bayama-li there 1DU.EXCL.ERG catfish catch-FUT}\]

We will go to get some cod there, and we will catch some catfish.

Many elicitation sentences have the informant and elicitor as referents of ngali, so the inclusive use is clear. Sentences with ngiyani ‘we, plural’, often have unclear referents, so it is difficult to decide if reference is inclusive or exclusive.

The plural inclusive pronoun ngiyani is Nominative in (900) and Ergative in (901). The context shows that the people are actually ‘speaking to themselves’ – the reported speakers are also the audience – so inclusive use is clear. The elicitation sentence in (902) shows that the listener is not included, and so elicits the exclusive Nominative form (the YR given after beginning with a Wayilwan pronoun, and with the subset -nha rather than -nya). The pronoun in (903) is clearly exclusive and Ergative.

(900) (The big mob said:) we’ll make a corroboree (for her).

\[\text{giirr ngiyanu.nha xx ngiyanu.nha / yanaa-w.uwi-nyi wallaay-gu} \quad \text{true 1PL.EXCL.(Wayilwan) correction 1PL.EXCL.NOM / go-BACK-PST camp-ALL}\]

We went back to the camp.

(901) (They all said:) how can we get the fire (from the pelican)?

\[\text{gulaarr.ma ngiyanu nhama=laa wii / dhuwima-li / how.DEF 1PL.INC.ERG 3.DEF=THEN fire / take.out-FUT /}\]

(902) All of you went back to the camp.

\[\text{giirr ngiyanu.nha xx ngiyanu.nha / yanaa-w.uwi-nyi wallaay-gu} \quad \text{true 1PL.EXCL.(Wayilwan) correction 1PL.EXCL.NOM / go-BACK-PST camp-ALL}\]

We went back to the camp.
We don’t want to feed you (two).

In (903) two people are being spoken to, so the use of the singular Dative nginu is not standard. Table 207 shows the YG Nominative/Ergative inclusive and exclusive pronouns. Forms marked # are expected rather than attested. Well attested forms are bolded.

Table 207  YG inclusive/exclusive pronouns: Nominative, Ergative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Inclusive</th>
<th>Exclusive</th>
<th>Inclusive</th>
<th>Exclusive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yuwaalaraay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngali-lu[u]</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngali.nya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>ngiyani</td>
<td>ngiyani-lu[u]</td>
<td>ngiyani</td>
<td>ngiyani.nya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamilaraay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngali-nguru</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngali-nya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>ngiyani</td>
<td>#ngiyani-nguru</td>
<td>ngiyani</td>
<td>#ngiyani-nya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 208 has information about Nominative/Ergative exclusives from older sources. This information is largely from paradigms, rather than texts. Some examples show the exclusive structures given above, and others are not exclusives, but suffixed forms which could be easily misinterpreted as exclusives, since:

1. The old analyses did not realise there were distinct, Nominative and Ergative case forms, so conflated them.
2. There are two other suffixes which can easily, and generally mistakenly, be interpreted as inclusive or exclusive markers. These are -Yuu ‘TOTal’ (see §5.7.) and yiyal ‘just, only’ (also a free form; see §13.3.5). Like some Inclusory Constructions these suffixes can have implications that are not entailments.

Table 208  Other Nominative Ergative evidence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Ridley</td>
<td>ƾullina</td>
<td>we two: he and I</td>
<td>ngali-nya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>Ngullingura</td>
<td>We, exclusive</td>
<td>ngali nguru</td>
<td>this is Ergative, excl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
<td>ngulliyu</td>
<td>We, exclusive</td>
<td>ngali-yuu</td>
<td>both of us (probably incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>Ngeanyel</td>
<td>We, exclusive</td>
<td>ngiyani-yiyal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
<td>Ngeaneyu</td>
<td>We, exclusive</td>
<td>ngiyani-yuu</td>
<td>all of us (probably incl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other cases of exclusive pronouns are now considered. There is much less information about these.

11.4.5.2  Exclusive pronouns: other cases

The evidence for exclusive pronouns in other cases is mixed and largely from earlier sources. Sim’s evidence, in particular, has phrasal ICs with exclusive meaning, rather than single words. I will largely present the evidence and make a few comments, rather than suggesting paradigms.
11.4.5.2.1 Accusative
There are no tape examples of the exclusive Accusative in YG. The evidence found elsewhere is given in Table 209, which also has Sim’s explicit inclusive *ngalinya nginunha* (1DU.ACC 2SG.ACC) ‘me and you, Accusative’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RHM-GR</td>
<td>Nungullina</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td><em>nha-ngalinya</em></td>
<td>3ACC-1DU.ACC unusual in having <em>nha</em> as a prefix.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHM-YR</td>
<td>Nungullinya</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td><em>nha-ngalinya</em></td>
<td>3ACC-1DU.ACC unusual in having <em>nha</em> as a prefix.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHM-GR</td>
<td>Nganinagunnunga</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td><em>?nganinya-ganunga</em></td>
<td>ganunga is 3.PL.ACC <em>ngani</em> may be a variant of <em>ngiyani</em> 1PL.NOM/ERG or a mishearing of it. <em>ngiyaninya</em> is the standard 1PL.ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHM-YR</td>
<td>Nganigunnunga</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td><em>?ngani-ganunga</em></td>
<td>3ACC-1DU.ACC unusual in having <em>nha</em> as a prefix.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sim</td>
<td><em>ngalinya nginunha</em></td>
<td>dual</td>
<td><em>ngalinya nginunha</em></td>
<td>Explicit inclusive:1DU.ACC 2SG.ACC.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two Mathews dual exclusive Accusative pronouns are unusual in having the subset element (*nha*) as a prefix. This may be a mistake, but more likely it is an irregular form, perhaps understandable in terms of the awkwardness of alternative, ‘regular’ *ngalinya-nha*, which includes word final -n*ya*-n*ha*.

The Mathews plural has *ngani* as a variant of the usual plural *ngiyani*. *Ngani* is found in other languages. There is variation between his GR and YR. While in the GR both elements of the exclusive are case-marked, in the YR Accusative only the final element, *ganunga*, is Accusative. This variation, between case marking both elements and case marking only the final element, is found in other exclusive constructions.

11.4.5.2.2 Exclusive pronouns: Dative and local cases
Evidence found for Dative, Locative and Ablative exclusives is shown in Table 210 and then discussed. One would expect the exclusive pronouns to follow other pronouns and base the Locative and Ablative on the Dative (the so-called ‘oblique stem’), so once the Dative pattern is found the other two cases will be obvious.

The Mathews YR dual Dative form is unclear. It may be *ngalingu=bala* ‘1DU.DAT=CTR’. The Mathews GR dual Dative, formally *ngalingurungu*, is open to a number of interpretations. It may be the Ergative exclusive dual, *ngalinguru*, with the Dative suffix, -ngu. Alternatively it may be a compound of two Datives, *ngalingu-ngurungu*, which has been reduced by haplology. For the dual, Sim has phrasal exclusives: the exclusive consists of the inclusive plus the free third person singular.

The plurals are more problematic. Mathews’s YR plural Dative is very similar to the Nominative in Table 208, so may be an error.

Mathews’s *Nganeanyellangu* ‘ours, excl’ is likely *ngiyani-yiyal-a-ngu* ‘1PL.NOM-just-a?-DAT’, which includes *yiyal* ‘just’. It is currently unanalysable. Its meaning is almost certainly not exclusive but may at times overlap with the exclusive.
Table 210  YG Dative, Locative, Ablative exclusive evidence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard, Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
<td>ngullingubla</td>
<td>Ours, excl</td>
<td>ngalingu-bula?bala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>ngullingurungu</td>
<td>Ours, excl</td>
<td>ngali-ngurungu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sim YR</td>
<td>ngalingu nguungu</td>
<td>Ours, excl</td>
<td>Each phrase consists of the 1DU and the 2SG, both in Dative, Locative and Ablative cases respectively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sim YR</td>
<td>ngalingundi nguungundi</td>
<td>Loc, excl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sim YR</td>
<td>ngalingundi nguungundi</td>
<td>Abl, excl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
<td>ngeninyella</td>
<td>Ours, excl</td>
<td>ngiyani-yiyal-a; not Dative?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>Ngeanyellangu</td>
<td>Ours, excl</td>
<td>ngiyani-yiyal-a-ngu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another possible exclusive Dative example is seen in (904). The Dative suffix follows the exclusive marker, -nha.

(904) njɛ:ninaɲu bujuma
    ?ngiyani.na-ngu bujuma
    1PL.EXCL-DAT dog
    that man’s dog
    ?our.EXCL dog

SW p79

11.4.5.3  Other pronominal ICs

There are phrasal and suffixed ICs which consist of two pronominal elements but whose meaning is not exclusive. The most common has ngali 1DU with a 2SG pronoun, as in (883)(b) and (c), and (905)–(907). I interpret these as explicit or emphasised inclusives: ngali=nda/ngali nginda ‘me and you’. The English translation often includes emphatic elements, such as ‘two’ (905) and (906); and ‘together’ (906). The majority of the instances are in Wurm. The IC is Ergative in (905) and Nominative in (906).

(905) ŋalindo ði: ðali
    ngali=nda dhii dha-li
    1DU.NOM=2SG.NOM meat eat-FUT
We two ate the meat.
Me and you will eat the meat.

SW p33

(906) ðaia wuwa ŋalinda janawa:
    dhaay-aa?? wuwa?? ngali=nda yana-waa-y
    to.here-?? ?? 1DU.NOM=2SG.NOM go-MOV-FUT
Come here, we two will go together.

SW p24

The phrasal IC ngali nginda is less common than ngali=nda. It is found once in the YR tapes (5054A 1696 said by CW, agreed to by AD), at most two times in Wurm, including (907) and is also in Sim. He has ngalinginda (1998: 39) and ngali nginda (1998: Appendix: 2) as inclusive, Nominative case forms, given in paradigms.

(907) ŋallei balla ŋalli ŋinda jila:wilanna hulla:i ızl ɖei:nj
    nhalay??=bala ngali nginda yilawa-y.la-nha bulaarr-yiyal dhayn
    this/here=CTR 1DU.NOM 2SG.NOM sit-CTS-PRS two-just men
the two of us and you are sitting down, two men
You and I are sitting here, just two men.

SW p96
(908) is a unique example, if the interpretation is correct; i.e. a first person suffix on the dual first person pronoun. This would then be presumably an inclusory construction, probably with the emphasis on the ‘I’: ‘You and I will …’. Inclusive meaning is likely, but not entailed. Adding to the possibility that the meaning is exclusive is the situation in Jiwarl, where Dench (1994: 176) argues that -ju, the exclusive suffix, is derived from the first person Dative, so a first person suffix may be associated with exclusive meaning.

(908) ŋalidu wi:de mudei ‘gu ðele
ngali=dhu  wii-dha mudhay gudha-li
1DU.ERG=1SG.ERG fire-LOC possum burn-FUT
We two will put the possum on the fire.  SW p24

ICs with second person superset pronouns are rare, but would be expected since there is no other way of saying things like ‘you and Kim’ in YG. (909) is unusual, probably unique, in having a second person superset pronoun and an interrogative pronoun as the subset element. The interrogative pronoun is sentence initial, as it usually is.

(909) ŋanna ŋindali gianna ngaana  ngindaali gi.yaa.nha
who.NOM 2DU going.to
Who will go with you?  SW p86
You and who are going to …?  JG

Questions remain. There are a number of instances of AD using what may be ngiyani-nu: 8185 1861 in response to ‘we all, but not her’; 8185 680 responding to ‘we walked through the bush one after the other’. The -nu may be a second person element (as it is in Wangaaybuwan) creating an emphatic inclusive, but that analysis is quite speculative.

The existence of unique examples like (908), (909) and (887) suggests that many IC structures have not been recorded and encourage an expansive use of ICs rather than one limited to attested structures.

Table 211 gives further evidence related to inclusive and exclusive forms from the early sources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Inclusive</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Exclusive</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual – Nom/Erg</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ridley</td>
<td>ŋulle</td>
<td>we two; thou and I</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ŋullina</td>
<td>we two; he and I</td>
<td>ngali-nya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>Ngulli</td>
<td>We, inclusive</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>Ngulli-gura</td>
<td>We, exclusive</td>
<td>ngali-nguru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
<td>Ngullinya</td>
<td>Us, incl</td>
<td>ngalinya</td>
<td>Nungullinya</td>
<td>Us, excl</td>
<td>Nha-ngalinya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual – Accusative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>Ngullingu</td>
<td>Ours, incl</td>
<td>ngalingu</td>
<td>Ngulli-ngurungu</td>
<td>Ours, excl</td>
<td>ngali-ngurungu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
<td>Ngullingu</td>
<td>Ours, incl</td>
<td>ngalingu</td>
<td>Ngullingu-bla</td>
<td>Ours, excl</td>
<td>ngalingu-bula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual – Dative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>Ngali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
<td>Ngali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural – Nom/Erg</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
<td>Ngeane</td>
<td>We, incl</td>
<td>ngiyani</td>
<td>Ngeaneyel</td>
<td>We, excl</td>
<td>ngiyani-yiyal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
<td>Ngeane</td>
<td>We, incl</td>
<td>ngiyani</td>
<td>Ngeaneyu</td>
<td>We, excl</td>
<td>ngiyani-yu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12 Subordination

12.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the two YG morphological processes involved in forming subordinate clauses: Purposive or Subordinate suffixes on verbs. It also considers the functions of these subordinated verbs. It also briefly looks at the typology of subordination in Australian languages.

One YG subordination process involves the PURPosive suffix -gu, formally identical with (one of the allomorphs of) the Allative suffix and of the Dative suffix. This is suffixed to the future form of the verb: e.g. gubi-y ‘swim’, gubi-y.gu ‘to swim’. The combination of future suffix and -gu are glossed as one element, ‘PURP’.

The second subordination strategy uses the SUBordinate suffix, shown in Table 139, part of which is repeated below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Class</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>NG</th>
<th>RR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ldaay</td>
<td>-ngindaay</td>
<td>-ngindaay</td>
<td>-dhaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After continuous and time suffixes: §8.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ndaay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clauses with subordinate marked verbs have a wide range of uses which can be difficult to label, but are generally considered as adnominal (relative), adverbial (time and place), conditional and complementation.

YG have fewer subordination strategies than WN. WN verbs have three purposive forms (Donaldson, 1980: 162, 280, 283), whereas YG have only one. WN dependent verbs can be marked with -NHaarraN- (p287), which is very similar in use to the YG SUBordinate suffix. WN dependent verbs can also be marked with -waadji ‘for fear’ (Donaldson, 1980: 285). Finally WN has complex sentences with finite dependent verbs marked with -ba subordinator (p291).

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249 Coordination of clauses and sentences is not considered at any length. Both locational and time words are frequently used to link sentences, often with both types of coordinators used in the one sentence and demonstratives with nominal function are used to track participants. See Chapter 6: Demonstratives; §13.5 Time particles.
The simpler set of strategies in YG may reflect the historical situation of the language, or may involve some element of language loss.

12.2 Purposive clauses

12.2.1 Syntax of purposive sentences

Verbs with purposive inflection overwhelmingly occur in a dependent clause. In most instances an argument is shared between the main clause and the dependent clause, commonly the Subject of the main clause. It is generally expressed in the main clause and not in the dependent clause. For instance in (910) ‘boy’ is the A of both clauses. In this instance both clauses also have a common O ‘frog’, also expressed only in the main clause. When the main clause verb is ‘tell’ or similar the O of the main clause is generally the Subject of the purposive clause, as in (916)–(919). In rare cases another argument of the main clause is the Subject of the purposive clause. In (911) the shared referent is the Dative IO of the main clause and the A of the purposive clause.

Purposive clauses can be dependent on a verbless main clause: e.g. (921), (922) and (928).

(910) The boy caught the frog to eat.

giirr nguu-mu, birralii-djuul-u, baaybal bayama-y, dha-li.gu
true 3SG.ERG-?? child-DIM-ERG frog catch-PST, eat-PURP

(911) The women might give us yams to eat.

giir=badhay=aa ngaama yina-yu, ngiyamingu/ milaan wua-dha-y / dha-li.gu
true=MIGHT=POT that woman-ERG, 1PL.DAT / yam give-EAT-FUT / eat-PURP

The women might give us yams to eat.

In coordinated clauses a change in verb transitivity is usually signalled by including a pronoun in each clause: one Nominative and one Ergative. This practice is not followed when one of the clauses is dependent, as seen in (912)(=564) where the main verb is intransitive and the dependent verb transitive. If the second verb were finite the Ergative pronoun ganugu would be used in that clause, as seen in (420).

(912) They just come down to have a look.

yilaa=bala ngaama ganunga dhaay [ya]’nna-nhi, ngarra-li.gu
prox=CTR that 3PL to.here come-PST, see-PURP

They just come down to have a look.

However, the non-repetition of arguments is a tendency, not a requirement, as seen in (913) where the A, nguu, is repeated in the purposive clause.

(913) In the bag she carried a bit of firewood.

giir ngaama nguu / gulbirr ngaama / nguu man.ga-ya / gaa-gi.la-nhi
true that 3SG.ERG / few that / 3SG.ERG bag-LOC / bring-CTS-PST

wugan-galgaa / ngiyama nguu wii wiima-li.gu
wood-PL / there 3SG.ERG fire make-PURP

She was carrying some kindling in a bag for her to make a fire.

(1048) ‘Who told you to come here?’ is unusual in that ‘you’ occurs in the main clause (Accusative) and the purposive clause (Nominative).

Some rare examples suggest that purposive clauses can have independent use, not just dependent use. That is, they can form a complete statement. At 5129A 2108 AD translates CW’s ‘he (the baby) did crap there’, then asks ‘where is his mother?’ and continues with (914). It, and (915)(b)(=495) show purposive verbs used in independent sentences with apparently modal force ‘needs to’. (915)(b) is perhaps a less convincing example.
12 Subordination

(914) *barraay nhama gaanba-li.gu / guna*
Wipe him quickly.
AD5129A 2123

She needs to wipe that shit off quickly.
JG

(915) (FR and AD are talking.) FR: Who is hiding them? AD *You!*
She needs to wipe that shit off quickly.
JG

FR *waal, maayrr, maayrr ngay maayama / maayrr*
FR: No, none. I’ve got no opals. None.
JG

(b) AD *waal=hala=nga dhayn-da ngarranma-li.gu*
AD: (You say that) so that (you don’t have to) show them to people.
JG

12.2.2 Semantics of purposive sentences

Purposive clauses are commonly found in a number of semantic situations. They are commonly in the complements of speech verbs, when the sentence involves a direction or request (tell to, ask to) rather than a statement (tell that). They are found very rarely in the complement of verbs such as ‘teach’, ‘show’ and ‘know’ and again only when the meaning is ‘teach to’ and ‘know how to’, not ‘teach that’ or ‘know that’. When the English uses '(tell/teach/know) that', the subordinate verb inflection is used. Non-complement purposive clauses are dependent on verbal and non-verbal predicates.

12.2.2.1 Purposive complements

(916), (917) and (918) show purposive complements of *guwaa-li* ‘tell’, and (1059) a purposive complement of *dhaya-li* ‘ask’. In such sentences the O of the main clause is generally the S/A of the subordinate clause.

(916) Tell that kid off because he has been bad.
*guwaa-la nhama-lay yanaa-y.gu*
Tell him to go.
CW/AD 3998A 1178

(917) You told me to cut the skin off the kangaroo.
You told me to cut the skin off the kangaroo.
FR/JM 2436B 2311

*Guwaa-li* is semantically complex and is found in (918) and elsewhere translated ‘make’, but see (931) below where a different structure is used.

(918) They made the men bury the emu in the ashes.
*giirr ganugu / nhama guwaa-y / dhinawan / dhawuma-li.gu*
They made (?told) the men to cook the emu in the ashes.
CW/AD 5129A 3452

(919) (b) AD *waal=bala=nga dhayn-da ngarranma-li.gu*
AD not=CTR=THEN people-LOC show-PURP
AD: (You say that) so that (you don’t have to) show them to people.
JG

I taught the boy how to sing the song.
*I taught the child to sing.*
CW/AD 5054A 35

I taught the child to sing.
JG
Expressions of competence in YG overwhelmingly use the continuous verb forms: e.g. (505) ‘I do not know how to throw a boomerang’ and non-competence is expressed by the same verbs with waala/gamila ‘can’t’, e.g. (589) ‘the baby can’t walk properly’. (920) is a rare example of a purposive verb used for such an expression. The fact that waala ‘can’t’ is used with scope over winanga-y.la-nhi where waal ‘not’ would be expected suggests the example should be treated with caution.

(920) The other people didn’t know how to make a fire.

\[
\text{nguama ngayaga-djuul-u dhayn} / \text{waala winanga-y.la-nhi} / \text{wii wiima-li.gu}
\]

there other-ONE-ERG person / can’t know-CTS-PST / fire make-PURP

‘Fear/aversive’ suffixes are common in many languages and the absence of such a suffix in the YG sources may be due to language decline. It is likely that the few expressions about fear in the sources, at times at least, represent various attempts to construct an adequate reply rather than full, traditional YG. Subordinate clauses of the predicate ‘afraid’ are expressed with the purposive form of the verb and Ablative suffixed nominals, as in (921).

(921) The young fellow was afraid to go hunting in the dark.

\[
nhama ngayagay / \text{birray-djuul} / \text{garigari gi-gi.la-nhi, manila-y.gu, buluuy-a} / 3.DEF other / boy-DIM / afraid get-CTS-PST, hunt-PURP, black-LOC / \\
\text{minya-dhi-yaayaa garigari gi-gi.la-nha?} \\
\text{what-ABL-IGNOR afraid get-CTS-PRS?}
\]

don’t know what he’s frightened of

Expressions to do with ‘wanting’ and ‘needing’ use the purposive suffix when one person wants the other to do something, e.g. ‘I want you to eat it’. Sentences like that can be translated with guwaa-li ‘tell’. Where someone ‘wants to do/have something’ the suffix -nginda ‘want’ is used; see §3.4.1.4. That suffix can be found on a nominal (922) or verb (923). See also (135).

(922) I want to eat meat.

\[
dhinggaa-nginda ngaya, dha-li.gu \\
\text{meat-WANT 1SG, eat-PURP}
\]

I want some meat, to eat.

(923) I didn’t want to see him.

\[
waaal nhama ngaya / \text{ngarr-la-nginda} / \text{dhayn-duul} \\
not 3.DEF 1SG / see-WANT / man-ONE
\]

I didn’t want to see that man at all.

12.2.2.2 Non-complement purposive clauses

When purposive clauses are not complements there need not be referents common to both clauses, as in (924), but there often is, as in the subsequent examples. In (926) the common referent is Ablative in the main clause and Ergative in the dependent clause.

(924) Go sleep so I can cook the meat.

\[
ba:buwaia ði: ðaia guðaligu baaba-waa-ya dhii ngaya \text{gudha-li.gu}
\]

sleep-MOV-IMP meat 1SG.ERG cook-PURP

---

250 This contrasts with WN where the knowledge verb is in the main clause and the activity verb is in the dependent clause.
I will come and see you afterwards.

I’ll come here soon to see you.
(926) Keep it away from the dog (poor quality sound).

\begin{align*}
\text{maadhaay-dji, } & \text{ nyiimu/ngiimu}^{251} \text{ dhinggaa ngaawu?? / dhuwinba-la / } \\
\text{dog-ABL. from+?? } & \text{ meat ?? / hide-IMP / }
\end{align*}

Hide the meat from the dog.  

JG

(927) giibaabu ngaya warra-y.mayi-nhi / yanaa-y.gu walaay-gu

early.morning 1SG stand-?ADOPT.POSN-PST / go-PURP camp-ALL

I got up next morning and went to the camp.

AD/JM 3220A 3578

I got up early in the morning to go to the camp.

JG

The main clauses can be a nominal clause, as in (928).

(928) The water is too muddy to drink.

\begin{align*}
gungan & \text{ ngaama gagil / ngawu-gi.gu} \\
\text{water there bad / drink-PURP}
\end{align*}

The water is bad for drinking.

JG

(929)(=(499)) has a rare instance of a purposive verb, garra-y.gu, in the complement of a verb of cognition: and then a non-complement purposive clause, with bara-y.la-y.gu.

(929) She (Bustard) decided that she would only be able to do so by injuring her (Emu’s) wings and checking her power of flight. Parker: *Emu and Bustard* line 9

Baiyan noo winnanunnee boonoong gurrahgoo, wahlneh burraylaygoo.

*baayan nguu winanga-nhi bungun garra-y.gu, waal=nya bara-y.la-y.gu.*

soon2 3SG.ERG think-PST arm cut.M-PURP not=3 fly-CTS-PURP

Then she (Bustard) thought (to get the emu to cut her wings/get her wings cut), so she couldn’t fly.

JG

Adjacent purposive clauses are relatively common, as in (930).

(930) I will stoop down and pick up a stone to kill the snake with.

\begin{align*}
dhuli-y & \text{ ngaya gi.yaa.nha / maaayama dhiyama-li.gu / } \\
stoop-FUT 1SG & \text{ going.to / stone pick.up-PURP / }
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
gayawi-li-gu & \text{ ngaya / ngandabaa } \\
pelt-PURP 1SG & \text{ / snake}
\end{align*}

I will stoop down to pick up a stone so that I can pelt the snake.

JG

12.2.3 Questions about purposive clauses

(931) follows (918) and has a similar English structure, but the verb in (931) is the simple future, not the purposive. I have no explanation for the use of the future here.

(931) The men made the women cut the meat.

\begin{align*}
\text{giirr ngaama dhayn-galgaa-gu / guwaa-y / nhama / } \\
\text{true there man-PL-ERG / tell-PST / 3.DEF / }
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
yiarr-galgaa-gu & \text{ garra-li nhama dhinggaa } \\
\text{woman-PL-ERG cut-FUT 3.DEF / meat}
\end{align*}

251 ngiimu contains ngii- ‘Ablative’, but the -mu is unanalysed, as is ngaawu later in the sentence.
(932) (= (450)) has a purposive clause. The role of the verb suffix -ga-y is not known.

(932) He (a pet emu) got used to me; he would stand halfway along the track, stopping people since (he) didn’t want no-one to go near me. AD/JM 5130 764

waal nganunda ngaandi.yaa=badhaay yanaa-y ga-y
not 1SG.LOC who.INDEF=MIGHT go-??

So that no-one would come near me. JG

12.3 Subordinating suffix

This section considers the other YG subordinating strategy, which involves use of the non-finite SUBordinate suffix.

12.3.1 Subordination in other Australian languages

This YG subordinating process is similar to a one found in other Australian languages, of which Blake (1987: 135) says:

Perhaps the most notable feature of clause linking in Australian languages is the widespread use of one type of subordinate clause for both adnominal and adverbial functions.

This feature has also been pointed out in Hale (1983), Nordlinger (2006) and Dixon (1980: 459). The authors just mentioned also point out the considerable variation that occurs in subordinate structures. Often a language has one subordination strategy using finite verbs, and another using a non-finite verb, unlike YG where there is no subordination which involves finite verbs.252

The subordinating processes which involve finite verbs often use a suffix on the subordinated verb: see Blake (1987: 135), Nordlinger (2006). Wangaaybuwan has such a process and suffix, -ba.

Donaldson (1980: 291-304) has an extensive description of the suffix and its functions (subordinating, complementising), more extensive than her description (1980: 287-91) of the non-finite subordinating suffix -NHaarraN-.

Hale (1976) discusses a range of dependent clause structures under the general title of ‘adjoined relative clause’. His main discussion is of Warlpiri, and includes finite and infinitive dependent clauses. The finite clauses are all adjoined – before or after the matrix clause, rather than embedded within it. They have a clause initial complementiser, such as kutja, intonational separation from the matrix clause, and the verb is marked for tense. Warlpiri also has infinitive clauses (1976: 81) which are predominantly adjoined, and with a large range of complementisers which are suffixed to the infinitive verb form, such as -kura in ƶa-ninjtja-kura ‘drink-infinitive-COMP’. The infinitive clause, particularly when it consists of one word, can be a constituent of the main clause (1976: 95; example 40).

These Warlpiri dependent clauses can have a range of functions and a range of English translations. Hale (1976: 79) begins with what he calls the NP-relative interpretation, which requires that there be an argument common to the Matrix and dependent clause, as in ‘I will cook the kangaroo you killed’, where kangaroo is the common argument. The T-relative, ‘time’, interpretation is available when the two clauses make identical time reference, as in ‘I was trimming the boomerang when you came up’. Other uses for the dependent clauses include conditional (‘I will shoot the dog if/when it bites you’) (p80) and causal or purposive (p81) ‘I am going to strike that dog because it bit this child’.

Of particular relevance to YG are the properties of non-finite subordinate forms. The non-finite forms can often be suffixed with local case markers, adding further information.253 Adverbial, non-finite clauses can precede or follow the main clause, but when the same infinitive clause has relative function it can only follow the main clause. Some languages have switch reference

252 It may be that there were other subordinating processes in YG which have not been recorded or recognised.

253 Donaldson (1980: 287) gives examples of the Ablative on -NHaarraN- and a range of cases are so used in other languages. Case marking of subordinate verbs in YG is rare.
markers, explicating the relationship or arguments of the main clause with those of the subordinate clause: see Austin (1981b).

As Nordlinger (2006: 7) points out, this is a complex area of language and one often not fully covered in grammars. She also points out the change in her own description of this aspect of Wambaya.

### 12.3.2 Sources of YG information about subordination

A full description of subordination is a major task. It presumes access to a large corpus of well-structured and complex language whose context is well understood. Ideally the linguist is able to test various theories about the finer points of subordination with fluent speakers.

It is understandable that complex structures will not be well represented in the sources. Apart from Parker (1896: 126) there is no long old text from fluent speakers – hers is around 300 words. Parker does have 13 examples of the SUBordinate suffix, 12 of them on continuous stems. Later written sources have examples of the SUBordinate suffix, but not in connected text and often in short sentences that may well have been simplified, either by the speaker or by the recorder.

Much of the relevant tape material is from tapes 5056 and 5130, where Corinne Williams was eliciting examples of subordinate clauses. In 5056, inter alia, she examines which cases of arguments in the matrix clause can be relativised. In 5130 there are a series of relative clause elicitations – 5130 2202 ‘the girl who saw the dog cried’; 5130 2299 ‘the baby who drank the water crawled away’ – interspersed with temporally coordinated sentences such as: 5130 2285 ‘the kangaroo ate some grass then hopped away’. Later she elicits adverbial subordinate clauses: 5130 2905 ‘the boy drowned because he couldn’t swim’; 5130 2956 ‘the boy looked at the men because they shouted at him’. In many instances the informant struggled to formulate an answer. His hesitations and frequent reformulation of answers is generally not captured in written and necessarily tidied text.

A further indication that information about the subordinate suffix has been lost comes from Ridley (p9). Table 212 shows the subordinate suffix after three Time of Day/Distance in Time suffixes. The combination of these suffixes and the Subordinate suffix is not found elsewhere, but is almost certainly traditional YG. The subordinate suffix allomorph after TOD/DIT suffixes is -ndaay, the same as the form after continuous suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 212</th>
<th>Subjunctive verbs in Ridley</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Verb form</td>
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<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>goäldai</td>
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<td>Participles</td>
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<td>Imperfect</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>goällendai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary the recorded YG subordination processes are considerably fewer than those found in Wangaaybuwan and in many other Pama-Nyungan languages. The sources do not contain the detailed information needed to readily distinguish the different uses of the subordinate suffix. It is possible that YG had a finite subordination strategy, as Wangaaybuwan does. Ridley’s examples, uniquely, suggest that time information could be included in non-finite forms.

The analysis that follows considers the use of the subordinate suffix for adnominal and adverbial functions, as well as in complement clauses.
12.3.3 Syntax of subordinate clauses

As in many Australian languages, YG subordinate clauses generally come before (933) or after (934) the main clause, rather than be embedded in it.

(933) The kangaroo who ate the grass died.

\[ \text{bandaa-vu ngiyama, ngaama buunhu dha-ldaay / balu-nhi / balu-dha-nhi} \]

kangaroo-ERG there, that grass eat-SUB / die-PST / die-EAT-PST

(934) many I saw men standing up

\[ \text{burrulaa nyaia narai dein Warɛ} \]

\[ \text{landai} \]

\[ \text{burrulaa ngaya ngarra-y dhayn warra-y.la-ndaay} \]

many 1SG see-PST people stand-CTS-SUB

I saw lots of people standing up.

In general when there are arguments common to the main and subordinate clause they are expressed only once, as in (933) and (934). There are exceptions, such as (935), where the common A of both clauses is overt.

(935) This dog spewed all the meat up.

\[ \text{giirr ngu?-? / maadhaay-u / burrul, dhangaa dha-ldaay /} \]

\[ \text{true 3SG.ERG.-? / dog-ERG / big, meat eat-SUB /} \]

The dog which ate a lot of meat,

\[ \text{giirruu ngiyama=nguu=Na gaawi-y} \]

true.very there=3SG.ERG=3 vomit-PST

it spewed it up.

In (936) the prosody indicates that the shared argument is realised in the subordinate clause. That is, \text{bugalaa nginda dhuwinbandaay} is an internally headed RC. Such RCs are relatively common with verbs of perception (cf. (969)), but are found elsewhere: cf. (933).

(936) I’m going to look for the ball you planted (=hid).

\[ \text{ngaawa-y ngaya gi.yaa.nha / bugalaa nginda dhuwinba-ndaay} \]

look.for-FUT 1SG going.to / ball 2SG hide-SUB what you planted

I am going to look for (it,) the ball you hid.

Apart from the Ridley examples in Table 212, SUBordinate verbs are not found with tense or time information. Rare examples of subordinate verbs followed by a case suffix are found, including the suffix -gu (Purposive and Allative: (937), (938) and (955)).

(937) The old men were hitting boomerangs together.

\[ \text{giirr=bala waulman-du nguuma / wayamaa-gu / barran buma-lda-nhi /} \]

\[ \text{true=CTR old.man-ERG 3.ERG.DEF / old.man-ERG / boomerang hit-CTS-PST} \]

\[ \text{bawi-lda-ndaay-gu} \]

sing-CTS-SUB-PURP

The old men were clapping boomerangs for the singing / for the ones who were singing.

(938) Dinewan ran off to her salt-bush where she had hidden her ten young ones.

\[ \text{Dinewan bunnagunnee binnamayyahgoo nayr noo doorimbundigoo birrahleegul.} \]

\[ \text{dhinawan banaqa-nhi binamayaa-gu ngayrr nguu dhurrinba-ndaay-gu birralii-gal} \]

Emu run-PST saltbush-ALL there? 3.ERG hide-SUB-ALL child-PL.DIM

The emu ran to the saltbush where she had hidden the children.
(185): ‘I heard you talking about the men fighting’ is a rare example of recursive subordinate clauses.

12.4 Functions of subordinate verbs

Clauses with subordinated verbs can function as adverbial clauses, relative clauses and complements. There is little in the syntax to distinguish relative clauses and complements.

12.4.1 Adverbial function: time; reason; location

Verbs with the subordinate inflection are used in clauses with adverbial function. This is most commonly expressed in English in time terms such as ‘when, after, while’. Adverbial function can also be expressed in causal or conditional terms, such as ‘because’, ‘if’ and ‘since’. Less commonly subordinate verbs are used to indicate location. While the function of the SC is often unclear, at other times its function can be deduced from the context or from the use of time particles or other particles in the SC.

12.4.1.1 Temporal function

Temporal use of SCs is common. In many instances the context makes the temporal function of the SC clear: (939), (940) and (941). Often a temporal adverb makes this function explicit: yilaa in (943) and (945); yalagiirmawu in (942)=(424),(797)), waluw in (946)–(949). The temporal adverbs can also explicate the temporal relationship between the two clauses: before, during or after. SCs with temporal function are more commonly second, but are found in first position: (942) and (945). Often there is an argument common to the SC and MC ((939) and (949)) but, unlike with relative clauses, this is not necessary: (940). In (941) the main clause is ellipsed.

(939) dirrahbeel ginne noo boobootella, gwallandy, ‘Boom, boom.’ Parker: Emu and Bustard line 73

(940) He will return later at sunset. SW p84

(941) When are you going? (JM) FR/JM 1851A 3706

(942) The children looked at the dancing before they fell asleep. JM/AD 3219A 752

(939) describes the Emu showing off her many children in triumph after she had fooled the Bustard into killing most of hers.

(940) He will return later at sunset.

(941) When are you going? (JM)

(942) The children looked at the dancing before they fell asleep.
(943) I came in while you were talking.

\[ \text{yilaa nguya dhurra-y / nguwa? nginda gaay guwaa-lda-ndaay.} \]

soon 1SG come-PST / here? 2SG word tell-CTS-SUB

I just come here when you was talking. AD

(944) My sisters go and dig the yams while I go and hunt the kangaroo.

\[ \text{ngam=bala ngay / baayan-du / milaan / mawa-gi.la-nha that=CTR 1SG.DAT / sister-ERG / yam / dig-CTS-PRS} \]

My sisters are digging milaan, yams,

/ bandaarr-gu manitila-ngindaay ngaya /

/ kangaroo-PURP hunt-SUB 1SG when I hunt for kangaroo. AD

(945) In the story of Guniibuu (Robin red-breast) two people had hidden a kangaroo from a hunter and were waiting for him to go.

\[ \text{yilaa=bala ngaama=nha / yanaa-ngindaay dhayn / ngii.muu, bulaa-y / dhuwima-y} \]

soon =CTR that=THEN / go-SUB man / from.??, two-ERG / pull.out-PST

When the man had gone the two of them pulled out (the kangaroo). JG

The particle waaluu ‘not.yet’, §13.5.6, is found relatively frequently in SCs: (946)–(949), generally translated ‘before’. In most instances it could also be translated ‘lest’.

(946) I’d run away before the snake had a chance to bite me.

\[ \text{giirr nhama=laa=nha / waaluu ngandabaa-gu yii-ldaay /} \]

true 3.DEF=DIR=3 / not.yet snake-ERG bite-SUB /

Well, before the snake bites her, JG

/ yalagirrmawu=bala=nha miimii=nya? banaga-y /

/ same.time=CTR=3 granny=3? run-FUT

Miimii would run away. JG

(947) They ran very fast and reached the camp before the pelican did.

\[ \text{bamba ganunga banaga-nhi / walaalu nguurrema nga ganunga dhurra-y, w.energy 3PL run-PST / camp-ALL / there=THEN 3PL come-PST} \]

They ran fast to the camp, and they got there, to the camp, JG

walaau-dha / waaluu nguurrema / gulaanbali dhurra-la-ndaay camp-LOC / not.yet that? / pelican come-CTS-SUB

and the pelican had not yet arrived. JG

(948) The baby lost its bread.

\[ \text{gaa-nga nguungundi / waaluu nguu dha-ndaay} \]

take-IMP 3SG.ABL / not.yet 3SG.ERG eat-SUB

(He dropped it in the dirt,) take it away before he eat it. FR

Take it from him before he eats it. JG

In (949) AD first uses a continuous verb and then a non-continuous verb.

(949) Pull him out of the water (so that he won’t drown). (tidied example)

\[ \text{barrayy dhuwima-la / waaluu=nha / garungga-waa-ndaay, waaluu garungga-ngindaay quickly pull.out-IMP / not.yet=3 / drown-MOV-SUB, not.yet drown-SUB} \]

before he gets drowned AD

Pull (him) out quickly, before he drowns. JG

Harold Koch comments: ‘This is an interesting difference between YG and English, for language-teaching purposes: “before X happens” is expressed by “when X has not yet happened”’.
(950) consists of two subordinate clauses, an indication that a sentence can consist of just a subordinate clause. However, there was some hesitation and uncertainty in the elicitation. (951) also suggests the possibility of a stand-alone subordinate clause. However, the sentence is the answer to a question, so a main clause, ‘he ate’, could be ellipsed.

(950) AD: When the sun rose, JM: there was frost all over the ground. AD/JM 8184 2829
giirr ngaama yayaay dhurra-ldaay / yalagiirmawu ngaam / true that sun come-SUB / that time that there / When the sun came up, then there, JG
ngaarrigula ngarragula, dhandarr wana-ngindaay, dhaymaa-ya
that.way other.way, ice throw.M-SUB, ground-LOC
all over the frost was lying, on the ground. JG

(951) What did the boy eat the kangaroo for? CW/AD 3998B 1047
yuulngindi=yaa gi-ngindaay
hungry=POT get-SUB
When he got hungry, I suppose. AD

12.4.1.2 Consequence and condition functions
YG does not always distinguish temporal, consequence and conditional use of SCs. (952) could easily be translated ‘when’ or ‘because’ rather than ‘if’ and similarly FR’s ‘if’ in (953) could easily be replaced by ‘when’ with little impact on the meaning. In (734) both a temporal and reason translation are given: ‘the kids are pleased when/because their father has come back’.

(952) If it’s raining I won’t go. SW p88
0habainjindai, wa:l ya naja nai
dhama-ngindaay, waal=nga ngaya (ya)naa-y
rain-SUB, not=THEN 1SG go-FUT

(953) guwaa-la nganha / buma-ndaay nginunha
tell-IMP 1SG.ACC / hit-SUB 2SG.ACC
Tell me if he hits you. FR/JM 2437A 1762

(954)(b) has a SC with conditional use. It precedes the main clause.

(954) Keep away from the fire for fear of getting burnt. JM/AD 8184 1945
(a) yanaa-ya=badhaay ngiyama? / wii-milan-di / ngaama? nginunha?? nguu gudhuwa-y /
go-IMP=MIGHT there?? / fire-CLOSE-ABL / that 2SG.ACC 3.ERG burn.M-SUB / Go away from there, from the fire, it will burn you. JG
(b) waal nginda yanaa-ngindaay / gudhuwa-y nginunha ngaama??
not 2SG go-SUB / burn.M-SUB 2SG.ACC that?? If you don’t go away it will burn you there. JG

12.4.1.3 Location
SCs are occasionally used to indicate location. The subordinate verb is then, in a few instances, marked with a local case: Allative case in (937) and (955).

(955) Baiyanneh durrahwallunee nummerh nayr Dinewan doo duldandigoo. Parker: line 66
baayam=nga dharrawuluw-ni yihaama=nga dhinawan-di dha-lda-ndaay-gu
Then Gumbulgaban went back to where the emu was eating. Parker
Then she returned to where the emu was eating. JG
In (956) and (957) the subordinate verbs have locational function, but no case marking, and AD explicitly points out their locational use. However, in (957) Ablative marked maniila-ngindaay-i would be expected, but this could easily be missed since the Ablative suffix has little or no phonological impact.

(956) I’ll get along directly to have a look, see where he is buried.

(957) The man will lie down when he comes home, from hunting.

12.4.2 Relative and complement clauses
At this stage there is no formal way of distinguishing in YG clauses which in English would be regarded as relative clauses and verbal complement clauses. This seems to be the situation in numerous Pama-Nyungan languages (Koch pers. comm.). There can be differences in YG subordinate structure in relative and complement clauses, particularly in the realisation of common arguments, but this has not been found to have any semantic effect. The analysis may change with further investigation.

In YG, relative clause (RC) verbs are marked with the subordinating suffix. Andrews (2007: 206) defines a relative clause (RC) as: ‘a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP ‘as in ‘the book [I bought yesterday] was a trade paperback’, where the italicised words constitute a RC. The RC in this example is ‘central’ (to use Nordlinger’s (2006: 11) terminology; others would say ‘embedded’). That is, the RC separates elements of the main clause (MC). In contrast, in YG the RC and the MC are separate: one is on the left and one on the right: RC-MC or MC-RC. It seems that the argument common to the MC and RC is explicit in the left clause, and may be explicit in the right clause.

(958)–(962) show nominals in a range of cases being relativised. It seems that NP of any case in the MC can be relativised. It seems that NP of any case in the MC can be relativised.

In (933) the RC is on the left and the common argument is not explicit in the MC, balu-nhi or balu-dha-nhi. In (935) the argument is repeated as a pronoun, Ergative both times. In (958) the common argument, bandaarr, is repeated: Accusative in the MC and Ergative in the RC. In (959) the common argument occurs only in the MC, in Ablative case.

(958) The men speared/killed the kangaroo that was eating the grass.

(959) I jumped off the log that you cut.

However, in (960) AD translates an English RC with a main clause. This may indicate he was uncertain about having an RC modifying a nominal in Ablative case.
I stood on the log that broke.  

I climbed on the log and it broke.

(961) shows a RC modifying a nominal in Locative case. In (962) a nominal in Ergative case, instrumental function, is relativised, and the shared argument is repeated as a full NP.

I am sitting in the house that my father built.

That’s when he made, built that house.

That man speared the emu with the spear I made.

That spear that I made well.

12.4.3 Relative clauses as verbal complements

English complement clauses are realised by different structures in YG, all of which use relative verb forms. The difference is in the realisation of arguments common to both clauses. The arguments can be realised in both clauses, only in the main clause (963), only in the subordinate clause (972), or in neither (967). If the common argument is in the main clause it is Accusative (963).

Complements of verbs of perception and intellection are found, most commonly of ‘see’ and ‘hear’.

12.4.3.1 ‘See’

All argument arrangements are found with ngarra-li ‘see’. An Accusative common argument in the main clause is seen in (963), (964) and (968); Ergative common argument in the subordinate clause in (965); and no explicit argument in (966) and (967). In (970) there is no way of determining which clause dhayn is in. The prosody provides no clear indication and the noun could be Nominative or Accusative.

I saw you hitting your dog.

I saw you hitting the dog.

(The men are coming) to look at all of you when you are making a corroboree

(963) Giirr ngay' ngainga ngarra-y / maadhaay buma-lita-ndaay.

true 1SG 2SG.ACC see-PST / dog hit-CTS-SUB

I saw you hitting your dog.  FR/JM 1850A 3599

I saw you hitting the dog.  JG

(964) (The men are coming) to look at all of you when you are making a corroboree

ngarra-li.gu ngaingaaynya / dhan.gurrama-y.la-ndaay

see-PURP 2PL.ACC / dance-CTS-SUB
They could see what she was doing.  

They could see her making/doing something.

They saw her making a fire.

They saw (her) making the fire, when she made the fire.

They saw (him) swimming.

In (968) there are two subordinate clauses, which can be regarded as in apposition, or the second one subordinate on the first. There is no realisation of the subject of either.

He saw two kangaroos eating grass.

He saw two kangaroos, crawling along.

The pelican sitting there was all they could see.

They did not see the fire.

(970)(b) has two coordinate clauses.

I see a man coming to the camp.

(a) I saw a man going to the camp.

(b) I saw that man going home to his camp.

(971) shows a dependent ‘if/whether’ clause which does not use a subordinate construction (no translation was provided by the informant).
She got to take them (the fire) out in a moment; they were all watching and watching the pelican.

They were watching her carefully to see if she would take it out. Perhaps she will take it out.

12.4.3.2 ‘Hear’

A similar range of structures is found with winanga-li ‘hear’. dhayndu (972) and ngaanduwaa (973); are Ergative subjects of the subordinate verb. Buwadjarr in (974) is Accusative and there is no realisation of ‘they/them’ in (975).

12.4.3.3 Verbs of speech

Subordinate complements of verbs of speech, such as (976), are relatively rare and generally the MC and SC do not have shared arguments.

12.4.3.4 Verbs of intellection

Verbs of intellection are rarely translated into YG using a verb and complement, and even less frequently using a subordinate clause. ‘Think’ is often translated using the potential clitic =Yaa ‘POTential’ (§13.2.1), or ngadhan.gaa ‘HYPothesis’: §13.3.6. ‘Know’ is rendered in a number of
ways, sometimes by a continuous form of the verb, sometimes (rarely) with a complement, subordinate clause as in (977). Complement clauses can be used in translating ‘don’t know’ (978) but these generally use the ignorative suffix: §7.5.1.

(977) My dog always knows when a stranger is close.  

\( \text{giirr} \) / winanga-lda-nha / maadhaay-u ngay // ngaandi.yaa=badhaay / yanaa-waa-ndaay  
true / hear-CTS-PRS / dog-ERG 1SG.DAT // someone=MIGHT / come-MOV-SUB 
My dog hears(knows) when someone is coming.  JG

(978) He doesn’t know how you made the spear.  

\( \text{waal nguu.mu} \) / winanga-y.la-nha // gulaarr-aa=ndu? / bilaarr / gimbi-ldaay  
not 3SG.ERG.?? / know-CTS-PRS // how-IGNOR=2SG / spear / make-SUB 

12.4.3.5 Nominalisation: subordinate suffix

There is some evidence that subordinate forms can be nominals. AD832B 2811 has \( \text{balungindaay} \) ‘dead’ (\( \text{balu-gi} \) ‘die’) and the same word is seen in Milson (\( \text{bollondi} \) ‘dead’); and Sim: \( \text{baluungindaay} \) ‘corpse’. In (979) a subordinated verb is followed by -giirr ‘like’, a suffix not found on verbs.

(979) The goannas are stiff when they come out of the ground and you can pick them up like a lump of wood.  

\( \text{nginda} \) / bayama-li ngaama / maa-gu //  
2SG / catch-FUT that / hand-ERG // 
You will hold them, with your hand,  JG
and \( \text{ngiyama=nda gaa-gi.la-y} \) / balu-ngindaay-giirr ngaama  
and there=2SG take-CTS-FUT / die-SUB-LIKE that  
You take them with your hand; like if they dead.  AD
and you will carry them as if they are dead.  JG

In (980) AD translates ‘(rabbit) burrow’ with ‘dig-SUB’.

(980) \( \text{rabbid-du=yaa} \) / ngaama mawu-ngindaay  
rabbit-ERG=DAT=PO/T that dig-SUB 
(That porcupine, he got into the log when the fire was coming, burning the log too, so he got out of the log and got into) the rabbit burrow.  AD/JM 3217B 1544 
The thing that the rabbit dug.  JG
13 Particles

Particles are non-inflecting words or clitics. Free forms are often in topic position and clitics are generally in the Initial Intonation Phrase (IIP: §11.2.2.1). Common particles include negatives, some interrogatives and some time words. Discourse particles are also common. Some particles are transparently or probably historically inflected forms, but now have restricted meaning. Other word forms have the same function as particles – for instance time information can be conveyed by particles, inflected nouns, and verb inflections.

Some particles considered in this chapter can be grouped into categories, but others not. Many of the particles have to do with the truth of statements, broadly understood. Speakers may affirm, negate or have doubts about a statement. Others have discourse use, for instance linking clauses or showing deference to the hearer. There are also time particles.

For convenience -ban.gaan/-wan.gaan ‘very’ and -Buu ‘Total2’ are discussed in this chapter, even though they are not particles but modify the words to which they are attached.

13.1 Positives

The speaker can convey many attitudes to the truth of a statement. Negatives indicate the speaker does not believe the statement to be true. The assumption is that statements with no ‘truth indicator’ are true, but speakers can assert the truth of a statement or varying degrees of certainty. They can also express the evidence they have for making a statement. In this section a range of positive particles (Table 213) and evidentials are discussed. Many of these can occur as one word statements, referring to previous parts of the discussion and some can be used as ‘fillers’.

13.1.1 Positive particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YR</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngaa</td>
<td>ngaa</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawu (one token)</td>
<td>yawu</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>common in GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaayaybaay</td>
<td></td>
<td>all right, all right then</td>
<td>common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaayay</td>
<td>ngaayay</td>
<td>all right/I see</td>
<td>rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaawawu</td>
<td></td>
<td>all right</td>
<td>Yy only?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaay/ngaygilaa/ngii</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>rare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13.1.1.1 ngaa/yawu ‘yes’

ngaa ‘yes’ is common in YR. The only GR source is Milson. It is typically used to answer a question. Variants or derivations are discussed below. When ngaa is used to answer yes/no questions, as in (981), it is often followed by a more explicit sentence which often begins with the modal particles giirr or giirruu.
(981) Can you cook an emu?

**Ngaa** means yes; *ngaa, giirr ngaya yilama-y burralaa

ngaa means yes; yes, true 1SG cook-PST much

Yes, I cooked a lot.

A second use of *ngaa* is as a ‘filler’ at the start of a sentence. This use is only found in AD, e.g. (982) and (983)(c). In (983)(c) he is perhaps using ‘yeah’ and *ngaa* as an introduction to a summing up. With filler use *ngaa* is followed by many other words apart from *giirr*. e.g. *ngaya* (a pronoun in topic position) in (982), *waalu* ‘before’ at 8185 2757, *ngiyama* ‘there’ at 3219B 570.

(982) I stayed behind to catch possums (and my wife disappeared).

*ngaa, ngaya=bala, ngiyarrma wila-nhi / mudhay ngaya bayama-li.gu

yes, 1SG=CTR, there sit-PST / possum 1SG catch-PURP

Yeah, I sat down there, to catch possums / for me to catch possums.

(983) In the story of bigibila (echidna) two nephews tell the meat ants that their uncle (echidna) will not share the emu he took from them.

(a) *waal nguu minya.gaa ngay / wuu-dha-nhi

not 3SG.ERG anything 1SG.DAT / give-EAT-PST

He wouldn’t give me anything.

(b) *waal ngay gana wuu-nhi, waal ngay gii wuu-nhi

not 1SG.DAT liver give-PST, not 1SG.DAT heart give-PST

*ngaayaybaay*, so they, all them meat ant fellows come there with a spear.

AD

He didn’t give me the liver, he didn’t give me the heart.

(c) *yea, ngaa, ngaama-dhaay=nga? ganunga / buurrngan / yanaa-nhi

yeah, yes, there=TO.HERE=THEN 3PL / meat.ant / go-PST

Yeah, ngaa, then the meat ants went there.

GR ‘yes’ is *yawu*255 except for *ngaa* in Milson. As with *ngaa*, it is sometimes followed by an affirmative sentence, as in (984).

(984) *joy, gi:ð ϱaia bila:d gawa:n ϱiinunda

*yawu, giirr ngaya bilaarr gaa-waa-n[a nginunda

yes, true 1SG spear bring-MOV-PRS 2SG.LOC

Yes, I am bringing the spear to you.

Ridley (p36) has: “‘yo’ is used as a verb [my emphasis] of affirmation: thus “*yaia yo*” (I yes) (ngaya *yawu*) means I assert it to be so’. There is no other evidence to support this use, but neither is there a reason not to use this idiomatic structure.

13.1.1.2 Forms probably derived from *ngaa* ‘yes’

There are a number of YR forms probably derived from *ngaa*, with *ngaayaybaay* the most common.256 *Ngaayaybaay* has a number of uses. In conversation it can signal agreement to a request as in (985), (986) and various stories, where it is used to signal agreement to go swimming, to kill children or to cut off wings. In conversation it can also signal that a statement has been understood or accepted: (987) and (988). It occurs in narratives: (989) and (990); where its use is more difficult to specify, but may have elements of earlier uses, as well as being a narrative device to indicate that, for instance, some consequences are now inevitable. In 2832B 2287 (about the stars coming out) and 2832B 2525 (the story of the getting of fire) it seems AD uses *ngaayaybaay*

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255 Ridley writes it *yo*, MathewsGR *yo*, Laves *yo*, *yu* and *ya*, and WurmGR *joṷ*.

256 It is found over 30 times in the AD tapes and once in Wurm.
between YR and English sections of his narrative in passages where he is struggling with the language. He may be using it as a filler, or to signal the beginning of translation.

The variant *ngaayay* has been found twice, YR in 5056 75 and GR in Tindale (line 36) *ya jei!* (*ngaayay*) ‘I see’. On the evidence available *ngaayay* has the same uses as *ngaayaybaay*.

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(985) We’ll give it [bad meat] to the dog after all.

*ngaa* / *ngaayaybaay* / *maadhaay-gu nhama ngiyani wuu-ri

Yes / all.right / dog-DAT 3.DEF 1PL.ERG give-FUT

Yeah, all right, we’ll give it to the dog.

(986) Yes; you want to say you will do something, yes.

*ngaayaybaay*; *ngaayaybaay* means ‘all right then’.

(987) records part of an AD/FR conversation.

(987) AD: Where are you going from here?

FR *baarrangiil* / *baarrangiil ngaya yanaa-waa-nha* // AD *ngaayaybaay*
FR location, / location 1SG go-MOV-PRS // AD OK
FR: Baarrangiil. I’m going to Baarrangiil. (note no Allative: JG) AD: OK.

(988) No, I won’t tell you the secret.

*ngaayaybaay* // *waal nginda nganunda guwaa-li*

OK // not 2SG 1SG.LOC tell-FUT

All right then; you won’t tell me.

(989) AD is telling the story of Wiidhaa ‘Bowerbird’.

Maliyan (Wedgetail eagle) says: ‘Who’s singing out, a lot of people singing out.’

AD, as narrator, says: ‘It was the bower bird himself, and,’

*ngaayaybaay* / *giirr nguu guwinbarraa-nhi*

OK / true 3SG.ERG approach-PST

He’s getting closer to this bird.

(990) In the Gilaa-Wuulaa story Wuulaa is going to throw his boomerang, and AD has him saying to Gilaa ‘my boomerang will hit you’.

*aa, wana-waa-ya=badhay, wana-waa-ya, aa, leave?-MOV-IMP=MIIGHT, move?=?--MOV-IMP=MIIGHT*

Aa, Please leave, leave!

Then AD continues: ‘No good, he (Gilaa) wouldn’t get out of the road; *ngaayaybaay*; anyhow this Wuulaa chucked his boomerang.’

*Ngaaawawu* is common in YR\(^{257}\) and could consist of *ngaa* and a reflex of *yawu*. Glosses include: Sim ‘all right’; FR1850A 57 ‘that’s right, something like that’; AD2833B 1662 ‘yes’. There is nothing at this stage to distinguish its meaning from *ngaayaybaay*.

Rarely found forms include *ngaay*, *ngaaygilaa*, and *ngii*, the first two likely related to *ngaa* and *ngaayaybaay*. At 5129A 1386 AD begins a statement with ‘*ngaa*, *ngaay*’, The *ngaay* be an error of some sort, or another way of producing a relatively common particle. Sim (p41) has *ngaaygilaa ‘yes’ and in the appendix has *ngii ‘yes, that’s OK’. Neither of these have been found in other sources.\(^{258}\)

\(^{257}\) It is also found in Wayilwan: David Brown (1986B 219) and Ted Murphy (2832A 1354) have it as ‘all right’.

\(^{258}\) A related form is found in Wangaaaybuwan. Mathews’s *ngarbu ‘yes’* (1902: 152), probably *ngaa=bu* (-bu ‘TOTal’), quite likely has a stronger, unrecorded, meaning than *ngaa ‘yes’ so it is quite possible YG had a cognate, *ngaabuu ‘absolutely’. Perhaps *ngaaawawu*, which may be formally related to *ngaabuu* has this meaning, but the sources do not suggest so.
13.1.2  Truth/evidence particles

These particles indicate the degree to which the speaker asserts the accuracy of a statement, and may indicate the source of evidence for the statement.

13.1.2.1  giirr ‘true’ and derived forms

Giirr,\(^{259}\) glossed ‘true’, and the emphatic form giirruu\(^{260}\) (giirr+ -Bau ‘TOTal’), glossed ‘true.very’, have three uses. Most commonly they are clause initial particles, for which the current best description is ‘the speaker has personal evidence’\(^{261}\) for this assertion’. They can also be used as nominals, translated ‘truth’. Thirdly they form compounds and phrases such as giirr=yaa and giirr maayu, which need not be compositional in their meaning.

Giirr and giirruu are mostly used with past tense verbs, as Ridley (p8) points out:

gir: ‘verily’: an adverb of emphatic affirmation, [which] is frequently used with the past indicative.

Table 214 shows Ridley’s (p8) evidence for the effect of giirr – an assertion that the statement is true, often by use of ‘did’. Table 215 contrasts translations of giirr and giirruu.

### Table 214  Effects of giirr in Ridley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>without giirr</td>
<td>with giirr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goë</td>
<td>guwaay</td>
<td>spoke</td>
<td>gîr goë</td>
<td>did speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wînuji</td>
<td>winangay</td>
<td>heard</td>
<td>gîr wînuji</td>
<td>yes, I understand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wîmi</td>
<td>wiimay</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>wîmi and gîr wîmi</td>
<td>did put</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 215  Some translations of giirr and giirruu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>giirr</th>
<th>giirruu</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes, indeed, verily, t’is true!</td>
<td>truth</td>
<td>Ridley: 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>true or certain</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>in earnest; to be sure</td>
<td>Milson: 8, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>really, real, really I will</td>
<td>FR: 1848A 1547; 1853B 978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>really</td>
<td>really</td>
<td>AD: 3994A 2560</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relatively uncommon use with future tense seems to assert the speaker’s commitment to an action, or that the speaker is making a statement on the basis of experience.

With clausal use giirr is generally not translated, but giirruu often is. Both can be used as short statements of affirmation when the ellipsed sentence is known, e.g. Laves’s ‘really’ in (991).

(991)  I’m very hungry. I’m very hungry – really.

\(\text{yuulngindi=dju gi-nyi;}\) \(\text{yuulngindi=dju gi-nyi} \ // \text{giirruu}\)

hungry=1SG  get-PST;

I am hungry. I am hungry, too right.

\(\text{Laves YR 9 p37}\)

### Footnotes

\(^{259}\) Giirr is very common in all sources except Mathews, for instance occurring over 2,000 times in the tapes.

\(^{260}\) Ridley (p26) also has kîraol as an alternative to gir and Milson (p5) has geerole ‘yes’. The form is uncertain, but possibly giirruul, or less likely a mishearing or variant of giirruu.

\(^{261}\) Wangaaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 275, 276) has two ‘evidentials’. The suffix -garra indicates ‘that the speaker has (unspecified) sensory evidence for what he has to say.-DHan indicates that the speaker has spoken, or by extension written, evidence for what he has to say.’ -garra is similar, but not identical, in meaning to giirr and no YG equivalent of -DHan has been found.
In (992) AD gives an analysis of giirr. It shows the most common occurrence, with past tense, the speaker involved and ngaya as the second word. (993) is an early example.

(992) I shook (stole) it yesterday.

\textit{giirr ngaya, manuma-\text{-y} // giirr means yes, I done it.}

giirr means true 1SG steal-PST
I stole it.

\textit{JG}

(993) Belonging to me.

\textit{Geer Gooyoungung}

giirr guyungan
true own/self
Definitely mine.

\textit{JG} \\

The next two sentences are from different versions of the \textit{Emu and Bustard/Brolga story}. In (994) the Brologa reports that she had killed most of her children. \textit{Giirr} occurs twice, firstly following \textit{ngaa} ‘yes’. Tindale’s punctuation indicates that the first \textit{giirr} is an independent word, not part of the clause, but this may not reflect the actual use. The sentence final \textit{giirr} is clearly a one word clause.

(994) \textit{ŋaa, ˈkiː r, boma’labekeir} (Brolga speaking)

ah, yes I killed them
\textit{ngaa, giirr, buma-laaha-\text{-y}, giirr}
true true, kill-TOT-PST, true

“\textit{Oh yes, we killed them, too right.”} \\

\textit{Austin} \\

In (995) the Bustard has hidden her wings, and told the Emu that cutting her wings off is a good idea. The \textit{giirr} in the Emu’s reply indicates her firm belief that the Bustard has wings.

(995) But you have wings, said Dinewan [Emu].

\textit{Dinewandoo gooway “Gheerh ninderh boonoong bayyi”}. \\
\textit{dhinawan-du guwaa-y: Giirr nginda bungun-biyaay} \\
em-u-ERG say-PST: true 2SG wing-COM
The emu said: ‘you do have wings’.

\textit{JG} \\

(996) and (997) are consecutive sentences in Wurm. \textit{Giirr} is used with past tense in (996), but not with the future in (997). It is certain that the past event happened. The future is less certain. However, in (998) AD is sufficiently confident of the different effects of eating rotten meat that he uses \textit{giirr} and \textit{giirruu} with future tense verbs. The subjects there are third person, which is less common than first person with \textit{giirr}.

(996) The dog has run away.

\textit{giːd nama buɾuma baŋanaj} \\
\textit{giirr nhama buɾuma baŋaŋ-nhi} \\
true 3.DEF dog run-PST

\textit{SW p38} \\

(997) The dog is just about to run away.

\textit{buɾuma nama baŋaŋˈaːn} \\
\textit{buɾuma nhama baŋaŋ-waa-nh[a} \\
dog 3.DEF run-MOV-PRS

\textit{SW p38}
The stinking meat wouldn’t make the dog sick. JM/AD 2833B 287

(a) yaluu wana maadhaay-u dha-li, waal nhama-nha, balu-dha-y / again let dog-ERG eat-FUT, not 3.DEF=3, die-EAT-FUT / Let the dog eat it again. It won’t die from (eating) it. JG

(b) giirr ngauma bamba ngaama / nhuwi / dhingga dha-li true 3ERG.DEF with.energy that / stinking / meat eat-FUT He’ll eat that stinking meat, it won’t hurt him. AD
It will gobble down that stinking meat. JG
But the stinking meat would make the children sick. JM

(c) nhuwi nhama dhingga / gi-ngindaay stinking 3.DEF meat / be-SUB If the meat is rotten JG

(d) giirruu ??ngaama / gagil birralii-gal gi-gi / mubal true.very that / bad child-PL.DIM be-FUT / stomach those kids will (really) get a gut ache. JG

Giirr is rarely not in first position. (999) shows two very similar, sequential, sentences in Wurm. It is not clear if (b) is a correction of (a), with giirr in first position, or if these sentences have slightly different meanings. (a) may also include a left-dislocation, mudhay nhama, so that giirr is still effectively sentence initial. The form of the verb is uncertain. It may be a middle verb: see §9.2.3.3.

Giirr contrasts with gamil. Ridley (p15) contrasts two answers to ‘did you see me?’: the first, with giirr, is glossed ‘verily I saw you’ and the second, with gamil, is glossed ‘not I you saw’. Giirr is similarly contrasted with gamil many times in Gurre Kamilaroi.

13.1.2.2 giirruu ‘true.very’

Giirruu is less common than giirr262 and is generally used for stronger assertions, as in (1000). At other times the reasons for the choice of giirruu are less clear, as in (1001). (1000) shows nearly identical sentences, only one of which has giirruu. This indicates that these particles are not obligatory.

(1000) Are you frightened of the snake?
       CW/AD 3994A 1717

       giirruu ngaya garigari nhama / ngandabaa-dhi true.very 1SG afraid 3.DEF / snake-ABL
       CW [that means:] ‘I am frightened of the snake’. AD yeah.

AD garigari ngaya ngandabaa-dhi afraid 1SG snake-ABL
       I am frightened of the snake. JG

262 Wurm has over 80 giirr, but only one giirruu, the tapes 2,000+ giirr and around 350 giirruu. The most common pattern is sentence initial giirruu ngaya, found over 50 times.
(1001) I threw the piece of meat away.  
\[ \text{giirruu} \] true.very that 1SG, meat throw-PST

Nominal use of \textit{giirr} and \textit{giirruu} is rare. Ridley (p14) has ‘\textit{gīrū} “truth”’ evidently from \textit{gīr} “yes, indeed”, indicating \textit{giirruu} is a nominal. \textit{Giirruu} may be used with that meaning in (1002) and (1003).  

(1002) Now you see my words are true.  
\[ \text{geeroo} \] true.very 1SG, meat tell-PST  
I told you the truth.  

(1003) He’s telling me the truth.  
\[ \text{giirruu}, \text{giirruu} \] true.very 3SG, tell-CTS-PRS; true.very - true;  
\[ \text{giirruu} \] true.very 3.DEF 3SG, tell-CTS-PRS; true.very  
He’s telling the truth.

\textbf{Clitics on giirr, giirruu}

There are many examples of cliticised \textit{giirr} and \textit{giirruu}. \textit{Giirr=nga} ‘true=now’ is common and translations include ‘now’ in (1004) and ‘already’ (‘It is already dark’; SW p102). \textit{Giirr=NHa} ‘true=3’, realised as \textit{giirrna}, is also common: e.g. 2435B 2073.

(1004) \textit{giirr=nga} ngaya / yuul-iyay gi-nyi  
true=NOW 1SG / food-COM be-PST  
I’m full now.  

The compound form \textit{giirr=nga} (=nga ‘now’) is also used as a one word statement, ‘that will do’ (Laves YR 9 p75).  
(1005) is unusual in two ways. It has \textit{giirr} beginning a question and is the only example found of \textit{giirr=nda}, which includes a very uncommon three consonant cluster.

(1005) They ask: Are you cooking the emu?  
\[ \text{giirr=nda} \] yilama-laa-nha dhinawan?  
true=2SG cook-MOV-PRS emu  
That’s the word you want: Are you cooking the emu?  

The compound \textit{giirr=yaa} combines \textit{giirr}, which asserts certainty, with =yaa, §13.2.1, which asserts uncertainty, so the meaning is not compositional. There are around 12 instances of \textit{giirr=yaa} on the tapes. A common translation is ‘might’, as in (1006). See also (1010) (‘Where is your father? he might have some meat?’); 2436A 2291 (‘there might be a possum in the tree’) and 3995A 54 (‘he might have died’). There may be an degree of semantic bleaching of \textit{giirr} here, with it serving partly as a base for the clitic =yaa. \textit{Giirr=yaa} is translated ‘must have’ at 3220A 2826. At JM/AD 8187 298 there no explicit translation of \textit{giirr=yaa}, but ‘must have’ fits. (A translation of AD’s YR at 8187 298 is approximately ‘They went hunting. \textit{Giirr=yaa} they spear the kangaroo. They are bringing them home.’)

\footnote{The case frame of \textit{guwaal-li} is complex: see also footnote 224. It always has an explicit object. ‘Talk’ is phrasal, \textit{gaay guwaal-li} ‘word tell’, and the addressee is in Locative case. The addressee in (1002) is Accusative, so it is unlikely \textit{giirruu} is an Accusative nominal there. However, \textit{giirruu} is the only possible object in (1003), so is a nominal there. (201) ‘he is telling you a lie’ has the same structure as (1003) with \textit{wagi} ‘lie’ replacing \textit{giirruu}.}
(1006) *Giirr=yaa ngaya=laa gaba gi-gi*
true=POT 1SG=DIR good be-FUT
I might get better (tomorrow).

13.1.2.3 Phrases including *giirr*, *giirruu*

There are a number of phrases attested which are complete statements and include *giirr* or *giirruu*. Milson’s *ya.geer (yaa giirr)* ‘did you get it’ (p5) and ‘is it ready’ (p9) includes *yaa* ‘QUERYion2’:

§7.1.1. *Ya.geer* seems to introduce a further meaning for *giirr*: something like ‘ready’.

*Geermurroo (giirr maaru: maaru)*264 ‘well’) is found in Milson (p5) as ‘well done’ and (p9) ‘that is right’. FR uses the Yuwaalaraay cognate *giirr maayu* a number of times, often as a complete expression, including: ‘that’s real good’ (1987B 692); ‘that’s right’ (2440A 1453, said by a husband pleased with the way his wife had done something); untranslated (2440A 1697, on finding a nest with many emu eggs); and ‘good job’ in (1007). The words are also found as part of sentence ‘He made him well / cured him’ (AD 8186 2684).

(1007) *giirr maayu ngaya guwaa-y*
true  well 1SG  say-PST
I said: ‘good job’.

Another example of phrasal use is *giirr nhama* as ‘it’s really, it’s there’ AD2833B 2504.

13.2 Other knowledge particles

The particles *-Waa* ‘indefinite’ and *-Waayaa* ‘ignorative’ have been discussed at §7.5.

13.2.1 =yaa ‘POTential’

The clitic =yaa ‘POTential’ is formally invariant, with rare exceptions when it may be realised as =aa after *y*.265 It is presumably historically related to *yaa* ‘question’ in §7.1.1, being formally and semantically similar. It can be attached to any clause initial word, and second position words, especially pronouns.266 Its basic function seems to be to express varying degrees of uncertainty about the truth of the clause. (1008) is one of the rare occurrences of =yaa in early sources. It is very common in Wurm and in the tapes.

It is most commonly translated ‘might’ ((1009), (1010)) and ‘must’ (1010) (although here it is the elicitor who says ‘must’; AD, translating his YR, says ‘might’). Other translations include ‘may’ (1008), ‘ought’, ‘I think’ (1011) and ‘I want’ (Wurm p90). =yaa is common with negatives: ‘don’t think that’ (1011); ‘mightn’t’ *(waal=badhaay=yaa* in (502) and (503)).

The clitic is often not translated in the English (1012). In such sentences there may still be some uncertainty about the truth of the statement. Similarly 3217A 3697 has a translation of ‘they made a smoke signal so them other people can see it’. The second clause begins with *ngiyarrma=yaa* 3.DEF=POT. Perhaps because there is no guarantee that the people will see the smoke. However, there are also instances of =yaa when there seems to be no uncertainty, such as (1013)267 and 3217A 1221 ‘the kangaroos come for water; they’re drinking water’: the second clause begins with *nhama=yaa* 3.DEF=POT.

When =yaa signals alternatives, as in (1014), it is criticised on both268 alternatives.

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264 Wangaaybuwan has *mundanggul* ‘good job’ and *baambada* ‘bad job’ (cf. *giirr maayu*), so YG should consider a phrase for ‘bad job’. Perhaps *giirr gagil* would suit.
265 cf. *dhii-badhaay-aa* ‘must be tea’: 2833B 1930. The transcriptions may not always be phonologically totally reliable for this clitic.
266 *giirr ngawulay=aa=nda* ‘true here=POT=2SG’ (5131 2650) has the clitic on another second position word.
267 Although the speaker may be speculating about the cause of the crying.
268 This pattern can presumably be used when there are more than two alternatives.
(1008) Murru ngaia ya gingê
    maaru ngaya=yaa gi-nyi//gi-ngayi-y
    good 1SG=POT be-PST/be-MORN-FUT
    Good I may become.

(1009) You are giving a stone to someone; ‘Take this stone.’
    nhaly=badhaay maayama gaa-nga / minyaarru.waa / nginda=yaa maayama-nginda
    this=MIGHT stone take-IMP / somewhere / you=POT stone-WANT
    You take this stone, you might want it.

(1010) Where is your father? He must have some meat.
    minyaaya-ma nginu / buwadjarr gi-nyi / giir=ya nguungu dhinggaa
    where.LOC-DEF 2SG.DAT father get-PST / true=POT 3SG.DAT meat
    Where is your father? He might have some meat?

(1011) My missus (wife) will never come back.
    waal=yaa ngay guliirr dharrawuluwy
    not=POT 1SG.DAT partner return-FUT
    I don’t think my missus will come home.

(1012) giginalija ninanna
    gigirra-li=yaa nginunha
    kick-FUT=POT 2SG.ACC
    It will kick thee.

(1013) The boy fell over and hurt himself.
    giirruu nham=nya / birrali-djaal bundaa-nhi / nham=nya=yaa / yu-gi.la-nha
    true.very there=3 / child-DIM fall-PST / there=3=POT / cry-CTS-PRS
    He’s crying there.
    That one there, the child, fell over and she/he is crying there.

(1014) Either the kids269 or the dogs must have taken it.
    nhama=yaa birrali-gal / manuma-y / or maadhayu=yaa dha-y
    3.DEF=POT child-PL.DIM steal-PST / or dog-ERG=POT eat-PST

13.3 Other particles

13.3.1 =bala270 ‘CTR: contrast’

The meaning of the clitic =bala271 can be summarised as ‘contrast’. It’s form is unvarying =bala. It can indicate a change in topic and is commonly, but not always, used when this happens. The contrast may be with what was expected, what was asked, or with other situations. =bala is also used to make comparisons. The clitic almost always attaches to the first grammatical word of the sentence or clause. (1109) is a rare exception. It generally precedes other clitics, but there are exceptions. =badhaay always precedes =bala. =lau and =nga sometimes precede and at other times follow =bala. =bala is not found in Ridley or Mathews, but is in Parker (Emu and Bustard), Milson, Laves, and all modern sources.

269 There is no Ergative suffix on birraligal, but this may be because of the disrupted response to the elicitation.
270 Donaldson (1980: 244) lists a number of ‘Clitics relating topics to discourse’. Their functions do not always correspond to those of YG particles, but -buwala ‘contrastive topic’ (p247) has considerable overlap in function and form with =bala.
271 Williams (p460) lists -bala as a clitic, but gives no meaning for it.
=bala occurs on a range of word classes. Some of these, such as negatives, giirr ‘true’ and interrogatives, are obligatorily first in the sentence or clause word. Of the over 900 occurrences of =bala in the tapes, over 100 are as waal=bala ‘not=Contrast’ ((1015), (1106) and (1115)); and slightly fewer as giirr=bala ‘true=Contrast’: (503) and (352). There are many examples of =bala elsewhere in the book, so relatively few will be given here. (1015) shows =bala on a negative in the first clause, and on a Dative pronoun in focus position in the second clause.

(1015) I won’t give you any, it’s mine.

Sim p47

waal=bala ngaya nginu wuu-rii, ngay=bala nhama
not=CTR 1SG 2SG.DAT give-FUT, 1SG.DAT=CTR 3.DEF

Pronouns in focus position are often followed by =bala, with over 40 ngaya=bala on the tapes: (1025) and (1055)(b).

Interrogatives are often followed by =bala, for instance minya=bala ‘what?’ (871); minya-gu=bala ‘what for?’ (482); minyaaya=bala ‘where.LOC?’ (469); ngaandi=bala ‘who?’ (1142); and gulaarr=bala ‘how?’ (479). However, =bala is never found on the polar interrogative particle yaama.

As with other discourse particles, the factors governing the use of =bala are not always obvious. Sim (1998: 39) has ‘what’s that?’ as ‘minya nama, or minya-bala nama-bala’. (minya ‘what’, nhama ‘that’), with presumably a marked double use of =bala. The sentence could presumably have a single =bala.

The clitic is often used in making comparisons. It can be added to both clauses, to two words of the same class (1016), or of different word classes (1017). Or it can be used in just one clause (1018).

(1016) Gaba=bala dhayin, gagil=bala yinarr.

Sim p35

gaba=bala dhayn, gagil=bala yinarr
good=CTR man, bad=CTR woman
The man is better than the woman.

(1017) Our (2 people) spears are long.

JM/FR 2438B 3229

guyaarr=bala ngay bilaarr, nginu=bala badjin-duul
long=CTR 1SG.DAT spear, 2SG.DAT=CTR small-ONE
My spear is long, yours is small.

(1018) I’m stronger than you.

Sim p43

ngaya gugirri-biyaay, nginda=bala gugirri-dhalibaa
1SG sinews-COM, 2SG=CTR sinews-PRIV

The clitic can also be used to encode the degree of a quality. In (855) baliyaa=bala ‘cold=CTR’ occurs in ‘the water is very cold’.

13.3.2 =badhaay YR, =wadhaay GR ‘might’

The occurrence of =badhaay\(^{272}\) in sources is discussed, then its form, its meaning and finally its syntax. I then consider the relatively common =badhaay=[y]aa.

The clitic =badhaay occurs in a wide range of sources, including MathewsGR and Wurm, relatively frequently in Parker’s and Tindale’s stories and several hundred times in the tapes. It is absent from Ridley, Milson, Laves and Sim.

There is variation in the form of the clitic with =wadhaay the only form in GR but =badhaay the common form in YR, with =wadhaay rarely found there. Wurm’s examples, all YR, are two baðai and one waðai.\(^{273}\) At times the initial segment is unclear.

\(^{272}\) I generally use only the YR form =badhaay for convenience, since it is the most common.
A simple meaning or gloss of the clitic has not been found, as common with discourse particles. As with other discourse particles it has a degree of optionality, and the factors governing that choice are not clear. Often the presence of =badhaay seems to make no difference to the English translation. At other times it co-occurs with ‘want’ or ‘might’ or similar words or phrases. It is commonly found where someone, often the speaker, wants something to happen, and the actuality depends on other factors, often other people. It is also used when something might happen. ‘Might’ is used as the gloss since it applies to both circumstances. There are other uses which do not seem to fit either of these situations.

=badhaay occurs on the first word of the clause and is found commonly on giirr ‘true’, waaal ‘not’, verbs, pronouns and nominals, and comes after case marking.

In (1019), with an imperative verb, it is clear that the speaker wants something to happen, but is dependent on the cooperation of the hearer. There is no sign of =badhaay in the translation.

(1019) Sit down!

\[\text{wila-ya=badhaay nguwama} \]
\[
\text{sit-IMP=MIGHT there}
\]
You sit down there. \( \text{AD} \)
Sit down there. \( \text{AD} \)

There are numerous other examples of the clitic with imperatives, including (192) and 2833B 165. (396) and (238) show the relatively common situation of an imperative being repeated, the first time with =badhaay, and then without. It seems =badhaay softens the imperative.

The clitic occurs relatively frequently in the traditional stories of Emu and Bustard/Brolga, including in (1020) where the Emu woman suggests to her husband that they cut off their wings: =badhaay here again shows the speaker wants this. It is somewhere along the line from a command to a request, but the outcome is dependent on the hearer’s agreement.

(1020) Boonoong butndi nullee gurray wahl Goomble-gubbon doorunmai giggee. Parker: line 26

\[\text{bungun=badhaay ngali garra-y, waal Gumbulgaban dhuurrrunmay gi-gi} \]
\[
\text{wing=MIGHT 1DU.ERG cut.M-FUT, not Bustard chief be-FUT}
\]
We might / Let’s cut our wings, the Gumbulgaban will not be chief. \( \text{Parker} \)

In (895) Yanaa-waa-y=badhaay ngal. ‘I will go with you’ is translated as a definite event, but the =badhaay suggests it is more an invitation, and the speaker acknowledges the hearer’s option to agree or not.

At times =badhaay (and in (1023) =badhaay=bala) seems to signal a clearly unfulfilled or unfulfillable want. (1021) shows a refused invitation and in (1101) FR describes finding ten emu eggs, and wants to take them all, but can’t and uses =badhaay in saying: ‘I won’t be able to carry them all’.

(1021) I might ask you:

\[\text{yaama nginda maniila-y.nginnginda} \]
\[
\text{ques 2SG hunt-WANT}
\]
You might say no. Oh well, I’ll say: \( \text{AD} \)
Do you want to go hunting? \( \text{JG} \)
\[\text{ngaya=badhaay / biyaduul / yanaa-waa-y} \]
\[
\text{1SG=MIGHT / alone / go-MOV-FUT}
\]
I’ll go along myself then. \( \text{AD} \)

\text{\footnote{Such lenition is common. With this suffix YR is b-initial and GR w-initial, the reverse of the pattern seen with -wan.gaan/-ban.gaan, §13.3.4.}}
(1022) shows =badhaay translated ‘want’ with a future tense verb. Without information about the context it is not clear what would frustrate the want. Similar uses of =badhaay are found elsewhere, for instance in (450).

(1022) bumali baðai nama ŋaia
buma-li=badhaay nhama ngaya
hit-FUT=MIGHT 3.DEF 1SG
I want to kill it.

In (1023) the speakers want fire, so the combination of =badhaay and =bala ‘Contrast’ can be interpreted: ‘want something else’, i.e. ‘we want to eat cooked food, but have to eat it raw’.

(1023) We all bring home raw goanna, kangaroo, crayfish, and emu.

ngiyani-luu=badhaay=bala dhurrin / dhurrin gaa-g.uwi-y.la-nha / wii-dhalibaa
1PL-ERG.EXCL=MIGHT=CTR raw / raw bring-BACK-CTS-PRS / fire-PRIV
We bring back (the food, and it is) raw, raw, since we have no fire.

There are uncommon examples of =badhaay not being on the first constituent, for instance (1024), which also illustrates the relatively uncommon use of =badhaay with past tense. (1024) is similar to (1023) in describing an unfulfilled want, but does not use =bala. The actual form of the clitic is not clear in this example.

(1024) I didn’t catch a thing.

waal ngaya minya.gaa=badhaay/wadhaay bayama-y
not 1SG something=MIGHT catch-PST
never caught anything

In (1025) it is not clear if =badhaay indicates the speaker’s want, but the result does depend on the hearer’s action.

(1025) The thin man said, ‘you are a nasty, cross old woman and I am going to leave you on your own’.

giirruu yinarr gagil / gagil dhayn / nguwalay=badhaay nginda / wila-la-y
true.very woman bad / bad person / here=MIGHT 2SG / lie-CTS-FUT
You are a bad woman, a bad person. You can stay here

biyaduul / ngaya=bala gi.yaa.nha yanaa-y
alone / 1SG=CTR going.to go-FUT
You can stop here on your own and I’m going to go, [and won’t come back no more.]

There are situations where I have no clear explanation for the use of =badhaay, such as (1026). However, the situation is one that the speaker would want: a good night’s sleep; and =badhaay may indicate that want.

(1026) Last night I didn’t cough as much as the night before.

buluuy-u ngaya / waal=bala ngaya / gunhuginnu dhu-nhi /
dark-?time 1SG / not=CTR 1SG / cough pierce-PST /
gaba=badhaay ngaya dhanduwii-nyi
good=MIGHT 1SG sleep-PST
I camp all-right last night.

Last night, I did not cough. I slept well.
13.3.2.1 \(=\text{badhaay} = \text{yaa}\)

\(=\text{badhaay}\) is occasionally translated ‘might’ (e.g., once at 5131 400, where CW has a series of elicitations with ‘might’), but ‘might’ is the common translation of \(=\text{badhaay} = \text{yaa}\) ‘might=POTential’ (=\text{badhaay} = \text{yaa} occasionally has other translations, such as ‘must’ at 2833B 476). The difference between \(=\text{badhaay} = \text{yaa}\) and \(=\text{yaa} = \text{POTential}\) (§13.2.1) is not clear. (1027) shows the GR \(=\text{wadhaay} = \text{yaa}\) as ‘perhaps’, a near synonym of ‘might’. This example also indicates that \(=\text{yaa}\) is a separate word, or at least that the initial glide is pronounced. (1028) has two instances of \(=\text{badhaay} = \text{aa}\).

(1027) Perhaps I will beat.

\textit{Ngaia wuddhai ya bumu ngaya=\text{wadhaay} = \text{yaa} buma-li}

1SG=MIGHT=POT hit-FUT

(1028) He hurt himself and he’s crying.

\textit{minya-gaayaa ngaama / bura / bura??=}\text{badhaay} = \text{aa} nguu gama-nhi, something-IGNOR that / ball / bone??=MIGHT=POT 3SG.ERG break-M-PST, I don’t know what, his leg, he might have broken his leg. \textit{buyu=}\text{badhaay} = \text{aa} gama-nhi leg=MIGHT=POT break-M-PST His leg might have broke, something might have broke, (he’s crying there). \textit{His leg might be broken.}

(1029) I want to go hunting to spear emus at night.

\textit{mani:lɛi ƾaja ðinna:wan waðaija: (NIGHT sic) ŋaja ður igu SW YR p97 maniila-y ngaya // dhinawan=\text{wadhaay} = \text{aa} ngaya dhu-rr.uwi-gu hunt-FUT 1SG // emu=MIGHT=POT 1SG pierce-PURP I want to go hunting to spear emus at night.} \textit{SW}

I will go hunting and I might spear an emu. \textit{JG}

13.3.2.2 \(=\text{giirr} = \text{badhaay}, =\text{giirr} = \text{badhaay} = \text{aa}\)

The effect of the combination of \(=\text{giirr}\), which indicates certainty, and \(=\text{badhaay}\) or \(=\text{badhaay} = (y)aa\), which indicate non-certainty, is not certain, but the \(=\text{giirr}\) seems to be largely semantically bleached, with \(=\text{badhaay}\) and \(=\text{giirr} = \text{badhaay}\) having similar use, as do \(=\text{badhaay} = (y)aa\) and \(=\text{giirr} = \text{badhaay} = (y)aa\).

\(=\text{giirr} = \text{badhaay}\) is used with imperatives (3998A 677, 5052 2787) and in situations where cooperative action is suggested: ‘we will paint one another’ (3996A 1680). In these instances there is no translation of \(=\text{giirr} = \text{badhaay}\). Untranslated use is also seen in (376)(b). It is sometimes translated ‘might’, particularly at 5131 567ff, where CW asks for numerous translations of sentences with ‘might’. \(=\text{giirr} = \text{badhaay} = (y)aa\), on the other hand, is generally translated ‘might’: (1030)(=737)), (911) and 5131 567ff. At 5129A 2537 it is translated ‘you must be’.

(1030) He might crawl back to the camp.

\textit{giirr=\text{badhaay} = \text{aa} ngaama dhuu-rr.uwi-y true=MIGHT=POT that crawl-BACK-FUT He might crawl back.}

There is no obvious explanation of its use in (1031). A speculative suggestion is that the non-factual\textsuperscript{275} nature of the sentence is a reason for using \(=\text{badhaay} = \text{yaa}\). The conversation in (1031) was on 30 June, 1976, but the full moon was on June 12 and July 11.

\textsuperscript{274} Wurm’s transcription of (1029) has ‘night’ written above \textit{waðaija} and also in the translation. This should be ‘might’.

\textsuperscript{275} This use might be similar to the -\textit{DHan} suffix in Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 276), which can indicate that the speaker is saying something, but is less than fully committed to the truth of the statement.
There is a full moon tonight. That big moon will come out tonight, full moon.

13.3.2.3 =badhaay in old sources/word play

=badhaay is common in old sources, but sometimes it is not possible to positively identify it because the orthography is uncertain or because of word play such as the use of both =badhaay=wadhaay and =dhaay ‘to.here’ near each other. (1032), (1033) and (1034) are from Tindale/Doolan, the first and last probably having =wadhaay, the second dhaay. The interpretation of (1034) is particularly unclear. Similar examples are found in Parker’s Emu and Bustard story.

’maruwa’ðai ’jenejene je’le (Said by Dhinawan/Emu) Tindale/Doolan 24
out here (like this) they walk Doolan
marra??maaru=wadhaay yana.yana-y.la-y there??well=MIGHT walk.REDP-CTS-FUT
Out there (my kids) are (probably) just strolling around. JG
(another of many possible interpretations): My kids are probably walking around well out there. JG

’maraa ’dai turali ’kaingal kul’gar (Said by Burraalga/Brolga) Tindale/Doolan 25
out here all my youngsters come Doolan
marra-dhaay dhurra-li gaaynggal-galgaa there-TO.HERE come-FUT baby-PL.
My many children will come here / come back.

(Yala)y?? marra-u??=wadhaay?dhaay ngaya burrulaa gaaynggal gua-gi??
‘this way’ out here my whole lot of children I am leading Doolan
I will bring my children over this way. JG

13.3.3 -Buu ‘TOT2’; -dhu? ‘TOT3’

The suffix particle -Buu is found in YR and GR. It is glossed TOT2 (-aaba-li (§10.1.2) is glossed TOT). It prototypically adds a meaning something like ‘all possible’ or ‘as much as possible’ to the word it is attached to. At times the translation is ‘very’, increasing the force of the word, but not making it ‘total’. Its form is commonly-buu, and -uu after word final l and rr. It also has other forms, such as -yuu and -wu on some pronouns and perhaps elsewhere. It is a productive suffix, but there are also clear and possible examples of fossilised use. The suffix may have time use: §13.5.6.
The WN cognate -bu is discussed below.

The most common occurrence of the suffix is in fossilised forms such as giirruu: §13.1.2. Clear instances of -Buu are given in Table 216 and some likely occurrences in Table 217. Some pairs, e.g. giwiiin/giwiinbuu, have the one translation, understandable given the paucity of information.

See §5.7 for a fuller treatment of pronominal examples. With dual pronouns -Buu adds ‘both’ and with plural pronouns it adds ‘all’. It is common in bulaarr-uu ‘two-TOT’, ‘both of them’. (1035) and (1036) show the relatively common use of a phonologically modified form of the suffix on ganunga ‘3PL’.

All the meat was eaten. JM/FR 2438A 839

ganungawu=nga / ganugua dha-y dhinggaa 3PL.TOT2=THEN / 3PL.ERG eat-PST meat
They ate all the meat. FR
got to shift from one camp to another with the smoke FR/JM 2438B 1 382 (1036)

Like that they will carry that smoke, JG

go to take it all around to all the camps FR

All, to all the camps. JG

Table 216 -Buu: `TOTal’: clear examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Suffixed form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source/note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>giirr</td>
<td>true</td>
<td>giirr-uu</td>
<td>really true</td>
<td>Ridley, Mathews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yilaal(l)</td>
<td>short time</td>
<td>yilaam-uu</td>
<td>long time away, long ago</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baayan</td>
<td>soon</td>
<td>baayan-buu</td>
<td>immediately</td>
<td>see baayandhu Table 219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhugay</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>dhuga-buu</td>
<td>always; too much</td>
<td>FR; Laves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biyarr</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>biyarr-uu-ga</td>
<td>in the same place</td>
<td>One example; -ga LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulaarr</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>bulaarr-uu</td>
<td>both</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maayrr</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>maayrr-buu</td>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>Parker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burrunaa</td>
<td>many, all</td>
<td>burrunaa-buu</td>
<td>all of them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>we two</td>
<td>ngali-yuu</td>
<td>both of us; dual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngiyanu</td>
<td>we, PL</td>
<td>ngiyanu-yuu</td>
<td>all of us; plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngindaay</td>
<td>you, PL</td>
<td>ngindaay-uu</td>
<td>all of you; plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganunga</td>
<td>they, PL</td>
<td>ganunga-wu</td>
<td>all of them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guyungan</td>
<td>own, by self</td>
<td>guyungan-buu</td>
<td>(went) of his own accord</td>
<td>(1038)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhirra</td>
<td>flash</td>
<td>dhirra-buu</td>
<td>very flash</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaarri</td>
<td>over there</td>
<td>ngaarri-buu</td>
<td>far away, long ago?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balal</td>
<td>dry</td>
<td>balal-buu</td>
<td>dry?</td>
<td>Laves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guwin</td>
<td>close</td>
<td>guwin-[guwin-buu]</td>
<td>near</td>
<td>Ridley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalagirr</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>yalagirr-uu</td>
<td>always like that</td>
<td>AD 3220B 206</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1037) shows that the suffix is not necessarily realised in translations and that the informants were not always fluent in its use, using different forms.

(1037) I always sleep. 

Always, absolutely always [x3] you are sick. JG

There are rare and possible instances of -Buu. (1038) has the sole occurrence of guyungan-buu. Arthur Dodd gives no translation. I assume guyungan-buu is a correction of guyungan-du.

276 There are potentially other occurrences of the suffix, but they await more detailed analysis. In (1039) one might expect that ngaamu burrulbidju is Ergative, agreeing with birraligalu. However, the usual Ergative forms would be ngaamu burrulbidiju and there is nothing else in the response that could reflect the ‘all’ in the elicitation, so it is likely
I didn’t tell him to go (swimming), he went.

He went of his own accord, there, to swim.

All the big children were singing.

There are other possibly examples of -Buu, some seen in Table 217.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yeälo</td>
<td>also</td>
<td>yiyal-uu; now yaluu</td>
<td>Ridley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngellibu, yellibu</td>
<td>also</td>
<td>yiyal-i-buu??</td>
<td>Ridley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeälokawai</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>yiyal-uu-guwaay</td>
<td>Ridley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulanbuu</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>?whole hand</td>
<td>Ridley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mooroo buamboo</td>
<td>big nose</td>
<td>maru ‘nose’ bawambuu??</td>
<td>Milson p10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birralii-gal-uu</td>
<td>all the kids</td>
<td>child-PL.DIM-TOT</td>
<td>3220A 2978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naabuu</td>
<td>here, beside me</td>
<td>nha-buu?? (see nhalay)</td>
<td>Ridley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minnaminnabül</td>
<td>all things whatever</td>
<td>minyaminyabuu-l minya ‘what’</td>
<td>Ridley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giibaabuu</td>
<td>early in the morning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the examples in Table 217 are quite tentative, with the word ending having a formal similarity to the suffix, but the meaning of the rest of the word not known. It is likely that the suffix is, historically at least, part of yeälo (yaluu) ‘also’ ‘again’, yellibu (??yalibu) ‘also’ and possibly of yeälokawai (yiyalaguwaay) ‘like’. The last two are not known from modern records and so the forms are tentative. There is room for more investigation of words in Table 217.

Words like ngaarribuu ‘far.away-TOT’ primarily have distance meaning, but this is very easily used of time, so that they also mean ‘long ago’, ‘long time away’. (English words like ‘long’ and ‘near’ are similarly used for space and time reference.)

-Buu has a WN cognate -bu (Donaldson, 1980: 76), which is:

glossed ‘universal quantifier’ which ‘makes the reference of the form to which it is attached universal, with respect to the universe of reference established by the context in which the form is used’.

Table 218 is a selection of WN derivations which include -bu (p78). They are from different word classes, and some parallel YG occurrences of the suffix. Others indicate where YG may use the suffix even though it has not been found on the corresponding word in YG. For instance magambu would correspond to YR ngayaga-buu, based on ngayagay ‘other’. (The WN words in the second column are my understanding of what the form would be.) Donaldson gives no indication that the form of the suffix is variable.
Table 218  Examples of Wangaaybuwan -bu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Suffixed form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>biyal</td>
<td>to a certain extent, sometimes</td>
<td>biyalbu</td>
<td>altogether, always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhalan</td>
<td>close in time</td>
<td>dhalanbu</td>
<td>as close as possible, just now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulagarr</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>bulagarrbu</td>
<td>all, of two; both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magaN-</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>magambu</td>
<td>all other; the rest, everybody else</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngani</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>nganibu</td>
<td>absolutely there; right there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garraa</td>
<td>don’t</td>
<td>garraabu</td>
<td>Don’t (act) at all! Hold on! Wait on!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wangaay</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>wangaaybu</td>
<td>not at all; not ever (in some contexts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Donaldson (1980: 77) points out that some WN words which include -bu are ‘adverbs which provide modification [which] is intrinsically absolute, and cannot appear without -bu. They are ngarrbu “enough” and munjbu “suddenly”.’

The suffix -bu with glosses such as ‘just, right, only, still, very’ is also found in languages on the north coast of NSW: Dhanggati (Lissarrague, 2007), Gathang (Lissarrague, 2010) and Hunter River and Lake Macquarie Language (Lissarrague, 2006).

13.3.3.1 -dhu ‘TOTal3’

The suffix -dhu can also be analysed as meaning ‘totally’. Its effect is to change ‘short time’ to ‘immediately’, as seen in the only two examples found: Table 219. While yilaal-uu/yilaam-buu ‘long ago’ have a different meaning from yilaa-dhu, both baayan-buu and baayan-dhu are ‘immediately’.

Table 219  -dhu ‘TOTal’: examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>suffixed form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yilaa</td>
<td>short time</td>
<td>yilaadhu</td>
<td>right now, immediately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baayan</td>
<td>soon</td>
<td>baayandhu</td>
<td>immediately</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13.3.4 -wan.gaan278 YR/ -ban.gaan GR ‘VERY’

Williams (p45) calls -wan.gaan an ‘intensifier’. It modifies the word it follows. GR -ban.gaan has been found only twice (MathewsGR: 262). YR -wan.gaan occurs once in Parker, once in Wurm, once in FR and around 40 in AD, many of these in an elicitation session where CW was focusing on the suffix (Tape 5131) and many in Tape 3220B.

It is most commonly found on adjectives (1040) and (1041)); forming a superlative in (1044); on quantity words (1042); adverbs (1043); n(ouns (1044), including case marked nouns ((1045) and (1046)); and other suffixed nouns (1047). There are other examples in Table 220.

(1040) The knife was very blunt.        CW/AD 5131 302

... mugu-wan.gaan ngaama ngaayba

... blunt-VERY that knife

---

277 In Wangaaybuwan it seems -bu fulfils the roles of both -Buu and -dhu: see dhalanbu in Table 218.

278 The suffix is found in Wayilwan but has not been much studied. Wiradjuri has an exclamation ban(.)gaan glossed ‘truly, it is so, indeed’. Its absence from Donaldson (1980) is surprising, given its occurrence in all other CNSW languages.

Wilkins (1989: 105) describes a similar Arrente suffix -nthurre ‘intensifier’. With adjectives it is interpreted as ‘very’ and with noun it is interpreted ‘real, true’.
(1041) This is the best of all. Mathews GR p262

This is the best of all. Mathews GR p262

Numma murruba bungan gigilla
nhama maarruba-ban.gaan gi-gi.la[-nha
3.DEF good-VERY be-CTS-PRS
That one is very good. JG

(1042) All the animals have run away. JM/AD 3217B 2237

... maayrr-wan.gaan / nguuma / yiyal yuulngindi 'naa-y.la-nha
... none-VERY / there / just hungry go-CTS-PRS
All those kids walking about, nothing to eat, no meat, all the kangaroos gone. AD
There’s nothing at all there. [The people] are hungry. [can only walk around hungry] JG

(1043) The kangaroo hopped away very fast. (xx = tape stopped) CW/AD 5131 517

giirrru nham bandaarr / barraay ngaam baa-nhi xx barraay-wan.gaan ngaam baa-nhi
true.very 3.DEF kangaroo / fast that hop-PST xx fast-VERY that hop-PST
The kangaroo hopped quickly, it hopped very quickly. JG

(1044) She’s the best cook in the camp. JM/AD 3220B 625.

giirrru nham gandjarra-wan.gaan / wala-nga / yilama-lifornia
true.very 3.DEF champion-VERY / camp-LOC / cook-CTS-PURP

(1045) There’s a man coming there to kill the goanna. JM/FR 2439A 3429

mayaan nguu / gama-nga-nha / gaiwii-y nguu / giirr dhaygal-i-wan.gaan
stick 3SG.ERG / break-MOV-PRS / pelt-PST 3SG.ERG / true head-ABL-VERY
He broke a stick and he pelted the goanna and he hit him first go on the head. FR
He’s breaking a stick and he pelted it right on the head. JG

(1046) This track is a good one. JM/AD 3219B 1336

nhalay=badhaay=bala yuruun, nhalay / gaba
this=MIGHT=CTR road, this / good
This road is good; there; JG

ngaarra, gaawaa-gu-wan.gaan, ngiyani=laa ga-gi
over.there, river-ALL-VERY, 1PL=DIR take-FUT
You’ll go straight to that, take this road, it is a good one. AD
over there; we will take it straight to the river. JG

There is an incompletely recorded elicitation which indicates that -wan.gaan was used after -giirr ‘like’.

(1047) That wiringin was very clever. CW/AD 5131 371

The wiringin is like a doctor. AD
(wiringin)?-giirr-wan.gaan nhama
? LIKE-VERY 3.DEF
He’s just like a doctor.?? JG
### Table 220 -wan.gaan/-ban.gaan ‘VERY’: examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original (+Standard orthography)</th>
<th>Root gloss (without -wan.gaan)</th>
<th>Original gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>murruba bungan (maarubaa-ban.gaan)</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>best of all</td>
<td>RHM-GR 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirrah dungah-nah (dhirra-?wan.gaan-nha)</td>
<td>flash- -that</td>
<td>(Note form: dungah)</td>
<td>Parker line 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wallanba: wanga:n (walanbaa-ban.gaan)</td>
<td>strong</td>
<td>even stronger</td>
<td>Wurm p100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhaygal-i-wan.gaan</td>
<td>head-ABLative-</td>
<td>[hit him] first go on the head</td>
<td>FR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maayrr-wan.gaan</td>
<td>none-</td>
<td>no meat</td>
<td>AD 3217B 2262; 3219B 1195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaarrma-wan.gaan burrul</td>
<td>that- big</td>
<td>That fellow is bigger</td>
<td>3217B 3078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garigari-wan.gaan</td>
<td>afraid</td>
<td>really frightened</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiiliyaan-baa-wan.gaan</td>
<td>savage-</td>
<td>really savage [also translated: yiiliyaan-bidi]</td>
<td>5131 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burrul-bidi-wan.gaan</td>
<td>big-AUG-</td>
<td>really big</td>
<td>5131 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunadha-wan.gaan</td>
<td>boggy-</td>
<td>very boggy</td>
<td>5131 328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wamba-wan.gaan</td>
<td>mad</td>
<td>very mad</td>
<td>5131 512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barraay-wan.gaan</td>
<td>fast</td>
<td>very fast</td>
<td>5131 529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaba-wan.gaan</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>very good</td>
<td>5130 3226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burrul-wan.gaan=bala</td>
<td>big- =CTR</td>
<td>older</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuulman-wan.gaan</td>
<td>old-person-</td>
<td>I am an old woman now.</td>
<td>2833A 449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gandjarraa-wan.gaan</td>
<td>champion-</td>
<td>best hunter</td>
<td>3220B 544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miimii-dja-wan.gaan</td>
<td>bank-LOC</td>
<td>pulled the fish ‘right up to the bank’ JG</td>
<td>3219B 1560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaawaa-gu-wan.gaan</td>
<td>river-ALL-</td>
<td>‘straight to the river’ AD/JG</td>
<td>3219B 1355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 13.3.5 yiyal ‘JUST’

The particle yiyal279 is most commonly translated ‘just’ or ‘only’. Ridley (p8) has:

‘Yeäl’ (merely) is commonly used with the [past indicative] tense, when the intention is to give assurance that the speaker having told the truth, will add nothing more as a reason or excuse for the fact. In answer to the question, Why did you come? a blackfellow may say, ‘yeäl yanani,’ I just came; that’s all.

It is mainly used to modify propositions, and less commonly used to modify NPs: ‘she has just two children’ (but earlier she had more); and adjectives: ‘she was just sad’ (and no other feeling). It may have a time use, for instance: ‘he’s going back (just) now with a sore foot’ (3219A 877).

Yiial can be free or a clitic. When qualifying verbs yiial is a separate word, preceding the verb and generally clause initial. Yiial follows nominal it qualifies, and is unstressed, so likely a suffix. These nominals are generally, but not exclusively, clause-initial. There is considerable variation in the form of the particle. It seems that a number of words have been derived from yiial, but some of these etymologies are speculative.

It occurs in both Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay, from the earliest to latest sources. It is common in traditional stories. (1048) is the sentence Williams (p110) uses as an example of yiial. It occurs a number of times in versions of the Bowerbird story and at 3218A 3195. The transcription also

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279 There is a Wangaaybuwan particle, -galay (a clitic), which has similar use (Donaldson 1980: 251).
shows that the realisation in more recent sources approximates a monosyllable, yal. In (1049) the particle qualifies the whole clause.

(1048) Old Wiidhaa (Bowerbird) saw him (Wedgetail), he’s singing out:

\[
\text{ngaandu, ngaandu nginunha gwaa-y: dhaay nginda yanaa-waa-y,gu?}
\]
who.ERG, who.erg 2SG.ACC tell-PST: to.here 2SG go-MOV-PURP

[Wiidhaa:] Who told you to come here?

oo, \textit{yal?yiyal ngay' yanaa-waa-nhi / ngadhan.gaa=Nu, burrulaa dhayn}
oo, just 1SG go-MOV-PST / think=3ERG?, many people

[Wedgetail:] I just walked along and I thought there was a lot of people here.

\[\text{nyi,\, yiyal?yiyal ngay' yanaa-waa-nhi? / ngadhan.gaa=Nu, burrulaa dhayn}
\]
ool, just 1SG go-MOV-PST / think=3ERG?, many people

Yiyal is often found in the second of two contrasting clauses, as in (1050), one of over ten occurrences of yiyal in Guerre Kamilaroi. Often the order of the English clauses is the opposite of the YG order.

(1050) Immanuel said ‘Cease weeping. Not the girl is dead; only she is asleep.’ Ridley p41

\[\text{Immanuel goe 'kurria yunga. Kamil miedul baluni; yiyal babillona.}
\]
Immanuel say-PST don’t cry-IMP, not girl-DIM die-PST just sleep-CTS-PRS

Use of yiyal with nominals is most common in the stories of Emu and Bustard/Brolga, often in ‘just two’: (Kill your children, and keep just two). ‘Just two’ is bulaarr-yiyal many times in Parker and in AD3218B 494, found mostly, but not always, clause initially, as in (1051).280

(1051) Then she [Emu] hid her children, and took only two down Parker: Emu and Bustard line 41

\[\text{baayan noo doorimbai birrahleegul boollarhyel nuddahnooway.}
\]
baayan nguu dhurrinba-y birralii-gal, \textit{bulaarr-yiyal ngadaa nguu wa-y}
soon2 3SG.ERG hide-PST child-PL.DIM, two-just down 3SG.ERG put.in-PST

(1052) shows yiyal phonologically separated from the nominal, again in a clause initial phrase.

(1052) waal=nga ngaaluurr yii-laa-nha / yilawa-nhi ngali / gaawaa-ga /
ot=NOW fish bite-MOV-PRS / sit-PST 1DU / river-LOC /
The fish are not biting now. We sat at the river. (note: no Ergative on ‘fish’)

\[\text{milan-duul / yal?yiyal? ngali bayama-y / dhagaay}
\]
one-DIM / just 1DU.ERG catch-PST / yellowbelly[fish]

We sat for a long time, fishing, and we only caught one little yellowbelly. FR/JM 2436A 1757

We only caught one little yellowbelly.

Other examples include (1109), (239), (379) and (907) (‘only two’).

There are a number of variant forms. Yal is seen in (1052). It is found in Milson281 but is more common in later sources, including AD. Word initial yi is realised as i in later sources, and the

280 Other records I assume are bulaarr-yiyal include: Laves (10:27) bularia and bularial, referring to the two children, and Wurm, who has only one instance of yiyal: bulla:i iəl ɛi:nj (bulaarr-yiyal dhayn) ‘just two men (sitting down)’:
(907).
resulting intial iy pattern is realised as y. The variant form biyal is found in a number of sources. Jack Sand’s elicitation is often unsure and halting, and his sentence structure is often unclear. He uses bulaarr-biyal ‘two-just’ many times in his translation of Emu and Brolga where others have bulaarr-yiyal. He has biyal (or perhaps -(m)bil) in many parts of the story where others do not use any suffix, e.g. gagil-biyal in (1053).

(1053) The brolga was sad.  

\begin{verbatim}
ganaay, gana-bi? nham / gaa-m-bi? nham /
open??, liver-W.LOT 3.DEF / liver-W.LOT that /
gagil-biyal nham gaali.nha gi-nhi
bad-just 3.DEF 3DU be-PST
\end{verbatim}
Sad, really sad, those two were just in a bad way. [Tentative]  

The alternation of bil and biyal in (1053) could suggest that there is confusion based on -bil, a well evidenced suffix, but the use of -biyal by AD and Laves suggests that -biyal is a genuine allomorph. AD has gumbu-biyal ‘sandhill-ONLY’ at 3220B 3181 and dhimba-biyal in (1054).

(1054) (We used to eat kangaroos but) now we eat sheep. (follows (590))  

\begin{verbatim}
dhimba-biyal=bala ngiyana.luu dha-l-da-nha
sheep-just=CTR 1PL.ERG.EXCL eat-CTS-PRS
\end{verbatim}
We just eat sheep.  

Another variant is wiyal. AD has dhuu-wiyal ‘(the fire is) just smoke’ in 3220B 388 and bawa-wiyal ‘back-only’ in (1055). Parker also has the form weel (wiyal) with similar use in line 56 of Emu and Bustard.

(1055) [The fire] just warmed my back.  

\begin{verbatim}
bawa-wi?wiyal ngay=bala ngaama // guulaabi-y.la-nhi /
back-just 1SG.NOM?dat=CTR that // warm.M-CTS-PST /
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
ngaya=bala=nga?, ngaam / baliya wila-y.la-nhi yi?allyal
1SG=C.NOW, there? / cold sit-CTS-PST just
\end{verbatim} 
Only my back was getting warm, but I was just sitting there cold.  

Ridley \(^{282}\) (p14) lists a number of words he analyses as built on yiyal.

From the particle ‘yea’ (merely or just so) come ‘yealo’ (also) ((yi)yaliui); ‘yealokwai’ (like) (yiyluuguwaay); ‘yealokwaana’ (likewise) ((yi)yalyaluuguwyaayma).

Yiyal occurs in a number of compounds. \(^{283}\) But the principles for developing or interpreting such compounds are not clear. Laves (10 p28) has ma-yel (possibly a rendering or mishearing of maayrr, less likely maayrr-yiyal ‘none-only’) referring to the emu’s now non-existent wings, again from the Emu and Brolga story.

MathewsGR has the particle on pronouns, interpreting it as an exclusive marker: ngiyani-yiyal-a-ngu ‘we-exclusive-D ATive’; see Table 210. Yiyal-aylay-gaali ‘both the same’ occurs in (425). -gaali is ‘two’; -aylay is not analysed. Milson (p5) has ‘never mind’ Taalwana, presumably yiyal/yyal wana ‘just let it be’.

---

\(^{281}\) Sim (p 32) also has milandjal ‘just one, only one’ (milan ‘one’) and bulaadjal (bulaarr ‘two’) ‘just two, only two’ where djal is possibly another variant of the suffix, which I do not discuss further.

\(^{282}\) These and other Ridley forms are given in Table 124.

\(^{283}\) The compound mubalyal ‘pregnant’ (mubal ‘stomach’) is found in Milson (p 9; moobolyol) and modern sources, but ‘stomach-just’ would not seem to indicate ‘pregnant’.
13.3.6 ngadhan.gaa ‘HYPothesis’ ((I) thought)

Ngadhan.gaa\(^{284}\) can also be considered a knowledge particle. It occurs in YG and WN. Williams (p110) has:

\[
\text{ngadhan.gaa}
\]

\begin{itemize}
  \item can be glossed ‘hypothesis’ (HYP). It indicates that the following sentence cannot be assumed to be true, but is only a hypothesis. The usual translation of sentences containing this form is ‘I thought that …’.
  \item Donaldson’s (1980: 240) Wangaaybuwan gloss is ‘believed true’.\(^{285}\) In both languages ngadhan.gaa is used sentence initially to indicate the speaker’s attitude to the rest of the sentence, as in (1056). In Wangaaybuwan it can be used as a single word statement: ‘I think so’.
\end{itemize}

\begin{verbatim}
(1056) I thought she caught a fish.
\end{verbatim}

\[
\text{ngadhan.gaa nguu ngaama, guduu bayama-y}
\]

\begin{itemize}
  \item I think that, cod catch-PST
\end{itemize}

There is no real evidence of ngadhan.gaa being used with reference to other than the speaker’s thoughts: e.g. to translate: ‘she thought’. Ngadhan.gaa=Nu in (1048) might include an allomorph of =nguu, third person singular, but this is the only indication found of such use.

13.4 Topic-relating particles

The following particles relate one topic to another: =bula and ngayagay indicate additional topics, gayadha that something is to happen ‘in turn’ and waanda that something is to happen before another event.

13.4.1 (=)bula ‘ALSO’

Simple coordination is generally by adposition, but an ‘additional topic’ (participant or action) is indicated by (=)bula or in some circumstances by ngayagay (next section). In these situations English would use words like ‘and’, ‘also’, ‘too’ or ‘as well’. (=)bula can occur as a free word or clitic. It is always immediately after the word it refers to. It generally follows the first word of the clause, but there are relatively common exceptions: (1063) and (1067). It may occur once in early sources: MathewsGR (p264) has gunubula ‘a few’, which may contain ganu ‘all’, but the -bula may not be the form under discussion. The next example found is in Laves (1057). The stress he shows on the first syllable indicates he interprets bula as a free word, as does (1060), but Wurm (1058) shows it as a clitic. (=)bula\(^{286}\) is transparently derived from bulaarrr ‘two’.

\begin{verbatim}
(1057) Give me some meat! (imperative) 
\etai  bula di wu-na
ngay= bula dhii wuu-na
L1SG.DAT(=)also meat give-IMP
nai “also” meat give
Laves

Give some meat to me too.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(1058) Give me some meat!
\etaajibula diŋga u:deja
ngay=bula dhinggaa wuu-dha-ya
L1SG.DAT(=)also meat give-CTS?EAT-IMP
Give me some meat!
SW

Give some meat to me too.
\end{verbatim}

\(^{284}\) For use of winanga-y to translate ‘think’, see §9.2.3.2; see also (555) where the simple future is translated ‘think’.

\(^{285}\) She also discusses the possibility that the word includes the evidential particle DHan and -gaa ‘ignorative’.

\(^{286}\) In WN -bula is used as a dual suffix.
A common use is to link clauses which refer to similar actions, when it is often suffixed on the Subject nominal, as in (1059), the one example in Tindale. Similar use is seen in (1060), where, as often found, most of the second clause is ellipsed.

(1059) [Emu says:] ʹƟinda ʹbula ʹkuli:r kola tealumai ʹboma'la:bilika
nginda(=)bula guliirr guwa-la, dhaya-la-??, buma-l.aaba-li.gu
2SG(=)also spouse tell-IMP. ask-IMP-??, hit-TOT-PURP
You ask your husband whether you can kill yours also.  Tindale/Doolan: line 13

Sim (1998: 39) describes it as a sentence final word, and in (1060) it is both sentence final and a clause initial clitic. (1060) and (1065) have inclusory constructions (§11.4.4) as alternatives to the use of -bula.

(1060) I saw the snake and so did the woman.  Sim p39
Ngaya dhuyuu ngarray, yinayuu ngaliyu. or yinayu bula.
ngaya dhuyu ngarra-y, yina-yu ngali.yuu or yina-yu bula
1SG snake see-PST, woman-ERG 1DU.ERG.TOT2 or woman-ERG also

In (1061) -bula also links events. (1061) has one of the two instances in Wurm. He gives two translations, and may be confusing ’too’ and ’two’.

(1061) Ɵminated : jin.də }ba:bilə bula  SW GR p19
nginda / nginda baabi-lda-y=bula [form uncertain]
2SG, / 2SG sleep-CTS-PST=also
You are sleeping. / You two are sleeping.  SW
?
?You too will be sleeping.  JG

In (1062), the one clear use by AD, the subject of the clause remains constant, but the action varies. The suffix is on a verb, as it is in (1063).

(1062) They all danced and sang.  JM/AD 8186 1506
giirr ganunga yulu-nhi / and bawi-lda-nhi=bula
true 3PL dance-PST / and sing-CTS-PST=ALSO
They danced, and were singing too.  JG

(1063) yinarr gi.yaa.nha yuurrma-y=bula // dhayn-du gayadha / bawi-li
woman going.to dance-FUT=ALSO // man-ERG in.turn / sing-FUT
The men finished corroboreeing now, the women are going to corroboree and the men are going to sing.  FR/JM 2436A 770
The women are going to dance too, and the men will take their turn to sing.  JG

-bula is found suffixed to nominals in a range of cases, following the case suffix: Nominative (1064), Accusative (1065), Ergative (1066), Locative (2438A 2547) and Dative (2438A 3415). The most common use of -bula by FR is to link nominals.

(1064) I slipped and fell on the ground.  FR/JM 2436A 2392
ngulu-gu ngaya bundaa-nhi, dhaymaarr-bil gay ngaa gi-nyi, mil=bula
face-ALL 1SG fall-PST, dirt-W.LOT 1SG.DAT mouth get-PST, eye=also
I fell on my face and got my mouth full of dirt and my eyes too.  FR
The man brought his boomerang and also his spear. Sim p39 (1065)

Dhayinduu dhiyamay barran ngungu bilaarr gaalanha or barran bilaarr-bula.
dhayn-du dhiyama-y barran ngungu bilaarr gaalanha or barran bilaarr=bula
man-ERG pick.up-PST boomerang 3SG.DAT spear 3DU or boomerang spear=ALSO

(1066) (Two of the men snored)... A lot of the women snored. JM/FR 2436A 878.

yina-yu=bula=nga / nhama ngurruu-waa-nga
woman-ERG=also=NOW / 3.DEF snore-MOV-PRS
The women are even snoring now too. (FR treats the verb root ngurruuw- as Y class.) FR

ngaya gi.yaa.nha=nga=bula / bigibila dha-li ,
1SG going.to=NOW=also / echidna eat-FUT
I’m going to eat some emu now too, JG

nginda-bula guliirr-dhuul, bigibila dha-la
2SG=also spouse-ONE, echidna eat-IMP
I’m going to have a feed now, you too missus have some with me. FR
you too, my little wife, eat some echidna. JG

In (1067) and (1066) both clauses have the suffix, but the preceeding sentence on the tape is about other people eating bigibila, so each =bula marks an additional topic.

Laves (10 p10) has ‘Kuliba-bula ‘six’ (gulibaa ‘three’) and Sim (Appendix 3) has similar use of -bula.

13.4.2 ngayagay/ngaragay ‘other’\(^{287}\) and related forms
This section considers the nominals\(^{288}\) ngayagay\(^{289}\) YR ngaragay GR ‘other’, the derived forms ngayaga[y]-DHuul YR ngaragadhuul GR ‘another’, then the related adverbs ngayaga YR *ngaraga GR ‘behind’. There are examples of most of these forms in a wide range of sources. There is some evidence that ngayagay can also be used as an uninflcting particle, similar in function to (=)bula.

While AD predominantly uses ngayagay and occasionally (=)bula, FR only uses (=)bula. Most sources use ngayagay only with nominals. Its meaning is ‘another’, referring to ‘another of the same kind’, e.g. another child/weapon/camp.

The rhotic in GR ngaragay is assumed to be r on the basis of the common r > y change between GR and YR. There is variation at the morpheme boundary in ngayagay-DHuul, with the y sometimes deleted, and the -DH realised as a lamino-dental or lamino-palatal. In YR ngayaga-djuul is the most common realisation.

Ngayagay and ngayagaydjuul are discussed together since they are similar in use. These are clearly adnominals, agreeing in case with the modified nominal, and ngayagay also takes number suffixes. Ngayagaydjuul is also used with time reference. The qualified nominal is often ellipsed, since it is easily recoverable from the previous text.

Ridley has ngaragay ‘other’ in a paradigm but has no text examples of it. He has text examples of ngaragaydhuul ‘another’ (1068): ngaragedul nguru ‘another night’ and ngaragedul nguruko ‘next morning’ (ngurru ‘night’, ngurruw ‘morning’). MathewsGR (p264) has Ngurregadyul ‘another’ (ngaragaydjuul).

\(^{287}\) Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 247) has two ‘additional topic’ suffixes: -yanbi ‘and, what is more’ and -mindii ‘and’. They can be suffixed to various classes of words, and -yanbi can also be sentence final, referring to the whole sentence.

\(^{288}\) These adnominals are discussed in the chapter on particles since their functions are similar to those of the particle -bula.

\(^{289}\) As elsewhere, for convenience, I often use only the YR form in discussion which applies to both languages.
(1069) ngaragedūli miedūl wiibil ginyi; ŋumbaboiyo wune Ridley: Gurre Kamilaroi line 44

In (1069) Ablative case ngaragaydhuali is ‘at another time’. With this use there is no modified noun. AD3220B 3313 has similar use: ngayagadjuul-a (Locative) translates the second ‘some days’ in ‘some days we go hunting, some days we stay at home’. Milson (p3) has Naragathule ‘the Day after’ (ngaragadhuul-?). She (p5) also has ‘another fellow’ nuruggi (ngaragay) and (p3) naraguthule ‘2nd Finger’. This last use is not found elsewhere.

There are numerous YR examples of ngayagay ‘other’ and ngayaga(y)-DHuul ‘another’. In (1070) and (1071) ngayagaydjuul is case marked. Ngayagay is marked for number in (1070). (1072) translates ngayagay as ‘different’.

(1070) The woman and baby are going to another camp. JM/AD 3217A 2278

ngaama yinarr ’naa-waa-nha / ngayagay.djuul-gu walaay-gu / that woman go-MOV-PRS / another-ALL camp-ALL /
ngaarrma ngayagay-galga dhayn / ngarra-li.gu there other-PL people / see-PURP
She’s going to another camp, to see all the other people.

(1071) Why didn’t you save any for the children? CW/AD 3998B 1109

You didn’t give any to those other kids?

(1072) I wish you wouldn’t keep singing that song, sing a different one for a change. JM/AD 3220A 2881

garriya nhama / bawi-lda-ya / yugal / gagil=bala nhama yugal / don’t 3.DEF / sing-CTS-IMP / song / bad=CTR that song / Don’t keep singing that song. It’s a bad song.

yaluu ngaama ngayagay yugal bawi-la again that other song sing-IMP
Sing a different song next time.

(1073) shows that ngayagay is used in comparisons. The use of Ergative nguu is not understood.

(1073) Willy wagtails are the smallest birds there are. JM/AD 3220B 694

dhirridhirri nhama bubaay / bubaay-wan gaan=bala nhama dhirridhirri / ngarr=bala / Willy.wagtail 3.DEF small / small-VERY=CTR that Willy.wagtail / that?=CTR / The Willy wagtail is small, really small, and other,

ngayagay / dhigarraa / burlul=bala nguu / nham=bala dhirridhirri bubaay-djuul other / bird / big=CTR 3SG.ERG? / that=CTR Willy.Wagtail small-DIM
Willy wagtail is smallest. AD and other birds are bigger; the Willy Wagtail is small.

I have no explanation of the difference in meaning between the Ablative and Locative case forms.
There is some evidence that ngayagay can be used as an uninflecting particle. In (1074), a halting elicitation, ngayagay does not agree in case with yinayu, so is presumably uninflecting, with a meaning ‘also’. Similar use is found in the two instances of ngayagay in (101).

(1074) You see something and you don’t know what it is. CW/AD 5054A 1776

\[
\text{giirr ngay } \text{ngarra-y, minyagayaayaa}
\]

true 1SG see-PST, don’t.know.what

I saw something, I don’t know what. JG

\[
\text{giirr ngaya nhama ngandabaa ngarra-y /}
\]

true 1SG that snake see-PST  /

I saw a snake. JG

\[
\text{nguuma ngayagay yina-yu } // \text{ngandabaa ngarra-y}
\]

that other/as.well woman-ERG // snake see-PST

and the woman as well, saw the snake. JG

In (1075) also ngayagay does not mean ‘other’, since it is used to link different objects. It may be an uninflecting particle here.

(1075) The two men got some boomerangs and spears. JM/AD 8186 2259

\[
\text{giirr ngaamuu / bilaarr dhuwima-aa-nha, barran ngayagay / buriin ngayagay}
\]

true that.?? / spear pull.out-MOV-PRS, boomerang as.well / shield as.well

They got their spears, and boomerangs, and shields. JG

In (1076) ngayaga is presumably an elided form of ngayagay, but I would expect it after dhinggaa ‘meat’ since it signals a different type of participant. A possible explanation is that nhama dhinggaa forms a phrase, something like ‘and that other thing, the meat’, but this remains speculative.

(1076) (The man is carrying a bag,) and some meat in his arms. JM/AD 3219A 932

\[
\text{nhama ngayaga ngu } \text{dhinggaa gaa-waa-nha}
\]

3.DEF other/as.well 3SG.ERG meat take-MOV-PRS

He is taking some meat as well. JG

ngayaga ‘behind’

It seems possible that ngayagay is derivationally related to ngayaga ‘behind’, and it is clear that ngayaga/ngaraga are the Locative of the rarely used ngaya YR ngara GR ‘behind’. Table 221 gives the evidence for ngaya/ngara.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nurra ngara</td>
<td>ngara</td>
<td>after</td>
<td>Ridley: 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngurra ngara</td>
<td></td>
<td>last</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaya</td>
<td></td>
<td>behind</td>
<td>FR 1853B 1644.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngayaga</td>
<td></td>
<td>behind</td>
<td>FR, AD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the only case suffix found on the relatively common ngaya/ngara is Locative. Ngayaga is in apposition with a Locative nominal which is explicit in (1077) and ellipsed in (1078). In 5055 772 CW asks ‘I saw the boy come from behind the rock’, presumably in an attempt to

---

291 In contrast to the object part/body part ‘back’, ‘behind’ refers to an area area distant from the object of reference.
to elicit an Ablative suffix on *ngaya, but none is forthcoming. It is likely that, for AD and FR at least, *ngayaga was not synchronically suffixed, but monomorphic.

(1077) My dog is walking along with me.


ngayaga

(1078) He’s running along behind me.


He’s running along behind me.

There are a number of questions about *ngaya forms. MathewsGR has *Nhungurragai ‘this other’ (nha-ngaragay) and Murrangurragai ‘that other’ (marra-ngaragay) (see §6.2 for nha and marra), but no other instances of prefixed ngaragay have been found. At 3217B 1852 AD uses the currently unanalysed ngayalu in translating ‘the wind changed direction and blew the fire another way’.

Other questions remain about the use of *ngayaga. Wurm has a number of examples which include *njajagadou (ngayaga-dha-wu?). The *ngayaga may be ‘behind’ or the form *ngayagay takes with -dha Locative. *njajagadou ja:da (yaadha ‘day’ or ‘sun-LOC’) (1079) is ‘yesterday’ and *njajagadou bulului (bulului ‘evening’/’last night/ yesterday evening’).

(1079) I saw two kangaroos yesterday.

Wurm also has two words which may be related to *ngaya(gay): *njæ:ja:rɛ 292 ‘other’ (p91) and *njaja:nda ‘someone else’ (p99). Both the forms and relationship to *ngayagay are uncertain.

At times the motivation for use of the form is not clear. There is nothing in the actual text of (1080) or in the tape context that suggests a reason for use of *ngayagay but AD may be contrasting it to another tree or nest previously discussed.

(1080) There is a nest in the fork of that tree.

There is a nest in the fork of that tree.

13.4.3 *gayadha YR, *garadhya GR ‘in.TURN’

The particle *gayadha ‘in.TURN’ generally indicates different agents taking turns at the same action. The evidence below is all from YR. No GR cognate has been found.293

292 Perhaps a mishearing of a fricated g as r.

293 The GR is suggested by pairs of cognate verbs (YR then GR). Gay-li, garali ‘answer’, gayawali garawali ‘pelt, throw at’. No GR cognate of YR gaya-y ‘turn over, twist’ has been found, but it would presumably be gara-y. The
The use of *gayadha* is well illustrated in (1081). In the Emu-Bustard story the female emu has cut off her husband’s wings. (1081) continues the story.

(1081) *Baiyan noo gaiaathah noonoo boonoong gurray.*

Then he, in his turn, cut her wings.

(1082) shows a further possible variation in the form.

(1082) *(Mum has taken burrs from the girl’s back, then she said to the boy): ‘I’ll take the burrs from your back too.’*

Another example comes from the boomerang throwing contest between *Gilaa* and *Wuulaa* (3994A 426). *Gilaa* says: ‘you *gaya.dha=nga* (‘in.turn=now’) throw’.

As with many other particles *gaya.dha* is predominantly in clause-second position, at times displaced by a pronoun.

If the analysis of (1083)=(786) is correct, this is the only example of *gaya-* as a prefix in a compound verb root, here affixed to *dhu-rri* ‘pierce’. Many of Laves’ examples are difficult to interpret, but this one looks reasonably clear.

(1083) *

waanda ‘first’

*waanda* ‘first’ is a rarely occurring particle which indicates that one thing is to happen before something else. In the fewer than ten instances found it occurs on different word classes and in a variety of positions in the sentence. On the tapes, e.g. (1084), *waanda* has stress on the first syllable, indicating it is a free word. The Sim example (1086) has it as a clitic. It may vary in its use. All clear examples are from YR, mostly AD, which may indicate it has been borrowed from Wangaaybuwan.295

Locative suffix -*dha* is found on *y*-final words, suggesting that *gaya.dha* be analysed as *gayay-LOC*, in turn suggesting that *gayay* is a noun formed by zero derivation from the future form of *gaya-y* ‘turn’. There are no other instances of this pattern.

294 There are verbal prefixes in Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: Chapter 7), which supports the use of similar prefixes in YG.

295 Donaldson (1980: 246) has: ‘-waanda Prior topic marker’ … ‘which can be consistently translated “first”’. All the Ngiyambaa examples have -*waanda* cliticised on a sentence-initial pronoun. Donaldson also has the contrasting particle *wanduga* ‘later’ in one of the example sentences, and YG could consider borrowing this to fill a gap in its lexicon. However, in the sentence after (1087) Wurm has *yilaala=nga* ‘later on’. =*nga* and *yilaa* can both be translated ‘later’.
Wuulaa (Lizard) and Gilaa are having a boomerang throwing contest. Gilaa: *ngaa, nginda=badhaay wana-nga*, [Galah] yes, 2SG=MIGHT throw-IMP [Galah] telling frill lizard to throw his,  
[Galahl] Yeah, you throw it.  
frill lizard: no, *nginda waanda / nginda waanda wana-nga* telling him to go and throw it, the gilaa.  
[Lizard] No, you first, you throw first.

At 5054A 1220 AD says: ‘We’ll cook him first’ *yilama-li waanda_ (cook-FUT first)*, with *waanda* following a verb. In (1085) AD has *waanda* sentence-final.

In (1086) *waanda* is on a sentence-initial verb, and so may be cliticised.

*(Stay there,) I want to find my spear.*  
**garriyawu=badhaay / gayarra-gi / ngaya gi.yaa.nha / bilaarr ngay waanda** hold.on=MIGHT / look.for-FUT / 1SG going.to / spear 1SG.DAT first  
(1 don’t know where my spear is,) I’ll have a look for it first.

**dha-li=waanda ngaya, gungan=nga ngaya ngawu-gi** 
eat-FUT=first 1SG, water=THEN 1SG drink-FUT  
I’ll eat first, and then I will drink some water.

At the most basic, tense suffixes indicate future or past and aspectual suffixes indicate duration or recurrence. Time of Day and Distance in Time suffixes (§8.5) can add further detail, and there may have been other suffixes which also had time information, such as ‘before’. Time information can also be conveyed by other nominals such as numbers, sometimes case marked, sometimes not. Dixon (2002: 143) points out that case marked nominals can have a time function, sometimes with Locative used for ‘time-at’, Ablative for ‘time since’ and Allative for ‘time until’. Time information is often conveyed by a combination of features, such as tense and particles. This section considers non-inflecting time particles. Other particles with time information include: *waanda* ‘first’ and *gayadha* ‘in turn’. The particle *yalagiiyuu* ‘now’ and the demonstrative *yalagiirrmawu* ‘at that time’ are considered in §6.4.

### 13.5 Time particles

Time particles\(^{296}\) include the free forms *yilaa* and *baayan*, forms derived from them, and the clitics *=laa* and *=nga*. There is also a suffix *-C[u]* (§13.5.6), which adds time information.

---

\(^{296}\) Information about time is common in discourse and is conveyed in many ways. In YG some information is in the verb complex. AD and FR are adamant the YR has no words for ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’, using verb suffixes instead. See §§8.5.3.1. Time information can also be conveyed by other nominals such as numbers, sometimes case marked, sometimes not. Dixon (2002: 143) points out that case marked nominals can have a time function, sometimes with Locative used for ‘time-at’, Ablative for ‘time since’ and Allative for ‘time until’. Time information is often conveyed by a combination of features, such as tense and particles. This section considers non-inflecting time particles. Other particles with time information include: *waanda* ‘first’ and *gayadha* ‘in turn’. The particle *yalagiiyuu* ‘now’ and the demonstrative *yalagiirrmawu* ‘at that time’ are considered in §6.4.
13.5.1 \textit{yilaal} ‘short time’; ‘SOON’ ‘PROXimate’

The particle \textit{yilaal} is common in YG. Its basic meaning is ‘a short time’, before or after the reference point, which is most commonly the present, and in narratives is the time being referred to. It is glossed ‘soon’ when it has future meaning and ‘PROXimate time’ when it has past meaning: ‘a little while ago’.

It is mostly found with future tense verbs, less frequently with past tense, but not with present tense. When the reference point is ‘now’ \textit{yilaal} has translations such as ‘soon’, ‘now’, ‘just now’, ‘directly’ and ‘today’. FR says it means ‘now’ (1989A 238) and ‘just now’ (1853B 2276) and AD, when using it with a past tense verb, says it means ‘just a while ago’ (3995B 1054). When it is used to link sentences in a narrative, and so with a past deictic reference point, it is glossed ‘then’ and ‘at once’. \textit{Yilaal} often has no explicit English translation. There is slight evidence, e.g. (1094), of \textit{yilaal} meaning ‘for a short time’, indicating a length of time for one event rather than a distance in time between events.

\textit{Yilaal} occurs most commonly at the beginning of a clause. It can be demoted from first position, e.g. by \textit{giirr} ‘true’ and \textit{waal/gamil} ‘no’. When not the first word it is often third, following a particle and pronoun, for instance \textit{Giirr ngaya yilaal} ‘true I then’: 5055 262.

It often co-occurs with the time clitics =lāa and =nga. \textit{Yilaal} also occurs in idiomatic fixed phrases, often with other time words.

The form is most commonly \textit{yilaal}, but \textit{yilaad} is found, with no discernable change in meaning. At (3995B 1048) \textit{yilaal} and \textit{yilaad} are interchanged, indicating the speaker recognised them as variants. \textit{Yilaal} most commonly occurs before nh/ng initial words and suffixes: e.g. =NHa, ngaya. Wurm records a wide range of realisations including four ila: and one each of ila:, i:la and nila:ř. Variation between / and a rhotic as the onset of the second syllable is found, more commonly with derived forms. \textit{Yrraa}, a variant of \textit{yilaal}, is found at 5052 1182 and 8187 1255. Variants of the \textit{yilaal} and \textit{yilaalu} include Ridley’s yeralu, Wurm’s jiralu and yirraala on the tapes (e.g. 8186 1805). There is also variation in the length of the final vowel in \textit{yilaal} and \textit{yilaalu}.

Table 222 summarises the information on \textit{yilaal} and derivatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Gamilaraay</th>
<th>Yuwaalaray</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>soon, then</td>
<td>yilaal[l], =lāa</td>
<td>yilaal[l], =lāa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long ago</td>
<td>yilaambu</td>
<td>yilaalu</td>
<td>yilaalu-wan.gaan RHM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>always</td>
<td>yilaalu</td>
<td>yilaalu</td>
<td>cf. yilaalu; ‘always’ is also dhugay YR, yaliwunga GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>yilaadhu</td>
<td>=nga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beginning</td>
<td>yilambiyal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ridley</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13.5.1.1 Examples of \textit{yilaal}

\textit{Yilaal} with future tense verbs, is seen in (1088) and (1089).

(1088) \textit{yilaal} ngali yanaa-y, dha-nduay ngali
soon 1DU go-FUT, eat-SUB 2DU

We’ll go after we eat. FR/JM 1851B 906

AD describes a situation in English, then translates the last section into Yuwaalaray.

---

\textsuperscript{297}So far \textit{yilaal} has not been found occurring with a compound verb (gi.yaa.nha + main verb).
AD: (There’s a lot of kangaroos coming there, they jumping along there and they come for water, they’re drinking water), yilaa, directly they’ll be going back. 

yilaa ganunga baa-w.uwi-y 
soon 3PL hop-BACK-FUT

then they will go back.  

With a past tense verb and the present as the deictic centre, yilaa indicates ‘a little while ago’: (1090), (1091)(=384) and (564). (1091) shows that the term ‘short time’ is context dependant. Here it could refer to a time length varying from hours to years, or even decades.

A little while ago he tripped over a stick and broke his leg. JM/AD 8184 2180 

yilaa/yilaa bala ngaama=nha yanaa-waa-nhi / nhama / giniy-u buyu-dhi buna-nhi 
prox / prox=CTR that=3 walk-MOV-PST / 3.DEF / stick-ERG leg-ABL hit.M-PST

He was walking along there a little while ago and hit his leg on a stick.

There were a lot of fish a little while ago. JM/AD 3218B 1888 

burrulaa nguwama yilaa / yilaa nguwama / burrulaa / guduu / wunga-y.la-nhi 
many here / prox here / many / fish(cod) / swim-CTS-PST

Lots here a while ago, a while ago, here, there were lots of fish.

Yilaa is commonly used to link clauses in narratives, with English translations such as ‘and’ (1092), ‘but/again’, ‘directly’ (1089) and ‘after’. 

He put the possum in his bag and walked a little way. JM/AD 3220A 1783 

giirr ngaama nguu man.ga-ya wa-y / mudhay / and / yilaa=nha ngaama yanaa-nhi 
true that 3SG.ERG bag-LOC put.in-PST / possum / and / yilaa=3 there go-PST

In (1093) AD uses yilaa as ‘soon’. (1094) has quite a different use: yilaa ‘while’ indicates a length of time within which something happened, rather than the distance in time between two events.

Arthur Dodd called Janet Mathews ‘Miimii’ and JM asks AD to translate: ‘Miimii, I was expecting you to come earlier’. The context indicates (not with certainty) that ‘earlier’ means ‘earlier today’. AD thinks for a while, then gives the following English and Yuwaalaraay:

I was just thinking you’ll come along anytime, (that’s all I can say). AD/JM 3220A 2810 

yiirr nga’am nga’ man.ga-y wa-y / mudhay / and / yilaa=nha nga’am yanaa-nhi 
true 1SG 2SG.ACC think-CTS-PST / soon 2SG to.here come-PURP 1SG.LOC,
I was thinking of you, that you would be coming here soon, to me.

While the dog was mad he bit the kid. JM/AD 3220B 3662 

maadhaay nhama wamba / yilaa / yilaa ngaam / birralii-djuul nhama / 
dog 3.DEF mad / soon / yilaa 3ERG.DEF child-DIM that /
bamba yii-y / buyu-dhi 
hard bite-PST / leg-ABL

He bit that little boy on the leg, that mad dog. AD
That dog is mad, and a little while ago / then he really bit the little kid on the leg. JG

Yilaa is found in combination with other time morphemes in the one clause. The combinatorics await further analysis. The first section of Table 223 shows yilaa used with particles and nominals. The second section shows it used with the verb suffix -mayaa-y, glossed ‘ONE.DAY’, but also used for longer times. Yilaa seems to add nothing to the meaning of -mayaa-y, except perhaps to exclude a more distant interpretation such as ‘a few days ago’.
### Table 223  Combinations of *yilaa* and other time morphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Without <em>yilaa</em></th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ila: bulu:lui</td>
<td>later in the evening</td>
<td>bululuwi</td>
<td>evening</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yilaa</em> buluuy-a</td>
<td>tonight</td>
<td>buluuy-a</td>
<td>dark-LOC</td>
<td>FR1987A 267; Sim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ila: bajandu</td>
<td>later on</td>
<td>baayandu</td>
<td>soon</td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>with -mayaa-y ‘ONE.DAY’</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yila</em>·gimyno</td>
<td>here yesterday</td>
<td>gi-mayaa-nhi</td>
<td>be-ONE.DAY-PST</td>
<td>Laves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yila gimeyn</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly the suffix -*ngayi*-y means ‘in the morning’ but is generally translated ‘tomorrow morning’ so the only addition *yilaa* can make to (1095) seems to be to definitely restrict the meaning to the closest morning: ‘tomorrow’.

(1095)  *yila* ngayu nyinu?? dingga* wur* ngai*

```plaintext
yilaa ngaya nginu dhiingga wuu-rr-ngayi-y
soon 1SG 2SG.DAT meat give-MORN-FUT
tomorrow morning I you meat will give
I will give you meat tomorrow morning.
```

Laves: 9 p20

In (1096) *yilaa* occurs with a past tense verb and is not clause-initial. It has a present tense translation because the verb is used with perfect aspect.

(1096)  *bamba bu:*leini ila:

```plaintext
bamba buulayi-nhi yilaa
with.energy be.hot-PST soon
It is very hot today.
```

SW p88

13.5.2  *=laa* ‘DIRectly’

The clitic *=laa* is likely derived from *yilaa*, but with a change in meaning. It seems to have two semantic components. Firstly it indicates that the speaker regards what they are saying as clearly true. With future tense verbs *=laa* indicates the speaker’s conviction that the event will happen. With this use *=laa* is rarely translated. It contrasts with *giir* which is generally used with past tense verbs. The second meaning is ‘short time’, the meaning of *yilaa*. With this use it is often translated ‘directly’ or not translated. The first use of *=laa* is seen clearly when it is used with negatives. The meaning changes from a simple negative ‘not’ to an absolute. *waal* is ‘not’ and *waal ... =laa* is translated ‘no-more’, ‘never’: (1100).

*=laa* is mostly found at the end of the Initial Intonation Phrase: (1101) and (1102); or on the first word of a clause (1103). The most common occurrence is as ngaya=laa (ngaya ‘I’). *=laa* is less commonly cliticised to other first person pronouns: ngali ‘1DU’ and ngiyani ‘1PL’.

Wurm (p73) has biralingalla (birralii-gal=laa ‘children-PL.DIM=laa) and mu:βal la: (mubal=laa ‘stomach=DIR), with *=laa* both as a clitic and a free word. These examples indicate that the *l* of *=laa* is retained, even when cliticised on an *l*-final word.

*Yilaa* and *=laa* often occur in the one clause, very frequently with ngaya ‘I’ as the subject. The force of having both is not clear, but it may indicate both short time and certainty, or this may be a semantically light discourse phrase. *=laa* is rarely found on verbs; (1097) is an exception. *=laa* is never found after the auxiliary verb gi.yaa.nha and has not been found in the same clause as gi.yaa.nha. In contrast gi.yaa.nha=nga (=ngai ‘then’) is relatively common. Nor is *=laa* found after interrogatives except for once in Sim who has gulawu=laa ‘when=laa’ in a translation of ‘when will he return’.
The suffix is found with non-simple future verbs, e.g. gingê ‘will be to-morrow’ (gi-ngayi-y.) and with the future reflexive verbs, but not in conditional clauses or with future reciprocal verbs. In the last two cases the speaker is less likely to be certain the event will occur.

(1097) buma-li=laa ngaama ngaya dhayn dhaygal-i, muyaan-du
hit-FUT=DIR that 1SG man head-ABL, stick-ERG
I’m going to hit that man on the head with a stick. FR/JM 2437A 3668

The suffix is found frequently in most YR sources. For GR it is not found in Ridley but is very common in Mathews. He has it on future tense paradigms with ngaya ‘I’: e.g. Murru ngaiala (ngaya=laa) gigi ‘good I will be presently’ (p263). He (p265) comments: ‘It will be observed that the pronoun ngaia becomes ngaiala in the future tense’.

(1098) and (1099) have ‘certainty’ rather than ‘short time’ as the meaning of =laa. In (1100) and (1101) the combination of a negative and =laa indicates a permanent state. (1099) has a similar meaning. In (1098) and (1101), as commonly occurs, =laa is affixed to the subject pronoun, here unusually in third place.

(1098) You will drop that kangaroo if you are not careful. CW/AD 5058 1429
giirruu nham ngainda=laa / nhaamna-li, bandaarr
true.very 3.DEF 2SG.ERG=DIR / drop-FUT , kangaroo
You will drop that kangaroo. JG

(1099) (And now for evermore), as long as a Dinewan has no wings, (so shall a Goomblegubbon lay only two eggs and have only two young ones). Parker: *Emu and Bustard* line 82
Tuggil nayr lahnylay nayr boonoong,
dhagil ngaya=laa ‘naa-y.la-y maayrr? bungun
?=suppose 1SG=DIR go-CTS-FUT none wings
And so I will live without my wings, JG

(1100) I won’t walk in the bush again, I will stay behind at the camp. JM/AD 3219B 3687
waal ngaya=laa yurrul-gu ‘naa-y /
not 1SG=DIR bush-ALL go-FUT /
I won’t go to the bush again. JG
nguwama ngaya gi.yaa.nha walaa-dha dhanduwi-y.la-y
here 1SG going.to camp-LOC sleep-CTS-FUT
I’ll stop in the camp and I won’t go out in the bush no more. AD
I am going to stop here in the camp. JG

(1101) Fred Reece describes finding a nest with ten emu eggs, and then says: FR/JM 2440A 1721
waala=badhaay nham naa-y laa wamba-li
can’t=MIGHT 3.DEF 1SG=DIR carry-FUT
I won’t be able to carry them all. FR

(1102) and (1103) show =laa meaning ‘short time’, clearly seen in the contrasting translation of the two clauses of (1102). (1103) is one of the rare instances of =laa referring to a short time past, but again with a first person subject.

(1102) mawu-ngiili-y ngaya=laa / mawu-ngiili-y ngaya
scratch-REFL-FUT 1SG=DIR / scratch-REFL-FUT 1SG
I am going to scratch myself directly. I am going to scratch myself. FR/JM 1850B 3801
(1103) Ngaiala bume or bumedyoo-la
ngaya=laa buma-y or buma-y=dju=laa
1SG=DIR hit-PST or hit-PST=1SG=DIR
I did beat just now.

(1104) and (1105) are very similar sentences. (1104) shows =laa referring to a short time, while in (1105) there is no indication of a time period, so =laa may indicate certainty.

(1104) It will rain again later today.
yaluue=laa dhama-y / nguwalay
again=DIR rain-FUT / here

(1105) gali nama la: ba:rı
water 3.DEF=DIR ??go.down-FUT
The rain will come.

(1106) contrasts the combination yilaa … =laa with yalagiiyu. (1107) is one of the uncommon instances of yilaa =laa with a past tense verb. The clause, however, has as its temporal deictic centre the event of the previous clause, so the meaning of yilaa =laa is still ‘shortly after’ and ‘certainty’. (1108) refers to an event which will definitely happen, but which does not involve the speaker. (1109)(a) shows the speaker’s certainty by using gi-yaa-nha and (1109)(b) shows it by using =laa. (1109)(b) contains yilaa, =laa and =nga ‘then’. The combinatorics of multiple time particles in one clause is unclear.

(1106) I’ll cook it later.
yilaa ngaya=laa / yilama-li, waal=bala yalagiiyu
soon 1SG=DIR / cook-FUT, not=CTR now
I’ll cook it soon, not now.

(1107) I dropped it but I picked it back up again.
giirr ngaya nhaanma-y / yilaa=balaa ngaya=laa ngaam / dhiyama-y
true 1SG drop-PST / soon=CTR 1SG=DIR that / pick.up-PST

(1108) The sun will be low in the sky soon.

(1109) We two want to stay in your camp for a little while.
(a) yiyal ngali.nya gi,yaa.nha nguwalay wila-y / just 2DU.EXCL going.to here sit-FUT / We are just going to stay here.

(b) yilaa ngali.nya=laa=balaa=nga dharrawuli-yaay
soon 2DU.EXCL=DIR=CTR=THEN7 return-MOV-FUT
We going to stop here for a while, and by-and-by we going to go home. and shortly we will return (home)

On the tapes there are three instance of =bala=laa and two of =laa=bala. (1110) and (1111) show these suffixes in different order. In (1110) =bala has scope over ‘the women’ since they are being contrasted with the men, who had danced earlier. In (1111) the contrast is between now and later, so =bala follows =laa, which has time reference.
(1110) yinarr=bala=laa, yuurrma-y, guyungan, guyungan-da
woman=CTR=DIR, dance-FUT, self, self-LOC

The women are going to corroboree on their own.

(1111) When he [the baby kangaroo] is a little bigger, he will hop out of his mother’s pouch for a little while.

nguwama=laa=bala / man.ga-yi baa-y / buunhu dha-l-da-y.gu
there=DIR=CTR / bag-ABL hop-FUT / grass eat-CTS-PURP

He’ll hop out of his mother’s pouch for a feed of grass.

Questions remain, such as the effects of combinations such as yilaalu and =laa in (1112) and of =yaa and =laa in (1113). The language in (1113) may be euphemistic, with giirr and =laa indicating the certainty of death and =laa possibly indicating that it will be relatively soon, and =yaa softening the statement.

(1112) jilalu namala(:) ƾinu naiβa manumali
   yilaalu nhama=laa ngingu nhayba manuma-li
long.time 3.DEF=DIR 2SG.DAT knife steal-FUT

Soon he will steal your knife.

(1113) I suppose the old dog will die soon.

   giirr nhama=yaa=laa maadhaay / balu-gi / wayamaa=Na
true 3.DEF=POT=DIR dog / die-FUT / old.fellow=3
That dog might die; he’s an old fellow.

Another question is whether there are two clitics, =laa and =la. In Wanggaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 137) =laa is ‘established reference’, and not a time clitic. There are YR examples such as (1114) with -la and =laa in the one clause.

(1114) baliyaa=laa / gi-gi / gaba-la nguya=laa dhuu / wiima-li
cold=DIR / get-FUT / good-? 1SG=DIR fire / put.down-FUT
I’m going to make a good fire (so as I will have a good sleep.) It is going to be a cold night.

It will be cold. I’ll make a good fire.

13.5.3 Derivations from yilaalu[l]

There are a number of relatively common derivations from yilaa, summarised in Table 224. There can be variation in the meanings assigned to a word, but one meaning tends to be more common. There is often variation in the length of the final vowel. Yilaalu[l],298 which is common, and the much rarer yilaambu[l], most commonly indicate a long time away. Yilaadhu is found only in GR and is ‘immediately, now’. Yilaala[l]a seems to indicate an intermediate time. Yilaaluw-wan.gaan (MathewsYR: -wan.gaan ‘very’) shows that further intensification of these forms is possible.

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298 The length recorded for the final vowels varies. yilaalu is particularly in Jack Sands’s elicitation. I will use the short vowel, since that is most common, even if probably less historical. Yilaambuu has an homorganic nasal preceding the suffix, typical of Ngiyambaa but very rare in YG.
Table 224  More common forms derived from yilaa[ll]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss: GR sources</th>
<th>Gloss: YR sources</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yilaambu[u]</td>
<td>long ago</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mathews, Ridley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>before long, not long ago</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ridley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yilaalu[u]</td>
<td>always</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mathews, Laves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>by and by, soon, Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shortly</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wurm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>long ago</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sim, Wurm, tapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yilaadhu</td>
<td>immediately, now</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ridley, RHM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yilaala[a]</td>
<td>soon, by and by, later on, an earlier day; sometime today, discourse use</td>
<td></td>
<td>Most sources</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 225 gives evidence about yilaa forms from a range of sources.

Table 225  yilaa and derived forms: evidence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard form</th>
<th>Ridley</th>
<th>Mathews GR</th>
<th>Mathews YR</th>
<th>SW +</th>
<th>Sim</th>
<th>Laves</th>
<th>Tapes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>then, soon little.before</td>
<td>yilaa</td>
<td>ila,</td>
<td>ila, yila</td>
<td>ila</td>
<td>yilaa</td>
<td></td>
<td>yilaa</td>
<td>yilaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yilaambu</td>
<td>yelambu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long ago</td>
<td>yilaalu[GR]</td>
<td>yilambu</td>
<td></td>
<td>jiralu+</td>
<td>yilaa</td>
<td></td>
<td>yilaa</td>
<td>yilaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yilaambu[GR]</td>
<td>yilambu</td>
<td></td>
<td>a.while.ago+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not.long.ago before long</td>
<td>yilaambu:</td>
<td>yelambo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>always</td>
<td>yilaalu??</td>
<td>ila lu</td>
<td></td>
<td>ila lu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>by and by</td>
<td>yilaala(a)</td>
<td>yerala</td>
<td></td>
<td>yirala</td>
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<td>yela</td>
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<tr>
<td>later (on)</td>
<td>ilala</td>
<td>yilaala(a)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>ilanu</td>
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<td></td>
<td>yilaala</td>
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<td>now</td>
<td>yilaadhu</td>
<td>yeladu</td>
<td>yilladhu</td>
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<td>yallithoo</td>
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<tr>
<td>beginning</td>
<td>ilambial</td>
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<tr>
<td>after</td>
<td>ilanu? p267</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

13.5.3.1  yilaalu[u], yilaambuu ‘long.time’

Yilaalu[u] YR and yilaambuu[u] GR both incorporate -Buu ‘TOTal2’; §6.2.4.6. They have quite a range of meanings. The most common is ‘long ago’, marking a point in time. This is the meaning when they are used to begin traditional stories and Bible stories, including the one textual example of yilaambuu: (1119). They are both also used for a length of time; ‘always’, ‘for a long time’. In Wurm they mainly indicate a ‘short time’, and this meaning is found occasionally in Ridley. In Wurm yilaalu frequently co-occurs with =lau ‘DIRectly’, and -ngayi-y ‘morning’. The translations of these indicate a short time, with expressions such as: ‘soon, afterwards, just now’. His GR yilaalu (recorded as jiralu, ila:lu, jilalu, bi:ralu, hila:lu, jiralu, jiralu, ji:ralu, yi:ralu, jila:lu, and ji:la:lu) is very common, often not translated, for instance in ‘the man will sleep’, and often translated ‘soon’ or ‘later’.
**Yilaalu** is most commonly the first word in a clause: (1115) and (1118); as is *yilaambuu* (1119), but there are numerous exceptions (1116). Unlike *yilaa* it does not link clauses or sentences.

Common YR usage of *yilaalu* is seen in (1115) which also contrasts *yilaa* and *yilaalu*. (1116) shows adjunct use, and (1117) shows a ‘length of time use’ which likely also depends on the use of a continuous verb. (1118), from Wurm’s GR, has rare use of the particle with a future tense verb.

(1115) It is a long time since I have eaten emu.

(AD tries a number of different approaches, then says:)

(a) *waal=bala ngaya dha-y yilaa /
not=CTR 1SG eat-PST soon /
I haven’t eaten it recently,

(b) *yilaalu=bala ngay’ dha-lada-nhi, dhinawan / burrulaa
long.time=CTR 1SG eat-CTS-PST, emu / many
I used to eat them a long time ago, not now.

but I used to eat emu long ago, lots of it.

(1116) He gave it to me a long time ago.

*giirr ngay wuu-nhi, yilaalu
true 1SG.DAT give-PST, long.time

(1117) *wa:l gaia jilalu padlawelanji
long.ago emu; jilalu

*waal ngaya yilaalu ngarra-l-awayi-y.la-nyi
not 1SG long.time see-LONGER.T-PST
I have not seen him for a long time.

(1118) *jila:Itu ’bírumá ’búmadli
long.time dog hit-FUT
By and by I shall hit the dog.

(1119) *Ilambo Immanuel taongo taiyanani; giwír ginyi.
long.ago Immanuel earth-ALL to.here go-PST, man be-PST
Long ago Immanuel to earth came; man he became.

13.5.3.2 *yilaala[a] ‘int(ernediate).time’*

*Yilaala* is found in a wide range of sources in both languages but its analysis remains uncertain. *Yilaala* glosses include: ‘later’, ‘by and by’, ‘today’, ‘later on’, ‘then’ and ‘on an early day’; Ridley (p39) has *yeralu* in ‘I shall be there on an early day’. It may indicate a time between *yilaa* (soon) and *yilaalu/yilaambuu* (long time).Alternatively it may consist of *yilaa + =laa*, and so indicate a relatively soon and relatively certain event. If this is the derivation the difference between *yilaala* and having the particles separated, e.g. (1106) and (1108), is not clear. *Yilaala* may involve the locative suffix, -a, but this does not explain the long final vowel sometimes found.

As well as variation in the length of the final vowel, there is often *l-R* alternation: *yilaala[yiRaala[a*

Like some other *yilaa* forms, *yilaala* is commonly first in the clause and links clauses, as in (1120)(a), but often does so in combination with other discourse linkers, especially =nga ‘now’ in (1120)(b) and (1121). (1121) is from the story of *Gumiibu* ‘Robin Redbreast’. In the first clause *yilaala=nga* is used as the link, in the second clause *ngiyama=nga*. *=nga* also occurs as part of the link, *nguwama ... =nga*, in (1120)(b). The combination *yilaala=nga* is relatively common on the tapes.
(1120) (When I fell in the mud I left my yamstick on the ground) ...
I picked up my yamstick and stood it against a tree. JM/AD 3220A 41
(a) *yilaalaa* *ngaya* *ngaa*ma *dhiyama-y*, *gunay*,
   int.time 1SG that pick.up-PST, yamstick,
(b) *nguwama* *ngaya=* *nga* *nganbima-y* *maala*-bidi-dja
   there 1SG=THEN lean-PST tree-AUG-LOC

(1121) (and they got this *bandaarr* [kangaroo] and they pulled it out, and they got him
on the edge there, and they make a fire, and) AD/JM 3218A 3630
*yirraalatyilaala=nga ngiyama/* gurru mawu-nhi / *ngiyama=nga* gurru-ga wa-y
then=THEN there / hole dig-PST / there=THEN hole-LOC put.in-PST
they dug a hole, and put (the kangaroo) in it JG

Some other uses of *yilaalaa* include ‘In a few days the mothers are coming home’ (FR2438A 1453); ‘that woman going to come back to me later on’ (2439A 200; Fred Reece referring to Janet Mathews returning, perhaps the following year) and ‘It is going to rain’ (5054A 1515).

13.5.3.3 *yilaadhu* ‘IMMEDIATEly’

*Yilaadhu* is found only in the early GR written sources. It is glossed ‘now’ and ‘immediately’. It includes -DHu ‘TOTAl3’: §13.3.3.1. There are no sentence examples of *yilaadhu*. *Baayandhu*, Table 227, has the same meaning and the same suffix.

13.5.3.4 *yilaa*: other derivations

Table 226 has number of other derivations and phrases involving *yilaa* which are rarely found, many only once. Some, such as *ilaluwangan*, are analysable and understandable. Some others, e.g. *ilambial*, can be analysed into their components, but some not, e.g. *ilanu* ‘today’.

### Table 226 Rare forms possibly including *yilaa* ‘PROX’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilambial</td>
<td>beginning</td>
<td>yilaa-biyal</td>
<td>biyal ‘just’</td>
<td>Ridley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilolu</td>
<td>to-day [sic]</td>
<td>??</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ridley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiralea wuddhai</td>
<td>sometime</td>
<td>yilaala=yuwa?=wadhaay</td>
<td>int.time=POT=MIGHT</td>
<td>MathewsGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilaluwangan</td>
<td>long ago</td>
<td>yilaalu-wan.gaan</td>
<td>long.time-VERY</td>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iliaaliu bumullui</td>
<td>to beat again</td>
<td>yilaalu buma-luwi-y</td>
<td>hit-BACK-FUT’?</td>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilia bumlule</td>
<td>to beat frequently</td>
<td>yilaalu?=buma-luwi-y</td>
<td>?? hit-EAT-FUT?</td>
<td>MathewsYR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irlabaDai</td>
<td>later, by and by</td>
<td>yilaala=badhaay</td>
<td>int.time=MIGHT</td>
<td>Tindale</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some additional examples of derivations are given in Table 225.

13.5.4 *baayan* ‘PROX2’

*Baayan* seems to be to be a synonym of *yilaa* and so is glossed ‘prox2’ (proximate time). It is mostly translated ‘then’: (211), (499), (1051), (1081), and (667); and mainly functions as a clause connector.

There are no definite occurrences in the tapes, but a few in other more recent sources. It is common in earlier sources, most commonly in Parker, found over 20 times in the *Emu and Bustard* story. Table 227 shows occurrences of *baayan* and forms derived from it. Derivational suffixes
recognised here include -\textit{Buu} ‘TOTal2’ (§6.2.4.6), -\textit{DHu} ‘TOTal3’ (§13.3.3) and -\textit{DHuul} ‘DIM’: §4.1.2.5.

Table 227  \textit{Baayan} and derived forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Glosses (in order of frequency)</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{baayan}</td>
<td>then, now, $\emptyset$, so then, but, and again, and, when</td>
<td>Parker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?soon</td>
<td>Laves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>soon after</td>
<td>Sim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>soon</td>
<td>Ted Fields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{baayanbuu}</td>
<td>instantly</td>
<td>Ridley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{baayandhu}(^{299})</td>
<td>soon</td>
<td>Laves YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{baayandu} ‘in a little time’; \textit{baayanduu} ‘soon as possible’</td>
<td>Sim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>later on</td>
<td>Ted Fields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{yilaa baayandhu}</td>
<td>later on</td>
<td>Wurm, Laves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{baayanduul}</td>
<td>a little while ago</td>
<td>Sim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{baayandhaal}</td>
<td>long time ago</td>
<td>Ted Fields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{baayandaa}</td>
<td>long time ago; yesterday; tomorrow; one day away</td>
<td>Ted Fields</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Derived forms are rare, some found only in wordlists. In contrast to \textit{yilaambuu}\(^{300}\) ‘long.time’, \textit{baayanbuu} (1122) is translated ‘instantly’, with -\textit{buu} apparently having different impacts on the two stems. The effect of -\textit{dhu} in \textit{baayandhu} is mixed: at times no noticeable impact, but at least once to form ‘soon as possible’ from ‘soon’.

I gloss \textit{baayandhu} and \textit{baayandhu} ‘immediately’. (1122) is the only sentence example of \textit{baayanbuu}. The original in Mark’s gospel uses ‘immediately’ or ‘straightway’. There are three text examples of \textit{baayandhu}, all also including \textit{yilaa}: The particles are adjacent in (1123) and (1124), separated in the example in Wurm (p86).

(1122) \textit{baianbu} ɣarma murru ɣummillego
\textit{baayanbuu} ngaarrna maaru ngami-li.gu
immediately there well see-PURP
Instantly they are able to see.  
Ridley: Gurre Kamilaroi line 68

(1123) ya manda=yila baijandu durali
yaama=nda yilaa baayandhu dhurra-li
ques=2SG soon immediately come-FUT
come back soon;; will you please ...
Will you come soon?

(1124) \textit{ila: baijandu} ɣurawalui
\textit{yilaa baayandhu} dharrawu-Luwi-y
soon immediately return-BACK-FUT
Later on he will come back.

Questions remain. Sim\(^{301}\) has \textit{bayanduul} ‘a little while ago’, indicating that \textit{baayan}, like \textit{yilaa}, could mean ‘short time in either direction’. However, -\textit{DHuul} is not found elsewhere on time

\(^{299}\)The suffix used is -\textit{dhu}, since that is what Ted Fields used, and since the lamino-dental occurs in \textit{yilaadhu}. The suffix may be -\textit{du}, and Sim seems to suggest two suffixes, -\textit{du} and -\textit{dhu}, with differences in meaning.

\(^{300}\)In Wanggaaybuwan -\textit{bu} has a shortening effect on \textit{dhalan} ‘close in time’, forming \textit{dhalan-bu} ‘just now’.

\(^{301}\)Sim also has \textit{bayangurr} (?\textit{bayan.gurr}) ‘the young of a bird or animal’, which could be related to \textit{baayan}.  

299 The suffix used is -dhu, since that is what Ted Fields used, and since the lamino-dental occurs in yilaadhu. The suffix may be -du, and Sim seems to suggest two suffixes, -du and -dhu, with differences in meaning.
300 In Wanggaaybuwan -bu has a shortening effect on dhalan ‘close in time’, forming dhalan-bu ‘just now’.
301 Sim also has bayangurr (?bayan.gurr) ‘the young of a bird or animal’, which could be related to baayan.
particles. Sim, Table 227, has *baayandu* ‘in a little time’; *baayanduu* ‘soon as possible’, with variation in the length of the final vowel. This again raises the possibility that what have been identified as variants (e.g. *baayandu*/*baayandu*; *yilaal*/*yilaalaa*; *yilaalu*/*yilaaluu*) are actually different morphemes. The Ted Fields forms are likely to be recent innovations.

### 13.5.5  
**=nga ‘THEN, NOW’**

The clitic *=nga* is extremely common in later YG. It mainly indicates that an event is contemporaneous with a time established in the discourse, and so is translated ‘now’ when the present is the frame of reference (‘I’m good *now*’) and ‘then’ with other frames of reference (‘I was/will be good *then*’). In many instances it is not translated. As with English ‘now’ *=nga* is also used when one event immediately follows another. It is also used to indicate a logical connection between events. While *yilaal* and its derivatives focus on the length of time, *=nga* focuses on coincidence of events. It is common in narratives.

As with many other discourse clitics, use of *=nga* is often optional. Ian Sim discussed the dialects of Yuwaalaraay with his informants, and comments (pers. comm.) that Greg Fields suggested that *=nga*, *=na* ‘3’ and *-ga* (function unknown) were perhaps used to provide ‘fluency’, and were much more common in southern versions of Yuwaalaraay. *=nga* was common in some Yuwaalaraay still spoken in Walgett around 2000, with *=nga*=*na* commonly used by one speaker who likely recognised this combination as a characteristic of the traditional language.

The form is largely unchanging but at times the nasal is assimilated to the preceding sound. This can result in *=na* after an apical, so that *giirr*=*nga* and *giirr*=*na* are both heard, the second less commonly. It is typically not changed after a front vowel: (1128); but *=nya* is occasionally heard: *gi.yaa.nhi*=*nya* (611). Since both *=nga* and *=NHa* ‘3’ can be phonologically adapted, and they are both optional and they occupy the same position, at times it is not possible to determine which is being used.

*=nga* is almost always towards the end of the IIP, its position relative to other clitics varying.

*=nga* is translated ‘now’ with present tense verbs (1125), with past tense verbs having perfect use (1126), and with imperatives (1127). (1125) contrasts *=nga* and *yilaal*. (1127) shows Fred Reece’s frequent use of the clitic and also that *=nga* is often not translated into English.

I am looking for that man, I’m going to hit him. FR
I see him now, he is coming closer. JM
(1125) *dhaay*=*Na* yanaa-vaal-nha=*nga* / *yilaal* ngaya muyaan-du buma-li
to.here=3 go-MOV-PRS=*NOW* / then I stick-ERG hit-FUT
He’s coming now, I am going to hit him with this stick. FR/JM 2437B 1147

(1126) I’m full now. (The previous elicitation was ‘hungry’)
*giirr*=*nga* ngaya / yuuliyay gi-nyi
true=*NOW* 1SG / full get-PST

(1127) (Previous FR sentence.) It is a long way home to the camp and we won’t be able to cook, we will be home in the dark and we won’t be able to cook any fish. FR
We are hungry when the sun rises. JM
*warra-ya=**nga*, *giirr*=*nga* yady dhurra-laan-nha / *ngaaluurr*=*nga* yilama-la
stand-IMP=*NOW*, true=*NOW* sun come-MOV-PRS / fish=*THEN* cook-IMP
Get up now, the sun is rising, and cook the fish. FR/JM 2436A 1940

In (1128) and (1129), both from narratives, *=nga* links a number of immediately sequential events which also have a causal link.
In the boomerang throwing contest between Wuulaa (lizard) and Gilaa (Galah), Wuulaa’s boomerang has hit Gilaa on the head. AD continues:

(a) ngaa, nguwwama=nga?ngaa / aa yu-gi.la-nhi=nga nguwwama ,
yes, there=THEN?yes?? / aa cry-CTS-PST=THEN there
He’s crying there then:

(Wuulaa says)

(b) ngaa, ngaya=bala=nga gi.yaa.nha banaga-y, dhuwinba-y.gu // dhuwinba-nhi=nga
yes, 1SG=CTR=NOW going.to run-FUT, hide-PURP // hide-PST=THEN
I am going to go now and plant [‘plant’ = ‘hide’]
I am going to run away, to hide. And he hid then.

(1129) AD is describing the smoking of a child who has been bad

(1130) and (1131) have identical clauses with and without =nga, showing it is often optional.

(1130) maniila-y gi.yaa.nha ngaya, maniila-y gi.yaa.nha=nga ngaya
hunt-FUT going.to 1SG, hunt-FUT going.to=THEN 1SG
I am going to go hunting

(1131) I camped at the creek while I was on my way here.

(a) ngiyarma ngaya dhanduwi-nyi, dhaay ngaya yanaa-waa-ndaay /
there 1SG sleep-PST, to.here 1SG come-MOV-SUB /
I slept there, when I was coming here.

(b) ngiyama ngaya=nga dhaduwi-nyi
there 1SG=THEN sleep-PST
I slept there then.

=nga often occurs with other time particles, e.g. yilaala in (1132). The meanings of such multi-participant combinations remain to be analysed.

(1132) ila:la na ga:jia wi:gu nai
yilaala=nga ngaya wi:gu 'nnaa-y
int.time=THEN 1SG firewood-PURP go-FUT
Later I’ll go for firewood.

(1133) and (1134) include both =nga and =laa, but in different orders. The meaning of the combination is not clear.

(1133) If you find any tell me,

ngay’=bala=laa=nga / ngaama mawu-gi / nginda=bala=Na wagirrbuma-li
1SG=CTR=DIR=THEN / that dig-FUT / 2SG=CTR=3 wash-FUT
I’ll dig it then and you wash it.

(1134) There were flames everywhere.

There were flames everywhere.

Ye ah, then that crow flew down quickly to roll (on the fire).
=nga occurs frequently with non-time clitics, for instance =nha ‘3’ and =bala ‘CONTRAST’. The order of the suffixes varies. (1135) shows variation in the order of =nha and =nga. Similarly with =bala and =nga, the order is =bala=nga in (385), (373) and 2438A 1438, and =nga=bala in Tindale line 27 and (153). In the tapes there are 60 =bala=nga and 17 =nga=bala. Both orders are found in (1136), part of a narrative which includes (1128). In (1136) the order is =bala=nga, since the contrast is between the characters Gilaa and Wuulaa. In (1136) where the focus is on the current appearance of Gilaa, the order is =nha=nga.

(1135) yu-waa-nha=nha=nga // yu-waa-nha=nga=nha
cry-MOV-PRS=3=NOW // cry-MOV-PRS=NOW=3
She’s crying now.

Gilaa has rolled Wuulaa in the bindayaa, prickles.

(1136) (a) bindiyaa-biyaay 'naa-la-nha/ngaarma Wuulaa /
prickles-COM go-CTS-PRS / that Wuulaa /
That Wuulaa now is covered in prickles,

(b) nhalay=bala=nga Gilaa / guway-biyaay=bala/yiyal 'naa-la-nha /
this=CTR=THEN Galah/blood-COM=CTR / just go-CTS-PRS / and the Galah is covered in blood,

(c) guwaymbarra=nga=bala / nuungu bii
red=CTR=3/Sg.DAT chest
his chest is all red now from blood

There are also idiomatic uses of =nga, with giirr=nga ‘that will do’ and ‘that’s enough’ (JM/FR 1853B 1001, Laves).

Other languages
There are suffixes in other languages which are formally and semantically similar to =nga and =laa. In Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 161) -la (or -langa) ‘then’ ‘is added after a tense suffix to emphasise that the event is subsequent to a previous event mentioned in the narrative of conversation’. In Yandruwantha (Breen, 2004: 200) ‘It is common in texts for a sentence to begin with, and to be linked to what has gone before by, =nga-ngala “then” or ngapala “well” (although it is not certain that the latter really has a coordinate function)’. =nga might be etymologically the same as the demonstrative stem of Ngiyambaa ngan ‘that’.

13.5.6 -Cu[u]: time suffix
There is a derivational suffix, generally realised as -u or -uu, sometimes with modification of the root-final element, which adds a time meaning. Examples are seen in Table 228. The vowel length is variably recorded. Historically the suffix may be related to -Bu ‘total’ or possibly to -Gu Ergative (perhaps with instrumental function). The table includes a similar Wangaaybuwan derivation.

Table 228 -Cu[u] ‘time’: examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>waal</td>
<td>no, not</td>
<td>waal-uu</td>
<td>not yet, hold on</td>
<td>See §12.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garriya</td>
<td>don’t</td>
<td>garriya-wu</td>
<td>wait a while, not yet</td>
<td>-wu, ?lenited form of suffix.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamil</td>
<td>no, not</td>
<td>gamil-uu</td>
<td>not yet, hold on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalagiirr</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>yalagiiy-u(u)</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>YR (rr &gt; y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalagirrm</td>
<td>like that</td>
<td>yalagiirrmawu</td>
<td>then, at that time</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiyal</td>
<td>just, only</td>
<td>yalu; yiyalu</td>
<td>again, also, furthermore</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngayagay</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>ngayagadha-wu</td>
<td>other (day), other (night)</td>
<td>many in Wurm; -dha ?Loc: uncertain analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galaarr</td>
<td>how?</td>
<td>galaawu</td>
<td>when?</td>
<td>possibly galaawu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wangaaybuwan

witjupaarr what like? | witjupaarru when?
13.6    *dhaay* ‘TO.HERE’

The directional particle *dhaay* ‘TO.HERE’ occurs as a free word. It is also found suffixed, generally on locational demonstratives or other locationals. Common translations include ‘to here’, ‘to me’, ‘this way’. It is most commonly used with movement verbs, predominantly *yanaa*-*y*, *yana*- (see Table 141) and *dhurra*-li ‘come’. Some of the other verbs it occurs with are: *gaa-gi* ‘bring’, *wuu-rri* ‘give’, *ngarra*-li ‘look’ and *wana-gi* ‘throw’. The verb often has the -uwi-'back' suffix. There seem to be idiomatic uses of *dhaay* and some currently unexplained uses.

The common sentence-initial use of *dhaay* is seen in (1137) (= (166)), (239) and (309). In (345) *dhaay* follows a sentence initial particle, *garriya* ‘don’t’. It generally precedes the verb it is associated with, but there are rare exceptions such as (214). See also 3217B 1652.

(1137)  
*dhaay* yanaa-ya, *dhayn-duul*  
to.here go-IMP, man-DIM  
Come here little dark fellow.  
FR/JM 1988B 3731

*Dhaay* often occurs with a nominal in Locative or Ablative case indicating the origin of motion. I have no explanation for the variation in the choice of case. I assume that demonstratives which are not specifically Allative or Ablative have locative function. Combinations of *dhaay* and demonstratives are common, particularly *nhama-dhaay* (475) ‘there-to.here’. Others include *ngaarrima-dhaay* (338) ‘over.there-to.here’ and *ngaama-dhaay* (983)(c) ‘there-to.here’. *Dhaay* is sometimes a free word in such combinations, as in (240), which has *nguwwama* ‘there’ and *dhaay*. *Dhaay* is also found with Ablative demonstratives, as in (394), which has *nyiirri-baa-ma-dhaay* ‘from-up-DEF-TO.HERE’.

‘Where from’ is often translated with *minyaaya dhaay* ‘where from’ (where.LOC to.here YR): (470) and Sim (p47); less commonly with *minyaayi dhaay* ‘where.ABL to.here’ and similarly in GR where Mathews (MS 8006/3/9 Bk3 p15) has *thullai dhai* ‘whence’ (*dhalayi dhaay* ‘where.ABL-to.here’). (461) has *minya-dihi dhaay* ‘from what’ (what-ABL to.here). (1138) includes an incomplete response to CW’s elicitation, but shows both Locative and Ablative marking of the source of movement.

(1138)  
*minyaayaa=bala nhama-dhaay * walaay-dji --  
where.LOC=CTR there-TO.HERE / camp-ABL --  
Where is he from, from (which) camp?  
JG

(540) has *biyuu-ga dhaay* ‘from a long way away’ (long.way-LOC to.here), with the origin of motion shown by a Locative noun, but at 2438A 2502 ‘out of the scrub’ is indicated by an Ablative noun *dhaay yurrul-i* ‘to.here bush-ABL’.

Allative case is used for nominals in apposition with *dhaay* which indicate the end-point of the motion. Allative pronouns are common in this situation: *dhaay ... nganunda* ‘1SG.ALL’ in (1093) and *ngiyaningunda* ‘1PL.ALL’ (3217B 1652) in Sim (1998: Appendix: 4). Other Allatives so used are *dhawun.gu* ‘earth-ALL’ (1119) and *mudhu-gu* ‘inside-ALL’: Sim (p47).

The free word status of *dhaay* is clear from its sentence-initial use. Bound use is indicated by examples such as *yaluu-dhaay=nga* ‘again-to.here=now’ in (413), where *dhaay* is followed by a clitic which generally occurs on the first word of the clause. (983) has similar use.

There are idiomatic uses involving *dhaay*. The form *nhama-dhaay* can be used as a warning ‘watch out’ (‘something is coming’) (295). At 5052 583 AD uses *dhaay galiya-y* ‘to.here climb’ of ‘(thunder clouds) coming’. Sim (1998: Appendix: 8) has:

*gandhaarr-dhaay* – (lit ‘from the other side of the river to us’ – from South across the Darling) – man who is a stranger, someone who has come across.

AD3217A 3168 has *ngiyarri-djaay* ‘from the north’ (there-to.here) but there is little evidence that YG had words for cardinal directions.
In (1139)(=(394)) *dhaay* seems to refer to the location of the event, rather than that of the speaker. A similar use is likely at 3218A 3347, another narrative.

(1139) Wedgetail was flying around above, and

\[
\text{n}y\text{irri-baa-ma}\text{-}dhaay=bala=nha \text{ wuuli-nyi bamba } / \\
\text{from?}-\text{UP-DEF-TO.HERE}=\text{CTR}=3 \text{ ?swoop-PST with.energy} / \\
\text{He come straight down (when he seen the meat, on the ground,) he flewed straight down (and picked it up and flew straight up in the air again and got away with the meat.) AD} \\
\text{he flew quickly [dived] down from up there. JG}
\]

At 8185 2619 *nhama-dhaay dhurra-laa-nha* ‘there-to.here come-MOV-CTS’ is used to refer to seeds coming out of their pods. At 3219B 3222 *dhaay* is used in translating ‘what you fellows standing there for?’ Neither of these refer to the location of the speaker.
Reduplication

Reduplicated words are common in Australian languages and in YG. Fabricius (1998: 10) describes the process:

The term ‘reduplication’ is used to refer to the entity of a complex word form in a language which may be recognised as being made of up two parts which are identical, or partly identical, in phonological form. Furthermore the complex form constitutes a single grammatical word, and usually, though not always, a single phonological word. … Reduplication is thus defined here as the partial or complete copying, to the left or right of, or internal to, the lexical root or stem, or some portion of greater length than a single segment.

While YG have many words which are reduplications, there is little or no evidence in the sources that the process was actively used by informants. It seems that reduplicated words were parts of the standard lexicon and not spontaneously produced. For some YG reduplications the base has not been recorded, for instance marrgamarrgaay is ‘Trapdoor spider’ but the assumed base, marrgaay, has not been recorded.

I firstly consider the morphology of reduplication, then reduplication of verbs and then of nominals.

14.1 Morphology of reduplication

It is common in Australian languages to have a number of reduplication patterns, often with one pattern used by a particular word class or semantic group. With nominals full reduplication of the base is common. With verbs it is generally the root that is reduplicated, either fully or with (part of) the first two syllables of the root copied left (Fabricius, 1998). When reduplication is partial or involves modification the copied element is clearly to the right or left of the original. Most commonly in Australian languages reduplication is to the left. Most YG reduplication copies two syllables or the first syllable and the first CV of the second. This second process is the only one Donaldson (1980: 69) reports for WN.

At times there is phonological adaptation at the boundary of the copy and base as Fabricius (1998: 45) points out. This is generally governed by standard YG phonotactics, as in dhumidjuni ‘Jacky Winter (bird)’ < dhuni ‘tree gum’, where the lamino-palatal occurs adjacent to i. Lenition is also common at the boundary. While most reduplications in Australian languages are a single phonological word, following stress rules based on their overall shape, some can be two words phonologically, with the copy and the rest of the reduplication having separate stress assignment.

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302 See (Giacon, 2001: Appendix: 2) for a list of YG reduplications found.
303 I have made considerable use of Fabricius (1998), a published version of her thesis, which was written under the name Dineen. The theoretical aspects of the phonology of reduplication have been discussed by both Evans and McCarthy and Prince in Goldsmith (1995), with Evans paying particular attention to Australian patterns.
304 This is another area where study of YG can be informed by other CNSW languages. WN and Wiradjuri, a CNSW language that was largely recorded much earlier than YG, have many examples of reduplication. This suggests that reduplication was an active feature of all the CNSW languages.
305 Dixon (2002: 572-3, 617-8, 625) discusses the phonotactics of reduplication.
for instance YG ‘marrgamarr’gaay ‘trapdoor spider’. This area has not been fully examined in YG.

There is sometimes a degree of variability in reduplication patterns. Fabricius (1998: 39) quotes Dixon (1972: 251) who gives four options for reduplication of bara-n ‘punch’ (it forms a reciprocal). Bara is copied left with Ø, l, n or ln between it and the base.

14.2 Verbal reduplication

The YG data on verbal reduplication is very limited and somewhat problematic so I first consider verbal reduplication in other languages.

Dixon notes the effects of verbal reduplication include ‘intensity’ (1980: 326); ‘reciprocal’ (1980: 433) and in (2002: 201) points out that ‘about 90% of Australian languages have a process of verbal reduplication’ with variation in process and meaning: ‘the most common semantic effect is ‘continuous action” or “repeated (iterated) action”. … In just a few languages it indicates “lack of intensity”’.

Fabricius (1998: 14, 98) discusses the iconicity of the semantics – the proposed relation between the larger, repeated morpheme, and the meanings, and states that, for verbs:

... reduplication is used generally to mark aspect, more specifically, imperfective or durative/continuative aspect, rather than perfect aspect. The extent to which this process is grammaticalised in the language varies widely.

She (1998: 100) lists the effects of verbal reduplication as: iteration, durative, intensification, plurality of arguments, habitual, action in progress, attenuative. Specific examples, from a number of languages, include (the original verb > the reduplicated verb): sit > be sitting for some time, they all sat; died > all died; see > look thoroughly, examine, keep looking; eat > bolt food down, keep eating.

In contrast, Wangaaybuwan reduplication, whether of nominals or verbs, makes them ‘more or less’ (e.g. ‘green’ > ‘greenish’, ‘two’ > ‘a couple or so’ and ‘to rain’ > ‘to drizzle’) (Donaldson, 1980: 271).

YG examples of verbal reduplication are given in Table 229. The only common reduplicated verb is ngarrangarra-li ‘look after’ (1140) (= (377)). It is spontaneously used by informants. Most of the other examples are found only once, and many do not arise spontaneously. On tape 5131 Williams seems to be testing Donaldson’s definition of the semantic effect of reduplication (to add ‘sort of’ to the meaning) and seeing if YG can reduplicate monosyllabic and trisyllabic verb roots. Most of the reduplications actually produced are either said by CW, with AD ‘sort of’ agreeing, or are said by AD after the tape has been stopped, so perhaps the results of CW’s suggestion.

The morphological process seems to be to copy the first syllable and first CV of the second syllable to the left. Yuyu-gi suggests reduplication of monosyllabic verb roots is possible, but it too may be Williams’s suggestion.

The semantics of YG verbal reduplication are not clear. For ngarrangarra-li the effect can be considered as both durative aspect and decrease in intensity (1140). Bumabuma-li also seems to have durative aspect and ngarringarri-y plurality.
Table 229  Reduplicated verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplication</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source/comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngarra-ngarra-li</td>
<td>look after, keep an eye on, care for</td>
<td>ngarra-li</td>
<td>look/see</td>
<td>~10 on tapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garraga-garra-aba-y</td>
<td>cut (it) all up</td>
<td>garraga-li</td>
<td>cut</td>
<td>AD5056 467: expect garraga-l-aaba-y as ‘cut all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yana-yana-y</td>
<td>walk ?around</td>
<td>yana-y</td>
<td>walk</td>
<td>1 ex: Tindale: (1141)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buma-buma-i</td>
<td>fight (Recip)</td>
<td>buma-li</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>WurmYR: 52, 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ngarri-ngarri-y</td>
<td>(many men) sit</td>
<td>ngarri-y</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>WurmGR: 18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tape 5131: forms seem to be suggested by Williams

| warra-warra-y | almost stand | warra-y | stand | 2 ex: 5131 2830 |
| bara-bara-y | almost fly? | bara-y | fly | 1 ex: 5131 2856 |
| bana-banaga-y | sort of run | banaga-y | run | not on tapes |
| yu-yu-gi | sort of cry | yu-gi | cry | 5131 2042 |

(1140) The kids will be good as long as I am watching them. JM/AD 3220B 3612

(1141) Tindale’s English gives little indication of the effect of reduplication.

In (1141) Tindale’s English gives little indication of the effect of reduplication.

14.3  Nominal reduplication

Reduplication of nouns can result in nouns or adjectives. When the result is a noun Dixon points out it can indicate ‘plurality’ (1980: 267; 2002: 77) and ‘unreality/pretend’ or ‘diminutive’ (1980: 326). Fabricius (1998: 14) states: ‘In the case of nominals, reduplication may express plurality or various kinds of collectivity’. The productivity of reduplication for forming plurals is often limited; sometimes to humans, sometimes to a limited sub-group such as children, old people and widows – often notably omitting ‘core’ human categories such as ‘person’, ‘woman’ or ‘man’. She (1998: 77) points out another effect of noun reduplication:

One very common noun reduplication function derives adjectives, specifically, an adjective referring to a quality on the basis of the reduplicating noun referring to the entity which is notable for that quality. This type of derivation occurs most commonly, but not exclusively, in the derivation of colour terminology’ (and terms for other visual qualities, e.g. ‘translucence, transparency, brightness, multi-colouredness, spotted’).

The most common example is ‘red’ < ‘blood’; also common is ‘green’ < ‘(green) plant’. Common non-colour reduplications are ‘skinnny’ < ‘bone’, ‘hot’ < ‘fire’ and ‘rough; full of holes (e.g. of a road)’ < ‘hole’.

Reduplicated nouns can also have idiosyncratic meanings, such as Bandjalang balunybaluny ‘cumulus cloud’ < baluny ‘kidney’ (Fabricius, 1998: 74).

Fabricius (1998: 82) notes that the most common function of adjectival reduplication is intensification, and another is de-intensification, both effects also listed by Dixon (1980: 326). A
rare effect is ‘quality’ to ‘object’. It is also used for plurality. Commonly the effect is ‘quality’ to ‘multiple instances of’, e.g. ‘big’ to ‘big ones’.

Donaldson (1980: 72) gives a long list of WN adjectives which, when reduplicated, add the qualifier ‘more or less’. Magamagaa is ‘around one’ < maguu ‘one’; bulabulagarr ‘a couple or so’ < bulaarr ‘two’; gulgibulbirr ‘more or less than a few’ < gulbirr ‘few’; bunggubunggu ‘more or less than many’ < bunggu ‘much, many, a lot’; magamagaaN- ‘various, heterogeneous, of all sorts’ < magaN- ‘other, different’. A similar WN reduplication of a noun has an idiosyncratic effect: dhanadhanaN- ‘pimple’ < dhanaN- ‘sebaceous cyst’.

14.3.1 YG nominal reduplication

Fabricius (1998: 20) talks of ‘systematic structural difference between nominal and verbal reduplication in Australian languages’, a pattern also found in YG. There are a number of nominal reduplication patterns in YG. The most common is full reduplication of a disyllabic word, sometimes with phonological adaptations. Examples are seen in Table 230. The reduplicated word is generally an adjective which describes a property of the noun. Buunhubuunhu and girraan.girraa are exceptions and mamalmamal and bulibulil may actually be derived from the verbs. Gawaarrawaarr is a reduplication with phonological adaptation at the boundary, as presumably are bin.gawin.gal (no base recorded) and girraan.girraa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplication</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source/comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guwayguway</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>guway</td>
<td>blood</td>
<td>MathewsGR: 278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barranbarran</td>
<td>new (moon) so narrow, curved: cf. gilay ‘moon’</td>
<td>barran</td>
<td>boomerang</td>
<td>burranburrangille: Mathews MS 8006/3/9 Bk3 p19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulamula</td>
<td>soft</td>
<td>mula</td>
<td>a boil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayawaya</td>
<td>crooked</td>
<td>waya</td>
<td>left hand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhurrundhurrun</td>
<td>hairy, furry</td>
<td>dhurrun</td>
<td>fur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baganbagan</td>
<td>all stripes (e.g. butcher’s apron)</td>
<td>bagan</td>
<td>stripe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buunhubuunhu</td>
<td>long grass</td>
<td>buunhu</td>
<td>grass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Derivation from verb?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplication</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mamalmamal</td>
<td>sticky</td>
<td>mamal mama-li</td>
<td>friend stick (verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulibulil</td>
<td>slippery</td>
<td>bulil buli-y</td>
<td>? slip</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With phonological adaptation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplication</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gawaarrawaarr</td>
<td>green</td>
<td>garaarr</td>
<td>grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bin.gawin.gal</td>
<td>needle bush</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girraan.girraa</td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td>girraa (rare word)</td>
<td>one leaf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An uncommon nominal reduplication process involves copying to the right with lengthening of the second syllable. This is the only pattern used to form plurals of nouns, albeit only in miyaymiyay and birraybirraay: see Table 231. The use of barranbarraan as ‘centipede’ may be an extension of a plural meaning, ‘many boomerangs’ (see also barranbarran in Table 230).

Hercus (pers. comm.) points out that Mathi languages have painggu ‘child’ and painpainggu ‘children’ (formed by reduplication). This is the only Mathi plural formed by this process.

The process has other semantic effects, as seen in Table 231.
Table 231  Noun reduplication: copy right, lengthen second syllable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplicated word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base/Note</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miyaymiyaay</td>
<td>little girl</td>
<td>miyay 'girl' 'girl &lt;11 y.o.'</td>
<td>AD3218A 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>young girls</td>
<td>AD3217A 1174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mallee Willow (tree)</td>
<td>JS3216A 1891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'girls', ‘Seven Sisters’ (stars)</td>
<td>AD5051 1720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miyaymiyaay-djuul</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>-djuul 'dim'</td>
<td>AD3219A 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miyaymiyaay-lu</td>
<td>little girl</td>
<td>-lu: function unknown</td>
<td>AD3218B 2051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miyaymiyaay-galgaa</td>
<td>girls</td>
<td>-galga 'pl'</td>
<td>AD8186 3589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birraybirraay</td>
<td>no translation</td>
<td>birray 'boy &lt;11 y.o.'</td>
<td>AD3218A 360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘boys’, ‘Orion’s belt’ (the stars)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barranbarraan</td>
<td>centipede</td>
<td>?barran ‘boomerang’;</td>
<td>Sim (1998: 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>perhaps ‘many little boomerangs’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhurradhurraraa</td>
<td>‘untidy’, ‘confused’, ‘thrown about’, ‘all over the place’</td>
<td>?dhurra-li ‘come’ meaning of dhurra not clear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunagunaa</td>
<td>brown (?yellow)</td>
<td>guna ‘faeces’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are few attested YG reduplications of adjectives: see Table 232. These mainly involve full reduplication and have different semantic effects, but the initial product seems to be another adjective. As with reduplicated nouns this adjective can be reinterpreted as a noun, generally a name: balabalaa ‘butterfly’ is presumably from balabalaa ‘whitish’. A common species of butterfly in the area is predominantly white.

As well as the presumed de-intensification of ‘whitish’ and giyalgiyal ‘itchy’, there is intensification with madhanmadhan, and perhaps yiilyiili.

Table 232  Reduplication of adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Replication</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gayn.gayn</td>
<td>calmed; Native lime (tree)</td>
<td>gayn</td>
<td>smooth, a rake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balabalaa</td>
<td>butterfly &lt;? whitish</td>
<td>balaa</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>‘sort of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giyalgiyal</td>
<td>itchy</td>
<td>giyal</td>
<td>afraid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madhanmadhan</td>
<td>weighty, too heavy</td>
<td>madhan[baa]</td>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>intensify</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiilyiili</td>
<td>peppery, hot tasting</td>
<td>yiil-</td>
<td>bite</td>
<td>savage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14.3.2  Reduplication of indefinites

In YG the only well attested examples of reduplication of indefinites derives the universal minyaminyagaa ‘all, everything’ from minyagaa ‘something’. Minyaminyagaa occurs some 15 times on the tapes and there are closely related forms in early sources: Table 233. The examples do not allow one to distinguish two potential morphological processes: full reduplication of the first two syllables, or reduplication with only the first CV of the second syllable.
WN has a much more extensive record of reduplication of similar words, indicating that this part of YG may have been poorly recorded. Donaldson (1980: 270) states: ‘Indeterminates can be reduplicated in exactly the same way as words of other classes subject to reduplication’. Some of the many possible Wangaaybuwan reduplications are given in Table 234. These divide into three categories. Most are interrogatives with an obligatory IGNORative suffix (adds the meaning ‘I don’t know’ and forming ‘some’ words like ‘someone’, ‘something’). One is an interrogative with the EXCLAMatory suffix (used in questions: ‘Who? What?’). Other suffixes, such as a Locative, can precede the IGNORative/EXCLAMatory suffix. The table also contains a reduplicated demonstrative: ngadhingadhi-y ‘thereabouts’ is from ngadhi ‘there-ABL’. Donaldson (1980: 274) points out it is the one counter-example she found to her earlier statement that, among the closed word classes, only indeterminates are subject or reduplication. The three word (sub-)classes reduplicated in WN correspond to questions, indefinites and demonstratives in YG.

Table 234  Wangaaybuwan reduplication of indefinites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplicated indeterminates – Ignorative</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gidjewidjewaaga</td>
<td>(tied hair up) anyhow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaandingaandi-gaa</td>
<td>everyone, all and sundry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minyaminyna-la-gaa</td>
<td>(work) at lots of things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minyaminyna-gaa</td>
<td>(taking) a little bit of everything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gidjewidjewaaga</td>
<td>(tied hair up) anyhow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplicated indeterminates – Exclamatory</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngaandingaandi-waa</td>
<td>Who? (expects plural answer)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplicated demonstrative (one instance only)</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngadhingadhi-y</td>
<td>(came) from all around</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14.4 Questions about reduplication

There are a number of examples of (potential) reduplications which are currently unexplained. (1142) may involve a partial reduplication of ngaandi ‘who’ or ngaandigaa ‘someone’ with a dual meaning.

(1142) The people said: Who are you two? JM/AD 3219B 627

ngaaandi / ngaagaandi-ga / nginda / ngaandi=bala nginda
who / redp.who-ga? / 2DU / who=CTR 2SG

AD8186 3589 has ‘girls.NOM’ as miyaymiyaay-galgaa. This could be double marking of plurality, with the detailed semantics unknown. Alternatively it could be using miyaymiyaay as ‘little girl’. The meaning of the reduplicated form is not clear.
Warrawarra ‘standing up’ is presumably from warra-y ‘stand, intr’, but the nominalisation process which produces warra, the base, is not understood.


There are two examples of possible reduplicated demonstrative bases. AD5050 1196 has: ‘you listening everywhere; bina ngarrangarra’. Bina is ‘ear’, ngarrangarra is likely from ngarra ‘there’, but possibly from ngarra-li ‘see’.

Laves (9 p84) notes the reduplication in yari yari biuga – ‘thither ... long way’?. Like much in Laves there is considerable uncertainty, but this could be ngaarri ‘far’ reduplicated, and biyuu-ga ‘far-LOC’.
Summary and conclusion

This recovery grammar has considerably expanded on previous descriptions of YG, making it possible for any rebuilt YG to incorporate more of the original languages. It has also briefly considered ways of expanding the used YG grammar and lexicon so that rebuilt languages can be more functional.

15.1 The main areas covered here

The expanded grammatical description of YG builds in particular on Williams (1980). A wide range of sources are examined, from the mid-19th century to the tapes made in the 1970s, and even material collected in recent years. Light is shed on YG by the growing body of work on Pama-Nyungan languages, and in particular by Donaldson’s (1980) grammar of Wangaaybuwan. Even though there are differences between Pama-Nyungan languages, surprisingly frequently descriptions of other PN languages cast light on previously not analysed areas of YG.

The main topics covered are nominal morphology (Chapters 3–6), verbal morphology (Chapters 8–10) and syntax (Chapters 11–12). Chapter 2 briefly looks at phonology, Chapter 7 covers interrogatives, negatives, indefinites and ignoratives, Chapter 13 covers particles and Chapter 14 reduplication. In almost all areas there are advances in the description of YG.

Nominal case forms have been more accurately described. The variation in the suffixes on -final words has been detailed. The Allative and Dative have been shown to be separate cases. A much broader range of functions has been described for cases, particularly for Ablative case.

While the complex set of demonstratives has not been fully described (and perhaps never can be) the components of demonstratives have been laid out, particularly the demonstrative-final suffixes: -ma ‘definite’ and -lay ‘ostensive’. The various functions of YG demonstratives have been more clearly described.

There is an expanded description of YG verbs. A few of the main areas are given here. In terms of aspect, additional functions have been described for previously recognised forms, such as the perfect use of the past suffix. The description of continuous suffixes has been further refined. In terms of tense, there is a new analysis of the distinctive Time of Day suffixes (morning, afternoon and night), and Distance in Time suffixes, an areal feature. A number of likely additional suffixes have been listed, for which there is only slight evidence.

Major advances have been made in terms of valency of verbs. The ‘additional argument’ suffix has been much more fully described, its use recognised with intransitive, Y class verbs and a pattern suggested for its use with three-place verbs. A major advance is the description of YG middle verbs. A similar feature had been recognised in Wangaaybuwan, but not in YG. The description here indicates a much more complex set of uses than the simple intransitive recognised in Wangaaybuwan.

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306 A large amount of YG material has been analysed and keyboarded in the now standard orthography in preparation for this study. The material is therefore easily referred to and easily searchable. Some materials are available online. See Appendix B.
While the concept of NP is not obviously applicable to YG, a number of related structures have been analysed, including the first analysis of YG inclusory constructions, one of whose uses is to form exclusive pronoun forms and emphatic inclusives.

Numerous syntactic features of the languages have been described for the first time. Pronouns predominantly occur in second position, a feature that is widespread in Australian languages and other languages. Two functions of pronouns are described for the first time: to cross-reference other nominals in the clause and to signal a change in the transitivity of verbs in adjacent clauses. An expanded list of suffixed pronouns is given. Clauses often include an initial grouping which includes the focus, particles, pronouns and demonstratives. This Initial Intonation Phrase is syntactically and phonologically separated from the rest of the sentence.

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15.2 Possible further investigations
There is considerable scope for further work on these languages, both analytical work to better describe the historical language and developmental work, to build YG for wider current use.

15.2.1 Sources: re-examination, and further sources
There needs to be further examination of already used sources, and examination of sources that have not been used in the current analysis. As materials are examined with the now expanded understanding of YG, with greater knowledge of other languages and as fresh eyes look at existing materials, a fuller description can emerge.

So one task is to go through the main materials again, ideally starting from the original sources. For instance a re-transcription of old documents such as Ridley, Wurm and Laves is likely to result in re-interpration of some areas. Similarly a re-transcription of the tapes will no doubt result in clearer understanding of some previously uncertain areas and will also reveal earlier misinterpretations.

Other materials have only been partially examined, for instance Mathews’s unpublished materials (n.d.) and the much shorter Barlow (1873). The latter contains word lists from a number of related dialects, including her ‘Ngorie’ and ‘Coo-in-bur-ri’ (Nguri and Guyinbaray/Guwinbaray in current orthographies). Study of these may help understand the YG dialect chain situation.

Further comparison with other Australian languages, and in particular with CNSW languages, will also expand the analysis of YG. Further analysis of Wayilwan and Wiradjuri in particular are likely to lead to new understandings.

15.2.2 Incomplete areas
Frequently it is clear that an area is not fully understood, nowhere more so than in the discussion on demonstratives. There is considerable scope for re-examination of the sources and comparison with other languages, hopefully resulting in a more complete description. For instance the function of ngaama and its relation to other demonstratives is very uncertain. Recently a student has been researching this area, drawing on recent research into demonstratives by Cutfield (2011) and others. Their work promises to give a more detailed description of YG demonstratives, distinguishing more finely the functions of nhamma, nhalay and ngaama.

Another of the many areas for further investigation are verbs. What can be found about suffixes listed here as ‘uncertain’? Can more be determined about the order of verb suffixes? Ridley describes relative verb forms which include Time of Day and Distance in Time suffixes. These have not been recognised elsewhere and are not used in current YG. They could well be examined further.
There is great scope for work on YG phonology. Word stress is not well described – for instance the stress in suffixed forms. An example is purposive verb forms, some of which have ‘irregular’ stress according to the current paradigm; both biuma-li.gu (predicted by current rules) and bumá =li.gu (irregular by current rules) ‘hit-PURP’ are found. Virtually no work has been done on phrasal or clausal phonology, including on major areas such as typical interrogative and declarative intonation.

A YG dictionary has been published, but again it could be improved. Too often YG words are described in terms of one or two English words, whereas their meaning is likely to be much more complex, and not overlap with English.

15.2.3 Language development

An area not considered in many grammars is language development. ‘Gaps’ in current YG include areas that have not been recorded and areas that need new language. These need lexical development. Of particular relevance for this are the sections on derivational morphology and compound verb roots. As well, there is great scope for the development of idioms based on traditional patterns. Works such as Peile (1997), Turpin (1997) and Ponsonnet (2013) can provide background for this.

YG users could expand the grammatical tools of the languages. This may be by borrowing verb suffixes as discussed at §10.2.4.3, or could involve more complex developments. Wangaaybuwan has a suffix -ba (Donaldson, 1980: 291) which is a subordinator of finite clauses and is very commonly used. YG could consider adopting such a suffix.

As noted above, demonstratives are poorly described. It might be helpful to develop a ‘current understanding’ of demonstratives, a set of rules to guide their use. These would not be based solely on the YG evidence but on a comparative study of Australian languages.

While this is a novel approach it fits the reality of language revival. If a feature is described, with rules given for its use, there is the possibility that it will be so used, i.e. used with some traditional function. If such rules and descriptions are not developed, the new speakers of the language will revert to English patterns; they will have no alternative.

15.3 Implications for revival

Language revival is a complex process, but it seems to me there is at least one clear feature. A part of the language can be learnt and used only to the extent to which it has been described.

This is very different from situations where language can be absorbed, with little or no specific description of the language features, for instance by living with fluent speakers or by listening to radio and films in the language.

For instance if buma-li is defined solely as ‘hit’, it will be used as English ‘hit’ is used. However, this does not reflect much of the traditional use of the word. In YG buma-li is also used to translate ‘kill’ in some circumstances. In Wangaaybuwan also buma-li is ‘hit’ but it is not used to translate ‘the car hit the tree’, and this was quite likely the case also in YG – but there is no YG data. Only if the detailed use of buma-li is described, and then learnt and practised, will YG retain the traditional use of the word.

The many language features described in this grammar will shape rebuilt YG to the extent that they are incorporated in classes, learning materials and in YG language, and to the extent that people have the opportunity to spend long hours learning and practising the language.
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Bosch, A. (2012). *Computational phylogenetics and*...


Donaldson, T. (1977). *A Description of Ngiyambaa, the Language of the Wangyaaybuwan People of Central Western New South Wales*. Ph D, Australian National University, Canberra.


References


References


Appendix A: Suffix and verb lists

This appendix contains a number of lists. Table 235 is a list of the suffixes discussed in the book, with the suffixes in alphabetical order. The same material is in Table 1, with the English glosses in alphabetical order. The later lists are of relatively small groups of verbs: NG class verbs, RR class verbs, intransitive L class verbs and transitive Y class verbs. Most verbs are transitive L class or intransitive Y class.

Table 235  Suffixes, in YG alphabetical order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Full form, Comment</th>
<th>See</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(=)dhaay</td>
<td>TO.HERE</td>
<td>to here</td>
<td>§13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=badhaay YR</td>
<td>MIGHT</td>
<td>might</td>
<td>§13.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=wadhaay GR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=bala</td>
<td>CTR</td>
<td>contrast</td>
<td>§13.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=bula</td>
<td>ALSO</td>
<td>also</td>
<td>§13.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=laa</td>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>directly</td>
<td>§13.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=nga</td>
<td>NOW</td>
<td>now, then</td>
<td>§13.5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=nga</td>
<td>THEN</td>
<td>then, now</td>
<td>§13.5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=NHa</td>
<td>=3</td>
<td>third person clitic</td>
<td>§5.4.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=yaa</td>
<td>POT</td>
<td>potential</td>
<td>§13.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aaba-li</td>
<td>TOT</td>
<td>total, all</td>
<td>§10.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-awayi-y</td>
<td>LONGER.T</td>
<td>longer time</td>
<td>§8.5.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ayi-y</td>
<td>LONG.T</td>
<td>long time</td>
<td>§8.5.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ban.gaan GR</td>
<td>VERY</td>
<td>very</td>
<td>§13.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Baraay GR</td>
<td>COM</td>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>§3.4.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bida</td>
<td>AUG</td>
<td>augment; big</td>
<td>§4.1.2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bil</td>
<td>W.LOT</td>
<td>with a lot</td>
<td>§3.4.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bi-li</td>
<td>LET</td>
<td>let; also particle wana</td>
<td>§9.4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Biyaay, YR</td>
<td>COM</td>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>§3.4.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Baraay GR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Buu, -luu</td>
<td>TOT2</td>
<td>total, all</td>
<td>§13.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Caa</td>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
<td>§7.5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Caayaa</td>
<td>IGNOR</td>
<td>ignorative</td>
<td>§7.5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Cuu</td>
<td>TIME</td>
<td></td>
<td>§13.5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dhaay</td>
<td>NML</td>
<td>Nominaliser</td>
<td>§10.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-DHalibaoa</td>
<td>PRIV</td>
<td>privative</td>
<td>§3.4.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffix</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>Full form, Comment</td>
<td>See</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-DHa-y</td>
<td>EAT</td>
<td>eat, associated mouthing</td>
<td>§10.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dhaay, -ldaay, -ndaay, -ngindaay</td>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>SUBordinating</td>
<td>§12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dhu</td>
<td>TOT3</td>
<td>total, all</td>
<td>§13.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-DHuul</td>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive; see also ONE</td>
<td>§4.1.2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-DHuul</td>
<td>ONE</td>
<td>diminutive; see DIM</td>
<td>§4.1.2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gaali</td>
<td>DU</td>
<td>dual; and the suffix -gaali</td>
<td>§4.1.2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gal</td>
<td>PL.DIM</td>
<td>diminutive plural</td>
<td>§4.1.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-galgaa</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>§4.1.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-giirr, -guwaay</td>
<td>LIKE</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>§3.4.1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lay</td>
<td>OST</td>
<td>ostensive</td>
<td>§6.2.4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-la-y</td>
<td>RECP</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
<td>§9.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lداع, -ngindaay, -dhaay, -ndaay</td>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>SUBordinating</td>
<td>§12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>definite</td>
<td>§6.2.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma-li</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
<td>§9.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mayaa-y</td>
<td>ONE.DAY</td>
<td>one day, several days</td>
<td>§8.5.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-milan</td>
<td>CLOSE</td>
<td>close</td>
<td>Table 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ndaay, -ngindaay, -ldaay, -dhaay, -ndaay</td>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>SUBordinating</td>
<td>§12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nga-y</td>
<td>DAY</td>
<td>day, afternoon</td>
<td>§8.5.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngayi-y</td>
<td>MORN</td>
<td>morning</td>
<td>§8.5.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngiili-y; -ngii-li</td>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
<td>§9.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngindaay</td>
<td>WANT</td>
<td>Also called Caritative case</td>
<td>§3.4.1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=wadhaay</td>
<td>GR</td>
<td>MIGHT</td>
<td>§12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wan.gaan</td>
<td>YR</td>
<td>MIGHT</td>
<td>§13.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ban.gaan</td>
<td>GR</td>
<td>VERY</td>
<td>§13.3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Verbs**

The NG and RR verb classes are relatively small and those verbs are given below, as well as intransitive L class verbs (the class is mainly transitive) and transitive Y class verbs (the class is mainly intransitive). The contents of the lists can vary depending on the criteria used. There are about 230 L class verbs and around 100 Y class verbs.
### Appendix A: Suffix and verb lists

#### Table 236 NG class verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Transitivity</th>
<th>Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>balu-gi</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bundaa-gi</td>
<td>fall</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhaala-gi</td>
<td>feel sick, be sick</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaa-gi</td>
<td>bring, take</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gayarra-gi</td>
<td>search for, look for</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-gi</td>
<td>be, become</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giiri-gi</td>
<td>itch</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gii-gi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guna-gi</td>
<td>defecate, shit</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawu-gi</td>
<td>dig, scratch</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngamu-gi</td>
<td>suck, suckle</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaru-gi</td>
<td>drink</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngawu-gi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngayu-gi</td>
<td>tread on, trample</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhuya-gi</td>
<td>chastise</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wana-gi</td>
<td>throw, leave</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiya-gi</td>
<td>cook</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuru-gi</td>
<td>go into,</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuu-gi</td>
<td>go down</td>
<td></td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yii-gi</td>
<td>shiver</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuurr-a-gi</td>
<td>move</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yu-gi</td>
<td>cry, weep</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yulu-gi</td>
<td>dance, gamble, play</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Table 237 RR class verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Transitivity</th>
<th>Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baarray-rrri</td>
<td>split, burst, crack</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buadh-rrri</td>
<td>brush (with leaves)</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buadh-rrri</td>
<td>put fire out</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhaa-rrri</td>
<td>have sex</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhilay-rrri</td>
<td>throw out, push away</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhu-rrri</td>
<td>poke carve, write</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhuu-rrri</td>
<td>crawl</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gilgulba-rrri</td>
<td>come out, emerge</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuu-rrri</td>
<td>give</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### L class intransitive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Languages</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baabi-li</td>
<td>camp, sleep</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burra-li</td>
<td>begin</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhirra-li</td>
<td>wake up, awake</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guuya-li</td>
<td>shine</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milabi-li</td>
<td>wink</td>
<td>GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walindja-li</td>
<td>be lonely</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiibi-li</td>
<td>be sick</td>
<td>GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wula-li</td>
<td>blaze</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuami-li</td>
<td>peep (peek)</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuga-li</td>
<td>celebrate</td>
<td>GR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Y class transitive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhama-y</td>
<td>rain</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badha-y</td>
<td>give a hiding</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhama-y</td>
<td>rain</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhiirra-y</td>
<td>know, remember</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhuwi-y</td>
<td>stick into</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miinba-y</td>
<td>ask for</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaawa-y</td>
<td>find, search for, look for</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarrala-y</td>
<td>court (see-RECP)</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngurruda-y</td>
<td>snore</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiila-y</td>
<td>whistle</td>
<td>YR, GR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Source materials

Appendix B gives information about the main YG source materials used and the people who produced them. Some of the materials will be made available online.

Online resource materials

Some of the source materials for this analysis of YG are or will be available online at: https://www.dropbox.com/sh/jvrgs6iojc1zo7e/AAAEplrlf7abszM-pzSfqXcU2a?dl=0. More will be added as they are prepared for public use. In future information about these materials will be available at: http://yuwaalaraay.org/gylinks.html. Resource materials to be uploaded include:

- **Original materials.** For instance the tape transcripts are found in YRAlltapes. The originals of many example sentences can be found there, by searching for the reference code: e.g. 3997B1000 for sentence (152).
- **copies of the original documents** such as Ridley’s and Mathews’s grammars, often as pdf files
- **typed up versions** of the original documents, sometimes incomplete. These often have interpretations of the original materials in light of the current orthography and knowledge of YG and comments about particular features
- **Texts from tapes** A number of interlinearised story texts will be uploaded. They are based on sections of the tapes. They involve ‘tidying up’ the often repetitive and at times not well understood material on tape. The aim is to produce material that is grammatical, according to the current understanding of YR

The derived materials vary in completeness and accuracy. Updated versions will be uploaded as they are finalised.

YG written sources

This section gives some brief information on the main YG written sources and the people who produced them. The main GR sources are also considered in Austin (2008). Further information about many of these people can be found in the Australian Dictionary of Biography at http://adb.anu.edu.au/. Many are available in the online YG resource folder.

**Milson** (c.1840) is a MS held in the Mitchell Library Sydney. There are some 15 handwritten pages, most of it wordlists but also some phrases, a number of songs and material on social sections. It has little information about its origin, other than that it is ‘by Mrs Milson, grandmother of the donor’.

It seems likely Milson is the daughter of E.H.Dunlop. The Australian Dictionary of Biography (http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010321b.htm), says that ‘she (Dunlop) also did valuable work in preserving Aboriginal vocabularies and was assisted by other members of her family, notably her

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307 Thanks to James Wafer for the following paragraph about Mrs Milson. It also includes some later information from Jane Simpson.
daughter Rachael (1829–1908) who in 1853 married David, son of James Milson’. Unless she was a teenager when she was helping her mother, the date 1840+ (cover page of MS) is perhaps a bit early – more likely 1850+, I would think, for the date of creation. R. H. Goddard (1934: 244) says that Dunlop ‘was my great grandmother on the distaff side of the shield’, so was probably the grandson of Milson (although possibly of Dunlop’s other daughter, Georgina Law). Since Milson was ‘the grandmother of the donor’ of the MS, it seems plausible that the donor was Goddard. And since the date of Goddard’s article is 1934, he quite likely donated the MS some time in the same decade. After recent investigation Jane Simpson, (pers. comm.) points out that Rachael’s (nee Milson) daughter Thalis married Charles Goddard. R. H. Goddard may be their son.

William Ridley (1819–1878). Austin (2008) gives substantial background on Ridley, a Presbyterian missionary who went to the GR area in 1852. He wrote the first recorded grammar of GR. There are a number of versions of this grammar. The most complete, and the one referred to in this work, is Ridley (1875). It consists of 43 pages, approximately 15 of grammar, 22 of wordlists, one of phrases and four of GR Biblical text, Gurre Kamilaroi, a longer version of which is Ridley (1856). Much of Ridley’s material is also found in Greenway, often with some changes. Gurre Kamilaroi is simplified GR; for instance there are no ergative suffixes and few pronoun forms. It contrasts sharply with the complexity found in Parker’s Emu and Bustard story.

Charles Greenway (1818–1905) lived in the GR area, later in life becoming a clergyman. (Greenway, 1878) has 12 pages of wordlists, placenames, suffixes, phrases and sentences, ethnographic material and songs. (Greenway, 1910-1912) has around 12 pages, spread over many issues of Science of Man. (Greenway, 1911) is similar to Ridley’s Gurre Kamilaroi, but also has significant differences.

The relation between Greenway and Ridley is unclear. There are indications that Ridley used information he was given by Greenway, but that Greenway’s material was not published till much later. Ridley (1866) has:

(The author) ‘was especially indebted to Mr. Charles Greenaway, of Collemungool (a Kamilaroi name, meaning Broadwater) on the Barwan, for instruction in the Kamilaroi’.

and later (1875: 17), speaking of the name Baayami, Ridley says:

‘It is evidently derived, as Rev. C. C. Greenway has pointed out, from “baia,” to make or build. In the ancient and still preserved creed of Murri – “He who built as things is Baia-me.”’

Greenway (Jan 1910: 178) states that:

A part of the information I am now giving you was supplied by me to the Rev. W. Ridley and appears in his book, “Kamilari [sic] and other Australian Languages.

Austin (2008) on the other hand states that:

Ridley’s materials were republished in Science of Man without acknowledgement by Rev. C. Greenway in 1910. (a copy of Ridley 1875 with minor changes), and 1911 (Bible translations similar to Ridley 1856).

R H Mathews (1841–1918) is an important source for both YR and GR and for many other languages in south-east Australia. For more information about him see Thomas (2007, 2011). He published on Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay language and also extensively on the culture of the groups, much of it from personal investigation. His work is considerably later than Ridley and it is quite possible that he had read Ridley. Mathews’s material shows the complexity of YG much more than earlier writers. For instance he (1903: 267) gives a list of verb inflections not found previously, including the ‘associated eating’ suffix, and points out the complexity of the deictic system, while by no means fully analysing it. The two main works used here are his articles on Yuwaalaraay (1902) (referred to as MathewsYR) and on Gamilaraay (1903) (referred to as MathewsGR). MathewsYR has eight pages of grammatical description, including pronoun and verb paradigms and other information. It also has information on Kawambarai, a Gamilaraay dialect, and on the ‘Mystic language’ and 12 pages of YR and Yota Yota words. MathewsGR has 11 pages
Appendix B: Source materials

of grammatical description, a few paragraphs on the ‘Mystic language’ a few pages on GR dialects and five pages of Kamilaroi and Thurrrawal wordlists. His papers (MS 8006) in the NLA may still yield more information.

Most of the material collected after Mathews is Yuwaalaraay. Tindale is a short GR text, and both Laves and Wurm have relatively short amounts of GR but much more YR. GR tape material is much briefer than the YR and has much less language information.

Katherine [Catherine/Katie] Langloh Parker (1856–1940), later Katherine Stow, lived in Yuwaalaraay territory at Bangate station, on the Narran river, between Lightning Ridge and Goodooga, for some twenty years. (The dialect there is Yuwaalayaay/Yuwaaliyaay, but there are few differences from Yuwaalaraay proper). She published a number of books and articles. The two works most relevant to this study are mainly stories (Parker, 1896) and anthropology (Parker, 1905) but also contain significant linguistic material. (Parker, 1905) is significant in that it has a text of the Emu and Bustard story in YR – over four hundred words of Yuwaalaraay, transcribed from fluent speakers. It is by far the most extensive fluent text in either of the languages and contains complex linguistic features as well as word play. Her English version of the story is some 1,300 words, so not a translation of the Yuwaalaraay. Strehlow (2011: 585-590) gives background information on Parker and the use made of her materials in anthropological discussions at the time.

Norman Tindale researched aspects of Aboriginal culture across much of Australia. In 1938 he recorded a short (40 lines) Emu and Brolga text, mainly from Harry Doolan. This was published, with Austin’s analysis, in Austin & Tindale (1985) and see also Austin (2008). Tindale recorded the story over two days, and points out (1985: 10):

The men were at first at difficulties with their own language because it had not been used by them for some years, except occasionally in conversation. After yesterday they thought out the details carefully and gave me a very useful text in the Kamilaroi of the Namoi River.

The GR used in the text has some Wayilwan/Ngiyambaa features.


In the 1930’s the American anthropologist Gerhardt Laves (see David Nash’s website at http://www.anu.edu.au/linguistics/nash/aust/laves/) worked with George Murray (Laves papers, p1399) recording kinship terms in Gamilaraay and Ada Murray at Angledool recording Yuwaalayaay vocabulary and kinship terms (p1392). Laves materials are phonetically accurate but unfortunately very brief for the languages of this region.

Laves recorded language material from many Australian languages. His materials (Laves, 1929) were not well cared for and some at least of his record cards are decaying. Scans were made of the YG materials. These have been transcribed, using Laves’s notation and some of them have also been transcribed in current orthography.

The material, some 80 pages, is notes in various formats, often interlinear glosses. It also contains some Wayilwan. Informants are listed on many pages. The main YR ones are Helen and Bulliga. Others include Mrs Dixon and Rosie Dixon, perhaps the same person. The originals are held by AIATSIS (MS2188), but were water damaged and are no longer accessible. Copies of the original are MS2199. I obtained three pdfs of the cards, one for each item: item 1.8 Box 1 (5 cards), item 9 (possibly in Box 12; 187 cards) and item 10 (possibly in Box 1; 47 cards). References to Laves include the item number and the number of the card in the pdf files I have, e.g. Laves: 10 p 47 means the item 10, p 47.

Stephen Adolphe Wurm (1922 – 2001) was a Hungarian-born Australian linguist, the first professional linguist to work on YG. See Pawley (2002) and http://www.assa.edu.au/fellowship/fellow/deceased/356. Austin (2008: 48) has Wurm apparently used as the model for his work Capell 1945 (also published as a separate book). He was trained as a Turkologist and his phonetic transcription is very detailed and accurate. In lexical elicitation he
recorded primary and secondary stress along with narrow transcription of vowel height and colour, and labialisation and palatalisation of consonants. He did not record interdental nasals and transcribed interdental stops with the labio-dental fricative symbol $\delta$.

In 1955 Wurm recorded YR and GR in notes and on tape, about 70% of it YR (approx. 30 min of tape, AIATSIS tape 2895A). GR informants include Peter Lang and Burt Draper. YR informants include Harry Murray, Arthur Dodd and/or his brother Charlie.

Wurm’s tape material is quite different from the later tapes. Only the informants’ language is recorded, and at least on some occasions it had been practised with Wurm beforehand. Wurm is occasionally heard saying ‘(say it) now’, or saying the Yuwaalaraay or Gamilaraay to be recorded. While Wurm did not tape his elicitation sentences he did write them, it seems in Hungarian shorthand.

Wurm’s written YG material includes transcriptions of some of his tape material, but also many other sentences. The elicitation words and sentences are again in what seems to be Hungarian shorthand. Most sentences are quite short, with at times some continuity between sentences. The original written material is held in the ANU archives: (Wurm, 1955).

Peter Austin and Corinne Williams, working with Wurm, transferred the shorthand to English in August 1975 and rewrote the YG, resulting in around 100 pages of MS. Copies of these have been deposited at AIATSIS: (MS 2335, PMS 3658, PMS 4381, PMS 4380). I made a photocopy of Austin’s material in 1999 or so, and have transcribed it into current orthography. This material is around 120 pages.

Ian Sim (1931–present) had considerable knowledge of NSW north coast Aboriginal culture when he went to the Yuwaalaraay area in the early 1950’s. He worked as a surveyor around Goodooga including on Bangate Station where Parker had lived. Sim recorded a considerable amount of language material, including Yuwaalayaay, Muruwari and Guwamu. He worked with linguist Arthur Capell. His main informants were Mrs Ginny Rose, Greg Fields and Mrs West. In 1998 Sim and I produced an edited and expanded version of the substantial YR material he collected: (Sim & Giacon, 1998). It is around 110 pages and 25,000 words. A copy is available online.

Corinne Williams. Williams studied Yuwaalaraay as part of her honours year at ANU, in the 1970s. Her thesis was published as Williams (1980). This is by far the most extensive and accurate analysis of YG to that point and has been the starting point for any subsequent description of YG. Major advances include a phonemic inventory, a pronoun paradigm, clear description of the nominal case morphology and of the four verb classes and their main inflections. It also includes a substantial wordlist. Much of the work of this book has been to add to, and in a few cases modify, the analysis given in Williams. Her tapes are discussed below.

Ted Fields. (1930?-2006) Ted was a Yuwaalaraay man. He was born on Angledool mission, and in 1936 was moved, with other residents, to Brewarrina mission. He escaped a number of times, travelling to the Goodooga area where his father worked as a stockman. The situation of his childhood meant he was not able to learn his language, but later in life he became passionate about the language and stories of the area and worked hard to learn both. I worked with Uncle Ted from 1994 to 2005. During that time I collected 1,000 words from Ted, not all of them of certain form or meaning. Many were remembered by Ted spontaneously. Others were remembered on working through previous wordlists.

Other written sources

The Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary, in both its published form and the database used to compile it, (available at AIATSIS: Call number AILEC 0794; search http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/collections/muraread.html) has been a major reference in producing this grammar and will be useful to anyone reading it. A pdf and text version is available at https://moodle.arm.catholic.edu.au/login/index.php, and in the YG resource folder.
There are a number of minor sources which are not included here, and more are occasionally found. For instance *The Western Champion and General Advertiser for the Central-Western Districts* (Barcaldine, Qld: 1892–1922), Saturday 13 November 1915, page 9, (http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/printArticleJpg/79753840/4?print=y) has a Gamilaraay version of the song ‘A long way to Tipperary’. It, and further such materials may add slightly to knowledge of YG.

**Other languages**

I have used material from other languages extensively in this study, sometimes from unpublished sources. I have an unpublished Wangaaybuwan wordlist, transcribed from a handwritten Wangaaybuwan dictionary that Tamsin Donaldson had prepared, with some additional material, including some words in Donaldson (1980). Limited use has been made of the Wiradjuri sentences of Horatio Hale (1968) and Günther (1892). I also have transcribed a number of Wayilwan tapes, and very minor use has been made of these.

**YG tape sources**

The tapes, particularly the YR tapes, are a very important source of information. Stephen Wurm recorded around 20 minutes of Yuwaalaraay and 12 min of Gamilaraay in 1955. Around 58 hours of Yuwaalaraay was recorded in the 1970s. There is also around five hours of Gamilaraay recorded at various times, but is of little value to this work since the material recorded is almost totally wordlists, and a few songs which may or may not be Gamilaraay.

The YG tapes have Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece as the main informants. The tape transcripts are some 800 pages, 280,000 words. Perhaps 20–25% of this is YR. They include word and sentence elicitation, stories (sometimes with the English given by Janet Mathews, at other times given by the informant), discussion of language and other issues. The transcripts are available in the YG resource folder.

**Wurm:** The Wurm tape consists almost totally of YG. He wrote the elicitation sentences, presumably because tape was expensive and the batteries had a short life.

**Arthur Dodd.** (AD) (1890–1980)

Arthur Dodd was born on Dungalear Station in 1890 and died in Walgett in the 1980s. This area, between Walgett and Lightning Ridge, is Yuwaalaraay country, and he grew up with many Yuwaalaraay people and learnt the language. His mother was Wayilwan (Brad Steadman, (pers. comm.)) and his father a white man who died in the Boer war (3218A). He worked on stations in the Walgett area for most of his life. He was recorded at Gingie Mission in Walgett, by Janet Mathews (JM)(1973–4, 1976–7: about 19 hours of tape) and by Corinne Williams (1976: nine hours of tape). Mathews also recorded many tapes of him speaking Wayilwan, and there is occasionally Wayilwan recorded as Yuwaalaraay and vice versa, though he generally corrects these mistakes. It is likely that AD is also on the Stephen Wurm tape from 1955.

**Fred Reece.** (FR) (1890–1980)

Fred Reece was also born in 1890 on Bangate Station, between Goodooga and Lightning Ridge, and his birth was recorded by Parker. His mother was Muruwari, and it seems his father was non-Aboriginal. Reece’s pronunciation is generally better than Dodd’s, but his grammatical knowledge less. He made 30 tapes with JM from 1970–72, and they show his language knowledge improving over the years, perhaps as he thought about it more, or perhaps as he used Yuwaalaraay with others between JM’s annual visits. Reece was a blacksmith, preparing materials for the opal miners at Lightning Ridge. Luise Hercus, who worked with JM, points out that JM at times worked the

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308 The tapes are generally referred to by their AIATSIS number. References to sections of the tape include a time code: so 3218A 284 means 284 seconds into tape 3218A.
bellows of the forge while recording Reece, since he did not want to waste time. He was quite deaf by the time CW recorded him in 1976, and he made only one tape with her.

**Janet Mathews**, 1914–1992, (*http://www.nla.gov.au/martin-thomas/a-very-human-survey-the-cross-cultural-inquiries-of-r-h-mathews*) was the wife of R H Mathews’s grandson, Frank. She recorded many hours of Aboriginal languages around NSW. She visited the YG area between 1970 (Tape 1948A) to 1976 (Tape 8187). On these trips she recorded YR from both AD and FR as well as other languages, including Wayilwan from AD. She did not understand the language to any extent and her recordings are often elicitations of texts or paradigms she had bought with her. One approach was to ask for translations of stories she had, and informants sometimes proceeded to give their own versions. She is well known as editor of *The Two Worlds of Jimmie Barker*, a product of her collaboration with Barker to record Muruwari.

**Corinne Williams** (nee Casey) made around 16 tapes as part of her linguistics honours year study in 1976 and had access to Janet Mathews’s tapes. She had a very good understanding of the language and at times the informants commented that she could speak better than they (FR 5053 770, AD 5129A 2864). By this stage FR was quite deaf and so the Williams tapes, apart from one, are of Dodd. Much more frequently than Janet Mathews she targets grammatical questions. She often follows up irregularities or grammatical features which arise in the informant’s speech.

**Jack Sands** (JS) is also recorded on a relatively brief section of tape. He was less fluent than AD or FR.

**Lynette Oates** (LO) was a linguist who published a grammar of Muruwari, FR’s mother’s language. She and JM cooperated on recording two tapes.

**Current YG resources**

Information about current YG learning resources can be found at yuwaalaraay.org, particularly by following the link to the Moodle site, and other links.