A GRAMMAR OF YUWAALARAAY

by

Corinne J. Williams
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"Identity if knowing who we are, where we are, what we are, and that knowledge is more than a language. I'm identified as an Aboriginal not because a white man calls me a boong or anything like this but because I'm a gambu. I'm Yuwalroy, I'm a descendant of the gambu, the emu in the dreamtime. That's my ancestors. That's where I originated".

Ted Fields
Walgett
January 1978

This work is for the descendants of the Yuwaalaraya (Yuwalroy) people. It is for those who, like Ted Fields, know 'who they are, where they are and what they are', that they may see the language of their ancestors preserved and respected. It is for those who don't know who, where or what they are in the hope that they will find themselves, their past, and a pride in both. It is also for those white people whose ignorance of an ancient culture has never been, and will never be, an excuse for their treatment of the Aboriginal people.
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There are many people who have helped in various ways to make this study possible. The most important are Arthur Dodd (Yuwaalarayaay) and Fred Reece (Yuwaaliyaay) whose unfailing willingness to impart their language to me laid the foundations of this study. Without their knowledge, no grammar could have been attempted.

A number of people have read and commented on various sections of my work. Special thanks are due to Dr K. Rensch, who supervised my honours year; Peter Austin, whose help in all areas was invaluable; Dr A. Andrews for his help with the phonology; and Professor N.R. Cattell, who read sections of the final draft. Professor R.M.W. Dixon has read, and commented on, the entire draft. Without his help this would undoubtedly be a poorer work. Remaining errors and omissions are my own responsibility.

I would also like to thank Professor S.A. Wurm, who allowed me to use his field notes on Yuwaaliyaay and Yuwaalarayaay, and Mrs J. Mathews for the use of her tapes.

The Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies provided financial assistance for all field trips.

Finally, grateful thanks to my husband, Adrian, who accompanied me on two field trips, and helped in many other ways.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>transitive subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>absolutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>allative</td>
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<tr>
<td>BENEF</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
</tr>
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<td>COMIT₁</td>
<td>comitative 1</td>
</tr>
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<td>COMIT₂</td>
<td>comitative 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>completive</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUBIT</td>
<td>dubitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HYP</td>
<td>hypothesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
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<td>instrumental</td>
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<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
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<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/F</td>
<td>non future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
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<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
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<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>privative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROHIB</td>
<td>prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>REDUP</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
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<tr>
<td>REP</td>
<td>repeat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>intransitive subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>semi vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRS</td>
<td>transitiviser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WANT</td>
<td>wanting suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YR</td>
<td>Yuwaalaraya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YY</td>
<td>Yuwaaliyaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The bulk of the work for this study was undertaken in 1976 as part of the requirements for a B.A. (Asian Studies) degree at the Australian National University. A beginning to the work was made in 1975, and a further field trip was made in January 1978. Undertaking the final trip has enabled me to clarify some hitherto obscure points, and to add some forms which had not been encountered prior to 1978.

It is hoped that this study represents adequately all the available information on Yuwaalaraay and Yuwaaliyaay, but it does not purport to be a complete grammar of either dialect. The dissolution of both dialects in the face of English has been rapid, and is now very nearly complete. I think, though, that enough material remains to indicate undeniably the complexity and 'completeness' of the dialects.

In my original work the name Yuwaaliyaay was used to cover both dialects. Due to the work of Catherine Langloh Parker this is the best known of the two dialect names. However, most of my own fieldwork was carried out with Arthur Dodd, a Yuwaalaraay speaker. Consequently most of the sentential examples quoted are Yuwaalaraay. For this reason I have decided to revise my usage, and Yuwaalaraay will now be used to refer to both dialects, except where otherwise stated. The abbreviations YR (Yuwaalaraay) and YY (Yuwaaliyaay) will be used.

1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

1.1. LINGUISTIC TYPE

This study is concerned with Yuwaalaraay and Yuwaaliyaay, two closely related dialects from the north-central region of New South Wales. 'Yuwaalaraay' should generally be understood to refer to both dialects. When this is not the case, the differentiation will be made explicit. The abbreviations YR and YY will only be used to indicate the dialects individually.
Yuwaalararay is a typical Australian language. It is a suffixing language with free word order.

The phonology is of a simple Australian type, and consists of bilabial, apico-domal, lamino-dental, lamino-palatal and dorso-velar stops and nasals, a single lateral, a trill, a semi-retroflex continuant and two semivowels. There are three vowels, with contrastive length. Two-member consonant clusters are found medially. Three-member clusters are found very rarely, and are usually intermorphemic.

Stems may begin with one of a set of consonants, or with the semi-vowels. Stems may be monosyllabic, and range up to seven syllables. The greatest number of stems are disyllabic. Stress is assigned by regular rules.

Pronouns distinguish singular, dual and plural in the first, second and third persons. There is some evidence that an inclusive-exclusive distinction existed, but it is not conclusive. Bound pronouns are found, but they occur only infrequently in the data, and may have been restricted in their usage. A split system of ergativity can be recognised for pronouns, part of the paradigm being marked with an ergative-absolutive system, and part with nominative-accusative. Nouns and adjectives inflect on an ergative-absolutive basis.

Nominals have a ten-term case system, and pronouns and demonstratives a five-term one. A number of stem-forming affixes can precede the case inflections.

There are four verbal conjugations, which inflect into two finite tenses - future and non-future. Each conjugation is largely homogeneous with regard to transitivity. Imperative and purposive forms also occur. In the progressive forms the tense division is into future, present and past. There are a number of aspectual suffixes, two suffixes which form intransitive stems, and one transitivising suffix.

A number of still unexplained phenomena are evident in the corpus. It seems unlikely that it will be possible to clarify these further.

1.2. TRIBAL AND LANGUAGE NAMES

Until recently it was not realised that two dialects existed in this area. This was due to the similarity of the two names, Yuwaaliyaay and Yuwaalararay. The following names have been recorded:

Yuwaaliyaay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yualeai</th>
<th>S.A. Ray</th>
<th>1925</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Euahlayi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Yuwaaliyaay and Yuwaalaraay are very closely related, having 80% common vocabulary. The only grammatical difference recorded is in the interrogative pronoun. (See 3.3.4.)

1.3. TERRITORY AND NEIGHBOURS

The exact extent of the original Yuwaalaraay territory is impossible to define precisely. It appears to have extended southwards to near Walgett, and northwards into the basin of the Moonie River (Queensland). Tindale (1974:199) says that the territory did not extend this far north, but gives no basis for this statement. To the west the boundary fell between the Culgoa and Birrie Rivers, and extended eastwards almost to Collarenebri. Within this territory it is not possible to define an exact boundary between Yuwaalaraay and Yuwaaliyaay. There is, however, some evidence to suggest that that Yuwaaliyaay territory was predominantly to the north of the area, and Yuwaalaraay to the south.

Yuwaalaraay is closely related to Gamilaraay. Austin, Williams and Wurm (1980:170) record the following lexical scores:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1</th>
<th>YUWAALARAAY-GAMILARAAY LEXICAL COMPARISON - %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>73 YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 80</td>
<td>YR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a number of regular processes relating Yuwaalaraay forms to Gamilaraay. These are also set out by Austin, Williams and Wurm.

Lexical comparison of Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay with Wiradjuri and Ngiyambaa yields the following scores (Austin, Williams and Wurm, 1980: 173).

Yuñleai  
yoo-ǻlé-ai  
R.H. Mathews  
n.d.

Euahlayi  
C.L. Parker  
1905

Eu-ah-lay  
C.L. Parker  
1898

Yuwaalaraay

Eularoi  
G. Taylor  
1924

Yerraleroi  
Walleroi  
H. Hammond  
1887

Yowalleri  
H. Barlow  
1873

Yowalri  
J. Quinn  
1897

Wallarai  
R.H. Mathews  
n.d.

Yuwaaliyaay and Yuwaalaraay are very closely related, having 80% common vocabulary. The only grammatical difference recorded is in the interrogative pronoun. (See 3.3.4.)
APPROXIMATE EXTENT OF YUWAALARAY TERRITORY
Comparison of Yuwaalaraay and Muruwari results in a cognate count of less than 20% (Oates, personal communication). This does not indicate a close relationship.

No detailed comparison of grammatical features has been undertaken for the languages mentioned above. Grammatical information on Gamilaraay is sketchy, but comparison with Ngiyambaa and Muruwari may be possible.

Yuwaalaraay also shared a border with two now extinct languages, Gwomu and Baranbinya. No information on these two languages was available, so no comparisons can be drawn.

1.4. SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

1.4.1. Yuwaalaraay Society

The social organisation of the Yuwaalaraay (and Gamilaraay) is still attracting the attention of anthropologists, even though it has long since ceased to function. It is of interest because of its complexity. No-one has yet been able to explain adequately the relationship between the various divisions which are made. I shall not attempt to do so, but will only outline the divisions.

Four 'marriage' divisions are made. These regulate 'proper marriages', which can be represented thus: (the alternate names for female sections are omitted in the interest of simplicity.):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yipa:y} &= \text{gabi} \\
\text{gambu} &= \text{mari}
\end{align*}
\]

That is, for example, male yipa:y must marry female gabi and the children are mari. (In the diagram = represents marriage, ° the child's group.) Alternatively, when male gabi marries female yipa:y, the children will be gambu. The section of the children of the marriage is determined matrilineally.

In addition to these four sections, a division is made into guwaygaliyar ('light blooded') and guwaymadan ('heavy blooded'). No-one may marry someone of the same 'blood'. The preferred marriage partner for male ego is mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or mother's father's sister's daughter's daughter.

A further division was made into groups represented by an animal totem. For example, Arthur Dodd told me he was a bigibila ('porcupine'), as was his mother. Parker (1905) gives extensive lists of these animal totems. The exact function of these groups, and their relationship to
the other divisions, is unknown. (See also Reay (1945), who says there are eight of these clans, and that they are exogamous.)

Parker (1905) indicates the existence of a special language used during initiation ceremonies. Unfortunately, no instances of this are available. Parker does not elaborate on the subject, and there are now no men left who have undergone the bu:ra ceremonies. Arthur Dodd remembers the last initiation rites, which occurred about seventy years ago, but he was not a participant.

The process of 'making a man' was a long and complex one. A total of five ceremonies was necessary before a boy became a fully initiated man. Catherine Parker describes many of the details of the bu:ra ceremonies in her book *The Euahlayi Tribe: A Study of Aboriginal Life in Australia* (1905).

There does not appear to have been a 'mother-in-law' language. Reay (1945:310) says "Until about 1895 a man wishing to speak to his mother-in-law could go part of the way to her camp and then turn back. He could then address her ...".

A large proportion of the diet of the Yuwaalaraay was vegetable, collected by the women. They ate a large number of yam-like vegetables, melons and wild fruit. Some of the wild fruits required treatment before they were suitable for consumption. For example, the bambul, a type of wild orange, needed to be buried in warm sand for several days before it could be eaten. A greyish coloured film over the fruit indicated it was ready to eat. If it was eaten too soon it would 'burn the mouth'. Some varieties of vegetable foods were preserved for later use. Grass seeds were ground and made into a flat 'bread' which kept for long periods of time. The guwi:bir (wild passionfruit) was dried and buried. Preserved foodstuffs were stored at the campsite and left there when the people moved on.

The men hunted many types of game using only spears, boomerangs and nets. Emus and ducks were driven into nets and then speared. In the river clay traps were dug and the people would walk along in the water, 'herding' the fish into the trap. The opening in the wall of the trap would be closed, and the fish could be kept there for as long as was desired. Some types of frog were eaten, as were possums, porcupines and kangaroos.

Cooking was most often the 'in the ashes' variety which is indicated in Yuwaalaraay by the verb *dawum-a*. This involved lighting a fire in a hole, heating stones, placing the meat on top and covering everything with earth. Sometimes a hot stone would be placed in the stomach of the animal. Added flavour was imparted by wrapping the meat in gum leaves. This was the major method of cooking large animals such as
kangaroos, emus and possums. Smaller animals such as frogs and small fish were grilled on a hot flat stone.

Cannibalism was not usual among the Yuwaalaraay, but was practised on two separate occasions. The first was during the bu:ra ceremonies. If any of the boys disobeyed the rules laid down for their initiation they would be killed, cooked and eaten. Only fully initiated men, who had been through all five ceremonies, were permitted to partake. The second instance was connected with burial rites, when a small piece of the corpse would be eaten. This was thought to impart strength to the eater.

The Yuwaalaraay had a large corpus of myths and legends. Many of these can still be read in their English forms, as published by Mrs Parker. Chapter 5 of this work records some texts in their language of origin. These are, unfortunately, somewhat fragmentary as there is no longer much call for stories to be told in 'the lingo'.

1.4.2. Contact History

The history of contact between the Yuwaalaraay and white settlers differs only in detail from the histories of innumerable other tribal groups throughout Australia. The broad outline is one of culture clash, violence, exploitation of the Aborigines (especially women), loss of Aboriginal language and culture, and continuing resentment from both Aboriginals and Europeans.

Ferry (1976:110) indicates that isolated contact between Europeans and Aboriginals in north-central New South Wales began in about 1826. It was not until the late 1830s that graziers began arriving in the district, and trouble began in earnest. Probably the main cause of strife between Aborigines and Europeans was then, as it is now, the question of land tenure. The Aboriginal ideal of 'ownership' which is in no way exclusive finds no place in European ideology or law. The viewpoint of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Australia is expressed by Curr. "The White man looks on the possession of the lands by the Blacks as no proper occupation, and practically and avowedly declines to allow them the common rights of human beings." (Curr 1886, vol.1:103, quoted in Reynolds, ed. 1972:2.) The more lengthy statement of Justice Blackburn endorses this viewpoint for present-day Australia. Harris (1972:52) reports Blackburn as finding

... that the relation between clan and land did not amount to proprietorship as that is understood in our law; ... that no doctrine of common law ever required or now requires a British Government to recognise land rights under Aboriginal law which may have existed before the 1788 occupation; that Aboriginal land rights were never expressly recognised; and that if the clans had had any rights they would have been effectually terminated by the Mining Ordinance in 1968.
Conflict between Aborigines and Europeans led inevitably to the subjugation of the indigenous people. Atrocities were perpetrated by both sides. From a distance of over a century we cannot assign blame totally to either group. Misunderstanding and error were probably as often to blame as maliciousness and hatred.

Aboriginal groups varied in the length and intensity of their resistance to the interlopers. The Bandjalang of the Clarence Valley, for example, used 'guerilla tactics' against whites for some time. (Crowley 1978:3) There is no record of lengthy hostility from the Yuwaalaraay. The terrain in the area, being mostly flat and sparsely vegetated, was unsuited to the hit-and-run tactics favoured by the Bandjalang. Little evidence remains to show what became of the Yuwaalaraay during the first half of the nineteenth century. They became one of the many forgotten tribes.

The general neglect accorded to detribalised Aborigines throughout Australia is still felt by the descendants of the Yuwaalaraay. They may not remember all of the law and ways of the 'old people', but they do remember the indignities and humiliations undergone during the last one and a half centuries. They remember the moving of a reserve to make way for a motel. They remember the sacred places which have been defiled. They remember the burial ground which is still being used to topdress an airstrip. They remember the problems caused by officials who lack understanding. They remember the segregated swimming pools, clubs and schools. They see every day the ill health, alcoholism and lack of direction in their own community.

1.4.3. The Informants

Arthur Dodd – Yuwaalaraay

Mr Dodd is now (1978) eight-eight years of age and lives with his daughter on Ginghi Mission near Walgett. He remembers a lot of Yuwaalaraay information, and is still able to give texts, as shown in section 5. It is inevitable that his language competence is limited by lack of use. He often comments that there is no-one left to talk to. Mrs Janet Mathews has also worked with Mr Dodd, collecting Weilwan (Wayilwan) and Ngemba (Nginyambaa) material in addition to Yuwaalaraay.

The bulk of my own field work has been done with Mr Dodd, and I am most grateful to him for the hours he has spent answering what must have seemed to be absurd questions. His patience with an ignorant waal:in has been monumental.
Fred Reece - Yuwaaliyaay

Mr Reece was born in 1890 on Bangate Station, and has lived in the Walgett-Lightning Ridge area for most of his life. He now lives at Lightning Ridge, where he still sharpens picks and other tools for the opal miners. Mrs Mathews has worked extensively with Mr Reece, and it is primarily from her tapes that my Yuwaaliyaay information has been taken. I have also done a small amount of work with Mr Reece. He still remembers Yuwaaliyaay well, and is, in addition, a mine of information on the history of the dialect. Unfortunately, Mr Reece is now a little deaf which makes elicitation somewhat difficult. He is, however, always willing to answer questions to the best of his ability.

1.5. LOAN WORDS

Since the coming of the Europeans many new concepts have been introduced into the lives of the Aborigines. The language also has to cope with these new concepts. This is achieved in various ways. In Yuwaalaraay, as in many other Australian languages, it has been common practice to account for many of the new ideas by simply adapting the English word to the phonology of the language in question. Some examples of this process are shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yuwaalaraay</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'cat'</td>
<td>buːdjigur</td>
<td>'pussy cat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'flour'</td>
<td>bulawa</td>
<td>'flour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'gun'</td>
<td>margin</td>
<td>'musket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sheep'</td>
<td>dimba</td>
<td>'jumbuck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'policemen'</td>
<td>gaŋdilight</td>
<td>'constable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'oars'</td>
<td>wilbaːr</td>
<td>'wheelbarrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'hotel'</td>
<td>babuligard</td>
<td>'public house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fence'</td>
<td>badi</td>
<td>'paddock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'socks'</td>
<td>dagin</td>
<td>'stocking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'frying pan'</td>
<td>buɾaːnban</td>
<td>'frying pan'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A second alternative is to extend the semantic field of an already existing word to cover the new concept. By this process we get:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yuwaalaraay</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'shovel'</td>
<td>gayin</td>
<td>'old boomerang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to write'</td>
<td>duːn</td>
<td>'to spear, poke, sting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to smoke'</td>
<td>buːbili</td>
<td>'to blow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A combination of the first two processes gives us:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yuwaalaraay</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'tea'</td>
<td>diː garril</td>
<td>'tea' (loan) 'leaf' (YY)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Words from neighbouring languages can also be adopted to account for a new concept. A probable example of this is manduwi, a common term in
Victorian languages, where it means 'foot'. It has been extended in Yuwaalaraay to mean 'boots'.

Many loan words remain whose origin is uncertain. Some of these are listed below:

- 'cork'  →  ɲanaɲana
- 'sausage'  →  ɲayimbuwan
- 'saw'  →  balada:y
- 'ram'  →  buidiran

Two instances of English-based loan verbs have been recorded. Both consist of a recognisably English stem plus the transitive verbaliser -ma-1. They are gigima-1 'kick' (from 'kick') and du:dimama-1 'shoot' (from 'shoot').

All loan words, and their origins, if known, are included in the lexicon.

The loan process was not one-way. There were many things in the new country for which the European had no word in his language. To account for these things he frequently appropriated an Aboriginal word. While most non-Aboriginal Australians are probably aware of the large number of place names which have their origins in Australian Aboriginal languages, I suspect that many of them would be surprised at the number of common nouns which are 'anglicised Aboriginal'. The following examples show some nouns which English appears to have borrowed from an Australian language. While I am not stating that the original language was necessarily Yuwaalaraay, the parallelism of form is obvious.

- 'galah'  →  gila:
- 'Coolibah (tree)'  →  gulaba:
- 'Gidgy (tree)'  →  giqir
- 'Mulga (tree)'  →  malga
- 'Myall (tree)'  →  maya:l
- 'budgerigah'  →  giqiriga:

A large number of place names in the Walgett-Lightning Ridge area have been adapted from Yuwaalaraay words. For example:

- Angledool  from  yangal-du::l
gagina-DIM
   'small vagina'
- Bumi  from  buma:y
   hit-N/F
   'hit'
Goodooga from gudu-ga cod-LOC
'at the cod'
possibly 'place of cod'

Place names with their origins in Gamilaraay and Ngiyambaa also abound. For example:

Collarenebri from galari:n-baray eucalypt-COMIT
blossom
'having blossoms'

Fred Reece said that this was a Yuwaalaraay form, but the comitative suffix is undoubtedly Gamilaraay. (See Austin 1976)

Coonamble from guna -mbil faeces-COMIT
'having a lot of faeces'

Arthur Dodd gave this as a Yuwaalaraay form, but the presence of the nasal in the comitative suffix indicates a Ngiyambaa form. (See Donaldson 1977)

Some stations in the area also have names which have been adapted from Yuwaalaraay. Two of these are:

Tuckie from daga:yi 'yellow belly (fish)'

Yaranbah from yara:nba: 'place of the yara:n trees'

1.6. PAST INVESTIGATIONS

A number of published materials have been used in the compilation of this study. Most of these were published around the turn of the century, and consist primarily of wordlists collected by interested people. R.H. Mathews gives some grammatical points. Some unpublished materials have also been used. Foremost among these is a long wordlist, together with some sentences and grammatical points, collected by I. Sim. This material is held in manuscript form in the Mitchell Library. It also contains wordlists of Muruwari and Gwomu. I am indebted to Professor Stephen Wurm of the Research School of Pacific Studies, A.N.U., who allowed me to use his field notes on Yuwaalilaay and Yuwaalaraay, which were made in 1955. Another important source has been the field tapes collected by Mrs Janet Mathews. These tapes are held in the archives of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies at Canberra.

Details of materials used are given below.
1.6.1. Published

Barlow, H.

A short wordlist published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol.2 (1973). The name given is YowalerI. This is a very minor source, with rather poor phonology.

Hammond, H.

A short wordlist (approximately 110 words), published in Curr *The Australian Race*, vol.3 (1887). The name is given as Wolleroi or Yerraleroi. Although this list is purported to be a different dialect from the one published in the same volume by O'Byrne, they both seem to represent Yuwaalaraay. Hammond gives the location as the Balonne, Nerran Rivers. His phonology is moderately good. He identifies initial $\eta$ (writing it $\eta g$) and usually initial $\eta$ (th). He does not, however, indicate vowel length.

Mathews, R.H.

R.H. Mathews published a vocabulary of some 360 words and a sketch grammar of Yuwaaliyaay in 'Languages of some Native Tribes...' (1902). I have also had access to his notebooks, and a published Dharruk wordlist which has Yuwaaliyaay equivalents written in. Some of his grammatical points have not been substantiated, and must be regarded warily. Despite this, his grammatical sketch is valuable because it is the only one available. His phonology is quite good. He generally identifies correctly initial $\eta$ (written as $\eta g$), and $\eta$ (dh or th). Vowel length is only marked sporadically. He gives the location as the Bokhara, Birrie, Narran, Balonne and Moonie Rivers.

O'Byrne, J.

A wordlist of approximately 100 words, published in the same volume as the Hammond wordlist. The location given is the Weir and Moonie Rivers. The phonology is poor. Neither initial $\eta$ nor $\eta$ is identified, and vowel length is not indicated.

Parker, C.

Mrs Langloh Parker was at one time the mistress of Bangate Station, and she took a great interest in the Aboriginal people. She published two wordlists. One was a glossary to her book *The Euahlayi Tribe* (1905), the other a list published in *Science of Man* (1898). The spelling of the Yuwaaliyaay words in these lists is very difficult to understand, and not consistent in the representation of similar sounds. Mrs Parker also published one story in Yuwaaliyaay. This story, 'Dinewan Boollarnah
Goomblegubbon' is included in her book *Australian Legendary Tales* published in 1896. Unfortunately, I have not been able to decipher her orthography, so the text is of little value. It does, however, seem probable that it is the same story as the Emu and the Brolga (see 5.6.). I played the tape of this Yuwaalaraay story to Fred Reece, who told me that the Yuwaalilyaay story was the same, but about the emu and the plains turkey (*gumbulgaban*). The theme of the story seems to be a common one, and is found in many areas of Australia. For example, Terry Crowley (personal communication) reports having recorded a similar story in Cape York.

Quin, J.

Quinn submitted a short wordlist of 'The Yowalri dialect near Barwon River' to the *Australian Anthropological Journal*. This was published in 1897. The dialect seems to have been Yuwaaliyaay, not Yuwaalaraay. Phonology is only fair. Initial ɣ is identified (kn), but not Ʌ, Ʌ, 介质 or ɇ. Vowel length is indicated by ɿ.

Ray, S.H.

Six words included in *The Illustrated Australian Encyclopedia* published in 1925. The name given is Yualeai, and the location as the language stretching from Bourke and Walgett across the Barwon, Bokhara and Culgoa into the basin of the Moonie and Weir in Southern Queensland.

1.6.2. Unpublished

Hall, R.H.

This is an extensive, unpublished wordlist which also contains a few sentences. Mr Fred Reece was the informant. The date of compilation of this list is not known, but seems to be comparatively recent. The phonetics is good and the informant reliable. The wordlist is taken from the glossary of C. Langloeh Parker's *The Euahlayi Tribe*.

Mathews, J.

Mrs Janet Mathews has collected a large number of tapes over the past few years. These contain much valuable information, and most of them have been transcribed by myself. The main informants on these tapes are Fred Reece and Arthur Dodd, both of whom have also been interviewed by myself. All of Mrs Mathews' tapes are held in the archives of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in Canberra.
Nekes, H. and E.A. Worms

Microfilm Australian Languages - containing only a few words of minor importance.

Sim, I.

Sim was a surveyor who spent some time with the Aborigines in the Walgett area in the 1950s. His manuscript which is held in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, is an extremely important source. He recognised the two dialects, calling them Northern (YY) and Southern (YR) and where alternative forms are known he includes both. The wordlist is extensive, and some sentences and grammatical points are given. Phonology is generally good.

Wurm, S.A.

Professor Stephen Wurm of the Research School of Pacific Studies allowed me to use the field notes he made at Walgett in 1955. These provided a valuable corpus of sentences.

1.7. THE PRESENT SITUATION

Yuwaalaraay is a language in the very last stages of existence. The number of speakers with any fluency is small, not more than two or three old men. Some of the middle-aged people know some words, but very little of the grammatical processes of the language. Children are restricted to the use of just a few words, mainly of the 'guna' variety.

Knowledge of the 'old way', the culture of the ancestors, is more vibrant than linguistic knowledge, and some of the people value this continued knowledge enough to try and interest other members of their community in it. At least some of the old values, particularly those related to kinship and family obligations are still prevalent. White interest in language and culture is negligible.

This study represents the remnants of a language which can never be expected to revive. It is a sad indictment of European understanding and tolerance that the same can be said of so many Australian languages.

2. PHONOL OGY

Yuwaaliyaay and Yuwaalaraay have identical phonemic systems, comprising fifteen consonant phonemes and six vowel phonemes, three long and three short. As is common to most Australian languages, voicing of stops is not phonologically significant. In Yuwaalaraay the preferred pronunciation is voiced. For this reason, the voiced series is used when transcribing stops.
2.1. PHONEMES AND THEIR REALISATIONS

2.1.1. Consonants

The point and mode of articulation for each of the fifteen consonant phonemes of Yuwaalaraay are set out in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point of Articulation</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Apico Alveolar</th>
<th>Lamino Dental</th>
<th>Lamino Palatal</th>
<th>Dorsovelar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mode of Articulation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi Vowel</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td>(w)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The consonant inventory is a normal Australian one, and exhibits two areal features noted by Dixon (1972:2-3). These are: (a) No retroflex series. Dixon says that this occurs in "an area that very approximately coincides with the present state of Queensland" (1972:2) (see 1.3. for details on the location of Yuwaalaraay). (b) A single lateral, l. Dixon (1972:3) says: "Languages east of the Gulf of Carpentaria generally have a single, apico-alveolar lateral, l."

Dixon also says (1972:2) "some languages have a single laminal series, with lamino-dental and lamino-alveopalatal sounds as allophonic variants." This is interesting in light of the fact that Yuwaalaraay lamino-palatal stops and nasals occur phonologically only in word-medial position. Their lamino-dental equivalents occur word initially and word medially. The lamino-palatal and lamino-dental nasals have been noted in free variation in word-initial position. The most prominent example is that of the demonstrative nama ('that'), which is sometimes realised as nama.
(The word has been phonemicised as *naka*, since [n] is not seen to occur word initially elsewhere.) The lamino-palatal stop [q] has not been recorded word initially. Dixon has suggested that proto-Australian had only a single laminal series. If this were the case, then Yuwaalaraay would seem to be a language which is in the process of developing a laminal contrast. The distinction is already crucially present in certain environments, while not yet present in others. The other possibility is that proto-Australian had the full series of stops (i.e. b, d, q, d, q, g). Assuming this to be the case, we could consider Yuwaalaraay to be in the process of losing the d-q (n-n) distinction. This is, of course, purely theoretical speculation. At this stage we cannot decide which of the two possibilities is the correct one.

The following are the normal articulations of the consonant phonemes.

All stops are unaspirated and voiced.

b — bilabial stop, identical to English [b]
d — apico-alveolar stop, identical to English [d]
d — lamino-dental stop, produced with the tongue tip behind the lower teeth, and the blade touching the upper teeth and alveolar ridge.
q — lamino-palatal stop produced with the tongue tip behind the lower teeth, and the blade touching the soft palate.
g — dorso-velar stop, identical to English [g]

Nasals

There is a nasal corresponding to each stop series. They are articulated in the same way as the corresponding stop. All nasals are voiced.

Lateral

The lateral l is identical to English [l].

Rhotics

As already mentioned, it is thought that Yuwaalaraay contains two rhotics - an apico-alveolar trill r and a semi-retroflex continuant ɾ. The distinction between these is not always clear, and may be subject to interference from English. The only speakers remaining are no longer young, and have not actively spoken their language for many years, so some interference is not unexpected. It is quite feasible for the distinction between these two phonemes to be one of the first to go. Note that Austin (unpublished paper 1976) records the complete collapse of
rhotic phonemes in Gamilaraay (Kamilaroi), both going to [ɻ]. This has given rise to confusion, with [múJu] being glossed alternately as 'nose' and 'anus, bum'. The original words seem to have been /muɾu/ 'nose' and /muɾu/ 'anus'.

The trill [r] is most clearly exhibited in word-final position, especially in slow speech. Intervocally, and sometimes before consonants, it may be realised as a flap.

In view of the fact that there seems to be some interference from English, it is not always possible to be completely certain of the accuracy of transcription of the rhotic phonemes.

The semi-retroflex continuant /ɻ/ occurs only infrequently in the corpus. There is a historical process which accounts for this. Intervocalic r in Gamilaraay is realised alternatively as y or Ø in Yuwaalaraya. (See Austin, Williams and Wurm (1980) for a precise formulation of the rules involved.)

Semivowels

The semivowels /w/ and /y/ are identical to the corresponding sounds in English. They are frequently dropped before u and i respectively in word-initial position.

Phonemic Contrasts

Phonemic contrasts are illustrated by the following minimal and sub-minimal pairs and sets:

**Stops**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b - d - ɡ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bigibila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dɪŋga:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gɪɡar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b - d - ɡ - ɡ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gabɪr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badɪn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gagi1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>d - d - ɡ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>madamada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mağıgura</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nasals

\[ n - n \]

guna 'faeces'
guna 'kangaroo rat'

\[ n - \eta \]
giniy 'stick'
gipiy 'be' (N/P)

\[ n - \eta \]
nuwi 'rotten, stinking'
\( \eta \nuwi \) 'sweat'

The distinction between /\( n \)/ and /\( n \)/ is not well attested. /\( n \)/ occurs infrequently, and only occurs phonologically in intervocalic position. This may suggest that /\( n \)/ could simply be a conditioned variant of /\( n \)/. However, the two forms have been observed in contrast in identical immediate environments, e.g. \( \eta \)\( \text{n}a:na \) 'you' (plural:object)
\( \text{giya}:na \) 'be' (future – prog-pres)

This does not seem to be a very sound basis for assigning phonemic status to /\( n \)/. Note, though that it is a common characteristic of Australian languages to have a nasal phoneme corresponding to each stop phoneme. The phonemic status of /\( \eta \)/ is moderately well attested, and this is considered to lend weight to the hypothesis that /\( n \)/ is a phoneme in its own right.

Rhotics

As has already been mentioned, the distinction between the two rhotics is not always clear. The following minimal/subminimal pairs have been noted:

\( \text{ga}\( \text{riya} \) – 'don't, stop'
\( \text{gariya} \) – 'crocodile-like monster, bunyip'
\( \text{bu}\( \text{rin} \) – 'shield'
\( \text{burun} \) – 'moth'

Semivowels

\( \text{duyu} \) 'snake'
\( \text{duwa} \) 'lizard (type of)'
The normal articulation of vowels is set out below:

- **i**  - short, high, front unrounded vowel. Most often realised as [ɪ] in medial position, [i] finally.
- **i:**  - long, high, front unrounded vowel.
- **u**  - short, high back unrounded vowel, most commonly [o] in medial position, [u] finally.
- **u:**  - long, high, back unrounded vowel.
- **a**  - short, low, front unrounded vowel. Realised as [ɛ] preceding [y], [ɔ] following [w].

(When /a/ occurs between /w/ and /y/ the change to [ɛ] takes precedence over the change to [ɔ]. This is indicated by the following form: wayamba [ˈweɪambi] 'short-necked turtle'). In medial and final position (other than those environments specified above) there is an alternation between [a] and [ʌ]. This does not appear to be conditioned in any way.

- **a:**  - long, low, front unrounded vowel.

All vowels tend towards schwa in unstressed syllables. The short vowel phonemes and their allphones could be represented thus:
2.1.3. Diphthongs

Austin (1976) reports the presence in Gamilaraay of four diphthongs. The same four diphthongs are found in Yuwaalaraay. They fall into two groups.

(1) [ei] transcribed as /ay/¹
   [ai] transcribed as /a:y/

These are to be seen in minimal contrast in:

ŋay [ŋei] 1 Sg. Gen. 'my'
ŋa:y [ŋai] 'mouth'
guway [ŋwei]² 'blood'
guwa:y [ŋwai] 'speak' (N/P)

(2) [ou] transcribed as /awu/. For example: gawu [ŋou] 'egg'
    [ɔ:u]/[ɔ:o] transcribed as /uwa/. For example: buwa kêr [bõ:ɔêr] 'father'

Austin (1976) records [ɔ:u] occurring as a free variant realisation for [awə]. This alternation has not been recorded in Yuwaalaraay.

The orthographic treatment of the two groups of diphthong (V-SV opposed to V-SV-V) reflects a phonetic difference. The two diphthongs of the first group are each monosyllabic, hence the orthographic structure V-SV. The diphthongs of the second group are not monosyllabic. They are often disyllabic, but in fast speech often fall somewhere between mono- and di-syllabic. This is reflected in the orthography by the use of V-SV-V sequences.

2.2. PHONOTACTICS

2.2.1. Syllable Structure

Syllables in Yuwaalaraay have the following structure:

\[ C_1 V(:) (C_2)(C_3) \]
Stems have been recorded with one to seven syllables. Forms of more than four syllables occur only rarely. A dictionary sample of 530 stems was taken, and the following percentages obtained. Note that verb forms were excluded from this count because of the difficulty caused by differing tense suffixes. Percentages are calculated to the nearest whole number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM LENGTH</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monosyllabic</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disyllabic</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trisyllabic</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Syllables</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 4 Syllables</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is thought that some of the monosyllabic forms may be related historically to disyllabic forms. Austin, Williams and Wurm (1980) have noted the following correspondences between Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G.</th>
<th>Y.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma:ra</td>
<td>ma:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba:ra-</td>
<td>ba:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya:ra</td>
<td>ya:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu:</td>
<td>3 Sg. S/A pronoun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems possible that other monosyllabic forms may also be derived in this way from original disyllabic forms.

The class designated here as 'more than 4 syllables' includes five, six and seven syllable forms. It is interesting to note that most of these forms contain a certain amount of reduplication.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>c.f.</th>
<th>'rain bird'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bu:gudaguda</td>
<td>'fly catcher lizard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumayamayal</td>
<td>'bell bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banbandulwi</td>
<td>'butcher bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garigu:wingu:win</td>
<td>'spur winged plover'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba:ldaradara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2. Initial Segment

Word-initial position can be filled by one of a set of consonants and semivowels. (The status of initial semivowels is discussed in
2.4.1.). The segments which are available for this position are: b, m, d, n, g, η, w, y. That is, labial, lamino-dental and dorso-velar stops and nasals, and the semi-vowels. The following percentages of occurrence were calculated from a sample of 530 stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INITIAL SEGMENT</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.3. Final Segment

A stem may end in any vowel, long or short, or in one of a set of consonants and semivowel. The consonantal segments possible in this position are n, l, r and y.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FINAL SEGMENT</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distribution of occurrence is fairly even. The sole exception if the vowel 'a' which occurs far more frequently than any of the others.

A small group of stems with a final consonant cluster has been recorded. The first member of a final cluster is always y, the second member can be any of the possible stem-final consonants, except y. For example:
All of the recorded stems with a final cluster contained one of the two group 1 diphthongs. See 2.1.3.

2.2.4. Intramorphemic Clusters

Medial

Medial consonant clusters occur in Yuwaalaraay, although they are rather infrequent. In the 530 stems of the sample, only 154 clusters were recorded. For this reason, some of the clusters are poorly represented. Although this might indicate that they are not valid clusters in the language, I think it is more likely to be a consequence of the low incidence of clusters generally.

All possible homorganic nasal plus stop clusters have been recorded. These are shown below. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of examples recorded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HOMORGANIC MEDIAL CLUSTERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṇ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-homorganic clusters have also been observed in medial position. They are set out in Table 8. The number of examples recorded is shown in brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NON-HOMORGANIC MEDIAL CLUSTERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first members of non-homorganic clusters, as shown in Table 8 are exactly those consonants which can occur in word-final position. This suggests that syllabic-final position is identical to word-final position with respect to selectional restrictions. Austin has noted the same correspondence between syllable and word final consonants for Gamilaraay. See also McKay (1975).

The figures of occurrence, as given in Table 8, clearly indicate a preference for the peripheral stops (b and g) as second numbers of clusters. This may be related to the high occurrence of b and g in word-initial position (both 24%. See 2.2.2.). In fact, the set of consonants which can occupy second position in a cluster is remarkably close to that which occupies word initial position. Note:

Word initial  b m d n g n w y
Second member of non-homorg. cluster  b m d g n r l

A small number of stems containing three member intramorphemic clusters has been recorded. Note:

guwaymbara 'red'
ŋaymbuwan 'frying pan'
gayngayn 'wild lime'

The first two items may, in fact, be derived forms. Note that guway means 'blood', and the fact that -buwan is a Ngiyambaa comitative suffix. The third form is an obvious reduplication, so the cluster could possibly be regarded as intermorphemic rather than intramorphemic. Note also that an alternate form [geipigain] (gaypi gayn) was offered in place of gayngayn. It thus seems likely that genuine three member intramorphemic clusters do not occur in Yuwaalaraay.

2.2.5. Intermorphemic Clusters

The intermorphemic clusters attested are recorded in Table 9.
TABLE 9
INTERMORPHEMIC CONSONANT CLUSTERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Member</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>η</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>yb</td>
<td>ym</td>
<td>yq</td>
<td>yg</td>
<td>yη</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>lb</td>
<td>lm</td>
<td>ld</td>
<td>lg</td>
<td>lη</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>rb</td>
<td>rm</td>
<td>rg</td>
<td>rη</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>nb</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>nη</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second Member

The combinations left unmarked are not considered likely. The cluster yq arises only through assimilation of the initial d of the ablative, diminutive and privative suffixes to the preceding, stem-final y. For this reason the clusters lq, rq and nq are not expected to occur.

The cluster nm is not expected to occur. The suffix which causes m to be the second member of an intermorphemic cluster is the verbal suffix maya:-y (see 3.4.7.). The y and l conjugations add this suffix to their stem + conjugation marker, resulting in the clusters ym and lm. The r conjugation also adds the suffix to the form stem + conjugation marker, resulting in the cluster rm. The suffix has not been attested for the η class, but the cluster nm is not expected to occur.

The cluster nd arises through assimilation of the initial stop of some suffixes (e.g. ergative-instrumental) to the preceding stem-final n. The other cluster with d as its second member arises through addition of the relative clause marker to an l class verb (see 4.9.1.). yd and rd are not expected to occur.

Examples of the intermorphemic clusters recorded are set out below:

- yb: bida:y-bil mud-comit₂³ - 'muddy'
- ma-da:y-biya:y dog-comit₁ - 'with a dog'
- ym: yina:y-maya:ni come-dist.past - 'came long ago'
- yq: ma:da:y-di dog-abl - 'from the dog'
- wala:y-di camp-abl - 'from the camp'
- yg: ma:da:y-gu dog-gen - 'dog's'
- wala:y-gu camp-all - 'to the camp'
- yη: wunay-ŋayini swim-rec past - 'swam yesterday'
Three member intermorphemic clusters occur when case suffixes are added to those nouns with a stem-final consonant cluster, see 2.2.3.

One further instance of a three member intermorphemic consonant cluster has been recorded. This was the benefactive form of an *r* conjugation verb.

\[ \text{durngi:lini} \quad \text{pierce-r-benef-N/F} \quad \text{'pierced/speared for someone else'} \]

Note, however, that a second instance of the same verb form showed the insertion of an epenthetic vowel (ə) after the first member of the cluster.

### 2.3. STRESS

Stress is, by and large, predictable from the phonemic shapes of words. There are two main groups which appear to contravene the patterns which will be set out below, but these can be explained by crucial ordering of stress assignment and two other rules. The stress assignment rules are as follows:

1. To any long vowel in a word, assign primary stress. It is an interesting feature of Yuwaalaraay - and also Gamilaraay (Austin 1976) - that long vowels are permitted in consecutive syllables. Given the rule formulated above, it is evident that a word with consecutive long vowels
will also have primary stress on consecutive syllables. This is well attested. For example:

\[ \text{gá:wá:} \quad \text{'river'} \]
\[ \text{bí:wí:} \quad \text{'sand iguana'} \]
\[ \text{bí:1á:} \quad \text{'shoulder blade'} \]
\[ \text{wú:1á:} \quad \text{'frilled lizard'} \]

This is a feature which is not common to Australian languages, which tend to prefer two stress syllables to be separated by an unstressed syllable.

Intermorphemically, sequences of three consecutive long vowels have been recorded. These consist of a stem with a final V: plus the complete aspect in non-future tense. For example:

\[ \text{wu:ra:ba:y} \quad \text{give-comp-N/F} \]
\[ \text{bunda:wa:ba:y} \quad \text{fall-comp-N/F} \]

This type of form is not common, but cannot be disregarded because of its scarcity. The status of stress on the final long vowel is doubtful. Compleitive forms of this type may well be subject to the ordering rule described on page 33.

2. If there is no long vowel in a word, assign primary stress to the first vowel, e.g. \[ \text{báqin} \quad \text{'small'} \].

3. Assign secondary stress to the second and fourth vowels counting backwards or forwards from the primary stress, e.g.

\[ \text{yuwayá:} \quad \text{'frog (edible)'} \]
\[ \text{yúluwlri} \quad \text{'rainbow'} \]

2.4. DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

The distinctive feature specification of the twenty-one phonemes of Yuwaalaraay is set out in Table 10. The system is basically that set out by Chomsky and Halle (1968).

The alveolar trill. /r/, has been classed as a continuant. This was deemed necessary in order to distinguish it from its allophonic variant \[ [r] \], which occurs in intervocalic (and sometimes preconsonantal) position. Chomsky and Halle (1968:318) say

The trilled \[ [r] \] . . . here there is a vibration of the airstream during at least part of the duration of the sound. The vibrations of the tongue tip, however, are produced by the drop in pressure which occurs inside the passage between the tip of the tongue and the palate when the air flows rapidly through it (Bernouilli effect). The trill is thus a secondary effect of narrowing the cavity without actually blocking the flow of air. Consequently there is good reason to view the trilled r as a continuant rather than as a stop.
They attribute the difference between the tap [ɾ] and trill [r] to a difference in subglottal pressure. However, for the purposes of this analysis the difference is attributed to the feature continuant, with [ɾ] being analysed as [+CONT] and [r] as [-CONT].

In order to distinguish the lamino-dentals (d and n) from the apico-alveolars (d and n), Chomsky and Halle (1968) introduce the feature distributed, which they define thus:

Distributed sounds are produced with a constriction that extends for a considerable distance along the direction of the air flow; nondistributed sounds are produced with a constriction that extends only for a short distance in this direction.

Fant (1973:183), however, questions the viability of this feature. He says

The feature distributed which on the articulatory level is defined as a long versus short constriction in the direction of the air flow has not been analysed very closely as to its acoustic correlates, and these are far from clear.

Ladefoged (1971:102) also questions the feature distributed, pointing out that it cannot account for languages which have dental and alveolar consonants, both with apical articulations. He proposes instead the feature apicality. He says (1971:44) "The value 0 may be assigned to sounds made with the absolute tip of the tongue, and the value 1 to articulations involving an arbitrary location considered to be maximally far back on the blade of the tongue."

For the purposes of this discussion it has been decided that Ladefoged's feature 'apical' will be used. Sounds articulated with the "absolute tip of the tongue" will be considered to be +apical. All others will be -apical.

2.4.1. Phonological Rules

Case Assignment

Some cases show allomorphy which can be defined by phonological rules. These rules are set out below. Further information on these and other cases can be found in section 3.1.1.

Ergative-Instrumental

The ergative case, which marks transitive subject, is identical in form and allomorphy to the instrumental case. One Yuwaalaraay informant, as shown in Wurm's field notes, uses a variant allomorph in the environment r#. He uses -gwr where other informants use -yu (r deleted). This does not seem to have been normal, and may have been influenced by Gamilaraay. Arthur Dodd does not use the variant form.
|                | b | d | d | q | g | m | n | n | η | η | l | r | ɾ | w | y | l | i: | a: | a: | u | u: |
| **Consonantal**| + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| **Syllabic**   | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **Sonorant**   | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **Coronal**    | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| **Anterior**   | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| **Apical**     | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| **Continuant** | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **High**       | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - |
| **Front**      | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| **Long**       | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
The underlying form of this suffix has been analysed as 
-gu, which is the form appearing in the unmarked environment following a vowel. This is then subject to the following rules:\(^4\)

1. \(g + d/n + -\)
   \[
   \begin{align*}
   \left[\begin{array}{c}
   \text{-COR} \\
   \text{-ANT}
   \end{array}\right] & \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c}
   \text{+COR} \\
   \text{+ANT}
   \end{array}\right] + \left[\begin{array}{c}
   \text{+SON} \\
   \text{-CONT}
   \end{array}\right] + \left[\begin{array}{c}
   \text{-SON}
   \end{array}\right]
   \end{align*}
   \]

2. \(g + i / \{\text{iy}\} + -\)
   \[
   \begin{align*}
   \left[\begin{array}{c}
   \text{-SON} \\
   \text{-COR} \\
   \text{-ANT}
   \end{array}\right] & \rightarrow \emptyset \left[\begin{array}{c}
   \text{-SYLL} \\
   \text{+SON}
   \end{array}\right] + -
   \end{align*}
   \]

Note that the instrumental form of 'stick' [g\text{ini}] takes the allomorph -yu. This is not what we would expect for a root ending in i. However, if we postulate a phonemic root giniy, the form is completely regular in its allomorphy. It is quite likely that a final y following i would not be phonetically apparent. This creates a difficulty in transcribing stems which (appear to) end in i. It is obvious that we cannot be sure whether the final segment is i or iy, except where case allomorphy is attested.

3. \(g + d / i + -\)
   \[
   \begin{align*}
   \left[\begin{array}{c}
   \text{-COR}
   \end{array}\right] & \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c}
   \text{+COR}
   \end{array}\right] + \left[\begin{array}{c}
   \text{+HI} \\
   \text{+FR}
   \end{array}\right] + \left[\begin{array}{c}
   \text{-SON} \\
   \text{-ANT}
   \end{array}\right]
   \end{align*}
   \]

The conditioning vowel of this rule has not been specified for length as it applies to both long and short vowels.

The next rule cannot be formulated simply as it involves deletion of the stem-final consonant as well as a change in the initial consonant. It seems that two rules are necessary.

4. \(g + y/r + - \) (r deleted)
   a. \[
   \begin{align*}
   \left[\begin{array}{c}
   \text{+CONS}
   \end{array}\right] & \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c}
   \text{-CON} \\
   \text{-COR} \\
   \text{-ANT}
   \end{array}\right] + \left[\begin{array}{c}
   \text{+HI} \\
   \text{+FR}
   \end{array}\right] + \left[\begin{array}{c}
   \text{-SON} \\
   \text{-ANT}
   \end{array}\right]
   \end{align*}
   \]

   b. \[
   \begin{align*}
   \left[\begin{array}{c}
   \text{-SON} \\
   \text{+ANT} \\
   \text{+CONT}
   \end{array}\right] & \rightarrow \emptyset + \left[\begin{array}{c}
   \text{+CONS}
   \end{array}\right]
   \end{align*}
   \]

This seems to be the necessary order to the two parts of the rule. If the r was deleted before g changed to y, there would be no reason
for the g to change, as it would be in the unmarked environment (following a vowel) where -gu is the correct allomorph.

Probably a better solution to this problem is to change r to y before g, and then apply rule 2. That is:

5. \[
\begin{align*}
& \left[ \begin{array}{c}
-\text{SON} \\
+\text{ANT}
\end{array} \right] + \\
& \left[ \begin{array}{c}
+\text{SON} \\
-\text{ANT}
\end{array} \right]
\end{align*}
\] / \left[ \begin{array}{c}
+\text{CONS} \\
-\text{SON} \\
-\text{COR} \\
-\text{ANT}
\end{array} \right]
\]

The output of rule 5 is then subject to rule 2. This solution is preferable to the first as it allows a more economical use of rules.

There does not seem to be any phonetic reason why this change should occur. The cluster rg is possible both inter- and intramorphemically. (See 2.2.3. and 2.2.5.) Rule two does not seem to have any phonetic cause either. Rules 1 and 3 are clearly assimilatory in nature.

There is one drawback to the rules as formulated above. As they are, they could equally well apply to the allative, purposive and genitive cases. However, the same degree of allomorphy does not occur in these three cases. Consider the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wala:y-gu</td>
<td>camp-end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gugan-gu</td>
<td>water-end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banda:r-gu</td>
<td>kangaroo-end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yilamali-gu</td>
<td>cook-end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buwadar-gu</td>
<td>father-end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinawan-gu</td>
<td>emu-end</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One possible solution to this problem would be to mark the suffix + ERG/INST in some way. Another possibility would be to simply list the allomorphs of the ergative-instrumental case without attempting to formulate rules at all. The best solution is probably to postulate a special type of ergative-instrumental morpheme boundary marker, and indicate it with a special symbol. (e.g. = instead of +)

Locative

The locative case, which means 'in', 'at' or 'on' is closely related to the ergative-instrumental, with the vowel a in place of u. The basic form is -ga, with allomorphy occurring in the same environments as for ergative-instrumental.

The dative case, although poorly attested, seems to have the same form as the locative, with allomorphy in the same environments.
Source

The case labelled 'Source' covers the three functions generally known as ablative, causal and fear. The basic form is -di, which occurs with the following allomorphy.

1. \( d \rightarrow d/n + \)

\[
[-\text{APICAL}] \rightarrow [+\text{APICAL}] / \begin{cases} [+\text{SON}] \end{cases} + \begin{cases} [-\text{SON}] \end{cases}
\]

2. \( d \rightarrow \emptyset / \{i\} + \)

\[
[-\text{SON}] / \begin{cases} +\text{SON} \\
+\text{COR} \\
+\text{ANT} \\
-\text{APICAL} \end{cases} \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{cases} +\text{ANT} \\
+\text{CONT} \end{cases} + \begin{cases} \end{cases}
\]

One other Yuwaalaraay suffix has d as its initial element. This is the diminutive -du:l. It undergoes the same processes as the ablative case in the environments n#, i#, i#: and y#. No examples have been found with word-final l so it is not clear if the allomorphy is identical in this environment. It does, however, seem likely.

Labialisation

Labialisation occurs as a phonetic phenomenon in the environment guw-. The vowel is deleted, and the initial consonant becomes labialised. That is:

\[
\#\text{guw-} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{g}^\text{w-}
\]

It is necessary to introduce a few feature, round, to signify labialisation. The rule can be formulated thus:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 1 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{cases}
[-\text{SON}] \\
-\text{COR} \\
-\text{ANT} \\
-\text{PRONT} \\
-\text{LONG} \\
-\text{CONS} \\
+\text{ANT} \\
+\text{ROUND} \end{cases}
\]

\[
\begin{cases}
[-\text{SON}] \\
-\text{COR} \\
-\text{ANT} \\
-\text{CON} \\
+\text{ANT} \\
+\text{CONS} \\
+\text{PRONT} \\
+\text{LONG} \end{cases}
\]
This rule must be ordered before the stress assignment rules, or stress would be assigned to the wrong vowel.

Note: 

\[
\begin{align*}
g\text{way} & \quad (\text{'blood'}) \\
\downarrow & \quad \text{Stress Assignment} \\
\#g\text{way} & \quad \text{Labialisation} \\
\#g\text{way} & \quad \text{Labialisation}
\end{align*}
\]

It would be possible to apply stress assignation again, but this seems an uneconomical use of rules as we can derive the correct forms using the following ordering.

\[
\begin{align*}
g\text{way} & \quad \text{Labialisation} \\
g\text{way} & \quad \text{Stress Assignment} \\
g\text{way} & \quad \text{Stress Assignment}
\end{align*}
\]

**Stress Assignment**

The stress assignment rules have been explained in section 2.3. above. All that needs to be done is to formulate the rules. Three rules are necessary, and these must be ordered in relation to each other (as well as in relation to some other rules). These then are the rules:

1. \ [+VOC] + [+PRIM STRESS] \# [+LONG]
2. \ [+VOC] + [+PRIM STRESS] \# [-VOC] 
3. \ [+VOC] + [+SECONDARY STRESS] \# \hat{V} \ V \{\hat{V} \}

Rule 2 cannot apply if rule 1 has already been applied.

The rule assigning secondary stress is of necessity somewhat complex. It has to be a 'mirror image' rule, as the assignment of secondary stress depends on the position of the primary stress in the word. The rule as formulated above is very much simplified. The consonants have not been included as they cause major complications. The \( \hat{V} \) in the environment must be understood to mean a vowel with any type of stress, secondary or primary. The rule also has to be able to apply to its own output in order to place stress on the fourth (and subsequent even-numbered) vowel(s) from the primary stress.

As has already been mentioned, the stress assignment rules must be ordered after the labialisation rule. They are crucially ordered with regard to the assignment of non-future tense in a sub-group of -1 class verbs. Stress assignment must precede the addition of past tense. (This ordering was suggested by Peter Austin (personal communication).)
buma- ('hit')
  + Stress Assignment
búma-
  + Past Tense
búma:-y

This has also been attested for: gama-I ('to break')
gáma:-y ('broke')
bayama-I ('to catch')
báyama:-y ('caught')

and some other -I-class verbs (see page 62).

Comitative

The comitative suffix has the meaning which is common to a similar suffix in many other Australian languages. It means 'having' or 'with', e.g.

yura:mu-biya:y nama bula:r wanda rum -COMIT those two white man
'Those two white men were drunk'
('The two white men were with rum')

The suffix has the underlying form -biya:y, as seen in the preceding example. It undergoes a rule which deletes the morpheme-initial b. This occurs in the environment of stem-final l or r. The rule could be formulated thus:

\[ b \rightarrow \emptyset / \{l\} + \]

i.e.

\[
\begin{align*}
-\text{SON} & \rightarrow \emptyset / [\text{+CONS}] \\
-\text{COR} & \rightarrow \emptyset / [\text{+ANT} + \text{+CONT}] \\
+\text{ANT} &
\end{align*}
\]

There is a second type of comitative suffix which seems to mean 'having a lot of'. (C.f. also in Ngiyambaa: Donaldson 1976). The form of this affix is -bll. This affix does not undergo the rule formulated above, although it fits the structural description which triggers the rule. It seems, therefore, that some form of marking must be employed, as was thought necessary for the ergative-instrumental case. I would suggest that the same solution be adopted here. That is, that a different morpheme boundary marker should be assigned to -biya:y. This means we would have -biya:y, and the rule would be rewritten:

\[
\begin{align*}
-\text{SON} & \rightarrow \emptyset / [\text{+CONS}] \\
-\text{COR} & \rightarrow \emptyset / [\text{+ANT} + \text{+CONT}] \\
+\text{ANT} &
\end{align*}
\]
The bil comitative would not be assigned this special morpheme boundary marker, remaining +bil. It would not then fit the structural description, and would not be affected by the operation of the rule. This seems to be the simplest, and possibly the only, way to resolve the problem.

Non-Future Tense Assignment
A phonological rule has been observed to affect the non-future tense of -y and η conjugation verbs. The underlying form of this non-past suffix is -ni, which is palatalised to -ni after i.
It is not clear whether this rule affects -r class verbs, as no regular stems with final -i have yet been attested. -l class verbs are not in contention here as they form their non-future tense in a different way. For a full discussion of verbal conjugations see page 60.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[-CONS]} & \quad \text{[+SON]} \\
\text{[+HI]} & \quad \text{[+COR]} \\
\text{[+FRONT]} & \quad \text{[+APICAL]}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{e.g.} \quad \text{yina:-y} & \quad ('to go, come') \\
\text{yina:-ni} & \quad ('go, come' -N/F) \\
\text{duwi:-y} & \quad ('stick into') \\
\text{duwi:-ni} & \quad ('stick into' N/F)

Initial Semivowel Deletion
Yuwaalaraay contains some stems which have a phonetic initial vowel. These have been analysed phonemically as having initial semivowel, which is then deleted in phonetic realisation.
There are two main reasons for analysing these with stem-initial semivowel. The first is that they are sometimes heard with a semivowel. The second reason is that no word has been heard with initial [a]. This is presumably because there is no corresponding semivowel which can, by reason of its phonetic similarity to the following segment, be optionally dropped.

\text{e.g.} \quad \text{wubun} \quad [\text{übun}] & \quad 'blue-tongued lizard' \\
\text{wuda} \quad [\text{üda}] & \quad 'ear' \\
\text{yíya} \quad [\text{íya}] & \quad 'tooth' \\
\text{yíli} \quad [\text{íli}] & \quad 'lip'

The necessary rule is:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[-CONS]} & \quad \text{[-SYLL]} \quad \text{[+SYLL]} \\
\text{[+ANT]} & \quad \text{[+HI]} \\
\text{[-SYLL]} & \quad \text{[+HI]} \\
\text{[+BACK]}
\end{align*}
\]
3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. NOUN MORPHOLOGY

Nouns and adjectives in Yuwaalaraay form a word class which can be distinguished by the fact that it takes case affixes. Nouns obligatorily take the case marker appropriate to their grammatical function within the sentence (but see 4.3.1.). The assignment of case to an adjective modifying a noun is not obligatory.

Adverbs are, in some respects, similar to adjectives in function. Some derivational affixes which are appropriate for use with adjectives are also appropriate for use with adverbs. See, for example, -gi:r (page 109), -wanga:n (page 44). Forms with an adverbal function are not case-marked.

3.1.1. Case Inflections

Absolutive
The absolutive case is marked by ø and indicates intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (O). For example:

duyugu nama dayn yi:y
snake-ERG that man-ABS bite-N/F
'The snake bit the man'

wai:n nama yinarn bananai
NEG that woman-ABS run-N/F
'The woman didn't run'

Ergative-Instrumental
The ergative-instrumental inflection has the following forms.

u/y, l
yu/r (r deleted)
du/n
du/i, i:
gu/ elsewhere.

The rules governing this allomorphy are formulated in 2.4.1. Ergative and instrumental cases may be distinguished syntactically, see 4.3.1. Some examples of these cases are shown below.

buyuma-gu nama ninuna yi:y
dog-ERG that 2 SG-O bite-N/F
'That dog bit you'

bula:ru dayn-du dī̲ng:i daldanu
two-ERG man-ERG meat-ABS eat-PROG-PRES
'Two men are eating (the) meat'
yila:la ŋay  buyu  dunbil-u
tie-IMP 1 SG GEN  leg-ABS  sinew-INST
'Tie up my leg with sinew!'

ma:da:y-u nama dayn  mani:lawa:na bawuragu
dog-INST  that  man-ABS  hunt-PROG-PRES kangaroo-PURP
'The man is hunting for kangaroo with (a) dog'

Locative-Dative

The locative case is identical in allomorphy to the ergative-instrumental, but replaces ergative-instrumental affix final u with a.

The dative case is poorly attested, but appears to be identical in form to the locative. The two cases can be distinguished syntactically (see 4.3.3.). Examples of locative and dative function are given below:

wa:1 guwa:la dayn-da
NEG talk-IMP man-DAT
'Don't talk to any blackfellows'

gα:kya ga:y guwa:ldaya dayngalga:-ga
PROHIB word talk-PROG-IMP man-PL-DAT
'Don't talk to any (other) men'

bulu:y-a ŋaya  yina:ni
dark-LOC 1 SG S/A go-N/F
'I went in the dark'

dandu wiṇi nama dayma:-ya
sleep-N/F  that ground-LOC
'He slept on the ground'

Source

The term 'Source' has been used to indicate the suffix with the basic form -di. The suffix covers the functions generally known as ablative, causal and fear (see 4.3.4.). The following allomorphs of the suffix have been attested.

- i /l, r
- di/n
- dį/y, i, i:
- di/ elsewhere

Examples showing the source suffix are:

gi:r ŋa:ma birali:di:1  banagani yinar-i
the child-DIM-ABS run-N/F woman-SOU
'The little child ran away from the woman'
manuma:y wala:y-di ŋay
steal-N/F camp-SOU 1 SG GEN
'(He) stole from my camp'

bunda:ni nama dayn muya:n-di
fall-N/F the man-ABS tree-SOU
'The man fell from the tree'

gi:r nama ŋu:wi durula:ni bu:yan-di
that sweat-ABS come-PROG-PAST heat-SOU
'He's sweating from the heat'
(Literally: 'Sweat is flowing because of the heat')

gi:r ganuŋa gabaŋay giya:na dinga:-di
3 PL S good-? BE-PROG-PRES meat-SOU
'They're nice and full from the meat'

giyl ŋaya gilani ma:da:y-di yi:liyanba:-di
afraid 1 SG S/A BE-PROG-PAST dog-SOU savage-SOU
'I'm frightened of the savage dog'

We may well question the necessity for postulating the function 'fear' as a separate component of the source suffix. All instances of 'fear' in the corpus co-occur with the adjective 'afraid', suggesting that -di could simply be seen as 'causal'. Attempts to elicit sentences such as 'I didn't go for fear of the dog' have not provided conclusive evidence of a separate 'fear' function. All sentences of this type were rendered by the informant as two sentences, one of which contained the adjective 'afraid'. For example:

wa:1 ŋaya yina:ni / ma:da:y ŋaya ɣariga:ri gigilani
NEG 1 SG S/A go/come-N/F dog-SOU 1 SG S/A afraid-ABS BE-PROG-PAST
'I didn't go for fear of the dog'

A summary of the cases discussed above, showing the allomorphy in all possible environments is given in Table 11 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Ergative/Instrumental</th>
<th>Locative/Dative</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'small boy'</td>
<td>biraydu:l</td>
<td>biraydu:lu</td>
<td>biraydu:la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'woman (aboriginal)'</td>
<td>yinar</td>
<td>yinayu</td>
<td>yinaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'man (aboriginal)'</td>
<td>dayn</td>
<td>dayndu</td>
<td>daynda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fire' (YR)</td>
<td>wi:</td>
<td>wi:du</td>
<td>wi:da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'man (white)'</td>
<td>wanda</td>
<td>wandagu</td>
<td>wandaga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The suffix -gu, which shows no allomorphic variations, covers a number of functions for which no overall label is appropriate. The functions are genitive, allative, purposive and benefactive. There are syntactic reasons for distinguishing the cases from each other. These are discussed at 4.3.5. Examples of these functions are shown below.

bu:madaya:gu nama gawu daldana ba:ldaradara-gu
fox-ERG the egg-ABS eat-PROG-PRES plover-GEN
'The fox is eating the plovers eggs'

ŋinda:y yina:ya wala:y-gu
2 PL S/A go-IMP camp-all
'You all go back to the camp'

dinga:gu ganuŋa yina:ni
meat-PURP 3 PL S go-N/F
'They've gone for meat'

yinayu nama du: gimbìy birali:-gu
woman-ERG the fire-ABS make-N/F child-BENEF
'The woman made a fire for the child'

There is some evidence to suggest that Yuwaalaraay, like many other Australian languages indicates inalienable possession "simply by apposition" (Dixon 1972:61). An example of this type is:

dunbil ŋu: giya:na duwimali dinawandi buyudi
sinew-ABS 3 SG S/A BE-PROG-PRES pull-FUT emu-SOU leg-SOU
'He is going to pull the sinews from the emu's leg'

However, inalienable possession is not marked exclusively by this construction. The normal genitive form also occurs. This is most common when the possessor and the possessed noun are separated within the sentence. So, for example:

gi:r nama dì:i diranbala:na ma:da:y-gu
that tail-ABS shake-PROG-PRES dog-GEN
'The dog's tail is wagging (shaking)'

We might be tempted to suggest that the suffix is, in this instance, ergative, since 'to shake' is a transitive verb (in which case a more correct translation of the sentence would be 'The dog is wagging his tail'). However, we can be sure that this interpretation is incorrect because the ergative form of 'dog' is ma:da:yu, not ma:da:ygu.

An example of inalienable possession has also been noted where the possessor and possessed noun were separated within the sentence, but normal genitive marking was not used.
The child's head is dirty'

There is evidence that genitive nouns can take further case inflections. In these cases, however, the second inflection is added, not to the normal genitive -gu, but to -ñun. This obviously parallels the pattern for personal pronouns (see 3.3.1.). (Note that in Dyirbal a second suffix -ndji must be added to the genitive -ñu before a further case inflection is added. (Dixon 1969:35).) As far as can be ascertained from the limited data available on this point, the normal nominal case suffixes can be added to this form. For example:

'\text{Take that child back to his mother}''

'\text{Take the meat away from her child}''

'I was frightened of the child's father'

See also 4.2.2. and 4.4.5.

A more specialised genitive form has also been attested. This could be termed a kinship possessive, as it is only appropriate for use with kinship terms. It takes the form -di. Instances of this suffix have been recorded most often in relation to the first person singular. For example:

'My mother died''

It has also been recorded in relation to a third person possessor.

'The little child will be lonely when his mother goes away'

The possessed (kinship) noun takes the suffix -di, while the possessor takes the usual genitive suffix.

3.2. DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

A number of affixes have been recorded on nominal stems in Yuwaalaraay. The function of some of these affixes is not completely clear.
Comitative

Yuwaalaraay has two comitative affixes, which have been labelled COMIT₁ and COMIT₂. COMIT₁ is the simple comitative, meaning 'having' or 'with'. It forms an adjectival stem from a nominal. (See 4.4. for details of the function of COMIT₁). It has the form -(b)iya:y. (See also 2.4.1.)

COMIT₂ also forms an adjectival stem from a nominal. It means 'having a lot of', and takes the form -bil. For example:

```
daymarbil qa:y qa:y gi-nil
ground-COMIT₂ 1 SG GEN mouth-ABS BE-N/F
'My mouth got full of dirt'
```

Privative

The privative suffix -daliba: means 'lacking', 'without'. It forms an adjectival stem. For example:

```
bu:nadaliba: daymar
glass-PRIV ground-ABS
'There's no grass on the ground'
(Literally: 'The ground is grassless')
```

Wanting

The 'wanting' (or caritative) suffix, -qinda, is most appropriately translated 'for want of'. It is suffixed to a noun to form an adjectival stem. For example:

```
dinga:qinda qa:y
meat-want 1 SG S/A
'I want meat'
(Literally: 'I am meat-wanting')
```

```
gull:roqinda qa:y
spouse-want 1 SG S/A
'I want a wife (or husband)'
(Literally: 'I am spouse-wanting')
```

```
birali: qa:y yugilana duwarqinda
child-ABS 1 SG GEN cry-PRG-PRES bread-want
'My child is crying for bread' ('bread-wanting')
```

Like

The suffix -gi:r forms an attributive adjectival or adverbial stem from a noun. That is, the qualities of the noun from which the adjective or adverb is formed are assigned to a second noun (or the verb in the case of an adverb). -gi:r is best translated as 'like'. The limitations of English make translations of -gi:r forms as English
adjectives or adverbs difficult. We often have to resort to the use (in English) of a descriptive phrase rather than a simple adjective or adverb. Examples of the use of this suffix are:

- **dimbagi:r gaba dinga:**
  - sheep-like good meat-ABS
  - 'It's) good meat, like sheep' (Said of porcupine)

- **yuluwirigi:r ma:yama**
  - rainbow-like stone
  - 'Opal'

- **gi:ru ŋaya banagani dinawangi:r**
  - 1 SG S/A run-N/F emu-like
  - 'I ran like an emu'

### Diminutive

The diminutive suffix has the form -du:l, with the alternant -qu:l in the environment of stem-final i or y. It adds the meaning 'small' to a noun, but does not change the word class. An example showing the use of -du:l is:

- **bumala nama bira:li:qu:l**
  - hit-IMP that child-DIMIN
  - 'Hit that little child'

The diminutive can also be added to an adjective. For example:

- **milanda:1 ŋali bayama:y daga:y**
  - one-DIMIN 1 DU S/A catch-N/F perch-ABS
  - 'We caught one little perch'

  - the child-DIM-ERG water-ABS drink-N/F small-DIM-ERG
  - 'The small child drank the water'

### -bidi

This suffix is the opposite to the diminutive suffix - it adds the meaning 'big'. It has only been recorded with nouns, but it seems possible that it could also occur with adjectives. An example of its use is:

- **yili:bidi**
  - lip-big
  - 'Big lips'

### -ba:

This suffix has been recorded with nouns, where it seems to have the meaning 'place of'. For example:
Further case inflections may follow this suffix. For example:

gayayba:ga ŋiyani ylinga:wana
sand-ba:-LOC 1 PL S/A walk-PROG-PRES
'We are walking through a sandy place'

There are, however, some instances where this meaning is not apparent. For example, it is often suffixed to the adjective burul - 'big', and the resulting stem is usually glossed as 'many'. For example:

burula:buyuma
big-ba: dog-ABS
'Many dogs'

The words for 'summer' and 'winter' also seem to be derived using this suffix. Note:

ya:y 'sun'  ya:y-ba: 'summer'
dandar 'ice, frost'  dandar-a: 'winter'

Plural

The plural form of a noun can be formed by the addition of the suffix -gal. It is not totally clear whether -gal means 'two or more' or 'three or more'. (In the pronoun paradigm 'plural' means 'three or more'.) There is slight evidence to suggest that Yuwaalaraay has a dual suffix for nouns (see 3.2.1.), in which case we would assume -gal means 'three or more'. However, the evidence for a dual suffix is by no means conclusive. An example of -gal is:

birali: 'child'
birali:gal 'children'

This suffix can take a further case inflection. For example:

birali:galu nama ma:da:y bumay
child-PL-ERG that dog-ABS hit-N/F
'The children hit the dog'

A second affix -galga: is also used to mark plural forms, as in:

birali:galga: 'children'

No distinction between the two suffixes is evident in the Yuwaalaraay corpus, but comparison with Ngiyambaa provides some insights.

Donaldson (1977:121-22) records a distinction in Ngiyambaa between a plural augmentative and a plural diminutive. That is, separate plural forms for 'big' things and 'small' things. She gives the following paradigm.
Yuwaalaraay shows no evidence of the 'immature' suffix found in Ngiyambaa. We do, however, find the singular diminutive and augmentative, and the Yuwaalaraay forms are identical to Ngiyambaa. The two plural forms attested for Yuwaalaraay are -galga:- and -gal-. Comparison with the Ngiyambaa forms seems to suggest the following paradigm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diminutive</td>
<td>-DHul-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Immature'</td>
<td>-ga:-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augmentative</td>
<td>-bidi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We cannot, however, be certain of this analysis. -gal and -galga: appear with comparable frequency in the Yuwaalaraay data, and informants were unable to specify a semantic distinction between them. It may be that -gal is simply a reduced form of -galga:. The similarities to the Ngiyambaa paradigm are, however, indisputable.

-la:

This suffix has been recorded on nouns and on pronouns. Its exact function is unknown. However, Donaldson (personal communication) notes a similar suffix in Ngiyambaa, which indicates old information. It is not clear whether the same function is indicated by this suffix in Yuwaalaraay. For example:

NEG meat-ABS camp-LOC 1 PL S/A-la: go-FUT hunt-FUT

banda:rgu
kangaroo-PURP
'There's no meat in the camp. We will go (and) hunt for kangaroos'

See also 5.10.

-wanga:n

-wanga:n could be called an intensifier. It can be suffixed to adjectival or adverbal stems and adds the meaning 'very'. So, for example:

gunadawanga:n nama dayma:r
boggy-wanga:n-ABS the ground-ABS
'The ground (was) very boggy'
banduwanga:n  nga:ma birali:du:l
dirty-wanga:n-ABS the child-DIM-ABS
'The small child (was) very dirty'

bara:ywanga:n nama banda:r  ba:ni
fast-wanga:n  the kangaroo-ABS hop-N/F
'The kangaroo hopped very fast'

No instances of case suffixes following -wanga:n have been recorded.

-ga:lu
The suffix -ga:lu can be added to nouns, and indicates that the noun is 'make believe'. For example:

gi:r nga:ma birali:gal yulugilani  nga:ma wala:yga:lu
the child-PL-ABS play-PROG-PAST the camp-ga:lu
'The children were playing (in) a pretend house (camp)'

gi:r birali: bu:bildani  biya:gaga:lu
child-ABS blow-PROG-PRES tobacco-ga:lu
'The child was smoking pretend tobacco'

Note that is is only the noun which is 'pretend'. The particle yal indicates the 'pretend' nature of a whole sentence. Donaldson (1977) records an identical nominal affix in Ngiyambaa.

-na, -ŋa
The two suffixes -na (with the allomorph -ŋa following -i or -y) and -ŋa have been recorded in a large number of examples. They follow all other suffixes, including the clitics -bada:y and -bala (see 3.2.1.). No explanation can be given for the function or meaning of either of the two suffixes. They have, therefore, not been glossed in any of the examples in which they appear.

Examples of the suffixes are:

ya:manda  yila:ŋa  ŋaliŋu  wu:ri  dinga:
Q-2 SG S/A soon- 1 DU-GEN give-FUT meat-ABS
'Will you give us some meat?'

garba:li  nirmana wuŋaylanj
shingleback-ABS there- swim-PROG-PAST
'The shingleback was swimming there'

w:a:n  bara:yŋa banaganj
crow-ABS fast- run-N/F
'The crow ran fast'
3.2.1. Clitics

Two clitics have been recorded in Yuwaalaraay. These can be suffixed to the first word of a sentence, whatever that word is. They occur after tense inflection on verbs and after case marking on nouns and adjectives. Both of the clitics may, however be followed by -\(\text{na}\) or -\(\text{\eta a}\). The clitics are:

-\(\text{ bada:y}\)

This suffix has been recorded on verbs, nouns, pronouns and adjectives in sentence-initial position. It has also been recorded suffixed to the sentence-initial morpheme \textit{gi:r} (see 4.7.2.). \(\text{ bada:y}\) does not change the syntactic class of the word to which it is attached.

The primary semantic function of \(\text{ bada:y}\) is to add the meaning 'might' to the sentence. For example:

\textbf{buma\textit{libada:y} \(\eta a\)\textit{ya} \(\text{nina}\)na\textit{hit-FUT-bada:y} 1 SG S/A 2 SG O} 'I might hit you'

\textbf{bada:rbada:y \(\eta u\)\textit{a:} \(\text{\eta a}\)\textit{ma bila:yu} \textit{duri}\textit{kangaroo-bada:y} 3 SG S/A the \textit{pierce-FUT} speak-INST pierce-FUT} 'He might spear a kangaroo'

\(\text{ bada:y}\) is used extensively with imperative forms. In this case it seems to have the effect of making the order less direct, perhaps more polite. This meaning is not always apparent in the English translations, but may be conveyed by the use of 'Would you ...' constructions. Examples of this usage are:

\textbf{\(\text{\eta n}\)\textit{uralaba\textit{y}}} \textit{bury-IMP-bada:y} 'Bury (him)!' ('Would you bury him?)

\textbf{\(\text{yina:yabada:y}\) \(\text{go-IMP-bada:y}\) 'Go away!' ('Would you go away?')}

The form \(\text{ bada:ya}\) has also been recorded. This seems to have the same function as \(\text{ bada:y}\).

-\(\text{ bala}\)

Like \(\text{ bada:y}\), \(\text{ bala}\) occurs suffixed to a sentence-initial word, and is word final. The exact meaning of \(\text{ bala}\) is unknown. No pattern is evident in the corpus. We can, however, note the existence of a similar suffix, \(\text{ bula}\), in Ngiyambaa. Donaldson says "The dual suffix \(\text{ bula}\): means "in a group of two"." (1977:124) One instance of \(\text{ bala}\) which seems to have a similar function to that of \(\text{ bula}\) has been recorded.
I gave him bread and meat'

There are, however, many examples where no such meaning is apparent. So, for example:

'Porcupine heard (it)'

The precise function of -bala remains unclear.

3.3. PRONOUNS

3.3.1. Free Pronouns

The Yuwaalaraay pronoun paradigm has a split case-marking system. First and second persons (singular, dual and plural) and probably also the third person singular function on a nominative-accusative basis, with one pronominal form to cover S and A, and a separate form for O. The third person plural is known to operate ergatively (one form covering S and O and a separate form for A), and it seems likely that third person dual did so as well (see page 49).

The nominative-accusative paradigm is shown in Table 12, and the ergative-absolutive in Table 13.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 12</th>
<th>NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE PRONOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>nali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>niyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>ninda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>ninda:li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>ninda:yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>nu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 expected form, not attested.
Examples showing the third person singular pronoun are:

\[ \text{gi:r } \eta_u: \quad \text{banagawa:ni} \]

\[ 3 \text{ SG S/A } \text{kangaroo-ABS} \text{ spear-INST pierce-N/F} \]

'He speared a kangaroo'

\[ \text{gi:r } \eta_u: \quad \text{banda:r} \text{ bila:yu dun} \]

'He was running away'

There are a number of regular processes involved in the formation of these pronouns. These are:

1. Subject form + na (with assimilation of n to p following i or y)
2. Genitive S/A form + \eta u
3. Dative Genitive form + n + da
4. Source Genitive form + n + di

First and second person singular forms are not regular and will be discussed separately.

The suffixes for dative and source are the nominal suffixes preceded by n. This has been recorded for other languages, Yidiŋ for example. "Dative, purposive and comitative involved suffixation to naŋu+n." (Dixon 1977:173)

The genitive suffix is one of a number of different forms which are common throughout Australia. Dixon (1972:7) says

Possessive pronouns are commonly formed by adding an affix to the unmarked 'subject' form. A number of affixes are in a variety of languages with wide geographical distribution; amongst the most common are -ŋu, -ŋu, -ŋa and mba.

Genitive pronominal forms may also have a benefactive function. See 4.3.5.

The suffix used to indicate transitive object is also a common Australian one. "The transitive form of pronouns is typically derived from the unmarked subject form by the addition of -ŋa." (Dixon 1972:7)

There are a number of deviations from this pattern, although it is generally valid. The second person dual and plural forms simplify their medial nd cluster to n in all forms other than the subject form. The second person plural object form optionally drops y before p. The original presence of the y is, however, shown by the fact that the allomorph found after y and i is found even though the conditioning factor is no longer present.

The object form of the third person singular pronoun has not been recorded. If the form were regular, we would expect *ŋu:na. Third
person pronouns, especially singular forms, are frequently replaced by the demonstrative _nama_ (see page 91).

As has already been noted, the first and second person singular forms exhibit a number of irregularities. Whereas the pronominal forms discussed so far derive their accusative (O) forms from the nominative (S/A), the first and second person singular accusatives are not obviously related to the nominative forms. They are, however, very common Australian forms, apparently based historically on _gay- _and _gin- _respectively. We could then suggest the following derivation for _gay_ and _ginda_.

\[ \ast \text{gay} + \text{gay} + \text{da} + \text{gayda} + \text{gay} \\
\ast \text{gin} + \text{gin} + \text{da} + \text{ginda} \]

While the sequence of development seems logical, the origin of the suffix _-da_ is unknown. Dixon (1977:173) says that a dummy syllable, _-ba_, is added to some pronominal forms in Giramay. The _-da_ of Yuwaalaraay may also be merely a dummy syllable.

Looking at the accusative, genitive, dative and source forms of the second person singular, we can see the following pattern.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th><em>ginu</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accusative (O)</td>
<td>Genitive + <em>na</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>Genitive + <em>n + da</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Genitive + _n + <em>di</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dative and source forms are derived in the regular fashion (see page 48). The accusative form adds the regular accusative marker _-na_, but to the genitive form. The derivation of the genitive form is unknown.

The first person singular paradigm is somewhat more complex. The dative and source forms are based on a stem _ganu-_, which is not evident elsewhere in the paradigm. It is, however, analogous to the second person genitive form _ginu_. The first person singular accusative form _gana_ appears to be based on yet another root, _ga-_. It is unlikely to be based on the root _gay_ (the root of the nominative). In this case assimilation (*gay + _na_ - gayna) would be expected. (Note the second person plural accusative.) The existence of an alternative second person singular accusative form, _gina_, (reduced from _ginu_n) suggests that _gana_ may well be derived, by reduction, from _ganu_ + _na_. In fact, one example of the form _ganu_n has been recorded (see 5.4.). We could, then, be tempted to postulate an original first person genitive _gana_ instead of the inexplicable, but frequently occurring, _gay._
TABLE 13

ERGATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third Person</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S/O</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>ganugu</td>
<td>ganuŋa</td>
<td>ganuŋu</td>
<td>ganuŋunda</td>
<td>ganuŋundi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples showing the third person plural are:

A gi:r ganuŋa ɡunan ŋawuni
3 PL A water-ABS drink-N/F
'They drank water'

S wa:l ganuŋa da:yi yina:ni
NEG 3 PL S/O this way come-N/F
'They didn't come this way'

O gi:r ɡaya ganuŋa ɡama ɡanuŋa bundiŋu buma:yi
1 SG S/A 3 PL S/O the club-INST hit-N/F
'I hit them with a club'

No sentential examples of the third person dual pronoun have been recorded. The form given, ga:lan, (probably an accusative) has been taken from old sources, so may not be entirely reliable. Given the genitive, dative and source forms, the second vowel is particularly questionable. Austin (1976) records the forms ɲurugali (?subject) and namagalina (?object) for Gamilaraay. We could suggest, following these, that the Yuwaalaraay forms are:

A *ga:li (possibly ga:liŋu)
S/O *ga:liŋa

For the third person plural we can suggest an original ergative form *ganu. This is substantiated by the appearance of ganu in Gamilaraay (see Austin 1976). The genitive, dative and source pronouns are derived from this ergative (A) form in the same way as they were derived from the nominative (S/A) form for the first and second persons.

Genitive   A form + ɳu
Dative     Genitive form + n + da
Source     Genitive form + n + di

The S/O (absolutive) form is also derived from the ergative. The suffix added is -ŋa. At some time after these derivations occurred the nominal ergative suffix, -ɣu, was added to the third person plural ergative form to give ganugu.
The same pattern of formation can be applied to the dual forms if we suggest an original ergative *gə:li. The accusative adds -na, not the -ŋa seen in the third person plural. Neither of these suffixes can be analysed. It seems possible that ergative marking also applied to the dual to give an ergative form *gə:liŋu.

3.3.2. Inclusive - Exclusive

There is some evidence to suggest that Yuwaalaraay has an inclusive-exclusive distinction in the first person dual and plural pronouns. Yuwaalaraay falls within the group which Capell says exhibits the New South Wales system of pronouns. "... having inclusive-exclusive distinction in the vast majority of cases." (1962:16) Mathews gives the following forms, which presumably exhibit the inclusive-exclusive distinction (1902:139).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Objective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Person</strong></td>
<td>ngulli</td>
<td>ngullingu</td>
<td>ngullinya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
<td>ngulliŋu</td>
<td>ngullingubla</td>
<td>nungullinya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Person</strong></td>
<td>ngeane</td>
<td>ngeanengu</td>
<td>nganninno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td>ngeaneyu</td>
<td>ngeninyella</td>
<td>nganignununga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms ŋaliŋu (ngulliŋu) and ŋiyaniŋu (ngeaneyu) have been attested, but it is not clear whether they do, in fact, indicate an inclusive-exclusive distinction. The genitive and object forms of these pronouns have not been attested. Capell (1962:28) records ŋali as the inclusive form, but does not record the exclusive form. He includes an inclusive-exclusive distinction in his list of bound pronouns (1962:17). No inclusive-exclusive distinction is recorded in the other available sources.

From this meagre evidence we cannot be certain of the status of the inclusive-exclusive distinction in Yuwaalaraay. However, the possibility that such a distinction does exist cannot be discounted.

3.3.3. Bound Pronouns

Bound pronouns occur only infrequently in the data. The only forms attested in my data are the second person singular, dual and plural forms. Capell, however, gives the following paradigm (1962:17):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>1-ndu</th>
<th>2-ndu</th>
<th>3-ŋu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This paradigm is identical to the one given by Mathews (1902:140), and may have been taken from this source, with the spelling somewhat changed.

The forms (all nominatives) attested in my data are:

Dual 1 inc -li
1 excl -ligu
2 -dali
3 -bulalal

Plural 1 inc -ni
1 excl -niu
2 -adal
3 -ganagu

These are clearly, as Capell (1962:16) says "... abbreviations not of the roots but of the endings of the pronouns." The equivalent free pronouns are:

2nd singular subject ŋinda
2nd dual subject ŋinda:li
2nd plural subject ŋinda:y

It is the distribution of the bound pronouns which do occur in Yuwaalaraay that is of primary interest to us here. Capell says, of bound pronouns,

Certain types of words, nevertheless, still attract the suffixes... such words include (i) the negative......, (ii) interrogatives......, (iii) expressions of time and place if used as utterance-initial, or (iv) any other type of word which is placed first for emphasis

(1962:11)

The bound pronoun forms attested in Yuwaalaraay occur almost exclusively on the first two types mentioned by Capell, i.e. the negative and interrogatives. (No bound pronouns have been recorded suffixed to the negative particle wa:1 (see 4.7.1.)

Both of these are sentence-initial morphemes. Some examples are:

gariya-nda:li  yina:ya
PROHIB-2 DU S/A come-IMP
'Don't you two come'

gariya-nda:li  dinir  nama dala
PROHIB-2 DU-S/A meat  that eat-IMP
'Don't you two eat the meat'
Will you give us some meat?

What did you see?

'Don't (you all) whisper'

One instance of Capell's type (111) (expressions of time and place) has also been noted:

Walk along down!

It thus seems that Yuwaalaraay bound pronouns are very restricted in their occurrence, and can only occur as a clitic to a sentence-initial word. However, although this is what occurs most frequently, there are instances of bound pronouns on morphemes which are not sentence initial. For example:

He will drink it if you tell him to

When you tell him he'll stop there

How did you see it?

As the bound pronouns occur so infrequently in the data, it may be that they could originally occur in any position. Unfortunately, we have no means of deciding whether this is the case.

3.3.4. Interrogatives

The interrogative pronoun ŋa:n- covers the range of nouns with a human referent. mina refers to non-human nouns.

All interrogative forms in Yuwaalaraay are sentence initial.

Interrogative Pronoun

The interrogative pronoun is inflected on an ergative-absolutive system, unlike the personal pronouns which are largely nominative-
accusative. In the corpus the interrogative pronoun is seen to be inflected for transitive subject, intransitive subject/transitive object and genitive. The attested forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ergative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ηa:ndu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of these forms are:

- ηa:ndu buma:y ma:da:y
  - who-ERG hit-N/F dog-ABS
  - 'Who hit the dog?'

- ηa:ndi ηinda ηaray
  - who-ABS 2 SG S/A see-N/F
  - 'Who did you see?'

- ηa:ndi nama dayn
  - who-ABS that man-ABS
  - 'Who is that man?'

- ηa:nγu nama bila:r
  - who-GEN that spear
  - 'Whose is that spear?'

Wurm records an alternative form for the absolutive, ηa:na. This is seen in the following example:

- ηa:na wana
  - who-ABS ?
  - 'Who is this?'

The same form is also recorded by Sim, who gives the following paradigm:

- ROD ηa:na
- OPER ηa:ndu:
- OBJ ηa:na
- POSS ηa:nγu
- ALL ηa:nγunda
- ABL ηa:nγundi
- LOC ηa:nγunda

This could be summarised thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Allative</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
The alternative absolutive forms seem to have been dialectal variations. Sim’s paradigm is for what he calls the Northern dialect, which was Yuwaalinyaay. The examples from Wurm are also Yuwaalinyaay. All ηa:ndi occurrences are Yuwaalaraay. Austin (1976) records the form ηa:na(wa) for the absolutive form in Gamilaraay. This may indicate that Yuwaalinyaay is more closely related to Gamilaraay than is Yuwaalaraay. This is also suggested by a count of common lexical items (see pages 3 and 5). Note also that the Ngiyambaa absolutive form is ηa:ndi (Donaldson 1977:178).

The full paradigm seems to have been:

TABLE 15
INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ηa:ndu</td>
<td>ηa:na (YY)</td>
<td>ηa:nŋu</td>
<td>ηa:nŋunda</td>
<td>ηa:nŋundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ηa:ndi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stem of this pronoun is ηa:n-. The ergative form adds the regular nominal ergative affix for this environment, i.e. -du. The Yuwaalinyaay absolutive form may be derived from ηa:n + ηa, where ηa is the suffix which marks object form in personal pronouns. The status of the -di suffix in the Yuwaalaraay form is not clear. The ablative affix takes this form, but it has not been attested elsewhere in the corpus.

The genitive, dative and source forms are all derived in the same way as the equivalent personal pronouns. That is:

Genitive  - Stem + ν
Dative    - Genitive + η + da
Source    - Genitive + η + di

A number of Australian languages use the same form to mean both ‘who’ (interrogative pronoun) and ‘someone’ (indefinite pronoun). (See, for example, Crowley 1978:81.) In Yuwaalaraay the interrogative pronoun ηa:n- plus the dubitative suffix functions as an indefinite. For example:

wa:1 ηa:ma ηa:nduwa: guŋan ηawugilana
NEG the whoERO-DUBIT water-ABS drink-PROG-PRES

'No-one drinks the water' (5.1.)
When someone was coming this way he would "go the short cut" (5.11)

\textit{mina} forms

Yuwaalaraay has, like Dyirbal, (Dixon 1972:264) three interrogative \textit{mina} forms. The forms are:

a. \textit{mina} - "what'. Used with nouns with non-human referent. For example:

\begin{verbatim}
mina na ma
what that, this
"What's this?"
\end{verbatim}

This form inflects to give a purposive form meaning 'what for' or 'why'. The Yuwaalaraay form takes the nominal purposive -\textit{gu}, giving \textit{mina}-\textit{gu}.

The Yuwaalaraay form is \textit{minadi}. In this case the suffix added to \textit{mina}-appears to be the nominal 'source' suffix. 'Source' has as one of its functions a causal meaning, so \textit{mina}-\textit{di} could be glossed 'what-cause', or 'why'. Examples of these forms are:

\begin{verbatim}
mina gu \=qinda\=da\=y\=yina\=ni\=YY
what-PURP 2 SG S/A this way come-\textit{N/F}
"Why did you come here?"
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
minadi \=ganundi\=banagani\=YY
what-SOU 1SG SOU run-\textit{N/F}
"Why did you run away from me?"
\end{verbatim}

b. \textit{mina}:r. This form is best translated as 'which' and is used in such sentences as:

\begin{verbatim}
mina:ra birali: \=quma\=da\=y\=indu:lgu
which child-ABS that, there man-DIMIN -\textit{GEN}
"Which children belong to that little man"
\end{verbatim}

Two other inflected forms are derived from \textit{mina}:r. These are \textit{mina}:ya 'where at', and \textit{mina}:ru 'where to, from'. \textit{mina}:ya is a locative form and is derived by the normal rules of nominal inflection (see page 36). \textit{mina}:ru is a directional term, but it does not distinguish between allative and ablative meanings. The derivation of the suffix is unknown.

Some examples of these forms are shown below:

\begin{verbatim}
mina:ya \=qinda
what-LOC 2 SG S/A
"Where are you?"
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
mina:ru yina:ni
which-? come-\textit{N/F}
"Where did you come from? / Where are you going to?"
mipą:ru yina:wa:na
which-? come/go-FRG-PRES
'Where are you going? / Where are you coming from?'

c. mipąŋay - 'how many'. No inflected instances of this form have been recorded. An ergative form may, however, be possible. (It would be necessary in such sentences as 'How many children were eating the emu?'.) An example is:

mipąŋay qinu biraligal
how many 2 SG GEN child-PL-ABS
'How many children do you have?'

Indefinite pronouns based on mina- forms have also been recorded. As with qə:n-, the forms used as interrogatives cannot be used as indefinites. Indefinites all involve some addition to the interrogative form. The following indefinite forms have been recorded.

mipą:ruwa: 'somewhere'. This involves the addition of the dubitative suffix to the form mipą:ru 'where to, where from'. An example of the use of mipą:ruwa: comes from text 11.

gi:r yina:ni qara:gulay / mipą:ruwa:
go-N/F over that way where-to-DUBIT
'(The emu) went over that way, (to) somewhere'

mipąga: 'something, anything'. The form is based on mipa 'what', but the suffix -ga: has not been attested elsewhere in the corpus. An example of mipąga: is:

wa:lu qinu miŋa:yay qa: wu:dani
NEG 3 SG S/A anything-ABS 1 SG GEN give-FRG-PAST
'He wouldn't give me anything'

A form apparently related to mipa:ya (where-LOC) has also been recorded.

yalu nirma ganuŋa miŋa:wa:ya yina:wa:na
REP There 3 PL S/O where-DUBIT go-FRG-PRES
'They're going there (somewhere) again'

gula:r

Gula:r means 'how' and, like all Yuwaalaray interrogatives, occurs sentence initially. It does not inflect for case. Some examples of its use are:

gula:r qinda giya:na wambali burul nə:dιya:n
how 2 SG S/A BE-PRG-PRES carry-FUT big-ABS Log-ABS
'How are you going to carry the big log?'
gula:r  qinda  gi:n\nhow  2 SG S/A BE-N/P
'How are you?'

galawu

galawu means 'when'. It has not been found in any inflected forms. Some examples showing its use are:

galawu  qinda  da:y  yina:ni
when  2 SG S/A this way come-N/P
'When did you come here?'

galawu-bala  qa:ma  birali:du:l  wilalay
when-?  that  child-DIMIN-ABS stay-FUT
'When's that little fellow going to stay here?'

Dubitative

A suffix which could be termed dubitative has been recorded. It has been found suffixed to the interrogative pronouns, the mi\na forms, gula:r 'how', galawu 'when' and to gi:r. It adds an element of doubt, and is generally translated as 'I don't know...'. When used with interrogative pronouns and the mi\na forms the dubitative suffix often (but not invariably) indicates an indefinite pronoun. Examples are:

\( qa:ndiya: \\who-ABS-DUBIT \)
'I don't know who' (ABS) ('someone' (ABS))

\( mi\na:wa:ya: \\what-LOC-DUBIT \)
'Anywhere'

\( gi:ra:ya:  giguwiduni \\gi:r-DUBIT sneeze-N/P \)
'(He) might have sneezed. (I don't know)'

The suffix characteristically takes one of three forms. These are:

-\( wa:ya(:\) 
-\( wa: 
-\( ya: 

There does not seem to be any conditioning factor to decide which of the alternants will be used. Note:

\( qa:nduwa: \\'I don't know who' (ERG) 
\( qa:nduwa:ya: \)

The principle involved is one of reduction, but it is sporadic, not conditioned.
ya:ma

ya:ma is found sentence initially, and forms a polar question from a statement. Some examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
ya:ma & \quad \text{ŋinda} \quad \text{guli:riya:y} \\
& \quad \text{Q} \quad \text{2 SG S/A spouse-COMIT} \\
'\text{Are you married?}' \\
ya:ma & \quad \text{ŋinda} \quad \text{yina:nbili nama ma:da:y} \\
& \quad \text{Q} \quad \text{2 SG S/A release-FUT that dog-ABS} \\
'\text{Will you let that dog go?}'
\end{align*}
\]

Questions can alternatively be formed by the use of a rising intonation at the end of a statement.

3.4. VERB MORPHOLOGY

3.4.1. Transitivity

By August 1976 a total dictionary of 1,302 words had been recorded. This total included 188 verb roots. Of these, approximately 63% are transitive, 34% intransitive and 3% ditransitive. There is also a group of verbs which could be called semifransitive. These verbs are basically intransitive, but may optionally take a dative complement noun phrase. This group includes verbs of speech, such as 'talk' and 'shout'. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ga:riya} & \quad \text{guwa:la} \quad \text{daynda} \\
& \quad \text{PROHIB talk-IMP man-DAT} \\
'Don't talk to any men!'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ga:riya} & \quad \text{guwa:la} \\
& \quad \text{PROHIB talk-IMP} \\
'Don't talk!'
\end{align*}
\]

In the ditransitive class one verb has been recorded with an ablative complement, which is realised by the source suffix (see 3.1.1.).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ga:riya} & \quad \text{biyaga} \quad \text{ŋanundi mi:nbaya} \\
& \quad \text{PROHIB tobacco-ABS 1 SG SOU ask for-IMP} \\
'Don't ask me for tobacco!'
\end{align*}
\]

The other verbs in this class are ga:-ŋ 'to bring, take', wamba-1 'to carry', wu:-n 'to give' and gimbi-1 'to make'. These characteristically take a genitive complement, as in

\[
\begin{align*}
ya:manda & \quad \text{ŋaliŋu dĩnga:} \quad \text{wu:ri} \\
& \quad \text{Q-2 SG S/A 2 DU GEN meat-ABS give-FUT} \\
'Will you give us some meat?'
\end{align*}
\]
The use of the genitive with this particular group of verbs reflects the social system of the people. Giving was not something which was a matter of choice. Rather, it was an obligation. The thing which was given was seen as belonging by right to the recipient, hence the totally logical use of the genitive case in 'giving' constructions (but see 4.3.5.).

This same group of verbs has also been recorded with a dative complement, although this is less usual. For example:

\[
\text{gi:r nqiyani nq:nunda dingga: wu:ni} \\
1 \text{PL S/A 3 SG DAT meat give-N/F}
\]

'We gave him some meat'

There is one subjectless verb, *dama:-y 'to rain'.

For the purposes of the remainder of this discussion only the main transitivity classes, transitive and intransitive, will be referred to.

3.4.2. Conjugations

Four conjugations have been recorded in Yuwaalaraay. These have been named after the characteristic consonant which appears in various derived verbal forms. Thus we have the l, y, n and r conjugations. In the first three conjugations the conjugation marker is apparent in the imperative form. The r conjugation has n in the imperative, but r in other derived forms (see 3.4.7.).

The l and y conjugations are both large, open classes. Of a total of 188 verbs, 115 belong to the l conjugation, and 52 to y. The n and r conjugations have 15 and 6 members respectively. A large percentage of members of the l conjugation are transitive, and most y class verbs are intransitive. The n class has 7 transitive and 8 intransitive members, while the r conjugation has 3 transitive and 3 intransitive members. A summary of this information is shown in Table 16. Percentages are calculated to the nearest whole number.

**TABLE 16**

**SUMMARY OF CONJUGATION MEMBERSHIP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>l</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Members</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Transitive</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Intransitive</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Consideration of the patterns followed by the conjugations when deriving verbal forms suggests a close link between the \( l \) and \( r \) conjugations, and between the \( y \) and \( \eta \) conjugations. See, for example, page 73.

### 3.4.3. Finite Tenses

Yuwaalaraay verbs inflect into three finite tenses - future, non-future (embracing present and past) and imperative. A purposive form has also been attested. This is formed in all conjugations by adding the regular nominal purposive suffix \(-gu\) to the future form.

---

**1 conjugation**

The 1 conjugation is the largest of the four conjugations, and is primarily transitive. The patterns of tense formation are shown in Table 17 below.

| TABLE 17 |
|---|---|---|
| **1 CLASS VERBS** | **Future** | **Non-Future** | **Imperative** |
| 'blow' | bu:bili | bu:biy | bu:bila |
| 'break' | gamali | gama:y | gamala |
| 'bury' | namurali | namuray | namurala |
| 'catch, hold' | bayamali | bayama:y | bayamala |
| 'cut, chop' | garali | garay | garala |
| 'hit, kill' | bumali | buma:y | bumala |
| 'pluck' | bu:rali | bu:ray | bu:rala |

The regular pattern of tense formation for 1 conjugation verbs is clearly shown by the above eight verbs. The stem of the verb is found when the morpheme conjugation marker + a is removed from the imperative form. This is true of all conjugations. The regular method of tense formation for the 1 conjugation is thus:

- Imperative: Stem + \( 1a \)
- Non-Future: Stem + \( \gamma \)
- Future: Stem + \( 1i \)
For those forms whose stems end in \(l\), the non-future tense ending -\(y\) is not phonetically apparent. I have chosen to include final \(y\) in their transcription in order to avoid what seems to be an unnecessary complication in the formulation of the non-future tense rule. Not including this final \(iy\) sequence would necessitate the use of two rules, namely

\[
\text{Non-future : Stem + } \emptyset \quad i#
\]

\[
\text{Stem + } y \quad /\text{elsewhere}
\]

Justification for postulating a final \(iy\) sequence is provided by the noun giniy 'stick'. This noun is known to have \(y\) as its final segment because it takes the regular case allomorphs for final \(y\). See 2.4.1.

There is a group of verbs whose non-future tense is slightly irregular. These are those verbs which form the non-future tense by the addition of -\(:y\), instead of -\(y\). These forms are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Non-Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'break'</td>
<td>gama-l</td>
<td>gama:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'catch'</td>
<td>bayama-l</td>
<td>bayama:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'drop'</td>
<td>na:nma-l</td>
<td>na:nma:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'hit, kill'</td>
<td>buma-l</td>
<td>buma:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pinch'</td>
<td>nima-l</td>
<td>nima:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'steal'</td>
<td>manuma-l</td>
<td>manuma:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'take out'</td>
<td>di:ma-l</td>
<td>di:ma:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wash'</td>
<td>wagirma-l</td>
<td>wagirma:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'build'</td>
<td>warayma-l</td>
<td>warayma:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'collect'</td>
<td>gu:ma-l</td>
<td>gu:ma:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'feel, touch'</td>
<td>_dama-l</td>
<td>_dama:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pull off'</td>
<td>#ba:rama-l</td>
<td>ba:rama:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'stick to'</td>
<td>mama-l</td>
<td>mama:y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These seem to form a homogeneous set. They all have -\(ma\) as the final syllable of their stem, so we could assume that this is the factor which conditions the allomorphy. Unfortunately, there are a number of verbs
which have ma as the final syllable of the stem, but do not take the -:y allomorph. These are shown below:

**TABLE 19**

-**ma VERBS WITH REGULAR NON-FUTURE TENSE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Non-Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'cook'</td>
<td>yilama-1</td>
<td>yilamay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cook in ashes'</td>
<td>dawuma-1</td>
<td>dawumay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'leave, put'</td>
<td>wi:ma-1</td>
<td>wi:may</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pick up, help'</td>
<td>diyama-1</td>
<td>diyamay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pull out'</td>
<td>duwima-1</td>
<td>duwimay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'twist, turn'</td>
<td>gayima-1</td>
<td>gayimay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, there are a number of verbs with stem final -ma, which have not been recorded in the non-future. We cannot be sure how these will inflect. (It is worth noting that Donaldson records a large number of verbs (65 out of 200) in her L1 conjugation with -ma- as the final syllable.)

Comparison of the syllable structures of verbs in the two tables will indicate that this cannot be a conditioning factor. In fact, there is no apparent conditioning factor.

There is a transitivising verbal affix -ma-I, which, in its non-future tense invariably takes the -:y allomorph (see 3.4.9.). This could suggest that the forms in Table 18 were originally derived using this affix, while those in Table 19 were not. One form seems to support this hypothesis. This is the verb warayma-I 'to build', which may be derived from wara-y ('stand') + ma-1. We cannot, however, be certain of this. Even if this is the correct solution it is of no help in predicting which non-future allomorph a -ma-I verb will take. We have no way of distinguishing a derived -ma-I from an original one.

Perhaps the group of verbs listed in Table 18 should be assigned to a sub-conjugation, which could be called L2. It is then possible to list the following pattern of finite tense formation for L2 verbs.

- Imperative = Stem + Ia
- Non-Future = Stem + :y
- Future = Stem + II
γ conjugation

The γ conjugation is smaller than the I conjugation, and is predominantly intransitive. Some members of the γ conjugation are shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Non-Future</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'bring, take'</td>
<td>ga:wa:y</td>
<td>ga:wa:ni</td>
<td>ga:wa:ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'climb'</td>
<td>galiyay</td>
<td>galiyan_i</td>
<td>galiyaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fly'</td>
<td>baray</td>
<td>barani</td>
<td>baraya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'go, come'</td>
<td>yina:y</td>
<td>yina:_ni</td>
<td>yina:ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'run'</td>
<td>banagay</td>
<td>banagan_i</td>
<td>banagaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sleep, lie down'</td>
<td>danduwi_y</td>
<td>danduwi_n_i</td>
<td>danduwiya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The regular pattern of finite tense formation for this conjugation is shown below. The stem is found in the same way as for the I conjugation:

- Imperative - Stem + ya
- Non-future - Stem + n\textsuperscript{5}
- Future - Stem + γ

The future morpheme -γ is not phonetically apparent on those forms with a stem-final i. It is included in the transcriptions in the interests of regularity. Justification for this procedure is outlined on page 62.

η conjugation

A small class with only fifteen members. Of these, seven are transitive. The following table shows the means of forming the finite tenses:
### Table 21

**SOME η CLASS VERBS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Non-Future</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'bring, take'</td>
<td>ga:gi</td>
<td>ga:ní</td>
<td>ga:ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dig'</td>
<td>mawugi</td>
<td>mawuní</td>
<td>mawuŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'drink'</td>
<td>ŋawugi</td>
<td>ŋawuní</td>
<td>ŋawuŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fall'</td>
<td>bunda:gi</td>
<td>bunda:ni</td>
<td>bunda:ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'throw (hard)'</td>
<td>wanagi</td>
<td>wanaŋí</td>
<td>wanaŋa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rules for tense formation are:

- **Imperative**: Stem + ŋa
- **Non-future**: Stem + ŋi
- **Future**: Stem + gi

The phonological rule described at 2.4.1., also applies to the non-future tense of verbs in the η conjugation (see 3.4.5.).

The other members of this conjugation are:

- 'to cry'      yu-ŋ
- 'to dance, play' yulu-ŋ
- 'to defecate' guna-ŋ
- 'to die'      balu-ŋ
- 'to look for' gayara-ŋ (YR)
- 'to move'     yu:ra-ŋ
- 'to feel sick' da:lu-ŋ
- 'to go into'  yu:-ŋ
- 'to tread on' ŋayu-ŋ
- 'to suck'     ŋamu-ŋ

**ŋ conjugation**

This is the smallest of the four conjugations with only six verbs recorded. Most of these have not been recorded in all tenses. Those forms which have been attested are shown below.
TABLE 22
r CLASS VERBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Non-Future</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'craw'</td>
<td>wu:ri</td>
<td>wu:ni</td>
<td>du:na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'give'</td>
<td>wu:ri</td>
<td>wu:ni</td>
<td>wu:na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'spear, sting'</td>
<td>duri</td>
<td>duni</td>
<td>duna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'uncover'</td>
<td>dilayri</td>
<td>dilayni</td>
<td>dilayna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cough'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gunugunuduna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sneeze'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>giguwiduna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The finite tenses in the conjugation are formed in this way:

Imperative  -  Stem + na
Non-future   -  Stem + ni
Future       -  Stem + ri

No forms have been recorded in this conjugation have been recorded with stem final i. It seems probable that, should one be found, it would take the allomorph -ni.

Summary of Finite Tenses for all Conjugations

A summary of the tense formation, size and transitivity of the four conjugations is presented below in Table 23.

TABLE 23
SUMMARY OF FINITE TENSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>l</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>η</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>Large open class</td>
<td>Large open class</td>
<td>Small closed class</td>
<td>Small closed class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitivity</td>
<td>Mostly Transitive</td>
<td>Mostly Intransitive</td>
<td>7 Trans</td>
<td>3 Trans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-li</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>-gi</td>
<td>-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Future</td>
<td>( -Y</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>FUT + gu</td>
<td>FUT + gu</td>
<td>FUT + gu</td>
<td>FUT + gu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Monosyllabic Stems

A number of monosyllabic verbal stems have been recorded in Yuwaalaraay. They occur only infrequently (ten out of a total of 188 verbs), and are found in all conjugations. They occur comparatively more frequently in the two small classes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugation</th>
<th>Proportion of Monosyllables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>3/15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3/115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>1/52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Monosyllabic stems are:

'to bring'  ga:-ŋ
'to cry'     yu-ŋ
'to go into' yu:-ŋ
'to bite'    yi:-l
'to eat'     da-1
'to put in'  wa-1
'to crawl'   du:-r
'to give'    wu:-r
'to spear'   du-r
'to jump'    ba:-y

The copula 'be' also has a monosyllabic root. It belongs to the η conjugation. (See 3.4.5.)

3.4.4. Yuwaalaraay Conjugations in the Australian Perspective

Dixon (1972:13) has the following comments to make on verbal conjugations throughout Australia:

Two conjugational subtypes can be identified between languages of wide geographical separation [Hale, 1970:760]. The first type is characterised by the occurrence of a liquid -l or sometimes -r in its paradigm ... . The liquid will be recognised either as the final segment of the verb roots belonging to this conjugation, or else as the initial element of some of the affixial allomorphs. The second type can be recognised through the occurrence of either y or zero in place of the liquid. Verbs in the first conjugation are predominantly transitive, and in the second intransitive.

The Yuwaalaraay pattern fits this general description exactly, with η and y conjugations being predominantly transitive and intransitive respectively. They are each characterised by "the initial element of
some of the affixial allomorphs. Both show their characteristic con-
sonants in the imperative, and in the future tense.

The n and η conjugations are examples of the small closed classes
which Dixon (1972:13) says "can be regarded as irregular verbs". It
is also worth noting that these two are listed among the seven con-
jugation markers which Dixon considers to have been "original". The
seven are y, η, m, r, l, n, 6. (See Dixon 1980, Chapter 12).

All Yuwaalaraay conjugations are thus perfectly in line with the
general Australian pattern as expounded by Dixon.

3.4.5. To Be

Initial field work suggested that the copula 'be' was, in Yuwaalaraay,
an irregular verb, the only irregular verb recorded in the language.

By August 1976 the following forms had been recorded.

Imperative  gilaya
Non-future  giŋi
Future      gigi

The imperative form was found only once, in the following example:

\textit{gaba gilaya}
\textit{good be-IMP}
\textit{'Be good!'}

The future tense is the regular form for an η class verb, and the non-
future is the form we would expect for an η class verb (see 3.4.3.).
The imperative form is not a regular η class imperative. However, when
we look at the progressive forms of η class verbs, we find the following
imperatives.

\textit{'cry'}    yu-η  yugilaya  (PROG IMP)
\textit{'dig'}    mawu-η  mawgilaya  (PROG IMP)

The form gilaya approximates these forms, which prompted the suggestion
that it is actually a progressive imperative, not a finite one. This
hypothesis is supported by the appearance of the forms gigilani and
gigilana, which indicate a progressive imperative *gigilaya. This form
is derived in the same way as yugilaya and mawgilaya, i.e. STEM + FUT
+ la-y. The initial syllable seems to be optionally dropped. (Note
that this also occurs occasionally with the verb \textit{yina:-y 'to walk, go'},
resulting in forms such as na:wa:na, na:ni.) The forms gigilani and
gilana have also been attested. It thus seemed possible that gi- should
be analysed as a regular η conjugation verb.
Further field research was undertaken in January 1978, and the hypothesis proved to be correct. The initial response to elicitation of the imperative of gi- was once again gilaya. When the form ginya was offered as a possible alternative, the informant indicated that this was acceptable, but that gilaya was 'better'.

The non-future tense is by far the most common form of this verb. It is used extensively in sentences expressing a physiological state, as shown in

\[ yu:inindi naya gini \]
\[ hungry 1 SG S/A be-N/F \]
\[ 'I'm hungry' \]

It is never used in equational sentences, except where adjectives denoting a physiological state are used. Sentences like 'The man is big' are verbless. For example:

\[ burul nama dayn \]
\[ big that man-ABS \]
\[ 'The man is big' \]

not

\[ *burul nama dayn gini \]
\[ big that man-ABS be-N/F \]

Arthur Dodd says that this sentence would mean 'That man is getting big'. This indicates that 'become' may be a better translation of gi- than is 'be'.

The future form, gigi, occurs only infrequently. An example is:

\[ yingil naya giya:na gigi \]
\[ tired 1 SG S/A be-PROG-PRES be-FUT \]
\[ 'I'm going to get tired' \]

This sentence also shows another form of the verb 'to be' - giya:na. This appears to be a progressive form. It is used frequently in conjunction with another verb in the future tense. It seems to act as a type of auxiliary, and sentences containing it are always translated into English by a 'going to' sentence. For example:

\[ mani:lay naya giya:na banda:rgu \]
\[ hunt-PUT 1 SG S/A be-PROG-PRES kangaroo-PURP \]
\[ 'I'm going to go hunting kangaroos' \]

The progressive form giya:na does not appear to be related to the other progressive forms outlined above. It may, however, be related to another progressive form found on η class verbs. This suffix takes the form -wa:-y. Assimilation to the preceding vowel may cause the
change in the semivowel. (See 3.4.6. for a detailed discussion of progressive tenses.)

3.4.6. Progressive Tenses

The forms which are referred to by the term 'progressive tenses' are most often translated into English 'ing' sentences. For example:

\[ \text{gi:r nama ma:da:y bila:r yi:ldana} \]
\[ \text{that dog-ABS spear-ABS bite-PROG-PRES} \]
\[ 'The dog is biting the spear' \]

However, they are sometimes translated with punctiliar English equivalents. For example:

\[ \text{gi:r ñaya yugilani} \]
\[ 1 \text{ SG S/A cry-PROG-PAST} \]
\[ 'I cried' \]

The 'progressive' imperatives are almost always translated in the same way as finite imperatives, and are often volunteered in response to a request for a finite imperative. There are just two examples in which a progressive meaning is apparent. These are:

\[ \text{bayamala} \]
\[ 'Catch it!' \]
\[ \text{bayamaldaya} \]
\[ 'Hold on!' \]

\[ \text{ñarala} \]
\[ 'Look!' \]
\[ \text{ñaraldaya nama dayin} \]
\[ 'Keep watching him!' \]

The exact function of 'progressive' forms is not clear, but their primary meaning does seem to be one of continued or progressive action. Unlike the finite tenses, which only exhibit a two way tense distinction (see 3.4.3.), the progressive tenses are inflected into past, present and future forms. The morphemes are:

- Future: \(-y\)
- Present: \(-na\)
- Past: \(-ni\)

1 conjugation

Verbs of the 1 conjugation most often form their progressive tenses thus:

\[ \text{Stem + 1 + da-y} \]

The resulting cluster, \(1d\), is frequently simplified by omitting the \(d\). Some examples are:
wa:l gayaldaya
NEG answer-PROG-IMP
'Don't answer'

gi:r ŋaya dingga: yilamalana
1 SG S/A meat-ABS cook-PROG-PRES
'I am cooking the meat'

gi:r ŋaya bumaldani nama ma:da:y
1 SG S/A hit-PROG-PAST that dog-ABS
'I was hitting the dog'

gi:r ŋaya giya:na wi: garalday
1 SG S/A be-PROG-PRES wood-ABS cut-PROG-FUT
'I will cut wood'

A further progressive-like suffix has been recorded for the 1 conjugation. This takes the form:

Stem + l + a:-y

For example:

gi:r nima ŋaya mangaya wala:na
that 1 SG S/A bag-LOC put in-PROG-PRES
'I'm just putting it in the bag'

gi:r qa:ma ŋu: duwimala:ni
that 3 SG S/A pull out-PROG-PAST
'He was pulling it out'

There does not seem to be any semantic difference between the two suffixes, nor does the form of the stem determine the form of the suffix. This is shown conclusively by the fact that the different suffixes may be applied to the same verb in the same utterance, and the gloss will be the same. For example:

gi:r nima ŋu: birall: nu:ma wambaldana / wambala:na
that 3 SG S/A child-ABS there carry-PROG-PRES
'She is carrying the baby'

If there was ever a difference in meaning between these two forms, it is no longer apparent. On the basis of the available data we can only record the two suffixes as synonymous alternatives which can be interchanged at will.

y conjugation

The y conjugation also has two progressive forms. These are:

Stem + wa:-y
Stem + (y)la-y
Examples of these forms are:

\[ \text{gi:r } \text{ginda:li yina:wa:na} \]
\[ 2 \text{ DU S/A go-PROG-PRES} \]
'You two are going'

\[ \text{gi:r } \text{nama ga:ntu:wana:n} \]
\[ \text{bira:li:du:l} \]
'That drown-PROG-PAST child-DIMIN-ABS'

\[ \text{gi:r } \text{nama wi: guduway:liana} \]
'The child was drowning'

\[ \text{gi:r } \text{nama wi: guduway:liana} \]
'That fire-ABS burn-PROG-PRES'

\[ \text{gi:r } \text{gama wa:na} \]
'The fire is burning'

\[ \text{gi:r } \text{Qaya gi:nda ma la ni} \]
'SI S/A laugh-PROG-PAST'
'I was laughing'

The initial semivowel of the suffix -wa:y assimilates to a preceding stem-final i, to give -ya:-y. For example:

\[ \text{ga:rigulay } \text{na:ma gubiya:na} \]
'other side that swim-PROG'
'(He's) swimming to the other side'

There does not seem to be any factor conditioning the insertion (or deletion) of the y in the second suffix.

Once again, there does not seem to be any difference in meaning between the two suffixes. We could suggest that the difference is dialectal, but this does not seem to be the case. Both Mr Reece and Mr Dodd use both suffixes.

\[ \text{Qi conjugation} \]

The two progressive forms found in the Qi conjugation are:

Stem + wa:-y

Stem + FUT + la:-y

Both forms have been recorded on the same verb stem. Note:

\[ \text{ga:riya da:y yalu ma:yama wanagilaya} \]
\[ \text{NEG-IMP this way again stone-NOM throw-FUT-PROG-IMP} \]
'Don't throw any more stones!'
r conjugation

Progressive forms on r conjugation verbs are extremely scarce, but we can again suggest the presence of two suffixes. These appear to be:

Stem + r + a:-y
Stem + da-y

The small number of examples (approximately ten) suggests that these patterns should be viewed somewhat warily. They do, however, conform to patterns for the other three conjugations. Examples are:

gariya nga:rimlay du:ra:ya
PROHIB over there crawl-PROG-IMP
'Don't crawl there!'

The 3 SG S/A child-GEN bread-ABS give-PROG-PRES
'He is giving bread to the child'

3 SG S/A 3 PL GEN meat-ABS bread-ABS give-PROG-PAST
'He gave (was giving) bread and meat to them'

In summary, we can say that each Yuwaalaraya conjugation had at its disposal two suffixes which indicate a type of continuing or progressive action. The exact semantic content of each suffix is unclear. The English glosses supplied by informants do not indicate a semantic distinction between the two types of suffix, but it cannot necessarily be assumed that no distinction ever existed.

The two types of progressive suffix form two distinct patterns, with a large amount of regularity existing between conjugations. Note:

Suffix 1

l conjugation Stem + (l) + da-y
y conjugation Stem + (y) + la-y
n conjugation Stem + la-y
r conjugation Stem + da-y

Suffix 2

l conjugation Stem + l + a:-y
y conjugation Stem + wa:-y
n conjugation Stem + wa:-y
r conjugation Stem + r + a:-y

It does not seem likely that this system can be further clarified.
3.4.7. Aspect

R.H. Mathews (1902:142) indicates the presence in Yuwaalaraay of many different aspects. He says "There are forms of the verb to express beating going along the road, beating before some event, after some event, after eating and many others." Unfortunately, he does not exemplify all of these forms in his grammar. The examples he gives are:

'To beat again'    Ilalily bumullui
'To beat frequently'    Illa bumuldhe

The first form seems to exemplify the suffix meaning 'back' (see page 81). This suffix has not been recorded with the meaning 'again'. It occurs primarily with verbs which involve movement, e.g. 'run', 'walk', and on verbs of giving and taking. For example:

banagawuwi
run-back-N/F
'Han back'

This may simply indicate a gap in the recorded data. Alternatively, Mathews may have mistaken this form. Unfortunately, he gives only this one example. Examination of his notebooks does not clarify the matter.

The second form may be a progressive stem, without the tense affix (see 3.4.6.). We cannot, however, be sure of this.

The notebook also contains some examples of the other forms mentioned above. He gives:

'I'll beat after eating'    bumadhe
'We'll fight going along'    illa ngulli bumullawai
'I'll beat after some event'    illa bumulli
'I'll beat before some event'    baiandhu bumulli

(Mathews, Notebook 3:62)

The first two of these forms are not recognisable. They have not been attested, nor are any similar forms known. The second two forms both show the simple future tense of the verb 'to hit', without affixes of any kind, and clearly do not indicate an aspectual form.

A total of six aspectual affixes has been recorded for Yuwaalaraay. These are set out below.

Time

Three temporal aspect markers have been recorded. These could be glossed as immediate future, recent past, and distant past. In addition, the recent and distant past carry overtones of action in the morning and action in the evening respectively. These forms were included by
Mathews in his published Yuwaaliyaay information. He says (1902:141) "In the past and future tenses there are forms of the verb representing differences in the time of the performance of the action." He gives the following forms:

### Past Tense

- 'I beat a while ago' = *bumulngenbedhu*
- 'I beat yesterday' = *bumulmaianidhu*
- 'I beat, say a week ago,' = *bumuln̪edhu*
- 'I beat long ago' = *bumulawalunndhu*

### Future Tense

- 'I will beat presently' = *bumullidyu*
- 'I will beat tomorrow' = *bumuln̪edyu*
- 'I will beat sometime' = *bumullingwullidyu*

The starred forms are those which have been attested in the corpus. The form marked † is the normal finite future, *bumall*. (dhū, and the variant dyu are the forms given by Mathews as the first person singular subject bound pronoun.) The remaining forms cannot be related to any other forms which have been recorded.

-ŋayi-y

This suffix forms the basis of the immediate future and recent past forms. These have the meanings 'tomorrow' and 'yesterday' (usually 'yesterday in the morning'). The two meanings are disambiguated by the use of the regular future and non-future tense suffixes for ɣ class verbs. (That is, -ɣ future and -ŋi non-future.) The phonological rule formulated in 2.4.1, causes the non-future tense affix to be realised phonetically as [ŋi].

The -ŋayi-y forms of verbs in each of the four conjugations are derived thus:

- **I conjugation**: Stem + ɣ + ŋayi-y
- **ɣ conjugation**: Stem + ɣ + ŋayi-y
- **ŋ conjugation**: Stem + ŋayi-y
- **r conjugation**: Stem + r + ŋayi-y

For the I, ɣ and r conjugations we can postulate a single means of deriving these forms. This is:

Stem + CM + ŋayi-y

where CM represents conjugation marker. This formula can conceivably be extended to cover the -ŋ class, since geminated consonants are not found in Yuwaalaraay.
Examples showing the use of this suffix are:

**Immediate Future**

- gi:ru ɲiyani: bawulɲayiy 1 PL S/A sing-1-ɲayi-FUT
  - 'We will all sing tomorrow'

- gi:r ɲiyani ʔina:y wuɲayɲayiy 1 PL S/A go-FUT bathe-γ-ɲayi-FUT
  - 'We're going swimming tomorrow'

- gi:r ɲaya giya:na wanaɲayiy 1 SG S/A be-PROG-PRES throw-ɲayi-FUT
  - 'I'll throw (it) tomorrow'

- gi:r ɲaya ɲinu wuːrɲayiy 1 SG S/A 2 SG GEN give-r-ɲayi-FUT
  - 'I'll give (it) to you tomorrow'

**Recent Past**

- gi:r ɲaya ɬalɲayipi ɲaːma ɬinga: 1 SG S/A eat-1-ɲayi-N/F that meat-ABS
  - 'I ate the meat early in the morning'

- gi:r ɲaya ɡaliyayɲayiɲi 1 SG S/A climb-γ-ɲayi-N/F
  - 'I climbed (it) yesterday'

- baluɲayiɲi ɲaːma ɬayn die-ɲayi-N/F that man-ABS
  - 'He died yesterday morning'

- ɹmaya:-

  This form seems to indicate a more distant past, although it is occasionally glossed as 'yesterday'. It sometimes also has overtones of action in the evening. (In Wurm's field notes we find bumal-ˌmejaj ɬi 'I hit it last night'.)

  The conjugational affiliation of this suffix is not known. The non-future tense suffix -ni is a regular -γ class form, but it is also the regular non-future suffix for both -r and -ɲ class verbs. We cannot be certain which of these classes it is as there is no future tense affix attested. This would clarify the situation, as each class has a different future suffix (see 3.4.3.). It is not known whether a future tense form is appropriate for use with this suffix. If such a form did exist we would expect the meaning to be 'distant future'.
It seems most likely that *maya:* forms a -y class verb because the -y class is a large, open one. Both -ŋ and -r are small, closed classes.

-**maya**: is added to the verb stem in the same way as -ŋayl-y. That is:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋ class} & : \text{Stem + CM + maya:} - y \\
\text{y class} & \end{align*}
\]

Once again the ŋ conjugation marker is not realised phonetically. This can be explained by the fact that ŋm is not a valid cluster either intra- or intermorphemically in Yuwaalaraay.

Examples of the use of *maya:* are:

- gi:r ma:da:yu gulalmaya:ni
  dog-ERG bark-1-maya:-N/F
  'The dog barked long ago'

- gi:r ŋinda yina:ymaya:ni
  2 SG S/A come-y-maya:-N/F
  'You came long ago'

- gi:r nu: mawumaya:ni
  3 SG S/A dig-maya:-N/F
  'He dug (it) long ago'

- gi:r nama nu: bila:yu du:rmaya:ni
  that 3 SG S/A spear-INST spear-r-maya:-N/F
  'He speared it long ago'

  1 SG S/A meat-ABS give-r-maya:-N/F that child-DIM-ABS
  'I gave the meat to the child yesterday'

Donaldson records a similar three way temporal division in Ngiyambaa. She gives the following forms:

- -ŋari-y 'in the morning'
- -ŋa-y 'in the afternoon'
- -ŋabi-y 'at night'

These three forms "subdivide the twenty-four-hour cycle into three periods according to the movement of the sun" (Donaldson 1977:222). The Yuwaalaraay system appears to be much less exact, dividing a more extended period of time into somewhat imprecise categories. Overtones of the 'morning' and 'night' of Ngiyambaa still found in Yuwaalaraay
may indicate a closer relationship between the two systems at some
time in the past.

Two further aspects which are related to the concept of time have
been recorded. These convey approximately the meanings of 'all day'
and 'before'.

'all day'
The suffix generally glossed as 'all day' takes the following forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>conjugation</th>
<th>Stem + y + ŋayi-1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y conjugation</td>
<td>Stem + y + ŋayi-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ conjugation</td>
<td>Stem + ŋayi-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r conjugation</td>
<td>Stem + r + ŋayi-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The l conjugation pattern given above is an unexpected one. We
would expect, on the basis of formation patterns for other aspectual
forms, Stem + 1 + ŋayi-1. In fact, there is only one example of the
pattern Stem + y + ŋayi-1, so it could be regarded with some suspicion.

Note that the form of this suffix is the same as for the recent
past/immediate future suffix, but with a change in conjugation. It is
not known whether this homophony is significant.

As might be expected, 'all day' verbs are invariably inflected into
a progressive tense. It is interesting, although perhaps not terribly
important, that the progressive suffix is always the suffix l type.
(see 3.4.6.)

Examples of the use of this suffix are:

- **gi:ru bira li:du:1 bamba yuŋayıldanı**
  - child-DIM-ABS strong, hard cry-all day-1-PROG-PAST
  - 'The child cried hard all day'

- **gi:r nama bira li:ga l wuŋayŋayıldanı**
  - the child-PL-ABS swim-y-all day-1- PROG-PAST
  - 'The children swam all day'

The idea 'all day' was included in most of the examples elicited.
There was, however, one example which showed a slightly different
meaning.

- **buba:yu:1 birali: bında:ŋayılana / wa:lu ma:yu**
  - small-DIM-ABS child-ABS fall-all day-1-PROG-PRES  NEG-POT well
  - yina:ylanı
  - go/come-PROG-PRES

The translation which was given for this sentence is 'The baby falls
over all the time. He can't walk properly'.

It seems from this example that Yuwaalaraya -ŋayi-1 may cover the
same range of situations as those covered by -ŋila-y (continued action)

If the action has not yet begun, -ŋila-ŋ indicates that the agent engages in it ... if the action is already on-going, that it is persisted in ... If the reference is not to a single instance of the action, but to a continued series of actions, -ŋila-ŋ can be translated 'make a habit of doing' or 'generally (do)' ...

The last Yuwaalaraay example is an instance of the last function of Ngiyambaa -ŋila-ŋ - the action is continued in a series, and is glossed as 'always'. The first two examples in this section indicate a continuity of activity, equivalent to the second Ngiyambaa usage. No examples of the first type have been recorded in Yuwaalaraay.

'before'
The suffix glossed 'before' indicates that some action happened at a previous time, as does -NHumi-ŋ in Ngiyambaa (Donaldson 1978:225). It is often glossed by informants as 'yesterday'.

The examples available do not make it possible for us to be certain of the form the suffix takes. Two possible derivational patterns can be suggested. These are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1 conjugation} & \quad \text{y conjugation} & \quad \text{ŋ conjugation} & \quad r \text{ conjugation} \\
\text{Stem} + \text{CM} + ay-1
\end{align*}
\]

or

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1 conjugation} & \quad \text{y conjugation} & \quad \text{ŋ conjugation} & \quad r \text{ conjugation} \\
\text{Stem} + \text{CM} + ayla-ŋ
\end{align*}
\]

If the first pattern is correct, all the attested forms are in progressive tenses (see 3.4.6.) (i.e. the verbs all take the form Stem + before + PROG + tense). The fact that examples are not always glossed progressively may indicate that the second alternative is more correct. A greater range of examples would disambiguate the situation, as tense endings would show us whether the forms were progressives or not (there is a three way tense distinction in progressive forms, but only a two way distinction for finite verb forms). All the examples recorded have the tense marked by -ni, which is the past tense for progressives and the non-future for finites.

There is a further reason for suggesting that the second pattern is the more correct. Apart from the first pattern outlined above, no
verbal suffix in the corpus ends in a consonant. It seems odd that only one verbal suffix should end in a consonant. The second pattern seems more likely to be correct. Examples are:

\[gi:r \ \eta u: \ \eta nu: \ \eta ma \ \eta benda: \ \eta r \ \eta bila: \ \eta yu \ \eta duraylan i \]
3 SG S/A The kangaroo-ABS spear-INST pierce-r-before-N/F

'He speared the kangaroo yesterday'

\[gi:r \ \eta nu:lay \ \eta yina: \ \eta yaylan i \]
1 SG S/A there come/go-y- Before-N/F

'I was there yesterday'

\[gi:r \ \eta birali: \ \eta qu: l \ \eta yu: \ \eta naylan i \]
child-DIM-ABS cry-y-Before-N/F

'The child was crying before'

\[gi:r \ \eta birali: \ \eta qu: l \ \eta nama \ \eta wi: \ \eta garalaylan i \]
child-DIM-ABS the wood-ABS cut-l-before-N/F

'The child cut wood yesterday'

Completive

The verbal suffix -\(a:ba-l\) indicates the completive aspect, and adds the meaning 'all' to the sentence. The suffix operates ergatively, indicating 'all' O for a transitive sentence, 'all' S for an intransitive. For example:

**total O**

\[ma: \ \eta da:yu \ \eta buya \ \eta \eta a:ma \ \eta duwimala: \ \eta ba:y \]
dog-ERG bone-ABS the uncover-COMP-N/F

'The dog dug up all the bones'

**total S**

\[gi:ru \ \eta a:ma \ \eta birali: \ \eta gal \ \eta bunda: \ \eta wa: \ \eta ba:y \]
the child-PL-ABS fall-COMP-N/F

'All the children fell down'

Completive forms are derived thus:

- \(|\) conjugation \(\) Stem + | + a:ba-l
- \(y\) conjugation \(\) Stem + wa:ba-l
- \(r\) conjugation \(\) Stem + r + a:ba-l

The suffix forms an 1 class verb, which is then inflected for tense. The normal 1 class imperative and future tenses are found, as in

\[da:y \ \eta nanunda \ \eta yina: \ \eta wa: \ \eta bala \]
This way 1 SG DAT come-COMP-IMP

'Come to me all of you!'
That 1 SG S/A small stick-ABS break-COMP-FUT
'I will break the stick all up'

Gar i ya ma du wa:r wu:ra:bala
PROHIB the Bread-ABS give-COMP-IMP
'Don't give all the bread away!'

The non-future tense is indicated by use of the variant suffix -:y
(see 3.4.3.). For example:

gi:r nama ganugu birali:galu ma:yama wanawa:ba:y
that 3 PL A child-PL-ERG stone-ABS throw-COMP-N/F
'The kids threw all the stones away'

The term 'back' has been chosen for this suffix. This corresponds

The suffix is used most often with intransitive verbs of motion,
introducing a distinction between forms such as 'run - run back',
'come - come back'. Verbs of position have also been recorded with
this suffix. For example:

na:diya:nda nama birali:qu:i wilawuwuni
Log-LOC the child-DIM-ABS sit-back-N/F
'The boy sat back against the log'

Transitive verbs which can involve movement of the object (e.g.
'give', 'take', 'throw') may use the suffix. It has been recorded on
the verb 'look', but this was an elicited example and, as Donaldson
(1977:233) notes for Ngiyambaa, may be a calque formation. The pattern
of formation is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugation</th>
<th>Stem + l + uwi-γ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>γ conjugation</td>
<td>Stem + w + uwi-γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η conjugation</td>
<td>Stem + w + uwi-γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r conjugation</td>
<td>Stem + g + uwi-γ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 'back' suffix has been recorded on two η conjugation verbs,
wana-η 'throw' and ga:-η 'bring', 'take'. The two verbs had slightly
different 'back' forms, and the two patterns of formation are shown
above. (wana- takes +w+uwi-γ, ga:- takes +g+uwi-γ.) The significance
of this difference is not known.

Normal -γ conjugation tense endings are used. Some examples showing
the use of the suffix are:
wu:ruwiya  
nama ŋay  
bi la:r  
give-r-back-IMP  
That 1 SG GEN  
spear-ABS  
'Give my spear back to me!'

gi:r ŋaya  
bi la:r  
gaguwini  
1 SG S/A  
spear-ABS  
take-g-back-N/F  
'I took the spear back'

gi:r ŋayala:  
yina:ruwiya  
1 SG S/A  
come-w-back-FUT  
'I'll come back (to see you)'

bir ali:du ŋa:ma bugala:  
wana:ruwiya  
buwa  
child-ERG  
the  
spear-ABS  
throw-w-back-N/F  
father-LOC  
'The child threw the spear back to (his) father'

3.4.8. Suffixes Forming Intransitive Stems

Two suffixes which form intransitive stems have been recorded. 
(Intransitive stems are those whose subject noun is marked by the 
absolutive case.) They are the reciprocal and reflexive forms.

Reciprocal

The reciprocal suffix indicates identical action by two or more 
protagonists of the same type (for instance 'two dogs', 'two men'. etc.) 
when each directs the action towards the other. This function is re-
flected in English by 'each other' translations. Transitive verb roots 
and verbs related to speech and anger are appropriate for use with this 
suffix. The following patterns of formation have been attested.

| conjugation | Stem + l + ala-y  |
| l conjugation | Stem + d + ala-y |

The form inflects into future and imperative forms in the same way as 
finite -y class verbs. For example:

gariyanda:li  
b umala la ya  
PROHIB-2 DU S/A  
hit-l-RECIP-IMP  
'Stop fighting you two!'

gaba ŋiyani  
guwa:la lay  
good 1 PL S/A  
speak-l-RECIP-PRES  
'We'll talk to each other good'

The non-future forms are divided in the reciprocal, as in the pro-
gressive tenses (see 3.4.6.) into past and present. They are, in fact, 
often translated as progressives. Attempts to elicit pairs of sentences 
contrasting punctiliar and progressive reciprocal forms (e.g. 'The two 
men were talking to each other' and 'The two men talked to each other')
always resulted in the same Yuwaalaraay sentence being given for each of the suggested English models. It may be that there is some element of continuing action contained in the reciprocal forms. This is reflected by the use of the pattern of tense marking which is appropriate for progressives.

Examples of the past and present reciprocal forms are:

\[ \text{gi:r nama bula:yu dinga: wu:dalana} \]
\[ \text{That two-ERG meat-ABS give-d-RECIP-PRES} \]
\[ \text{'They give meat to each other'} \]

This example possibly includes an element of habitual meaning, i.e. 'they give meat to each other habitually, as a result of social obligations'.

\[ \text{gi:r nama bula:r dayn yaylalani} \]
\[ \text{That two-ABS man-ABS rouse on-l-RECIP-PAST} \]
\[ \text{'The two men were quarrelling'} \]

\[ \text{gi:ru nama gagil birali:gal nimalalana} \]
\[ \text{The bad-ABS child-PL-ABS pinch-l-RECIP-PRES} \]
\[ \text{'The bad children are pinching each other'} \]

Reflexive

The reflexive suffix forms an intransitive $y$ conjugation verb from a transitive stem (see page 93 for a definition of an intransitive verb). Reflexive forms indicate that the subject directs the action towards himself. The pattern of formation is:

\[ \begin{align*}
1\text{ conjugation} & \quad \text{Stem +} \quad \eta:11-y \\
\eta\text{ conjugation} & \quad \text{Stem +} \quad \eta:li-y \\
r\text{ conjugation} & \quad \text{Stem +} \quad \eta:li-y 
\end{align*} \]

There is one example of what appears to be the reflexive added to an intransitive $y$ conjugation verb. The verb in question is $\text{garrunga-y 'drown'}$. No transitive instances of this verb have been attested, but it seems that a transitive equivalent is likely to exist. What this transitive form would be is not known. One possibility is $*\text{garrunga-l}$ (see 4.6.). If this is the transitive verb, then we can say that the example is of the transitive form + reflexive, not intransitive + reflexive. The example is:

\[ \text{gi:r na:ma yinar garrunga:li:pi} \]
\[ \text{the woman-ABS drown-REFL-N/F} \]

In English this sentence would have overtones of intention - 'The woman drowned herself on purpose'. It is not known whether the same meaning is present in Yuwaalaraay.
Examples showing reflexive forms are:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{bu} \text{ma} & \text{Qi} : \text{li} \text{pi} \text{Qaya} \\
\text{hit-REFL-N/F 1 SG S/A} & \\
'I \text{ hit myself}'
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{gi:r} & \text{qinda} \quad \text{garanji:liy} \\
2 \text{ SG S/A cut-REFL-PUT} & \\
'\text{You'll cut yourself}'
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{gar} \text{iya bila:yu} & \quad \text{dur} \text{anji:liya} \\
\text{NEG IMP spear-INST pierce-REFL-IMP} & \\
'Don't \text{ spear yourself!}'
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ma} : \text{da:y} & \text{ nama mawunji:li} \text{ni} \\
\text{dog-ABS the dig-REFL-N/F} & \\
'The \text{ dog scratched himself}'
\end{align*} \]

3.4.9. Transitiviser

The suffix -\text{ma-l} derives a transitive verb form from an intransitive. It has also been recorded as a transitive verbaliser on two English loan words. These are \text{gigima-l} 'kick' (from English 'kick') and \text{du:dimam-l} 'shoot' (from English 'shoot'). The regular formation is:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{y class} & \quad \text{Stem + ma-l} \\
\text{ŋ class} &
\end{align*} \]

There is, however, at least one irregular form. This is the verb 'to cry', \text{yu-ŋ}, which has the -\text{ma-l} form yubama-l.

-\text{ma-l} adds a 'causative' meaning when used with an intransitive verb. (So, for example, the contrast between 'she cried' and 'she made (caused) him (to) cry'.) Donaldson (1977:197) notes an interesting restraint on the use of the causative in Ngiyambaa. She says "\text{ma-l}... is only used where the introduced 'causer' is directly responsible for the event's taking place.". That is, if an action requires volition on the part of the subject (as in verbs like 'spear', 'run') the causative -\text{ma-l} cannot be used. This is also true of Yuwaalaraay. With verbs which cannot take -\text{ma-l} Yuwaalaraay instead uses the construction 'tell (x) to do (y)', as does Ngiyambaa.

-\text{ma-l} takes the L2 conjugation non-future tense allomorph, see 3.4.3. Examples showing the use of this suffix are:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{gi:ru nama dayn:du:} & \text{ l qana bunda:ma:y} \\
\text{that man-DIM-ABS 1 SG 0 fall-ma-N/F} & \\
'The \text{ man made me fall over}'
\end{align*} \]
3.4.10. Benefactive

The semantic effect of this suffix is to add to the verb the information that the action is undertaken for the benefit of some other person. The syntactic effect is to form a three place verb from a two place one. (All of the known examples of the use of this suffix are on transitive verbs. Examples with intransitives (e.g. 'She ran for me?') have not occurred spontaneously, nor have they been elicited.) That is, the verb now requires three noun phrases - the agent (marked with the ergative case), the object (marked with the absolutive case) and the person who benefits from the action (marked with the benefactive case). See 4.3.5.

The pattern of formation is:

1 conjugation  Stem + :li-γ
η conjugation  Stem + ngi:li-γ
r conjugation  Stem + r + ngi:li-γ

No verbs from the predominantly intransitive γ conjugation have been recorded with this suffix.

Some examples of the verbal benefactive are:

gi:r ŋay
bring-BENEF-IMP 1 SG GEN
'Bring (it) for me!'

3.4.10. Benefactive

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The pattern of formation is:

1 conjugation  Stem + :li-γ
η conjugation  Stem + ngi:li-γ
r conjugation  Stem + r + ngi:li-γ

No verbs from the predominantly intransitive γ conjugation have been recorded with this suffix.

Some examples of the verbal benefactive are:

`ga:ŋi:liya ŋay`
`bring-BENEF-IMP 1 SG GEN`
'Bring (it) for me!'

`gi:r ŋay ŋinu yilama:lipi nama / daligunda`
`1 SG S/A 2 SG GEN cook-BENEF-N/F that eat-PUT-PURP-2 SG S/A`
'I cooked it for you to eat'

`gi:r ŋay ŋinu yilama:lipi nama / daligunda`
`1 SG S/A 2 SG GEN cook-BENEF-N/F that eat-PUT-PURP-2 SG S/A`
'I cooked it for you to eat'

`gu: bila:yu ŋa:ma banda:r durngi:lipi`
`3 SG S/A spear-INST the kangaroo-ABS pierce-BENEF-N/F`

`yinargalga:gu`
`woman-PL-BENEF`
'He speared the kangaroo for the women'

`gi:r ŋay ŋinu ga:ŋi:lipi`
`1 SG S/A 2 SG GEN bring-BENEF-N/F`
'I brought it for you'
3.4.11. Stem Affix

-a:bulda is a stem affix which is best translated as 'together'. It does not change the transitivity of the verb, nor does it inflect for tense. It has only been recorded on -l and -y class verbs. The forms are derived in the following way:

- l conjugation  Stem + l + a:bulda
- y conjugation  Stem + y + a:bulda

A general rule can be formulated for these two conjugations:

Stem + CM + a:bulda

Examples showing the use of this suffix are:

burula: niyani  gindamaya:bulda
much  l PL S/A laugh- y-together
'We're all laughing together'

ga:y niyani  guwa:la:bulda
l PL S/A talk-l-together
'We're all talking here'

3.4.12. Reduplicated Verbs

A number of instances of reduplication of verb roots has been recorded in Yuwaalaraay. Where the verb roots consist of two or three syllables, the first CVCV segment is copied onto the front of the root. (So, from the root banaga-y, we get the reduplicated form banabanaga-y, not *banagabana-y.) This pattern of formation applies to all conjugations, with the possible exception of the r conjugation. No reduplicated r conjugation verbs have been recorded.

One monosyllabic root has been recorded in a reduplicated form. This is yu-ŋ 'cry', which becomes yu:yu-ŋ. It is not known whether this pattern of reduplication is a productive one which can apply to other monosyllabic roots.

The semantic effect of reduplication in Yuwaalaraay seems to be the same as in Ngiyambaa (see Donaldson 1977). That is to say, the action of the verb is seen as being less than whole-hearted. So, for example, from qara-l 'look, see' we get qaraqara-l which was translated by the informant as 'mind' (perhaps 'keep an eye on'). Donaldson gives 'more or less' as an appropriate gloss for verb reduplication in Ngiyambaa. This gloss would also be appropriate for many of the Yuwaalaraay examples (although not, perhaps, for the qara-l example given above).

Some examples of reduplicated verbs are:
Donaldson (1977) notes that in Ngiyambaa some verbs are semantically unsuitable for reduplication. These are verbs which cannot be 'more or less'. The action in this type of verb either occurs or does not occur. Although specific information on this point is not available for Yuwaalaraay, it seems probable that the same restraint would apply.

3.5. DEMONSTRATIVES

Yuwaalaraay appears to have had a very complex set of demonstratives. It has not been possible to define the underlying principles in any satisfactory way. In most cases, the translations given are merely the closest English equivalents, and should not be regarded as covering the full range of meaning of the form.

We can recognise three broad groups within the demonstratives. These are:

1. directional demonstratives - used with verbs of motion;
2. locational demonstratives - associated with a noun or verb;
3. determiner/demonstratives - associated with a noun.

3.5.1. Directional Demonstratives

Directional demonstratives are used with verbs of motion to indicate the direction of the motion. The forms attested are:

1. *da:y* - 'this way, to here' (with reference to the speaker)

This form is frequently used with the verb *yina:-y*, the unmarked verb of motion. (*yina:-y* can be translated as 'go', 'come' or 'walk'.) So, for example:

\[ da:y \quad yina:ya \]
\[ this \ way \ come-IMP \]

'Come here!' (i.e. 'to me, the speaker')
da:y usually occurs directly before the verb, but not invariably.

\[\text{da:y} \quad \text{name ganuŋa} \quad \text{yina:wa:na} \]
\[\text{this way the 3 PL S/O come-PROG-PRES} \]
\[\text{They're coming this way} \]

2. njilay - 'from here' (with reference to the speaker)

For example:

\[\text{yina:ya} \quad \text{njilay} \]
\[\text{go/walk-IMP from here} \]
\[\text{'Walk away from here' (i.e. 'from where I am') }\]

It is not clear whether the ordering in the above example is the preferred order for this demonstrative. Most other demonstratives precede the verb.

3. qada:li - 'down'. Indicates motion downwards. So, for example:

\[\text{qada:li} \quad \text{ŋu: baŋani} \]
\[\text{down 3 SG S/A fly-N/F} \]
\[\text{'He flew down'} \]

(This example comes from Text 5.10, and refers to the hawk flying down to spill the fire from the needlebush pod.)

4. yalagida:y - 'right round'. This form has been recorded with reference to the flight of a boomerang (in 5.7.).

\[\text{yalagida:y} \quad \text{ŋa:ma dura:y} \]
\[\text{right round that come-N/F} \]
\[\text{'It (boomerang) came right round'} \]

No further examples have been recorded.

5. nara:ngu - 'further ahead'. This form has only been recorded in one instance (see 5.9.). It is not clear whether this is a genuine demonstrative form. It may simply be a noun plus the allative -gu.

6. maragulay - 'over this way'. Recorded with reference to the hopping of a bird (see 5.10).

\[\text{gi:r namana ŋa:rigulay maragulay ba:lan} \]
\[\text{the - over that way over this way hop-PROG-PAST} \]
\[\text{'He (black cockatoo) was hopping this way and that way'} \]

7. ŋa:rigulay - 'over that way'. See example above. Has also been glossed by informants as 'long way', 'out that way'.
8. ˙ara:guna (|=a), ˙ara:gunay - 'over that way'. The two forms given above are probably variants of the one form. ˙ara:guna has only been attested with following -|=a. It is not clear whether -|=a is part of the root, or whether it is the suffix -|=a (see 3.2.). ˙ara:gunay has not been recorded with following -|=a. Examples are:

- ˙ara:guna:|=a girangira:gu
  'over that way-? leaves-PURP
  '(Go) over there for leaves'

- gi:r yina:ni ˙ara:gunay
  go-N/F over that way
  'He went over that way'

It also seems that ˙a:rigunay (see 7 above) and ˙ara:guna(|=a)/ ˙ara:gunay may be variants (or mistranscriptions) of each other. They appear to have similar functions.

3.5.2. Locational Demonstratives

The locational demonstratives may indicate

a. the location of an action
b. the location of an object

Some of the forms discussed in 3.5.3. may also function as locational demonstratives. So, for example, nirma, nama, =u:ma.

A number of the locational demonstratives have a common base, namely ˙a:ri-. These forms are:

- ˙a:rima 'here'
- ˙a:ribal 'over there'
- ˙a:rimalay 'that way (there?)'
- ˙a:ri|=a:ri(|=a) 'right over there'

The principle involved here seems to be that of proximity (to the speaker?). Examples of these forms are:

- yila: ˙a:ma:|=a / ˙a:rima da:y
  later the ? here this way
  'Later (it came) here, this way' (5.7.)

- yila: ˙a:ribal di:l diyama:y
  soon over there tail-ABS pick up-N/F
  'Soon (the black cockatoo) picked his tail up over there (over his back)' (5.10.)

- ˙a:rimalay ˙ara:la
  that way look-IMP
  'Look over there!'
1. marama - usually translated as 'there' (possibly + 'close?'). For example:

```
marama ŋuːŋu  gundi
there 3 SG GEN house–ABS
'There's his house'
```

2. ŋuːlay - 'here'. For example:

```
yilawaya ŋuːlay
sit–IMP here
'Sit here'
```

3. niːrbala - recorded only once, translated as 'over there'.

```
iːrbala ŋaya  buːrandumu  danduwimali
over there 1 SG S/A meat ant–INST? Tie down–TRS–FUT
'(He) laid them on an ant bed over there' (5.3.)
```

4.  ámbala( a) - 'over there'. For example:

```
 ámbalaŋa  guniːbu:
over there–? robin redbreast
'The/A redbreast was over there' (5.4. See also 5.11.)
```

5. -navigation - 'down there'. This form has been recorded with a verb of motion, banaga–γ 'to run'. It indicates the location of the running, not the direction. Note, however, the similarity in form to the directional demonstrative -navigation 'down'. (See 3.5.1.)

```
avigation  banaganini
down there (? run–N/F–?
'(He) ran down there'
(Talking of the time when baːyama was on earth) (See 5.3.)
```

6. -navigation: - 'up there'. This form has not been recorded in a sentence so we can not be sure whether it is locational or directional. The gloss given does suggest location rather than direction.
3.5.3. Determiner / Demonstratives

A number of forms have been recorded acting as either determiners or demonstratives. These forms can also replace a noun or a pronoun, especially a third person pronoun.

1. na:ma - 'that', 'the', 'there'. The form na:ma alternates freely with nama and qa:ma. When acting as a determiner it usually precedes the noun to which it refers. For example:

   gagil nama yinar
   bad  That woman-ABS
   'That woman is bad'

   giyal  qa:ma birali:  gi:пи
   afraid-ABS that  child-ABS be-N/F
   'The child is frightened'

   The form namalay, translated as 'that' has also been recorded. For example:

   qa:ndi namalay
   who-ABS That
   'Who's that?'  (5.5.)

2. nalay - 'this, here'. Has the alternate form qa:lay. For example:

   nalay gaba
   this  good
   'This is good'

   A derived form, nalayga:, glossed by the informant as 'this one', has also been recorded.

   nalayga: qa:ngi:
   this one uncle-ABS
   'This one, uncle?'  (5.9.)

3. nirma - usually means 'there', but has also been recorded as a replacement for a pronoun or a noun. For example:

   nirma qali  giban  mawugi
   there 1 DU S/A yam-ABS dig-FUT
   'We'll dig yams there'

   nirma girandu namurala
   ash-INST bury-IMP
   'Bury (the emu) with ashes!'

4. qa:ma - acts in the same way as nirma. That is, usually translated as 'there', but may also act as a determiner. For example:
4. SYNTAX

4.1. SIMPLE SENTENCES

Yuwaalaraay has simple sentences of two basic types, verbal and non-verbal.

4.1.1. Non-Verbal Sentences

Non-verbal sentences lack a verb, consisting simply of a topic and a comment. The topic noun phrase is typically absolutive, (i.e. marked with Ø inflection) but may also include a genitive. For example:

\[ \text{gagil } \text{ngay } \text{dinga:} \]
\[ \text{bad-ABS 1 SG GEN meat-ABS} \]

'My meat is bad'

The comment is frequently an adjective, in which case it precedes the topic.

\[ \text{bulu:y } \text{nama mada:y} \]
\[ \text{black-ABS the dog-ABS} \]

'The dog is black'

\[ \text{nuwi } \text{nama dinga:} \]
\[ \text{rotten-ABS the meat-ABS} \]

'The meat is rotten'

The comment may also be an inflected noun phrase, in which case it follows the topic. For example:

Locative

\[ \text{mazr } \text{nalur } \text{gunjanda} \]
\[ \text{NEG fish-ABS water-LOC} \]

'There are no fish in the water'
bindiya: nama ɲay babuya
prickle-ABS ɹhe 1 SG GEN foot-LOC
'There's a prickle in my foot'

Genitive

nama buyuma buwaŋargu
The dog-ABS father-GEN
'The dog is father's'

dinga: nama ɲay
meat-ABS ɹhe 1 SG GEN
'The meat is mine'

4.1.2. Verbal Sentences

Two main types of verbal sentence are found in Yuwaalaraay. These are transitive and intransitive. Transitive sentences typically contain a subject (actor) marked with the ergative suffix (see 3.1.) and an object marked with the absolutive (Ø) suffix (but see 4.3.2.). The most frequently occurring word order for transitive sentences is NP_A NP_O V. This order was recorded in 65% of 150 sentences. For example:

gulil:yu ɲay birali: wambala:na
spouse-ERG 1 SG GEN child-ABS carry-PROG-PRES
'My wife is carrying the baby'

Although this order is statistically most frequent, many other permutations have been recorded. For example:

O-V-A

burula: ɲay duwar wu:ni dayndu
much-ABS 1 SG GEN food-ABS give-N/F man-ERG
'The man gave me a lot of food'

A-V-O

yinayu wagirmay birali:
woman-ERG wash-N/F child-ABS
'The woman washed the child'

V-A-O

namu ray nama ma:da:yu dinga:
bury-N/F The dog-ERG meat-ABS
'The dog buried the meat'

A number of transitive verbs have been recorded in sentences without objects. They are known to be transitive verbs because the subject noun phrase is marked with the ergative suffix. The verbs are:
ba-wi-1 'sing'
gi-gud-y 'sneeze'
*ŋu-rulu-(y) 'snore'
gu-nu-gu-du-y 'cough'

All of these verbs have only one appropriate object, which can be deleted. yu-gal ('song'), the only possible object of ba-wi-1 'sing' has sometimes been recorded in the sentence. For example:

\begin{verbatim}
yama gi nda yu-gal bawili
2 SG S/A song-ABS sing-FUT
'Will you sing a song?'
\end{verbatim}

The objects of the other three verbs have not been recorded in this way. For example:

\begin{verbatim}
yinayu ŋu-ruluwa:na
woman-ERG snore-PROG-PRES
'The woman is snoring'
\end{verbatim}

Crowley (1978:107) records a number of Waalubal verbs which are demonstrably transitive, but which never take an object. The verbs are:

\begin{verbatim}
gi ndayma 'defecate'
daluba 'urinate'
biru 'yawn'
a:ri 'dance'
ba-ma 'put on (of clothes)'
yarbi 'sing'
wulbi 'make (of noise)'
duma 'smoke (of cigarettes)'
\end{verbatim}

We do not have sufficient evidence to state that all the corresponding Yuwaalaraya verbs are transitive, although it seems possible. The principle of verbs concerned with functions of the body with only one possible object is certainly the same. The fact that the ergative suffix in Yuwaalaraya can be optionally deleted under certain conditions (see 4.3.2.) may increase the difficulty of establishing the transitivity of these verbs. The ergative suffix can be deleted when no ambiguity is possible. Thus, for example, if 'urinate' is a transitive verb with 'urine' as its only possible, and therefore deletable, object, it should be possible to delete the ergative marking. In fact, the only sentential example of gi:li-y does not have ergative marking.

\begin{verbatim}
gi:r nama bira-li:du-l gi:li-ni napkinda
the child-DIM-ABS urinate-N/F nappy-LOC
'The baby urinated in his nappy'
\end{verbatim}
However, without further examples we cannot be sure of the transitivity of the verb. The same is true of the other verbs which are transitive in Waalubal. There may be other 'body function' verbs which also act in the same way - for example 'spit'.

Intransitive verbs do not take an object, and mark their subject with the absolutive suffix (Ø). The most frequently recorded order is NP V. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dayn} & \quad \text{nama} \quad \text{da:y} \quad \text{yinawa:na} \\
\text{man-ABS} & \quad \text{the} \quad \text{this way} \quad \text{come-PRG-PRES} \\
\text{'The man is coming this way'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{banda:r} & \quad \text{ba:n1} \\
\text{kangaroo-ABS} & \quad \text{hop-N/F} \\
\text{'The kangaroo hopped (away)'}
\end{align*}
\]

Both transitive and intransitive sentences may take a complement NP which may be inflected into one of the local cases, the benefactive or the dative. These complement noun phrases most frequently follow the verb. (They did so in 72% of a sample of 120 sentences.) For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{guli:yu} & \quad \text{nyay} \quad \text{biral1i:} \quad \text{wambala:na} \quad \text{bawaga} \\
\text{spouse-ERG 1 SG GEN} & \quad \text{child-ABS} \quad \text{carry-PRG-PRES} \quad \text{back-LOC} \\
\text{'My wife is carrying the child on (her) back'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yinayu} & \quad \text{nama} \quad \text{du:} \quad \text{gimbly} \quad \text{biral1i:gu} \\
\text{woman-ERG} & \quad \text{the} \quad \text{fire-ABS} \quad \text{make-N/F} \quad \text{child-BENEF} \\
\text{'The woman made a fire for the child'}
\end{align*}
\]

One verb which cannot really be called either transitive or intransitive has been recorded. This is the verb \text{dama-} 'rain', which forms a sentence containing neither subject nor object. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gi:r} & \quad \text{bamba} \quad \text{damawa:na} \\
\text{hard} & \quad \text{rain-PRG-PRES} \\
\text{'(It) is raining hard'}
\end{align*}
\]

Eades (personal communication) records a similar phenomenon in Gumbaynggir.

\textbf{4.2. THE NOUN PHRASE}

Noun phrases in Yuwaalaraay are of two basic types - genitive (indicating possession) or non-genitive. Each of these two types can be further divided into a number of sub-types.
4.2.1. Non-Genitive Noun Phrases

Non-genitive noun phrases may be either pronominal or non-pronominal. A pronominal non-genitive noun phrase consists simply of a pronoun. A non-pronominal, non-genitive noun phrase may consist of an adjective, a noun plus an adjective, or a noun. The most frequent order is adjective preceding noun. Inflection of the adjective to agree in case with the noun is optional, but is more likely to occur when the noun and its modifying adjective are separated within the sentence, or when the normal word order is altered. For example:

\[ \text{buma:y dayndu} / \text{buabayu dayn} / \text{wamubididu} \]
\[ \text{hit-N/P man-ERG thin-ABS man-ABS fat-big-ERG} \]

'The fat man hit the thin man'

This indicates the syntactic importance of word order within the adjectival noun phrase. An adjective immediately preceding a noun will normally be understood to modify that noun unless it is marked to agree in case with some other noun in the sentence. The fact that the tendencies outlined above are not absolute may suggest that Yuwaalaraay is hovering between two systems - one where word order is fixed (adjective precedes noun), the other where the adjective must be marked to agree with the noun, but word order is completely free. The interesting question is, of course, towards which extreme was Yuwaalaraay developing?

It has not been possible to elicit noun phrases containing more than one adjective. Attempts to elicit such sequences always resulted in the informant offering two sentences. For example:

\[ \text{birali:du:l } \text{ŋa:ma bunda:ni guṇanda} / \text{baliya:ga / bulu:y} \]
\[ \text{child-DIM-ABS the fall-N/P water-LOC cold-LOC black-ABS} \]
\[ \text{ŋa:ma guṇan} \]
\[ \text{the water-ABS} \]

'The child fell into the cold water. The water was black'

(The sentence requested was 'The child fell into the cold black water')

\[ \text{gi:ru nama birali:du:l } \text{ɡarigaːti gigilani } \text{burulbidid} \]
\[ \text{the child-DIM-ABS afraid be-PROG-PAST big-big-SOU} \]
\[ \text{gunad} \]
\[ / \text{gagil nama guna} \]
\[ \text{scorpion-SOU bad-ABS the scorpion-ABS} \]

'The child was afraid of the big scorpion. The scorpion was bad'

('The child was afraid of the big bad scorpion')

4.2.2. Genitive Noun Phrases

Genitive noun phrases may be either pronominal or non-pronominal. In a sample of twenty sentences containing pronominal genitive noun phrases the possessed noun preceded the pronoun in thirteen instances.
The possessed noun is optionally marked with the genitive suffix. (This occurred in six out of thirteen cases of possessed-possessor ordering, but in none of the cases of possessor-possessed ordering.)

Non-pronominal genitive noun phrases showed the ordering possessor-possessed in thirteen out of twenty-two examples. Marking of the possessed noun to agree with the possessor (i.e. inflection into the genitive) is not usual, but has been recorded. For example:

\[
gi: \text{r} \quad \eta a:y \quad \eta a:m \quad \text{gama}:y \quad / \quad gi: \eta a:gu \quad \text{wala}:ygu
\]

1 SG S/A the break-N/F black ant-GEN camp-GEN

'I broke the black ant's nest'

The possessor noun (or pronoun) is obligatorily marked with the genitive, except in cases of inalienable possession. See page 103.

Genitive marking of both constituents of a noun phrase is obligatory when the noun phrase is further inflected into one of the local cases. When followed by a further case suffix the genitive takes the form -\eta un-. The local case is added only to the possessed noun, which could be seen as the 'head' noun of the noun phrase. For example:

\[
\text{banagaya} \quad \eta u:ma \quad \eta a:m \quad \text{gunda} \quad \eta i:nu
\]

run-IMP there mother-\eta un-LOC 2 SG GEN

'Run to your mother!'

See also the examples at 3.1.1.

Two examples of a genitive NP inflected into a syntactic case have been recorded. (See page 105 for the division of cases into syntactic and local.) In both examples the possessed noun is inflected in the syntactic case and the possessor in the genitive. The possessed noun is not inflected in the genitive. The examples are:

\[
gu:li:yu \quad \eta ay \quad \text{birali:} \quad \text{wambala}:n: \quad \text{na}
\]

spouse-ERG 1 SG GEN child-ABS carry-PROG-PRES

'My wife is carrying the child'

\[
di:na\text{wandu} \quad \eta a:m \quad \eta a:y \quad \text{gama}:y \quad \text{dinagu} \quad \eta u:nu
\]

\text{emu}-ERG \quad \text{the stick-ABS} \quad \text{break-N/F} \quad \text{foot-INST} \quad 3 \text{ SG GEN}

'The emu broke the stick with his foot'

4.3. CASES

4.3.1. Absolutive

The absolutive (\(\emptyset\)) inflection marks transitive object (O) and intransitive subject (S). Absolutive noun phrases usually directly precede the verb. For example:
gi:r nama da:yu birali: buma:y
the man-erg child-abs hit-n/f
'The man hit the child'

birali: bunda:ni
child-abs fall-n/f
'The child fell down'

This position is characteristic of absolutive noun phrases in many Australian languages. (See, for example, Blake 1976:485.)

4.3.2. Ergative-Instrumental

The ergative inflection is given to the subject of a transitive sentence (A). Ergative marking is obligatory, except in cases where the context serves to disambiguate the sentence. This is usually when A is animate and O is inanimate. For example:

gi:r nama ma:da:y diQ ga:dala-ba:y
that dog- meat-abs eat-comp-n/f
'The dog ate all the meat'

The 'meat' in this sentence obviously cannot be the actor, so there is no need to mark 'dog' with the ergative case.

The ergative inflection may also be omitted when the object is pronominal. First and second person pronouns have an object form which is distinct from the subject (S and A) form (see 3.3.1.). This renders the use of the ergative unnecessary. For example:

gi:r nama nirma ma:da:y yi:1 Qayfl l
1 sg o there dog- bite-nay-past
'The dog bit me yesterday'

The instrumental case is identical in form to the ergative, but can be distinguished from it on syntactic grounds. Instrumental marks the weapon or tool with which an action is performed. For example:

ylla:la ŋay buyu dunbil-u
tie-imp 1 sg gen leg-abs sinew-inst
'Tie my leg up with sinew!' 

The instrumental inflection can also indicate the cause of a state. For example:

nirma ŋu: duwayu garani
there 3 sg s/a bread-inst choke-n/f
'He choked on the bread'

The ergative and instrumental cases can be distinguished by the following factors:
1. Ergative occurs exclusively with transitive verbs, while the instrumental can occur with intransitive verbs. (For example, in sentences such as 'The man was walking with/using a stick'.) For example:

```
99
1. Ergative occurs exclusively with transitive verbs, while the instrumental can occur with intransitive verbs. (For example, in sentences such as 'The man was walking with/using a stick'.) For example:

   gi:r nama dayn giniy-u yina:wa:ni
   that man-ABS stick-INST walk-PROG-PAST

   The man was walking along with a stick

   wa:y nama yina-yu birali: buma:y
   NEG that woman-ERG child-ABS hit-N/F

   'The woman didn't hit the child'
```

2. The instrumental must occur with an animate, although not necessarily human, subject. For example:

```
2. The instrumental must occur with an animate, although not necessarily human, subject. For example:

   mada:y nama di:lu bila:r bunda:ma:y
   dog-ABS the tail-INST spear-ABS fall-TRS-N/F

   'The dog knocked the spear over with (its) tail'
```

The lack of ergative marking on mada:y leads to the assertion that di:lu is an instrumental form, not an ergative one. If mada:y were inflected into the ergative case we would have difficulty deciding whether di:lu was ergative, agreeing with mada:yu (in which case the sentence would be translated as 'The dog's tail knocked the spear over') or instrumental (which results in the translation given above).

```
di nawandu nama giniy gama:y dinagu nu:nu
emu-ERG the stick-ABS break-N/F foot-INST 3 SG GEN

   'The emu broke the stick with his foot'
```

It is not known whether all animate nouns can be followed by an instrumental noun phrase. Attempts to elicit such sentences as 'The fish broke the net with its tail' did not give rise to an instrumental complement. The ergative case may mark an inanimate subject. For example:

```
ga:rimay nama du:-gu gaylani
camp-ABS that fire-ERG burn-N/F

   'Fire burnt (down) the camp'
```

3. Use of the ergative is optional a) when the context disambiguates the sentence, b) when the object is pronominal. Instrumental meaning is not conveyed without the use of the instrumental suffix (except in cases where the comitative may be used, see 4.4.). For example:

```
bila:-yu gaya dun 1 banda:r
spear-INST 1 SG S/A spear-N/F kangaroo-ABS

   'I speared the kangaroo (with a spear)'
```
4.3.3. Locative-Dative

The locative case marks the place in, at or on which some action (or state) takes place. For example:

burula: dayn ga:rimay-a
many man-ABS camp-LOC

'(There are) a lot of men in the camp'

Dative marks the indirect object, but only of certain verbs. There is a class of verbs which marks indirect object with the genitive case. This group is semantically homogeneous, consisting of verbs of giving and taking, see 3.4.1. (See also Dixon 1972:237 for discussion of a similar phonemenon in Dyirbal.) While these verbs usually mark their indirect object with a genitive form, they may also do so with a dative. For example:

gi:r niya!i ŋu:qunda dınga: wu:ni
1 PL S/A 3 SG DAT meat-ABS give-N/F

'We gave him some meat'

wa:l ŋaya ŋınu dınga: wu:ri
NEG 1 SG S/A 2 SG GEN meat-ABS give-FUT

'I won't give you any meat'

Syntactic evidence for distinguishing these two cases is sparse. However, dative may only co-occur with a certain class of verbs (of saying, giving, taking). Locative occurs with a wider range of verbs.

Dixon (1972:43) distinguishes syntactic from local cases. Local cases are defined as "those that give information about motion or its absence", syntactic as "those that mark syntactic relations". This division may, perhaps, suggest that dative and locative be distinguished in Yuwaalaraay, as locative is considered to be a local case, dative a syntactic one. It is, however, equally possible that there is a single dative-locative case.

4.3.4. Source

The case suffix which has been labelled 'source' covers the functions generally known as ablative, causal and fear. Ablative denotes motion away from an area or person, causal the reason for an action, and fear indicates the source of fear.

We might suggest that ablative could be distinguished from fear and causal by the fact that it co-occurs with a limited range of verbs (primarily verbs of motion, but also such verbs as 'take', 'hide'). However, such sentences as 'I ran away because of the children' (a causal sentence with a verb of motion) do not appear to be distinguished from their simple ablative counterparts ('I ran away from the children').
There is some suggestion that ablative complements are likely to precede the verb, and fear-causal complements to follow it. For example:

\[
\text{gi:ru ɲa:ma banda:r  ma:da:ydi ba:ni}
\]
\[
\text{the kangaroo-ABS dog-SOU hop-N/F}
\]
\['The kangaroo hopped away from the dog'
\]

\[
\text{gi:ru nama banda:r bara:y ba:ni ma:da:ydi}
\]
\['The kangaroo quickly hopped away because of the dog'
\]

However, this differential ordering is not fixed, and different translations can be given for the same sentence. For example:

\[
\text{gi:ru nama digaya: barani dayndi}
\]
\['The birds flew away \{from because of\} the men'
\]

It seems then, that we cannot separate the three functions syntactically, and are dealing with a single case. (See also 3.1.1.)

An idiosyncratic use of the source inflection has been noted. In sentences involving someone hitting someone else on the head, 'head' is always marked by the source suffix. For example:

\[
\text{gi:r nama dayndu yinar buma:y daygali}
\]
\['The man-ERG woman-ABS hit-N/F head-SOU'
\]

For a further example, see 5.7.

This usage has only been recorded with the noun 'head'. It is not clear if any other body part nouns are marked in this way. A number of these nouns have been recorded with normal locative marking. Note:

\[
\text{dinbiya waraya}
\]
\['Kneel!'\]
\[(Literally: 'Stand on (your) knees!')\]

\[
\text{namunda danduwiya}
\]
\['Sleep on (your) side!'\]

\[
\text{gull:yu ɲay birali: wambala:na bawaga}
\]
\['My wife is carrying the child on (her) back'
\]

\[
\text{bindliya: nama ɲay babuya}
\]
\['(There's) a prickle in my foot'\]
4.3.5. -gu

The suffix -gu covers the four functions usually labelled genitive, allative, purposive and benefactive. There are, however, syntactic reasons for distinguishing four separate cases.

The purposive sense indicates the purpose for which some action is undertaken. It has been recorded as a complement with both transitive and intransitive verbs. For example:

```
yalu ŋiyani yinaːni mudaygu
REP 1 PL S/A go-N/F poōsum-PURP
'We went out again for possum'
```

```
waraŋanagu ŋaya garay ŋaːma maːlaːbidi
honey-PURP 1 SG S/A cut-N/F the big tree-ABS
'I cut the big tree for honey'
```

The purposive is distinguished from other senses with the same realisation by the fact that it may be suffixed to the future form of a verb. For example:

```
duː giyaːna ŋaːli gimbili ŋaːlur yilamaligu
fire-ABS be-PROG-PRES 1 DU S/A make-FUT fish-ABS cook-FUT-PURP
'We're going to make a fire (in order) to cook the fish'
```

See also 4.9.2.

The allative case indicates movement towards some place. Its primary use is with (intransitive) verbs of motion. For example:

```
ɡiːr ŋuː yinaːni gaːwaːgu
3 SG S/A go-N/F river-ALL
'He went to the river'
```

Two examples of allative marking with a transitive verb have been recorded. They are:

```
ɡiːr ŋaːya dinaː gaːni walaːygu
1 SG S/A meat-ABS take-N/F camp-ALL
'I took meat to the camp'
```

```
ɡiːr ŋaːma biraliːduːlu wanani mayama ŋandabaːgu
the child-DIM-ERG throw-N/F stone-ABS snake-ALL
'The small child threw the stone at the snake'
```

Both of these verbs entail motion which is induced by the subject. The direction (goal) of the motion is indicated by the use of the allative. Note too that both these verbs may take the verbal 'baak' suffix, which is normally reserved for intransitive verbs, see 3.4.7.

When the allative -gu is used with transitive verbs the possibility of confusion with genitive, benefactive or purposive meanings arises.
In both of the examples quoted above, any meaning other than the allative is semantically inappropriate. Note:

"'I took the camp's meat' (Genitive)

(This sentence may be permissible in English if camp is taken to mean the people who live in the camp rather than the physical living place. wala:y has not been recorded with a similar interpretation, but only as the physical area.)

"'I took the meat for the benefit of the camp' (Benefactive)

"'I took the meat in order to camp' (noun) (Purposive)

In instances where semantic confusion is possible, the locative case tends to be used in place of the allative. Note:

birali:gu ŋa:ma bugala: wanawuwunj nirma buwaqaya
child-ERG the ball-ABS throw-back-N/P there father-LOC
'The child threw the ball back to (his) father'

Genitive and benefactive functions are both marked by the suffix -gu, but can be distinguished syntactically by the following facts:

1. Genitive usually occurs in a two noun NP, and may mark both nouns of the NP, but benefactive only occurs in a one noun NP. For example:

   gl:r gu: buma:y ma:da:yu gu ŋay
   3 SG S/A hit-N/F dog-GEN 1 SG GEN
   'He hit my dog'

   ylnayu nama wi: wi:may birall:gu
   woman-ERG the fire-ABS make-N/F child-BENEF
   'The woman lit a fire for the child'

2. Genitive marked nouns have been recorded with a following local case suffix, benefactive nouns have not, see 3.1.1.

3. Genitive noun phrases can function as A, S or O within a sentence. For example:

   birali: gu:gu bunda:niv
   child-ABS 3 SG GEN fall-N/F
   'His child fell'

   gu1:yu ŋay nma dayn ŋaray
   spouse-ERG 1 SG GEN the man-ABS see-N/F
   'My wife saw the man'

The noun marked with benefactive is the third noun in the sentence (see point 6 below), and indicates the person who benefits from the action. Benefactive nouns cannot have any other syntactic function.
4. The benefactive has only been recorded suffixed to human nouns. It is not clear whether non-human nouns could also be marked with the benefactive (for example, in sentences such as 'I brought the meat for the dog'). Suffixation of the benefactive to an inanimate noun seems unlikely. Genitive marking is appropriate for use with either animate or inanimate nouns.

5. In the corpus the subject of a sentence containing a benefactive noun is always human. It seems possible that some non-human animate nouns might occur in this position (for example, in a sentence such as 'The dog brought the duck back for the man'). We cannot be certain whether all non-human animate nouns can function as the subject of a benefactive sentence. There is no restriction on the animacy of the subject in a sentence containing a genitive noun phrase.

6. All recorded instances of the benefactive case occurred in transitive sentences. It is not known whether intransitive sentences can contain a benefactive (?'The boy swam for me'). Genitive noun phrases have been recorded in both transitive and intransitive sentences.

   It seems clear that four distinct cases, genitive, allative, benefactive and purposive, do exist. However, two areas of confusion exist with regard to the genitive and benefactive cases.

   The indirect object of verbs of giving and taking is marked in Yuwaalaraay by the suffix -gu. We cannot be absolutely sure whether this is the genitive or the benefactive suffix. In 3.4.1. I have referred to the marking as genitive. Many other Australian languages mark the indirect object of this group of verbs with a genitive, which may support my assertion for Yuwaalaraay.

   A verbal benefactive suffix has been recorded. Verbs marked with this suffix typically contain three noun phrases, one of which (the person who benefits from the action) is marked with -gu. In 3.4.10. I refer to this suffix as the benefactive. Given point 3 above (that benefactive nouns are a third NP in the sentence) this analysis is probably correct. The situation is complicated by the fact that many of the examples containing benefactive verbs have pronominal 'benefactees'. The pronouns used are genitive forms. It seems probable that these pronominal forms could be more correctly labelled genitive/benefactive.

   It seems then, that in the majority of instances genitive and benefactive cases can be clearly separated. In the case of verbs of giving, and of the benefactive verb forms, clear identification of either genitive or benefactive case marking is not possible.
4.3.6. Summary

A total of ten syntactically distinct case functions can be suggested for Yuwaalaraay. They are: absolutive, ergative, instrumental, locative, dative, source, purposive, allative, genitive and benefactive. Following Dixon (1972), these can be divided into three groups:

1. Syntactic - absolutive, ergative, dative, instrumental, purposive, benefactive.
2. Genitive
3. Local - allative, source, locative.

4.4. 'Having' Suffixes

The two comitative suffixes form an adjective from a nominal stem. See 3.2. for details of the morphology of these suffixes. The privative suffix, -dali:, also derives an adjective from a nominal stem.

The simple comitative (COMIT₁) has been recorded with the following functions:

a. at rest, with inanimate object.

nama yilawani baran-biya:y
that sit-N/F boomerang-COMIT₁
'(He) sat with a boomerang'

b. motion, with (unhelpful) inanimate.

margin-biya:y nama wanda yina:wa:na
gun-COMIT₁ that white man-ABS go-PROG-PRES
'The white man is going along with a gun'

c. motion, with (helpful) inanimate.

gi:r gana:y-biya:y nama yina:wa:na
yamstick-COMIT₁ that go-PROG-PRES
'He walks with a stick'

d. motion, in human company.

buwadar-biya:y nali yina:n₁
father-COMIT₁ l DU S/A go-N/F
'We went with father'

e. weak instrumental

gi:r naya bayama:y gudu: wu:-biya:y
1 SG S/A catch-N/F cod-N/F hook-COMIT₁
'I caught a cod with a hook'
f. characteristics of place.

mayama-biya:y nama dayma:r
stone-COMIT₁ that ground-ABS
'The ground is stony'

g. human characteristics.

gi:ru guya:ra daygal yaray-biya:y
long head-ABS beard-COMIT₁
'(He's) got long hair and a beard'

Neither of the comitative suffixes, nor the privative, has been recorded with a further case inflection.

4.5. NOMINALISATION

Very little data is available on nominalisation, but some examples of nouns which may be derived from verbs have been recorded. For example:

dubil 'saliva' from dubi-I (INT?) 'to spit'
bulirul 'breath' from buliru-I (INT) 'to breathe'

ji:liy 'urine' from ji:li-i-y (INT?) 'to urinate'

dama:y 'rain' from dama:-y (?) 'to rain'
danduwiy 'sleep' from danduw-i-y (INT) 'to sleep'
gi:nbal 'scales' from gi:nba-i (TR) 'to scale (a fish)'

The pattern of nominalisation thus seems to be:

Stem + Conjugation marker

η conjugation verbs are unlikely to conform to this pattern. This would result in a stem final η, which is not permissible in Yuwaalaraay. The verb guna-η 'to defecate' has a corresponding noun guna 'faeces'. It is not clear whether the noun is a derivative of the verb. If it is, we could suggest that nouns derived from an η conjugation verb are identical to the stem of that verb.

A further example of a derived nominal has been recorded. The process involved is unrelated to those outlined above. The form is manumadu:y 'thief', derived from manuma-I 'to steal'. It is not known whether the suffix -da:y is a productive nominaliser in Yuwaalaraay. Note, though, the occurrence of the suffix -DHayN- in Ngiyambaa. This has the same function as our example of Yuwaalaraay -da:y. (See Donaldson 1977:241).
4.6. VERBALISATION

Instances of verbs formed from nouns and adjectives are scarce in the corpus. One example which appears to be relevant is:

wuyugilu mugugibly dayn
smoke-ERG blind-VSR-N/F man-ABS
'Smoke blinded the man'

A transitive verb has been formed from the adjective mugu 'blind' using the suffix -gibi-1. No other examples of transitive verbs formed in this way have been recorded.

No instances of intransitive verbs formed from nouns or adjectives have been recorded. This function appears to be carried out by the copula 'be, become'. For example:

nirma ganugu bagaga wanagi / niraŋa balal gigigu
There 3 PL A bank-LOC throw-FUT There-? dry-ABS be-FUT-PURP
'They will throw (them) (mill:n) onto the bank to dry' (5.8.)

The verbal suffix -må-l derives a transitive verb from an intransitive. (see 3.4.9.)

4.7. PARTICLES

Yuwaalaraay contains a number of forms which characteristically appear in sentence-initial position. In complex sentences, particles have been recorded in clause-initial position. Some examples of sentences containing more than one particle have been recorded. These are discussed in 4.7.10.

4.7.1. Negation

There are four negative particles attested in the data. Of these, three negate sentences, while one negates nominals.

wa:1

Simple declarative sentences are negated with wa:1, which also occurs as an interjection meaning 'no'. wa:1 is invariably sentence or clause initial. For example:

wa:1 qinda wi: garay
NEG 2 SG S/A wood cut-N/F
'You didn't chop any firewood'

wa:1 qa:lar: dali qa:lar
NEG 1 DU S/A eat-FUT fish
'We won't eat fish'
wa:l is sometimes used to negate imperatives, but this is more commonly done by the use of gařiya. For example:

\[
\text{wa:l dala} \\
\text{NEG eat-IMP} \\
\text{'Don't eat it!'}
\]

\[
\text{du-biya:y / wa:l ńawuña} \\
\text{fire-COMIT NEG drink-IMP} \\
\text{'It's hot, don't eat it'}
\]

**gařiya**

**gařiya** is the most common means of negating imperatives. Austin (personal communication) reports that gařiya 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 γ conjugation verb. gařiya has been glossed 'prohibitive' (PROHIB). Like \text{wa:l}, it is sentence initial. For example:

\[
\text{gařiya galiyaya} \\
\text{PROHIB climb-IMP} \\
\text{'Don't climb!'}
\]

\[
\text{gařiya nama ńini gamala} \\
\text{PROHIB That stick break-IMP} \\
\text{'Don't break the stick'}
\]

**wa:la**

**wa:la** indicates a negative potential - not being able to do. Like the other two sentential negators **wa:la** is invariably sentence initial (or clause initial). For example:

\[
\text{wa:la ńaya danduwińi} \\
\text{NEG POT 1 SG S/A sleep-N/F} \\
\text{'I couldn't sleep'}
\]

\[
\text{wa:la ńaraldana} \\
\text{NEG POT see-PROG PRES} \\
\text{'I can't see it'}
\]

**ma:r**

**ma:r** negates nouns, and is sentence initial. It may be directly followed by the noun which it negates, but this is not always the case. For example:

\[
\text{ma:r ńalur ńuńanda} \\
\text{NEG fish-ABS water-LOC} \\
\text{'There are no fish in the water'}
\]
We must presume that it is not possible for another noun to intervene between ma:r and the noun it negates. An intervening noun would make it impossible to decide which noun was being negated. ma:r is never marked for case. (Note that in the example above it is a pronoun which occurs between ma:r and the negated noun.)

4.7.2. Declarative

The particle gi:r (or its variant gi:ru) is found sentence initially in a large number of examples. It is not glossed, as its exact function is not clear. It has been translated by informants as 'really'. The examples with which it occurs are all declarative, so it seems to act simply as a prefatory marker with these sentences. It does not appear to add anything to the meaning of sentences in which it occurs.

It is not clear whether there is any difference in meaning between gi:r and gi:ru. If there was a difference, it is not apparent in my data.

4.7.3. Question Particle

The question particle, ya:ma, is added to the beginning of a declarative sentence to form a polar (yes-no) question. Use of a final rising intonation performs the same function. For examples of ya:ma see 3.3.4.

4.7.4. Interrogative Words

The set of Yuwaalaraay interrogative words broadly corresponds to the English wh- words. They usually occur sentence initially (but see 4.7.10). For examples showing the use of the interrogative words, see 3.3.4.

4.7.5. yalu

yalu could be glossed 'repeat', and is often translated as 'again'. It indicates repetition of an action, and normally occurs in sentence-initial position. Some other particles have been seen to displace yalu from sentence-initial position, see 4.7.10.

yalu qa ya bu:r gimibli
REP 1 SG S/A line-ABS make-FUT
'I'm going to make another fishing line'
(Literally: 'make it again')
4.7.6. yal

This sentence-initial particle was glossed by the informant with the colloquial term 'gammon'. It indicates that the sentence which follows is 'just pretend', and didn't really happen. Note also the nominal affix -ga:lu which indicates that a noun is 'just pretend'. (See 3.2.)

yal examples must be translated into English by a complex '(I) pretended to ...' construction. For example:

yal qa:ma nyaya giny gayawiy barandu
gammon that 1 SG S/A stick-ABS pelt-N/F boomerang-INST
'I pretended to pelt that stick with a boomerang' (5.9.)

4.7.7. nadanga:

nadanga: 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 ...'. No examples of the form 'He thought that ...' have been recorded, so it is not clear whether nadanga: would be used for them. Examples showing the use of nadanga: are:

nadanga: nu: qa:ma gudu: ba:yama:y
HYP 3 SG S/A the cod-ABS catch-N/F
'I thought she caught a cod'

nadanga: nirma ganuqa yulugilani
HYP there 3 PL S/O play-PROG-PAST
'I thought they were playing there'

4.7.8. yiyal

The form yiyal appears to be a sentence-initial particle. It has, however, been recorded in only one example.

yiyal qa:ma yina:wa:ni
l SG S/A come-PROG-PAST
'I was just coming' (5.5.)

The informant provided the gloss 'just' for yiyal. It seems that we could translate yiyal as 'just' or 'only', and that it indicates the exclusiveness of an action. (That is, that the action of the verb in
the sentence is the only action being carried out at that time.) More examples are needed before we can be sure of this definition.

4.7.9. Time Words

There are only two time words in the corpus which are used with any frequency. These are:

- yila:(l) 'soon, directly'
- yila:lu 'long ago'

These are most frequently sentence initial, and modify the entire sentence. One other word which would probably function in a similar way is ba:yandu - 'later on'. This has not been recorded in a sentential example. Examples are:

- yila: ŋaya dinya: ŋu:ŋunda wu:ri
  soon 1 SG S/A meat-ABS 3 SG DAT give-FUT
  'I'll give him some meat directly'

- yila:lu ŋaya buyuma buma:y
  long ago 1 SG S/A dog-ABS hit-N/F
  'I hit the dog a long time ago'

No terms meaning 'yesterday' or 'tomorrow' have been recorded.

4.7.10. Ordering of Particles

Some simple sentences containing more than one sentence-initial word have been recorded. We are thus able to make some statements about the relative positioning of these forms.

1. Time words are preceded by:

Negatives

ma:r

- ma:r yila ŋiyaniuŋu dinya: gigi
  NEG soon 1 PL GEN meat-ABS be-FUT
  'Soon we'll have no meat'

wa:l

- wa:l ŋu:lay dama:ni yila:lu
  NEG here rain-N/F long ago
  'It didn't rain here for a long time'

gi:r

- gi:r ŋayala: yila:1 yina:wu wi y
  1 SG S/A-? soon come-back-FUT
  'I'll come back soon'
gi:r ŋa:ma yinar  yila: bawili
the  woman-ABS soon  sing-FUT
'The woman will sing soon'

ya:ma

ya:mandu  yila:ŋa  ŋalinu  diŋa:
Q-2  SG  S/A  soon-?  give-FUT  meat-ABS
'Will you give us meat? (soon)'

2. yalu is preceded by:

Negatives

gariya da:y  yalu ma:yama  wanagilaya
PROHIB  this  way  REP  stone-ABS  throw-PROG-IMP

Literally: 'Don't keep throwing stones in this direction again'
(i.e. 'don't repeat the action'. Translated by the informant as
'Don't throw any more stones')

gi:r

gi:r ŋa:ma  ganuña  biraligal  yalu wuñalay
the  3  PL  S/O  child-PL-ABS  REP  swim-PROG-FUT
'The children will go swimming again'

3. Interrogative words with a dubitative suffix have been recorded
with another particle. For example:

the  dog-ABS  where-to  DUBIT  meat-ABS  take-PROG-PRES
'The dog is taking (I don't know where to) his meat'

yalu nirma  ganuña  miña:wa:ya  yina:wa:na
REP  there  3  PL  S/O  where-DUBIT  go-PROG-PRES
'They're going there (somewhere) again'

It must be noted, however, that these forms are indefinite pronouns,
which do not function in the same way as particles. (See 3.3.4.)

No examples of other sequences of sentence-initial words have been
recorded, so it is not possible to define a hierarchy of sentence
initial occurrence. It is, however, possible to suggest on the basis
of the available evidence that the negatives, gi:r, and perhaps ya:ma
are the least likely to be displaced from initial position.

4.8. INTERJECTIONS

Interjections usually make up a complete utterance. They have no
syntactic function. A full list of interjections is given in 6.1.
None of the interjections recorded take any affixes.
4.9. COMPLEX SENTENCES

Complex sentences of a number of types have been recorded in Yuwaalaraay. The most extensively used complex type is the relative clause construction. Purposive constructions and conjoined clauses have also been recorded.

4.9.1. Relative Clause

Relative clause constructions in Yuwaalaraay are those which replace the tense inflection of the verb in the subordinate clause with a characteristic relative marker. The relative marker takes the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugation</th>
<th>Relative Marker</th>
<th>Added to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>-nda:y</td>
<td>stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-da:y</td>
<td>stem + CM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>-njinda:y</td>
<td>stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>-njinda:y</td>
<td>stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>-nda:y</td>
<td>stem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No conditioning factor for the alternation of the relative marker in the l conjugation is known. We can generalise the forms thus:

- l, r conjugations: Stem + nda:y
- y, η conjugations: Stem + njinda:y

y conjugation verbs which are derived by any of the various progressive forms take the relative marked -nda:y. Verbs with the verbal suffix 'back' take -njinda:y relative.

Yuwaalaraay relative clauses are, like relative clauses in a number of Australian languages, conjoined. That is to say, they are "... conjoined to the main clause rather than being embedded within one of its constituents." (Hale 1976:11) This can be demonstrated by an example.

 banda:yu nirma ŋa:ma bu:nu  đạoa:y / baluni kangaroo-ERG there the grass-ABS eat-REL die-N/F 'The kangaroo which ate the grass died'

This is derived from the simple sentences

 banda:yu nirma ŋa:ma bu:nu day 'The kangaroo ate the meat'

 banda:r baluni 'The kangaroo died'
The second instance of the co-referential noun (banda:r) is deleted in the complex sentence. In this case, it is the absolutive noun belonging to the matrix sentence which is deleted. The noun remaining in the complex sentence is the ergative-marked noun from the subordinate clause.

An intonation break between the matrix and subordinate clause is usual.

Relative sentences are open to a number of interpretations. Hale's (1976) broad division of adjoined relatives into NP-relative and T-relative interpretations is applicable to Yuwaalaraay.

**NP-relative**

The NP-relative interpretation indicates a restrictive relative clause. In Hale's words "...relative clause may be used ... to make more determinate or to supply additional information about an argument in the main clause..." (1976:79). The NP-relative interpretation demands an identical noun phrase in both clauses. This noun phrase may be in any grammatical function; we will deal first with relative clauses to the syntactic functions S, A and O.

Examples of all possible combinations of S, A and O in matrix and relative sentences have been recorded, and some general points can be made.

1. Sentences containing a restrictive relative clause to an object noun phrase always have the ordering matrix - relative. Sentences containing a restrictive relative clause to an S or A function noun phrase usually have the ordering relative - matrix. This appears to be the only means of determining whether a relative clause adjoined to a transitive sentence modifies the subject (A) NP or the object NP. So, for example:

   gi:r  quànda  bìrali:du quàranma:y  bara 
1 SG DAT child-ERG show-N/F boomerang-ABS  

was translated by the informant as 'The child who fell (over) showed me the boomerang'. The same sentence could also conceivably be translated 'The boy showed me the boomerang which fell'. Our interpretation depends on which noun (bìrali: or bara) we understand to have been deleted from the subordinate sentence.

2. Yuwaalaraay appears to have no requirements for the co-referential noun in matrix and relative sentences to agree in surface ergativity. No process equivalent to the Dyirbal -ŋay transformation (See Dixon 1972) has been recorded. For example:
The little child who drank the water crawled (away)

This is derived from:

The child crawled (away)

where 'child' is in the absolutive case (S function)

and

The child drank the water

where 'child' is in the ergative case (A function). There is no marking evident on any of the constituents of the complex sentence to indicate that the common noun phrase has a different grammatical function in each of the clauses.

3. The second surface realisation of the identical noun phrase is usually deleted, regardless of whether it appears in the matrix or the relative clause. For example:

The woman hit her child who was crying

The second instance of the co-referential noun (birali:) has been deleted. In this instance the deleted noun belongs in the subordinate (relative) clause.

The little girl who was pinched by the boy was watching the baby

In this sentence the second (and therefore deleted) instance of the co-referential noun (miyaydu:) belongs in the matrix sentence.

It is possible to pronominalise the second instance of the co-referential noun instead of deleting it. For example:

The women who were hit by the men (they) ate the kangaroo

Derived from:
The women ate the kangaroo.

The ergative noun of this sentence (yinargalgagu) is replaced in the complex sentence by the third person plural A form pronoun ganugu.

and

The man hit the women.

No examples of restrictive relatives with the co-referential noun retained in both clauses have been recorded.

Restrictive relative clauses have also been recorded on nouns with functions other than A, S or O in the main clause. All known instances of this type show the order matrix - relative.

In a number of other Australian languages it is possible to mark the verb in the subordinate sentence to agree in case with the noun phrase in the matrix clause. (See, for example, Crowley 1978:123-4.) There is only one example to suggest that this occurs in Yuwaalaraay. The example is:

gi:rbada:y Qaya banda:r ba yam a li I ma ni : la Y Q in da :y qu
-SG S/A kangaroo-ABS aa tah-FUT hun t-REL-ERG(?)
'I might catch a kangaroo when I go hunting'

We do not have sufficient evidence to comment further on this point.

In the majority of examples the co-referential noun phrase is in A, S or O function in the subordinate clause. We do, however, have one example where this seems not to be the case.

the child-ABS climb-N/P hole-SOU fall-REL
This was translated as 'The child climbed out of the hole he fell into'. If this translation is accurate we must presume the sentence is derived from

2. gi:r ŋa:ma birl ai : galiyani biyu:di
'The child climbed out of the hole'
where 'hole' is marked by the source suffix

and

3. birlai : bunda:ni biyu:ga
'The child fell into the hole'
where 'hole' is in the locative case. Note that this analysis presumes two co-referential nouns, both of which are deleted in the subordinate clause. This derivation does not seem to follow the normal patterns.
It may be that the complex sentence (number 1 above) is more correctly translated as 'The child who fell climbed out of the hole'.

Examples showing relative clauses on nouns which are not in S, A or O function are:

**Locative**

\[
\text{gi:r } \eta\gamma \eta \text{ di} \text{nga } \text{yi} \lambda \text{ama} : y / \text{du: ga } \eta \text{inda } \text{gimb} \text{inda} : y \\
1 \text{ SG S/A meat-ABS cook-N/F fire-LOC } 2 \text{ SG S/A make-REL} \\
'I cooked the meat on the fire you made'
\]

The second occurrence of the co-referential noun has been deleted in all recorded instances of relative clauses to a locative noun. Note that the pause in sentences of this type occurs before the locative noun (as it does before source and instrumental nouns). This is also a characteristic of simple sentences containing a complement noun phrase.

**Source**

\[
\text{gi:r } \eta\gamma \eta \text{ na} \text{ma } \text{ba} : \text{ni } / \eta \text{a:di} \text{ya:ndi } / \eta \text{inda } \text{garal} \text{da} : y \\
1 \text{ SG S/A the jump-N/F log-SOU } 2 \text{ SG S/A cut REL} \\
'I jumped off the log you cut'
\]

It is usual for the second instance of the co-referential noun to be deleted from sentences of this type. However, there is one example where both instances of the noun are retained.

\[
\text{gi:r } \eta\gamma \eta \text{ na} \text{ma } \text{gund} \text{i} \text{di} \text{li} \text{da} : y \text{durul} \text{a:na } / \text{gundi} \\
1 \text{ SG S/A the hut-SOU this-way some-PROG-PRES } 2 \text{ SG S/A burn-TRS-REL} \\
'I'm coming from the house you burned down'
\]

**Instrumental**

In half of the instances of relative clauses on an instrumental noun the co-referential noun was retained in both clauses. It may, however, be deleted. For example:

\[
\text{gi:r } \text{na} \text{ma } \text{ying} \text{yu } \text{buma} : y \text{ gand} \text{aba} : / \text{ma:yama} \text{gu} / \eta \text{a:ma} \\
\text{the woman-ERG hit-N/F snake-ABS stone-INST the} \\
\eta\gamma \eta \text{ ma:yama } \text{diyama} \text{lda} : y \\
1 \text{ SG S/A stone-ABS pick up-REL} \\
'The woman hit the snake with the stone I picked up'
\]

\[
\text{ying} \text{yu } \text{mi} \text{lai} : n \text{ maw} \text{uni} / \text{di:nba:yu } \eta\gamma \eta \text{ gimb} \text{inda} : y \\
\text{woman-ERG yam-ABS dig-N/F yamstick-INST } 1 \text{ SG S/A make-REL} \\
'The woman dug yams with the yamstick I made'
\]
Genitive

garimay nama dayngu baluŋinda:y
camp-ABS the man-GEN die-REL
'The camp belongs to the man who died'

No relative clauses have been recorded on allative nouns.

T-relative

Hale's (1976:79) definition of the T-relative interpretation is also applicable to Yuwaalaraay. He says "...the relative clause may be used to specify the temporal setting of the event depicted in the main clause, or to make a subsidiary comment holding at the time specified in the main clause. I will refer to this as the T-relative interpretation." Hale further defines the T-relative clause thus: "...the T-relative interpretation is available when the two clauses make identical time reference." (1976:79) Walbiri reflects this through its use of auxiliaries. Yuwaalaraay does not have an auxiliary system and, as the relative marker replaces tense, it is not possible to define the tense of the subordinate verb. It seems probable that the Hale definition also applies to Yuwaalaraay, but we cannot be certain.

In Yuwaalaraay, clauses with a T-relative interpretation usually follow the main clause. For example:

The 3 PL S/O go-FUT river-LOC kangaroo-ABS drink-REL

'\(\text{The river is by the kangaroo drinking water}\)'

The T-relative interpretation, unlike the NP-relative interpretation, does not demand the presence of an identical noun phrase in each clause. In the sentence above, ganuŋa refers to men, not kangaroos. There is no co-referential noun phrase.

It is, however, possible for a sentence with T-relative interpretation to contain an identical noun in each clause. For example:

gi:r ŋinda dala:nı / yina:wa:nda:y ŋinda
2 SG S/A eat-PROG-PAST go-PROG-REL 2 SG S/A

'\(\text{You were eating while (you were) walking along}\)'

Note that the co-referential noun is retained in both clauses. Sentences with a pronominal copy in the relative clause have also been recorded. For example:
The retention of the second co-referential noun, whether in full or in pronominal form, is far more common in sentences with a T-relative interpretation than in those with NP-relative interpretation. This may provide a clue to the appropriate interpretation of a relative clause construction.

Deletion of the second instance of the co-referential NP is possible in clauses with a T-relative interpretation. For example:

\[
\text{gi:r / n:ma & yina / wi:n / n:ma / ying / ginda / y}
\]

\[
\text{the woman-ABS sit- N/F there tired be-REL}
\]

'The woman sat down when she got tired'

As Hale (1976) has noted for Walbiri, the distinction between NP-relative and T-relative interpretations is anything but clear. The two examples quoted immediately above could also have been translated with an NP-relative interpretation to give, respectively,

a. 'The woman and children who saw the possum were pleased'

b. 'The woman who was tired sat down'

Conditional Clauses

Conditional ('if-then') sentences are formed in Yuwaalaraay by the use of the relative marker, which is attached to the verb in the clause indicating the condition (i.e. to the verb in the 'if' clause). The non-relative verb is normally in the imperative or the future tense. For example:

\[
\text{da:lugi / giya:na / qinda / di nga: / qinda / danda:y}
\]

\[
\text{Sick-FUT be-PRG-PRES 2 SG S/A meat-ABS 2 SG S/A eat-REL}
\]

'If you eat the meat you'll be sick' (i.e. 'Having eaten the meat, you'll get sick')

There seems to be no preferred order for the two clauses. Approximately equal numbers of sentences with each possible ordering have been recorded.

Most of the recorded examples contained identical noun phrases in both clauses. These are often retained, as in the example above, but may be deleted. For example:

\[
\]

\[
\text{2 SG S/A fish-ABS many-ABS catch-REL 1 SG S/A two-ABS give-IMP}
\]

'If you catch many fish, give me two'
Conditional sentences with no co-referential noun phrase have also been recorded. For example:

```
dama:ñinda:y / wa:ñi: ñaya yina:y gunada dayma:r
Rain-REL NEG 1 SG S/A go-FUT boggy earth-ABS

'If it rains I won't go on boggy ground'
```

Reason Clauses

A small number of sentences translated with 'because' has been recorded. The verb in the reason clause is marked with the relative suffix. For example:

```
ghi:r ñaya bunda:nj / wa:ñi: ñinda ñana bayamalda:y
1 SG S/A fall-N/F NEG 2 SG S/A 1 SG hold-REL

'I fell (over) because you didn't hold me (up)' (i.e. 'Not having been held up by you, I fell over')
```

In five out of six examples the clause containing the relative verb followed the clause containing the main verb. All of the recorded examples contained an identical noun phrase in the two clauses. The second linear instance of this noun phrase may optionally be deleted. For example:

```
birali:qu:l nama bamba yugilana / buwañayu bumalda:y
child-DIM-ABS the hard cry-PROG-PRES father-ERG hit-REL

'He's crying hard because (his) father hit him'
```

Complement of a Verb of Perception

Verbs of perception may take a sentential object. The subject in the subordinate clause is always relative. There is no co-referential noun. Sentences of this type have been recorded in Yuwaalaraay with the verbs ñara-l 'see' and winañiya-l 'hear'. For example:

   1 SG S/A see-PROG-PRES over there this way come-PROG-REL
   dayn
   man-ABS

   'I am watching the men coming here'
```

2. `ghi:r winañalani nirma yugilanda:y birali:qu:l
   hear-PROG-PAST there cry-PROG-REL child-DIM-ABS

   'He was listening to the child crying'

   Note that in sentences of this type the order of constituents is AVO(REL). This is in contrast to the simple sentence order of AOV. It seems that the usual position for a clause containing a relative verb is following the main clause.

   We might be tempted to analyse this type of sentence as containing a co-referential noun which is later deleted. So, for example, number 1
above might be thought to be derived from 'I am watching the men' and 'The men are coming this way'. However, in the recorded examples of other relative sentences it is the second of the two instances of the co-referential noun which is deleted. If we accept the presence of a co-referential noun, then we will have to account for the fact that it is the first instance of the noun which is deleted when the relative verb is in the complement of a verb of perception. We would also be assuming that there is no difference between a sentence containing a verb of perception with the sentential object and a sentence containing a verb of perception and a relative clause.

In fact, relative clauses do occur in sentence with a verb of perception. These sentences behave differently to the sentential object sentences discussed above. For example:

\[
\text{gi:r} \quad \text{ŋəyə} \quad \text{ŋə:ma} \quad \text{yinər} \quad \text{ŋəraŋ} / \quad \text{wala:yu} \quad \text{ŋənu} \\
\text{1 SG S/A the} \quad \text{woman-ABS see-N/F} \quad \text{camp-ALL} \quad \text{2 SG GEN}
\]

\[
\text{yina:wənda:y} \\
\text{go-FROG-REL}
\]

'I saw the woman who was going to your camp'

Note that the second instance of yinər has been deleted, and the presence of the pause (indicated by /). These two factors distinguish the relative clause from the sentential object.

**Iteration of Relatives**

One example of a sentence containing more than one relative verb has been recorded. This is:

\[
\text{mawugi} \quad \text{ŋəli} \quad \text{nirma} / \quad \text{gi:r} \quad \text{ŋəli} \quad \text{duwimalda:y} / \quad \text{nirma} \\
\text{dig-FUT} \quad \text{1 DU S/A there} \quad \text{1 DU S/A pull-REL} \quad \text{there}
\]

\[
\text{ŋəliŋə} \quad \text{dala:də} \\
\text{1 DU S/A-? eat-REL}
\]

'We'll dig (them) (yams), pull (them) out and eat them'

None of the interpretations discussed above are appropriate for this sentence. The relative marker appears simply to indicate a sequence of events.

**4.9.2. Purposive Sentences**

The purposive construction has a main clause, with the tense inflection on the verb, and a subordinate clause with purposive inflection on the verb. If the two simple sentences contain a common noun phrase, the second instance of that noun phrase is obligatorily deleted. So, for example:
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\[ \text{du: giya:na nāli gimblili / nā:lu:r yilamaligu} \]
\[ \text{fire-ABS be-PROG-PRES 1 DU S/A make-FUT fish-ABS cook-FUT-PURP} \]

'We're going to light a fire to cook the fish'

Derived from:

\[ \text{du: giya:na nāli gimblili} \]
\[ \text{fire-ABS be-PROG-PRES 1 DU S/A make-FUT} \]

'We're going to light a fire'

\[ nāli nā:lu:r yilamaligu \]
\[ 1 DU S/A fish-ABS cook-FUT \]

'We will cook the fish'

All the purposive examples recorded in Yuwaalaraay contained an identical noun phrase in both clauses. This noun was always in the S or A function in the subordinate clause.

The purposive inflection is also used in the complement of a verb of speaking. Specifically, it is used in sentences of the type 'X told Y to do Z'. These purposive sentences are often used where English would use a 'make X do Y' sentence. For example:

\[ \text{gl:r nu: guwa:y birali:du:lu nama ma:da:y gigirmaligu} \]
\[ 3 SG S/A say-N/F child-DIM-ERG the dog-ABS kick-FUT-PURP \]

'She told the child to kick the dog'

This was offered in response to a request for the sentence 'She made the child kick the dog'. (Note the restriction on the use of the transitive verbaliser. See 3.4.9.)

4.9.3. Conjunction

Constructions such as those marked in English by 'and' and 'but' are not usually marked syntactically in Yuwaalaraay. Instead, two sentences are apposed. There is a tendency to insert the English word 'but' between the two sentences when such a form is requested. For example:

\[ \text{gl:r nu:nu dingga: nā:ma wu:ni yinayu but wai:lbala} \]
\[ 3 SG GEN meat-ABS the give-N/F woman-ERG NEG-? \]

\[ \text{nu: day} \]
\[ 3 SG S/A eat-N/F \]

'The woman gave him meat but he didn't eat (it)'

The particle nayagay has been recorded in some sentences. It can be translated as 'and'. The two sentences connected by nayagay may have an identical subject. If there is an identical subject, the second occurrence may be deleted. For example:
The child saw a kangaroo and (saw) an emu.

The subjects of the two sentences may be different as in:

A man and a woman are coming.

In all the examples recorded, the verb was identical in both sentences. The second occurrence of the verb may optionally be deleted. For example:

I caught a cod and a yellow belly.

The simple apposition of two sentences performs the same function as conjunction with ēyayagay. The number of recorded examples of ēyayagay is not large.
NOTES

1. It should be noted at this point that there is one instance recorded of [ɛ] taking length. This is in the ergative form of yinar [fənar] 'woman', which is, phonetically, [inːyu]. This form is a problematical one for which I can offer no explanation. It is an isolated occurrence.

2. The labialisation in this example will be further discussed at a later point.

3. See 3.2. for an explanation of the two comitative suffixes.

4. Underlying forms have been set up in this section for a number of suffixes. In transcriptions the surface (phonetic) forms will be used rather than the underlying forms.

5. This is subject to a phonological rule. See 2.4.1.

6. Including some which can function as determiners.

7. əna:rima 'closest', əna:rinə:ri 'furthest away'.

8. This is probably the English word 'hook'.

9. The function of the suffix -ņa is not clear. See 3.2.

10. The tense is included in brackets, but we can never be certain of the tense of a subordinate verb. Tense is replaced by the relative marker.
5. TEXTS

A total of eleven texts and one song has been collected. One text is Yuwaaliyaay and the remaining texts and the song are Yuwaalaraay. All textual material is included in this section. Texts are given first in Yuwaalaraay and glossed as accurately as possible. They have been edited in places to eliminate repetitions and English utterances. The translations given are not literal, but usually adhere closely to the original. Notes are included where necessary.

5.1. mila:n - Fred Reece

guniñar ɲanunda ga:ni mila:ngu¹ / guñanda ɲaya yllawani / mother-ABS 1 SG S/A take-N/F yam-PURP water-LOC 1 SG S/A sit-N/F

di:nba:yu ɲay guniñar ga:wa:ni / mawuni guniñaru yamstick-ABS 1 SG GEN mother-ABS bring-PROG-PAST dig-N/F mother-ERG

ɲay di:nba:yu dunì dayma:r / buyugalbala² 1 SG GEN yamstick-INST pierce, spear-N/F ground-ABS leg-?
ɲay guniñar dunì / ba:ni ɲaya guñandì / 1 SG GEN mother-ABS spear-N/F jump-N/F 1 SG S/A water-SOU

yuwa:ni ɲaya / yurun ɲaya ɲaraldanal³ cry-PROG-PAST 1 SG S/A scar-ABS 1 SG S/A see-?

Mother took me out for yams. I sat in the water. "Mum! There's a yam here! Come here! Here's a yam, here". Mother brought a yamstick. She dug. Mother (went to) stick the yamstick in the ground, but she stuck it in my leg. I started to cry, and jumped out of the water. I can still see the scar.

¹mila:n is here translated as 'yam', as there is no adequate English word. They grew in swamps, and were very small. They were found in bunches like grapes. I have been assured that they were delicious after they had been roasted in the ashes. (See also 5.8.)

²This seems to be a mistake. -gal is a plural suffix, but only one leg was injured.

³The function of this verb form is unknown. It has not been attested elsewhere in the corpus.
5.2. THE SHINGLEBACK AND THE EMU - Arthur Dodd

gamba:y / yama:ŋaŋi wuŋay / gamba:y /
sweetheart-ABS Q 1 DU S/A bathe-FUT sweetheart-ABS

ŋa:yaŋba:y / gi:r niniaŋi yina:wa:y / wuŋaygu /
all right 1 PL S/A go-PROG-FUT bathe-FUT-PURP

ŋgalibada:y / nama guŋangu wuŋaygu ŋall / ŋa:yaŋba:y /
1 DU S/A-bada:y that water-ALL bathe-FUT-PURP 1 DU S/A all right


ŋu:ma / ŋayabala bagaga wilalay ŋaraldaygu ŋinuŋa /
there 1 SG S/A-? bank-LOC stay-PUT look-PROG-PUT-PURP 2 SG-0

gi:r duray / ŋu:mana wilalaylana bagaga / garba:li
come-N/F there-? stay, sit-PROG-PRES bank-LOC shingleback-ABS

ninmana wuŋaylani / "ŋada:" / "ŋada: ŋada: ŋada: ŋada:" /
there- bathe-PAST-PURP down down down down

dinawandu guwa:y / ŋa: gi:r ŋaya2 wuŋaylani / nirma /
emu-ERG speak-N/F 1 SG S/A bathe-PAST-PURP there

yila:bala ŋama / yalubada:y ŋama / wuŋay / yila:la
by'n'by-? that again-bada:y that bathe-IMP soon

wuŋay / yalagi3 dinawandu dunbil diyama:y / banaga:lani
bathe-FUT then emu-ERG sinew-ABS pick up-N/F run-PROG-N/F

gi:r ŋu: guŋandi duray / garba:li / nirma
3 SG S/A water-SOU come-N/F shingleback-ABS there

ŋu: yugilani / garba:li / dunbilniŋnda / gi:r
3 SG S/A cry-PROG-PAST shingleback-ABS sinews-wanting

dinawan banagan4
emu-ABS run-N/F

Sweetheart, shall we go for a swim? All right, we'll go for a swim.
We'll go to the water to swim. All right. You first. (This is presumably the emu speaking.) You go first. Swim there. I'll sit on the bank to watch you. (The shingleback has to take his sinews off in order to go swimming.) He (shingleback) came out. He (emu) was (is)

---

1 It is not known how productive this affix is.

2 This pronoun presumably refers to the 'shingleback'.

3 The exact function of this word is not known. Mr Dodd translated it as 'then'.

4 The emu originally couldn't run fast, but the shingleback could. By this piece of trickery, the emu stole the shingleback's ability to run fact, (i.e. his sinews) and has been a swift runner ever since, while the shingleback is condemned to travelling slowly.
sitting there on the bank. The shingleback was swimming there. Down, down, go down! said the emu. The shingleback was swimming there. You swim! (Emu speaking). I'll swim soon. Then the emu picked up the (shingleback's) sinews and ran away. The shingleback came out of the water and started to cry, wanting his sinews. The emu ran away.

5.3. THE MAKING OF THE LIGHTNING RIDGE – Arthur Dodd

The Great One (ba:yama) had two women. He ran down there, ba:yama (he was hunting). Two two (wives) were bringing water. They were swimming. (The gariya, a type of monster, takes them and ba:yama has to follow. He runs along the river, going into it every now and then

---

1This story can be found under the name of 'The Beginning of the Narran Lake' in C.L. Parker's *Australian Legendary Tales* (1953 edn:12-14).

2This form has not been attested elsewhere, and its meaning is uncertain. Mr Dodd glossed it as 'picked up'.

3Note that from this point to the end of the story, only the first person pronoun is used. This seems to be a strategy of narrative.
to look for the gariya). Soon he saw them, right over there. He pelted (the gariya) with the stone axe, hit it on the head. He took his two woman, pulled them out and took them back. He laid them on an ant bed. (The ants eat all the slime off the women, and make them well again.) Their heads got better. He took his wives back with him. The water is bad now, poisonous. You shouldn't drink it. You'll die there'. (This refers to a type of natural basin by the Narran Lake, where ba:yama is said to have washed his wives after pulling them out of the gariya.)

5.4. ROBIN REDBREAST

Arthur Dodd

bula:r ♀:ma dayn / guñanda / nirma ♀:ma banda:r /
      two that man-ABS water-LOC there that kangaroo-ABS

dayndu:lu ♀:wawa:ni / banda:r ♀:ma guñanda ba:ni /
      man-DIMIN-ERG chase-PROG-PAST kangaroo-ABS that water-LOC jump-N/F

♀:ma nama ♀:ayagay dayn / bula:r dayn bayama:y ♀:ma
      there that other man-ABS two-ABS man-ABS catch-N/F that

 banda:r / ♀:ma guñanda gaţungama:y / gaţungama:y
      kangaroo-ABS there water-LOC drown-TRS-N/F drown-TRS-N/F

 banda:r dayn yina:wa:ni / mĩna:ya ♀:ay banda:r
      kangaroo-ABS man-ABS come-PROG-PAST where-LOC 1 SG GEN kangaroo-ABS

mĩna:wa:ya / wa:l əlyaniyu ərarry / gi:r ərarry durimbay /
      where-DUBIT not 1 PL S/A see-N/F 1 SG S/A hide-N/F

      hide-N/F 1 DU S/A man-DIM soon?-? that go-REL man-ABS

bula:yu duwimay / nirma əyila:la:da:r banda:r / bula:yu
      two-ERG pull out-N/F there?-? cook-PROG-PAST kangaroo-ABS two-ERG

dayndu / nambala:ra guni:bu: / gi:r nama wilalani
      man-ERG over there robin redbreast that sit-N/F

      child-DIM-ABS there 3 SG S/A speak-PROG-PAST that two

dayn / "guni: / guni: buɾu / guni: buɾu" / wa:l ənya
      man-ABS mother testicles mother testicles NEG 1 SG S/A

ɡiya:na ənilu buɾu wu:rl / bumali ənya
      be-PROG-PRES 2 SG GEN testicles-ABS give-FUT hit-FUT 1 SG S/A

ɡiya:na əninu / buma:y / yaga:y yaga:y / ♀:ma bamba əna
      be-PROG-PRES 2 SG-0 hit-N/F Ouch! Ouch! there very 1 SG 0

1See also Parker 1953:161-4.

2Gloss supplied by Mr Dodd. The exact meaning is unclear.
There were two men at the water. Another man was chasing a kangaroo. The kangaroo jumped into the water, and the other two men caught it and drowned it there. The man came. "Where's my kangaroo?". "We don't know. We didn't see it". He hid it. They hid it from the black fellow. When the man had gone, they pulled it out and were cooking it. A robin redbreast was over there. A little child was sitting. It was saying (to the two men?) Mother! Mother! Testicles! Testicles!¹ "I'm not going to give you them. I'm going to hit you on the head!" (She) hit. Ouch! Ouch! His head split open, and blood flowed down over his chest, the robin redbreast.

5.5. THE BOWER BIRD² — Arthur Dodd

¹He wanted to eat them.
²See also Parker 1953:48-51.
³This item has not hitherto been recorded as a verb, although it acts as one here. It is more often a locational term.
⁴Mr Dodd glossed this form as 'just'. It has not been recorded elsewhere.
The eaglehawk was walking along, walking along and listening. Who's that? Who's that? It must be a lot of men calling out. He got close. Who was talking to you? I came this way (to see you?). I was just coming here. I thought there was a lot of men. No, I'm alone. Come here mate, come here. He (the bower bird) threw the eaglehawk on the ground. The eaglehawk felt the heat and got up. He threw the bower bird on the ground, on the fire he threw that bower bird. Let me go, let me go mate he said. I'm not going to let you go. I'm going to throw you on the fire. O.K. He threw him on the fire. The fire burnt him (quickly), and his head split. His brains flowed out of his head. (That's why) the bower bird is walking around with a red head.

1 Mr Dodd says that this is the bower bird talking in Ngemba (Ngiyambaa). For this reason, it has not been glossed.

2 No other instances of LOC followed by another case inflection have been recorded.

3 The function of this form is unknown.
5.6. THE EMU AND THE BRO LGA

Sweethart, you kill your kids. O.K., we'll only keep two. O.K. (The bro lga) killed her kids, poor thing. Later (the emu said) I'm going to have a crap. The emu brought her kids back, bu bu bu. I killed all my kids" the bro lga said. "I killed my kids, and you've got lots. I've only got two".

5.7. THE GALAH AND THE FRILLED LIZARD

See also Parker 1953:1.

See also Parker 1953:98.
The frilled lizard said to the galah "Mate, my boomerang is good". "No, mine is good (better)" said the galah. The frilled lizard said "Throw it, throw it". O.K. He threw the boomerang. It went right round and fell close to his feet. The galah said "You throw yours". "Look out mate", (said the frilled lizard), "Look out, the boomerang will hit you". The frilled lizard threw the boomerang, it turned right round ... then ... this way ... "Mate, run quick! The boomerang's going to hit you! It has!" It made the blood flow (from the galah's head). He was crying. I (the frilled lizard) will run away and hide. He (the galah) was looking for him, looking. He's hiding. "I'm going to roll you in the bindaya:. I was rolling (him)". (This is why the frilled lizard has little prickles all over him.)
5.8. mila:n – Arthur Dodd

You'll see the mila:n leaves floating (on the swamp). They will throw them on the riverbank to get dry, then will take them back to cook in the ashes. When they're cooked properly we'll take them out to eat, pull them out and break them. They looked like grapes.

5.9. THE PORCUPINE AND THE miŋduɾu – Arthur Dodd

The porcupine says this when he sees the emu. He then starts to give orders to the birds.

bigibila talking.

miŋduɾu talking.

3 The porcupine says this when he sees the emu. He then starts to give orders to the birds.
dinawan\(^1\) "ŋa:yayba:y / nalayga:\(^3\) ŋa:ngi:" / "ŋa:ya nara:ngu" / emu-ABS all right this one uncle-ABS go-IMP further ahead
"nalayga: ŋa:ngi:" / "ŋa:ya nara:ngu / na:ya nara:ngu" this one uncle-ABS go-IMP further ahead go-IMP further ahead

dinawan nama gu: / dawuma:y / duwimay ŋu emu-ABS the 3 SG S/A cook in ashes-N/F pull out-N/F 3 SG S/A

dinawan ŋa:ma / nirma gu: / daldani / minqurubala nama emu-ABS that 3 SG S/A eat-PROG-PAST yellow tit-? the
da:yŋa yina:wwini / "ya:maŋa ŋa:ngi: gi:r ŋali yina:y this way come-back-N/F Q uncle-ABS 1 DU S/A come-FUT

ŋay diŋa:" / gi:r minquru yina:ni / ŋa:ma burula: 1 SG GEN meat-ABS yellow tit-ABS go-N/F the many-ABS

bu:rnan ŋaraligu / "wa:1 ŋu: mlŋaga: ŋay meat ant-ABS see-PUT-PURP NEG 3 SG S/A anything-ABS 1 SG GEN
wu:dani / wa:1 ŋay gana wu:ni / wa:1 ŋay give-PROG-PAST NEG 1 SG GEN liver-ABS give-N/F NEG 1 SG GEN

gi: wu:ni" / ŋa:yayba:y / ŋa:ma da:y ganuŋa bu:rnan heart-ABS give-N/F all right the this way 3 PL S/O meat ant-ABS

yina:ni / nirmaŋa ganugu bila:yu dunı nama / bila:yu come-N/F there 3 PL A spear-INST pierce-N/F the spear-INST

duni / bila:yu dunı / burula:gu / gi:r ŋu:5 pierce-N/F spear-INST pierce-N/F many-ERG 3 SG S/A

guwa:y / "diŋa: / nalay ɡinuŋu diŋa: / ɡinuŋu diŋa:" / say-N/F meat-ABS this 2 SG GEN meat-ABS 2 SG GEN meat-ABS

gi:r namana bila:yu durda:y6 The spear-INST pierce-PROG-FUT?

\(^1\) bigibila talking.
\(^2\) minquru talking.
\(^3\) nalay is the demonstrative 'this'. The suffix -ga: appears to add a more definite meaning. Mr Dodd translated the form as 'this one'. The range of application of -ga: is unknown.
\(^4\) This is a contracted form of yina:ya.
\(^5\) The porcupine.
\(^6\) Future tense does not seem appropriate here.
The porcupine was going along, alone. The min̓d̓guru pelted the boomerang. (It) hit an emu on the head. The emu fell down. Porcupine heard it. "Ah, what fell?" "I pretended to pelt a stick with the boomerang", (said the min̓d̓guru). "It was a loud noise. (Something) fell. I heard it". "No mate". (The porcupine sees the emu and says) "waawawaawaa, my meat. (Go) over there for leaves so we can cook the emu in the ashes". "All right. This one uncle?" "Go further (ahead)!") "This one uncle?" "Go further, go further!" He (the porcupine) cooks the emu in the ashes. He pulled that emu out. He was eating it there. The min̓d̓guru came back this way (towards the porcupine). "How is it uncle? We've come (to eat?). Would you give me the liver?" "waawawaawaa my meat". The min̓d̓guru went to see all the meat ants. "He didn't give me anything. He didn't give me the liver. He didn't give me the heart". All right. The meat ants came this way. They speared (the porcupine). Speared him, speared him. All of them. He (the porcupine) said "This meat's yours, your meat". (They) speared (kept spearing?) him.

5.10. THE guná AND THE FIRE — Arthur Dodd

"yulugi nyani / yulugi" / wa:1 guná gindamalani / dance-FUT 1 PL S/A dance-FUT NEG kangaroo rat-ABS laugh-PROG-PAST
gi:r nama birgabirga ganuŋa ga:rani / gila: ganuŋa namalay the ptiwi-ABS 3 PL S/O paint-N/F galah-ABS 3 PL S/O that
ga:rani / gaba ga:raŋinda:y / wa:1 gindamalani / da:y paint-N/F good-ABS paint-REL NEG laugh-PROG-PAST this way
bili:r / gi:r namana ŋa:rigulay maragulay black cockatoo-ABS the over that way over this way
bali:l / yi:l ŋa:ribal di:l diyama:y ŋa:ribal4 / hop-PROG-PAST soon over there tail-ABS pick up-N/F over there

1This story relates how the birds acquired the use of fire. Originally only the guná (‘kangaroo rats’) possessed fire. They kept it hidden in a seed pod from the needlebush.

2Gloss as supplied by Mr Dodd. The usage of -la: here suggests that it may mark old information, as it does in Ngiyambaa. (See page 44).

3The birds hope to make the guná laugh, and drop the needlebush pods containing the fire.

4He lifts his tail up over his back.
The two (birds) were sitting there. "How shall we do it?" said that black cockatoo. "We'll dance". (in order to make the gunar laugh).

The kangaroo rats weren't laughing. The piwis painted (themselves). The galahs painted (themselves). They 'painted good' (but) (the gunar) didn't laugh. The black cockatoo (came) this way. He hopped over that way, over this way. Soon he picked his tail up over there (lifted it over his back). He showed his red backside. Soon the two kangaroo rats laughed hard. While they laughed the kite hawk flew down. He flew down (and) split the needlebush (seed pod). (??They) are(??) watching the fire burning, the grass burning. The crow ran fast. He threw himself (down). He rolled there, (kept) rolling. He put the fire out.

5.11. EMU1 - Arthur Dodd


1 The emu in this text was a pet belonging to Mr Dodd

2 This verbal form has not been attested elsewhere in the corpus. The sentence was translated as "(He) wouldn't let anyone come up to me'.

3 The form bagaya was translated by Mr Dodd as 'half way'.
da:y  yina:y  ga:yuwa:idaygu / yila:la  ṣa:ya  yina:ni  ṣa:ma / this way come-FUT talk-REL-PURP  by’n’by  1 SG S/A go-N/F  the
go-FUT-PURP  tell-N/F  go-IMP  go-IMP  PROHIB  here
waralaya" / namana  gayarani  yina:yu / gi:r  yina:ni
stand-PROG-IMP  The  turn-N/F  go-FUT-PURP  go-N/F
ṇara:gulay / miña:ruwa: / nirmana  warayani  ṣa:ma  dinawan
over that way  where to-DUBIT  there  stand-PROG-PAST  that  emu-ABS
1 SG GEN  the  savage-ABS  NEG  the  someone-DUBIT  come-N/F
gi:ru  nirmana  ṣu:  duri amba / nirman da:y  dayn
there 3 SG S/A pierce- FUT  hard  there  this way  man-ABS
yina:wa:ni  wiyayba: / nirmana  ṣu:  ṣaray  ṣa:ma  dinawan
come-PROG-PAST  stranger-ABS  there 3 SG S/A see-N/F  the  emu-ABS
ṇay / waraylanda:y  nama  dira  yina:wa:ni / duwar
1 SG GEN  stand-PROG-REL  The  quickly  come-PROG-PAST  bread-ABS
gi:wa:ni / dinawan  ṣa:ma  ṣu:nunda1  yina:ni / duwar  ṣa:ma
bring-PROG-PAST  emu-ABS  the  3 SG DAT  go-N/F  bread-ABS  the
daligu / nambah2  ṣu:  wu:ri:ni  duwar / yila:la
eat-FUT-PURP  over  there 3 SG S/A give-PROG-PAST  bread-ABS  by’n’by
_then:  ṣa:ma  dum:u  duwar / dayndu  buma:y  bundu
3 SG S/A  the  pierce-N/F  bread-ABS  man-ERG  hit-N/F  club-INST
daygali / nirmana  ṣu:  ṣa:ma  bu:ray / ṣa:ma  guru  mawuni
head-SOU  there 3 SG S/A  the  pluck-N/F  the  hole-ABS  dig-N/F
dawumaligu / nirmana  ṣu:  bambra  day / buyumadu:
cook  in  ashes-FUT-PURP  there 3 SG S/A  a  lot  eat-N/F  glutton-ABS

(He) would'nt let anyone come up to me. If anyone came this way he went (by) a shortcut. He stood there half way, waiting. No-one came to me to talk (because of the emu). By'n'by I went (up to the emu). Told him to go. "Go! Go! Don't (keep) standing there!" The emu turned to go. He went over that way, somewhere. He was standing (there), that emu of mine. He was savage. He will (would?) peck hard. A stranger came. He saw my emu standing there. He came quickly, bring bread. The emu went up to him to eat the bread. He was giving

1 The use of ṣu:nunda here suggests that the pronouns labelled DATIVE also have an allative or locative function. (Dative and locative nominal case markers are identical, see page 37). Note also the use of ṣa:ndiya: in the first line of this text.

2 The stranger is enticing the emu on, calling him further away.
(the emu) bread. By 'n' by he (the emu) pecked the bread. The man hit him on the head with a club. He plucked it there. He dug a hole to cook (the emu) in the ashes. He ate a lot. Glutton.

5.12. SONG

gaṟiya ɲana nimaldaya / gaṟiya ɲana nimaldaya / gi:r ɲaya
PROHIB 1 SG O pinch-PROG-IMP 1 SG S/A

yina:y / ɲara:gu lay ɲinunda yila: / ɓaŋgu ɲinu wu:ri ɲirma /
come-FUT over there 2 SG DAT soon money 2 SG GEN give-FUT there

gaṟiya ɲana nimaldaya / ɲu:lay / daŋdu ɲaraldana / gaɾiya
PROHIB 1 SG O pinch-PROG-IMP here man-ERG watch-PROG-PRES PROHIB

ɲana nimaldaya / daŋdu ɲana ɲaraldana
1 SG O pinch-PROG-IMP man-ERG 1 SG O watch-PROG-PRES

Don't pinch me
Don't pinch me
I'll come
Over there to you soon.
I'll give you money
Don't pinch me here.
Men are watching
Don't pinch me.
Men are watching me.

6. LEXICON

All of the Yuwaalaraay and Yuwaaliyaay forms which have been recorded and verified are included in the following wordlists. The symbols used in the transcriptions are described in detail in 2.1. The following abbreviations have been used:

TR transitive verb
INT intransitive verb
YY Yuwaaliyaay dialect
XR Yuwaalaraay dialect
N noun
* verb stem reconstructed from tense(s) other than the imperative.

---

1This song was remembered by Arthur Dodd. The origin is unknown.
6.1. ENGLISH-YUWAALARAAV

Within this section words are arranged in a semantic index (as suggested by the draft A.I.A.S. Standard Wordlist). The divisions used are:

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<td>167</td>
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<td>Interjections</td>
<td>167</td>
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</table>
BODY PARTS

Adam's apple  wunguwi
ankle  baçangal
arm  bugün
back  bawa
back of the knee  ńawu
beard  yaray
black eye  milbulul:y
blood  guway
boil (N)  mula
bone  buya
brain  gawu (= egg)
breast  ńamü
breath  bulirul
buttocks  gumbul
cheek  da:l
cheet  bi:
chin  ńagan
ear  wuda YY

elbow  ńunuga:
eye  mil
eyelashes, eyebrows  ńugl:n
face  ńulu
faeces  guna
foot  babur YY
dina  YR

fur, hair  durun
hand  ma:
head, hair  daygal
heart  gi:
heel  dana
intestine (large)  gulalar
kidney  mugar
knee  dinbı́r
left hand  waya
leg  buyu
lip  yili
liver  gana
lung  gabun
mouth  ńa:y
mucus
nail, claw
navel
neck
nose
nostrils
ribs
right hand
scar
shoulder
shoulder blade
sinew
skin
sore
spines
spleen
stomach, abdomen
sweat (N)
tear (N)
testicles
thigh
throat
thumb
tongue
tooth
urine
vagina
vein
waist
wart

HUMAN CLASSIFICATION

baby, child
blood group - dark
blood group - light
boy (uninitiated)
crybaby
doctor, clever man
friend, mate
girl

mucuus
miril
nail, claw
yulu
navel
wiçigal
neck
nun
nose
muyu
nostrils
muyuda:
ribs
namun
right hand
du:ya:l
scar
yurun
shoulder
walar
shoulder blade
bi:la:
sinew
_dunbl
skin
yulay
sore
bayn
spines
wişayil
spleen
maran
stomach, abdomen
mubil
sweat (N)
nuwi
tear (N)
đulur
testicles
buçu
thigh
mabun
throat
wuyu
thumb
guñidar ma: (mother hand)
tongue
dalay
tooth
yiya
urine
gi:liy
vagina
yangal
vein
buwaran
waist
bagur
wart
danaga:

baby, child
birali:

blood group - dark
guwaymadan
blood group - light
guwaygaliyar
boy (uninitiated)
biray
crybaby
yumbu
doctor, clever man
wiçigin
friend, mate
maliyia:
girl
miyay
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>girl (teenage)</td>
<td>malagin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glutton</td>
<td>buyumaduːl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man (Aboriginal)</td>
<td>dayn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man (important)</td>
<td>yuːray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man (white)</td>
<td>wanda (= white devil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man (old)</td>
<td>dilaːga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wayama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage divisions - men</td>
<td>gambu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yibaːy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage divisions - women</td>
<td>buda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gabuda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yibada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>master (loan from 'master')</td>
<td>maːda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>messenger</td>
<td>daylndalmuː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orphan</td>
<td>gawun (fatherless)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gunldaː (motherless)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spouse</td>
<td>gullːr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stranger</td>
<td>wiyaːwba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thief</td>
<td>manumadəːy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twins</td>
<td>bulaːŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman - Aboriginal</td>
<td>yinar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman - menstruating</td>
<td>gurawan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman - old</td>
<td>yinarːaːgalaː (This is what the Aborigines called Mrs Parker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman - revered</td>
<td>yinarːaː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman - white</td>
<td>waːliːn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**KINSHIP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aunt</td>
<td>walgaːn (M.Z.?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother (older)</td>
<td>ɗagaːn (di)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother (younger)</td>
<td>galumaːy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother-in-law</td>
<td>guylndaːy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cousin</td>
<td>wambaniya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>buwaːdagar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father-in-law</td>
<td>ɲarawudaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's sister (aunt)</td>
<td>gamliyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>granddaughter</td>
<td>buwaŋaː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
grandfather
grandmother (M.M.?)
grandmother (F.M.?)
grandmother's brother
grandson
mother

mother-in-law's brother
uncle
niece or nephew
sister (older?)
sister (younger?)
sister-in-law
son-in-law
son's or daughter's child

MAMMALS

bandicoot
guyu
bat
ŋara:da:n
cat (loan from 'pussy cat')
buğlğur
cow (loan 'milk' + COMIT)
malambiya:y
milambiya:y
nalğana:lg
ma:yn
cow horn (loan ?)
ma:da:y
ma:da:y YY
ma:da:y
YY buyumaya:
buyuma
YY
bawura
bawura
bawur
bawura
bawura
banda:r
banda:r
banda:r
banda:r

fox
gamba: (di) (= sweet heart)
gamba: (di) (familiar)
gamba: y (= sweetheart)
gamba: y

kangaroo (red)
bawura
kangaroo (grey)
bawura

mouse
gamba: y

native bear

native cat

pig (loan 'pig')
bibirga:, biglur

porcupine
bigibila

possum
muday

puppy

rat kangaroo

sandhill rat
gunar
dulungaya: (name of totem)
blbl (familiar name)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Wolof</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>(loan 'jumbuck')</td>
<td>dimba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>squirrel</td>
<td>(flying)</td>
<td>bagu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tail</td>
<td>(dog's)</td>
<td>di:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tail</td>
<td>(emu's)</td>
<td>bubudala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wallaby</td>
<td></td>
<td>mayra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water rat</td>
<td></td>
<td>guma:y YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td>gallba:y YR</td>
</tr>
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**REPTILES**

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<tr>
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<th>English</th>
<th>Wolof</th>
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<tr>
<td>black snake</td>
<td></td>
<td>wuyubulu:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue-tongued lizard</td>
<td></td>
<td>wubun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown snake</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngandaba:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown and yellow snake</td>
<td></td>
<td>babura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carpet snake</td>
<td></td>
<td>yaba:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death adder</td>
<td></td>
<td>murubi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diamond snake</td>
<td></td>
<td>magan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frilled lizard</td>
<td></td>
<td>wula:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly catcher lizard</td>
<td></td>
<td>bu:mayamal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gecko</td>
<td></td>
<td>wibidi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ground goanna</td>
<td></td>
<td>bli:wi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long-necked turtle</td>
<td></td>
<td>maliyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red snake</td>
<td></td>
<td>warala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sand turtle</td>
<td></td>
<td>wirablri:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shingleback lizard</td>
<td></td>
<td>garba:li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short-necked turtle</td>
<td></td>
<td>wayamaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleepy lizard</td>
<td></td>
<td>waluba:li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small black spotted goanna</td>
<td></td>
<td>galgari:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small lizard</td>
<td></td>
<td>gumawuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small frilled lizard</td>
<td></td>
<td>garagaran:dl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake (generic)</td>
<td></td>
<td>duyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>track of snake</td>
<td></td>
<td>gay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree goanna</td>
<td></td>
<td>manjunga:li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white snake</td>
<td></td>
<td>babar</td>
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**BIRDS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Wolof</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bird (generic)</td>
<td></td>
<td>digaya:</td>
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<tr>
<td>bee eater bird</td>
<td></td>
<td>birubiru:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bell bird</td>
<td></td>
<td>banbanduluwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black crane</td>
<td></td>
<td>buyuduruqgi:ll</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
black cockatoo
black duck
black ibis
black shag
blue bonnet
blue jay
blue martin
bower bird
bronze-winged pigeon
brown-eyed crow
brown hawk
budgerigar
butcher bird
crane
crimson-winged parrot
crow
cuckoo
curlew
diving duck
dove
dove (small)
duck (generic)
eaglehawk
eaglehawk (small)
emu (generic)
emu chick
emu (one)
emu (pair)
feather (bird)
feather (emu)
frogmouth owl
galah
green parrot
grey crane
grey thrush (bad luck bird)
heron (night)
jacky winter
kingfisher
kite hawk
kookaburra
leather head
long-necked shag
ganumba:l

magpie
burugarbu:
magpie (black)
wuyu:
mopoke
muwargu:
musk duck
bagabaga:li
nankeen crane
darun
native companion
buralga
parrot (green?)
nungada
pelican
guliyalı YY
gula:nbali YR

pine babbler
dadalura:
pink cockatoo
gugalarin
pink eared duck
wiliduba:y
piwi
bari:ndi:n
plains turkey
gumbulgaban
quail
barabaru:n
quarronian
wiya:r
rainbird
bu:gudaguda
robin redbreast
guni:bu:
sandpiper
bilidı:u:
scrub turkey
wagun
seagull
manglwaraywaraymal
short necked shag
biribanga
small crane
biridu:1
soldier bird
digı:bawa:
sparrow
wala
spoonbill crane
bulun
spur winged plover
ba:1daradara
swift
bi:run
swan
ba:yanal
teal duck
bu:way
topknot pigeon
gulawuli:l
twelve apostle bird
gidaray
type of bird
bulu:r
type of crane
da:riṇa:rl
water fowl
gulbuwi
whistling duck
diba:yu
white browed cat eater
wi:gurungurun
white cockatoo
muya:y
willy wagtail
diri:rl:
willy wagtail (type of)
gưraywa:r
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal/Plant</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wood duck</td>
<td>bargabarga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woodpecker</td>
<td>bibl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow tit</td>
<td>minguru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FISH</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black bream</td>
<td>banjalala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bony bream</td>
<td>bi:rna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>catfish</td>
<td>gaygay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cod</td>
<td>gudu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crab</td>
<td>ƣala:ga:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crab hole</td>
<td>guru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crayfish</td>
<td>ynga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fin</td>
<td>bingal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>ƣa:lu:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish net</td>
<td>da:lla:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fishing line, string</td>
<td>bu:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish intestine</td>
<td>wira:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mussel (large)</td>
<td>dangal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mussel (small)</td>
<td>mangi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perch</td>
<td>daga:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scales</td>
<td>gi:nbal</td>
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<tr>
<td>silver bream</td>
<td>gamba:l</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>INSECTS, ETC.</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ant (generic?)</td>
<td>du:yuwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anthill</td>
<td>guwilga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee (= honey)</td>
<td>waça:ña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee droppings</td>
<td>guligul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee's nest</td>
<td>warul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee's wax</td>
<td>maya:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black ant</td>
<td>du:yu: YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blowfly, maggot</td>
<td>gl:du: YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown frog</td>
<td>gamugamu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bullant</td>
<td>gulgulbana:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butterfly</td>
<td>buyuga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caterpillar</td>
<td>balabala:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>centipede</td>
<td>durungal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glyan YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>baranbara:n YR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cockroach
dragonfly
earthworm
flea
fly (N)
frog (generic? edible)
frog (type of)
frog (type of)
frog (type of)
grasshopper
green frog
green frog (inedible)
greenhead ant
grub (coolibah)
grub (ground)
grub (gum tree)
grub (spitfire)
grub (type of)
grub (whitewood)
horsefly
jumper ant
leech
locust (large)
locust (small)
louse
meat ant
mosquito
moth
mother of all lice
nit of louse
policeman fly
queen bee
sandfly
scorpion
shell
shrimp
slow worm
snail
spider (trap door)
tadpole
wasp, hornet
witchetty grub
ganagana:
murumanamana:
duyugaril
buli:
banayal
yuwaya:
gadara
guwa
bulga
bunbun
nyayayar
ba:ybal
ba:yar
burungal
birga
yarana
maliga
burungal
wunala
ba:ndu:
imba:wa:y
gu:rmans
narana
nininnin
muni
burugan
muglu
burun
gabu:1
gaya:y
gugungugun
gunli:ni:
mugl:nga:
guna
wa:
gl:da: YY
dugaluba: YR
binadlyublyan
ginbulgara
margamarga:y
nu:luwi
mu:ndu:r
wunala
### LANGUAGE, CEREMONY, ETC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>battle (N)</td>
<td>giray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cicatrices, carving</td>
<td>mudir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corroboree (N)</td>
<td>yi:rmay YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corroboree leader</td>
<td>yulugi YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>initiation ceremony</td>
<td>muraygall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>initiation song</td>
<td>bu:ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>language</td>
<td>burambu:ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meeting where presents are exchanged</td>
<td>gaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name (N)</td>
<td>buda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ochre (white)</td>
<td>gayr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ochre (red)</td>
<td>dawura:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riddle</td>
<td>gu:war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>song</td>
<td>gibal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word, message</td>
<td>yugal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ARTIFACTS, ETC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>armlet</td>
<td>gumil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axe</td>
<td>yu:ndu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bag (generic)</td>
<td>mangar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
<td>bugala:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belt (man's)</td>
<td>wayuwa:l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>billy (loan 'billy can')</td>
<td>billiglyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blanket (loan 'blanket')</td>
<td>bulangli:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boomerang</td>
<td>baran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boomerang (fighting)</td>
<td>babara: YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boomerang (returning)</td>
<td>dlnbay YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boots (loan, see 1.5.)</td>
<td>yara:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bottle (loan 'bottle')</td>
<td>manduwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bridle (loan 'bridle')</td>
<td>ba:dal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe (bark)</td>
<td>bura:dal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car, cart (loan 'wheel-barrow')?</td>
<td>bundu:ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clothes</td>
<td>wilba:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coat (loan 'coat')</td>
<td>bayaga:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cork (loan ?)</td>
<td>gu:di:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dilly bag</td>
<td>ɳanaŋana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gulay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dish (loan 'tin dish')  
dish (coolamon)  
dish for honey  
emu spears  
frying pan (loan 'frying pan')  
garment made of possum skin  
grinding dish  
grinding stone  
gun (loan 'musket')  
hatchet, lil lil club  
headband  
hook (for grubs)  
jagged spear  
knife (loan 'knife')  
net  
possessions  
shield  
straight spear  
stone axe  
tin (loan ?)  
tomahawk (loan 'tomahawk'??)  
waddy (knob on end)  
waddy (sharp point)  
waddy (toy)  
woomera  
woven bag  
yamstick  
FIRE, FOOD AND WATER  
ashes  
brownie (spotted bread)  
cabbage (loan 'cabbage')  
charcoal  
damper (loan 'damper')  
egg  
fire  

ashes  
brownie (spotted bread)  
cabbage (loan 'cabbage')  
charcoal  
damper (loan 'damper')  
egg  
fire
firestick
flame, light
flesh, lean meat
flood
flour (loan 'flour')
food, bread
froth, bubble
fruit (sour, plum like)
fruit (type of)
fruit (type of)
fruit (type of)
heat
honey
honeycomb
juice, gravy
laxative (honey water)
manna on leaves
manna on bush
matches (loan 'match')
meat (animal)
melon (wild)
milk (loan 'milk')
nardoo
native orange
puddle
rainwater
ripplees (on river)
river
tea (loan 'tea' + YY 'leaf')
vegetable food
water
watercourse
waves
yam (bitter root)
yam (small, grows in swamps)
yam (type of)
yam (type of)
yam (white)
yolk of egg

yliyabiya:y
du:yay
bana
wugawa
bulawa
duwar
gi:gi:
guwli:
gunl
gudu:guni
duwa
bu:yan
wata:nana (= bee)
di:na:
wirun
galinjuri
gungiyar
 dara:bl:n
ma:dir
dinga:
nyayun
mlgin
na:du:
bambul
dangay
dangay
namugamul
ga:wa:
gu:an
yu:1
warumbal
ya:rnan
ga:bulu
mlan
gudugula:
gagu:lamadara:
gilan
gawuba:
CELESTIAL, WEATHER

cloud

dew

fog

frost, ice

hailstone (large)

hailstone (small)

lightning

Mars

Milky Way

mirage

moon

Morning Star

night, dark, black

Orion's Belt

rain (N)

rain (fine)

rainbow

Seven Sisters

sky

star

summer

sun

thunder

thundercloud

Venus

weak wind

whirlwind

wind

windbreak

wind (north-east)

wind (west)

winter

GEOGRAPHY

bank of river

bend in river
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Belyarning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>birthplace</strong></td>
<td>ɲuramba:</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>black soil</strong></td>
<td>banuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>burial ground</strong></td>
<td>danmur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>camp, nest</strong></td>
<td>ga:rimay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>camp (bachelors')</strong></td>
<td>wala:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>camping ground</strong></td>
<td>wi:dayga:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>corroboree ground</strong></td>
<td>wala:yba:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>creek</strong></td>
<td>gumbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dust</strong></td>
<td>ga:wul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>edge of river</strong></td>
<td>yu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ground</strong></td>
<td>mi:mi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gully</strong></td>
<td>da:dar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hill</strong></td>
<td>_biqa:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hole</strong></td>
<td>wagiba:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hut (bark shelter)</strong></td>
<td>walunbaru:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mud</strong></td>
<td>murila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>plain (N)</strong></td>
<td>gayay YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>red soil</strong></td>
<td>gumbugan YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rocky ground</strong></td>
<td>gayaya:n YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sand</strong></td>
<td>baga:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sandhill</strong></td>
<td>_ndir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>short cut</strong></td>
<td>ma:yama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>steep river bank</strong></td>
<td>yuru:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>stone</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>track</strong></td>
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**ARBOREAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Belyarning</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>bark (N)</strong></td>
<td>_dadar YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɲanda YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>beefwood tree</strong></td>
<td>mabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>belah tree</strong></td>
<td>murgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>black wattle</strong></td>
<td>gulguay YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>_dulan YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>blossom (coolibah tree?)</strong></td>
<td>galați:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>box tree</strong></td>
<td>bibil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>brigalow</strong></td>
<td>barunba:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bullrush</strong></td>
<td>bu̱raña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bumble tree blossom</strong></td>
<td>bambulŋayn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bush
bush (type of)
carbine tree
chip (of wood)
clover (loan ‘clover’)
coolibah tree
crowfoot
currajong tree
currant bush
cyprus pine
Darling lily
Darling pea
dogwood tree
emu bush
flower
fork of tree
forked stick
fungus (type of)
fuchsia bush
gidgy tree
gidgy blossom
goatshead (type of prickle)
grass (generic?)
grass (barley)
grass (cane)
grass (fairy)
gum from tree
gundabului wattle
hop bush
ironbark tree
ironwood tree
knot on tree
leaf
leaning tree
leopard wood blossom
leopard wood tree
lignum
log
mallee willow
wadi YY
yurul YR
miri:
ga:bi:n
wiya:y
galu:ba
gulaba:
ma:yal
_nunga
_waya:ra
gura:y
_daygalba:rayn
gila
yu:ra:
ŋawil
guya:n
_gula
_daran
-wayway
_dalanدا:
_qiştir
_babarabi:n
gulimugar
bu:nu
ya:ma:ra
wilgi
_dunbar
_dani
_ŋadul
_yi:lay
_ŋa:ŋa:y
dangayangan
_na:y
_garil YY
girangira: YR
_da:nda:y
_ba:laŋa:n
_bagala
_miri
_na:dlya:n
_miyaymiya:y
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>marthaguy (type of burr)</td>
<td>muga:da:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milk thistle</td>
<td>balamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mistletoe</td>
<td>ba:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulga tree</td>
<td>malga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mushroom</td>
<td>wubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myall tree</td>
<td>mayal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myrtle bush</td>
<td>burgulblyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naypan</td>
<td>guwibir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>needlebush, needlewood tree</td>
<td>bingawingal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pigweed</td>
<td>damu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prickly (type of)</td>
<td>blindaya:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prickly (type of)</td>
<td>galangala:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quinine tree, bark</td>
<td>gadibundu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quondong fruit, tree</td>
<td>guwada:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>river gum (type of)</td>
<td>yara:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>river gum (type of)</td>
<td>yumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>river wattle</td>
<td>gurulay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>river wattle blossom</td>
<td>gurulaynyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>root</td>
<td>waran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rosewood tree</td>
<td>bunbar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rosewood fruit</td>
<td>bunbariyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rotten log</td>
<td>gulungulu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saltbush (large)</td>
<td>binamaya:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saltbush (small)</td>
<td>nilil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sandalwood tree</td>
<td>bada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shelly log</td>
<td>dangal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silver wattle</td>
<td>daniya:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stick</td>
<td>muya:n YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stump of tree</td>
<td>glniy YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sucker</td>
<td>nadul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supplejack tree</td>
<td>bu:gi:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swamp box</td>
<td>ganayanay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar vine</td>
<td>guburu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti tree</td>
<td>wuduga:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree (generic) wood</td>
<td>nu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree (big)</td>
<td>muya:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thistle (type of)</td>
<td>ma:la:bidi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>type of tree</td>
<td>di:nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waterweed (floating)</td>
<td>yura:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waterweed (long)</td>
<td>bullyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dulungu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
waterweed (long, ropelike)  
water  
whitewood blossom  
whitewood tree  
wild arrowroot  
wild gooseberry  
wild lime  
wild passionfruit  
wild plum  
wild potato  
wild spinach  
vegetable (type of)  
vegetable (type of)  
vine (that giban grows on)  
vine (type of)  
vine (type of)  
vine (type of)  
yellow broom bush  

duluřuwa:  
gurulŋayn  
dara:wi:n  
bira:  
gar1:  
bulubul  
gayngayn  
guwi:bir  
ŋanumbira  
bu:ŋgal  
galangala:n  
dungul  
di:ya:n  
gawul  
di:buru:  
gumi  
ga:gulu  
bi:baya  

MAGIC AND MYTHOLOGY  
crocodile-like monster  
great one (all-father)  
heaven  
magical bone  
man-shaped devil  
poison (ground bones from corpse)  
sacred burial tree  
sacred stone  
soul  
spirit (dream)  
spirit of bu:ra  
spirit of wizard  
spirit haunted, sacred, tree  
tree spirit  
tree where poison sticks kept  
water devil  
wife of ba:yama  
wizard's bag  

gariya  
ba:yama  
ballma  
guyayra  
mara:gu  
bundabunda  
di:1  
gabara:  
 duwi  
yuwl  
gayanda:y  
malimali  
mingga  
ma:mbiya:  
bugaru  
gawargay  
bira:ŋulu  
bundur
ADJECTIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>afraid, frightened</td>
<td>giyal, qaṭigaṭi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alive</td>
<td>murun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all, whole, everything</td>
<td>ganuŋawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angry, wild, savage</td>
<td>yl:liyanba:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad</td>
<td>gagil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bald</td>
<td>wagiba: daygal</td>
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<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>burul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitter</td>
<td>bada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>bulu:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blind</td>
<td>muga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blunt</td>
<td>mugu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boggy</td>
<td>gunada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clear, clean</td>
<td>yl:rgayn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clever</td>
<td>dagiliya:y, bandara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold</td>
<td>baliya:</td>
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<tr>
<td>crippled, lame</td>
<td>dangur</td>
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<tr>
<td>crooked</td>
<td>wayawaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dead</td>
<td>baluni</td>
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<tr>
<td>deaf</td>
<td>mugu wuda YY</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mugu bina YR</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ganuda: YY</td>
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<tr>
<td>deep</td>
<td>guru:ba: YR</td>
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<tr>
<td>dirty</td>
<td>bandu</td>
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<tr>
<td>drunk (loan 'drunk'?</td>
<td>daranglla:y</td>
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<tr>
<td>dry</td>
<td>balal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dumb</td>
<td>dalaydaliba:</td>
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<td>fat</td>
<td>wamu</td>
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<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>gunidarba:</td>
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<tr>
<td>few</td>
<td>gurbir</td>
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<tr>
<td>flash, quickly</td>
<td>dira (dira)</td>
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<tr>
<td>flyblown</td>
<td>gamugamu:blya:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>bulawula:r</td>
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<tr>
<td>full, pregnant</td>
<td>yu:liya:y</td>
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<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>gaba</td>
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<tr>
<td>greedy</td>
<td>durin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td>gawarawar</td>
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<tr>
<td>grey-haired</td>
<td>dandarlya:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>half</td>
<td>mulan</td>
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<tr>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>madanba:</td>
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<tr>
<td>hollow</td>
<td>naḍul</td>
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</table>
humped
dunbi
hungry
yu:lnin(di)
jealous
bu:liya:y
kind-hearted
gayliya:y
knotty
madamada
left-handed
wayaga:l
light, bright
du:ya:y
light (not heavy)
gabanba:
lonely
waliŋal
long
guya:r YY
guya:rala YR
lost
wara:ya:
mad
wamba
male (animal?)
mandaya:
many, much
burula:
mouldy
wubu:biya:y
multicoloured
gagangagan
narrow
wawal
numb
diriŋal
ol
duniŋara:y
id
poor
milan YY
fast, quickly
bi:r YR
quiet
buwabildaliba:
ragged
bara:y
raw
dabliya:n
red
gadargadar
rough
durin
shabby
guwaymbara
shallow
madamada
shameless
gi:galiya:y
sharp
gana:y
short
glyaiddalba:
slippery, smooth
dalayba:
slow
buaydu:l YY
smooth
ダンビ(1)(u:1) YR
slow
bullbulll
small
baluwa:
smelly
badin YY
soft
buba:y YR
nuli
mulamula
sour

specckled

spiteful

spotted

stale

straight, true

strong, hard

stubborn, selfish

thick

thin, bony

thirsty

three

tired

two

very tired

weak

well behaved

white

yellow

MISCELLANEOUS

alone

anything

corpse

crack

cold (N)

family property

fence (loan 'paddock'?)

game like hide and seek

game with sticks and spears

gap

handkerchief (loan 'handkerchief')

hat (loan ?)

hotel (loan 'public house'?)

house, hut

humour, mood

inside (person or animal)
jail (loan 'jail')
lie (N)
motor car (loan ?)
necklace (loan 'necklace')
nicely
no, nothing
noise, sound
noise of chopping
other
owner
pillow
pipe (loan 'pipe')
poison (loan 'poison')
policeman (loan 'constable')
rabbit (loan 'rabbit')
rug
revolver (loan 'pistol')
rum (loan 'rum')
saddle (loan 'saddle')
saw (loan ?)
shade, shadow
shirt (loan 'shirt')
shovel
sausage pan (loan ?)
sleep (N)
slime
snore (N)
soap (loan 'soap')
sock (loan 'stocking')
spit (N)
step (N)
sugar (loan 'sugar')
sweetheart
that
this
tobacco (loan 'tobacco')
topknot
trough (loan ?)
trousers (loan 'trousers')?
**very, strongly, hard**

**waistcoat (loan 'waistcoat')**

**well (ADV)**

**when (Q)**

**wire (loan 'wire')**

---

**VERBS - MOTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>INT</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>INT</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bathe, bogey</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>wuŋa-γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bend down</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>du-li-γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chase</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td></td>
<td>gawa:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>climb up</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>galiya-γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come, walk, go</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>yina:-η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>*du:ri-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corroboree</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>danaŋurama-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crawl</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>du:-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dance, play</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>yulu-η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>bunda:-η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>bata:-γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get down</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>ga:ri-γ</td>
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<tr>
<td>get up</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>warayγa:-γ</td>
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<tr>
<td>go into</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>*yu:-η</td>
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<tr>
<td>go up</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>dli:ma:-l</td>
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<tr>
<td>hop</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>yalbala wira:wa:-y</td>
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<tr>
<td>jump, hop</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>ba:-γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jump in</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>bubula:-γ</td>
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<tr>
<td>jump into water</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>baba:luma:-γ</td>
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<tr>
<td>run</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>banaga:-γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skip</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>burumba:-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sneak, creep up on</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>*di:p:-y</td>
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<tr>
<td>swim</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>gubi:-γ</td>
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</tbody>
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**VERBS - REST**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>camp</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>float</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie down, sleep</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>live</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rest</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**VERBS - INDUCED POSITION**

**bring, take**
- TR: ga:-ŋ
- TR: wamba-1
- TR: bayama-l₂
- TR: bulubama-1 YY
- TR: yura:-l YR

**carry**
- TR: wu:-r
- TR: mayabi-1
- TR: durinba-1

**catch**
- TR: gu:ma:-y
- TR: *gadumayawa-1

**cover up**
- INT: buluba-y
- TR: wa-1
- TR: _di:ma-l₂

**cover self**
- INT: buluba-y
- TR: wa-1
- TR: _di:ma-l₂

**give**
- TR: wu:-r
- TR: mayabi-1

**hang up**
- TR: _durinba-1
- TR: gu:ma:-y
- TR: *gadumayawa-1

**hide**
- TR: wu:-r
- TR: mayabi-1
- TR: _durinba-1

**put down, light fire**
- TR: wa-1
- TR: _di:ma-l₂

**put in**
- TR: wa-1
- TR: _di:ma-l₂

**take off, out**
- TR: wa-1
- TR: _di:ma-l₂

**VERBS - AFFECT**

**annoy**
- TR: *yi:layburanba-1
- TR: *yura:-l

**attack**
- TR: _dawuma-1
- TR: gara-1
- TR: mawu-ŋ
- TR: _diyara-1
- TR: gimbi-1

**break**
- TR: wu:-r
- TR: mayabi-1

**build**
- TR: wa-1
- TR: _di:ma-l₂

**burn**
- TR: wa-1
- TR: _di:ma-l₂

**burst**
- TR: wa-1
- TR: _di:ma-l₂

**burn**
- TR: wa-1
- TR: _di:ma-l₂

**bury**
- TR: wa-1
- TR: _di:ma-l₂

**chop**
- TR: wa-1
- TR: _di:ma-l₂

**clean spines off**
- TR: wlyay-1

**collect, gather**
- TR: gu:ma-l₂

**cook**
- TR: yilama-l
- TR: _dawuma-1
- TR: gara-1
- TR: mawu-ŋ
- TR: _diyara-1
- TR: gimbi-1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tagalog</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>drop</td>
<td>TR na:nma-l₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>TR muyuwa-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>TR yinabi-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frighten</td>
<td>TR gi:yanma-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit, kill</td>
<td>TR buma-l₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit, give someone a hiding</td>
<td>TR bada-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kick (loan)</td>
<td>TR gigim-a-l₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knock down</td>
<td>TR bunda:ma-l₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let go, release</td>
<td>TR ylna:nbl-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light fire</td>
<td>TR wulanabl-l</td>
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<tr>
<td>make</td>
<td>TR dura-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>move</td>
<td>TR du:rm-a-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>move</td>
<td>INT yu:ra-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paint</td>
<td>TR ga:ra-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelt, throw hard</td>
<td>TR gayu-1 YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TR ga:yawi-1 YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pick up, collect</td>
<td>TR diyama-l₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinch</td>
<td>TR nima-l₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pluck</td>
<td>TR bu:ra-l</td>
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<tr>
<td>point bone, kill</td>
<td>TR *gayawi-1</td>
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<tr>
<td>pull</td>
<td>TR mi:nba-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pull off</td>
<td>TR *ba:rama-l₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pull out</td>
<td>TR *du:nma-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>push</td>
<td>TR yuringa-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put out, extinguish</td>
<td>TR balubura-1</td>
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<tr>
<td>quieten</td>
<td>TR bina:l bunma-l</td>
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<tr>
<td>rub</td>
<td>TR ga:ra-l</td>
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<td></td>
<td>TR guma:ma-l</td>
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<td>scratch</td>
<td>TR *mawu-ŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td>sew</td>
<td>TR muyawa-l</td>
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<tr>
<td>scale</td>
<td>TR gi:nba-l</td>
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<tr>
<td>scrape</td>
<td>TR gala:nbi-l</td>
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<tr>
<td>shake</td>
<td>TR diranba-1</td>
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<tr>
<td>sharpen</td>
<td>TR bara-l</td>
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<tr>
<td>shift</td>
<td>TR du:rm-a-l</td>
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<tr>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>TR *du:dima-l (ENG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td>TR bl:ra-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spear, sting</td>
<td>TR du-r</td>
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<tr>
<td>spill</td>
<td>INT ga:ţi-y</td>
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<tr>
<td>split</td>
<td>TR ba:ray-l</td>
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<td>squash</td>
<td>TR bama-l</td>
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<td>English</td>
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<td>squeeze</td>
<td>bayma-l</td>
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<tr>
<td>stand on</td>
<td>gayu-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steal</td>
<td>manuma-l₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stick to, adhere</td>
<td>mama-l₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stir</td>
<td>gayma-l</td>
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<tr>
<td>swallow</td>
<td>wuwi-l YY</td>
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<td>gura-l YR</td>
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<td>tear</td>
<td>bi:mba-l</td>
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<td>throw</td>
<td>barama-l</td>
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<td>throw out</td>
<td>wana-ŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td>tickle</td>
<td>dila-y</td>
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<td>tie up</td>
<td>g₁ḏ̣i₁ḏ̣i₁ba-l</td>
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<td>yila:-l</td>
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<td>twist</td>
<td>yawa-l</td>
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<tr>
<td>tread on</td>
<td>gayima-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncover, push aside</td>
<td>mayu-?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash</td>
<td>dila-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wipe</td>
<td>wagirma-l₂ YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wagírbuma-l YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ga:nbis-l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**VERBS - ATTENTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>INT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>call out</td>
<td>gaga-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leave alone</td>
<td>dabima-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leave in charge of</td>
<td>*waruma-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>listen</td>
<td>winaŋa-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see, look at</td>
<td>ñara-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>show</td>
<td>ñaranma-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stare</td>
<td>bamba ñara-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wait for</td>
<td>dura:mi-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watch</td>
<td>maŋarala-y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**VERBS - TALKING, ETC.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>INT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>answer</td>
<td>*gaya-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ask for</td>
<td>ml:nba-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bark</td>
<td>*gula-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be quiet</td>
<td>dabi:-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>gayrba-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quarrl</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rouse on, tell off</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talk, say</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whisper</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### VERBS - CORPOREAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bite</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bite off, crack between teeth</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blow, smoke (cigarette)</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breathe</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chew</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>choke</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cough</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cry</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>defecate</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doze off</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drown</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel, touch</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give birth to, lay egg</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itch</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiss</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kneel</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laugh</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look for</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lick</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moan</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shave</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel sick</td>
<td>INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smell</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sneeze</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snore</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spit</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suck</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taste</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urinate</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vomit</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**VERBS - MISCELLANEOUS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>INT</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be lonely</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>*walinda-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>become</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>buranja-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blane</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>*wuulu-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drip</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>*dulla-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>find</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>*waruma-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunt</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>*manila-l-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunt away, chase away</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>yuwaba-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>point</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>duba-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rain</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>*dama:-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slip</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>*bulan-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stoop</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>dubl:-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>dabi-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teach, remember</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>di:ra-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thunder</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>*duluma-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turn around</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>gayara-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turn over</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>gaya-y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LOCATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>behind</td>
<td></td>
<td>ηayaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>below, underneath</td>
<td></td>
<td>ga:yari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beside</td>
<td></td>
<td>nirin-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td></td>
<td>guwinba:-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corner</td>
<td></td>
<td>burumbi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down</td>
<td></td>
<td>ηada:(li)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>east</td>
<td></td>
<td>ηanbi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>front, above</td>
<td></td>
<td>bani-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>here</td>
<td></td>
<td>ηu:lay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td></td>
<td>mudu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long way</td>
<td></td>
<td>blyu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td></td>
<td>boltun-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other side of river</td>
<td></td>
<td>ηa:rigili- XY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outside</td>
<td></td>
<td>ganda:r- YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wagl-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Yuwaalaraay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over here, this way</td>
<td>ηα:rigulay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over there</td>
<td>ηα:rilmalay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td>marama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top</td>
<td>gaburan-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up there</td>
<td>ηα:ribba: (li)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TIME**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yuwaalaraay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>afterwards</td>
<td>buwabila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>again</td>
<td>yalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>always</td>
<td>duga:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawn</td>
<td>ηα:aran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>early morning</td>
<td>gi:ba:bu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evening</td>
<td>bululuwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>later on</td>
<td>ba:yandu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long ago</td>
<td>yila:lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>next morning</td>
<td>wanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>yalagiyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soon, directly</td>
<td>yila:lw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this morning</td>
<td>bulaya:gawu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INTERJECTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yuwaalaraay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all right!</td>
<td>ηα:yayba:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hush!</td>
<td>ga:bu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no, don't!</td>
<td>wa:l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh dear!</td>
<td>mađagura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ouch!</td>
<td>yaga:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poor fellow!</td>
<td>ηα:raga:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop it!</td>
<td>wanagiday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wait a while!</td>
<td>gariyawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes!</td>
<td>ηα:, gi:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2. **YUWAALARAAAY - ENGLISH**

In this section the words are arranged in Yuwaalaraay alphabetical order. The order is a, b, d, d, d, g, i, l, m, n, n, p, η, r, r, η, u, w, y. Long vowels are treated as double. All other abbreviations are as in section 6.1.
b

*ba:ba-y INT sleep
ba:bi-l INT camp YY
ba:dal
ba:şin
ba:gi:
ba:lağan
ba:ldaradara
ba:lu:
ba:n
ba:ndu:
*ba:rama-l2 TR pull off, tear
*ba:ra-y
ba:ray-l
ba:-y
ba:ya:r
ba:ya-1 TR bite off, crack between teeth
ba:yama
ba:yamal
ba:yandu
ba:ybal
ba:yu
baba:luma-y INT jump into water
babar
babara:
babarabi:n
babulliga:r
babur
babura
badi
bada
bada
bada-y TR hit, give someone a hiding
badu:1na:
bağin
baga
baga:r
bagabaga:li
bagala
bagandi
bagu

grandmother (M.M.?)
leopard wood blossom
spur winged plover
moon
mistletoe
horsefly
burst
split
jump, hop
greenhead ant
great one, all father
later on
green frog (inedible)
pipe
white snake
fighting boomerang YY
gidgy blossom
hotel
foot YY
brown and yellow snake
paddock
bitter
sandalwood tree
mother-in-law's brother
small YY
bank of river
shortcut
musk duck
leopard wood tree
native cat
flying squirrel
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bagur</th>
<th>Waist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balabala:</td>
<td>Butterfly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baladi</td>
<td>Saw (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balal</td>
<td>Dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balamba</td>
<td>Milk thistle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balima</td>
<td>Heaven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baliya:</td>
<td>Cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balubura-1</td>
<td>Put out, extinguish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balunl</td>
<td>Dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Balu-ŋ</td>
<td>Die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluŋinda:y</td>
<td>Corpse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluwa:</td>
<td>Slow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bama-1</td>
<td>Squash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamba</td>
<td>Very, strong, hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bambaŋara-1</td>
<td>Stare at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bambul</td>
<td>Native orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bambulŋayn</td>
<td>Bumble tree blossom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bana</td>
<td>Run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banaga-y</td>
<td>Bell bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banbanduluwi</td>
<td>Grey kangaroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banda:r</td>
<td>Dirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandu</td>
<td>Noise of chopping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banguːl</td>
<td>Front, above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bani-</td>
<td>Black bream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangala</td>
<td>Black soil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banuwa</td>
<td>Fly (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banaːyal</td>
<td>Clever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangara</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangaba:</td>
<td>Float</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Bangada-1</td>
<td>Fast, quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baraːy</td>
<td>Sharpen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bara-1</td>
<td>Sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baranbaraːn</td>
<td>Centipede YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bargabarga</td>
<td>Wood duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bargay</td>
<td>Emu chick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barlianŋiːn</td>
<td>Piwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barabaruːn</td>
<td>Quail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baran</td>
<td>Boomerang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barunba:</td>
<td>Brigalow tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barangal</td>
<td>Ankle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baraːy</td>
<td>Fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual Term</td>
<td>English Equivalent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bawa</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bawa (di)</td>
<td>(older?) sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bawl-1</td>
<td>sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bawura</td>
<td>red kangaroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayaga:</td>
<td>clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayama-1</td>
<td>catch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayn</td>
<td>sore (ADJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayma-1</td>
<td>squeeze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bibi</td>
<td>woodpecker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bibil</td>
<td>box tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bibirga:</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidaːy</td>
<td>rag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidgaːy</td>
<td>mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidʒun-</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bigibilla</td>
<td>porcupine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bigur</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi</td>
<td>chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biːbaya</td>
<td>yellow broom brush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biːlaː</td>
<td>shoulder blade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biːmbaː-1</td>
<td>sweep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biːr</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biːraː-1</td>
<td>skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biːrŋa</td>
<td>bony bream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biːrun</td>
<td>swift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biːwl</td>
<td>ground goanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilaː:r</td>
<td>straight spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilay</td>
<td>crimson winged parrot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilbi</td>
<td>sandhill rat (familiar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>billduː:</td>
<td>sandpiper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>billigiyan</td>
<td>billy can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>billiːr</td>
<td>black cockatoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bina</td>
<td>ear YR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binaːl</td>
<td>well behaved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binaːl bunmaː-1</td>
<td>quieten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binadʒiyuːbiyan</td>
<td>slow worm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binamaya:</td>
<td>large saltbush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bindaya:</td>
<td>type of prickle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bingal</td>
<td>fin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bingawingal</td>
<td>needlebush, needlewood tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binuguwi</td>
<td>dish YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biraː</td>
<td>whitewood tree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
biraŋulu  
irali:  
iray  
iraybiray  
irga  
iribanga  
iridul  
iridu:l  
irubiru:  
biya:gar(gar)  
blyadu:l  
blyaga  
blyu-  
blyu:  
buba:y  
bubudala  
bubula-y  
buda  
buda  
budanba:  
budul  
budu:1ga:  
budigur  
bugala:  
bugaru  
bulaŋu:  
bula:r  
bulaŋgi:n  
bulawa  
bulawa:  
bulawula:r  
bulaya:gawu  
bulaybulay  
bulga  
buli:  
bullbulul  
bullrul  
bulirul  
*buliru-l  
*bull-y  
buliyar  
bulubama-l  
wife of ba:yama  
baby, child  
uninitiated boy  
Orion's Belt (the boys)  
ground grub  
short necked shag  
revolver  
small crane  
bee eater bird  
brown hawk  
alone  
tobacco  
long way  
hole  
small  
emu's tail  
jump in  
women's marriage division  
meeting where presents are exchanged  
black duck  
toy waddy  
grey crane  
cat  
ball  
tree where poison sticks kept  
twins  
two  
blanket  
fine  
pair of emus  
four  
this morning  
blue bonnet bird  
type of frog  
flea  
slippery  
breath  
slip  
floating waterweed  
cover up YY
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buluba-y</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>cover self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulubul</td>
<td></td>
<td>wild gooseberry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bululuwi</td>
<td></td>
<td>evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulun</td>
<td></td>
<td>spoonbill crane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulunbulun</td>
<td></td>
<td>green parrot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulur</td>
<td></td>
<td>type of bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulu:r</td>
<td></td>
<td>frogmouth owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulu:y</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>night, dark, black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buma-(l)</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>hit, kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunbar</td>
<td></td>
<td>rosewood tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunbariyan</td>
<td></td>
<td>rosewood fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunbun</td>
<td></td>
<td>grasshopper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunda:ma-(l)</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>knock down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunda:-()</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bundabunda</td>
<td></td>
<td>poison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bundi</td>
<td></td>
<td>waddy with knob on end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bundur</td>
<td></td>
<td>wizard's bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bundu:ra</td>
<td></td>
<td>bark canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunun</td>
<td></td>
<td>arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bura:dal</td>
<td></td>
<td>bridle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bura:nban</td>
<td></td>
<td>frying pan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buralga</td>
<td></td>
<td>native companion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burambu:ra</td>
<td></td>
<td>initiation song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buranba-(?)</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>become</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burgulbiyan</td>
<td></td>
<td>myrtle bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burugarbu:</td>
<td></td>
<td>magpie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burul</td>
<td></td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burula:</td>
<td></td>
<td>many, much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burumba-(l)</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>skip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burumbi-</td>
<td></td>
<td>corner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burun</td>
<td></td>
<td>moth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burugal</td>
<td></td>
<td>coolibah grub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu:qa:</td>
<td></td>
<td>bullrush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu:li:n</td>
<td></td>
<td>shield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu:u</td>
<td></td>
<td>testicles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu:bi-(l)</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>blow, smoke (cigarette)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu:gi:n</td>
<td></td>
<td>sucker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu:gudaguda</td>
<td></td>
<td>rainbird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu:ldIran</td>
<td></td>
<td>ram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu:li:</td>
<td></td>
<td>whirlwind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu:liya:y</td>
<td></td>
<td>jealous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bu:madaya:  fox
bu:mayaman  fly catcher lizard
bu:nu    grass (generic?)
bu:ngal  wild potato
bu:r   fishing line, string
bu:ra    initiation ceremony
bu:ra-1    pluck
bu:rgan  meat ant
bu:way   teal duck
bu:yan    heat
buwabil    possessions
buwabila  afterwards
buwabildaliba:  poor
buwadar  father
buwanqa:  granddaughter
buwar:n    vein
*buwi-y    TR smell YR
buwi-y    rest
buuya  bone
buuyabuya  thin, bony
buuyadu:l  short YY
buyu     leg
buyudurungli:li  black crane
buyuga  bullant
buyuma  dog YR
buyumadu:l  glutton
d

da:da:  grandfather
da:da:l  saddle
da:dar  bark shelter
da:di:r  kingfisher
da:r   cheek
*da:liya:y    fish net
INT feel sick
da:lu-ŋ    damper
da:mba  leaning tree
da:nda:y  type of crane
da:riña:ri  TR stop
da:bi-y    INT be quiet
da:bi:-y
| dabiya:n | TR | leave alone |
| dada-l | TR | quiet |
| dadalura: | | taste |
| dadar | | pine babbler |
| dadin | | bark YY (N) |
| daga:n(di) | | shade, shadow YY |
| daga:y | | older brother |
| dagiliya:y | | perch |
| dagin | | clever |
| daguway | TR | stocking |
| da-l | | leatherhead bird |
| dalanda: | TR | eat |
| dalay | | fuchsia bush |
| dalayba: | | tongue |
| dalaydalaba: | | sharp |
| dalundulu | | dumb |
| dalura: | | weak wind |
| *dama:-y | | blue martin |
| dama:y | | rain |
| dama-l2 | TR | rain (N) |
| damar | | feel |
| damu | | bronze wing pigeon |
| dana | | pigweed |
| danaga: | | heel |
| danbi(du:l) | | wart |
| danbiyal | | short YR |
| dandar | | frost, ice |
| dandara: | TR | winter |
| dandariya:y | | grey haired |
| _danduwiy | INT | lie down, sleep |
| _danduwiy | | sleep (N) |
| danga:y | | rainwater |
| dangal | | shelly log |
| dangay | | puddle |
| dangayangan | | ironwood tree |
| dangur | | crippled, lame |
| dani | | gum from tree |
| daniya: | | silver wattle |
| daniya: | | tomahawk |
| danmur | | burial ground |
| dango: | | large mussel |
*dan-ga-ya
*dan-gurama-1
_ da-ra:bii:n
_ da-ra:wi:n
_daran
_daran-gi:la:y
_dara:wi:dil
_dari:nara
_darun
_ daruwi:
_ dawuma-1
_dawura:
_dawuran
_daya:mba-1
_dayan
_daygal
_daygal-ba:rayn
_daygal-uwi
_ dayin
_ dayindalmu:
_ dayma:r
_dayur
_di:ba:yu
_diऍ:lbawa:
_di:ga:yaya:
_di:gun
_di:garil
_ di:buru:
_diऍ:da-1
_diऍ:1
_diऍ:1
_diऍ:ma-1
_ diऍ:ma-12
_diऍ:na:
_ diऍ:nba:y
_ diऍ:nbin
_ diऍ:na:y
_ diऍ:nan
_ diऍ:ra-1
_ diऍ:ya:n
_ diऍ:ga:ga:

INT  float
INT  corroboree
INT  manna on bush
INT  whitewood blossom
INT  forked stick
INT  drunk
INT  trousers
INT  thundercloud
INT  nankeen crane
TR   grey thrush (bad luck bird)
TR   cook in ashes
TR   white ochre
TR   (younger?) sister
INT  whisper YY
INT  small hailstone YY
TR   head, hair
TR   Darling lily
TR   pillow
TR   Aboriginal man
TR   messenger
TR   ground
TR   grinding dish
TR   whistling duck
TR   soldier bird
TR   bird (generic)
TR   topknot
TR   tea
TR   type of vine
TR   lick
TR   sacred burial tree
TR   tail
INT  go up
TR   take off, out
TR   honeycomb
TR   yamstick
TR   diving duck
TR   ironbark tree
TR   type of thistle
TR   teach, remember
TR   type of vegetable
TR   old man
dila-y  TR  throw out
dilay-r  TR  uncover, push aside
dimba
dina
dinawan
dinbay
dinbir
dinbiya wara-y  INT  kneel
dindl:r
dindu
dinga:
dira (dira)
diranba-l  TR  shake
diri:ri:
dirinâl
*dîta-y  INT  sneak, creep
diyama-l1
*diyara-l
*duba-y
*dubi:-y
*dubi-1
*dubil
*duga
*duga:luba:
duga:y
dulan
*duîla-r1
*duî-y
*duîuma-y
*duîungaya:
duîungu
duluwawa:
dunbar
dunbl
dunbl
*dungayra
*dungul
duni
duniquni
duniqara:y
du-r

TR  uncover, push aside
sheep
foot  YR
emu (generic)
fighting boomerang  YR
knee

INT  kneel
dish
mouse
meat

TR  flash, quickly

INT  shake
willy wagtail
numb

TR  pick up, collect
dip from

INT  point
stoop
spit

INT  spit, saliva (N)
sugar
shrimp  YR
always
black wattle  YR

INT  drip
bend down
thunder
sandhill rat (totem name)
long waterweed
long, ropelike waterweed
fairy grass
humped (as porcupine's back)
einew
lightning
type of vegetable
sun  YR

INT  jackywinter (bird)
old

INT  spear, sting, pierce, write
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Part of Speech</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dura:mi-1</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>wait for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dura-1</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durin</td>
<td></td>
<td>greedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durin</td>
<td></td>
<td>raw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durlnba-1</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*duru-1</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durun</td>
<td></td>
<td>fur, hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durungal</td>
<td></td>
<td>caterpillar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du:</td>
<td></td>
<td>noise, sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du:ba:r</td>
<td></td>
<td>fire YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du:bu</td>
<td></td>
<td>fine rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du:dima-1z</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>shoot (ENG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*du:nma-1</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>pull out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du:-r</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>crawl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du:ra-1</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du:ya:1</td>
<td></td>
<td>right hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du:ya:y</td>
<td></td>
<td>flame, light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du:yuwi</td>
<td></td>
<td>ant (generic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duwa</td>
<td></td>
<td>type of ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwadi</td>
<td></td>
<td>shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duwar</td>
<td></td>
<td>food, bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duwi</td>
<td></td>
<td>soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duyuu</td>
<td></td>
<td>snake (generic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duyugaril</td>
<td></td>
<td>earthworm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duyu:</td>
<td></td>
<td>black ant YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duyu:1</td>
<td></td>
<td>hill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Part of Speech</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ga:bi:n</td>
<td></td>
<td>carbine tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga:bu</td>
<td></td>
<td>hush!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga:bulu</td>
<td></td>
<td>type of vine, bitter root yam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga:nbl-1</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>wipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga:-ŋ</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>bring, take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ga:ŋa-y</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>give birth to, lay egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga:ra-1</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>rub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga:ra-y</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>paint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga:rlmay</td>
<td></td>
<td>camp YY (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga:ri-y</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>get down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga:tl-y</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>spill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ga:wa:  river
ga:wi-l  vomit
ga:wul   vine that giban grows on
ga:wul   creek
ga:y     word, message
ga:yari  below, underneath
ga:yawi-l pelt, throw hard  YR
gaba     good
gabanba: light (not heavy)
gabangara nicely
gabara:  sacred stone
gabara:  small hailstone
gabi     men's marriage division
gabir    cabbage
gabuda   women's marriage division
gabun    lung
gabundi  hat
gaburan- top
      mother of all lice
gabul    type of frog
gadara   quinine tree, bark
gadibundu ragged
*гадумаява-1 hide
gaga-1   call out
gagangagan multicoloured
gagil    bad
gagu:lamadara type of yam
gala:nbi-1 scrape
galangala:n type of prickle
galangala:n wild spinach
galarin     blossom (coolibah tree?)
galgari:r  small black spotted goanna
galawu    when
galibay    water rat  YR
galinjuri laxative drink (honey and water)
galiya:y  climb up
galu:ba   clover
galuma:y  younger brother
galumaya: grandson
gama-1   break
    TR
gamba:1  silver bream
gamba:y  
sister-in-law, sweetheart

gambu  
men's marriage division

gambu  
stone axe

gamiyan  
aunt (P.Z.)

gamugamu:  
blowfly, maggot

gamugamu:biya:y  
flyblown

gana  
liver

gana:y  
shallow

gana:y  
yamstick YR

ganagana:  
cockroach

ganayanay  
supplejack tree

ganda:r  
other side of river YR

ganduwi  
one emu

ganuda:  
deep YY

ganumba:1  
long necked shag

ganu]awu  
all, whole, everything

gandibul  
policeman

gara  
small frilled lizard

garagara:ndi  
cut

gara-1  
choke

gara-y  
son-in-law

garamay  
duck (generic)

garanjay  
gap

garay  
shingleback lizard

garaba:li  
butcher bird YY

garigu:wingu:win  
wild arrowroot

gari:  
leaf YY

garil  
crocodile-like monster

garilya  
wait a while!

garilyawu  
uncle

garugli:  
afraid

gatigari  
another side of river YR

gatu:nga-y  
drown

gawa:-l  
chase

gawarawar  
green

gawargay  
water devil

gawu  
brain

gawu  
egg

gawuba:  
egg yolk

gawuburay  
star

gawun  
fatherless child
| gay        | track of snake        |
| gaya       | language              |
| gaya:y     | nit of louse          |
| *gaya-l    | answer                |
| gayanda:y  | spirit of the bu:ra  |
| *gayara-ŋ  | look for YR           |
| gayara-y   | turn around           |
| *gayawí-l  | point bone, kill      |
| gaya-y     | turn over             |
| gayay      | sand YY               |
| gayayana:n | sandhill YY           |
| gaygay     | catfish               |
| gayima-l   | twist                 |
| gayn       | shovel                |
| gayngayn   | wild lime             |
| gayr       | name (N)              |
| gayrba-l   | name                  |
| *gayla-y   | burn                  |
| gayliya:y  | kind hearted          |
| gayma-l    | stir                  |
| gayu-l     | pelt, throw hard YY   |
| gibá       | grinding stone        |
| giban      | white yam             |
| gidgídiba-l| tickle                |
| gidgiriga: | budgerigah            |
| gidgaray   | twelve apostle bird   |
| gidgír     | gidgy tree            |
| gidgírgídír| yellow                |
| gigima-l   | kick                  |
| gigígirír  | west wind             |
| giguwidur-r| sneeze                |
| gl:        | heart                 |
| gl:         | yes                   |
| gl:ba:bu   | early morning         |
| gl:da:     | black ant YR          |
| gl:da:     | shrimp YY             |
| gl:galíya:y| scabby                |
| gi:gi:     | froth, bubble         |
| *gi:gi-l   | itch                  |
| gi:liy     | urine                 |
| gi:li-y    | urinate               |
gi: nba-1  TR  scale
gi: nbal  TR  scales
gi: yanma-1  TR  frighten
gila:  TR  galah
gila: ngara
gimbi-1  TR  do, make
gindama-y  INT  laugh
ginly
gindulgara
giran
girangira:
giray
giribal
giyal
giyaldaliba:
giyalgil
giyan
guba
gbli-y  INT  swim
gubudu
guburu:
guduga:
gudu:
gudu:guni
guduwa-1  TR  burn
ugalarin
ugil
ugungugun
ugurgaga:
gula
gula: nbal
gulaba:
gulal
*gula-1  INT  bark
gulalar
gulaman
gulawuli:
gulay
gulay
gulbinadu
gulbir
guba  INT  swim
gubu-y
gubudu
guburu:
guduga:
gudu:
gudu:guni
guduwa-1  TR  burn
ugalarin
ugil
ugungugun
ugurgaga:
gula
gula: nbal
gulaba:
gulal
*gula-1  INT  bark
gulalar
gulaman
gulawuli:
gulay
gulay
gulbinadu
gulbir
gulbuwi  water fowl
gulgulay  black wattle YY
gulgulbana:  brown frog
guliba:  three
guligul  bee droppings
guli:r  spouse
gulimugar  goathead (type of prickle)
guliyali  pelican YY
guluŋulu:  rotten log
guma:ma-l  TR  rub
  guma:y  water rat YY
  gumawuma  small lizard
  gumbada:  motor car
    gumbu  corroboree ground
    gumbugan  sand YYR
    gumbul  buttocks
    gumbulgaban  plains turkey
    gumi  type of vine
    gumil  armlet
  gumila:  garment made of possum skin
    guna  faeces
    gunada  boggy
    gunagala  sky
  guna-ŋ  defecate
  guna  YR  cloud
    gundiribiya:y  emu feather
    gundiridaliba:  strong, hard
    gundu:ndu  weak
    gungiyan  stubborn, selfish
    guni  manna on leaves
    gunarda:  type of fruit
    gunida:  blue jay
    gunida:  motherless child
    gunidar  mother
    gunidarba:  female
    gunidar ma:  thumb
    guni:bu:  robin redbreast
    guni:ni:  queen bee
    gunugayna:  niece or nephew
    guna  scorpion
    gunar  rat kangaroo
gundi

house, hut
cold (N)
cough
water
swallow YR
menstruating woman
crab hole
river wattle
river wattle blossom
deep YR
type of willy wagtail
coat

hut
cough
water
crane
cyprus pine

int

hide
collect, gather
leech
red ochre
humour, mood
type of frog
fog

type of willy wagtail

TR

type of willy wagtail

INT

talk, say

Mars

ant hill

sour, plum-like fruit

wild passionfruit

naypan

close

flower

long YY

long YR

magical bone

brother-in-law

bandicoot
<p>| ma:          | hand               |
| ma:da        | master             |
| ma:da:y      | dog YY             |
| ma:qir       | matches            |
| ma:la:bidi   | big tree           |
| ma:mbya:     | tree spirit        |
| ma:r         | no, nothing        |
| ma:yal       | crowfoot           |
| ma:ya-1      | whisper YR         |
| ma:yama      | stone              |
| ma:yin       | dingo              |
| ma:yu        | well (ADV)         |
| mabu         | beefwood tree      |
| mabun        | gully              |
| mabun        | thigh              |
| madamada     | knotty             |
| mada         | women's marriage division |
| madamada     | rough              |
| madanba:     | heavy              |
| ma datagura  | oh dear!           |
| malagin      | teenage girl       |
| malawil      | shade, shadow YR   |
| malga        | mulga tree         |
| maliga       | spitfire grub      |
| malimali     | spirit of wizard   |
| maliya:      | friend, mate       |
| maliyan      | long necked turtle |
| maliyana     | eaglehawk          |
| maliyanga:lay| morning star       |
| mama-1:2     | TR stick, adhere   |
| manday       | TR step (N)        |
| mandaya:     | male (animal?)     |
| manduwi      | TR boots           |
| mangar       | bag (generic)      |
| *mani:la-y   | TR hunt            |
| manumada:y   | TR thief           |
| manuma-1:2   | TR steal           |
| manan        | TR diamond snake   |
| manarala-y   | TR watch           |
| mangara:n    | TR kite hawk       |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mangi:</td>
<td>small mussel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mangiwaraywaraymul</td>
<td>seagull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maŋunga:li</td>
<td>tree goanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mara:gu</td>
<td>man-shaped devil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marama</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maran</td>
<td>spleen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>margamarga:y</td>
<td>(trapdoor?) spider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>margin</td>
<td>gun, rifle</td>
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<tr>
<td>mari</td>
<td>men's marriage division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawu-ŋ</td>
<td>dig, scratch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maya:r</td>
<td>bee's wax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayabi-l</td>
<td>hang up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayra</td>
<td>wallaby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayu-ʔ</td>
<td>tread on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayra:</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miːmiː</td>
<td>edge of river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miːnba-y</td>
<td>ask for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miːnma-l</td>
<td>pull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mil</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milaːn</td>
<td>small yam, grows in swamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milambiyə:y</td>
<td>cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milan</td>
<td>one YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milanduːl</td>
<td>alone YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milbaːwaːy</td>
<td>jumper ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milbuluːy</td>
<td>black eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milgin</td>
<td>milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minagaː</td>
<td>anything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minçuɾu</td>
<td>yellow tit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minga</td>
<td>spirit haunted, sacred tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miri</td>
<td>lignum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirl</td>
<td>type of bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirlŋamu</td>
<td>mucus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miyay</td>
<td>jagged spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miyaymiyəːy</td>
<td>girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miyaymiyəːy</td>
<td>mallee willow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mubıl</td>
<td>Seven Sisters (the girls)</td>
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<tr>
<td>muday</td>
<td>stomach, abdomen</td>
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<td>mudir</td>
<td>possum</td>
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<td>mudu-</td>
<td>cicatricie, carving</td>
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<tr>
<td>mudur</td>
<td>inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inside (person or animal)</td>
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muga
muga:da:
mugar
mugina:
mugu
mugu bina
mugu wuda
mula
mulamula
mulan
mundimundi
mundimundi duwar
munduwa:
munun
muni
munin
muningagagal
muraygali
murgu
murgumurgu
murila
murubl
murudigindamala:
murula
murumay
murumanamana:
murumba:
murun
mururwalingay
mu:ndu:r
muwargu:
muya:n
muya:n
muya:y
muyawa-l
muyu
muyudad:
muyuwa-l

blind
marthaguy (type of burr)
kidney
sandfly
blunt
def YR
def YY
boil (N)
soft
half
spotted
brownie
thick
emu spear
louse
mosquito
cuckoo
corroboree leader
belah tree
black ibis
rocky ground
death adder
Venus
waddy (sharp point)
thunder
dragonfly
other
alive
stale
waap, hornet
mopoke
stick YY
tree (generic), wood
white cockatoo
sew
nose
nostrils
duck
na:du:  nardoo (flour made of ground grass seeds)

na:diya:n  log

na:nma:l2  drop

na:y  knot on tree

na:ybu  knife

nalay  this YR

nalganalga  cow horn

nama  that

namun  ribs

namura-l  bury

nanigu:r  goat

_nunuwadji  son's or daughter's child

ney  hook (for grubs)

_nigili: charcoal YR

ni: charcoal YY

ni:gili:r  necklace

nirin-  beside

nula:n  slime

nima-l2  pinch

nimalnimal  spiteful

_ninil  small saltbush

nun  neck

nungada  green (?) parrot

nuoga  currajong tree

nuwi  smelly


na:  yes

na:gi:  grandmother (F.M.?)

na:lu:r  fish (generic)

na:rigilli-  other side of river YY

na:rigulay  over here, this way

na:rimalay  over there

na:wa-y  look for YY

na:y  mouth

na:yayba:y  all right

nada:(li)  down

nadul  gundablui wattle
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ṡadul</th>
<th>stump of tree</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṡadul</td>
<td>hollow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣagan</td>
<td>chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣala:ga:</td>
<td>crab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣalay</td>
<td>this YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣamba: (di)</td>
<td>mum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣamu</td>
<td>breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣamugamul</td>
<td>ripples on river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣamu-ŋ</td>
<td>TR suck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣanaŋana</td>
<td>cork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣanda</td>
<td>bark YR (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣanda</td>
<td>tin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣandaba:</td>
<td>brown snake</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṣanbi:</td>
<td>east</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣandir</td>
<td>steep river bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣanumbira</td>
<td>wild plum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣara:da:n</td>
<td>bat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaraga:</td>
<td>poor fellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣara-l</td>
<td>TR see, look at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣarala</td>
<td>large locust</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṣaramba:</td>
<td>family property</td>
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<td>ṣaran</td>
<td>dawn</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṣaranma-l</td>
<td>show</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṣarawudaba</td>
<td>father-in-law</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṣariba:(li)</td>
<td>up there</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṣawil</td>
<td>emu bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣawi-ŋ</td>
<td>TR smell YY</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṣawu</td>
<td>back of knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣawu-ŋ</td>
<td>TR drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣayaga-</td>
<td>behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣayaga-1</td>
<td>TR kiss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣayaray</td>
<td>speckled</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṣaymbuwan</td>
<td>saucepan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaynayr</td>
<td>green frog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣayu:n</td>
<td>TR stand on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣayu-ŋ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣininnin</td>
<td>small locust</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṣudi:n</td>
<td>eyelash, eyebrow</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṣulu</td>
<td>face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣular</td>
<td>tear (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣunuga:</td>
<td>elbow</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
nluramba: birthplace
nlurulay
*nlurulu-y
nl: snore (N)
nl: TI tree
nl:lay
nl:luwi
tlwu

INT

w

shell

wa:
brown eyed crow
wa:giyan
game like hide and seek
wa:gu:
no, don’t
da: crow
wa: I
wa: wire
wa:n
river bend
wa:ya
bush YY
wa:ba:
wag i
windbreak
wad i
white woman
wad u:1
wagara:
hatchet, lil lil club
wadi
lie (N)
wadj:i:n
outside
wadj:i
plain (N)
wag i
wag i-
plain (N)
wag i
wag i:
plain (N)
wabiga: daygal
TR
wash YR
wag irbuma-1
wag irma-12
wagun
wash YY
wagun
scrub turkey
wa:
put in
wa-1
sparrow
wala:
camping ground
wala:
trough
wala:
y
strong, hard
wala:yba:
shoulder
walban
walanba:
aunt
walban
walar
walgan
aunt
*wallinga-1
wallingal
be lonely
wallingal
lonely
walunbaru:
red soil
walu:ba:
sleepy lizard
wamaŋa
wamba
wamba-l
wambaniya
wamu
wanagidhay
wana-ŋ
wanba
wanda
wangulay
wanu
wara:ya:
waragil
warala
waran
wara-y
warayma-l2
warayna-y
warul
#waruma-l
#waruma-1
warumbal
warumbal
waŋana
wawal
waya
waya:l
waya:ra
wayaga:l
wayama
wayamba
wayawaya
waygal
wayuwa:l
wayway
wi:
wi:bidi
wi:da:
wi:dayga:
wi:gurungurun
wi:la-y
woomera
mad
carry
cousin
fat
stop it!
throw
river bank
YY
white man, white devil
game with sticks and spears
next morning
lost
straight, true
red snake
root
stand
build
get up
bee's nest
find
leave in charge of
Milky Way
watercourse
bee, honey
narrow
left hand
puppy
currant bush
left handed
old man
short necked turtle
crooked
woven bag
man's belt
type of fungus
fire
fire
fire
fire
gecko
gecko
gecko
gecko
bachelor's camp
white browned cat eater
whistle
<p>| wiːmaːl  | TR       | put down, light fire |
| wiːraːl  | TR       | shave |
| wilaːl    | INT      | live |
| wilbaːr   |         | car, cart |
| wilgi     |         | cane grass |
| willidubːy | INT      | pink eared duck |
| winaːgːaːl |         | listen |
| wiraː     |         | fish intestine |
| wirablriː |         | sand turtle |
| wirgun    |         | waistcoat |
| wiri      |         | dish for honey |
| wirun     |         | juice, gravy |
| wiːɡياːl  |         | navel |
| wiːɡिन     |         | doctor |
| wiːyaːr    |         | quarrian |
| wiːyaː     |         | chip of wood |
| wiːyaːbaːr |         | stranger |
| wiːyaːl    | TR       | spines |
| wiːyaːl  | TR       | clean spines off |
| wubu      |         | mushroom |
| wubun     |         | blue tongued lizard |
| wubuːbǐyaːy |         | mouldy |
| wuda      |         | ear YY |
| wudugːaː   |         | tar vine |
| wuganːaː baydaː |         | small eaglehawk |
| wugawa    |         | flood |
| wulanabiːl | TR       | light fire |
| wunguwi   |         | adams apple |
| wunːaːyawaː |         | black shag |
| wunːaːla   | INT      | whitewood grub, witchetty grub |
| wunːaːy     | INT      | bathe, bogey |
| wurugːaː   | INT      | owner |
| *wuːɾuːl    | INT      | blaze |
| wuːlaː     |         | frilled lizard |
| wuːɾ      |         | give |
| wuː yan    |         | curlew |
| wuːwiːl    | TR       | swallow YY |
| wuːyu      |         | throat |
| wuːyubulːuːy |         | black snake |
| wuːyu      |         | black magpie |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>y</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*ya:ga-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya:maran</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td>yada:r</td>
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<td>yaga:y</td>
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<td>yarana:n</td>
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<td>yaray</td>
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<tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>INT</strong></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>moan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barley grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun YY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>summer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carpet snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ouch!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vagina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handkerchief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>type of river gum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>returning boomerang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>north-east wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gum tree grub</td>
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<td>trap</td>
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<tr>
<td>rouse on, tell off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quarrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men's marriage division</td>
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<tr>
<td>women's marriage division</td>
</tr>
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<td>bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hop bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>annoy</td>
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<tr>
<td>angry, savage, wild</td>
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<tr>
<td>clear, clean</td>
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<td>mirage</td>
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<tr>
<td>tie up</td>
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<td>soon, directly</td>
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<td>long ago</td>
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<td>corroborree YY</td>
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<td>cook</td>
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<td>sit</td>
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<td>yuːtabid</td>
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<td>yuː:l</td>
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<td>yuːliya:y</td>
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<tr>
<td>yuːlɔin(di)</td>
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<tr>
<td>yuːndu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*yuː-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuːra</td>
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<tr>
<td>yuːra-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuːray</td>
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<tr>
<td>yuwaba-y</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
*yuwara-l
yuwaya:
yuwi

INT
doze off
frog (generic?)
dream spirit
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