A GRAMMAR OF YUWAALARAAY

by

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Australia.

"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 Yuwaalaraay (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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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people who have helped in various ways to make this study possible. The most important are Arthur Dodd (Yuwaalaraay) 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 Yuwaalaraay, 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.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	transitive subject	O	object
ABS	absolutive	PL	plural
ALL	allative	PRES	present
BENEF	benefactive	PRIV	privative
COMIT$_1$	comitative 1	PROG	progressive
COMIT$_2$	comitative 2	PROHIB	prohibitive
COMP	completive	PURP	purposive
DIM	diminutive	Q	question marker
DU	dual	REDUP	reduplication
DUBIT	dubitative	REP	repeat
ERG	ergative	S	intransitive subject
FUT	future	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	SV	semi vowel
HYP	hypothesis	TR	transitive
IMP	imperative	TRS	transitiviser
INST	instrumental	WANT	wanting suffix
INT	intransitive	YR	Yuwaalaraay
LOC	locative	YY	Yuwaaliyaay
NEG	negative	1	first person
N/F	non future	2	second person
NP	noun phrase	3	third person

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 dia-
lects 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 dia-
lects. 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.

1

Yuwaalaraay 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 re-stricted 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 Yuwaalaraay. The following names have been recorded:

Yuwaaliyaay

Yualeai	S.A. Ray	1925
Euahlayi [yuˈwaleyay]	R.H. Hall	n.d.

Yuâleai yoo-â'lê-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.)

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 1

YUWAALARAAY-GAMILARAAY LEXICAL COMPARISON - %

```
        G
        73  YY
        63  80  YR
```

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).
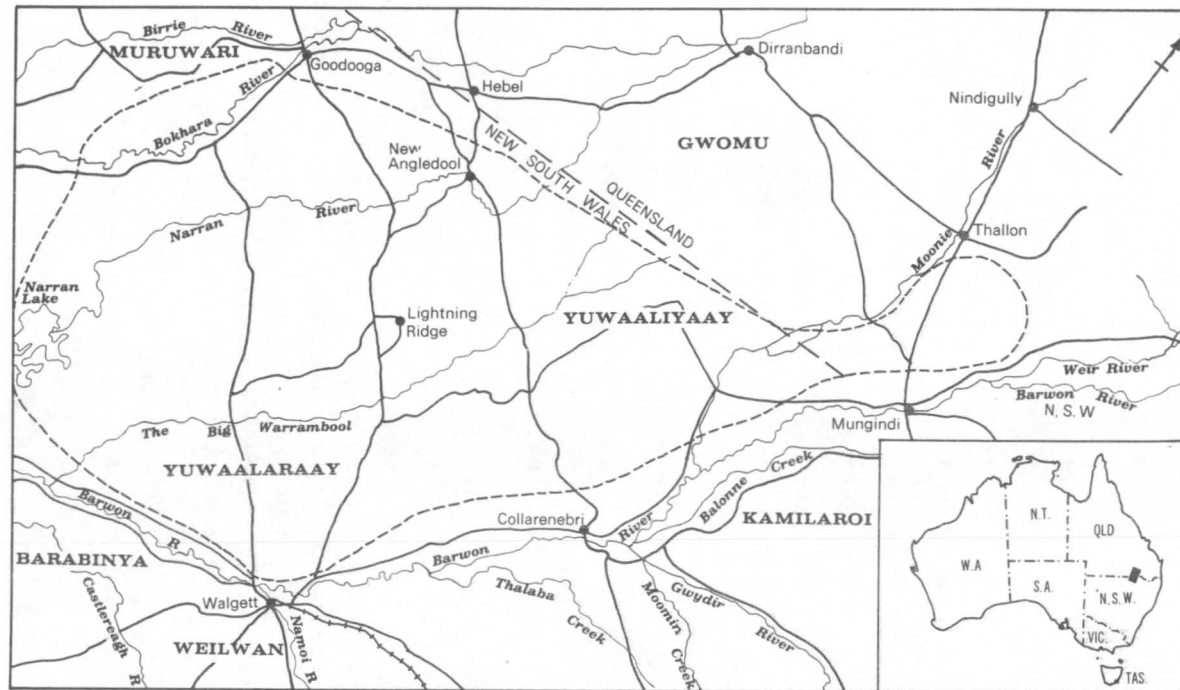
APPROXIMATE EXTENT OF YUWAALARAAY TERRITORY

```
W.  Ng.
41  36  Y
42  36  G
```

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.):

$$
\left(\begin{array}{ccc} \text{yipa:y} & = & \text{gabi} \\ \text{gambu} & = & \text{mari} \end{array} \right)
$$
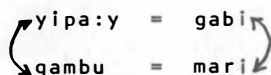
That is, for example, male yipa:y must marry female gabi and the children are mari. (In the diagram = represents marriage, ζ the child's group.) Alternatively, when male gabi marries female yipa:y, the children will be gambu. The section of the children of the marriage is determined matrilineally.

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 dawuma-l. 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 (Ngiyambaa) 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 waḏi:n 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:

'cat'	buḏigur	from	*'pussy cat'*
'flour'	bulawa	from	*'flour'*
'gun'	margin	from	*'musket'*
'sheep'	ḏimba	from	*'jumbuck'*
'policemen'	gaɲḏibal	from	*'constable'*
	bili:man	from	*'policeman'*
'cart'	wilba:r	from	*'wheelbarrow'*
'hotel'	babuliga:r	from	*'public house'*
'fence'	badi	from	*'paddock'*
'socks'	ḏagin	from	*'stocking'*
'frying pan'	bura:nban	from	*'frying pan'*

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

'shovel'	gayin	*'old boomerang'*
'to write'	ḏu-n	*'to spear, poke, sting'*
'to smoke'	bu:bi-l	*'to blow'*

A combination of the first two processes gives us:

'tea'	ḏi:garil	from	*'tea'* (loan) *'leaf'* (YY)

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'	ŋanaŋana
'saucepan'	ŋayimbuwan
'saw'	balada:y
'ram'	bu:ldiran

Two instances of English-based loan verbs have been recorded. Both consist of a recognisably English stem plus the transitive verbaliser -ma-l. They are gigima-l *'kick'* (from *'kick'*) and du:dima-l *'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)'	giḍir
'Mulga (tree)'	malga
'Myall (tree)'	maya:l
'budgerigah'	giḍiriga:

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

Angledool	from	yaŋgal-du:l
		vagina-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-bara:y
                            eucalypt
                            blossom-COMIT
                            '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-COMIT₂
                            '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:y        'yellow belly (fish)'
Yaranbah          from      yara:nba:     'place of the yara:n trees'
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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 Yuwaaliyaay 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 Yowalerῑ. 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 ŋ (writing it ng) and usually initial d̲ (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 ŋ (written as ng), and d̲ (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 ŋ nor d̲ 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* pub-
lished 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 Yuwaaliyaay 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 ŋ is identified (kn), but not d̲, ḍ, n
or ɲ. Vowel length is indicated by Vr.

Ray, S.H.

Six words included in *The Illustrated Australian Encyclopedia* pub-
lished 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. Langloh 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. PHONOLOGY

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 2

YUWAALARAAY CONSONANT PHONEMES

Point of Articulation / Mode of Articulation	Bilabial	Apico Alveolar	Lamino Dental	Lamino Palatal	Dorsovelar
Stop	b	d	d̲	ɖ	g
Nasal	m	n	n̲	ɲ	ŋ
Lateral		l			
Trill		r			
Continuant				ɻ	
Semi Vowel	w			y	(w)

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 n̲ama (*'that'*), which is sometimes realised as ɲama.

(The word has been phonemicised as <u>n</u>ama, since [ɲ] is not seen to occur word initially elsewhere.) The lamino-palatal stop [ɟ] 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, ḍ, <u>d</u>, ɟ, g). Assuming this to be the case, we could consider Yuwaalaraay to be in the process of losing the <u>d</u>-ɟ (n-ɲ) 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*]

<u>d</u> — lamino-dental stop, produced with the tongue tip behind the lower teeth, and the blade touching the upper teeth and alveolar ridge.

ɟ — 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 ɽ. 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 [ɹ]. This has given rise to confusion, with [múɹu] being glossed alternately as *'nose'* and *'anus, bum'*. The original words seem to have been /muɽu/ *'nose'* and /muru/ *'anus'*.

The trill [r] is most clearly exhibited in word-final position, especially in slow speech. Intervocalically, 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 /ɽ/ occurs only infrequently in the corpus. There is a historical process which accounts for this. Inter-vocalic ɽ in Gamilaraay is realised alternatively as y or Ø in Yuwaalaraay. (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

b - <u>d</u> - g

bigibila	*'porcupine'*
<u>d</u>iŋga:	*'meat'*
giɖar	*'gidgy tree'*

b - <u>d</u> - ɖ - g

gabir	*'cabbage'*
da<u>d</u>in	*'shadow'*
baɖin	*'small'* (YY)
gagil	*'bad'*

d - <u>d</u> - ɖ

madamada	*'knotty'*
ma<u>d</u>a	*'women's marriage division'*
maɖagura	*'exclamation of fright'*

Nasals

n - n̠

guna   *'faeces'*

gun̠ar   *'kangaroo rat'*

n - ɲ

giniy   *'stick'*

giɲi   *'be'* (N/F)

n̠ - ŋ

n̠uwi   *'rotten, stinking'*

ŋuwi   *'sweat'*

The distinction between /ɲ/ and /n̠/ is not well attested. /ɲ/ occurs infrequently, and only occurs phonologically in intervocalic position. This may suggest that /ɲ/ could simply be a conditioned variant of /n̠/. However, the two forms have been observed in contrast in identical immediate environments, e.g. ŋina:ɲa   *'you'* (plural:object)

giya:n̠a   *'be'* (future - prog-pres)

This does not seem to be a very sound basis for assigning phonemic status to [ɲ]. 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 /ɖ/ is moderately well attested, and this is considered to lend weight to the hypothesis that [ɲ] 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:

gaɾiya   –   *'don't, stop'*

gariya   –   *'crocodile-like monster, bunyip'*

buɾin   –   *'shield'*

burun   –   *'moth'*

Semivowels

d̠uyu   *'snake'*

d̠uwa   *'lizard (type of)'*

2.1.2. Vowels

Yuwaalaraay has six vowel phonemes, three long and three short (or three phonemes with phonemic length). The contrastive nature of length is shown in the following examples:

u/u:

biyu	'a long way'
biyu:	'hole'
du: - n	'to crawl'
du - n	'to spear'

i/i:

yili	'lips'
yi:li	'savage'
miri	'lignum'
miri:	'bush (type of)'

a/a:

milan	'one' (YY)
mila:n	'yam'

da:da:	'grandfather'
dada-l	'to taste'

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 [ε] preceding [y], [ɔ] following [w].

(When /a/ occurs between /w/ and /y/ the change to [ε] takes precedence over the change to [ɔ]. This is indicated by the following form: wayamba [wέyambʌ] '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 allophones could be represented thus:

FIGURE 1

YUWAALARAAY VOWEL ALLOPHONES

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) [ɛi]   transcribed as /ay/[1]

     [ai]   transcribed as /a:y/

These are to be seen in minimal contrast in:

ŋay	[ŋɛi]	1 Sg. Gen. *'my'*
ŋa:y	[ŋai]	*'mouth'*
guway	[gʷɛi][2]	*'blood'*
guwa:y	[gʷai]	*'speak'* (N/F)

(2) [ɔu]   transcribed as /awu/. For example: gawu [gɔu] *'egg'*

     [ɔ:u]/[ɔ:ə]   transcribed as /uwa/. For example: buwaḏar
                                                       [bɔ:əḏər] *'father'*

Austin (1976) records [ɔ:u] occurring as a free variant realisation for [awa]. 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 3

STEM LENGTH %

Monosyllabic	5
Disyllabic	53
Trisyllabic	29
4 Syllables	11
> 4 Syllables	2
	100

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 4

GAMILARAAY-YUWAALARAAY CORRESPONDENCES

G.	Y.	
maɽa	ma:	*'hand'*
baɽa-	ba: -	*'jump'*
yaɽay	ya:y	*'sun'*
ŋuɽu	ŋu:	3 Sg. S/A pronoun

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.

c.f.	bu:gudaguda	*'rain bird'*
	bumayamayal	*'fly catcher lizard'*
	banbanduluwi	*'bell bird'*
	garigu:wingu:win	*'butcher bird'*
	ba:ldaradara	*'spur winged plover'*

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, ŋ, w, y. That is, labial, lamino-dental and dorso-velar stops
and nasals, and the semi-vowels. The following percentages of occur-
rence ware calculated from a sample of 530 stems:

TABLE 5

INITIAL SEGMENT %

b	24
m	13
d̲	14
n̲	2
g	24
ŋ	5
w	12
y	6
	100

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 6

FINAL SEGMENT %

a	21 }	33
a:	12	
i	6	
i:	3 }	9
u	7 }	11
u:	4	
n	14	
l	12	
y	11	
r	10	
	100	

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:

d̲ayn	*'man'*
bayn	*'sore'*
ma:yn	*'dingo', 'wild dog'*

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 7
HOMORGANIC MEDIAL CLUSTERS

nd	(24)
mb	(21)
ŋg	(10)
n̲d̲	(2)
ɳɖ	(3)

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 8
NON-HOMORGANIC MEDIAL CLUSTERS

Second Member

First Member	b	g	d̲	ŋ	m	r	l
y	yb (4)	yg (2)			ym (1)	yr (1)	yl (6)
l	lb (8)	lg (11)	ld (1)				
r	rb (1)	rg (13)		rŋ (2)	rm (1)		
n	nb (17)	ng (18)		nŋ (1)	nm (1)		nl (1)

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   d̠   n̠   g   ŋ   w   y

Second member of
non-homorg. cluster   b   m   d̠   g   ŋ   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 [gɛɲigɛin] (gayɲigayn) was offerred 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

Second Member

	b	m	d	ɖ	g	ŋ
y	yb	ym		yɖ	yg	yŋ
l	lb	lm	ld		lg	lŋ
r	rb	rm			rg	rŋ
n	nb		nd		ng	nŋ

(First Member — row labels on left side)

The combinations left unmarked are not considered likely. The cluster yɖ arises only through assimilation of the initial d̲ of the ablative, diminutive and privative suffixes to the preceding, stem-final y. For this reason the clusters lɖ, rɖ and nɖ 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 ŋ class, but the cluster ŋm 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*-comit$_2$[3]	–	*'muddy'*
	ma-d̲a̲:y-biya:y	*dog*-comit$_1$	–	*'with a dog'*
ym	yina:y-maya:n̲i̲	*come*-dist.past	–	*'came long ago'*
yɖ	ma:d̲a̲:y-ɖi	*dog*-abl	–	*'from the dog'*
	wala:y-ɖi	*camp*-abl	–	*'from the camp'*
yg	ma:d̲a̲:y-gu	*dog*-gen	–	*'dog's'*
	wala:y-gu	*camp*-all	–	*'to the camp'*
yŋ	wuŋay-ŋayin̲i̲	*swim*-rec past	–	*'swam yesterday'*

lb	burul-bidi	big-one	–	'big (person?)'
lm	bumal-maya:ni	hit-dist.past	–	'hit long ago'
	dal-maya:ni	eat-dist.past	–	'ate long ago'
ld	bumal-da:y	hit-rel		
lg	biraligal-gu	children-gen	–	'children's'
rb	daymar-bil	ground-comit$_2$	–	'dirty'
rm	wu:r-maya:ni	give-dist.past	–	'gave long ago'
rg	buwaḍar-gu	father-gen.	–	'father's'
rŋ	guli:r-ŋinda	spouse-want.	–	'wanting a wife'
	duwar-ŋinda	bread-want.	–	'wanting bread'
nb	biligiyan-biya:y	billycan-comit$_1$	–	'with a billycan'
	dinawan-biya:y	emu-comit$_1$	–	'with an emu'
nd	waḍi:n-du	woman-erg		
ng	dinawan-gu	emu-gen	–	'emu's'
nŋ	guŋan-ŋinda	water-want.	–	'thirsty'

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.

durngi:lini   pierce-r-benef-N/F   '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:

gá:wá: *'river'*
bí:wí: *'sand iguana'*
bí:lá: *'shoulder blade'*
wú:lá: *'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 com-
pletive aspect in non-future tense. For example:

wu:ra:ba:y   *give*-comp-N/F
bunda:wa:ba:y   *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.
Completive 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. bádin - *'small'*.

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

yùwayá: - *'frog (edible)'*
yúluwìri - *'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
[ɾ], which occurs in intervocalic (and sometimes preconsonantal) pos-
ition. 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 [r] being analysed as [+CONT] and [ɾ] as [-CONT].

In order to distinguish the lamino-dentals (d̲ and n̲) 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 -gu 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.

TABLE 10

YUWAALARAAY DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

	b	d	d̲	ɖ	g	m	n	n̲	ɲ	ŋ	l	r	ɽ	w	y	i	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 + -

$$\begin{bmatrix} -COR \\ -ANT \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +COR \\ +ANT \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} +SON \\ -CONT \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\quad} \\ -SON \end{bmatrix}$$

2. g → ∅ / {$\begin{smallmatrix} y \\ i \end{smallmatrix}$} + -

$$\begin{bmatrix} -SON \\ -COR \\ -ANT \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow ∅ \begin{bmatrix} -SYLL \\ +SON \end{bmatrix} + -$$

Note that the instrumental form of *'stick'* [gíni] 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 → ḍ / i + =

$$[-COR] \rightarrow [+COR] \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} +HI \\ +FR \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} -SON \\ -ANT \end{bmatrix}$$

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.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +CONS \\ -SON \\ -COR \\ -ANT \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -CON \\ +SON \\ -ANT \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} +HI \\ +FR \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} -SON \\ -ANT \end{bmatrix}$$

b.

$$\begin{bmatrix} -SON \\ +ANT \\ +CONT \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow ∅ \Big/ - + \begin{bmatrix} -CONS \\ -ANT \\ +CONT \end{bmatrix}$$

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.

$$\begin{bmatrix} -SON \\ +ANT \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +SON \\ -ANT \end{bmatrix} / \overline{[+CONT]} + \begin{bmatrix} +CONS \\ -SON \\ -COR \\ -ANT \end{bmatrix}$$

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:

wala:y - gu	*camp*-all	*'to the camp'*
guŋan - gu	*water*-all	*'to the water'*
banda:r - gu	*kangaroo*-purp	*'for kangaroo'*
yilamali - gu	*cook*-purp	*'to cook'*
buwadar - gu	*father*-gen.	*'fathers's'*
dinawan - gu	*emu*-gen.	*'emu's'*

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.

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Source

The case labelled 'Source' covers the three functions generally known as ablative, causal and fear. The basic form is -$\underline{d}$i, which occurs with the following allomorphy.

1. $\underline{d} \rightarrow d/n + -$

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

2. $\underline{d} \rightarrow \emptyset \ / \ \{^{\text{l}}_{\text{r}}\} + \underline{\quad}$

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{SON} \\ +\text{COR} \\ +\text{ANT} \\ -\text{APICAL} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \ / \ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ +\text{ANT} \\ +\text{CONT} \end{bmatrix} + \underline{\quad}$$

$$\underline{d} \rightarrow \d \ / \ \begin{Bmatrix} \text{i} \\ \text{i:} \\ \text{y} \end{Bmatrix} + \underline{\quad}$$

$$[+\text{ANT}] \rightarrow [\text{ANT}] \ / \ \left\{ \begin{matrix} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{FRONT} \\ +\text{HI} \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{CONS} \\ -\text{ANT} \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix} \right\} + \begin{bmatrix} -\text{SON} \\ +\text{COR} \\ -\text{ANT} \\ -\text{CONT} \end{bmatrix}$$

One other Yuwaalaraay suffix has $\underline{d}$ as it initial element. This is the diminutive -$\underline{d}$u: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:

   #guw- $\rightarrow$ g$^{\text{w}}$-

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

$$\# \ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{SON} \\ -\text{COR} \\ -\text{ANT} \end{bmatrix} \ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{CONS} \\ -\text{FRONT} \\ -\text{LONG} \end{bmatrix} \ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{CONS} \\ +\text{ANT} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{SON} \\ -\text{COR} \\ -\text{ANT} \\ +\text{ROUND} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\quad 1 \qquad\qquad 2 \qquad\qquad\quad 3 \qquad\qquad 4 \qquad\qquad\quad 1$$

This rule must be ordered before the stress assignment rules, or stress would be assigned to the wrong vowel.

Note:

$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{guway ('blood')}\\ \qquad\downarrow \qquad \text{Stress Assignment}\\ \text{*gúway}\\ \qquad\downarrow \qquad \text{Labialisation}\\ \text{*g}^{w}\text{ay}\end{array}\right.$

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.

$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{guway}\\ \qquad\downarrow \qquad \text{Labialisation}\\ \text{g}^{w}\text{ay}\\ \qquad\downarrow \qquad \text{Stress Assignment}\\ \text{g}^{w}\text{áy}\end{array}\right.$

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:

$\left(\begin{array}{l}\text{1.}\quad [+\text{VOC}] \rightarrow [+\text{PRIM STRESS}] \ / \quad [+\text{LONG}]\\ \text{2.}\quad [+\text{VOC}] \rightarrow [+\text{PRIM STRESS}] \ /\# \ [-\text{VOC}] \ \underline{\qquad}\\ \text{3.}\quad [+\text{VOC}] \rightarrow [+\text{SECONDARY STRESS}] \ /\# \ \acute{V} \ V \ \underline{\qquad} \ \{^{\#}_{V}\}\end{array}\right.$

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 $\acute{V}$ 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-l   ('to break')

                                         gáma-:y   ('broke')

                                       bayama-l ('to catch')

                                       báyama-:y ('caught')

and some other -l·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 na̲ma 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:

$$b \rightarrow \emptyset \; / \; \begin{Bmatrix} l \\ r \end{Bmatrix} + \text{\underline{\hspace{2em}}}$$

i.e.
$$\begin{bmatrix} -SON \\ -COR \\ +ANT \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} +CONS \\ +ANT \\ +CONT \end{bmatrix} + \text{\underline{\hspace{2em}}}$$

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 -bil. 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:

$$\begin{bmatrix} -SON \\ -COR \\ +ANT \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} +CONS \\ +ANT \\ +CONT \end{bmatrix} = \text{\underline{\hspace{2em}}}$$

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 ŋ conjugation verbs. The underlying form of this non-past suffix is -**ni**, which is palatalised to -ɲi 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.

$$[+\text{ANT}] \rightarrow [-\text{ANT}] \ / \ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{CONS} \\ +\text{HI} \\ +\text{FRONT} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} +\text{SON} \\ +\text{COR} \\ -\text{APICAL} \end{bmatrix}$$

e.g. yina:-y   (*'to go, come'*)
    yina:-**ni**   (*'go, come'* -N/F)
    <u>d</u>uwi-y   (*'stick into'*)
    <u>d</u>uwi-ɲi   (*'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.

e.g. wubun   [úbun]   *'blue-tongued lizard'*
    wu<u>d</u>a   [ú<u>d</u>a]   *'ear'*
    yíya   [íya]   *'tooth'*
    yili   [íli]   *'lip'*

The necessary rule is:

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{CONS} \\ -\text{SYLL} \\ \text{ɤANT} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \ / \ \# \ \text{---} \ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{SYLL} \\ +\text{HI} \\ \text{ɤBACK} \end{bmatrix}$$

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*'

wa:l nama yinar   banagani
NEG *that* *woman*-ABS *run*-N/F

'*The woman didn't run*'

Ergative-Instrumental

The ergative-instrumental inflection has the following forms.

 u/y, 1
yu/r (r deleted)
du/n
ḍu/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 ŋinuna yi:y
dog-ERG   *that* 2 SG O *bite*-N/F

'*That dog bit you*'

bula:r-u dayn-du diŋga: daldana
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:l guwa:la   dayn-da
NEG  talk-IMP man-DAT
```

'Don't talk to any blackfellows'

```
gaṟiya 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'

```
danduwiɲi 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
-ḍi/y, i, i:
-di/ elsewhere
```

Examples showing the source suffix are:

```
gi:r ŋa:ma birali:ḍu:l     banagani yinar-i
     the  child-DIM-ABS run-N/F woman-SOU
```

'The little child ran away from the woman'

```
manuma:y  wala:y-ɖi 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      diŋga:-di
     3 PL S  good-? BE-PROG-PRES meat-SOU
'They're nice and full from the meat'
```

```
giyal  ŋaya     gilani       ma:da:y-ɖi 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:l ŋaya     yina:ni    / ma:da:y ŋaya     gaɽigaɽi  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 11

SUMMARY OF CASE ALLOMORPHS

	Absolutive	Ergative/ Instrumental	Locative/ Dative	Source
'dog'	ma:da:y	ma:da:yu	ma:da:ya	ma:da:yɖi
'small boy'	biraydu:l	biraydu:lu	biraydu:la	biraydu:li
'woman (aboriginal)'	yinar	yinayu	yinaya	yinari
'man (aboriginal)'	dayn	dayndu	dayinda	dayndi
'fire' (YR)	wi:	wi:ɖu	wi:ɖa	wi:ɖi
'man (white)'	wanda	wandagu	wandaga	wandadi

-gu

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 ṉama gawu daḻdana ba:ḻdaradara-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'

diŋga:gu ganuṉa yina:ni
meat-PURP 3 PL S *go*-N/F

'They've gone for meat'

yinayu ṉama ḏu: gimbiy 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:

ḏunbil ŋu: giya:ṉa duwimali ḏinawandi 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 ṉama ḏi:l ḏiranbala: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:ḏa: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.

```
birali:du:l      nama daygal    bandu
```
child-DIMIN-ABS *that head*-ABS *dirty*-ABS

'The child's head is dirty'

There is evidence that genitive nouns can take further case inflec-
tions. In these cases, however, the second inflection is added, not to
the normal genitive -gu, but to -ŋun. 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 -ŋu before a further
case inflection is added. (Dixon 1969:35).) As far as can be ascer-
tained from the limited data available on this point, the normal nominal
case suffixes can be added to this form. For example:

```
ga:guwiya      nama birali:du:l      ŋamba:-ŋun-da   ŋu:ŋu
```
take-back-IMP *that child*-DIMIN-ABS *mother*-ŋun-LOC 3 SG GEN

'Take that child back to his mother'

```
diŋga:    nama ga:ŋa     birali:ŋundi   ŋu:ŋu
```
meat-ABS *the* *take*-IMP *child*-ŋun-SOU 3 SG GEN

'Take the meat away from her child!'

```
gi:ru ŋaya      gaṟigaṟi gigilani     birali:du:lgu buwaḍarŋundi
      1 SG S/A afraid   BE-PROG-PAST child-DIM-GEN father-ŋun-SOU
```
'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:

```
gi:r ŋa:ma ŋay      ŋamba:di        baluni
     the   1 SG GEN mother-GEN (KIN) die-N/F
```
'My mother died'

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

```
gi:ru ŋamala: birali:du:l   walinḍalday      / ŋamba:di
      the-?   child-DIM-ABS be lonely-PROG-FUT  mother-GEN (KIN)
ŋu:ŋu     yina:ŋinda:y
3 SG GEN go-REL
```
'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 COMIT$_1$ and COMIT$_2$. COMIT$_1$ 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 COMIT$_1$). It has the form -(b)iya:y. (See also 2.4.1.)

COMIT$_2$ also forms an adjectival stem from a nominal. It means *'having a lot of'*, and takes the form -bil. For example:

daymarbil ŋay ŋa:y giɲi
ground-COMIT$_2$ 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:nudaliba: daymar
grass-PRIV *ground-ABS*
'There's no grass on the ground'
(Literally: *'The ground is grassless'*)

Wanting

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

diŋa:ŋinda ŋaya
meat-want 1 SG S/A
'I want meat'
(Literally: *'I am meat-wanting'*)

guli:rŋinda ŋaya
spouse-want 1 SG S/A
'I want a wife (or husband)'
(Literally: *'I am spouse-wanting'*)

birali: ŋay yugilana duwarŋinda
child-ABS 1 SG GEN *cry*-PROG-PRES *bread-want*
'My child is crying for bread' (*'bread-wanting'*)

Like

The suffix -gi:r forms an attributive adjectival or adverbal 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:

    ḏimbagi:r gaba ḏiŋga:
    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 ḏinawangi: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 -ḏu: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 ṉama birali:ḏu:l
    hit-IMP that child-DIMIN
    'Hit that little child'

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

    milandu:l ŋali   bayama:y ḏaga:y
    one-DIMIN 1 DU S/A catch-N/F perch-ABS
    'We caught one little perch'

    gi:ru ŋa:ma birali:ḏu:lu guṉan   ŋawuni   buba:yḏu:lu
          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:

    yilibidi
    lip-big
    'Big lips'

-ba:

    This suffix has been recorded with nouns, where it seems to have the
meaning *place of*. For example:

```
wala:yba:    ŋu:ŋu
camp-ba      3 SG GEN
```
'His nest'

Further case inflections may follow this suffix. For example:

```
gayayba:ga   ŋiyani    yina:wa:na
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:

```
burulba:  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 buma:y
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.

	Singular	Plural
Diminutive	-DHul-	-galga:N-
'Immature'	-ga:-	-galga:N-
Augmentative	-bidi-	-gala:n-

Yuwaalaraay shows no evidence of the 'immature' suffix found in
Ngiyambaa. We do, however, find the singular diminutive and augmen-
tative, 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.

	Singular	Plural
Diminutive	-du:l-	-galga:-
Augmentative	-bidi-	-gal-

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:

    ma:r diŋga: wala:ḏa / gi:r niyanila: yina:y / mani:lay
    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:

    gunaḏawanga:n   nama dayma:r
    boggy-wanga:n-ABS   the ground-ABS

    'The ground (was) very boggy'

banduwanga:n   ŋa:ma birali:ḍu:l
dirty-wanga:n-ABS *the   child*-DIM-ABS

'The small child (was) very dirty'

bara:ywanga:n n̲ama banda:r   ba:ni
fast-wanga:n *t̄he kangaroo*-ABS *hop̄*-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 ŋa:ma birali:gal   yulugilani   ŋa:ma wala:yga:lu
the   child-PL-ABS *play*-PROḠ-PAST *the   camp*-ga:lu

'The children were playing (in) a pretend house (camp)'

gi:r birali: bu:ildan̲i   biya:gaga:lu
child-ABS *blow*-PROḠ-PRES *tobacco*-ga:lu

'The child was smoking pretend tobacco'

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

-n̲a, -ŋa

The two suffixes -n̲a (with the allomorph -ɲa following -i or -y) and -ŋa have been recorded in a large number of examples. They follow all other suffixes, including the clitics -baḏa:y and -bal̲a (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   diŋga:
Q-2 SG S/A *soon-   1 DU-GEN give*-FUT *m̄eat*-ABS

'Will you give us some meat?'

garba:li   nirman̲a wuŋaylani
shingleback-ABS *t̄here-   swim*-PROḠ-PAST

'The shingleback was swimming there'

wa:n   bara:yɲa banagani
crow-ABS *fast-   run*-N/F̄

'The crow ran fast'

3.2.1. Clitics

Two clitics have been recorded in Yuwaalaraay. These can be suf-
fixed 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 -na
or -ŋa. The clitics are:

-bada:y

This suffix has been recorded on verbs, nouns, pronouns and adjec-
tives in sentence-initial position. It has also been recorded suffixed
to the sentence-initial morpheme gi:r (see 4.7.2.). -bada:y does not
change the syntactic class of the word to which it is attached.
  The primary semantic function of -bada:y is to add the meaning
'might' to the sentence. For example:

> bumalibada:y   ŋaya   ninuna
> *hit*-FUT-bada:y 1 SG S/A 2 SG O
> *'I might hit you'*

> banda:rbada:y   ŋu: ŋa:ma bila:yu   duri
> *kangaroo*-bada:y 3 SG S/A *the   spear*-INST *pierce*-FUT
> *'He might spear a kangaroo'*

-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:

> namuralabada:y
> *bury*-IMP-bada:y
> *'Bury (him)!'*   (*'Would you bury him?*)

> yina:yabada:y
> *go*-IMP-bada:y
> *'Go away!'*   (*'Would you go away?'*)

The form -bada:ya has also been recorded. This seems to have the same
function as -bada:y.

-bala

Like -bada:y, -bala occurs suffixed to a sentence-initial word, and
is word final. The exact meaning of -bala is unknown. No pattern is
evident in the corpus. We can, however, note the existence of a simi-
lar suffix, -bula:, in Ngiyambaa. Donaldson says "The dual suffix
-bula: means "in a group of two"." (1977:124) One instance of -bala
which seems to have a similar function to that of -bula: has been re-
corder.

```
duwarbala  ŋaya     ŋu:ŋu    wu:ɲi   / diŋga:bala
bread-bala 1 SG S/A 3 SG GEN give-N/F  meat-bala
```

'I gave him bread and meat'

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

```
bigibilagubala      winaɲay
porcupine-ERG-bala hear-N/F
```

'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 12

NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE PRONOUNS

		S/A	O	Genitive	Dative	Source
First Person	Singular	ŋaya	ŋana	ŋay	ŋanunda	ŋanundi
	Dual	ŋali	ŋaliɲa	ŋaliŋu	ŋaliŋunda	ŋaliŋundi
	Plural	ŋiyani	ŋiyaniɲa	ŋiyaniŋu	ŋiyaniŋunda	ŋiyaniŋundi
Second Person	Singular	ŋinda	ŋinuna	ŋinu	ŋinunda	ŋinundi
	Dual	ŋinda:li	ŋina:liɲa	ŋina:liŋu	ŋina:liŋunda	ŋina:liŋundi[1]
	Plural	ŋinda:y	ŋina:(y)ɲa	ŋina:yŋu	ŋina:yŋunda	ŋina:yŋundi
Third Person	Singular	ŋu:	?	ŋu:ŋu	ŋu:ŋunda	ŋu:ŋundi

[1]expected form, not attested.

Examples showing the third person singular pronoun are:

gi:r ŋu: banda:r   bila:yu   duni
   3 SG S/A *kangaroo*-ABS *spear*-INST *pierce*-N/F

'He speared a kangaroo'

gi:r ŋu: banagawa:ni
   3 SG S/A *run*-PROG-PAST

'He was running away'

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

1. O   S/A   form + na (with assimilation of n to ɲ following
                             i or y)

2. Genitive S/A   form + ŋu

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, Yidiɲ for example. "Dative, purposive and comitative involved suffixation to naɖu+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 -gu, -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 -Na." (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 ɲ. 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 n̠ama (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 obvi-
ously related to the nominative forms. They are, however, very common
Australian forms, apparently based historically on ŋay- and ŋin- re-
spectively. We could then suggest the following derivation for ŋaya
and ŋinda.

    *ŋay → ŋay + da → ŋayɖa → ŋaya
    *ŋin → ŋin + da → ŋinda

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.

Genitive	ŋinu
Accusative (O)	Genitive + n̠a
Dative	Genitive + n + da
Source	Genitive + n + di

The dative and source forms are derived in the regular fashion (see
page 48). The accusative form adds the regular accusative marker -n̠a,
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 ŋanu-, which is not evident
elsewhere in the paradigm. It is, however, analogous to the second
person genitive form ŋinu. The first person singular accusative form
ŋan̠a appears to be based on yet another root, ŋa-. It is unlikely to
be based on the root ŋay- (the root of the nominative). In this case
assimilation (*ŋay + n̠a - ŋayn̠a) would be expected. (Note the second
person plural accusative.) The existence of an alternative second
person singular accusative form, ŋin̠a, (reduced from ŋinun̠a) suggests
that ŋan̠a may well be derived, by reduction, from ŋanu + n̠a. In fact,
one example of the form ŋanun̠a has been recorded (see 5.4.). We could,
then, be tempted to postulate an original first person genitive *ŋanu
instead of the inexplicable, but frequently occurring, ŋay.

TABLE 13

ERGATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE PRONOUNS

		A	S/O	Genitive	Dative	Source
Third Person	Dual	?	ʔgaːlana	gaːliŋu	gaːliŋunda	gaːliŋundi
	Plural	ganugu	ganuŋa	ganuŋu	ganuŋunda	ganuŋundi

Examples showing the third person plural are:

A giːr ganugu guŋan   ŋawuni
        3 PL A *water*-ABS *drink*-N/F

   'They drank water'

S waːl ganuŋa   daːy   yinaːni
   NEG 3 PL S/O *this way come*-N/F
   'They didn't come this way'

O giːr ŋaya   ganuŋa   ŋaːma bundiɟu   bumaːy
       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, gaːlana, (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 ŋurugali (?subject) and n̪amagalina (?object) for Gamilaraay. We could suggest, following these, that the Yuwaalaraay forms are:

   A   *gaːli (possibly gaːliɟu)

   S/O *gaːlina

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 + ŋu

   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, -gu, 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 *ga: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 *ga:liḍu.

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).

	Nominative	Possessive	Objective
First Person Dual	ngulli	ngullingu	ngullinya
	ngulliyu	ngullingubla	nungullinya
First Person Plural	ngeane	ngeanengu	nganninno
	ngeaneyu	ngeninyella	nganigunnunga

The forms ŋaliyu (ngulliyu) and ŋiyaniyu (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):

Singular 1   -du

2   -ndu

3   -ŋu

```
            Dual  1 inc   -li
                  1 excl  -ligu
                  2       -dali
                  3       -bulaia

            Plural 1 inc   -ni
                  1 excl  -niu
                  2       -adai
                  3       -ganagu
```

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:

2nd singular   -nda
2nd dual   -nda:li
2nd plural   -nda:y

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:l (see 4.7.1.)

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

gaṟiya-nda:li   yina:ya
PROHIB-2 DU S/A *come*-IMP

'Don't you two come'

gaṟiya-nda:li   diŋga: nama dala
PROHIB-2 DU-S/A *meat   that eat*-IMP

'Don't you two eat the meat'

```
ya:ma-nda      yila: ŋa ŋaliŋu   wu:ri    diŋga:
Q    -2 SG S/A soon      1 DU-GEN give-FUT meat
```

'Will you give us some meat?'

```
miɲa-nda      ɲama ŋaray
what-2 SG-S/A that see-N/F
```

'What did you see?'

```
gaɽiya-nda:y    ma:yala
PROHIB-2 PL-S/A whisper-IMP
```

'Don't (you all) whisper'

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

```
ŋada:-nda             yina:wa:ya
down there-2 SG-S/A walk-IMP
```

'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:

```
gi:r  ŋu:     ma:yu ŋawugi   guwa:l-da:y-nda
really 3 SG S/A well  drink-FUT speak-REL-2 SG S/A
```

'He will drink it if you tell him to'

```
gindamala: ŋu:ma wilalay  guwa:l-da:y-nda
    ?          there stay-FUT speak-REL-2 SG S/A
```

'When you tell him he'll stop there'

```
gula:r ŋa:ma-nda      ŋaray
how     that-2 SG S/A see-N/F
```

'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. miɲa 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 14

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

Ergative	Absolutive	Genitive
ŋa:ndu	ŋa:ndi	ŋa:nŋu

Examples of these forms are:

ŋa:ndu buma:y ma:da:y
who-ERG *hit*-N/F *dog*-ABS

'*Who hit the dog?*'

ŋa:ndi ŋinda ŋaray
who-ABS *2 SG S/A* *see*-N/F

'*Who did you see?*'

ŋa:ndi nama dayn
who-ABS *that* *man*-ABS

'*Who is that man?*'

ŋa:nŋu nama bila:r
who-GEN *that* *spear*

'*Whose is that spear?*'

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

ŋa:na wana
who-ABS ?

'*Who is this?*'

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

ROD	ŋa:na
OPER	ŋa:ndu:
OBJ	ŋa:na
POSS	ŋa:nŋu
ALL	ŋa:nŋunda
ABL	ŋa:nŋundi
LOC	ŋa:nŋunda

This could be summarised thus:

Ergative	Absolutive	Genitive	Dative Allative	Source
ŋa:ndu:	ŋa:na	ŋa:nŋu	ŋa:nŋunda	ŋa:nŋundi

The alternative absolutive forms seem to have been dialectal variations. Sim's paradigm is for what he calls the Northern dialect, which was Yuwaaliyaay. The examples from Wurm are also Yuwaaliyaay. All ŋa:ndi occurrences are Yuwaalaraay. Austin (1976) records the form ŋa:na(wa) for the absolutive form in Gamilaraay. This may indicate that Yuwaaliyaay 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 ŋa:ndi (Donaldson 1977:178).

The full paradigm seems to have been:

TABLE 15
INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

Ergative	Absolutive	Genitive	Dative	Source
ŋa:ndu	ŋa:na (YY) ŋa:ndi (YR)	ŋa:nŋu	ŋa:nŋunda	ŋa:nŋundi

The stem of this pronoun is ŋa:n-. The ergative form adds the regular nominal ergative affix for this environment, i.e. -du. The Yuwaaliyaay absolutive form may be derived from ŋa:n + na, where na 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 + ŋu

Dative   – Genitive + n + da

Source   – Genitive + n + 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 ŋa:n- plus the dubitative suffix functions as an indefinite. For example:

```
wa:l ŋa:ma ŋa:nduwa:    guŋan      ŋawugilana
NEG  the   whoERG-DUBIT water-ABS  drink-PROG-PRES
'No-one drinks the water'                          (5.1.)
```

```
ŋa:ndiya:       da:y    yina:wa:nda:y /bagar namana yina:y
who-ABS-DUBIT  this way come-PROG-REL  short the-?  go-N/F
                                        cut
```

'When someone was coming this way he would "go the short cut"' (5.11)

miɲa forms

Yuwaalaraay has, like Dyirbal, (Dixon 1972:264) three interrogative miɲa forms. The forms are:

a. miɲa – *'what'*. Used with nouns with non-human referent. For example:

```
miɲa ŋama
what that, this
```

'What's this?'

This form inflects to give a purposive form meaning *'what for'* or *'why'*. The Yuwaalaraay form takes the nominal purposive -gu, giving miɲagu. The Yuwaalaraay form is miɲadi. In this case the suffix added to miɲa- appears to be the noninal 'source' suffix. 'Source' has as one of its functions a causal meaning, so miɲa-di could be glossed *'what-cause'*, or *'why'*. Examples of these forms are:

```
miɲagu     ŋinda      da:y    yina:ni          YY
what-PURP 2 SG S/A  this way come-N/F
```

'Why did you come here?'

```
miɲadi     ŋanundi banagani               YR
what-SOU 1SG SOU  run-N/F
```

'Why did you run away from me?'

b. miɲa:r. This form is best translated as *'which'* and is used in such sentences as:

```
miɲa:r birali:   ŋu:ma      dayindu:lgu
which  child-ABS that, there man-DIMIN -GEN
```

'Which children belong to that little man'

Two other inflected forms are derived from miɲa:r. These are miɲa:ya *'where at'*, and miɲa:ru *'where to, from'*. miɲa:ya is a locative form and is derived by the normal rules of nominal inflection (see page 36). miɲa: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:

```
miɲa:ya  ŋinda
what-LOC 2 SG S/A
```

'Where are you?'

```
miɲa:ru yina:ni
which-? come-N/F
```

'Where did you come from? / Where are you going to?'

```
miɲa:ru yina:wa:na
which-? come/go-PROG-PRES
```

'Where are you going? / Where are you coming from?'

c. miɲaŋay - '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:

```
miɲaŋay  ŋinu      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 ŋa: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.

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

```
gi:r yina:ni ŋara:gulay  / miɲa:ruwa:
     go-N/F  over that way   where-to-DUBIT
```

'(The emu) went over that way, (to) somewhere'

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

```
wa:l ŋu:     miɲaga:     ŋay      wu:dani
NEG 3 SG S/A anything-ABS 1 SG GEN give-PROG-PAST
```

'He wouldn't give me anything'   (5.9.)

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

```
yalu ɲirma ganuŋa   miɲa:wa:ya yina:wa:na
REP  there 3 PL S/O where-DUBIT go-PROG-PRES
```

'They're going there (somewhere) again'

gula:r

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

```
gula:r ŋinda    giya:na     wambali burul na:diya:n
how    2 SG S/A BE-PROG-PRES carry-FUT big-ABS log-ABS
```

'How are you going to carry the big log?'

```
gula:r ŋinda    giɲi
how     2 SG S/A BE-N/F
```

'How are you?'

galawu

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

```
galawu ŋinda    da:y    yina:ni
when    2 SG S/A this way come-N/F
```

'When did you come here?'

```
galawu-bala ŋa:ma birali:ɖu: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 miɲa 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 miɲa forms the dubitative suffix often
(but not invariably) indicates an indefinite pronoun. Examples are:

```
ŋa:ndiya:
who-ABS-DUBIT
```

'(I) don't know who' (ABS) ('someone' (ABS))

```
miɲa:wa:ya:
what-LOC-DUBIT
```

'Anywhere'

```
gi:ra:ya:  giguwiduni
gi:r-DUBIT sneeze-N/F
```

'(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:

```
ŋa:nduwa:
               } 'I don't know who' (ERG)
ŋa: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:

    ya:ma ŋinda   guli:riya:y
    Q   2 SG S/A *spouse*-COMIT₁

    'Are you married?'

    ya:ma ŋinda   yina:nbili nama ma:da:y
    Q   2 SG S/A *release*-FUT *that dog*-ABS

    'Will you let that dog go?'

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 semitransitive. 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:

    gaṟiya guwa:la daynda
    PROHIB *talk*-IMP *man*-DAT

    'Don't talk to any men!'

    gaṟiya guwa:la
    PROHIB *talk*-IMP

    'Don't talk!'

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

    gaṟiya biyaga   ŋanundi mi:nbaya
    PROHIB *tobacco*-ABS 1 SG SOU *ask for*-IMP

    'Don't ask me for tobacco!'

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

    ya:manda   ŋaliŋu   diŋga: wu:ri
    Q-2 SG S/A 2 DU GEN *meat*-ABS *give*-FUT

    'Will you give us some meat?'

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:

```
gi:r ŋiyani   ŋu:ŋunda diŋga: wu:ni
      1 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, ŋ 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 ŋ 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 ŋ 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

	l	y	ŋ	r
Number of Members	115	52	15	6
% Transitive	86	35	47	50
% Intransitive	14	65	53	50

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 ŋ 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.

l conjugation

The l 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

l 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 l 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 l conjugation is thus:

Imperative - Stem + la

Non-Future - Stem + y

Future   - Stem + li

For those forms whose stems end in i, 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

Non-future : Stem + ∅ / i# ___

Stem + y / 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 irregu-
lar. These are those verbs which form the non-future tense by the
addition of -:y, instead of -y. These forms are listed below:

TABLE 18

l CLASS VERBS WITH VARIANT NON-FUTURE TENSE

Meaning	Verb Form	Non-Future
'break'	gama-l	gama:y
'catch'	bayama-l	bayama:y
'drop'	na:nma-l	na:nma:y
'hit, kill'	buma-l	buma:y
'pinch'	nima-l	nima:y
'steal'	manuma-l	manuma:y
'take out'	di:ma-l	di:ma:y
'wash'	wagirma-l	wagirma:y
'build'	warayma-l	warayma:y
'collect'	gu:ma-l	gu:ma:y
'feel, touch'	dama-l	dama:y
'pull off'	*ba:rama-l	ba:rama:y
'stick to'	mama-l	mama:y

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

Meaning	Verb Form	Non-Future
'cook'	yilama-l	yilamay
'cook in ashes'	dawuma-l	dawumay
'leave, put'	wi:ma-l	wi:may
'pick up, help'	diyama-l	diyamay
'pull out'	duwima-l	duwimay
'twist, turn'	gayima-l	gayimay

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-l, 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 sup-
port this hypothesis. This is the verb warayma-l *'to build'*, which
may be derived from wara-y (*'stand'*) + ma-l. 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-l verb will take.
We have no way of distinguishing a derived -ma-l 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 + la

Non-Future — Stem + :y

Future   — Stem + li

y conjugation

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

TABLE 20

SOME y CLASS VERBS

Meaning	Future	Non-Future	Imperative
'bring, take'	ga:wa:y	ga:wa:<u>n</u>i	ga:wa:ya
'climb'	galiyay	galiya<u>n</u>i	galiyaya
'fly'	baray	bara<u>n</u>i	baraya
'go, come'	yina:y	yina:<u>n</u>i	yina:ya
'run'	banagay	banaga<u>n</u>i	banagaya
'sleep, lie down'	<u>d</u>anduwiy	<u>d</u>anduwiɲi	<u>d</u>anduwiya

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

    Imperative - Stem + ya

    Non-future - Stem + <u>n</u>i [5]

    Future   - Stem + y

The future morpheme -y 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.

ŋ 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 ŋ CLASS VERBS

Meaning	Future	Non-Future	Imperative
'bring, take'	ga:gi	ga:<u>n</u>i	ga:ŋa
'dig'	mawugi	mawu<u>n</u>i	mawuŋa
'drink'	ŋawugi	ŋawu<u>n</u>i	ŋawuŋa
'fall'	bunda:gi	bunda:<u>n</u>i	bunda:ŋa
'throw (hard)'	wanagi	wana<u>n</u>i	wanaŋa

The rules for tense formation are:

Imperative   –   Stem + ŋa

Non-future   –   Stem + <u>n</u>i

Future   –   Stem + gi

The phonological rule described at 2.4.1., also applies to the non-future tense of verbs in the ŋ 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'	<u>d</u>a:lu-ŋ
'to go into'	yu:-ŋ
'to tread on'	ŋayu-ŋ
'to suck'	ŋamu-ŋ

r 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

Meaning	Future	Non-Future	Imperative
'crawl'			<u>d</u>u:na
'give'	wu:ri	wu:<u>n</u>i	wu:na
'spear, sting'	<u>d</u>uri	<u>d</u>un i	<u>d</u>una
'uncover'	<u>d</u>i layri	<u>d</u>i layn i	<u>d</u>i layna
'cough'			gu<u>n</u>ugu<u>n</u>u<u>d</u>una
'sneeze'			giguwi<u>d</u>una

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

Imperative — Stem + na

Non-future — Stem + <u>n</u>i

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 -ɲi.

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

	l	y	ŋ	r
Size	Large open class	Large open class	Small closed class	Small closed class
Transitivity	Mostly Transitive	Mostly Intransitive	7 Trans 8 Intrans	3 Trans 3 Intrans
Future	-li	-y	-gi	-ri
Non-Future	{ -y / -:y (L2)	-<u>n</u>i	-<u>n</u>i	-<u>n</u>i
Imperative	-la	-ya	-ŋa	-na
Purposive	FUT + gu	Fut + gu	FUT + gu	FUT + gu

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.

Conjugation	Proportion of Monosyllables
ŋ	3/15
r	3/6
l	3/115
y	1/52

Monosyllabic stems are:

'to bring'	ga:-ŋ
'to cry'	yu-ŋ
'to go into'	yu:-ŋ
'to bite'	yi:-l
'to eat'	<u>d</u>a-l
'to put in'	wa-l
'to crawl'	<u>d</u>u:-r
'to give'	wu:-r
'to spear'	<u>d</u>u-r
'to jump'	ba:-y

The copula *'be'* also has a monosyllabic root. It belongs to the ŋ 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 ɾ- 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 l 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 ŋ 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, ŋ, m, r, l, n, ⌀. (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   giɲi

Future   gigi

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

gaba gilaya
good be-IMP
'Be good!'

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

'cry'   yu-ŋ   yugilaya   (PROG IMP)

'dig'   mawu-ŋ   mawugilaya   (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 mawugilaya, i.e. STEM + FUT
+ la-y. The initial syllable seems to be optionally dropped. (Note
that this also occurs occasionally with the verb yina:-y *'to walk, go'*,
resulting in forms such as na:wa:na, na:ni.) The forms gilani and
gilana have also been attested. It thus seemed possible that gi- should
be analysed as a regular ŋ 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 giŋa 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:lŋindi ŋaya      giɲi
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      giɲi
 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:

```
yiŋgil ŋaya     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 ŋaya     giya:na      banda:rgu
hunt-FUT 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 ŋ 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:

gi:r nama ma:da:y bila:r   yi:ldana
that dog-ABS *spear*-ABS *bite*-PROG-PRES
'The dog is biting the spear'

However, they are sometimes translated with punctiliar English equiv-
alents. For example:

gi:r ŋaya   yugilani
1 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
requent for a finite imperative. There are just two examples in which
a progressive meaning is apparent. These are:

bayamala   *'Catch it!'*
bayamaldaya   *'Hold on!'*

ŋarala   *'Look!'*
ŋaraldaya 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 dis-
tinction (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:

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     diŋga:  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 l conjugation. This takes the form:

Stem + l + a:-y

For example:

```
gi:r nama 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 ŋa: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 nama ŋu:     birali:  ŋu: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:

gi:r ŋinda:li yina:wa:na
    2 DU S/A *go*-PROG-PRES

'*You two are going*'

gi:r nama gaṯuŋgawa:ni   birali:ḏu:l
    that drown-PROG-PAST *child*-DIMIN-ABS

'*The child was drowning*'

gi:r nama wi: guduwaylana
    that fire-ABS *bur̄n*-PROG-PRES

'*The fire is burning*'

gi:r ŋaya   gindamalani
    1 SG 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:

ŋa:rigulay ŋa: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.

ŋ conjugation

    The two progressive forms found in the ŋ conjugation are:

    Stem + wa:-y

    Stem + FUT + la-y

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

gaṯiya da:y   yalu ma:yama   wanagilaya
NEG-IMP *this way again stone*-NOM *throw*-FUT-PROG-IMP

'*Don't throw any more stones!*'

gi:r ŋu: wanawa:na
    3 SG S/A *throw*-PROG-PRES

'*He's just going to throw it away*'

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:

gaṟiya ŋa:rimalay du:ra:ya
PROHIB *over there crawl*-PROG-IMP
'Don't crawl there!'

gi:ru nama ŋu: birali:gu duwar   wu:ra:na
    the 3 SG S/A *child*-GEN *bread*-ABS *give*-PROG-PRES
'He is giving bread to the child'

gi:r ŋu: ganuŋu diŋga: / duwar   wu:dani
    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 Yuwaalaraay 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
ŋ conjugation	Stem + la-y
r conjugation	Stem + da-y

Suffix 2

l conjugation	Stem + l + a:-y
y conjugation	Stem + wa:-y
ŋ 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 ex-
press 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'	Illaily 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:

banagawuwiɲi
run-back-N/F
'Ran 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

<div align="right">(Mathews, Notebook 3:62)</div>

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'	bumulngenyedhu*
'I beat yesterday'	bumulmaianidhu*
'I beat, say a week ago,'	bumulēnyedhu
'I beat long ago'	bumulawailunnedhu

Future Tense

'I will beat presently'	bumullidyu[†]
'I will beat tomorrow'	bumulngēdyu*
'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, bumali. (dhu, 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 y class
verbs. (That is, -y future and -n̲i non-future.) The phonological rule
formulated in 2.4.1, causes the non-future tense affix to be realised
phonetically as [ɲi].

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

l conjugation	Stem + l + ŋayi-y
y conjugation	Stem + y + ŋayi-y
ŋ conjugation	Stem + ŋayi-y
r conjugation	Stem + r + ŋayi-y

     For the l, y 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 ŋiyanila: bawilŋayiy
        1 PL S/A *sing-l-ŋayi-FUT*

'*We will all sing tomorrow*'

    gi:r ŋiyani   yina:y wuŋayŋayiy
        1 PL S/A *go-FUT bathe-y-ŋayi-FUT*

'*We're going swimming tomorrow*'

    gi:r ŋaya   giya:na   wanaŋayiy
        1 SG S/A *be-PROG-PRES throw-ŋayi-FUT*

'*I'll throw (it) tomorrow*'

    gi:r ŋaya   ŋinu   wu:rŋayiy
        1 SG S/A 2 SG GEN *give-r-ŋayi-FUT*

'*I'll give (it) to you tomorrow*'

Recent Past

    gi:r ŋaya   dalŋayiɲi   ŋa:ma diŋga:
        1 SG S/A *eat-l-ŋayi-N/F that meat-ABS*

'*I ate the meat early in the morning*'

    gi:r ŋaya   galiyayŋayiɲi
        1 SG S/A *climb-y-ŋayi-N/F*

'*I climbed (it) yesterday*'

    baluŋayiɲi   ŋa:ma dayn
    die-ŋayi-N/F that man-ABS

'*He died yesterday morning*'

-maya:-

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-meja:nji
'*I hit it last night*'.)

The conjugational affiliation of this suffix is not known. The non-
future tense suffix -ni is a regular -y class form, but it is also the
regular non-future suffix for both -r and -ŋ 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 -ŋayi-y. That
is:

l class ⎫
y class ⎪ Stem + CM + maya:-y
ŋ class ⎬
r class ⎭

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-l-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 ŋu: mawumaya:ni
     3 SG S/A *dig-maya:-N/F*

'*He dug (it) long ago*'

gi:r nama ŋu: bila:yu   du:rmaya:ni
     that 3 SG S/A *spear*-INST *spear-r-maya:-N/F*

'*He speared it long ago*'

gi:r ŋaya   diŋga: wu:rmaya:ni   ŋu:ma birali:ḏu:l
     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.

l conjugation	Stem + y + ŋayi-l
y conjugation	Stem + y + ŋayi-l
ŋ conjugation	Stem + ŋayi-l
r conjugation	Stem + r + ŋayi-l

The l conjugation pattern given above is an unexpected one. We would expect, on the basis of formation patterns for other aspectual forms, Stem + l + ŋayi-l. In fact, there is only one example of the pattern Stem + y + ŋayi-l, 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 birali:ɖu:l   bamba   yuŋayildani
    child-DIM-ABS *strong, hard cry-all day*-l-PROG-PAST
'The child cried hard all day'

gi:r ṉama birali:gal   wuŋayŋayildani
    the   child-PL-ABS *swim*-y-*all day*-l- 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:yɖu:l   birali: bunda:ŋayilaṉa   / wa:lu   ma:yu
small-DIM-ABS *child*-ABS *fall-all day*-PROG-PRES   NEG-POT *well*

yina:ylaṉa
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 Yuwaalaraay -ŋayi-l may cover the same range of situations as those covered by -ŋila-y (continued action)

in Ngiyambaa. Donaldson (1978:230-31) defines three functions for the
Ngiyambaa suffix.

> If the action has not yet begun, -ŋila-y 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-y 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-y – the action is continued in a series, and is glossed
as *'always'*. The first two examples in this section indicate a con-
tinuity 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-y 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:

l conjugation ⎞
y conjugation ⎟
ŋ conjugation ⎬   Stem + CM + ay-l
r conjugation ⎠

or

l conjugation ⎞
y conjugation ⎟
ŋ conjugation ⎬   Stem + CM + ayla-y
r conjugation ⎠

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 ŋu: nama banda:r   bila:yu   duraylani
    3 SG S/A *the* *kangaroo*-ABS *spear*-INST *pierce*-r-*before*-N/F
'He speared the kangaroo yesterday'

gi:r ŋaya   ŋu:lay yina:yaylani
    1 SG S/A *there* *come/go*-y-*before*-N/F
'I was there yesterday'

gi:r birali:ɖu:l   yuŋaylani
    child-DIM-ABS *cry*-ŋ-*before*-N/F
'The child was crying before'

gi:r birali:ɖu:l   nama wi: garalaylani
    child-DIM-ABS *the* *wood*-ABS *cut*-l-*before*-N/F
'The child cut wood yesterday'

Completive

    The verbal suffix -(w)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 intransi-
tive. For example:

total O

ma:da:yu buya   ŋa:ma duwimala:ba:y
dog-ERG *bone*-ABS *the* *uncover*-COMP-N/F
'The dog dug up all the bones'

total S

gi:ru ŋa:ma birali:gal   bunda:wa:ba:y
    the   *child*-PL-ABS *fall*-COMP-N/F
'All the children fell down'

    Completive forms are derived thus:

l conjugation   Stem + l + a:ba-l
y conjugation ⎫
ŋ conjugation ⎬   Stem +   wa:ba-l
r conjugation   Stem + r + a:ba-l

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

da:y   ŋanunda yina:wa:bala
this way 1 SG DAT *come*-COMP-IMP
'Come to me all of you!'

```
ɳama ŋaya      buba:y giniy    gamala:bali
that 1 SG S/A small  stick-ABS break-COMP-FUT
```
'I will break the stick all up'

```
gaɽiya ŋa:ma duwa: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 ɳama 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'

'back'

The term *'back'* has been chosen for this suffix. This corresponds
with the usage adopted by Donaldson for Ngiyambaa (1977:232-33).

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:

```
ɳa:diya:nda ɳama birali:ɖu:l   wilawuwuɲi
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:

l conjugation	Stem + l + uwi-y
y conjugation	Stem + w + uwi-y
ŋ conjugation	Stem + w + uwi-y
	Stem + g + uwi-y
r conjugation	Stem + r + uwi-y

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

Normal -y conjugation tense endings are used. Some examples showing
the use of the suffix are:

```
wu:ruwiya         nama ŋay      bila:r
give-r-back-IMP  that 1 SG GEN spear-ABS

'Give my spear back to me!'


gi:r ŋaya      bila:r     ga:guwiɲi
    1 SG S/A  spear-ABS  take-g-back-N/F

'I took the spear back'


gi:r ŋayala:   yina:wuwiy
    1 SG S/A  come-w-back-FUT

'I'll come back (to see you)'


birali:ɖu ŋa:ma bugala:    wanawuwiɲi       buwaɖaya
child-ERG the  ball-ABS   throw-w-back-N/F father-LOC

'The child threw the ball 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.

```
l conjugation    Stem + l + ala-y
r conjugation    Stem + d̲ + ala-y
```

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

```
gaɾiyanda:li    bumalalaya
PROHIB-2 DU S/A hit-l-RECIP-IMP

'Stop fighting you two!'


gaba ŋiyani     guwa:lalay
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 re-
flected by the use of the pattern of tense marking which is appropriate
for progressives.

Examples of the past and present reciprocal forms are:

gi:r n̲ama bula:yu d̲iŋga: wu:d̲alan̲a
that two-ERG *meat*-ABS *give*-d-RECIP-PRES
'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 obli-
gations'.

gi:r n̲ama bula:r d̲ayn   yaylalan̲i
that two-ABS *man*-ABS *rouse on*-1-RECIP-PAST
'The two men were quarrelling'

gi:ru n̲ama gagil   birali:gal   n̲imalalan̲a
the bad-ABS *child*-PL-ABS *pinch*-1-RECIP-PRES
'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:

l conjugation		
ŋ conjugation	Stem +	ŋi:li-y
r conjugation	Stem + r +	ŋi:li-y

There is one example of what appears to be the reflexive added to
an intransitive y conjugation verb. The verb in question is gaṟuŋga-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 *gaṟuŋga-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:

gi:r ŋa:ma yinar   gaṟuŋgaŋi:lin̲i
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.

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Examples showing reflexive forms are:

bumaŋi:liɲi ŋaya
hit-REFL-N/F 1 SG S/A

'I hit myself'

gi:r ŋinda garaŋi:liy
     2 SG S/A *cut*-REFL-FUT

'You'll cut yourself'

gaṟiya bila:yu durŋi:liya
NEG IMP *spear*-INST *pierce*-REFL-IMP

'Don't spear yourself!'

ma:da:y nama mawuŋi:liɲi
dog-ABS *the* *dig*-REFL-N/F

'The dog scratched himself'

3.4.9. Transitiviser

The suffix -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 gigima-l *'kick'* (from English *'kick'*) and du:dima-l *'shoot'* (from English *'shoot'*). The regular formation is:

y class ⎫
ŋ class ⎬   Stem + ma-l

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

-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 "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 -ma-l cannot be used. This is also true of Yuwaalaraay. With verbs which cannot take -ma-l Yuwaalaraay instead uses the construction *'tell (x) to do (y)'*, as does Ngiyambaa.

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

gi:ru nama dayn:du:l ŋana bunda:ma:y
    that man-DIM-ABS 1 SG O *fall*-ma-N/F

'The man made me fall over'

```
gi:ru ŋaya      giya:na ŋinuna danduwimali
      1 SG S/A  be-PROG 2 SG O sleep-ma-FUT
```
'I'm going to make you go to sleep'

```
gi:r nama birali:ɖu:lu buba:yɖu:l     yubama:y
     the  child-DIM-ERG small-DIM-ABS cry-ma-N/F
```
'The child made the little one cry'

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:

l conjugation	Stem +	:li-y
ŋ conjugation	Stem +	ngi:li-y
r conjugation	Stem + r +	ngi:li-y

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

Some examples of the verbal benefactive are:

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

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

```
gi:r ŋu:       bila:yu    ŋa:ma banda:r     durngi:liɲi
     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 ŋaya      ŋinu      ga:ngi:liɲi
     1 SG S/A  2 SG GEN bring-BENEF-N/F
```
'I brought it for you'

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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: ŋiyani   gindamaya:bulda
    much   1 PL S/A *laugh-y-together*
    'We're all laughing together'

    ga:y ŋiyani   guwa:la:bulda
          1 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 re-
corded 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 con-
jugations, 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 ŋara-l *'look, see'* we get ŋaraŋara-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 ŋara-l example given above).

Some examples of reduplicated verbs are:

```
gi:r ŋu:ma birali:d̪u:lu  ma:da:y ŋaraŋaraldani
        child-DIM-ERG dog-ABS REDUP-see-PROG-PAST
```

'The child was minding the dog'

```
gi:r n̪ama birali:    yu:yugilani
      the  child-ABS REDUP-cry-PROG-PAST
```

'The child was crying a bit' (i.e. *'was crying without much
conviction'. 'Grizzling'* might be an apt translation.)

```
birali:d̪u:l   ŋa:ma warawaraywa:na
child-DIM-ABS the   REDUP-stand-PROG-PRES
```

'The child is almost standing up'

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.[6]
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. d̲a: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:

```
d̲a:y     yina:ya
this way come-IMP
```

'Come here!' (i.e. *'to me, the speaker'*)

d̲a:y usually occurs directly before the verb, but not invariably.

>   d̲a:y   n̲ama ganuŋa   yina:wa:n̲a
>   *this way* *the*   *3 PL S/O come-PROG-PRES*
>
>   *'They're coming this way'*

2. ŋi:lay - *'from here'* (with reference to the speaker)

For example:

>   yina:ya   ŋi:lay
>   *go/walk-IMP* *from here*
>
>   *'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. ŋada:li - *'down'*. Indicates motion downwards. So, for example:

>   ŋada:li ŋu: baṟani
>   *down*   *3 SG S/A fly-N̄/F*
>
>   *'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.).

>   yalagida:y   ŋa:ma d̲ura:y
>   *right round that* *come-N/F*
>
>   *'It (boomerang) came right round'*

No further examples have been recorded.

5. n̲ara: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 -ŋu.

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

>   gi:r n̲aman̲a ŋa:rigulay   maragulay   ba:lani
>   *the ¯ over that way over this way hop-PROG-PAST*
>
>   *'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. ŋara:gula (ŋa), ŋara:gulay - *'over that way'*. The two forms given above are probably variants of the one form. ŋara:gula has only been attested with following -ŋa. It is not clear whether -ŋa is part of the root, or whether it is the suffix -ŋa (see 3.2.). ŋara:gulay has not been recorded with following -ŋa. Examples are:

ŋara:gulaŋa   girangira:gu
over that way-? *leaves*-PURP

'*(Go) over there for leaves*'

gi:r yina:ni ŋara:gulay
   go-N/F̄ *over that way*

'*He went over that way*'

It also seems that ŋa:rigulay (see 7 above) and ŋara:gula(ŋa)/ ŋara:gulay 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, n̠irma, n̠ama, ŋu:ma.

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

ŋa:rima	*'here'*
ŋa:ribal	*'over there'*
ŋa:rimalay	*'that way (there?)'*
ŋa:riŋa:ri(ŋa)	*'right over there'*

The principle involved here seems to be that of proximity (to the speaker?).[7] Examples of these forms are:

yila: ŋa:maŋa / ŋa:rima d̠a:y
later the ?   *here*   *this way*

'*Later (it came) here, this way*'   (5.7.)

yila:l ŋa:ribal d̠i:l   d̠iyama: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.)

ŋa:rimalay ŋarala
that way   *look*-IMP

'*Look over there!*'

```
yila:   ŋu:        ŋaray  /  ŋa:riŋa:riŋa        bula:rŋa
soon   3 SG S/A  see-N/F    right over there(-?) two-?
```

'Soon he saw the two (wives) right over there'   (5.3.)

Note also the form ŋa:rigulay (3.5.1.).

A number of other locational demonstratives have been recorded. Unfortunately, the functions of these forms are less clear.

1. marama - usually translated as *there* (possibly + *close?*). For example:

```
marama ŋu:ŋu      gundi
there  3 SG GEN house-ABS
```

'There's his house'

2. ŋu:lay - *here*. For example:

```
yilawaya ŋu:lay
sit-IMP  here
```

'Sit here'

3. ni:rbala - recorded only once, translated as *over there*.

```
ni:rbala   ŋaya     bu:rŋandu        danduwimali
over there 1 SG S/A meat ant-INST? lie down-TRS-FUT
```

'(He) laid them on an ant bed over there'   (5.3.)

4. nambala(a) - *over there*. For example:

```
nambalaŋa    guni:bu:
over there-? robin redbreast
```

'The/A redbreast was over there'   (5.4. See also 5.11.)

5. ŋada:mali(ŋa) - *down there*. This form has been recorded with a verb of motion, banaga-y *to run*. It indicates the location of the running, not the direction. Note, however, the similarity in form to the directional demonstrative ŋada:li *down*. (See 3.5.1.)

```
ŋada:maliŋa      banaganiɲa
down there (-?) run-N/F-?
```

'(He) ran down there'
(Talking of the time when ba:yama was on earth) (See 5.3.)

6. ŋanawa: - *up there*. This form has not been recorded in a sentence so we cannot 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. n̲ama - *'that'*, *'the'*, *'there'*. The form n̲ama alternates freely with ɲama and ŋa:ma. When acting as a determiner it usually precedes the noun to which it refers. For example:

```
gagil n̲ama yinar
bad   that  woman-ABS
```
'That woman is bad'

```
giyal       ŋa:ma birali:  giɲi
afraid-ABS  that  child-ABS be-N/F
```
'The child is frightened'

The form n̲amalay, translated as *'that'* has also been recorded. For Example:

```
ŋa:ndi   n̲amalay
who-ABS  that
```
'Who's that?'   (5.5.)

2. n̲alay - *'this, here'*. Has the alternate form ŋalay. For example:

```
n̲alay gaba
this  good
```
'This is good'

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

```
n̲alayga: ŋa:ngi:
this one  uncle-ABS
```
'This one, uncle?'   (5.9.)

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

```
n̲irma ŋali      giban    mawugi
there  1 DU S/A  yam-ABS  dig-FUT
```
'We'll dig yams there'

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

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

```
ŋu:ma ŋalina    dali
there 1 DU S/A-? eat-FUT
```

'We'll eat (it) there'

```
gi:r ŋu:ma dayindu:lu bila:yu    duni       banda:r
          man-DIM-ERG spear-INST pierce-N/F kangaroo-ABS
```

'The little man speared a kangaroo'

The form ŋu:mala:ŋa, translated as *'that fellow'* has also been recorded (see 5.10.).

It should be noted here that no distinction is drawn between definite and indefinite determiners in Yuwaalaraay. (But see Donaldson 1977:153 for Ngiyambaa.) Sentence translations (including determiners) are most often those given by the informant.

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:

```
gagil   ŋay      diŋga:
bad-ABS 1 SG GEN meat-ABS
```

'My meat is bad'

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

```
bulu:y    nama ma:da:y
black-ABS the  dog-ABS
```

'The dog is black'

```
ŋuwi      nama diŋga:
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

```
ma:r ŋa:lur   guŋanda
NEG  fish-ABS water-LOC
```

'There are no fish in the water'

bindiya: nama ŋay   babuya
prickle-ABS *the* 1 SG GEN *foot*-LOC

'There's a prickle in my foot'

Genitive

nama buyuma buwaḏargu
the *dog*-ABS *father*-GEN

'The dog is father's'

ḏiŋga: nama ŋay
meat-ABS *the* 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 ($\emptyset$) 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:

guli:yu   ŋay   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: ŋay   duwar   wu:ṉi   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

namuray nama ma:da:yu ḏiŋga:
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:

```
  bawi-l          'sing'
  gigudu-r        'sneeze'
*ŋurulu-(y)       'snore'
  gunugunudu-r    'cough'
```

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

```
ya:ma ŋinda     yugal     bawili
Q     2 SG S/A  song-ABS  sing-FUT
'Will you sing a song?'
```

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

```
yinayu       ŋuruluwa:na
woman-ERG    snore-PROG-PRES
'The woman is snoring'
```

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

```
giɲdayma     'defecate'
ḍaluba       'urinate'
birma        'yawn'
ŋa:ri        'dance'
banma        'put on (of clothes)'
yarbi        'sing'
wulbi        'make (of noise)'
ḍuma         'smoke (of cigarettes)'
```

We do not have sufficient evidence to state that all the corresponding Yuwaalaraay 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 Yuwaalaraay 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.

```
gi:r nama birali:ḍu:l    gi:liɲi      napkinda
     the  child-DIM-ABS  urinate-N/F  nappy-LOC
'The baby urinated in his nappy'
```

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$_S$ V. For example:

    dayn   nama da:y   yinawa:na
    man-ABS *the* *this way* *come*-PROG-PRES
    'The man is coming this way'

    banda:r   ba:ni
    kangaroo-ABS *hop*-N/F
    'The kangaroo hopped (away)'

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:

    guli:yu   ŋay   birali: wambala:na   bawaga
    spouse-ERG 1 SG GEN *child*-ABS *carry*-PROG-PRES *back*-LOC
    'My wife is carrying the child on (her) back'

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

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

    gi:r bamba damawa:na
        hard *rain*-PROG-PRES
    '(It) is raining hard'

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

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:

    buma:y dayndu / buyabuya dayn   / wamubididu
    hit-N/F 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 adjec-
tival 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 tend-
encies 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:

    birali:du:l   na:ma bunda:ni gunanda   / baliya:ga / bulu:y
    child-DIM-ABS the   fall-N/F water-LOC   cold-LOC   black-ABS

    na:ma gunan
    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')

    gi:ru nama birali:du:l   garigari gigilani   burulbididi
          the   child-DIM-ABS afraid   be-PROG-PAST big-big-SOU

    gunadi   / gagil   nama guna
    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 pos-
sessed noun to agree with the possessor (i.e. inflection into the
genitive) is not usual, but has been recorded. For example:

```
gi:r ŋaya      ŋa:ma gama:y   / gi:ɖa:gu    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
-ŋun-. The local case is added only to the possessed noun, which
could be seen as the 'head' noun of the noun phrase. For example:

```
banagaya ŋu:ma ŋamba:ŋunda    ŋinu
run-IMP  there mother-ŋun-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:

```
guli:yu    ŋay      birali:   wambala:na
spouse-ERG 1 SG GEN child-ABS carry-PROG-PRES
'My wife is carrying the child'
```

```
dinawandu nama giniy     gama:y    dinagu    ŋu:ŋu
emu-ERG   the  stick-ABS break-N/F foot-INST 3 SG GEN
'The emu broke the stick with his foot'
```

4.3. CASES

4.3.1. Absolutive

The absolutive (∅) inflection marks transitive object (O) and
intransitive subject (S). Absolutive noun phrases usually directly
precede the verb. For example:

gi:r ṉama dayindu birali: buma:y
   the *man*-ERG *child*-ABS *hit*-N/F

'The man hit the child'

birali: bunda:ṉi
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 ṉama ma:ḏa:y diṉga: ḏala-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 ŋaṉa nirma ma:ḏa:y yi:lŋayṉi
   1 SG O *there dog* *bite*-ŋay-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:

yila:la ŋay buyu ḏunbil-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:

ṉirma ŋu: duwayu garaṉi
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:

```
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:l 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:

```
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 ma:da:y leads to the assertion that di:lu is an instrumental form, not an ergative one. If ma:da:y were inflected into the ergative case we would have difficulty deciding whether di:lu was ergative, agreeing with ma:da: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).

```
dinawandu nama giniy     gama:y    dinagu   ŋu:ŋu
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  ŋaya    duni       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: ḏayn     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 ŋiyani   ŋu:ŋunda ḏiŋga:  wu:ṉi
     1 PL S/A 3 SG DAT ͞meat-ABS give-N/F
'We gave him some meat'
```

```
wa:l ŋaya       ŋinu    ḏiŋga:  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:

```
gi:ru ŋa:ma banda:r      ma:da:yd̪i ba:n̪i
    the   kangaroo-ABS dog-SOU   hop-N/F
```

'The kangaroo hopped away from the dog'

```
gi:ru nama banda:r      bara:y ba:n̪i   ma:da:yd̪i
    the   kangaroo-ABS quickly hop-N/F dog-SOU
```

'The kangaroo hopped quickly away because of the dog'

However, this differential ordering is not fixed, and different translations can be given for the same sentence. For example:

```
gi:ru nama digaya:  baran̪i  dayndi
    the   bird-ABS fly-N/F man-SOU
```

'The birds flew away {from / bcause 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:

```
gi:r nama dayndu  yinar      buma:y daygali
   the   man-ERG woman-ABS hit-N/F head-SOU
```

'The man hit the woman on the head'

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:

```
dinbiya  waraya
knee-LOC stand-IMP
```

'Kneel!'

(Literally: *'Stand on (your) knees!'*)

```
namunda  danduwiya
side-LOC sleep-IMP
```

'Sleep on (your) side!'

```
guli:yu  ŋay      birali:  wambala:na      bawaga
spouse-ERG 1 SG GEN child-ABS carry-PROG-PRES back-LOC
```

'My wife is carrying the child on (her) back'

```
bindiya:  nama ŋay      babuya
prickle-ABS the 1 SG GEN foot-LOC
```

'(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   yina:ni muḏaygu
REP  1 PL S/A go-N/F̄ possum-PURP
```
'We went out again for possum'

```
waṛaŋanagu ŋaya     garay  ŋa:ma ma:la:bidi
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:

```
ḏu:      giya:na       ŋali     gimbili ŋa:lur  yilamaligu
f̄ire-ABS be-PRŌG-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:

```
gi:r ŋu:      yina:ni ga:wa:gu
     3 SG S/A go-N/F̄ river-ALL
```
'He went to the river'

Two examples of allative marking with a transitive verb have been recorded. They are:

```
gi:r ŋaya     ḏiŋga:   ga:ni   wala:ygu
     1 SG S/A m̄eat-ABS take-N/F camp-ALL
```
'I took meat to the camp'

```
gi:r ŋa:ma birali:ḏu:lu wanani    mayamã   ŋandaba:gu
     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 *'back'* 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:ɖu ŋa:ma bugala: wanawuwuɲi nirma buwaɖaya
child-ERG *the* *ball*-ABS *throw-back*-N/F *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 ŋu: buma:y ma:da:ygu 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: ŋu:ŋu bunda:ni
child-ABS 3 SG GEN *fall*-N/F

'His child fell'

guli:yu ŋay nama ɖayn 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, -daliba:, also derives an adjective from a nominal stem.

The simple comitative ($COMIT_1$) has been recorded with the following functions:

a. at rest, with inanimate object.

ṉama yilawani baran-biya:y
that sit-N/F̅ *boomerang*-$COMIT_1$
'(He) sat with a boomerang'

b. motion, with (unhelpful) inanimate.

margin-biya:y ṉama wanda   yina:wa:ṉa
gun-$COMIT_1$ *that white man*-ABS *go*-PROG-P̅RES
'The white man is going along with a gun'

c. motion, with (helpful) inanimate.

gi:r gana:y-biya:y   ṉama yina:wa:ṉa
     yamstick-$COMIT_1$ *that go*-PROG-P̅RES
'He walks with a stick'

d. motion, in human company.

buwadar-biya:y ŋali   yina:ni
father-$COMIT_1$ 1 DU S/A *go*-N/F̅
'We went with father'

e. weak instrumental

gi:r ŋaya   bayama:y gudu: wu:-ḇiya:y
     1 SG S/A *catch*-N/F *cod*-N/F *hook*[8]-$COMIT_1$
'I caught a cod with a hook'

f. characteristics of place.

    mayama-biya:y ṉama ḏayma:r
    stone-COMIT₁ *that ground*-ABS

    'The ground is stony'

g. human characteristics.

    gi:ru guya:ṟala ḏaygal   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:

ḏubil	*'saliva'*	from	ḏubi-l	(INT?)	*'to spit'*
bulirul	*'breath'*	from	buliru-l	(INT)	*'to breathe'*
gi:liy	*'urine'*	from	gi:li-y	(INT?)	*'to urinate'*
ḏama:y	*'rain'*	from	ḏama:-y	(?)	*'to rain'*
ḏanduwiy	*'sleep'*	from	ḏanduwi-y	(INT)	*'to sleep'*
gi:nbal	*'scales'*	from	gi:nba-l	(TR)	*'to scale (a fish)'*

The pattern of nominalisation thus seems to be:

    Stem + Conjugation marker

ŋ conjugation verbs are unlikely to conform to this pattern. This would result in a stem final ŋ, which is not permissible in Yuwaalaraay. The verb guna-ŋ *'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 ŋ 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 manumaḏa:y *'thief'*, derived from manuma-l *'to steal'*. It is not known whether the suffix -ḏa: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 -ḏa: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  mugugibiy     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-l. 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   / nirana balal   gigigu
there 3 PL A bank-LOC throw-FUT  there-? dry-ABS be-FUT-PURP
```
'They will throw (them) (mila:n) onto the bank to dry'   (5.8.)

The verbal suffix -ma-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:l

Simple declarative sentences are negated with wa:l, which also occurs as an interjection meaning 'no'. wa:l is invariably sentence or clause initial. For example:

```
wa:l ninda   wi:  garay
NEG  2 SG S/A wood cut-N/F
```
'You didn't chop any firewood'

```
wa:l nalila: dali     na:lur
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 gaɽiya. For example:

    wa:l dala
    NEG *eat*-IMP

    'Don't eat it!'

    du-biya:y / wa:l ŋawuŋa
    fire-COMIT   NEG *drink*-IMP

    'It's hot, don't eat it'

gaɽiya

    gaɽiya is the most common means of negating imperatives. Austin
(personal communication) reports that gaɽiya acts as a verb in
Gamilaraay. It does not, to my knowledge, function as a verb in
Yuwaalaraay, although the form is identical to the imperative of a y
conjugation verb. gaɽiya has been glossed *'prohibitive'* (PROHIB).
Like wa:l, it is sentence initial. For example:

    gaɽiya galiyaya
    PROHIB *climb*-IMP

    'Don't climb!'

    gaɽiya nama gini gamala
    PROHIB *that stick break*-IMP

    '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 intial
(or clause initial). For example:

    wa:la ŋaya   danduwiɲi
    NEG POT 1 SG S/A   *sleep*-N/F

    'I couldn't sleep'

    wa:la   ŋaraldana
    NEG POT *see*-PROG PRES

    '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:

    ma:r ŋa:lur   guŋanda
    NEG *fish*-ABS *water*-LOC

    'There are no fish in the water'

```
ma:r ŋiyani   diŋga: wala:yḏa
NEG  1 PL S/A meat  camp-LOC
```
'We have no meat in the camp'

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 prefaratory 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 ŋaya    bu:r    gimbili
REP  1 SG S/A line-ABS make-FUT
```
'I'm going to make another fishing line'
(Literally: *'make it again'*)

```
yalu ŋiyani   yina:ni mudyagu
REP   1 PL S/A go-N/F̄ possum-PURP
```
'We went out again for possum'

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    ŋa:ma ŋaya    giniy    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. ŋadanga:

ŋadanga: 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 ŋadanga: would be used for them.
Examples showing the use of ŋadanga: are:

```
ŋadanga: ŋu:     ŋa:ma gudu:   ba:yama:y
HYP̄      3 SG S/A the   cod-ABS catch-N/F
```
'I thought she caught a cod'


```
ŋadanga: nirma ganuŋa    yulugilani
HYP̄      there 3 PL S/O play-PROḠ-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 ŋaya     yina:wa:ni
      1 SG S/A come-PROḠ-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:ya<u>nd</u>u - *'later on'*. This has not been recorded in a sentential example. Examples are:

    yila: ŋaya   <u>di</u>ŋga: ŋu:ŋunda wu:ri
    soon 1 SG S/A <u>m</u>eat-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 ŋiyaniŋu <u>di</u>ŋga: gigi
    NEG *soon* 1 PL GEN <u>m</u>eat-ABS *be*-FUT

    'Soon we'll have no meat'

wa:l

    wa:l ŋu:lay <u>d</u>ama:ni yila:lu
    NEG *here* <u>r</u>ain-<u>N</u>/F *long ago*

    'It didn't rain here for a long time'

gi:r

    gi:r ŋayala: yila:l yina:wuwiy
         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 ŋaliŋu  diŋga:
Q-2 SG S/A soon-?  give-FUT meat-ABS
```
'Will you give us meat? (soon)'

2. yalu is preceded by:

Negatives

```
gaṟiya 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 ganuŋa   biraligal    yalu wuŋalay
     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:

```
gi:r nama ma:da:y miɲa:ruwa:      diŋga:    ga:wawa:na
     the  dog-ABS where to-DUBIT  meat-ABS take-PROG-PRES
```
'The dog is taking (I don't know where to) his meat'

```
yalu ɲirma ganuŋa    miɲa: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:

Conjugation	Relative Marker	Added to
l	-nda:y	stem
	-da:y	stem + CM
y	-ŋinda:y	stem
ŋ	-ŋinda:y	stem
r	-nda:y	stem

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, ŋ conjugations   Stem + ŋinda: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 -ŋinda:y relative.

Yuwaalaraay relative clauses are, like relative clauses in a number of Australian languages, adjoined. That is to say, they are "... adjoined 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   ṉirma ŋa:ma bu:ṉu   dalda:y / baluni
kangaroo-ERG *there the   grass*-ABS *eat*-REL   *die*-N̄/F
'The kangaroo which ate the grass died'

This is derived from the simple sentences

banda:yu ṉirma ŋa:ma bu:ṉu ḏay
'The kangaroo ate the meat'

banda:r baluṉi
'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 absolute 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 ŋanunda  birali:ɟu ŋaranma:y baran      / bunda:ŋinda:yɲa[9]
    1 SG DAT child-ERG show-N/F  boomerang-ABS    fall-REL
```

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 (birali: or baran) 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:

gi:ru ŋa:ma birali:ɖu:lu guŋan ŋawuŋinda:y / nirma ŋa:ma
     the child-DIM-ERG *water*-ABS *drink*-REL *there the*

ɖu:ni
crawl-past

'*The little child who drank the water crawled (away)*'

This is derived from:

birali:ɖu:l ɖu:ni
'*The child crawled (away)*'

where '*child*' is in the absolutive case (S function)
and

gi:ru ŋa:ma birali:ɖu:lu guŋan ŋawu(ni)[10]
'*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:

gi:r nama yinayu nama birali: ŋu:ŋu buma:y / yugilanda:y
the woman-ERG *the child*-ABS *3 SG GEN hit*-N/F *cry*-PROG-REL

'*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.

ŋa:mana miyayɖu:l nimalda:y birayɖu / ŋaraldani birali:ɖu:l
the girl-DIM-ABS *pinch*-REL *boy*-ERG *see*-PROG-PAST *child*-DIM-ABS

'*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 (miyayɖu:l) belongs in the matrix sentence.

   It is possible to pronominalise the second instance of the co-
referential noun instead of deleting it. For example:

yinargalga: ŋa:ma bumalda:y dayndu / banda:r ŋa:mana
woman-PL-ABS *the hit*-REL *man*-ERG *kangaroo*-ABS *the*

day ganugu
eat-N/F *3 PL A*

'*The women who were hit by the men (they) ate the kangaroo*'

Derived from:

yina:rgalga:gu banda:r ŋa:mana day
'*The women ate the kangaroo*'

The ergative noun of this sentence (yinargalga:gu) is replaced in the complex sentence by the third person plural A form pronoun ganugu.

and

yinargalga: ŋa:ma buma:y dayndu
'*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 ŋaya   banda:r   bayamali / mani:layŋinda:yd̪u
  -bad̲a:y 1 SG S/A *kangaroo*-ABS *catch*-FUT   *hunt*-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.

1. gi:r ŋa:ma birali: galiyani biyu:di / bunda:ŋinda:y
     the   *child*-ABS *climb*-N̄/F *hole*-S̄OU   *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 birali: galiyani biyu:di
   '*The child climbed out of the hole*'

where '*hole*' is marked by the source suffix

and

3. birali: 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

```
gi:r ŋaya      diŋga    yilama:y / du:ga    ŋinda      gimbinda:y
    1 SG S/A  meat-ABS cook-N/F   fire-LOC 2 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

```
gi:r ŋaya      nama ba:ni    / na:diya:ndi / ŋinda      garalda:y
    1 SG S/A  the  jump-N/F    log-SOU       2 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.

```
gi:r ŋaya      ŋa:ma gundiḑi da:y      durula:na      / gundi
    1 SG S/A  the   hut-SOU this-way  come-PROG-PRES   hut-ABS

ŋinda      gunda:malda:y
2 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:

```
gi:r nama yinayu      buma:y ŋandaba: / ma:yamagu / ŋa:ma
    the  woman-ERG  hit-N/F snake-ABS  stone-INST   the

ŋaya      ma:yama    diyamalda:y
1 SG S/A  stone-ABS  pick up-REL
```
'The woman hit the snake with the stone I picked up'

```
yinayu      mila:n mawuni  / di:nba:yu      ŋaya      gimbinda:y
woman-ERG yam-ABS dig-N̄/F   yamstick-INST 1 SG S/A  make-REL
```
'The woman dug yams with the yamstick I made'

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Genitive

> ga:rimay n̪ama d̪ayngu 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:

> gi:r n̪ama ganuŋa yina:y ga:wa:ga / banda:r ŋawuŋinda:y
> *the* 3 PL S/O *go*-FUT *river*-LOC *kangaroo*-ABS *drink*-REL
>
> guŋan
> *water*-ABS
>
> '*They got to the river when the kangaroo was 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:ni / yina:wa:nda:y ŋinda
> 2 SG S/A *eat*-PROG-PAST *go*-PROG-REL 2 SG S/A
>
> '*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:

```
birali:gal    / yiṉar      gaya:    giṉi   / muḏay      ganugu
child-PL-ABS   woman-ABS pleased be-N/F   possum-ABS 3 PL A
```
```
ŋaranda:y
see-REL
```
'The woman and children were pleased when they saw the possum'

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:

```
gi:r ŋa:ma yiṉar      wilaṉi ŋu:ma / yiŋgil giṉinda:y
     the    woman-ABS sit-N̄/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:

```
da:lugi giya:na      ŋinda  / diŋga:  ŋinda    danda:y
sick-FUT be-PROG-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:

```
ŋinda    ŋa:lu:r burula: bayamanda:y / ŋay      bula:r wu:na
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:

```
d̲ama:ŋinda:y / wa:l  ŋaya      yina:y gunad̲a d̲ayma:r
r̲ain-REL      NEG  1 SG S/A  go-FUT boggy̲  e̲arth-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:

```
gi:r ŋaya       bunda:n̲i / wa:l  ŋinda    ŋan̲a    bayamalda:y
     1 SG S/A  fall-N̲/F   NEG  2 SG S/A 1 S̲G O 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:d̲u:l   n̲ama bamba yugilan̲a      / buwad̲ayu   bumalda:y
child-DIM-ABS t̲he  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 ŋara-l *'see'* and winaŋa-l *'hear'*. For example:

1. ```
   gi:r ŋaya        ŋarald̲an̲a       ŋa:rima   d̲a:y       yina:wa:nda:y
        1 SG S/A  see-PROG-PRES  over there t̲his way come-PROG-REL
   ```
   ```
   d̲ayn
   m̲an-ABS
   ```
   'I am watching the men coming here'

2. ```
   gi:r winaŋalan̲i     n̲irma yugilanda:y birali:d̲u:l
        hear-PROG-PAST t̲here 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 per-
ception. These sentences behave differently to the sentential object
sentences discussed above. For example:

```
gi:r ŋaya      ŋa:ma yinar      ŋaray    / wala:ygu ŋinu
    1 SG S/A the  woman-ABS see-N/F   camp-ALL 2 SG GEN
yina:wa:nda:y
go-PROG-REL
```
'I saw the woman who was going to your camp'

Note that the second instance of yinar has been deleted, and the pres-
ence 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:

```
mawugi ŋali      nirma / gi:r ŋali      duwimalda:y / nirma
dig-FUT 1 DU S/A there       1 DU S/A pull-REL      there
ŋaliɲa      dalda:y
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 in-
flection 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:

```
du:       giya:na      ŋali    gimbili / ŋa:lu:r yilamaligu
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:

```
du:       giya:na      ŋali    gimbili
fire-ABS be-PROG-PRES 1 DU S/A make-FUT
```

'We're going to light a fire'

```
ŋali     ŋa:lu:r  yilamali
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:

```
gi:r nu:       guwa:y birali:ḏu:lu  ŋama 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. Conjuction

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:

```
gi:r ŋu:ŋu    ḏiŋga:    ŋa:ma wu:ni    yinayu    but wa:lbala
     3 SG GEN meat-ABS the   give-N/F woman-ERG      NEG-?
ŋu:       ḏay
3 SG S/A eat-N/F
```

'The woman gave him meat but he didn't ear (it)'

ŋayagay

The particle ŋayagay has been recorded in some sentences. It can be translated as *'and'*. The two sentences connected by ŋayagay may have an identical subject. If there is an identical subject, the second occurrence may be deleted. For example:

```
birali:ɖu:lu   nama ŋaray   / banda:r       / dinawan ŋayagay ŋaray
child-DIM-ERG  the  see-N/F    kangaroo-ABS   emu-ABS          see-N/F
```

'The child saw a kangaroo and (saw) an emu'

The subjects of the two sentences may be different as in:

```
ḏayn     da:y     yina:wa:ni      / nama ŋayagay yinar
man-ABS  this way come-PROG-PAST    the          woman-ABS
```

```
yina:wa:ni
come-PROG-PAST
```

'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:

```
gi:r ŋaya     gudu:   bayama:y / ḏaga:y        ŋayagay
     1 SG S/A  cod-ABS catch-N/F  yellow belly-ABS
```

'I caught a cod and a yellow belly'

The simple apposition of two sentences performs the same function as conjunction with ŋayagay. The number of recorded examples of ŋayagay is not large.

1. It should be noted at this point that there is one instance re-
corded of [ε] taking length. This is in the ergative form of yinar
[ínar] *'woman'*, which is, phonetically, [inέːyu]. 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. ŋaːrima *'closest'*, ŋaːriŋaːri *'furthest away'*.

8. This is probably the English word *'hook'*.

9. The function of the suffix -ɲa 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

guniḓar   ŋanunda ga:ni   mila:ngu[1] / guŋanda   ŋaya   yilawani /
mother-ABS 1 SG S/A *take*-N/F *yam*-PURP   *water*-LOC 1 SG S/A *sit*-N/F

"ŋamba: / mila:n nalay / da:y   yina:ya / nalay mila:n nalay" /
mum-ABS *yam*-ABS *here* *this way* *come*-IMP *here* *yam*-ABS *here*

di:nba:y   ŋay   gunidar   ga:wa:ni   / mawuni   gunidaru
yamstick-ABS 1 SG GEN *mother*-ABS *bring*-PROG-PAST *dig*-N/F *mother*-ERG

ŋay   di:nba:yu   duni   dayma:r   / buyugalbala[2]
1 SG GEN *yamstick*-INST *pierce, spear*-N/F *ground*-ABS *leg*-?

ŋay   gunidar   duni   / ba:ni   ŋaya   guŋandi /
1 SG GEN *mother*-ABS *spear*-N/F *jump*-N/F 1 SG S/A *water*-SOU

yuwa:ni   ŋaya   / yurun   ŋaya   ŋaraldanal[3]
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.

---

[1] mila: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.)

[2] This seems to be a mistake. -gal is a plural suffix, but only one leg was injured.

[3] The 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 / ya:ma ŋali wuŋay / gamba:y /
sweetheart-ABS Q 1 DU S/A *bathe*-FUT *sweetheart*-ABS

ŋa:yayba:y / gi:r ŋiyani yina:wa:y / wuŋaygu /
all right 1 PL S/A *go*-PROG-FUT *bathe*-FUT-PURP

ŋalibada:y nama guŋangu wuŋaygu ŋali / ŋa:yayba:y /
1 DU S/A-*bada:y* *that* *water*-ALL *bathe*-FUT-PURP 1 DU S/A *all right*

ŋindawa:nda[1] / ŋindawa:nda yina:wa:ya / ŋindawa:nda wuŋaya
2 SG S/A-*first* 2 SG S/A-*first* *go*-PROG-IMP 2 SG S/A-*first* *bathe*-IMP

ŋu:ma / ŋayabala bagaga wilalay ŋaraldaygu ŋinuna /
there 1 SG S/A-? *bank*-LOC *stay*-FUT *look*-PROG-FUT-PURP 2 SG O

gi:r duray / ŋu:mana wilalaylana bagaga / garba:li
come-N/F *there*-? *stay, sit*-PROG-PRES *bank*-LOC *shingleback*-ABS

nirmana wuŋaylani / "ŋada:" / "ŋada: ŋada: ŋada: ŋada:" /
there *bathe*-PROG-PAST *down* *down down down down*

dinawandu guwa:y / ŋa: gi:r ŋaya[2] wuŋaylani / nirma /
emu-ERG *speak*-N/F 1 SG S/A *bathe*-PROG-PAST *there*

yila:bala ŋa:ma / yalubada:y ŋa:ma / wuŋaya / yila:la
by 'n' by-? *that* *again*-*bada:y* *that* *bathe*-IMP *soon*

wuŋay / yalagiyu[3] 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 / dunbilŋinda / gi:r
3 SG S/A *cry*-PROG-PAST *shingleback*-ABS *sinews-wanting*

dinawan banagani[4]
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 pre-
sumably 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[1] — Arthur Dodd

gi:r ŋa:ma ŋu:　　yinar　　ŋu:ŋu bula:r / ba:yama　　　　/
that 3 SG S/A woman-ABS 3 SG GEN two-ABS　great one-ABS

ŋada:maliŋa banaganiŋa / ba:yama　　ŋa:maŋa / bula:rbala
down there-? run-N/F-?　great one-ABS that-?　two-?

guŋan ga:wa:ni　　/ ŋada:mali / ŋirma bula:rŋa wuŋaylani　　　/
water bring-PROG-PAST　down there　there two-?　swim-PROG-PAST

yila: ŋu:　　ŋaray　/ ŋa:riŋa:rlŋa　　bula:rŋa / wuŋayba:y[2]
soon 3 SG S/A see-N/F　right over there two-?　? picked up-?

biraŋga:gu　　gayawiy / gi:r ŋaya[3]　　daygali buma:y / gi:r
stone axe-INST pelt-N/F　1 SG S/A head-SOU hit-N/F

ŋaya　　ga:gi　nama ŋay　/ bula:r ŋay　/ yinar
1 SG S/A take-FUT that 1 SG GEN　two-ABS 1 SG GEN　woman-ABS

duwimali　/ ŋara:gulaŋa　ŋaya　ga:guwiy　/ ni:rbala
pull out-FUT　over that way-? 1 SG S/A take-back-FUT　over there

ŋaya　bu:rŋandu　danduwimali　/ gaba ŋa:ma daygal
1 SG S/A meat ant-INST? lie down-TRS-FUT　good that head-ABS

giŋinda:y / nama ga:guwiŋi　bula:rŋa / ŋa:ma guli:r　ŋay　/
be-REL? that take-back-N/F two-?　that spouse-ABS 1 SG GEN

ŋa:ma guŋan　gagil / ba:ɖin / ba:ɖinbiya:y / wa:l ŋa:ma ŋa:nduwa:
that water-ABS bad　poison　poison-COMIT₁ NEG that someone

guŋan　　ŋawugilaŋa　/ balugi ŋirma
water-ABS drink-PROG-PRES　die-FUT there

*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*

---

[1] This 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).

[2] This form has not been attested elsewhere, and its meaning is uncertain. Mr Dodd
glossed it as *'picked up'*.

[3] Note 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*[1] — Arthur Dodd

bula:r ŋa:ma dayn / guŋanda / nirma ŋa:ma banda:r /
two that man-ABS water-LOC there that kangaroo-ABS

dayndu:lu ga:wawa:ni / banda:r ŋa:ma guŋanda ba:ni /
man-DIMIN-ERG chase-PROG-PAST kangaroo-ABS that water-LOC jump-N/F

ŋu:ma ṇama ŋayagay dayn / bula:r dayn bayama:y ŋa:ma
there that other man-ABS two-ABS man-ABS catch-N/F that

banda:r / ŋu:ma guŋanda gaṛuŋgama:y / gaṛuŋgama:y
kangaroo-ABS there water-LOC drown-TRS-N/F drown-TRS-N/F

banda:r dayn yina:wa:ni / miṇa:ya ŋay banda:r
kangaroo-ABS man-ABS come-PROG-PAST where-LOC 1 SG GEN kangaroo-ABS

miṇa:wa:ya / wa:l ŋiyaniyu ŋaray / gi:r ŋaya durimbay /
where-DUBIT not 1 PL S/A see-N/F 1 SG S/A hide-N/F

durimbay ŋalilu dayndu:li / yila:bala ŋa:ma yina:ŋinda:y dayn /
hide-N/F 1 DU S/A man-DIM soon-? that go-REL man-ABS

bula:yu duwimay / nirmaŋa yilamaldani banda:r / bula:yu
two-ERG pull out-N/F there-? cook-PROG-PAST kangaroo-ABS two-ERG

dayndu / ṇambalaŋa[2] guni:bu: / gi:r nama wilalani
man-ERG over there robin redbreast that sit-N/F

birall:ḍu:l / nirma ŋu: guwa:ldani / ŋa:ma bula:r
child-DIM-ABS there 3 SG S/A speak-PROG-PAST that two

dayn / "guni: / guni: buṛu / guni: buṛu" / wa:l ŋaya
man-ABS mother mother testicles mother testicles NEG 1 SG S/A

giya:na ŋinu buṛu wu:ri / bumali ŋaya
be-PROG-PRES 2 SG GEN testicles-ABS give-FUT hit-FUT 1 SG S/A

giya:na ŋinuṇa / buma:y / yaga:y yaga:y / ŋu:ma bamba ŋaṇa
be-PROG-PRES 2 SG O hit-N/F Ouch! Ouch! there very 1 SG O

---

[1] See also Parker 1953:161-4.

[2] Gloss supplied by Mr Dodd. The exact meaning is unclear.

```
daygal    ba:rayni  / guway      ŋanundi durulda:y      / nama ŋanuna
head-ABS  split-N/F   blood-ABS 1 SG SOU come, flow-REL    that 1 SG O
```

```
guwaybiya:y bi:   / yina:ŋinda:y / guni:buṟuŋa
blood-COMIT₁ chest  come-REL        robin redbreast-?
```

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 in the water. They 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 BIRD*[2] - Arthur Dodd

```
gi:r nama maliyan        yina:wa:ni   / yina:wa:ni     ŋu:      /
     that eaglehawk-ABS come-PROG-PAST  come-PROG-PRES 3 SG S/A
```

```
winaŋala:ni       nama ŋu:    / nama maliyandu    / "ŋa: ŋa:ndi
listen-PROG-PAST that 3 SG S/A  that eaglehawk-ERG     who-ABS
```

```
nama / ŋa:ndi namalay / burula:ya: ḏayn"  / ganuŋa    gagaldana      /
that   who-ABS that      many-DUBIT man-ABS  3 PL S/O call-PROG-PRES
```

```
gi:r ŋu:       guwinbara:ni[3]   / ŋa:ndu ŋinuŋa guwa:y  / da:y
     3 SG S/A get close-PROG-N/F   who-ERG 2 SG O speak-N/F  this way
```

```
ŋinda    yina:wa:ygu       / yiyal[4] ŋaya      yina:wa:ni     /
2 SG S/A come-PROG-FUT-PURP          1 SG S/A come-PROG-PAST
```

```
ŋadaŋa: burula: ḏayn   / wa:l / biyadu:l ŋaya     / yina:ya
HYP     many    man-ABS  no     alone    1 SG S/A  come-IMP
```

```
ba:yamba / ylna:ya    / nama ŋu:      wanani    dayma:ya  /
mate       come-IMP     that 3 SG S/A throw-N/F ground-LOC
```

```
maliyan         / ŋu:ma ŋu:      yuriŋgila:ni   wi:   / nirma
eaglehawk-ABS     there 3 SG S/A push-PROG-PAST fire-ABS  there
```

```
gunda:wali maliyan       / gi:r nirma bu:yandu / bu:yan  ŋa:ma
burn-?-FUT eaglehawk-ABS   there heat-ERG       heat-ABS that
```

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[1] He wanted to eat them.

[2] See also Parker 1953:48-51.

[3] This item has not hitherto been recorded as a verb, although it acts as one here.
It is more often a locational term.

[4] Mr Dodd glossed this form as *'just'*. It has not been recorded elsewhere.

maliyandu   damalda:y / gi:r ŋu: warani nirma ŋü:
eaglehawk-ERG *feel*-ERG   3 SG S/A *get up*-N/F *there* 3 SG S/A

ŋu:ma wi:da: wanani   dayma:ya / ŋa:ma ŋu: wi:da
there bower bird-ABS *throw*-N/F *ground*-LOC   *that* 3 SG S/A *fire*-LOC

wanani   ŋa:ma wi:da: / nirmaŋa wanaŋamadadi / wanaŋamadadi
throw-N/F *that bower bird*-ABS   *there*

ba:yamba[1] guwa:y / wa:l ŋaya   ŋinuna yina:nbili / wi:ɖa   ŋaya
say-N/F   NEG 1 SG S/A 2 SG O *let go*-FUT   *fire*-LOC 1 SG S/A

giya:na   ŋinuna wanagi / ŋa:yayba:y / gi:r ŋaya   wi:ɖa
be-PROG-PRES 2 SG O *throw*-FUT   *all right*   1 SG S/A *fire*-LOC

wanani / dira:ga a:ma wi:dagu[2]   guduwaŋinda:y / daygal
throw-N/F *flash*-? *that fire*-LOC-ERG? *burn*-REL   *head*-ABS

ŋu:ŋu   ba:rayni / bara:y / gawu   ŋa:ma ŋu:ŋu durulda:y
3 SG GEN *split*   *quickly brains*-ABS *that* 3 SG GEN *come*-REL

daygali / ya:bala[3] ŋa:ma guwayimbara daygal yina:ylana   /
head-SOU   *that red*-ABS   *head*-ABS *walk*-PROG-PRES

wi:da:
bower bird

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 BROLGA*[1] — Arthur Dodd

gamba:y / ya:mandu birali: ŋinda bumali / ŋa:yayba:y /
sweetheart Q-2 SG S/A *child*-ABS 2 SG S/A hit-FUT *all right*

bula:r ŋali ga:gilay / ŋa:yayba:y / buma:y nama / buma:y /
two-ABS 1 DU S/A *take*-PROG-FUT *all right* hit-N/F t̲hat hit-N/F

buma:y / ŋaraga: / yila:balaŋa / yina:y ŋaya gῑya:na
hit-N/F *poor thing* *later*-? *go*-FUT 1 SG S/A *be*-PR̄OG-PRES

gamba:y / gunagirigu / n̲alay gawuma ŋay bu bu bu[2] /
sweetheart *defecate*-FUT-?-PURP h̲ere *egg*-? 1 SG GEN

ŋa: yila: n̲ama bumalda:y / n̲ama da:y ŋa:ma d̲inawandu /
later t̲hat *hit*-REL t̲hat *this way* *that* emu-ERG

bamba guwa:y / gi:r ŋaya gindi buma:y /
very, strongly *say*-N/F 1 SG S/A *baby* *brolga*-ABS *hit*-N/F

buralgagu / gi:r ŋaya buma:y birali: ŋay / ŋinda
brolga-ERG 1 SG S/A *hit*-N/F *child*-ABS 1 SG GEN 2 SG S/A

n̲ama burula: birali:biya:y / ŋayabala bula:r ga:gilan̲a
t̲hat *many* *child*-COMIT₁ 1 SG S/A-? *two*-ABS *bring*-PR̄OG-PRES

*Sweetheart, you kill your kids. O.K., we'll only keep two. O.K.
(The brolga) 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.[3] *"I
killed all my kids" the brolga said. "I killed my kids, and you've
got lots. I've only got two".*

5.7. *THE GALAH AND THE FRILLED LIZARD*[4] — Arthur Dodd

wu:la:gu guwa:y n̲alay gila: / "ba:yamba / gababala
frilled lizard-ERG *say*-N/F t̲his *galah*-ABS *mate* *good*-?

ŋay baran" / gila: guwa:y / "gaṟiya gaṟiya /
1 SG GEN *boomerang*-ABS *galah*-ABS *say*-N/F *no* *no*

gababala ŋay baran" / wu:la: guwa:y / "wanaŋabada:y /
good-? 1 SG GEN *boomerang* *frilled lizard* *say*-N/F *throw*-IMP-*bad̲a:y*

wanaŋ" / ŋa:yayba:y / wanan̲i n̲ama ŋu: baran /
throw-IMP *o.k.* *throw*-N/F t̲hat 3 SG GEN *boomerang*

---

[1]See also Parker 1953:1.

[2]This represents the sound of all the children running back.

[3]This translation does not correspond closely to the sentence in the text. The
literal meaning is unclear.

[4]See also Parker 1953:98.

yalagida:y[1] ŋa:ma <u>d</u>ura:y / bunda:<u>n</u>i guwinba:ga <u>di</u>naga ŋu:ŋu /
right round that <u>come</u>-N/F fall-N/F close-LOC <u>foot</u>-LOC 3 SG GEN

gila: guwa:y "ŋinda wanaŋa" / "waraya ba:yamba /
galah-ABS say-N/F 2 SG S/A throw-IMP look out-IMP mate-ABS

waraya / barandu bumali ŋlnu<u>n</u>a" / wu:la:
look out-IMP boomerang-ERG hit-FUT 2 SG O frilled lizard-ABS

wana<u>n</u>i ŋa:ma baran / yalagida:y ŋa:ma baran
throw-N/F that boomerang-ABS right round that boomerang-ABS

gayara<u>n</u>i / yila: ŋa:maŋa / "ŋa:rima da:y / ba:yamba / banagaya
turn-N/F later that here this way mate-ABS run-IMP

bara:y / bumali ŋinu<u>n</u>a barandu / gi:r ŋinu<u>n</u>a buma:y" /
quick hit-FUT 2 SG O boomerang-ERG 2 SG O hit-N/F

nama guway <u>d</u>ura:malda:y / yugilani ŋu: / ŋa: ŋayabala
that blood-ABS flow-TRS-REL cry-PROG-PAST 3 SG S/A 1 SG S/A-?

banagay durinbaygu / gayaragilani / gayaragilani /
run-FUT hide-FUT-PURP look for-PROG-PAST look for-PROG-PAST

<u>n</u>alay durinbala<u>n</u>a / ŋayabada:y ŋinu<u>n</u>a giya:<u>n</u>a biyu:rali
this hide-PROG-PRES 1 SG S/A-bada:y 2 SG O be-PROG-PRES roll-FUT

bindaya:ga / gi:r ŋaya biyu:rlda<u>n</u>l
prickle-LOC 1 SG S/A roll-PROG-PAST

*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.)*

---

[1] The exact function of this form is not known (but see 3.5.1.).

5.8. mila:n — Arthur Dodd

gi:r ŋinda   ŋa:ma ŋarali / mila:ngu girangira / nama
   2 SG S/A *that* *see*-FUT *yam*-GEN *leaf*-ABS   *that*

baŋgadaylanda:y / nirma ganugu bagaga   wanagi   / nirmaŋa balal
float-PROG-REL   *there* 3 PL A *bank*-LOC *throw*-FUT *there*-? *dry*

gigigu   / ŋa:ma ga:guwiy   / dawumaligu   / gi:r nama
be-FUT-PURP *that* *take-back*-FUT *cook*-FUT-PURP   *that*

mila:n guduwa:nda:y   ma:yu / duwimali   mila:n /
yam-ABS *burn, cook*-PROG-REL *well* *pull out*-FUT *yam*-ABS

daligu   ŋiyani / duwimalday   ŋa:ma mila:n /
eat-FUT-PURP 1 PL S/A *pull out*-PROG-FUT *that* *yam*-ABS

gamalday   ŋa:ma / grapesgi:r ŋaray
break-PROG-FUT *that*   *grapes-like* *look*-N/F

  You'll see the mia: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* miɲɖuru — Arthur Dodd

bigibila   yina:wa:ni   / biyadu:l / gi:r ŋu:ma
porcupine-ABS *go/come*-PROG-PAST *alone*-ABS   *that/there*

miɲɖurugu   barandu   gayawiy / nama dinawan daygali
yellow tit-ERG *boomerang*-INST *pelt*-N/F *the* *emu*-ABS *head*-SOU

buma:y / dinawan bunda:ni / bigibilagubala winaŋay / "aa miɲa
hit-N/F *emu*-ABS *fall*-N/F *porcupine*-ERG-? *hear*-N/F   *what*-ABS

ŋa:ma bunda:ni"[1] / "yal   ŋa:ma ŋaya   giniy   gayawiy
that *fall*-N/F   *gammon* *that* 1 SG S/A *stick*-ABS *pelt*-N/F

barandu"[2]   / "bamba   nama duɽal   / bunda:ni / winaŋay
boomerang-INST   *strong*-ABS *the* *sound*-ABS *fall*-N/F *hear*-N/F

ŋaya"[1] / "wa:l ba:yamba"[2] / "wa:wa:wa:wa: ŋay   diŋa:"[3] /
1 SG S/A   NEG *mate*-ABS   1 SG S/A *meat*-ABS

"ŋara:gulaŋa girangira:gu / dawumaligu   ŋiyani
over there-? *leaves*-PURP *cook in ashes*-FUT-PURP 1 PL S/A

_____
[1]bigibila talking.

[2]miɲɖuru 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:"[2] / "na:ya[4] nara:ngu" /
emu-ABS   *all right*   *this one* *uncle-ABS*   *go-IMP further ahead*

"nalayga: ŋa:ngi:" / "na:ya nara:ngu / na:ya nara:ngu"
this one uncle-ABS *go-IMP further ahead* *go-IMP further ahead*

dinawan nama ŋu: 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 ŋu: daldani   / miɲɖurubala nama
emu-ABS that *there* 3 SG S/A *eat-PROG-PAST* *yellow tit-? the*

da:yŋa   yina:wuwiɲi / "ya:maŋa ŋa:ngi: gi:r ŋali   yina:y
this way *come-back-N/F*   Q   *uncle-ABS*   1 DU S/A *come-FUT*

daldana   ganabada:y   ŋay   wu:na" / "wa:wa:wa:wa:
eat-PROG-PRES liver-ABS-bada:y 1 SG GEN *give-IMP*

ŋay   diŋa:" / gi:r miɲɖuru   yina:ni / ŋa:ma burula:
1 SG GEN *meat-ABS*   *yellow tit-ABS go-N/F* *the*   *many-ABS*

bu:rŋan   ŋaraligu / "wa:l ŋu: miɲaga: ŋay
meat ant-ABS see-FUT-PURP NEG 3 SG S/A *anything-ABS* 1 SG GEN

wu:dani   / wa:l ŋay   gana   wu:ni   / wa:l 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:rŋan
heart-ABS give-N/F   *all right*   *the* *this way* 3 PL S/O *meat ant-ABS*

yina:ni / nirmaŋa ganugu bila:yu   duni   nama / bila:yu
come-N/F *there* 3 PL A *spear-INST pierce-N/F the* *spear-INST*

duni   / bila:yu   duni   / burula:gu / gi:r ŋu:[5]
pierce-N/F *spear-INST pierce-N/F* *many-ERG*   3 SG S/A

guwa:y / "diŋa: / nalay ŋinuŋu   diŋa: / ŋinuŋu   diŋa:" /
say-N/F *meat-ABS* *this* 2 SG GEN *meat-ABS* 2 SG GEN *meat-ABS*

gi:r namana bila:yu   durda:y[6]
   the   *spear-INST pierce-PROG-FUT?*

---

[1] biglbila talking.

[2] miɲɖuru 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 miɲḍuru 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 miɲḍuru). "It was a loud noise. (Something) fell. I heard
it". "No mate". (The porcupine sees the emu and says) "waawaawaawaa,
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 miɲḍuru came back this way (towards the procupine). "How is it
uncle? We've come (to eat?). Would you give me the liver?"
"waawaawaawaa my meat". The miɲḍuru 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 gunar AND THE FIRE — Arthur Dodd

[1]nirmaŋa bula:r wilalani   "galarbala giya:na   nama
there   two-ABS sit/stay-PROG-PAST how   be-PROG-PRES the

ŋiyani   gimbili" / ŋu:mala:ŋa [2] bili:r   guwa:y /
1 PL S/A do-FUT   'that fella'   black cockatoo-ABS say-N/F

"yulugi   ŋiyani / yulugi"[3] wa:l gunar   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 piwi-ABS 3 PL S/O paint-N/F galah-ABS 3 PL S/O that

ga:rani / gaba   ga:raŋinda:y / wa:l 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

ba:lani   / yila:l ŋa:ribal di:l   diyama:y ŋa:ribal[4] /
hop-PROG-PAST   soon over there tail-ABS pick up-N/F over there

---

[1]This story relates how the birds acquired the use of fire. Originally only the gunar ('kangaroo rats') possessed fire. They kept it hidden in a seed pod from the needlebush.

[2]Gloss 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).

[3]The birds hope to make the gunar laugh, and drop the needlebush pods containing the fire.

[4]He lifts his tail up over his back.

```
guwaymbara gumbul        ŋu:        ŋaranma:y / yila:laŋa nama bula:r
red-ABS    backside-ABS 3 SG S/A  show-N/F     soon      the  two-ABS
```

```
guṉar              bamba gindamani / gindamaŋinda:y ŋu:ma maŋgara:n
kangaroo rat-ABS hard  laugh-N/F   laugh-REL        there kite hawk
```

```
ŋada:li baṟani / ŋada:li ŋu:      baṟani  / ba:rayni ŋa:ma ba:rayni
down    fly-N/F down    3 SG S/A fly-N/F  split-N/F the  split-N/F
```

```
ŋa:ma bingawingal  / wi:  ŋaralana       guduwawa:nda:y / bu:ṉu
the   needlebush-ABS  fire see-PROG-PRES burn-PROG-REL    grass-ABS
```

```
guduwawa:nda:y / ŋambalaŋa wa:n       bara:yṉa banagani / ŋu:ma ŋu:
burn-PROG-REL    ?         crow-ABS fast     run-N/F    there 3 SG S/A
```

```
wanaŋi:liṉi    / ŋu:maŋa biyu:rani / biyu:rawa:ṉi   / ŋu:ma wi:
throw-REFL-N/F   there   roll-N/F   roll-PROG-N/F    there fire-ABS
```

```
baluburay
put out-N/F
```

The two (birds) were sitting there. "How shall we do it?" said that black cockatoo. "We'll dance". (in order to make the guṉar laugh). The kangaroo rats weren't laughing. The piwis painted (themselves). The galahs painted (themselves). They 'painted good' (but) (the guṉar) 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. EMU[1] — Arthur Dodd

```
wa:l ŋanunda ŋa:ndiya:wa: da:y      yina:ylay[2] / ŋa:ndiya:   da:y
NEG  1 SG DAT someone-DUBIT this way come-?        someone-ABS this way
```

```
yina:wa:nda:y / bagar     namaṉa yina:y  / ŋu:ma ŋu:      waray
come-PROG-REL   short cut the    come-N/F  there 3 SG S/A stand-N/F
```

```
bagaya[3]       / duramilda:y ŋa:ma / wa:l ŋanunda  ŋa:ndiya:wa
short cut-LOC     wait-REL    the     NEG  1 SG DAT someone-DUBIT
```

---

[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:yguwa:ldaygu / yila:la ŋaya   yina:ni ŋa:ma /
this way come-FUT talk-REL-PURP   by'n'by 1 SG S/A go-N/F   the

yina:ygu   guwa:y   / "yina:ya / yina:ya / gaṛiya ŋu:lay
go-FUT-PURP tell-N/F   go-IMP   go-IMP   PROHIB here

waralaya"   / namana gayarani yina:ygu   / gi:r yina:ni
stand-PROG-IMP the   turn-N/F go-FUT-PURP   go-N/F

ŋara:gulay   / miɲa:ruwa: / nirmana waraylani   ŋa:ma dinawan
over that way   where to-DUBIT   there   stand-PROG-PAST that emu-ABS

ŋay   / gi:ru ŋa:ma yi:liyanba: / wa:l ŋa:ma ŋa:ndiya:wa: yina:ni /
1 SG GEN   the   savage-ABS   NEG the   someone-DUBIT come-N/F

gi:ru nirma ŋu: duri   bamba / nirma da:y   dayn
there 3 SG S/A pierce-FUT hard   there this way man-ABS

yina:wa:ni   wiyayba: / nirma ŋu: ŋaray   ŋa:ma dinawan
come-PROG-PAST stranger-ABS   there 3 SG S/A see-N/F the   emu-ABS

ŋay   / waraylanda:y nama dira   yina:wa:ni   / duwar
1 SG GEN stand-PROG-REL the quickly come-PROG-PAST bread-ABS

ga:wa:ni   / dinawan ŋa:ma ŋu:ŋunda[1] yina:ni / duwar   ŋa:ma
bring-PROG-PAST emu-ABS the   3 SG DAT   go-N/F   bread-ABS the

daligu   / nambala[2] ŋu: wu:ra:ni   duwar   / yila:la
eat-FUT-PURP over there 3 SG S/A give-PROG-PAST bread-ABS   by'n'by

ŋu: ŋa:ma duni   duwar   / dayndu buma:y bundiɖu
3 SG S/A the pierce-N/F bread-ABS man-ERG hit-N/F club-INST

daygali / nirma ŋu: ŋa:ma bu:ray   / ŋa:ma guru   mawuni
head-SOU there 3 SG S/A the   pluck-N/F the   hole-ABS dig-N/F

dawumaligu   / nirma ŋu: bamba day   / buyumadu:l
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 ŋu:ŋunda 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 ŋanunda 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[1]

```
gaɽiya ŋana    nimaldaya    / gaɽiya ŋana nimaldaya / gi:r ŋaya
PROHIB 1 SG O  pinch-PROG-IMP                                 1 SG S/A
```

```
yina:y / ŋara:gulay ŋinunda yila: / baŋgu ŋinu    wu:ri   nirma /
come-FUT over there 2 SG DAT soon    money 2 SG GEN give-FUT there
```

```
gaɽiya ŋana    nimaldaya     ŋu:lay / dayndu ŋaraldana     / gaɽiya
PROHIB 1 SG O  pinch-PROG-IMP here    man-ERG watch-PROG-PRES  PROHIB
```

```
ŋana   nimaldaya     / dayndu ŋana    ŋaraldana
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
- YR   Yuwaalaraay dialect
- N   noun
- *   verb stem reconstructed from tense(s) other than the imperative.

---

[1]This song was remembered by Arthur Dodd. The origin is unknown.

6.1. *ENGLISH-YUWAALARAAY*

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:

BODY PARTS

Adam's apple	wunguwi
ankle	baɽaŋgal
arm	buŋun
back	bawa
back of the knee	ŋawu
beard	yaray
black eye	milbulu:y
blood	guway
boil (N)	mula
bone	buya
brain	gawu (= *egg*)
breast	ŋamu
breath	bulirul
buttocks	gumbul
cheek	d̲a:l
chest	bi:
chin	ŋagan
ear	wud̲a YY
	bina YR
elbow	ŋunuga:
eye	mil
eyelashes, eyebrows	ŋud̲i:n
face	ŋulu
faeces	guna
foot	babur YY
	d̲ina YR
fur, hair	d̲urun
hand	ma:
head, hair	d̲aygal
heart	gi:
heel	d̲ana
intestine (large)	gulalar
kidney	mugar
knee	d̲inbir
left hand	waya
leg	buyu
lip	yili
liver	gana
lung	gabun
mouth	ŋa:y

mucus	miril
nail, claw	yulu
navel	wiɽigal
neck	ṉun
nose	muyu
nostrils	muyuḏa:
ribs	ṉamun
right hand	ḏu:ya:l
scar	yurun
shoulder	walar
shoulder blade	bi:la:
sinew	ḏunbll
skin	yulay
sore	bayn
spines	wiyayil
spleen	maran
stomach, abdomen	mubil
sweat (N)	ŋuwi
tear (N)	ŋulur
testicles	buɽu
thigh	mabun
throat	wuyu
thumb	guniḏar ma: *(mother hand)*
tongue	ḏalay
tooth	yiya
urine	gi:liy
vagina	yaŋgal
vein	buwara:n
waist	bagur
wart	ḏanaga:

HUMAN CLASSIFICATION

baby, child	birali:
blood group - dark	guwaymaḏan
blood group - light	guwaygaliyar
boy (uninitiated)	biray
crybaby	yumbu
doctor, clever man	wiɽiŋin
friend, mate	maliya:
girl	miyay

girl (teenage)	malagin
glutton	buyumadu:l
man (Aboriginal)	dayn
man (important)	yu:ray
man (white)	wanda (= *white devil*)
man (old)	dila:ga
	wayama
marriage divisions - men	gambu
	gabi
	mari
	yiba:y
marriage divisions - women	buda
	gabuda
	mada
	yibada
master (loan from *'master'*)	ma:da
messenger	dayindalmu:
orphan	gawun *(fatherless)*
	gunida: *(motherless)*
spouse	guli:r
stranger	wiyayba:
thief	manumada:y
twins	bula:ŋu:
woman - Aboriginal	yinar
woman - menstruating	gurawan
woman - old	yinara:gala:
woman - revered	yinara: (This is what the Aborigines called Mrs Parker)
woman - white	wadi:n

KINSHIP

aunt	walgan (M.Z.?)
brother (older)	daga:n (di)
brother (younger)	galuma:y
brother-in-law	guyinda:y
cousin	wambaniya
father	buwadar
father-in-law	ŋarawudaba
father's sister (aunt)	gamiyan
granddaughter	buwanŋa:

grandfather	da:da:
grandmother (M.M.?)	ba:gi:
grandmother (F.M.?)	ŋa:gi:
grandmother's brother	dila:ga: (= *old man*)
grandson	galumaya:
mother	gunidar
	ŋamba: (di) (familiar)
mother-in-law's brother	badu:lŋa:
uncle	garugi:
niece or nephew	gunugayŋa:
sister (older?)	bawa(di)
sister (younger?)	dawuran
sister-in-law	gamba:y (= *sweetheart*)
son-in-law	garamay
son's or daughter's child	nanuwa:ydi

MAMMALS

bandicoot	guyu
bat	ŋara:da:n
cat (loan from *'pussy cat'*)	budigur
cow (loan *'milk'* + COMIT)	milambiya:y
cow horn (loan ?)	nalganalga
dingo	ma:yn
dog	ma:da:y YY
	buyuma YR
fox	bu:madaya:
goat (loan *'nanny goat'*)	nanigu:r
horse (loan ?)	yaɽa:man
kangaroo (red)	bawura
kangaroo (grey)	banda:r
mouse	dindu
native bear	guba
native cat	bagandi
pig (loan *'pig'*)	bibirga:, bigur
porcupine	bigibila
possum	muday
puppy	waya:l
ram (loan ?)	bu:ldiran
rat kangaroo	gunar
sandhill rat	dulungaya: (name of totem)
	bilbi (familiar name)

sheep (loan *'jumbuck'* ?)	d̲imba
squirrel (flying)	bagu
tail (dog's)	d̲i:l
tail (emu's)	bubud̲ala
wallaby	mayra
water rat	guma:y YY
	galiba:y YR

REPTILES

black snake	wuyubulu:y
blue-tongued lizard	wubun
brown snake	ŋandaba:
brown and yellow snake	babura
carpet snake	yaba:
death adder	murubi
diamond snake	maŋan
frilled lizard	wu:la:
fly catcher lizard	bu:mayamal
gecko	wi:bidi
ground goanna	bl:wi:
long-necked turtle	maliyan
red snake	warala
sand turtle	wirabiri:
shingleback lizard	garba:li
short-necked turtle	wayamba
sleepy lizard	walu:ba:l
small black spotted goanna	galgari:r
small lizard	gumawuma
small frilled lizard	garagara:ndi
snake (generic)	d̲uyu
track of snake	gay
tree goanna	maŋunga:li
white snake	babar

BIRDS

bird (generic)	d̲igaya:
bee eater bird	birubiru:
bell bird	banbanduluwi
black crane	buyuduruŋgi:ll

black cockatoo	bili:r
black duck	budanba:
black ibis	murgumurgu
black shag	waŋa:yawa:
blue bonnet	bulaybulay
blue jay	gunida:
blue martin	dalura:
bower bird	wi:da:
bronze-winged pigeon	damar
brown-eyed crow	wa:gɪyan
brown hawk	bɪya:gar (gar)
budgerigah	gɪdɪrɪga:
butcher bird	garɪgu:wɪngu:wɪn YY
	guwa:ydɪ:dɪ YR
crane	gura:ga:
crimson-winged parrot	bilay
crow	wa:n
cuckoo	muŋɪngaga:gal
curlew	wu:yan
diving duck	di:nbin
dove	gubudu
dove (small)	gulbinadu
duck (generic)	garaŋay
eaglehawk	malɪyan
eaglehawk (small)	wugaŋa:bayda:
emu (generic)	dinawan
emu chick	bargay
emu (one)	ganduwɪ
emu (pair)	bulawa:
feather (bird)	yada:r
feather (emu)	gundl:r
frogmouth owl	bulu:r
galah	gila:
green parrot	bulunbulun
grey crane	budu:lga:
grey thrush (bad luck bird)	daruwɪ:
heron (night)	yirin
jackywinter	dunɪdunɪ
kingfisher	da:dɪ:r
kite hawk	maŋgara:n
kookaburra	gugurga:ga:
leather head	daguway

long-necked shag	ganumba:l
magpie	burugarbu:
magpie (black)	wuyu:
mopoke	muwargu:
musk duck	bagabaga:li
nankeen crane	d̲arun
native companion	buralga
parrot (green?)	n̲ungada
pelican	guliyali YY
	gula:nbali YR
pine babbler	d̲ad̲alura:
pink cockatoo	gugalarin
pink eared duck	wilid̲uba:y
piwi	bari:ɲɖi:n
plains turkey	gumbulgaban
quail	barabaru:n
quarrian	wiya:r
rainbird	bu:gudaguda
robin redbreast	guni:bu:
sandpiper	bilid̲u:
scrub turkey	wagun
seagull	maŋiwaraywaraymal
short necked shag	biribaŋga
small crane	birid̲u:l
soldier bird	d̲id̲i:bawa:
sparrow	wala
spoonbill crane	bulun
spur winged plover	ba:ldarad̲ara
swift	bi:run
swan	ba:yamal
teal duck	bu:way
topknot pigeon	gulawuli:l
twelve apostle bird	giɖaray
type of bird	bulu:r
type of crane	d̲a:riɲa:rl
water fowl	gulbuwi
whistling duck	d̲iba:yu
white browed cat eater	wi:guruŋgurun
white cockatoo	muya:y
willy wagtail	d̲irl:ri:
willy wagtail (type of)	guɽaywa:r

wood duck	baɾgabaɾga
woodpecker	bibl
yellow tit	miɲɖuru

FISH

black bream	baŋŋala
bony bream	bi:rŋa
catfish	gaygay
cod	gudu:
crab	ŋala:ga:
crab hole	guru
crayfish	yiŋga
fin	biŋgal
fish	ŋa:lu:r
fish net	d̲a:liya:y
fishing line, string	bu:r
fish intestine	wira:
mussel (large)	d̲aŋgal
mussel (small)	maŋgi:
perch	d̲aga:y
scales	gi:nbal
silver bream	gamba:l

INSECTS, ETC.

ant (generic?)	d̲u:yuwi	
anthill	guwiga	
bee (= honey)	waɾaŋana	
bee droppings	guligul	
bee's nest	warul	
bee's wax	maya:r	
black ant	d̲uyu:	YY
	gi:ɖa:	YR
blowfly, maggot	gamugamu:	
brown frog	gulgulbana:	
bullant	buyuga	
butterfly	balabala:	
caterpillar	d̲uruŋal	
centipede	giyan	YY
	baranbara:n	YR

cockroach	ganagana:
dragonfly	murumanamana:
earthworm	d̲uyugaril
flea	buli:
fly (N)	bana̲:yal
frog (generic? edible)	yuwaya:
frog (type of)	gadara
frog (type of)	guwa
frog (type of)	bulga
grasshopper	bunbun
green frog	ŋayŋayr
green frog (inedible)	ba:ybal
greenhead ant	ba:ya:r
grub (coolibah)	buruŋal
grub (ground)	birga
grub (gum tree)	yaraŋan
grub (spitfire)	maliga
grub (type of)	d̲uruŋal
grub (whitewood)	wuŋala
horsefly	ba:ndu:
jumper ant	milba:wa:y
leech	gu:rman
locust (large)	ŋarala
locust (small)	ŋininŋinin
louse	mun̲i
meat ant	bu:rŋan
mosquito	muŋln
moth	burun
mother of all lice	gabu:l
nit of louse	gaya:y
policeman fly	gugungugun
queen bee	guni:ni:
sandfly	mugi:nga:
scorpion	guna
shell	wa:
shrimp	gi:d̲a: YY
	d̲uga:luba: YR
slow worm	binad̲lyu:biyan
snail	giɲd̲ulgara
spider (trap door)	margamarga:y
tadpole	ŋu:luwi
wasp, hornet	mu:ndu:r
witchetty grub	wuŋala

LANGUAGE, CEREMONY, ETC.

battle (N)	giray
cicatrices, carving	mud̲ir
corroboree (N)	yi:rmay YY
	yulugi YR
corroboree leader	muraygali
initiation ceremony	bu:ra
initiation song	burambu:ra
language	gaya
meeting where presents are *exchanged*	bud̲a
name (N)	gayr
ochre (white)	d̲awura:
ochre (red)	gu:war
riddle	giribal
song	yugal
word, message	ga:y

ARTIFACTS, ETC.

armlet	gumil
axe	yu:ndu
bag (generic)	mangar
ball	bugala:
belt (man's)	wayuwa:l
billy (loan *'billy can'*)	biligiyan
blanket (loan *'blanket'*)	bulaŋi:n
boomerang	baran
boomerang (fighting)	babara: YY
	d̲inbay YR
boomerang (returning)	yara:y
boots (loan, see 1.5.)	manduwi
bottle (loan *'bottle'*)	ba:dal
bridle (loan *'bridle'*)	bura:dal
canoe (bark)	bundu:ra
car, cart (loan *'wheel-* *barrow'?*)	wilba:r
clothes	bayaga:
coat (loan *'coat'*)	gu:di:
cork (loan ?)	ŋanaŋana
dilly bag	gulay

dish (loan *'tin dish'*)	ḏindi:r	
dish (coolamon)	binguwi	YY
	gulaman	YR
dish for honey	wiri	
emu spears	munun	
frying pan (loan *'frying pan'*)	bura:nban	
garment made of possum skin	gumila:	
grinding dish	ḏayur	
grinding stone	giba	
gun (loan *'musket'*)	margin	
hatchet, lil lil club	wagara:	
headband	gulal	
hook (for grubs)	ṉay	
jagged spear	miriŋamu	
knife (loan *'knife'*)	ṉa:ybu	
net	gulay	
possessions	buwabil	
shield	buɾi:n	
straight spear	bila:r	
stone axe	gambu	
tin (loan ?)	ŋanda	
tomahawk (loan *'tomahawk'*?)	ḏaniya:	
waddy (knob on end)	bundi	
waddy (sharp point)	murula	
waddy (toy)	buḏul	
woomera	wamaɾa	
woven bag	waygal	
yamstick	ḏi:nba:y	YY
	gana:y	YR

FIRE, FOOD AND WATER

ashes	giran	
brownie (spotted bread)	mundimundi ḏuwar	
cabbage (loan *'cabbage'*)	gabir	
charcoal	ṉi:	YY
	ṉigi:	YR
damper (loan *'damper'*)	ḏa:mba	
egg	gawu	
fire	ḏu:	YY
	wi:	YR

firestick	yiyabiya:y
flame, light	d̲u:ya:y
flesh, lean meat	bana
flood	wugawa
flour (loan *'flour'*)	bulawa
food, bread	d̲uwar
froth, bubble	gi:gi:
fruit (sour, plum like)	guwi:
fruit (type of)	guni
fruit (type of)	gud̲u:guni
fruit (type of)	d̲uwa
heat	bu:yan
honey	waɽaŋana (= *bee*)
honeycomb	d̲i:na:
juice, gravy	wirun
laxative (honey water)	galiɲd̲uri
manna on leaves	gungiyan
manna on bush	d̲ara:bi:n
matches (loan *'match'*)	ma:d̲ir
meat (animal)	d̲iŋga:
melon (wild)	ŋayu:n
milk (loan *'milk'*)	milgin
nardoo	n̲a:du:
native orange	bambul
puddle	d̲angay
rainwater	d̲anga:y
ripples (on river)	ŋamugamul
river	ga:wa:
tea (loan *'tea'* + YY *'leaf'*)	d̲i: garil
vegetable food	yu:l
water	guŋan
watercourse	warumbal
waves	ya:rŋan
yam (bitter root)	ga:gulu
yam (small, grows in swamps)	mila:n
yam (type of)	guduga:
yam (type of)	gagu:lmad̲ara:
yam (white)	giban
yolk of egg	gawuba:

CELESTIAL, WEATHER

cloud	gunda:	
dew	gugil	
fog	guwa	
frost, ice	dandar	
hailstone (large)	yiyaguŋawuma	
hailstone (small)	dayan	YY
	gabara:	YR
lightning	dungayra	
Mars	guwa:ybila	
Milky Way	warumbal (= *watercourse*)	
mirage	yi:ri:r	
moon	ba:lu:	
Morning Star	maliyanga:lay	
night, dark, black	bulu:y	
Orion's Belt	biraybiray	
rain (N)	dama:y	
rain (fine)	du:ba:r	
rainbow	yuluwiri	
Seven Sisters	miyaymiya:y	
sky	gunagala	
star	gawubura:y	
summer	ya:yba:	
sun	ya:y	YY
	duni	YR
thunder	muruma:y	
thundercloud	dariŋara	
Venus	murudi gindamala:	
weak wind	dalundulu	
whirlwind	bu:li:	
wind	mayra:	
windbreak	wadu:l	
wind (north-east)	yaraga:	
wind (west)	gigirgigir	
winter	dandara:	

GEOGRAPHY

bank of river	wanba	YY
	baga	YR
bend in river	wabu	

birthplace	ŋuramba:
black soil	banuwa
burial ground	d̲anmur
camp, nest	ga:rimay
	wala:y
camp (bachelors')	wi:dayga:
camping ground	wala:yba:
corroboree ground	gumbu
creek	ga:wul
dust	yu:
edge of river	mi:mi:
ground	d̲ayma:r
gully	mabun
hill	duyu:l
hole	biyu:
hut (bark shelter)	d̲a:d̲ar
mud	bid̲a:y
plain (N)	wagiba:
red soil	walunbaru:
rocky ground	murila
sand	gaɽay YY
	gumbugan YR
sandhill	gaɽaya:n YY
short cut	baga:r
steep river bank	ŋandir
stone	ma:yama
track	yuru:n

ARBOREAL

bark (N)	dad̲ar YY
	ŋanda YR
beefwood tree	mabu
belah tree	murgu
black wattle	gulgulay YY
	d̲ulan YR
blossom (coolibah tree?)	galaɽi:n
box tree	bibil
brigalow	barunba:
bullrush	buɽaɽa
bumble tree blossom	bambulŋayn

bush	wadi	YY
	yurul	YR
bush (type of)	miri:	
carbine tree	ga:bi:n	
chip (of wood)	wiyay	
clover (loan *'clover'*)	galu:ba	
coolibah tree	gulaba:	
crowfoot	ma:yal	
currajong tree	nuŋga	
currant bush	waya:ra	
cyprus pine	gura:y	
Darling lily	daygalba:rayn	
Darling pea	gila	
dogwood tree	yu:ra:	
emu bush	ŋawil	
flower	guya:n	
fork of tree	gula	
forked stick	daran	
fungus (type of)	wayway	
fuchsia bush	dalaɲɖa:	
gidgy tree	giɖir	
gidgy blossom	babarabi:n	
goatshead (type of prickle)	gulimugar	
grass (generic?)	bu:nu	
grass (barley)	ya:mara	
grass (cane)	wilgi	
grass (fairy)	dunbar	
gum from tree	dani	
gundablui wattle	ŋadul	
hop bush	yi:lay	
ironbark tree	di:ɲa:y	
ironwood tree	dangayangan	
knot on tree	na:y	
leaf	garil	YY
	girangira:	YR
leaning tree	da:nda:y	
leopard wood blossom	ba:laɽa:n	
leopard wood tree	bagala	
lignum	miri	
log	na:diya:n	
mallee willow	miyaymiya:y	

marthaguy (type of burr)	muga:<u>d</u>a:
milk thistle	balamba
mistletoe	ba:n
mulga tree	malga
mushroom	wubu
myall tree	mayal
myrtle bush	burgulblyan
naypan	guwi:bir
needlebush, needlewood tree	bingawingal
pigweed	<u>d</u>amu
prickle (type of)	blndaya:
prickle (type of)	galangala:n
quinine tree, bark	gadibundu
quondong fruit, tree	guwa<u>d</u>a:
river gum (type of)	yara:n
river gum (type of)	yumu
river wattle	gurulay
river wattle blossom	gurulayŋayin
root	waran
rosewood tree	bunbar
rosewood fruit	bunbariyan
rotten log	guluŋgulu:
saltbush (large)	binamaya:
saltbush (small)	niɲil
sandalwood tree	ba<u>d</u>a
shelly log	<u>d</u>angal
silver wattle	<u>d</u>aniya:
stick	muya:n YY
	giniy YR
stump of tree	ŋa<u>d</u>ul
sucker	bu:gi:n
supplejack tree	ganayanay
swamp box	guburu:
tar vine	wu<u>d</u>uga:
ti tree	ŋu:
tree (generic) *wood*	muya:n
tree (big)	ma:la:bidi
thistle (type of)	<u>d</u>i:ɲan
type of tree	yura:
waterweed (floating)	bullyar
waterweed (long)	<u>d</u>uluŋgu

waterweed (long, ropelike)	dulu ̢uwa:
wattle blossom	gurulŋayn
whitewood blossom	dara:wi:n
whitewood tree	bira:
wild arrowroot	gari:
wild gooseberry	bulubul
wild lime	gayngayn
wild passionfruit	guwi:bir
wild plum	ŋanumbira
wild potato	bu:ŋal
wild spinach	galangala:n
vegetable (type of)	dungul
vegetable (type of)	di:ya:n
vine (that giban grows on)	ga:wul
vine (type of)	di:buru:
vine (type of)	gumi
vine (type of)	ga:gulu
yellow broom bush	bi:baya

MAGIC AND MYTHOLOGY

crocodile-like monster	gariya
great one (all-father)	ba:yama
heaven	balima
magical bone	guyayra
man-shaped devil	mara:gu
poison (ground bones from corpse)	bundabunda
sacred burial tree	di:l
sacred stone	gabara:
soul	duwi
spirit (dream)	yuwi
spirit of bu:ra	gayanda:y
spirit of wizard	malimali
spirit haunted, sacred, tree	miŋga
tree spirit	ma:mbiya:
tree where poison sticks kept	bugaru
water devil	gawargay
wife of ba:yama	bira:ŋulu
wizard's bag	bundur

ADJECTIVES

afraid, frightened	giyal, gaɽigaɽi
alive	murun
all, whole, everything	ganuŋawu
angry, wild, savage	yi:liyanba:
bad	gagil
bald	wagiba: daygal
big	burul
bitter	bada
black	bulu:y
blind	muga
blunt	mugu
boggy	gunada
clear, clean	yi:rgayn
clever	dagiliya:y, baɲdara
cold	baliya:
crippled, lame	dangur
crooked	wayawaya
dead	baluni
deaf	mugu wuda YY
	mugu bina YR
deep	ganuda: YY
	guru:ba: YR
dirty	bandu
drunk (loan *'drunk'?*)	daranglla:y
dry	balal
dumb	dalaydaliba:
fat	wamu
female	guniɖarba:
few	gulbir
flash, quickly	dira (dira)
flyblown	gamugamu:blya:y
four	bulawula:r
full, pregnant	yu:liya:y
good	gaba
greedy	durin
green	gawarawar
grey-haired	dandarlya:y
half	mulan
heavy	madanba:
hollow	ŋadul

humped	d̲unbi
hungry	yu:lŋin(di)
jealous	bu:liya:y
kind-hearted	gayliya:y
knotty	madamada
left-handed	wayaga:l
light, bright	d̲u:ya:y
light (not heavy)	gabanba:
lonely	wallɳd̲al
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	d̲iriɳal
old	d̲uniŋara:y
one	milan YY
	bi:r YR
poor	buwabildaliba:
fast, quickly	bara:y
quiet	d̲abiya:n
ragged	gad̲argad̲ar
raw	d̲urin
red	guwaymbara
rough	mad̲amad̲a
scabby	gi:galiya:y
shallow	gana:y
shameless	giyaidallba:
sharp	d̲alayba:
short	buyadu:l YY
	d̲anbi(ɖu:l) YR
slippery, smooth	bulibulil
slow	baluwa:
small	bad̲in YY
	buba:y YR
smelly	n̲uwi
soft	mulamula

sour	giyalgil
speckled	ŋayaray
spiteful	n̠imaln̠imal
spotted	mundimundi
stale	mururwaliŋay
straight, true	waragil
strong, hard	walanba:
	gundiribiya:y
stubborn, selfish	gundu:ndu
thick	munduwa:
thin, bony	buyabuya
thirsty	yaɽigin
three	guliba:
tired	yiŋgil
two	bula:r
very tired	yarbun
weak	gundiriḍaliba:
well behaved	bina:l
white	baŋgaba:
yellow	giḍirgiḍir

MISCELLANEOUS

alone	milandu:l YY
	biyadu:l YR
anything	miɲaga:
corpse	baluŋinda:y
crack	gara
cold (N)	gun̠ugun̠u
family property	ŋaramba:
fence (loan 'paddock'?)	badi
game like hide and seek	wa:gu:
game with sticks and spears	wangulay
gap	garay
handkerchief (loan 'handkerchief')	yaŋgi:ḍa
hat (loan ?)	gabundi
hotel (loan 'public house'?)	babuliga:r
house, hut	gun̠di
humour, mood	gu:yay
inside (person or animal)	mud̠ur

jail (loan *'jail'*)	yala:
lie (N)	wagl
motor car (loan ?)	gumbada:
necklace (loan *'necklace'*)	ni:gili:r
nicely	gabaɲa:r
no, nothing	ma:r
noise, sound	duɽal
noise of chopping	bangu:l
other	murumba:
owner	wuruga:
pillow	daygaluwi
pipe (loan *'pipe'*)	ba:ybu
poison (loan *'poison'*)	ba:ɖin
policeman (loan *'constable'*)	gaɲɖibul
rabbit (loan *'rabbit'*)	yuɽabid
rag	bidaɽa:y
revolver (loan *'pistol'*)	biridul
rum (loan *'rum'*)	yura:mu
saddle (loan *'saddle'*)	da:dal
saw (loan ?)	baladi
shade, shadow	dadin YY
	malawil YR
shirt (loan *'shirt'*)	duwadi
shovel	gayn *(old boomerang)*
saucepan (loan ?)	ŋaymbuwan
sleep (N)	danduwly
slime	nula:n
snore (N)	ŋurulay
soap (loan *'soap'*)	du:bu
sock (loan *'stocking'*)	dagin
spit (N)	dubil
step (N)	manday
sugar (loan *'sugar'*)	duga
sweetheart	gamba:y
that	nama
this	ŋalay YY
	nalay YR
tobacco (loan *'tobacco'*)	blyaga
topknot	dlgun
trough (loan ?)	walban
trousers (loan *'trousers'*?)	darawidll

very, strongly, hard		bamba
waistcoat (loan *'waistcoat'*)		wirgun
well (ADV)		ma:yu
when (Q)		galawu
wire (loan *'wire'*)		wa:ya

VERBS - MOTION

bathe, bogey	INT	wuŋa-y
bend down	INT	d̠uli-y
chase	TR	gawa:-l
climb up	INT	galiya-y
come, walk, go	INT	yina:-y
come	INT	*d̠uru-l
corroboree	INT	d̠aŋgurama-l
crawl	INT	d̠u:-r
dance, play	INT	yulu-ŋ
fall	INT	bunda:-ŋ
fly	INT	baɽa -y
get down	INT	ga:ri-y
get up	INT	warayŋa-y
go into	INT	*yu:-ŋ
go up	INT	d̠i:ma-l
hop	INT	yalbala wira:wa-y
jump, hop	INT	ba:-y
jump in	INT	bubula-y
jump into water	INT	baba:luma-y
run	INT	banaga-y
skip	INT	burumba-l
sneak, creep up on	INT	*d̠iɽa-y
swim	INT	gubi-y

VERBS - REST

camp	INT	ba:bi-l YY
float	INT	*d̠aŋga-y
		*baŋgada-l
lie down, sleep	INT	d̠anduwi-y
live	INT	wila-l
rest	INT	*buwi-y

sit	INT	yilawa-y
sleep	INT	*ba:ba-y
stand	INT	wara-y

VERBS - INDUCED POSITION

bring, take	TR	ga:-ŋ	
carry	TR	wamba-l	
catch	TR	bayama-l₂	
cover up	TR	bulubama-l	YY
		yura:-l	YR
cover self	INT	buluba-y	
give	TR	wu:-r	
hang up	TR	mayabi-l	
hide	TR	durinba-l	
		gu:ma:-y	
		*gadumayawa-l	
put down, light fire	TR	wi:ma-l	
put in	TR	wa-l	
take off, out	TR	di:ma-l₂	

VERBS - AFFECT

annoy	TR	*yi:layburanba-l
attack	TR	*yura:-l
break	TR	gama-l₂
build	TR	warayma-l₂
burn	TR	guduwa-l
burn	INT	*gayla-y
burst	INT	*ba:ra-y
bury	TR	namura-l
chop	TR	ya:y-l
clean spines off	TR	wiyay-l
collect, gather	TR	gu:ma-l₂
cook	TR	yilama-l
cook in the ashes	TR	dawuma-l
cut	TR	gara-l
dig	TR	mawu-ŋ
dip from	TR	diyara-l
do, make	TR	gimbi-l

drop	TR	n̲a:nma-l₂
duck	TR	muyuwa-l
fish	TR	yinabi-l
frighten	TR	gi:yanma-l
hit, kill	TR	buma-l₂
hit, give someone a hiding	TR	bad̲a-y
kick (loan)	TR	gigima-l₂
knock down	TR	bunda:ma-l₂
let go, release	TR	yina:nbi-l
light fire	TR	wulanabi-l
make	TR	d̲ura-l
move	TR	d̲u:rma-l
move	INT	yu:ra-ŋ
paint	TR	ga:ra-y
pelt, throw hard	TR	gayu-l YY
		ga:yawi-l YR
pick up, collect	TR	d̲iyama-l₂
pinch	TR	n̲ima-l₂
pluck	TR	bu:ɽa-l
point bone, kill	TR ?	*gayawi-l
pull	TR	mi:nba-l
pull off	TR	*ba:rama-l₂
pull out	TR	*d̲u:nma-l
push	TR	yuriŋga-l
put out, extinguish	TR	balubura-l
quieten	TR	bina:l bunma-l
rub	TR	ga:ra-l
		guma:ma-l
scratch	TR	*mawu-ŋ
sew	TR	muyawa-l
scale	TR	gi:nba-l
scrape	TR	gala:nbi-l
shake	TR	d̲iranba-l
sharpen	TR	bara-l
shift	TR	d̲u:rma-l
shoot	TR	*d̲u:dima-l (ENG)
skin	TR	bi:ra-l
spear, sting	TR	d̲u-r
spill	INT	ga:ɽi-y
split	TR	ba:ray-l
squash	TR	bama-l

squeeze	TR	bayma-l
stand on	TR	ŋayu-ŋ
steal	TR	manuma-l₂
stick to, adhere	TR	mama-l₂
stir	TR	gayma-l
swallow	TR	wuwi-l YY
		gura-l YR
sweep	TR	bi:mba-l
tear	TR	ba:rama-l
throw	TR	wana-ŋ
throw out	TR	ḏila-y
tickle	TR	giḏigiḏiba-l
tie up	TR	yila:-l
trap	TR	yawa-l
twist	TR	gayima-l
tread on	TR	mayu-?
uncover, push aside	TR	ḏilay-r
wash	TR	wagirma-l₂ YY
		wagirbuma-l YR
wipe	TR	ga:nbi-l

VERBS - ATTENTION

call out	INT	gaga-l
leave alone	TR	ḏabima-l
leave in charge of	TR	*waruma-l
listen	INT	winaŋa-l
see, look at	TR	ŋara-l
show	TR	ŋaranma-l
stare	TR	bamba ŋara-l
wait for	TR	ḏura:mi-l
watch	TR	maŋarala-y

VERBS - TALKING, ETC.

answer	INT	*gaya-l
ask for	TR	mi:nba-y
bark	INT	*gula-l
be quiet	INT	ḏabi:-y
name	TR	gayrba-l

quarrel	INT	yayla-y	
rouse on, tell off	TR	*yaya-l	
sing	TR	bawi-l	
talk, say	INT	guwa:-l	
whisper	INT	<u>d</u>aya:mba-l	YY
		ma:ya-l	YR
whistle	INT	wi:la-y	

VERBS - CORPOREAL

bite	TR	yi:-l	
bite off, crack between teeth	TR	ba:ya-l	
blow, smoke (cigarette)	TR	bu:bi-l	
breathe	INT	*buliru-l	
chew	TR	ŋu:guba-l	
choke	INT	gara-y	
cough	TR	gu<u>n</u>ugu<u>n</u>u<u>d</u>u-r	
cry	INT	yu-ŋ	
defecate	?	guna-ŋ	
die	INT	*balu-ŋ	
doze off	INT	*yuwara-l	
drink	TR	ŋawu-ŋ	
drown	INT	gaɽuŋga-y	
eat	TR	da-l	
feel, touch	TR	<u>d</u>ama-l₂	
give birth to, lay egg	TR	*ga:ŋa-y	
itch	INT	*gi:gi-l	
kiss	TR	ŋayaga-l	
kneel	INT	<u>d</u>inbiya wara-y	
laugh	INT	gindama-y	
look for	TR	ŋa:wa-y	YY
		*gayara-ŋ	YR
lick	TR	<u>d</u>i:<u>d</u>a-l	
moan	INT	*ya:ga-l	
shave	TR	wi:ra-l	
feel sick	INT	*<u>d</u>a:lu-ŋ	
smell	TR	ŋawi-y	YY
		*buwi-y	YR
sneeze	TR	giguwi<u>d</u>u-r	
snore	TR	*ŋurulu-y	
spit	?	<u>d</u>ubi-l	

suck	TR	ŋamu-ŋ
taste	TR	da̲da-l
urinate	?	gi:li-y
vomit	?	ga:wi-l

VERBS - MISCELLANEOUS

be lonely	INT	*waliɲd̲a-l
become	TR	buranba-ʔ
blaze	INT	*wuɽu-l
drip	INT	*du̲lra-l
find	TR	*waruma-l
hunt	TR	*mani:la-y
hunt away, chase away	TR	yuwaba-y
point	INT	d̲uba-y
rain		*d̲ama:-y
slip	INT	*bulḻ-y
stoop	INT	d̲ubl:-y
stop	TR	d̲abi-y
teach, remember	TR	di̲:ra-l
thunder	INT	*duluma-y
turn around	INT	gayara-y
turn over	INT	gaya-y

LOCATION

behind	ŋayaga	
below, underneath	ga:yari	
beside	ni̲rin-	
close	guwinba:-	
corner	burumbi-	
down	ŋada:(li)	
east	ŋanbi:	
front, above	bani-	
here	ŋu:lay	
inside	mud̲u-	
long way	blyu-	
middle	bld̲un-	
other side of river	ŋa:rigili-	YY
	ganda:r-	YR
outside	wagi-	

over here, this way	ŋa:rigulay
over there	ŋa:rimalay
there	marama
top	gaburan-
up there	ŋariba: (li)

TIME

afterwards	buwabi:la
again	yalu
always	duga:y
dawn	ŋaran
early morning	gi:ba:bu
evening	bululuwi
later on	ba:yandu
long ago	yila:lu
next morning	wanu
now	yalagiyu
soon, directly	yila:l
this morning	bulaya:gawu

INTERJECTIONS

all right!	ŋa:yayba:y
hush!	ga:bu
no, don't!	wa:l
oh dear!	madagura
ouch!	yaga:y
poor fellow!	ŋaraga:
stop it!	wanagiday
wait a while!	gariyawu
yes!	ŋa:, gi:

6.2. *YUWAALARAAY - 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, ɲ, ŋ, r, ɽ, 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		*bottle*
ba:ɖin		*poison*
ba:gi:		*grandmother (M.M.?)*
ba:laɽa:n		*leopard wood blossom*
ba:ldaradara		*spur winged plover*
ba:lu:		*moon*
ba:n		*mistletoe*
ba:ndu:		*horsefly*
*ba:rama-l₂	TR	*pull off, tear*
*ba:ra-y	INT	*burst*
ba:ray-l	TR	*split*
ba:-y	INT	*jump, hop*
ba:ya:r		*greenhead ant*
ba:ya-l	TR	*bite off, crack between teeth*
ba:yama		*great one, all father*
ba:yamal		*swan*
ba:yandu		*later on*
ba:ybal		*green frog (inedible)*
ba:ybu		*pipe*
baba:luma-y	INT	*jump into water*
babar		*white snake*
babara:		*fighting boomerang* YY
babarabi:n		*gidgy blossom*
babuliga:r		*hotel*
babur		*foot* YY
babura		*brown and yellow snake*
badi		*paddock*
bada		*bitter*
bada		*sandalwood tree*
bada-y	TR	*hit, give someone a hiding*
badu:lŋa:		*mother-in-law's brother*
baɖin		*small* YY
baga		*bank of river*
baga:r		*shortcut*
bagabaga:li		*musk duck*
bagala		*leopard wood tree*
bagandi		*native cat*
bagu		*flying squirrel*

bagur		*waist*
balabala:		*butterfly*
baladi		*saw (N)*
balal		*dry*
balamba		*milk thistle*
balima		*heaven*
baliya:		*cold*
baḻubura-l	TR	*put out, extinguish*
baluṉi		*dead*
*balu-ŋ	INT	*die*
baluɲinda:y		*corpse*
baluwa:		*slow*
bama-l	TR	*squash*
bamba		*very, strong, hard*
bamba ŋara-l	TR	*stare at*
bambul		*native orange*
bambulŋayn		*bumble tree blossom*
bana		*flesh, lean meat*
banaga-y	INT	*run*
banbanduluwi		*bell bird*
banda:r		*grey kangaroo*
bandu		*dirty*
bangu:l		*noise of chopping*
bani-		*front, above*
banŋala		*black bream*
banuwa		*black soil*
baṉa:yal		*fly (N)*
baɲɖara		*clever*
baŋgaba:		*white*
*baŋgaḏa-l	INT	*float*
bara:y		*fast, quickly*
bara-l	TR	*sharpen*
baranbara:n		*centipede YR*
bargabarga		*wood duck*
bargay		*emu chick*
bari:ɲɖi:n		*piwi*
barabaru:n		*quail*
baran		*boomerang*
barunba:		*brigalow tree*
baɽaŋgal		*ankle*
baɽa-y	INT	*fly*

bawa		*back*
bawa(di)		*(older?) sister*
bawi-l	TR	*sing*
bawura		*red kangaroo*
bayaga:		*clothes*
bayama-l₂	TR	*catch*
bayn		*sore (ADJ)*
bayma-l	TR	*squeeze*
bibi		*woodpecker*
bibil		*box tree*
bibirga:		*pig*
bidaɽa:y		*rag*
biḓa:y		*mud*
biḓun-		*middle*
bigibila		*porcupine*
bigur		*pig*
bi:		*chest*
bi:baya		*yellow broom brush*
bi:la:		*shoulder blade*
bi:mba-l	TR	*sweep*
bi:r		*one*
bi:ra-l	TR	*skin*
bi:rŋa		*bony bream*
bi:run		*swift*
bi:wi:		*ground goanna*
bila:r		*straight spear*
bilay		*crimson winged parrot*
bilbi		*sandhill rat (familiar)*
biliḓu:		*sandpiper*
biligiyan		*billy can*
bili:r		*black cockatoo*
bina		*ear YR*
bina:l		*well behaved*
bina:l bunma-l	TR	*quieten*
binaḏiyu:biyan		*slow worm*
binamaya:		*large saltbush*
bindaya:		*type of prickle*
bingal		*fin*
bingawingal		*needlebush, needlewood tree*
binguwi		*dish YY*
bira:		*whitewood tree*

bira:ŋulu		*wife of* ba:yama
birali:		*baby, child*
biray		*uninitiated boy*
biraybiray		*Orion's Belt (the boys)*
birga		*ground grub*
biribaŋga		*short necked shag*
biridul		*revolver*
biriḍu:l		*small crane*
birubiru:		*bee eater bird*
biya:gar(gar)		*brown hawk*
biyadu:l		*alone* YR
biyaga		*tobacco*
biyu-		*long way*
biyu:		*hole*
buba:y		*small* YR
bubuḍala		*emu's tail*
bubula-y	INT	*jump in*
buḍa		*women's marriage division*
buḍa		*meeting where presents are exchanged*
buḍanba:		*black duck*
buḍul		*toy waddy*
buḍu:lga:		*grey crane*
buḍigur		*cat*
bugala:		*ball*
bugaru		*tree where poison sticks kept*
bula:ŋu:		*twins*
bula:r		*two*
bulaŋgi:n		*blanket*
bulawa		*flour*
bulawa:		*pair of emus*
bulawula:r		*four*
bulaya:gawu		*this morning*
bulaybulay		*blue bonnet bird*
bulga		*type of frog*
buli:		*flea*
bulilbulil		*slippery*
bulirul		*breath*
*buliru-l	INT	*breathe*
*buli-y	INT	*slip*
buliyar		*floating waterweed*
bulubama-l	TR	*cover up* YY

buluba-y	INT	*cover self*
bulubul		*wild gooseberry*
bululuwi		*evening*
bulun		*spoonbill crane*
bulunbulun		*green parrot*
bulur		*type of bird*
bulu:r		*frogmouth owl*
bulu:y		*night, dark, black*
buma-l₂	TR	*hit, kill*
bunbar		*rosewood tree*
bunbariyan		*rosewood fruit*
bunbun		*grasshopper*
bunda:ma-l₂	TR	*knock down*
bunda:-ŋ	INT	*fall*
bundabunda		*poison*
bundi		*waddy with knob on end*
bundur		*wizard's bag*
bundu:ra		*bark canoe*
buŋun		*arm*
bura:dal		*bridle*
bura:nban		*frying pan*
buralga		*native companion*
burambu:ra		*initiation song*
buranba-ʔ	INT	*become*
burgulbiyan		*myrtle bush*
burugarbu:		*magpie*
burul		*big*
burula:		*many, much*
burumba-l	INT	*skip*
burumbi-		*corner*
burun		*moth*
buruŋgal		*coolibah grub*
buɽaɽa		*bullrush*
buɽi:n		*shield*
buɽu		*testicles*
bu:bi-l	TR	*blow, smoke (cigarette)*
bu:gi:n		*sucker*
bu:gudaguda		*rainbird*
bu:ldlran		*ram*
bu:li:		*whirlwind*
bu:liya:y		*jealous*

bu:ma<u>d</u>aya:		*fox*
bu:mayamal		*fly catcher lizard*
bu:<u>n</u>u		*grass* (generic?)
bu:ŋgal		*wild potato*
bu:r		*fishing line, string*
bu:ra		*initiation ceremony*
bu:ra-l	TR	*pluck*
bu:rŋan		*meat ant*
bu:way		*teal duck*
bu:yan		*heat*
buwabil		*possessions*
buwabila		*afterwards*
buwabildaliba:		*poor*
buwa<u>d</u>ar		*father*
buwanŋa:		*granddaughter*
buwara:n		*vein*
*buwi-y	TR	*smell* YR
buwi-y	INT	*rest*
buya		*bone*
buyabuya		*thin, bony*
buyadu:l		*short* YY
buyu		*leg*
buyuduruŋɨ:li		*black crane*
buyuga		*bullant*
buyuma		*dog* YR
buyuma<u>d</u>u:l		*glutton*

<u>d</u>

<u>d</u>a:<u>d</u>a:		*grandfather*
<u>d</u>a:<u>d</u>al		*saddle*
<u>d</u>a:<u>d</u>ar		*bark shelter*
<u>d</u>a:<u>d</u>i:r		*kingfisher*
<u>d</u>a:l		*cheek*
<u>d</u>a:liya:y		*fish net*
*<u>d</u>a:lu-ŋ	INT	*feel sick*
<u>d</u>a:mba		*damper*
<u>d</u>a:nda:y		*leaning tree*
<u>d</u>a:riɲa:ri		*type of crane*
<u>d</u>abi-y	TR	*stop*
<u>d</u>abi:-y	INT	*be quiet*

dab̲ima-1	TR	*leave alone*
d̲abiya:n		*quiet*
dad̲a-1	TR	*taste*
dad̲alura:		*pine babbler*
dad̲ar		*bark* YY (N)
dad̲in		*shade, shadow* YY
d̲aga:n(di)		*older brother*
d̲aga:y		*perch*
d̲agiliya:y		*clever*
d̲agin		*stocking*
d̲aguway		*leatherhead bird*
da̲-1	TR	*eat*
d̲alaɳ̲ḏa:		*fuchsia bush*
d̲alay		*tongue*
d̲alayba:		*sharp*
d̲alayḏaliba:		*dumb*
d̲alund̲ulu		*weak wind*
d̲alura:		*blue martin*
*d̲ama:-y		*rain*
d̲ama:y		*rain* (N)
d̲ama-1₂	TR	*feel*
d̲amar		*bronze wing pigeon*
d̲amu		*pigweed*
d̲ana		*heel*
d̲anaga:		*wart*
d̲anbi(ḏu:1)		*short* YR
d̲andar		*frost, ice*
d̲andara:		*winter*
d̲andariya:y		*grey haired*
d̲anduwi-y	INT	*lie down, sleep*
d̲anduwiy		*sleep* (N)
d̲anga:y		*rainwater*
d̲angal		*shelly log*
d̲angay		*puddle*
d̲angayangan		*ironwood tree*
d̲angur		*crippled, lame*
d̲ani		*gum from tree*
d̲aniya:		*silver wattle*
d̲aniya:		*tomahawk*
d̲anmur		*burial ground*
d̲aŋgal		*large mussel*

*daŋga-y	INT	*float*
daŋgurama-l	INT	*corroboree*
dara:bi:n		*manna on bush*
dara:wi:n		*whitewood blossom*
daran		*forked stick*
darangila:y		*drunk*
darawidil		*trousers*
dariŋara		*thundercloud*
darun		*nankeen crane*
daruwi:		*grey thrush (bad luck bird)*
dawuma-l	TR	*cook in ashes*
dawura:		*white ochre*
dawuran		*(younger?) sister*
daya:mba-l	INT	*whisper* YY
dayan		*small hailstone* YY
daygal		*head, hair*
daygalba:rayn		*Darling lily*
daygaluwi		*pillow*
dayin		*Aboriginal man*
dayindalmu:		*messenger*
dayma:r		*ground*
dayur		*grinding dish*
diba:yu		*whistling duck*
diɟi:bawa:		*soldier bird*
digaya:		*bird* (generic)
digun		*topknot*
di:garil		*tea*
di:buru:		*type of vine*
di:ɖa-l	TR	*lick*
di:l		*sacred burial tree*
di:l		*tail*
di:ma-l	INT	*go up*
di:ma-l₂	TR	*take off, out*
di:na:		*honeycomb*
di:nba:y		*yamstick*
di:nbin		*diving duck*
di:ɲa:y		*ironbark tree*
di:ɲan		*type of thistle*
di:ra-l	TR	*teach, remember*
di:ya:n		*type of vegetable*
dila:ga:		*old man*

dila-y	TR	*throw out*
dilay-r	TR	*uncover, push aside*
dimba		*sheep*
dina		*foot* YR
dinawan		*emu (generic)*
dinbay		*fighting boomerang* YR
dinbir		*knee*
dinbiya wara-y	INT	*kneel*
dindi:r		*dish*
dindu		*mouse*
diŋga:		*meat*
dira (dira)		*flash, quickly*
diranba-l	TR	*shake*
diri:ri:		*willy wagtail*
diriɲal		*numb*
*diɽa-y	INT	*sneak, creep*
diyama-l₂	TR	*pick up, collect*
diyara-l	TR	*dip from*
duba-y	INT	*point*
dubi:-y	INT	*stoop*
dubi-l	INT	*spit*
dubil		*spit, saliva (N)*
duga		*sugar*
duga:luba:		*shrimp* YR
duga:y		*always*
dulan		*black wattle* YR
*dulira-l	INT	*drip*
duli-y	INT	*bend down*
*duluma-y	INT	*thunder*
dulungaya:		*sandhill rat (totem name)*
duluŋgu		*long waterweed*
duluɽuwa:		*long, ropelike waterweed*
dunbar		*fairy grass*
dunbi		*humped (as porcupine's back)*
dunbil		*sinew*
dungayra		*lightning*
dungul		*type of vegetable*
duni		*sun* YR
duniḓuni		*jackywinter (bird)*
duniŋara:y		*old*
du-r		*spear, sting, pierce, write*

d̲ura:mi-l	TR	*wait for*
d̲ura-l	TR	*make*
d̲urin		*greedy*
d̲urin		*raw*
d̲urInba-l	TR	*hide*
*d̲uru-l	INT	*come*
d̲urun		*fur, hair*
d̲uruŋgal		*caterpillar*
d̲uɻal		*noise, sound*
d̲u:		*fire* YY
d̲u:ba:r		*fine rain*
d̲u:bu		*soap*
d̲u:dima-l₂	TR	*shoot* (ENG)
*d̲u:nma-l	TR	*pull out*
d̲u:-r	INT	*crawl*
d̲u:rma-l	TR	*move*
d̲u:ya:l		*right hand*
d̲u:ya:y		*flame, light*
d̲u:yuwi		*ant* (generic)
d̲uwa		*type of ant*
d̲uwadi		*shirt*
d̲uwar		*food, bread*
d̲uwi		*soul*
d̲uyu		*snake* (generic)
d̲uyugaril		*earthworm*
d̲uyu:		*black ant* YY
d̲uyu:l		*hill*

g

ga:bi:n		*carbine tree*
ga:bu		*hush!*
ga:bulu		*type of vine, bitter root yam*
ga:nbl-l	TR	*wipe*
ga:-ŋ	TR	*bring, take*
*ga:ŋa-y	TR	*give birth to, lay egg*
ga:ra-l	TR	*rub*
ga:ra-y	TR	*paint*
ga:rImay		*camp* YY (N)
ga:ri-y	INT	*get down*
ga:ɻl-y	INT	*spill*

ga:wa:		*river*
ga:wi-l	INT	*vomit*
ga:wul		*vine that giban grows on*
ga:wul		*creek*
ga:y		*word, message*
ga:yari		*below, underneath*
ga:yawi-l	TR	*pelt, throw hard* YR
gaba		*good*
gabanba:		*light (not heavy)*
gabaŋa:r		*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*
gabu:l		*mother of all lice*
gadara		*type of frog*
gadibundu		*quinine tree, bark*
gadargadar		*ragged*
*gadumayawa-l	TR	*hide*
gaga-l	INT	*call out*
gagangagan		*multicoloured*
gagil		*bad*
gagu:lmadara:		*type of yam*
gala:nbi-l	TR	*scrape*
galangala:n		*type of prickle*
galangala:n		*wild spinach*
galaɽi:n		*blossom (coolibah tree?)*
galgari:r		*small black spotted goanna*
galawu		*when*
galiba:y		*water rat* YR
galinɖuri		*laxative drink (honey and water)*
galiya:y	INT	*climb up*
galu:ba		*clover*
galuma:y		*younger brother*
galumaya:		*grandson*
gama-l₂	TR	*break*
gamba:l		*silver bream*

gamba:y		*sister-in-law, sweetheart*
gambu		*men's marriage division*
gambu		*stone axe*
gamiyan		*aunt (F.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:l		*long necked shag*
ganuŋawu		*all, whole, everything*
gaɲɟibul		*policeman*
gara		*crack*
garagara:ndi		*small frilled lizard*
gara-l	TR	*cut*
gara-y	INT	*choke*
garamay		*son-in-law*
garaŋay		*duck (generic)*
garay		*gap*
garaba:li		*shingleback lizard*
garigu:wingu:win		*butcher bird YY*
gari:		*wild arrowroot*
garil		*leaf YY*
gariya		*crocodile-like monster*
gariyawu		*wait a while!*
garugi:		*uncle*
gaɽigaɽi		*afraid*
gaɽuŋga-y	INT	*drown*
gawa:-l	TR	*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	INT	answer
gayanda:y		spirit of the bu:ra
*gayara-ŋ	TR	look for YR
gayara-y	INT	turn around
*gayawi-l	TR	point bone, kill
gaya-y	INT	turn over
gayay		sand YY
gayaya:n		sandhill YY
gaygay		catfish
gayima-l	TR	twist
gayn		shovel
gayngayn		wild lime
gayr		name (N)
gayrba-l	TR	name
*gayla-y	INT	burn
gayliya:y		kind hearted
gayma-l	TR	stir
gayu-l	TR	pelt, throw hard YY
giba		grinding stone
giban		white yam
giḏigiḏiba-l	TR	tickle
giḏiriga:		budgerigah
giḏaray		twelve apostle bird
giḏir		gidgy tree
giḏirgiḏir		yellow
gigima-l	TR	kick
gigirgigir		west wind
giguwidu-r	TR	sneeze
gi:		heart
gi:		yes
gi:ba:bu		early morning
gi:ḏa:		black ant YR
gi:ḏa:		shrimp YY
gi:galiya:y		scabby
gi:gi:		froth, bubble
*gi:gi-l	INT	itch
gi:liy		urine
gi:li-y	INT	urinate

gi:nba-l	TR	*scale*
gi:nbal		*scales*
gi:yanma-l	TR	*frighten*
gila:		*galah*
gila:ŋgara		*Darling pea*
gimbi-l	TR	*do, make*
gindama-y	INT	*laugh*
giniy		*stick* YR
giɲḏulgara		*snail*
giran		*ashes*
girangira:		*leaf* YR
giray		*battle* (N)
giribal		*riddle*
giyal		*afraid*
giyaldaliba:		*shameless*
giyalgil		*sour*
giyan		*centipede* YY
guba		*native bear*
gubi-y	INT	*swim*
gubuḏu		*dove*
guburu:		*swamp box*
guduga:		*type of yam*
gudu:		*cod*
guḏu:guni		*type of fruit*
guḏuwa-l	TR	*burn*
gugalarin		*pink cockatoo*
gugil		*dew*
gugungugun		*policeman fly*
gugurga:ga:		*kookaburra*
gula		*fork of tree*
gula:nbali		*pelican* YR
gulaba:		*coolibah tree*
gulal		*head band*
*gula-l	INT	*bark*
gulalar		*large intestine*
gulaman		*dish* YR
gulawuli:l		*topknot pigeon*
gulay		*dilly bag*
gulay		*net*
gulbinaḏu		*small dove*
gulbir		*few*

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
guluŋgulu:		*rotten log*
guma:ma-l	TR	*rub*
guma:y		*water rat* YY
gumawuma		*small lizard*
gumbada:		*motor car*
gumbu		*corroboree ground*
gumbugan		*sand* YR
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	INT	*defecate*
gunda:		*cloud*
gundi:r		*emu feather*
gundiribiya:y		*strong, hard*
gundiridaliba:		*weak*
gundu:ndu		*stubborn, selfish*
gungiyan		*manna on leaves*
guni		*type of fruit*
gunida:		*blue jay*
gunida:		*motherless child*
gunidar		*mother*
gunidarba:		*female*
gunidar ma:		*thumb*
guni:bu:		*robin redbreast*
guni:ni:		*queen bee*
gunugayŋa:		*niece or nephew*
guna		*scorpion*
gunar		*rat kangaroo*

gu<u>nd</u>i		house, hut
gu<u>n</u>ugu<u>n</u>u		cold (N)
gu<u>n</u>ugu<u>n</u>u<u>d</u>u-r	TR	cough
guŋan		water
gura:ga:		crane
gura:y		cyprus pine
gura-l	TR	swallow YR
gurawan		menstruating woman
guru		crab hole
gurulay		river wattle
gurulŋayn		river wattle blossom
guru:ba:		deep YR
guɽaywa:r		type of willy wagtail
gu:di:		coat
gu:ma:-y	TR	hide
gu:mal-₂	TR	collect, gather
gu:rman		leech
gu:war		red ochre
gu:yay		humour, mood
guwa		type of frog
guwa		fog
guwa:-l	INT	talk, say
guwa:ybila		Mars
guwa:yɖi:ɖi		butcher bird YR
guwa<u>d</u>a:		quondong tree, fruit
guway		blood
guwaygaliyar		light blood group
guwaymbara		red
guwayma<u>d</u>an		dark blood group
guwiga		ant hill
guwi:		sour, plum-like fruit
guwi:bir		wild passionfruit
guwi:bir		naypan
guwinba:-		close
guya:n		flower
guya:r		long YY
guya:rala		long YR
guyayra		magical bone
guyinda:y		brother-in-law
guyu		bandicoot

m

ma:		*hand*
ma:da		*master*
ma:da:y		*dog* YY
ma:dir		*matches*
ma:la:bidi		*big tree*
ma:mbiya:		*tree spirit*
ma:r		*no, nothing*
ma:yal		*crowfoot*
ma:ya-l	INT	*whisper* YR
ma:yama		*stone*
ma:yn		*dingo*
ma:yu		*well* (ADV)
mabu		*beefwood tree*
mabun		*gully*
mabun		*thigh*
madamada		*knotty*
mada		*women's marriage division*
madamada		*rough*
madanba:		*heavy*
madagura		*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*
maliyan		*eaglehawk*
maliyanga:lay		*morning star*
mama-l$_2$	TR	*stick, adhere*
manday		*step* (N)
mandaya:		*male (animal?)*
manduwi		*boots*
mangar		*bag (generic)*
*mani:la-y	TR	*hunt*
manumada:y		*thief*
manuma-l$_2$	TR	*steal*
maŋan		*diamond snake*
maŋarala-y	TR	*watch*
maŋgara:n		*kite hawk*

maŋgi:		small mussel
maŋgiwaraywaraymul		seagull
maɲunga:li		tree goanna
mara:gu		man-shaped devil
marama		there
maran		spleen
margamarga:y		(trapdoor?) spider
margin		gun, rifle
mari		men's marriage division
mawu-ŋ	TR	dig, scratch
maya:r		bee's wax
mayabi-l	TR	hang up
mayra		wallaby
mayu-ʔ	TR	tread on
mayra:		wind
mi:mi:		edge of river
mi:nba-y	TR	ask for
mi:nma-l	TR	pull
mil		eye
mila:n		small yam, grows in swamp
milambiya:y		cow
milan		one YY
milandu:l		alone YY
milba:wa:y		jumper ant
milbulu:y		black eye
milgin		milk
miɲaga:		anything
miɲɖuru		yellow tit
miŋga		spirit haunted, sacred tree
miri		lignum
miri:		type of bush
miril		mucus
miriŋamu		jagged spear
miyay		girl
miyaymiya:y		mallee willow
miyaymiya:y		Seven Sisters (the girls)
mubll		stomach, abdomen
muday		possum
mudir		cicatrice, carving
mudu-		inside
mudur		inside (person or animal)

muga		*blind*
muga:<u>d</u>a:		*marthaguy (type of burr)*
mugar		*kidney*
mugi:nga:		*sandfly*
mugu		*blunt*
mugu bina		*deaf* YR
mugu wu<u>d</u>a		*deaf* YY
mula		*boil* (N)
mulamula		*soft*
mulan		*half*
mundimundi		*spotted*
mundimundi <u>d</u>uwar		*brownie*
munduwa:		*thick*
munun		*emu spear*
mu<u>n</u>i		*louse*
muŋin		*mosquito*
muŋingaga:gal		*cuckoo*
muraygali		*corroboree leader*
murgu		*belah tree*
murgumurgu		*black ibis*
murila		*rocky ground*
murubi		*death adder*
muru<u>d</u>i gindamala:		*Venus*
murula		*waddy (sharp point)*
muruma:y		*thunder*
murumanamana:		*dragonfly*
murumba:		*other*
murun		*alive*
mururwaliŋay		*stale*
mu:ndu:r		*wasp, hornet*
muwargu:		*mopoke*
muya:n		*stick* YY
muya:n		*tree (generic), wood*
muya:y		*white cockatoo*
muyawa-l	TR	*sew*
muyu		*nose*
muyu<u>d</u>a:		*nostrils*
muyuwa-l	TR	*duck*

n̲

n̲a:du:		nardoo (flour made of ground grass seeds)
n̲a:d̲lya:n		log
n̲a:nma:l₂	TR	drop
n̲a:y		knot on tree
n̲a:ybu		knife
n̲alay		this YR
n̲algan̲alga		cow horn
n̲ama		that
n̲amun		ribs
n̲amura-l	TR	bury
n̲anigu:r		goat
n̲anuwa:d̲i		son's or daughter's child
n̲ay		hook (for grubs)
n̲igi:		charcoal YR
n̲i:		charcoal YY
n̲i:gili:r		necklace
n̲irin-		beside
n̲ula:n		slime
n̲ima-l₂	TR	pinch
n̲imaln̲imal		spiteful
n̲iŋil		small saltbush
n̲un		neck
n̲ungada		green (?) parrot
n̲uŋga		currajong tree
n̲uwi		smelly

ŋ

ŋa:		yes
ŋa:gi:		grandmother (F.M.?)
ŋa:lu:r		fish (generic)
ŋa:rigill-		other side of river YY
ŋa:rigulay		over here, this way
ŋa:rimalay		over there
ŋa:wa-y	TR	look for YY
ŋa:y		mouth
ŋa:yayba:y		all right
ŋada:(li)		down
ŋadul		gundablui wattle

ŋadul		stump of tree
ŋadul		hollow
ŋagan		chin
ŋala:ga:		crab
ŋalay		this YY
ŋamba: (di)		mum
ŋamu		breast
ŋamugamul		ripples on river
ŋamu-ŋ	TR	suck
ŋanaŋana		cork
ŋanda		bark YR (N)
ŋanda		tin
ŋandaba:		brown snake
ŋanbi:		east
ŋandir		steep river bank
ŋanumbira		wild plum
ŋara:da:n		bat
ŋaraga:		poor fellow
ŋara-l	TR	see, look at
ŋarala		large locust
ŋaramba:		family property
ŋaran		dawn
ŋaranma-l		show
ŋarawudaba		father-in-law
ŋariba:(li)		up there
ŋawil		emu bush
ŋawi-y	TR	smell YY
ŋawu		back of knee
ŋawu-ŋ	TR	drink
ŋayaga-		behind
ŋayaga-l	TR	kiss
ŋayaray		speckled
ŋaymbuwan		saucepan
ŋayŋayr		green frog
ŋayu-ŋ	TR	stand on
ŋayu:n		wild melon
ŋininŋinin		small locust
ŋudi:n		eyelash, eyebrow
ŋulu		face
ŋular		tear (N)
ŋunuga:		elbow

ŋuramba:		birthplace
ŋurulay		snore (N)
*ŋurulu-y	INT	snore
ŋu:		ti tree
ŋu:guba-l	TR	chew
ŋu:lay		here
ŋu:luwi		tadpole
ŋuwi		sweat (N)

w

wa:		shell
wa:giyan		brown eyed crow
wa:gu:		game like hide and seek
wa:l		no, don't
wa:n		crow
wa:ya		wire
wabu		river bend
wadi		bush YY
wadu:l		windbreak
waḏi:n		white woman
wagara:		hatchet, lil lil club
wagi		lie (N)
wagi-		outside
wagiba:		plain (N)
wabiga: daygal		bald
wagirbuma-l	TR	wash YR
wagirma-l₂	TR	wash YY
wagun		scrub turkey
wa-l	TR	put in
wala		sparrow
wala:y		camp YR
wala:yba:		camping ground
walban		trough
walanba:		strong, hard
walar		shoulder
walgan		aunt
*waliɲḓa-l	INT	be lonely
waliɲḓal		lonely
walunbaru:		red soil
walu:ba:l		sleepy lizard

wamaɽa		*woomera*
wamba		*mad*
wamba-l	TR	*carry*
wamba<u>n</u>iya		*cousin*
wamu		*fat*
wanagiɖay		*stop it!*
wana-ŋ	TR	*throw*
wanba		*river bank* YY
wanda		*white man, white devil*
wangulay		*game with sticks and spears*
wanu		*next morning*
wara:ya:		*lost*
waragil		*straight, true*
warala		*red snake*
waran		*root*
wara-y	INT	*stand*
warayma-l₂	TR	*build*
warayŋa-y	INT	*get up*
warul		*bee's nest*
*waruma-l	TR	*find*
*waruma-l	TR	*leave in charge of*
warumbal		*Milky Way*
warumbal		*watercourse*
waɽaŋana		*bee, honey*
wawal		*narrow*
waya		*left hand*
waya:l		*puppy*
waya:ra		*currant bush*
wayaga:l		*left handed*
wayama		*old man*
wayamba		*short necked turtle*
wayawaya		*crooked*
waygal		*woven bag*
wayuwa:l		*man's belt*
wayway		*type of fungus*
wi:		*fire* YR
wi:bidi		*gecko*
wi:da:		*bower bird*
wi:dayga:		*bachelor's camp*
wi:gurungurun		*white browed cat eater*
wi:la-y	INT	*whistle*

wi:ma-l	TR	*put down, light fire*
wi:ra-l	TR	*shave*
wila-l	INT	*live*
wilba:r		*car, cart*
wilgl		*cane grass*
wiliduba:y		*pink eared duck*
winaŋa-l	INT	*listen*
wira:		*fish intestine*
wirabiri:		*sand turtle*
wirgun		*waistcoat*
wiri		*dish for honey*
wirun		*juice, gravy*
wiɽigal		*navel*
wiɽiŋin		*doctor*
wiya:r		*quarrian*
wiyay		*chip of wood*
wiyayba:		*stranger*
wiyayl		*spines*
wiyay-l	TR	*clean spines off*
wubu		*mushroom*
wubun		*blue tongued lizard*
wubu:biya:y		*mouldy*
wuda		*ear YY*
wuduga:		*tar vine*
wugaŋa: bayda:		*small eaglehawk*
wugawa		*flood*
wulanabi-l	TR	*light fire*
wunguwi		*adams apple*
wuŋa:yawa:		*black shag*
wuŋala		*whitewood grub, witchetty grub*
wuŋa-y	INT	*bathe, bogey*
wuruga:		*owner*
*wuɽu-l	INT	*blaze*
wu:la:		*frilled lizard*
wu:-r		*give*
wu:yan		*curlew*
wuwi-l	TR	*swallow YY*
wuyu		*throat*
wuyubulu:y		*black snake*
wuyu:		*black magpie*

y

*ya:ga-l	INT	moan
ya:mara		barley grass
ya:rŋan		waves
ya:y		sun YY
ya:yba:		summer
ya:y-l	TR	chop
yaba:		carpet snake
yada:r		bird feather
yaga:y		ouch!
yala:		jail
yalagiyu		now
yalbala wira:wa-y	INT	hop
yalu		again
yaŋgal		vagina
yaŋgi:ɖa		handkerchief
yara:n		type of river gum
yara:y		returning boomerang
yaraga:		north-east wind
yaraŋan		gum tree grub
yaray		beard
yarbun		very tired
yaɽa:man		horse
yaɽigin		thirsty
yawa-l	TR	trap
*yaya-l	TR	rouse on, tell off
yayla-y	INT	quarrel
yiba:y		men's marriage division
yibada		women's marriage division
yi:-l	TR	bite
yi:lay		hop bush
*yi:layburanba-l	TR	annoy
yi:liyanba:		angry, savage, wild
yi:rgayn		clear, clean
yi:ri:r		mirage
yila:-l	TR	tie up
yila:l		soon, directly
yila:lu		long ago
yi:rmay		corroboree YY
yilama-l	TR	cook
yilawa-y	INT	sit

yili		*lip*
yina:nbi-l	TR	*let go, release*
yina:-y	INT	*come, walk, go*
yinabi-l	TR	*fish*
yinar		*Aboriginal woman*
yinara:		*revered woman*
yinara:gala:		*old woman*
yinga		*crayfish*
yiŋgil		*tired*
yirin		*night heron*
yiya		*tooth*
yiyabiya:y		*firestick*
yiyaguŋawuma		*large hailstone*
yugal		*song*
yulay		*skin*
yulu		*nail, claw*
yulugi		*corroboree* YR
yulu-ŋ	INT	*dance, play*
yuluwiri		*rainbow*
yumbu		*crybaby*
yumu		*type of river gum*
yu-ŋ	INT	*cry*
yura:		*type of tree*
yura:-l	TR	*cover up* YR
*yura:-l	TR	*attack*
yura:mu		*rum*
yuriŋga-l	TR	*push*
yurul		*bush* YR
yurun		*scar*
yuru:n		*track*
yuɽabid		*rabbit*
yu:		*dust*
yu:l		*vegetable food*
yu:liya:y		*full, pregnant*
yu:lŋin(di)		*hungry*
yu:ndu		*axe*
*yu:-ŋ	INT	*go into*
yu:ra		*dogwood tree*
yu:ra-ŋ	INT	*move*
yu:ray		*important man*
yuwaba-y	TR	*hunt away*

*yuwara-l	INT	*doze off*
yuwaya:		*frog* (generic?)
yuwi		*dream spirit*

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