

14 *Wanyi and Garrwa comparative data*

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1 Introduction¹

Wanyi and Garrwa are two languages of the Gulf Country of the Northern Territory and Queensland. The former is also spelt Waanyi, and the latter Garawa (also Karrwa² and Karawa). Their approximate location is shown on Map 4, which is based on data from Tindale (1974), John Bradley (pers. comm.) and other sources as summarised and briefly discussed by Trigger (1982:116–120). Most maps in the past have not shown Garrwa territory as extending as far north as the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria. Tindale assigns the northern part of the area, along the coast as far as the Queensland border, to Yanyuwa, saying that the name Nyangga which is shown in this area on some maps is simply a Yukulta name for eastern Yanyuwa. Keen (1983:193), however, thinks the area may belong to Yukulta. Walsh's (1981) map shows Garrwa as including much of this country right up to the coast and separating Yanyuwa from Nyangga, but the justification for this is not made

¹ I am grateful to Nick Evans and Rachel Nordlinger, who read an earlier version of this paper and gave many useful suggestions, to Luise Hercus, who supplied lexical items to fill in some gaps in my list, and above all to my several Wanyi and Garrwa language teachers, now deceased. My fieldwork on Wanyi and Eastern Garrwa was funded by the then Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (now AIATSIS). I was able to do some work with Western Garrwa and Yanyuwa speakers during the course of my employment with the School of Australian Linguistics.

Abbreviations used in this paper are: 1,2,3 - first, second, third person; Abil - abilitative; Abl - ablative; Adj - adjective; Adjv - adjectiviser; Alla - allative; C - any consonant; Concom - concomitant; Cont - continuing action; Dat - dative; Dem - demonstrative; Des - desiderative; DS - different-subject subordinate; Du - dual; Erg - ergative; Ex - exclusive; Fut - future tense; Gen - genitive; Hab - habitual; Imp - imperative; In - inclusive; Incho - inchoative; Inf - infinitive; Irr - irrealis; Interr - interrogative; Kin - follows a number to denote person of 'owner' of kinsman, e.g. 'mother-1 kin' 'my mother'; Loc - locative; Neg - negative; Nom - nominative; Nonp - non-past; Obj - object; Op - operative; Pl - plural; Pn - pronoun; Poss - possessive; Pot - potential; Pres - present tense; Priv - privative; R - realis; Recip - reciprocal; Refl - reflexive; Sg - singular; SS - same-subject subordinate; Subj - subject; Transloc - translocative; UNM - unmarked; V - any vowel.

² This is the correct spelling in the orthography for the language, but the spelling Garrwa is preferred by the Garrwa people.

clear. However, Bradley's conclusions, based largely on the place-names of the area, support the contention that this is Garrwa country (so that Walsh is basically right) and my map follows this (with Bradley's boundaries rather than Walsh's).

The name Kunindirri refers to a dialect about which little is known, but which certainly is to be grouped with Garrwa and Wanyi. Tindale's map locates it south of Garrwa, but this is not completely consistent with his description of its territory as comprising the headwaters of the Calvert, Nicholson and Robinson Rivers and south-west to Anthony Lagoon. In fact, the map seems to show the northern boundary of Kunindirri territory as being the divide between the watershed of the Robinson and the westernmost part of the watershed of the Calvert (to the north) and the watersheds of the Nicholson River and Cresswell Creek (to the south). Other sources quoted by Trigger also locate it in the vicinity of the Calvert and Robinson Rivers. However, present-day western Garrwa and Yanyuwa speakers refer to Garrwa as spoken in the Wologorang area as 'Kundirri Garrwa' or sometimes 'Kunindirri Garrwa' or 'Garrwa-Kunindirri mix' (Trigger, Bradley and my own data). It may be that Kun(in)dirri occupied a band of country stretching from the headwaters of the Cresswell and Nicholson across to Wologorang and Westmoreland. My map reflects this uncertainty; note the absence of a boundary line and the notation '(=?)' between the names Kunindirri and Eastern Garrwa. Clearly there is a difference between western and eastern forms of Garrwa; there are minor differences in grammar and Eastern Garrwa has more in common with Wanyi in its lexicon. But it is not possible to say whether Eastern Garrwa and Kunindirri are different, or simply two names for the same dialect.

Neighbouring languages are as shown on the map. As noted above, the nature of Nyangga is not clear; the name is not known to present-day informants. Locations of some of the boundaries on the map, notably that between Wakaya and Yinjilanji, involve a certain amount of guesswork.

Section 2 gives brief notes on phonology and phonotactics. In §3 the lexicons of Wanyi and Garrwa are briefly compared. Wanyi and Eastern Garrwa data are from my fieldwork (except that Luise Hercus has been able to fill in a few holes and clear up some obscure points from her data on Wanyi). Western Garrwa sources are the published work of the Furbys; Menning and Nash (1981); and Garrwa people with whom I had contact during my two two-week periods in Borroloola. In §4 there is a brief comparison of the vocabularies with those of some neighbouring languages. In the following sections aspects of the morphology of the two languages will be compared; virtually all the Western Garrwa material comes from the Furbys' published work (with some slight reanalysis by me) and all of the Eastern Garrwa and Wanyi material from my fieldwork.

Garrwa and Wanyi are superficially very similar, sharing some of the phonetic peculiarities of languages of the area such as palatovelar consonants (perhaps better analysed as clusters of palatals and velars) and frequent clusters of palatal and bilabial stop, and also a substantial amount of vocabulary which is not found in neighbouring languages. O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966) classified them as forming together the Karwan³ Language Family (Garrwa being the Karwic Group and Wanyi the Wanyic Group). Osborne on the other hand (quoted in Oates & Oates (1970)) regarded them as dialects of the one language. Several papers have been published on Western Garrwa by Christine E. Furby and the late

³ Spelt by them as Karawan; respelt Karwan by Blake (1988). I have used the name Yanyi (the word for 'language' in these languages) for the group for a number of years (as the name for their folder on my computer) and propose this as a name for the group that makes no implications regarding its status and does not imply primacy for either language.

E.S. Furby, the Summer Institute of Linguistics couple who worked on the language for many years. Another SIL couple, Alan and Lucy Rogers, and also NT Education Department linguists Hugh Belfrage and Rebecca Green, have more recently been involved with this dialect. Ilana Mushin has a Learner's Guide in preparation. Virtually nothing has been published on Wanyi; there is a wordlist in the Sourcebook of Central Australian Languages (which also has one on Garrwa), while Blake (1988, 1990) discusses the pronouns of the two languages. Charles Osborne (1966) has deposited a sketch grammar with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. I have done fairly substantial fieldwork with the late Mrs Ivy George (of Riversleigh) and a little with other old Wanyi speakers, recorded a few hours of Eastern Garrwa, mostly from the late Andy Wyndham (then of Dajarra), and taught a couple of two-week literacy courses in Western Garrwa to small groups of speakers and partial speakers in Borroloola (during which I collected a little vocabulary and checked on a couple of grammatical points). My analysis of Wanyi is very incomplete. Hercus is currently working on Wanyi, and Mary Laughren is cooperating with her in working with two newly located speakers. Menning and Nash (1981) list other unpublished sources of Garrwa and Wanyi data.

2 Phonology

The phoneme inventory of Wanyi is shown, using orthographic symbols, in Table 1.⁴

The long vowels are possibly contrastive only in the opposition between nominative case of nouns with short final vowel and ergative with the vowel lengthened. Apparently phonemic long vowels are so rare elsewhere as to be treated with suspicion, although they are currently written in a few words. Note, however, that non-phonemic lengthening of the stressed vowel of disyllabic words is a feature of Wanyi (hence the spelling Waanyi).

Table 1: Wanyi Phonemes (Note that the orthography uses *nj* instead of *nyj* for the homorganic palatal nasal-stop cluster.)

	bilabial	velar	apical	palatal	open
stop	<i>b</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	
nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ny</i>	
lateral			<i>l</i>	<i>ly</i>	
tap			<i>rr</i>		
glide		<i>w</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>y</i>	
short vowel		<i>u</i>		<i>i</i>	<i>a</i>
long vowel		<i>uu</i>		<i>ii</i>	<i>aa</i>

The Furbys analyse Garrwa as having an alveolar/ retroflex opposition in the apicals, but I believe they may have been misled by the frequency of phonetically retroflexed apical consonants, which represent the unmarked realisation of the apicals and so a very noticeable feature of the language (as of Wanyi). There does at times appear to be a very definite contrast, for example, between *nanda* 'that' which is not obviously retroflexed, and *banda* 'camp' in which there is a very clear transition to a retroflexed *nd*. I attribute this contrast to

⁴ I do not regard the tabulation of vowels separately from consonants and with reference to a different set of features as particularly useful for most Australian languages. They are therefore included in the same table.

two factors; one is the fact that *nanda*, as a demonstrative, is not normally as strongly stressed as a noun like *banda*, and so the retroflexion is not so obvious. The other factor, probably more significant, is the fact that in *nanda*, and generally in words with initial apical, the initial consonant is retroflexed, as well as the *nd*. To understand the difference between perception of the retroflexion in these two words we need to consider some aspects of their articulation, as follows:

banda, initial bilabial stop, followed by a vowel during the course of which there is a transition from the rest position of the tongue during the initial consonant to a retroflexed position in anticipation of the following apical cluster, then the retroflexed apical nasal and stop, and finally an unstressed low central vowel. It is the transition from the low position of the tongue to the retroflexed configuration during the course of the vowel that provides a strong cue to the retroflexion for the listener;

nanda, initial retroflexed nasal, followed by a vowel with tongue in or near the retroflexed configuration throughout, then nasal, stop and vowel as for *banda*. The change in tongue position during the vowel that provides the cue to the retroflexion in the case of *banda* is absent. Since there is no such cue to the retroflexion of an initial consonant (which is always much more difficult to hear, and in many languages non-contrastive) the observer tends to overlook the retroflexion. I have, therefore, concluded that there is no phonological contrast between two apical series and have altered the spelling of words in examples quoted from the Furbys to remove indication of retroflexion.⁵

The Furbys also have a palatovelar series, as also Kirton and Charlie (1978) have proposed for Yanyuwa and Chadwick (1975) for Jingulu and some other languages of the area. Wanyi has a palatovelar stop, but this seems to be best analysed as a phonemic cluster /jk/ (parallel to the common cluster /jb/). This seems to apply also to Eastern Garrwa. For the purposes of this paper the Furbys' analysis is accepted for Western Garrwa.⁶ The spelling *yngk* is used for nasal-plus-stop clusters the Furbys write as palatovelar, and *jk* for their palatovelar stop; no examples including intervocalic palatovelar nasals are quoted (but it would be written *yng*).

Wanyi words are of at least two syllables (with four known exceptions: two pronouns, a particle and a conjunction) and all begin with a single consonant. Almost all stems end in a vowel (but note that a suffix *-n* is frequently added to stems; see §5.1). Permissible stem-final consonants, all rare, include /l/, /ny/ and /rr/. It is not yet clear whether all occurrences of final *n* and *ny* on inflected forms are due to the main informant's habit of dropping final vowels; many are. Consonant clusters include nasal + homorganic stop, apical nasal + non-apical stop, /nyb/, /l/ or /rr/ or /j/ + peripheral stop, /l/ (rarely) or /n/ + peripheral nasal,

⁵ Recent observations by Rebecca Green (pers. comm.) show, however, that this question is not yet settled.

⁶ My impression, from my limited experience with Western Garrwa and Yanyuwa, is that the sounds analysed as palatovelar stop and palatovelar nasal are better analysed as clusters. The former is, of course, analysed as a cluster /jk/ as it is for Wanyi; this patterns with the common cluster /jb/. The nasal is rare, but I have heard it (from a good Yanyuwa speaker) as a clear [nʲŋ] cluster and so would analyse it as /nyng/. This is parallel to the /nym/ cluster. The sound analysed as a palatovelar nasal-stop cluster or prenasalised stop seems to be indistinguishable from /nyk/ and I would analyse it so. This patterns with a /nyb/ cluster. Kirton and Charlie (1978) do include clusters /djg/ (= my /jk), /njŋ/ (= my /nyng/) and /njg/ (= my /nyk/), but say that they are marginal and are merging with the palatovelar phonemes.

A possible alternative to /jb/ and /jk/ is to analyse the first member as a glide /y/: thus /yb/ and /yk/. There is some justification for this in the morphology of Wanyi (at least), and Andrew Butcher (pers. comm.) suggests it for Western Garrwa on phonetic grounds. Kirton and Charlie (1978) reject this for Yanyuwa, and the existence of an unambiguous syllable-final palatal stop but no syllable-final glides in the language supports their position.

/nym/, /lw/, /rrw/ and, intermorphemically, /ld/. Some others may occur rarely, such as /nyk/, /nyng/ and /nny/, which do occur in Garrwa. Garrwa phonotactics are similar; see Furby (1974) (and note my reservations concerning her analysis of the phonology).

3 Lexicon

Provided in an Appendix is a comparative list of one hundred and seventy-nine items in Wanyi and Garrwa. The list is not complete for Eastern Garrwa, and many items are not well attested.

Items which are the same in the two full lists (Wanyi and Western Garrwa), or slightly different but obviously cognate, amount to about 50%. Counts on the verbs only, and on the words in particular semantic groups, all result in fairly similar figures, except that body parts give a rather high figure (about 70%) and the small group of adjectival items a very low one of 8%.

Eastern Garrwa forms were available for 154 of the items in the list. In about half these cases (76) the Wanyi, EG and WG word are all the same; in a few cases (11) there are two words in EG, one = Wanyi and one = WG; for 41 words EG = WG and is different from Wanyi; for 14 EG = Wanyi and is different from WG and in 12 cases EG is different from both Wanyi and WG. This gives a cognate percentage of 83 between Eastern and Western Garrwa, and 66 between Eastern Garrwa and Wanyi.

These figures suggest that Eastern and Western Garrwa are dialects of one language, and that Wanyi is either a more distant dialect of the same language or a closely related language.

4 Comparison with other languages

One or both of the wordlists given above were compared as far as possible (using only readily available material) with wordlists for neighbouring languages Yanyuwa, Jingulu, Gudanji, Wambaya, Wakaya, Bularnu, Warluwarra, Kalkatungu, Minkin, Yukulta, Kayardild and the Mayi languages (as a group).⁷ No attempt was made at first to compare grammatical material systematically, but I have now referred to some correspondences pointed out to me by readers of earlier drafts of the paper⁸ and followed this up with a short study of possible relationship to the Mindi languages. See Blake (1988, 1990) for some relevant grammatical material, especially on the pronouns.

⁷ The count for Kayardild was done by Nicholas Evans, using his own material on that language. Sources for other languages were Menning and Nash (1981) for Yanyuwa, Gudandji and Wambaya, Chadwick (1975) for Jingulu, Blake (1979) for Kalkatungu, Coward (1886), Curr (1886), W.T. (1896) and Turnbull (1911) for Minkin, Keen (1983) for Yukulta, Breen (1981) for the Mayi languages, and my own unpublished material for the others.

⁸ All footnotes below which contain references to Evans (1995) or Nordlinger (1998) result from (and often quote) comments on an earlier draft by Evans or Nordlinger, respectively.

Table 2: Cognate percentages between Wanyi/Garrwa and neighbouring languages

Language pair	% cognate items	
Garrwa/Yanyuwa	28	(verbs 9)
Wanyi/Yanyuwa	13	(verbs 6)
W. Garrwa/Jingulu	12	(verbs 4)
E. Garrwa/Jingulu	15	(verbs 9)
Wanyi/Jingulu	18	(verbs 13)
Garrwa/Gudanji	25	(verbs 20)
Wanyi/Gudanji	29	(verbs 29)
Garrwa/Wambaya	17	(verbs 20)
Wanyi/Wambaya	21	(verbs 20)
Wanyi/Wakaya	12	
Wanyi/Bularnu	11	
Wanyi/Warluwarra	6	
Wanyi/Kalkutungu	2	
Wanyi/Minkin	4	
Garrwa/Minkin	4	
Garrwa/Yukulta	4	
Garrwa/Kayardild	10	
Wanyi/Kayardild	8	
Wanyi/Mayi group	4	

Percentages of items cognate (based on about 100 to 160 comparable items) are as listed in Table 2. The low figure for verbs (which are — at least in some areas — less likely to be borrowed than nouns; see Breen (1990:154–156) and note also the figures given for the languages in the former ‘Bureran’, ‘Kunividjian’ and ‘Nagaran’ families by Green elsewhere in this volume) for the Garrwa/Yanyuwa pair, as well as the low overall figures for Wakaya, Bularnu and Warluwarra (which are related to Yanyuwa) suggest that the fairly high overall figure for Garrwa/Yanyuwa is due to borrowing rather than genetic relationship. The fairly high figures for comparisons with Gudanji and Wambaya are, on the other hand, supported by the similar figures for the verbs. These are based on only twenty-five or so verbs, however, so a second count was made for Wambaya using the vocabulary in Nordlinger (1998).⁹ This gave 49 comparable verbs. The figures this time were: Wanyi/Wambaya overall 25% (173 words), verbs 23%, Western Garrwa/Wambaya overall 20% (172 words), verbs 15%. Including Eastern Garrwa words would lift the latter two figures to 27 and 17. The verb figures are somewhat lower than the overall figures.

Borrowing clearly plays a part in the degree of similarity between Garrwa/Wanyi and Wambaya/Gudanji; the only clear loanword is *nyilangunya* which (as Rachel Nordlinger, pers. comm., pointed out) is analysable in Wambaya, but there are a number of areal items, found also in other language groups such as Ngarna (or Warluwaric) and Arandic. These include *kudulu* ‘heart’, *malambi* ‘liver’, *nyili* ‘porcupine (echidna)’, *kananganja* ‘emu’, *walanybirri* ‘pelican’, *jukuli* ‘boomerang’ and *karrinja* ‘be standing’. Some of the similarities in grammatical forms noted below are areal too, and probably do not indicate

⁹ These figures were modified slightly after Rachel Nordlinger (pers. comm.) pointed out to me some semantic correspondences I had not noticed.

anything more than a rather long contact between speakers of Yanyi and West Barkly languages. These are summarised in the following paragraph.

Blake (1990) found no reason to think there was a close relationship between the West Barkly languages and the Yanyi group. He based his conclusions mainly on the differences between the pronouns and the function morphemes, and these certainly provide strong evidence against a relationship. Even where the Yanyi pronouns exhibit some resemblance to Blake's (1988:7) 'Northern Pronouns', such as 2pl *narri*, they do not particularly resemble the Barkly (here beginning with *gurr* or *girr*). One point of resemblance, as Blake points out, is between the Barkly verbal infinitive and the Yanyi realis verb forms, both based on a formula 'root+j+bV'.

Some resemblances not noted by Blake are referred to in footnotes throughout the paper (and see also the discussion of reflexive/reciprocal marking in §5.3). Of these, a number of cases involve items found in other language groups, clearly or likely spread by borrowing, including *bibiyurru* from Wambaya and items involving interdental consonants, maybe from the Ngarna languages. Several cases involve features of only one of the Yanyi languages. With these reservations, it is noted that these resemblances (mostly pointed out by Nordlinger; see also Nordlinger 1998:159–160) do provide evidence suggesting a possible relationship between Yanyi and West Barkly languages.

Blake (1990) also gives some cognate counts, based on a somewhat smaller number of items than my counts and with a different source for the Barkly languages. The figures he gives are suggestive: despite the fact that Wanyi is generally further (geographically) from the West Barkly languages than is Garrwa (although it has a common boundary with Wambaya, albeit probably not as long as suggested by Blake's map, which does not show Kunindirri), the cognate figures for the West Barkly languages with Wanyi are consistently higher than with Garrwa (Blake 1990:60). If the figures were inflated by borrowing one would expect them to be higher for Garrwa.

Since some of this evidence tended to show that the Yanyi languages might be related to the West Barkly languages, I carried out a cognate count on a sample of Jingulu vocabulary with about twice the number of comparable verbs, with the results given in the above list. These figures suggest that the Yanyi languages are not closely related to Jingulu (and hence to the West Barkly group). However, a cognate count for Jingulu and Gudanji gave figures of 21% overall and 13% for verbs, which suggests that they too are not closely related. Since the data, especially on noun class markers and pronouns, presented by Chadwick (1979) seem to show fairly convincingly that Gudanji, Wambaya, Binbinga and Ngarnga are genetically related to Jingulu, the conclusion that presents itself is that the rate of replacement of verbs is in fact higher than the overall rate of vocabulary replacement in this language group. This conclusion, unpalatable in the light of our knowledge of other comparable situations, needs further study; it may be that the spread of the *jbV* verbs is relevant in some way. In any case, the fact that Wanyi seems to show more similarity to the West Barkly languages than does Garrwa, and East Garrwa more than West, is relevant to the prehistory of these languages, and their relationships need to be studied in more detail.

Chadwick (1984) has shown that the West Barkly languages are genetically related to the Yirram languages, Jaminjung, Ngaliwurru and Nungali, of the lower Victoria River. If, then, the Yanyi languages are related to the West Barkly languages, they must also show evidence of relationship to the Yirram languages. The most convincing items would be shared by Yanyi and Yirram languages but not by intervening languages. Chadwick's case for the existence of a Mindi Group (= West Barkly + Yirram) rests heavily on similarities in the pronouns and in the noun class marking (although only one Yirram language has noun

classes now). Since the Yanyi languages have little similarity in pronouns to even neighbouring West Barkly languages, and do not have noun classes, we are starting way behind scratch. However, I went through Chadwick's comparative vocabulary and made a list of 'look-alike items' (to use his apt term). My initial list contained 56 items — a fairly substantial proportion of Chadwick's 159. Seven were quickly rejected as being just too unlikely; for example, Wanyi *dara* Nungali *durib* 'dog' was rejected because *du-* is a gender prefix in Nungali (although not marked as such in this word) and the other Yirram languages have *wirib*, suggesting a proto-form **-rib*. Of the remaining 49 items, eighteen are related to forms found in the Ngumbin languages (especially Gurindji), which separate the two halves of the Mindi Group. A few others are eliminated because of the absence of further evidence, such as linking forms, to connect vaguely similar forms (such as *ngurranyun* and *ngulya* 'blood', *wunba* and *budaj* 'wind'). The remainder are listed in Table 2; they include some words where there is a Gurindji or other Ngumbin correspondence but none in West Barkly. Words lacking a West Barkly correspondent are listed first. Gurindji material is from McNair and McNair (1991) and from Menning and Nash (1981). Material from other languages not listed in the first paragraph of this section is from Menning and Nash. English translation given in the first column is that for the Yanyi word; others have the same translation unless noted otherwise.

One notable feature of this list is that it includes only two verb correspondences, neither of which looks particularly convincing. It would be interesting to know whether the observation that verbs are a better indication than nouns of genetic relationship applies to comparisons of languages where one has many verbs while the other has few verbs and many pre-verbs. Other items which look unconvincing for one reason or another are 'this', 'son', 'face', 'tree', 'down', 'man' and 'head'. This leaves thirteen, or about 8%. This could probably be increased somewhat with study of Ngumbin lexica, which would show that certain items that it has in common with Mindi and Yanyi are not found in other Ngumbin languages and so are probably loans into Gurindji.

There are a handful of bound morphemes which involve possible correspondences:

- G *-(wa)nyi* / N *-rni* (masc.), *-ngayi* (fem.) ergative;
- Wa *-nV* and G *-na ~ -ina* (see Table 4) / J, Ng *-ni/-di/-gi*, N *-ni* locative;
- Wa *-wuny i* / J, Ng *-ngunyi*, N *-ngung* ablative;
- G *-yi* (see §7.1) past / J, Ng *-nyi* allomorph of remote past; N *-yinji*, *-iyi*, *-nyi*, *-anyi* are four of nine past tense allomorphs;
- Wa optional *-wa* on imperative to denote permission / J, Ng *ba-*, N *wa-* imperative.

As noted below (§5.3), reflexive/reciprocal marking is a point of resemblance between Yanyi and West Barkly languages; this resemblance does not extend to the whole Yirram group.

Considering especially the lack of correspondences in the pronouns, I conclude that the Yanyi languages are not more closely related to the Mindi languages than to other groups. The matter is worthy of further study, however.

Table 3: Comparison of vocabulary with Yirram languages

	<i>Yanvi</i>	<i>Yirram</i>	<i>West Barkly</i>	<i>Others</i>
this, here	Wa <i>nawu</i>	N <i>-nyambu</i>		Gr <i>nyawa</i>
sister	G <i>maju-</i>	N <i>nyana-maj</i>		
son (of woman?)	Wa <i>ngalu</i>	J, Ng, N <i>ngalawiny</i> 'son'		Gr <i>ngalawuny</i> 'child of man' (<i>ngalayi</i> 'child of woman')
face, forehead	Wa, G <i>wali</i>	Ng <i>nungali</i> 'forehead'		Gr <i>walu</i> 'hill, head'
fly	Wa <i>kunama</i> G <i>kunima</i>	J, Ng, N <i>gunama</i>		Ngarinman <i>kunama</i> , Mudbura <i>kununga</i>
tree	Wa, G <i>kunda</i>	J, Ng <i>garndi</i>		Gr <i>karnii</i> , Yn <i>wurnda</i> , Yj <i>kurndu</i>
down	Wa, G <i>wajka</i>	N <i>wiyagu</i>		Yn <i>wajka</i>
not	G <i>kudarri</i>	J, Ng, N <i>gurrany</i>		
hear	Wa, WG <i>manku</i>	J <i>manggulag</i>		Wl <i>manka</i> 'ear', Jr <i>marnkirkirr</i> 'ear'; Wrl <i>marnkaru</i> 'ear'
cry	Wa <i>ngindi</i> , G <i>ngindu</i>	J, Ng, N <i>ngilijga</i>		
G man, Wa body name	<i>nganinyi</i> Wa, G <i>niji</i>	N <i>du-ngurnin</i> 'man' Ng, N <i>nij</i> , J, Ng <i>jinij</i>	Wm, Gu, Bi <i>ngarninj</i> 'body' Ji <i>liyijgu</i> , Nn, Bi <i>riyijga</i> , Gu <i>niyija</i>	
body	Wa <i>kunjunu</i>	N <i>gunyju</i>	Wm, Gu <i>gunyju</i> 'meat'	
head	G <i>kulaji</i>	Ng <i>gulaga</i>	Gu <i>gula</i>	Yn <i>wulaya</i> , Yj <i>kulaa</i> , Wk <i>kula</i> 'hair'
eyebrow	Wa <i>bijibiji</i> , G <i>yibijibiji</i>	J, Ng <i>yibij-yibij</i> , N <i>ma-bijibijib</i>	Ji, Nn <i>yibijibiji</i> Wm, Gu <i>ibijibiji</i> 'eyelash'	
spittle	G <i>jabula</i>	J <i>jawul</i>	Gu <i>jabula</i>	Gr <i>jupak</i> probably not cognate
hungry	Wa, G <i>balikaya-</i>	N <i>walidgug</i>	Ji <i>baliga</i> , <i>balijba</i> , Nn <i>balijjibi</i> , Wm, Gu, Bi <i>baliji</i>	Yj <i>bilikV</i>
grass	Wa <i>wanda</i>	J, Ng <i>warnda</i> , N <i>nu-warnda</i>	Gu, Bi <i>warnda</i>	
sunset	G <i>ngabungabu</i>	J <i>gabugabu</i> , Ng <i>gababugad</i> both 'afternoon'	Gu <i>ngabungabu</i> 'afternoon'	
firestick	Wa, G <i>kungkala</i>	Ng <i>gunggala</i> , N <i>nunggala</i>	Ji <i>gunggulurni</i> , Nn <i>gunggaluma</i> , Wm, Gu, Bi <i>gunggala</i>	
south	Wa, G <i>nginiri</i>	N <i>ngarnigu</i>	Ji <i>ngarni</i> , Nn <i>ngirniili</i> , Wm <i>ngirmii</i> , Gu, Bi <i>ngirniwi</i>	Wk <i>ngerlim-</i>
west	Wa, EG <i>bayingu</i> , WG <i>bayungu</i>	J, Ng <i>buyagu</i> , Ng <i>biyagu</i> , N <i>wiyagu</i> , <i>ra-wuyagu</i> , <i>ju-wuyagu</i>	Nn <i>ayungu</i> , Wm, Gu, Bi <i>bayungu</i>	

5 Nominal morphology

5.1 Noun inflection

The inflectional suffixes found on nouns in Wanyi and Western Garrwa are compared in Table 4. Some notes on Eastern Garrwa forms are in the next paragraph.

Table 4: Comparison of noun inflections

	<i>Wanyi</i>	<i>(Western) Garrwa</i>
Nominative	-Ø	-Ø
Operative (Wanyi)/ Ergative (Garrwa)	-V [i.e. lengthening of final vowel] (most words) - <i>ni</i> (after dat suffix) - <i>yi</i> (some kinship terms) ¹⁰ - <i>wa</i> (2kin kinship terms) - <i>nyi</i> (after concom)	- <i>wanyi</i> (most words) - <i>nyi</i> (on adjs ending in <i>rra</i> , after du, pl, concom and - <i>yurri</i> 'deceased'; on sg gen pronouns)
Dative	- <i>nyi</i> (after final <i>a</i>) - <i>yanyi</i> (after final <i>i</i> and <i>u</i>) - <i>kanyi</i> (after - <i>yudu</i>)	- <i>nyi</i> (most V-final words) - <i>anyi</i> (most C-final words) - <i>ngkanyi</i> (noun stems ending in <i>anyi</i> or <i>unyi</i> , sg gen pronouns) ¹¹ - <i>yingkanyi</i> (adj stems ending in <i>nyi</i> , noun stems ending in <i>inyi</i> , <i>bannyi</i> 'meat') - <i>yngka</i> (adjs ending in <i>rra</i> ; after du, pl and concom) ¹² - <i>wa</i> (after - <i>yurri</i> 'deceased')
Locative	- <i>nV</i> (after final <i>V</i>) - <i>wu</i> (some kinship terms) ¹³ - <i>rrini</i> (some words)	- <i>na</i> (most V-final words) - <i>ina</i> (most C-final words) - <i>nyina</i> (adjs in <i>rra</i> ; after du, pl and concom; sg gen pronouns)
Allative	- <i>wurru</i> (most words) - <i>urru</i> [with deletion of stem-final vowel] (most words of more than two syllables with final <i>i</i>)	- <i>yurri</i> (adj stems; noun stems with final <i>C</i> or <i>i</i> or after Abl suffix) - <i>rri</i> (noun stems with final <i>a</i> or <i>u</i>) - <i>yngkurri</i> (adj stems with - <i>nyi</i> or - <i>rri</i> , noun stems with final <i>inyi</i> ; after du, pl, concom) - <i>ngkurri</i> (sg gen pronouns)
Ablative	- <i>wunyi</i> (most or all) - <i>wunybuku</i> (rare, possibly different function)	- <i>nanyi</i> (= Loc + Dat)
Transloc	- <i>yangka</i>	- <i>yangka</i> (most) - <i>njaka</i> (sg gen pronouns)
Tactile	- <i>nanja</i>	- <i>nanyi</i> (= Abl)
'up to' ¹⁴	- <i>wada(a)</i>	- <i>wada</i>
'from' (to escape) ¹⁵	- <i>mukunu</i>	

¹⁰ In particular, perhaps all and only kinship terms with 1 kin (first person possessor) marking.

¹¹ -*nkanyi* is the form of the perlocative case in Wambaya, which encodes meanings such as 'across, along, through'. (Nordlinger 1998:91)

¹² -*nka/-ngga* is the regular DAT form in Wambaya (Nordlinger 1998:87).

¹³ In particular, perhaps all and only kinship terms with 1 kin (first person possessor) marking.

¹⁴ For example, *Wabuda mujiwada ngakindu* 'The water's up to my knees'.

¹⁵ See (6) and (7) for examples.

The main dative allomorphs of Eastern Garrwa are *-nyi* and *-yanyi*; an exceptional case is *kujanyi* 'tooth' whose dative seems to be *kujanykany*, while *-nja* is attested following the plural suffix *-muku*. The conditioning factor for the other two is not known; both are attested on *mama* 'food' (although perhaps this actually takes *-anyi*, not *-nyi*), *-nyi* also on *wawarra* 'child', *dungala* 'stone', *julaki* 'bird', *wudumukiji* 'tomorrow', *wabuda* 'water' and *kulunganja* 'son-in-law' and *-yanyi* on *mandaki* 'white man', *burrurri* 'man', *bajangu* 'dog', *jandanyi* '(man's) child' and *bannyi* 'meat'. The ablative in Eastern Garrwa is *-nanja*. Other inflectional suffixes are essentially the same as in the Western dialect, but some of the less common allomorphs in the latter have not been attested in the Eastern dialect.

In both Wanyi and Eastern Garrwa a suffix *-n* is frequently attached to vowel-final noun stems, both in citation form and in sentences. No function is known for this and it is not glossed. Compare the *n* occurring on the pronoun form of some suffixes; for example, *-mungkuji* (suffixed to place names and other nouns) ~ *-nmungkuji* (suffixed to demonstratives) 'origin' in Western Garrwa.¹⁶

A notable difference in usage between Wanyi and Garrwa is in the marking of instrumental function on nouns. The most common system for Australian languages is that instrument is marked by the same suffix as is ergative (and this combined function has been at times, and is here, glossed OP for operative) and this is the situation for Wanyi. A less common alternative is that instrument is marked by the locative suffix, and this is the situation for Garrwa. Thus we have the following contrast:

Wanyi: ergative + instrument locative

Garrwa: ergative instrument + locative

Also, in both languages, instrumental function may also be fulfilled by concomitant (having) plus operative or ergative (as the case may be). (1) is from Wanyi and (2) and (3) from Eastern Garrwa; see also Furby and Furby (1977b:29, 30, 41).

(1) *Burrurri daba nangka, jukuli-i, barrku-u.*
 Wa man hit:R 3sg:REFL boomerang-OP nulla.nulla-OP
 'Men used to fight with boomerangs and nulla-nullas.'

(2) *Ja-nga daba kunda-yudi-nyi.*
 EG FUT-1sg hit:R stick-CONCOM-ERG
 'I'll hit him with a stick.'

(3) *Nganinyi-wiya bula-ngka daba ngubungu-na.*
 EG man-DU 3du-RECIP hit:R boomerang-LOC
 'Those two men were fighting with boomerangs.'

The 'ablative' form *-wunybuku* occurs only twice in the corpus, both times with the function illustrated in (18) below. The suffix *-wunyi* occurs once in the published Western Garrwa material, with the translation 'after' (which is one of the functions of *-wunyi* 'ablative' in Wanyi).

(4) *Munganawa barri ngayi jila langki dinu-wunyi.*
 WG tomorrow um 1sg:PAST go:R north:ALLA dinner-AFTER
 'After dinner the next day I went towards the north.' (For 'um' see note after (47)).

¹⁶ Nordlinger (pers. comm.) suggests that this suffix may be the source of the initial *-n* in Wambaya suffixes *-nmanji* 'ALLA' and *-nnga* 'ABL'.

Translocative is so named by Furby and Furby because it denotes motion past something; however, in the Wanyi corpus it is more frequently translated ‘near’; thus *wunbayangka* ‘near the house’ or ‘(motion) past the house’. The suffix named ‘Tactile’ is, to quote Furby and Furby (1977b:42), ‘used to explain the part of the body of a human or an animal by which an action is transferred to the whole’. Thus, for example, in Wanyi, *bambulurananja* ‘(pulled the goanna out of the hollow) by the tail’, *maninanja* ‘(held him) by the hand’. My corpus does not include any other uses. The comparison here is interesting: Western Garrwa uses its ablative suffix, *-nanyi*, Eastern Garrwa uses its ablative, *-nanja*, and Wanyi uses a suffix with the same form as the Eastern Garrwa ablative but with a specialised function. (And note the comments in the previous paragraph.)

The suffix *-wadaa* is attested on only two words in Wanyi: *ngaluwadaa* ‘up to my chest’ and *murrungkuwadaa* ‘up to my knees’.

- (5) *Winja-kurru-na kanawa-rra?* *Nangkurru ngalu-wadaa.*
 Wa where-ALLA-? high-? here:ALLA chest-UP.TO
 ‘How tall is he?’ ‘He’s up to here on my chest.’

The ‘escape’ suffix, *-mukunu*, is more common; two examples are:

- (6) *Mularri nana kukulikukuli-mukunu.*
 Wa pick.up:IMP that bindi-eye-ESCAPE
 ‘Pick up that (baby) from the bindi-eyes (prickly plants).’
- (7) *Jariya ngamba wurrarra-mukunu.*
 Wa enter:IMP 1 pl.in wind-ESCAPE
 ‘We’ll go inside out of the wind.’

Table 5: Comparison of noun stem formatives

	Wanyi	(Western) Garrwa
Dual	<i>-wiya</i>	<i>-wuya</i> (Eastern <i>-wiya</i>)
Plural	<i>-darra</i> ¹⁷	<i>-muku</i>
Other	<i>-ya</i> (as in <i>dandayana</i> ‘on the other side’ with <i>-na</i> locative)	
Concomitant (having)	<i>-yudu</i> (most, including <i>mukura</i>) <i>-adu</i> (on <i>mukura</i> ‘spear’, <i>ngaka</i> ‘1 sg:REFL’) <i>-udu</i> (on infinitives)	<i>-yudi</i> <i>-njudi</i> (on dem and interr pronoun stems)
Like	<i>-waya</i> (e.g. <i>burrurriwayan</i> ‘like an Aboriginal person’ with suffix <i>-n</i>)	(<i>ngamungku</i> , a preposition)
Sympathy	<i>-yangkurru</i> <i>-yurru</i> ¹⁸	<i>-yurru</i> <i>-rru</i> <i>-ngkurru</i> (on poss, dem and interr pronouns)

¹⁷ *-rdarra* is a suffix in Wambaya encoding ‘a group of’ e.g. *juwa-rdarra* ‘a group of men’ (Nordlinger 1998:79). In Jingulu *-rdarra* is the regular pl marker (free form) (Nordlinger, pers. comm.; see Pensalfini 1997:263–270).

¹⁸ Normally suffixed to a human or kinship noun with the meaning ‘deceased’, but in one example in Wanyi *bibiyurru*, translated ‘poor old sister’, refers to a sick person. *Bibiyurru* means ‘deceased person’ in Wambaya (Nordlinger 1998:271).

Origin	<i>-mungkiji</i> ¹⁹ (e.g. <i>Bujabujamungkiji</i> 'person from Bujabuja')	<i>-mungkuji</i> (but note Furby 1972:14 <i>mungkiji</i>) <i>-nmungkuji</i> (on dems)
1 kin	<i>-nyi</i> (e.g. <i>bawanyi</i> 'my elder brother', used if no other suffix)	
2kin	<i>-naku</i> (e.g. <i>ngadanaku</i> 'your mother'; inflectional suffixes can follow)	
2kin, 3kin? ²⁰	<i>-nganja</i>	<i>-nganja</i>
kin dyad ²¹	<i>-kula</i>	<i>-kula</i>
times		<i>-ka</i> (see Furby & Furby 1977b:46 ex.9)
still ²²		<i>-nnga</i> ²³
season ²⁴		<i>-wala</i>

5.2 Derivational and other nominal suffixes

These are compared in Table 5. Each language seems to have a number of morphemes which have no correspondence in the other. Some suffixes have not yet been described for Western Garrwa and are known to me only from chance occurrences in publications by the Furbys.

A feature shared by Wanyi and Garrwa is the use of a negative particle and a dative case marker to denote absence of something (privative), as in the following examples (in Wanyi, then Eastern Garrwa and then Western Garrwa; (11) and (12) are both from Furby and Furby (1977b)). This construction is found also in the Arandic languages, to the south of Wakaya, while an equivalent construction is found in Wambaya, although rather than the straight negative particle (*guyala*) it is a nominal derived from this that is used (*guyalinj*' masculine; *guyalinya* feminine) (Nordlinger 1998:101).

- (8) *Budanku ngawu wanami-yany.*
 Wa nothing 1sg water-DAT
 'I've got no water.'

¹⁹ *Mungguji* is a nominal meaning 'owner, 'boss' (e.g. of country)' in Wambaya; see Nordlinger (1998:287). Compare also Kayardild *mungkiji*, an adjective meaning 'own (especially of country or kin)' and 'self'; see Evans (1995:738).

²⁰ For example, Wanyi *ngadanganja* 'his mother'; can be followed by inflections; in Garrwa it seems to be useable for any kin reference, e.g. *nganyi ngadanganja* 'your mother'. The same form is found in Kayardild, where it denotes 'actual' as opposed to 'classificatory' kin (see Evans 1995:194) and Yanyuwa, where it is a free form meaning 'relative, fellow countryman' (see Kirton 1971:33).

²¹ Glossed 'gether' (Aboriginal English, from 'together') e.g. *bawakula* 'brothergether (a group in which one person is elder brother to the other(s))'. The kin dyad suffixes in Wambaya are *-gulanji* (masculine) and *-gulanga* (feminine); see Nordlinger (1998:104).

²² Furby and Furby (1977b:75 ex. (11)) gloss this as 'animate' and say that it is obligatory with *yuwaji* 'still' when speaking of animate things without using a verb in the clause; however, words like *wankannga* and *yaminnga*, from *wanka* 'alive' and *yami* 'eye', are translated by speakers as 'still alive' and 'still awake' etc. It occurs with the meaning 'still' also in Eastern Garrwa, e.g. *bayakadanga* 'still small'.

²³ *-nnga* is the form of the Ablative case in Wambaya; see Nordlinger (1998:90).

²⁴ See Furby and Furby (1977b:86 example (4)), Furby (1972:11), and the 'Garawa' list in Menning and Nash (1981), in which *wurara-wala* should be *wurrarra-wala*, from *wurrarra* 'wind'.

- (9) *Budanku mama-(a)nyi.*
 EG nothing food-DAT
 'I've got no tucker.'

But note example (10) in which *-yanyi* has a genitive function and *mama* is unmarked:

- (10) *Budanku mandaki-yanyi maman.*
 EG nothing white.man-DAT food
 'I've got no white man's tucker.'
- (11) *Manimani ngali wij-ba waliji-nyi.*
 WG nothing 1du.ex return-R meat-DAT
 'We returned without any kangaroos.'
- (12) *Mikuyaji mama-nyi walkurra ngawamba bayakada.*
 WG nothing food-DAT big only small
 'There are no big (watermelons), only small ones.'

Garrwa has an extensive system of suffixation of compass point names which has been described by Furby and Furby (1976). There is a hint or two in the Wanyi corpus of something similar, but at this stage there is far too little information to justify any attempt at comparison.

5.3 Pronouns

Personal pronouns are compared in Table 6.

Table 6: Personal pronouns

	Nominative		Accusative	
	Wanyi	Garrwa	Wanyi	Garrwa
1 sg	<i>ngawu, ngawiji</i>	<i>ngayu</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>ngana</i>
2 sg	<i>ninji</i>	<i>ninji</i>	<i>ninya</i>	<i>ninya</i> (Furby <i>ninga</i>)
3 sg	<i>nyulu, nyuliji</i>	<i>nyulu</i>	<i>na</i>	—
1 du.in	<i>nungka</i>	<i>nungkala</i> (EG <i>nungka</i>)	<i>niyanya</i>	<i>niyanya</i>
1 du.ex	<i>ngali</i>	<i>ngali</i>	<i>ngaliyanya</i>	<i>ngalinya</i>
2 du	<i>nimba</i>	<i>nimbala</i> (EG <i>nimba</i>)	<i>nimbalanya</i>	<i>nimbalanya</i>
3 du	<i>bula</i>	<i>bula</i>	<i>bulanya</i>	<i>bulanya</i>
1 pl.in	<i>ngamba(la)</i>	<i>ngambala</i> (EG <i>ngamba</i>)	<i>ngambalanya</i>	<i>ngambalanya</i>
1 pl.ex	<i>nurri, nurra, nurriji</i>	<i>nurru</i>	<i>nurranya</i>	<i>nurrunya</i>
2 pl	<i>narri</i>	<i>narri</i>	<i>narranya</i>	<i>narrinya</i>
3 pl	<i>yalu</i>	<i>yalu</i>	<i>yalinya</i>	<i>yalunya</i>

	Dative		Reflexive/Reciprocal	
	Wanyi	Garrwa	Wanyi	Garrwa
1sg	<i>ngaki</i>	<i>ngaki</i>	<i>ngaka</i>	<i>ngaka</i>
2sg	<i>nganyi</i>	<i>nganyi</i>	<i>nganyangka</i>	<i>nganyangka</i>
3sg	<i>nangangi</i>	<i>nangangi</i>	<i>nangka</i>	<i>nangka</i>
1du.in	<i>niyangi</i>	<i>niyangi</i>	<i>niyangka</i>	<i>niyangka</i>
1du.ex	<i>ngaliyangi</i>	<i>ngalingi</i>	<i>ngaliyangka</i>	<i>ngalingka</i>
2du	<i>nimbalangi</i>	<i>nimbalangi</i>	<i>nimbalangka</i>	<i>nimbalaka</i>
3du	<i>bulangi</i>	<i>bulangi</i>	<i>bulangka</i>	<i>bulangka</i>
1pl.in	<i>ngambalangi</i>	<i>ngambalangi</i>	?	<i>ngambalaka</i>
1pl.ex	<i>nurriyangi</i>	<i>nurrungi</i>	?	<i>nurrungka</i>
2pl	<i>narriyangi</i>	<i>narringi</i>	?	<i>narringka</i>
3pl	<i>yalungi</i>	<i>yalungi</i>	<i>yalungka</i>	<i>yalungka</i>

	Locative		Allative	
	Wanyi	Garrwa	Wanyi	Garrwa
	Dat + <i>nbunu</i>	Dat + <i>ndu</i>	?	Loc + <i>rri</i>

	Ablative		Translocative	
	Wanyi	Garrwa	Wanyi	Garrwa
	Dat + <i>nbunaak</i>	Loc + <i>nanyi</i> (Eastern Garrwa has ablative suffix <i>-nbunanja</i>)	Dat + <i>nbiyangka</i>	Loc + <i>yangka</i>

Garrwa has an incomplete set of compound object–subject pronouns, which are used (apparently obligatorily when the appropriate compound exists) when pronouns are used for both the subject and the object in the same clause (Furby 1972:3–5). Furby gives four forms with 1sg object — subjects are the three second person forms and 3pl. There are three with 1du.ex object, subjects being the three third person forms. All other pronouns except 3sg occur as objects with 3du and 3pl subjects. This amounts to a total of 23 of the 75 possible forms. For all other combinations the appropriate two free pronouns are used. The forms are analysable as follows: 1sg object is *nga-*; other objects are the free object form plus *-n* when the subject is dual and the object is non-singular, and are identical to the free subject form when the subject is plural. Second person and 3du subjects are as in the free form. 3pl subject is *-njalu*. 2sg object is *ninya-* (as in the free form, and with no added *-n*) when the subject is dual and *ni-* when the subject is plural. The only form with 3sg subject is *ngalinyili* (from *ngalinya nyulu*). Reductions from the combined free forms (for which see Table 6) are near-haplologies to eliminate one of two similar syllables; other changes are *n*-insertion and hardening of the initial glide of *yalu*. Other examples (with the two free forms shown in brackets) are:

- 1sg obj-2du subj *nganimbala* (< *ngana nimbala*)
- 1du.in obj-3du subj *niyanyanbula* (< *niyanya bula*)
- 2du obj-3pl subj *nimbalanjalu* (< *nimbalanya yalu*)
- 2sg obj-3pl subj *ninyalu* (< *ninya yalu*)

My limited Eastern Garrwa corpus has two combined forms: 1sg obj-2sg subj *nganinji* (as in the Western dialect) and 1sg obj-3pl subj *ngananjalu* (compared to Western *nganjalu*).

An unusual feature of the pronouns which these languages share with some neighbouring languages is the existence of a full set of reflexive/reciprocal pronouns (or more correctly for some of the other languages, bound pronominal prefixes followed by a reflexive/reciprocal marker) which are only and necessary markers of reflexivity or reciprocity in sentences. Unlike most Australian languages, these languages do not have any method of marking a verb as reflexive or reciprocal. The morpheme marking this function in West Barkly languages is essentially the same in form as the Garrwa/Wanyi pronominal suffix; the fact that tense marking can follow this suffix is a further point of resemblance between Garrwa (but not Wanyi) and the languages to its west. Another point of resemblance (involving also Wanyi) is that the use of this reflexive/reciprocal marking on pronouns (which are bound forms in the West Barkly languages) causes the verb to be intransitivised; a noun subject is not marked for ergative.²⁵ In the southern Ngarna languages the reflexive/reciprocal suffix is *-b(a)* and in Kaytetye *-wenhe* while in Warumungu most forms end in *-urnu*.²⁶ In these languages, and some others further west, the verb remains transitive and a noun subject is marked ergative. Examples of Western Garrwa usage of these pronouns are found in Furby (1972:3) and Furby and Furby (1977b:62). These show that certain concepts which one would not have expected to involve reflexivity — being hungry in one example, eating in another — require these pronouns. (1) above is a Wanyi sentence in which the general term translated as ‘men’ is cross-referenced by a singular pronoun, which could be regarded as either reflexive or reciprocal. (3) is an Eastern Garrwa reciprocal example, and the following Wanyi example shows a reflexive clause as a complement of another verb, with allative marking.

- (13) *Naj-ba ninji nga wakada-kurru ngaka-wurru.*
 Wa see-R 2sg 1sg.ACC wash-ALLA 1sg.REFL-ALLA
 ‘Did you see me washing myself?’

5.4 Demonstratives and interrogatives

Demonstrative forms in the two languages are compared in Table 7. Missing forms in Wanyi and Eastern Garrwa are due to the incompleteness of the data.

Table 7: Demonstrative pronouns

‘this’	Wanyi	Eastern Garrwa	Western Garrwa
Nom	<i>nayi, nawu</i>	<i>nayi</i>	<i>nayinda</i>
Erg			<i>nangini, nanangini</i>
Dat	<i>nangkanyi</i>		<i>nayingkanyi, nangingkanyi</i>
Loc	<i>nawunu, nawini</i>	<i>nanyina</i>	<i>nanginyina</i>
Alla	<i>nangkurru</i>		<i>nayingkurri, nangingkurri</i>
Abl			<i>nanginbunanyi</i>
Dual			<i>nanginkuya, nanginkujarra</i>
Pl			<i>nanginmuku</i>

²⁵ There is some doubt about this for Jingulu; there is some evidence in Pensalfini (1997) that a noun subject is marked ergative, and some that it is not. Rob Pensalfini (pers. comm.) currently thinks that ergative is not used, but that there could be some inter-speaker variation.

²⁶ Kaytetye data from Myf Turpin (pers. comm.) and Warumungu from Evans (1982).

'that'	Wanyi	Eastern Garrwa	Western Garrwa
Nom	<i>nana</i> ²⁷	<i>nana, nanda</i>	<i>nanda</i>
Op	<i>nanangkani</i>	<i>nanangi</i>	<i>nanangi</i>
Dat	<i>nanangkany</i>	<i>nana(a)ngkany</i>	<i>nanangkany</i> (<i>nanankany</i> ? see (24))
Loc		<i>nanangina</i>	<i>nananyina</i>
Alla	<i>nanangkurru</i>	<i>nanangkurri</i>	<i>nanangkurri</i>
Abl			<i>nanamunanyi</i>
Dual	<i>nanangkuya</i>	<i>nanangkuya</i>	<i>nanankuya, nanankujarra</i>
Pl	<i>nanawanyi</i>	<i>nanamuku</i>	<i>nananmuku</i>

Wanyi has three interrogative roots (*w*)*injika* 'who', *wanyi* 'what' and *winja* (with a couple of odd inflected forms lacking the initial consonant) 'where'. Eastern Garrwa has only two, *wanyi* being used for both 'who' and 'what' and *wanja* for 'where'. Western Garrwa has the same two roots, but they are used more or less interchangeably for all inflectable interrogatives. Interrogative forms are compared in Table 8.

Note also Wanyi *winjakurruna* 'how' as in *winjakurruna kanawa* 'how tall?', and *wunjukunyi* 'how big?'.

Western Garrwa has a suffix *-wa*, termed 'continuative aspect', added only to singular demonstratives in the allative case; see Furby (1972:17–18). This is not the same as the directional suffix *-wa* occurring on demonstratives in the nominative case. The latter suffix is one of several occurring only on demonstratives and the interrogative and described and illustrated in Furby (1972:23–28). No counterparts are known in Wanyi.

Table 8: Interrogative pronouns

	Wanyi			Eastern Garrwa		Western Garrwa
	who	what	where	who, what	where	who, what, where
Nom	<i>winjika, injika</i>	<i>wanyi</i>	<i>winja</i> ²⁸	<i>wanyi</i>	<i>wanja</i>	<i>wanyi, wanjani</i>
Op/ Erg	<i>winjikani</i>	<i>wanyini</i>		<i>wanyini</i>		<i>wanyingi, wanjangini</i>
Dat	(<i>w</i>) <i>injikanyi, winjikaaninyi</i>	<i>wanyingkanyi</i>		<i>wanyingkanyi</i>		<i>wanyingkanyi, wanjakanyi</i>
Loc			<i>winjana</i> 'which'		<i>injani, injawa, wanjawa</i>	<i>wanyina, wanjabina</i>
Alla			<i>wunjuku</i>			<i>wanyingkurri, wanjabiyurri</i>
Abl			<i>winjibunyi, injabanyi</i>		<i>wanjabunanja, wanjabananyi</i>	<i>wanjabinanyi</i>
Dual						<i>wanyinkuya, wanjankuya, wanyinkujarra, wanjankujarra</i>
Pl					<i>wanyimuku</i>	<i>wanyinmuku, wanjanmuku</i>

²⁷ *Nana* is the feminine, singular, nominative (Class II) form of 'this' in Wambaya (Nordlinger 1998:108).

²⁸ *Inja* means 'which' in Wambaya; *injani* means 'where' (= *inja* 'which' + *-ni* ERG/LOC); *wunjuku* means 'how'. See Nordlinger (1998:123, 124). Note also *winthi* 'where' in Wakaya and Yinjilanji, *wadha* 'where' in Bularnu.

6 Verbs

Wanyi verbs exist in the following inflected forms:

- Realis
- Irrealis
- Imperative
- Infinitive
- Same-subject subordinate
- Different-subject subordinate

Garrwa verbs have four inflected forms:

- Unmarked
- Infinitive
- Same-subject subordinate
- Different-subject subordinate

It will be noted that no reference is made in either of these lists to tense (or to some other categories that might have been expected, such as habitual aspect). Wanyi has no obligatory marking of such categories; Garrwa marks them obligatorily, but not necessarily on the verb, and such markers as are used are perhaps best regarded as clitics rather than inflectional suffixes. This will be described in §7.

I have tentatively divided Wanyi verbs into three conjugations; a number of verbs, however, do not fit into any of the three. I am calling them the V, J and M conjugations. Examples of three verbs from each, and some irregular verbs, are given in Table 9. A few forms that have not actually been heard are given (marked with an asterisk), on the basis of comparable forms. Some others are omitted, not being predictable with confidence. There are many inconsistencies and exceptions within the conjugations, and the table includes some without comment. Garrwa verbs are generally similar; no classification of them into conjugations has been available until now, but see Belfrage's paper in this volume.

Table 9: Wanyi verb conjugations

	Stem	Imperative	Realis	Irrealis	Same-subject subordinate	Diff.-subject subordinate
V Conjugation	<i>0~V</i>	<i>-bV</i>	<i>-kany</i>	<i>-jin</i>	<i>-kurru</i>	
cover	<i>makarra</i>	<i>makarra</i>	<i>makarraba</i>	<i>makarrakany</i>	<i>*makarrajin</i>	<i>*makarrakurru</i>
see	<i>naj-</i>	<i>naja</i>	<i>najba</i>	<i>najkany</i>	<i>najin</i>	
eat	<i>jarr-</i>	<i>jarra</i>	<i>jarrba</i>	<i>jarrkany</i>	<i>jajiny</i>	
J Conjugation	<i>lenite j</i>	<i>-bV</i>	<i>-kany</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-kurru</i>	
sleep	<i>kudij-</i>	<i>kudiy</i>	<i>kudijbi</i>	<i>kudijkany(i)</i>	<i>kudijin</i>	<i>*kudijkurru</i>
bite	<i>bij-</i>	<i>biya</i>	<i>bijba</i>	<i>bijkany</i>	<i>*bijin</i>	<i>bijkurru</i>
hit	<i>daj-</i>		<i>daba</i>	<i>dajkany</i>	<i>dajin</i>	<i>dajkurru</i>
M Conjugation	<i>-mV</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>-yany</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-wurru</i>	
sit	<i>jungku</i>	<i>jungkumu</i>	<i>jungku</i>	<i>jungkarany</i>	<i>*jungkuna</i>	<i>jungkuurru</i>
stand	<i>karrinja</i>	<i>karrinjamu</i>	<i>karrinja</i>	<i>karrinjiyany</i>	<i>karrinjana</i>	<i>karrinjawurru</i>
cry	<i>ngindi</i>	<i>ngindimi</i>	<i>ngindi</i>	<i>ngindiyany</i>		<i>ngindiwurru</i>

Irregular

go, walk	<i>jila</i>	<i>jilanyi</i>	<i>jila, jilaba</i>	<i>jilakany(i)</i>	<i>jilajin</i>	<i>jilakurru, jilajurru</i>
speak	<i>yany-</i>	<i>yanja</i>	<i>yanyba</i>	<i>yanykany</i>	<i>yanjin</i>	<i>yanykurru</i>
drink	<i>ngara-</i>	<i>ngaraji</i>	<i>ngaraba</i>			
jump	<i>bulubarr-</i>	<i>bulubaja</i>	<i>bulubarrba</i>	<i>bulubarrkanyi</i>		<i>*bulubakurru</i>
give	<i>windi</i>	<i>windingi</i>	<i>windi, windijbi</i>	<i>windijkany</i>		

6.1 Realis

The realis form in Wanyi uses the verb stem or a suffix *-bV* (in which *V* is normally the same as the last vowel of the stem, but the Appendix shows a number of exceptions). It is used for positive indicative verbs in all tenses, and for intentions that are reasonably sure of being realised. Tense is not obligatorily marked, but might be deducible from context or from time words or other devices. Examples include: (14) and (20), in which there is no cue to time reference (present tense and normalis respectively) other than context (which in these cases is the English sentence used in elicitation); (15), (17) and (19), in which an adverb gives the indication of tense (immediate past, distant past and present respectively); (18), in which an inflected noun shows that the tense is past imperfect; and (21), in which an adverb and a modal suffix show that the reference is to the future. (16) has three realis verbs, two with past reference and one potential (with an appropriate modal suffix on its agent phrase).

- (14) *Jijaj-ba nana kudij-bi.*
 Wa pretend-R that sleep-R
 'He's pretending to be asleep.'
- (15) *Yiningki nyulu kannga.*
 Wa just.now 3sg return-R
 'He's just got home.'
- (16) *Ngaki-nbiyangka wikij-bi, ngala ngawu-barri durraj-bi ngamuyu*
 Wa 1sg:DAT-TRANSLOC crawl-R then 1sg-then fear-R supposed
nana-ngkani-kiya ngan bij-ba.
 that-OP-MAYBE 1sg:ACC bite-R
 'It crawled near me and I was afraid it was going to bite me.'
- (17) *Kudaa nyulu kalij-bi bidirrikan waliji —*
 Wa long.time 3sg spear-R kangaroo meat
 'He used to spear kangaroos —'
- (18) *Daba bula-ngka kadi-wunyuku.*
 Wa hit-R 3du-RECIP small-SINCE
 'They've been fighting since they were kids.'
- (19) *Yangku ngawuku nanan kudij-bi.*
 Wa always 1sg-? there sleep-R
 'I always camp there.'

(20) *Kara-na nana nyulu jungku.*

Wa hill-LOC that 3sg sit:R
'It belongs in the hills.'

(21) *Kamu ngawu-kiya naj-ba.*

Wa tonight 1sg-MAYBE see-R
'I'll have to look tonight.'

When *-barri* 'now, then' is added to a verb ending in *ba*, there is deletion of one of the *ba* syllables.

(22) *Jila-ba-warri nyulu, burrbij-ba-rri nyulu.*

Wa walk-R-first 3sg run-R-now 3sg
'He was walking; now he's running.'

The cognate morpheme in Garrwa, without further marking, covers a similar range of functions (but only when tense or aspect is marked on some other constituent of the sentence). However, it is used also in a negative sentence and in the imperative, which are not appropriately covered by the label 'realis', and so it is called 'unmarked'. Garrwa sentences involving this verb form will be given in §7.

Two forms built on the realis are found in Furby and Furby (1977b). One of these, *-nawa*, occurs in only one example, without explanation. The example is reproduced here.

(23) — *Ngala yalu kujba-nawa nangangi mandi.*

WG while 3pl search-NEG 3sg:DAT Monday
'— while they do not search for him on Monday.'

The other is glossed adjectiviser; see Furby and Furby (1977b:94–95). The Furbys give the following examples, among several others.

(24) *Kuj-ba nangk-i nana-nkanyi badada-nyi yikijba-warr.*

WG search-UNM 3sg:REFL-PAST that-DAT baby-DAT be.lost-ADJR
'She searched for that baby, lost in the bush.'

(25) *Wijkunumba-yi banda-rri ngarrkadaba-warra-nyi kananganja-nyi.*

WG bring.back-PAST camp-ALLA spear-ADJR-ERG emu-DAT
'(The man who is adept at) spearing emus brought it back to camp.'

6.2 Imperative

The imperative form of the verb in Wanyi is used for commands (26) (including prohibitions (27)), suggestions (30) and (sometimes with *-wa* affixed to the subject) permission (28), (29). Examples are:

(26) *Niya jamba-na.*

Wa put.down:IMP ground-LOC
'Put him down on the ground.'

(27) *Balyanga nana laluu-mu.*

Wa don't that wake-IMP
'Don't wake him.'

- (28) *Kudiy nyulu-wa.*
 Wa sleep:IMP 3sg-CONT
 'Let him sleep.' (See §7.3 for *-wa*)
- (29) *Ngaba-ma ninji.*
 Wa take-IMP 2sg
 'You can take it.'
- (30) *Jariya ngamba wurrarra-mukunu.*
 Wa enter:IMP 1pl.in wind-ESCAPE
 'We'll go inside out of the wind.' (= 7)

The imperative form with *-ya* affixed functions as a potential, denoting a possible occurrence, to be avoided.

- (31) *Kulukulij-a, yirrbink-a-ya ninji.*
 Wa get.down-IMP fall-IMP-POT 2sg
 'Come down, you might fall.'
- (32) *Naj-a-ya nga yalu.*
 Wa see-IMP-POT 1sg:ACC 3pl
 'I don't want anyone to see me.'

Neither imperative nor potential is marked by a verbal inflection in Western Garrwa; see §7 for examples of both. Eastern Garrwa imperative could be treated as a suffix added to the realis, since the morpheme involved seems to be attached only to verbs, but since it is closely related to the Western Garrwa form they are discussed together.

6.3 Irrealis

Irrealis in Wanyi is used when an indicative sentence is negated, as in (33). It may also be used to denote intention as in (34) and, with negative, (35), purpose (36), permission (37) (and compare imperative for this purpose in (29)), prohibition (negation of permission) (38), ability (at least with negation, (39)). It negates the verb of a subordinate clause. It covers the same range of tense and aspect as realis.

- (33) *Budangku ngawiji nan burrurri naj-kany wabula.*
 Wa not 1sg 3sg:ACC man see-IRR before
 'I've never seen that man before.'
- (34) *Kudij-kany-barri ngawu.*
 Wa sleep-IRR-now 1sg
 'I'll have a sleep.'
- (35) *Budangku nyulu ngaki yany-kany.*
 Wa not 3sg 1sg:DAT talk-IRR
 'He won't talk to me.'
- (36) *Kunda-nyi ngawu kuj-ba kurri-kany ngaka mundirri.*
 Wa stick-DAT 1sg look.for-R scratch-IRR 1sg:REFL back
 'I'm looking for a stick to scratch my back.'

- (37) *Nyulu yama laluu-jkany.*
 Wa 3sg self wake-IRR
 'Let him wake up himself.'
- (38) *Budangku nana kirriya naj-kany yarrambaja.*
 Wa not that woman see-IRR men's.corroboree
 'Women aren't allowed to watch that corroboree.'
- (39) *Budangku ngawu ninya laji-kany.*
 Wa not 1sg 2sg:ACC hear-IRR
 'I couldn't hear you.'
- (40) *Jila nyulu yany-kany.*
 Wa go:R 3sg talk-IRR
 'He went away without saying anything.'

There is no corresponding category in Western Garrwa. There are, however, three examples in the Eastern Garrwa corpus of a form with at least the allomorphs *-kanbala* and *-yany*, which seems to correspond to the Wanyi irrealis.

- (41) *Daba nyul-I nana-ngi naj-kanbala.*
 EG hit:UNM 3sg-PAST that-ERG see-IRR
 "You never see that man hit you."²⁹
- (42) *Nana nyulu — nganinyi; junu naj-kanbala.*
 EG that 3sg man I.don't.know see-IRR
 "That man we never seen before."
- (43) *Muduj-ba nyulu, miku nyul-i-ya manku-yany,*
 EG be.mad-UNM 3sg not 3sg-PAST-DES.PAST hear-IRR
miku nyul-i-ya naj-ba.
 not 3sg-PAST-DES.PAST see-UNM
 "He couldn't see and he couldn't hear anything — he was half silly."

6.4 Infinitive

The form here called 'infinitive' in Wanyi is not common in the corpus and not well understood. The form seems to be *-i* with *j*-final stems and *-ji* with other stems.³⁰ It usually occurs with a form of the concomitant suffix attached and denotes purpose, as in *kalijjudu* 'for throwing a spear with' (of a woomera) (*kaliji* + *-udu* 'concom').

- (44) *Wakada-ji ngaka wanami-wurru jila-kany*
 Wa wash-INF 1sg:REFL water-ALLA go-IRR

²⁹ Double inverted commas indicate a translation given by the informant. Other glosses are either the sentence as elicited or the linguist's translation.

³⁰ This is identical in form to what Nordlinger has analysed in Wambaya as an epenthetic vowel (*-i-*) and a thematic consonant + epenthetic vowel (*-ji-*). These occur between the verb stem and non-finite suffixes. The latter occurs with vowel-final stems and the former with consonant-final stems. See Nordlinger (1998, Ch. 6.)

ngawiji kilimi-ji wanami.
 1sg get-INF water
 'I'm going for water to wash myself.'

- (45) *Budangku wanami-yanyi wakada-j-udu ngaka-adu.*
 Wa not water-DAT wash-INF-CONCOM 1sg:REFL-CONCOM
 'I've got no water to wash myself.'

In Garrwa also the infinitive is used to mark purpose. Furby and Furby (1977b:85–86) give examples; the following are from my Eastern Garrwa corpus.

- (46) *Wudumba narri ngaki wabuda, ngara-jkanyi ngayu.*
 EG get:UNM 3pl-PAST 1sg:DAT water drink-INF 1sg
 "You fella get me water, for drink."

- (47) *Ngarrkadaba ngay-a kuda, wabula, barrki-j-ba-barri*
 EG spear:UNM 1sg-PRES(?) many before bad-INCHO-UNM-now
ngay-a, ngarrkada-jkanyi.
 1sg-PRES spear-INF
 'I used to spear (kangaroos) but I'm too old now.'

(Note, this seems to indicate that (-)barri has the same function in Eastern Garrwa as in Wanyi; in Western Garrwa (-)barri seems to be a hesitation marker, and is glossed 'um'; see (4).

- (48) *Daba nana ngay-i wadaban, yundi-jkanyi ngamba.*
 EG hit:UMN that 1sg-PAST goanna cook-INF 1pl.in
 'I killed a goanna; we've got to cook it.'

6.5 Same-subject subordinate

The term 'same-subject subordinate' seems to be appropriate for Garrwa, but there are doubts about its appropriateness in Wanyi; however, the morphemes concerned seem to be genetically related. In Wanyi it is attested in subordinate clauses to mark various types of action temporally or causally connected to the action of the main clause. Usually the subject of the two actions is the same and one is tempted to doubt the correctness of the exceptions. The suffix has a variety of forms and may in fact be two morphemes, one with final *n(a)*, related to locative on nouns³¹ and one, with final *ny(i)*, related to ablative. Some 'same-subject' examples are:

- (49) *Daba ngawu jumbuuna, kurrumba-na jila-jin.*
 Wa hit:R 1sg goanna track-LOC go-SS
 'I killed a goanna while I was going along the track.'

- (50) *Jungku nana nyulu warrunu laji-kin kundanaj-in.*
 Wa sit:R there 3sg outside hear-SS observe-SS
 'He's outside, listening.'

³¹ The form of the same-subject concurrent non-finite inflection in Wambaya is (-j)-i-ni '(thematic consonant)-epenthetic vowel-ERG/LOC'; Nordlinger (pers. comm.) and see Nordlinger (1998:212).

- (51) *Wakadaba ngaka mani, waliji-wunyi karrba-jinyi.*
 Wa wash-R 1sg:REFL hand meat-ABL cut-SS
 'I washed my hands after I skinned the bullock.'
- (52) *Ngurralyi-ya ninji nanawu-nu bilyikija-na.*
 Wa drown:IMP-POT 2sg there-LOC swim-SS
 'You might drown if you swim there.'
- (53) *Bijali-warri yalu-wa jungku-mu jurra-na-barri.*
 Wa by.and.by-first 3pl-LET sit-IMP play-SS-now
 'Let them play a bit longer.'

Examples which do not seem to fit the 'same-subject' model are:

- (54) *Jarr-ba ngawu nana, budangku-uj-in.*
 Wa eat-R 1sg that nothing-INCHO-SS
 'I had to eat it; there was nothing else.'
- (55) *Naj-ba ngawu jambiji nana wikij-iny.*
 Wa see-R 1sg track that crawl-SS
 'I saw a track of (a snake) crawling.'
- (56) *Nanganji-m nan jiban, dara-nyin kudij-in.*
 Wa get-IMP 3sg:ACC blanket dog-GEN lie-SS
 'Get the blanket the dog was lying on.'

In Garrwa the corresponding suffix is used for same-subject subordinate verbs, although there is one anomalous example in the Eastern Garrwa corpus. Furby and Furby (1977b:88, 90, 92) give a number of examples. The following examples are taken from the Eastern Garrwa corpus (including the anomalous one, 60).

- (57) *Jilaj-ba ngay-a, marrka-jini.*
 EG go-UNM 1sg-PRES hunt-SS
 'I'm going away, hunting.'
- (58) *Warraku-j-bi yal-a, ngara-jini.*
 EG mad-INCHO-UNM 3pl-PRES drink-SS
 'They've been drinking and they're mad.'
- (59) *Bajangu-wanyi bijba-yi, balikayaj-ina.*
 EG dog-ERG bite-PAST hungry-SS
 'The dog bit him because it was hungry.'
- (60) *Daba nana nyulu wanduj-ina nana bajangu.*
 EG hit:UNM that 3sg bark-SS that dog
 'He hit that dog because it was barking.'

It is noted that Garrwa permits unmarked nouns in the subordinate clause while Wanyi does not. Compare Wanyi examples (51) and (56) above with the following from Furby and Furby (1977b).

- (61) *Kujarra malumba jilaj-ba bula yarrij-ina jangkurr naja-na.*
 WG two together go-R 3du put-SS word paper-LOC
 'They sit [sic] together, putting words on paper.'

6.6 Different-subject subordinate

The different-subject subordinate marker is related to the allative suffix on nouns, and it is usually used to mark a subordinate verb whose subject is the object of the main clause. Wanyi examples include:

- (62) *Mama-wurru naj-ba nga dabarra-kurru.*
 Wa food-ALLA see-R 1sg:ACC cook-DS
 'He watched me cook the damper.'
- (63) *Daba ngawu nan dara wandura-kurru.*
 Wa hit:R 1sg 3sg:ACC dog bark-DS
 'I hit the dog because it was barking.'
- (64) *Balyanga nga kayin-ma dabarra-kurru.*
 Wa don't 1sg:ACC call-IMP cook-DS
 'Don't call me away from my cooking.'
- (65) *Mularrij-ba ngawij nana bulumirri, ngindi-wurru.*
 Wa pick.up-R 1sg that baby cry-DS
 'I picked up the baby that was crying.'

A problematic example is

- (66) *Wayi ninya yalu nguru-bu, da-jkurru yalu-ngka.*
 Wa question 2sg:ACC 3pl tell-R hit-DS 3pl-RECIP
 'Did they tell you about the fight?' (Presumably the two 3pl's are different.)

Eastern Garrwa examples include:

- (67) *Ngala manku ngay-i bajangu-muku wandura-jkurri.*
 EG then hear:UNM 1sg-PAST dog-PL bark-DS
 'I heard all the dogs barking.'
- (68) *Bajalij-ba ngay-a waliji yaj-kurri.*
 EG smell-UNM 1sg-PRES meat burn-DS
 'I can smell meat cooking.'

Furby and Furby (1977b:88–92) give a number of examples. Here again it is noted that Garrwa permits nominative nouns in the subordinate clause (67), (68) while in comparable sentences in Wanyi (62) they must be inflected (this time with the allative).

7 Tense, mood and aspect marking in Garrwa

Garrwa has a system of markers which, for want of a better name, will be referred to as clitics, affixed to verbs or pronouns or, in some cases, other words and marking tense, imperative mood, habitual aspect or continuative aspect. In some cases the form attached to non-verbs is reduced, but there is always some phonological similarity.

7.1 Tense

Tense markers are attachable only to verbs and pronouns (in subject, object, compound object-subject and reflexive forms). Attachment to pronouns is preferred.³² The system is as given in Table 10 (remember that with a vowel-initial suffix the initial vowel replaces the final vowel of the stem):

Table 10: Tense markers in Garrwa

	Verbs	Pronouns
Past	- <i>yi</i>	- <i>i</i>
Present	- <i>ngka</i> ~ - <i>ka</i>	-∅ ~ - <i>a</i>
Future	- <i>ja</i>	- <i>ja</i> ~ <i>ja-</i>

The short form of the present tense marker used with verbs results from dissimilation and is used when the stem-final vowel is preceded by a nasal-stop cluster (cf. McConvell 1988); thus, for example, *najbangka* 'see-PRES', *wilkungka* 'run-PRES', *bunudujbangka* 'get close-PRES' but *jungkuka* 'sit-PRES', *lalanbaka* 'watch-PRES', *yukumbaka* 'wait-PRES'. With pronouns there is usually no overt marker for present tense, but with 1sg and 3pl subject forms there is an optional suffix -*a* (so *ngaya* and *yala* instead of the root forms *ngayu* and *yalu*). Compare (74) and (75). The future marker *ja* may be either suffixed to a pronoun: subject as in (79), object (80) or complex (81), or prefixed to a pronoun: subject (82), object (83) or complex (84), as well as being able to be suffixed to a verb (78). When it follows the 3sg or 1pl.ex nominative pronouns the final vowel of the stem changes to *i* (or alternatively we may say that there is an allomorph -*ija*); so *nyulija* and *nurrija* from *nyulu* and *nurru* respectively.

The 1sg future form *jangayu* may be shortened to *janga*; only the shortened form is attested for Eastern Garrwa. No examples of future tense marking on verbs are attested for the Eastern dialect, and suffixation of -*ja* on pronouns seems to be rare; the only example in the corpus is *ngambaj* (<*ngambaja*) '1pl.in-FUT'.

Furby (1972) and Furby and Furby (1977b) give many examples of these tense markers and most of the following examples are taken from the Eastern Garrwa corpus. However, due to the absence of future -*ja* from the latter, a few examples (78)–(81), (83) are taken from the Furbys' papers.

Past tense:

- (69) *Nana-muku-nja ngay-i yany-ba yalu-ngi.*
 EG that-PL-DAT 1sg-PAST talk-UNM 3pl-DAT
 'I was talking to that lot.'

- (70) *Jila ngay-i waluwa,*
 EG go:UNM 1sg-PAST before
ngala nyul-i jila nana banyarri.
 then 3sg-PAST go:UNM that behind
 "That bloke came after me; I was gone."

³² And in this it resembles the West Barkly languages; see, for example, Nordlinger (1998, Ch. 5).

- (71) *Miku ngay-i daba, nana-ngi yingka-wanyi daba-yi.*
 EG not 1sg-PAST hit:UNM that-ERG other-ERG hit-PAST
 'I didn't hit him, someone else did.'

The following two examples show (at least for the particular dialect involved in each) that past tense marking is not obligatory if there is another time indicator, and that no further marking is required on realis forms when there is a modal adverb:

- (72) *Kanjibul-wanyi ngana kijij-ba wabula.*
 WG policeman-ERG 1sg:ACC tie-UNM long.ago
 'A policeman tied me up a long time ago.'

- (73) *Baki ninji raj-ba.*
 EG maybe 2sg burn-UNM
 'You might get burnt.'

Present tense:

- (74) *Marrala ngayu nangangi.*
 EG fear:UNM 1sg 3sg:DAT
 'I'm frightened of that fellow.'

- (75) *Warinji-ba ngay-a.*
 EG thirsty-UNM 1sg-PRES
 'I'm thirsty.'

- (76) *Ngaki bajangu kunyban; bijba-ngka kuda jikawarran.*
 EG 1sg:DAT dog good bite-PRES many wallaby
 'My dog's a good one; he kills a lot of kangaroos.'

- (77) *Bajangun ngaki wanduba-ngka, wandu-ba nyulu yaji-na.*
 EG dog 1sg:DAT bark-PRES bark-R 3sg camp-LOC
 "Must be my dog barking in the camp."

Future tense:

- (78) *Wudumba-ja yalu waliji dungala-na.*
 WG get-FUT 3pl meat stone-LOC
 'They will get beef with money.'

- (79) *Duku-na nungkala-ja yukumba.*
 WG dry-LOC 1du.in-FUT wait:UNM
 'We will wait at the dry place.'

- (80) *Wanyi-na ninga-ja naj-ba.*
 WG interrogative-LOC 2sg:ACC-FUT see-UNM
 'When will he see you?'

- (81) *Manku nga-ninji-ja.*
 WG hear:UNM 1sg:ACC-2sg-FUT
 'You will hear me.'

- (82) *Ja-bula kuluka jungku.*
 EG FUT-3du sleep:UNM sit:UNM
 'They'll be camping together.'

- (83) *Manku ja-niyanya bada-jkurri.*
 WG hear:UNM FUT-1du.ex:ACC come-DS
 'He will hear the two of us coming.'
- (84) *Ja-nga-ninji milidimba, nanda jala ninji ngarrkadaba.*
 EG FUT-1sg:ACC-2sg show:UNM that then 2sg spear:UNM
 "You'll have to take me and show me where you speared that bloke."

7.2 Imperative mood

Imperative mood in Western Garrwa is marked by the clitic *-kiyi*, attached to a variety of word classes, but, of personal pronouns, only to the second person singular nominative (85). In 26 of the 28 examples in Furby and Furby (1977b:81–84) the clitic is attached to the first word of the clause; this may be a subject as in (85), object (86) or peripheral constituent (87), (88). With non-singular second person pronouns imperative is indicated by reduplication of the pronoun, with, in the dual, the final vowel changing to *i* (89). With other nominative pronouns, except 1du.ex, for which no form has been found, and all reflexive pronouns, the imperative (or optative, as it could be called with first and third person pronouns) is marked by the clitic *-nyi* (90). In the Eastern Garrwa corpus the marker has two forms, *-i* and *-kiyi*, and it is found only on the realis form of verbs (91), (92). Eastern Garrwa also has non-singular imperative forms in which the 2du or 2pl pronoun, as appropriate, is suffixed to the realis verb: thus *jungkunimba* 'you two stay!' and *jungkunarri* 'you mob stay!'.

The first six of the following examples are taken from Furby and Furby (1977b:81–84) and many others will be found there. The remainder are Eastern Garrwa.

- (85) *Ninji-kiyi balba yingka-rri yaji-yurri.*
 WG 2sg-IMP return:UNM other-ALLA camp-ALLA
 'You go away to another place!'
- (86) *Dungala-kiyi wudumba.*
 WG stone-IMP get:UNM
 'Get a stone!'
- (87) *Miku-kiyi yabimba.*
 WG not-IMP make:UNM
 'Don't make it!'
- (88) *Kada-kiyi jungku.*
 WG quiet-IMP sit:UNM
 'Be quiet!'
- (89) *Nimbala-nimbal-i jungku kada.*
 WG 2du-2du-IMP sit:UNM quietly
 'You two sit quietly!'
- (90) *Nyulu-nyi jilaj-ba nanka-warri.*
 WG 3sg-IMP go-UNM lagoon-ALLA
 'Let him go to the lagoon.'

- (91) *Kudarri jarrb-i nana kudarri.*
 EG don't eat-IMP that don't
 'Don't eat that!'
- (92) *Jilajba-kiyi, yilikajba-kiyi nanama-nbarri nganinyi ja-nyulu jila.*
 EG go-IMP ask-IMP that-NOW man FUT-3sg go:UNM
 'Go and ask that man if he's going to go.'

7.3 Habitual and continuative aspects

Habitual aspect in Western Garrwa is marked by a clitic *-kili ~ nkili* on verbs, with a reduced form *-ili* on pronouns and other words. It is usually, but not always, translated as past habitual, 'used to'. Examples are taken from Furby (1972) and Furby and Furby (1977b). There is no evidence of this morpheme in the Eastern Garrwa corpus. Examples are:

- (93) — *ngala ngayu jungku-kili Mukularrangu ngaki-nyina yaji-na.*
 WG while 1sg sit-HAB Robinson.R 1sg:DAT-LOC country-LOC
 '— while I used to live at Robinson River.'
- (94) *Jal-ili karu nanda Milingundaya wankala wabula.*
 WG then-HAB call:UNM that Milingundaya olden.times before
 'Then, in olden times, we used to call that one (high tide) Milingundaya.'
- (95) *Walya-nyi-kili wij-ba langina kamu.*
 WG dugong-DAT-HAB return-UNM north:ABL later
 'They come back from the north for the dugong later today.'
- (96) *Yany-ba ngali-ngk-ili Garrwa jangkurr.*
 WG talk-UNM 1du.ex-RECIP-HAB Garrwa word
 'We two always talk Garrwa.'

A clitic *-wa* on (at least) verbs in unmarked form, personal pronouns and time words denotes a continuing action, translated 'still'. It is not attested in my Eastern Garrwa corpus, and all examples here come from Furby and Furby (1977b) or Furby (1972). However, a clitic *-wa* occurs three times in my Wanyi corpus and is probably the same (although it was originally glossed 'let' and is attested only in optative sentences). Example (28) illustrates it.

- (97) — *ngala kudiya jarrijba-wa yalu.*
 WG while some be.away-CONT 3pl
 '— while they, some of them are still away.'
- (98) *Yuwaji-wa nanda ngulya wilku-ngka wulani-nyi.*
 WG still-CONT that blood run-PRES yesterday-DAT
 'That blood is still running from yesterday.'
- (99) *Yalu-wa jungku banda-na.*
 WG 3pl-CONT sit:UNM camp-LOC
 'They are still sitting at the camp.'

7.4 Other aspectual forms

The Furbys describe a number of other aspectual suffixes, but without always linking the different allomorphs which occur on pronouns³³ and other words. For example, Furby (1972:6–8) describes a suffix *-yi*, called abilitative aspect and carrying the meaning ‘might’ or, with a negative, ‘cannot’. (It is written *-ya* in Furby and Furby (1977b:98) ex. 17.) It appears that this is an allomorph used only on pronouns, since the same name and function are attributed to a suffix *-wali* (attested on a noun and on *miku* ‘not’) in Furby and Furby (1977b:51, with examples on pp.54 (ex. 2), 56 (ex. 17) and 60 (ex. 11)). To compound the confusion, Furby and Furby (1977a) have a suffix called dubitive A mood, which seems to have the same function as the abilitative in a positive sentence and has the same form *-yi* for pronouns (including the relative pronoun/conjunction *jala*), but has an allomorph *-wanyi* on verbs.

Other aspects described or mentioned by the Furbys are:

- desiderative past, *-yanyi ~ kiyanyi ~ ya ~ yala*, meaning ‘wanted’ or, with the negative, ‘did not’;
- desiderative nonpast, *-mi ~ -kimi* meaning ‘wants’ or, with the negative, ‘does not’;
- limitative, *-ma*, meaning ‘only’ (but note that *-wanyi* is glossed *lim* for limitative in Furby and Furby (1977b:56) ex. 19);
- primordial, *-warri*, meaning ‘first’;
- inceptive, *-ngiwa*.

See Furby (1972:6–9), Furby and Furby (1977a:16–20) and Furby and Furby (1977b:51 and, for a list of forms, p.53).

Another suffix, labelled ‘intensifier’, may also belong with the above. The forms are *-mirra* and *-nmirra*, the latter used on possessive pronouns; see Furby (1972:15) and Furby and Furby (1977b:35 ex. 6, p.82 ex. 7).³⁴ A similar morpheme (at least as regards function with pronouns) is *-mayngka*, attested only on pronouns (Furby 1972:15); thus *ngakinmirra* and *ngakumayngka* both mean ‘my own’.

Most of these morphemes are attested in Wanyi. The desiderative past corresponds to the Wanyi irrealis, described in §6.3. Sentence (43) above seems to illustrate this morpheme in Eastern Garrwa. Examples given by Furby and Furby include:

(100) *Ngayu-kiyanyi marrkaj-ba wadaba.*

WG 1sg-DES.PAST hunt-UNM goanna
‘I wanted to hunt goanna.’

(101) *Yalu-njal-iyanyi waj-ba wajili-nyi.*

WG 3pl:acc-3pl-DES.PAST give-UNM honey-DAT
‘They wanted to give them honey.’

(102) *Miku nurri-yala naj-ba kamba.*

WG not 1pl.ex-DES.PAST see-UNM sun
‘We didn’t see the sun’

³³ Again, as for tense suffixes (see §7.1), only on those pronominal forms which can function as subjects or objects.

³⁴ This is a likely loan from a Tangkic language word *mirra* ‘good’; see Evans (1995:195).

The morpheme, *-kiya*, glossed 'did', appearing in Furby and Furby (1977b:56 ex.18) and given below (112) to contrast with Wanyi *-kiya*, is most likely another allomorph of the desiderative past.

The desiderative nonpast seems too, from the limited information available, to have part of the function of the Wanyi irrealis. There are only two examples available, and the positive one does not clearly illustrate the function given for it above.

- (103) *Nanda jal-imi ngayu bangungu stuwa-yurri wudumba ngayu*
 WG if-DES.NONP 1sg west:LOC store-ALLA get:UNM 1sg
wanu nganyi.³⁵
 tobacco 2sg:DAT
 'If I were to go to the store in the west, I would get you some tobacco.'

- (104) *Miku nangka-ma nangk-imi dula-ba.*
 WG not 3sg:REFL-only 3sg:REFL-DES.NONP remove-UNM
 'He, by himself, does not pull himself (out of the bog).'

Wanyi *-yama* 'only' seems to correspond to the Garrwa limitative. The Wanyi form is illustrated in (105) and the Garrwa in (106).

- (105) *Bawa ngaki-nkany ngawu-yama.*
 Wa elder.brother 1sg:GEN-PRIV 1sg-ONLY
 'I've got no brothers; there's only me.'

- (106) *Naj-ba ninga-ma.*
 WG sec-R 2sg:ACC-ONLY
 '(He) sees only you.'

The primordial *-warri* is exemplified in (107) for Wanyi and in (108) for Garrwa.

- (107) *Dabarra-ba ngawu kakun-warri, dabarra-kany ngawu waliji-barri*.³⁶
 Wa cook-UNM 1sg fish-FIRST cook-IRR 1sg meat-THEN
 'I'll cook the fish first, then I'll cook the meat.'

- (108) *Najba-yi ninga-warri jakuwanda-na.*
 WG see-PAST 2sg:ACC-FIRST creek-LOC
 'You were the first one (I) saw at the creek.'

A form *mirra* in Wanyi is transcribed as a free form in *wambukany mirra* (*wambu* 'sick', *-kany* privative), translated 'not really sick' and as a bound form in *kadikadimirra* (*kadi*, *kadikadi* 'small'), translated as 'one little one'. Compare Garrwa *walkurramirra* 'very big' (*walkurra* 'big'). A use corresponding to that with pronouns in Garrwa (see Furby 1972:15; the form is *-mmirra*) is not attested for Wanyi. See the notes on the Garrwa 'intensifier' above, and especially note 34.

A clitic *-kiya*, glossed 'maybe', is exemplified in (109)–(111). The Garrwa example with *-kiya* is given as (112); however, the meaning of the Wanyi form seems rather to correspond to the Garrwa abilitative, and this is illustrated in (113)–(115). In fact, as noted above, the Garrwa *-kiya* seems most likely to be another allomorph of the desiderative past. The Wanyi word *jalikiya* 'nearly' may also contain *-kiya* (and perhaps *jala* 'now').

³⁵ Note, *nanda jala* together can have the meaning 'if' or 'when'; see Furby and Furby (1977a:16).

³⁶ Note that *kaku* is followed by the suffix *-n*, unless the clitic is actually *-nwarri*.

- (109) *Ngamuku-kiya nana-ngkurru jila,*
 Wa suppose-MAYBE there-ALLA go:UNM
nyulu-kiya bij-ba-rri nga ngamuyu-kiya?
 3sg-MAYBE bite-UNM-THEN 1sg:ACC suppose-MAYBE
 'If I go there again he'll bite me again.'
- (110) *Ngamuyu-kiya ngamba wambu.*
 Wa suppose-MAYBE 1pl.in sick
 'We might get sick.'
- (111) *Walimi-kiya nana bidirrika.*
 Wa right-MAYBE that kangaroo
 'That's right, it is a kangaroo.'
- (112) *Miku-kiya kuyu jangkurr nangangi.*
 WG not-DID take word 3sg:GEN
 'He did not take his word.'
- (113) *Wurru-wali mada kuyu-yi.*
 WG scrub-ABIL also take-PAST
 '(He) might have gathered scrub-wood also.'
- (114) *Miku-wali wudumba.*
 WG not-ABIL get:UNM
 '(He) cannot get (it).'
- (115) *Bilyiny-ba nganyi-ngk-iyi nukami.*
 WG swell-UNM 2sg-REFL-ABIL foot
 'Your foot might swell.'

8 Conclusion

Comparison of other function words in Wanyi and Garrwa would be interesting, but the data on most such morphemes are so fragmentary at present that this is probably not worth attempting. Furby and Furby (1977a) give information on conjunctions in Garrwa, but there is not enough information on their Wanyi counterparts for a comparison. Information on free-form aspect markers and other such grammatical words is lacking for both languages.

The many correspondences in grammar, especially the pronoun inventories, confirm the conclusion that these languages are closely related, but at the same time the substantial differences in grammar suggest that they must be mutually unintelligible — closely related languages rather than dialects of a language. Relationships to other languages are not clear, but correspondences with the West Barkly languages especially are worth further study.

Appendix: Wanyi and Garrwa lexicon sample

A comparative list of 179 items in Wanyi and Garrwa. A word that is attested for only one Garrwa dialect is marked (WG) or (EG) as appropriate. The list is not complete for Eastern Garrwa, and many items are not well attested.

	Wanyi	Garrwa
man	<i>burrurri</i>	<i>nganinyi</i>
woman	<i>kirriya</i>	<i>jibarri</i>
old man	<i>kuluwuluku, wululuku</i>	<i>malbu, wululuku</i> (WG)
old woman	<i>ngandaarra</i>	<i>badibadi</i>
boy	<i>juka</i>	<i>juka</i>
girl	<i>ngila</i>	<i>ngila</i>
baby	<i>bulumirri</i>	<i>badada</i>
father	<i>murriba, wulu-</i>	<i>nijanganjinyi, bukaka-, banana-</i>
mother	<i>ngada-, bujarra</i>	<i>ngada-, bujarra</i> (EG), <i>yarriji</i> (EG)
elder brother	<i>bawa-</i>	<i>bawa-</i>
elder sister	<i>balala-</i>	<i>maju-, balala-</i> (EG)
wife	<i>mangkarri, mani</i>	<i>mangkarri</i> (EG), <i>mani-</i> (WG)
name	<i>niji</i>	<i>niji</i> (WG)
head	<i>kuyi</i>	<i>kuyi, kulaji</i>
head hair	<i>nyungka</i>	<i>nyungka</i>
face, forehead	<i>wali</i>	<i>wali</i>
eye	<i>rami</i>	<i>yami</i> (EG also <i>rami</i>)
nose	<i>mulu</i>	<i>mulu</i>
ear	<i>kuwada</i>	<i>kuwada</i>
mouth	<i>janyi</i>	<i>janyi</i>
tongue	<i>nganjaa</i>	<i>nganjaj</i> (EG), <i>jalinyi</i> (WG)
tooth	<i>mayi</i>	<i>mayi</i>
beard	<i>jamanku</i>	<i>jamanku</i> (EG), <i>jamuka</i> (WG)
throat	<i>duka</i>	<i>ngundungundu</i> (EG), <i>duka</i> (WG)
nape	<i>janki</i>	<i>janki</i>
shoulder	<i>bikali, ngaba</i>	<i>ngaba, bikali</i> (EG)
armpit	<i>ngarrala</i>	<i>wajimbangu</i> (WG)
arm	<i>jalu</i>	<i>jalu</i>
elbow	<i>munju</i>	<i>mundarrinyi</i> (EG), <i>munu</i> (WG)
hand	<i>mani</i>	<i>mani</i>
finger nail	<i>yilwi</i>	<i>yirriiyi</i> (EG), <i>yilwil</i> (WG)
heart	<i>kudulu</i>	<i>kudulu</i>
liver	<i>malambi</i>	<i>malambi</i> (EG), <i>jungayi</i> (WG)
stomach	<i>muwa</i>	<i>muwa</i>
faeces	<i>mida</i>	<i>mida</i>
thigh	<i>nala</i>	<i>nala</i>
knee	<i>murrungku, muji</i>	<i>marrandi</i> (EG), <i>muji</i> (WG)
foot	<i>nukami</i>	<i>nukami</i>
bone	<i>nguli</i>	<i>nguli</i> (WG)
blood	<i>balungka</i>	<i>ngulya</i>
hungry	<i>balikayjba</i>	<i>balikayjba</i> (EG), <i>windajibi</i> (EG), <i>birrkalijsba</i> (WG), <i>windikanyi</i> (WG)
thirsty	<i>nganmarrkijba</i>	<i>warinjijba, waringkanyi</i>
sick	<i>wambu, janyba</i>	<i>kili, janyba</i> (EG), <i>lunji</i> (WG)
frightened	<i>durrajbi</i>	<i>marrala</i>
sore	<i>biwi</i>	<i>biwi</i> (WG)
porcupine	<i>nyinbu</i>	<i>nyinbu, nyilangunya</i> (EG), <i>nyili</i> (WG)
dog	<i>dara</i>	<i>bajangu</i>
dingo	<i>warrki</i>	<i>warrki</i>

	Wanyi	Garrwa
tail	<i>bambulara</i>	<i>burrka, bira</i> (WG), <i>jidimbi</i> (WG)
flying fox	<i>balaki</i>	<i>balaka</i> (WG)
bird	<i>julaki</i>	<i>julaki</i>
egg	<i>makulu</i>	<i>makulu</i>
emu	<i>kananganja</i>	<i>kananganja</i>
broлга	<i>dangarrkaala</i> ?	<i>darrumanji</i> (EG), <i>dakudiji</i> (WG)
turkey	<i>kaninya</i>	<i>wundurri, kaninya</i> (EG), <i>kundabarra</i> (WG)
pelican	<i>walanybirri</i>	<i>balubalu</i>
eaglehawk	<i>jarrbikala</i>	<i>jalbarramba</i>
kite hawk	<i>buka</i> ji	<i>buka</i> ji
crow	<i>wangkula</i>	<i>wangkula</i>
white cockatoo	<i>barrawa</i>	<i>barrawa</i> (EG), <i>barral</i> (WG)
black cockatoo	<i>lirradu</i>	<i>lirradu</i>
galah	<i>kilyingilyi</i>	<i>dinkili</i>
kookaburra	<i>danmurra</i>	<i>banduringi</i> (EG), <i>dalmurra</i> (WG)
snake	<i>miya</i>	<i>miya</i>
crocodile	<i>kaburrukaja</i>	<i>warukaja</i> (EG), <i>darrawujama</i> (EG), <i>kaji</i> (WG)
fish	<i>kaku</i>	<i>kaku</i>
fly	<i>kunama</i>	<i>kunima, miyimi</i> (WG)
mosquito	<i>liwi</i>	<i>wadikiki</i>
ant	<i>biraki</i>	<i>biraki</i> (WG)
louse	<i>dunuu</i>	<i>dunurr</i> (WG)
tree	<i>kunda</i>	<i>kunda, darrangku</i>
leaf	<i>yilaka</i>	<i>wanjirr</i>
root	<i>yarrala</i>	<i>balawala</i> (WG), <i>landurr</i> (WG), <i>jirrannyi</i> (WG)
bark	<i>jiba, kalu</i>	<i>kalu, waba</i> (WG)
grass	<i>kanba</i>	<i>kanba</i>
sky	<i>bala</i>	<i>bala</i> (WG), <i>laliji</i> (WG)
sun	<i>duru</i>	<i>kamba</i>
moon	<i>balangarra</i>	<i>yakali</i> (EG), <i>yakal</i> (WG)
star	<i>jinkiji</i>	<i>jinkiji</i> (EG), <i>kambirriji</i> (WG), <i>warrawiji</i> (WG)
wind	<i>wurrarra</i>	<i>kunba</i> or <i>wunba</i> (EG), <i>yunkurr</i> (WG)
ground	<i>jamba</i>	<i>jamba</i>
sand	<i>kalabi</i>	<i>jundurr</i> (WG)
red ochre	<i>malala</i>	<i>kunjul</i> (WG)
stone	<i>kara</i>	<i>dungala, kara</i> (EG), <i>kuda</i> (EG)
water	<i>wanami</i>	<i>wabuda, wanami</i> (EG), <i>nguwu</i> (WG)
cloud	<i>ngalu, nguraji</i>	<i>ngurul</i> (EG), <i>ngalu</i> (WG)
rain	<i>wanami</i>	<i>wanami</i> (EG), <i>janja</i> (WG)
river	<i>kala, manangka</i>	<i>manangka, bundal</i> (WG)
flood	<i>dumularra, mali</i>	<i>yajkumbanarra</i> (EG), <i>mali</i> (WG), <i>kumu</i> (WG)
camp	<i>raji, wanba</i>	<i>banda, raji</i> (EG), <i>ya</i> ji (EG)
humpy	<i>wukaana, wadara</i>	<i>wadara</i> (EG), <i>barrawu</i> (WG)
meat	<i>waliji</i>	<i>bannyi, waliji</i>
tucker	<i>mama</i>	<i>mama, wada, manja</i> (WG)

	Wanyi	Garrwa
fire	<i>jangu</i>	<i>jangu</i>
flame, light	<i>mabiba</i>	<i>minbi</i> (WG)
ashes	<i>julwu, kunnga</i>	<i>kanbuna</i> (EG), <i>julurr</i> (WG), <i>munkul</i> (WG)
smoke	<i>kinnga</i>	<i>kunnga?</i> (EG), <i>kunngarr</i> (WG)
spear	<i>mukura</i>	<i>wuni, mukura</i> (EG), <i>balamurru</i> (EG)
boomerang	<i>jukuli</i>	<i>ngubungu, jukuli</i> (EG)
shield	<i>kalingirri</i>	<i>jaruma</i> (EG), <i>kalingirri</i> (WG)
axe	<i>kuluu, maraki</i>	<i>maraki</i> (EG), <i>lama</i> (WG), <i>majaja</i> (WG)
word, language	<i>yanyi</i>	<i>jangkurr</i> (WG), <i>yanyi</i> (WG)
north	<i>langkurri</i>	<i>langki</i>
south	<i>kula</i>	<i>kula, nginiri</i> (EG)
east	<i>karriwarri</i>	<i>karri</i>
west	<i>bayingu</i>	<i>bayingu</i> (EG), <i>bayungu</i> (WG)
near	<i>yidku</i>	<i>bundu</i> (WG)
far	<i>juni</i>	<i>juju, barranyi</i> (WG)
up	<i>kingkarri</i>	<i>kingkarri</i>
down, below	<i>wajka</i>	<i>wajka</i> (WG)
now, today	<i>jala, yiningki</i>	<i>jala</i>
by and by	<i>kamu, baku</i>	<i>baku, kamu</i> (WG)
yesterday	<i>bungkaana</i>	<i>bungkaana</i> (EG), <i>wulani</i> (WG)
tomorrow	<i>mudunama</i>	<i>munganawa</i>
long ago	<i>wabula</i>	<i>wabula, wankala</i> (WG)
night, dark	<i>wundurru, juwala</i>	<i>munga</i>
good	<i>walyuku</i>	<i>kunyba, yabi</i> (WG)
bad	<i>nurru, bari</i>	<i>barrki</i> (EG), <i>balki</i> (WG)
big	<i>wuluku</i>	<i>walkurra</i>
small	<i>kadi</i>	<i>bayakada, bayayawa</i>
long	<i>kanawa</i>	<i>wunanybala, ngalukama</i> (EG)
short	<i>kulaa?</i>	<i>Munduri</i> (EG), <i>kudalirri</i> (WG)
wet	<i>mannga</i>	<i>jilbi</i> (WG)
dry	<i>kundi</i>	<i>duku</i>
hot, heat	<i>ngarangara, ngadara?</i>	<i>Ngadara?</i> (WG)
black	<i>ngujuruka</i>	<i>kukudu</i>
white	<i>bunaja?</i>	<i>Bunyala</i> (WG)
heavy	<i>jalwa</i>	<i>ngiruka</i> (WG)
one	<i>yingkanyi</i>	<i>yingamali, yingkanyi</i> (EG), <i>yalkunyi</i> (WG)
two	<i>ku jarra</i>	<i>ku jarra</i>
many	<i>kaja</i>	<i>kudukudu, kanymadu</i> (EG), <i>kaja</i> (WG)
be standing	<i>karrinja</i>	<i>karrinja</i>
stand up	<i>lalujbu</i>	<i>anga</i> (WG)
sit	<i>jungku</i>	<i>jungku</i>
lie, sleep	<i>kudijbi</i>	<i>kuluka</i>
see	<i>najba</i>	<i>najba</i>
hear	<i>laji, manku</i>	<i>laji</i> (EG), <i>manku</i> (WG)
smell (tr)	<i>bajalijba</i>	<i>bajalijba</i>
eat	<i>jarrba</i>	<i>jarrba, wadamba</i> (WG)
drink	<i>ngaraba</i>	<i>ngaraba</i>
bite	<i>bijba</i>	<i>bijba</i>
die	<i>kuda, janyba</i>	<i>janyba, jany mama</i> (WG)
speak	<i>yanyba</i>	<i>yanyba</i>

	Wanyi	Garrwa
tell	<i>ngurubu</i>	<i>karu</i>
know	<i>jiringkijbi</i>	<i>jingkijsa</i>
call out	<i>kayi</i>	<i>kaya, waka</i> (WG)
cry	<i>ngindi</i>	<i>ngindu</i>
laugh	<i>nguyulibi</i>	<i>kakalijsa</i>
go	<i>jila</i>	<i>jila</i>
come here!	<i>kawa</i>	<i>kabukawa</i>
return	<i>kannga</i>	<i>wijsa</i>
enter	<i>jarijsa</i>	<i>ngankijsa</i>
run	<i>burrbijbi</i>	<i>wilku</i>
climb	<i>kajilaba</i>	<i>kirrijsa</i>
jump	<i>bulubarrba</i>	<i>bulbulkijba</i> (WG)
fall	<i>yirrbinkirbi, burrumani</i>	<i>yirrba, wirrba</i> (WG)
swim	<i>bilyikija, banjarrba</i>	<i>banjarrba</i> (WG)
fly	<i>babababa</i>	<i>baba</i>
make	<i>mirramba</i>	<i>yabimba, yarijsa</i> (EG), <i>kunymamba</i> (EG)
give	<i>windijbi</i>	<i>wajba</i>
get	<i>nanganja</i>	<i>wudumba</i>
put down	<i>nijba</i>	<i>nijba</i> (EG), <i>yarijsa</i> (WG)
carry, take	<i>ngaba</i>	<i>kuyu, ngaba</i> (EG)
steal	<i>ngirra</i>	<i>ngirra</i> (EG), <i>maninjakujsa</i> (WG)
look for	<i>kujsa</i>	<i>kujsa</i>
hold	<i>marrijbi</i>	<i>marrimba</i>
burn (intr)	<i>rajsa</i>	<i>yajba, rajba</i> (EG), <i>danyka?</i> (WG)
cut	<i>karrba</i>	<i>karrba</i> (EG), <i>dalba</i> (WG)
chop	<i>daya</i>	<i>daya</i>
hit	<i>daba</i>	<i>daba</i>
break	<i>ramijbi</i>	<i>dalyamba</i>
throw	<i>janbijbi, janyba</i>	<i>janyba, janybijbi</i> (EG)
hit (with boom- erang), shoot	<i>rangkijsa, rangimba</i>	<i>rangimba, rangkijsa</i> (EG)
spear	<i>kalijbi</i>	<i>ngarrkadaba</i>
dig	<i>kurrijsa</i>	<i>kurrijsa</i>
bury, cover	<i>makaraba</i>	<i>makaba</i>
tie	<i>kajbilijb</i>	<i>kijijba</i> (WG)
rub	<i>namirrb</i>	<i>namba, wujkujsa</i> (WG)

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