Adverbs are primarily distinguished from other major word classes (verbs, nominals and pronominals) by the absence of prefixation. They differ from particles because they can carry case-marking clitics. Some adverbs are monomorphemic but most are polymorphemic. A few adverbial clitics have been included in this section because of their grammatical relationship with separate words.

The adverbs have been divided into five different types: locative, pergressive, manner, temporal and interrogative. The locative and pergressive adverbs are either speaker-oriented or environment-oriented. Some of the interrogative adverbs have an adjective or demonstrative roots.

7.1 LOCATIVE ADVERBS

Location in adverbs can relate to time or space. Semantically and, to a lesser extent morphologically, they divide into two groups. One group refers to a specific position in relation to the surrounding environment (including people) but the other group refers to a specific position in relation to the speaker, narrator or author. In Anindilyakwa discourses, the narrator or author acts as an observer describing events as if sitting watching them, e.g., live telecasts by racing or Olympic Games commentators. These adverbs can be inflected for the peripheral cases.

7.1.1 Environment-oriented

Locative adverbs which indicate the specific position of an object in relation to its environment are set out in (horizontal)
contrastive pairs in Table 32. The locative adverbs refer to time as well as space. The system is defective in that the term *arrawa* in used in two different contrastive pairs. Some Warnindilyakwa Aborigines themselves presented the locative adverbs as pairs of antonyms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>karrawara / apwalhkaya</th>
<th>arrawa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high, high up, above, over, on top of</td>
<td>low, low down, under, underneath, beneath</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>arrakpi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>akwilthangwa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>near, nearby, next to close to, beside, nearly, almost</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>awirrikalya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>distant, far off, remote, long way away</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The locative adverb, *karrawara* 'up high', is much more frequently used than its synonym. Even though it can be marked for case it is often not marked.

thapwapwirrangwa thimpwala ngakwilthirrangwa karrawara
3:2 many-POSS 3:2 clothing 1IncPl-POSS high

akingawirtitjinamwa akimwantja
1IncNsg+3:2 will be putting 3:4 tree-LOC
'we should be putting our clothes high up in the tree.'

yirripwikwalhiihikani::wa karrawara arakpwa
1ExcNsg went-cont.act high comp.act

yirrangapwa yakwitjina arakpwa
1ExcPl there there comp.act
'we three kept on going [until we reached] the top up there.'

wirringalhakana thikwirirrkawa ngawa narringangkirranganamwirra
3:1FemDu 3:2(ii) brogga cont.act 3:1+3:2 are thinking

niwangkirayanamwirra karrawariilhangwiya
3:1 are running high-LPRG
'The two brolgas are still thinking and running around high [in sky].'
The word, *apwalarika*(wa) 'above, up high', has been given as the synonym for *karrarara*(wa) but only one example is available from texts or elicited data. The word is obviously related to the verb, *apwalarikyi* 'to stand up,' in which the first root is *apwalarika* 'abdomen'. It is also possible that the sky is seen as shaped like an abdomen.

*yingampwilimwa amwininka apwalarika mwipwinimwantja*

3:2 was staying 3:4 different high 3:5 that unseen-LOC

*mwamwithangkwita*

3:5 sandhill-TRM

'She was staying up high on another sandhill.'

The locative adverb, *arrawa* 'down low' and 'inside', does not distinguish between the concepts of 'inside-ness' and 'underneath-ness'. The following examples illustrate both meanings and the contrast with *karrarara*.

*narrawilyakamwa wirrapwapwirnaka wirrawimwinya*

3:1+3:1 are carrying 3:1 many-INTENS 3:1 ducks

*arrawa apwirnilhangwimwantja kayiwa*

inside 3:1-POSS-LOC 3:5 bag

'They are carrying lots and lots of ducks inside their bag.'

*nimwirrkwilhimwa arrawa akimwantja*

3:3 was lying under 3:4 tree-LOC

'He was lying down under the tree.'

*akwa mwarra mwipwina nimwikwilharrnimwima arrawiwa*

and 3:5 blood 3:5 that unseen 3:5 was falling inside-ALL

'And the blood was flowing down inside [her body].' 

*arrawimwantja alhikirimwantja*

inside-LOC 3:4 house-LOC

'Inside the house.'

*nampwampwilimwirra nakwikwawira arrawa*

3:3 was keeping on sitting 3:3 alone inside

*mwathirrimwantja karrarara mwamwithangkimwantja*

3:5 cave-LOC high 3:5 sandhill-LOC

'He was keeping on sitting alone inside the cave high up in the hills.'
The locative adverb, arrakpi [erëkpi] 'outside', has been recorded only in reference to location in space. Its contrast with arrawa 'inside' is shown in the following examples.

thangapwa arrakpimwantja
3:2(i) that there outside-LOC
'She is outside.'

alyarrngwalyila yakina nilhikana arrakpiwa
3:4 night 3:3(ii) that 3:3 went outside-ALL
'At night he [Wallaby] went outside.'

akiwarrilhangwa arrawimwantja wimpwa akiwarrilhangwa
3:4 portion-ABL inside-LOC but 3:4 portion-ABL

arrakpimwantja
outside-LOC
'Part [of the airconditioner] will be inside and part outside.'

The locative, akwithangwa 'near', is not mono-morphemic. The first of the two morphemes akwi is the shortened form of (y)alhakwa 'here'. The second morpheme -thangwa may be the hardened form of the ablative case clitic or the possessive suffix. The latter would indicate an (as yet unconfirmed) semantic concept of 'possessing here-ness'.

aniwa akwithangwa ngarrilhikatjamwa angalya
3:4 this-ALL near 1IncNsg are going 3:4 place
'We are going close to this place.'

pwiya mwiiwilyapwimwantja mwarrnga thakina yingilhikana
then 3:5 one-LOC 3:5 night 3:2 that 3:2 went

akwithangwia awirikwa
near-ALL 3:4 swamp
'And then for one night she went near to the swamp.'

aningkwa nakwimwarinmirra akwithangwa aniwamwantja
3:4 spear 3:3+3:4 was putting near 3:3(i)-LOC
'He was putting the spear next to him.'

napwiwarrika anilhangwa aningkwa arrawa amwartimwantja
3:3+3:4 hid 3:3(i)-POSS 3:4 spear inside 3:4 grass-LOC

akwithangwa
near
'He hid his spear in the grass nearby.'

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akwíthangwa (kalharrmwidthinamwa near 3:4 will be becoming dark 'It's nearly dark.'
mwipwina mwitjiyangga akwíthangwa kinwidthinamwa 3:5 that unseen 3:5 boat near 3:5 will be sinking

yirriyamwa 1ExcNsg said
"The boat is almost sinking," we said.

The Locative adverb, wilyarra 'in the middle, centrally', is an adjective root, minus the nominal classifiers.

arapkwa yirripwikwilhika yirripwikwiyyatja comp.act 1ExcTri went 1ExcTri followed

yinangarikwilwilyarrakamwirra thakini-tha 3:2+3:2 was causing centrality 3:2 that-TRM

wilyarra yinglylhikanimwa centrally 3:2 was going 'We three followed--she (Miss Harris) went in the middle.' (Dabarda was first and Maria last)

ana apwaka wilyarra apwina 3:4 this 3:4 over there-INTENS centrally 3:4 that unseen

nakpwilhtjirrathina apwina ningiyamwa 3:4 became long 3:4 that 1ExcSg said
"It is in the middle over there in the undulating country," I said.

nalhikanimwa akina pwiya wilyarrapwa 3:1 were going 3:4 that then centrally-RST

niwalharrngpwarngimwa antharrnga 3:1 were settling down (name) 'They kept going and then they settled down about halfway at Antharrnga.'

Rebecca ningkwîwa lhikatja wilyarriwa (name) 2Sg 2Sg go middle-ALL 'Rebecca, go to the centre (of the circle)!'
sometimes inflected by pergressive case-markers, -lingwiya and -winya.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>near to speaker</th>
<th>distant from speaker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(y)alhakwa</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(y)akwitjina</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(y)athatha</td>
<td>on this side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(y)athikina</td>
<td>on that side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a(tha)thipwina</td>
<td>on this side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(previously</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mentioned)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alt(h)ipwatja</td>
<td>on that side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(previously</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mentioned)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first order morpheme in the stems of locative adverbs, yathatha 'near the speaker' or 'on one side', has various phonologically-conditioned allomorphs in the surface structure, viz., (a) the forms shortened by the Haplography Rule (see Section 2.5.2.1), e.g., yatha; (b) the variation between /th/ and /lh/ because of the Fortition Rule (see Section 2.12), e.g., yalha, alhalha and alhatha; and (c) the absence of the initial consonant /y/ (see Section 2:10), e.g., athatha and atha. In the deep structure of the word yakwitjina, the medial syllable of the first morpheme valhakwi has probably elided.

The second order morphemes make a distinction between being near the speaker or farther away. There is some resemblance to the demonstrative pronoun root but these are not demonstratives because of the lack of prefixation—they simply share the same root. The two demonstrative roots are: akini 'there nearer to the addressee' and pwinı 'that not visible' which has a secondary meaning of 'same that as previously referred to'. No explanation can be given for the
alternative forms except that *yathatha* could be the result of progressive assimilation of the nasal in *ani* 'this near the speaker' to the last stop in *yatha*.

The following examples illustrate the contrastive pair of adverbs, *(y)alhakwa* 'here' and *(y)akwitjina* 'there'. In some of the examples from stories, the narrators were at Umbakumba but the orientation is related to the speaker rather than the township.

*(y)alhakwa* nimwathathinamwa mwakina ningiyamwa
here 3:4 is burning 3:5 that *1ExcSg* said
"The fire is burning the tyre here [near me]," I said.'

*pwiya* alhakwa arakpwa yarna angalyimwantja
then here comp.act *1ExcPl* these 3:4 place-LOC
'And then we were all at home here.'

kingakpwirakinamwa angalya alhikira akwitjina
1ExcSg+3:4 will be making 3:4 place 3:4 house there
'I will be building a house there.'

*yakwitjina* arra napwikimwingwilha
there (name) 3:1Tri slept
'The three of them slept the night there at Arra.'

The following examples illustrate the contrastive pair of adverbs, *(y)athatha* 'on this side' and *(y)athikina* 'on that side'. The shortened form is also included.

*nakina* ana yathatha angalya naningkwalyirra
3:3(i) that 3:4 this on this side 3:4 place 3:3(i) Mamarika

wimpwa anatja angalya angalhipwa
but 3:3(i)-CofR 3:4 place that way
'He, the Mamarika man, had a place on this side but he [Amagula] had a place in that direction.'

*yatha* arakpwa ningilhikanimwa mwiwilyapwamwa
on this side comp.act *1ExcSg* was going 3:5 one

ningimwingwilhimwirra ampwikwampwa
iExcSg was sleeping (name)
'On this side I was going and sleeping one night at Umbakumba.'

nilhawirrathamwimwa yathathilhangwiya
3:3 was returning on this side-LPRG
'He was returning from across there.'

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thakina athikina yingilhikana yingimwatjiwarna
3:2 that on that side 3:2 went 3:2 walked

arakpwa angapwiwa angalya
comp.act 3:4 that there-ALL 3:4 place
'She walked on that side to that place over there.'

nilhikwilhikwayina athikinaka apwirantjarrarra
3:3 kept dancing on that side-INTENS 3:4 smooth [place].'

The locative adverbs, alhalhipwina 'on this same side' and alhalhipwatja 'on that same side', seem to be used when referring to something that has just been mentioned. This is probably related to the usage of the irrealis demonstrative words with pwini for indicating similarity or sameness. No meaning has been assigned as yet to the morpheme pwatja. The shortened form, alhipwi 'on that same side', may be baby talk.

yirripwikwalhakana athipwina yirranikwa akina
1ExcTri went on this same side 1ExcNsg+3:3 gave 3:4 that

akwalya
3:4 fish
'We went on this side and he gave us [shark] meat.'

alhalhipwatja arakpwa nakina nilhikwayina
on that same side comp.act 3:3(i) that 3:3 danced
'He danced on that side.'

pwiiya athipwina wirrirrakarimwa wimpwa
then on this side 3:1 big but

alhipwatja wirrirratjirra
on that side 3:1 long
'And then [he left] the big one on this side and the long one on that side.'

alhipwa ningana apwirrimwantjilhangwa
on that same side 1ExcSg this (name)-ABL
'I [went] from Four-Mile Billabong on that side.'

The adverb, angaihalhipwatja 'from that side, from over yonder, from there', has two shortened forms: angalhiipwa and angalyipwa. The derivation of this adverb is not resolved as yet. It may be an
adverbial noun in which an adverbial stem is preceded by the Alienable Possession marker ngwi-.

pwiya nilhawirrathimwilhangwa angalhalhipwatjq
then 3:3 was returning-ABL from there

mwawilyimwantjilhangwa
3:5 Thompson's Bay-ABL
'And then he was returning from Thompson's Bay.'

angalhipwe angampwilhangwa amwakalyiwakpwat
from there which?-ABL (name)
yirringalhawirrakatjiwmawat
1ExChsg+3:2 were bringing back 3:2(ii) dugong

thathimwathomw angledikwa
3:2(ii) her flesh
'From that place, Bickerton Island, we were bringing dugong meat back (with us).'

7.2 PERGRESSIVE ADVERBS

A pergressive adverb is a separate word which indicates progression through space or time as opposed to the locative adverb meaning stationary in space or time. These adverbs are often accompanied by an appropriate hand movement. Verbs of motion frequently co-occur with the adverbs but the latter in themselves imply movement. They are not further suffixed for peripheral cases.

7.2.1 Environment-oriented

Table 34 lists the one pair of pergressive adverbs that are orientated to the environment rather than the speaker. The words refer to both location and time.

TABLE 34: PERGRESSIVE ADVERBS (ENVIRONMENT-ORIENTED)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>athinakpwa</th>
<th>aritjilhangwa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(go) ahead, first, early</td>
<td>(follow) behind, last, late</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The pergressive adverb *athinakpwa* 'ahead' consists of two morphemes. The first morpheme is *athini* which is also found in temporal adverbs, e.g., *athinipwa* 'soon'. It is probably the same morpheme as *(y)athatha* 'on that side' in which the last syllable in the surface structure could be said to have assimilated to the previous one. The second morpheme is *akpwa* 'buttocks'. The word is used when someone goes ahead or arrives early in order to prepare something for those following.

\[
\text{wangkirrayina} \quad \text{athinakpwa} \quad \text{katjingwa} \\
\text{2Nsg go} \quad \text{ahead} \quad \text{so that}
\]

\[
\text{yikakarrnginyathama} \quad \text{akwingwa} \quad \text{yirriyamwa} \\
\text{1ExcNsg will get water-PURP} \quad \text{3:4 water} \quad \text{1ExcNsg said}
\]

"Go on ahead so that you can get us some water!" we said.'

\[
\text{nangapwa} \quad \text{ngarranimwinakwirratjinamwirra} \quad \text{athinakpwa} \\
\text{3:3(i) that there} \quad \text{1IncNsg=3:3 is minding} \quad \text{ahead} \\
\text{'That [man] over there is minding it ahead for us.'}
\]

\[
\text{athinakpwa} \quad \text{thirntankpwa} \quad \text{yingilhikiramwa} \quad \text{alhikira} \\
\text{ahead} \quad \text{3:2 mother-KPOSS} \quad \text{3:2+3:4 is building} \quad \text{3:4 house}
\]

\[
\text{akwa} \quad \text{yingilhirakamwa} \quad \text{angwira} \\
\text{and} \quad \text{3:2+3:4 is building} \quad \text{3:4 fire}
\]

"First of all, his mother is building a house and a fire.'

\[
\text{ngalhatja} \quad \text{mwariya} \quad \text{akwa} \quad \text{wirriyikwayiwa} \quad \text{niwampwilya} \\
\text{3:2-CofR} \quad \text{(name) and} \quad \text{3:1 children} \quad \text{3:1 stayed}
\]

\[
\text{athinakpwa} \quad \text{angalyimwantja} \\
\text{ahead} \quad \text{3:4 home-LOC}
\]

'Mariya and the children stayed at home at first.'

The pergressive adverb *aritijilhangwa* 'behind' consists of two morphemes. The first morpheme *aritji* could be a hardened and shortened form of the adjective root *rrariya*; the second is the ablative case-marker *-hangwi*. The word is used of someone following another person or one who comes after or later than everyone else.

\[
pwi::ya \quad \text{ngalhatja} \quad \text{yinganthaya} \quad \text{aritijilhangwa} \\
\text{then} \quad \text{3:2-CofR} \quad \text{3:2 looked behind}
\]

'And then Dabarda looked behind [her].'
"Mijaja, Miss Harris and I led and Dabarda followed on behind us.'

ngaiwa ningampwarrnga athinipwawinya akwitjina kampwirra
1ExcSg 1ExcSg soon-TPRG there therefore

ningkwiwa arijtilhangwa
2SG behind
'I got there early and thus you came later.'

ngalhawapwilhangwa amwirntakijuji arijtilhangwa
3:4 its turn-ABL 3:4 small things behind
'The luggage, in its turn, [was taken off] last.'

ampwaka ngaya arijtilhangwa
later 1ExcSg behind
'I [am waiting] until last.'

There is another pergressive adverb, Nhikwaw 'en route, along the way', which refers to space but not to time. The word appears to be a shortened form resulting from the reduplication of the root Nhikwa 'to dance'.

mwitjiyangimwa mawakarti1hangwiya mwathirringwarna mawakarta
3:5 boat-COM 3:5 sea-LPRG 3:5 big 3:5 sea

yirramwartangimwa Nhikwawa
1ExcNsg were climbing en route
'We were going by boat through big waves en route.'

Footnote 11: There is another adverb, Nhikwiniyawa 'last, later', which is similar in morphological structure to Nhikwawa. It is used of the last action before leaving or the last person to go. As only the following example occurs in texts, its analysis as a pergressive adverb cannot yet be established.

ana anhinga ningalyipwarnamwa ngaiwa kilhikatjawa
3:4 this 3:4 food 1ExcSg am eating 1ExcSg 1ExcSg will go-ALL

Nhikwiniyawa
last
'I am eating this food [and] I will be going later.'
narringingwathayinimwirra

lhikwakwa

winalyakwiniwa

3:1FemDu were crying en route 3:1MascDu those unseen-ALL

'The two women were crying along the way about the two boys.'

yakina

nayitjinimwirra

wirrapwapwirna

warnimwamwalya

3:3(ii) that 3:3 was eating 3:1 many 3:1 people

lhikwakwa nilhikanimwantja

en route 3:3 went-LOC

'He [Snake] was eating a lot of people as he went along.'

7.2.2 Speaker-oriented

Table 35 lists the pergressive adverbs in paired oppositions in relation to movement to or from the speaker (as explained by the Aborigines themselves). The derivation of one word, however, indicates that the movement is towards the addressee. These adverbs are frequently accompanied by an appropriate hand movement. The horizontal pairs of antonyms were supplied by some of the Warnindilyakwa Aborigines. The word-initial consonant /y/ in optional in some words (see Section 2.10).

TABLE 35: PREGRESSIVE ADVERBS (SPEAKER-ORIENTED)

| towards the speaker                                      | away from the speaker
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(y)angkwirrangwa</td>
<td>angakipwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to here, towards the speaker</td>
<td>to there, away from the speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angarripwa</td>
<td>(y)antjarri(kina)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(come) this way towards the speaker but changing one's</td>
<td>(go) that way from the speaker but not straight ahead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the intended direction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arripwapwa</td>
<td>arripwatja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(come) towards the speaker</td>
<td>(go) away/along from the speaker but in another direction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The derivation of these words is hard to determine because of the irregular forms. There are, however, overall similarities in the morphemes throughout the whole set. The morpheme in the first position is probably the noun root *(y)angka* 'head' but could also be the noun root *arrngka* 'eye'. The second morpheme *kinj* is the demonstrative root, *akinj* 'that near the addressee'. The morphemes, *pwa*(tja) and *pwe*(tja), are paired and mean 'towards the speaker' and 'away from the speaker', respectively. The morpheme, *tjarri* [tjoʔi], is probably the hardened form of the adjective root, *yarriri* 'forked'; the morpheme, *arrri* [eʔi], may also be a shortened form of the same root (see Section 2.9).

In the progressive adverb, *yangkiarrangwa* 'to here', the initial consonant /y/ is optional. The derivation of the word is not known but the first morphemes seem to be *yangki* and the other/s perhaps *rranwi* or *rranga*, plus the Allative case-marker *-wa*. The case-marker frequently co-occurs on another word in the sentence.

*wangkiirratja*  *yangkiarrangwa* ngayiwa
2Sg run to here 1ExcSg-ALL
'Run towards me!'

*alyarrngwalyilya* arapkwa akina mwarngkirngkiwilyarra
3:4 night comp. act 3:4 that 3:5 midnight

*yilhawirrathininmwa*  *angkiarrangwa* angalyiwa
1IncSg were returning to here 3:4 home-ALL
'It was midnight when we were arriving home here.'

*anatja*  *angkiarrangwa* nangkarrnimwira nangkarnimwirra
3:3(i)-CofR to here 3:3 was running 3:3 was getting

*thampwakwiwa*
3:2(4) tobacco-ALL
'He was running back here to get tobacco.'

*mwilharrngkwitharrpwanmwa* nimwangkarrina *angkarrangwa*
3:5 tractor (short thing) 3:5 ran to here
'The tractor came back here'

*yangkiarrangwawiya* ningana ningilhikatjamwa
to here-LPRG 1ExcSg this 1ExcSg am going
'I am going around to here.'
The derivation of the adverb, angakipwa 'to there', has not been ascertained. The first morpheme could be [yangka] 'head' and the last morpheme pwa could be the short form of pwatja 'away from the speaker'. (Note: There is a slight possibility that this is not a separate pergressive adverb but a variant form of the adverbial noun angalhipwa.)

yingilhawirrathina yingalhilhikani::wa angakipwa 3:2 returned 3:2 kept going-cont.act to there 'She returned and kept on going [until she got] to there.'
yirripwikirrkwithirrirntinga angalyimwantja angakipwa 1ExcTri descended 3:4 place-LOC to there

arakpwa yirripwikampwirra comp.act 1ExcTri settled 'We three went there to our camp and settled down.'

angakipwa mwthiylayimwantja yirranirikpwitjangatja to there (name)-LOC 1ExcNsg*3:3 jumped off 'He landed us there at Saltwater Creek.'

The pergressive adverb, angarrripwa 'this way', probably consists of three morphemes: yang[ka] 'head'; arr[i(ki)] 'forked'; anr. [pwa]pwa 'towards the speaker'. It has a shortened form arripwa which deletes the first morpheme. Such deletion is irregular.

akina arakpwa niwangkarrina angarrripwa mwikwimwikwiwa 3:4 that comp.act 3:4 went this way 3:5 sea-ALL 'It went straight ahead to the sea.'
wirringingampayina arripwa yiningwampwukiyathia 2FemDu bathe this way 3:3(1) clam-PURP

thaowirrikiywa yingiyamwa 3:2(1) daughter-DU 3:2 said '"You two daughters bathe this way for clams!' she said.'
yikilharrkatjiyathya arimiiwiwa atjiwitiila angarrripwa 1ExcNsg will send-PURP 3:4 big-ALL 3:4 hospital this way tawiniwa Darwin-ALL 'We intend to send you to the big hospital, this way to Darwin.'
The pergressive adverbs, *yantjarrikina* ~ *yantjarra* 'that way', refer to movement away from the speaker. The word probably consists of three morphemes, viz., *(y)angka* 'head' in which the final syllable is deleted and the nasal assimilates to the laminal stop; *tjarri[k]* 'forked'; and *kini* 'near to the addressee'. The meaning of the demonstrative root indicates that the movement is related to the addressee rather than the speaker. It would seem that an addressee is implied even though one is not always visible to the group involved in the conversation. The Aborigines sometimes include that information in the free translation of the sentence.

**nangkarra antjarrikina akiwiwa athalyimwa**
3:3 ran that way 3:4 that-ALL 3:4 river
'He ran that way [towards them] to the river.'

**yantjarra aniwa nilhikana thathimwingkwirrawa**
that way 3:3(i) 3:3 went 3:2(ii) point-ALL
'He went that way to the point [where the others were waiting].'

**nara wiyakwiyirna ana athalyimwa yantjarrikina**
not 2Nsg+3:4 follow 3:4 this 3:4 river that way

**niyamwa yingwa**
3:3 said 3:3(ii) crow
'"No, follow the river in that direction!" Crow said.

**nara yantjarra angarripwa**
not that way this way
'Not that way, this way.'

The contrasting pair of adverbs, *arripwapwa* 'this way, towards the speaker' and *arripwatile* 'that way, away from the speaker', share the first morpheme *arr[i]* 'forked' but contrast in the second morpheme. There is a possibility that the morpheme, *wapwa* 'this way', has the deep structure demonstrative root *pwini* in which the last consonant has assimilated to the former.

**nipwikwaya arripwapwa**
this coming this way
'He [is] coming this way.'
thakina yinitjingwinimwirra amwarngka akwa yingilhikana 3:2 that 3:2+3:4 was laughing 3:4 laugh and 3:2 went

yingikwakpiririwarna ngarningka arripwatja
3:2 crawled on her stomach again that way
'She was laughing and went crawling along on her stomach again that way.'

wilhawirrathina arripwatja mwirirrpwamwa
2Nsg return that way 3:5 human back-COM
'Go backwards!'

The progressive adverb arripwatjipwa means to 'turn and go that way'. There is a slight change in meaning because of the reduplication which seems to indicate repetitive action. No examples are available from text. The morpheme, pwatja 'that way', is most likely to be tjiwa because of its reduplicated form pwatjipwa (the reduplication and metathesis of pwatja would yield pwatjapwa).

7.3 MANNER AND TEMPORAL ADVERBS

The manner and temporal adverbs are structured in different ways. Some are monomorphemic while others are polymorphemic; some can be affixed by a limited number of syntactic suffixes, e.g., Intensifier and Terminaliser.

7.3.1 Uninflected adverbs

The are two adverbs which do not take derivational or syntactic inflections, other than the intensifier or terminaliser. These words could alternatively be regarded as particles but semantically fit in with the adverbs. The two adverbs are:

athirrariyapwa suddenly
angwirra strongly, energetically

The adverb, athirrariyapwa 'suddenly', is composed of three
morpheus. The first morpheme is probably the short form of [y]atha 'on this side'; the second is most likely to be the adjective root rrariya 'bad'; and the third -apwa may be the restrictive suffix 'only'. (Note: The semantic concept of badness or wrongness connected with 'suddenly' may have arisen from the cultural prohibition that a person not be woken suddenly so that the person's spirit will have time to return to the body.) The word has been checked but no examples are available from texts. The adverb, angwirra 'strongly, hard', is inflected by only the Intensifier and Terminaliser.

kampwirra nangawartange thakina angwirra mwirirrpwamwantja therefore 3:2+3:2 hit 3:2 that strongly 3:5 back-LOC 'And so she hit her hard on the back.'
yakina yipwiratha nangkarrininawaka angwirra 3:3 that 3:3 wallaby 3:3 was running-INTENS strongly 'That wallaby was running very fast/hard.'
ngalhatja yirikwitjilhangwa nanarrkarna nakinimwantja 3:3(ii)-CofR 3:3(ii) bandicoot 3:3+3:3 pulled 3:3(i) that-LOC
angarripa angwirra that way strongly 'Bandicoot pulled [the tail of] Wallaby very hard that way.'

7.3.2 Adverbs inflected only by -wiya

There are some temporal adverbs which have only been recorded with the Pergressive Time case-marker -wiya. The overall meaning does not always appear to change but the case-marker does indicate that duration of time is involved. These adverbs are as follows:

warnantji(pwawiya) quickly
athiwaya(wiya) for a while
a(tha)thinipwa(wiya) soon, in a little while, first (before)
The adverb for 'quickly' has two forms, **warnantjipawwiya** - **warnantjipawwiya**, in which the nasal and not the reverberation has been lost. The word consists of three morphemes: **warnantjia** 'quickly'; **pwi** (empty morph); **-wiya** (time pergressive case). The vocative suffix -aːːwi can be used with the shortened form **warnantjia**.

**akwa nanayitjina ngawa ** **warnantjipawwiya**
and 3:1MascDu+3:4 ate cont.act quickly
'And the two men continued to eat it quickly.'

**akina amwarmwarra natjinginimwa ** **warnantjipawwiya**
3:4 that 3:4 sore 3:4 was dying quickly
'The sore was getting better quickly.'

**warnantjia lhikatja niyamwa**
quickly 2Sg move 3:3 he said
'"Come quickly!" he said.'

**warnantjiaːːwi**
quickly-VOC
'Quickly!'

The temporal adverb, **athathinipwa** 'soon', consists of two morphemes. The first root is **athatha** 'on this side' (as seen in the locative adverbs); the second root may be a metathesised form of the demonstrative **pwinm** 'near the speaker'. This would imply a meaning of 'time that is on this side near the speaker'. The addition of **-wiya** can extend the meaning of **athinipawwiya** to 'first in time, before (something else), early'.

**yirrilhalhikanimwaːwa pwiya awilyapwa ayangkitharrpwa**
1ExcNsg kept going then 3:4 one 3:4 island

**athinipawwiya**
soon-TPRG
'We kept on going and then soon an island [appeared].

**pwiya yakwitjina tjatinwamanta yirrimwirntakirikwpwitjangayina**
then there 3:4 jetty-LOC 1ExcNsg jumped off

**yarnimwamwalya ** **athinipawwiya**
1ExcP1 Aborigines soon-TPRG
'And then we Aborigines all jumped off first.'
ywawa arakpwa athinipwa kilhikatjamwa
yes comp.act soon 1ExcSg will be going
'Yes, I will be going soon.'

athinipwawiya wirtarrriyawiya nanilharrkatjamwa
early morning-TPRG 3:1+3:3 is sending

wirrathedithiyara yangkwarangwa amwikwapawiwa
3:1 girls to here Umbakumba-ALL
'Early in the morning he is sending the girls here to Umbakumba.'

The temporal adverb, athiwaya 'for a little while', has two morphemes. The first root is the shortened form of the root athatha 'on this side' (see locative adverbs); the second root is possibly the adjective root waya 'weak'.

pwiya angwirrita naniyangkilhapanimwantja mwakiniyatha
then 3:4 magpie 3:3+3:3 asked-LOC 3:5 that-PURP

athiwaya
for a while
'And then Magpie asked Crow for that [raft] for a while.'

ninganikwinilhangwiya mwamwama tiraka nganyangwa
1ExcSg+3:3 gave-LPRG 3:5 this 3:5 truck 1ExcSg-POSS

athiwayawiya
for a while-TPRG
'I gave him this truck of mine for a while.'

7.3.3 With multiple inflection

Some temporal adverbs can be suffixed by more than one case-marking clitic. The meanings of the ones recorded to date are: -mwantja 'on or at that time'; -lhangwi 'from that time'; -wiya 'during that time'; and -yatha 'for that time'. The mitative case-marker, -mwir(ra), does not appear to add anything to the meaning. The most common case-marker is still the Time Pergressive -wiya.

The case clitics are optional on the following temporal adverbs. It is highly probable that all but the first word are
advocational nouns but there is as yet no real evidence of prefixation.

ampwaka ~ ampwakimwirra later, later on
athiwapwa today

The monomorphemic adverb *ampwaka* has a primary meaning of 'later' but this includes continuing to do something after the expected time limit for 'its completion. It can be translated as '(until) later, not now, still, later still, yet'. The addition of the concomitative clitic -mwirra does not appear to change the meaning.

yakwitjina yirriwirrakirirkwitjangina yirriwirramwirrkwilha there 1ExcNsg jumped off 1ExcNsg all reclined

ampwakitha later-TRM
'We all jumped off there and lay down until later.'

ampirrarina ampwaka thatingwiyani 2Sgwait later 3:2 wife-KPOSS

kinglwilyakinamwirriwa anhinga niyamwa 3:2+3:4 will be bringing-ALL 3:4 food 3:3 said
"Wait until later [when] your wife will be bringing some food back!" he said.'

nara ampwakimwirra kithaka ningana not later-COM 1ExcSg+3:4 will cook 1ExcSg this 'I will not cook it until later.' / 'I have not cooked it yet.'

yingwa ampwaka nimwingkwilhinga 3:3 crow late 3:3 slept 'The crow slept until late.'

The adverb, *ampwakilhangwa* 'slowly, gently, carefully, softly', is used of both actions and speech. It consists of the adverb *ampwaka* 'later' and the ablative suffix -ilhangwi. The lengthening of the first syllable increases the degree of slowness in a similar way to the use of the same phonological feature with the
time sequence conjunction **pwiya** (see Section 8.1.1.2). The occurrence of the ablative case-marker -**hangwi** changes the meaning to 'slowly, carefully, softly' and refers to speech as well as time.

**pwiya** **ampwaki**<sub>hangwa</sub> **nimwanga** **ampwilyimwakwiya**
then carefully 3:3+3:4 picked up 3:4 two-DU

aka
3:4 stick
'And then he carefully/gently picked up the two sticks.'

**ampwaki**<sub>hangwa</sub> **niiyapwixinamwirra** **karrawarilhangwiya**
slowly 3:3 is creeping high-LPRG

winalhakinimwantja
3:1MascDu-LOC
'Slowly he is creeping higher towards the two men.'

a::mpwaki<sub>hangwa</sub> **ngalha</sub>:ja** **mwakarta** **mwa</sub>thirringwarnaka**
slowly 3:5-CofR 3:5 sea 3:5 big-INTENS

nimwilwarmwatjingwinimwaka
3:5 was standing itself up-INTENS
'Very slowly a very big wave was raising itself up.'

The adverb, **athiwapwa** 'today (from dawn till dawn), nowadays', consists of two morphemes: [y]ate 'on this side' and **wapwa** which may be a leited form of **pwapwa** 'this way'. The word is optionally suffixed by the progressessive case-marker **-wiya**, the locative case-marker **-mwantja**, and the concomittative case-marker **-mwirra**. The restrictive suffix -(a)pwi (usually adjoined to adjectives) follows the locative case-marker in the adverb, **athiwapwamwantjipwa** 'only for today'.

akwa **kampwirra** **arakpwa** **athiwapwa** thakina
and therefore comp.act today 3:2 that

yingampwilyamwa yingakpwilwarrkatjingwinamwaka
3:2 is staying 3:2 is hiding herself

mwaningwilitha
3:5 daytime
'And therefore nowadays she is hiding herself in the daytime.'
kingilhikatjina athiwapwamwirra
3:2 will go today-COM
'She will be going today.'

ningimwarringkimwa athiwapwawiya wirtarryawiyiwa
1ExcSg+3:5 was seeing today-TPRG morning-TPRG

mwitjiyanga
3:5 boat
'I was seeing the boat during this morning.'

The temporal and manner adverbs in which the case-markers are obligatory for that specific meaning are as follows:

arakpawiya long ago
yangmwangmwintjilhangwa purposelessly, aimlessly, needlessly

The adverb, arakpawiya 'a long time ago' has a less common form arakwakwiya [arakp'wiya].12 The morpheme in first position is the particle arakpwa (completed action) and is suffixed by -wiya (time progressive). The word is mainly used of the Dreamtime and, by its derivation, implies that this era was complete in itself and distinct from the present one. Some speakers use the term to mean 'some time ago, many years ago'.

arakpawiya akina apwirtha alharrpwilhalhaka
long ago 3:4 that 3:4 whale 3:4 thin-INTENS
'During the Dreamtime, the whale was very thin.'
akwa nanimwakinamwirra ayakwa arakpawiwilhangwa
and 3:3+3:1 was telling 3:4 word licig ago-ABL

wirrarimwirimwilhangwa angalya
3:1 very big-POSS 3:4 place
'And he was telling them a Dreamtime story about the giants' place.'

Footnote 12: There is a variant arakpwakwiya which has been supplied for the dictionary but has not been used in the telling of traditional stories. The suffix -kwinya does not occur anywhere else as a syntactic inflection and may have arisen because -wiya varies with -kwiyi as the trial/plural suffix on nominals.
The adverb, yangmwangmwintji'niwa 'purposelessly', is polymorphemic and consists of the reciprocated verb yangmwintjitha 'to be quiet, to cease talking' and the ablative clitic -hangwa. This word has been given and checked as a dictionary item but no example is available from texts. (Note: A person has been described as 'aimless' if just sitting quietly without doing anything.)

7.4 INTERROGATIVE ADVERBS

The four interrogative adverbs occur initially in the sentence or follow an interjection. They can be marked for peripheral cases or by the nominal number suffix. These adverbs differ from adverbial nominals or demonstrative pronouns because they lack prefixation but are similar because of the presence of the nominal number suffix. (Note: For the interrogatives in other word classes see Sections 3.2.7, 5.1.2, 6.2.2.5 and 8.2.1.6.)

7.4.1 Interrogative: Iha

The word, Iha 'already ready', functions as an interrogative adverb and a particle. It appears to be related both in shape and meaning to arakpwa (completed action) and arakpwa frequently occurs in the answer to the question. As an interrogative
spoken in isolation, it questions whether or not the addressee has
completed a prior activity in order to be ready for the next one, i.e.
'are you ready to go?', 'is it ready?', 'have you finished it?'.
The Purposive mood clitic, the Intensifier and the Possessive suffix
have all been recorded attached to this word.

l'ha ka ningkilhikatjamwa arakpwa
already 2Sg are going comp.act
'Are you ready to go?'

l'ha ka ningkwaningapwatho arakpwa
already 2Sg have become good comp.act
'Are you well now?'

l'ha k iy ath a ngantja akina
already-PURP 1ExcSg-CoFR 3:4 that
'Is there anything for me?'

l'ha k a ka wirringalhakpwina wirritharrrgkikwiya
already-INTENS 3:1 those unseen 3:1 women-DU
'Can you see those two women already?'

l'ha k i t h a ngwa nganyangwa akina
already-POSS 1ExcSg-POSS 3:4 that
'Is it really mine?'

7.4.2 Interrogative: angkapwirra

The interrogative word, angkapwirra ~ akapwirra 'who?', is
classified as an interrogative adverb because the word is not prefixed
by nominal classifiers. The two morphemes may be: (a) the
adverbial morpheme [yangkwi] (meaning unknown) and -pwirra
(question marker) but its co-occurrence of -pwirra with another
question-marking suffix -wini is strange; or (b) the noun
classifier /a/ followed by afirngkwí 'eye' and the root apwirra
'many'. This adverb has been found to be suffixed for the Allative
case and by the Purposive and Reason clitics.

angkapwirra wirrakina arrakpimqantja nayangpayinamwa
who? 3:1 those outside-LOC 3:1 are talking
'Who is talking outside?'
The interrogative word, *angkapwirrilhangw*, 'whose?’, consists of the above interrogative plus the possessive suffix *
-\-hangw*. The following examples extend the number of case clitics to include locative.

*angkapwirrilhangw*  *ningkwakina*  *thirntana*  
who?–POSS  2Sg that  3:2 mother–KPOSS

'Who is your mother?’ / 'What is your mother’s name?’

*akapwirrihangwimwamw†ja*  *alhikira*  
who?–POSS–LOC  3:4 house

'Whose house is that?’ / 'Whose is the house?’

Unlike the other interrogative adverbs, the number suffix associated with nominals can be added to either *angkapwirra* or *angkapwirrilhangw*.

*akapwirriwiya*  *wirrakina*  *warnimwamwalya*  
who?–PL  3:1 those  3:1 Aborigines

'Who are those Aborigines?’

*akapwirrilhangwiwiya*  *anana*  *akwalya*  
who?–POSS–PL  3:4 this  3:4 fish

'Who does all the fish belong to?’

If the identity of the 'who' is not known the cross-referenced prefix in the verb or the demonstrative pronoun is in the third person plural. This can be seen in the following question and answer examples below.
7.4.3 Interrogative: ngampwi-

The root of the interrogative adverb, ngampwi- 'where?',' differs from the interrogative demonstrative root angampwi 'which?', only in the absence of the nominal class-marking prefixation. This adverb is obligatorily suffixed by Locative, Ablative, Allative, and Locative Pergressive case-markers and for Purposive mood. The Locative form, however, is irregular because the syllable mpwi preceding -mwantja is deleted by the Haplogogy Rule (Section 2.5.2.1).

ngamwantja where at? at what place? whereabouts?
ngampwilhangwa from where? from whence?
ngampwiwa where to?
ngampwilhangwiya along where?
ngampwiyathu when?
ngamwantja ningkwiwa ningkirikwilharriminwa
where?-LOC 2Sg 2Sg were falling
'Where were you born?' (lit: were you falling)

ngampwilhangwa ningkilhikaniminwa
where-ABL 2Sg were going
'Where were you coming from?'

ngampwiwa ningkilhikatjamwa
where?-ALL 2Sg are going
'Where are you going to?'

ngampwilhangwiya nakaka nilhikaniminwa
where?-PRG 3:3(1) this 3:3 was going
'Along where was he going?' / 'How far was he going?'

ngampwiya yathi thakina yingiyarthingimwa
where?-PURP 3:2 that 3:2 was arriving
'When did she arrive?'

7.4.4 Interrogative: mwiyampwana

The interrogative adverb, mwiya(m)pwani for what purpose?, differs from the interrogative adjective amwiyampwana only in the absence of the nominal classifying prefixation and there does not appear to be a change in the meaning. The first morpheme is mwi- (inalienable possession) which indicates that this adverb must be derived from the interrogative adjective. The second morpheme is pwani, "ly a reduced and assimilated form of the verb root yanthapwani 'ask'. The adverb is only suffixed by the Reason case clitic or the Question marker.

mwiyampwana nalhawirrakatjina mwiya akina
what purpose? 3:4 is bringing itself 3:4 that
'For what purpose is the spear returning?'

mwiyampwani nwokwena nilhikatjamwirra antjarrkina
what purpose?-CSL 3:3(1) that 3:3 is going that way
'Why is he going down there?'

mwiyampwani mwiya kwirringiyamwarrkina
what purpose?-QM 2FemDu do
'What's the matter? What are you two doing that for?'

The meaning of the interrogative adverb mwiyampwani can be
extended to include the semantic concept of questioning 'why'. The contrast in meaning between purposive and reason is best illustrated in the question and answer framework, as shown in the data below. There is, however, no clear morphological distinction between reason and purpose in much of the data and the actual meaning would have to be ascertained from context. An indication of the addressee's reaction is sometimes seen found in the presence of purposive -yatha or reason -wapwa clitic in the reply.

Question: mwiyampwana ningkwilhakimwana what purpose? 2Sg were going 'For what purpose were you going?'

Answer: ninglikhakimwana ngapwayinthangimwiyatha thimpwala 1ExcSg was going 1ExcSg+3:2 was buying-PURP 3:2 dress 'I was buying a dress.'

Question: mwiyampwanipwirra ningkwiningwathinamwa what purpose?-QM 2Sg are crying 'Why are you crying?'

Answer: thiypwarrka ngyangwa ngiwartangimwana 3:2 sister-KPOSS 1ExcSg-POSS 1ExcSg+3:2 was hitting 'My sister was hitting me.'

Question: mwiyampwanilhangwa ngiwartangimwana what purpose?-ABL 2Sg+3:2 was hitting 'Why was she hitting you?'

Answer: ningapamwapwapwa 1ExcSg was swearing-CSL 'Because I was swearing.'

The words, mwiyampwana and mwiyampwanipwapwa, can be shortened to mwana and mwanipwapwa, respectively.

mwana what purpose? 'What's wrong with you?'/ 'What's up?'

mwanipwapwa ngiwartanga ningkwimwamwanta what reason? 2Sg+3:2 hit 2Sg-LOC 'Why did she hit you?'
"Why didn't you go to school?"

The shortened word mwana can co-occur redundantly with another interrogative adverb or adjective. In this construction, it seems to function as only a question marker—there are no examples of its co-occurrence with the Question-marking suffix -pwrira. It is usually placed first in the sentence, immediately preceding the other interrogative word.

"Where are you going to?"

"Who has it?"

"How many places were you coming from?"

"Where is that?" / 'At which place is that?"
CHAPTER 8  PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Particles are distinguished from other word classes in that they are uninflected, i.e., neither prefixation or derivational suffixation occurs. Syntactic inflection is limited to the two non-modal clitics for emphasis or intensification. Particles are usually mono-morphemic.

Particles and miscellaneous clitics fall into three groups: conjunctions, modal or non-modal particles and interjections.

8.1 CONJUNCTIONS

Eleven conjunctions have been found in Anindilyakwa, linking clauses, phrases or words. As free form particles, they usually occur in sentence-initial or clause-initial position but can be placed second. Some free form conjunctions co-exist with a clitic of the same meaning.

8.1.1 Co-ordination

Co-ordination is marked by six different free form particles (and a possible sixth) which indicate co-ordination which is Simple, Sequential, Adversative, Concessive, Resultative and Similative.

8.1.1.1 Simple: akwa

The conjunction, akwa 'and', joins any two independent clauses, phrases or words in a simple co-ordinated relationship. Two pronominals are not linked by akwa because the language structure incorporates such combinations as non-singularity in the prefixation.
ningarthirranimwa akwalya akwa
1ExcSg+3:4 was spearing 3:4 fish and

yirringalyipwarnimwa
1ExcFemDu+3:4 were eating
'I was spearing the fish and we two [my wife and I] were eating it.'

yakina yipwiratha yinikwiyalhilha yiningwingwangpwa
3:3(11) that 3:3(11) wallaby 3:3(11) shy 3:3(11) mammal

akwa nampwilyimwirra yakw1kwawira
and 3:3 was staying 3:2(11) alone
'The wallaby was a shy animal and stayed alone.'

winalhakina ntkpwa akwa nitjarra
3:1MascDu those 3:3(1) pheasant and 3:3(1) seagull

naningkwirrwanimwa ak'alya
3:1MascDu+3:4 were hunting 3:4 fish
'Pheasant and Seagull were fishing.'

ngayiwa akwa tjanita akwe y.lyyina
1ExcSg and (name) and (name)

yirrapwirrangkayininimwa yinimwaswimawa
1ExcNsg were looking for 3:3(11) eggs-ALL
'Janet, Elaine and I were looking for turtle eggs.'

8.1.1.2 Sequential: pwiya and yiya

The conjunction, pwiya [p'wa ~ piya], joins two independent clauses and indicates a time sequence, i.e., of one event or activity following another, ad infinitum. This is the most common conjunction in narratives. Heath (1984:425ff, 618) refers to the Nunggubuyu equivalent as 'now' and 'then' denoting temporal immediacy based on the present tense and sequential function in discourses. The Anindilyakwa Aborigines, however, translate this word as 'and then' and appear to me to be focussing only on the sequence of activities, regardless of whether the tense is past or non-past.

narringalhalhakaniwa pwiya yinimwirringka yilyakwa
3:1Nsg kept going-ALL then 3:2+3:3 saw 3:3(11) honey

mwariya (name)
'They kept on going and then Maria saw another hive.'

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'And then, first of all, Warren found the zamia nuts and then they photographed them.'

'You come to the clinic and we will put medicine on your sores.'

'We kept on walking and walking and then we arrived home.'
used with question intonation to mean 'And then what?' or 'What happens/happened next?'.

The conjunction, yiya " yiyi [yi:], joins two nominals or adverbs. It is considered to be a locative sequential co-ordinator because it is used to link a list of similar items. This word is similar in shape to the conjunction pyiya which has also been recorded as [p yiya]. The conjunctions, yiya and akwa, are both used to separate the nominals in a list but the former is very rare.

niwangkirrayina angkiwa yiya angkiwa angalya
3:1 ran 3:4 other-ALL and 3:4 other-ALL 3:4 home
'They ran home in all directions.'

wirrapwapwirna wirritharrnga yakwitjina angkilhangwa
3:1 many 3:1 women there 3:4 other-ABL

yiya angkilhangwa angalya
and 3:4 other-ABL 3:4 place
'Many woman [came] there from different places.'

karnimwamwalya yiya wirriwarta yiya
2Pl Aborigines and 3:1 dog and

yiningingangpwimwirriya kampwampwilyamwa
3:3 four-legged animals-ETC 2Sg are keeping on staying

mwithalyimwimwantja akwa awirikwamwantja
3:5 estuary-LOC and 3:4 swamp-LOC
'You Aborigines, dogs, mammals and the rest are to keep on staying at the river estuary and the swamp.'

8.1.1.3 Adversative: wimpwa

The adversative conjunction, wimpwa [ump"a ~ mp"a], joins two independent clauses in which the two activities or states are opposed to each other.

warningwamwartakpwa niwarrwarrwartangimwa alyingpwa
3:1 godwit 3:2 was keeping on hitting 3:4 clapsticks

wimpwa thikwirirrkwa yiningiirakpwirnimwa
but 3:2(ii) brogla 3:2+3:3 was playing
yiraka
3:3(ii) didjeridu
'Godwit tapping the clapsticks but Brolga was playing the didjeridu.'
niwilyapwa naningkawalirra wimpwa niwilyapwa
3:3(1) one 3:3(1) Mamarika but 3:3(1) one

nalihliyango
3:3(1) Amagula
'One man was Mamarika but the other Amagula.'

yalhakwa arakpwalingana ningampwarrinamwawimpwa
here comp.act 1ExcSg this 1ExcSg am staying but

arakpwawihikatjawiwirtanangarripa
comp.act 2Sg go 2Sg climb that way
'I am staying here but you go and climb up that way!'

nara arakwapwanakina nantjarngalylyawimpwa
not comp.act 3:3(i) that 3:3(i) boy but

thiwaithirrararakwa
3:2(ii) cockatoo comp.act
'[Now] he is not a boy but a cockatoo.'

8.1.1.4 Concessive: aka(r)nä

The concessive conjunction, akan [akena] ~ akaní, joins any
two independent clauses. The relationship is one of weaker opposition
than wimpwa and is best translated by the English term, 'however' or
'nevertheless'. The comment in the second independent clause shows
that the activity in the first independent clause was attempted but
not satisfactorily accomplished.

niwartzanga arakpwawirrakinathakiniwakatjingwa
3:1 called comp.act 3:1 those 3:2(ii) her-ALL so that

thathikwilhawirракwatjinyathaa kwingwaa akaná
3:2 to bring back-PURP 3:4 water however

ngalhatjanagawayingimwingwilhinga
3:2-CofR cont.act 3:2 slept
'They called out to her to bring back the water; she, however,
continued to sleep.'

nilhwapwatjingwina kwiraya nilhikanapwiyarpwiamwaa alhika
3:3 tested himself try 3:3 went 3:4 four-COM 3:4 foot

akananaranagawahowever not cont.act
'Wallaby tried to walk on four feet but he couldn't.'

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kampwirra warnimwamwalya nanirringkimwantja yipwikwaya therefore 3:1 people 3:1+3:3 saw-LOC 3:3(1i) this coming
nilhikanimwantja kwiraya niwangkirrayinimwa 3:3 cam-LOC try 3:1 were running
akana niwapwilarrkatjingwinimwa however 3:1 were hiding themselves
'therefore when the people saw the approaching snake they tried to run and hide themselves.'

8.1.1.5 Resultative: kampwirra

The conjunction, kampwirri [kempifə] ~ kampwi [kamp'wa], joins two independent clauses but the relationship is one of cause and effect. The event in the second clause happened as a result of the first or could not have happened without the first event. It can be translated as 'therefore', 'thus', 'as a result', 'and so' or 'in order to'.

nilharra yalyakwa kampwirra nimwirntatha nakina 3:3 fell 3:3(1i) rain therefore 3:3 got cold 3:3(1) that
ningwanikpwa 3:3(1i) father-KPOSS
'It was raining and, as a result, his father got cold.'
nanimwiningatja nakina alhakpwimwantja kampwa 3:3+3:3 hit 3:3(1i) that 3:4 leg-LOC therefore
mwarra alhakpwa nakina 3:5 blood 3:4 leg 3:3(1i) that 'He hit him on the leg and therefore he has a red leg.'
pwiya nara angapwa ningilhawirrathina kampwirra then not 3:4 that there 1ExcSg returned therefore
ngarningka again
'And then nothing happened and therefore I returned again.'
nayamwa angwirrirtha ningana kampwirra arakpwa 3:4 said 3:4 magnp 1ExcSg this therefore comp.act
kinikirriyakamwa nakina 1ExcSg+3:3 will trick 3:3(1) that 'Magnp said, "I will trick him (as a retaliatory en- l."'
The conjunction kampwirra is the only one which is juxtaposed to another conjunction. It has been found following the other four co-ordinators and the purposive subordinator.

arngkwawira yingiyakwirranaka akwingwa akwa kampwirra
3:4 once 3:2 thirsted-INTENS 3:4 water and therefore

yingilyangiyamwa thakina thathikwilyampwarrkiyatha
3:2 was thinking 3:2 that 3:2 to trick-PURP

wirrikwelhimwantja
3:1 some-LOC

'Once she was very thirsty for water and therefore she was thinking about tricking the others.'

pwiya kampwirra arakpwa narritjarrikwa wirrakina
then therefore comp.act 3:1+3:4 finished 3:1 those
'And then, as a result, they finished it [the dancing].'

pwiya nitjarrkinamwa arakpwa wimpwa kampwirra
then 3:3+3:4 is finishing comp.act but therefore
arakpwa nanimwakinamwa akinihlangwa angalya
comp.act 3:3+3:1 is telling 3:4 that-ABL 3:4 place

niwampwilyamwilhangwa
3:1 are staying-ABL

'And now he is finishing the story but, as a result, is telling them about the place where they were staying.'

akana kampwirra yinganarra nakpwirranga arakpwa
however therefore (name) 3:3+3:4 found comp.act

ayangkitharrpwa
3:4 island

'However, as a result, Snake found the island.'

katjingwa kampwirra yikamwakiniyathya
so that therefore 1ExcNsg can tell-PURP

kiyamwarrkinamwa ningkwakina sayamwa akina
1ExcSg do how? 2Sg that 3:3 said 3:4 that

'"So therefore you can tell me how I am going to do it," the octopus said.'

The conjunction kampwirra can be translated as 'next' in the following constructions: ningkwiwa kampwirra 'You (go) next.' While the meaning is idiomatic there is still the concept of taking action because the previous activity has or will be completed.
8.1.1.6 Similarity: wipwirra

The conjunction, wipwirra [(w)upa'ufa] 'like', links a phrase or word to another in the clause. It can precede or follow the linked word noun or phrase. The conjunction indicates the similarity between two items or previous and present states.

mwamwintjirratha yingimwalihayitjiwamwa wipwirra
3:5 spear 3:2+3:5 is standing up like

warnkwarmpwa
3:1 men
'She is standing the spears up like men [stand up].'

nimwimwbanghaya nimwamwa yinjpa wipwirra nimwiyamwamwa
3:5 was crying 3:3(ii) red ochre like 3:5 is doing

ngalhilhangwa mwampwilyimwakwiya mwampwakwiya
3:2-POSSESS 3:2 two-DU 3:2 eye-DU
'She was crying and her two eyes were getting red.' (Lit: her two eyes were crying.)

akina wipwirra nayamwamwa ayikwitjiya alnhikira
3:4 that like 3:4 is doing 3:4 small 3:4 house
'The lighthouse looks like that small house [on NE Islands].'

yirrilhawirrathina angalyiwa alyarrngwalyiwa tjapwitja
1ExSg returned 3:4 place-ALL 3:4 evening 3:4 service

yirrampwarrinja wipwirra yalhakwa
1ExNsg sat like here (=this)

angingwalyarrwalyiwa ngarrampwarrinamwa
3:4 evening service 1InChNsg are sitting
'We returned to the place and had an evening service like the evening service we are having here [at Umbakumba].'

nalhikana wimpwa ngalhatja thipwina thilyapwirnta
3:1 went but 3:2-CofR 3:2 that unseen 3:2(ii) frog

arakpwa thipwina ngawa wipwirra
comp.act 3:2 that unseen cont.act like

yingilhawirrathina arakpwa
3:2 returned comp.act
'They went but the frog was still the same as she had been.'
(Lit: she returned [to be] like her [original shape])

The conjunction wipwirra can be reduplicated to intensify the similarity. The lexical meaning is 'like' or 'similar to'. (The
Anindilyakwa concept of sameness does not necessarily mean 'exactly the same'.

yakina nara kinirikwpwirikwpwitjangina wipwirriwipwirra
3:3 that not 3:3 hop and hop REDUP: like

athiwapwa
today
'He [Wallaby] did not hop and hop just like he does today.'

yingakirrampa arakpwa natjalhkwingwirathina arakpwa
3:2+3:4 put back comp.act 3:4 became covered comp.act

wipwirra apwina ngawa wipwirritha
like 3:4 that unseen cont.act like

'She pulled [the sand] back [until] it was level like it was before.'

8.1.2 Subordination

The six different types of subordination are: Purposive, Anticipatory, Causal (reason), Definite, Conditional and Temporal.

8.1.2.1 Purposive: katjingwa and -yatha

The conjunction, katjingwa 'so that', 'for the purpose of', is the free form purposive marker that links a subordinate purpose clause to the main independent clause. It has the same meaning as -yatha and usually co-occurs with it.

akina aningapwa aningkwa katjingwa nanikwartyathath
3:4 that 3:4 good 3:4 spear so that 3:3 to kill

niwirrwiylimwantja
3:3(ii) rainbow-LOC

'That was the best spear for killing Rainbow.'

pwiya yimawira nimwarkarna angwirra mwingwithiyathath
then 3:3(ii) moon 3:3+3:5 pulled strongly 3:5 strong bag-PURP

katjingwa winalhakinakwiya naryathath kanangkirrayina
so that 3:1MasCa-DU not-PURP 3:3MasCa-DU will run
'Moon pulled the strong [dillybag] tight so that the two men could not run away.'

yawi kwa anilhikatja katjingwa kinirringkinyathath yilyakwa
yes here let him come so that 3:3+3:3 will see-PURP 3:3 honey

'Yes, let him come so that he can see the honey.'
The Purposive mood clitic -yatha denotes planning or purposing to carry out the action of the verb. In addition to its occurrence with the conjunction, katjingwa, it commonly occurs with the infinitive verb in the subordinate clause.

animiyyntakilhikana warnikwipakatjityathak akingwa
3:1P1 came 3:1 to drink-PURP 3:4 water
'They all came to drink the water.'
nanilyangkiyamwa winalhakina winanikwilhikiyathak
3:1MascDu were thinking 3:1MascDu those 3:1MascDu to go-PURP

athalyimwawak winanikwingampatjityathak
3:4 river-ALL 3:1MascDu to bathe-PURP
'The two of them were thinking about going to the river to swim.'
ngarningkak ngarramwakinamwak karunikwilhawirrathiyathak
again 1IncNsg are telling 2Pl to return-PURP
'We are telling you again to return [home].'

The Purposive mood clitic can be attached to the verb in an independent clause and modify its meaning to one of intention to fulfil the action.

nangkarriniyathak akana wirrakina wirratjijak
3:3 ran-PURP however 3:1 that 3:1 bird

nanirtarrak aniwmwantjak
3:1+3:3 grabbed 3:3-LOC
'He planned to run away, however, the bird got hold of him.'
kwinithakiniyathak naningkwarpwa yinimwamwia angwirimwantjak
3:3+3:3 will cook-PURP 3:3(1) man 3:3(2) eggs 3:4 fire-LOC
'The man plans to cook the eggs in the fire.'
kimwaniyathak aka akwa
1ExcSg+3:4 will grab-PURP 3:4 stick and

kinjingatjityathak yirikwithilhangwa
1ExcSg+3:3 will kill-PURP 3:3(2) bandicoot
'I plan to grab a stick and to kill Bandicoot.'

The Purposive clitic, -yatha, is usually marked on the verb but it is also occasionally found on the noun phrase. (See Section 3.4.3.2D for the use of the Allative case denoting purposive mood.)
ningkarrnginilhangwa aka alhikiriyatha
1ExcSg cut-ABL 3:4 wood 3:4 house-PURP

kingakpwirakinyatha
1ExcSg+3:4 will make-PURP
"After I cut the wood I plan to build a house.'

yingilhawirrathina yingiwilyakamwa anhinga thakina
3:2 returned 3:2+3:4 was bringing 3:4 food 3:2 that

katjinga thathikwangwilh;yatha wirriyikwayiwyatha
so that 3:2 to grind 3:1 children-PURP
"She returned bringing food to grind for the children.'

8.1.2.2 Anticipatory: yanthilhangwa

The conjunction yanthilhangwa 'until' links a subordinate clause to the main independent clause. The word probably consists of two morphemes: yantha 'aimlessly' and -hangwa (ablative). In much of the data the action in the independent clause seems to have no goal and just continues on to an inevitable conclusion (as stated in the subordinate clause).

nilhikana nangkarrina akwa nimwalyangkana lhikwakwa
3:3 went 3:3 ran and 3:3 played en route

yanthilhangwa nimwarrawarna
until 3:3 wandered around
"He ran and played along the way until he was lost.'

nitirririrriinga yakina ngawa yanthilhangwa
3:3 descended 3:3(ii) that cont.act until

nampwilya yilyangmwantja
3:3 stayed 3:3(ii) (name)
"He continued to descend until [eventually] he stayed at Yilyangmanka.'

nakina nampwilyimwirra ninganthingakamwa amwirntakakina
3:3(i) that 3:3 was staying 3:3+3:4 is sharpening 3:4 those

yanthilhangwa anganthingawiya ngawa ningakpwirakimwa
until 3:4 sharp ones cont.act 3:3+3:4 is making
"He was sitting sharpening those [spears] until he had made enough sharp ones.'

The anticipatory conjunction can also precede a nominal but an underlying verb could be said to occur in the deep structure. The noun
is always an adverbial noun involving specific time.

yanthilhangwà kiritjimwitjimwantja until 3:4 Christmas-LOC
'Until Christmas [has come].'

8.1.2.3 Causal: mwaniwpapwa

The conjunction, mwaniwpapwa [menup'w tpwa] 'because', usually conjoins an independent and a dependent reason clause. The first two syllables can occur as a separate word mwana and the last two syllables as the clitic -pwapwa. The clitic is usually affixed to the word that follows mwana. The sentence can be marked more than once for reason. (Note: There is double subordination in the second example but such rare occurrences have not been analysed as yet.)

kanîwartangiyathâ winâlhâkinimwantja nanikwanikpwakwiya
1ExcSg+3:1 will kill-PURP 3:1MascDu-LOC 3:3 son-KPOSS-DU

mwaniwpapwa winimwingwirangmwanikpwâiwpapwa because 3:1MascDu are greedy-CSL
'I will kill his two sons because they are greedy.'

nampwampwîlînymwirra nakwikwawira arrawâ mwathirririmwantja
3:3 kept on sitting 3:3 alone inside 3:5 cave-LOC

nakina nanîwirkapurmpiwirripwâpwa niwirripwîlîyawa
3:3(i) that 3:3+3:3 is hating-CSL 3:3(i) rainbow

mwaniwpapwi nanîmwinangmwathîmîwirripwâpwa because 3:3+3:2 was stealing-CSL

anîlhangwâ thathiyanikpwâ
3:3-POSS 3:2 wife-KPOSS
'Bat kept on sitting alone inside the cave because he hated Rainbow because he stole his wife.'

ngayiwa ningîlhîkatja mwana atjingwipwâpwa ngalhatja
1ExcSg 1ExcSg go QM 3:4 sickness-CSL 3:2-CofR
'I go because she is sick.'

niwirîngwirripwâpwa akîmwantja nihilhatjimwirra nakina
3:3 was climbing-CSL 3:4 tree-LOC 3:3 was going 3:3 that
'Because he was climbing the tree he fell.'

8.1.2.4 Definite: -mwantja

The locative case-marking clitic -mwantja is attached to the
verb in a subordinate Definite clause and equates with the English conjunction 'when'. The verbs in both the subordinate and main independent clauses are prefixed for the Potential or Actual mood and can take the full range of tense and aspect suffixes. The activity has not yet happened but the action in the subordinate clause is assured. The first set of examples illustrate the Actual mood and the second set the Potential mood.

winalhakina nanarrikayinimwanta aningkwa
3:1MascDu those 3:1MascDu+3:4 were throwing-LOC 3:4 spear

 nalhawirrathinimwa
3:4 was returning
'When they threw the spear it was returning.'

niyamwa mwiyampanipwirra yingatja
3:3 said why-QM 1IncSg hit

ningimwingwilhingamwirrimwanta
1ExcSg am sleeping-LOC
'He said, "Why did you hit me when I am sleeping?"'

akana niyamwamwanta nakina anatja
however 3:3+3:5 was doing 3:3(i) that 3:3(i)-CofR

yirikwitjilhangwa nanirntarrka nakina akpwilhangwa
3:3(ii) bandicoot 3:3+3:3 grabbed 3:3 that 3:4 buttocks-POSS
'However, when he [Wallaby] was doing that, Bandicoot got hold of his buttocks.'

karharriyamwanta akwalya kampwirra
1ExcSg+3:4 will be spearing-LOC 3:4 fish therefore

kamwintinhakiramwa ngayiwa
1ExcSg will be cooking 1ExcSg
'When you catch a fish then I will be cooking it for you.'

ningkwakina kiningalyakwimwanta yakina yingarna
2Sg that 2Sg+3:3 will tread on-LOC 3:3 (ii) that 3:3(ii) snake

kanatharriyamwa
3:3 will be spearing
'When you stand on the snake it will be biting you.'

piwa kampwa kalharrwirrnhimwanta kilhirakina
then therefore 3:4 will be dark-LOC 2Sg+3:4 will build

angwira ningakwila
3:4 fire 2Sg
'And so when it gets dark you should light a fire.'

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Two occurrences of subordination co-occur in the following sentences. Such examples are rare and have not been analysed as yet. In the latter example, the same action of cooking is repeated with slightly different synonyms.

There are textual examples in which a subordinate clause is marked by -mwantja with a possible meaning of 'where'. For her than posit another type of subordination, it seems wiser to consider it to mean 'when' until further research can be done.
8.1.2.5 Conditional: -m€irrikpwa

The Comitative clitic, -m€irra plus word-final stem formative -kpwa, indicates that the action in the subordinate clause is an imposed condition before the action of the main clause can take place.

nampirrarinimwaw kanikwamwirrikpwa winalhakina
3:3 was waiting 3:1+3:3 will be giving-COM 3:1MascDu those

wirrawimwinya
3:1 duck

'He was waiting [to see] if they [his two sons] would be giving him a duck.'

kingirringkinamwirrikpwa yingiyamwarrkina yinganthapwana
3:2+3:4 will be seeing-COM 3:2 do what? 3:2 asked

'She asked what she would do if she saw the stone.'

ningampirrarinimwaw kwiraya kalihkanimwirrikpwa wirrakwakwa
1ExcSg was waiting try 3:1 will come-COM 3:1 (clan name)

'I was trying to wait [to see] if the Wurrakwakwa would come.'

8.1.2.6 Temporal: -lhangwa and -wiya

When the ablative suffix -lhangwa is attached to the verb in a subordinate clause it indicates temporal subordination. It is best translated as 'after' because the activity in the main independent clause does not begin until after that in the subordinate clause is completed. Either Actual or Potential Indicative prefixation can be used in the subordinate clause.

kwirrantakhpwilkatjingwamwilhangwa akwingwilhangwa
2Nsg will be washing yourself-ABL 3:4 water-ABL

kwirrilhikatjamwa mirrinthinilhangwa angalya
2Nsg are going 3:4 medicine-POSS 3:4 place

'After you finish washing yourself with water you are to go to the clinic.'

Footnote 13: When trying to elicit the English construction 'before I do such-and-such I will do such-and-such' th. Anindilyakwa sentence was changed to this 'after' construction or, to a lesser extent, one which puts the two events in sequence using DWlj.4.
kilhikatjawa ngayiwa ngatjarriyiŋhangwa thimpwala
1ExcSg will go-ALL 1ExcSg 1ExcSg+3:2 have washed-ABL 3:2 clothes
'I will go after I have washed the clothes.' / 'Before I go I
will wash the clothes.'

ningimwangkiŋhangwa tiraŋa katjingwa kilhikatjiŋathə
1ExcSg have picked up-ABL 3:5 truck so that 1ExcSg will go-PURP

alỹangkwiliŋhiwa
3:4 (name)-ALL
'After I pick up the truck I am planning to go to Alyangkula.'

kiwiljakinawal тjiwirra kwiliwa nganyangwa
1ExcSg+3:4 will take-ALL 3:4 book 3:4 school-ALL 1ExcSg-POSS

kwirringkiŋhangwa ningkwiŋa athiniŋpawayiŋa
2SG+3:4 see-ABL 2SG soon (=first)
'After you have looked at it first I will take my book to school!'

The pergressive suffix -wiŋa occurs on verbs if the activity
in the independent and subordinate clauses is happening at the same
time. (In comparing the last two examples below, note that the /a/
preceding -wiŋa represents the non-past imperfective suffix -anŋa in
which the second syllable has been deleted by the Haplogamy Rule.)

akwa nimwapiŋtjiŋina arakpwa angwiriŋyathə anatja
and 3:3+3:4 rubbed comp.act 3:4 fire-PURP 3:3(1)-CofR

yingwa ampwaŋa nimwinkwilhiŋwa
3:3(11) crow later 3:3 slept-TPRG
'And Magpie rubbed the sticks together for fire while Crow slept.'

ningalyiŋpwarra akwalwa nimwinkwilhawayiŋa mwarrnga
1ExcSg+3:4 ate 3:4 fish 3:3+3:5 was sleeping-TPRG 3:5 sleep
'I ate it while he was sleeping.'

ngarrilhikatjamwa arakpwa ayikwiŋjia niwangkarriŋawiyə
1IncNsg are going comp.act 3:4 small 3:4 is running-TPRG
'We are going [now] while a breeze is blowing.'

8.2 MISCELLANEOUS PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Like the conjunctions, the particles and clitics in this sub-
section are not inflected (except by the Intensifying and Terminative
clitics). Three of the free form particles indicate aspect,
(complete, continual, and repetitive) and three mood
(dubitative, negative and interrogative). Other miscellaneous particles and clitics distinguish restrictive, intensifying and terminative.

8.2.1 Aspect and Mood particles

The three particles for aspect form a set of semantic contrasts. The Complete and Continuative aspect particles are in opposition to each other and, in their widest usage, indicate whether the activity is seen as completed versus continuing. The third one in the set is the Repetitive particle and it indicates the repetitive or on-going nature of the activity. The other particles in this subsection do not show any inter-relationship or opposition.

8.2.1.1 Complete: arakpwa

The aspect particle arakpwa indicates that the action of the verb is complete. It occurs with verbs which are not marked by the past continuative aspect suffix, -mwi(rra). The particle frequently follows the resultative conjunction kampwirra and indicates that the activity of the preceding clause has already been completed.

ngalhatja arakpwa thaka
3:2-CofR comp.act 3:2(i) this
'She [got] close."

ngarrilhikatja yirriyamwa arakpwa yirrimwirntakilhika
1IncNsg go 1ExcNsg said comp.act 1ExcNsg went
"We'll go," we said and we all went."

yirratja yirriyamwa nara angalyiwa arakpwa
1ExcNsg-CofR 1ExcNsg said not 3:4 home-ALL comp.act

ngarrilhikatja ngarriwarrikwatjingwina
1IncNsg go 1IncNsg exchanged ourselves

yathathiwinya
on this side-TPRG
'We said, 'No, we'll go straight home now.'
The aspect particle, arakpwá, can modify a time adverb and indicate that the time is complete or almost complete.³⁴

The aspect particle ngawá indicates that the activity of the

³⁴ c o t n o t e  1 4 : T h e r e  a r e  a f e w  e x a m p l e s  o f  t h i s  p a r t i c l e  b e i n g  u s e d
where the continuing aspect is marked on the verb. No explanation
can be given at this time. They may be errors or the word arakwa
may not be referring to the verb in apposition. For example:

yirripwikwalhikani::wa karrawara arakpwá
1ExcTri kept on going-cont.act high comp.act

yirrangapwa yakwitjina arakpwá
3:3(1I) that there there comp.act
'We kept on going [until we reached] the top there.'

pwiya angwirrirtha nalantharrkina ana arakpwá
then 3:4 magpie 3:4 thought 3:4 this comp.act

kiwilyakatjiniyatha yaka yingwa
1ExcSg will show-PURP 3:3(1I) this 3:3(1I) crow
'And then Magpie thought, "I will teach the same crow [a lesson]."'

yakwitjina arakpwá nimwangkarrkajtjaya nimwitterhanimimwa
there comp.act 3:5 smoked 3:5 was burning

mwingakina yirripwimwakirriwantjimwa nimwingpawatinimwa
3:5 that 1ExcTri+3:5 are smelling 3:5 was smelling
'There [the tyre] smoked [and] was burning [and] we smelt fire.'

The aspect particle, arakpwá, can modify a time adverb and indicate that the time is complete or almost complete.³⁴

pwiya lharrwira arakpwá apwirratja wirrikwalha
then 3:4 afternoon comp.act 3:1-CofR 3:1 some

pirripwikwaya namwirntakihikarna
3:1Tri these coming 3:1 came
'And then late in the afternoon they all came.'

8.2.1.2 Continuing: ngawá

The aspect particle ngawá indicates that the activity of the

yirriwá ngawá nimitterhamimwa nimwiyapwamwa
on this side comp.act 1ExcSg was going 3:5 one-only

ningimwingkwillhimwirra ampwikwamwpa mwaningwanganhipwpa
1ExcSg was sleeping 3:4 (name) 3:5 that day

ningilehikanimwirriwirrihangwa mitjiniwhangwa
1ExcSg was coming-ABL 3:4 mission-ABL
'On this side I was going and was sleeping one night at Umbakumba on the day I was coming from the mission.'
verb is continuing at that time or some time later, i.e., it is not yet complete. It is the antonym of *arakpwa*. The Anindilyakwa speakers often do not make any overt reference to the word in their English translations. It can, however, be translated as 'still'.

The continuative particle *ngawa* often co-occurs with verbs marked by continuative aspect suffix *-mwi(rra)* and with the reduplicated forms of verbs. The suffix and particle do not co-occur. There are, however, sentences in which the verb is not marked for the continuative aspect but the particle *ngawa* immediately follows the verb. It seems that, in such data, only the particle indicates the continuation of the activity.

apwirratja
wirratjitja
wirriyirrpilyirrpaa
ngawa
3:1Pl-CofR
3:1 birds
3:1 constant
cont.act

namapeyinimwirra
3:1 were singing

'nThe birds were continuing to sing.'

nakina
niarpwarrinimwa
akinawa
akwa
yakwitjina
3:3(1) that
3:3 was rolling
3:4 that-LOC and there

ngawa
nampwilyamwirra
cont.act
3:3 was sitting

'He rolled into the water and there he continued to sit.'

narringinilorriharrmawangimwirra
nimwawiriwa
akana
nara
3:1-3:3 were chasing
3:3(li) moon-ALL however not

ngawa
karrininakpwirrangarna
cont.act
3:FemDu+3:3 could find

'nThe two women were chasing Moon but, however, could not catch him.'

anana
ngawa
yirramwiniwilyakina
ngayiyamwantja
3:4 this cont.act 1ExcNsg carry 1ExcSg-LOC

'I am still keeping this for you.'

namwirntakimwiranganka
ngawa
akwa
niyawitjina
3:1 hungered-INTENS cont.act and 3:1 ate-INTENS

ngawa
narrilharrngkwtitjerrrikwa
amwirntakipwina
cont.act
3:1 things:finished 3:4 those unseen

anhinga
warnantjipwawiyasa
3:4 food quickly

'They continued to be very hungry and to eat quickly [until] they had finished all the food.'
The particle *ngawa* also occurs in verbless constructions, viz., those that consist of a topic and comment.

*winampwilyimwilhangwa ngawa arrawa akwingwimwantja*
3:1MascDu two-ABL cont.act under 3:4 water-LOC
'The two men continued to be underneath the water.'

A verb can indicate continuous action by the addition of the suffix by -wa, usually accompanied by length and high pitch on the penultimate syllable and reduplication of the verb root. As -wa does not co-occur with the particle *ngawa* it is considered to be a short affixed form of the particle. The continuative aspect suffix on a verb does not co-occur with -wa. Furthermore, Aboriginal literates sometimes hyphenate the particle *ngawa* to the verb to correspond with the orthographical use of hyphenation preceding inflectional suffixes.

*ngarriwirrakhtharrpwikwayinamwirri::wa*
1IncNsg are shortening ourselves-cont.act
'We are all gathering ourselves together [for the meeting].'

*nanihahikani::wa*  nanihawirathinaka
3:1MascDu kept going-cont.act 3:1MascDu returned-INTENS

*arakpwa*  *winalhakina*  *akana*  *ampwangilhangwa*
comp.act 3:1MascDu those however slowly

*nanihikana*
3:1MascDu went
'Those two men continued to go; they returned but, however, were walking slowly.'

*yirripwikkimwingkimwingkathayini::wa*  yirripwikwimwarrikpaka
1ExcTri kept on digging-cont.act 1ExcTri+3:5 threw-INTENS

*mwarntakirriyarra*
3:5 yam
'We three continued to keep on digging [and] threw out a lot of yams.'

The following examples compare the three ways in which continuative aspect is shown.
The aspect particle ngawa can precede or follow a nominal or adverb. The concept appears to be one of continuity of the time or state and equates with the English term 'still'.

The particle ngawa has an extended meaning of 'enough'. This appears at first to be contradictory but can be explained as a temporary cessation of an activity which is likely to be resumed at some future date.

'And then we all continued to keep on going.'

'The three of us continued to go on.'

'The fire was still alive and could be smelt from high up.'

'And, as a result, still today the crow is still black.'

'He is sharpening all those spears until he makes enough sharp ones.'

'That was enough--I was going home.'

'That's all [for now] about the past.'
akina akwalya ngawa ningkwirriwa
3:4 that 3:4 fish cont.act 2Pl
'Have you enough fish?'

The particles *ngawa* can follow a demonstrative to signal the end of a discourse. The syllable *pwi* optionally intervenes and connects the two words to form the one phonological word. This syllable is probably a shortened form of the conjunction, *pwi* 'and then'.

ana pwiya ngawa ===> [enup calling 'wa] 'this [is] enough'
akina pwiya ngawa ===> [akinup calling 'wa] 'that [is] enough'

8.2.1.3 Repetitive: ngaringga

The aspect particle, *ngaringga* 'again', indicates repetition of the action stated in the verb.

ngalhatja thikwirirrkwa nangamwinikalyikamwaka
3:2(ii)-CofR 3:2(ii) brolga 3:2+3:2 is not believing-INTENS

ngawa ngaringga nganyanthapana mwarliwiyaya
cont.act again 3:2+3:2 asked 3:2(ii) emo-ALL
'Brolga still is not believing her and asked her again.'
pwiya yirrakina yirramwamwanga nimwangkarrina
then 1ExcPl those 1ExcNsg+3:5 picked up 3:5 ran

ngaringga akwa yirrilhikana
again and 1ExcNsg went

'And then the truck picked us up again and we went home.'
yirripwimwingwilha ngaringga yirripwikwingwirrkana
1ExcTri slept again 1ExcTri hunted for

mwiningha
3:5 burrawang nuts
'We three slept and again [next day] we hunted for Zamia nuts.'

ngaringga mwiwilyapwmwantja mwarrnga napwilhikanimw
again 3:5 one-LOC 3:5 sleep 1IncTri were going
'Again, after a night's sleep, we three were going on again.'

ngalhatja aningwathinipwa awalyiwa ngaringga
3:4-CofR 3:4 first 3:4 ripe again
'[The flowers] were just coming out again.'
When the particle refers to a nominal or pronominal the concept is one of repetition or addition and can be translated as 'also'.

akwa ngarningka ningkwirriwa karningkwarpwa
and again 2P1 2P1 men

yikawilyakatjamwilhangwa mwalhamwikamwirriya
2Ns+3:1 show-ABL 3:5 canoe-ETC

'And you men also should show the boys about canoes and other things.'

yingitjarrikwamwa athlonymwa akwa awirikwa
3:2+3:4 is finishing 3:4 river and 3:4 swamp

apwipwirringkwirarrpwa akwa amwathirra akwa
3:4 waterholes and 3:4 soak/well and

ngarningka akwalha yingikpwiringkakamwirraka
again 3:4 some 3:2+3:4 made dry-INTENS

'She finished [drinking] the water in the river, swamp, waterholes and also some others [until] she made them very dry.'

The particle ngarningka can also be translated as 'more', 'another' or 'others' but the concept remains one of repetition or addition (not continuation). It is difficult in many instances to make a distinction between 'again' and 'more'.

akwa kikwiramwantja ngarningka akwalya
and 2Sg+3:4 will be hooking-LOC again 3:4 fish

yikikwirna ngantja
1IncSg give 1ExcSg-DAT

'And when you catch some more fish please give me some.'

nalharrngkwirikwitha ngarningka yingapwirthanga awilyapwa
3:4 thing:became raw again 3:2+3:4 cooked 3:4 one

'The thing was raw so she cooked it one more [time].'

yikwa ngarningka
1IncSg give again

'Give me more!'

8.2.1.4 Dubitative: thikwa; yinshiya and kwiraya

Two mood particles are considered to be dubitative. The first is thikwa 'maybe, perhaps' which has the same meaning as those words

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in English. It co-occurs with the actual, potential or negated moods in the verb prefixation.

\textit{thikwa} kingilhikatjamwa
perhaps 3:2 will be coming
'Perhaps she will be coming.'

\textit{thikwa} kithakina arningkwaya thikwa naritha
perhaps 1ExcSg+3:4 will cook 3:4 tomorrow perhaps not-TRM
'I might cook it tomorrow, maybe not.'

\textit{thikwa} thikwa nara
perhaps perhaps not
'Maybe, maybe not.'

The mood particle \textit{thikwa} can modify a noun or adverb and indicates a doubt about its specific identity.

\textit{thikwa} angkapwirra wirrakina
maybe who 3:1 those
'Who perhaps is out there?'

\textit{akinaka} amwakwilyimwithaka pwilayin yirriyiwarnimwawa
3:4 that-INTENS 3:4 complete-INTENS 3:4 plains 1ExcNsg were followi

\textit{thikwa} yathatha akwa ngampwiwa thikwa
perhaps this side and where?-ALL perhaps

\textit{mwawilyimwantjiwa}
3:5 (name)-ALL
'We were walking across the entire plains area, maybe on this side, and where to? perhaps Thompson's Bay.'

\textit{yirriwa} yirrihikanimwawa yirrapwirangkimwa mwangkarrpwiwa
1ExcPl 1ExcNsg were going 1ExcNsg were searching 3:5 plum-ALL

\textit{akwa} mwarrngmwithiwa thiwitha
and 3:5 currant-ALL perhaps-TRM
'We were looking for perhaps Wild Plum and Bush Currant fruit.'

The second dubitative particle, \textit{yintha} ~ \textit{yinthi} 'or perhaps', is used when there is a choice between two alternatives but does not really equate with the English word 'or'. The usage of \textit{yintha} ~ \textit{yinthi} suggests a doubt about the original statement and suggests another possibility. It cannot be used for sentences, such as 'Would
you like tea or coffee?' the answer to which is implied by the acceptance or refusal of the latter item. (Note: It could alternatively be considered to be a conjunction.)

There is very little evidence of its use in choosing between one of two possible activities. The most common usage is between two nominals or adverbs.

ngakwirrilhangwimwantja wirriyikwayiwa aningapwawiya
1IncPl-POSS-LOC 3:1 children 3:4 good-PL

ngarrawilyakathinamwa yinhtiya awirrariyawiya
1IncNsg+3:1 are showing or perhaps 3:4 bad-PL
'We are teaching our children about the right or perhaps the wrong things.'

ngarrilhikatja angwirrkiwiwa yinhti
1IncNsg go 3:4 Angurugu-ALL or perhaps

ngarriwarrikwatjingwina arakpwa angalyiwa niyamwa
1IncNsg take ourselves past comp.act 3:4 home-ALL 3:3 said
"Are we going to Angurugu or straight past it to home?" he said.

kilhikatjamwirra athiwapwa yintha arningkwaya
2sg will be going today or perhaps 3:4 tomorrow
'Will you be going today or tomorrow?'

yipwina nimparrmwantja yinhti yangapw
3:3(ii) that unseen 3:3(i) (name) or perhaps 3:3(ii) that there

lharrngantjipa alhipwatja
(name) to that side
'[He went to] Nimbearrmanja or perhaps to Larnganjiba over there on the other side.'

The particle, kwiraya 'try' or 'attempt', modifies the verb and could be considered to be a verbal auxiliary. (It is not a verb because it does not carry inflection.) It usually immediately precedes the verb but can be positioned anywhere in the sentence.

naraka apwina angalya wimpwa
not-INTENS 3:4 that unseen 3:4 place but

ningapwirangkinamwa angarripa kwiraya niyamwa
1ExcSg+3:4 am finding that way try 3:3 said
"This place is not [suitable] but I am trying to find one over that way," he said.'
wirakina warnimwamwalya kwiraya niwapwiwarrkatjinginamwa
3:1 those 3:1 Aborigines try 3:1 are hiding themselves
'Those Aborigines are trying to hide themselves.'

yakaka yingwa kwiraya nikikathayinamwa
3:3(ii) this 3:3(ii) crow try 3:3 is lying

nanimwakimwakina
3:3 kept telling
'The crow is trying to trick me by telling lies.'

8.2.1.5 Negative: nara

The modal particle for negation is morphologically simple in
that it consists of one morpheme and cannot be prefixed. It usually
negates an irrealis demonstrative pronoun, a nominal or verb. The
word nara precedes the word it modifies. One of the most common
occurrences is the use of the negative particle to negate the irrealis
demonstrative for 'not visible', with the resultant meaning being
'not here, not there, not existing in present experience of the
speaker'. When it negates a demonstrative pronoun it is often
inflected by the Intensifying clitic.

naningwimwampwalhpwa nirampwarrpirra nanimwikirra akwa
3:3(ii) bat 3:3(ii) flat 3:3(ii) his face and

nara apwina amwinta anilhangwa
not 3:4 that unseen 3:4 nose 3:3(i)-POSS
'His face was flat and his nose was not there.'

nara wirripwina yalhakwa
not 3:1 those unseen here
'There is no one here.' / 'There are no people here.'

nara apwina angaiya wimpwa ngilhikatja
not 3:4 that unseen 3:4 place but 1ExcSg go

angarripa ngapwirangkina niyamwa
that way 1ExcSg+3:4 find 3:3 said
''There is no place here but I am going that way to find one,' he said.'

nanirringka wirratjitja nara wirripwininga
3:3+3:1 saw 3:1 bird not-INTENS 3:1 those unseen

warnimwangwirratjitja
3:1 feathers
'He saw a bird without feathers.'
Another common usage of nara is in the negated verb (see Section 6.3.1.2). In some instances, the verb is not realised in the surface structure. The particle can be inflected for the peripheral cases, including their usage as conjunctions.

mwanipwirra ana amwamwarra nangakpwirakatjingwina
why 3:4 this 3:4 sore 3:4 makes itself

ngarnimwamwalyimwantja yiyikwayiwa yingarna
1IncPl Aborigines-LOC 3:3(ii) small 3:3(ii) snake

anana nara arringkamwa
3:4 this not not seeing
'The reason why the sores keep recurring in us Aborigines is that we cannot see the scabies mite.'

pwiwawlya ningilhikanimwirra nariaiya anhinga
pre-dawn 1ExcSg was going not-TPRG 3:4 food

kalyipwarna
1ExcSg+3:4 would eat
'I was going in the pre-dawn before I had eaten breakfast.'

naniwarrkawarriyahthinimwa naripwapa wirripwina
3:1 were becoming upset not-CSL 3:1 those unseen

wilrangariya
3:1 children
'They were getting upset because [they had] no children.'

kwirrikwalha yirrimwinangkirratja ayakwa wimpwa
2Pl some 1ExcNsg listen 3:4 word but

kwirrikwalha nara
2Pl some not
'Some of you listen to our words but some [do] not [listen].'

A much rarer usage of the negative particle is its occurrence with a noun phrase. It can be separated from the word it modifies by one or two words.

naniwartiyina winalhakana akana nara alhingatjirrira
3:1MascDu fought 3:1MascDu these however not 3:4 long

awiyampa
3:4 fight
'The two men fought but, however, not for long.' (Lit: not a long fight)
The interrogative clitic, -p\text{wini} [p(w)ini] -p\text{wirra}, is usually suffixed to an interrogative adverb. The alternant form -p\text{wirra} may be the result of the addition of the stem formative suffix -rra (with the deletion of ni by the Haplology Rule).

m\text{wiyampwanipwinta} ningkilhikanakam\text{boikwampwinta}
what purpose-QM 2Sg went 3:4 (name)-ALL
'For what purpose did you go to Umbakumba?'

lhakithangwipwinta kinihikanara\text{rap}ka
already-ABL-QM 3:3 went comp.act
'Has he gone already?'

nirringkamwipwinta nakina yim\text{wanta} mwakaritm\text{wantja}
3:3 was seeing-QM 3:3(i) that 3:3(ii) turtle 3:5 sea-LOC
'Did he see that turtle in the sea?'

kilhikatjamwipwinta ningana at\text{hiwapwa}
1\text{Exc}Sg will be going-QM 1\text{Exc}Sg this today
'Will I be going today?'

yakilhikatjamwirripwirra ― yakilhikatjamwirriwipwina
1\text{Exc}Nsg will be going-QM

aritjilhangwa y\text{arnarna}
later 1\text{Exc}P1 this
'Are we going later?'

There is an interrogative particle \text{na} which occurs sentence finally with a high or rising pitch. This may be a short form of the clitic -p\text{wini} but is more likely to be a borrowing from Nunggubuyu or Roper Kriol. Prior to 1987, the word was rarely heard at Umbakumba. It was previously heard constantly at Angurugu when Groote Eylandt Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals were conversing, often tagged on to the end of an English sentence. The usage has increased in the Umbakumba school but mostly through the presence of a Nunggubuyu.
teacher. In checking data in 1987, the word na was corrected and replaced by -pwinna (see last pair of examples). It is probably best translated as an Echo Question.

nithakinamwa nakina akwalya angwirimwantja na 3:3+3:4 was cooking 3:3 that 3:4 fish 3:4 fire-LOC QM 'He was cooking fish on the fire, wasn't he?'

athiwapwa na today QM 'Today?'

arngkarmwarrngaarna ningkwana ningkwilhikanimwa na 3:4 how many times? 2Sg this 2Sg were going QM 'How many times did you go (to the toilet),'

arngkampwarrngaarnimwa ningkwaniwpina ningkwilhikanimwa 3:4 how many times?COM 2Sg this-QM 2Sg were going 'How many times have you been going (to the toilet)?'

8.2.1.7 Restrictive: yimwikwa; waka and angkitharrpwa

There are three particles which have been grouped together, more or less, for convenience.

The particle, yimwikwa 'only, except', has only been found to modify a noun or noun phrase. It limits the number of items involved.

wirrinwirintakakina yimwikwa wirrapwikarpwiwa 3:1 those only 3:1 four

wirriyikwayiwa yiririwirtangimwa 3:1 children 3:1 were climbing 'Only four of the children were climbing on up [the hill].'

niwangkirrayina angkiviya yimwikwa thakina 3:1 ran far away-PPRH except 3:2(i) that

thitharrngka 3:2(i) woman 'They all ran a long way away except that woman.'

nalyalingmayininimwa wirrapwikarprihangwa yimwikwa 3:1 were being happy 3:1 many-ABL except

niwirriwiliya 3:3(i) rainbow 'Everyone except Rainbow was happy.'
The particle, *wilhkwa* 'only, just', has been supplied as an entry for the dictionary but has not been found in any texts nor remembered from conversations. It may be a Nunggubuyu word (see Heath 1984:435 *wulguy*).

The particle *yantha* is used to indicate that the action has no real purpose (see also Section 8.1.2.2.). For example, when the word is used as a response to the question 'Why is the person sitting there?' the meaning is 'for no reason, for nothing, just sitting, just waiting'. In the following examples, the same aimlessness is involved and has been translated as 'just'.

```
akwa yantha ngawa nimwirrkwilhimwa arrawa
and just cont.act 3:3 was lying under

akimwantja
3:4 tree-LOC
'And he just continued to lie under the tree.'

ngalhatjaka angwira pwi::ya yanthaka niwampwilya
3:4-CofR-INTENS 3:4 fire and then just-INTENS 3:4 stayed

niwangkirratjaka
3:4 ran-INTENS
'And then the fire burnt all the grass.' (Lit: the fire just stayed and ran around)

nanakpimwirrakimwirriya yantha naka wimpwa
3:3(i) (name)-ETC just 3:3(i) this but

anihangwa akierra napingkiyikwa
3:3(i)-POSS 3:4 name 3:3(i) (name)
'Just Nanakbimirraka and the others--but his real name is Napingkiyikwa.'
```

Another particle, *waka* 'odd, different from others', is rarely used in the texts. It signifies that its referent is the odd one in a group or is set apart from the group. In the last example, *waka* involves rejection or setting apart of the unwanted item. The word is in apposition with a pronominal, nominal or noun phrase.
anana waka amwarrngwa
3:4 this odd 3:4 yellow
'This yellow one is odd.' / 'This odd one is yellow.'

waka anana wimpwa angapwa awilyapwithangwa
odd 3:4 this but 3:4 that there 3:4 one-ABL
'Not this one but that one from over there.'

wirriyapwitjapwa wirrakina awarrwalya angalya
3:1 separate 3:1 those 3:4 shade 3:4 place

namwinampwilyimwirra apwirra waka
3:1 were staying 3:1PL odd

wirriyathilhangwa
3:1 separate-ABL
'They were staying in a shady place apart from the others.'

The particle angkitharpwa is the free form diminisher which corresponds with the prefix -warrngka. Semantically, the compared item is smaller (decreased largeness) or larger (decreased smallness) than the original. The word consists of two morphemes: a[r]ngka 'eye' and tharrpw 'short'. It usually immediately precedes or follows a nominal but can be used as a time adverb.

angpwitha angkitharpwa
3:4 strong DIMIN
'Rather strong.' / 'Slightly heavy.'

angkitharpwa ngakakirimwatjingwimwa
DIMIN 1ExcSg will be teaching myself
'In a little while, I will be getting to know more.'

The diminisher is also used to express comparisons which, in Anindilyakwa, are always binary (not trinary as is possible in English). When comparisons of four objects were requested the diminisher angkitharpwa was used with the words 'small' and 'large'; when comparisons of odd numbers were requested the diminisher could be used with either adjective for the ones intervening between those seen as pairs.
thatirrngwarra thaningwarngkiwilyapwa
3:2 big 3:2 one thing
'big one (= biggest one)'

thatirrngwarra angkitharrpwa thaningwarngkiwilyapwa
3:2 big DIMIN 3:2 one thing
'Not quite the biggest one.'

thiyikwitjiya angkitharrpwa thaningwarngkiwilyapwa
3:2 small DIMIN 3:2 one thing
'Slightly larger than the smallest one'

thiyikwitjiya thaningwarngkiwilyapwa
3:2 small 3:2 one thing
'Small one (= smallest one)'

8.2.1.8 Intensifying: -aki

The clitic, -aki [eki], can be suffixed to almost any word in
the sentence and it is difficult at times to know what is being
intensified or emphasised. Somewhat the same meaning is conveyed by
the English words: 'really', 'very' or 'definitely'. The vowel in
the penultimate syllable is lengthened and the final syllable
stressed.

When the Intensifying particle -aki occurs on a pronominal or
one of the words in a noun phrase it functions in the same way as
reduplication, i.e., it can pluralise or intensify. (Note that the
plurality is cross-referenced in the verb in the last example.)

akinaka aningapwa aningkwa
3:4 that-INTENS 3:4 good 3:4 spear
'That one is the best spear.'

yinimwamwiwaka akwitjina kwirrintjaya amwakwilyiwakpwa
3:3(ii) eggs-INTENS there truly 3:4 (name)
'There are really lots of eggs at Bickerton Island.'

naningkwarpwa aringkawaka nakina
3:3(i) man 3:4 head-ALL-INTENS 3:3(i) that
'The man was a sorcerer.' (Lit: very good head)

nimwirntakingakpwirakawwilhangwa amwirntakarrpwithakaw aningkwa
3:3+3:1 was making-ABL 3:4 strong-INTENS 3:4 spear
'After he was making very strong [tightly-bound] spears...'

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ngalhatja mwarimwilhangwa mwitjiyanga
3:5-CoFr 3:5 big-ABL 3:5 boat

namwirntakikwawarinimwaw akiyamwarrrkinamwa ngarna
3:5 was breaking 3:5 boat 3:5-MascDu are doing what? 3:5-MascDu these

'And then we said, 'This boat is really broken. What are we
going to do?''

anatja niyamwa nanilhikanimwawana winahlakina
3:3-CoFr 3:3 said 3:1-MascDu were going-INTENS 3:1MascDu those

namingampayinimwirra athalyimwamwantja
3:1 were bathing 3:4 river-LOC

'He said, 'Those two men were definitely bathing in the river.

ngarningkaka ningana kilhawirrathinamwirra
again-INTENS 3:1 ExcSg this 1ExcSg will be returning

kilhikatjamwa nganyangwiwa
1ExcSg will be going 1ExcSg-POSS-ALL

'I will definitely be returning to my [home] again.'

When the clitic -aki is suffixed to an interjection it
intensifies or emphasises the word. There is one example where it
occurs with the particle wipirra 'like'.

nara ka arakpwa yingilyimwatha thipwina
not-INTENS comp.act 3:2 disappeared 3:2(1) that unseen

'Definitely not, she disappeared.'

angampwaka apwina amwikirra akinimwantja angalya
which? INTENS 3:4 that unseen 3:4 name 3:4 that-LOC 3:4 place

'What is the name of that place?'

mwanamintjiratha yingimwakayitjiimanwaka wipirraka
3:5 spear 3:2+3:5 was erecting like-INTENS

warningkwarpwa
3:1 men

'She was standing the spears very much like men.'
The particle can co-occur on several words in the same sentence and this gives a very dramatic effect to high points in story, captivating the attention of the audience. It has only been observed in narratives by people regarded as excellent storytellers.

ngalhatja mwaKarta mwathirrngaKarnaKA 3:5-CofR 3:5 sea 3:5 big-INTENS
nimwirrmatjingwinamwaka nimwipilipwayinimwaka 3:5 was uprighting itself-INTENS 3:5 was blowing bubbles-INTENS
mwikwimwikimwantjaka 3:5 ocean-LOC-INTENS
'The very big wave stood very still, blowing lots of bubbles, in the very [middle] of the ocean.'

8.2.1.9 Terminative: -tha

The terminative particle -tha is a clitic which is suffixed to any word class at or near the end of a sentence. It indicates the end of a discourse or a particular activity within a discourse but does not occur in conversations. The syllable is heavily stressed and thus alters the normal word stress.

The clitic -tha commonly occurs in three positions in the discourse: (a) at the end of the discourse; and (b) in the middle of the discourse preceding a change from one set of actors (dramatic personae) to another; and (c) in the middle of a discourse before the same dramatic persona starts a new activity. The Change of Referent pronoun often co-occurs at the beginning of the next sentence.

pwiya animwangmwa nimwingkwilitha apwirringatja then 3:4 (name) 3:3 slept-TRM 3:1Pl-CofR
narrwingimwirrkwana mwiyarrawiwa 3:1FemDu+3:5 hunted 3:5 kurrajong nut-ALL
'And then Horace Slept at Animangma. The two women [in the other group] went looking for Kurrajong nuts.'
kampirra ningwitjangina arakpwa kampirritha. Akwa therefore 3:3 jumped comp.act therefore-TRM and
yininiringkinimwantja yipwirathilhangwa ayarrka 2Nsg+3:3 can see-LOC 3:3(ii) wallaby-POSS 3:4 hand
apwina nathathinimwa angwira arakpwawiyia 3:4 that unseen 3:4 was being burnt 3:4 fire long ago
amwirrtjingwawitha. Akina ngawitha, 3:4 black-ALL-TRM 3:4 that cont.act-TRM
'And, therefore, the wallaby jumps. And you can see where the front paws of Wallaby were being burnt black a long time ago. That's all.'
Mwarliyiya yingimwarringkaamwantja mwarra 3:2(ii) emu 3:2+3:5 saw-LOC 3:5 blood
nimwikwilharrinimwantja thakinilhangwa thikwirirrkwa 3:5 blood:fell-LOC 3:2 that-ABL 3:2(ii) brolga
aringka kampirra yingarrikwilitha. Kampwa 3:4 head therefore 3:2 felt sorry-TRM therefore
yingararakpitjiwa apwina angwarnta. 3:2 spat out-ALL 3:4 that unseen 3:4 stone
'When Emu saw the blood flow down from Brolga's head she felt sorry. Therefore she [Emu] spat the stone out.'

One of the Anindilyakwa literates often used -tha at the end of each paragraph in the English story from which she was translating. This caused the skewing of the Anindilyakwa system in some instances. The clitic also seems to be inserted when narrator has come to a stopping point in the story, i.e., when collecting his/her thoughts for the next part of the narrative or assimilating the next chunk of data to be translated. When checking such narratives the author or editor often requests its removal. There are travelogues with the same dramatic personae continuing the same type of travelling and hunting activities where the clitic -tha is not used throughout the whole discourse.

8.3 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections are separate words which can stand alone or be
incorporated into a sentence. In the latter case, they are usually the first word. They fall roughly into three types: responses, attention-seekers and warnings.

8.3.1 Responses

There is a wide variety of particles which can be regarded as responses in Anindilyakwa. These occur mostly in conversation and the stories told by some of the older renowned story-tellers who use them to add a dynamic quality to the reported speech in narratives. In written material, these particles are rarely used.

The expressions fall roughly into two groups: (a) affirmations, denials or questions about what has just been said or done; and (b) empathy. The words in the first group are as follows:

ngarra ~ ngalya it's hard to believe, it's not true, is it?
kwiraya only joking, only teasing, you are trying to trick me, it's not true, you're tricking
thangpwa is it true?
katha ~ karra don't know
kayi ~ kaya say it again, please repeat what you have just said, I beg your pardon?
mwamwa it's okay, it's all right, it doesn't matter
yinthiyi ~ yinthayi oops, I'm sorry (it was accidental), I'm sorry I forgot it
yawi ~ yawa ~ yiwi yes
nara no
a::: er, um

As most of the words are used in isolation with the above meanings the following random examples show their usage and position
in sentences.

yawi angapwa anhinga angaliyimwantja
yes 3:4 that there 3:4 food 3:4 place-LOC
'Yes, there is food at the house.'

mwamwa kampwa ngarriwirrana ana
okay therefore incNsg+3:4 throw out 3:4 this

aningwingarrkwinwa nayamwa
3:4 spikeless 3:1 said
"It doesn't matter that as a result [of its slipping out] we
leave this stingray without a spike," they said.'

nara ampwaka
no not now
'Not yet.'

katha amwiyampana akina
don't know 3:4 what? 3:4 that
'What sort of thing have you lost?'

katha ninganepingwala ngaya ningana
don't know 1ExcSg ignorant 1ExcSg 1ExcSg this
'I do not know.'

The expression kwiraya is often accompanied by or replaced by
the poking out of the tongue. As an interjection, it means 'a trick',
'I/you are pretending', 'a joke' or 'it's not credible'. The speaker
uses the word as a statement to inform the addressee that he/she is
only joking or the addressee uses it when questioning the veracity of
the speaker's statement. This particle has the same form as the
Dubitative particle (see Section 8.2.1.4) but any semantic
relationship between the two usages has not been discussed with the
native speakers.

kwiraya ningkwakina
you're teasing 2Sg that
'I don't believe you!'

The particle, thangpwa 'is it true?', is a short form of the
noun, amwanthangwa 'truth'. The final syllable pwj may be a stem
formative or the Comitative clitic 'having'.

Question: thangpwa ningkilhikatjamwa tawiniwa true? 2Sg are going 3:4 Darwin-ALL 'Is it true you are going to Darwin?'

Answer: amwanthangwa 3:4 truth 'It [is] true.' / 'Truly.'

The interjection, yinthyi ~ yinthayi, consists of the dubitative particle yinthi followed by the vocative suffix -ayi ~ -yi. It means 'oops, I am wrong' or 'sorry I forgot something', thus maintaining the uncertainty or doubt of the dubitative particle (see Section 8.2.1.4).

The words for sympathy or empathy all appear to have at least two morphemes. The expression, nganiyarriya (empathy), can denote 'rejoicing with those who rejoice' but is mainly used to express sympathy. It probably consists of the two morphemes, nga[r]ni (1st inclusive plural) and yarriya 'bad', with a meaning of 'we feel badly'. The other expressions, wirrintjaya ~ wintjaya ~ kwintjaya ~ mwarrakpwa (sympathy), appear to have variants of the prefix kwirra (2nd plural) with tjaya 'go away'. These particles have been recorded at the beginning and end of a sentence and can co-occur.

ninganingapwatha arakpwa ningana nganiyarriya 1ExcSg became well comp.act 1ExcSg this (empathy) 'I am well again--happy me.'

ngaijiwa ningamwinilhikatjamwa ngalhilhangwa wirrintjaya 1ExcSg 1ExcSg+her am getting 3:2-POSS (sympathy) 'I am getting it instead of her--poor [woman].'

nanipwiwakitha kwintjaya 3:3(i) silly (sympathy) 'He's silly, poor boy.'

nganiyarriya wintjaya ngaihatja (empathy) (sympathy) 3:2-CofR 'Poor woman.'
8.3.2 Attention-seekers

Anindilyakwa, like many other languages, has several words which are used simply to get someone else's attention. The following words could be translated as 'oh!', 'hey!' or 'hey you!'. The words are often reduplicated to attract greater attention and they can be in apposition.

wayi [wa$^2$] ~ waya ~ wawi [wa$^3$] ~ waa ~ ayi [a$^2$]

kwirriwa ~ wayi kwirriwa

The most frequent particle wayi and its variants can be lengthened and high-pitched when used in the same way as the Australian cooee to locate others in the bush. The word is commonly used singly or reduplicated to attract attention but there can also be an element of surprise. Unlike what Heath (1984:446) reports for Nunggubuyu, this exclamation does not seem to be used to denote fear.

wayi yarimwa amwanthangwithangwa yantharrnga yingiyamwa
oh 3:3(ii) big 3:4 truly 3:3(ii) (name) 3:2 said

"Oh, Central Hill is really big," she said.

ningimwirntatha ningimwirntatha awi wawi wawi wawi
1ExcSg cold 1ExcSg cold oh oh oh oh

ngarnta ngarnta ngarnta niyamwa
mother mother mother 3:3 said

"Oh, oh, oh, mother, mother, mother, I am so cold," he said.

ayi::: yirripwikwinimwinampirririnamwa yirripwikwalhakana
oh 1ExcTri+3:3 are waiting 1ExcTri

yingiyamwa ngalhatja thathiwyangkwa
3:2 said 3:2-CofR 3:2(i) woman

'Oh, we three will wait for him,' the old woman said.

The expression kwirriwa has been explained as meaning 'hey, all of you' and this suggests an analysis of two morphemes: kwirra (2nd
plural) and -wa (allative). The word karikwa is used to gain attention before questioning another person about an intended activity, e.g., 'hey, who is getting the soap?'; 'hey, what time are we going?'.

kwiwitja yingiyamwarrkinamwa thakina naniyamwa
hey 3:2 is doing what? 3:2 that 3:1MascDu said
"'Hey, what is she doing?" the two men said.'

The following exclamations involve surprise and/or pain. The word yakayi is common to north-eastern Arnhem Land and is used primarily to draw other people's attention to the fact that the speaker is hurt. It is also used, however, for surprise or when another person swears.

yakayi
ouch!, oh that hurt!,
oh what a surprise!

karri
oh what a pleasant surprise!

tjilipwa ~ tjiripwa
down it goes!

Examples are as follows:

wayi ningkwiringiwa wayi yingiyamwa ayi::ayi:::
oh 2Pl1 oh 3:2 said hey

yirikwitjilhangwa yakayi yingiyamwa
3:3(ii) bandicoot (surprise) 3:2 said
"'Hey, all of you," she said, "oh, a bandicoot!''

karri thathingapwa tiritja ningkwilhangwa
(surprise) 3:2(ii) good 3:2(ii) dress 2Sg-POSS
'Oh, what a nice clean dress!'

The exclamation, tjilipwa ~ tjiripwa, is a loanword (probably tjirlipwa) whose origin has not been established. It appears to vary with tjiwitj and tjatj but their final consonants also indicate borrowing.
akina  tjiripwa
3:4 that  down it goes
'Down it goes!'

tjiwitj  tjiwitj  nangwirtangmwina  akina  athirra
down  down  3:3+3:4 deepened  3:4 that  3:4 hole
'Oh down he went, he made the hole deeper.'

yakwitjina  mwilyarrkayanikpwa  natharritha  tjilipwa
there  3:5 (name)  3:3 sank  down he went

niwampwilyamwirra  akwingwa  angwitjiraka
3:3 is staying  3:4 water  3:4 deep hole
'There at Milyarrkayanika--oh down he went--he sank and is staying
in a deep freshwater hole.'

The remaining words are used to get the attention of another
person when the speaker wants the transfer of something in the
possession of either the speaker or addressee. The word kwa is often
accompanied by a hand movement in which all the fingers are moved
downwards; the word wiya is spoken with an extension of the hand
holding the offering.

yintja  hurry up!, it's my turn!
yinthra  show it to me!, let me see it!
wiya  this is for you, here you are
kwa  (come) here!

The above expressions usually occur in isolation but can co-
occur with another particle. The command kwa means 'towards the
speaker' and is used as a verbal auxilliary in contrast with tjayi
'away from the speaker'. As a separate utterance it means 'come here
to me'.

yintja  kwiraya
hurry  try
'Hurry up, I want to try.'

kwa  /  kwa  lhikatja
here  here  2Sg foot-walk
'Come here!'
kwa kwa winilhawirrathilhangwa ngarripwikwiartiyinilhangwa
here here 2MascDu return-ABL 1IncFri fight-ABL

yingiyamwa
3:2 said

"Hey, you two men come here and we three will have a fight!" she said.

8.3.3 Warnings

Warnings or threats are usually said in anger and indicate impending doom if some corrective action is not taken. The words can be said in isolation and are emphatic when the last syllable is lengthened and stressed.

tjayi ` tjaya ` tjiyi     scram!, (go) away!
pwarra [p(w)érǐ]         get away and stop annoying me!
karti yi [katiːːːːː]       watch out!, watch what you’re doing!, be careful! beware!
kapwa [kapwáːːːː]         be quiet!, silence!
ngwayi [ngwěːːː]         stop staring at me!

The words, tjìwiti and tjìwi `scram!`, are used on Groote Eylandt but are said to be Nunggubuyu terms. The expression, tjaya is also used as a verbal auxiliary indicating the action is away from the speaker.

tjayi / tjayi lhidatja
away       away 2Sg go
'Go away!'  

kapwa yamwinthatha
ssshhh 2Sg become quiet
'Be quiet!' / 'Shut up!'

karti yi yingarna
beware 3:3(ii) snake
'Watch out! There's a snake!'
Ngarramwakinawma

nilhikanimwirrilhangwa
ngarr{r}{r}a +rra +mwa ka +n(i) +amwi
ni +lhik{a} +ani +mwi rra +lhangwi

1IncPl 3:1 tell TNS NPIP 3:3 move TNS PIP ABL

We are telling them the story about the big one who was coming

yariimwawma. Yapingwa nganyangwa
y{i} +arimwi y{i} +a{nga} pwi
ngaya +lhangwi

3:3(ii) big 3:3(ii) that over there 15g POSS
from [the mainland]. The big one over there

yariimwawma. Yiningangkwilhangwa
y{i} +arimwi yi +{a} ni +{ngwi} +n{g}{r}a +ngka +lhangwi
3:3(ii) big 3:3(ii) n-hfem ALP shoulder POSS
[is] mine. He (Lit: the one possessing the shoulder)

nilhikanimwawma aripillhangwa
ni +lhik{a} +ani +mwi [a] +arip +lhangwi
3:3 move TNS PIP 3:4 dry ABL
was coming from dry land, the country [Lit: tread on]

ngarningpwahilhangwa angalya. Nara
ngarr{a} +ani +ng{k}{1} +pwalha +lhangwi [a] +ngalya nari
1IncPl n-hfem ASR ignorant ABL 3:4 tread on not
about which we [are] ignorant.

kampwampwilimwilhangwa nilhikanimwilra
ka +ampwampwilyi +mwi +lhangwi ni +lhik{a} +ani +mwi rra
3:1 REDUP:stay PIP ABL 3:3 move TNS PIP
one was staying on and on there [before] he was coming.

nakina. Pwiya nithirririntinimwilra armpwali
n{i} +akini pwiyi ni +thiri rinta +ni +mwi rra
3:3(i) that there then 3:3 descend TNS PIP (name)
And then he was going downhill to

pwiya nampwiririmwilra yakwitjina Akana
pwiyi n{i} +ampwilra +mwi rra yakwithini akani
then 3:3 settle PIP there however
Anbali: [on the mainland] and then he was settling there. However,

napwiliriramwilra amwilyimwilyintjimwantja,
n{i} +apwi +yi +mwi rra a +mwi +yi +mwi +lyintja +mwantja
3:3 adhere TNS PIP 3:4 REDUP INALP ??? LOC
he was getting bogged

amwilyarrngkwirra angalya natharrirthinimwawma.
a +mwi +lyarrngkwi +rra a +ngalya n{i} +atharrirrtha +ni +mwi
3:4 INALP ??? SF 3:4 tread on 3:3 sink TNS PIP
in the mud, the quicksand—he was sinking in that place.
Nampwilya yakwitjina akana yapwapwirna
n(i) +ampwilyi yakwitjini akani y(i) +apwapwirna
3:3(1) stay there however 3:3(ii) REDUP:many
He stayed there [but] however there were too many

yarrrga. Yapwapwirna yarrnga
y(i) +arrnga y(i) +apwapwirna y(i) +arrnga
3:3(ii) cut 3:3(ii) REDUP:many 3:3(ii) cut
leeches (Lit:to cut). He was

nakpwartha akwa nilhikana.
n(i) +akpwartha akwi n:i +lhik[a] +ani
3:3 frighten and 3:3 move TNS
scared of the very large number of leeches and he went on.

Nalhalhikanii:::wa. Napwa ngarningka
n(i) +alhalhik[a] +ani +wa n(i) +a[nga]pwi ngarningki
3:3 REDUP:move TNS cont.act. 3:3(i) that over there again
He continued to keep on going. He, that one over there, again

nampwirra apwimwantja amwalyikpa
n(i) +ampwirra [a] +a[nga]pwi +mwantja a +mw[i] +alyikpi
3:3 settle 3:4 that over there LOC 3:4INALP tongue
dropped down over there at Amalyikba (Lit: tongue-shaped area).

Nampwirra natharrirtha. Nanthaya angalya
n(i) +ampwirra n(i) +atharrirtha n(i) +ŋ + anthaya a +ngalya
3:3 settle 3:3 sink 3:3 3:4 look 3:4 tread
He stayed [but] he sank. He looked around the place

pwiya nara kinirringka. Nara
pwiyi nari kini +ŋ +rringka nari
then not 3:3 3:4 see not
and then he could not see any place [to settle]. He did

kinakpwirrangarna apwini angalya.
kin(i) +ŋ +akpivrang[a] +arni a +p[w]ini a +ngalya
3:3 3:4 find TNS 3:4 that unseen 3:4 tread on
not find a place.

Angampowa angalya ana niyamwa.
[a] +angampwi a +ngalya [a] +ani n:i +yanwmi
3:4 which? 3:4 tread on 3:4 this here 3:3 say
"Which place is this?" he said.

Ngampwiyatha ana angalya
ngamp[w]iyatha [a] +ani a +ngalya
when? 3:4 this here 3:4 tread can
"When

katjathiymwirra niyamwa.
ka +ŋ +tjatha +y(i) +amwirra ni +yanwmi
15g 3:4 enter TNS NPIP 3:3 say
am I going to get to [Lit: enter] this place?" he said.

ningapwipwirangkina niyamwa. Yakwitjina
ning[a] +ŋ +apwipwirangka +ni ni +yanwmi yakwitjini
15g 3:4 REDUP:search for TNS 3:3 say there
There,
kampwirra yimwirntakipwina
kamp[w]irri yi +mwirntaka +p[w]ini
therefore 3:3(ii) PL that unseen
as a result, (are) lots of wild apples

yinimwanhinga nakhayana
yi +{a}[ni] +mw[i] +anhinge n[i] +alkay[a] ani
3:3(ii) n-hfem INALP edible 3:3 stand up TNS
that he planted there

nirimwirntakapwirira anilhangwa angalya.
ni +mwirntaka +p[w]irri ani +lhngwi a +ngalya
3:3(ii) PL wide 3:3(i) POSS 3:4 tread on
at his place.

Yipwina akwa mwilyiya mwipwina
yi + p[w]ini akwi m[w]i +lyilyi m[w]a +p[w]ini
3:3(ii) that unseen and 3:5 ?deliver 3:5 that unseen
He put the Mililya

nimwakwimwarnitha. Nara apwina
ni +mw[a] +akwm+w[i] +arni +tha nari a +p[w]ini
3:3 3:5 put TNS TRM not 3:4 that unseen
there [in an area near the caves]. He didn’t

kiniwilyaka akwalha. Nahilihikani:::wa.
kini +Ø +wilyaka a +kwala n[i] +a(lhi)lhik[a] anii +wa
3:3 3:4 carry 3:4 some 3:3 REDUP:move TNS cont.act
carry any(thing).
He kept going on and on.

Nara apwina angalya wimpwa
nari a +p[w]ini a +ngalya wimpw
not 3:4 that unseen 3:4 place but
"There is no place [for me to settle] but

ngwilhikatjamwirra angarripa
[n][n]a +lhik[a] +atj[a] + amwirra a + ng[w]i +arrripi
1Sg move TNS NPIP 3:4 ALP forked
I am going this way

ngapwirrangkina niyamwa. Naka
ng[i] +Ø +apwirrangka +ni ni +yar-wi n[i] +aka
1Sg 3:4 search for TNS 3:3 say 3:3(i) this here
to search for one," he said. He

ngarningka amwalyikpa nampwirritaha. Akwakwa
ngarningki a +mw[i] +alyikpi n[i]+ampwirra +tha akwakwi
again 3:4 INALP tongue 3:3 settle TRM (name)
settled again at Amalyikba.

akina angalya amwalyikpa. Yakwitjina
[a] +akini a +ngalya a +mw[i] +lyikpi yakwitjini
3:4 that there 3:4 tread on 3:4 INALP lips there
That place, Amalyikba, belongs to the Wurrakwakwa. There

nampwirra yipwina ningwirtjirakina
n[i] +ampwirra yi +p[w]ini ni +ngwirtjira +ka +ni
3:3 settled 3:3(ii) that unseen 3:3 deepen CAUS TNS
he settled [and] made a big well
angalyimwirrimwantja amwalyikpa. Yakwitjiná
a +ngalya +mwirra +mwantja yakwitjiní
3:4 tread on COM LOC (name) there
at Angalyimwirra [the camping place], Amalyikba. There

nampwilya pwi.:ya nara. Naraka apwina
n(i) +ampwilya pwiy(i) nari nar(i) +aki a +p(w)i
3:3 stay then not not INTENS 3:4 that unseen
he stayed but not [for long]. He really could not see all over

angalya kinirringkaka. Tjatj
a +ngalya kini +Ø +rringk(a) +aki
3:4 tread on 3:3 3:3 see INTENS
the place.

nangwirthangmwina akina athirra kampwirra
na +ngwirthang(w)i +ni (a) +akini (a) +athirri kamp(w)irri
3:4 be open-mouthed TNS 3:4 that there 3:4 mouth therefore
The hole was deepened and, as a result,
ngarrirripwirringkina. Naraka apwina
ngarra +Ø +rripwirringk +ni nar(i) +aki a +p(w)i
1InCP 3:4 REDUP:see TNS not INTENS 3:4 that unseen
we can look into it. "I [still have] no place

angalya wimpwa ngakpwrirrangarnaka
a +ngalya (w)i/mpwi ng(a) +Ø +akpwrirrang(a) +arn(i) +aki
3:4 tread on but 15g 3:4 find TNS INTENS
[to settle] but I am really trying to find one

angarripa kwiraya niyamwa. Wirrippwina
a +ng(w)i +arrripl kwiraya ni +yamwi wirra +p(w)i
3:4 ALP forked try 3:3 say 3:1 that unseen
somewhere," he said. He

nanakwimwarna yakina
n(i) +ar(a) +akwimw(i) +arn1 y(i) +akini
3:3 3:3 put TNS 3:3(11) that there left

yinimwanhinga akwa warnipwarmpwa.
y1 +[a]ni +mw(i) +anhhinga akw1 wirre +ani +p(w)i +warmmpwi
3:3(11) n-hfem INALP edible and 3:1 n-hfem NSR short-hair
the apples and [the stone named] Warnibarmba (Lit: short-haired ones).

Wimpwa nanakwimwarna wirrakina
[w(i)mpwi na[r1a] +n(i) +akwimw(i) +arn1 wirr[a] +akini
but 3:1 3:3 put TNS 3:1 that there
But he left Warnibarmba there--
warnipwarmpwa athipwina wirrirrakarimwa wimpwa
athip[w]ini wirra +rrak[a] +arimw1 (w)i/mpwi
(name) this side 3:1 forehead big but
the big stone on this side but

alhipwatja wirrirrakitjikwa. Yathikina ngawa
alhapatatja wirra +rrak +tjikwi yathikini ngawi
that side 3:1 forehead small there cont.act
the small one on that side. From there
Narapwaka angalya apwinita niyamwa.
nar[i] +spw[i] +aki a +ngalya a +p[wi]ni +tha ni +yamwi
not EM INTENS 3:4 tread 3:4 that unseen TRM 3:3 say
"There is really no place [to stay]," he said.

Ngampwi kilhikatja kapwirangkina niyamwa.
gngamphi ki +lhik[a] +atja k[i] +G +apwirangka +ni ni +yamwi
where? 1sg move TNS 1sg 3:4 search for TNS 3:3 say
"Where will I search for it?" he said.

Angarripa kilhikatja niyamwa.
a + ng[wi] +arripi ki +lhik[a] +atja ni +yamwi
3:4 NSR forked 1sg move TNS 3:3 say
"I will go this way," he said.

Nalhikani::wa mwilyarrkayanikpitha mwipwina
n[i] +alhik[a] +ani +wi mwa +p[wi]ni
3:3 move TNS cont.act (name) 3:5 that unseen
He continued to go from Milyarrkayanika.

mwipwina nimwalyikpa. Nalhikani::wi
mwa +p[wi]ni ni +mw[i] +alyikpi n[i] +alhik[a] +ani +wi
3:5 that 3:3(1) INALP tongue 3:3 move TNS cont.act
He continued to go on and on

nangapwa angwirra. Angwirra nanakwilmwarna
n[i] +angapwi angwirra n[i] +ani[i] +akwimw[i] +arni
3:3(1) that there (name) (name) 3:3 3:3 put TNS
[to] Angwirra. [At] Angwirra he left

nanikwaniwikpwi nipwina. Kampwa
n[i] +ani +kwi +w[i] +anikpwi ni +p[wi]ni kampwi
3:3(1) n-hfem ??? son KPOSS 3:3(1) that unseen therefore
his son. As a

napwingkitjira. Kampwirra nipwina
n[i] +ap[w]ingki +tjiri kamp[w]irri ni +p[wi]ni
3:3(1) body young therefore 3:3(1) that unseen
result, he [is] small-bodied. Therefore he

napwingikwakatjingwina angarripa
n[i] +ap[w]ingki +kwiwak[w[i] +atjingwi +ni a +ng[wi] +arripi
3:3 body drop with splash RECP TNS 3:4 ALP forked
he [the big Yantarrnga] dropped him [the small Yantarrnga] in the

niwirntanga arakpwitha. Yapwa
ni +wirt[a] +anga arakpwi +tha y[i] +a[ngap]wpi
3:3 climb TNS comp.act TRM 3:3(1) that over there
waterhole [and then] he climbed up this way. He

ypwina nimpwarrimwatja yinitha
y[i] +p[wi]ni nimp[w]arrimw[a][n]tja yinithi
3:3(ii) that unseen (name) or perhaps
[i] at Nimbarrmanja or perhaps

yangapwa lharrngantjipa alhipwatiya wimpwa
y[i] +angapwi lharrngantjipi alhapwatiya wimpwi
3:3(ii) that over there (name) that side but
he [is] the one over there on that side at Larrnganjiba but
wimpwa athipwina nimpwarrimwantaŋja wimpwa yapwa
wimpwâ athap[w]ini nimp[w]arrimwantaŋja wimpwi y{i} +angapwi
but on this side (name) but 3:3(ii) that
but ha[was] on this side [to] Nimparrimantaŋja but

yin+waliwhalyilhangwa. Nimparrimwataŋlhwangwa
[fem] +[a]ni +m[w]{i} +alhwawli +hhangwi nimparrimantaŋja +hangwi
(ABL) n-hfem INALP REDUP:wide ABL (name) ABL
he [went to] Yimimalwaliwhangwa. From Nimparrimantaŋja

Yathikina niwirtanga nihikana pwïya
Yathakini ni +wir[t][a]+anga ni +lhhik[a] +ani pwïya
there 3:3 climb TNS 3:3 move TNS then
there, he climbed and then he got (Lit: went)

Nangapwa karrawara. Alhipwatja arakpwâ
n{i} +angapwi karrawari alhipwatja arakpwi
3:3(ii) that over there high there comp.act
[to] the top. On that side,

Nakina nihikwayina. Nilhikwilhikwayina
n{i} +akini ni +lhhikwaya +ni ni +lhhikwilhikwaya +ni
3:3(ii) that there 3:3 dance TNS 3:3 REDUP:dance TNS
he danced. He really kept dancing

Athkinakas apwirantjarrarra. Yathikina
Athkin[i]+ak{a} {a}+ap[w]ir[an][g][a] +tjarrarri yathakini
there INTENS 3:4 buttocks smooth there
on that side [and made] a smooth area.

Yikwirtamwantaŋja yikakwângpwa angalya
yik{i}+wir[t][a]+ani +mwantaŋja yika +kwângpwi a +ngalya
25g climb TNS LOC 25g be excited 3:4 tread on
If you climb up there you will be excited about the place

Akwa yapwapwirna yîlyakwa. Ngarningka arakpwa
akwî y{i} +apwapwirna yi +lyakwi ngarningki arakpwi
and 3:3(ii) REDUP:many 3:3(ii) speech again comp.act
and all the bees (Lit: one with speech). Again [after he

Nakina niwirtanga apwalkayâ. Apwalkaya
n{i} +akini ni +wir[t][a]+anga apwalkayi +wi apwalkaya
3:3(ii) that there 3:3 climb TNS high ALL high
had finished dancing] he climbed right up to the top. At the top

Arakpwa nangapwa rampwirra. Nanthaya
arakpwi n{i} +angapwi n{i} +ampwirra n{i} +Ø +anthaya
comp.act 3:3(ii) that there 3:3 settle 3:3(i) 3:4 look at
he settled. He looked

Nanthaya akina angalya
n{i} +Ø +anthaya {a} +akini a +ngalya
3:3(ii) 3:4 look at 3:4 that there 3:4 tread on
and [he] looked all over the place

Amwirntakayina ayangkwilyimwithiwa akwa
a +amwirntak[a] +ayîni a +yangka +lyimwitha +wiya akwi
3:4 PL those there 3:4 head be complete TPRG and
and could see everywhere (Lit: many places) -- across to the mainland and
anyangiyangkitharrpwana "pwiya nitjarrikwaka
a +yangkisanga +tharrpwina "pwiya ni +Ø +tjarri +kw[1] +aki
3:4 Reedup:head short then 3:3 3:4 finish CAUS INTENS
many islands (Lit: short-headed ones) and then he finished

angalysa aningangkwa Awpina
a +ngalysa {a} +ani +{ngwii} +ngangka +wi a + p(w)ini
3:4 tread on 3:4 n-hfem ALP shoulder ALL 3:4 that unseen
all the places. "This place

angalysa ngawa niyamwa. Yaahkwa ngampwarriya
a +ngalysa ngawi ni +yamwi yalaikwi ng[1] +ampwarra +yi
3:4 tread on cont.act 3:3 say here iSg reside TNS
[is good] enough [for me]," he said. "Here I stay"

niyamwa. Yakwitjina arakpwa nakina
ni +yamwi yakwitjini arakpwa n[1] +akini
3:3 say there comp.act 3:3(1) that there
he said. There

ampwarngatha narinngwarngkwirri tha.
3:3 sit down TRM 3:3(1) n-hfem ALP forever TRM
he stayed forever.

Akinipwingawa.
akini +pwi +ngawi
that EM cont.act
That's all.

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