## Appendix One: Some principles of noun class assignment

### Sphere: Non-human Animates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>A</strong></th>
<th><strong>N</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>human-like</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gulingi</em> 'wanjina', <em>agurla</em> 'devil', <em>juwarru</em> 'dead person', <em>ngawa</em> 'rain (associated with <em>gulingi</em>), <em>barndiwun</em> 'lightning' and <em>gugugu</em> 'thunder'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Animals without flight:</strong> <em>gariyali</em> 'goanna', <em>garnanganyja</em> 'emu', <em>karnanggurr</em> 'dog'; <em>yawurda</em> 'horse', etc.</td>
<td><strong>Flying animals (Birds and ?insects):</strong> <em>loya</em> 'bird', Bird species (from Vas.) 'white cockatoo', 'crow', 'eaglehawk', 'brolga'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals with flight <em>jarringgu</em> 'fruit-bat'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-animate</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Things associated with the animals or the masculine sphere through e.g hunting or ritual:</strong> <em>miila</em> 'spear', *axe', 'knife', <em>bunduwali</em> 'headband', <em>murdura</em> 'hat', <em>garagi</em> 'bark bucket', <em>jilaay</em> 'kangaroo tail sinew'</td>
<td><strong>Things associated with the feminine sphere:</strong> <em>namarrga</em> 'coolamon', (possibly) <em>namandi</em> 'canoe' by extension, <em>warna</em> 'honey &amp; 'eggs' (pollen cells), <em>barramarr</em> 'fighting stick/club'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shape:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long straight shapes: A <em>miila</em> 'spear', <em>ananggarr</em> 'kids spear'</td>
<td>Concave inner vessel shapes: N <em>namandi</em>, 'canoe' <em>namarrga</em> 'coolamon', <em>warna</em> 'honey' (think honey dripping, honey inside a hollow, honey 'eggs' (pollen cells), <em>winji</em> 'nose', <em>yarn.gal</em> 'woomera, spearthrower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plants and products:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A: <em>mee</em> 'vegetable food(generic)', food types: , <em>arrowa/orrawa</em> 'pandanus', <em>banjorl/bonjoyi</em> 'kurrajong', <em>jilirndi</em> 'bush tobacco' (cigarette and tobacco also A-class), <em>gangia</em> 'ashes'.</td>
<td>N: <em>bunu</em> 'scrub-nettle, ladies' powder', <em>yurluwi</em> 'flower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?colour: <em>ngumal</em> 'white ashes', <em>ornmal</em> 'white ochre', <em>alamarr</em> 'bitter bulb', ?white before prep'n', <em>anbirrma</em> 'white currant' [fluggea virosa][JK]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Sphere: inanimates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M-class</th>
<th>W-class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'relative height' in the physical environment:</td>
<td>'on top' things that can be or grow 'on top' of the earth's surface, rock, hill, all kinds of objects bashing stone, trees, leaves. Also 'sky' and 'cloud'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Individuality:

**Mass substances:** e.g. 'plain', ground, sand, 'dust', *julu* 'mud', 'swamp', river, sea, grass, *marnju* 'wind', shade.

**Conceptual/language:** naturally occurring objects that can be individuated, things associated with wood and rock: *lumba* 'tree/stick', *winjangun/wundal* 'fire/firewood', *wunon* 'charcoal', *ngali* 'paperbark used as a plate', all kinds of artefacts/tools e.g. *liija* 'digging stick', *mudiga* 'motor-vehicle'*

**The body:**

*Body's surface:* *dawuru* 'beard', *waya* 'skin', *burulgu* 'cicatrice', *malmanda* 'cicatrice'.

*Other body parts:* *juruwal* 'knee', *nunggu* 'shoulder', *mayil* 'neck/occipital bone', *gurlmerr* 'kangaroo tail'.

**Luminosity:**

*Matte/dark:* 'sea', 'earth', 'skin', 'scar', 'black water goanna', 'black cockatoo'.

*Shiny:* 'water', leaves, 'stone', 'blood', 'crimson-winged parrot', 'fire', '?shinbones'
### APPENDICES

#### Plants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food bearing plants and trees:</td>
<td>Non-edible fruit bearing trees:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anbirra</em> 'white currant'[WG], <em>baruwa</em></td>
<td><em>angguru</em> 'river red-gum', <em>balmangan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nut tree', <em>daarlu</em> 'peanut tree', <em>dingala</em></td>
<td>'Kimberley Christmas tree', <em>barle</em> 'wattle',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'apple tree, big leaf' <em>gardenia sp?</em>,</td>
<td><em>dembal</em> 'tree with large seed pods.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngaruwarri</em> 'small leaf apple tree',</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>guloyi</em> 'green plum'<em>[Buchanania obovata]</em>,</td>
<td>Some trees with edible parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gurngurruru</em> (cycad nuts, special prep'n</td>
<td><em>dangana</em> 'fan palm (Livistona-heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>required.</td>
<td>eaten)', <em>galgayi</em> 'Personia falcata (fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other trees:</td>
<td>edible)', <em>langande</em> 'nut tree', <em>yaala</em> 'kapok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>baramambi/bunyju</em> 'rock-fig tree' fruit</td>
<td>tree' (young roots edible but pods have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eaten by birds, <em>barurru</em> 'tree type ?used to</td>
<td>other semi-ritual/cultural uses)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make didgeridoo', <em>binda</em> 'big tree, white</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flowers, (like a <em>nawulu</em>) little nut, don't</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other plants</td>
<td>Other plants:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>majal</em> 'grass'</td>
<td><em>dangayangarl</em> 'orchid' (JK: A-class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M</strong> Root foods:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>babali</em> 'root food', <em>garmanggu</em> 'long</td>
<td>Poisonous root foods in need of special</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yam', <em>gumi</em> 'root food', <em>wungunimbi</em></td>
<td>preparation:<em>gurru</em> 'round yam', <em>langanggu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'root food'</td>
<td>'root food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>W</strong> Other root-foods</td>
<td>Water plants:<em>miyani</em> 'lily', <em>arnu</em> 'smaller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lily type', <em>yarn,gu</em> 'water plant'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Appendix Two: Bivalent prefixes including all available plural forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1/2/3B-class Objects</th>
<th>1SG A I</th>
<th>2SG A You</th>
<th>3B:SG (S)he</th>
<th>3 other A It</th>
<th>1PL(in) A We (all)</th>
<th>1PL(ex) A We</th>
<th>2PL A Youse</th>
<th>3PL A They</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objects</strong>&gt;</td>
<td>1SG Me</td>
<td>2SG you</td>
<td>3SG her/him</td>
<td>1/2/3SG Me</td>
<td>1/2/3SG you</td>
<td>1/2/3SG her/him</td>
<td>2PL youse</td>
<td>3PL them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG A I</td>
<td>gu-n-Ø-</td>
<td>bu-nga-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(gurr-nga-)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG A You</td>
<td>jan-</td>
<td>bu-Ø-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?ja-n-Ø-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?Ø-jaj-a-n-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3B:SG (S)he</td>
<td>gun-du-</td>
<td>an-du-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?a-n-du-</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 other A It</td>
<td>ngu-n-</td>
<td>(gu-n-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bi-n-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bu-ngarr-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL(ex) A We</td>
<td>?gu-n-Ø-</td>
<td>?jan/ ?ja-n-Ø-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?ja-n-nya-</td>
<td>(gu-nya-)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL A Youse</td>
<td>ngu-n-birr-</td>
<td>(bu-Ø-rr-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL A They</td>
<td>ngu-n-bi-rr-</td>
<td>(gu-n-bu-rr-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objects&gt;</th>
<th>linPL us (all)</th>
<th>lex(PL) us (not you)</th>
<th>2PL youse</th>
<th>3PL them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG A I</td>
<td>gu-n-Ø-</td>
<td>?guu-n-Ø-, (gu-nga-)</td>
<td>burr-nga-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG A You</td>
<td>nya-n-du-</td>
<td>?bu-Ø- (ba-n-bu-), (ban-bu-rru 76-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3B:SG (S)he</td>
<td>(nga-n-du-)</td>
<td>(nya-n-du-)</td>
<td>?guu-n-du- (gu-n-du-)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 other A It</td>
<td>(nga-n-)</td>
<td>(nya-n-)</td>
<td>?guu-n- (gu-n-)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL(in) A We (all)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(burr-nga-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL(ex) A We</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?guu-n-Ø / gu-n-Ø-</td>
<td>birr-nyaarr- (gurr-nyaarr-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL A Youse</td>
<td>(nya-n-bu-rr-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>burr-gu-rr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL A They</td>
<td>(nga-n-bu-rr-)</td>
<td>(nya-n-bu-rr-)</td>
<td>gu-n-bi-rr-</td>
<td>?burr-m-bu-rr- (bu-n-bu-rr-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Non-B-class objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objects</th>
<th>A class</th>
<th>W class</th>
<th>M class</th>
<th>N class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg A I</td>
<td>a-nga-</td>
<td>wu-nga-</td>
<td>mu-nga-</td>
<td>nu-nga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL(in) A We (all)</td>
<td>a-ngarr-</td>
<td>wu-ngarr-</td>
<td>mu-ngarr-</td>
<td>(nu-ngarr-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL(ex) A We</td>
<td>a-nyarr-</td>
<td>wi-nyarr-</td>
<td>mi-nyarr-</td>
<td>(nu-nyarr-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG A You</td>
<td>a-Ø-</td>
<td>wu-Ø-</td>
<td>mu-Ø-</td>
<td>(nu)-Ø-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL A Youse</td>
<td>(a-Ø-rr-)</td>
<td>(wu-Ø-rr-)</td>
<td>(mu-Ø-rr-)</td>
<td>(nu-Ø-rr-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3B:SG (S)he</td>
<td>a-Ø-</td>
<td>ga-Ø-</td>
<td>ma-Ø-</td>
<td>na-Ø-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL They</td>
<td>a-wu-rr-</td>
<td>ga-wu-rr-</td>
<td>ma-wu-rr-</td>
<td>na-wu-rr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third-person non-B-class A's</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 other A It</td>
<td>a-n-</td>
<td>wu-n-</td>
<td>(mu-n-)</td>
<td>(nu-n-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms in brackets were recorded by Vasse. I have segmented inverse markers and A plural markers. -Ø- marks either unrealized, zero (or nothing) A forms.

### Appendix Three: Bivalent pronominal prefixes, negative polarity.

In this table I have segmented O and A prefixes, and 'n' or putative (n) (based on the positive prefix forms) inverse marking, but I have not included zero forms, as these were shown on the charts in Appendix One. The negative prefixes are bolded.

#### Singular Objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>1sg O</th>
<th>2sg O</th>
<th>3sg O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>gu-n-</td>
<td>(gu-na-</td>
<td>(bu-na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nu-</td>
<td>(nga-)</td>
<td>nga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>jan-</td>
<td>gu-n-</td>
<td>bu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(n-</td>
<td>(bu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>ngu-n-bu-nu-</td>
<td>(gu-n-bu-nu-)</td>
<td>a-n-du-nu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 other</td>
<td>(ngu-(n)-n-)</td>
<td>(gu-(n)-n-)</td>
<td>(ba-(n)-n-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl (in)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(bu-na-ngarr-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl (ex)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(bu-na-narr-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>ngu-n-bu-nu-rr-</td>
<td>(gu-n-bu-nu-rr-)</td>
<td>a-n-bu-nu-rr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>(ngu-n-bu-nu-rr-)</td>
<td>(gu-n-bu-nu-rr-)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Plural objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>1pl(in) O</th>
<th>1ex(pl) O</th>
<th>2pl O</th>
<th>3pl O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>nga-n-bu-n</td>
<td>(nya-n-bu-nu-)</td>
<td>(gurr-na-nga-)</td>
<td>(burr-na-nga-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td></td>
<td>(nya-n-bu-nu-)</td>
<td>(ba-n-bu-nu-)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>nga-n-bu-nu-n</td>
<td>(nya-n-bu-nu-)</td>
<td>(gu-(n)-n-)</td>
<td>(bu-(n)-n-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 other</td>
<td>(ngu-(n)-n-)</td>
<td>(gu-(n)-n-)</td>
<td>(ba-(n)-n-)</td>
<td>(bu-na-ngarr-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl (in)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(bu-na-narr-)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl (ex)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(burr-na-narr-)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>nga-n-bu-nu-rr-</td>
<td>(nya-n-bu-nu-rr-)</td>
<td>(gurr-na-narr-)</td>
<td>(burr-gu-nu-rr-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>(ngu-n-bu-nu-rr-)</td>
<td>(nya-n-bu-nu-rr-)</td>
<td>(gu-n-bu-nu-rr-)</td>
<td>(bu-n-bu-nu-rr-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### non-B class objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>A class O</th>
<th>W class O</th>
<th>M class O</th>
<th>N class O</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>a-na-nga-</td>
<td>(wu-na-nga-)</td>
<td>(mu-na-nga)</td>
<td>(nu-na-nga-)</td>
</tr>
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<td>A class</td>
<td>a-na-nga-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>(wu-nu-)</td>
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<td>(nu-nu-)</td>
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<td>A class</td>
<td>a-nu-</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>(a-na-wu-)</td>
<td>(ga-na-wu-)</td>
<td>(ma-na-wu-)</td>
<td>(nu-na-wu-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A class</td>
<td>a-na-wu-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 other</td>
<td>(a-(n)-nu-)</td>
<td>(wa-(n)-nu-)</td>
<td>(ma-(n)-nu-)</td>
<td>(na-(n)-nu-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A class</td>
<td>a-(n)-nu-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl (in)</td>
<td>(a-na-ngarr-)</td>
<td>(wu-na-ngarr)</td>
<td>(mu-na-ngarr-)</td>
<td>(nu-na-ngarr-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A class</td>
<td>a-na-ngarr-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl (ex)</td>
<td>a-na-nyV-</td>
<td>(wu-na-nyarr)</td>
<td>(mu-na-nyarr-)</td>
<td>(nu-na-nyarr-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A class</td>
<td>a-na-nyV-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>(a-nu-rr-)</td>
<td>(wu-nu-rr-)</td>
<td>(mu-nu-rr-)</td>
<td>(nu-nu-rr-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A class</td>
<td>a-nu-rr-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>a-na-wu-rr-</td>
<td>ga-na-wu-rr</td>
<td>mana-wu-rr-</td>
<td>na-na-wu-rr-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I am indebted to Eric Vasse for providing me with complete paradigms for two bivalent roots from his unpublished data. Most of the irrealis pronominal prefix forms used in this chart were drawn from his material. Only those forms not bracketed were also attested in my own corpus. Where the forms in my corpus differ from Vasse, the form used by my informants is the unbracketed variant.
Appendix Four: Text One:

'Planning to visit my brother in Hospital'
William Bunjuck, Kalumburu 1996

The text below was a monologue spoken by a man at Kalumburu who is thinking of visiting each of his two brothers. One has been taken from Kalumburu to the hospital in Wyndham (to the East). The other (a resident at Mowunjum in the South) has asked to be met at Mitchell Plateau (to the West of Kalumburu). His text demonstrates the way demonstratives, demonstrative locationals and the verbally affixed directionals -yang 'toward(speaker e.g.)' and -nda: 'away(from speaker e.g.) are used to orient the individuals, happenings and tentatively planned events with which he is concerned in time and in space.

1 Gayanba bangiyangga bugaya
Gaya -n -ba ba -ngi -yang -ga bu -gaya
over.there -? !IMP -1SG -'go' IMM 3B:SG -that.over.there
I want(ed)/could/should (to) go to him (WG?) over there

2 biinda ASPIDAL-gu biyanggangarri.
  bii -nda ASPIDAL -gu bi -yang -ga -ngarri
3B:SG -other hospital -ALL 3B:SG -'go' -IMM -SUBORD
(but) the other one (i.e. my other brother, LU) who is going to hospital

3 Bugala-ngurru balya bunganbinangga.
  bu -gala -ngurru balya bu -nga =WU -nangga
3B:SG -that -maybe follow 3B:SG -1SG =WU -IMM
Maybe I'll be visiting him there.

4 Bugaya biinda bunganbinangga MONDAY
  bu -gaya bi -inda bu -nga =nbi -nangga MONDAY
B -over.there B -other 3B:SG -1SG =REDUP:WU -IMM Monday
I'll visit the other (brother, LU? or WG?) on Monday.

5 Galyaba-ngurru ngiyengga gali joli nganga
Galya -ba -ngurru ngi =yangga gali joli nga =nga
that?(way) -maybe 1SG ='go':IMM then return 1SG =N'be':NON.PAST
Maybe I'll go there (?Mitchell) when I come back,

6 AFTER li: ' bunganbinngarrri bugaya
AFTER li: bu -nga =wun -bin -ngarri bu-gaya
after look.at 3BSG -1SGA =REDUP -WU -SUBORD B -that.over.there
after seeing/having seen him
7 AN' biinda-nyale bunganmirriringga-ngurru
AN' bii -nda -nyale bu -ngan-mirr-mirr -ingga -ngurru
and B -other -so/as/?also 3B:SG -1SG =REDUP-'go.to'-IMM -SUBORD
I might go/be going to him too.

8 balya baminga bumera
balya ba -ma -yanga bu -me -ra
follow' IMP(2SG) =MA'do' -toward 3B -MA.past -1SG.OBL
'You should follow', he said to me (i.e. He told me to visit)

9 (bugaya biinda) MITCHELL PLATEAU.
(bu-gaya bi-inda) MITCHELL PLATEAU
(3B-that.over.there) Mitchell Plateau.
'(that other one over at) Mitchell plateau.'

10 Galyba-nyale-ngurru ngiyengga.
Galyba -nyale -ngurru ngi -yeng -ga
there -also -perhaps 1SG -'go' -IMM
'So maybe I'll be going there as well.'

11 Buju ngumamangarri WYNDHAM HOSPITAL.
buju ngu -ma =ma -ngarri WYNDHAM HOSPITAL
finish' 1SG =REDUP=MA'do' -SUBORD Wyndham hospital
'When I finish at Wyndham hospital.'

12 Joli nganganda,
Joli nga-nga -nda
come.back 1SG=N'be' -away.
'I'll come back.'

13 Galaja ngiyanganda MITCHELL PLATEAU.
gala -ja ngi -yang -nda,
that/then -EM 1SG -'go' -away
'Then I'll go away (to) Mitchell Plateau.'

14 AN' gayanba niyangga, bumera,
AN' gayanba nyi -yang -ga bu -me -ra
and over.there.way 1SG -'go' -IMM, 3SG -say -1SG:OBL
'And then I am going that way. he (?Wilfred) told me,'

15 OSPIDAL-nyale munggaya PERTH.
OSPIDAL -nyale mung -gaya PERTH
hospital -also mcl -over.there Perth
'The hospital there in Perth.'
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16 Munggalaja ngiyangga-nyale bumera,
Mung-gala-ja ngi-yan-ga-nyale bu-me-ra,
Mcl -that -EM 1SG=YANG'go' -IMM -also 3SG =ma'do’PAST - 1SG:OBL
'I'm going there too, he told me.'

17 AN’ WAIT banggaja mudiga-gu.
AN’ WAIT banggaja mudiga -gu
and wait’ 3B -'be' -IMM -EM vehicle -PURP
'And he's waiting for the motor-car.'

18 Winya GARAGE-ngindalu gawudnge mudiga gaya,
wU -nya GARAGE-ngindalu ga -wurr -ne mudiga gaya
Wcl -this garage -LOC 3W'O -3PLA -?WU.PAST vehicle 'w'there
'(You know) the one they worked on in the garage,'

19 winya MITCHELL PLATEAU mudiga.
wU -nya MITCHELL PLATEAU mudiga.
Wcl -this Mitchell Plateau vehicle
'It's a Mitchell Plateau motor-car.'

gala -ga wait -nangga /1SG=N'be'-IMM bu=me -ra
then -INT wait -REL 3B=MA’DO’PAST-1SG:OBL
'?then he said to wait.'  '?He talked about waiting.'
'?he said "I'm waiting".'  '?So he wants/told me to wait (or) he's waiting.'

Appendix Five: Text Two

Collecting and preparing gurnu 'round yam' (dioscorea bulbifera/rotunda)
told by Wilfred Goonack, Mowanjum, 1989

*line 10b was substituted for line 10 in one transcribing session

1 Gurnu jarri burr=me-rri
round yam dig 3PL=MA’do’PAST-CONT

jarri biermerri.
dig 3pl=MA’do’PAST-CONT

The women used to dig gurnu,

2 Ga-wurr-mira-mira.
wcl-3pl=REDUP=MiRA’grab'
gathering them
Garnngiya wog a-wurr=mbun.
white.ashes cook Ac1-3PL=REDUP:WU(N)'effect'
they make white ashes

Rowa a=yanga-ja ornmarl -gajin.
white Ac1=YANG'go'-EMP white.ochre -like
it goes white, like ochre.

Galarr-ja lajarr birra=mingga,
that-?-EMP slice/bleed 3PL=MA'do':IMM
then they slice them

lajarr birra=mingga,
slice/bleed 3PL=MA'do':IMM
they slice them

jog ba=anga, ngawa ga-wurr=miramira,
heap.up 3sg/pl=N'be':?PRES water Wc1-3PL=REDUP-MIARA
they heap them up, they fetch water

yawirr a-n-birr=mira-mira ornmarl-nyine,
rub COLL-INV-3pl-REDUP=MIRA white ochre-INST
they apply ochre to it
(?i.e.paste of water and ashes, like white ochre on a man, WG says this is a mistake should be garnngiya-nyine ashes-INST)

durru-wa bi-yangga winjangun-ngindalu,
put-it 3SG=YANG'go':IMM fire-LOC
they put (them) in the fire,

ranggala -ngindalu durru-wa bi=yang-ga-ja.
stone.oven -loc put -it 3sg=yang'go':IMM-EM
putting them into the earth oven

*(10b ranggala -ngindalu durrug bi=yanga-ja Durrug ba=nga
stone.oven -loc put 3sg=YANG'go'-EM put 3=N'be'
She puts it in the stone oven, its placed)

Duj wundanga
?(wu=ndi-yanga),
camp WCL=N'be':?PAST-toward
it stays overnight
12. duj wundangangarri
   (wu=ndi-yanga)-ngarri
   camp WCL=N'be':PAST-toward-SUBORD(non-finite)
   leaving it overnight

13. wuguli wu=ma-ma-ngarri barij bi-yanga
    morning Wcl=REDUP-MA'do'-SUBOR rise 3B=YANG'go'
    Next day they get up

14. biranggaaj ga-wurr=mira-mira
    open Wcl-3pl=REDUP-MiRA'grab'
    and open them up

15. ga-wurr=minda ngawa-gu.
    Wcl-3pl=REDUP-MiNDA'take' water-PURP
    and take them to the water.

16. Juru biya=mbEn-bEn-nga
    submerge 3pl=REDUP-?MBU(N)'hit'-3OBL
    They soak them

17. gurlaj blrra-mingga.
    wash 3pl=MA'do':IMM
    they wash (the food) clean (rinse it in the water)

18. Gala-ja wanjimaya da=anga.
    then good WCL=N'be':PRES
    then its good.

19. Wu=nd-anga-ngarri, rarba wundangangarri
    WCL=N'be':PAST-toward-SUBORD clean
    When its cleaned

20. arrgu ga-wurr=miramira, dii-wa bi=yanga
    rock Wcl-3pl-redup-mira'grab' smash-it 3sg=YANG'go'
    they get a rock, and they pound it

21. dii-wa arrgu, nuumba bi=yanga
    pound rock ball.up 3sg=YANG'go'
    they pound it (with the) rock, they ball it up
APPENDICES

22  rnuumba  gey  minja  nyarra=mingga
ball.up  then  eat  lex:PL=MA'do':IMM

ball it up and then we eat!

Free translation
The ladies used to dig for gurnu, the bitter round yam. Gathering them up, they burn gurloy bark till the ashes are as white as white-ochre. Then they slice the gurnu, bleeding them to let out the bitterness, and pile them up. They fetch water, and they rub the (wet) ashes onto the gurnu and put them in the fire-place. Placing them in the stone-oven they leave it, it stays buried in the oven for one night. When they get up in the morning they open up the oven. They take it to the water and soak them, rinsing off the ashes. When its good and clean they smash it up with a rock, roll it into a round ball and then - we eat it up!
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