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THE WALMATJARI: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

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with Pompy Siddon, Peter Skipper
and others

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PREFACE

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O. INTRODUCTION

Articles are available for the anthropologist or linguist who wishes to know about the Aborigines of the Fitzroy Crossing area, but for those whose work in the community is of a more pragmatic kind there is need for less technical relevant material. This book is an attempt to provide such material. It is intended for the use of school teachers, nurses, missionaries, Government officers and others who are closely associated with the Aborigines of the Fitzroy Crossing area, and who need to understand and communicate with them. School teachers of the area have used a previous draft and their comments have been considered in the writing of this revision.

The authors, working under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics have studied the Walmatjari language from 1967 to 1975, and so the book is written from a background knowledge of the language. Although other languages are spoken at Fitzroy Crossing, many of the problems which the Walmatjari speaker faces when learning English are problems to all Aborigines whose mother tongue is not English. Many of the anthropological comments are based on observations by us but the writings of Erich Kolig have been referred to also.

The division into two parts is done with the hope that the book will be of more use that way. Part One contains general information about the people and languages of the Fitzroy Crossing area while Part Two is a fairly detailed description of the Walmatjari language. Part One is a suitable introduction to anyone new to the area, while Part Two is for those who desire a more detailed study of the language. It is written for those without linguistic training, so no previous knowledge of Aboriginal languages is necessary for understanding it. Sections 5 and 6 are relevant to those who need to hear Aboriginal names and who wish to pronounce them correctly. A cassette recording of the words in Sections 3 and 5 accompanies this workpaper. Sections 7 and 8 are designed for those who will be involved in teaching English as a second language. Sections 6 and 8 present the difficulties of transferring to English. They have been presented in separate sections for the benefit of school teachers.

For those who desire to communicate with the Aborigines via Walmatjari and so require a speaking knowledge of the language, a careful study of the whole, especially Sections 5 and 7, will be necessary along with a detailed drill programme.

Terms used have been non-technical wherever possible. Some have been difficult to choose because of the various overtones which they carry. European is used throughout to refer to those who have been brought up in the European-Australian culture, in contrast to the Aboriginal who has grown up in the traditional Aboriginal camp situation where English is not the mother tongue.

Although some would prefer not to acknowledge the Aboriginal English of Fitzroy Crossing as a language, there is no doubt that linguistically this is a well developed pidgin. To discuss Walmatjari in relation to English and ignore Pidgin would be to leave a large gap in the description of the Fitzroy Crossing situation. Pidgin has therefore been referred to wherever it was relevant.

The contribution to this work by Walmatjari speakers has been considerable. Several have given generously of time and effort over the years to teach their language to us and share their stories with us. Those whose contribution was vital to the analysis of the language and therefore to this book are Limerick Malyapuka, John Charles, Olive Bieundurry, Pompy Siddon, Tommy May, and Peter Skipper. Some of these have also been responsible for the stories in Sections 1.3 and 2.4, along with Adeline Wanangini, Amy Vanbee and Emily Sullivan. Some stories were recorded on tape and transcribed but others were written by the story tellers who are literate in Walmatjari.

The manuscript was taken for approval to a meeting of the Councillors and Elders of the Fitzroy Crossing area. The Nyigina and Bunaba word lists (Section 4) were added as a result of that meeting.

Few Walmatjari adults beyond the age of 25 years are literate, never having had the opportunity to go to school. We have designed a set of four reading books for the teaching of reading skills for the Walmatjari language. Up to this time, 12 adults have learned to read for the first time in Walmatjari. Another ten young adults have transferred their English reading skills across to Walmatjari. Fifty booklets have been printed, the contents ranging from Aborigines' personal experiences and culture to translated selections from the Bible. Though many booklets contain oral stories transcribed from a tape recording, there are three or four adults who have begun expressing themselves in writing. Three booklets of stories have been printed from these efforts and there is the potential for the development of an indigenous Walmatjari literature.

One of the aims of this publication is to encourage mutual appreciation of the two races in the Fitzroy Crossing area. We have attempted to do this by pointing out the reasons behind some of the 'different' behavioural patterns which may offend or amuse those with a European-Australian background.

Joyce Hudson and Eirlys Richards

Fitzroy Crossing (1976)

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PART TWO

5. THE SOUND SYSTEM

5.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE SOUND SYSTEM

"The beginner learning a new language is faced with a bewildering stream of unfamiliar sounds, all pronounced - it seems to him - at extra high speed. In this confusion of noise, how is he to understand and reproduce what is being said? If . . . he recognises and uses only the sounds which also occur in his own language, he will neither comprehend nor communicate well." (Gudschinsky 1967:30)

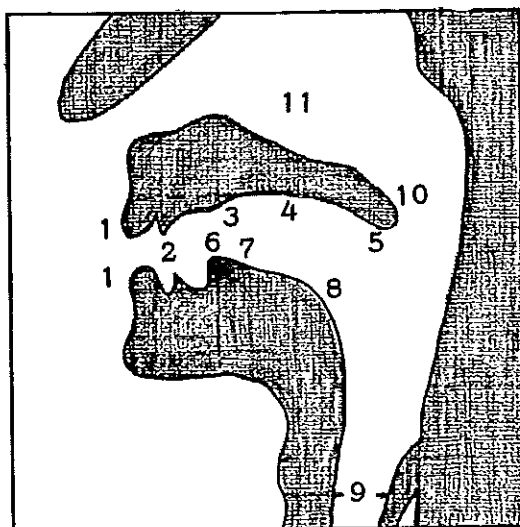
In order to recognise the sounds which are heard in Walmatjari we need to be able to recognise how sounds are made in English. To help with this a brief study under the heading 'Phonetics' is first given on sounds and how they are produced.

Phonetics

When we speak we make noises by modifying the air stream coming from our lungs. With our lips, tongue, soft palate, vocal cords and other parts of our mouth and throat (organs of speech) we can cut off the air stream entirely or make the openings through which it passes large or small. The study of these noises used in speaking is called phonetics.

The organs of speech are either moveable or stationary. The moveable parts include the lips, tongue, velum (soft palate), velic (nasal side of the soft palate) and vocal cords. The tongue is very flexible and it is convenient to describe it in several parts: the tip, the blade and the back. The stationary parts include the teeth, the alveolar ridge (which is behind the upper teeth) and the hard palate. Below is a diagram of a side view of the human head to illustrate these organs of speech.

Facial Diagram

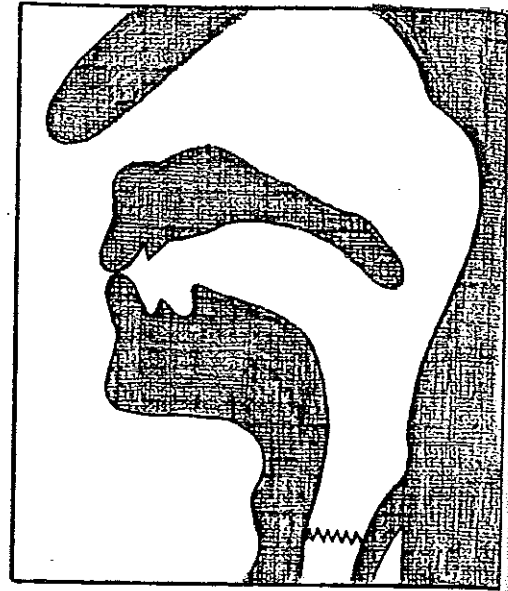


1. lips
2. teeth
3. alveolar ridge
4. hard palate
5. velum
6. tongue tip
7. tongue blade
8. tongue back
9. vocal cords
10. velic
11. nasal cavity

Facial diagram for m

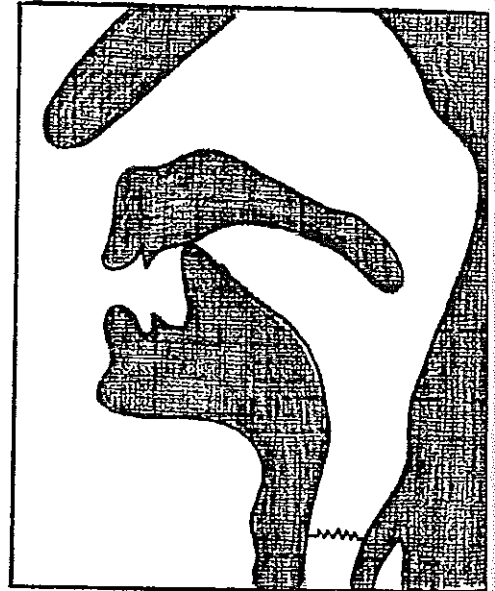
Some sounds in English

Say the word met and observe the way you make the m. Notice that when you say mmm the air stream is flowing continuously but not through the mouth. It is flowing through the nose. This airflow through the nose is achieved by lowering the velic to leave the nasal passage open. We are not normally conscious of the working of the velic. Notice too that the lips are together and it is the combination of lips together and air flow through the nose that produces an m sound.



Facial diagram for n

Say the word net and observe the n. Notice that the air stream flows continuously through the nose for nnn in the same way as for mmm, but the lips are parted and the tongue is playing the important role as the tip of the tongue touches the alveolar ridge behind the upper teeth. The combination of tongue tip on the alveolar ridge and the airflow through the nose produces the sound n.



The sounds m and n are called nasal sounds because both are made by channelling the air from the lungs through the nose instead of the mouth. (ng is also a nasal). A cold in the nose blocks the nasal cavity and prevents the flow of air through the nose, causing a distortion in speech. Sounds which are made with the air flowing through the mouth are called oral sounds. The majority of sounds in English are oral.

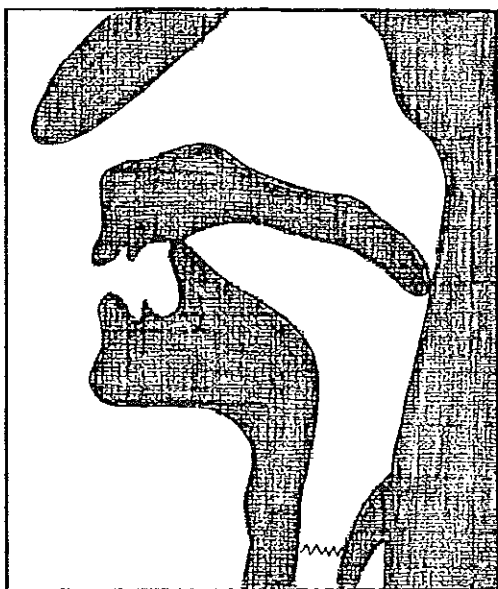
Sounds can be described in terms of which organs are involved and the way they impede the airflow. The airflow may be completely or partially stopped or it may be directed over the tongue or around the sides of the tongue. The chart below shows a selection of English consonant sounds. The columns are labelled according to the significant speech organ(s) and the rows are labelled according to the way the air flows.

Chart 4 Some English Consonants

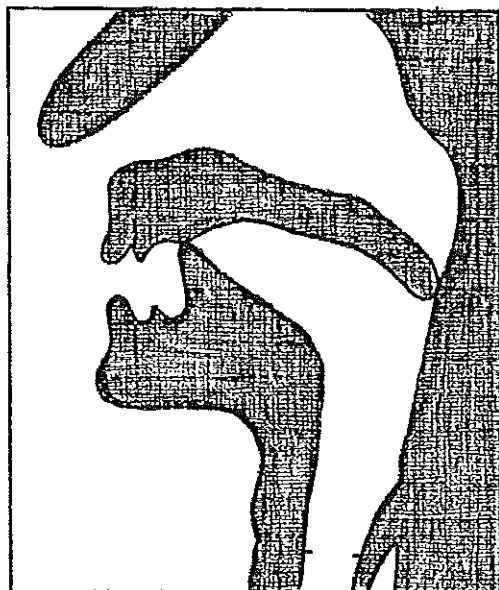
	Both lips	Top teeth & bottom lip	Tongue tip between teeth	Tongue tip on or near avl. ridge	Tongue blade on hard palate	Back of tongue on or near velum
Air stream completely stopped	b p			d t		g k
Air stream restricted		v f	th	z s	j ch	
Air stream through nose	m			n		ng
Air stream around sides of tongue				l		
Air stream unrestricted	w			r	y	

In some of the rows there are two letters indicating that both are made with the same speech organs and the same air flow. The difference between these pairs is the use of vocal cords. The first of each pair on the chart is made with the vocal cords vibrating (voicing) and the second of each pair has no such vibration. By placing the fingers on the throat this vibration or its absence can be felt. Say the words muffin and oven concentrating on the f and v. Notice that the only difference is that the vocal cords vibrate for v and not for f. Facial diagrams for the pairs d & t and g & k are given. The vocal cords vibrating are marked by a wavy line.

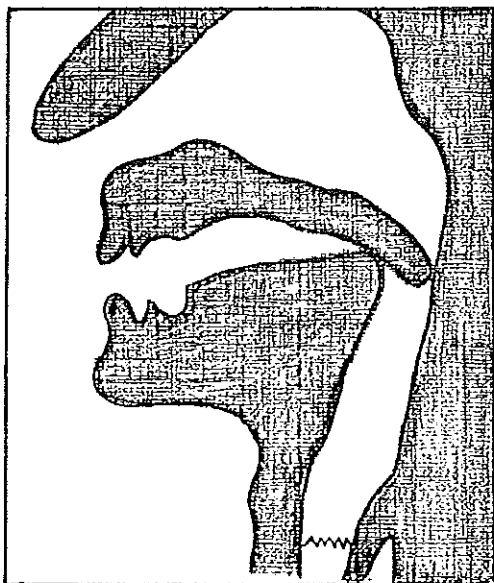
Facial diagram for d



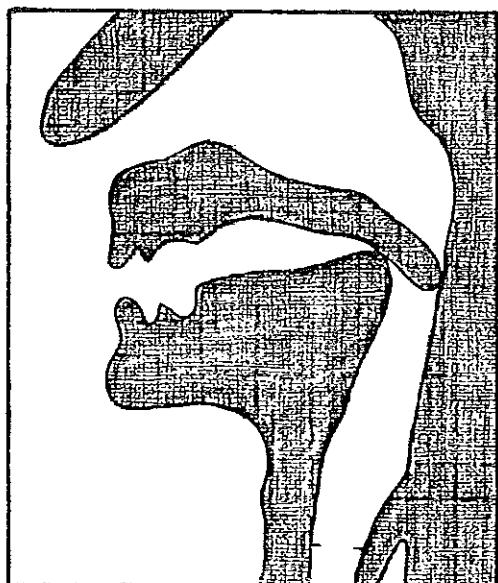
Facial diagram for t



Facial diagram for g



Facial diagram for k



Some words to use for practicing sounds from the chart are given below. (In English spelling the same sound can be written more than one way. For example the k in poke and the ck in luck are the same sound. Also the double letter can represent the same sound as the single letter: dd in padded has the same sound as the d in pad.)

To illustrate voicing versus lack of voicing:

zoo, Sue: hobby, hopyy: padded, patted: jam, champ:

To illustrate the airflow stopped:

cup, cut, luck

To illustrate a restricted airstream:

fought, thought, sort, chalk

To illustrate the airstream through the nose:

Pam, pan, pang

To illustrate the air stream going around the sides of the tongue:

jolly

To illustrate an unrestricted airstream:

wangle, rank, yank, hank

English has over ten different vowel sounds. These are all represented by the letters e, i, a, o, u, or by combinations of letters. Say the following English words aloud and listen to the different vowels.

feel
kit
let
cat
bird
cup
dark
wood
dawn
not

The vowel is produced by an unobstructed flow of air through the mouth. "The tongue can be moved somewhat from front to back in the mouth. Sounds pronounced with the tongue farther front differ from those which are pronounced with the tongue farther back." (Pike 1947 p.15). Vowel sounds are also affected by the height of the tongue.

5.2 THE WALMATJARI SOUND SYSTEM

Vowels

Walmartjari has a three vowel system. The vowels are: i, a, u. They are always pronounced the same way.

i as in the English word pit
a as in the English word cut
u as in the English word cook

Each of the three vowels has a short and a long form. The short ones are written i, a, u and the long ones are written ii, aa, uu. The long vowels are found in only a few words. The English reader may find these vowels confusing to read because of the different vowel quality to which the letters a and u are assigned in the two languages.

Sounds Common to Walmartjari and English

Sounds which are found in both English and Walmartjari are m, n, ng, l, w, y, r, i, a, and u. Try pronouncing them in these Walmartjari words.

lani	'speared'
yani	'went'
mimi	'sore'
lama	'motionless'
wali	'alright'

Stress

Words can be pronounced with every sound made correctly, and yet the meaning may not be conveyed to the listener because the wrong syllable is stressed. Most languages require that at least one part (syllable) of a word is stressed or spoken more loudly than the others. Note the difference in the pairs of English words below. The stress is on different syllables. Stress is shown by an apostrophe before the stressed syllable.

'permit	(noun)
per'mit	(verb)

'conflict	(noun)
con'flict	(verb)
'confine	(noun)
con'fine	(verb)

Walmartjari does not have this contrast of stress. All words are stressed on the first syllable. In long words other syllables are also stressed. This does not mean that stress is unimportant. A Walmartjari word with incorrect stress can be unintelligible to the listener. The name 'Jukuna is virtually unrecognisable when the stress is altered from the first to the second syllable and it becomes Ju'kuna.

Because in English he often stresses the second part of the word, learning to stress the first part of every word in Walmartjari can be difficult for the English speaker. In pronouncing the following Walmartjari words remember to stress the first part.

yara	'well'
mana	'tree'
luwa	'Hit it with a missile!'
wamulu	'eagle'
lanani	'was spearing'

Consonants

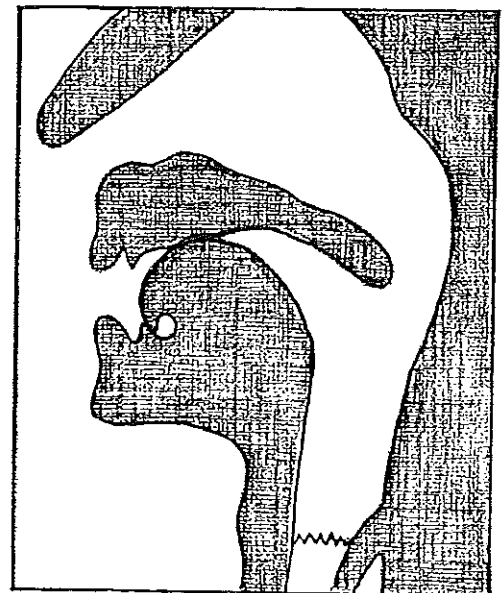
Many of the consonants in Walmartjari are not found in English. Walmartjari sounds are written using only English symbols but they don't represent exactly the same sounds. Often two symbols have been used to represent the one Walmartjari sound, e. g. ny and ng. This is not unusual however; in English one sound is represented by two symbols, e. g. ch.

The following chart presents all the Walmartjari consonants. Compare this with English consonants on Chart 4. Those sounds foreign to English will be described in detail later.

Chart 5 Walmatjari Consonants

	Both lips	Tongue tip on or near alv. ridge	Tongue tip turned back	Tongue blade on alv. ridge and palate	Back of tongue on or near velum
Airstream completely stopped	p	t	rt	j	k
Air flow through nose	m	n	rn	ny	ng
Air flow around sides of tongue		l	rl	ly	
Air flow restricted over centre of tongue		rr			
Air flow unrestricted	w		r	y	

Tongue position for ny, j, ly



The Sounds ny, j, ly

The sounds represented by ny, j and ly are all made with the tongue tip behind the bottom teeth and the blade of the tongue touching the alveolar ridge and hard palate. Note the tongue position in the following diagram.

Keeping the tongue in this position, ny is made with the air flowing through the nose; j is made by cutting off the airflow with the tongue; and for ly the air flows through the mouth around the sides of the tongue. Note that the Walmatjari j is not identical to English j.

Words with these sounds are:

<u>ny</u>	nyanya linya yanany manya	'saw, looked' 'cried' 'goes' (girl's name)
<u>j</u>	jaja juju maja julaji	'grannie' 'sacred song, sacred meeting' 'elder, boss' 'Tell me!'
<u>ly</u>	ralyu wulyu milyilyi	'blurred' 'good' 'brain'

These three Walmatjari sounds ny, j and ly are difficult for English speakers to hear and reproduce because they are foreign to English. They are likely to confuse them with the n, j and l of English. But to the Walmatjari speaker, there are significant differences between these sounds. The difference between ny and n in Walmatjari provides the only means of distinguishing between the words pina 'ear' and pinya 'hit (past tense)'.

In the same way some of the minimal sound differences in English are significant to the English speaker, but are not easily heard and reproduced by the Walmatjari speaker learning English. They are : p and b in words like pig and big; t and d in words like tin and din; k and g in words like Kay and gay. The only difference between these three pairs of sounds is the vibration of the vocal cords as previously described.

In Walmatjari there is no such distinction between these pairs of sounds. There are only three sounds, p, t and k to correspond to the English six. Because he does not distinguish between p and b, t and d, k and g, the Walmatjari speaker who learns English does not automatically hear the difference between words like pig and big. He has to learn it.

When he can distinguish the difference, he often cannot clearly pronounce what he hears. Because Walmatjari does not distinguish between

these pairs of sounds, it was arbitrary which of the letters should be used in writing the language and the set p, t and k were chosen. To the English speaker they often sound more like b, d and g.

The Sound ng.

The sound ng is not new to English speakers. However, in English it is restricted to the middle or the end of words as in singing and it never comes first in the word. Note: ng in the middle of words is pronounced as the ng in singer, not as in finger. In Walmatjari, ng frequently begins words.

The tongue placement for ng is the same as for k and g. See facial diagrams earlier in this Section.

Pronouncing ng at the beginning of words requires practice. Try these words:

ngapa	'water'
ngalak	'headache'
ngamaji	'mother'
ngaja	'younger brother or sister'
ngana	'what?'

Glides

In Australian English there is a strong tendency to glide the vowel sounds (that is, to begin with one vowel quality and to end with another). For example, say cow very slowly and notice that you start with a vowel something like a and end with one like oo. Although there are two vowel sounds in this word, English speakers consider it to be one. In Walmatjari, each vowel belongs to a different syllable. Because of this there is a consonant between any two vowels. Sometimes this consonant is obvious as the w in the word yawarta 'horse'. However it can at times be very difficult to hear as in kuyi 'meat'. As a rule of thumb we can say that whenever we think we hear two vowels together, there will be either y or w between them. (Kuyi could be spelt kuwi.)

Other words which contain glides are:

ngan <u>payi</u>	'man'
<u>layi</u>	'one'
paw <u>umani</u>	'called out'
kamp <u>awu</u>	'will cook'

Some which can only be heard when slowed down and emphasised are:

<u>miyi</u>	'vegetable food'
<u>kiyimi</u>	'sap from blood oak tree'
<u>ngarpuwu</u>	'for father'

The consonants y and w are also written as the first letters of some words which sound as though they begin with a vowel. Y precedes the vowel i and w precedes the vowel u. This applies wherever a vowel is heard first in a word.

yini 'name'	may sound like <u>ini</u>
yinya 'gave'	may sound like <u>inya</u>
wuru 'juice'	may sound like <u>uru</u>
wungul 'joke'	may sound like <u>ungul</u>

The analytical proof of the presence of y and w with vowels is given in a paper by the authors (1969).

Trills and flaps

The "trill" is not normally used in Australian English. You may have heard it used in the so-called "Scotch burr", or referred to as a "rolled r". As a child you may have used it as a motor noise. The trill is produced by relaxing the tongue tip, so that a forceful stream of air causes it to tap repeatedly against the alveolar ridge. In speech, the trill usually consists of two or three such taps.

The "flap" is made in the same way as the trill but the tongue taps only once against the alveolar ridge.

Both the flap and the trill occur in Walmatjari and both are written the same way, rr. Between vowels rr means a flap and elsewhere it is a trill.

Examples of a flap:

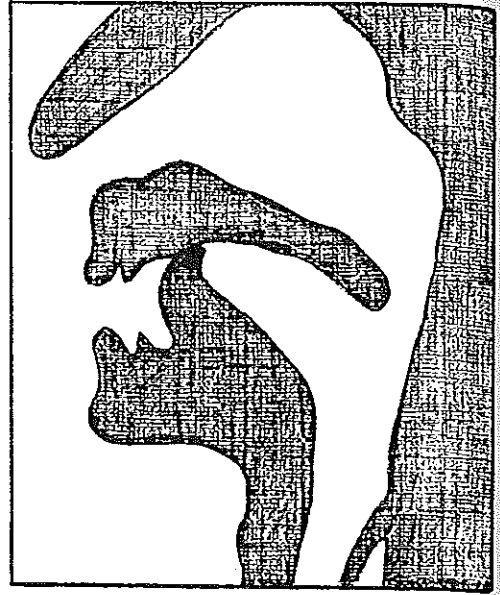
parri	'boy'
kurriny	'two'
lirra	'mouth, teeth'

Examples of a trill:

parrparr	'hot'
kunyarr	'dog'
kungkurr	'mucous'

The Sounds rn, rt and rl

There is a group of Walmatjari consonants which are called the retroflexed consonants. They are made with the tongue tip turned back so that it is almost the underside of the tongue which touches the alveolar ridge.



There are three sounds made with the tongue in this position. They are made like n, t, and l except that the tongue is curled back; they sound like n, t, l with an r immediately before them. We write them as rn, rt, rl.

Some words using these sounds:

<u>rn</u>	marni ngamarna	'said' 'mild, breast'
<u>rt</u>	kartu warta	'wife' 'shin'
<u>rl</u>	karla pirla	'west' 'evil spirit, death'

6. PRONUNCIATION DIFFICULTIES IN TRANSFER TO ENGLISH

Two of the problems in learning a new language are (1) the inability to pronounce foreign sounds and (2) the carrying over of sounds from the first language which causes an accent.

English Sounds Foreign to Walmatjari

There are many sounds in English which have no similar sound in Walmatjari. They include all the English vowels (except for the three described earlier, Walmatjari i, a, u) and the consonants f, v, th, s, sh, z, ch, h.

(Using the information from Section 5.1 try to work out which speech organs are used when these sounds are made.)

When the Walmatjari speaker has to use sounds in English speech which don't occur in his own language, he finds the nearest equivalent from among the sounds of Walmatjari. Types of adjustments commonly made to English sounds are listed below. These are not exhaustive, neither are they necessarily the same for all speakers. They are however, fairly typical among the older adults, whose speech is less Anglicised.

- f, v, p, b are not distinguished and are mostly pronounced as b. Words such as the names Fanny, Penny and Benny are all pronounced alike.
- t, d are mostly pronounced as d. Words such as dead and Ted are pronounced alike. (Words like fat, vat, pad, bad are probably indistinguishable without context. All sound like bad or bat.)
- k, g are mostly pronounced as g. Words like piggy, Vicki, Peggy all sound the same, biggy.
- th is pronounced as j as in mother which may sound like maja.
- s, sh, z have no close equivalent so many have learned to say them. Some people use a j for these sounds as in sugar which becomes juga.
- h has no equivalent, and as Walmatjari words can never start with a vowel, h can't simply be left off but needs to be replaced by another consonant when it is the first letter of a

word. The consonant replacing h can be y or r.
Hat becomes yat, Harry becomes Yarry, humbug becomes rumbug.

Consonant Patterns Foreign to Walmatjari.

The way consonants and vowels are arranged in words is important and needs to be considered for understanding problems of transfer from one language to another.

Walmatjarti words always begin with a consonant followed by a vowel. There are never two consonants together at the beginning of a word. This means that English words with two or more consonants beginning a word are particularly difficult to pronounce. To overcome this problem the Walmatjari speaker once again adapts the English word to his own language pattern and either omits one of the consonants or adds a vowel between them.

Omission of a consonant:

store	becomes	tuwa
start	becomes	jart
school	becomes	kuul
spoon	becomes	puun

Addition of a vowel:

pray	becomes	purayi
grape	becomes	kuriyip
glass	becomes	kilayij
clothes	becomes	kuluwuj

Omission of a consonant and addition of a vowel:

scribe	becomes	kurayip
street	becomes	turiyit

In each language there are restrictions as to which consonants occur in different positions in the word. The absence of the ng sound at the beginning of a word in English has been pointed out before (See 5.2). Similarly in Walmatjari there are some consonants which cannot occur at the end of a word. The sounds m and ng fall into this category. The Walmatjari speaker, when using English words such as jam, blame, long, as the last word of an utterance, will very likely drop the final consonant, substitute it with an allowable nasal like n or rn, or add a vowel.

Every Walmatjari word begins with a consonant, so when an English word begins with a vowel, sometimes it is said correctly, but often a consonant is added. Own becomes rown and Adam becomes Radam or Yadam. As the h is irrelevant to the Walmatjari speaker, there is often confusion as to whether any given word should have a vowel or an h at the beginning. Thus an h can sometimes be heard before words which have a vowel at the beginning, such as apple which may become happle.

Note: Just as English has sounds that the Walmatjari speaker has difficulty pronouncing, so Walmatjari has sounds which the English speaker finds difficult. It is worth remembering that as the Walmatjari speaker "corrupts" English words, the English speaker also "corrupts" Walmatjari words. The best example of this is in people's names.

Jindi	should be	jinji
Jimbidi	should be	Jimpilyi or Jimbilyi
Siddon	should be	Jitirn or Jidin
Vanbee	should be	Barnbee or Parnpi

Walmatjari Sounds Transferred to English

The retroflexed sounds rn, rt, rl occur frequently in Walmatjari. Some English words when spoken by a Walmatjari person are adapted to the Walmatjari sound system and take on the retroflexion. The word potato is a good example. Written with the Walmatjari alphabet potato becomes purtayitawu.

The Walmatjari speaker transfers the Walmatjari sounds flap and trill rr to some English words.

flap:	Saturday	becomes	jarriti
	that way	becomes	tharrayi
	medicine	becomes	mirrijin
trill:	blanket	becomes	pilangkirr
	trousers	becomes	turawurr

Walmatjari Stress Transferred to English

One particularly noticeable area where the Walmatjari sound system is carried over to English pronunciation is in the area of stress. This is the main single hindrance to Walmatjari speakers being understood by English speakers.

Some examples are given of English words commonly pronounced with the Walmatjari stress pattern, i. e. stress on the first syllable. The apostrophe is written before the syllable that is stressed.

'reserve	instead of	re'serve
'forget	instead of	for'get
'banana	instead of	ba'nana
'mechanic	instead of	me'chanic

7. THE GRAMMAR

When looking at Walmatjari from an English background, the features which will stand out most noticeably are word order, suffixation, the verbal auxiliary and the lack of conjunctions. 3

In English the order in which words are used is very important. For instance, the sentences Can I go and I can go sometimes differ only in the order of the words though they mean very different things. Walmatjari does not use word order to show different meanings such as this but the words are changed in some other way. Often a suffix is added or one letter in the word is altered.

Walmatjari is a suffixing language and many words in English have suffix equivalents in Walmatjari. In English brother becomes brother's by adding the suffix -s. In Walmatjari ngaja 'younger brother' becomes ngajakura 'younger brother's' by adding the suffix -kura. The root of a Walmatjari word is always first and they may be many suffixes. In the next word, the suffixes are separated by hyphens.

karla-ngu-jangka-warnti-wu-mipa

'The ones from the west only.'

The verbal auxiliary is a combination of suffixes used in each sentence. Their function is to identify participants of the sentence.

Walmatjari has few conjunctions. The English words but, or, because, and if have no equivalents in Walmatjari, though these concepts can be expressed by other means. The Walmatjari sentence is usually short.

This section does not cover all features of Walmatjari grammar, but it presents a summary of the salient features and is designed as an introduction only. The serious student of Walmatjari who wishes to converse in the language will need to consult the fuller description for details (Hudson forthcoming).

7.1 WORDS AND THEIR PARTS (MORPHOLOGY)

Many of the things that are expressed in English as separate words are, in Walmatjari, expressed as suffixes. Suffixes are pieces added to the end of the word giving extra meaning. In English brother becomes brothers by adding the suffix -s.

7.11 Suffixes on Nouns

Number.

In English there is a distinction made between singular and plural. The suffix -s is added to the noun to show plural as in boy-s and horse-s. In Walmatjari distinction is made between singular and plural but there is an extra distinction made for two things. This is called dual. As in English the singular noun has no suffix; dual and plural are shown by suffixes.

parri	'boy'
parri-jarra	'two boys'
parri-warnti	'boys (3 or more)'

The dual is important in Walmatjari and it is distinguished also in pronouns and some verbs.

Equivalents of English prepositions.

Where English uses prepositions such as at, Walmatjari often uses suffixes.

at, on, in = -nga

In Walmatjari there is no distinction between at, on and in. One suffix, -nga, covers the three areas of meaning. A person may be on the bank of a river or in the river, yet the same suffix will be used to describe either location.

manga pa ngapa-nga nguja
girl she water-at was

'The girl was in, at or near the water.'

from has two equivalents, -jangka and -ngurni

ngurra-ngurni pa yani manga
camp-from she went girl

'The girl went from the camp.'

to = -karti

ngapa-karti pa manga yani
water-to she girl went

'The girl went to the water.'

for = -wu

kuyi parla kamparni manga-wu
meat he-for-her cooked girl-for

'He cooked meat for the girl.'

with = -nga

yani manyanta manga-nga
went he-with-her girl-with

'He went with the girl.'

Descriptive Suffixes.

There are other suffixes in Walmatjari which, when they go on the end of nouns or verbs, make them function like adjectives describing a noun in the sentence. The noun mimi 'sore' becomes an adjective when -jarti is added as in parri mimi-jarti 'the sick boy'. The English equivalents of these suffixes are often a word or a phrase. The suffix -jiliny is equivalent to English like as in kunyarr-jiliny 'like a dog'.

Following are some of these suffixes with examples in sentences.

-mulu 'without'

Piyirn pa tikirryani ngurra-karti kuyi-mulu
man he returned camp-to meat-without

'The man returned to the camp without meat.'

-jarti 'having' (See also Instrument in Section 7. 27)

Marnin pa yapa-jarti yani
woman she child-having went

'The woman with the child went.'

-juwal 'habitual'

Kuyi nyanarti pa pajanu-juwal
animal that he bite-habitual

'That animal is always biting.'

-jiliny 'like'

Minyarti ngarlka pa pinat-jiliny
this bush nut it peanut-like

'This bush nut is like a peanut.'

Another suffix of interest is -warlany 'another'. The word with the suffix -warlany added still functions as a noun.

yutantinya palu ngapa-warlany-ja
sat they water-another-at

'They camped at another waterhole.'

7.12 Verbs

All verbs in Walmatjari are in the active voice. There are no passive verbs. To show tense in Walmatjari, suffixes are added to the verb. This is in contrast to English where it may be shown in other ways. Note the verb 'to run'; runs, will run, is running, ran, should have run.

Tenses

The tenses in Walmatjari are past, present, customary and future.

Examples of these tenses, shown by suffixes, are given for the verb yan 'to go'.

yan-i marna 'I went.'
go-past I

yanan-a marna 'I am going.'
go-present I

Customary tense describes an action as taking place habitually as in the sentence, I sweep the house and she bakes the bread every day.

yan-any marna 'I go.'
go-customary I

The future tense is used for such things as desire, I want to go; intention, I will go; non-abrupt imperative, You go; and necessity, He must go.

yan-ku marna 'I will go.'
go-future I

Another form of the verb is the imperative used for direct commands.

Yanta 'Go!'

The imperative is different from other verbs in that the form changes according to the number of people addressed. The form yanta is used when addressing one person. To address two people, yanta-pila is used, and for three or more the form is yanta-lu.

Classes

Walmartjari verbs each fall into one of five classes. Verbal suffixes for tense, aspect and mood vary in shape according to the class of the verb. These classes are not predictable and so it is necessary to learn the class of each verb individually in order to use the correct tense suffixes. Details of verb classes, and verb suffixes are given in Hudson (forthcoming).

7.13 Pronouns

Walmartjari pronouns are similar to English pronouns, but there are some very important differences of meaning between the two.

Walmartjari distinguishes between inclusive (incl) we and exclusive (excl) we, but English has no such distinction. The choice between inclusive and exclusive forms is made depending on whether the hearer is included or excluded. If the inclusive form is used, then the person being spoken to is included. If the exclusive form is used, the person being spoken to is not included. The English sentence We have been invited out for lunch is ambiguous. It could mean You and I have been invited (incl) or He and I have been invited (excl). Walmartjari does not allow this particular ambiguity. The former would use the pronoun ngalijarra 'you and I' and the latter would be ngajarra 'he and I'. If more than two people are involved there are different forms again, ngalimpa 'all of us including you' and nganampa 'all of us but not you'. Pidgin makes these same distinctions. Words like mipela 'all of us but not you' and yunmi 'you and I' are commonly used.

Whereas Walmatjari has four different pronouns for English we, it has only one form to equate with English he, she and it. There is no gender distinction in Walmatjari pronouns.

The chart below gives the Walmatjari pronouns with the English equivalents in brackets.

Chart 6 Pronouns

	Singular (1)	Dual (2)	Plural (3 or more)
1st person incl		ngalijarra (we)	ngalimpa (we)
1st person excl	ngaju (I)	ngajarra (we)	nganampa~nganimpa (we)
2nd person	nyuntu (you)	nyurrajarra (you)	nyurrawarnti (you)
3rd person	nyantu (he/she/it)	nyantujarra (they)	nyantuwarnti (they)

These pronouns function in much the same way as do the English pronouns except that they do not occur so often. They are used to emphasise rather than to replace a noun. Suffixes which can be added to nouns can also be added to these pronouns.

7.2 SENTENCES AND THEIR PARTS (SYNTAX)

7.21 Transitive and Intransitive Sentence Types

In English the order of words is most important. In the sentence The boy hit the girl, the subject the boy comes before the verb and the object the girl is after the verb. The two sentences The boy hit the girl and The girl hit the boy have very different meanings. The change of word order in the second sentence identifies the girl as the subject and the boy as the object. Walmatjari has a different means of signalling which word is the subject and which is the object. This is done by the use of the suffix -ngu.

Before presenting this suffix, a little more background in grammar may help. There is a basic division of sentence types, that of "transitive" and "intransitive" types. This basic division has to do with whether or not an object is present. Transitive sentences have an object while intransitive sentences have none.

A transitive sentence - The boy hit the girl.

An intransitive sentence - The boy went.

The functional meaning of the verbs is different. The transitive verb hit carries the meaning in itself that something, the girl, was the recipient of the hitting action. In contrast to this is the intransitive verb went. This has no object and the verb carries the meaning in itself that there is no recipient of the action of going.

In Walmatjari, the subject (subj) of a transitive verb is marked by the suffix -ngu. The word marked for subject can be first or last in the sentence and it is still identified as the subject. The object (obj) of a transitive verb has no suffix and this absence of a suffix distinguishes it from the subject. The absence of a suffix is marked in examples to help in identifying the object. The symbol ϕ is used. (The second word in these examples will be described later.)

parri- <u>ngu</u> pa	manga- ϕ nyanya	'The boy saw the girl.'
boy-subj he-her	girl-obj saw	

parri- ϕ pa	nyanya manga- <u>ngu</u>	'The girl saw the boy.'
boy-obj she-him	saw girl-subj	

The above examples show that the order of words is not the important thing but the placement of the suffix -ngu is what matters.

The subject of an intransitive verb has no suffix marking it as there is no subject-object distinction in an intransitive sentence. So the subject of an intransitive verb looks the same as the object of a transitive verb. Compare the last two transitive sentences with two intransitive sentences below, and note that there is no -ngu present.

parri- ϕ pa yani wurna	'The boy went for a walk.'
boy-obj he went walk	

yani pa manga- ϕ wurna	'The girl went for a walk.'
went she girl-obj walk	

Again word order is not important, though there are preferences of word order which will be mentioned later.

The suffix -ngu has several forms. The form -ngu is used following a word of two syllables which ends in a vowel such as manga-ngu 'girl (subj)'. If the word ends in a vowel and is longer than two syllables the form -rlu is used, as with ngamaji-rlu 'mother (subj)'. If the word ends in a consonant the forms -u, tu, rtu, ju are used. English does the same with the prefix meaning 'not' in such words as

in-adequate, im-polite, ir-regular, il-legible,

where the form of the prefix differs according to the first letter of the word which follows.

There are other suffixes like -ngu which identify the case of the noun. These are called case-marking suffixes and are described under 7.11.

7.22 Equational Sentence

The equational sentence has no verb in Walmatjari. The boy is big is translated into Walmatjari as parri pa purlka. The word pa is not a verb. It indicates that the sentence is a statement and not a question. Some other equational sentences are

manga pa lamparn	'The girl is small.'
girl small	

pukarr pa nyanarti	'That is cooked.'
cooked that	

7.23 The Ditransitive Sentence

The sentence in English The boy gave the book to the girl has a direct object, book, and an indirect object, the girl. In a similar sentence with the verb to give, Walmatjari has no indirect object but two direct objects. There is no suffix equivalent to the English preposition to. This is called the ditransitive sentence because of the two objects.

yinya parla manga- ϕ kuyi- ϕ	'He gave meat to the girl.'
gave he-her girl-obj meat-obj	

The only way to tell who received it and what was given is to notice the context. There is almost no confusion because it is normally obvious which was given and who received it.

manga-ngu parla parri- ϕ yinya laliwarnti- ϕ
 girl-subj she-him boy-obj gave lollies-obj

'The girl gave lollies to the boy.'

7.24 The Verbal Auxiliary

In the examples given so far, the second word has been assigned several meanings. This word belongs to a set of words called verbal auxiliaries (abbreviated as aux). This feature is often described as a catalyst. (See Hudson forthcoming.) There is no equivalent to these in English. One auxiliary is required in each sentence, and it is almost always the second word of the sentence.

kuyi- ϕ marna ngurrakarti kanya 'I took the meat to camp.'
 meat-obj aux-I to-camp took

The verbal auxiliary has two main functions.

1. It shows which person and how many persons were involved in the action of the verb. For example, the auxiliary distinguishes between I, you, and he and between one, two and three (or more). It also shows how these persons were related to the action. This is called case. For instance, if the boy (1 person) does something TO the girl (1 person), the auxiliary has the form pa. If the boy (1 person) does something FOR the girl (1 person) the auxiliary is parla. If the boy (1 person) ACCOMPANIES the girl (1 person) the auxiliary is manyanta. If other people are involved the auxiliary changes. With so much information contained in the auxiliary, the sentence can be reduced to two words. The verb tells the action and the verbal auxiliary tells who was involved in the action. These two words form a mini-sentence.

yani manyanta 'He went with him/her.'
 went he-with-him

nyanya palupinya 'Those (three or more)
 saw they pl - those 2 saw those two.'

This mini-sentence does not show exactly who was involved. If that information is needed, nouns are added to make it clear, as in the following sentences.

7.25 Questions

There are four ways to form questions in Walmatjari.

1. The verbal auxiliary. One way to indicate a question is to use the question form of the verb auxiliary. Whereas the statement form of the auxiliary begins with pa or ma, the question form begins with nga.

yani palu manga-warnti 'The girls went.'
went they girls

yani ngalu mangawarnti 'Did the girls go?'
went they girls

2. Interrogative particle payi. A statement can have the word payi added at the end to turn it into a question in the same way as English adds isn't it to a sentence.

It is a good car, isn't it?

English uses several different words for this purpose. The words in the tag question, isn't it, are chosen to agree with the main sentence in tense and person.

It is a fine day, isn't it?

He went to town, didn't he?

The payi in Walmatjari does not change according to the main sentence, but always retains the same form.

ngurti pa wulyu, payi 'The car is good,
car it good isn't it isn't it?'

tawurnkarti pa yani, payi 'He went to town, didn't he?'
to-town he went didn't he

This question in Walmatjari always expects a positive answer. It is not possible to turn it to solicit a negative answer as can be done in English in sentences such as

He isn't very big, is he?

He didn't go to town, did he?

Sometimes payi is used alone to prompt an answer from someone.

3. Question words. Walmatjari question words function very much like those in English. They usually occur as the first word in a sentence. Some have meanings equivalent to the English, but others are quite different. The words are:

wanyjurla, wanyjarra 'where' as used in 'Where are you going?'

Wanyjurla man yanany.
where you going

nyangurla 'when' as used in 'When will you go?'

Nyangurla man yanku.
when you will-go

ngana 'what' or 'who' as used in 'What/Who did you see?'

Ngana man nyanya
what you saw

The question word ngana acts like a noun in that it requires the suffix -ngu to be added if the question asks who the actor of the sentence was, as in:

ngana-ngu pa pinya parri- ϕ
who-subj he-him hit boy-obj

'Who hit the boy?'

However, to ask who was hit, no suffix is added because the object has no suffix.

ngana- ϕ pa pinya manga-ngu
who-obj she-him hit girl-subj

'Who did the girl hit?'

nyapartu, nyapartukarra 'what, how' as in 'How did he get in?'

Nyapartukarra pa takurryani
how he inside-went

These words cannot be used in the question, 'How are you?'

4. Tone of voice. A statement can be changed to a question by raising the voice at the end of the sentence similar to English, but this is not preferred in Walmatjari.

yani pa 'He went.'

yani pa 'Did he go.'

7.26 The Noun Phrase

Case-marking suffixes are attached to the nouns in Walmatjari sentences as described earlier under 7, 21

parri-ngu pa manga- ϕ pinya 'The boy hit the girl.'
 boy-subj he-her girl-obj hit

When a descriptive of some kind is used with a noun, the combination of noun and descriptive is called a noun phrase. In English, the big boy is an example of a noun phrase. In Walmatjari all words of the noun phrase have case-marking suffixes attached. It is not sufficient to add -ngu to one word only (except in special circumstances). The first two words of the next sentence with identical suffixes make up a noun phrase.

parri-ngu purlka-ngu pa manga- ϕ pinya
 boy-subj big-subj he-her girl-obj hit

'The big boy hit the girl.'

Since the words parri and purlka are both shown by the suffix -ngu to be the subject of the sentence, the words can be shuffled and put together in a different way and the subject will still be identified.

manga- ϕ pa parri-ngu pinya purlka-ngu
 girl-obj he-her boy-subj hit big-subj

'The big boy hit the girl.'

7.27 Instrument

An interesting feature of Walmatjari grammar is the way instrument is expressed. To say He hit her with a stick, there is no word for with but a combination of two suffixes is used.

The suffixes are -jarti 'having' and -rlu 'subj of transitive verb'. They have been described separately before in 7.11 and 7.21 respectively. The use of -jarti without the -rlu is shown in the next example.

yani pa nganpayi kuyi-jarti 'The man carried meat
 went he man meat-having (went with meat).'

The suffix -rlu occurs without the -jarti as in

nganpayi-rlu kartiya-rlu pa parri- ϕ pinya
 man-subj whiteman-subj he-him boy-obj hit

'The white man hit the boy.'

In the next example the -jarti and -rlu both occur, showing the stick to be the instrument.

nganpayi-rlu mana-jarti-rlu pa parri- ϕ pinya
 man-subj stick-having-subj he-him boy-obj hit

'The man hit the boy with the stick.' or 'The man with the stick hit the boy.'

lani pa ngapurlu-rlu niyitil-jarti-rlu
 speared he-him sister-subj needle-having-subj

'The Sister gave him a needle. (speared him with a needle)'

This combination may also occur when it does not mean instrument.

pinya pa parri- ϕ kuyi-jarti-rlu
 hit he-him boy-obj meat-having-subj

'The one who had the meat hit the boy.'

The one who hit the boy could have just been carrying the meat or he could have actually used the meat to hit the boy. There is no distinction made in the grammar of the sentence. It is the sense of the statement that tells which it is.

To illustrate the type of thing which can be done with this combination of -jarti and -rlu some sentences are given below. Not all occurrences of -jartirlu can be translated by English 'with', as will be obvious from the following sentences. In fast speech the -jartirlu changes to -jawurlu. All further examples are given with this more natural form.

mana-jawurlu pa kunyarr- ϕ pinya
 stick- he-him dog-obj hit

'He hit the dog with a stick.'

nganpayi-rlu pa mana-jawurlu nyanya
man-subj he-him stick- saw

'The man with a stick saw him.'

nganpayi-rlu pa yawarta-jawurlu nyanya
man-subj he-him horse saw

'The man on the horse saw him'

If the instrument used is a body part, there is no need for -jarti to be used.

nganpayi-rlu pa kurrapa-rlu pinya kunyarr- ϕ
man-subj he-him hand-subj hit dog-obj

'The man hit the dog with his hand.'

7.28 Conjunctions

The most commonly used connective is the suffix -la 'then'. It is attached to the first word of the second part of the sentence.

Nganpayirlu pa pinya kuyi kakaji, kanya-la pa
man he hit animal goanna carried-then he

ngurrakarti, kamparni-la pa kuyi
to-camp cooked-then he meat

'The man killed a goanna, then he took it to camp, then he cooked it.'

Another conjunction is -jaa 'and'. This joins nouns together. It cannot join sentences, so it is not an exact equivalent of English 'and'.

Ngarni marna kuyi-jaa miyi 'I ate meat and vegetable food.'
ate I meat-and food

Other conjunctions of interest are: kitangarni 'until', yarnta 'again, also', yangkala 'so that', (sometimes it means 'but'), and kula 'it seemed to be but it wasn't'.

luwarni marnalu nyanarti pirninypal, wali, kitangarni lalypatjarrinya
grind we that wood alright until became-soft

'We used to grind that pirninypal wood until it was soft.'

marnpangkurrawurti mukurr-jawurlu luwalany, yarnta jirnal-jawurlu
close-from hittingstick-with hits also spear-with

lanany
spears

'He can hit with a hitting stick from close up and also with a spear.'

ngapa pa ngarni, yangkala wirriya nguniny.
water he ate so that happy is

'He drank water so now he is happy.'

pinat-jiliny miyi, yangkala nyantu kanarlanyparni niyarra
peanut-like food, so-that he different taste

'The food is like a peanut, but it has a different taste.'

kula walirni kurrkantinya minya pa ngapa nguniny
it seemed all right dried up really he water is

kaninykaniny munku
inside ground

'It seemed as though (the waterhole) had dried up but there is water under the ground.'

There is no Walmatjari word meaning 'because'. The Pidgin word tumaj has been borrowed and this is now in common use in Walmatjari.

yangkartijal mangulu miyi pujumani, tumaj man warrarni
that-certainly they-your food finished because you still

wirlmarnani
out of sight

'They ate all of your food because you were still away.'

7.29 A Brief Test

Test yourself on these stories. Translate the first into English and the second into Walmatjari.

1. Manga- ϕ pa parri-ngu lani mana-jawurlu. Linya pa manga- ϕ .
cried

Yani pa ngamaji-karti. Ngamaji-rlu parla yinya kuyi-φ.
mother

2. The man killed a goanna. He went to camp. He took the goanna to camp.

Nganpayirlu pa kakaḡi pinya. Yani pa ngurarakarti. Kanya pa kakaḡi
ngurarakarti.

2. (The order of the words within these sentences may be different and
the answer still be correct.)

1. The boy poked the girl with a stick. The girl cried. She went to her
mother. Her mother gave her meat.

ANSWERS TO SECTION 7. 29

8. GRAMMATICAL DIFFICULTIES IN TRANSFER TO ENGLISH

There are many things which need to be mastered when learning a new language. Two of them are: (a) The new vocabulary which involves learning many new words. This would be simple enough if it was just a matter of memorizing straight equivalents. The difficulty comes in learning the secondary meanings of each word, which differ from language to language. This is treated in detail in Section 2.1. (b) New grammatical structures. Knowing the meanings of all the words in the second language is not enough. One has to learn new ways of putting words together. There are many grammatical structures of English which pose potential problems for the Walmatjari speaker learning English. This does not mean that Walmatjari is inadequate because it does not have these grammatical devices. It just highlights the differences between the two languages.

The difficulties are listed for ease of reference. For details of Walmatjari grammar, Section 7 needs to be consulted. References to the specific section where detail is to be found are given.

Some parts of English grammar, such as the modal auxiliaries and word order, are in use in Fitzroy Crossing Pidgin, while some parts of Walmatjari grammar are also used in Pidgin. The latter will be mentioned when relevant.

Word Order

The order of words in English sentences affects the meaning. Notice the meaning difference in this pair of sentences.

The man saw the boy.

The boy saw the man.

Walmatjari distinguishes between these two sentences by adding a suffix to the subject of the sentence (See Section 7.21). The words can then be spoken in almost any order without altering the meaning of the sentence.

The statement in Walmatjari is changed to a question by altering one letter of one word (See 7.25). The order of words remains the same. The following English sentences show how important word order is to the English question.

He can go.

Can he go?

Reflexive

The distinction between reflexive, They painted themselves, and reciprocal, They painted each other, is not present in Walmatjari. The same sentence describes both these situations.

The situation of someone cutting their hand is described in English as I cut myself. Walmatjari uses a very different grammatical structure which maybe reveals a different underlying concept. The instrument is treated as the actor or subject. (The subject is shown by the suffixes -ju, -u and -ngu in the following sentences.)

nayip-ju paja jungani
knife-subj he-me cut

'The knife cut me.' (I cut myself with a knife)

pamarr-u paja pinya
stone-subj he-me hit

'The stone hit me.'
(I kicked my foot on a stone.)

mana-ngu paja lani
stick-subj he-me pierced

'The stick poked me.' (I poked myself with a stick.)

This is carried over to Pidgin in the expression, Stone bin hitim me.
'The stone hit me.'

Pronouns

Whereas English lacks the Walmatjari distinctions of inclusive and exclusive in pronouns, described in 7.13, it distinguishes gender which Walmatjari does not do.

I saw it.

I saw him.

I saw her.

The one pronoun nyantu is used to refer to all three genders. This distinction of genders has to be learned.

A further complication in English pronouns is the different forms used for different cases. To the non-English speaker the words we and us have nothing to indicate that they are referring to the same people.

We saw him.

He saw us.

They saw her.

She saw them.

Different cases are shown in Walmatjari by suffixes so these pronouns, particularly the use of us, are difficult to learn.

Articles

Articles a, an and the have no direct equivalent in Walmatjari. The demonstrative nyanarti 'that' is often used where English uses a definite article.

Prepositions at, on, in

The contrast in English between the three prepositions at, on and in has no equivalent in Walmatjari. All are translated by one suffix -nga. The distinction between the three has to be consciously learned. (See 7.11)

Instrument

The instrument is identified in English by the word with in sentences like The man hit him with a stick. The use of the suffix combination -jarti 'having' and -rlu 'subject' to describe instrument in Walmatjari is given in Section 7.27. Since this combination is used for much more than instrument it will be seen from the examples in Section 7.27 that although -jartirlu marks instrument, it is not an exact equivalent of with.

The Walmatjari concept of instrument, The man with a stick hit him, is reflected in the Pidgin expression, He bin hitim gotta stick. 'He hit me with a stick.'

The Copula

The English verb 'to be' has a Walmatjari equivalent in the existential verb nguniny.

ngapa pa nguniny pakiti-rla
water it is bucket-in

'There is water in the bucket.'

However in sentences such as The boy is big, Walmatjari does not use the existential verb. If one of the tenses is to be focussed on, then the existential verb is added. (The word pa is not a verb but it indicates person and mood - See 7.24)

parri pa purlka nguja
boy he big was

'The boy was big.'

Future Tense

The future tense does not merely indicate future time. It is also used to express other things. The sentence ngalku pa could be translated as He wants to eat it, He intends to eat it or He should eat it, according to the context. The same verb can also mean a polite command as in ngalku man 'You eat it.'

This is reflected in Pidgin by the future tense word gotta. I gotta go now.

You gotta givim me. It is common for English speakers to take offence at this Pidgin expression but it should be remembered that it is not always intended as a command.

As these four areas of meaning are covered by one tense, the distinction in English must be learned.

The words has and been in the following sentence are separated from the verb. The equivalent meaning in Walmatjari is conveyed by the use of suffixes.

Mary has been laughing.

Mary pa warralpiny-a-ngurra

Another difficult thing to learn is the various ways of showing past tense in English.

laugh	becomes	laughed
take	becomes	took
go	becomes	went

Conjunctions.

There is no equivalent word for the English conjunctions but, or, because and if. There are ways of expressing each of these if necessary but the concepts described by these four conjunctions are not in everyday use in Walmatjari.

But. There is one situation where Walmatjari has a conjunction meaning 'but'.

minyartijiliny pa, yangkala parpjarti 'It's like this, but it's white.'

However for other English sentences with 'but', yangkala cannot be used.

In the sentence He went to the store but he didn't buy meat Walmatjari would use two sentences with no conjunction. He went to the store. He didn't buy any meat.

Or. The concept of alternatives is not expressed in Walmatjari. One does not ask Will you have meat or damper? If an English question with an alternative is asked, the answer Yes or No will probably be given to the second alternative. Instead, one asks Will you have meat? Will you have damper?

Because. Walmatjari has no equivalent conjunction for because. In the example below, the cause relationship is understood without a conjunction.

marninmipa nyanarti paji ngamaji nguniny, paji
woman-only that my mother is my

ngajukura kaka marritimkujirni
my uncle married

'Only that woman is mother to me (because) she married my uncle.'

Walmatjari has recently borrowed the Pidgin word tumaj 'because' and this is used as an alternative.

marninmipa nyanarti paji ngamaji nguniny, tumaj paji
ngajukura kaka marritimkujirni.

If. The Walmatjari conjunctions puju and yangka can mean 'if', but they normally mean 'when'.

Difficult Transformations

Transformations which are most likely to cause difficulty are statement to question and positive to negative.

Statement to Question:

ENGLISH

Grammatical change - word order and use of an auxiliary

I can go.	becomes	Can I go?
He will carry it.	becomes	Will he carry it?
He saw it.	becomes	Did he see it?

WALMATJARI

Grammatical change - shape of second word

Yanku marna.	becomes	Yanku ngarna?
Kangku pal.	becomes	Kangku ngal?
Yani pal.	becomes	Yani ngal?

Positive to Negative:

ENGLISH

Grammatical change - addition of auxiliary, negative and change in verb.

He saw it.	becomes	He didn't see it.
I carried it.	becomes	I didn't carry it.
Look at it!	becomes	Don't look at it!

WALMATJARI

Grammatical change - addition of a negative and change in the verb.

Nyanya pa.	becomes	Ngajirta pa nyakarla.
Kanya marna.	becomes	Ngajirta marna kangkarla.
Nyaka!	becomes	Ngajirta ngan nyaka!

FOOTNOTES

1. Wurm (1972) classifies these languages as follows.

Yulbaridja - Pama-Nyungan Family, Wati Subgroup, Western Desert Language.

Walmartjari - Pama-Nyungan Family, Ngumbin Subgroup.

Bunaba - Bunaban Family, Bunabic Group.

Gunian - Bunaban Family, Gunianic Group.

Nyigina - Nyulnyulan Family.

2. Only those organs of speech which are needed to describe English and Walmartjari are included in this paper.

3. Abbreviations used in Section 7 are:

aux	verbal auxiliary
excl	exclusive
incl	inclusive
pl	plural
obj	object
subj	subject

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