

(10) *ambudbunya* 'have a burning pain in one's chest' (cf. *wunya* 'burn')

ambudbarrki 'have a sharp pain in one's chest'

ambudbanbun 'have a biting pain in one's chest' (cf. *manbun* 'bite')

Recurring element: *ambud* / *amburr* 'chest'

(11) *ldakbalwinybun* 'wash lips' (*winybun* 'wash')

Residual element: *ldakbal* 'lips, mouth'

with some additional evidence for *ldak* 'mouth' e.g. *ldakburran* 'have in one's mouth'

For most of these elements the corresponding free-form body part term is formally unrelated: cf. (*d*)*angkad* 'arm' (9) with the semantically equivalent noun root *mawurr* 'arm'. But for some others it is possible to find resemblant forms: an example is the noun root for 'chest', *amburryak* 'chest', clearly related to the verbal element *ambud* / *amburr* 'chest'.

Likewise the second element is sometimes independently attested as a verb in its own right (e.g. *winybun* 'wash', *wunya* 'burn'), but in many other instances it is not (e.g. *warrki* ~ *barrki*).

It now appears that a once-productive $N_{bp}+V$ compounding strategy of the Bininj Gun-wok type has become frozen, leaving body part morphemes marooned inside the verb stem. Sound changes have increasingly disguised their form, and introduced formal variation making the signifier harder to parse. At the same time, lexical changes have replaced many of the (presumed) original nominal lexemes with new lexemes unrelated to the prepound form. This is the most likely explanation of why the Iwaidja verb-stem structure is so much more opaque than those found in Bininj Gun-wok.

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Working from the much larger corpus of verb stems that we have now, thanks in good part to the expansion of specialized lexical forms that interdisciplinary work produced, we have been able to analyse a large number of Iwaidja verb lexemes into the following form (see Teo 2007 for detailed evidence)

(12) Body.part.prepound + stem

This morphological analysis only became possible once we had a large enough verb vocabulary to attest multiple instances of the same prepound. By bringing the morphological verb structure into line with that of its neighbours to the south, it has set the scene for the next stage of comparative research, which will be to compare N+V compounds between Iwaidjan and Gunwinyguan languages.

8.5 Conclusion

I have stressed how most of the verbs discussed above came to light through interdisciplinary fieldwork. This is not to say they wouldn't eventually have surfaced anyway, given enough linguist-in-field-years or a large enough corpus, or omniscient lexicographers who know, as Sir James Murray well illustrated when he compiled the *OED*, to ask about everything. But the fact is that, within our own project, it was the interdisciplinary work that was crucial in bringing most of these verbs to light: structures that had not yielded to front-on linguistic attack were prised open through interdisciplinary work that came around the side. At a certain point, of course, once patterns start to emerge we can start to play with them in the way linguists excel at, making up new combinations which we guess might occur. But typically this does not begin to happen until we have at least some combinations to start with.