

However, a (so far unique) example of this came up during the musicological part of the project, which brought in the collaboration of Linda Barwick. In one of David Minyimak's songs in the *Jurtbirrk* genre (see Barwick et al. 2005; Barwick et al. 2007), he uses the verb *angmarranguldin* (segmentable as *ang-* plus *-marranguldin*). Interpretive discussion of this verb with a range of speakers, and elicitation of further contexts, showed that it refers to particular meteorological conditions (e.g. lightning, wind) that bring back memories associated with a place from which sensory cues are transmitted by the weather conditions. Examples ↴ would be the smell of a wind changing as one sits on a beach, or the sight of a place burning after being struck by lightning. The semantic motivation for the *ang-* prefix on this verb appears to be that it is the place or 'country' that is the source of the emotion felt by some affected person—a feeling summed up in the title of Xavier Herbert's novel *Poor Feller My Country*. As discussed in Barwick et al. (2007), many Iwaidja terms for the subtler nuances of the emotional palette appear rarely if ever in normal language but turn up with much higher frequency in the poetic register of song language, tuned as it is to feeling and interiority.

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8.4.2.2 *manga-* [vegetable object + feminine subject]

Earlier work, since Pym and Larrimore (1979), had isolated both a vegetable object prefix *ma-* and a feminine transitive subject prefix *nga-* in restricted contexts: for example, the *nga-* prefix only turns up in a tiny corner of the paradigm, for the combination '3sg feminine subject acting upon 3sg object'.²³

From these forms one would predict the existence of a form *manga-*: 3sg.femA>3veg.O; normal morpheme order is OA—if both are 3rd person. But the non-productive nature of the Iwaidja verb paradigm means that many theoretically possible combinations appear simply not to occur: normally, for example, if one puts a feminine subject with a verb taking a *ma*-object this would be expressed not with *manga-* but with *mambu-*, which etymologically is *maN-* (3fem object with a nasal object marker that has elsewhere disappeared) and *bu-* (3pl subject marker)

Mawng attests this combination, e.g. in the verb *ma-nga-niking* 'she is carrying (it:vegetable) firewood' (Singer 2007: 99), and I had tried making up verbs using this combination, but had met with no success, except for people saying things like 'sounds like you're trying to speak Mawng, but it would be wrong in Mawng anyway!'

When intensive questioning by Kim Akerman about tide terms extended our vocabulary in that domain, however, a word with just this prefix turned up: *mangayambung* (7) means '(it is) a king tide, a really full tide'. (The etymological motivation for these lexicalized gender prefixes may lie with a conceptualization like 'it (sea/current/wave [fem.] lifts it (seaweed: veg.) high up onto the beach' or some such.)

(7) *ma-nga-yambung*

3sg.v.O-3sg.f.A-be.high.tide

'It is a king tide'

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On first hearing this term, it was not completely clear that it was a verb, rather than (for example) a noun compounded with the root *manga* 'throat'; but checking ↴ revealed a future form *manangayambung* ((6) above) which clinches its verbal status, since the future prefix is restricted to verbs.

So far this is the only word we have recorded with this particular prefix combination.