QUESTIONS IN WANGKATJA By Gizem Milonas Edited Sue Hanson. May 2025

Introduction

In this paper questions in Wangkatja are analysed and described. The analysis is based on the compilation of a large amount of historical data dating between the 1920s and 2020s. Goldfields Aboriginal Language Centre Aboriginal Corporation (GALCAC) has been collecting data for over two decades from numerous speakers residing in various parts of the Goldfields region, Western Australia, including Laverton, Leonora, Menzies, and Kalgoorlie.

Wangkatja is a member of the Wati language family, a subgroup of the Pama-Nyugan family of Australian languages. Its AIATSIS code is A103 and it closely relates to Ngaanyatjarra, AIATIS code A38. The data suggests that the name of the speech form comes from the word wangka meaning *speech* and *language* and other derivations of the word exist such as Wangkayi or Wangkatja, *a First Nations person*; wangka- *to talk, to speak*. Amee Glass and Dorothy Hackett, the compliers of *Ngaanyatjarra and Ngaatjatjarra to English Dictionary 2003*, noted Wangkatja as a linguistic form:

'I am often asked the question 'What about Wangkayi (Wongi)? Aren't the Warburton people Wangkayi?' The origin of the term Wangkayi is now somewhat obscure. However it is mainly used by white people to refer to the Aborigines living in the Eastern Goldfields of Western Australia. The people themselves use the term Wangkatja (meaning people who talk our talk) to distinguish themselves from others who talk completely unrelated languages (including English).

The language, of course, had no written form. It was first scientifically studied by Wilfrid Douglas, a linguist of the United Aborigines Mission, in the early 1950's. He devised the alphabet for the language and published several books about it.'

Into Another World, Amee Glass, 1978

'You may have heard the Ngaanyatjarra language referred to as 'Wangkayi' ('Wongi'). White people, especially use this term to refer to the language of the Aboriginal people of the Eastern Goldfields and beyond (although these Aboriginal people prefer to call themselves and their language 'Wangkatja').' Ngaanyatjarra & Ngaatjatjarra to English Dictionary, Amee Glass, Dorothy Hackett, 2003

It appears that Wangkatja might have emerged as a creole¹ in a similar way as Cundeelee Wangka, Cundeelee, Western Australia and Martu Wangka, Northwest Western Australia. The lexical data collected by GALCAC contains variants in glossing, spelling, sentence structure,

¹ A Creole is 'A term used in sociolinguistics to refer to a pidgin language which has become the mother-tongue of a speech community ... The process of creolization expands the structural and stylistic range of the pidginized language, so that the creolized language becomes comparable in formal and functional complexity to other languages.' A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics, David Crystal, 2008.

tense suffixes, contemporary phrases, and word formation as historical material was collected by a varity of people and non-linguists who used their own spelling system. This indicates that the corpus may contain more than one variant of the same speech form.

Questions in Wangkatja

Wangkatja linguistic corpus has a large number of polar questions, interrogatives, and rhetoric questions. Tag question examples haven't appeared at the time of this analysis. The clear majority of the interrogatives are either clause-initial or final. Clause-medial examples exist but are rare. The corpus includes one example of clause-medial interrogative in a relative clause (4.1). Questions are usually contextual so that the context, environment, hand gestures, peoples involved in the event, and whether the speaker is involved in the event or not, adds context to the question.

"... Dayal (2016: 1) observes that understanding questions involves studying their syntactic structure, semantic and pragmatic properties, and prosodic features. Languages have a variety of questioning strategies, such as distinct sentence structures, intonation, morphology, or a combination of these. As a type of speech act, questions are also fertile ground for discourse analysis. The semantics and pragmatics of questions can be studied through felicity conditions, and in addition to relating to polarity and pre-supposition, they may reflect a community's cultural values and norms."

The Oxford Guide to Australian Languages, Kim & Bowern, 2023

1. Polar questions (yes/no)

The majority of the questions in the Wangkatja linguistic corpus are polar questions. Final rising intonation marks an interrogative clause.

| 1.1. | Nyurra nyurra 2SG <i>Were you cau</i> | kananta? kana+nta awake+CAU; sed to be awak | - | |
|------|---|---|---|-----|
| 1.2. | Paluku palu+ku 3SG+POSS <i>Were his ribs</i> | | kartantanu? karta+nta+nu break+CAUS+PAS roken? (Wangkatja Di | |
| 1.3. | Nyurra nyurra 2SG <i>Did you come</i> | e | 0. | |
| 1.4. | tjana pikap 3PL fight+ | ungkulanyi u+ngku+lanyi FUT+PRES ting because of | puntu+ku+nguru+ng | gku |

2. Interrogatives

Interrogatives in Wangkatja act as *question words* (Q/W) or *interrogative stems*; interrogative stems appended to suffixes from which new meanings are derived. The Wangkatja corpus includes **ngana**, **nyaa**, **yaaltji**, and **wantja** interrogative stems and they derive examples with new meanings. The current linguistic corpus does not contain yaal and wantja as stem forms.

2.1. Ngana

In Wangkatja, **ngana** is a *general question word* (Q/W) which acts as a stem. Derivational suffixes and case markers possessive -ku, resultative -ku, ergative -lu, resultative -tjanu, and subject and/or object marker -nya are attached to the stem and new question words are derived from it. **Ngana** is used clause-initially and finally. The corpus includes one example of ngana in a relative clause (see 2.1.14)

| 2.1.1. | Ngana ngana Q/W <i>Who is this?</i> | nyanganya? nyanga+nya this+focus ma | rker |
|--------|---|---|------------------------------|
| 2.1.2. | Nganaku? ngana+ku Q/W+POSS <i>Whose?</i> | | |
| 2.1.3. | Nganaku? ngana+ku Q/W+RES <i>Why?</i> | | |
| 2.1.4. | Nganalu? ngana+lu Q/W+ERG <i>Who?</i> | | |
| 2.1.5. | Nganalu ngana+lu Q/W+ERG Who hit the do | nyimu nyimu dog og? | pungu? pu+ngu hit+PAST |
| 2.1.6. | Nganantjanu ngana+n+tjan Q/W+EPTH+ Why? What for? | u | |

What is the reason for?

- 2.1.7. Pikapungku **nganantjanu?** pikapu+ngku ngana+n+tjanu fight+FUT Q/W+EPTH+RES *Why are they fighting?*
- 2.1.8. **Ngananya?** ngana+nya Q/W+focus marker *What*?
- 2.1.9. Nyurra yini **ngananya?** nyurra yini ngana+nya 2SG name Q/W+focus marker *What's your name?*
- 2.1.10. **Ngananya** nyurra watjaranyi? ngana+nya nyurra watja+ranyi Q/W+focus marker 2SG tell+PRES *What are you saying*?
- 2.1.11. **Ngananya?** ngana+nya Q/W+focus marker *Who?*
- 2.1.12. **Ngananya** ngaralanyi? ngana+nya ngara+lanyi Q/W+focus marker stand+PRES *Who is standing*?
- 2.1.13. **Ngananya** ngarrirranyi? ngana+nya ngarri+rranyi Q/W+focus marker *Who is lying down*? lie_down+PRES
- 2.1.14.Watjalangayunyanganantjanu.watja+langayu+nyangana+n+tjanutell+IMP1SG+focus markerQ/W+EPTH+RESTell me why.(WNTC)

In the following example, (see 2.1.15), ngana is followed by *the third person plural subject pronoun* tjana and, according to the free translation recorded in the corpus, it acts as a countable quantifier interrogative *how many*. For this example, a broader context is required to determine if the interrogator wants to know the number of the sick ones or the identities of the sick ones. In the latter, the free translation of the question would be *Who are the sick ones?* The current Wangkatja corpus doesn't contain any examples which indicate this form also applies to mass nouns, i.e. how much.

2.1.15. **Ngana tjana** pika? ngana tjana pika Q/W 3PL sick *How many are sick?* (KLCA)

Nganana is glossed as *who* and *what*. -na is glossed as the *second person subject bound pronoun*. In this case, it is possible that nganana means '*Who are you*?' The current linguistic corpus doesn't have any example sentences where nganana is included.

| 2.1.16. | Nganana? | |
|---------|----------|--------|
| | ngana+na | |
| | Q/W+2PL | |
| | Who? | |
| | What? | (KLCA) |
| | | |

In the current Wangkatja database -n is glossed as the *first person singular subject bound pronoun*, however, further analysis is required for the following example to determine whether the -n, which is attached to ngana, acts as a bound pronoun or an epenthesis.

| 2.1.17. | Nganan | ngayulu | nyawa | Karlkurlangka? |
|---------|-------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | ngana+n | ngayu+lu | nya+wa | Karlkurla+ngka |
| | Q/W+1SG | 1SG+ERG | see+IMP | Karlkurla+LOC |
| | What do I s | ee in Kalgoorlie | ? (Boyle, 2018) | |

2.2. Nyaa

In Wangkatja nyaa is a *question word* (Q/W) which acts as a stem. Derivational suffix of resultative -ku, inflection suffixes of emphatic -pa, and ergative -lu are attached to the stem and new question words are derived or inflected from it. There are two examples where nyaa the question word is verbalised by the verbaliser suffix -rri (see 2.2.4 and 2.2.5) Nyaa has examples of used clause-initial.

| 2.2.1. | Nyaapa? nyaa+pa Q/W+AUGM What is it? (KLCA) |
|--------|--|
| 2.2.2. | Pula waruyilanyinarranyi,pula waruyilanyina+rranyi3DU firebysit+PRES |
| | kuka ngalkulanyi. Marntilu tjapinu, kuka nga+lku+lanyi marnti+lu tjapi+nu meat eat+FUT+PRES boy+ERG ask+PAST |

| | 'Tjamu,nyaapapapanyurraku?'tjamunyaa+papapanyurra+kugrandpaQ/W+AUGMpup2SG+POSSBoth of them are sitting by the fire and eating meat. The boyasked, 'Grandfather, which pup is yours?'(Mopoke Owl) |
|--------|--|
| 2.2.3. | Nyaa nyanganya? nyaa nyanga+nya Q/W this+focus_marker What's this? |
| 2.2.4. | Nyaarri? nyaa+rri Q/W+verbaliser <i>What is happening?</i> |
| 2.2.5. | Nyaarringu? nyaa+rri+ngu Q/W+verbaliser+PAST What happened? |
| 2.2.6. | Nyaaku palu ma-pitjangu? nyaa+ku palu ma_pitja+ngu Q/W+RES 3SG away_move+PAST Why did he go? |
| 2.2.7. | Nyaalu? nyaa+lu Q/W+ERG <i>How</i> ? (KLCA) |
| 2.3. | Yaaltji? |

The stem of **yaaltji** appears to be **yaal**. **Yaaltji** and its derivations have examples of clause-initial, medial, and final.

| 2.3.1. | Kapi yaaltji ? kapi yaal+tji water Q/W+DE <i>Where is the wa</i> | | | | |
|--------|--|----------|--|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 2.3.2. | Tjitji pirni g tjitji pirni g child plural (<i>Where are the c</i> | Q/W+DEM | | | |
| 2.3.3. | Marntilu marnti+lu boy+ERG | tjapi+nu | 'Yaaltji yaal+tji Q/W+DEM | nyurra nyurra 2SG | ninti, ninti know |

| 2.3.4. | nyurra kuru nyurra kuru 2SG blind <i>The boy asked</i> Yaaltjikutja yaaltji+kutja Q/W+ABL <i>Where did you</i> | pirru <i>l, 'How</i> nyurra nyurra 1SG | | <i>know, you are blind</i> pitjangu? pitja+ngu move+PAST (Wangkatj | d? ' (Mopoke Owl) a Dictionary) |
|--------|--|--|---------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| 2.3.5. | Wangkatja wangkatja person | pirni pirni many | nyang nya+r look+ | igu | |
| | tjirta tjungk tjirta tjungk bird small | | pirni | yulara yula+ra cry+PRES | |
| | wartangka warta+ngka tree+LOC | | pirni | ma-tjapinu ma_tjapi+nu away_ask+PAST | |
| | ʻYaaltji yaal+tji Q/W+DEM | ngalip ngalip 1PL | а | yuntjulku yuntju+lku to_be angry+FUT | |
| | The people sa Birds asked, ' | +nya ocus_ma w the sr Why are | nall bir e the big | Karlayapiriny?' karlaya+piriny emu+SEM ds crying on the tre g birds like Emus be (Why The | eing angry at |
| 2.3.6. | Yaaltjulku? yaal+tju+lku Q/W+CAUS+ What's the res | | | (F | asola, 2010) |
| 2.3.7. | Nyurraku nyurra+ku 2SG_POSS Which way is | your ca | ngurra ngurra camp mp? | • | |
| 2.3.8. | Kurturtu kurturtu heart <i>How do you f</i> e | Q/W+ | a+nya | +focus marker (Fε | asola, 2010) |

- 2.3.9.Paluyaalpanyanyurrayungu?paluyaal+pa+nyanyurrayu+ngu3SGQ/W+AUGM+focus marker2SGgive+PASTWhat did he give you?(WNTC)
- 2.3.10. Paluku pika yaalpanya? palu+ku pika yaal+pa+nya 3SG+POSS sickness Q/W+AUGM+focus_marker What kind of sickness is his? (WNTC)
- 2.3.11. Ngunytjulu **yaalpanya** palyaranyi? ngunytju+lu yaal+pa+nya palya+ranyi mother+ERG Q/W+AUGM+focus_marker prepare+PRES *What is the mother preparing?* (WNTC)

2.3.12. Yaaltji-yaaltji?

The current linguistic data doesn't contain any example sentences glossed as *how, when, where,* and *what* from historical material sources.

2.4. Wantja-

The corpus contains clause-initial examples.

| 2.4.1. | Wantjakutu wantja+kutu Q/W+ALL <i>Where did you</i> | wangara wangara sweet | manu? ma+nu take+PAST | (Fasola, 2010) |
|--------|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| 2.4.2. | 2 | 0 | ur from: | (1 asola, 2010) |
| 2.4.2. | Wantjatu wantja+tu Q/W+ERG | Tjantu? Tjantu Tjantu | | |
| | Where is Tjan | etu? | | (Fasola, 2010) |

3. Rhetoric question

Wangkatja corpus has examples of rhetoric questions which are 'not response-seeking' questions.

| 3.1. | Pinawiya? pina+wiya ear+none Don't you haw | Kulila! kuli+la listen+IMP we ears? Listen! | wangk talk+p | kapirnumunu ta+pirni+mu lural+NEG not talking! | nu |
|------|--|--|-----------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| 3.2. | Tjirta tjirta bird | kuyarnpa kuyarn+pa mischievous+ | AUGM | yaaltji yaal+tji Q/W+DEM | wukangu? wuka+ngu ⁄I move+ PAST |
| | Purtu kulira! purtu_kulira worried | | | | |

You mischievous bird, where did you disappear? I was worried! (Gordon, 2007)

| 3.3. | Puntu | Jones-ilu | piyarrkanya |
|------|---|--|--|
| | puntu | Jones+i+lu | piyarrka+nya |
| | man | Jones+EPTH+ERG | galah+focus_marker |
| | 'Yuwa?' yu+wa give+IMP <i>Mr Jones said</i> | watjarnu. watja+nu say+PAST d, 'What do you want? | ' <i>to the galah.</i> (Gordon, 2007) |

4. Yaaltji in relative clause

The following example contains yaaltji in a relative clause. Further analysis is required to determine whether the Wangkatja corpus contains more relative clauses.

| 4.1. | ngula | Jones-in Jones+i- Jones+E | +nya | focus_ | marker | tjana | 1 | tjikinu, tjiki+nu drink+PAST |
|------|--|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----|------------------------------------|
| | mayi | ngalangu nga+la+ eat+IMF | ngu | Т | 5 | nyang nya+1 see+F | ngu | wiilyka wiilyka cat |
| | tjina maarnu tjina_maa+rnu walk+PAST | | purinytju purinytju slowly | | warta-kutu warta_kutu tree_ALL | | | |
| | | +tji Chainsaw+nya | | | a cus_ma cating th | heir foo | | • • |

saw a cat slowly walking towards the tree where Chainsaw was. (Gordon, 2007)

| | | Nyaarri? | What's happening? |
|--------------|--|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Ngana? | stem question word Q/W | Nyaarringu? | What's happened? |
| Nganaku? | Whose? Why? | Yaalpanya? | How? What?When? Where? |
| Nganalu? | Who? | Yaaltji? | How? When? Where? What? Why? |
| Nganantjanu? | Why? What for? | Yaaltji-yaaltji? | How? When? Where? What? Why? |
| Ngananya? | What? Who? | Yaaltjulku? | What's the result? |
| Ngaa? | stem question word Q/W What's it? | Yaalkutu? | Which way? Where to? |
| Ngaaku? | Why? | Yaaltjikutja? | Where from? |
| Nyaa? | stem question word Q/W What? Which? | Wantja- | stem question word Q/W Where- |
| Nyaaku? | Why? What for? | Wantjakutu? | Where to? |
| Nyaalu? | How? What? When? Where? | Wantjatu? | Where? (subject) |

Table of Wangkatja Interrogatives

| Ngaanyatjarra | Wangkatja | Pitjantjatjarra | |
|--|---|--|--|
| Nyaapa? What? | Ngana stem question word Q/W | Nyaa? Yaaltji-yaaltji? Nyaapa? What? | |
| Yaaltjirriku? Become what? | Nganaku? Whose? Why? | Wai? What's the matter? | |
| Nyaalku? Yaaltjinku? Yaaltjingalku? Do what? | Nganalu? Who? | Yaalarra? Yaaltarra? When? | |
| Wanytjatjanku? <i>Do what with?</i> | Nganantjanu? Why? What for? | Yaaltji? Where? | |
| Purtu kulilku Not know what to do | Ngananya? What? Who? | Nganala? <i>At what place?</i> | |
| Nyaangka? <i>On account of what?</i> | Ngaa? stem question word Q/W What's it? | Yaaltjikutu? Nganalakutu? <i>Where to?</i> | |
| Palunya? What about that thing or situation that we both know about? | Ngaaku? Why? | Yaalitja? Which? | |
| Nyaaku? What for? | Nyaa? stem question word Q/W What? Which? | Ngananya? Who? | |
| Tjiinyartu? What has just happened? | Nyaaku? Why? What for? | Nyaaku? Why? What for? | |

Table of Interrogatives in Ngaanyatjarra, Wangkatja, and Pitjantjatjarra

| Ngaanyatjarra | Wangkatja | Pitjantjatjarra |
|--|--|---|
| Nyaapiriny(pa)? What sort of? | Nyaalu? How? What? When? Where? | Nyaangurru? <i>As a result of what?</i> |
| Nyaapa Whatnot, what-d'ye- call-it | Nyaarri? What's happening? Nyaarringu? What's happened? | Yaaltji-yaaltji? How? |
| Wanytjatjarriku? Yaaltjirriku? What's become of? | Yaalpanya? How? What? When? Where? | Awari! Awaritja! How about that! |
| Wanytjawara? Wanytjawirrmira? <i>When?</i> | Yaaltji? Yaaltji-yaaltji? How? When? Where? What? Why? | Wai? How about? What's with? |
| -lpi? when (at that time) | Yaaltjulku? What's the result? | Yaaltjirtu? Yaaltjiru? How much? How many? |
| Wanytja- Wanytjatja? Yaaltji? Where? | Yaalkutu? Which way? Where to? | 110w much: 110w multy: |
| Wanytjatjarriku? Yaaltjirriku? Go where? | Yaaltjikutja? Where from? | |
| Wanytjatjanku? Take where? | Wantja stem question word where Wantjakutu? Where to? | |

| Ngaanyatjarra | Wangkatja | Pitjantjatjarra |
|--|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| Wanytjanya? Wanytjartitjanya? Which one? | Wantjatu? Where? (subject) | |
| Yaaltjirri? Which people? | | |
| Nganalu? Ngananya? Who? | | |
| Ngananya? Whom? | | |
| Nyaatjanu? Why? As a result of what? | | |
| Nyaaku? Why? What for? | | |
| Nyaangkatarra? Why not? | | |
| Nyaaltji-Nyaaltji? Yaaltji? Yaaltjiwana? Yaaltji-Yaaltji? <i>How</i> ? | | |
| Wiyalpinyu? <i>How can this be?</i> | | |
| Nyaatjanu? <i>How come?</i> | | |
| Wiyapumpa <i>How could it be?</i> | | |
| -parta? -watjala? How could that be? | | |
| Yaaltjirri? How many? | | |

Conclusion

The Wangkatja linguistic corpus contains evidence of polar questions, interrogatives, and rhetoric questions. Interrogatives act as question word stems and conjugated forms of interrogatives carry new meanings. The corpus does not contain any tag question examples. The corpus includes written forms of information seeking in Wangkatja. There are other aspects of information seeking that are not included in the corpus as a written form such as hand-signs and facial gestures, indirect questions, and intonation.

Further analysis is required for the free translations of questions in sentence forms. Wangkatja has common interrogative stems of ngana, nyaa, yaal, and wantja with Ngaanyatjarra and Pitjantjatjarra.

List of Abbreviations

- 1SG First person singular subject pronoun
- 2SG Second person singular subject pronoun
- 3SG Third person singular subject pronoun
- 1PL First person plural subject pronoun
- 2PL Second person plural subject pronoun
- 3PL Third person plural subject pronoun
- 3DU Third person dual subject pronoun
- IMP Imperative
- PRES Present tense suffix
- FUT Future tense suffix
- ABL-Ablative, from
- ALL Allative, towards
- AUGM Augmentative, greater intensity
- CAUS Causative
- DAT Dative, for
- DEM Demonstrative
- EPTH Epenthetic, an additional sound
- ERG Ergative, the doer of the action
- LOC Locative
- NEG Negative
- POSS-Possessive
- Q/W Question word
- RES Resultative
- SEM Semblative, similar

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