

Jean-Christophe Verstraete and Bruce Rigsby
A Grammar and Lexicon of Yintyingka

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Jean-Christophe Verstraete and Bruce Rigsby

A Grammar and Lexicon of Yintyingka

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Preface and acknowledgements

This study has a long history, starting with Bruce Rigsby's first fieldwork in Cape York Peninsula in 1972 and 1974. Yintyingka was included in the set of languages he wanted to study (as well as Ayapathu, which we now know is a related inland dialect), but somehow the language kept eluding systematic study (see chapter 1, section 3, on some of the reasons why). Over the years, Rigsby consulted and collected a wide range of archival documents that contained Yintyingka material, and he did some anthropological work and linguistic elicitation with a few speakers and rememberers. In 2003, Jean-Christophe Verstraete started working on two languages to the south of Yintyingka, Umpithamu and Umbuygamu, first using Rigsby's recordings and then also moving on to fieldwork. In the course of his work, he read anthropological reports on Yintyingka by Rigsby and by Ben Smith; the bits of language material they contained suggested that Yintyingka may be Umpithamu's closest relative, which aroused his interest in the language. In 2010, Rigsby and Verstraete decided to jointly work up the archival corpus of Yintyingka material for linguistic analysis. In April and May 2011, Rigsby came to the University of Leuven as a visiting professor, and they spent two months transcribing all the material Rigsby had collected, entering it into a database, and making a first pass at analysis. From October 2011 to February 2012, Verstraete continued the analysis in Leuven, and produced draft outlines of phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax. In March 2012, Verstraete went to Brisbane, where they jointly discussed the analyses and developed the outline for a book. They also presented a sketch of Yintyingka at the Australianist Workshop on Stradbroke Island. Then other duties intervened for both authors, but from January to May 2013, Verstraete produced the seven draft chapters for the book, which they jointly discussed when Verstraete visited Brisbane again in June–July 2013, as a visiting fellow at the University of Queensland. Together they also worked on the biographies of all named speakers in the sources, which are now part of chapter 2. They received comments from Elaine Liddy on the introduction (during a visit to Coen), and from Erich Round on the phonology chapter. From August to November 2013, finally, Verstraete produced the final draft before submission.

Given its long history, there are many people we want to thank for their contribution to this study. First, and most importantly, we want to thank all the named speakers who contributed to the Yintyingka corpus, and whose biographies appear in chapter 2. Many of these people we only know from the archives, but Rigsby worked briefly with Jack Shephard (†), Rosie Ahlers (†) Frank

Salt (†) and Freddy Liddy (†), and Rigsby and Verstraete both worked intensively with Florrie Bassani (†), Sunlight Bassani (†), Daisy Stewart (†) and Bobby Stewart (†), on Yintyingka and other languages. We are grateful for everything they taught us about the languages and the social structure of the Princess Charlotte Bay region. We also thank the younger Lamalama people in Coen and Port Stewart, especially Elaine Liddy, Seppi Bassani, Alison Liddy and Karen Liddy for their continuing support and help in our work on Lamalama languages, and Elaine Liddy for her comments on a draft version of the introduction. We also thank Billy Pratt for his interest in this project and for his advice on Ayapathu. Secondly, there are many colleagues who contributed to this study, directly and indirectly. Among our Cape York colleagues, we thank Ben Smith for his anthropological work on Ayapathu, which contributed a great deal to our understanding of the classical and contemporary situation, Peter Sutton for his general contribution to the sociolinguistics of the region, as well as his quick response to historical-comparative and biographical questions for this project, Philip Hamilton for sharing his work on Western Ayapathu and Pakanh, Clair Hill for sharing her large Umpila lexicon and quickly responding to any Umpila-related queries we had, Barry Alpher for sharing his list of Pama-Nyungan etyma, which was invaluable in our lexical work, and Lindy Allen, Athol Chase, Noelene Cole, Alice Gaby, Di Hafner, John Holmes, David Thompson and David Martin for their help with biographical, linguistic, anthropological, archaeological and other queries. We thank Andy Butcher, Mark Harvey, Ilana Mushin, David Nash, Rachel Nordlinger and Jane Simpson for their comments at the Stradbroke Island workshop, Erich Round for his comments on the phonology chapter, Philippe Martin for help with Winpitch and Ben Smith for his comments on the introductory chapters. We also thank the Thomson family for their continuing support for our work with Donald Thomson's manuscript materials. We hope that our analysis of his materials in this study helps to show what an exceptional scientist he was. Finally, we thank Barry Alpher for very detailed and generous comments on the whole manuscript, as a no-longer-anonymous reviewer for *Pacific Linguistics*, and David Nash and Paul Sidwell at *Pacific Linguistics* and Emily Farrell, Lara Wysong and Wolfgang Konwitschny at de Gruyter Mouton for guiding us through the editorial process.

In Leuven, Verstraete would like to thank An Van linden for taking over teaching duties when he was in Australia and finalizing the manuscript, Bert Cornillie, Kristin Davidse, Hendrik De Smet, Jo Tollebeek and An Van linden for advice, encouragement and support throughout this project, and Sarah D'Hertefelt, Stefanie Fauconnier and Dana Louagie for enlightening discussions in the corridor and at our typology lunches. Verstraete would also like to thank Bill McGregor and Nick Evans for teaching him about Australian languages, and

for continuing support and encouragement along the way. Finally, we both thank our families, especially Barbara Rigsby and Olga Krasnoukhova, who supported us throughout this project, as in so many other things.

Work on this project was funded by grants OT/08/011 and GOA/12/007 of the Research Council of the University of Leuven, whose support we gratefully acknowledge.

List of abbreviations

Abbreviations and symbols used in the glosses

=	clitic boundary
ABL	ablative
AUG	augmented
BLOC	broad locative
COM	comitative
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
DM	discourse marker
DU	dual
EMPH	emphatic
EXC	exclusive
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HIST	historic
IMP	imperative
INC	inclusive
INT	intensifier
MIN	minimal
NEG	negator
NF	non-future
NLOC	narrow locative
NOM	nominative
OBL	oblique
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PLACE	placename
PRIV	privative
PROX	proximal
PRS	present
PST	past
REC	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplication
SG	singular
SUB	subordinator
VBLZ	verbalizer
VOC	vocative

Abbreviations and symbols used in the text

/	prosodic break
(form)*	a form only attested in Donald Thomson's manuscripts, reconstituted with historical-comparative evidence (see further in chapter 3, section 6.2)
(form) ^T	a form only attested in Donald Thomson's manuscripts, with uncertain phonologization (see further in chapter 3, section 6.2)
DT	Donald Thomson
IV	Intervocalic position

Glosses for kintterms

B	brother
C	child
e	elder
F	father
f.s	female speaking
H	husband
M	mother
m.s	male speaking
SI	sibling
y	younger
Z	sister

Chapter 1

Introduction

1 Introduction

This book provides a description of Yintyingka, a Pama-Nyungan language of central and eastern Cape York Peninsula, in North Queensland, Australia. The description is based on archival sources, recorded by anthropologists and linguists between about 1900 and 1990, as well as the authors' fieldwork experience with neighbouring languages. The language is no longer spoken, but it was associated with clans belonging to two distinct cultural blocs in the region (first identified in Thomson 1933, 1934): *Sandbeach People*, i.e. clans with coastal estates and a strongly maritime orientation in culture, subsistence and identity, and *Inside People*, i.e. clans with inland estates and a strongly riverine orientation.

1.1 Location

In this section we locate Yintyingka on the general linguistic map of the region (see Figure 1 below). Section 3 provides more information about the precise locations of estates, and the complex relations between speakers, languages, estates and clans. The inland estates are located in the headwaters of the Lukin and Holroyd River drainage systems in the Great Dividing Range, a series of low hills in the centre of Cape York Peninsula that forms the northernmost end of the long mountain range running along the east coast of Australia. The variety associated with the inland estates is usually called Ayapathu in the sources (not to be confused with another language known by the same name, see section 3.2). The coastal estates are located in the plains and savannahs abutting these estates, as well as the coastal areas and waters at the northern end of Princess Charlotte Bay, a large sheltered bay along the middle section of the east coast of Cape York Peninsula. The variety associated with these estates is called Yintyingka in the sources, named after a focal place. We chose to use the term Yintyingka for the language because it is the name used in the largest body of material we have, the fieldnotes of the anthropologist Donald Thomson (see further in sections 3.2 and 4 on naming conventions).

Yintyingka fills what has long been a blank space on the linguistic map of Cape York Peninsula, amongst languages that are better described, or at least

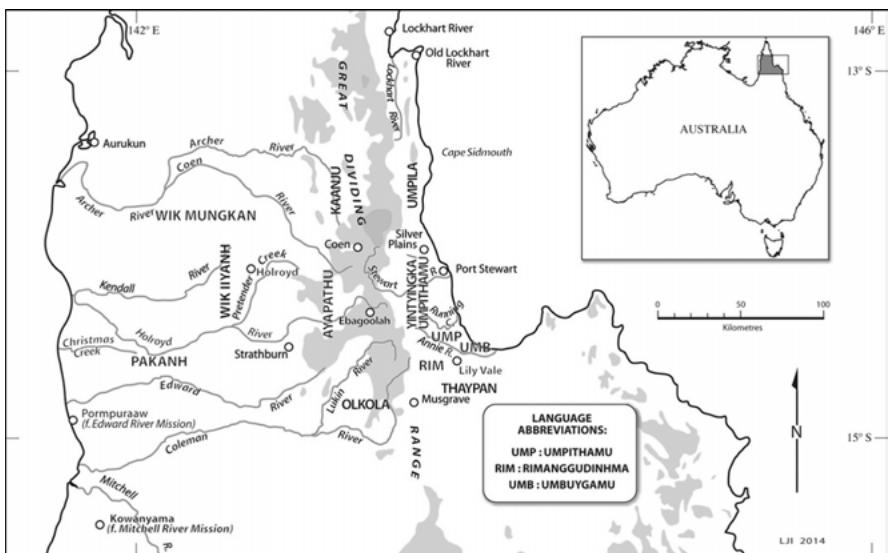


Figure 1: Approximate locations of languages¹

much better known. To the north are Umpila (along the coast) and Kaanju (inland), two closely related dialects of a language that also includes Utaalnganu and Kuuku Ya'u north of Umpila (Thompson 1988).² To the west are Wik languages, like inland Wik Mungkan (Godfrey & Sayers 1964) and Wik Iiyanh³ (Smith & Johnson 2000). To the southwest are Pakanh (Hamilton 1997b) and a variety called Ayapathu (Hamilton 1997a), which is distinct from the language studied here, but a dialect of Pakanh (if we need to refer to his variety separately, we will henceforth call it Western Ayapathu). To the south, finally, are Olkola (Sommer 1969, 1972, Hamilton 1997c) and Rimanggudinhma (Godman 1993), both inland, and Umpithamu (Verstraete 2010a, 2011, 2012), located along the coast.

¹ This map locates languages in a very general way. For more detail, the reader is referred to the discussion in section 3.1 below and the anthropological sources cited there, as well as Sutton (1995a). The map was drawn by Les Isdale.

² There is no single indigenous name for this language (as is often the case in this region, see Sutton 1979), but if we need to refer to the language rather than one of its dialects we will henceforth refer to it as Umpila.

³ In what follows, we will use Sutton's (1978) representation of the language name, i.e. Wik Iiyanh instead of Wik Iyanh (as used in Smith & Johnson 2000).

1.2 Speakers and contact history

The Yintyingka language is no longer spoken. The coastal clans died out in the male line in the first half of the 20th century, and rights in the coastal estates passed to descendants who now primarily identify as Port Stewart Lamalama people (see Rigsby 1992, 1999 on the processes of succession involved, as well as section 2.1 below). These descendants were able to remember and recognize Yintyingka words and phrases when Bruce Rigsby read or played these to them, but the old people themselves mainly spoke other languages, viz. Umpithamu, Umbuygamu and Lamalama. The inland clans did not disappear, but on a social level Ayapathu identity appears to have remained submerged or suppressed for a long time, only to re-emerge when land rights legislation and the establishment of a regional aboriginal corporation provided the right circumstances (Smith 2000a). Bruce Rigsby worked with descendants of the inland clans in 1974 and 1978, and recorded words and phrases with the last speaker in 1990, who passed away shortly afterwards.

Historical work by Smith (2000a) and Rigsby (1999) shows that both the coastal and the inland clans were affected disproportionately by the fast-moving frontier in the last quarter of the 19th century. This may explain why Yintyingka has remained a blank on the linguistic map for such a long time, and why there were so few speakers left by the time professional linguistic research started. Along the coast from the late 1860s, the lower Stewart River and nearby streams were visited by boats engaged in bêche-de-mer fishing and pearl-shelling (see Rigsby & Hafner 2011, Rigsby 2013, as well as Chase 1981 and Ganter 1994 on this industry). These places were within the estates of the coastal clans: the luggers visited coastal camps to recruit Aboriginal labour, including men, women and children (see Chase 1981 for a similar pattern in the area to the north). From 1883, when local pastoralists built a small landing and a track leading inland, Port Stewart at the mouth of the Stewart River was used to ship freight to and from the pastoralists' properties, goldfields and construction sites for the new telegraph line located in the inland estates. In 1886 a larger landing was built to bring in equipment and labourers for the telegraph line, which led to increased traffic and settler presence at Port Stewart, until the river mouth silted up and became inaccessible to many ships (Rigsby & Hafner 2011). Gold mining and pastoralism were the two developments that affected inland clans most strongly, although coastal clans were also affected by pastoralists moving up from the southern end of Princess Charlotte Bay. Smith (2000a) describes how the famous Palmer River gold rush in 1872 led to new gold rushes further north, first around Coen in 1876 and again in 1886, and then at Ebagoolah in 1900 (see Jack 1921: 466–468, 707–709 and Bolton 1963: 257–259 on the Coen and Ebagoolah

gold rushes, and Hooper 2009 on various mining camps in the region). Both of these settlements were within the estates of the inland clans, as were many of the smaller mining camps in the area. The gold rushes had also brought in pastoralists. In our region of interest, the first pastoralists were Glen, Harry and Charlie Massey, who arrived with stock and some Aboriginal stockmen from the Bowen area in 1882 and established a cattle run (with a homestead, Lalla Rookh) in the upper Stewart River basin. Their interaction with the Aboriginal people whose estates they occupied was violent, with one knowledgeable journalist noting how “[t]hey were constantly engaged in keeping back the wave of pilfering blacks that constantly rolled to and fro. No sooner was one part of the run relieved of their unwelcome presence than force of like nature was wanted to eject them at another point” (Basalt 1896: 885). After Charlie Massey was speared along Massey Creek and died from his wounds, “a vigorously carried out revenge” followed. Conflict continued throughout the region on other pastoral runs and around mining camps. In earlier years the pastoralists acted alone on their own initiative. Later the Native Police carried on the task of ‘clearing’ the country of Aboriginal people and dispossessing them, sometimes acting in concert with pastoralists, sometimes alone (Richards 2008). As this brief survey shows, early contact was often violent, especially in the inland estates of our region of interest.

1.3 Sources

Currently there is no description of Yintyingka. The only published material on the language is by Donald Thomson, the anthropologist whose fieldnotes from 1928 and 1929 are the single most important source of material on Yintyingka. Thomson (1972), an edited version of Donald Thomson’s 1950 Cambridge PhD, contains a full set of kinterms for Yintyingka, within the context of a broader analysis of kinship and behaviour in Cape York Peninsula. Thomson’s published scientific articles and newspaper articles also contain a few lexical items (e.g. Thomson 1934).

In addition to the published material, there is a whole range of archival sources on the language, from 1900 to 1990, which we describe briefly here (see section 4 for historical context on the sources, and chapter 2, section 2 for a fuller description of the sources themselves). The earliest source is by the surveyor James Cobon, whose plan for a township upriver from Port Stewart in 1900 includes a list of seven placenames that appear to be in the Yintyingka language, five of which are recognizable now (Rigsby & Hafner 2011). The next source is the notes made by Norman Tindale during a 1927 fieldtrip to the area

together with Herbert Hale. These contain a textlet in Yintyingka and a partial wordlist, possibly representing two different speakers. Our most extensive archival source is Donald Thomson's fieldnotes, mainly made during his first fieldtrip to Cape York Peninsula in 1928. These contain lexical items, clauses and textlets, interspersed with ethnographic notes, and may represent twelve different speakers. The next important source is the recordings made by La Mont West Jr in 1961 and 1965 with two different speakers, the only sound recordings available for the language. His material includes lexical elicitation, and a range of unglossed and untranscribed narratives. The next source is a short wordlist taken down by David Thompson in 1973, with lexical items and a few phrases. Our final source is the fieldnotes made by Bruce Rigsby since 1974, which again contain lexical items and a few phrases.

1.4 Organization

This book is organized as follows. This chapter deals with the geographic location of the language and its complex sociolinguistic situation, as well as a brief history of work on the language and the people associated with it. Chapter 2 provides a detailed description of the sources and the methods we used to transcribe and standardize them, as well as brief biographies of the speakers whose names we could identify in the sources. Chapter 3 describes the sound system of the language, with phoneme inventories and evidence for phonemic contrasts, word structure and phonotactic patterns, the system of word and phrase stress, and its relation to allophonic variation. This is based mainly on West's recordings, but also on patterns that we could detect in Donald Thomson's transcriptions. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with morphology and syntax, based on all of our sources, including those textlets we could interpret. As could be expected, discourse patterns and more complex aspects of syntax, like complex sentence formation, can only be dealt with summarily, given the scarcity of longer reliably transcribed texts. Chapter 6 is comparative, with a typological comparison with other languages of the region and some comparative-historical analyses to determine the genetic affiliation of the language. Chapter 7 is a consolidated lexicon of Yintyingka, consisting of about 530 items taken from all of our sources, and an English-Yintyingka finder list. Lexical entries are standardized according to the phonological analysis in chapter 3, but each entry lists all attestations in our sources, in their original form, so that decisions on phonological, morphological and syntactic analysis can be traced back to the source in every single instance (see further in chapter 2 on methods). Because the lexicon brings together all the source material, it also serves as a concordance to the corpus of materials used for the description.

1.5 A sketch of Yintyingka

The details of the linguistic analysis follow in the next few chapters, but here we provide a brief sketch of the language. Genetically, Yintyingka belongs to the group of Middle Paman languages proposed by Hale (1976b), with which it shares a set of phonological and morphological innovations detailed in chapter 6. Within this group it is most closely related to Umpithamu and Umpila, the languages to its immediate south and north, and more distantly related to the Wik languages to its west.

Some notable features in the phonology of Yintyingka are found in the phoneme inventory, in phonotactic patterns, and especially in the system of word stress. The phoneme inventory has a glottal stop phoneme that is historically derived from an alveolar approximant, and a historically innovative series of mid vowels with a strong tendency towards vowel height harmony within stems. Stems in Yintyingka are almost exclusively vowel-final, and a bit over ten percent of stems are vowel-initial, historically derived from the dropping of initial consonants. There is no clear phonetic pattern in which consonants are dropped, and there are no signs of historical softening of initial consonants, which suggests that the initial-dropped stems may not result from a process internal to Yintyingka. The location of word stress depends primarily on the size of the word, with stress on the first syllable for bisyllabic words and the second syllable for trisyllabic words, and secondarily on the presence of an initial vowel, with stress on the second syllable for bisyllabic words beginning with a short vowel. Word stress influences a whole range of allophonic processes around the edges of the second syllable in the word, like consonant gemination, optional vowel lengthening and voicing of stops.

Morphologically, Yintyingka distinguishes three major parts of speech: free pronouns, nouns and verbs. Free pronouns are organized according to a minimal-augmented system, and occur in nominative, accusative and genitive forms. Within the paradigm of free pronouns, the 2MIN.NOM form derives from an oblique proto-form, an innovation that is shared with the closest relatives of Yintyingka within Middle Paman. Free pronouns also have bound equivalents that are suffixed to the verb. In the morphology of the verb, these bound pronouns are in complementary distribution with a set of tense-mood affixes, which leads to the unusual situation that the presence of a bound pronoun has a tense-mood value (in this case non-past). Otherwise, verbal morphology is relatively bare, as in most of the neighbouring languages, with few indications of valency-changing morphemes or the like. Nominal morphology distinguishes four cases (dative, ablative, narrow locative and broad locative), but there is no clear evidence for

an ergative case form. If ergativity was discourse-sensitive as in many neighbouring languages, the absence of an ergative form for nominals in our Yintyingka corpus may be due to the lack of longer reliably transcribed texts in the corpus.

Syntactically, we can only analyse the structure of the noun phrase and the structure of the clause in some detail – as already mentioned, more complex structures are difficult to study without longer texts in the corpus. Noun phrases are genuinely phrasal structures, with phrasal marking at the edges and no evidence for discontinuity. Case is marked on the last nominal in the noun phrase, while information-structure clitics are attached to the last element of the noun phrase, including possessive pronouns, as shown in (1) and (2) below.

- (1) naɪko yin-tʃɪŋ̡-go (DTC2-9&10)⁴

ngarrku yintyingka-ku
place placename-DAT
'to Yintyingka'

- (2) weeli ngathu=ngka (JLL-0147)

yZ 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
'my younger sister'

Clauses are generally verb-final, with arguments and adjuncts preceding the verb, polarity marking right before the verb, and an extraposed slot after the verb for adjuncts or non-subject arguments, as shown in (3) and (4) below. Participant marking with free pronouns and nominals is optional if the verb has a bound pronoun; in such cases, the presence of free pronouns appears to have a specific information-structural value, as illustrated in (5) below.

- (3) pama tonongo mälnkänäño wunidi (DTC2-67)

pama thonongko* malngkana*-ngu wuna-ti*
man one sandbeach-BLOC lie-2MIN.NOM
'You sleep alone on the sandbeach.'

⁴ Example sentences are structured as follows (see chapter 2, sections 2 and 3 for more details): an archival rendering, if available, is followed by a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis in our practical orthography (see chapter 3, section 6.1, on the use of * and ^T as conventions to mark forms whose reconstitution is partly uncertain), a line with glosses, and a free translation (our own, unless otherwise indicated). Furthermore, every example is referenced to its archival source with a code between brackets (see chapter 2, 2, on the sources and the identifiers used).

- (4) ka-i – kän-ämbi utſa-go (DTC2-218)
 ka'i kana^T-mpi utsa*-ku
 NEG look-12AUG.NOM dugong-DAT
 'Let's not look for dugong.'
- (5) a. *ŋai-yunja änko wuninji* (DTC2-64)
 ngayu=ngka angku wuna-ngi
 1MIN.NOM=EMPH PROX.DEM lie-1MIN.NOM
- b. *nino nämöni wunidi* (DTC2-65)
 nhinu nhamani wuna-ti*
 2MIN.NOM DIST.DEM lie-2MIN.NOM
- c. *ŋalli mälñkänänjo wunilli* (DTC2-66)
 ngali* malngkana*-ngu wuna-li*
 12MIN.NOM sandbeach-BLOC lie-12MIN.NOM
 'I sleep here, you sleep there. We sleep on the sandbeach.'

The phonology, morphology, syntax and genetic status of Yintyingka are discussed in more detail in chapters 3–6.

2 Sociocultural matrix

As already mentioned, the relations between people and languages are complex in this region, mediated by clan membership, estate ownership and genealogical position. In this section we describe the basic elements of the sociocultural matrix in which Yintyingka is embedded, to pave the way for a discussion of the classical and contemporary sociolinguistic situation of Yintyingka in section 3.

2.1 Classical social organization

We first discuss the classical social organization in the region, with the basic units of clan, local group and cultural bloc, all of which are relevant to people's social interactions and their linguistic repertoire. We use the historical present in our discussion – the contemporary situation is slightly different (see section 2.3).

The central unit underlying social organization is the patrilineal clan, which owns an estate that is associated with a particular language or dialect (see Rigsby & Chase 1998 for an overview). Different clans own different estates,

and in the local linguistic ideology they are associated with different languages or dialects. These links are sanctioned by the Story Beings (elsewhere in Australia known as Dreamings) who sculpted the land and instituted society at the beginning of time. Clans are largely virtual units of organization, which define ownership of land, language and religious rights, but importantly they do not define actual living arrangements (Rigsby & Chase 1998, Rigsby 1999). Local groups of households who live, share food and shift camp together (Rigsby 1999), by definition do not consist only of members of the same clan. This is due to the marriage rule of clan exogamy, which implies that nuclear families typically consist of members of different clans. Membership of a clan is determined by serial patrilineal descent, on the basis of one's father's clan. That is, within a household a wife typically belongs to a different clan from her husband's, determined by her own father's (and father's father's) clan, but their children belong to the husband's father's (and father's father's) clan. If the patriline defining a clan dies out, estate ownership can be transferred along the female line by a senior male, for instance to a sister's son, who himself identifies with a different clan, or it can be transferred to the custodianship of a neighbouring clan (Rigsby & Chase 1998, see also Sutton & Rigsby 1982). This way, clans can succeed to other clans' ownership by regular descent or via an intermediate step of custodianship.

Looking at this situation 'from above', the region is exhaustively divided into estates, each of which is owned by a different clan, and associated with a different language or dialect. Local groups consist of members from different clans, so that by definition not all clan members will live in their own clan's estates. There is a tendency, however, for focal men of local groups to reside in their own clan's estates (e.g. Rigsby & Chase 1998: 199, Sutton 2010), especially in the wet season when people are most sedentary (see Thomson 1939 on seasonal differences in residence patterns). Above the level of the clan, there is another level of organization that is more implicit than clan organization but still important for people's everyday interactions. The region can be divided into a number of 'cultural blocs', consisting of clans that self-identify in similar ways, frequently intermarry, and generally interact more freely and more easily than with other clans. The most important such subdivision in our region of interest was first described by Thomson (1933, 1934), who recognized a basic distinction between 'Sandbeach People' with a strongly marine orientation in culture and subsistence, and 'Inside People' with a strongly riverine orientation (see also Smith 2000a: 229). Thomson used the Umpila terms *kaawa-tyi* 'east-COM' or *malngkana-tyi* 'sandbeach-COM' for the former group, and *kani-tyi* 'inside-COM' for the latter:

The eastern seaboard of Cape York Peninsula is inhabited by a group of fishing and seafaring tribes whose culture differs considerably from that of the typical Australian aboriginal. The contrast between the sandbeachmen and the inland tribes, even within the Peninsula, is recognized by the natives themselves, and they divide the tribes occupying the area into two groups, named from their geographical position the Kanidji, bushmen or inlanders, and the Kawadji, the people of the east, or Mälnekänidji, sandbeachmen. The Kanidji, who inhabit the interior or central highlands of the Peninsula, are nomadic hunters like the typical Australians of the inland. But the Kawadji, or as these people call themselves, Pämä Mälnekänä (people of the sandbeach) or Mälnekänidji (belonging to the sandbeach), though living only a few miles away, are less strongly nomadic and are expert canoe builders, fishermen and seafarers. (Thomson 1934: 237)

This basic distinction has been recognized by all of the anthropologists following Thomson, and it is still an important organizing principle in the region. Other higher-level groupings found in the region are moiety subdivisions, with clans and estates belonging to one of two named groups that play a role in ceremonial and religious life (Rigsby & Chase 1998: 198).

2.2 Linguistic implications

The patterns of social organization just described also have implications for linguistic ideology and practice, including over-differentiation of varieties from a linguistic perspective, institutionalized personal multilingualism, and a distinction between language ownership and language use. Again, we use the historical present in our discussion, since more recent patterns of social organization overturn at least the first two principles.

First, the association between clans, estates and languages implies that in local linguistic ideology, every clan has its own distinct linguistic variety. Even in cases where linguists would not recognize any distinction between varieties associated with different clans and where speakers themselves recognize mutual intelligibility, clan varieties are seen as distinct in principle (Rigsby 1992). Second, the marriage rule of clan exogamy implies that households and local groups are at least multi-dialectal and usually multi-lingual. This in turn leads to institutionalized personal multilingualism: every individual grows up with several languages (usually at least the two parents' languages), and speaks and uses several languages in daily life. Patterns of multilingualism are person-centred rather than group-centred, with different individuals in the same region or even local group showing slightly different repertoires of languages, although of course marriage alliances between clans can lead to frequent co-occurrence of two or more languages in repertoires (see e.g. Verstraete 2012). Finally, within the repertoire of languages used by any individual, there is one language that

has a special status. The language associated with the father's clan is regarded as one's own language, while other languages are only used (or 'mocked' rather than 'talked', as this used to be called in Cape York Creole, see Rigsby 2005) and not owned. This distinction does not necessarily have implications for proficiency – ownership does not always imply better proficiency – but it has important sociolinguistic implications, especially in contexts where people are asked to put themselves forward as speakers (e.g. in linguistic fieldwork).

2.3 Contemporary organization

As already noted, the discussion so far has used the historical present, because contemporary social and linguistic organization is different from the classical situation, although it continues many aspects in a different form. Specifically, contemporary social organization has moved towards larger groupings known as 'language-named tribes' as the basic land-holding unit (compare Rumsey 1989, Rigsby 1995, Sutton 2003: 72–73). These larger groupings are not exogamous, and unlike with clans they do often imply co-residence. Language-named tribes typically continue networks between clans in the classical situation, often clans that share a common language from a linguist's perspective but sometimes also clans associated with different languages but with close social ties in the classical situation (as in the case of the Port Stewart Lamalama, see section 3.4). Within these language-named tribes, the older clan identities and linguistic differentiation tend to be subsumed in the new larger group, with only the oldest generation of people recognizing the classical distinctions.

3 Yintyingka sociolinguistics

We can now use the concepts introduced in the previous section to discuss how the Yintyingka language fits into the regional sociocultural matrix. We discuss the estates and clans associated with the language and their place in larger regional groupings, names for the language and patterns of multilingualism with other languages, and the place of the language in contemporary social organization.

3.1 Estates, clans and local groups

In the classical social organization, the Yintyingka language was associated with nine named clans that we know of (Rigsby 2001), divided over the two

main cultural blocs of Sandbeach People (five clans) and Inside People (at least four clans). As already mentioned, the variety associated with the coastal clans is known as Yintyingka in the sources, while that associated with the inland clans is known as Ayapathu (see further in section 3.2 below on the naming conventions we use here). Table 1 below gives a list of clan names for the coastal clans. All of these clan names were provided to Bruce Rigsby by descendants of the coastal clans, who currently identify as Port Stewart Lamalama (see section 3.4), so the names we have for the clans are in one or more of the four languages currently associated with this group, i.e. Umpithamu, Umbuygamu, Lamalama and/or Rimanggudinhma.

Table 1: Coastal clans in the classical organization

Names of clans (as elicited in other languages)				
	Umpithamu	Umbuygamu	Lamalama	Rimanggudinhma
Clan 1	Mapun.gumu		Mbapun.gumu	
Clan 2	Marrokoyinbama	Morrokojinbama	Mbarrukojinbama	
Clan 3		Mamanirrarma	Mbarrumasharma	Barrodyarnga
Clan 4	Thookopinha	Manutiyinma	Mbarrundayma	
Clan 5		Mayatinma	Mbayatinma	Barroparkana

The estates associated with the classical inland clans are in the Great Dividing Range country, from around the present-day town of Coen in the north to the Lukin River in the south, and from the headwaters of the western-flowing Holroyd and Kendall Rivers in the west to the headwaters and middle reaches of the eastern-flowing Rocky and Stewart Rivers and their tributaries in the east (Smith 2007: 4). The estates associated with the classical coastal clans abut those of their inland neighbours, covering the coastal hinterlands, coasts and coastal waters from Breakfast Creek in the north to Running Creek in the south (Rigsby 1992, 2001).⁵

The coastal clans formed part of the cultural bloc of Sandbeach People with a strongly maritime orientation, which further also included clans associated with the Umpila, Uutaalnganu and Kuuku Ya'u varieties to the north, and the Umpithamu, Umbuygamu, Rimanggudinhma and Lamalama languages to the south (see Thomson 1934, Rigsby & Chase 1998). This association is also reflected

⁵ We are not able to map estate locations in detail here: this would require extensive ethnographic argumentation, which would lead us too far away from the present discussion. For more details, the reader is referred to Rigsby (2001) and Smith (2007).

in the composition of the local group Donald Thomson met during his fieldwork at the Stewart River mouth in 1928. As shown in Rigsby's (1999, 2005) analysis of Thomson's fieldnotes and genealogies, as well as in our speaker biographies (chapter 2, section 4), the local group Thomson worked with consisted of people from clans associated not just with the Yintyingka language, but also Umpila, Umpithamu and Umbuygamu. The association of Yintyingka with Umpithamu-, Umbuygamu- and Lamalama-speaking clans at the southern end of Princess Charlotte Bay is continued to the present day in the language-named tribe of Port Stewart Lamalama (see below in section 3.4).

The inland clans formed part of the cultural bloc of Inside People with a strongly riverine orientation, which further also included clans associated with the Kaanju, Wik Iiyanh, inland Wik Mungkan, Pakanh and Olkola languages (see Smith 2000a). As shown in Smith (2000a), this association is also reflected in the fact that, as long as the Ayapathu identity remained submerged, people tended to self-identify as belonging to one of the other inland groupings, like Kaanju or Wik Mungkan. This re-identification was made possible by the organization of classical and early post-classical local groups: Smith's (2000a: 238–240) analysis of an early 1970s survey of Aboriginal people in Coen shows that most marriages of inland Ayapathu people were with Wik Mungkan, Kaanju and Olkola people.

Apart from the cultural blocs, another type of higher-level organization that can be recognized in the sources is a moiety subdivision, with two named moieties identified as *karpi^T* and *kuya** in Thomson's materials. The anthropological literature (Sharp 1938/39: 269, Smith 2000b: 258) identifies the names as mopoke (*karpi^T*) and nightjar (*kuya**) (see also Sharp 1938/39 on the regional spread of the terms). Thomson systematically notes moieties in his genealogies, but it is unclear whether they had any linguistic implications in Yintyingka beyond their role in the bestowal of personal names (see Thomson 1946a).

3.2 Languages

In the literature, we find two different names for the language associated with these clans, viz. Yintyingka and Ayapathu. The name *Yintyingka* is consistently associated with clans from the coastal bloc and their language: it is used by Hale & Tindale in their 1927 fieldwork, and it is also used by Donald Thomson in his 1928/1929 fieldwork with the coastal clans. The term is originally a place-name that can be analysed as meaning 'Boxwood Tree Place' in the Yintyingka language, and that names "a small area dominated by boxwood trees (*Eucalyptus* sp) on the south bank of the Stewart estuary some metres inside the scrub"

(Rigsby & Hafner 2011: 38). In its wider sense, Yintyingka also names the wider Port Stewart area, i.e. the estuary and the area surrounding it. In this sense, the term still indirectly plays an important role in naming the contemporary language-named tribe of *Port Stewart Lamalama*, comprised of descendants of the coastal clans. The name *Ayapathu*, by contrast, is consistently associated with clans from the inland bloc and their language. It is used by Donald Thomson when referring to the inland clans he met on his way from the east coast to the west coast in 1928 (see further in section 4), and it is also used by La Mont West and the speakers he recorded in 1961 and 1965, both of whom belonged to inland clans. The name is partly transparent, with the first element *aya* referring to ‘language’, and the second element probably serving as an identifier for the language (Rigsby 2001). The same principle is found in other language names in the region, like *Aiabakan* (*Ayapakanh*) ‘Pakanh language’, as recorded in Sharp (1938/1939: 257). Our Yintyingka data do not contain a form for ‘language’, but there is a form *aaya^T* (phonologized with a long first vowel, based on Donald Thomson’s manuscripts) that refers to a kind of human noise, which is often polysemous with ‘language’ in other languages in the region. The neighbouring language Pakanh uses *aya* for its affinal variety. The second element is more difficult to identify, one option being the Yintyingka stem *patha-* ‘eat, drink’, equivalent to *mungka-* ‘eat, drink’ in Wik Mungkan.

In the local linguistic ideology, Yintyingka and Ayapathu would have been regarded as distinct languages, given that they are associated with different (groups of) clans. They would probably also have been further differentiated internally, with distinct varieties recognized for different named clans. From a linguistic perspective, however, the two labels simply represent two mutually intelligible varieties of one single language, as was first established by Rigsby in 1990 (see section 4 below). In this sense, the situation is comparable to the language just north, where we have labels for at least four different mutually intelligible dialects (Kaanju inland, and Umpila, Uutaalnganu and Kuuku Ya’u on the coast, see Thompson 1976b, 1988) but no general term for the language. The language studied here also lacks a general label. In this study, we will use Yintyingka and Ayapathu only when we need to differentiate; otherwise, we have chosen to use Yintyingka as the general term to refer to the language, for a number of reasons. First and most important, our earliest and largest body of material, the fieldnotes Donald Thomson made in his 1928/1929 fieldwork, are based on work with coastal clans and consistently use the name Yintyingka. Thomson’s notes are our richest source for morphological and syntactic analysis, as well as textlets and ethnographic information. Second, the name Yintyingka is also best established in the ethnographic literature, again through the work of Donald Thomson, who published the first ethnographic papers on the region

(Thomson 1933, 1934), and the work of Hale & Tindale (Hale & Tindale 1933). Finally, using the term Yintyingka avoids confusion with another, structurally different language that is also known as Ayapathu in the literature (e.g. Hamilton 1997a) and located to the southwest of the language studied here it (see further in chapter 6 on the relation between the two).

3.3 Patterns of multilingualism and language use

The rules of clan exogamy led to multilingual local groups and to institutionalized personal multilingualism. As already mentioned, multilingualism in this region is person-centred rather than group-centred, with slightly different repertoires depending on a person's genealogical position, life history etc. Still, some languages tend to co-occur in people's repertoires because of alliances between clans owning them.

For Yintyingka, our sources allow us to observe several recurrent patterns of multilingualism. On the coastal side, the best-documented combinations are with the Umpila, Umpithamu and Umbuygamu languages. For instance, most of Donald Thomson's notebooks have Yintyingka and Umpila equivalents side by side, which suggests that Thomson worked with an informant who was equally fluent in both languages, most likely Tommy Thompson (see chapter 2, section 4.17). Furthermore, Bruce Rigsby's work with descendants of the coastal clans has also revealed that Thomson worked with people who spoke and used both Yintyingka and Umpithamu or Umbuygamu, which is confirmed by the presence of small bits of Umpithamu and Umbuygamu material in his notebooks and genealogies. On the inland side, the best-documented combinations are with the Kaanju, Wik Mungkan and Olkola languages. For instance, La Mont West's recordings with Jinny Long (see further chapter 2, section 4.8) contain stretches of multilingual lexical elicitation, in which Jinny Long furnishes Aypathu, Kaanju and Wik Mungkan forms, and her husband furnishes Olkola forms. Similarly, Bruce Rigsby's work with people belonging to inland clans in Coen has shown combinations with the Kaanju language. For more information about patterns of multilingualism, the reader is referred to the speaker biographies in chapter 2, section 4, which provide more details on the multilingual repertoires of the individual speakers in our corpus.

Within these multilingual repertoires, not all languages have the same status: some have a special status depending on the speaker's clan identity, while others have a special status depending on the speaker's situation and geographic location. From an individual's perspective, the language associated with one's father's clan is considered one's own language, while other languages are used but not

owned. The distinction between ownership and use can have implications for situations where people are asked to come forward as speakers of a language. This was made clear, for instance, when in 1974 Bruce Rigsby tried to work on Ayapathu with a person who belonged to a Kaanju clan but was able to speak Ayapathu (see further in chapter 2, section 4.15). Even though he obviously knew the language, the man shifted to his own Kaanju language after only a few words, with the excuse that he could not remember it any more. This reluctance to serve as an informant for Ayapathu shows that it would have been inappropriate for the man to put himself forward as a speaker of a language he did not own, especially when there were other people nearby who were both owners and speakers. Apart from clan identity, the situation and especially the location of a speaker may also play a role in their choice of a particular language. Specifically, at an estate associated with a particular language, it is considered polite behaviour to speak that language, at least at the beginning of a visit or encounter. This is reflected, for instance, in the fact that the genealogies Thomson took from an Umpithamu man at Port Stewart in 1928 use kinterms in the Yintyingka language (the man's mother's language) rather than in his own Umpithamu language (Rigsby 1999).

3.4 Contemporary situation

The contemporary situation is different from the classical situation, both in terms of social and linguistic organization. In terms of social structure, clan-based organization has made way for larger groupings that are often named after languages, are not exogamous and often do imply co-residence. It is these language-named tribes that serve as the land-holding units, and as the major social identifier in township and urban settings. Descendants of the coastal Yintyingka clans now identify as Port Stewart Lamalama, a group that joins these clans with clans associated with the Umpithamu, Umbuygamu and Lamalama languages. The southernmost language is taken as the label for the group, with an exonym derived from the Umpila form *lama* 'dry' that metonymically refers to the drier areas at the southern end of Princess Charlotte Bay (Rigsby 1992: 356). Descendants of the inland clans now identify as Ayapathu, a group that includes most of the inland clans associated with the Ayapathu language. As shown by Smith (2000a), the re-emergence of Ayapathu as a language-named tribe is a recent phenomenon, after years of being submerged or even suppressed. Many people associated with these groups currently reside in the town of Coen, which dates from the gold rushes at the end of the 19th century but gradually became a regional service centre and a place where Aboriginal people came

when not employed. They shifted permanently to Coen in the early 1970s, when the introduction of award wages meant they could no longer work on the cattle stations in their own country (see Rigsby 1989). Both groups also have out-stations and ranger bases in their own country, most notably at Port Stewart and Silver Plains for the Port Stewart Lamalama (see Rigsby & Williams 1991, Rigsby & Hafner 2011), and at Punthimu for the Ayapathu (see Smith 2000a, 2000b).

The Yintyingka language has no speakers left. Bruce Rigsby worked with the last Ayapathu speakers belonging to inland clans in Coen in 1974 and 1990, recording lexical items and a few phrases. With this work, he was able to confirm that the inland variety known as Ayapathu in the literature was the same language as the coastal variety recorded as Yintyingka. Rigsby also worked with descendants of the coastal clans. Again, none of these were fluent speakers of Yintyingka, but they were able to produce lexical items and phrases, and crucially also to provide the names of clans in the classical social organization (see Table 1 above).

4 Earlier linguistic and ethnographic work

It has taken a long time for our current knowledge of the language, its location and its relation to other languages in the region to crystallize. The name Ayapathu is first mentioned in reports by police officers from the end of the 19th century, and the name Yintyingka is first mentioned in a surveyor's report from the early 20th century. The earliest mentions in the scientific literature date from the late 1920s and early 1930s, when the first intensive anthropological fieldwork was done in the region. There was sporadic fieldwork on the language since then, as well as sporadic mentions in the literature, but the language really remained off the radar in most of the published linguistic work on the region. The largest published bodies of work to date, mainly focusing on anthropology, are Bruce Rigsby's and Di Hafner's work with descendants of the coastal clans (e.g. Rigsby & Williams 1991, Rigsby & Jolly 1994, Rigsby 1997, Rigsby & Chase 1998, Rigsby 1999, Rigsby 2005, Rigsby & Hafner 2011; Hafner 1999, 2005, 2008, 2010; Jolly 1997), as well as Ben Smith's work with descendants of the inland clans (e.g. Smith 2000a, 2000b, 2006, 2008). In this section, we provide a historical survey of linguistic work that was done on Yintyingka, partly based on the reports in Rigsby (2001) and Smith (2007).

The first mentions of Ayapathu and Yintyingka date from the turn of the 20th century, in reports by police officers and surveyors. The term Ayapathu

was first mentioned in reports by or about the Native Police, a quasi-military force consisting of native troopers and European officers that was used to advance the colonial enterprise on the frontier by protecting settlers and repressing Aborigines (see, for instance, Loos 1982, Richards 2008). It is testimony to the colonial violence Aboriginal people had to deal with in this area that the first mentions of the term Ayapathu are found in this context. One mention is in a report by George Smith, Acting Sergeant at the Musgrave Native Mounted Police station, at the southern end of our region of interest. When reporting on a trip he made from Musgrave leaving on July 31, 1897, he noted that he

patrolled the Stewart and Massey Rivers[,] also Breakfast Creek. The Acting Sergt killed a bullock for the Blacks on the 1st inst when there were 96 present all told [sic] on the middle Stewart River. The Acting Sergt also killed one on the 4th inst on the Massey River, when there were 62 present and also distributed tobacco amongst them, only four of the previous Blacks being amongst them. The Acting Sergt then patrolled across the Massey River and crossed over to Port Stewart where he killed a bullock for the Blacks on the 9th inst when 64 were present these were the **labitha** tribe none of the previous Blacks were amongst them. (Smith 1897, emphasis added)

In the same year, the Queensland Commissioner of Police William Parry-Okeden presented a report on Aborigines and the Native Police in North Queensland, together with a map (Parry-Okeden 1897). This report was based on a visit he made to Cape York Peninsula, in response to pastoralists' complaints about the inefficiency of the Native Police, and a critical report on the treatment of Aboriginal people by the Native Police filed by Archibald Meston (1896), who was acting as a special commissioner for the Queensland government. In his report, Parry-Okeden mentions the KOKOAHIBITO, and in the accompanying map of 'tribal names' he mentions both JABUDA and KOKOAHIBILO in appropriate locations (see Rigsby 2001 for more details).

The first mention of the term Yintyingka was made by the surveyor James Cobon, who laid out a township about 5 km upstream from the mouth of the Stewart River in 1900. Part of the Stewart River's mouth had been used as a port from the 1860s, first by visiting luggers engaged in bêche-de-mer fishing and pearl-shelling, but from 1883 also for freight and then telegraph line workers and gold miners going inland (see Rigsby & Hafner 2011 for more details on the history of Port Stewart, on which the information provided here is based). Around that year, local pastoralists built a small landing, and connected the port to the inland with a new track. A larger landing was built in 1886 for freight and workers on the telegraph line. This allowed Port Stewart to be used by the pastoralists in the region and by the gold miners around Coen and Ebagoolah – later it was also used for the removal of Aboriginal people to missions and penal

settlements further south. Around 1900, there were a few European residents associated with the port, and the surveyor Cobon laid out a township. His survey report contains a few Aboriginal placenames, one of which is *Yinjingah*, after which he named a street in the township plan. The township never eventuated in the years when the port was active (before it silted up), but its location is near two important outstations for the descendants of the coastal clans.

The first professional anthropological research in the region was done in the late 1920s and early 1930s, first by Norman Tindale and Herbert Hale who were sent by the South Australian Museum in Adelaide, and then by Donald Thomson and Ursula McConnel. Thomson and McConnel were both associated with Radcliffe-Brown at the recently established Department of Anthropology at the University of Sydney, and were funded by the Australian National Research Council (ANRC), which had been established in partnership with the American Rockefeller Foundation (see Gray 2007 for an institutional history of the Sydney department and the ANRC).

In November 1926, Herbert Hale and Norman Tindale received a grant of £300 for a fieldtrip to Southern Cape York Peninsula. In their published record of the fieldtrip, the aim is stated as “elaborating the hitherto meagre Museum collections from this locality” (Hale & Tindale 1933: 63; see Allen & Rigsby 2008 for more information on this fieldtrip). Allen & Rigsby (2008) note that the region may also have been chosen for its special biogeographic status, especially the significance of flora and fauna shared with New Guinea. They worked in Cape York Peninsula for about a month in early 1927, first at Flinders and Stanley Islands and Bathurst Head, outside of our region of interest, and then at Port Stewart and Silver Plains, at the northern end of our region of interest. The work focused both on natural history and on ethnography, which took in aspects of social organization, language and material culture. In the context of a discussion of local groups, Hale & Tindale note the following in their published report:

the Entjinga live along the banks of the Stewart River, the mouth of which is also known as Entjinga. Formerly they ranged inland, in search of honey and small game, for some thirty miles, but since the stocking of the main range with cattle they have been compelled to confine themselves to the relatively infertile sand beaches, coastal swamps, and mangrove-lined foreshores. (Hale & Tindale 1933: 70)

Hale and Tindale met Yintyingka people at Flinders Island and at Port Stewart, and Tindale recorded a textlet in Yintyingka in his diary, from a man called Captain (see further in chapter 2, section 4.5). The language is simply listed as “Port Stewart language”, and underneath this listing Tindale notes that “Enchinga = Pt Stewart”. Apart from the placenames in Cobon’s survey report, this textlet is the first recorded instance of Yintyingka language. Tindale

further also collected comparative vocabularies in a range of languages, one of which may be identified as Yintyingka.

The next mention in the anthropological literature is by Ursula McConnel, first in correspondence with Radcliffe-Brown in Sydney and then in her published work. In 1927, McConnel received funds from the ANRC for fieldwork in Cape York Peninsula, having returned to Australia after unfinished PhD work in anthropology at University College London. Later she would also work as a visiting scholar at Yale University, studying, among others, with Edward Sapir (see O'Gorman 1993, Sutton 2010, 2012). McConnel did extensive fieldwork in the region in 1927, 1928, 1930 and 1934, mainly focused on the Wik peoples of western Cape York Peninsula. In a letter written to Radcliffe-Brown from Coen in mid-1928, Ursula McConnel mentions that

here [in Coen] are Ayaboto and Munkanu (southern Wikmunkans) camped in the river-bed here waiting for the Races [annual horse races in Coen] wh[ich] have been postponed (they hope for tit-bits at race time) & I have decided to work out on their ground wh[ich], I hear extend right to the Coleman River(,), but I may not get so far. I fancy the Koko-tribes are on the other side of these south Munkanus, whose name is Bukanu. (McConnel 1928)

This is the first time Ayapathu people are mentioned in the anthropological literature (the reference was found by Ben Smith). We know that McConnel met and talked to Ayapathu people, but she does not appear to have done any focused work with them. Her published work does mention a general location for Ayapathu country, as does a later survey paper (e.g. 1939). For instance, in 1930 she notes that

On the Upper Holroyd [River] were the Aiyaboto hunting grounds. They intermarry with the Kanju, and like them camp in the vicinity of the white man's settlements. At one time Aiyaboto, Kanju and Munkan used to meet at the junction of the Pretender [Creek] and Holroyd [River]. On the Coleman River to the south are the Bakau and the Koko-Olkolo. (McConnel 1930: 98)

In 1928, Donald Thomson received ANRC funding for fieldwork in Cape York Peninsula. It is his fieldnotes that are our most important source of knowledge of the Yintyingka language. Thomson had studied natural science at the University of Melbourne, graduating BSc in 1925. The next year, he wrote to Radcliffe-Brown to inquire about fieldwork options, who responded that he would have to take the diploma course in Anthropology at the University of Sydney before applying for funds from the ANRC. He enrolled in 1927 and graduated in early 1928 (Gray 2005). Upon graduating, Thomson received a grant from the ANRC for fieldwork situated in Cape York Peninsula, probably at Radcliffe-Brown's suggestion. He did fieldwork in Cape York Peninsula in 1928, 1929, 1932–1933 and 1935, later

moving on to Arnhem Land (e.g. Thomson 1949) and the Great Sandy Desert (e.g. Thomson 1975). Peterson (2003) and Rigsby & Peterson (2005) provide a good account of his remarkable career, which includes not just anthropology, but also biology (e.g. Thomson 1935a), linguistic anthropology (Thomson 1935b, 1946a) and journalistic work and advocacy for Aboriginal rights (see Thomson 1946b, Attwood 2005).

His 1928 work was partly devoted to Yintyingka, and his fieldnotes are the single most important source we have on the Yintyingka language. He worked at Port Stewart from May to July 1928, then travelled north to Lockhart River, where he worked for four or five days, before travelling inland, first to Coen and Ebagoolah and then to the Edward River area on the west coast (with several brief trips to Mitchell River Mission). He was back in Port Stewart by mid-November, where he worked for another month and a half. His later work in Cape York Peninsula, in 1929 and 1932–1933, focused more on Umpila-speaking people north of our region of interest, and on the west coast.

Most of Thomson's 1928 work was with Sandbeach people, including coastal Yintyingka-speaking people, many of whom we know by name (see chapter 2, section 4). He worked with them from May to July, and again in November and December, focusing on language, social structure and material culture. Thomson (1934) describes Yintyingka as follows:

Numerically, the Yintjingga is one of the smallest tribes of the Kawadji, and occupies a territory centred about the estuary of the Stewart River which runs into the south-western corner of Princess Charlotte Bay. The fame of its dugong hunters rests not only upon their skill as canoemen and their prowess with the long harpoon, but also upon the very special efficacy of their dugong magic. The men of the Yintjingga tribe are also famed for their rain and thunder magic, and as far north as the Lockhart River I heard the Stewart River referred to as the home of rain-makers. Their reputation as dugong hunters is well founded, for during the whole of the first period that I spent with the tribe, May-July, 1928, and November–December of the same year, the camp was never for any length of time without dugong meat. (Thomson 1934: 238–239)

While travelling inland to Coen and Ebagoolah, Thomson also met and briefly worked with inland Ayapathu-speaking clans, whom he describes as follows in his report to the ANRC.

Koka ai-ebadu. A tribe whose language I believe is allied to that of the Yinchinja [sic], with whom it was formerly friendly ... They are disorganised, like all the tribes of the Peninsula, having come into contact with prospectors, miners and cattle men, in the days of the Palmer Goldfield rush. There are [a] fairly large number still living, their headquarters begin about Coen and Ebagoola. (Coen is in Kanju Territory) Their camp at Coen is on the side of the natives' camp facing their own territory, as always. (Thomson 1929: 5)

As already mentioned, Thomson was the first to recognize that the two groups belong to two distinct cultural blocs, one of Sandbeach People and one of Inside People: “The contrast between the sandbeachmen and the inland tribes, even within the Peninsula, is recognized by the natives themselves, and they divide the tribes occupying the area into two groups, named from their geographical position the Kanidji, bushmen or inlanders, and the Kawadji, the people of the east, or Mälnekänidji, sandbeachmen.” (Thomson 1934: 237). It is not clear if he knew that the Ayapathu and Yintyingka languages were the same (in the excerpt above he calls them “allied”), but he does describe formalized trade relations between the two groups:

Although it has been remarked above that the tribes of the coast were cut off from any considerable contact with the inland natives, their isolation was not absolute, and some communication did take place. There appears to have been a regular trade (I use this term with its economic force) between the Yintjingga tribe and the Koko Ai’ebadu. The latter are said to have supplied magical charms of great potency in dugong hunting, as well as red ochre for ceremonial purposes, the fine flat millstones used for the grinding of lily and other seeds, and reed spears, receiving in return, bailer shells which are used both as water vessels, and after grinding, for the ends of spear-throwers, stingray spines for tipping fighting spears, and the greatly prized mother-of-pearl pendants. I am inclined to the belief that this important economic exchange had its origin in a mutual fear between tribes. The Yintjingga undoubtedly stood in great fear of the Koko Ai’ebadu, and even in 1928 they frequently talked of possible raids by this tribe. (Thomson 1934: 239–240)

Most of Thomson’s linguistic work on Yintyingka remains in his fieldnotes, but there are a few Yintyingka forms in his published work, e.g. in Thomson (1934), and a full set of kinterms in Thomson (1972).

After Thomson’s work, there is a long gap in the linguistic and anthropological record. Lauriston Sharp’s survey paper mentions Ayapathu (1938/1939: 268–275), and his fieldnotes contain some references to Ayapathu, but most likely the bulk of his information comes from McConnel’s and Thomson’s work. The next person to do work on the language was La Mont (“Monty”) West Jr, an American anthropologist with a PhD on Plains Indian Sign Language from Indiana University. He received funding to do fieldwork on Australian Aboriginal sign languages, first through postdoctoral fellowships from the US National Science Foundation, and then from the newly founded Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS, later AIATSIS). He worked on sign languages in Australia from 1960 to 1965 (see Hale 2001 for reminiscences), and in the course of this work he also did surveys of spoken languages in different parts of Australia, including in Cape York Peninsula. Most of his material remains untranscribed and unpublished (see Walsh 2001 on the repatriation of these materials to Australia), but in some instances it is the only recorded material we have for a

particular language. This is also the case for Yintyingka: in 1961, West recorded lexicon and a number of narratives from Jinny Long, and in 1965 he recorded narratives from Peter Chippendale. Both speakers belonged to inland clans, and consequently identified the language as Ayapathu, but it is obviously the same language as that recorded by Donald Thomson in the late 1920s. None of West's recordings of Ayapathu were transcribed, but they are invaluable for our research as the only sound material we have for the language.

The next mention in the linguistic record is a short wordlist collected and transcribed by Rev. David Thompson in 1973. At the time, David Thompson served as the Anglican priest at Lockhart River, just north of our region of interest. He studied the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u languages (e.g. Thompson 1976, 1988), as well as matters relating to the anthropology of religion and contemporary mobility (e.g. Thompson 1982, 2013). While at Lockhart, Thompson took down a wordlist with George Rocky, who also identified as an inland Ayapathu man.

The last linguist to have recorded Yintyingka material is Bruce Rigsby, who has worked in Cape York Peninsula since 1972, focusing on languages of the east coast and the adjacent inland areas. For Yintyingka, Rigsby has worked mainly with descendants of the coastal clans but also with descendants of the inland clans. He was the first to establish that the Yintyingka language of the coastal clans and the Ayapathu language of the inland clans are the same, based on statements by informants about mutual intelligibility, and cross-checking, with informants, of Donald Thomson's published material (e.g. Thomson 1972) and La Mont West's recordings. In 1974 and 1990, Rigsby also recorded lexical items and phrases with several speakers, both from inland and coastal clans.

Most of the sources mentioned in this survey were tracked down and collected by Bruce Rigsby. Taken together, they provide a sizeable corpus for an analysis of the Yintyingka language. The next chapter describes the sources in more detail, and explains the methods we used to transcribe and then standardize them. The chapter also provides short biographies for all speakers whose names we were able to identify in the sources.

Chapter 2

Sources

1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the very diverse set of sources we used for our analysis of Yintyingka: 31 sets of documents or sound recordings, recorded from (at least) 19 different speakers, by 6 different linguists, anthropologists or other visitors between 1900 and 1990. In section 2, we describe each source in detail, with information about the source itself and any linguistically relevant aspects, like the speaker(s) involved and the nature of the language material in each source. In section 3, we describe the methods we used to transcribe, order and reference the different sources to make them usable for linguistic analysis. In section 4, we provide short biographies of all speakers we were able to identify in the sources, focusing on clan affiliation, linguistic repertoire and any other biographic details that are available.

2 The sources

In this section, we describe all sources we know of that have material in the Yintyingka language.⁶ Apart from a description of the original source and its identifier within our corpus (see further in section 3), we also discuss the speaker(s) represented in the source, the recorder, the date and location of the recording and the nature of the language material. All of these factors are relevant for our linguistic analysis, for instance to determine the clan affiliation of the material or the intentions and methods of the recorder. We first discuss the only published source with Yintyingka material, Thomson (1972), and then discuss the unpublished material, in chronological order. For the unpublished material, we provide the context of the source as we know it, followed by tables with all relevant data for each source.

⁶ When commenting on the manuscript, Ben Smith pointed out to us that there may also be some Ayapathu items in a set of Kaanju recordings made by Jack Doolan on Palm Island in 1963. We were not able to check this source, but given the nature of fieldwork, it would not be surprising if there were more linguistic and anthropological recordings that have some relevant material, even if they focus on different languages or groups in our region of interest. It is difficult to be exhaustive in this sense, but we believe that this study covers all sources with a significant amount of Yintyingka or Ayapathu material.

2.1 Donald Thomson (1972)

The only published source with a good portion of Yintyingka material is Thomson (1972), a short monograph edited by Harold Scheffler after Donald Thomson's death, based on part of the material Thomson submitted for the PhD degree at Cambridge University in 1950. The monograph consists of four chapters devoted to kinship terminology and behaviour in Umpila, Wik Mungkan, Tyunguntyi and Wuthathi, with an introduction, a conclusion, and an appendix with lists of kinship terminology for four further groups. One of these is Yintyingka, discussed in the first table in the appendix (Thomson 1972: 29). Thomson provides a list of 22 kintterms and five alternative forms, with exhaustive lists of denotata he recorded in his fieldnotes and genealogies. This is the list of kintterms that Bruce Rigsby used in his fieldwork with Rosie Ahlers (see sections 2.7 and 4.2 below), to determine that the Yintyingka and Ayapathu material in the linguistic record represent one single language from a linguistic perspective.

2.2 James Cobon (1900)

In 1900, a surveyor was present at Port Stewart to lay out a township inland from the river mouth, which was then used as a port by pearl and bêche-de-mer luggers, and to transfer freight to and from the gold fields, cattle stations and telegraph line inland (Rigsby & Hafner 2011; see also chapter 1, section 1.2). The surveyor was James Cobon, whose notes contain "a list of a few local Aboriginal names", two of which, *Yinjingah* (*Yintyingka*) and *Mojeebah* (*Ngutypa*) were also used as street names in his township plan. Rigsby & Hafner (2011: 38) argue that the source for these placenames was most likely a member of the clan associated with the Port Stewart area, since giving placenames is a form of 'speaking for country' (see sections 2.2 and 3.3 in chapter 1 on language ownership and linguistic etiquette).

Table 1: Cobon (1900)

Source	Among Cobon's survey documents, there is one page entitled "List of a few local Aboriginal names". The documents are held at the Queensland State Archives Agency ID18, Lands Department.
Date	October 1900. The document containing the placenames mentions "Survey completed 12th Oct 1900".
Location	Port Stewart
Recorder	James Cobon (surveyor)
Speaker(s)	Unknown, most likely belonging to a coastal Yintyingka clan
Nature	Seven placenames, five of which can be recognized as Yintyingka

2.3 Herbert Hale & Norman Tindale (1927)

In 1927, Herbert Hale and Norman Tindale visited Flinders Island, Port Stewart and old Silver Plains homestead, on a fieldtrip funded by the South Australian Museum (see chapter 1, section 4 for more details). Norman Tindale's field journal for this trip contains a textlet in Yintyingka, recorded at Flinders Island from a member of a coastal Yintyingka clan, as well as a draft version of a comparative vocabulary published in Hale & Tindale (1933: 158–171). One of the languages in this vocabulary may (partially) represent Yintyingka. This variant is labelled 'Rocky Barunguan' in the journal and 'Ompeila' (Umpila) in the published version. In both cases, it is recorded as a variant of another language, which we can recognize as Umpila but is labelled 'Port Stewart' in the journal and 'Barunguan tribe' in the published version. The 'Rocky Barunguan' or 'Ompeila' variety contains forms that can be recognized as Yintyingka in some cases and as Umpila in others. Because of the uncertain origins of these forms, we only include forms from Tindale's vocabulary in our lexicon in chapter 7 when they are confirmed as Yintyingka by another source. The textlet recorded in the diary, by contrast, is undoubtedly Yintyingka (it is traceable to a known speaker and the forms are identical to those found in other Yintyingka sources) so this is included in full.

The vocabulary lists deserve some further comment, since Hale & Tindale explicitly comment on their methods of elicitation and transcription. The lists were based on lexical elicitation, using a list of English words "selected from Roth's vocabulary of the Kokoyimidir, in order that they might facilitate the future comparative study of the northern languages." (Hale & Tindale 1933: 159). Roth's vocabulary of Guugu Yimidhirr can be found in Roth (1901). Hale & Tindale also include a comment on their methods of transcription:

The vocabularies were recorded in conformation with the Royal Geographical Society's scheme as detailed in Notes and Queries,⁷ and it has been thought undesirable after this lapse of time to transcribe them into any other phonetic system. Unless otherwise indicated the *ng* sound is hard as in *finger*, not soft as in *singer*. A stress accent is placed at the beginning of the emphasized syllable.

An approximation of the normal pronunciation of the word has been aimed at. There is considerable variation even in simple words. Thus one would not be incorrect in transcribing Entjinga, the name for the mouth of the Stewart River, as *enjinga*, *enjunga*, *yinjinga*, *yenjinga*, *yentjinga*, *yentjunga*, or *yintyinga*, for variations which approximate these renderings may occur among the natives in the district. (Hale & Tindale 1933: 158)

⁷ This refers to Freire-Marreco & Myres (1912). See Walter (1988: 45–77) on the influence this work had on Tindale's ethnography.

Table 2: Tindale textlet

Source	Diary of Norman Tindale: Textlet, p. 367 Journal of a Museum Trip to Cape York Peninsula[,] North Queensland by Norman B. Tindale. Nov. 1926–March 1927. Adelaide, S.A. (p. 367) Location: South Australian Museum, ref. AA 338/1/4 http://archives.samuseum.sa.gov.au/aa338/AA338-01.htm
Identifier	NTT
Date	Early 1927, probably within the first three weeks of January (The text refers to plans for a trip that was made on January 22nd, from Flinders Island to Port Stewart.)
Location	Flinders Island (The text refers to the location: “return here (Flinders Island).”)
Recorder	Norman Tindale
Speaker(s)	Captain (see section 4.5)
Nature	Content: A text about travel arrangements for Captain, Tindale and the skipper Alec Markwell, for a trip from Flinders Island to Port Stewart (Tindale & Captain) and Coen (Captain), and back to Flinders Island (Tindale, Captain, Markwell) Forms: 5 lines of material, transcribed using the conventions described above, glossed and translated

Table 3: Tindale vocabulary

Source	Diary of Norman Tindale: Comparative vocabularies, p. 255–337 Journal of a Museum Trip to Cape York Peninsula[,] North Queensland by Norman B. Tindale. Nov. 1926–March 1927. Adelaide, S.A. (p. 255–337) Location: South Australian Museum, ref. AA 338/1/4 http://archives.samuseum.sa.gov.au/aa338/AA338-01.htm
Identifier	NTL
Date	The comparative vocabularies were probably recorded throughout Hale & Tindale’s stay in Cape York Peninsula (from January 1st to February 8th 1927). The bulk of the ‘Rocky Barunguan’ vocabulary was probably recorded during their time at Port Stewart (January 22nd to February 6th 1927; work with Aboriginal people narrowed down to January 29th, February 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 6th in Allen & Rigsby 2008).
Location	Port Stewart, maybe also Flinders Island
Recorder	Norman Tindale
Speaker(s)	Tindale’s diary suggests that their guide Tommy Thompson (see section 4.17) gave them some information about languages in the region (see Allen & Rigsby 2008), which implies that he may have been an informant. There are no other named informants for language material.

Nature	<p>Content: Comparative vocabulary in seven varieties, organized alphabetically in the published version, and thematically in the field journal (which serves as the source for the forms cited in our lexicon). The variety that partially represents Yintyingka is called ‘Rocky Barunguan’ in the field journal, listed as a variant of ‘Port Stewart’. See above for comments on methods of elicitation and transcription.</p> <p>Forms: There are 160 English forms that have either a ‘Port Stewart’ or a ‘Rocky Barunguan’ equivalent. Given the uncertain nature of these forms, they are only used in our lexicon when they can be confirmed as Yintyingka from an independent source.</p>
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2.4 Donald Thomson (1928–1929)

In 1928, Donald Thomson made his first fieldtrip to Cape York Peninsula, and worked with Sandbeach People at Port Stewart from late May to mid-July, and from mid-November to Christmas-time. Between July and November, he travelled inland from Port Stewart to Coen and then towards the west coast. On his way to the west coast, he briefly worked with Ayapathu people around Ebagoolah. During his overland trip, he was also accompanied by a Sandbeach man, Tommy Thompson, who knew the Yintyingka language, so the notebooks from this part of his fieldwork also contain some relevant material (see section 4.17 for more details). In 1929, Thomson returned to Cape York Peninsula. He stopped briefly at Port Stewart, but spent most of his time at old Lockhart River Mission. His notes from this trip contain some Yintyingka material, but most of the other language material is in Umpila. The most important published results of this part of his fieldwork are Thomson (1933, 1934) and Thomson (1972), which as mentioned above contains some Yintyingka material. However, the bulk of Thomson’s material on the Yintyingka language is contained in his field notebooks, copies of which Bruce Rigsby obtained from his widow Mrs Dorita Thomson, and in several folders of loose fieldnotes held at the Donald Thomson Collection (see Allen 2008 on the magnificent Thomson collection, held at Museum Victoria).

Thomson’s notebooks are partly chronological for his day-to-day notes, but also partly organized by theme (e.g. notes on photographs, notes on animals). There are eleven notebooks that contain some Yintyingka material, often in comments on ethnography or material culture and often in contrast with Umpila, but two of these (labeled C1 and C2) are specifically devoted to the Yintyingka language. The loose fieldnotes are usually bundled thematically, bringing together sets of notes from different dates (including material worked up after Thomson’s fieldtrip).

Thomson's notes on language were mainly made in the context of work on material culture, religion and social structure, which means that the range of lexicon and phrases he recorded is much wider and more interesting than that obtained from standard elicitation lists. He also focused specifically on the Yintyingka language, in his notebooks C1 and C2 and in some of the loose fieldnotes, which contain paradigms and other indications of grammatical and lexical elicitation, like formal variants with similar meanings. His transcription methods are discussed in chapter 3, section 6.2.

We first discuss Thomson's notebooks, using the ordering system Bruce Rigsby used when copying them (from 1 to 12 and from C1 to C5, plus a separate notebook on botanical specimens). It is not always possible to obtain consistent dates and locations: some notebooks (especially thematically organized ones) cover several months, and for other notebooks it is difficult to be certain of the dates and locations of specific subsections. For each notebook, we mention dates and locations for sections with Yintyingka material when we can find them.

Table 4: Thomson notebook 1

Source	Notebook 1 (Cover mentions "No 1. 19. Photographic Record. May 1928. N'th Q'land.")
Identifier	DT1
Date	The notebook's cover mentions May 1928. Dates within the notebook go beyond May 1928. One page with Yintyingka items is dated 25–27/11/28.
Location	Varying (thematically organized notebook). Some of the notes record the location of the photograph described.
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	Not recorded. A few notes identify people in the photographs, who may or may not be the sources of the Yintyingka forms.
Nature	Content: This is a thematic notebook, with notes on photographs taken by Donald Thomson. A few instances have Yintyingka words (material culture, landscape, and a placename). Forms: 4 lexical items

Table 5: Thomson notebook 2

Source	Notebook 2 (Cover mentions “Ompela. 1928”)
Identifier	DT2
Date	The notebook’s cover mentions 1928. Dates within the notebook range from late August to October 1928.
Location	Unclear. (Given the dates, these were probably notes taken during Thomson’s overland trip, based on work with his guide.)
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	Tommy Thompson (see section 4.17)
Nature	Content: This is a thematic notebook, with ethnographic notes on Umpila, e.g. kinterms, marriage, sorcery, totemism, food taboos. Yintyingka items are kinterms and lexicon relating to sorcery and secret killings. Forms: 13 lexical items

Table 6: Thomson notebook 3

Source	Notebook 3 (Cover mentions “xxx. 1928. From Coen to Coleman River. 3”)
Identifier	DT3
Date	The notebook’s cover mentions 1928. Dates within the notebook range from early August to early September 1928. The pages with Ayapathu items are dated August 14th and 15th.
Location	Ebagoolah
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	Unclear. Thomson mentions four people in his Ebagoolah notes for August 16th: two very old women, a person called Noiemo in an example sentence, and a man he calls “Old Baldy” and describes as a “hopeless” informant. It is not certain that any of these people served as informants for the material recorded the days before, but “Old Baldy” and Noiemo (see section 4.3) are the most likely candidates (Thomson also recorded a genealogy from Noiemo, see Table 23 below). The old ladies could not have served as informants from the way Thomson describes them.
Nature	Content: This is a chronologically ordered notebook, with notes and diary fragments. The Ayapathu forms are found in a set of descriptions of aspects of material culture, with drawings. Forms: 9 lexical items and one clause, which together with Noiemo’s genealogy represent the only inland material we have from Thomson.

Table 7: Thomson notebook 4

Source	Notebook 4 (Cover mentions “Steward [sic] River to Lockhart River. July 1928. 4”)
Identifier	DT4
Date	The notebook’s cover mentions 1928. Dates within the notebook range from late June to late July 1928.
Location	North of Port Stewart, on the way to Lockhart River. The start of the notebook mentions the first camp north after leaving Yintyingka, and contains a list of placenames north of Yintyingka, probably referring to places they will pass through on their way to Lockhart River.
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	The notes mention the name of Ngarrku Tuympa as the informant for the list of placenames, and Tommy Thompson as the informant about the relations between Yintyingka and Ayapathu people (see sections 4.11 and 4.17).
Nature	Content: This is a chronologically ordered notebook, with notes and diary fragments. The Yintyingka forms are found in: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Notes on placenames north of Yintyingka, plans for a big feast (kai-kai), names for weapons carried by Ngarrku Tuympa, and some terms relating to the feast. – A description of the exchange between Yintyingka and Ayapathu people. – A list of implements, with Yintyingka and Umpila terms. Forms: 15 lexical items and 1 clause

Table 8: Thomson notebook 8

Source	Notebook 8 (A yellow leaflet on the cover, not in Thomson’s handwriting, mentions “E.C.Y.P. mainly notes on photographs – could be useful for identification”.)
Identifier	DT8
Date	The first date in the notebook is 15/6/29, the last date is 27/7/29.
Location	Varying (thematically organized notebook). Some of the notes record the location of the photograph described.
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	Not mentioned, but the Yintyingka forms always have an Umpila equivalent, so the speaker would have had Umpila in their repertoire.
Nature	Content: This is a thematic notebook, with notes on photographs taken during Thomson’s second fieldtrip to Cape York Peninsula. Forms: 6 lexical items (fauna, flora)

Table 9: Thomson notebook 9

Source	Notebook 9 (The cover mentions: “Bird notes & general. 2nd expedition to Cape York. 1929.” and [in darker ink, vertical] “Bird notes. Mammal notes. Cuscus. Dactylopsila etc etc. Fawn breasted Bower Bird. Snakes at Back of book.”)
Identifier	DT9
Date	The first date in the notebook is 12/6/29, the last date is 11/11/29.
Location	Varying (thematically organized notebook). Some of the notes record the location of the sighting of a specimen.
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	Not mentioned, but the Yintyingka forms have an Umpila equivalent, so the speaker would have had Umpila in their repertoire.
Nature	Content: This is a thematic notebook, with notes on animals during Thomson’s second fieldtrip to Cape York Peninsula. Forms: 2 lexical items (fauna)

Table 10: Thomson notebook C1

Source	Notebook C1 (The cover mentions “P1” [green] (crossed out, changed to “C1” [red]); “12” (underlined/crossed out [green]); “Yintyinga. [illegible]. July 28 1928. 14.”)
Identifier	DTC1
Date	The notebook is dated 28/7/28.
Location	The date at the start of the notebook mentions “Yinjinga” (underlined), which could be interpreted as a placename but in this context probably refers to the language being recorded, as this notebook systematically compares Umpila and Yintyingka.
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	Tommy Thomson is mentioned several times as an informant, and Omi is mentioned once (see sections 4.17 and 4.13).
Nature	Content: This is a thematic notebook, with discussion of material culture and some fauna, comparing Yintyingka & Umpila. Forms: 45 lexical items

Table 11: Thomson notebook C2

Source	Notebook C2 (The cover mentions “Il [crossed out]. [illegible]. 8. P.2 [crossed out, changed to:] “C.2”)
Identifier	DTC2
Date	The notebook contains two dates: 22/11/28 and 17/12/28.
Location	No location is mentioned.
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	No speakers are mentioned. The notebook contains little comparison with Umpila (which could mean that the informant was not Tommy Thompson). The notebook mentions ‘thunder’ and ‘rain making’. We know from Thomson’s diaries that he worked with Noongorli (see section 4.12) about rain making, so he could have been the informant for at least part of these data.
Nature	Content: This is a thematic notebook that focuses on the Yintyingka language, with little comparison with Umpila. Forms: 294 entries, covering lexical items and clauses

Table 12: Thomson notebook C3

Source	Notebook C3 (The cover mentions: “7. [illegible]. November 1928. ECYP. [illegible]. P.3 [crossed out, changed to:] “C.3.”)
Identifier	DTC3
Date	The notebook’s cover mentions November 1928.
Location	No location is mentioned.
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	No speakers are mentioned.
Nature	Content: This is a thematic notebook that focuses on the Umpila language, with little comparison with Yintyingka. Forms: 1 lexical item

Table 13: Thomson notebook C5

Source	Notebook C5 This actually covers two notebooks (both covers mention “P.5”, in both cases crossed out and re-labelled as “C.5”).
Identifier	DTC5
Date	The first notebook has dates between 29/5/28 and 17/6/28. The second notebook has dates between 1/12/28 and 13/12/28.
Location	No location is mentioned.
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	Several people are mentioned as informants in the first notebook: Atyaku & Bambi, Ngarrku Tuympa and Yumpanamu (see sections 4.1, 4.4, 4.11 and 4.18).
Nature	Content: These are chronologically ordered notebooks, with notes and diary fragments. The Yintyingka forms are kinterms and lexical items referring to ritual, material culture and fauna. Forms: 81 lexical items, plus two pages with material that could be Umpila or Yintyingka

Table 14: Thomson specimen notebook

Source	Not numbered. The cover mentions (on a typed leaflet stuck to the cover) “List of Botanical specimens taken during second Expedition to Cape York Peninsula”
Identifier	DTS
Date	Not all entries are dated, but all dates in the notebook are in June and July 1929.
Location	No location is mentioned.
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	No names of informants are mentioned, but language names consistently contrast Yintyingka and Umpila, so the informant would have had at least these two languages in their repertoire.
Nature	Content: This notebook lists names of botanical specimens in Yintyingka and Umpila, with notes on their use and references to the actual specimens collected by Thomson. There are also some names of objects or animals associated with specimens (e.g. objects made from a specific type of wood or animals found on a specific type of tree). Forms: 33 lexical items

The folders of loose fieldnotes are generally organized thematically, which means that dates and/or locations may vary, if they are indicated at all. We discuss them using the ordering system in the Donald Thomson collection, except for the folder with genealogies and the folder called ‘images’, which are discussed at the end.

Table 15: Thomson fieldnotes TFN164

Source	Thomson fieldnotes TFN164 (1 page in our possession, p. 10 of 39). Located in box 11, folder 19.
Identifier	DT164
Date	Undated
Location	Unclear
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	Unclear, but most likely an Umpila speaker, as the majority of terms is Umpila.
Nature	Content: This page discusses clans, totems and cults. Forms: 1 lexical item

Table 16: Thomson fieldnotes TFN183

Source	Thomson fieldnotes TFN183 (15 pages in our possession, 9 sets of notes). Located in box 12, folder 14.
Identifier	DT183
Date	Undated, except on p. 50, where an Umpila entry has a date of August 23, 1932. The different sets of notes do not necessarily date from the same period, as they are thematically grouped.
Location	No location is mentioned.
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	Ngarrku Tuympa and Noongorri are mentioned (see sections 4.11 and 4.12).
Nature	Content: This is a set of notes without a clear thematic orientation – there are notes on material culture, ritual etc. Three pages contain Yintyingka material. Forms: 72 forms, mainly lexical items, not all of which are definitely Yintyingka

Table 17: Thomson fieldnotes TFN192

Source	Thomson fieldnotes TFN192 (2 pages, 2 sets of notes). Located in box 13, folder 7.
Identifier	DT192
Date	One note has a date for the collection of a specimen (in 1934), the other note indicates that it is a write-up of earlier rough notes.
Location	No location is mentioned.
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	No speakers are mentioned.
Nature	Content: This folder contains two sets of notes dealing with spears and harpoons. Forms: 7 lexical items

Table 18: Thomson fieldnotes TFN193

Source	Thomson fieldnotes TFN193 (4 pages, 2 relevant notes). Located in box 13, folder 9.
Identifier	DT193
Date	No dates are mentioned
Location	No location is mentioned.
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	No speakers are mentioned.
Nature	Content: This folder contains two sets of notes dealing with resins & hafting. Forms: 5 lexical items

Table 19: Thomson fieldnotes TFN200

Source	Thomson fieldnotes TFN200 (13 pages, 8 separate sets of notes). Located in box 13, folder 16.
Identifier	DT200
Date	The notes are undated, but they describe mourning rituals and a funeral between late June 1929 (earliest date mentioned is 29/6/29) and late July 1929 (last date mentioned is 29/7/29).
Location	The rituals and funeral were held at Yintyingka.
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	Several people are mentioned, but only one is specifically mentioned as an informant, viz. Tommy Thompson (see section 4.17).
Nature	Content: This folder contains eight separate sets of notes dealing with mourning rituals and a funeral that Thomson observed. The Yintyingka material is mainly kinterms and aspects of material culture relating to mourning. Forms: 63 lexical items

Table 20: Thomson fieldnotes TFN209

Source	Thomson fieldnotes TFN209 (15 pages, 10 sets of notes). Located in box 14, folder 8.
Identifier	DT209
Date	Undated, except on p. 14 (identical to a note in TFN211, see Table 21 below), where an Umpila entry has a date of 17/3/33. The different sets of notes do not necessarily date from the same period, as they are thematically grouped.
Location	No location is mentioned, except for an Umpila entry on p. 14, which mentions Aurukun as the location of a dream told by Tommy Thompson. The different sets of notes do not necessarily come from the same location, as they are thematically grouped.
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	Tommy Thompson, Ngarrku Tuympa and Yumpanamu are mentioned (see sections 4.17, 4.11 and 4.18).
Nature	Content: This is a thematically organized set of notes, all dealing with kinship and behaviour. Forms: 72 forms, mainly lexical items, not all of which are definitely Yintyingka

Table 21: Thomson fieldnotes TFN211

Source	Thomson fieldnotes TFN211 (2 pages in our possession, p. 9–10 of 15). Located in box 14, folder 13.
Identifier	DT211
Date	The Yintyingka entry is undated, but an Umpila entry on the same sheet has a date of 17/3/33.
Location	Possibly at Aurukun. An Umpila entry on the same sheet mentions Aurukun as the location of a dream told by Tommy Thompson.
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	Most likely Tommy Thompson. At Aurukun (on the west coast), only his east coast guide would have been able to provide Donald Thomson with Yintyingka forms, i.e. Tommy Thompson (see section 4.17).
Nature	Content: The Yintyingka entry discusses marriage rules, the Umpila entry discusses omens, dreams, and prisoners in chains. Forms: 7 lexical items

Table 22: Thomson ‘images’ folder

Source	This is a folder of images shot by Bruce Rigsby, of a set of loose-leaf notes taken by Donald Thomson. The notes are on different types of paper, with different ink, which suggests that they are a set of miscellaneous notes.
Identifier	DTI
Date	No dates are mentioned.
Location	No location is mentioned.
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	No speakers are mentioned. For the pronouns and verb forms it is unclear if Thomson worked directly with an informant, or if he was just summarizing notes he had made earlier.
Nature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – 3 pages about pronouns & verb forms (1 systematically comparing with Umpila) – 1 page about sugarbag and material culture relating to honey – 1 page about material culture – 1 page with miscellaneous notes (compared with Umpila) – 1 note about harpoons and wood

Table 23: Thomson genealogies

Source	Thomson genealogies (24 pages in our possession, 16 genealogies)
Identifier	DTG
Date	Relevant genealogies are dated as 15/8/28 (Noiemo), 24/11/28 (Chako), 3/12/28 (Noongorli).
Location	Yintyingka
Recorder	Donald Thomson
Speaker(s)	The people who provided the genealogies: Atyaku (see section 4.1), Chako (see section 4.6), Maggie (see section 4.9), Mungi (see section 4.10), Noiemo (see section 4.3), Noongorli (see section 4.12) and Yumpanamu (see section 4.18).
Nature	Content: The genealogies exemplify the kinterms, but there are also lists of totems (plant & animal species etc.). Forms: 33 forms, mainly lexical items, not all of which are definitely Yintyingka

2.5 La Mont West Jr (1961, 1965)

La Mont West Jr did fieldwork and survey work on signed and spoken languages in Australia between 1960 and 1965 (see further in chapter 1, section 4). In 1961 and in 1965, he tape-recorded Ayapathu material with two speakers belonging to inland clans. These recordings are untranscribed and unanalysed, like most of the materials recorded by West, but they are invaluable to our research, as they are the only sound recordings we have of Ayapathu (but see footnote 6 above). Copies of West's recordings are held at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), which funded part of his work, and at the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University, which incorporates Carl and Florence Voegelin's Archives of the Languages of the World (the NSF project that funded both Ken Hale's work and La Mont West's first work, see Nash 2001).

West's material contains elicitation based on word lists, partly in Ayapathu and partly in contrast with other languages, as well as monologic texts. For the elicited material, informants' responses include lexical items but also phrases, especially when verbs were being elicited. West usually does not follow up on responses, except when the response given is not what was expected (expectations were probably based on responses provided in a session preparing the recording). The texts are not translated or glossed by West or by the speakers, except for a brief indication of the topic in the 1965 recordings (e.g. "now a yarn about a fight").

Table 24: La Mont West (1961)

Source	<p>Recordings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – West's own numbering system: tape 52 side 1 – AIATSIS numbering system: West L01 – 00403B <p>Supplementary material:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Audition sheet MS 2456 – AIATSIS field tape report sheet (A1447a)
Identifier	JLL
Date	August 8th & August 9th 1961 (dates mentioned on recordings)
Location	“Dixie Station, C. Cape York, just east of Willie Long’s home country between the Moorhead [sic] and Crosbie watersheds.” (metadata on the field tape report sheet)
Recorder	La Mont West Jr
Speaker(s)	Jinny & Willie Long (see section 4.8)
Nature	(403B, 18:05–35:05; 8th August, both speakers)
	<p>Content:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Responses to lexical prompts by Jinny and Willie Long, mostly lexical items, sometimes phrases and clauses. – The field tape report sheet says Olkola, Kaanju, Wik Nganhcara and Ayapathu. The AIATSIS catalogue says Kurtjar, Kaanju, Wik Nganhcara and Ayapathu. In the recordings, the languages are identified as Olkola (Willie Long) and Kaanju, Ayapathu and Mungkhanh (Jinny Long). <p>Forms: 89 items with prompts (403B 4:23–18:05; 9th August, only Jinny Long)</p> <p>Content:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Responses to lexical prompts by Jinny Long, mostly lexical items, sometimes phrases and clauses – “200 word list in? Ayabadhu only elicited from Jinny Long, c 75 yrs.... Eliciting was from memory, rather than following the notebook and Jinny’s responses are instantaneous.” (metadata on the field tape report sheet) <p>Forms: 186 items with prompts</p>

Table 25: La Mont West (1961)

Source	<p>Recordings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – West's own numbering system: tape 52, side 2 – AIATSIS numbering system: West L01 – 00403A, West L01 – 00403B <p>Supplementary material:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Audition sheet MS 2456 – AIATSIS field tape report sheet
Identifiers	JLTA, JLTB
Date	August 9th 1961
Location	“Dixie Station, C. Cape York, just east of Willie Long’s home country between the Moorhead [sic] and Crosbie watersheds.” (metadata on the field tape report sheet)

Recorder	La Mont West Jr
Speaker(s)	Jinny Long (see section 4.8)
Nature	Content: A text by Jinny Long, probably a travelogue. The metadata on the field tape report sheet mention “?Ayabadhu language texts – stories by Jinny Long, probably reminiscences”. Forms: 13:59 min on tape 403A, 3:55 min on tape 403B. Without prompts, almost entirely unglossed and untranslated, but with an occasional comment in English by the narrator.

Table 26: La Mont West (1965)

Source	Recordings: – West’s own numbering system: tape 229 – Archive tape A1461 Supplementary material: – AIATSIS field tape report sheet 532
Identifiers	PC1, PC2, PC3
Date	February 8th 1965 (metadata on field tape report sheet)
Location	Lockhart River Mission (metadata on the field tape report sheet)
Recorder	La Mont West Jr, recordist Hugh Clarke
Speaker(s)	Peter Chippendale (see section 4.7)
Nature	Content: Narratives with an occasional description of the topic by the recordist. The field tape report sheet mentions “Hugh Clarke elicits 4 long traditional texts from Peter Chippendale 37 yrs, native speaker of ?Olkolo language who lived close to ?Ayapathu people in past years. He speaks excellent English & appears very fluent in ?Ayapathu. He’s quick & very perceptive as an informant, but not willing to serve regularly. Enunciation & recording Quality are very good. The language was spoken in Central Cape York just South of Coen around Ebagoola Station. Survivors are few & scattered”. Forms: 35 min of recording

2.6 David Thompson (1973)

David Thompson served as the Anglican priest in Lockhart River from 1969 to 1977, where he also did linguistic and anthropological work, focusing on Umpila and Kuuku Ya’u (see chapter 1, section 4). In 1973, he took down a one-page word-list in Ayapathu, from a speaker who lived in Lockhart River at the time. There is no sound recording for the list, but the forms are transcribed phonetically.

Table 27: Thompson (1973)

Source	One page, entitled “Ayapathu word list, given by George Rocky at Lockhart River, 9.7.73”. No sound recording.
Identifier	GR
Date	9.7.73
Location	Lockhart River
Recorder	David Thompson
Speaker(s)	George Rocky (see section 4.14)
Nature	Content: 71 lexical items and 4 clauses, all glossed Forms: In phonetic transcription, stress unmarked

2.7 Bruce Rigsby (1974, 1990)

Bruce Rigsby has worked in Cape York Peninsula since 1972, focusing on the languages of Princess Charlotte Bay and its hinterland. He contacted Ayapathu speakers belonging to inland clans in 1974, who were reluctant to serve as informants (see chapter 1, sections 1.2 and 2.2 on possible reasons for this reluctance), and briefly worked with a non-owner speaker from a Kaanju clan in the same year. In 1990, he worked with descendants of the coastal clans and with a speaker of an inland clan. Rigsby’s published work on the language includes papers analysing the language situation in the Princess Charlotte Bay region (e.g. Rigsby 1992, 1997) and papers analysing Donald Thomson’s contributions (e.g. Rigsby 2005).

The work Bruce Rigsby did in 1974 and in 1990 is transcribed in his notebooks. There is no sound recording for this work, but we have phonetic transcriptions of three different speakers, one belonging to a coastal clan and two belonging to an inland clan. The inland material from 1974 was directly elicited. The coastal material was obtained using La Mont West’s recordings as a prompt. The inland material from 1990 was obtained independently, but was intended for cross-checking with Thomson’s published set of kintterms for Yintyingka. This work confirmed definitely that the inland and the coastal varieties belonged to the same language.

Table 28: Rigsby (1974)

Source	Bruce Rigsby. Notebook AUS 9, p. 111 (Bruce Rigsby's notebooks will be deposited at the Fryer Library, University of Queensland.)
Identifier	JS
Date	15/6/1974
Location	Coen
Recorder	Bruce Rigsby
Speaker(s)	Jack Shephard (see section 4.15)
Nature	Content: Lexical items elicited from English Forms: 4 lexical items, with phonetic transcription

Table 29: Rigsby (1990)

Source	Bruce Rigsby. Notebook 11, p. 1, p. 37–41 (Bruce Rigsby's notebooks will be deposited at the Fryer Library, University of Queensland.)
Identifiers	DSL, DSC
Date	4/6/1990, 7/6/1990
Location	Port Stewart
Recorder	Bruce Rigsby
Speaker(s)	Bobby Stewart (see section 4.16)
Nature	(p. 1) Content: Lexical items based on La Mont West's recording of Peter Chippendale Forms: 6 lexical items, with phonetic transcription (p. 37–41) Content: Lexical items based on La Mont West's recording of Jinny Long Forms: 67 lexical items (or phrases) with phonetic transcription, and notes on Bobby Stewart's pronunciation

Table 30: Rigsby (1990)

Source	(i) Bruce Rigsby. Notebook 11, p. 61–62 (Bruce Rigsby's notebooks will be deposited at the Fryer Library, University of Queensland.) (ii) Loose sheets with Ayapathu kintterms (= 2 separate pages: 1 photocopy of DT's 1972 kintterms, with pencilled-in notes on Rosie Ahlers' kintterms, and 1 page with pencilled-in kintterms copied and systematized)
Identifier	RAK
Date	9/6/1990
Location	Coen

Recorder	Bruce Rigsby
Speaker(s)	Rosie Ahlers (see section 4.2)
Nature	<p>(i)</p> <p>Content: Lexical items with notes on Rosie Ahlers & Ayapathu</p> <p>Forms: Nine lexical items, with phonetic transcriptions</p> <p>(ii)</p> <p>Content: Transcriptions of Rosie Ahlers' kinterms, compared with Donald Thomson's published set of kinterms, with some comments on their use.</p> <p>Forms: 23 forms, with phonetic transcription</p>

3 Methods: Treatment of sources

In all, there are 31 different sources of Yintyingka material, dating from different periods, recorded with different purposes, and using different standards of notation or transcription. With this type of corpus, there is a clear need for a 'philological' approach, which integrates the data so they can be worked with, but also allows one to trace back decisions to the source material and mark different levels of certainty. In this section, we discuss our approach to the material in some detail. Most of our decisions are no more than basic common-sense data management, but we believe it is important to make them explicit. With a small closed corpus like this, it is easy for assumptions about what a 'typical' Pama-Nyungan or Cape York language is to influence the analysis, which of course leads to circularity once the material is used for further typological or historical-comparative work. We try to avoid this by being as explicit as possible about how we went about preparing the data and analysing them.

The first step in our treatment of the sources was to transcribe all sources, in such a way that as little relevant information as possible is lost, and that it is easy to trace back later analyses of a form to its original rendering and context within the source. Each source was given its own identifier (listed as 'identifier' in the tables in section 2 above), and each item within the source (lexical item, phrase or clause) its own number, so that all items are uniquely identifiable within the corpus. For instance, Donald Thomson's notebook 4, described in Table 7 above, has the identifier DT4, and the item *tool/li* (*thuli* 'woomera') has the number 4, which means that this phrase is uniquely identifiable as DT4-4. The numbering system also allows one to look at the immediate context of an item within the source: in the case of *tool/li*, the immediately preceding item is DT4-3 *kaka panti* (*kaka panti* 'short spear'), and the immediately following item is DT4-5 *mina ot/cha* (*minha utya** 'dugong'). All of these items belong to Thomson's description of the objects his informant carries with him.

Within the transcription of each source, the codes identifying the items serve as record markers to bring together all information associated with a specific item (see Figure 2 below for an example). The most important piece of information is the recorder's rendering of the item: this can be in a specific notation system, as with Tindale and Thomson, in the recorder's phonetic transcription, as with Thompson and Rigsby, or our own phonetic transcription in the case of West's recordings. It is important to have the original forms in order to assess decisions about the phonologization of forms, especially with items from Thomson's and Tindale's notebooks, whose rendering imposes an extra filter on the phonetic shape of the form. In the case of *tool/li*, for instance, the use of a hyphen or other separator between or after consonants in Thomson's rendering is relevant, because it corresponds to optional gemination in West's recordings. In this sense, Thomson's rendering can be regarded as an indirect form of evidence for the occurrence of geminate allophones of intervocalic consonants in the variety he recorded. The second piece of information we include is the recorder's own gloss of the item: this can either be a direct gloss of the item, or the prompt that was used in elicitation, as in West's recordings. It is important to have this information to assess the semantic or grammatical analysis of forms. Even where the recorder's gloss turns out to be incomplete or inaccurate, it can provide indirect evidence for an analysis, as with the form *ar-yah* (DT4-16; *aaya^T* 'language or human noise'), which Thomson glosses as 'stick used by man to beat time (man who sings)' but can more likely be glossed as 'human noise', i.e. the noise made by the singing man. Further information we include for each item are any notes the recorder has in addition to the basic gloss and any comments we had on the item, including any relevant information from the context. For instance, with an item like *ŋai-yu kɔ-ta mampa* (DTC2-200; *ngayu kuta mampa* 'I have no humpy'), it is important to note that Thomson himself lists this as an alternative to *ŋai-yu kɔ-ta-gino* (DTC2-201; *ngayu kuta-kinu**, i.e. the privative form). Finally, we also include a reference to the relevant section of the original source for each item, which allows us to go back to the source to check on the original forms, glosses and comments. In the case of written sources, this is a page number (e.g. with Bruce Rigsby's notes) or the name of an image file (e.g. with Donald Thomson's notes, where each page was photographed individually). In the case of sound recordings, the reference is a file name and a set of time codes marking the beginning and end of the relevant section.

To illustrate our transcription system, Figure 1 below gives an example of an excerpt from Thomson's notebook C2, and Figure 2 shows our transcription of this excerpt.

After the initial transcription, the second step was to isolate all morphemes from the source material, free or bound, and use these as lemmas in a lexical

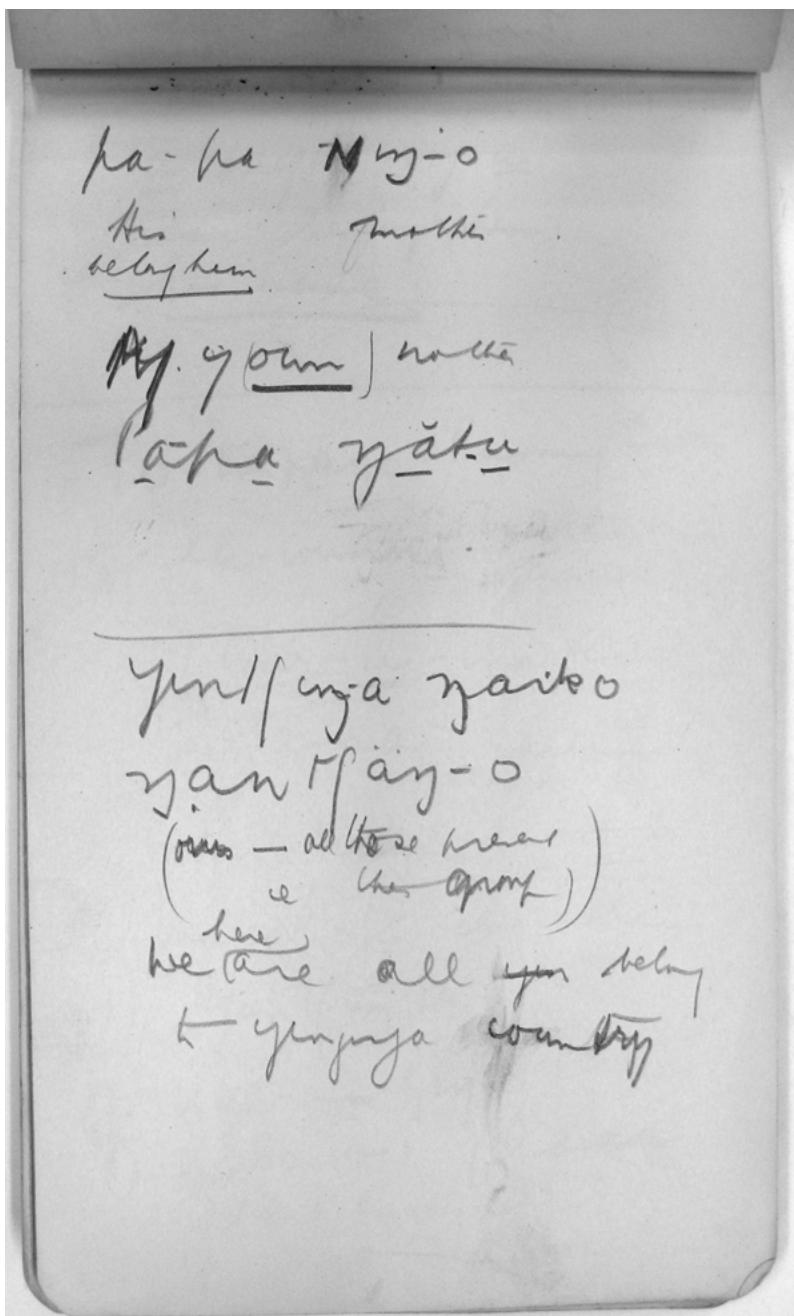


Figure 1: A page from Thomson's notebook C2

Toolbox - [ay-DFT]	
	File Edit Database Project Tools Checks View Window Help
	[no filter] ▾
\ref	DTC2-34
\t	pa-pa Ning-o
\f	his (belong him / mother
\or	pa-pa Niŋ-o
\so	IMG_1970
\ref	DTC2-35
\t	Pa-pa ngat-u
\f	My (own) mother)
\or	Pa-pa n̩at-u
\so	IMG-1970
\ref	DTC2-36
\t	Yintying-a ngarrko ngantyang-o
\f	. / - / (our - all those present ie the group))
\f	We here are all you [crossed out] belong
	Yintyinga country
\or	Yintjŋ-a n̩arko n̩antjŋ-o
\so	IMG_1970
\ref	DTC2-37
\t	ta-pigin-ing-u
\f	name belong him ie his name
\or	Tä-pigin-iŋ-u
\so	IMG_1971

Figure 2: Our transcription of the source

database to bring together all relevant attestations of the morpheme in their original context. Obviously, determining morpheme boundaries and assigning forms to lemmas is an important analytic step that goes beyond data management: details on this part of the analysis are provided in chapters 3, 4 and 7, on phonology, morphology and the lexicon. In terms of data, the lexical database brings together all attestations of a lemma in the different sources, with all the relevant information for each attestation (the unique identifier, the original form, the original gloss, the notes, and the reference to the source). Furthermore, we also added possible cognates from languages nearby, as well as relevant reconstructed forms from Hale (1976b) and especially Alpher (2004b, p.c.). We then used all this information to propose a basic shape for each lemma, as well as a description of its meaning(s). Figure 3 below provides an example of an entry in our lexical database.

In many cases the phonetic information available is sufficient to allow us to phonologize a form with some degree of certainty, for instance when we

Toolbox - [ay-lex]	
	File Edit Database Project Tools Checks View Window Help
	[no filter] ▾
\x	mampa
\or	
\de	nothing, no
\ref	GR-53
\t	mampa
\f	no
\or	mampə
\com	'nothing' in other contexts
\rf	
\ref	JLL-0166
\soun	JLB.wav 976.480 978.913
\t	tucker
\f	mayi mampa
\ph	maji'mampa
\co	tucker nothing
\wv	
\ref	DTC2-2
\t	mampa
\f	nothing
\or	mampă
\com	symbol over final a indicating shortness? / length first a?
\com	like ngo'oyi?
\so	IMG_1966
\xe	
\ref	DTC2-117
\t	mampa-go
\f	nothing

Figure 3: An entry in our lexical database

have a sound recording or a modern phonetic transcription of the item, or when Thomson's or Tindale's rendering is sufficiently transparent phonetically (see chapter 3, section 6.2 on Thomson's transcription conventions). But there are also forms where we only have attestations from Thomson's or Tindale's manuscripts that are not phonetically transparent – for instance in the transcription of the vowels, or alveolar and dental stops and nasals (which neither distinguished). In such cases, we need to be able to mark a degree of uncertainty

in the form we use for the lexicon, texts, and example sentences. The uncertainty can sometimes be resolved by using cognates or reconstructed forms, for instance to determine whether Thomson's <t> represents a dental or an alveolar stop, but even here we need to be cautious. If we use reconstructions or cognates to construct Yintyingka forms, we introduce a degree of circularity in the analysis, especially when such 'constructed' forms are themselves used in historical-comparative work. To mark different degrees of uncertainty, we use the convention of <form>^T for forms in Thomson's or Tindale's material whose phonetic shape is uncertain, and <form>^{*} for forms where cognates or reconstructions provided the crucial evidence to phonologize Thomson's or Tindale's forms. Chapter 3, section 6.1, provides further information on the practical orthography used to render Yintyingka forms. Chapter 7 provides more information on the organizing principles of the lexicon.

4 Notes on speakers

To round off this chapter, we provide a series of notes on all speakers whose names we can identify in the sources, 19 individuals in total. Some biographies are well-documented while others remain fairly skeletal, but for each speaker we try to give at least an indication of the most linguistically relevant elements, viz. language ownership and broader linguistic repertoire (see further in chapter 1, sections 2.2 and 3.3). Language ownership can generally be traced via the father's clan, while a speaker's broader linguistic repertoire can be attested directly in the sources or traced indirectly via family relations (e.g. mother's and spouse's clans). In what follows, we will not refer to clans by their names, but directly by the language associated with them (see chapter 1, section 2.2 on the relation between clans and languages). In some cases, genealogies, field-notes or published literature contain further details about the speakers, including alternative names (people were known by different Aboriginal and English names), places of residence, age and other aspects of life history, which we mention whenever they are available. Norman Tindale made photographs and films (see Allen & Rigsby 2008), and Donald Thomson produced extensive photographic documentation of his fieldwork (see Allen 2005 and Hafner 2005), which means that we have images of even the earliest informants. We include reference to published images whenever we know of any, and we reproduce some of Donald Thomson's photographs, with kind permission from the Thomson family and Museum Victoria.



Figure 4: Bambi and Tampilmuta in camp, Stewart River, Cape York Peninsula, Queensland, 1928. Photograph by Donald Thomson. Courtesy Thomson Family and Museum Victoria (TPH 3293)

4.1 Atyaku

Atyaku was a young woman who provided Yintyingka material to Donald Thomson at Port Stewart (see Tables 13 and 23 above), together with her husband Bambi (see section 4.4 below). She is mentioned both in Norman Tindale's and in Donald Thomson's notes. In the sources, she is known as Atyaku (her *thaapityi**), Atyawu (Tindale's lenited version of Atyaku) or Tyamintyinu (her *ngootyorro**), and under the English names Nellie and Jenny Claremont (in Tindale's notes). Nowadays she is mainly remembered with her English name Nellie Liddy, or as Tapilmuta 'Shovel-nose Shark Story Place'. Tindale (1927: 214) estimates her age at 18 in 1927, which implies she would have been born around 1910.

Atyaku's social father was Johnny Claremont, who belonged to a Nesbitt River Umpila clan,⁸ and her biological father was Mungi (section 4.10), who

⁸ We owe our knowledge of clans and their membership to Florrie and Sunlight Bassani and Bobby and Daisy Stewart, who remembered them well. Thomson, for his part, observed and described only local groups, not clans. The same old people also provided us with alternative names for some speakers that are not noted in the sources.

belonged to a Yintyingka clan. Her mother was Emma Claremont, who belonged to a Yintyingka clan but used Umpila as her habitual vernacular. Atyaku was married to two men from an Umpithamu clan, first to Ngaakamburu, the father of Noongorri (section 4.12), and after his death in late 1927 to Bambi (section 4.4). This implies that her language repertoire would have included at least Umpila, Yintyingka and Umpithamu.

At the time of Donald Thomson's fieldwork in 1928, Atyaku and Bambi were ostracized because their marriage was a wrong one (Bambi being a classificatory older brother of Atyaku's recently deceased husband). Their humpy was located away from the main camp when Thomson arrived, and they soon rebuilt it close to Thomson's, presumably as a protection against acts of punishment. In early 1929, Atyaku and Bambi were sent away to Fantome Island (near Palm Island), where they passed away not long after. Later on, Thomson discussed their removal in very critical terms in a newspaper article (Thomson 1946b: 5).

Donald Thomson made an extensive series of photographs of Atyaku, her husband Bambi and their son Charlie. Published versions can be found on the cover of Thomson (1972), as well as Thomson (1972: 3), Thomson (1989: 11–15) and Hafner (2005: 226–227).

4.2 Rosie Ahlers

Rosie Ahlers worked with Bruce Rigsby on Ayapathu in 1990 (see Table 30 above). It was this work that confirmed that Ayapathu and Yintyingka are dialects of the same language. Peter Sutton (field book 67: 145–8) records Rosie Ahlers' 'big name' (see Thomson 1946a: 159–161) as Waangku. Her English last name Ahlers was taken from her husband, her own last name was Kepple. We do not have an exact age, but Bruce Rigsby estimates she would have been 75–80 years old when he worked with her in 1990.

Rosie Ahlers' father belonged to an inland Wik Mungkan clan, while her mother belonged to an inland Ayapathu clan. Her husband Mickey Ahlers also belonged to an inland Ayapathu clan. Her linguistic repertoire included at least Ayapathu and inland Wik Mungkan, as well as Wik Iliyank (as mentioned in Sutton 1990).

Rosie Ahlers was a senior inland Wik Mungkan woman, who was instrumental in work for the return of country to inland Wik Mungkan people, especially the Indigenous Land Corporation purchase of Merepah station. When Bruce Rigsby first met her in the 1970s, she was living in Coen. He worked with her in 1990 after he was told that she would be a good informant for Ayapathu.

He first tried to play La Mont West's recordings of Jinny Long and Peter Chippendale, but she said that listening to them would be too distressing because Jinny Long had been her close relative. Then they worked through the system of kinterms, comparing Rosie Ahlers' Ayapathu terms with the terms Thomson recorded for Yintyingka (Thomson 1972: 29). The terms were identical, which confirmed that Yintyingka and Ayapathu were dialects of the same language. Rosie Ahlers died in the early 1990s.

4.3 Old Baldy and Noiemo

When Donald Thomson passed through Ebagoolah (see section 2.4 above), a man known as Old Baldy may have provided some Ayapathu material (see Table 6 above), and a woman known as Emily or Noiemo provided a genealogy (see Table 23 above). Thomson's notes record the man as Old Baldy and as Matawaku. Florrie Bassani and Bobby Stewart remembered him as Maatawarrku; they also remembered that he used to visit his Yintyingka relations at Port Stewart. Thomson's genealogy records the woman as Noiemo or Emily and her moiety as *karpi*^T. We know very little else about them, except that they both belonged to inland Ayapathu clans and were Thomson's only named Ayapathu informants.

4.4 Bambi

Bambi (pronounced with a long first vowel) was a man who provided Yintyingka material to Donald Thomson at Port Stewart (see Table 13 above), together with his wife Atyaku (see section 4.1). He is mentioned both in Norman Tindale's and in Donald Thomson's notes. In the sources, he is known as Bambi, Pompey, Montontityi (Tindale) and Meela Weerentityi (a name remembered by Florrie Bassani). Tindale (1927: 210, 234) estimates his age at 50 in 1927, which implies he would have been born in the mid-1870s.

Bambi's father belonged to an Umpithamu clan, and his mother belonged to an Umbuygamu clan. He was married to two women, the first one from a Lamalama clan and the second one Atyaku (section 4.1). This implies that his repertoire would have included at least Umpithamu, Umbuygamu and Lamalama, as well as Yintyingka (as attested in the sources). See section 4.1. on Bambi's marriage to Atyaku and his death on Fantome Island.

Donald Thomson made an extensive series of photographs of Bambi, his wife Atyaku and their son Charlie (see Figure 1 above). Published versions can

be found on the cover of Thomson (1972), as well as Thomson (1972: 3), Thomson (1989: 11–15) and Hafner (2005: 226–227).

4.5 Captain

Captain was a man who provided a textlet in Yintyingka to Norman Tindale (see Table 2 above). In Tindale's notes, he is known as Captain and as Katapili (remembered as Kathapili, with a dental stop, by Florrie Bassani). Tindale (1927: 216) estimates his age at 28 in 1927, which implies he would have been born around 1900.

Tindale records Captain's father and mother as Port Stewart people. His father definitely belonged to the Stewart River Yintyingka clan, his mother's clan is uncertain, but most likely also a Yintyingka clan. Captain never married and had no children. His genealogy implies we can only be certain about Yintyingka as part of his linguistic repertoire.

Captain met Hale and Tindale at Flinders Island in 1927; he may have been there working in the marine industries. He must have suggested to Tindale that he would accompany Hale and him to Port Stewart for their fieldwork there. The textlet in Yintyingka recorded in Tindale's notebook refers to arrangements for this trip. Later in life, when he became a quarrelsome old man, his relatives sent Captain north to old Lockhart River Mission, where he passed away.

Hale & Tindale made some photographs of Captain. Published versions can be found in Hale & Tindale (1933: 128; Captain sitting on a flour drum) and Sutton (2005: 146; Captain the rightmost person in the group). Captain also appears several times in the silent film that resulted from Hale & Tindale's fieldwork (the first ethnographic film footage on Cape York Peninsula, held at the South Australian Museum).⁹

4.6 Chako

Chako was an old man who provided a genealogy in Yintyingka to Donald Thomson at Port Stewart (see Table 23 above). In the genealogy, he is identified as Chako (probably an attempt to disguise the name's origins as Charcoal), Konangari (his *thaapityi**) and Ko'opurrpina (his *ngootyorro**). Thomson estimates his age at about 65, which means he would have been born in the early

⁹ A version of this film used to be commercially available in volume 1 of a set of VHS video-cassettes entitled *Dreaming Reels*, produced by the National Film and Sound Archive.

1860s. In his Port Stewart census, Thomson notes “very old man, widower, died early 1930” (TFN179, p. 1).

Chako’s father, who was also the father of Tyamintyinyu’s mother (section 4.17 below), belonged to the Stewart River Yintyingka clan. His mother’s clan is unknown, but his wife also belonged to a Yintyingka clan. This means that we can only confirm Yintyingka in his linguistic repertoire.

There are no further biographical details, except that Chako was one of the people who raised Tyamintyinyu (section 4.17) at Port Stewart after his parents were killed by the Native Police.

Thomson photographed Chako. A published version can be found in Thomson (1989: 33).

4.7 Peter Chippendale

Peter Chippendale recorded narratives in Ayapathu with Hugh Clarke, La Mont West’s assistant (see Table 26 above). We do not know of any alternative names, but we do have an age: the recording sheet for West’s recording states that he was 37 in 1965.

Peter Chippendale’s father belonged to an Olkola clan, and his mother to an inland Ayapathu clan. His second wife belonged to a Wuthathi clan, but spoke Kuuku Ya’u. This confirms that his linguistic repertoire included at least Olkola, Ayapathu and Kuuku Ya’u.

Peter Chippendale was living at old Lockhart River Mission when he was recorded. Bobby Stewart (section 4.16) remembers that Peter Chippendale used to stay in Coen, but moved to Lockhart River after he married Florence Wilson. He also passed away there.

We do not know of any published photographs of Peter Chippendale.

4.8 Jinny Long

Jinny Long recorded vocabulary and a long narrative with La Mont West (see Tables 24 and 25 above), together with her husband Willie Long. We do not have an Aboriginal name for her, but Ben Smith was told by several people that she was also known as Jinny Bandford, after her first husband. We do not have an exact age, but La Mont West’s recording sheet (1961) states that she was 75 years old.

Jinny Long’s father belonged to an inland Ayapathu clan, but her mother’s clan identity is unknown. Her husband Willie Long belonged to an Olkola clan.

La Mont West's recording shows that her linguistic repertoire included Ayapathu, Kaanju and a language referred to as Mungkanh (most likely inland Wik Mungkan). In the same recording, her husband provides Olkola forms.

At the time of the recording, Jinny and Willie Long were living at Dixie Station, described in the recording sheet as "just east of Willie Long's home country". We do not have many biographical details about Jinny Long, but we do know something about Willie Long, who was briefly a guide for Donald Thomson down the Coleman River, and worked with Percy Trezise in recording rock art in southern Cape York Peninsula (as described in Trezise 1969, 1993). Jinny Long probably passed away not too long after La Mont West recorded her. Trezise (1969: 76) describes a scene where Willie Long is visited by his recently deceased wife's spirit in the form of a pair of sandpipers (which were her totems). An informant told Bruce Rigsby that she is buried at Polappa.

We do not know of any photographs of Jinny Long.

4.9 Maggie

Maggie was a woman who provided a genealogy in Yintyingka to Donald Thomson at Port Stewart (see Table 23 above). Names recorded in the genealogy include Maggie, Kanyumuta, Manontokali (her *thaapityi**) and Ngaakamburu (her *ngootyorro**).

Maggie is noted simply as 'Yintyingka' in the genealogy, from which we could infer that she belonged to a Yintyingka clan. The genealogy further records names for her father and mother, as well as for her husband, but we have no clan identities, so we can only confirm Yintyingka as part of Maggie's linguistic repertoire.

We have no further biographical details about Maggie, and we do not know of any photographs.

4.10 Mungi

Mungi or Monkey Port Stewart, a senior man of the Port Stewart Yintyingka clan, provided a genealogy in Yintyingka to Donald Thomson (see Table 23 above). In Thomson's fieldnotes, he is mentioned as Monkey or Mungi (probably an attempt to disguise the name's origin). Thomson's genealogy records his *thaapityi** as Tamakulamo and his *ngootyorro** as Ngampapathaku. Freddy Liddy and Florrie Bassani also remembered him as Aakurru Yintyingka, reflecting the custom of naming senior men after a focal place in their country. We do



Figure 5: Mungi, a Lamalama man, at Port Stewart, Cape York Peninsula, Queensland, 1928. Photograph by Donald Thomson. Courtesy Thomson Family and Museum Victoria (TPH 3281).

not have an exact age, but Thomson's Port Stewart census records him as an old man, and mentions that he died at the beginning of 1932.

Mungi belonged to the Port Stewart Yintyingka clan. We have names for his mother and his wife, but a clan identity only for his wife, who belonged to an Umpila clan. This confirms at least Yintyingka and Umpila in his linguistic repertoire.

Mungi is remembered as a senior man of the Stewart River Yintyingka clan. He is also described as such in an embellished character sketch by Ion Idriess (1962: 227–234), who worked as a prospector and miner in the region in 1913 and early 1914. He had a traditional, particularly close relation to his older sister's son Noongorri (see section 4.12), whose father belonged to an Umpithamu clan. When Mungi and other men in his Yintyingka clan left no male relatives, ownership of Port Stewart was transferred to Noongorri, who succeeded to Mungi as the main traditional owner of Port Stewart (see Rigsby 1992, 1999).

Donald Thomson photographed Mungi several times in the company of his older sister's son Noongorri. Published versions can be found on the cover of Dixon & Huxley (1985) and in Allen (2005: 59).

4.11 Ngarrku Tuympa

Ngarrku Tuympa was a man who provided some Yintyingka material to Donald Thomson at Port Stewart (see Tables 7, 13 and 23 above). Thomson's fieldnotes refer to him as Parry or as Ngarrku Tuympa (a placename, following a convention of naming senior men after a focal place in their country). He is also remembered as Paddy Wharf, Paddy Port Stewart, and Paddy Wharf Stewart. We do not have an exact age, but Thomson described him as a middle aged man, unmarried until 1929, and without children in 1935.



Figure 6: Ngarrku Tuympa, a Lamalama man, eating a witchetty grub, Port Stewart, Cape York Peninsula, Queensland, 1928. Photograph by Donald Thomson. Courtesy Thomson Family and Museum Victoria (TPH 3341)

Ngarrku Tuympa belonged to a Yintyingka clan, and was the brother of Omi (section 4.13). We do not know his mother's clan identity. After Thomson's fieldwork, Ngarrku Tuympa married a woman from an Umbuygamu clan, which implies that his linguistic repertoire would have included at least Yintyingka and Umbuygamu.

We do not have any further biographical details, but Thomson made some photographs. We do not know of any published versions.

4.12 Noongorri

Noongorri was a man who provided Yintyingka material to Donald Thomson at Port Stewart (sees Tables 11, 16 and 23 above). In Thomson's fieldnotes, he is known as Harry (Liddy) or Noongorri (an Umpithamu form for 'namesake', derived from *noongorro aliya* 'name 1DU.INC'). After his father's death, he also took his name Ngaakamburu. Thomson's genealogy records Onamangali as his *thaapityi** and Ko'opurrpina as his *ngootyorro**. He was born in 1903, and died in 1970 in Bamaga (Rigsby & Jolly 1994), where he and his family had been exiled.

Noongorri's father Ngaakamburu, who was married to Atyaku until his death in 1927 (see section 4.1), belonged to an Umpithamu clan. Noongorri's mother, known as Ayuwa or Ayu'uwa, belonged to the Stewart River Yintyingka clan. She was the older sister of Mungi, to whom Noongorri had a very close relation and whom he succeeded as the main traditional owner of Port Stewart (see section 4.10). After Donald Thomson's fieldwork, Noongorri married two women from an Umbuygamu clan. His linguistic repertoire included at least Umpithamu, Yintyingka, Umbuygamu and Umpila.

Noongorri was known as an excellent dugong hunter, as described in Thomson (1934). Like many men of his generation, he also worked on the lugger boats in the marine industries. In 1961, he and his relatives (including his wives and some of his children) were removed from Port Stewart by the Queensland government, and exiled to Bamaga near the top of Cape York Peninsula, where Noongorri passed away. Verstraete & De Cock (2008) analyse a narrative about the removal as told by Noongorri's daughter Florrie Bassani. Rigsby & Jolly (1994) provide a biographical sketch of Noongorri.

Donald Thomson photographed Noongorri, often in the company of his mother's younger brother Mungi. Published versions can be found on the cover of Dixon & Huxley (1985) and in Allen (2005: 59), as well as Fisher (1998: 21 [2nd page of plates], 24 [2nd page of plates]).



Figure 7: Noongorri, also known as Harry Liddy, drinks from a bailer shell, Stewart River, Queensland, 1928. Photograph by Donald Thomson, Courtesy Thomson Family and Museum Victoria (TPH 3318).

4.13 Omi

Omi was a man who provided some Yintyingka material to Donald Thomson (see Table 10 above). He is known as Omi, Umi or Willie Wharf. We do not have an exact age, but Thomson notes that he had no children in 1935.

Omi belonged to a Yintyingka clan, and was the brother of Ngarrku Tuympa (section 4.11). We do not know his mother's clan identity. His wife Lizzie, of whom Thomson recorded a genealogy, belonged to an Umpila clan. This confirms at least Yintyingka and Umpila in Omi's linguistic repertoire.

In his genealogy of Omi's wife, Thomson mentions that she had left her first husband to elope with Omi, for which she was speared in the thigh. Some Port Stewart Lamalama people remember that Omi was the one who took Bobby Stewart (see section 4.16) to school at the old Lockhart River mission, and that he went blind later in life.

There is a photograph of Omi in Donald Thomson's collection.

4.14 George Rocky

George Rocky recorded some vocabulary in Ayapathu with David Thompson (see Table 27 above). We do not have any alternative names or an exact age, but Athol Chase's study of work on Japanese lugger boats (Chase 1981) records George Rocky's name among "three very old residents [...] whose experience of the fishing industry dated back to the turn of the century and perhaps earlier" (Chase 1981: 10). This suggests he would have been born in the late 1880s or early 1890s.

George Rocky's father belonged to an inland Ayapathu clan, but we do not know anything about his mother's clan identity. As a boy, George Rocky was removed to old Lockhart River Mission. His wife was from Night Island, associated with the Uutaalnganu variety. This suggests that his linguistic repertoire included at least Ayapathu and Umpila, which is confirmed by the entry for George Rocky in a list of languages spoken by Lockhart River residents (West 1964). The list further also mentions Umpithamu, Kaanju and Olkola as languages in his repertoire.

George Rocky was living at Lockhart River when David Thompson recorded him. His knowledge of Ayapathu was mainly from memory and his vernacular was Umpila, as reflected in the presence of some Umpila elements in the Ayapathu material recorded from him. As a younger man, he worked on lugger boats in the bêche-de-mer and/or pearl industry. Chase (1981: 13–14) recorded his reminiscences of work with Japanese lugger masters, who were generally well-respected because they treated Aboriginal people better than Europeans did.

Chase (1981: 6) also contains a photograph of George Rocky.

4.15 Jack Shephard

Jack Shephard did some Ayapathu work with Bruce Rigsby in Coen (see Table 28 above). We do not have any alternative names for him. Bruce Rigsby noted he was 88 years old when he worked with him in 1974.

Jack Shephard belonged to a Kaanju clan. He had rights and interests in the Klondyke area from his mother and mother's brother, who belonged to an Ayapathu clan, and he used to visit it for holidays (Rigsby notebook 19, p 270). This confirms at least Kaanju and Ayapathu in his linguistic repertoire.

When working with Bruce Rigsby in Coen, Jack Shephard only provided a few Ayapathu forms before he switched to his own Kaanju language, saying he could no longer remember Ayapathu. It is more likely, however, that he was reluctant to act as an informant for Ayapathu when there were speakers around whose father's (i.e. own) language it was. Given this reluctance, his connection with Ayapathu may not have been a very close one.

Bruce Rigsby made a photograph of Jack Shephard.

4.16 Bobby Stewart

Bobby Stewart worked on Yintyingka with Bruce Rigsby (see Table 29 above), using the vocabulary recorded with Jinny Long (see section 4.8) as prompts. He was born at Port Stewart in early 1929, after Donald Thomson's first trip. When Donald Thomson visited again in July 1929, he was several months old.

Bobby Stewart's father belonged to an Umbuygamu clan, his mother belonged to an Umpila clan, and his wife Daisy Stewart belonged to a Lamalama clan. His language repertoire included Umbuygamu, Umpila, Lamalama, and some Umpithamu and Yintyingka, as confirmed by Bruce Rigsby's and Jean-Christophe Verstraete's work with him on all of these languages.

Bobby Stewart was a senior man of the Port Stewart Lamalama, who together with his wife Daisy Stewart, his brother Sunlight Bassani and his wife Florrie Bassani was instrumental in the work that laid the foundations for the return of country to the Lamalama people (see, for instance, Hafner & Rigsby 2011). He was a highly respected stockman, who together with his wife worked at different cattle stations all over Cape York Peninsula. Bobby Stewart passed away on September 2nd, 2014.

4.17 Tyamintyinyu

Tyamintyinyu served as an informant for Hale & Tindale (Rigsby & Allen 2008), but he is best known as one of Donald Thomson's main informants, both for Umpila and for Yintyingka. He is explicitly mentioned as an informant for Yintyingka material in Thomson's notebooks 2, 4 and C1 (see Tables 5, 7 and 10 above), but he was probably also the main informant for Thomson's most detailed Yintyingka work in notebook C2. His English names include Tommy Nebo (after the town near Mackay where he had worked at a cattle station), Tommy Thompson (after Donald Thomson, but misspelt by a missionary) and Tommy Liar (after his traditional Umpila nickname *lawalawa* 'boastful'). His Aboriginal names include Tyamintyinyu (his *thaapityi**) and Tapumpangu (his *ngootyorro**). He was born around 1890, and died in 1962 (Chase & Rigsby 1994; Cook Shire Death Records).

Tyamintyinyu's father belonged to an Umpila clan, and his mother, who shared a father with Chako (section 4.6), to the Stewart River Yintyingka clan. He was married to a woman from an Umpila clan. This implies that his linguistic repertoire included at least Umpila and Yintyingka, as also confirmed by the work he did with Thomson.

After Tyamintyinyu's parents were killed by the Native Police, he grew up at Port Stewart where he was raised, amongst others, by his mother's half-brother



Figure 8: Tyamintyinyu, an Umpila man, with kapu bundles used to guarantee success in hunting, Cape York Peninsula, Queensland, about 1929. Photograph by Donald Thomson. Courtesy Thomson Family and Museum Victoria (TPH 2982).

Chako (see section 4.6). As a young man, Tyamintyinyu worked on cattle stations, in Nebo near Mackay and later on Silver Plains, northwest of Port Stewart. Tyamintyinyu acted as Thomson's guide in 1928, leading him north to old Lockhart River Mission and on an overland trip west to Edward River and Mitchell River mission. He and Thomson became close friends, and Tyamintyinyu acted as his guide again in 1929 and 1932–1933. He started to accompany Thomson on his trip to Arnhem Land in 1935 (see Chase & Rigsby 1994: 1078), but turned back when they got to Thursday Island. He passed away at Lockhart River. Chase & Rigsby (1994) provide a biographical sketch.

Donald Thomson's collection contains many photographs of Tyamintyinyu. Published versions can be found in Thomson (1972: 54, 1989: 16, 29).

4.18 Yumpanamu

Yumpanamu is a man who provided some Yintyingka material and a genealogy in Yintyingka to Donald Thomson at Port Stewart (see Tables 13 and 23 above). In the genealogy, Yumpanamu is recorded as his *thaapity** and Malapatu as his *ngootyorro†*. He is also remembered by the English name George Peter. The genealogy does not contain any age estimate, but Raphael Cilento's medical survey from 1933 estimates his age at 65 (Cilento 1933), which implies he would have been born around 1870.



Figure 9: Yumpanamu, a Lamalama man, with fish net and mourning stick, Stewart River, Cape York Peninsula, Queensland, 1928. Photograph by Donald Thomson. Courtesy Thomson Family and Museum Victoria (TPH 3153).

Thomson's genealogy records Yumpanamu as a Yintyingka man, but in fact he belonged to an Umbuygamu clan, as confirmed by Bruce Rigsby's fieldwork. His mother's clan is unknown. Yumpanamu was married to a woman from a Thaypan clan. This suggests that his linguistic repertoire included at least Umbuygamu and Kuku Thaypan, as well as Yintyingka, as attested in his work with Thomson.

We do not have any further biographical details, but Donald Thomson took some photographs. A published version can be found in Hafner (2005: 224–225, Yumpanamu holding a spear).

Chapter 3

Phonology

1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the phonology of Yintyingka. Obviously, the sound recordings in the corpus were our primary source of evidence, specifically La Mont West's lexical elicitation sessions with Jinny Long (see Table 24 in chapter 2), most of which can be reliably interpreted and transcribed. The narratives in the sound recordings were only used to a limited extent, because they remain largely uninterpretable and untranscribed. Material from other sources, e.g. older written sources or historical-comparative evidence, is only used as secondary evidence in this chapter, for instance to corroborate a point made on the basis of the sound recordings. In this and the following chapters, every attestation we use is traced back to its original source with the coding system described in chapter 2, section 3, so that all examples can be evaluated for their reliability.

The chapter is structured as follows. Section 2 analyses the phoneme inventory of Yintyingka, and compares it with neighbouring languages where relevant (a more systematic typological and historical comparison can be found in chapter 6). Section 3 focuses on phonetics, specifically allophonic processes. Nearly all consonantal allophones are sensitive to word stress, which is discussed in more detail in the section on the stress system. Section 4 analyses phonotactic structure, as well as a principle of vowel height harmony for the innovative mid vowel series in Yintyingka. Section 5 deals with word stress, including its suprasegmental and segmental reflections, and very briefly discusses stress in phrases, for which we do not have much reliably transcribed material. We round off the chapter with a section on orthography, which discusses the practical orthography we use in this study, as well as the transcription conventions used by Donald Thomson. This is necessary in order to understand how we phonologize the large body of forms that are only attested in Donald Thomson's material (and consistently flagged with superscript ^T in this study).

2 Phoneme inventory

This section describes the phoneme inventory of Yintyingka. We were not able to detect any differences in inventory between inland and coastal varieties, or between individual speakers, but there are a few differences in allophonic real-

ization. Information about major allophones and about phonotactic structure is provided in sections 3 and 4. In this section, we give evidence for each of the phonemic contrasts posited, and we briefly compare the shape of the inventory with that of the neighbouring languages to bring out what is noteworthy in Yintyingka. Chapter 6 provides a more exhaustive typological and historical comparison.

2.1 Consonant inventory

Table 1: Consonant phonemes

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p <p>	t̪ <th>	t <t>	c <ty>	k <k>	? <>
Nasal	m <m>	ɳ <nh>	n <n>	jŋ <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Approximant	w <w>		r <r>	j <y>		
Trill			r <rr>			
Lateral			l			

The inventory of consonant phonemes is listed in Table 1, with orthographic equivalents (section 6.1 below provides more information about the practical orthography we use here). Yintyingka has 16 consonant phonemes, distributed over six places of articulation and five manners of articulation.

Two consonants stand out in the inventory because they are very infrequent, viz. the alveolar approximant and the palatal nasal. Alveolar approximants are not attested in any of the sound recordings, and they are found in only five instances in the written sources, in each case with cognate evidence for the recognition of <r> as an alveolar approximant. These forms are listed in (1)–(5) below.

- (1) *waruma**: Donald Thomson records a placename <waru-mo> (DTC2-40) for Rocky Creek (a place in the country of a Yintyingka clan), which is recorded as [wa'l̪uma], with an alveolar approximant, in Rigsby's and Verstraete's fieldnotes on Umpithamu.
- (2) *weerinmun**: Donald Thomson records a form <wéerin/muɳ> (DTC5-49) without a gloss, which is recorded as an Umpithamu form *weerenmun* ‘wet time’, with an alveolar approximant, in Verstraete's fieldnotes.

- (3) *worapura**: Donald Thomson records a form <wořä buřä> (DT8-1) for a type of crab he describes as a ‘tree climbing crab’. Verstraete records the cognate form [crɔ:crɔ:cw] for a crab species in Umpithamu.
- (4) *ompirili**: Donald Thomson records a form <ompiril-i> (DTG-7) for ‘sooty oyster catcher’, which has a related form *ompiril* ‘type of bird’, with an alveolar approximant, in Umpithamu.
- (5) *yenthere**: Donald Thomson records a form <Yentere> (DTG-27) for a type of crab. Umpithamu has a related form *yentheri* ‘type of crab’, with an alveolar approximant.

As explained in the notes in (1)–(5), some of these forms may come from other languages than Yintyingka,¹⁰ but we still decided to include the alveolar approximant as a phoneme. As we will see in chapter 6, section 2.2, it is not uncommon for languages in this region to have a marginal presence of alveolar approximants, due to historical developments affecting them: they are similarly rare in Umpithamu (Verstraete fieldnotes), and in Umpila they are absent altogether (Thompson 1988: 5).

Palatal nasals are rarely attested outside clusters: they are found in one instance in the sound recordings (shown in (6)), and in a few written sources (examples in (7)–(9)). Again, this may be due to historical developments affecting palatal nasals, as argued in chapter 6, section 2.2. In some cases, we may be dealing with borrowings from Umpila (e.g. the status terms in (9)), which has retained palatal nasals outside clusters.

- (6) *theenyé* ‘white cockatoo’ (JLL-0017)
- (7) *yintinyu**: Donald Thomson records a form <yintſinyu> (DTI-100) for ‘*Canarium australasicum*’.
- (8) *nyorrtyomo^T*: Donald Thomson records a form <n'yořſomo> (DTI-85), which in another source is identified as ‘devil’ in Umpila (Thompson 1933: 526). There are many identical forms between the two languages, and this particular source (DTI) does not allow us to decide.

¹⁰ Only *ompirili** shows definite evidence of phonological adaptation to Yintyingka phonotactics, with *ompiril* in Umpithamu (which allows word-final consonants) and *ompirili** in Yintyingka (which generally does not, see section 4.1 below).

- (9) *nyintyana^T, uminyu*, wanthalnyu**: Donald Thomson records these status terms in DT-209. All of them are identical to their Umpila counterparts, and may represent borrowings.

Yintyingka's sixteen consonant phonemes are distributed over six places of articulation and five manners of articulation, and do not have a phonemic voicing distinction for the stop series. This general architecture is fairly typical for the languages of the region, with a few noteworthy features. With respect to places of articulation, the absence of a retroflex point of articulation stands out, as does the presence of a glottal stop. A retroflex point of articulation is reconstructed for Proto-Pama-Nyungan (O'Grady 1998, Alpher 2004a) and found in many Pama-Nyungan languages, but it is quite rare in Cape York Peninsula, with a few exceptions like Yir Yoront (Alpher 1991: 7–8) and Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979: 36–37) and debated cases like Kurtjar (Breen 1976, 1992). Glottal stop phonemes are an innovation that is generally rare in Pama-Nyungan languages, but they are found scattered throughout Cape York Peninsula, including in neighbouring languages like Umpithamu (Verstraete fieldnotes), Umpila (Thompson 1988: 5), and inland Wik Mungkan (Sayers & Godfrey 1964: 51–52), where they derive either from Proto-Pama-Nyungan *r or from *p. Most instances of glottal stops in Yintyingka derive from *r (see further in section 4.2 below about instances deriving from *p, most likely loans), which also explains the rarity of alveolar approximants in the language.

In terms of manner of articulation, what stands out is the absence of fricatives and the absence of a voicing contrast for stops. From a historical perspective, all of these are innovations that are found in a number of languages in Cape York Peninsula. Phonemic fricatives are found, for instance, in the neighbouring language Rimanggudinhma, the other Lamalamic languages (Rigsby 1997) and Kuku Thaypan (Rigsby 1976a, ms), all spoken to the south of Yintyingka, and in the Northern Paman languages (Hale 1976a, Crowley 1981, 1983). A phonemic voicing contrast is found in most of the Lamalamic languages, as well as some Northern Paman languages, Flinders Island language (Sutton 1975) and Kugu Nganhcara (Smith & Johnson 2000: 374–375). Yintyingka shows none of these innovations. It has no fricatives phonemically, and only very rarely phonetically (as allophones of stops). It also lacks a phonemic voicing contrast, but the allophonic distribution of voiced and voiceless allophones is predictable in terms of the stress system, as explained in section 5.2 below.

2.2 Evidence for the consonant inventory

This section provides evidence for the phonemes posited in section 2.1, using minimal and near-minimal pairs for contrasts in word-initial contexts and word-medial contexts (preferably in intervocalic position). Given the nature of the sources used in this study, we think it is important to justify every contrast explicitly. We have to rely more heavily on near-minimal pairs than we would like to because the lexicon is small, and is made even smaller by the need to exclude items from written sources whenever the precise phonetic status of a segment is in doubt.

We first list contrasts organized by place of articulation, in Tables 2–6. Nearly all contrasts are available, except in a few cases where a phoneme is rare, like the alveolar approximant, or has a restricted distribution (e.g. alveolars or palatals word-initially).

Table 2: Manner contrasts for bilabials

	p	m	w
Word-initial	<i>pama</i> ‘man’		<i>wama*</i> ‘sugarbag wax (soft)’
	<i>panta</i> ‘ankle’	<i>ko'o manta*</i> ‘eyelid’	
	<i>pintyi</i> ‘saltwater crocodile’		<i>wintyi</i> ‘boomerang’
	<i>punta*</i> ‘heavy’	<i>ngoki munta</i> ‘lightning’	<i>wunta</i> ‘wind’
Intervocalic	<i>paapa</i> ‘mother’	<i>pama</i> ‘man’	<i>kaawa</i> ‘east’
	<i>maapu</i> ‘armpit’		<i>awu</i> ‘devil’
	<i>wopi-</i> ‘go’		<i>thowi</i> ‘child (woman speaking)’

Table 3: Manner contrasts for dentals

	th	nh
Word-initial	<i>thipi</i> ‘south’	<i>nhipu</i> ‘2AUG.NOM’
	<i>theeye</i> ‘mouth’	<i>nhee'e</i> ‘eye’
Intervocalic	<i>kamithu</i> ‘parallel grandchild’	<i>kampinhu</i> ‘type of dilly bag’
	<i>ngathu</i> ‘1MIN.GEN’	<i>wanhu*</i> ‘perhaps’

Table 4: Manner contrasts for alveolars

	t	n	r	l	rr
Word-initial	(Alveolars are rare word-initially)				
Intervocalic	<i>kati</i> 'spit'	<i>kani</i> 'up'	(very rare throughout)	<i>kaali</i> 'mother's younger brother'	
		<i>kana</i> 'PFV'		<i>kala*</i> 'waist'	<i>ka'arra^T</i> 'type of mangrove'
Cluster				<i>tuulka</i> 'brolga'	<i>purrka*</i> 'dirt'
		<i>wunku</i> 'house'			<i>ngarrku</i> 'place'

Table 5: Manner contrasts for palatals

	ty	ny	y
Word-initial	(Palatals are rare word-initially, except approximants)		
Intervocalic	<i>patya</i> 'grass'		<i>paya-</i> 'see'
		<i>theenye</i> 'white cockatoo'	<i>theeye</i> 'mouth'

Table 6: Manner contrasts for velars

	k	ng
Word-initial	<i>kathi</i> 'yamstick'	<i>ngathi</i> 'cross-grandparent'
	<i>kani</i> 'up'	<i>ngaani</i> 'what'
Intervocalic	<i>kaka</i> 'spear'	<i>yanga</i> 'hair'

Contrasts organized by manner of articulation are listed in Tables 7–9. The availability of contrasts is determined by the same distributional factors as mentioned above.

Table 7: Place contrasts for nasals

	m	nh	n	ny	ng
Word-initial	<i>mampa</i> 'nothing'	<i>nhampi</i> 'emu'	(rare word-initially)		<i>ngampu</i> '12AUG.NOM'
	<i>muki</i> 'mother's older sibling'		<i>nu'a</i> 'karol'		<i>nguka</i> 'smoke'
Intervocalic		<i>minha</i> 'game animal'	<i>nhinu</i> '2MIN.NOM'	(rare intervocally)	<i>nhingu</i> '3MIN.GEN'
	<i>kamu</i> 'blood'	<i>wanhu*</i> 'perhaps'	<i>manu</i> 'neck'		
	<i>kami</i> 'parallel grandparent'		<i>ngaani</i> 'what'		

Table 8: Place contrasts for stops

	p	th	t	ty	k	,
Word-initial	<i>piipi</i> 'father'	<i>thiipi</i> 'south'				(status unclear, see section 4.1 below)
		<i>thuutu</i> 'breast'	<i>tuulka</i> 'brolga'			
	<i>pilu</i> 'hip'	<i>thinthu*</i> 'close'		<i>tyilpu*</i> 'old man'	<i>kintya*</i> 'taboo'	
Intervocalic	<i>yapi</i> 'older sister'	<i>kathi</i> 'yamstick'	<i>kati</i> 'spit'	<i>katyi</i> 'far'	<i>kaka</i> 'spear'	<i>ka'i</i> 'NEG'
		<i>ngathu</i> '1MIN.GEN'	<i>atu</i> 'type of sugarbag'	<i>watyu*-</i> 'spear'		<i>tha'u</i> 'foot'
	<i>pilupa</i> 'brother- in-law'	<i>mutha</i> 'eelfish'	<i>kuta</i> 'humpy'	<i>uty*</i> 'dugong'	<i>nguka</i> 'smoke'	<i>nu'a</i> 'karol'

Table 9: Place contrasts for approximants and trill

	w	r	rr	l	y	
Word-initial	<i>wuntu^T</i> 'lawyer cane'	(do not occur word-initially)				<i>yuntiyi</i> 'wife'
	<i>walpa^T</i> 'type of crab'		<i>yampa^{T-}</i> 'lift'			
Intervocalic	<i>kaawa</i> 'east'		<i>kaarrika</i> 'wire spear'	<i>kaalu</i> 'ear'	<i>kaaya*</i> 'type of spear'	
	<i>kuwa</i> 'west'			<i>kulanta</i> 'saltwater'		
		<i>Waruma*</i> (placename)	<i>Warringka</i> (placename)			

2.3 Vowel inventory

Table 10: Vowel inventory

	Front	Back
Close	i, i: <i, ii>	u, u: <u, uu>
Open-mid	ɛ, ε: <e, ee>	ɔ, ɔ: <o, oo>
Open	a, a: <a, aa>	

The inventory of vowel phonemes is listed in Table 10, with orthographic equivalents. Yintyingka has ten vowel phonemes, organized in terms of three degrees of height and a length distinction. The system reconstructed for Proto-Pama-Nyungan is more restricted, with three vowel qualities and a length distinction in the first syllable (O'Grady 1998, Alpher 2004a). The Yintyingka system is conservative in terms of vowel length, but innovative in terms of vowel qualities. Phonemic length is restricted to initial syllables, but second syllables can be lengthened phonetically in some types of trisyllabic words (see section 5.2 for more details). In terms of vowel qualities, Yintyingka added an open-mid series to the inventory, most of which historically derive from close vowels (see further in chapter 6, section 2.1). Systems with five or more vowel qualities are found in all of the languages neighbouring Yintyingka except Umpila: Umpithamu (Verstraete fieldnotes), Rimanggudinhma (Godman 1993: 33), inland Wik Mungkan (Sayers & Godfrey 1964: 52), Olkola (Hamilton 1997c) and Pakanh (Hamilton 1997a, b) all have a mid-series in between the close and open vowels.

2.4 Evidence for the vowel inventory

This section provides evidence for the vowel phonemes listed in the previous section, using contrasts in the initial syllable, the only position where length is phonemic. As with the consonants, we have to rely more heavily on near-minimal pairs than we would like: in the case of vowels, the correct phonetic interpretation of written sources is even more problematic.

Table 11 lists contrasts in height, Table 12 contrasts in frontness and Table 13 contrasts in length. It will be obvious from the examples that for mid vowels the minimal pair often involves both the first and the second syllable. This is an effect of a principle of vowel (height) harmony, whereby mid vowels tend to co-occur with other mid vowels or open vowels in the same word (see section 4.3 below for more discussion).

Table 11: Height contrasts

	Close	Open-mid	Open
Front	<i>pipi</i> ‘white-apple’	<i>pe'e</i> ‘skin’	<i>pa'i</i> ‘native cat’
	<i>wirrki*</i> ‘big sugarbag’	<i>errke-</i> ‘talk’	<i>karrki</i> ‘younger brother’
	<i>thiipi</i> ‘south’	<i>theeye</i> ‘mouth’	<i>kaaya*</i> ‘type of spear’
	<i>wiiya</i> ‘other’	<i>weepa</i> ‘sleep’	
Back	<i>nguka</i> ‘smoke’	<i>ngoki</i> ‘water’	<i>ngaka-</i> ‘see’
	<i>kuna</i> ‘intestines’	<i>ko'o</i> ‘eye’	<i>kana</i> ‘PFV’
	<i>wunta</i> ‘wind’	<i>wontene</i> ‘type of sugarbag’	<i>wanti</i> ‘good’
	<i>tuulka</i> ‘brolga’	<i>oolka</i> ‘lagoon’	

Table 12: Frontness contrasts

	Front	Back
Close	<i>pila^T</i> ‘swelling on tree’	<i>pula</i> ‘3AUG.NOM’
	<i>wirrki*</i> ‘big sugarbag’	<i>wurrki^T-</i> ‘start’
	<i>thiipi</i> ‘south’	<i>yuupi^T</i> ‘type of sugarbag’
Open-mid	<i>pe'e</i> ‘skin’	<i>poko</i> ‘child, man speaking’
	<i>weeli</i> ‘younger sister’	<i>oolo</i> ‘rock cod’

Table 13: Length contrasts

	Short	Long
i	<i>nhinu</i> '2MIN.NOM'	<i>nhiina-</i> 'sit'
	<i>pinta</i> 'type of tree'	<i>piinka</i> 'canoe'
u	<i>muki</i> 'mother's older sibling'	<i>muuki</i> 'yam'
	<i>purrka*</i> 'dirt'	<i>tuulka</i> 'brolga'
e	<i>pe'e</i> 'skin'	<i>peete</i> 'moon'
	<i>monpeye</i> 'eaglehawk'	<i>theeye</i> 'mouth'
o	<i>wolo</i> 'fly'	<i>oolo</i> 'rock cod'
	<i>wo'e-</i> 'give'	<i>yoome</i> 'possum'
a	<i>mampa</i> 'nothing'	<i>paampi</i> 'swamp'
	<i>kali-</i> (meaning unclear)	<i>kaali</i> 'mother's younger brother'

3 Phonetics

This section describes some notable allophonic realizations of consonant and vowel phonemes. Most of these can be related to aspects of the stress system, as will be explained in section 5 below. The patterns described here are based mainly on lexical elicitation in the sound recordings in the corpus, where the utterance typically coincides with the word (see further in section 5).

3.1 Consonants

Consonants show optional gemination in intervocalic position after a stressed initial syllable with a short vowel, as illustrated in examples (10)–(16) below.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| (10) | kati 'spit' | [ˈkat̪r̪i:] (JLL-0202) |
| (11) | katha 'stinking' | [ˈkat̪θa] (JLL-0162) |
| (12) | katyi 'far' | [ˈkac̪i:] (JLL-0179) |
| (13) | kami 'parallel grandparent' | [ˈkam̪ε] (JLL-0138) |
| (14) | manu 'neck' | [ˈman̪u] (JLL-0205) |
| (15) | pilu 'hip' | [ˈpil̪u] (JLL-0178) |
| (16) | thowi 'child (woman speaking)' | [t̪ɔw̪ε] (RAK-10) |

The same pattern is found in Umpila (Thompson 1988: 6) and Pakanh (Hamilton 1997b). As we will discuss in section 5.2, this can be regarded as an instance of fortition of intervocalic consonants after short stressed vowels (see Hamilton 1996a: 49, Butcher 1999, Round 2013). In other languages in the region, the same principle is reflected in prestopping of nasals (as in Olkola, where nasals developed into prestopped nasals after a short stressed first vowel; Sommer 1969: 54–55, Dixon 1970), but this is not found in Yintyingka.

The availability of gemination is indirectly confirmed by Donald Thomson's transcriptions, more specifically his conventions for hyphenation. Thomson often uses hyphens in his transcriptions, usually at syllable boundaries, e.g. corresponding to glottal stops, glides, or morpheme breaks (see section 6.2 below for more details on his transcription conventions). There are a number of aberrant cases, however, where the hyphen is located between a consonant and a subsequent vowel, as shown in (17)–(20) below.

- (17) paapa ngathu 'mother 1MIN.GEN' <Pa-pa ŋä-t-u> (DTC2-35)
- (18) pama 'man' <päm-ä> (DTC2-278)
- (19) thuli 'woomera' <tul-i> (DTC5-60)
<tool|li> (DT4-4)
- (20) yuku maaka* 'message stick' <yuK|o marga> (DTC1-24)

Almost all of these are bisyllabic words, with the hyphen following a single intervocalic consonant, i.e. precisely those cases where gemination is possible. Given that gemination perceptually interacts with syllabification, it is not unreasonable to assume that this is Thomson's representation of what he heard as gemination. If so, then gemination is robustly available throughout our source material, even in indirect form in the written sources.

Stops show a range of allophonic realizations, relating to features like voicing, spirantization and release. In elicited forms, voicing is mainly found at the onset of the third syllable in trisyllabic words, where stops are voiced, regardless of their occurrence in clusters or the presence of lengthened vowels. Voicing is rare, though not excluded, in all other positions. The examples in (21)–(29) illustrate this distribution.

- (21) kongompe 'kidney' [kɔ'ŋɔmbɛ] (JLL-0223)
- (22) kuypatyi 'red kangaroo' [kuym'paŋi] (JLL-0005)
- (23) ngathu=ngka '1MIN.GEN=EMPH' [na'tu:ŋga] (JLL-0140)
- (24) ngarrku-ku 'place-DAT' [ŋar'kɔ:gɔ] (JLL-0182)

- (25) ngoki patha-mpi [ŋɔki'paʈambɛ] (JLL-0061)
 ‘water drink-12AUG.NOM’

(26) paapa ‘mother’ [pa:pə] (JLL-0150)

(27) kuta ‘humpy’ [kuta] (JLL-0034)

(28) thunpi ‘star’ [t̪unpi] (JLL-0052)

(29) tuulka ‘brolga’ [t̪u:lkə] (JLL-0012)

The trisyllabic forms in (21)–(25) all have voicing at the onset of the third syllable, both in clusters, as in (21), (23) and (25), and in intervocalic position, as in (22) and (24). Voicing is not sensitive to morpheme boundaries, as shown by the contrast between (21)–(22) and (23)–(25). Stops in the first or the second syllable of trisyllabic words are not voiced, as shown in (21)–(25). The same pattern is illustrated for the bisyllabic forms in (26)–(29), where stops are voiceless throughout. In section 5.2 below, we will show how this distribution can be explained in terms of Yintyingka’s system of word stress, as a specific instantiation of post-stress lenition.

This pattern is also reflected in Donald Thomson's transcriptions, where voiced and voiceless representations of stops follow the distribution observed in the sound recordings: bisyllabic words rarely have a voiced stop, as shown in (30)–(31), while trisyllabic words only have one in the third syllable, as shown in (32)–(35).

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (30) | <i>nhilu katha</i> '3MIN.NOM tie' | <nilo kä-ta> (DTC2-215) |
| (31) | <i>thaypa</i> 'beard' | <Tai-pä> (DTI-30) |
| (32) | <i>atyampa</i> 'emu' | <atfäm̥ba> (DTC5-65) |
| (33) | <i>angku-ngka</i> 'PROX.DEM-NLOC' | <ängk ^u ngä> (DTI-70) |
| (34) | <i>wopi-mpi</i> 'go-12AUG.NOM' | <wo-pimbi> (DTC2-17) |
| (35) | <i>ngarrku-ku</i> 'place-DAT' | <narko-go> (DTC2-261) |

One of the speakers in the sound recordings, Jinny Long, optionally has trilled release for alveolar stops. Trilled release is found most often at the onset of the second syllable, when the stop is voiceless, as shown in (36)–(37), but it can also occur word-initially or with voiced consonants, as in (38) and (39).

- (36) *thata* ‘frog’ [t̪at̪r̪a] (JLL-0104)
 (37) *wunta* ‘wind’ [wunt̪r̪a] (JLL-056)
 (38) *tuulka* ‘brolga’ [t̪ru:lka] (JLL-0012)
 (39) *kulanta* ‘saltwater’ [ku:lə:n̪d̪r̪a] (JLL-0161)

None of the other speakers in the corpus have this, and this speaker also uses trilled release in the other languages for which material is elicited (Mungkanh and Kaanju), so it is difficult to say in how far this feature is representative or idiolectal. It is definitely not recorded for inland Wik Mungkan or Kaanju, but has been noted further south, in Koko Bera (Kok-Kaper) (Barry Alpher p.c.), as well as further north, in Northern Paman languages like Angkamuthi (Crowley 1983: 316), where it is in allophonic variation with ‘plain’ stops, and Anguthimri (Crowley 1981: 152–153), where it occurs consistently with postalveolar stops. Austin (1988) provides a more general survey of trill-released stops, with a focus on Central Australia.

Two further features that are sometimes noted in languages of this region are aspiration, e.g. in Kuuk Thaayorre (Gaby 2006: 26–30), Yir Yoront (Alpher 1991: 7), Olkola and Oykangand (Hamilton 1996a), and affrication and spirantization, e.g. in Kugu Nganhcara (Smith & Johnson 2000: 374–375) and Yir Yoront (Alpher 1991: 7). In Yintyingka, stops show no sign of aspiration in any context. One speaker in the sound recordings, Peter Chippendale, occasionally uses voiced bilabial fricatives, but it is difficult to determine whether these can be assigned to bilabial stops, since they only occur in text material that is unparsed and unglossed. The other speaker, Jinny Long, consistently uses a voiced bilabial fricative in one lexical item, listed in (40) below, which we decided to assign to a bilabial approximant rather than a stop, given that it occurs in a position where we would not expect lenition for stops (see further in section 5.2 below). There are no other fricative allophones in the sound recordings, not even affricate realizations of the palatal stop, even though Donald Thomson uses an affricate transcription in some instances, illustrated in (41).

- (40) iiwa ‘up, away’ [i:βa] (JLL-0157)
 (41) utya*-ku ‘dugong-DAT’ <utʃa-go> (DTC2-217)

3.2 Vowels

Close vowels typically include both close and close-mid realizations, and in word-final contexts this can even range to an open-mid realization, leading to allophonic overlap with the phonemically distinct open-mid series. Open vowels are typically front, but in post-stress environments they can be realized as back vowels as well.

For close vowels, the most significant allophonic variation is found in word-final contexts,¹¹ where they can open up to close-mid or even open-mid realiza-

¹¹ The occurrence of tokens like [ŋar'kɔ:gɔ] (JLL-0182) for *ngarrku-ku* ‘place-DAT’ suggests that the principle could perhaps be formulated in terms of stem-final contexts (spreading to the affix), but there are not enough attestations of other stems to check how general this principle could be.

tions. There is evidence for this pattern both in phonetically transcribed sources and in Donald Thomson's written sources. In phonetic transcriptions, we find alternative realizations like the ones presented in (42)–(43) for close front vowels, and (44) and (45) for close back vowels.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (42) ngarrku 'place' | [ŋarku] (JLTA-0015)
[ŋarko] (JLL-0062) |
| (43) maalatha-ku 'scrub-DAT'
iiwa-ku 'up-DAT' | [ma:la:t̪agu] (JLTA-0029)
[i:'βago] (JLL-0181) |
| (44) kaali 'mother's younger brother' | [ka:li] (RAK-9)
[ka:le] (JLL-0142) |
| (45) kaanpi wopi-mpi
'placename go-12AUG.NOM'
ngoki patha-mpi
'water drink12AUG.NOM' | [ka:npi'wopimbi] (PC1-0045)
[ŋɔki'paṭambɛ] (JLL-0061) |

In Donald Thomson's materials we often find transcriptions ending in <o> or <e> where other sources can also have [u] or [i], and we find alternations between <o> and <u> and between <e> and <i>, as shown in (46)–(48). In his materials, these alternations are more frequent for back vowels than for front vowels.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (46) thaapityi* nhingu 'name 3MIN.GEN' | <ta-pigin-ing-u> (DTC2-37)
<ningo> (DTI-54) |
| (47) thowi 'child (woman speaking)'
(48) ngathithu 'cross-grandchild' | <towi> (DT200-50)
<towe> (DTC5-71) |
| | [ŋat̪itu] (RAK-4)
<ngatido> (DTK-6) |

As already mentioned, this implies that word-final contexts have allophonic overlap between the close and the open-mid series, and that consequently it can be difficult to assign a token with word-final [ɔ] or [ɛ] either to /u/ and /i/ or /ɔ/ and /ɛ/. In practical terms, we used two criteria to make a decision. On the one hand, there is of course variation: if there is some evidence in the sources that the same form also occurs with [u] or [i] word-finally, we can safely assign it to the close series. If there is no such variation in the sources, or if there is just one occurrence, we can also use a structural feature to make a decision: as will be explained in section 4.3 below, open-mid vowels show some degree of vowel height harmony in the word, co-occurring either with each other or with open

vowels but rarely with close vowels.¹² In this sense, the presence of an open-mid vowel earlier on in the word may suggest that word-final [ɔ] or [ɛ] can be phonemicized as open-mid rather than close. This is only a tendency, of course, so the criterion does not offer complete certainty, and it still leaves us with a range of forms that are difficult to phonemicize, for instance if they only have open vowels preceding a (phonetic) open-mid vowel in word-final position.

For the open vowel, the most significant allophonic variation is between front realization, which is the default, and back realization, which is available in post-stress environments, as illustrated in (49), where the final vowel of *kaykarra* is significantly more backed than the other open vowels.

- (49) thuma kaykarra ‘ashes’ [tuma'kajkara] (JLL-0085)

4 Word structure and phonotactics

Stems in Yintyingka are mainly bisyllabic or trisyllabic. There is one monosyllabic form *a*, used as a discourse marker. There are about ninety forms of more than three syllables in the sources, but the large majority are morphologically complex synchronically, like the complex kinterm in (50) and the reduplicated form in (51), or diachronically, like the placename in (52).

- (50) ngathi-nthinhu ‘cross.grandparent-REC’ (= cross-grandchild)
 (51) petyepetye ‘little’
 (52) inuku*-ntyingu ‘tree.sp-PLACE’

If we leave out such cases, we are left with about 25 forms of more than three syllables, mainly from Donald Thomson’s material, some of which may also be compounds diachronically (see section 4.2 below for some indications from irregular consonant clusters late in the word). In total, therefore, the material includes very few stems of more than three syllables.

This section describes the phonotactic profile of stems in Yintyingka, focusing subsequently on stem-initial and stem-final positions (section 4.1), the stem-internal distribution of consonants (section 4.2), and the relations between vowels within stems (section 4.3).

¹² A form like *thowi* ‘child (woman speaking)’ in (47) is a principled exception because there is paradigmatic pressure for word-final /i/ within the system of kinterms. Most kinterms end in /i/, even when historically one would expect another vowel, compare Proto-Pama-Nyungan *yapa ‘older sister’ (Alpher 2004b) with Yintyingka *yapi* ‘older sister’.

4.1 Stem-initial and stem-final positions

The majority of stems are consonant-initial, but there are about sixty stems in the lexicon that are vowel-initial (chapter 6, section 2.3, analyses the diachronic processes involved in the development of vowel-initial words). The vast majority of stems are vowel-final, with only a handful of cases that end in a consonant.

Consonant-initial stems frequently begin with bilabial, dental or velar stops and nasals, as well as the bilabial and palatal approximant. Alveolar and palatal stops are rare, with only a handful of instances attested with certainty, listed exhaustively in (53),¹³ while alveolar and palatal nasals are almost absent, with the only three definite forms listed in (54).

- (53) a. Alveolar stops
tuulka 'brolga'
 - b. Palatal stops
tyamu^T 'adze'
tyaty^{iT} 'other'
tyilpu* 'old man'
tyootyunu* 'type of tree'
- (54) a. Alveolar nasals
nu'a 'karol'
 - b. Palatal nasals
nyintyana^T 'pregnant woman'
nyorrtymo^T 'devil'

The rarity of alveolars fits in with the more general tendency that apicals are rare in word-initial position in Australian languages (Hamilton 1996a: 213–220). The rarity of palatal sounds is not typical, but can be attributed to phonological developments affecting Proto-Pama-Nyungan laminals in Yintyingka (see further in chapter 6, section 2.2). Laterals and rhotics are absent, which again fits in with the generalization about apicals.

There are about sixty vowel-initial stems in a lexicon of about 480 stems, i.e. about 12 percent. One analytic problem here is whether these are really

¹³ Of course, we should take into account here that Donald Thomson and Norman Tindale did not distinguish between alveolar and dental stops and nasals but simply noted them as <t> and <n>. This means that there may be a few more forms in the lexicon than the ones attested with certainty, although there will not be many (for instance, Thomson has 5 <n>-initial forms, and 20 <t>-initial forms).

vowel-initial, or preceded by a glottal stop (as has been suggested for some languages in the region, especially where historical dropping of initial consonants has not been accompanied by stress shift, compare Dixon 2002: 593–594). The sources do not really provide enough material to answer this question in a definitive way: only 23 relevant stems are attested in the sound-recorded part of the corpus, and only 10 of these have attestations in connected speech. In this small set of data, the answer appears to be mixed. On the one hand, there are instances of a discernable glottal stop in connected speech, as shown in (55), and the older phonetically transcribed sources sometimes transcribe a glottal stop, as shown in (56). On the other hand, some vowel-initial forms never show a glottal stop in connected speech, as illustrated in (57), and for others it appears to be variable in connected speech, as shown in (58).

- (55) mungka iiwa [‘mun̪ka’?i:βa] (JLL-0157)
‘[uninterpretable] away’
(elicited as ‘takim away’)
- (56) aampayi ‘father-in-law’ [?a.mpa,jɪ] (RAK-22)
- (57) ngayu errke-ngka ‘1MIN.NOM talk-PRS’ [ŋaɟu’wərkə:ŋga] (JLTA-002)
- (58) ngayu atyaku ‘1MIN.NOM long.time’ [ŋaɟu’?acagu] (JLTA-0023)
palapam atyaku ‘[uninterpretable]
long.time’ [pa’lapam’acagu] (JLTA-0104)

This variability suggests that it could be a prosodic signal, one of the ways the language has to deal with vowel hiatus (in addition to the insertion of approximants, as in (57)). Given the scarcity of relevant data, however, it is difficult to quantify the relevant evidence, and thus to decide the question definitively.

Stems in Yintyingka almost exclusively end in a vowel. There is only a handful of consonant-final forms in the sources, listed exhaustively below, with reference to all attestations: mainly alveolar nasals (59), some palatal glides (60), one velar and bilabial nasal each (61–62), and one lateral (63).

- (59) Alveolar nasals
 - a. Loans
 - Creole/English:
 - putyikan ‘cat’ (JL-009)
 - pantyiman ‘brother-in-law’ (JL-0153, BSL-66) (see Hale (n.d.))
 - yaraman ‘horse’ (RAL-6) (see Dixon et al. 1990: 156–166)

Other languages:

- thaypan ‘taipan’ (JLL-0111, BSL-50; probably from a Wik language, see Sutton 1995b: 101)
- weerinmun* ‘wet time’ (DTC5-49; from Umpithamu, see example (2) above)

b. Other forms:

- wunan ‘type of sugarbag’ (JLL-0025, BSL-23)
- kumpa^T ‘type of sugarbag’ (DTI-29)

(60) Palatal glides

- -y^T ‘VOC’
- moyoy^T ‘Acacia sp.’ (<Moŷi-ŷi> DTS-13)
- ngathamay ‘son-in-law’ (<ngatamei> DTK-27, [ŋatamaj] RAK-23, <ngatamei> DTC5-81, <ŋata mai yi> DT209-6, <ŋatameiyi> DT209-30)

(61) Velar nasals

- =nhang ‘EMPH’ (this form is phonetically remarkable in another way, in that it attracts stress, see chapter 4, section 3.2)

(62) Bilabial nasals

- m ‘ABL’ (allomorph)

(63) Laterals

- wurrpurrpul* ‘type of fruit’ (<wurr^x-purr^x-bul> DT200-6; probably from Umpithamu *worppurrpul*)

Some of these appear to be borrowed without phonological adaptation (see chapter 6, section 2.4.2, on some mechanisms of adaptation for items with final consonants), while for others the stem-final consonant is not entirely certain (e.g. *ngathamay* in (62), which is transcribed with final [j] in our only phonetically reliable source, but has indications for a final syllable [ji] in at least one of Thomson’s renderings). On balance, therefore, there are very few ‘native’ consonant-final items in Yintyingka, the best candidates being two stems ending in an alveolar nasal (59b), and three suffixes, ending in a velar nasal (61), a bilabial nasal (62) and a palatal glide (60). As noted by Erich Round (p.c.), the presence of velar and bilabial nasals is surprising, given that apicals tend to be the most common type of word-final consonant in Australian languages (see Hamilton 1996a: 227–231).

4.2 Stem-medial consonants

This section describes the distribution of single intervocalic consonants and consonant clusters within the stem. It is necessary to distinguish between at least two positions, viz. the first and the second intervocalic slots, which show a different distribution of clusters and some single consonants. We call these positions IV₁ and IV₂ (and IV₃, where relevant).

All consonants can occur intervocally. Some are rare, either because they are rare overall (e.g. alveolar approximants) or because they are rarer intervocally than in clusters. This is the case for palatal nasals, for trills and possibly also for dental nasals. We cannot be entirely sure for dental nasals, because Donald Thomson's materials contain quite a few instances of single <n> at IV₁, which in the absence of cognates or other attestations we cannot class as either dental or alveolar (Thomson did not distinguish between the two, see section 6.2 below).

If we look at distribution within the word, patterns at IV₁ and IV₂ are largely comparable, with two exceptions. One is single trills, which occur more often at IV₂: even if we exclude placenames (some of which have a suffix with a trill), there are far more stems with trills at IV₂ (and IV₃) than at IV₁, as shown in (64) below. The other is glottal stops, which only occur at IV₁ and not at IV₂.

- (64) IV₂/IV₃: itharra* 'big salmon', ka'arra^T 'type of mangrove', kaykarra 'ashes', kuyurru* 'wooden harpoon', ngomerre 'type of spear', ngootyorro* 'name', te'erro^T 'spearhandle tree', thiyyarri* 'big rock cod', imantharra* 'sandpiper', yapatharra* 'type of dilly bag'
 IV₁: kaarrika 'wire spear', yaraman 'horse' (see (59a) above)

Consonant clusters are homorganic or heterorganic. Homorganic clusters consist of a nasal followed by a stop: they are available at all places of articulation, as illustrated in Table 14 below, and found at IV₁ and IV₂.

Table 14: Homorganic clusters

		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Cluster	IV ₁	<i>mampa</i> 'nothing'	<i>thinthu*</i> 'close'	<i>kuntu</i> 'three'	<i>entye</i> 'lower leg'	<i>nhingku</i> '2MIN.GEN'
	IV ₂	<i>atyampa</i> 'emu'	<i>kaminthinhu</i> 'parallel grandchild'	<i>kulanta</i> 'saltwater'	<i>walantyi</i> 'death adder'	<i>thonongko*</i> 'one'

Heterorganic clusters, illustrated in Table 15 below, are mainly found at IV₁, and consist of a sonorant followed by a stop or a homorganic cluster.

Table 15: Heterorganic clusters

	Bilabial		Palatal	Velar	
	Single	Cluster		Single	Cluster
l	<i>ilpa</i> 'scar, cicatrice'	<i>kalmpikalmpi</i> ^T 'fast'	<i>altyi</i> ^T <i>poko</i> 'small upper stone of a grindstone set'	<i>tuulka</i> 'brolga'	<i>malngkana</i> * 'sandbeach'
rr	<i>morrpo</i> ^T 'white paint'	-	<i>korrye-</i> 'wet'	<i>ngarrku</i> 'place'	-
n	<i>thunpi</i> 'star'	-	?	<i>piinka</i> 'canoe'	-
y	<i>thaypa</i> 'beard'	<i>uympa</i> 'wallaby'	?	<i>kayarra</i> 'ashes'	?

Biconsonantal clusters consist of an alveolar sonorant or palatal glide, followed by a bilabial, palatal or velar stop. Triconsonantal clusters consist of a lateral or a palatal glide followed by a bilabial or velar homorganic cluster. There are three gaps in Table 15, viz. n+ty, y+ngk and y+ty. The first gap is probably systematic. The architecture of the system in Tables 14 and 15 suggests that alveolar and palatal nasals could in principle contrast before palatal stops, but clusters of alveolar nasals and palatal stops are rare in Australian languages (the survey in Hamilton 1996a: 143–145 lists one potential example), so it would be surprising to find them here.¹⁴ The second gap (y+ngk/ty) is probably coincidental, due to the small size of the lexicon (for instance, l+ngk is attested in only one form) rather than any inherent restrictions on the cluster.¹⁵

¹⁴ Barry Alpher (p.c.) has observed clusters of alveolar and palatal stops in Pakanh, including in a few forms that are cognate with Yintyingka forms, viz. Pakanh *that.tyi* 'goanna' (cognate with Yintyingka *thatyi* 'type of goanna') and *wut.tya* 'cloud' (cognate with Yintyingka *worryta** 'cloud'). While *worryta** has clear evidence for a consonant preceding the palatal stop, in *thatyi* we only hear a palatal stop in Yintyingka, and not a cluster. Still, it is important to flag this discrepancy between the Yintyingka form and its Pakanh cognate, because it may point to an unexplored aspect of the typology of heterorganic clusters in Cape York Peninsula. We thank Barry Alpher for pointing this out to us, and for providing us with Pakanh soundclips for comparison.

¹⁵ In fact, there is one form *onkitya*^T 'bora sticks', attested in Donald Thomson's notes as *onkeijä* (DTI-86), which could in principle also be phonologized as *onkaytya*^T, i.e. with a y+ty cluster (see further under *onkitya*^T in the lexicon).

Yintyingka also has two types of heterorganic clusters that fall outside this system: clusters with a glottal stop, and clusters of nasals. There are two forms with glottal stop clusters in the lexicon, listed in (65) below.

- (65) a. *kul'a** 'stone'
 b. *kay'a* 'arm'

These could in principle be fitted into the system by adding a fourth place of articulation to Table 15, but there are indications that this is not a native Yintyingka cluster type. The glottal stop in *kul'a** 'stone', for instance, derives from *p, as shown by its Guugu Yimidhirr cognate *gulbarr* 'round, large stone' (Haviland n.d.). This development is found quite often in Yintyingka's neighbour Umpila (Thompson 1988: 9), but apart from *kul'a** there is hardly any trace of this process in Yintyingka. This suggests that glottal stop clusters may be borrowed from Umpila – at least *kul'a* is also attested in Umpila, with the same meaning, and Yintyingka itself has *kulpa* as a placename.

There are also two clusters with nasals in the lexicon, combining an alveolar and a bilabial nasal, listed in (66). These do not fit into the system in Table 15, but here too at least one form can be analysed as a loan: *weerinmun** is segmentable as *weeren-mun* 'rain-ABL' in the neighbouring language Umpithamu.

- (66) a. *weerinmun** 'rain time'
 b. *panmata^T* 'bullroarer'

For heterorganic clusters, the preference for IV₁ may also help to shed some light on the status of forms with more than three syllables. Some of these forms have unexpected clusters at IV₂ and IV₃, as illustrated in (67), which may suggest that diachronically they are complex forms rather than stems, with the unexpected cluster reflecting a morpheme boundary (at the cluster or earlier on in the word).

- (67) a. *maatawarrku* (proper name)
 b. *wuntalporo^T* 'steam'

4.3 Vowels

The distribution of vowels in stems is such that vowels from the innovative open-mid series tend to co-occur either with other open-mid vowels or with open vowels, and not with close vowels. Some examples are listed in (68) below.

As already mentioned, close vowels can have an open-mid allophone in word-final position. In cases like (68), however, the presence of other open-mid vowels suggests that the final vowel can be interpreted as underlyingly open-mid rather than close.

- (68) a. Open-mid vowels
 - kongompe ‘kidney’
 - wenthemo ‘groper’
 - monte ‘jabiru’
- b. Open vowels
 - koothaye ‘blue-tongue lizard’
 - theekampa ‘fish’

This is a strong tendency rather than a rule, with exceptions in the lexicon like the examples listed in (69) below. Some of these exceptions can be ascribed to factors of paradigmatic pressure, like the fact that most kinterms end in a close front vowel, even where this is an open vowel historically, as shown in (70c–d).

- (69) a. ngoki ‘water’
- b. wopi- ‘go’
- (70) a. thowi ‘child (woman speaking)’
- b. weeli ‘younger sister’
- c. yapi ‘older sister’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan *yapa ‘older sister’, Alpher 2004b)
- d. kaali ‘mother’s younger brother’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan *kaala ‘uncle’, Alpher 2004b)

Even if this is not a rule, there is some structural evidence that we are dealing with vowel height harmony at the level of the stem. The evidence comes from variation in our phonetically precise sources, i.e. the sound recordings of Jinny Long and Peter Chippendale, and the professional transcriptions of George Rocky and Rosie Ahlers. If we take all of these sources together, we can see that George Rocky, Peter Chippendale and Rosie Ahlers occasionally use close vowels where our main source Jinny Long uses open-mid vowels. In such cases, variation affects the whole stem rather than a single vowel, as shown in (71) below.

- (71) ngomerre ‘type of spear’ [ŋɔ'mere] (JL-0039) [ŋu'miri] (PC2-0003)
 thongke- ‘come’ ['tɔŋke] (JLL-0181) ['tuŋki] (GR-74)
 wonpo ‘fish’ ['wɔŋpo] (JLTA-0065) ['wunpu] (RAL-9, GR-48)

Incidentally, all three speakers use open-mid vowels in other stems, so this variation does not point to a difference in the phonemic inventory but at most a difference in the degree to which the innovation of an open-mid series has affected the lexicon. But the fact that variation operates on the level of the stem rather than the individual phoneme does show that this is an instance of vowel harmony. Vowel height harmony has not been observed in many languages in the region, but at least Umpithamu shows a similarly strong tendency for the open-mid series (Verstraete fieldnotes), and Kugu Nganhcara also has vowel harmony for mid vowels (with slightly different settings for each, see Smith & Johnson 2000: 381–382). See chapter 6, section 2.1.2, for some relevant historical notes.

5 Word stress

Our account of the stress system is based mainly on the elicited part of the sound recordings, for which we have a reliable transcription and morphological analysis. Most of this material consists of single words or phrases, more rarely a clause, but no longer stretches of connected speech. In this section, we analyse elicited single words on the assumption that in such cases the utterance coincides with the word, taking lexically defined stress as the target for the main pitch movement. The phrases in the rest of the material give us some idea of how stress operates in larger units, as we will discuss briefly at the end of this section. We are not able to provide a full account of the stress system at such higher levels, however, because we do not have enough data: the texts cannot be reliably transcribed if we cannot discern all word and morpheme boundaries. Section 5.1 deals with prosodic evidence for the nature of the stress system, section 5.2 discusses segmental evidence from allophonic variation, and section 5.3 briefly comments on how stress operates in larger units like phrases.

5.1 Prosodic evidence

It is tricky to analyse a stress system without access to native speaker judgements, since one’s own perception of stress is often based on the specific parameters

that play a role in one's native language(s) (see Round 2009: 316–320 for a discussion of the problems that arise in this type of situation). As a starting point, therefore, we looked at the two basic acoustic features that are identified as playing a role in stress systems cross-linguistically, viz. pitch and amplitude. We used both Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2012) and Winpitch (Martin 2013) to obtain pitch and amplitude measurements: Winpitch was especially useful because it provides several different algorithms for pitch tracking, which is useful when dealing with older recordings that were not always made in the best circumstances.

If we look at these two parameters, we can obtain a consistent picture only with pitch, and not with amplitude: stress in Yintyingka can be identified in terms of the location of the major pitch movement, while phrasing appears to be a matter of pitch reset, as has also been noted for a number of other Australian languages (see Simard 2010: 88–93). The most important parameter in the stress system is the size of the word: trisyllabic words have stress on the second syllable, while bisyllabic words usually have stress on the first syllable. A secondary parameter that plays a minor role is the distinction between consonant-initial and vowel-initial stems: bisyllabic stems beginning with a short vowel have stress on the second syllable.

In our corpus of elicited utterances, single bisyllabic words beginning with a consonant always have the major pitch movement (typically a fall) on the first syllable, as illustrated in the pitch track in Figure 1 below (made with Winpitch (see Martin 2013); for the sake of completeness, information about amplitude is also included, projected onto the area below the spectrogram). We can interpret this as the utterance being condensed into a single word, with the position of lexical stress attracting the major pitch movement. Quite a few instances also show a second fall within the same word, with pitch being re-set before a fall on the second syllable, as illustrated in the pitch track in Figure 2 below. We interpret this as the speaker splitting up the word into two prosodic phrases for purposes of emphasis: it is well-known that speakers often use special information-structural effects to accommodate the artificial situation of elicitation into more familiar discourse patterns. The reason why we generalize the patterns in Figure 1 and Figure 2 as first-syllable stress for bisyllabic words is that this is the only pattern that is consistently present in the data: first syllables of (consonant-initial) bisyllabic words always have the major pitch movement, while second syllables may have an additional pitch movement (as in Figure 2), but never without a major pitch movement on the first syllable.

The one exception to the generalization for bisyllabic words are words beginning with a short vowel. There are very few tokens of vowel-initial words in the elicited utterances in the sound recordings (six beginning with a short

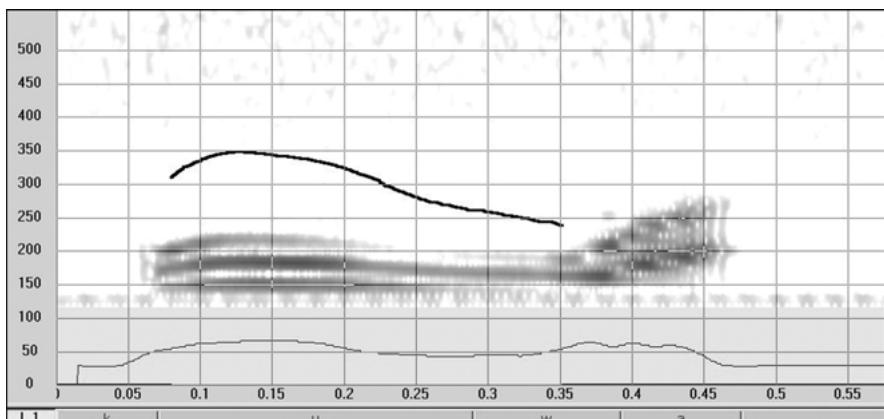


Figure 1: Bisyllabic word, one prosodic phrase (*kuwa* ‘west’). Horizontal axis represents time (seconds); alignment is approximate. Vertical axis represents amplitude (0–50 dB) and F0 (0–500 Hz), projected onto background spectrogram (0–4500 Hz).

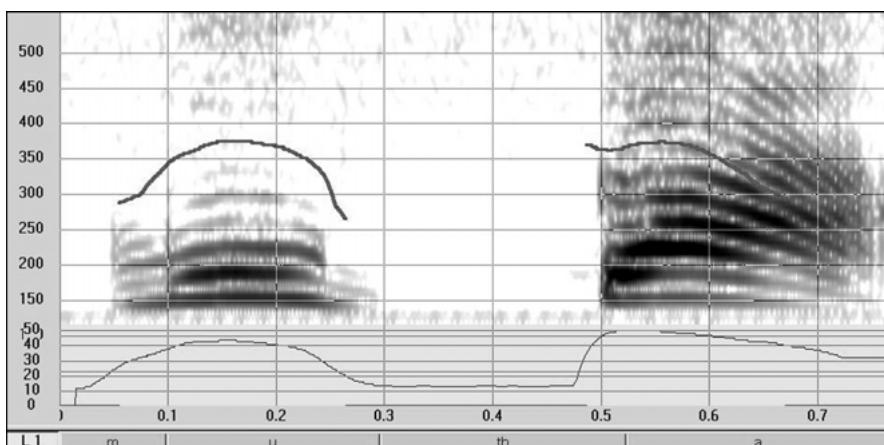


Figure 2: Bisyllabic word, two prosodic phrases (*mutha* ‘eelfish’). Horizontal axis represents time (seconds); alignment is approximate. Vertical axis represents amplitude (0–50 dB) and F0 (0–500 Hz), projected onto background spectrogram (0–4500 Hz).

vowel and two with a long vowel), so we cannot generalize too quickly, but it looks like these tokens show the opposite pattern. They all have a major pitch movement (mainly a fall) on the second syllable, either preceded by a rise in the first syllable, as illustrated in Figure 3 below, or preceded by another fall in the first syllable, as illustrated in Figure 4 below. The second pattern could again be interpreted as the speaker splitting up the word into two prosodic

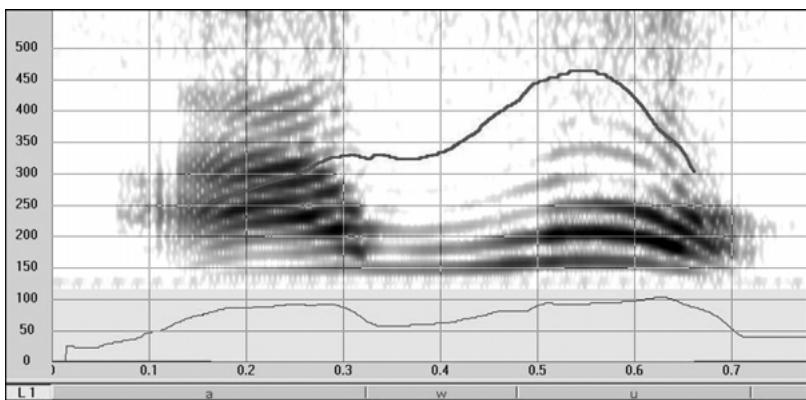


Figure 3: Bisyllabic word, short vowel, one prosodic phrase (*awu* ‘devil’). Horizontal axis represents time (seconds); alignment is approximate. Vertical axis represents amplitude (0–50 dB) and F0 (0–500 Hz), projected onto background spectrogram (0–4500 Hz).

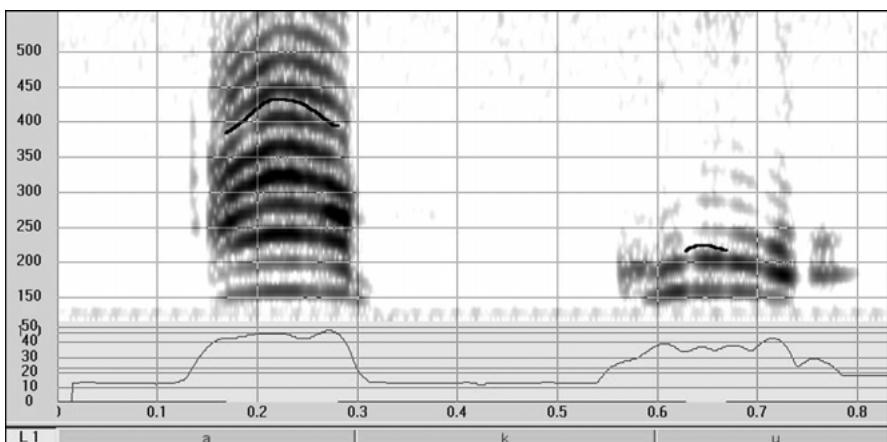


Figure 4: Bisyllabic word, short vowel, two prosodic phrases (*aku* (no gloss provided)). Horizontal axis represents time (seconds); alignment is approximate. Vertical axis represents amplitude (0–50 dB) and F0 (0–500 Hz), projected onto background spectrogram (0–4500 Hz).

phrases. The two forms beginning with a long vowel both show the second pattern, so it is hard to decide where they fit. In any case, a slightly different pattern for vowel-initial words is not that surprising if we look at the literature: it has been argued for some languages that the historical dropping of initial consonants goes hand in hand with stress shift to the second syllable (see Blevins & Marmion 1994: 200–201, Dixon 2002: 589–590).

Trisyllabic words show a consistent pattern, regardless of whether they start with a vowel or a consonant and whether the vowel in the initial syllable is long or short. The major pitch movement occurs on the second syllable, preceded by a level or rising first syllable, as illustrated in Figure 5 below.

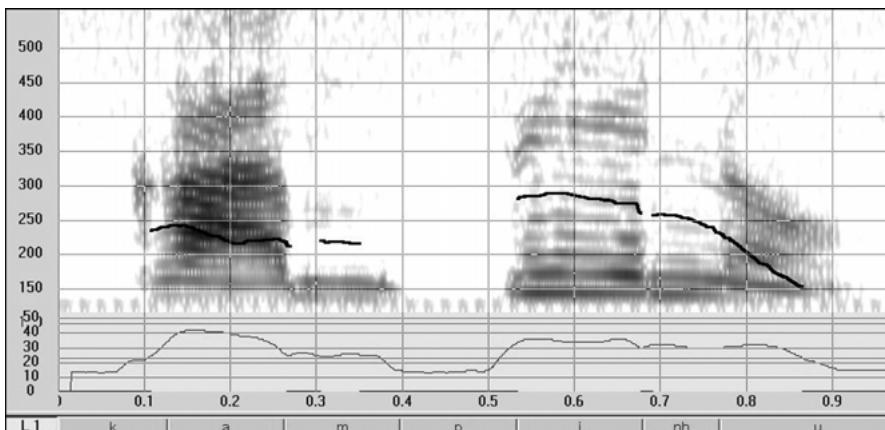


Figure 5: Trisyllabic word (*kampinhu* ‘type of dilly bag’). Horizontal axis represents time (seconds); alignment is approximate. Vertical axis represents amplitude (0–50 dB) and F0 (0–500 Hz), projected onto background spectrogram (0–4500 Hz).

The basic distinction between the bisyllabic and the trisyllabic patterns is also confirmed by the behaviour of morphologically complex words. Bisyllabic stems that receive an affix move stress to the second syllable (together with other effects like optional lengthening of the vowel, see further in section 5.2 below). This is illustrated in Figure 6 below, which shows how stress shifts from the first syllable in [ŋarku] to the second syllable in the complex form *ngarrku-ku* ‘place-DAT’ [ŋar'kɔ:gɔ].

As already mentioned, the proportion of stems with four (or more) syllables is small, and there are few tokens in our corpus of elicited utterances with sound recordings. Those tokens we can inspect suggest that quadrисyllabic stems are a variant on the pattern of bisyllabic ones, with primary stress on the first syllable and secondary stress on the third. This is illustrated in Figure 7 below, where *pikipiki* shows the major fall on the first syllable, and a new fall on the third syllable (in this token, the last syllable does not continue the fall because there is another word that follows). There are even fewer tokens of trisyllabic stems with an affix in the sound recordings, but those we can investigate suggest that they shift to the same pattern as quadrисyllabic stems. This is

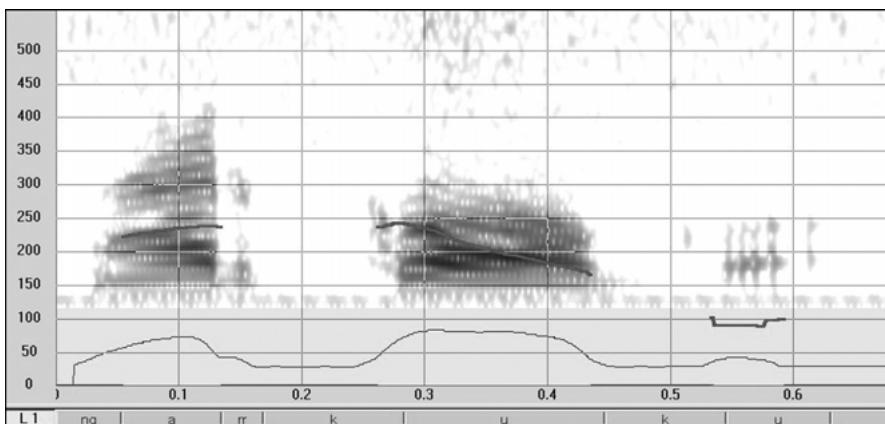


Figure 6: Bisyllabic stem with suffix (*ngarrku-ku* ‘place-DAT’). Horizontal axis represents time (seconds); alignment is approximate. Vertical axis represents amplitude (0–50 dB) and F0 (0–500 Hz), projected onto background spectrogram (0–4500 Hz).

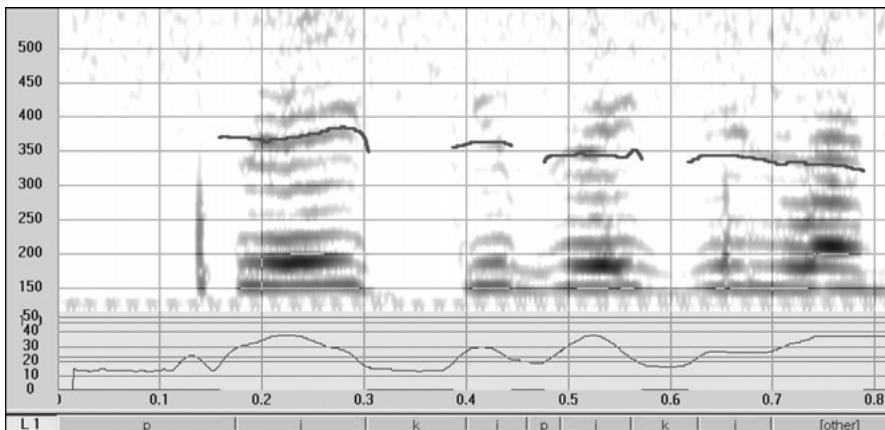


Figure 7: Four-syllable word (*pikipiki* ‘small’). Horizontal axis represents time (seconds); alignment is approximate. Vertical axis represents amplitude (0–50 dB) and F0 (0–500 Hz), projected onto background spectrogram (0–4500 Hz).

illustrated in Figure 8 below, which shows how stress shifts from the trisyllabic pattern in [pi:¹naji] to the bisyllabic pattern in ['pi:¹na,jinga],¹⁶ with a first fall on the first syllable and a second fall on the third.

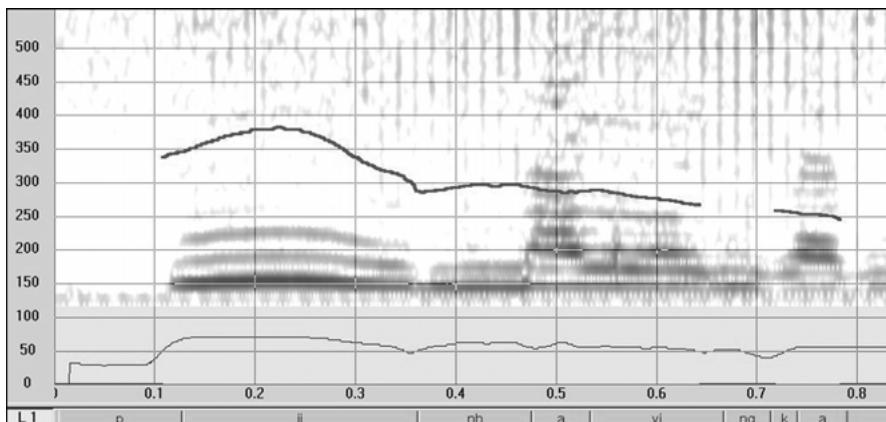


Figure 8: Trisyllabic stem with a suffix (*piinhayi=ngka* ‘FeB/FZ=EMPH’). Horizontal axis represents time (seconds); alignment is approximate. Vertical axis represents amplitude (0–50 dB) and F0 (0–500 Hz), projected onto background spectrogram (0–4500 Hz).

5.2 Segmental evidence

The prosodic evidence in the previous section is in fact confirmed by some of the allophonic processes described in section 3 above, many of which can be captured in terms of fortition in the stressed syllable and lenition beyond the location of stress. The relevant processes are consonant gemination, vowel lengthening and stop voicing.

The most noticeable process is vowel lengthening. As already mentioned, vowel length is phonemic in the first syllable, with contrasts like *muki* ‘mother’s older sibling’ versus *muuki* ‘yam’. In addition, there is an allophonic process affecting the length of vowels: the stressed syllable of trisyllabic words allows optional lengthening of vowels. This applies both to trisyllabic stems, as shown in (72), and to inflected bisyllabic stems, as shown in (73).

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (72) kampala ‘sun’ | [kam' ¹ pala] (JLL-0050) |
| wa'amu 'rib' | [wa' ¹ a:mu] (JLL-0215) |
| wenthemo ‘groper’ | [wɛn' ¹ tɛ:mɔ] (JLL-0103) |

¹⁶ We analyse =*ngka* ‘EMPH’ as a clitic because of its lack of host selectivity, but it shifts stress like suffixes (and unlike the clitic =*nhang* ‘EMPH’, which attracts stress). See further in chapter 4, section 3.2.

- (73) ngarrku-ku 'place-DAT' [ŋar'kɔ:gɔ] (JLL-0182)
 erke-ngka 'talk-PRS' [er'ke:ŋga] (JLTA-0012)
 maka-mu 'placename-ABL' [ma'ka:mu] (JLTA-0060)

As already mentioned in section 3 above, single intervocalic consonants can undergo gemination at IV₁ following short vowels in bisyllabic words, as shown in (74), while stops tend to be voiceless at IV₁ and voiced at IV₂, as shown in (75).

- (74) manu 'neck' ['man:u] (JLL-0205)
 yapi 'older sister' ['jap:ɛ] (JLL-0132)
- (75) ngathu=ngka '1MIN.GEN=EMPH' [ŋa'tuŋga] (JLL-0140)
 ngarrku-ku 'place-DAT' [ŋar'kɔ:gɔ] (JLL-0182)

Taken together, these processes can be linked to the prosodic cues for stress described in the previous section. For trisyllabic words, vowel lengthening in the second syllable and stop voicing at IV₂ amount to fortition of the stressed syllable and lenition of the post-stress syllable. For bisyllabic words, consonant gemination and stop voicelessness at IV₁ suggest fortition at IV₁. This is just after the stressed syllable rather than in it, but what could be relevant here is the observation that in some Australian languages, the pitch peak tends to occur late in the stressed syllable, a feature that has also been linked to historical dropping of initial consonants (Blevins & Marmion 1994, Dixon 2002, all due to Butcher ms). From this perspective, we could perhaps speculate that fortition at IV₁ can be regarded as the segmental effect of a late pitch peak in the first syllable for consonant-initial forms, and that vowel-initial forms move the prosodic cues entirely to the second syllable and thus re-align prosodic and segmental cues. As explained in section 2.3 of chapter 6, it does not look as if the dropping of initial consonants is a native process in this language, but if Yintyingka has late pitch peaks and if it borrows initial-dropped forms together with their stress pattern, it is not unthinkable that this could eventually have led to a re-organization of the stress system. Table 16 below summarizes the segmental and prosodic cues for the major word types studied here.

Table 16: Prosodic and segmental cues for stress placement

		C	V	IV ₁	V	IV ₂	V	
Bisyllabic (initial C)	Prosodic	Major pitch movement						
	Segmental			Gemination				
Bisyllabic (initial V)	Prosodic			Major pitch movement				
	Segmental			Gemination				
Trisyllabic	Prosodic			Major pitch movement				
	Segmental			Voicelessness	Optional length	Voicing		

5.3 Stress in phrases

To round off this section on stress, we briefly discuss how the patterns described above behave in phrasal contexts. As already mentioned, the amount of reliably interpretable phrase and clause material from the sound recordings is small, so this section may raise more questions than provide answers. Nevertheless, there are some patterns that emerge from the material, which we describe here.

One pattern is that phrases consisting of two elements (the majority of tokens in our corpus) have their main stress on the second element. This appears to be independent of the type of phrase, or the location of the head. Thus, for instance, the pattern is found in object-verb combinations as well as in noun phrases, both with the head in first and in last position. Some of these phrases are illustrated in (76) below.

- (76) a. ilpa kali-ŋka [ilpa'kale:ŋga] (JLL-0220)
scar ?-PRS
(Interpretation unclear – elicited as ‘scar’; The meaning of the verb *kali*- is unclear, but it is only found the elicitation of body part terms, so it could be a basic locative or a possessive verb.)

b. ngathi ngathu=ŋka [nati'natu:ŋga] (JLL-0140)
cross.grandparent 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
‘my grandfather’

c. yu'u athi [ju?u?atɛ] (JLL-0218)
finger nail
‘fingernail’

Phonetically, this pattern is realized with a rise in the first word, followed by a fall in the second one to mark phrasal stress, as shown in Figures 9–11 below. This general shape is consistent with the phonetic realization of word stress we

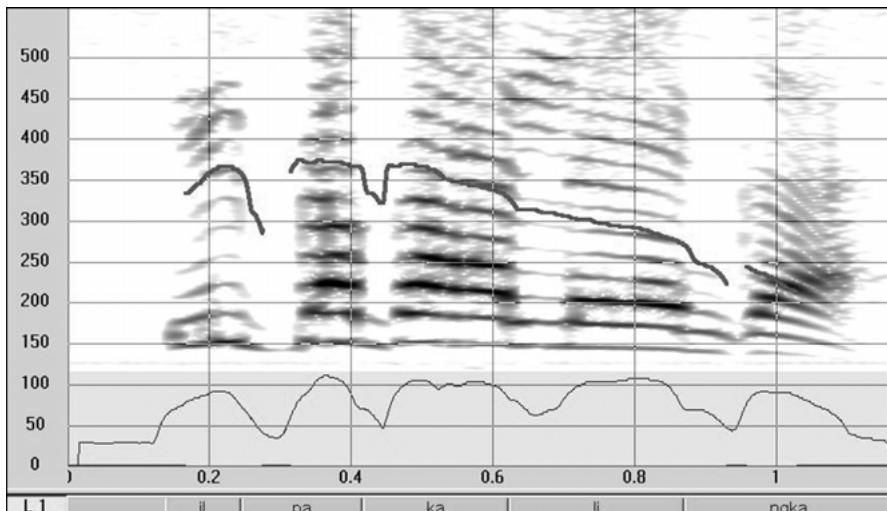


Figure 9: Object-verb combination (*ilpa kali-ŋka*). Horizontal axis represents time (seconds); alignment is approximate. Vertical axis represents amplitude (0–50 dB) and F0 (0–500 Hz), projected onto background spectrogram (0–4500 Hz).

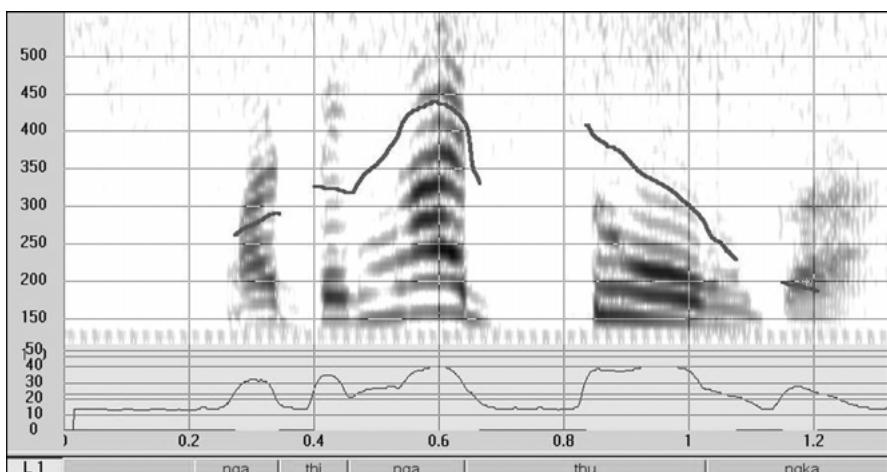


Figure 10: Noun phrase, head-initial (*ngathi ngathu=ŋka*). Horizontal axis represents time (seconds); alignment is approximate. Vertical axis represents amplitude (0–50 dB) and F0 (0–500 Hz), projected onto background spectrogram (0–4500 Hz).

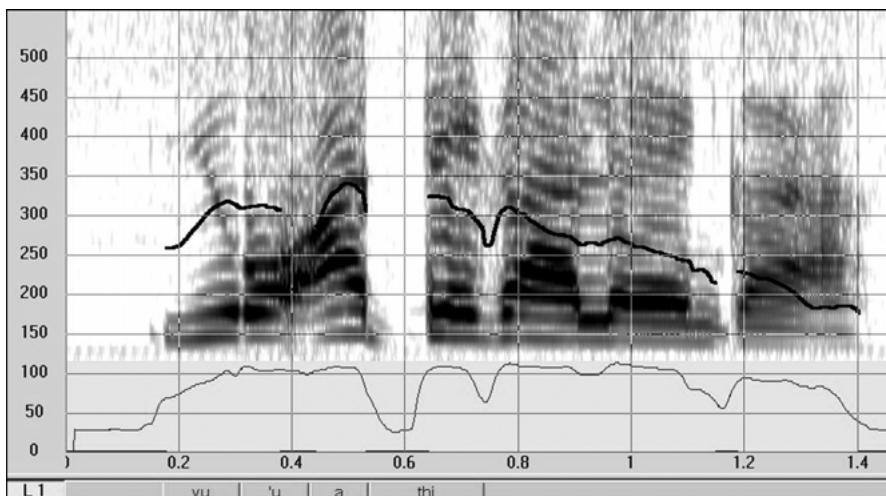


Figure 11: Noun phrase, head-final (*yu'u athi* (*kali-ngka*)). Horizontal axis represents time (seconds); alignment is approximate. Vertical axis represents amplitude (0–50 dB) and F0 (0–500 Hz), projected onto background spectrogram (0–4500 Hz).

discussed in the previous sections, where the major pitch movement marks stress. If we look at the location of the fall within the phrase, however, there is another pattern that emerges, which is slightly different from what we described for single words in the previous section. The fall marking phrasal stress is consistently located on the first syllable of the second word. This coincides with the location of word stress in the most bisyllabic words, but not with its location in trisyllabic words, which in isolation have word stress on the second syllable. Interestingly, in phrases this second syllable does retain the segmental reflections of stress, viz. vowel lengthening in the second syllable and voicelessness at IV₁, as shown in the examples in (76) above.

There are a number of ways to interpret this discrepancy for trisyllabic words. One way would be to adjust our analysis of word stress, by analysing it as underlyingly on the first syllable for all words, including trisyllabic ones. In this analysis, segmental effects in the second syllable for trisyllabic words could be regarded as effects of a late pitch peak rather than reflecting word stress location. This would create a more unitary system of word stress, and it would also allow us to do away with the distinction between word and phrase stress – with phrase stress realized phonetically as word stress on the relevant item. One problem, however, is that the segmental effects in the second syllable do not disappear in phrasal contexts, and that they are different for bisyllabic words

(gemination and voicelessness at IV₁) and trisyllabic words (voicelessness at IV₁, vowel length in the second syllable, and voicing at IV₂). Such differences are difficult to deal with in a unitary analysis of word (and phrase) stress falling on the first syllable.

An alternative analysis to deal with this problem is to distinguish between the levels of word and phrase stress. This is definitely less elegant, but it seems to be descriptively most adequate, since trisyllabic words have phonetic reflections of word and phrase stress in different places. Still, this analysis also leaves quite a number of questions open. One is why phrasal stress has to come earlier in trisyllabic words: is it a boundary marker, for instance, or does it simply reflect the principles of word stress at phrase level, with the entire first word as a pretonic? Another question is what the phonetic relation is between word and phrase stress in trisyllabic words: specifically, how is word stress on the second syllable reflected prosodically in such contexts, beyond the easily observable segmental effects?

Given how little reliably transcribed material we have beyond the word level, we can really only note the discrepancy for trisyllabic words, and we cannot do more than speculate about the reasons and the best analysis. In practical terms, when transcribing phrases we have chosen to mark only the location of phrasal stress for trisyllabic words, given that the segmental effects of word stress remain visible in the second syllable.

6 Orthographies

6.1 Practical orthography

The practical orthography we adopt for Yintyingka is like the orthographies used for most Australian languages, i.e. one that represents phonemic contrasts and not more. Phonemes are represented by the IPA symbol corresponding to the default allophone (e.g. the voiceless allophone for stops), except for the following categories:

- dental consonants, represented as <th> and <nh> for [t̪]/[d̪] and [n̪]
- palatal consonants, represented as <ty> for [c]/[j], <ny> for [ɲ], and <y> for [j̪]
- the velar nasal, represented as <ng>
- the glottal stop, represented as <'>
- rhotics, represented as <r> and <rr> for [ɹ] and [r̪]
- open-mid vowels, represented as <e> and <o> for [ɛ] and [ɔ̪]

Heterorganic clusters are represented as they are, but homorganic clusters are simplified, i.e. we represent [nt] as <nth> and [nc] as <nty>. As discussed in section 4.2 above, we have not found any instances of heterorganic nasal-stop clusters beyond <nk> or <np>, so there is no need to structurally build further options for heterorganic clusters into the orthography.

Given the nature of the sources, we cannot be sure of the exact phonetic shape of every lexical item. For a large number of items that are only attested in Donald Thomson's material, it is not possible to phonemicize lemmas with certainty, because Thomson's renderings are sometimes phonetically ambiguous or unclear. Such items are marked with superscript ^T throughout the grammar and the lexicon, to flag the uncertainty to the reader. In some cases, we can use comparative evidence to decide on the phonemicization of such older forms. This will also be marked consistently, using superscript * after the form, to flag that they are partial reconstructions and should not be used as such in comparative work. Since such a large body of lexical items is attested exclusively in Donald Thomson's material, the next section gives an overview of the transcription conventions he used, to provide some insight into the way we represent Thomson's material.

6.2 Donald Thomson's transcription conventions

In his fieldnotes, Donald Thomson uses an unconventional transcription system, which is not always consistent but is overall remarkably sensitive to phonetic detail, even down to some of the allophonic variation described earlier on in this chapter. Thomson's diploma course in anthropology included some practical phonetics, as reflected, for instance, in his use of a few IPA symbols and an elaborate system of diacritics for vowels (see Rigsby 2005). However, the more subtle phonetic distinctions are recorded with more informal devices, like hyphenation reflecting glottal stops or gemination, or the use of rhotics to mark length. In this section, we give an overview of the most important patterns in Thomson's transcriptions, which informed our decisions about phonologization when Thomson's rendering was the only attestation of a form. As already mentioned, such cases are flagged consistently using superscript ^T – this section explains which aspects of phonologization can be regarded as more or less certain in these forms.

6.2.1 Consonants

We discuss Thomson's rendering of the basic phonemic contrasts for stops, nasals and rhotics, as well as his representation of some common allophonic processes.

For stops, Thomson consistently distinguishes five categories in his transcription: bilabial, palatal, velar and glottal stops, as well as a category that merges dental and alveolar stops. Bilabial and velar stops are represented most straightforwardly, as <p>, and <k>, <g>, respectively. As already mentioned in section 3.1 above, voicing is also represented very reliably in Thomson's materials, with voiced allophones restricted to IV₂. The other stop categories are a bit more complicated in his materials. Thomson does not distinguish between dental and alveolar stops but notes them both as <t> or <d>, as shown in (77) below. Among his contemporaries, only people with extensive phonetic training like Gerhardt Laves (who studied with Sapir) were able to hear and transcribe this difference (see, for instance, Alpher 2000).

- (77) a. ngathu '1MIN.GEN' <ŋatu> (DTC2-237)
 b. kuta 'humpy' <kotə> (DTC2-194)

Voiceless palatal stops are generally represented with the affricate symbol <tʃ>, and very occasionally with an English-based representation like <tch> or <ty>, as shown in (78) below. In spite of Thomson's affricate representation, we could not find any affricate allophones for voiceless palatal stops in La Mont West's recordings with Jinny Long. Voiced palatal stops are represented more variably, using a number of English-based representations, mainly as <j>, but also as <dj>, <dy>, or even <g>, as shown in (79).

- (78) a. atyampa 'emu' <atʃämba> (DTC5-65)
 b. thatyi 'type of goanna' <tat|chi> (DTC1-21)
 c. yuntyi 'wife' <yuntyi> (DT209-7)
- (79) a. Inukuntyingu (placename) <inogonjiŋo> (DTC5-74)
 b. ma'atyi^T 'type of fishnet' <mä-adj> (DTC5-79)
 c. thaapityi* nhingu 'his namesake' <'Tā-pigin-iŋ-ü> (DTC2-37)

Glottal stops are represented as intervocalic hyphens or alternative separators like <V|V> or even <V'V>, as shown in (80) below. Not all intervocalic hyphens are glottal stops, though. In some instances they can represent a glide, particularly in two cases, illustrated in (81a–b) below: they consistently represent a

glide when the first vowel is represented as a diphthong ending in <i>, and they sometimes do when the first vowel is <i> and the second is <a>. When the intervocalic hyphen is at IV₂, as in (81c), we can be almost certain that it is a glide rather than a stop, because this is an unlikely position for a glottal stop (see section 4.2 above).

- (80) a. ka'i 'NEG' <kä-i> (DTC2-294)
 - b. nu'a 'karol' <nō|ōw> (DTC1-2)
 - c. ko'o 'eye' <Ko'o> (DTC2-84)
- (81) a. Ayapathu <āi-ebadu> (DT2-11)
 - b. thiiyarri* 'big rock cod' <ti-arri> (DTC2-80)
 - c. kalkeyiT 'green turtle' <kalkē-i> (DTC2-196)

For nasals, Thomson distinguishes four categories: bilabial, palatal and velar nasals, and a category that merges alveolar and dental nasals. As with stops, Thomson does not distinguish between alveolar and dental nasals, representing both as <n>, as shown in (82) below.

- (82) a. kana 'PFV' <känä> (DTC2-116)
- b. n̥hilu '3MIN.NOM' <nilo> (DTC2-240)

Palatal nasals are represented as <n> in clusters, with the following stop indicating the palatal place of articulation. They are rare outside clusters in Yintyingka (see section 2.1 above), which means that they are also rare in Thomson's corpus. When found, they are represented as <ny>. The example in (83) illustrates both an instance in a cluster and one in isolation.

- (83) yintyinyu* 'tree sp.' <yintfnyu> (DTI-100)

Velar nasals are generally represented as <ŋ> in isolation, and more rarely as <ng>, <gn> or even <n>, as shown in (84) below. In clusters, they are typically represented as <nk> or <ngk> at IV₁, and as <ng> or <ŋ> (and very rarely <ŋg>) at IV₂, as shown in (85) below. The contrast between <nk> and <ng> is consistent with the basic voicing contrast, but the use of bare <ŋ> for a cluster at IV₂ is more surprising. Given this variation, it is not always possible to distinguish between homorganic and heterorganic clusters (or even between clusters and isolated velar nasals) if we just have one representation by Thomson.

- (84) a. ngali* '12MIN.NOM' <ŋalli> (DTI-45)
 b. ngathamay 'son-in-law' <ngatamei> (DTK-27)
 c. ngety^T 'giddy-giddy bead' <gnet|chi> (DT4-14)
 d. ngarrku 'place' <nařko> (DTC2-260)

(85) a. angku 'PROX.DEM' <änko> (DTC2-64)
 b. ngalangkayi* 'type of tree' <Ngalang/ae> (DTC5-39)
 c. Yintyingka (placename) <Yintſiña> (DTC2-44)
 d. angku-ŋka 'PROX.DEM-NLOC' <äṅkungä> (DTI-70)

Consonants show optional gemination after a stressed short initial syllable. As already discussed in section 3.1 above, this allophonic process is also represented in Thomson's corpus, by the use of post-consonantal hyphens, which is restricted to IV₁ in bisyllabic words.

For rhotics, finally, Thomson does not always distinguish trills from approximants, but when he does he uses a diacritic sign (a dot or a cross marking a rhotic as a trill) or occasionally doubling of <r>. Sometimes the diacritic is omitted when it has been used for the same form in the immediately preceding context. The approximant is rare in the corpus, but when it occurs it is represented with a single <r> without diacritics. The contrast is illustrated in (86) below.

- (86) a. worrtya* 'cloud' <wortja> (DTC2-165) ()
 b. Kunakirrima (placename) <Kona-gerra-mo> (DTC2-51)
 c. Waruma (placename) <war-u-mo> (DTC2-40)

Single <r> also has another function before consonants, as will be shown in the next section.

6.2.2 Vowels

Yintyingka has five vowel qualities and phonemic vowel length in the first syllable. Thomson uses a system of five vowels with an elaborate system of dia-critics to represent vowel qualities, including underlining and dots under the vowel, macrons, breves, accents and umlaut signs above the vowel, and com-

bining breves above pairs of vowels. Thomson (1933: 453) provides a key to part of this system, which he probably learned in Radcliffe-Brown's anthropology courses (Radcliffe-Brown used a somewhat similar system in his work on the languages of the Andaman Islands, see Radcliffe-Brown 1914, 1922: 495–496). Not surprisingly, vowel qualities are the least consistent part of Thomson's transcription conventions, and the most difficult to phonologize in forms that are only attested in his corpus. Some forms of variation in Thomson's corpus appear to reflect allophonic processes like the 'opening' of final closed vowels, as shown in (87) below. Others forms of variation, however, especially the use of diacritics, are more difficult to interpret and probably represent educated Australian English-based renderings rather than a consistent application of the system, as shown in the variation in (88).

- (87) atu^T 'four, plenty'

 - a. <at-u> (DTC2-276)
 - b. <at-o> (DTC2-72)

(88) Ayapathu

 - a. <ai-ebadu> (DT2-1)
 - b. <iebado> (DT4-8)
 - c. <lébadó> (DTC1-1)

Because it is difficult to find consistent patterns in Thomson's use of vowels, vowel qualities are the most conjectural part of our phonologization of forms that are only found in Thomson's material. We usually maintained the basic vowel qualities found in Thomson's form, without the diacritics, and in the case of multiple renderings we chose the one that was most in line with phonological patterns as found in the other sources, e.g. with final mid vowels phonologized as a close vowel, except in cases of vowel harmony in the word.

Unlike vowel quality, vowel length is represented fairly systematically in Thomson's material. As argued above, vowel length is found phonemically in the first syllable in Yintyingka, and phonetically as an optional allophone in the second syllable of trisyllabic words. Thomson represents both of these cases with an English-based convention of a postvocalic <r>, as illustrated in (89) below.

- (89) a. kaawa 'east' <Kar-wä> (DTC2-16)
 b. mayi nu'a-ku <my|no|argo> (DT3-5)
 veg.food karol-DAT

6.2.3 Summary

Table 17 below summarizes Thomson's representations of phonemes and allophonic processes. This summary, together with the cautionary note about the lower reliability of vowel qualities, can be used to assess forms that are only attested in Thomson's materials (flagged with ^T in superscript in the lexicon and example sentences). In such forms, <t>, <d> and <n> are always phonologically ambiguous, vowel qualities often are, and <g> and <ŋ> are so occasionally. Needless to say, any decision about phonologization can easily be reconsidered in the light of new evidence, given that lemmas in our lexicon in chapter 7 are consistently traced back to all attestations in the sources.

Table 17: Donald Thomson's representations of phonemes and allophonic processes (representations between brackets are less frequent options)

Phonemes		In isolation	In a cluster
Stop	/p/	<p>, 	
	/t/	<t>, <d>	
	/t/		
	/c/	<tʃ> (<tch>, <tj>) <j> (<dj>, <dy>)	ditto, plus <g>
	/k/	<k>, <g>	
	/ʔ/	<V-V>, <V V>, <V'V>	
Nasal	/m/	<m>	
	/n/		
	/n/	<n>	
	/ŋ/	<ny>	<n>
	/ŋ/	<ŋ> (<ng>, <n>)	<nk>, <ng>, <ŋ>
Lateral	/l/	<l>	
Approximant	/j/	<y> <VV-V>	
	/w/	<w>	
	/r/	<VrV>	
Trill	/r/	<r>, <r> (<rr>)	
Vowel length		<VrC>	
Processes			
Voicing for stops		<p>, <t>, <tʃ>, <tch>, <tj>, <k> word-initially & at IV ₁ , <d>, <j>, <dj>, <dy>, <g> at IV ₂	
Gemination		<C-V>, <C V> at IV ₁ in bisyllabic words	

Chapter 4

Morphology

1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the morphology of Yintyingka. Since the analysis relies a bit less heavily on phonetic detail than the previous chapter, we can use a broader range of sources, including the rich material in Donald Thomson's notes. The lack of phonetic detail in his material is more than compensated by the availability of more reliable cues to its interpretation. The biggest problem for this chapter (and the next) remains the lack of reliably transcribed and interpreted texts: the textlets in Thomson's and Tindale's manuscripts can easily be interpreted, but the longer narratives recorded by La Mont West remain largely untranscribed and uninterpreted.

The sources give us a reasonably good view of the morphology of Yintyingka, but there are two aspects that deserve some comment here. One is that the analysis leaves us with quite a few bits of morphology that can be segmented formally, but whose meaning or function is very difficult to determine because there are only one or two attestations in the sources. We decided to include these bits of 'leftover' morphology at the end of each relevant section, for the sake of completeness and because readers with backgrounds in other languages may be able to analyse them better than we can here. Another issue is that we have very little evidence for allomorphy or morphophonemic processes in Yintyingka. In part, this is probably an effect of the nature of our sources, which contain much elicited material (from anthropological and lexical elicitation) but few reliably interpretable texts. On the other hand, this may also partly reflect the nature of the language itself, in what seems to be an areal pattern: many of the neighbouring languages, like Umpithamu, the Lamalamic languages and to a lesser degree Umpila are also fairly 'stripped down' morphologically when compared with many other Australian languages.

In general, morphology distinguishes three major parts of speech in Yintyingka, each of which uses its own set of morphological markers: free pronouns, nominals (including nouns, adjectives and demonstratives, which are differentiated syntactically), and verbs. The morphology of these parts of speech is analysed in sections 2, 3 and 4, respectively. Bound pronouns are morphologically related to free pronouns, but they are discussed under verbal morphology, since they

are suffixed to verbs. Noun-noun compounding is not discussed in this chapter, but in chapter 5 (section 2.3) on syntax – mainly for analytical reasons, because the analysis of compounds helps to disentangle the structure of the noun phrase.

2 Pronouns

Yintyingka has a dual pronoun system (see Mushin & Simpson 2008) with two types of pronominal elements, viz. free pronouns, which can take the same positions and functions as nominals, and bound pronouns, which are suffixed to the verb and serve to cross-reference nominal elements. This section describes the free pronouns; bound pronouns are discussed in section 4 below, as part of the morphology of the verb. Free pronouns in Yintyingka distinguish eight person-number categories, which can be analysed as a minimal-augmented system, and three case forms, viz. nominative, accusative and genitive. Morphologically, the system consists of eleven stems, with oblique stems for three minimal categories.

Section 2.1 deals with nominative forms, for which the sources allow us to reconstitute a full paradigm, and section 2.2 deals with accusative and genitive forms, for which we have far fewer attestations. We mainly focus on morphological structure in this chapter; we briefly comment on the uses of free pronouns, but more details can be found in sections 4 and 5 in chapter 5 on syntax.

2.1 Nominative forms

Most of the sources contain instances of some nominative pronouns, but a full paradigm can only be found in Donald Thomson's materials. In addition to sporadic attestations in his fieldnotes, there is also one document specifically devoted to pronouns (identifier DTI, see Table 22 in chapter 2), which lists eight nominative forms with English glosses. Table 1 below lists these forms, with Thomson's glosses, in the two leftmost columns. In this section we use this material to analyse the shape of the pronouns, and the overall architecture of the system.

Table 1: Donald Thomson's nominative free pronouns

Donald Thomson's forms		Reconstructed forms (Proto-Pama-Nyungan or Proto-Paman)	Proposed phonologization
Forms	Glosses		
<ŋai̯-yu> (DTI-42)	I	*ngayu 'I' (PPN, Alpher 2004b)	<i>ngayu</i>
<njno> (DTI-43)	you (thou)	*nyinu '2 SG OBL' (PPN, Alpher 2004b)	<i>nhinu</i>
<njlo> (DTI-44)	(he him her she)	*nyulu/nyilu 'he' (PP, Hale 1976b)	<i>nhilu</i>
<ŋalli koli> (DTI-46)	you & I only	*ngali 'we DU.INC' (PPN, Alpher 2004b)	<i>ngali*</i>
<ŋampu> (DTI-47)	we (including you)	*ngampul(a)/ngampa 'we PL.INC' (PP, Hale 1976b)	<i>ngampu</i>
<ŋäntʃu> (DTI-50)	we (but not you)	*ngantyan 'we EXC' (PP, Hale 1976b)	<i>ngantya*</i>
<nipo> (DTI-49)	you (plural)	*nyupul(a)/nyipul(a) 'you DU' (PP, Hale 1976b)	<i>nhipu</i>
<pulla> (DTI-51)	they	*pula 'they DU' (PPN, Alpher 2004b)	<i>pula</i>

All of the forms in this table look familiar if we compare them with the reconstructed forms proposed in the literature, listed in the third column (Proto-Paman in Hale 1976b or Proto-Pama-Nyungan in Alpher 2004b). The fourth column contains our proposed phonologization for each form. For the forms that are not attested in the sound recordings in our corpus, the proposed phonologization takes into account our phonological analysis in chapter 3 (e.g. variation between close and open-mid realization for close vowels in final syllables), our historical-comparative analysis in chapter 6 (e.g. section 2.2.2 on the relation between laminals in proto-forms and dentals in Yintyingka), and the specificities of Donald Thomson's representation (e.g. the absence of a distinction between dental and alveolar nasals, consonant doubling for gemination; see further in chapter 3, section 6.2). Our decisions should be clear from these principles, but two forms deserve some more comment.

- (1) *ngantya**: This form is attested with two different final vowels in Thomson's materials: with final <a> and <u> as a nominative form, and with the <a>-form as a stem for the genitive (<ngäntaŋo> (DTI-58), see section 2.2 below). There are no sound recordings available for comparison, but we chose to phonologize the form with /a/, for two reasons. One is that this is the expected form from a comparative perspective. The other is that the form with <u> is only attested in the second syllable of the (bisyllabic) nominative, which would have been unstressed, and not in the second syllable of the (trisyllabic) genitive, which would have been stressed (see further in chapter 3, section 5). From the perspective of an English-speaking transcriber like Thomson, an <u>-/a/ correspondence in an unstressed context is more expected than the inverse, while the <a> transcription in the genitive form can be considered reliable because we are dealing with a stressed syllable.
- (2) *nhinu*: Thomson's gloss and the use of this form in the other sources make it clear without any doubt that this is a nominative form. From a comparative perspective, however, the only good candidate among the reconstructed forms is a second person singular oblique (*nyinu '2 SG OBL', Alpher 2004b) rather than a nominative (*nyuntu '2 SG', Alpher 2004b).¹⁷ In chapter 6, section 3.1.2, we will discuss this point in more detail, showing that this is an innovation shared between Yintyingka and its neighbours Umpithamu and Umpila.

It looks like the forms in Table 1 represent the complete paradigm of nominative forms. None of the other sources contain any other nominative pronouns beyond this material, except for the small list of forms elicited from George Rocky by David Thompson (identifier GR, see Table 27 in chapter 2). This list contains a form *ngani* (GR-24), glossed as 'we EXCL', which is not attested in any other source and could in principle be regarded as a competitor for *ngantya** (which is not found in George Rocky's material). We chose not to include this in our set of nominative pronouns for Yintyingka, because George Rocky's material shows some influence from Umpila throughout: Umpila has *ngana* instead of *ngantya** as a first person plural exclusive form (Thompson 1988: 25).

The architecture of the system could in principle be analysed in the classic way, using three person categories (1, 2, 3), three number categories (singular, dual and plural) and the feature of clusivity. The problem is that the presumptive

¹⁷ The paradigm of bound pronouns, by contrast, does show a cognate of the nominative rather than the oblique (see further in section 4.1 below).

dual-plural and clusivity contrasts do not run throughout the whole system: ‘dual’ is only available for the ‘first person inclusive’ form, and a contrast between inclusive and exclusive is only available for ‘plural’ forms. A more parsimonious way to analyse this system is to analyse it as a minimal-augmented system (compare Corbett 2000: 166–169), i.e. with four ‘person’ categories based on different combinations of speaker and hearer, and two number categories, viz. minimal (i.e. the minimal number of participants for the relevant ‘person’ category) and augmented (i.e. anything more than this minimum). Table 2 below presents this analysis, with person categories re-analysed as different combinations of speaker and hearer. Given that the minimal-augmented analysis provides the most consistent analysis of this system, we will use the categories presented in this table when glossing pronouns

Table 2: Minimal-augmented analysis

Person	Speaker	Hearer	Minimal	Augmented
1	+	-	<i>ngayu</i>	<i>ngantya*</i>
2	-	+	<i>nhinu</i>	<i>nhipu</i>
3	-	-	<i>ngali*</i>	<i>pula</i>
12	+	+	<i>nhilu</i>	<i>ngampu</i>

Systems that allow a minimal-augmented analysis are rare in the region. The only other instance of a minimal-augmented system is found in Umpila (Thompson 1988: 26–27), the northern neighbour of Yintyingka, which as mentioned above uses a different form for its first person augmented category. Most other languages either have a maximal system with three number categories and clusivity or a system with a maximal number contrast and restricted clusivity. Section 3.1.1 in chapter 6 provides more information about the architecture of pronoun systems in neighbouring languages, both from a typological and a historical-comparative perspective.

2.2 Non-nominative forms

In addition to the nominative forms, which are used as the subject of transitive or intransitive predicates, Yintyingka has two further paradigms of free pronouns. The genitive paradigm is attested in full in the sources, and is used mainly to mark possession in NPs or to mark beneficiary roles at the clause level. The accusative paradigm is only attested in four forms, which mainly mark objects of transitive predicates (but see footnote 18 below). We provide more information about the functions of these non-nominative forms in section 4.2 of chapter 5.

(i) GENITIVE: The paradigm of genitive forms is found in its entirety only in Donald Thomson's materials, scattered throughout his notes and in a document devoted specifically to pronoun forms (identifier DTI, see Table 22 in chapter 2). Only part of the paradigm is also attested in the other sources, as can be seen in the relevant entries in the lexicon in chapter 7. Using the same phonologization as for the nominative forms, the paradigm can be represented as in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Genitive free pronouns

	Minimal	Augmented
1	<i>ngathu</i>	<i>ngantyangu*</i>
2	<i>nhingku</i>	<i>nhipungu</i>
3	<i>nhingu</i>	<i>pulangu</i>
12	<i>ngalingu*</i>	<i>ngampulangu*</i>

As can be seen in the table, the first, second and third minimal forms are oblique stems, not transparently relatable to the nominative forms. This corresponds to the situation reconstructed for Proto-Paman in Hale (1976b) (and partly in Proto-Pama-Nyungan in Alpher (2004b)), with *ngacu as an oblique form for 1SG (Alpher 2004b), *nyungku/nyingku as an oblique form for 2SG (Hale 1976b) and *nyungu/nyingu as an oblique form for 3SG (Hale 1976b). The other forms can be analysed as the nominative stem plus a suffix *-ngu*. The only exception is *ngampulangu** for 12AUG, attested only once in our sources (DTI-55), where we would expect *ngampungu* on the basis of the nominative form. From a historical perspective, it looks like the genitive form may have preserved the third syllable from the proto-form *ngampul(a) (Hale 1976b), which was lost in the nominative form.

(ii) ACCUSATIVE: The accusative paradigm is only attested in four forms, three minimal and one augmented, mainly from Donald Thomson's materials (see the relevant entries in the lexicon in chapter 7). All forms can be transparently analysed as composed of the genitive form plus a suffix *-na*. Since Thomson does not distinguish between alveolar and dental nasals (see chapter 3, section 6.2), his renderings do not allow us to decide on the phonologization of the suffix, but there are two other pieces of evidence we can use to decide for an alveolar nasal. One is Bruce Rigsby's transcriptions of the forms *ngathuna* and *nhingkuna* in his elicitation work with Rosie Ahlers (identifier RAK, see Table 30 in chapter 2), which use an alveolar nasal.¹⁸ The other is the set of cognate

¹⁸ It should be noted that these attestations are used to mark possession in the NP rather than objects, with Rosie Ahlers varying between forms with and without *-na*. This means we cannot exclude that these forms could also be analysed as a combination of the genitive pronoun with a homophonous marker *-na* that has a different function (e.g. relating to information structure, see section 2.3 below).

forms in the Umpithamu paradigm of pronouns (the genitive forms *athuna*, *ingkuna*, *inguna*, *ipunguna*, see Verstraete 2012), where *-na* definitely has an alveolar nasal.

Table 4: Accusative free pronouns

	Minimal	Augmented
1	<i>ngathuna</i>	?
2	<i>nhingkuna</i>	<i>nhipunguna</i>
3	<i>nhinguna</i>	?
12	?	?

2.3 Other forms

The nominative, genitive and accusative forms are the only paradigms attested for free pronouns. In addition, the sources contain a handful of more or less isolated forms where a nominative or genitive form receives another marker. We list them here, with comments where possible, but there are not enough attestations to allow a definitive analysis.

The nominative form is found with a marker *-ku* in two instances, listed in (3) and (4) below, both in Donald Thomson's material. *-ku* is otherwise found as a dative marker with nominals (see section 3.1 below). An oblique type of marker could make sense in the context (as a reflexive beneficiary use), except that pronouns normally use their own genitive form in contexts where nouns use a dative (see chapter 5, section 4.2). The nominative form is further also attested with a marker <-na>, again only in Thomson's material, where *nhipu-na* in (5) is presented as an alternative to *nhipu*, an alternation that may suggest an information-structural function (compare section 3.2 below).

- (3) mätiŋi n̪ai̯-yu-go (DTC2-132)
 mati^T-ngi ngayu-ku
 flash-1MIN.NOM 1MIN.NOM-DAT?
 'I/me flash.' (DT's translation)

- (4) nino-go mätidi (DTC2-131)
 nhinu-ku mati^T-ti*
 2MIN.NOM-DAT? flash-2MIN.NOM
 'You flash.' (DT's translation)

- (5) nepona tonkimbo (DTC2-245)
 nhipu-na^T thongke-mpu*
 2AUG.NOM-? come-IMP.PL
 'You all come.'

Genitive forms are attested with two further markers: =*ngka*, illustrated in (6), and =*nhang*, illustrated in (7). Both of these have a wide distribution – not just on pronouns but also on nouns and demonstratives – and probably have an information-structural function. These markers are described in more detail in section 3.2 below, where we argue that they should be analysed as clitics.

- (6) weeli ngathu=ngka (JLL-0147)
 yZ 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
 'my younger sister'
- (7) ngarrku ngathu=nhang (JLTA-0039)
 country 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
 'my country'

3 Nominals

Nominals are morphologically distinct from pronouns in Yintyingka, in that they take different types and paradigms of case markers, and have their own set of derivational markers. Nominals include nouns, adjectives and demonstratives, which can be distinguished among themselves in terms of syntactic criteria like word order, as shown in chapter 5. Furthermore, reduplication is only available for adjectives, as shown in section 3.3.3 below, and some types of spatial case are optional with a subclass of spatial nouns, as argued in section 3.1 below. This section focuses on the morphology of nominals. The semantics of the relevant categories is dealt with in chapter 5, section 4.

Section 3.1 deals with nominal case, a paradigm of four suffixes attached to the final nominal of a noun phrase. Section 3.2 discusses a number of information-structural markers. Section 3.3 deals with other nominal morphology: productive processes like privatives and verbalizers, restricted processes in the system of kinterms and placenames, reduplication, and some semantically opaque processes.

3.1 Case

The sources allow us to identify four case forms: a dative marker, two locative markers and an ablative marker, listed in Table 5 below. The functions of the case forms are mainly local. Somewhat surprisingly, there is no evidence in any of the sources for an ergative marker, although this could be due to the lack of reliably transcribed text. Other languages in the region show patterns of so-called ‘optional’ ergative marking, with the ergative marker showing up only in specific information-structural contexts (e.g. Verstraete 2009a, 2010a on Umpithamu, and Gaby 2008, 2010 on Kuuk Thaayorre).

Table 5: Nominal case markers

Case	Marker
Dative	-ku
Broad Locative	-ngu
Narrow Locative	-ngka
Ablative	-mu/-m

Case is available for all nominals, but some markers are optional for specific types of nouns like placenames and cardinal directions (see chapter 5, section 4.3). Case is only marked on one nominal in each noun phrase, always the final one. Unlike the information-structural markers discussed in section 3.2 below, however, we do not analyse case markers as clitics. They are selective in their hosts, in that they can only be attached to the final nominal in an NP, and not, for instance, to a possessive pronoun. The corpus contains no instances of NP-final possessive pronouns that are marked for case, while there are many instances of such pronouns that are marked for information structure (see further in chapter 5, section 2).

(i) DATIVE: The dative marker has the familiar form *-ku*, found in many languages in the region. The marker is attached to the final nominal of a noun phrase, as shown in the contrast between the simple and complex NPs in (8) and (9) below.

- (8) känämbi utʃa-go (DTC2-217)
 kana^T-mpi utsa*-ku
 look-12AUG.NOM dugong-DAT
 ‘Let us look for dugong.’

- (9) kampino wurkiña my|no|argo te'e'|inta (DT3-5)
 kampinhu wurki^T-na mayi nu'a-ku the'e*-inta^T
 dilly.bag start-PST veg.food karol-DAT bark.trough-?
 'I started the dilly bag for karol in the bark trough.'

Like all suffixes, the dative marker shifts stress from the first syllable of a bisyllabic stem to the second syllable of the resulting trisyllabic word, optionally accompanied by vowel lengthening in the same syllable (see chapter 3, section 5.2). This is illustrated in (10) below. Given that the vast majority of Yintyingka stems end in a vowel, there is not much evidence to show how this marker behaves with consonant-final stems, but there is one instance in Jinny Long's texts where we can recognize the placename Coen ['kɔwən], inflected with a dative. In this case, the vowel in the second syllable is copied as a linking vowel between stem and suffix, as shown in (11).

- (10) ngarrku 'place' ['ŋarku] (JLTA-0015)
 ngarrku-ku 'place-DAT' [ŋar'kɔ:gɔ] (JLL-0182)
- (11) Coen-ku 'Coen-DAT' ['kɔwənɛgɔ] (JLTA-0132)

The meanings of the dative marker are either to mark the purpose of an action, or the direction of a movement towards a place. There is also limited evidence for a beneficiary-type function, as discussed in more detail in section 4.2 in chapter 5.

(ii) LOCATIVES: Yintyingka has two case markers with a locative function, *-ngu* and *-ngka*, with a different distribution and slightly different meanings. *-ngu*, which we will call the broad locative, is available for all nominals and is used both to mark location and the endpoint of a movement. *-ngka*, which we will call the narrow locative, is only available for inherently locative nominals like demonstratives and cardinal directions and in placenames, often leads to lexicalization, and is only used to mark location (and not movement). There are some arguments to analyse this as a derivational rather than an inflectional suffix.

(iia) BROAD LOCATIVE: The broad locative is exemplified in (12) below. There is no unambiguous instance of the broad locative in a phrase consisting of more than one nominal, except possibly (13), but there is no reason to assume that it would behave differently from other case markers. There are simply fewer attestations than for the dative or the ablative suffixes.

- (12) *ŋalli mälnkänäŋo wunilli* (DTC2-66)
 ngali* malngkana*-ngu wuna-li*
 12MIN.NOM sandbeach-BLOC lie-12MIN.NOM
 ‘You and I sleep on the sandbeach.’ (DT’s translation)

- (13) *Kär-wä mäln'-känänj'o* (DTC2-16)
 kaawa malngkana*-ngu
 east sandbeach-BLOC
 ‘at the sandbeach to the east’

Like other suffixes, the broad locative shifts stress, as shown in (14). The interaction with consonant-final stems cannot be examined because we do not have any relevant examples in our corpus.

- (14) *wiiya-ngu* ‘other-BLOC’ [wi:'ja:ŋu] (JLTA-0032)

(iib) NARROW LOCATIVE: The narrow locative is attested with demonstratives, as in (15), with cardinal directions, as in (16), and in placenames and temporal expressions, as in (17) and (18).

- (15) *ŋai-yu ängkungä* (DTI-70)
 ngayu angku-ngka
 1MIN.NOM PROX.DEM-NLOC
 ‘I am staying here.’ (DT’s translation)

- (16) *thiipi-ngka* (JLTA-0182)
 south-NLOC
 (no translation in source)

- (17) a. *wäřinj-ä* (DTC2-47) Warringka (placename)
 b. *Yälä-wunkä* (DTC2-39) Yalawangka (placename)
 c. *Yintſiňa* (DTC2-44) Yintyingka (placename)

- (18) a. *parrpi* ‘tonight’
parrpi-ngka ‘tomorrow (night)’
 b. *wali^T* ‘today’
wali^T-ngka ‘now, today’

The first two cases involve stems with inherently locative meanings (compare Hill 2002), indicating locations or directions, as in (15) and (16). The last two cases do not use inherently locative stems, but the suffixed forms are lexicalized as inherently locative words like the placename in (17), or as metaphorical extensions of locatives, like the temporal expressions in (18). This association with inherently locative stems or words, together with the absence of an ‘endpoint’ meaning for this suffix, is the reason why we chose the label ‘narrow locative’ for *-ngka*. There are no instances of *-ngka* at the end of a phrase consisting of more than one nominal: this could be due to lack of data, as we argued for *-ngu*, but it could also suggest that it is derivational rather than inflectional. This may in fact be supported by the patterns of lexicalization illustrated in (17) and (18), given that derivational processes more easily give rise to lexicalization than inflectional ones.

Narrow locative *-ngka* is homophonous with two other morphemes, a tense-mood suffix *-ngka* that is used with verbs (see section 4.2 below), and an emphasis clitic *=ngka* that is used with nominals and pronouns (see section 3.2 below). It is possible that some of the uses of *-ngka* listed here can be re-analysed as the emphasis marker, which has a partly overlapping distribution. This may be the case for the temporal uses in (18): the common metaphorical path from space to time supports a locative interpretation, but the uncertain part of speech of the stems may point to the emphasis clitic.

(iii) ABLATIVE: The ablative marker is *-mu*.¹⁹ Because we can recognize one of the untranscribed narratives by Jinny Long as a travelogue, we have quite a few analysable attestations of ‘from-to’ clauses like (19) and (20) below, even if we cannot analyse the whole narrative. Like the other case suffixes, *-mu* alters the stress pattern of bisyllabic stems, as shown in the contrast between the stem [‘mak:a] in (19) and the ablative form [ma‘ka:mu] in (20). The ablative also attaches to the final nominal in a noun phrase, as shown in (21) below, with a noun phrase consisting of a generic nominal and a placename.

¹⁹ There is some evidence for an allomorph *-m*, used before vowel-initial words (like the full form *eyeya-* of the verb used in (19) and (20)). At first sight, this may look like a phonological process dealing with vowel hiatus across word boundaries, as in the neighbouring language Umpithamu, which deletes final vowels in such contexts. The alternation is limited to the ablative suffix, however, and in other contexts Yintyingka appears to use the addition of consonants rather than the deletion of vowels to deal with vowel hiatus (see chapter 3, section 4.1). This suggests that, if anything, *-m* is an allomorph of the ablative marker and not an instance of a more general phonological process. (Compare also Dixon (1977: 132–133, 215) on *-mu* and *-m* as ablative allomorphs in Yidiny, though with a different distribution.)

- (19) wokeka-mu yeya-ngi / maka (JLTA-0059)
placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename
'I go from Wokeka to Maka.'

(20) maka-mu yeya-ngi (JLTA-0060)
placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM
'I go from Maka.'

(21) ngoki yakali-mu (JLTA-0055)
water placename-ABL
'from a place named Yakali.'

(iv) VOCATIVE: A final marker that should be discussed here is the vocative -*y^T*, which is not a case marker semantically but often included in case paradigms because it is productive and distributionally restricted to nominals. Donald Thomson's materials contain one instance of a form that is suffixed with -*y^T*, with a gloss that suggests a vocative interpretation. His transcription in (22b) could in principle also be analysed as /*oji*/ for <-oi>, but Thomson usually uses a hyphen to mark glides between vowels, as shown in chapter 3, section 6.2, so /*oj*/ is a more likely analysis. There is one other form that appears to be glossed as vocative, viz. the use of -*ta^T* with nominative pronouns, discussed in section 3.3.2 below.

- (22) a. <Tfil-po> (DTC2-26) tyilpu* 'old man'
 b. <[id]-oi!> (DTC2-27) tyilpu*-y^T 'Old man!' (DT's translation)

3.2 Information status

There are a number of markers in the sources whose function may relate to information status in a broad sense. Given the lack of reliably transcribed text, it is difficult to identify their precise function, and how they differ among each other. One marker is only attested with nominals, as with the case markers discussed in the previous section, while two others are not selective in their host. These seem to be genuinely phrase-final clitics, attached to the final element of a noun phrase regardless of its word class. Baker & Mushin (2008: 14–16) discuss a few parallel examples of ‘post-inflectional’ elements marking information status in other Australian languages.

The first marker is *-ka^T*, attested with kinterms in Donald Thomson's materials, as illustrated in (23) and (24) below. The translations provided by Thomson are not

entirely consistent, but they suggest an intensifier function, perhaps specialized in kinterms. We could not find any relevant cognates in neighbouring languages.

- (23) kami-gä (DTC2-257)
kami-ka^T
parallel.grandparent-INT
'himself myself etc' (DT's translation)
- (24) towa ga (DTC2-221)
thowi-ka^T
child.f.s-INT
'you my cousin' (DT's translation)

The second marker is =ngka. Unlike the homophonous case marker discussed in the previous section, this morpheme is not selective in its host but is a genuinely phrase-final clitic, which can be attached to any NP-final element regardless of its word class, and perhaps even beyond the NP.²⁰ The examples in (25) and (26) illustrate phrase-final uses, in both cases with pronouns, while (27) illustrates use with a perfective particle, although we cannot be sure that this is the same marker (see chapter 5, section 6.2.2 on this construction). The wide distribution of the markers suggests some type of pragmatic function, and the structure in (26) shows why 'emphatic' could be a possible gloss for this marker: the first use of the pronoun is bare, and it is only the repeated form that receives -ngka.

- (25) pokō ngathu=ngka (JLL-0129)
child.m.s 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
'my child'
- (26) pama ngampu ngampu=ngka (JLL-0124)
man 12AUG.NOM 12AUG.NOM=EMPH
(elicited as 'people belong us')
- (27) ngaiyu känängä wipa wunänä (DTI-9&10)
ngayu kana=ngka weepa wuna-na
1MIN.NOM PFV=EMPH sleep lie-PST
'I slept.'

²⁰ Unlike the clitic =nhang (discussed below), =ngka does not attract stress but simply shifts it the way suffixes do. We still analyse =ngka as a clitic because of its lack of host selectivity.

The final form is *=nhang*, which is phonetically remarkable because it ends in a velar nasal and attracts stress. It is attested several times in the sound recordings elicited with Jinny Long, as exemplified in (28) and (29).

- (28) ngarrku ngathu=*nhang* (JLTA-0039)

country 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
'my country'

- (29) nu'a=*nhang* (JLL-0031)

karol=EMPH
'karol'

Again, distribution is one reason to assume a pragmatic function, but structures like (29) may provide a further clue. The context in which this example occurs cannot be deciphered entirely, but just before *nu'a=nhang* the speaker mentions *muuki*, the name of another yam species: this may imply that (29) is a correction, which could fit in with an 'emphatic' gloss for the morpheme. Unlike other bound morphemes, moreover, *=nhang* does not affect the stress pattern of bisyllabic words by moving stress towards the second syllable but itself attracts stress. This is illustrated in the pitch track in Figure 1 below, which shows how both the first syllable of *nu'a* and *=nhang* carry the fall associated with stress.

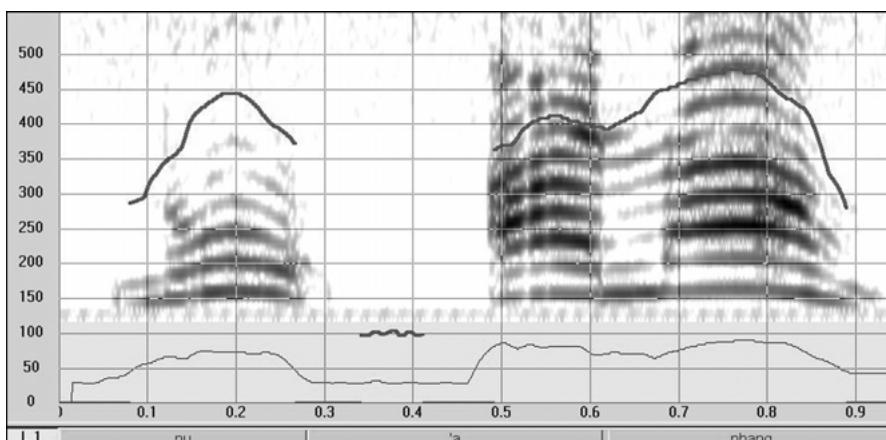


Figure 1: Pitch track for *nu'a=nhang*. Horizontal axis represents time (seconds); alignment is approximate. Vertical axis represents amplitude (0–50 dB) and F0 (0–500 Hz), projected onto background spectrogram (0–4500 Hz).

3.3 Other nominal morphology

This section deals with other nominal morphology than case and information structure markers. In section 3.3.1 we discuss morphemes that are semantically transparent, in section 3.3.2 we list segmentable morphemes that remain opaque, and section 3.3.3 we briefly discuss reduplication.

3.3.1 Semantically transparent morphemes

In our list of transparent morphemes, there are three morphemes that were probably productive, viz. a privative, a comitative and an intransitive verbalizer, and two types that were probably not fully productive, viz. a reciprocal morpheme in the system of kinterms and various placename morphemes.

(i) PRIVATIVE: The privative morpheme *-kinu** is added to a nominal to mark the absence of the referent denoted by the nominal. The structures in (30) and (31) below provide examples of privative-marked nominals used as predicates. The shape of the morpheme is familiar from neighbouring languages like Umpithamu, which has a privative *-kin-/kinu*.

- (30) *ŋai-yu keni-gin-u* (DTC2-118)
 ngayu keene-*kinu**
 1MIN.NOM tobacco-PRIV
 'I have no tobacco.'

- (31) *ŋai-yu ko-ta-gino* (DTC2-201)
 ngayu kuta-*kinu**
 1MIN.NOM humpy-PRIV
 'I have no humpy.'

(ii) COMITATIVE: The sources do not contain any indisputable instances of a comitative. There is one lexical form in Donald Thomson's materials, however, illustrated in (32) below, which may contain a comitative marker. The form *thaapityi** is glossed as 'name' or 'namesake' by Thomson, while *thaapi* is attested as the word for 'tongue'. A link with a comitative function for *-tyi** is supported by the presence of *-tyi* as a comitative in neighbouring languages like Umpila, and the use of a cognate *thaapich* in Wik Ngathan and Wik Mungkan for 'namesake of someone recently deceased' (Sutton 1995b: 95, Kilham et al. 1986). From this perspective, the form could be analysed as 'tongue-having', i.e. *thaapi* 'tongue' with the comitative marker *-tyi**.

- (32) 'Tā-pigin-in-u (DTC2-37)
 thaapi-tyi* nhingu
 tongue-COM 3MIN.GEN
 'name belong him, i.e. his name' (DT's translation)

(iii) VERBALIZER: The morpheme *-ma** is used as an intransitive verbalizer for adjectives, meaning 'become (adjective)'. The structure in (33) exemplifies this with the adjective *ngotho** 'black'. There are cognate suffixes with the same function in neighbouring languages, like *-ma* in Umpithamu (Verstraete field-notes) and Umpila (Thompson 1988: 34).

- (33) nino *ŋotomă* (DTC2-283)
 nhinu *ngotho*-ma**
 2MIN.NOM black-VBLZ
 'You grow black.' (DT's translation)

(iv) KIN RECIPROCAL: The system of kintterms has two reciprocal morphemes *-thu/-nthinhu*, which from the perspective of the person designated by the stem mean 'person who calls me X'. These morphemes are not productive: they are available only for the two grandparent terms (parallel grandparent in (34), cross-grandparent in (35)) as well as mother's older sibling, as shown in (36).²¹ The sources do not give any indication that there is a semantic difference between the forms in *-thu* and the forms in *-nthinhu*. There are similar reciprocals in Umpithamu (*-thunu*) and in Umpila (*-thu*), in both cases for the grandparent terms and the parents' older siblings.

- (34) a. kami 'parallel grandparent'
 b. kami-thu / kami-nthinhu 'parallel grandchild'
- (35) a. ngathi 'cross-grandparent'
 b. ngathi-thu / ngathi-nthinhu 'cross-grandchild'

²¹ These are the three only forms in Donald Thomson's published list of kintterms (Thomson 1972). His fieldnotes also have a few attestations of a form *pininthinhu^T*, which from a comparative perspective looks like a reciprocal for 'father's older sibling', but his genealogies more typically use *ngayunpa* and *poko* as reciprocals in this context (see further under the entry for *pininthinhu^T* in the lexicon in chapter 7).

- (36) a. muki ‘mother’s older sibling’
 b. muki-thu / muki-nthinhu ‘younger sister’s child’

(v) PLACENAMES: Yintyingka also has a set of morphemes found in place-names, with or without recognizable stems. Apart from the lexicalized forms with *-ngka* discussed in the previous section, we can also recognize forms in *-ntyingu* (a form that is confirmed by our work with Umpithamu, Umbuygamu and Lamalama speakers), with stems that are recognizable in Yintyingka, as in (37), or that may be borrowed from Umpila, as in (38) (see chapter 3, section 4.2). Furthermore, there are two forms where we can segment *-(a)piringu*, listed in (39), but with stems that cannot be recognized in Yintyingka and that look unusual phonotactically, with a word-final *n* or *l* (if *-a-* belongs to the suffix).

- (37) Inogonjino (DTC5-74)
 inuku*-ntyingu
 tree.sp-PLACE
 'Inukuntyingu'

(38) Köl-an-djin̪-ò (DTC2-45)
 kul'a*-ntyingu
 stone-PLACE
 'Kul'antyingu'

(39) a. Witfinäbiirin̪-u (DTC2-42)
 wityin-apirringu
 ?-PLACE
 'Wityinapirringu'
 b. Maŋ-ola-birin̪-u (DTC2-50)
 mangul-apirringu
 ?-PLACE
 'Mangulapirringu'

3.3.2 Semantically opaque morphemes

In this section, we list a few morphemes that are obviously segmentable in the sources but remain unclear semantically.

- (40) *-ta^T*: This form is found in Donald Thomson's materials, both with nominals and pronouns, e.g.
- a. wi-ada = another – somebody else (DTC2-230)
wiiya-ta^T
other-?
 - b. nino-dă! you, you! (DTC2-231)
nhinu-ta^T
2MIN.NOM-?
- (41) *-inta^T*: This form is found once in Donald Thomson's materials, suffixed to *te'e* 'bark trough', as shown in example (9) above.
- (42) *-namu*: This form is attested once, in Jinny Long's recordings, as *thaypa-namu* 'frill-neck lizard' (JLL-0108), which has a segmentable stem *thaypa* 'beard'. Umpila has a genitive for nominal forms in *-namu* (Thompson 1988: 21), which could be a relevant source.

3.3.3 Reduplication

To round off this section on nominal morphology, we briefly discuss the process of reduplication. It is not clear from the sources if this is a productive process, but we have eight instances of full reduplication, as well as two or three instances of partial reduplication.

Full reduplication is found mainly with adjectives, as shown in (43)–(45) below. Where we have a non-reduplicated equivalent attested, as in (44) and (45), reduplication appears to mark intensity. Partial reduplication is found with one adjective, illustrated in (46),²² as well as with some verbs (see, for instance, the entry for *yeya-* 'go' in the lexicon).

- (43) wořfa kalmbi-kalmbi (DTC2-186)
worrya* kalmpi-kalmpi^T
cloud fast-REDUP
'The cloud goes quickly.' (DT's translation)

²² Partial reduplication in this case may be a calque of reduplication in the Umpila equivalent *mukamukana* 'very big/plenty' (see Thompson 1988: 24).

- (44) kätſi-kätſi-ŋa (DTC2-286)
 katyi-katyi=ngka
 far-REDUP=EMPH
 'I stay a long long way.' (DT's translation)

- (45) petyepetye 'little'

- (46) mai jie yapyapano (DTC5-76)
 mayi yap-yapanu
 veg.food REDUP-much
 'a heap of food'

4 Verbs

Verbal morphology in Yintyingka consists of four sets of suffixes: (i) bound nominative pronouns, for which we can reconstitute a complete paradigm, (ii) bound accusative pronouns, only attested in a few person values, (iii) four tense-mood markers and (iv) some derivational markers, again with only a few attestations. Derivational markers precede the others, as could be expected. Somewhat more surprisingly, nominative markers and tense-mood markers are in complementary distribution, which suggests that the presence of a nominative marker signals a value in the tense-mood system. There is no evidence for conjugation classes of any kind, unlike in the neighbouring language Umpila, for instance, which distinguishes between four classes of verbs, with four different sets of tense-aspect-mood suffixes (Harris & O'Grady 1976). Pama-Nyungan languages without conjugation classes are relatively rare (Dixon 1980: 382, McGregor 2002: 208–213), but the absence of evidence in Yintyingka is not necessarily due to the sparsity of sources: other better-documented languages nearby also lack conjugation classes, like Umpithamu and all of the Lamalamic languages.

The bound nominative pronouns are discussed in section 4.1, and the bound accusative pronouns are discussed in section 4.2, together with the tense-mood suffixes. The reasons for treating accusative pronouns together with tense-mood markers are mainly analytic: both sets of suffixes are very sparsely attested, and in at least two cases a form could be analysed as either. Section 4.3 deals with other verbal morphology that can be segmented formally, but is difficult to interpret.

4.1 Bound nominative pronouns

The sources allow us to reconstitute a full paradigm of bound nominative pronouns, with some uncertainty for the second and third augmented forms. The paradigm has the same architecture as the free pronouns, with four person values and a minimal-augmented contrast. In most cases the bound pronouns are also transparently related to their free counterparts, with four exceptions, discussed in more detail below. Table 6 lists the bound forms with their free counterparts, followed by an example for each unproblematic form.

Table 6: Bound and free nominative pronouns

	Minimal		Augmented	
	Bound	Free	Bound	Free
1	<i>-ngi</i>	<i>ngayu</i>	<i>-ntyi*</i> <i>-lintyi^T</i>	<i>ngantya*</i>
2	<i>-ti*</i>	<i>nhinu</i>	[<i>-mpu*</i> = IMP.PL]	<i>nhipu</i>
3	(zero)	<i>nhilu</i>	<i>-rru^T</i> <i>-mpi^{T?}</i>	<i>pula</i>
12	<i>-li*</i>	<i>ngali*</i>	<i>-mpi</i>	<i>ngampu</i>

- (47) *katäne/i* (DTC2-111)

katha-*ngi*
tie-1MIN.NOM
'I tie up.'

- (48) *nino tenkidi* (DTC2-99)

nhinu *tenki^T-ti**
2MIN.NOM let.go-2MIN.NOM
'You let go.'

- (49) *nilo täni* (DTC2-281)

nhilu *tani^T*
3MIN.NOM stand
'He stands up.'

- (50) *ngälli wänälli* (DTI-16)

*ngali** *wana*-li**
12MIN.NOM leave-12MIN.NOM
'We leave (it).'

- (51) ngä+ntʃa wänänji (DTI-18)
 ngantya* wana*-ntyi*
 1AUG.NOM leave-1AUG.NOM
 ‘We leave (it).’
- (52) wo-pimbi (DTC2-17)
 wopi-mpi
 go-12AUG.NOM
 ‘We all go.’

Four of the eight bound forms are transparently related to their free counterparts, taking either the first syllable (1MIN) or the last syllable (12MIN, 1AUG, 12AUG) and levelling the final vowel to /i/ (also attested as a diachronic process in kintterms, see chapter 3, section 4.3). The 1AUG form has two allomorphs, both attested in Donald Thomson’s materials: *-ntyi**, as in (51) above, and *-lintyi^T* as in (53) below. The second allomorph looks as if it contains the 12MIN form, but the combination with the free pronoun and Thomson’s glosses make it clear that *-lintyi^T* has a value of 1AUG rather than 12MIN.

- (53) ngäntʃa wunallinji (DTI-7)
 ngantya* wuna-lintyi^T
 1AUG.NOM lie-1AUG.NOM
 ‘us (we but not you)’ (DT’s translation)

The 2MIN form *-ti** and the apparent 2AUG form *-mpu** are not related to their free counterparts *nhinu* and *nhipu* in the same transparent way. With the 2MIN form, the discrepancy is due to the fact that the free pronoun reflects the oblique proto-form *nyinu (Alpher 2004b) rather than the nominative *nyuntu. The bound pronoun, by contrast, can be directly related to the nominative proto-form, taking the last syllable and levelling the final vowel to /i/, as with the other forms discussed above. With the value 2AUG, we would expect a bound form *-pi*, instead of the form *-mpu** that is found in structures like (54), consistently in combination with the 2AUG free pronoun.

- (54) nipo tonkimbo (DTC2-244)
 nhipu thongke-mpu*
 2AUG.NOM come-IMP.PL
 ‘You come.’

The form is unexpected because of the absence of vowel levelling and the presence of a nasal-stop cluster. An alternative analysis for this form is as a tense-mood marker, specifically an imperative plural form, as in the neighbouring language Umpila, which has *-mpu* as an imperative plural form in all of its conjugation classes (Thompson 1988: 31). This would fit equally well with the presence of a 2AUG free pronoun. Given that bound pronouns and tense-mood markers are in complementary distribution, there is no way to tell which analysis is correct, but the shape of the marker seems to push the balance towards the tense-mood analysis.

The precise shape of the 3AUG forms is not clear from the sources: there are two alternative shapes attested, and there is no obvious way to decide whether they are allomorphs, production mistakes or simply forms beyond the pronoun paradigm (as with the apparent 2AUG form). Donald Thomson's material contains three forms consisting of a trill and a vowel, and three forms identical to the 12AUG form. Each of these either is attested in combination with a free 3AUG pronoun, as in (55) and (56), or if there is no free pronoun, the translation suggests that we are dealing with 3AUG forms, as in (57) and (58).

- (55) pulla wunir^{xo} (DTI-8)
 pula wuna-rru^T
 3AUG.NOM lie-3AUG.NOM
 'They lie down.'
- (56) pulla wänämbi (DTI-19)
 pula wana*-mpi^T
 3AUG.NOM leave-3AUG.NOM?
 'They leave.'
- (57) wänkämbi (DTC2-273)
 wangka-mpi^T
 hit-3AUG.NOM?
 'They (hammer).' (DT's translation)
- (58) Päm-a tonkor-muli-^u (DTC2-7)
 pama thongke-rru^T muliyu^T
 man come-3AUG.NOM? ?
 'When altogether boy come up.' (DT's translation)

The fact that both forms are used more than once, with clear indications of a 3AUG interpretation, suggests that they must be allomorphs, but from a semantic

perspective the overlap with the 12AUG form is strange. Neighbouring languages do not offer any cognates or parallel situations, so we have to leave this as an uncertain cell in the paradigm of bound pronouns.

With bisyllabic verb stems, bound pronouns shift stress towards the second syllable, optionally also lengthening the second vowel, as is the case with other suffixes. A further effect on the stem that is specific to bound pronouns is a shift in the final vowel of the verb stem: when followed by a bound form in /i/, the final vowel of the verb stem can optionally shift to /ɪ/. This is illustrated in (59) and (60) below, with the stems *wama**- ‘hold’ and *pootya**- ‘go’.

- (59) *wama**- ‘hold’ + -*ti** ‘2MIN.NOM’:

- a. nini/neni wämädi (DTC2-95)
- b. wämidi (DTC2-102)

- (60) *pootya**- ‘go’ + -*ngi* ‘1MIN.NOM’:

- a. ḷnai̯-yu portʃāŋi (DTI-60)
- b. po̯tʃinjɪ (DTC2-30)

4.2 Tense-mood markers and bound accusative pronouns

This section deals with tense-mood suffixes and bound accusative pronouns. In section 4.2.1, we disentangle the two categories. Some suffixes are clearly tense-mood markers, but there are a few cases that could be interpreted either way: for these, the evidence has to be laid out explicitly to justify our decision. In section 4.2.2, we present the basic paradigms and their distribution, including their relation to the bound nominative pronouns.

4.2.1 Analysis

Apart from the bound nominative forms discussed in the previous section, there are five other forms attested in our sources: -*la**-, -*ngka*, -*na*, -*nhi** and the bare stem. In this section, we show that these represent six values: four tense-mood values and two accusative pronouns. -*la** and the bare stem are imperative markers, -*ngka* is a present marker and -*na* is a marker for past and citation forms, while -*nhi** is a first person minimal accusative pronoun and -*na*^T is a third person minimal accusative pronoun.

To begin with, forms in *-la** and the bare stem, illustrated in (61) and (62) below, can be analysed as imperative forms.

- (61) waliŋa nino tonkilla (DTC2-146)
 wali^T-ngka nhinu thongke-la*
 today-NLOC 2MIN.NOM come-IMP.SG
 ‘You come now or you come today.’ (DT’s translation, alternating with *thongke-ti**)
- (62) wäli tonki (DTC2-108)
 wali^T thongke
 today come
 ‘Come today.’ (DT’s translation)

Both forms are translated as commands where translations are available in the sources, they are presented as alternatives to 2nd person minimal forms in Donald Thomson’s material, and they are never associated with any other person forms. In other words, we are dealing with forms that are specialized in second person contexts and have functions in the deontic domain, for which ‘imperative’ seems to be the most suitable label. For *-la**, a further comparative argument is that Yintyingka’s northern and southern neighbours both have apparent cognates for their imperative, *-l* for all imperatives in Umpithamu, and *-la* alternating with zero for the imperative singular in Umpila (Thompson 1988: 31) (Alpher 1990 also reconstructs *-la as the imperative of the Proto-Pama-Nyungan L conjugation). For the bare stem, two further arguments for its status as an imperative form are (i) that it can occur both with and without a free pronoun, as illustrated in (62) above, which shows that the bare stem in itself has a value in the system, and (ii) that it uses a specialized imperative negator, as shown in (63) below (see further in chapter 5, section 6.1).

- (63) wämä tonki (DTC2-190)
 wama^T thongke
 NEG.IMP come
 ‘No more you come.’ (DT’s translation)

It is unclear if there is any semantic difference between the bare form and the form in *-la**, but several verbs are attested with both, which at least shows that they do not mark conjugation classes. The bare form is only attested with 2MIN forms, while the form in *-la** has a potential attestation with a 2AUG form,

shown in (64) below. It is difficult to analyse this form in a consistent way, however. We could take *-la-pu* as a combination of an imperative and a 2AUG bound pronoun (see section 4.1 on problems with the 2AUG value in the paradigm of bound forms), but this would go against the very robust tendency in Yintyingka for tense-mood marking not to co-occur with bound pronouns.

- (64) nipo kätälä-bo (DTC2-214)
 nhipu katha-la^{*}-pu^T
 2AUG.NOM tie-IMP.SG-?
 'You tie up.' (DT's translation: 'they tie up')

If we leave aside the structure in (64), then, *-la** can be analysed as a singular imperative, contrasting with a plural imperative in *-mpu**, as in the neighbouring language Umpila.

The suffix *-ngka* is the second tense-mood marker, illustrated in (65) below. The marker is only attested with verbs in the material recorded from Jinny Long, so it is difficult to identify its precise meaning. Comparative evidence suggests that a value of 'present' may be the best guess: *-ngka* is the marker for present in the neighbouring language Umpithamu, and for present continuous in two of the four conjugation classes in the other neighbour Umpila (Thompson 1988: 31). The marker is homophonous with the narrow locative *-ngka* found on nominals (see section 3.1 above) and the emphasis clitic *=ngka* found on noun phrases and particles (see section 3.2 above). Given their differences in distribution and semantics, it is very unlikely that the three markers could be generalized as domain-specific instances of a more abstract marker *-ngka*.

- (65) ngayu errke-ngka ayapathu (JLTA-0002)
 1MIN.NOM talk-PRS ayapathu
 'I speak Ayapathu language.'

The suffix *-na* is attested in simple verbs, as in (66)–(68), in verbs construed with the perfective marker *kana*, as in (69), and in combination with bound nominative pronouns, as in (70).

- (66) kampino wurrkiña my|no|argo te'e|inta (DT3-5)
 kampinhu wurrki^T-na mayi nu'a-ku the'e^{*}-inta^T
 dilly.bag start-PST veg.food karol-DAT bark.trough-?
 'The dilly bag I have started / bin startim for karol in bark trough.'
 (DT's translation)

- (67) kani yeña-na (JLL-0186)
 up go-PST
 (elicited as ‘go up’)
- (68) thaai-na (JLL-0042)
 throw-PST
 (elicited as ‘chuckim’)
- (69) ngaiyu känängä wipa wunänä (DTI-9&10)
 ngayu kana=ngka weepa wuna-na
 1MIN.NOM PFV=EMPH sleep lie-PST
 ‘I slept.’ (DT’s equivalent in Umpila is in the past tense)
- (70) nino wänkadinä (DTC2-274)
 nhinu wangka-ti*-na^T
 2MIN.NOM hit-2MIN.NOM-3MIN.ACC
 ‘you hammer (him)’ (DT’s translation)

We analyse this form as representing two suffixes: one *-na* with a tense-mood value marking past tense and citation forms, and one *-na^T* with a pronominal value marking 3MIN.ACC. It is unclear if the two suffixes are really homophonous: the tense-mood marker is attested in sound recordings with an alveolar nasal, but the bound pronoun is only attested in Donald Thomson’s material, which does not distinguish between alveolar and dental nasals (see chapter 3, section 6.2).

In some instances distribution and transitivity allow one to distinguish between the two suffixes. For instance, in the structure in (70), where *-na^T* follows a bound nominative pronoun, a tense-mood interpretation is excluded: the non-past interpretation does not fit in with the normal value of temporal instances of *-na*, and a suffix order of person marking followed by tense-mood marking would be unexpected typologically (e.g. Bybee 1985). Similarly, in the structure in (67) a pronominal interpretation is excluded because the verb is intransitive. Unambiguously temporal cases can always be interpreted either as past – based on the translation or equivalents in Umpila – or as a citation form given in elicitation. Unambiguously pronominal cases can always be interpreted as 3MIN.ACC. This is why we interpret the tense-mood suffix as marking past tense and citation forms, and the pronominal suffix as marking 3MIN.ACC. Other cases are genuinely ambiguous in the sources, like the structure in (68), where *-na* could in principle also be interpreted as a bound accusative pronoun.

The form <-ni> is mainly attested as the only suffix on a verb, as in (71) and (72), but also in combinations, as in (73).

- (71) *Kai̯-i Mai̯-yi wɔ̯-in-i* (DTC2-29)
 kayi^T mayi wo'e-nhi*
 bulguru veg.food give-1MIN.ACC
 ‘Bulguru you give me.’ (DT’s translation)
- (72) *ŋatäna kuř-kai̯-gini* (DTC2-224)
 ngathuna kurrkarrku^T-nhi*
 1MIN.ACC help-1MIN.ACC
 ‘You help me.’ (DT’s translation)
- (73) *wul-i wɔ̯-un-in̩-i* (DTC2-24)
 wali^T wo'e-ni^T-ngi
 bye-and-bye give-?-1MIN.NOM
 ‘bye&bye I give you’ (DT’s translation)

Four out of the six attestations as a single suffix are in transitive clauses translated with a first person object, with a free first person pronoun as in (72), but more often without one as in (71), where <-ni> is the only candidate to mark first person. The majority of the instances of <-ni> can therefore be analysed as a bound 1MIN.ACC pronoun. The precise shape is unclear, since almost all relevant attestations come from Donald Thomson’s materials (and one recorded instance of poor sound quality). From a comparative perspective, however, a dental interpretation as -nhi* is more plausible, since the Proto-Pama-Nyungan reconstruction is *nganyi ‘1 SG direct object’ (Alpher 2004b), reflected as the bound form -nyi in Umpila (Thompson 1988: 25).

This interpretation of <-ni> still leaves us with a few unexplained cases, most obviously suffix combinations like (73) above, attested twice, both in Donald Thomson’s materials. If this <-ni> were interpreted as a 1MIN.ACC form, (73) would have a combination of a 1MIN.NOM subject and a 1MIN.ACC object, which is not just strange in itself but also a suffix order that is different from other combinations²³ (compare example (70) above). It is unclear what value we should give <-ni> in such cases, but if it is not a pronominal value only a tense or derivational value could fit, since it precedes a bound nominative pronoun. A tense value is unlikely given that nominative pronouns are in complementary distribution with tense-mood values (unless we give more weight to the few counterexamples like these). A derivation value is structurally possible –

²³ The translation suggests that a person effect may be at work here, with first person before second regardless of its participant role, but the actual forms show no trace of a second person marker.

the neighbouring language Umpila offers a candidate with *-ni* as a reciprocal marker (Thompson 1988: 35), and cognates with valency-changing functions are found more widely across Pama-Nyungan (Alpher p.c.) – but there is no evidence in Thomson's translations to support this. For the time being, we can only conclude that structures like (73) are difficult to integrate into the analysis. In any case, there is clear evidence for a bound accusative pronoun interpretation of most instances of <-ni>.

4.2.2 Distribution and meanings

Tables 7 and 8 summarize the tense-mood suffixes and the bound accusative pronouns, respectively. The accusative paradigm is obviously incomplete, probably due to the sparsity of textual material. If the texts in the recorded corpus were reliably glossed and translated, we would most likely be able to add to the paradigm. Even so, the fact that there are so few attestations, even of the forms we can analyse, does seem to suggest that cross-referencing is much rarer for objects than for subjects.

Table 7: Tense-mood suffixes

Suffix	Tense-mood value
<i>-na</i>	past
<i>-ngka</i>	present
<i>-la*</i>	imperative singular
<i>-mpu*</i>	imperative plural
<i>-Ø</i>	imperative

Table 8: Bound accusative markers

Suffix	Person value
<i>-nhī*</i>	1 minimal
<i>-na^T</i>	3 minimal

If we look at the distribution of these suffixes, the most striking characteristic is that tense-mood markers and bound pronouns are in complementary distribution. A verb form either has a tense-mood suffix or one or two pronominal suffixes, but never a combination of the two. This has interesting semantic implications: if bound pronouns are in complementary distribution with tense-aspect-mood markers, this suggests that the presence of a bound pronoun on a verb has its own value within the tense-mood system (see further in chapter 6,

section 3.3, for some typological notes on this interpretation). If we look at verb forms with bound pronouns, the most frequent temporal value is present, as in (74) below, and possibly historical present in narratives, as in most of the narratives recorded with Jinny Long. In addition, there are a few examples of future references, for instance in Captain's text recorded by Norman Tindale, as in (75). There is only one clear exception with past reference, shown in (76), but this example is problematic in other ways, as shown by the translation in the sources, which suggests that the suffix may not even be a bound pronoun.

- (74) *ŋai-yu wämäŋi* (DTC2-88)
 ngayu wama*-ngi
 1MIN.NOM hold-1MIN.NOM
 'I hold it.'
- (75) Enchinga wowingi nengkuna (NTT-8)
 Yintyingka wowiT-ngi nhingkuna
 placename meet-1MIN.NOM 2MIN.ACC
 'I will meet you at Yintyingka.'
- (76) *wätfu wän-o watfuj-i* (DTC2-19&20)
 utya* wanhu* watyu*-ngi
 dugong perhaps spear-1MIN.NOM?
 'Dugong / perhaps he was speared.' (DT's translation)

Leaving aside the one exception in (76), the overall temporal profile of the forms with bound pronouns suggest a value of non-past, which would nicely fill a gap in the paradigm, contrasting with the past and present values of *-na* and *-ngka*. Table 9 lays out the general tense-mood paradigm that can be derived from this.

Table 9: Tense-mood paradigm

Suffix	Tense-mood value
<i>-na</i>	past
<i>-ngka</i>	present
(presence of bound pronouns)	non-past
<i>-la*</i>	imperative singular
<i>-Ø</i>	imperative singular
<i>-mpu*</i>	imperative plural

4.3 Other verbal morphology

As was the case with nominal morphology, we have a ‘leftover’ set of morphemes that are formally segmentable, but for which there are not enough reliably glossed attestations to determine a function. Below we list a few examples of such morphemes. The textual material in the narratives recorded by La Mont West contains more suspected bits of verb morphology, which we do not list exhaustively.

- (77) -nanga^T: Donald Thomson’s materials contain a few instances of a verb stem augmented with *-nanga^T*, e.g.
- a. $\eta\ddot{ai}\text{-}yu$ mätin-ära (DTC2-86)

ngayu	mati ^T -nanga ^T
1MIN.NOM	flash-?

 (part of a set of elicited forms of *mati^T*- ‘flash’, no translation provided)
 - b. nino wâ-i-nanjä (DTC2-175)

nhinu	waayi ^T -nanga ^T
2MIN.NOM	get.up-?

 (part of a set of elicited forms of *waayi^T*- ‘go, get up’, no translation provided)
- (78) -tyi^T: Donald Thomson’s materials contain a few instances of a verb stem with a suffix *-tyi^T*, apparently used as a nominal modifier. As argued in chapter 5, section 2.5, this could be analysed as a subordinator.
- (79) reduplication: Reduplication of the verb stem was discussed in section 3.3.3 above. The texts recorded with Jinny Long also show instances of what looks like reduplication in the bound pronoun, with partial dissimilation, as illustrated below. Again, the function is unclear.
- | | | |
|-------|---------|-------|
| wuna | ngi | ngki |
| lie-1 | MIN.NOM | REDUP |
- (no translation in the source)

In general, it is remarkable that even in this set of markers there is no evidence for any type of valency-changing morphology on verbs, except perhaps for <-ni>, which as argued in the previous section could possibly be analysed as a reflexive or reciprocal marker. This may be due to the nature of the corpus we are dealing with, but neighbouring languages like Umpithamu and Umpila similarly lack much valency-changing morphology. In fact, quite a few of the neighbouring languages are fairly stripped down morphologically compared to other Australian languages, doing much of the relevant work in syntax rather than morphology.

Chapter 5

Syntax

1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the syntactic structures of Yintyingka, and their meaning. Obviously, the analysis of syntax suffers most from the lack of reliably transcribed text in our sources. Whenever we can, we try to use excerpts from the narratives recorded from Jinny Long and Peter Chippendale, even if we can only interpret them in part.

Section 2 analyses the structure of noun phrases. This is a relatively well-documented aspect of syntax in Yintyingka, since the elicited part of the corpus provides a good set of full noun phrases. Sections 3 to 7 focus on the structure of the clause. The basic clause structure is sketched in section 3, and the next four sections zoom in on specific aspects of clause structure, viz. case marking in section 4, participant marking in section 5, tense-aspect-mood and polarity in section 6, and non-verbal predication in section 7. We round off the chapter with a few brief comments on more complex structures in section 8, like complex sentences and discourse organization.

2 Noun phrase structure

Noun phrase structure is one of the better-documented domains of syntax in Yintyingka, because we can also rely on the elicited materials in our sources, which have quite a few instances of full noun phrases, more so than is the case for full clauses. In general, Yintyingka has a well-defined noun phrase structure, in which constituents are always contiguous and appear in a specific order. There is no evidence for discontinuous NPs. Furthermore, there is also external evidence for noun phrase structure in that higher-level relational markers are added to the last relevant element in the phrase, either the last nominal (for case suffixes) or simply the last element (for information structure clitics).

In this section, we analyse the structure of the noun phrase in three steps. In section 2.1, we describe noun phrase structure in terms of word classes, based on the observations in our corpus. This is not adequate as a syntactic description, but in a closed corpus without any options for elicitation it is a necessary first step. In sections 2.2 and 2.3, we examine the functional relations in this structure in more detail, focusing specifically on relations between nominals

(generic-specific and part-whole). In section 2.4, finally, we extrapolate these findings to a broader function-based analysis for the noun phrase, which goes beyond word class membership. Section 2.5 deals with the few attestations of more complex noun phrases in our corpus.

2.1 Word-class-based analysis

The examples in (1)–(6) below illustrate the structures that can be observed in the sources, defined in terms of basic word classes. Noun phrases attested in the corpus consist of a nominal, which can be followed by another nominal, as in (1)–(3), or a genitive pronoun, as in (4).²⁴

- (1) ngoki katha (JLL-0162)
water stinking
'stinking water'
- (2) mayi punpinhu (JLL-0074)
veg.food lily.root
'lily root'
- (3) yu'u athi (JLL-0218)
finger nail
'finger nail'
- (4) pa-pa Ninj-o (DTC2-34)
paapa nhingu
mother 3MIN.GEN
'his mother'

As explained in chapter 4, section 3.1, case markers are added to the final nominal, illustrated with ablative *-mu* in (5), while information structure markers are added to any phrase-final element including pronouns, illustrated with emphatic *=nhang* in (6). The difference in host selectivity is why case markers are analysed as suffixes, while information structure markers are analysed as clitics. In any case, the association of relational markers with the relevant final element in the NP shows that we are dealing with genuinely phrasal structures.

²⁴ There is one exception to the order of genitive pronoun following nominal in the sources, viz. *nhingku kaali* '2MIN.GEN MyB', recorded as an alternative to *kaali nhingku* in RAK-9.

- (5) ngarrku keenka-mu (PC1-0029)
 place placename-ABL
 'from Keenka'
- (6) ngarrku ngathu=nhang (JLTA-0039)
 country 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
 'my country'

Table 1 summarizes the structures we can extract from these examples. We do not have any instances of larger NPs in our corpus, so we cannot check directly how the patterns interact, for instance if a case-marked nominal can be followed by a genitive pronoun with an information structure marker. Structurally, there does not seem to be any reason why this should not be possible: other languages nearby do have such combinations, like Umpithamu and the Lamalamic languages. Except for single nominals, we do not have any instances of smaller NPs in our corpus either, e.g. consisting of just a genitive pronoun, but at least Donald Thomson's glosses suggest that these can be used on their own: *ngathu* is glossed both as 'my' and as 'mine', for instance.

Table 1: Structures attested in the corpus

Nominal (noun)	Nominal (noun, adjective)	Case marker
	Genitive pronoun	Information structure marker

This analysis can be further refined in terms of subclasses of nominals, specifically nouns and adjectives. There are no morphological criteria to distinguish the two (except perhaps the availability of reduplication, see chapter 4, section 3.3.3), but from a syntactic perspective the two can be separated quite clearly. Nouns can precede other nouns in noun-noun combinations, as shown in the contrast between *paapa* in (7) below and *paapa* in (4) above, while adjectives are only attested following nouns, as in (1) above. In other words, the second position in a combination can be an adjective, while the first position cannot.

- (7) K_ola papa (DTI-80)
 kul'a* paapa
 stone mother
 'large lower stone of a grindstone set'

An analysis in terms of word classes is a necessary first step when working with a corpus that is essentially closed, but it is obviously not the whole story, if only because we are not dealing with units in a functional sense. For instance, if we try to assign a head, this cannot be assigned consistently to any single position in the structure in Table 1. Combinations like noun-adjective in (1) and noun-pronoun in (4) can be described as head-modifier structures, i.e. with the first element functioning as head. The same applies to lexicalized instances like (8), where the conventionalized meaning of 'stranger' can easily be related to a compositional head-modifier interpretation.

- (8) pama wiiya (JLL-0123)
 man other
 'stranger'

However, the head cannot consistently be assigned to the first element: noun-noun combinations in particular are more diverse. A head-modifier analysis works for structures like (7) above and (9)–(10) below, where the second noun describes a property of the referent of the first noun, for instance by mapping kintterms onto relative size, as in (9), or specifying a body part with which a ceremonial object is associated, as in (10).

- (9) altfi pako (DTI-79)
 altyi^T pok
 grindstone child.m.s
 'small upper stone of a grindstone set'
- (10) mola mün|oo (DTC1-6)
 moola* manu
 mourning.string neck
 'mourning strings worn around the neck'

But it does not work for structures like (2) above, which combine a generic noun with a specific noun, or for structures like (3) above, which combine a noun referring to a whole with a noun referring to one of its parts. In the next two sections, we examine these types of noun-noun structures in more detail, and we argue that generic-specific and part-whole structures can be analysed as appositional and compound structures, respectively, in which the nouns jointly function as head relative to other modifiers. We then use this analysis to propose a more general functional analysis of the noun phrase.

2.2 Generic-specific constructions

Following Wilkins (2000), generic-specific constructions can be defined as noun-noun structures where the generic noun is a hyperonym of the generic-specific combination, as in (11)–(13) below. In Yintyingka, these constructions always have the order of generic noun preceding specific noun.²⁵ In this section, we discuss the semantics and the inventory of generic nouns in Yintyingka, their use in discourse, and the internal structure of the generic-specific construction.

- (11) mayi wontene=nhang (JLL-0027)
veg.food sugarbag.type=EMPH
'type of sugarbag'
- (12) minà – ninani (DTC2-75)
minha ninani^T
game.animal big.wallaby
'big wallaby'
- (13) kaka pañga/di (DTC5-32)
kaka pankati^T
spear bullet.spear
'bullet spear'

In our sources, there are six forms that occur more than once as a generic term in generic-specific constructions, viz. *mayi*, *minha*, *yuku*, *ngarrku*, *ngoki* and *kaka*.²⁶ Together, they cover food sources (*mayi* 'vegetable food' and *minha* 'game animal'), places (*ngarrku* 'place', *ngoki* 'body of water'), and non-edible species and man-made objects (*yuku* 'tree', *kaka* 'spear'). *Mayi* 'vegetable food' is used as a generic for edible plants and their parts, as in (14) below, and for insect products like sugarbag, as in (11) above. *Minha* 'game animal' is used

²⁵ There is one apparent exception in the sources, shown in (i) below, but it is unclear if the generic and the specific noun really form a unit here.

(i) Kāi-i Mai-yi wō-in-i (DTC2-29)
kayi^T mayi wo'e-nhi*
bulguru veg.food give-1MIN.ACC
'Give me bulguru.'

²⁶ The sources also contain one instance of a noun that is a generic in many other languages in the region, viz. *koko* (Proto-Paman *kuuku 'language', Hale 1976b) in Ko-ko qī-ebadu (DT2-11). The Yintyingka word for language is *aaya*^T, however, so it is more likely that *koko* is a regional borrowing to label language groups.

both for land animals, as in (12) above, and for aquatic animals, as in (15) below. *Ngarrku* and *ngoki* are used with placenames, as in (16) and (17), with *ngoki* specializing in places centred on a body of water (probably freshwater swamps). *Kaka* is used for different types of spears, as in (13) and (18), and *yuku*²⁷ is used for different types of trees, as in (19), and their products, as in (20).

- (14) mayi panampingiT (DTI-81)
veg.food lily
'lily (part)'
- (15) mina ot|cha (DT4-5)
minha utya*
game.animal dugong
'dugong'
- (16) 'ŋarko Yin-tjɪŋa (DTC2-58)
ngarrku yintyingka
place placename
'(the place called) Yintyingka'
- (17) ngoki yakali (JLTA-0054)
water placename
'(the place called) Yakali'
- (18) kaka ekuna (DT4-1)
kaka yikana*
spear prong.spear
'prong spear'
- (19) Yuk/ō untuŋ-älä (DTC5-54)
yuku untangala*
tree tree.type
'tree species (*Thespesia populnea*)'

²⁷ There are two structures in our sources which suggest that the generic *yuku* may have developed a prefixed equivalent *ku-*. The only attestations of *kaaku* 'red lady apple' and *pipi* 'white-apple' in our corpus are preceded by [ku], and the whole form behaves as a three-syllable word (at least for *pipi*, with a voiced allophone in the last syllable – see further under *pipi* in the lexicon in chapter 7), which warrants analysis as a prefix. With only two attestations, we cannot be certain about this hypothesis, but weakening and prefixing of generic *yuku* is a possible interpretation of these structures.

- (20) yuko – wänämbä (DTI-73)
 yuku wanampa^T
 tree mourning.stick
 ‘mourning stick’

All of these nouns can also be used on their own. In such cases, their meaning is usually slightly different, which suggests that they are not generics with a specific omitted (e.g. for reference tracking), but fall entirely outside the domain of generic-specific constructions. For instance, *mayi* is used to designate food in general, as in (21), *ngoki* can refer to drinking water, as in (22), *minha* is used to refer to meat, *ngarrku* can refer to the ground, a camp or country, and *kaka* can refer to any spear.

- (21) mayi mampa (JLL-0166)
 tucker nothing
 ‘There is no tucker.’
- (22) ngoki patha-mpi (JLL-0061)
 water drink-12AUG.NOM
 ‘We drink water.’

It has often been noted that the use of generics in discourse varies considerably across Pama-Nyungan languages (Sands 1995, Wilkins 2000). Some languages use a generic with most specific nouns (e.g. Yir Yoront, Alpher 1991, or Yidiny, Dixon 1977: 480–481), while others only use it rarely (e.g. Umpithamu, Umpila or Kugu Nganhcarra). Yintyingka definitely belongs to the second type. Even though we do not have a great deal of reliably translated text, we can use texts to track a number of nouns that are attested with generics in elicitation contexts, like *muuki* ‘yam’ and *nu'a* ‘karol’ for *mayi*, and a whole range of place-names for *ngarrku*. In the texts recorded with Jinny Long, only one of these is attested once with a generic (*mayi nu'a*), while in the texts recorded from Peter Chippendale there are two attestations of placenames preceded by *ngarrku*. In the elicited part of the corpus, generic-specific constructions occur a bit more frequently, but again they are not very common (except in the case of *kaka*). This suggests that generics are not an inherent element of any NP, but only occur under specific conditions. It is difficult to pinpoint these conditions for Yintyingka, but at least we can say that the context of elicitation seems to trigger use of a generic more than running text (as also observed for Kugu Nganhcarra, Smith & Johnson 2000: 420).

The internal structure of generic-specific constructions is a classic problem, if only because the extension of the construction as a whole is a subset of that of the generic noun, which means that classic ‘type of’ tests for headedness tend to fail. More importantly, however, there are indications both for taking the generic noun as the head of the construction (e.g. Johnson 1988) and for taking the specific noun as the head (e.g. McGregor 1990: 275–276). A general indication in favour of the generic noun is the fact that it determines the semantic profile of the generic-specific construction: different generics can shift the semantic profile of a specific (as shown in Wilkins 2000), and the mere presence of a generic can do the same (as shown in Johnson 1988). Conversely, the presence of a specific can also determine the interpretation of a generic, as shown by the contrast between *mayi* as a generic for the class of edible plants and insect products, as in (11) and (14) above, and its use on its own as a general term for food, as in (21) above. The conclusion we can draw from this is that generics and specifics really co-determine each other’s semantics in the generic-specific construction, and that the question of headedness in a semantic sense is vacuous. In any case, the relation between generic and specific nouns is quite different from that between nouns and adjectives or possessives, where a clear head-modifier structure can be distinguished. In the context of the NP, generic and specific nouns are probably best analysed as an instance of apposition, jointly filling the head role for other modifiers (compare Wilkins 2000, Gaby 2006: 283).

2.3 Whole-part constructions

Whole-part constructions are structures that combine a noun describing a whole with a noun describing a part of this whole, illustrated in (23)–(25) below. In Yintyingka, the noun for the whole always precedes the noun for the part. Often, but not exclusively, these structures refer to body parts, as shown in (23) and (25)–(26).

- (23) *yu'u* *athi* (JLL-0218)
 finger nail
 'finger nail'

(24) *thuma* *kaykarra* (JLL-0085)
 fire ashes
 'ashes'

- (25) manu wintyi (JLL-0216)
 neck boomerang
 'collarbone'
- (26) ko-o – mäntä (DTC2-82)
 ko'o manta*
 eye child
 'eyelid'

As with generic-specific constructions, there are different analyses of the internal structure of whole-part constructions in the literature. In terms of reference, a whole-part structure seems to refer to the part rather than the whole, which means that the part noun can be regarded as the head. In some cases, the part is named metaphorically, as in (25) where the shape of a boomerang is mapped onto the shape of a bone in the neck, or in (26) where 'child' is mapped onto a small part of the eye (*manta** is not attested independently in Yintyingka, but has cognates meaning 'child' in neighbouring languages, as shown in the entry in the lexicon in chapter 7). While such cases point to lexicalization, it is not difficult to derive the conventionalized meanings from simple 'compositional' interpretations based on a modifier-head analysis. There is an alternative analysis, however, which is to take the part noun as a modifier of the noun referring to the whole. This is proposed, for instance, in Alpher (1991: 71–72), who adduces evidence from word order and local English usage to show that the noun referring to the whole functions as the head in Yir Yoront. Beyond the domain of the noun phrase, this analysis may be further supported by the behaviour of whole-part relations in external possession constructions in many Australian languages (see, for instance, Blake 1987: 94–98). Since we cannot use native speaker judgements for our semantic analysis, we decided to rely on the translations provided in the sources as our basic source of evidence and thus give priority to the criterion of reference, i.e. with the part noun as the head of whole-part structures.

If whole-part constructions have a modifier-head structure, this implies that they are not a regular part of the syntactic structure of the noun phrase. As mentioned earlier, modifiers in the noun phrase follow the noun, including modifiers that are themselves nouns, as shown in structures like (9)–(10) above. This difference in word order, together with the existence of lexicalized structures like (25) and (26), suggests that it may be better to treat whole-part constructions as a form of compounding, as has also been proposed for the neighbouring language Wik Iiyanh (Smith & Johnson 2000: 444–445). Neither language shows any special prosodic characteristics to distinguish compounds from syntactic combinations (see chapter 3, section 5.3, for Yintyingka and Smith & Johnson

2000: 445 for Wik Iiyanh), unlike Wik Mungkan, for instance, where compounds have a distinct stress pattern (see Kilham 1974: 57–59).²⁸ Because of such differences, Kilham (1974) suggests an alternative category of ‘close-knit phrase’ for potentially lexicalized structures that do not show the phonological properties of compounds, but this covers both generic-specific constructions and part-whole structures (see also Rigsby 1976b, who regards the two as syntactically equivalent). We believe that the difference in headedness and the lexicalization patterns in Yintyingka suggest that it is better to keep whole-part structures separate from generic-specific structures, under the heading of compounding.

2.4 Functional analysis

The analysis of different types of noun-noun structures allows us to tease apart different functional relations within the word-class-based analysis in Table 1. We can now use these relations to extrapolate a broader function-based analysis of the structure of the noun phrase in Yintyingka, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Functional analysis of noun phrase structure

NP structure	Head		Modifiers		
	Generic	Noun	Noun Adjective	Case	Genitive
		Compound			Information structure
Relational morphology					

Noun phrases filling all slots in this structure are not attested in the data – and it is unlikely that such big noun phrases are ever attested beyond elicitation – but each slot can be justified in terms of an independently motivated functional relation. First, generic-specific structures can jointly function as head of a noun phrase, as shown in section 2.2 above, which implies that the ‘head’ slot really consists of a slot for a generic and a slot for a specific. Secondly, whole-part structures do not obey the normal ordering principles within the NP, but have a modifier-head structure, which suggests that they are compounds,

28 Another relevant criterion relates to phonological boundary phenomena, observed very clearly for compounds in Wik Mungkan (Kilham 1974), and to a lesser extent in Wik Iiyanh (Smith & Johnson 2000: 444–445). Yintyingka does not appear to have these in any systematic way, although there are instances of syllable loss at word boundaries in whole-part constructions, for instance with *tha'u athi* ‘toe nail’ realized as [ta'ʔaṭe] (JLL-0177).

structurally equivalent to a single noun. There is no reason, moreover, why the ‘specific’ slot in generic-specific structures should be restricted to single nouns, which suggests that compounds should also be able to go into this slot. Thus, the maximal head for a noun phrase would consist of a generic followed by a whole-part structure in the role of specific (as attested for other languages; see, for instance, Kilham 1974: 62–63 for Wik Mungkan). Finally, modifiers in the noun phrase can be nouns, adjectives or genitive pronouns, with the final noun or adjective in the noun phrase taking a case suffix, and the final element in the noun phrase taking an information-structural clitic. One aspect of the modifier categories in the template that cannot be derived from attested combinations is the relative order of adjectives and genitive pronouns. Still, the fact that pronouns attract the phrase-final clitics suggests that they are structurally at the end of the noun phrase, which is also confirmed by other languages in the region, where genitive pronouns follow adjectives (e.g. in Umpithamu).

2.5 Complex noun phrases

There are very few attestations of more complex noun phrase structures in the corpus. The two structures that are attested are found in Donald Thomson's material, in both cases in the description of objects associated with mourning, as exemplified in (27)–(29) below.

- (27) mola marpoonga (DTC5-43)

moola*	maapu-	ngka
mourning.string	arm	NLOC
'mourning strings worn around the shoulder'		

- (28) mola Kia Kataji (DTC5-46)

moola*	kay'a	katha-tyi ^T
mourning.string	arm	tie-SUB
'mourning strings tied around the arm'		

- (29) mola Kala Kataji (DTC5-45)

moola*	kala*	katha-tyi ^T
mourning.string	waist	tie-SUB
'mourning strings tied around the waist'		

The first structure, in (27), does not add much complexity to the structure in Table 2. It basically gives an example of adnominal case, showing that modifiers

can also be nouns marked for adnominal case (if at least we can interpret *-ngka* as the locative). The second structure, illustrated in (28)–(29), is a bit more complex. The suffix *-tyiT* on the verb is not attested in any other context or source, but given the interpretation of the whole structure it can probably be analysed as a subordinator or a nominalizer (possibly related to the comitative *-tyi** described in chapter 4, section 3.3.1). The structures suggest that subordinated verbs can also function as nominal modifiers, and can take objects, in this case the body part to which the mourning strings are tied.

3 Basic clause structure

In this section, we analyse the structure of simple clauses in Yintyingka. We first make a basic distinction between the pre-verbal domain as the default position for arguments and adjuncts, and the post-verbal position as a specialized extraposed slot. Within the pre-verbal domain, we discuss the relative order of basic argument and adjunct categories, as well as the position of grammatical elements like polarity markers.

Simple verbal clauses in Yintyingka can be described as centred on the verb as the basic clause-final element. Arguments and adjuncts typically precede the verb, as shown in (30)–(33) below. The structures in (30) and (31) illustrate the subject and object argument preceding the verb, while the structures in (32) and (33) also exemplify adjuncts and secondary predicates.

- (30) ngayu Ayapathu errke-*ngka* (JLTA-009)
 1MIN.NOM name talk-PRS
 'I speak Ayapathu.'

- (31) *ŋaiyu* *yu-o* *yampäŋi* (DTC2-144)
 ngayu yu'u yampa^T-ngi
 1MIN.NOM hand lift-1MIN.NOM
 'I lift up my hand.'

- (32) pama tonongo mälñkänäŋo wunidi (DTC2-67)
 pama thonongko* malngkana*-ngu wuna-ti*
 man one sandbeach-BLOC lie-2MIN.NOM
 'You sleep alone on the sandbeach.'

- (33) ngampu kaanpi wopi-mpi (PC1-0045)
 12AUG.NOM placename go-12AUG.NOM
 'We go to Kaanpi.'

In addition to the default pre-verbal position, there is also a position after the verb, which is not filled very frequently, and is restricted to one single constituent, almost invariably an object or an adjunct and not a subject,²⁹ as illustrated in (34) and (35).

- (34) *ngayu* *errke-ŋka* / *ayapathu* (JLTA-0002)
 1MIN.NOM talk-PRS name
 'I speak Ayapathu.'

(35) *wokeka-mu* *yeya-ŋgi* / *maka* (JLTA-0059)
 placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename
 'I go from Wokeka to Maka.'

In the sound recordings in the corpus, this post-verbal slot tends to be separated prosodically from the clause, by a pause and/or a reset in the intonation contour. This is shown by the pitch tracks for (34) and (35) in Figures 1 and 2 below, which can be contrasted with the pitch track for (36) in Figure 3. In (36), the preverbal elements form a prosodic phrase with the verb, consisting of a pretonic rising to the major pitch movement (in this case associated with the object *Ayapathu*, emphasized for discourse purposes), which then descends towards the end of the phrase. In (34) and (35), the preverbal elements show a similar prosodic pattern as (36), but the postverbal element is set off from this by a pause, and a reset in the intonation contour.

- (36) *ngayu* *Ayapathu* *errke-^{ngka}* (JLTA-009)
 1MIN.NOM name talk-PRS
 'I speak Ayapathu.'

29 There are two exceptions, found in Donald Thomson's materials, where a subject pronoun follows the verb, one of which is shown in (ii) below. Thomson himself comments on the order ("pronounced after") – the only time he does this in the material – which indirectly confirms it is uncommon to have the subject in this position.

(ii) wūnī nino (DTC2-135)
 wuna nhinu*
 lie 2MIN.NOM
 'You sleep.'

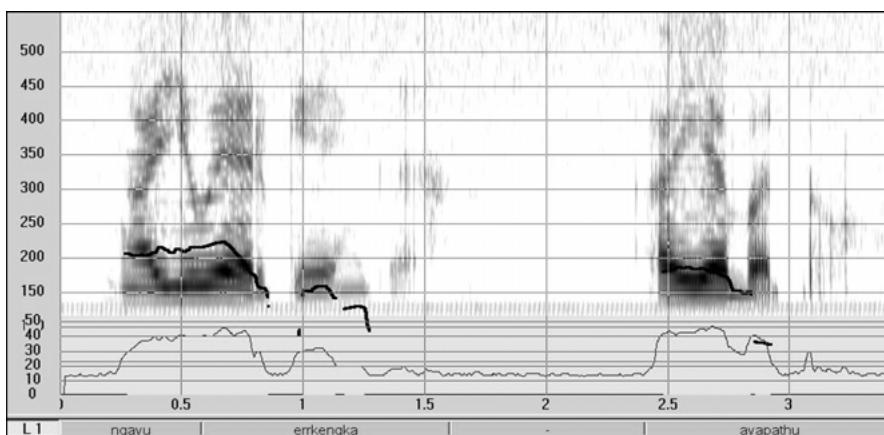


Figure 1: Pitch track for (34). Horizontal axis represents time (seconds); alignment is approximate. Vertical axis represents amplitude (0–50 dB) and F0 (0–500 Hz), projected onto background spectrogram (0–4500 Hz).

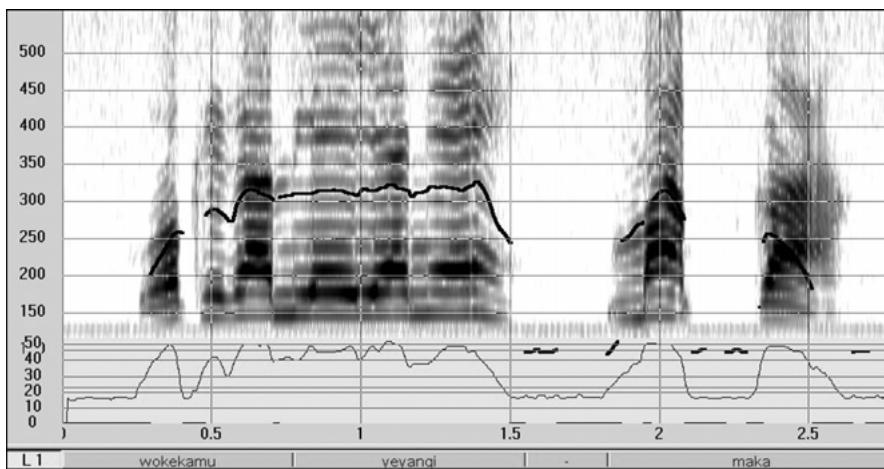


Figure 2: Pitch track for (35). Horizontal axis represents time (seconds); alignment is approximate. Vertical axis represents amplitude (0–50 dB) and F0 (0–500 Hz), projected onto background spectrogram (0–4500 Hz).

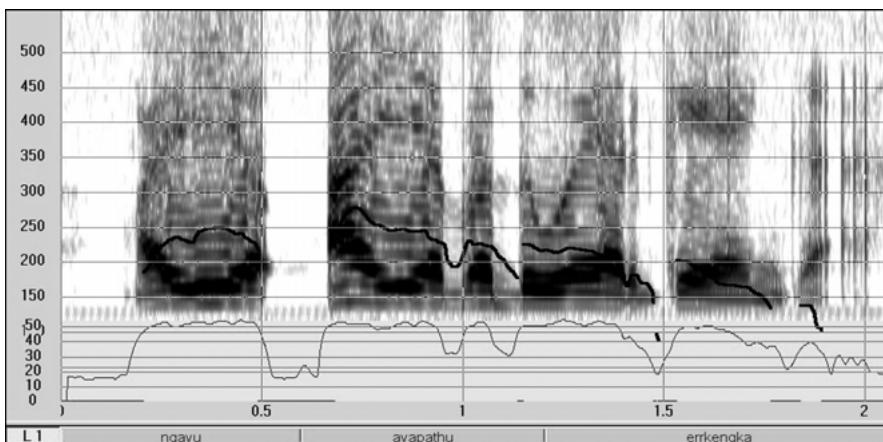


Figure 3: Pitch track for (36). Horizontal axis represents time (seconds); alignment is approximate. Vertical axis represents amplitude (0–50 dB) and F0 (0–500 Hz), projected onto background spectrogram (0–4500 Hz).

The written part of the corpus has no indications for prosodic structure, but there is at least one instance in Donald Thomson's materials which suggests a similar prosodic status for postverbal constituents. The structure in (37) is recorded with what looks like a comma in Thomson's transcription, separating the postverbal constituent from the rest of the clause.

- (37) par-piŋä wäi-imbi, naiko yin-tʃiŋä-go (DTC2-8&9&10)
 parrpingka waayi^T-mpi ngarrku yintyingka-ku
 tomorrow go-12AUG.NOM place placename-DAT
 'Tomorrow we will go to Yintyingka.'

The specific prosodic structure of the postverbal slot, as well as the fact that it is restricted to one single constituent, both suggest that we are dealing either with an extra-clausal position or with an extraposed slot. The fact that case is normally retained, as with the dative marking a goal argument in (37), suggests that it is an extraposed rather than an extra-clausal slot. Again, we do not have enough reliably transcribed material to determine its function, but from a typological perspective an information-structural function seems most likely (compare Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 35–40).

Within the preverbal domain, subject-initial clauses are most frequent, but object-initial structures are also found. Examples of subject-initial structures

were given in (30)–(31) and (33)–(34) above; object-initial structures are exemplified in (38)–(39) below. Adjuncts tend to come after arguments, as shown in (40) and (41), but temporal adjuncts, specifically time particles, are always found clause-initially (or in the extraposed slot), as shown in (37) above and in (42) below. Furthermore, polarity markers come right before the verb, as shown in (43) below (see further in section 6.1 below).

- (38) kati ngayu kali-*ngka* (JLL-0202)

spit 1MIN.NOM ?-PRS

(Interpretation unclear because of the verb; elicited as ‘spit’)

- (39) minā – ninani *ŋai*-ya *pai*-yane (DTC2-75&76)

minha ninani^T ngayu paya-na³⁰

game.animal big.wallaby 1MIN.NOM see-PST

‘I have seen a wallaby.’

- (40) *ŋai*-yuna änko *wuñinj* (DTC2-64)

ngayu=ngka angku wuna-ngi

1MIN.NOM=EMPH PROX.DEM lie-1MIN.NOM

‘I sleep here.’

- (41) *ŋai*-yu wäntamba *wankänj* (DTC2-140)

ngayu wathampa* wangka-ngi

1MIN.NOM hard hit-1MIN.NOM

‘I hit it hard.’

- (42) waliŋa nino tonkilla (DTC2-146)

wali^T-ngka nhinu thongke-la

today-NLOC 2MIN.NOM come-IMP

‘You come now.’

- (43) nino wäm-wäma (DTC2-91)

nhinu wama^T wama*

2MIN.NOM NEG.IMP hold

‘Do not hold.’

³⁰ This is one of the problematic instances of <-ni> mentioned in chapter 4, section 4.2.1. Here we choose to interpret it as representing past tense *-na*, which seems to fit the translation provided by Thomson (‘have seen’) best.

Taken together, these position tendencies produce the structure in Table 3 below. As with the noun phrase, there is no single structure in our sources that has all of these positions filled, and it is unlikely that this would ever have occurred outside of elicitation. Still, the relative ordering principles described above allow us to posit this general structure, with the verb separating the pre-verbal domain from the extraposed slot after the verb, time adjuncts preceding arguments and other adjuncts, and polarity markers coming right before the verb. In the next few sections, we zoom in on different aspects of clause structure, viz. case marking of arguments and adjuncts in section 4, participant marking with free and bound pronouns in section 5, polarity and tense-aspect-mood marking in section 6, non-verbal predication in section 7, and other constructions in section 8.

Table 3: Basic clause structure

Preverbal domain				Verb	Extraposed slot
Time adjunct	Arguments	Other adjuncts	Polarity		
					Argument/Adjunct

4 Case marking and transitivity

4.1 Transitivity

As with many Pama-Nyungan languages (see Evans 1995 for a good overview), transitivity distinctions are largely lexically determined in Yintyingka. Verbs are usually fixed for a specific transitivity value: intransitive with one core argument, as in (44), transitive with two core arguments, as in (45), semi-transitive with an oblique-marked core argument, as in (46), or ditransitive with three core arguments, as in (47).

- (44) *ŋai̯-yu täninji* (DTC2-279)
 ngayu tani^T-ngi
 1MIN.NOM stand-1MIN.NOM
 'I stand up.'
- (45) *ŋatäna kui-kä̯-gidi* (DTC2-225)
 ngathuna kurkarrku^T-ti*
 1MIN.ACC help-2MIN.NOM
 'You help me.'

- (46) känämbi utʃa-go (DTC2-217)
 kana^T-mpi utsya*-ku
 look-12AUG.NOM dugong-DAT
 ‘Let’s look for dugong.’
- (47) Kai-i Mai-yi wɔ̄-in-i (DTC2-29)
 kayi^T mayi wo’e-nhi*
 bulguru veg.food give-1MIN.ACC
 ‘Give me bulguru.’

Only a few verbs of movement allow different transitivity values, specifically an intransitive and semi-transitive frame, as illustrated for *wopi-* in (48) and (49). In such cases, the switch in transitivity value is merely a matter of adding an argument with the right case form. As already mentioned in section chapter 4, section 4.3, there is no trace of any valency-changing morphology in Yintyingka, like in many of the neighbouring languages.

- (48) n̩aī-yu ängkungä nipo wɔ̄pimbo (DTI-70)
 ngayu angku-ngka nhipu wopi-mpu*
 1MIN.NOM prox.DEM-NLOC 2AUG.NOM go-IMP.PL
 ‘I am staying here, you (plural) go.’ (DT’s translation)
- (49) wo-p̩imbi n̩arv-kö (DTC2-17)
 wopi-mpi ngarrku
 go-12AUG.NOM camp
 ‘Let us go home.’

4.2 Case marking for core arguments

Core arguments show a system of three cases for free pronouns, and two cases for nouns and bound pronouns (see Table 4).

Table 4: Core argument marking³¹

	Intransitive	Transitive		Semi-transitive		Ditransitive		
		Subject	Object	Subject	Goal	Subject	Theme	Beneficiary
Free pronoun	NOM	NOM	ACC	NOM	?	NOM	?	GEN?
Bound pronoun	NOM	NOM	ACC	NOM	-	NOM	-	ACC
Nominal	bare	bare	bare	bare	DAT	bare	bare	DAT
			-pu?					

³¹ Given the absence of relevant data for bound accusative pronouns, free genitive pronouns and subject nominals with transitive verbs, we cannot fill all cells in the table.

Free pronouns show nominative-accusative alignment, with the nominative form used for subjects in all clause types, as shown in (44) and (48) above, and the accusative form for objects in transitive types, as shown in (45) above.³² In addition, free pronouns appear to use the genitive form for beneficiary arguments in ditransitive clauses. This is illustrated in structures like (50) below, where the genitive free pronoun can be interpreted as marking a beneficiary role,³³ together with the bound accusative pronoun (which can also mark beneficiaries, see example (47) above and the discussion below). However, such structures could also be interpreted as the bound pronoun marking a beneficiary and the free pronoun marking a theme ('give me mine'). The same ambiguity is found in similar structures beyond ditransitives, like (51) below. This type of ambiguity is, of course, not surprising from a typological perspective (see Blake 1994, Margetts 2004), but in the absence of any more data, we cannot be certain whether it is systematic or not.

- (50) ngathu wo'e-nhi* (JLL-0094)
 1MIN.GEN give-1MIN.ACC
 'Give me.' (elicited as 'belong me')
- (51) n̄atūn̄ä 'kun-'ki (DTC2-119)
 ngathu=ngka kunki*
 1MIN.GEN=EMPH finished
 'I have nothing (belong me nothing).' (DT's translation)

Bound pronouns also show nominative-accusative alignment, with the accusative form covering both the object in transitive clauses, as shown in (52) below, and the beneficiary in ditransitive clauses, as shown in (47) and (50) above.

- (52) n̄atäna kuř-kař-gini (DTC2-224)
 ngathuna kurkarrku^T-nhi*
 1MIN.ACC help-1MIN.ACC
 'You help me.'

³² As already mentioned, forms that in Donald Thomson's rendering are identical to the free accusative pronoun can also be used to mark possession in the NP, as an alternative to the default genitive form (see, for instance, the entry for *ngathuna* in the lexicon). It is not always certain if these forms are really accusative pronouns, or genitive pronouns with a homophonous information structure marker *-na^T*.

³³ Chapter 4, section 2.3, discusses two irregular attestations of a pronoun stem with the nominal dative *-ku*, possibly interpretable as beneficiaries.

Nouns, finally, are found in the bare form for all functions in intransitive and transitive clauses, and in the dative form for non-subjects in semi-transitive clauses, and possibly for beneficiaries. The dative forms are illustrated in (46) above and in (53) below, where *ngarrku* could be considered as a beneficiary-type role if this structure (untranslated in its source) is interpreted in terms of the well-known Aboriginal English phrase ‘talking for country’.

- (53) ayapathu errke-*ngka* / ngarrku-ku (JLTA-0012)
 name talk-PRS country-DAT
 ‘I talk Ayapathu for (my) country.’

The bare forms found in intransitive and transitive clauses deserve a bit more comment, especially because there is no clear evidence for an ergative case, which would be expected here. In the sources, we only have a handful of structures with nominal subjects in transitive clauses, listed exhaustively in (54)–(56) below: subjects are unmarked, as in (54)–(55), or possibly marked, as in (56).

- (54) Noi|emo wurki kampino (DT3-4)
 noiemo wurki^T kampinhu
 name start dilly.bag
 ‘Noiemo starts a dilly bag.’
- (55) ngoki korryte (JLL-0055)
 water wet
 ‘(Literally) water wets.’ (This phrase is elicited as ‘rain’, but *korryte-* is clearly transitive, as shown in other contexts.)
- (56) nilo tʃäibo – katämbo (DTC2-254)
 nilu tyaypu katha-mpu*
 3MIN.NOM other? tie-IMP.PL
 ‘He (other man) ties it.’ (DT’s translation)

The translation provided for (56) by Donald Thomson suggests that the second form could be related to *tyatyi^T*, a stem attested elsewhere for ‘other’, and that it may be possible to segment *-pu* (but then we have to assume morphophonological processes not attested elsewhere in the language). In this interpretation, the combination of pronoun and nominal could in principle be analysed as the subject of the transitive verb, but this is contradicted by the verb suffix,

which does not have a third person value. In other words, even our best candidate for an ergative marker, in (56), is not very convincing at all.

It is surprising not to find any clear evidence for an ergative case in nominal morphology. Many languages in the region are of the ‘optional ergative’ type (compare McGregor 2010, Verstraete 2009a, 2010a, Gaby 2008, 2010), in which ergative markers only appear in specific discourse contexts (like focus or unexpected agenthood) or specific semantic configurations (like inanimate agents). The absence of any clear ergative form in our Yintyingka sources could be taken as an indication that the language also has such a system. Even in this perspective, however, it is surprising not to have an ergative marker on *ngoki* in (55), since inanimate agents are a category that most typically triggers ergative marking in an optional ergative language (see McGregor 2010, Verstraete 2010a). Given the scarcity of evidence, we cannot do much more than speculate here.

4.3 Case marking for adjuncts

Nominal adjuncts can take dative case, two locative cases, or ablative case. In this section we describe these cases in terms of the semantic categories they mark, viz. the purpose of an action, the direction or the endpoint of a movement, a static location, and a point of origin. In contexts of movement and static location, case marking is optional for inherently locative nominals, like placenames and nouns referring to places (see also Hill 2002 on Umpila).

(i) PURPOSE: The purpose of an action is marked by a dative marker, exemplified in (57) below. This is semantically similar to the dative-marked element in the semi-transitive clauses described in the previous section, but in structures like (57) the dative-marked element does not serve as an argument of the verb, but as a purposive adjunct to an otherwise transitive verb.

- (57) kampino wurkiña my|no|argo te'e'|inta (DT3-5)
 kampinhu wurki^T-na mayi nu'a-ku the'e^{*}-inta^T
 dilly.bag start-PST veg.food karol-DAT bark.trough-?
 ‘I started the dilly bag for karol in the bark trough.’

(ii) MOVEMENT: Direction of movement is marked by a dative marker, while the endpoint of a movement is marked by a broad locative marker. Direction of movement is illustrated in (58) and (59) below, in both cases with a verb of movement, and a dative-marked adjunct indicating direction in the extraposed slot. The endpoint of a movement is illustrated in (60) and (61) below, in both cases with a broad locative.

- (58) pontamyena-mu yeya-ngi / meenthela-ku (JLTA-0097)
 placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename-DAT
 'I go from Pontamya, towards Meenthela.'
- (59) par-piŋä wäi-imbi, nařko yin-tſiŋä-go (DTC2-8&9&10)
 parrpingka waayi^T-mpi ngarrku yintyingka-ku
 tomorrow go-12AUG.NOM place placename-DAT
 'Tomorrow we will go to Yintyingka.'
- (60) ko-oŋo (DTC2-259)
 ko'o-ngu
 eye-BLOC
 'go in eye' (DT's translation)
- (61) palantyi-mu yeya-ngi / wiiya-ngu (JLTB-0033)
 placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM other-BLOC
 'I go from Palantyi to another (place).'

There are various types of evidence in the sources that the dative and the broad locative are in competition here, carving up the domain of movement in terms of direction and endpoint. The structure in (60) shows the noun *ko'o* 'eye' marked with the broad locative *-ngu*, which is glossed by Thomson as 'go in eye'. In the manuscript source, this example is followed directly by a contrasting example, shown in (62), in which the noun *ngarrku* 'place' takes a dative case *-ku*, glossed by Thomson as 'to camp', with double underlining for *to* in the gloss.

- (62) narko-go (DTC2-261)
 ngarrku-ku
 camp-DAT
 'to camp' (DT's translation)

There is similar evidence for competition between dative and broad locative in the textual material. The structure in (61) above is taken from the unglossed travelogue recorded with Jinny Long, and can be contrasted with a parallel structure from the same text in (58). In this travelogue, clauses describing travel from one place to another consistently have an adjunct indicating origin with an ablative, followed by a verb of movement, and then an adjunct bearing either dative case as in (58), or broad locative case as in (61). This shows how

both DAT-marked direction and BLOC-marked endpoint are compatible with this context.

The same travelogue also shows that case marking for movement is optional for ‘inherently locative’ categories of nominals, like placenames and nominals referring to places like *ngarrku*. This is illustrated in (63) and (64), where the placename *maka* and the noun *ngarrku* are used to mark directions or endpoints but do not have any marking of case.³⁴

- (63) wokeka-mu yeya-ngi / maka (JLTA-0059)

placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename

‘I go from Wokeka to Maka.’

- (64) päm-ä ko-ti ḥařko tonkiř (DTC2-5&6)

pama kuuthi* ngarrku thongke-rru^T

man two camp come-3AUG.NOM?

‘The two boys come to camp.’

To round off our discussion of movement, we should note that the direction or endpoint of movement can also be non-local, as shown in (63) below. This example comes from Thomson’s materials, with *mampa-ku* ‘to nothing’ presumably representing a reformulation for the item that immediately precedes it in the source, viz. *kunki** ‘finished’.

- (63) mämpa-go (DTC2-117)

mampa-ku

nothing-DAT

‘to nothing’ (DT’s translation: ‘nothing’)

(iii) LOCATION: The category of static location also has two competing case markers, the broad locative *-ngu* and the narrow locative *-ngka*. As explained in more detail in chapter 4, section 3.1, the two can be distinguished not just in terms of the ‘endpoint’ meaning for the broad locative, but also the types of stems they combine with: *-ngka* combines with inherently locative nominals like demonstratives and cardinal directions, and can produce placenames, while *-ngu* combines with all other nominals, including placenames. The structures in (64)–(67) illustrate the two locative markers used for static location. As with markers of movement, marking of location is optional for placenames and nominals referring to places, as shown in (68)–(69).

³⁴ As mentioned in section 3 above, case is normally retained in postverbal position, so the absence of case in (63) is not a consequence of the postverbal position of the placename.

- (64) thaawolo-ngu wuna-ngi (JLTA-0167)
 placename-BLOC lie-1MIN.NOM
 'I camp at Thaawolo.'

(65) ɳalli mälnkänäŋo wunilli (DTC2-66)
 ngali* malngkana*-ngu wuna-li*
 12MIN.NOM sandbeach-BLOC lie-12MIN.NOM
 'We sleep on the sandbeach.'

(66) ɳai-yyu ängkungä nipo wopimbo (DTI-70)
 ngayu angku-ngka nhipu wopi-m
 1MIN.NOM PROX.DEM-NLOC 2AUG.NOM go-IMP.
 'I am staying here, you (plural) go.' (DT's translation)

(67) thiipi-ngka (JLTA-0182)
 south-NLOC
 (no translation in the source)

(68) paykalawu wuna-ngi (JLTA-0081)
 placename lie-1MIN.NOM
 'I camp at Paykalawu.'

(69) kana wuna-na ngarrku ngathu=nhang (JLTA-0081)
 PFV lie-PST country 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
 'We camped in my country.'

(iv) ORIGIN: The origin of a movement is marked by ablative case, as shown in (70) below. We have not found any instances of ablatives marking origin beyond a context of movement, except for the structure in (71), where the ablative appears to have been used to produce a name from a noun referring to a totemic species. Donald Thomson comments that *walpa* ‘type of crab’ “is one of the totems of the Yintyingga tribe & from it a dingo dog is name [sic] “*walpa-ma*” (DT9-2).

- (70) poonha-mu yeya-ngi / konhanha (JLTA-0075)
placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename
'I go from Poonha to Konhanha.'

- (71) *'wälpa-'mä* (DT9-2)
walpa^T-mu
 crab.sp-ABL
 (name)

Table 5 below summarizes the different semantic categories discussed in this section, and the case markers that can be used for them.

Table 5: Case marking for adjuncts

		Dative -ku	Broad locative -ngu	Narrow locative -ngka	Ablative -mu
Purpose		+			
Movement	Direction	+			
	Endpoint		+		
Location			+	+	
Origin					+

5 Participant marking

Yintyingka has two interacting systems for participant marking: the system of bound pronouns suffixed to the verb, and the system of free pronouns and full NPs. In this section, we examine the interaction between the two systems, specifically the information-structural value of the presence of free pronouns. If our analysis of the tense-mood value of bound pronouns (chapter 4, section 4.2.2) is correct, however, the two systems really only interact whenever the verb lacks dedicated tense-mood marking, which is in complementary distribution with the bound pronouns.

The morphological structure of the system of bound pronouns was described in detail in chapter 4, section 4: a full paradigm of subject markers, a partial paradigm of object markers, and an overall value of non-past tense, in complementary distribution with present, past and imperative markers. If the verb has a bound pronoun, free pronouns and NPs are optional, as illustrated in the contrast between (72a) and (72b) below.

- (72) a. $\eta\bar{a}\text{-}yu$ wū-niŋi (DTC2-135)
 ngayu wuna-ngi
 1MIN.NOM lie-1MIN.NOM
 'I sleep.'

b. $w\bar{u}n\bar{i}\text{-}ŋi$ (DTI-1)
 wuna-ngi
 lie-1MIN.NOM
 'I sleep.'

This shows that we are dealing with what Siewierska (2004: 121–127) calls an ‘ambiguous’ system of person marking, which combines agreement-type functions with phoric functions. Verbs with an imperative marker can also easily drop pronouns, as shown in the contrast between (73a) and (73b) below. Verbs with any other tense-mood marker usually have an expressed subject – nominal or free pronoun – but can occasionally also occur without one, as illustrated in (74) and (75). For the structure in (75), Thomson notes explicitly that this is an alternative for the form with a free pronoun in (76).³⁵

- (73) a. nino tonki (DTC2-179)
 nhinu thongke
 2MIN.NOM come
 ‘Come.’

b. wämä tonki (DTC2-190)
 wama^T thongke
 NEG.IMP come
 ‘Don’t come.’

(74) kana wuna-na ngarrku ngathu=nhang (JLTA-0039)
 PFV lie-PST country 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
 ‘We camped in my country.’

(75) kanaŋga wunänä (DTI-11&12)
 kana=ngka wuna-na
 PFV=EMPH lie-PST
 ‘I slept.’

35 Of course, there are two features that vary here (the free pronoun and the form *weepa*), so we cannot be entirely sure that the alternation Thomson points to relates to the pronoun.

- (76) ngaiyu känängä wipa wunänä (DTI-9&10)
 ngayu kana=ngka weepa wuna-na
 1MIN.NOM PFV=EMPH sleep lie-PST
 'I slept.'

If the verb has a bound pronoun, the presence of a free pronoun seems to have an information-structural value, at least for subject pronouns (for object pronouns, we do not have enough attestations to check). A first, indirect, piece of evidence is that the use of free pronouns is a marked feature in texts. Even if we cannot reliably transcribe the texts recorded with Jinny Long and Peter Chippendale, free pronouns are easy to spot. In both sets of texts, they turn out to be relatively rare: in the first half of Jinny Long's travelogue (about 100 lines), for instance, there are five instances of free pronouns, and in the first half of Peter Chippendale's first narrative (about 50 lines), we can recognize eleven instances of free pronouns. A second, more direct piece of evidence is that in the interpretable textlets in Thomson's materials, the use of free pronouns seems to correlate with a contrast between participants, which may point to a value of contrastive topic.³⁶ Three relevant instances are listed below, in (77)–(79). While free pronouns are structurally optional, they are systematically present in such cases, where they contrast two different (sets of) participants carrying out parallel or contrasting activities.

- (77) *ŋāi-yuŋa ǟnko wuṇiŋi* (DTC2-64)
 ngayu=ngka angku wuna-ngi
 1MIN.NOM=EMPH PROX.DEM lie-1MIN.NOM
nino nämoṇi wunidi (DTC2-65)
 nhinu nhamani wuna-ti*
 2MIN.NOM DIST.DEM lie-2MIN.NOM
ŋalli mälñkänänjo wunilli (DTC2-66)
 ngali* malngkana*-ngu wuna-li*
 12MIN.NOM sandbeach-BLOC lie-12MIN.NOM
 'I sleep here, you sleep there. We sleep on the sandbeach.'

³⁶ Of course, we cannot know for sure whether Thomson recorded textlets from memory or whether they were dictated – dictation contexts can obviously have an influence on information structure (thanks to Bill McGregor for pointing this out to us).

- (78) Tonki ninä (DTC2-4)
 thongke nhinu
 come 2MIN.NOM
 ngai-y'anjkunä (DTC2-5)
 ngayu angku-ngka
 1MIN.NOM PROX.DEM-NLOC
 'You come, I am here.'
- (79) n̩ai̩-yu ängkungä nipo wɔpimbo (DTI-70)
 ngayu angku-ngka nhipu wopi-mpu*
 1MIN.NOM PROX.DEM-NLOC 2AUG.NOM go-IMP.PL
 'I am staying here, you (plural) go.' (DT's translation)

6 Tense-aspect-mood and polarity marking

6.1 Polarity marking

Yintyingka has two clause-level negation markers, a general marker *ka'i*, and a specialized imperative marker *wama^T*. Both markers also have some uses beyond the level of the clause. In addition, the language has a number of other strategies for expressing negation, like the privative suffix *-kinu** or the lexeme *mampa* 'nothing', both in the domain of possession.

The general negation marker *ka'i* is used in non-imperative clause types, as illustrated in (80) and (81) below.

- (80) ka-i – kän-äm̩bi utſa-go (DTC2-218)
 ka'i kana^T-mpi utya*-ku
 NEG look-12AUG.NOM dugong-DAT
 'Let's not look for dugong.'
- (81) n̩ayu kλ?i n̩akλ.nλ (GR-73)
 ngayu ka'i ngaka-na
 1MIN.NOM NEG see-PST?³⁷
 'I can't see.' (David Thompson's translation)

³⁷ This gloss assumes that all morphology is Yintyingka, including *-na*, but this speaker often uses Umpila morphology on Yintyingka stems. (In Umpila, *-na* is a non-future form.)

The marker always occurs right before the verb, like the other negative marker *wama^T*, and the epistemic marker to be discussed in section 6.2.3 below, which suggests that the immediately preverbal slot is a specialized polarity-modality slot. In addition to its clause-level uses, *ka'i* also appears to be used as a general marker to end a stretch of discourse, as suggested by its independent use in (82), which comes at the end of one of Thomson's notebooks and presumably marks the end of an elicitation session.

- (82) kä-i (DTC2-294)
 NEG
ka'i
 'No more.' (DT's translation)

The imperative negation marker *wama^T* is mainly used in imperative contexts, and is placed immediately before the verb like *ka'i*, as shown in (83)–(84).

- (83) wämä tonki (DTC2-190)
wama^T thongke
 NEG.IMP come
 'Don't come.'
- (84) nino wäm-wäma (DTC2-91)
nhinu *wama^T* *wama**
 2MIN.NOM NEG.IMP hold
 'No more hold.' (DT's translation; this probably represents Creole *nomo*, also used as a negative imperative marker)

Donald Thomson's materials also contain a variant recorded as *wam*, illustrated in (84). This form – phonologically exceptional because of its final nasal – is only attested with the verb *wama**- 'hold', and possibly reflects the avoidance of a structure that looks as if it is reduplicated.

In terms of use, *wama^T* has two extensions beyond the domain of imperatives. The first is closely related to imperatives, viz. verbs with a bound 2MIN. NOM marker and a deontic interpretation, as in (85) below. The second is for negation in non-verbal contexts, as in (86) below, where *wama^T* negates a time adverbial. The use of an imperative negator for non-verbal contexts is also recorded in the neighbouring language Umpithamu, where *antyala* covers both imperative negation and non-verbal negation (Verstraete fieldnotes).

- (85) wämä tonkidi (DTC2-191)
 wama^T thongke-ti*
 NEG.IMP come-2MIN.NOM
 ‘No more you come.’ (DT’s translation; this probably represents Creole *nomo*, also used as a negative imperative marker)
- (86) wämä ɻ̪ʃa-go (DTC2-189)
 wama^T atyaku
 NEG.IMP long.time
 ‘Not a long time.’

In addition to the two negative markers, Yintyingka has a few other strategies in the domain of negation, specifically for the absence of possession. Thus, for instance, the privative marker *-kinu** can be used for a non-verbal predicate stating the absence of an object, as in (87), and thus – pragmatically – a request to supply it. The same applies to the use of an NP with the nominal modifier *mampa* ‘nothing’, as in (88). Donald Thomson also explicitly links the two strategies in his notes (e.g. DTC2-196&197, DTC2-200&201).

- (87) ɻ̪ai-*yu* kq-ta-gino (DTC2-201)
 ngayu kuta-kinu*
 1MIN.NOM humpy-PRIV
 ‘I have no humpy.’
- (88) kalké-i mampa (DTC2-196)
 kalkeyi^T mampa
 saltwater.turtle nothing
 ‘no got’ (DT’s translation)

6.2 Tense-aspect-mood marking

Tense-aspect-mood information in Yintyingka primarily comes from verbal morphology, discussed in detail in chapter 4, section 4. Table 6 below repeats the basic morphological categories. Besides verbal morphology, Yintyingka also has constructional and lexical options in this domain, which we discuss here.

Table 6: Tense-mood paradigm

Suffix	Tense-mood value
-na	past
-ngka	present
(presence of bound pronouns)	non-past
-la*	imperative singular
-Ø	imperative singular
-mpu*	imperative plural

6.2.1 Tense

In a set of notes that appear to summarize elicitation (identifier DTI, see Table 22 in chapter 2), Thomson marks one construction as specialized in past tense (with the particle *kana*), but as discussed in the next section, this is better analysed in terms of aspect than in terms of tense. Furthermore, there is a range of lexical items with temporal reference, all of which occur clause-initially, unlike other adjuncts (as mentioned in section 3 above).

One set of elements, *wali^T* and *walingka^T* (the second presumably with the narrow locative -*ngka*), are used to refer to the present or the near future. *Wali^T* by itself is glossed by Thomson as ‘today’, and *walingka^T* is glossed as ‘now’ or ‘today’. All contexts of actual use of these particles refer to the near future, i.e. probably a point later on the day of the utterance, as in (89) and (90). Thomson’s materials also contain one example with an element represented as *wuli* and glossed as ‘bye&bye’ (DTC2-24), which probably represents the same element.

- (89) wäli tonki (DTC2-108)
wali^T thongke
 today come
 ‘Come today.’
- (90) walija nino tonkilla (DTC2-146)
*wali^T-ngka nhinu thongke-la**
 today-NLOC 2MIN.NOM come-IMP.SG
 ‘You come now or you come today.’ (DT’s translation)

A second set of elements, *parpi* and *parrpingka* (again presumably with the narrow locative -*ngka*), are used to refer to the more distant future. *Parpi* by itself is glossed as ‘tonight’ by Thomson, while *parrpingka* is glossed as ‘tomorrow’ or ‘tomorrow night’. The only actual use from the sources is in (91) below, with a gloss ‘tomorrow’.

- (91) par-piŋä wäi-imbi, nařko yin-tʃiŋä-go (DTC2-8&9&10)
 parrpingka waayi^T-mpi ngarrku yintyingka-ku
 tomorrow go-12AUG.NOM place placename-DAT
 ‘Tomorrow we will go to Yintyingka.’

The corpus does not contain any elements referring to the past (apart from the verbal suffixes, of course). Furthermore, the texts recorded from Jinny Long also contain one element that could be interpreted as temporal, viz. *yupa* in (92). *Yupa* is attested as a future marker in Kugu Nganhcara (Smith & Johnson 2000: 439), and in Umpithamu as a marker that combines with verb morphology to indicate any time around the moment of speech (including just before, see Verstraete 2011c). Except for the immediate past reference, the Umpithamu pattern for *yupa* appears to be reflected in Yintyingka *wali^T*, which means that *yupa* in Yintyingka could be a generalized future marker as in Kugu Nganhcara.

- (92) yupa yeaya-ngi ngarrku-ku (JLTA-0025)
 FUT go-1MIN.NOM camp-DAT
 ‘I will go to camp soon.’

6.2.2 Aspect

We can find two aspectual constructions in the sources, one for perfective aspect and another for durative aspect. The perfective construction uses the particle *kana*, which Donald Thomson glosses as ‘finished’ when noted in isolation (in the manuscript source he notes it as an alternative to *kunki** ‘finished’). This particle is reconstructed to Proto-Pama-Nyungan as **kana* ‘finished, ready’ (Alpher 2004b), and has reflexes used as a perfective particle as well as an interjection meaning ‘finished’ in a number of Wik languages (e.g. Wik Ngathan, Sutton 1995b; Wik Mungkan, Kilham et al. 1986). Thomson himself explicitly associates this particle with past tense. In a manuscript source that lays out the different forms of the verb *wuna-* ‘lie down’, he marks the structure in (93) as representing past tense, and for the structure in (94a) he provides a translation in Umpila that uses a past particle meaning ‘before’, shown in (94b).

- (93) *ŋai-yu* känän̄ga wo-piŋä (DTI-69)
 ngayu kana=ngka wopi-ntyä^T
 1MIN.NOM PFV=EMPH go-?
 ‘I went.’ (DT does not provide a translation, but explicitly marks the structure as ‘Past’)

(94) a. Yintyingka structure

ngaiyu känäŋgà wipa wunänä (DTI-9&10)
 ngayu kana=ngka weepa wuna-na
 1MIN.NOM PFV=EMPH sleep lie-PST
 'I slept.'

b. Umpila equivalent

ŋai̯-yu äntän wuŋänä
 ngayu antha wuna-na
 1MIN.NOM before lie-PST
 'I slept.'

Thomson's manuscripts, however, also contain structures that contradict a past-tense analysis. The example in (95) uses the same particle *kana*, but describes a potential action rather than a past action. The structure in (96) is similar, if at least the preverbal element can be interpreted as *kana* (Thomson represents it as <Kəñō>).

(95) Känä-ninidi (DTC2-31)

kana nhiiina-ti*
 PFV sit-2MIN.NOM
 'Sit down (finish) – wait a bit.' (DT's translation)

(96) ŋai̯-yu Kəñō-po'tsiŋi ŋarxk-o-go (DTC2-30)

ngayu kana pootya*-ngi ngarrku-ku
 1MIN.NOM PFV go-1MIN.NOM camp-DAT
 'I (myself) I want to go to camp.' (DT's translation)

What these examples show, therefore, is that an alternative interpretation in terms of aspect is more likely than a past-tense analysis, with *kana* emphasizing the boundaries of the event, either in the past, as in (93)–(94), or in the future, as in (95)–(96). In past contexts, perfectivity may serve to emphasize completedness (as in the equivalent Creole structure with *pinis*, see Crowley & Rigsby 1987: 193), which may explain why the two past examples have the emphatic marker on the perfective particle. In non-past contexts, it may add an effect of urgency, in deontic contexts like (95), or imminence, in non-deontic contexts like (96) ('I am about to go',³⁸ compare Timberlake 2007: 298–299 for some typological parallels).

³⁸ Thanks to Barry Alpher for suggesting this analysis.

The second aspectual construction uses a succession of non-past verbs (marked with bound pronouns) with a specific intonation contour to mark durability, i.e. to indicate that the action described takes a long time relative to the actions preceding or following it. The construction is illustrated in (97) and (98) below (with partial reduplication of the bound pronoun in the second structure, possibly another type of aspectual marker, see chapter 4, section 4.3).

- (97) paykalawu wuna-ngi wuna-ngi wonpo patha-ngi (JLTA-0081)
 placename lie-1MIN.NOM lie-1MIN.NOM fish eat-1MIN.NOM
 'I camp at Paykalawu for a long time, and eat fish.'

- (98) wuna-ngi-ngki wuna-ngi-ngki wuna-ngi-ngki (JLTA-0037)
 lie-1MIN.NOM-REDUP lie-1MIN.NOM-REDUP lie-1MIN.NOM-REDUP
 wuna-ngi-ngki atyaku yongka [...]
 lie-1MIN.NOM-REDUP long.time ?
 'I camp for a long time.'

This is, of course, a familiar pattern in many Pama-Nyungan languages, but it can be considered a construction rather than simply a discourse phenomenon, because there is clear formal encoding that is consistently associated with the aspectual meaning: repetition of the predicate, combined with a high, level intonation contour preceding a sharp fall in the predicate following the construction, as illustrated in the pitch track in Figure 4 below. This is different from normal phrasal contexts, in which a pretonic rises towards the major fall of the tonic element (see section 3 above).

6.2.3 Mood

Verbal morphology has one specialized modal form, i.e. the imperative marked with *-la** or zero for singular and *-mpu** for plural. This is also reflected in the system of negation, as explained in section 6.1 above, with a distinction between a general negator and an imperative negator. Furthermore, the non-past forms, marked by the presence of a bound subject pronoun, can also receive a modal interpretation in the right context, i.e. with second person subjects. This is reflected in the fact that they can use the imperative negator *wama^T*, as shown in (99), and the fact that Thomson explicitly records bound second person subject pronouns as an alternative to a zero-marked imperative form, as shown in (100).

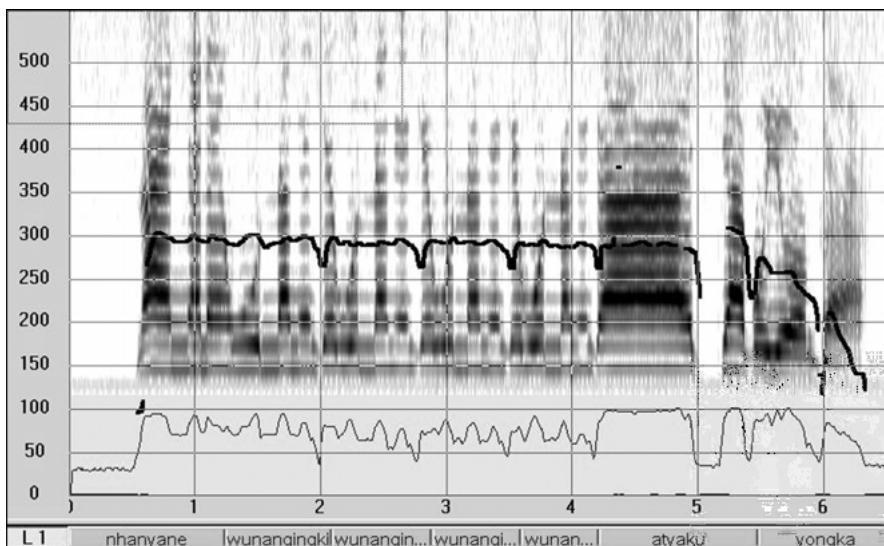


Figure 4: Pitch track for (98). Horizontal axis represents time (seconds); alignment is approximate. Vertical axis represents amplitude (0–50 dB) and F0 (0–500 Hz), projected onto background spectrogram (0–4500 Hz).

- (99) nini/neni wäm-wämidi (DTC2-96)
 nhinu wama^T wama*-ti*
 2MIN.NOM NEG.IMP hold-2MIN.NOM
 ‘You no catch hold me.’ (DT’s translation)
- (100) a. nine/nini wämä (DTC2-95)
 nhinu wama*
 2MIN.NOM hold
 ‘You hold.’
- b. nini/neni wämadi (DTC2-96)
 nhinu wama*-ti*
 2MIN.NOM hold-2MIN.NOM
 ‘You hold.’

While verbal morphology mainly allows deontic modal forms (relating to action), there is also a particle specialized in epistemic modality, viz. *wanhū** ‘perhaps’, illustrated in (101) below. Like the polarity markers discussed in section 6.1 above, this particle is used in immediately preverbal position, which

suggests that the immediately preverbal slot is associated with the assessment of reality status (not occurring, possibly occurring, or occurring).

- (101) wātʃu wān-o wātʃun-i (DTC2-19&20)
 utya* wanhu* watyu*-ngi
 dugong perhaps spear-1MIN.NOM
 'I will perhaps spear a dugong.' (DT's translation: 'dugong / perhaps he was speared')

7 Non-verbal predication

Non-verbal predication in Yintyingka usually consists of an NP functioning as subject, followed by an NP or a derived nominal functioning as the predicate, always in that order. In our sources, non-verbal predication is attested for the ascription of a property, as in (102)–(103), for a location, as in (104), or for the absence of an object, as in (105)–(106), which often pragmatically comes to function as a request (see section 6.1 above).

- (102) Yintʃin-a ɳaṛko ɳantʃan-o (DTC2-36)
 Yintyingka ngarrku ngantyangu*
 placename country 1AUG.GEN
 'Yintyingka is our country.'
- (103) woṛṭja kalmbi-kalmbi
 worrtya* kalmpikalmpi^T
 cloud fast
 'The cloud goes quickly.'
- (104) ɳai-yu ängkungä nipo wopimbo (DTI-70)
 ngayu angku-ngka nhipu wopi-mpu*
 1MIN.NOM PROX.DEM-NLOC 2AUG.NOM go-IMP.PL
 'I am staying here, you (plural) go.' (DT's translation)
- (105) ɳai-yu kɔ-ta mampu (DTC2-200)
 ngayu kuta mampu
 1MIN.NOM humpy nothing
 'I do not have a humpy.'

- (106) *ŋai̪-yu keni-gin-ü* (DTC2-118)
 ngayu keene-kinu*
 1MIN.NOM tobacco-PRIV
 ‘I do not have tobacco.’ (DT’s translation: ‘Give me tobacco’)

8 Complex sentences and discourse

Given the scarcity of reliably glossed texts, there is not a great deal we can cover in this section. In the domain of complex sentences, there is no evidence of specific markers for complex sentence formation, except perhaps the sub-ordinator *-tyi^T* attested in complex NP structures in section 2.5 above, illustrated again in (107) below.

- (107) *mola Kala Kataji* (DTC5-45)
 moola* kala* katha-tyi^T
 mourning.string waist tie-SUB
 ‘mourning strings tied around the waist’

This may not just be due to the sources, however. Other languages in the region are similarly poor in markers for clause linkage, and rely on other resources, like mood or information structure, to infer the semantics of a relation between consecutive clauses (see Verstraete 2010b). In Yintyingka, for instance, the information-structural value of the use of free pronouns may trigger a relation of contrast, as suggested by the structures in section 5 above, one of which is repeated in (108).

- (108) *ŋai̪-yu ängkungä nipo wopimbo* (DTI-70)
 ngayu angku-ngka nhipu wopi-mpu*
 1MIN.NOM PROX.DEM-NLOC 2AUG.NOM go-IMP.PL
 ‘I am staying here, you (plural) go.’ (DT’s translation)

There is not too much we can say about higher levels of discourse structure, except perhaps that the one genre we can recognize, the travelogue recorded with Jinny Long, is strongly formulaic, built around the use of parallel structures describing origin and movement in the clause, and destination in the extraposed slot, as in (109) (see also the structures in sections 3 and 4.3 above).

- (109) a. ngoki yakali-mu waayi^T-ngi-ngki / wiiya-nga (JLTA-0055)
water placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM-REDUP other-BLOC
'I go from Yakali to another place.'

b. thu'a-mu (JLTA-0056)
placename-ABL
'From Thu'a.'

c. thu'a-mu / wiinti (JLTA-0057)
placename-ABL placename
'From Thu'a to Wiinti.'

d. wiinti-mu yeya-nga / wokeka (JLTA-0058)
placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename
'I go from Wiinti to Wokeka.'

e. wokeka-mu yeya-nga / maka (JLTA-0059)
placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename
'I go from Wokeka to Maka.'

There are also several instances of a discourse marker *a*, which typically occurs every few lines, possibly to mark larger stretches of the trip being described and thus functioning as a paragraph marker. The marker also occurs several times in elicitation, marking the speaker's turn after the English prompts, as in (110).

- (110) A: jewfish?
 B: a uympa (JLL-0101)
 DM jewfish
 ‘A: jewfish? B: (Yintyingka word)’

Chapter 6

Yintyingka in a comparative perspective

1 Introduction

This chapter looks at Yintyingka from a typological and a historical perspective. On the one hand, we analyse how Yintyingka compares structurally with its immediate neighbours, and where it stands in the wider context of the languages of Cape York Peninsula. The previous chapters have already touched upon a few comparative points; this chapter presents a more systematic comparison to give us a broad areal-typological perspective on the language. On the other hand, we also present some historical-comparative analyses, and we put forward a proposal about the genetic status of Yintyingka, within the Middle Paman group proposed by Hale (1976b) as a subgroup of Paman (Hale 1964, 1966). Our historical-comparative analysis remains tentative, for two reasons. One is that our Yintyingka lexicon is relatively small, and contains quite a few uncertain phonological shapes, especially in forms that are only attested in Thomson's or Tindale's manuscripts. The other is that subgrouping within Cape York Peninsula remains uncertain. There has been serious progress in reconstructing Pama-Nyungan (e.g. Alpher 2004a, b, O'Grady & Hale 2004) and higher-level subgrouping of Pama-Nyungan (e.g. Bowern & Atkinson 2012), but some early proposals for lower-level subgrouping in Cape York Peninsula (e.g. Hale 1976a, 1976b) remain to be updated and checked against newer data (see, for instance, Alpher & Nash 1999 for the southwestern part of Cape York Peninsula). Our comparative analysis mainly covers phonology and morphology, in sections 2 and 3. In section 4, we bring together all historical-comparative observations to put forward a proposal about the genetic status of Yintyingka.

2 Phonology

This section analyses Yintyingka phonology from a comparative perspective, covering the vowel inventory and patterns of vowel harmony, the consonant inventory, dropping of initial consonants, and other aspects of phonotactics like consonant clusters and stem-final processes. For each domain, we first present an areal-typological analysis, followed by a historical-comparative analysis.

2.1 Vowel inventory and vowel harmony

As argued in chapter 3, section 3, Yintyingka has ten vowel phonemes: five vowel qualities and a length distinction in the first syllable. Within this inventory, the mid vowels are historically innovative, and they are subject to a strong tendency towards harmony within stems: mid vowels tend to co-occur with each other or with an open vowel, but not with close vowels.

2.1.1 Typology

If we look at the vowel inventory from an areal-typological perspective, systems of five vowels are typical in the languages neighbouring Yintyingka. They are found in Wik Mungkan (Sayers & Godfrey 1964: 52–53, Kilham 1977: 31), Wik Iiyanh (Smith & Johnson 2000: 376–378), Pakanh and Western Ayapathu (Hamilton 1997a, b), Olkola (Hamilton 1997c), Umpithamu (Verstraete fieldnotes) and Rimanggudinhma (Godman 1993: 33–34). The only exception is Umpila, to the north of Yintyingka, which has three vowels (Thompson 1976: 215, 1988: 5). Vowel length is found in all northern and western neighbours as well as Umpithamu, but not in Olkola or Rimanggudinhma. According to Dixon's survey (2002: 634–635), systems of more than three vowel qualities are found in the whole of Cape York Peninsula, except for Umpila and Guugu Yimidhirr (his listing of Umpithamu as a three-vowel language is incorrect). In this sense, there is not much in the vowel inventory to distinguish Yintyingka from its immediate neighbours or even in the broader context of Cape York Peninsula.

What is more interesting, however, is the tendency towards vowel harmony for mid vowels within stems. Partly similar patterns are attested in only two of the languages neighbouring Yintyingka, one to the south (Umpithamu) and one to the west (Wik Iiyanh). In Wik Iiyanh vowel harmony is almost exceptionless (Smith & Johnson 2000: 381–382): the back mid vowel /ɔ/ always co-occurs with other mid vowels within the stem, while the front mid vowel /ɛ/ co-occurs with /ɔ/ or /a/ when it is in the initial syllable. The tendency towards vowel harmony is somewhat weaker in Umpithamu: about two thirds of stems with a mid vowel in the first syllable also have a mid vowel in the following syllable (Verstraete 2009b). Such patterns of vowel harmony are particularly interesting because they only affect the mid vowel series, which is innovative from a diachronic perspective.

2.1.2 History

The vowel system reconstructed for Proto-Pama-Nyungan has three vowel qualities and a length distinction in the first syllable (O’Grady 1998, Alpher 2004a). As mentioned above, the innovation in Yintyingka is the addition of the mid vowels /ɔ/ and /ɛ/. The back mid vowel /ɔ/ can fairly clearly be traced back to a lowering of the back close vowel /u/. All of the definite instances of /ɔ/ for which we have reconstructed forms or cognates go back to /u/, as shown in (1a) below, as do most of our suspected instances of /ɔ/ in Donald Thomson’s data, as shown in (1b).

- (1) a. Definite /ɔ/
 - ko’o ‘eye’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *kuru ‘eye’ (Alpher 2004b)
 - ngoki ‘water’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *nguku ~ nguki ‘water’ (Alpher 2004b)
 - wolo ‘fly’ ~ Proto-Paman *wulul ‘blowfly’ (Alpher p.c.), Wik Ngathan wul ‘blowfly’ (Sutton 1995b)
- b. Probable /ɔ/
 - ngotho* ‘black’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *ngulcurr ‘black’ (Alpher 2004b)
 - tonongko^T ‘one’ ~ Proto-Paman *cunu ‘one’ (Alpher 2004b)
 - ko’a^T ‘dog’ ~ Proto-Paman *kuta(ka) ‘dog’ (Hale 1976b)³⁹

There are fewer attestations of the front mid vowel /ɛ/, but those instances where we have reconstructed forms or cognates suggest an origin in the lowering of a front close vowel /i/, as shown in (2) below. The synchronic variation between speakers discussed in chapter 3, section 4.3, also suggests a link between mid and close vowels, both for the front and the back series.

- (2) a. Definite /ɛ/
 - weeli ‘younger sister’ ~ Umpithamu iilatha ‘younger sister’ (Verstraete fieldnotes)
 - weepa ‘sleep’ ~ Proto-Paman *wiipa ‘shade’ (Hale 1976b) (see also the entry for *wiipa* ‘shade’ in the lexicon)
- b. Probable /ɛ/
 - epa^T ‘antbed’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *tipa ‘termite mound’ (Alpher 2004b)

³⁹ The correspondence between an alveolar stop in the reconstructed form and a glottal stop in the Yintyingka form suggests that this form may have come into the language as a loan from Umpila (see section 2.2.2 below), but the presence of the mid-vowel suggests a phonological adaptation to Yintyingka.

There is one correspondence,⁴⁰ shown in (3a), that at first sight suggests a link with the open vowel /a/, but this form most likely originated as a loan from a language where Proto-Pama-Nyungan *l developed into a palatal approximant in clusters, and subsequently raised the preceding open vowel (a process described in Hale 1976b: 53). This happened in Kugu Muminh and Wik Mungkan, for instance, as shown in (3b), but not in Yintyingka, as shown in the regular form in (3c).

- (3) a. keke^T ‘stingray spear’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *kalka ‘spear’ (Alpher 2004b)
- b. Umpithamu ayka ‘spear’ (Verstraete fieldnotes) ~ Kugu Muminh keka ‘spear’, Wik Mungkan kek ‘spear’ (see Hale 1976b: 53)
- c. kaka ‘spear’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *kalka ‘spear’ (Alpher 2004b)

As mentioned in the previous section, there are two neighbouring languages that also show a tendency towards vowel harmony for mid vowels, viz. Umpithamu and Wik Iiyanh. In Umpithamu, mid-vowels also originate in close vowels, as shown in (4). We do not have any information about the origins of /ɔ/ in Wik Iiyanh, but at least for /ɛ/ the literature suggests a quite different origin in the raising of *a, assimilated to a front vowel in the next syllable, or to a palatal approximant, as discussed above (see Hale 1976b).

- (4) Umpithamu (Verstraete fieldnotes)
 - errke ‘talk, speak’ ~ Proto-Paman *yirrka- ‘speak’ (Hale 1976b)
 - meela ‘eye’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *miil ‘eye’ (Alpher 2004b)
 - wolol ‘blowfly’ ~ Proto-Paman *wulul ‘blowfly’ (Alpher p.c.), Wik Ngathan wul ‘blowfly’ (Sutton 1995b)
 - ngoki ‘water’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *nguku ~ nguki ‘water’ (Alpher 2004b)

Even though we can establish that mid vowels originate in the lowering of close vowels in Yintyingka, the conditioning context is far less clear. If we look at the synchronic distribution of mid vowels and close vowels in our lexicon, there is no obvious factor that seems to determine this distribution. We can discern a few tendencies, not all of which are the same for front and back vowels. One of these is a weak association of /ɔ/ with velar stops and nasals. For

⁴⁰ One further relevant correspondence could be between *theeye* ‘mouth’ and *caa ‘mouth’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher 2004b). Thanks to Barry Alpher for pointing this out to us.

instance, even though stems with mid vowels are overall rarer than stems with close vowels, the set of /ŋ/-initial stems has more stems with mid vowels than with close vowels, and the set of /k/-initial stems has about the same number of stems with mid vowels and with close vowels. This also applies to /ɛ/ following initial /k/, although front vowels are rare overall following initial velar consonants. Another tendency in Yintyingka is for /ɔ/ to have more complete vowel harmony (in terms of height and backness) than /ɛ/: while /ɔ/ more often occurs with /ɔ/ than with /ɛ/, /ɛ/ occurs more often with /ɔ/ than with other instances of /ɛ/. Such tendencies are not found in the same form in the two other languages with vowel harmony, Umpithamu and Wik Iliyanh, which suggests that they did not follow exactly the same path towards mid vowels as Yintyingka. In Wik Iliyanh, for instance, the set of /k/-initial and /ŋ/-initial stems has far fewer mid vowels than close vowels (as can be checked in the lexicon in Smith & Johnson 2000).

2.2 Consonant inventory

As argued in chapter 3, section 2, the consonant inventory in Yintyingka consists of stops and nasals at five places of articulation (plus the glottal stop), three approximants, one lateral and one trill. The alveolar approximant /ɹ/ is rare overall in our data, and palatal nasals are relatively rare outside of clusters.

2.2.1 Typology

From an areal-typological perspective, what stands out in the consonant inventory is the presence of a glottal stop, the near-absence of the alveolar approximant, the absence of a retroflex point of articulation, and the absence of fricatives and a voicing contrast for stops.

Among the neighbouring languages, glottal stops are found in Umpila (Thompson 1988: 5), Wik Mungkan (Sayers & Godfrey 1964: 51–52, Kilham 1977: 31), Wik Iliyanh (Smith & Johnson 2000: 376), Pakanh and Western Ayapathu (Hamilton 1997a, b) and Umpithamu (Verstraete fieldnotes), but not in Olkola (Hamilton 1997c) or Rimanggudinhma (Godman 1993: 26). Alveolar approximants are absent in Umpila (Thompson 1988: 5) and in Wik Iliyanh (Smith & Johnson 2000: 376). All other neighbouring languages have alveolar or post-alveolar approximants, but for at least some languages we know that they are rare, e.g. in Umpithamu (Verstraete 2009b) and in Wik Mungkan (Kilham et al. 1986: 399).

A retroflex point of articulation is not found in any of the neighbouring languages,⁴¹ and is rare overall in Cape York Peninsula, with exceptions like Yir Yoront (Alpher 1991: 7–8), Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979: 36–37) and debated cases like Kurtjar (Breen 1976, 1992). Fricative phonemes are only found to the south and southwest in the immediate neighbourhood of Yintyingka, in Olkola (Hamilton 1996a: 293) and Rimanggudinhma (Godman 1993: 27–30), and further south in Umbuygamu (Ogilvie 1994: 27–28), Lamalama (Laycock 1969; Rigsby 1997) and Kuku Thaypan (Rigsby ms). Further away, there is another cluster of languages with fricatives to the northwest in the Northern Paman group (Hale 1976a). Voicing contrasts in stops, lastly, are found in Wik Iliyanh (Smith & Johnson 2000: 374–375), Olkola (Sommer 1969, Hamilton 1996a: 293), and Rimanggudinhma (Godman 1993: 27–30), in the last case further augmented by a prenasalized stop series.

From a typological perspective, therefore, Yintyingka does not show any of the unusual developments of fricatives and stop contrasts found to its immediate south and southwest, but it does share the paucity of alveolar approximants and the presence of glottal stops with languages to its north and west.

2.2.2 History

If we look at Yintyingka's consonant inventory from a historical-comparative perspective, the presence of glottal stops and the rarity of alveolar approximants are directly linked. For stems with glottal stops where we have a reconstructed form or a cognate, the glottal stop systematically corresponds to an alveolar approximant, as shown in (5) below. The development of *r to glottal stop is shared with Umpila, Wik Mungkan and Wik Iliyanh (see Hale 1976b), as well as Pakanh and Western Ayapathu (based on the lexical data in Hamilton 1997a, b).

- (5) ka'i 'NEG' ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *kari 'not' (Alpher 2004b)
- ko'o 'eye' ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *kuru 'eye' (Alpher 2004b)
- waa'i* 'who' ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *waari 'who' (Alpher 2004b)
- tha'u 'foot' ~ Proto-Paman *caru 'foot' (Hale 1976b)

There are three exceptions, listed in (6) below, where a glottal stop in Yintyingka does not correspond to an alveolar approximant but to *t or *p in a

⁴¹ One exception concerns retroflexed realizations of apicals in Wik Iliyanh, although these do not seem to be contrastive (Johnson 1991). Thanks to Barry Alpher for pointing this out.

reconstructed form or a cognate. These cases can be attributed to loans, possibly from Umpila or from a Wik language. Yintyingka itself does not have any other instances of *t or *p descending as a glottal stop (both are maintained intervocally and in clusters – see further in chapter 3, section 4.2), but Umpila does show both processes, even in two of the same stems (see O’Grady 1976), and Wik languages have *t descending as a glottal stop intervocally (Hale 1976b: 50–51).

- (6) ko'a^T ‘dog’ ~ Proto-Paman *kuta(ka) ‘dog’ (Hale 1976b) ~ Umpila ku'a ‘dog’ (Thompson 1988)
 pe'e ‘skin’ ~ Proto-Paman *patin(a) ‘skin’ (Hale 1976b)
 kul'a* ‘stone’ ~ Guugu Yimidhirr gulbarr ‘round, large stone’ (Haviland n.d.) ~ Umpila kul'a ‘stone’ (Thompson 1988)

The rarity of palatal nasals outside of clusters in Yintyingka can be attributed to the fact that the single laminal nasal reconstructed for Proto-Pama-Nyungan (Alpher 2004a: 108–109) is almost always reflected as a dental nasal outside of clusters, both word-initially and intervocally, as shown in (7a–b). The same applies to laminal stops word-initially, as shown in (8a), and as far as we can tell from reconstructed forms also intervocally, as shown in (8b) (but synchronic distribution tells a different story, as argued in the next paragraph).

- (7) a. nhinu ‘2MIN.NOM’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *nyinu ‘2 SG OBL’ (Alpher 2004b)
 nilhu ‘3MIN.NOM’ ~ Proto-Paman *nyulu/nyilu ‘he’ (Hale 1976b)
- b. piinhayi ‘father’s older brother / all of father’s sisters’ ~ Proto-Paman *piinya/pinyi ‘father’s sibling’ (Hale 1976b)
 minha ‘game animal’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *minya ‘meat, animal’ (Alpher 2004b)
- (8) a. thaami ‘mother-in-law’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *tyaami ‘wife’s mother’s brother’ (Alpher 2004b)
 thaypa ‘beard’ ~ Proto-Paman *tyalparr ‘chin’ (Alpher 2004b)
 thuli ‘woomera’ ~ Proto-Paman *tyuli ‘spearthrower’ (Hale 1976b)
- b. katha ‘tie up’ ~ Proto-Paman *katya- ‘tie’ (Hale 1976b)
 kathi ‘yamstick’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *katyin ‘digging stick’ (Alpher 2004b)
 ngathi ‘cross-grandparent’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *ngatyi ‘mother’s father’ (Alpher 2004b)

The descent of the single laminal as a dental stop or nasal word-initially is shared with Umpila (O'Grady 1976: 64–65), Wik Mungkan and Wik Iiyanh (Hale 1976b), as well as Pakanh and Western Ayapathu (based on data in Hamilton 1997a, b). Umpithamu is slightly different, in that word-initially it mainly has softening to *y* for the laminal stop, and has dental (or alveolar) reflections for the laminal nasal (Verstraete 2009b). Intervocally, the single laminal stop and nasal descend as a dental stop and nasal in Umpithamu (Verstraete 2009b) and in Umpila (O'Grady 1976). In Wik Mungkan and Wik Iiyanh, the single intervocalic laminal stop and nasal split into a dental stop and nasal before **u* and **a* and a palatal stop and nasal before **i* (Hale 1976b). The comparison with reconstructed forms in (8b) above suggest that Yintyingka is like Umpithamu and Umpila, i.e. with one intervocalic dental consonant reflecting the proto-laminal, regardless of the following vowel. However, if we look at the distribution of single intervocalic dental and palatal stops in the entire lexicon, there are more forms with /ci/ than with /ti/, and more forms with /ʈa/ and /ʈu/ than with /ca/ and /cu/ – some forms with palatals are illustrated in (9) below.

- (9) katyi 'far'
 pootyila^T 'orchid'
 ngatyungatyu 'slow'
 watyu*- 'spear'
 utyā* 'dugong'

This pattern of distribution suggests an opposite story to the comparative data in (8) above, viz. that intervocalic laminals may have split into dental and palatal forms depending on the following vowel in Yintyingka, as in the Wik languages, and that the forms with /ti/ in (8b) could be borrowings, like the forms with /ca/ and /cu/ in (9). At this point, we still choose to give precedence to the comparative data in (8), because synchronic distribution is inherently less reliable as an indication of diachronic development: synchronic instance of /c/ and /t/ could in principle also derive from other sources than the laminals in reconstructed forms.

2.3 Initial-dropping and initial-softening

As discussed in chapter 3, section 4.1, a bit more than ten percent of the lexical stems in Yintyingka begin with a vowel. Given that all stems reconstructed for Proto-Pama-Nyungan are consonant-initial, this phenomenon has been discussed in the literature under the diachronic label of 'initial-dropping' (e.g. Sutton 1976,

Alpher 1976). A related phenomenon is initial-softening, whereby initial stops develop into a glide at the same place of articulation (Alpher 1976).

2.3.1 Typology

From an areal-typological perspective, initial-dropping affecting all stems of the lexicon is found only to the southwest and south of Yintyingka, in Olkola (Sommer 1969, Hamilton 1996a), Umbuygamu (Sommer 1976, Ogilvie 1994: 53–54), Rimanggudinhma (Godman 1993: 40), Lamalama (Rigsby 1997, Sommer 1999) and Kuku Thaypan (Rigsby 1976a). Umpithamu is thoroughly initial-softening for bilabial and laminal stops, and sporadically initial-dropping for most other initial consonants (Verstraete 2009b). To the north, Umpila also shows instances of sporadic initial-softening and initial-dropping (O’Grady 1976, Thompson 1976), though less frequently than in Umpithamu. To the west, Wik Mungkan, Wik Iiyanh, Pakanh and Western Ayapathu show sporadic initial-dropping (based on the data in Kilham et al. 1986, Smith & Johnson 2000 and Hamilton 1997a, b).

2.3.2 History

From a historical perspective, there are two things that stand out in Yintyingka. First, there is no clear conditioning factor for initial-dropping. For vowel-initial stems that allow reconstruction of the initial consonant, through proto-forms or cognates, reconstructed initial consonants are phonetically diverse, as shown in (10) below. Moreover, the same consonants can be retained in other stems, as shown in (11) below. Second, there is no trace of initial-softening in Yintyingka, while this is often found together with – and causally linked with (see, for instance, O’Grady & Hale 2004: 82–83) – sporadic initial-dropping, as in Umpithamu and in Umpila.

- (10) epa^T ‘antbed’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *tipa ‘termite mound’ (Alpher 2004b)
 umu ‘chest’ ~ Proto-Paman *tumu ‘chest’ (Hale 1976b)
 errke- ‘talk, speak’ ~ Proto-Paman *yirrkha- ‘speak’ (Hale 1976b)
 atapa ‘river’ ~ Kuuk Thaayorre wa’ap ‘river’ (Gaby 2006)

- (11) tuulka ‘brolga’ ~ Umpila tuulka ‘brolga’ (Thompson 1988)
 yapi ‘older sister’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *yapa ‘older sister’ (Alpher 2004b)
 wunayi ‘older brother’ ~ Umpithamu unatha ‘older brother’
 (Verstraete fieldnotes)

Taken together, these observations suggest that there may not have been an internal process driving initial-dropping in Yintyingka, but that initial-dropped items may have entered the language in some other way, for instance by borrowing from more thoroughly initial-dropping languages nearby. This scenario has to remain speculative without a detailed historical study of the initial-dropped forms, but the idea at least seems to fit in with some other features indicative of borrowing. If we go back to our discussion of laminals in section 2.2.2 above, for instance, it may not be a coincidence that the ‘irregular’ forms with /ca/ are mainly found in initial-dropped stems.

2.4 Other aspects of phonotactics

2.4.1 Consonant clusters

As shown in chapter 3, section 4.2, Yintyingka has homorganic clusters at all places of articulation, as well as heterorganic clusters consisting of a liquid, a palatal glide or an alveolar nasal followed by a stop or a homorganic cluster at three places of articulation.

The heterorganic clusters are most interesting from a historical-comparative perspective. In most cases, they directly reflect clusters reconstructed for Proto-Pama-Nyungan, as shown in (12) below. With laterals, however, there is quite a bit of variation: laterals in the reconstructed form can correspond to laterals in Yintyingka, as in (13a), to palatal glides, as in (13b), or they can disappear, as in (13c).

- (12) thunpi ‘star’ ~ Proto-Paman *cupni ‘star’ (Hale 1976b)
 errke- ‘talk, speak’ ~ Proto-Paman *yirrkha- ‘speak’ (Hale 1976b)
 karrki ‘younger brother’ ~ Umpithamu arrkatha ‘younger brother’
 (Verstraete fieldnotes)

- (13) a. kalmpikalmpi^T ‘fast’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *kalmpa ‘fast’
 (Alpher 2004b)

- b. thaypa ‘beard’ ~ Proto-Paman *calparr ‘chin’ (Alpher 2004b)
 kaympu* ‘kookaburra’ ~ Umpila kalmpuy ‘kookaburra’
 (Thompson 1988)

- c. kaka ‘spear’ ~ Proto-Pama-Nyungan *kalka ‘spear’ (Alpher 2004b)

In neighbouring languages the laterals either disappeared (as in Wik Mungkan, Wik Ilianh, Hale 1976b), or they became glides following *a and disappeared elsewhere (as in Umpithamu, Verstraete 2009b). It is difficult to single out borrowings or conditioning factors for Yintyingka: all forms involved look like regular Yintyingka forms otherwise, and from a synchronic perspective, l-initial and y-initial clusters are fairly evenly distributed in the lexicon.

2.4.2 Stem-final processes

As mentioned in chapter 3, section 4.1, stems in Yintyingka are almost exclusively vowel-final. This is quite different from neighbouring languages, all of which have a fair share of consonant-final stems,⁴² as well as from Proto-Pama-Nyungan reconstructions, which also have a few consonant-final stems (Alpher 2004a). In this sense, we are most likely dealing with an innovation in Yintyingka. Where we have cognates or reconstructed forms, we can discern two mechanisms to create vowel-final stems in Yintyingka: deletion of the final consonant, as in (14), or augmentation of the stem with a new final vowel, as in (15). If we have no reconstructed forms, we assume that the consonant-final form is the conservative one (in cases of regular descent) or the source item (in cases of borrowing) – which in instances like *ompirili** in (15) is also confirmed by the length of the augmented form (as mentioned in chapter 3, section 4, four-syllable stems are unusual for Yintyingka).

- (14) kuya* (moiety name) ~ Umpila kuyan (moiety name), Wik Mungkan
kuyan ‘type of sugarbag’ (Kilham et al. 1986), Wik Ngathan kuyen
'moiety-like division in ceremony' (Sutton 1995b)
woympi* ‘sweetheart’ ~ Umpithamu woympli ‘sweetheart’ (Verstraete fieldnotes), Umpila wolmpli ‘sexual intercourse’ (Thomson 1933: 530)
- (15) ompirili* ‘sooty oystercatcher’ ~ Umpithamu ompiril ‘bird sp.’
(Verstraete fieldnotes)
yikana* ‘prong spear’ ~ Umpila yikan ‘fighting spear’ (Thompson 1988)

42 Some Wik languages, like Wik Mungkan, Wik Ngathan and Wik Me’nh, even lack final vowels altogether (see, for instance, Hale 1976b, Sutton 1995b: viii), but inland Wik Mungkan (which neighbours Yintyingka to its west) preserves final vowel qualities.

3 Morphology

This section analyses Yintyingka morphology from a comparative perspective, covering the morphology of pronouns, nouns and verbs. Again, we present both areal-typological and historical-comparative analyses where this is relevant.

3.1 Pronouns

As discussed in chapter 4, sections 2 and 4, Yintyingka has free pronouns, which behave like nominals, as well as bound pronouns suffixed to the verb, which can establish reference by themselves or cross-reference nominals. Both sets of pronouns have a minimal-augmented architecture, with three case forms for the free set and two (attested) case forms for the bound set. In this section, we investigate the morphosyntax and the architecture of the system from an areal-typological perspective and the shape of the pronouns from a historical-comparative perspective. The relation of bound pronouns to other verbal morphology will be discussed in section 3.3 below.

3.1.1 Typology

In terms of pronominal morphosyntax, there is a basic contrast between the northern and western neighbours of Yintyingka (Umpila and the Wik languages) and its southern neighbours (Umpithamu and the Lamalamic languages).⁴³

The system with free and bound pronouns in Yintyingka is also found in Umpila, Wik Mungkan and Wik Iiyanh (Hale 1997). All of these languages show a ‘classic’ dual pronoun system (see Mushin & Simpson 2008), with a contrast between longer pronominal forms that behave like nominals, and shorter forms that serve to cross-reference nominals and are often diachronically related to the longer form. Some of these languages have two sets of bound forms, one of which also shows morphological fusion with tense-aspect-mood marking (see further in section 3.3 below). The basic free-bound contrast is illustrated with the Kugu Nganhcara paradigm in Table 1 below, one dialect of which is Wik Iiyanh⁴⁴ (the bound forms illustrate only one of the two types of bound pronouns in the language).

⁴³ Olkola does not appear to have any type of bound pronouns (Sommer 1972, Hamilton 1996b), nor does Pakanh or Western Ayapathu (as far as we can determine in the fieldnotes in Hamilton 1997d).

⁴⁴ There are a few differences in the pronoun system of Wik Iiyanh, for instance the lack of a 1PLEXC form (Smith & Johnson 2000: 398-399), that are not directly relevant to the discussion here.

Table 1: Free and bound forms in Kugu Nganhcara (Smith & Johnson 2000: 397, 399)

		NOM		ACC		
		free	bound	free	bound	
1	DU	SG	<i>ngaya</i>	-	<i>nganyi</i>	<i>-nyi</i>
		INC	<i>ngale</i>	<i>-le</i>	<i>ngalina</i>	<i>-lin</i>
		EXC	<i>ngana</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>nganana</i>	<i>-nan</i>
	PL	INC	<i>ngampa</i>	<i>-mpa</i>	<i>ngampara</i>	<i>-mpara</i>
		EXC	<i>nganhca</i>	<i>-nhca</i>	<i>nganhcara</i>	<i>-nhcara</i>
	SG		<i>nhinta</i>	<i>-nta</i>	<i>nina</i>	<i>-na</i>
2	DU		<i>nhipa</i>	<i>-pa</i>	<i>nhipana</i>	<i>-pan</i>
	PL		<i>nhiya</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>nhiyana</i>	<i>-yara</i>
3	SG	<i>nhila</i>	<i>-la</i>	<i>nhunha</i>	<i>-nha</i>	
	DU	<i>pula</i>	<i>-la</i>	<i>pulana</i>	<i>-lan</i>	
	PL	<i>thana</i>	-	<i>thaarana</i>	<i>-ran</i>	

Among these four languages, the main difference relates to the locus of the bound forms. In Wik Mungkan (Hale 1997), they attach to the verb as in Yintyingka, while in Wik Iiyanh they attach to the immediately preverbal element (and less typically to the verb, Smith & Johnson 1985) and in Umpila they can attach to verbs, adjuncts and noun phrases (Thompson 1988: 27–28). These options are illustrated in (16) and (17) below.

(16) Wik Iiyanh

pama yama nga'a minha-wu-la uwa-nhum
man thus fish game-DAT-3SG.NOM go-HIST

'Like that, the man would go for fish and game.' (Smith & Johnson 2000: 459)

(17) Umpila

ngula-nga ngi'i kalmaan
now-1SG.NOM here come.NF

'Now I come here.' (Thompson 1988: 58)

The languages to the south, by contrast, have a very different system (see further in Rigsby 1997, Verstraete 2012). Umpithamu and Rimanggudinhma (as well as Umbuygamu and Lamalama) also have pronouns that are morphologically bound to the verb and cross-reference nominals, as shown in (18) below for Umpithamu, but the contrast is not with ‘free’ forms that are longer and behave like nominals. Instead, the contrasting forms are often nearly identical to the forms on the verb, and they are bound to each other in a pronoun cluster that appears clause-initially, as shown in (19) below. The contrast between the two positions is functionally linked with focus for one of the pronominal referents (see further in Verstraete 2012).

(18) Umpithamu

minya	watyu-n=ilu-ungku
game.animal	spear-PST=3SG.NOM-3SG.ACC
‘He speared an animal.’ (Verstraete fieldnotes)	

(19) Umpithamu

ilu-ungku	ngaympi-n
3SG.NOM-3SG.ACC	hit-PST
‘He hit him.’ (Verstraete fieldnotes)	

Typologically, therefore, the morphosyntax of pronouns in Yintyingka clearly belongs with its neighbours to the north and the west rather than those to the south. Pronouns show the classic dual pronoun system found in many Pama-Nyungan languages rather than the unusual contrast found in Umpithamu and the Lamalamic languages.

In terms of system architecture, the minimal-augmented system with eight forms as found in Yintyingka is only attested in Umpila among the immediate neighbours (Thompson 1988: 26–27). All other languages have a more elaborate system with nine, ten or eleven forms, representing at least three person categories and three number categories, sometimes also with a clusivity contrast. Western Ayapathu appears to lack a clusivity contrast altogether (Hamilton 1997d), while Wik Mungkan (Hale 1997, Kilham et al. 1986: 403) and Wik Iliyanh (Smith & Johnson 2000: 397–398) lack a dual-plural distinction for one person, as shown in Tables 2 and 3 below. Olkola (Sommer 1972, Hamilton 1996b), Rimanggudinhma (Godman 1993: 56–57) and Umpithamu (Verstraete 2012) all have a full paradigm of 11 forms, with three person categories, three number categories, and a clusivity contrast in the non-singular numbers, like the one illustrated in Table 1 above (which applies to all Kugu Nganhcara dialects except Wik Iliyanh, see footnote 44 above).

Table 2: Western Ayapathu pronouns
(Hamilton 1997d, Rigsby 2001)

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>ngaya</i>	<i>ngale</i>	<i>ngampa</i>
2	<i>nhinta</i>	<i>nhipa</i>	<i>nhiiya</i>
3	<i>nhila</i>	<i>pula</i>	<i>thana</i>

Table 3: Wik Mungkan pronouns
(Hale 1997; Kilham et al. 1986: 403)

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>ngay</i>	<i>ngal</i>	<i>ngamp</i>
			<i>ngan</i>
2	<i>nhint</i>	<i>nhip</i>	<i>nhiiy</i>
3	<i>nhil</i>	<i>pul</i>	<i>than</i>

3.1.2 History

From a historical-comparative perspective, the shapes of the pronoun and case forms are more interesting than the architecture of the system. In the nominative paradigm, most free forms show a regular correspondence to the forms reconstructed for Proto-Pama-Nyungan (Alpher 2004b) or Proto-Paman (Hale 1976b), and most bound forms can easily be derived from the free forms. In this section, we focus mainly on the exceptions to these patterns, which are most interesting from a historical perspective. Table 4 below lists the free and bound pronouns in Yintyingka, with the corresponding reconstructed forms for the free set.

Table 4: Nominative pronouns

	Minimal			Augmented		
	Reconstructed	Free	Bound	Reconstructed	Free	Bound
1	*ngayu 'I' (PPN, Alpher 2004b)	<i>ngayu</i>	- <i>ngi</i>	*ngantyan 'we EXC' (PP, Hale 1976b)	<i>ngantya*</i>	- <i>ntyi*</i> - <i>lintyiT</i>
2	*nyinu '2 SG OBL' (PPN, Alpher 2004b) *nyuntu '2 SG', Alpher 2004b	<i>nhinu</i>	- <i>ti*</i>	*nyupul(a)/nyipul(a) 'you DU' (PP, Hale 1976b)	<i>nhipu</i>	-
3	*nyulu/nyilu 'he' (PP, Hale 1976b)	<i>nhilu</i>	(zero)	*pula 'they DU' (PPN, Alpher 2004b)	<i>pula</i>	- <i>rriT</i> - <i>mpiT?</i>
12	*ngali 'we DU.INC' (PPN, Alpher 2004b)	<i>ngali*</i>	- <i>li*</i>	*ngampul(a)/ngampa 'we PL.INC' (PP, Hale 1976b)	<i>ngampu</i>	- <i>mpi</i>

Almost all of the free nominative forms show regular correspondences with the reconstructed forms, with laminals reflected as dentals word-initially, front vowels rather than back vowels following this, and word-final consonants elided. Most of the bound forms can be transparently related to the free forms by taking the last syllable and levelling the vowel to i (as explained in chapter 4, section 4.1, the 2AUG and 3AUG forms are uncertain). The values of the forms are as expected, except that the 2AUG and 3AUG free pronouns correspond to forms reconstructed with a dual value, as is the case in most neighbouring languages when a language lacks a full dual paradigm (e.g. Umpila, Thompson 1988: 25, and further away also Uradhi, Crowley 1983: 354–355).

There are two major exceptions within the paradigm. The most striking one is the free 2MIN form *nhinu*, which does not reflect the reconstructed nominative form *nyuntu. The reconstructed nominative form is only reflected in the bound 2MIN form *-ti**, while the free pronoun appears to continue the reconstructed oblique form *nyinu. Another exception concerns the bound 1st person forms. The minimal form *-ngi* is built on the first syllable of the free pronoun (*ngayu*) instead of the last syllable as in the rest of the paradigm, and the augmented form has both the expected allomorph *-ntyi** and an irregular one *-lintyi^T* prefaced with *-li*.

If we look at this paradigm from the perspective of neighbouring languages, the innovation in the free 2MIN form is shared only with two languages: Umpithamu, which has *inu(wa)* ‘2SG.NOM’ as a reflection of the oblique form (Verstraete fieldnotes), and Umpila, which has *ngunu/nganu⁴⁵* (Kuuku Ya'u/Umpila) for 2MIN. Other languages have regular reflections of the reconstructed nominative form (like the Wik languages, see Hale 1997), or a different form altogether. The innovation in the bound 1MIN form is shared with Umpila (Thompson 1988: 25), Wik Mungkan (Hale 1997) and Wik Liyanh (Hale 1997, Smith & Johnson 2000: 399–407), as also observed in Hale (1997). Finally, the *li*-prefixed shape for the 1AUG form is not found anywhere else.

The non-nominative forms in Yintyingka are listed in Table 5 below. In the genitive paradigm, the shapes for 1/2/3AUG are oblique stems, and the rest is built on the nominative stem with a suffix *-ngu*. One exception is the 12AUG form, where *ngampulangu** may continue the reconstructed form *ngampul(a) instead of the nominative form *ngampu*. The accusative paradigm is built on the genitive paradigm with the addition of a suffix *-na*.

⁴⁵ Umpila pronouns levelled initial consonants to *ng-* throughout the whole paradigm, except for *pula* ‘3AUG’, see Thompson (1988: 25).

Table 5: Non-nominative forms

	Minimal		Augmented	
	GEN	ACC	GEN	ACC
1	<i>ngathu</i>	<i>ngathuna</i>	<i>ngantyangu*</i>	?
2	<i>nhingku</i>	<i>nhingkuna</i>	<i>nhipungu</i>	<i>nhipunguna</i>
3	<i>nhingu</i>	<i>nhinguna</i>	<i>pulangu</i>	?
12	<i>ngalingu*</i>	?	<i>ngampulangu*</i>	?

The oblique stems are widely shared. They correspond regularly to the reconstructed forms *ngatyu '1 SG OBL' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher 2004b), *nyingku ~ nyungku '2 SG OBL' (Proto-Paman, Hale 1976b), *nyingu ~ nyungu '3 SG OBL' (Proto-Paman, Hale 1976b): in Yintyingka, the old laminals are reflected as dentals word-initially and before /u/, and a front vowel follows a word-initial laminal. None of the neighbouring languages use anything like *-ngu* for a non-nominative form, but Umpithamu has *-ngVna* for genitive forms beyond 1/2/3MIN, with the vowel copied from the end of the stem (Verstraete 2012). By way of comparison, Umpila has *-ngku* for genitives (Thompson 1988: 24–25), Umpithamu has *-ngku* for accusatives, and Wik languages often have a reflex of *-ang* for accusatives (Hale 1997). The suffix *-na* found in the Yintyingka accusative form is more widespread, for instance as the accusative suffix in Umpila (Thomson 1988: 24–25), the non-nominative suffix in most of the Kugu Nganhcaria dialects (Smith & Johnson 2000: 397–398), and part of the genitive suffix *-ngVna* in Umpithamu (Verstraete 2012) (see further in Dixon 1980: 338 on non-nominative *-na*). Overall, Umpithamu is the closest to the Yintyingka model, since the *-na* form builds upon another form that could be cognate with *-ngu* in Yintyingka. Table 6 below lists the Umpithamu and the Umpila forms.

3.2 Nouns

The evidence we have for nominal morphology in Yintyingka is fairly slim, with a dative *-ku*, two locatives *-ngu* and *-ngka* and an ablative *-mu*. We can also add the two information structure markers *=ngka* and *=nhang*, although strictly speaking their distribution is much wider than nominals (see chapter 4, section 3.2).

Table 6: Umpithamu and Umpila forms (Verstraete fieldnotes, Thompson 1988: 25–26)

	Umpithamu			Umpila		
	NOM	ACC	GEN	NOM	ACC	GEN
1SG	<i>ayu(wa)</i>	<i>athungku</i>	<i>athuna</i>	<i>ngayu</i>	<i>ngaataana</i>	<i>ngaatangku /ngata</i>
2SG	<i>inu(wa)</i>	<i>ungkuna</i>	<i>ingkuna</i>	<i>nganu</i>	<i>ngangkaana</i>	<i>ngangkaangku /ngangka</i>
3SG	<i>ilu(wa)</i>	<i>ungku /ingku</i>	<i>inguna</i>	<i>nhulu</i>	<i>ngungaana</i>	<i>ngungaangku</i>
1DU.INC	<i>ali(ya)</i>	<i>alingku</i>	<i>alingina</i>	<i>ngali</i>	<i>ngaliina</i>	<i>ngaliingku</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>ani(ya)</i>	<i>aningku</i>	<i>aningina</i>	-	-	-
2DU	<i>ipu(wa)</i>	<i>ipungku</i>	<i>ipunguna</i>	-	-	-
3DU	<i>ula</i>	<i>ulangku</i>	<i>ulangana</i>	-	-	-
1PL.INC	<i>ampu(wa)</i>	<i>ampungku</i>	<i>ampunguna</i>	<i>ngampula</i>	<i>ngampulana</i>	<i>ngampulangku</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>antya(mpa)</i>	<i>antyangku</i>	<i>antyangana</i>	<i>ngana</i>	<i>nganaana</i>	<i>nganaangku</i>
2PL	<i>uurra</i>	<i>uurrangku</i>	<i>uurrangana</i>	<i>ngu'ula</i>	<i>ngu'ulana</i>	<i>ngu'ulungku</i>
3PL	<i>ina</i>	<i>inangku</i>	<i>inangana</i>	<i>pula</i>	<i>pulaana</i>	<i>pulaangku</i>

From a comparative perspective, nominal morphology has much less to offer than pronominal morphology. The suffix *-ku* is obviously very widespread in dative or genitive-like functions, for instance as a dative in Umpithamu or a genitive in Umpila (more generally, see Blake 1976, Dixon 2002: 166–167; proposed as a proto-form in Blake 1993). Forms with *-m-* are found for the ablative in almost all neighbouring languages, but it is difficult to determine if they are really related. Umpithamu and Umpila have *-mun(u)*, Wik Mungkan has *-am/-antam* (Kilham 1977: 56), and Wik Iiyanh has *-m/-nam* (Smith & Johnson 2000: 392). There are possible cognates for the locative forms, viz. *-ngun/-nguna* for the ‘specific locative’ in Umpila (Thompson 1988: 19), and *-ng(u)* ‘ergative’ in Wik Iiyanh (the locative is *-ng(a)*; Smith & Johnson 2000: 389). There are no clear cognates for the information status markers.

3.3 Verbs

As explained in chapter 4, section 4, verbal morphology in Yintyingka has tense-mood markers in complementary distribution with (combinations of) bound pronouns. There are no conjugation classes, so the morphemes are shared between all verbs, as summarized in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Tense-mood paradigm

Suffix	Tense-mood value
<i>-na</i>	past
<i>-ngka</i>	present
(presence of bound pronouns)	non-past
<i>-la*</i>	imperative singular
<i>-Ø</i>	imperative singular
<i>-mpu*</i>	imperative plural

From a typological perspective, the relation between bound pronouns and tense-mood markers is of course the most striking feature in the system. There are no neighbouring languages where the two are in complementary distribution as in Yintyingka. However, if we tease apart the two basic features that define this complementary distribution, we can find a number of parallels, especially in the Wik languages to the west. These two features are (i) tense-mood-marked verbs without bound pronouns, and (ii) pronoun-marked verbs with a specific tense-mood value. In the neighbouring languages, the second feature is found in Wik Iiyanh and to a lesser extent in Wik Mungkan. Both of these languages have sets of bound pronouns that are (or include) portmanteau forms with tense values.⁴⁶ In Wik Iiyanh, for instance, there is a systematic distinction between present, past and irrealis bound pronouns (Smith & Johnson 2000: 406–411), and Wik Mungkan distinguishes between present, past, future and subjunctive bound pronouns (at least in the analysis of Kilham et al. 1986; Hale 1997 shows that genuine fusion is only found in a few forms). Hale (1997) provides a detailed analysis of the development of bound pronoun forms in the Wik languages. The second feature, viz. tense-mood markers blocking pronouns, is found to a limited extent in Wik Iiyanh and in Wik Mungkan. Wik Iiyanh has a ‘historic’ marker *-nhum* that excludes the set of bound pronouns just described (Smith & Johnson 2000: 410), as well as infinitive markers, where bound pronouns are absent for other reasons than strictly morphological ones. Inland Wik Mungkan only uses tense suffixes before bound subject pronouns in the 3rd person; other persons do not use tense suffixes (Godfrey & Kerr 1964: 20–22).

From a historical-comparative perspective, none of these features is exactly the same as found in Yintyingka, where bound pronouns do not have a tense-

46 As mentioned above, both languages have two sets of bound pronouns; the ones discussed here are different from the ones listed in section 3.1.1 above.

mood value as a portmanteau form, but merely by virtue of their paradigmatic contrast with tense-mood markers in verbal morphology. What the data from the Wik languages do suggest is that there are more languages nearby where bound pronouns and tense-mood marking interact morphologically.

The second remarkable feature in Yintyingka verbal morphology is the absence of conjugation classes. Most Pama-Nyungan languages have conjugation classes (McGregor 2002: 208–213): among the neighbouring languages, this is also the case for Umpila (Harris & O’Grady 1976), most Kugu Nganhcaria dialects (Smith & Johnson 2000) and Olkola (Sommer 1972: 108). Most of the languages to the south of Yintyingka, by contrast, lack conjugation classes: this is the case for Umpithamu (Verstraete fieldnotes), Rimanggudinhma (Godman 1993: 67), and for Wik Mungkan (Kilham 1977: 45) and Wik Iiyanh (Smith & Johnson 2000: 362), the Kugu Nganhcaria dialect that is geographically closest to Yintyingka. Again, it is difficult to draw any historical conclusions from this, but it shows at least that there is an areal pattern for the loss of conjugation classes.

4 Genetic classification

The historical-comparative analysis in the previous sections has provided us with a few diagnostic criteria to determine where Yintyingka may belong genetically. In this section, we bring together these criteria to put forward a proposal for its genetic classification.

Table 8 below summarizes the most important observations from the preceding sections: the first column lists the relevant change, the second column lists the languages with which the change is shared among the immediate neighbours of Yintyingka, and the third column assesses the status of the change as an areal pattern or a shared innovation.

The developments affecting the vowels and patterns of initial-dropping and -softening are probably areal patterns rather than shared innovations, or they are just too uncertain to use in our argument. But all the other developments can serve as criteria to classify Yintyingka. There are obviously two layers of relatedness in our data: a set of languages that share all of the innovations in Yintyingka, and a set of languages that share some of them.

The languages that share almost all of the innovations are Umpithamu and Umpila, to the immediate south and north of Yintyingka. Where these two languages do not show up in our list of shared innovations, there are usually other reasons. For instance, the fact that Umpithamu is not listed with the ‘bound

Table 8: Possible diagnostic criteria

	Change	Shared with	Status
Vowels	mid < *close	Umpithamu	Uncertain
	vowel harmony	Umpithamu, Wik Ilianh	Areal pattern
Consonants	*r > ' / V_V	Umpithamu, Umpila, Wik Ilianh, Wik Mungkan, Pakanh, Western Ayapathu	Shared innovation
	*laminal > dental / #_	Umpila, Wik Ilianh, Wik Mungkan, Pakanh, Western Ayapathu	Shared
	*laminal > dental / V_V	Umpithamu, Umpila	Shared innovation
	*laminal > dental / V_{u,a} *laminal > palatal / V_{i}	Wik Ilianh, Wik Mungkan	
Initial-dropping	sporadic, no initial-softening	-	Areal pattern/borrowing?
Free pronouns	2MIN.NOM < *2SG.OBL	Umpithamu, Umpila	Shared innovation
	ACC -na built on GEN -ngu	Umpithamu	Shared innovation
Bound pronouns	Relation to free pronouns: – 1st syllable for 1MIN – 2nd syllable for others	Umpila, Wik Ilianh, Wik Mungkan	Shared innovation

pronouns' criterion is simply that the language does not have shortened bound pronouns (any more), because pronominal morphosyntax was radically restructured due to contact with the Lamalamic languages to the south (Verstraete 2012). Similarly, the development of initial laminals to dentals is only partly found in Umpithamu, because laminal stops were uniformly softened to glides, and only laminal nasals developed into dentals (or apicals). The development of laminals in intervocalic position is not entirely certain in Yintyingka, with evidence both for palatals and for dentals before *i (as explained in section 2.2 above), grouping Yintyingka either with Wik Ilianh and Wik Mungkan, or with Umpithamu and Umpila. As argued above, however, the evidence for the second option is stronger than for the first one, given that the first one only relies on synchronic distribution.

The second layer of relatedness is with the so-called Wik languages to the west of Yintyingka. Where changes are shared beyond Umpithamu and Umpila, they are always shared with Wik Ilianh, Wik Mungkan, Pakanh and Western Ayapathu. The Wik languages and Umpila belong to the set of Middle Paman languages identified by Hale (1976b). Pakanh and Western Ayapathu had been

added to this set by Rigsby (2001), Umpithamu by Verstraete (2009b), and this study can add Yintyingka. The contrast between bound pronouns built on the last syllable versus the first one is shared by all Middle Paman languages for which we have data about bound pronouns (as also argued in Hale 1997), and the development of glottal stops from alveolar approximants intervocally is shared by all Middle Paman languages (Verstraete 2009b), but also beyond (in some Northern Paman languages, Alpher p.c.; see Hale 1976c). Within Middle Paman, the morphological innovations in the free pronoun system appear to set apart Yintyingka, Umpithamu and Umpila as a subgroup. Within this subgroup as well as in wider Middle Paman, Umpithamu stands out typologically from the other languages: it has undergone contact-induced influence in many parts of its morphosyntax from the Lamalamic languages to its south (see Verstraete 2011b, 2012), and it is also partially initial-dropping and thoroughly initial-softening, again possibly due to contact with Lamalamic languages, which are all thoroughly initial-dropping.

Obviously, the proposals presented here, especially the Middle Paman classification, will have to remain hypothetical until they can be tested against other proposed subgroups in the region (e.g. Alpher 1972, Alpher & Nash 1999), to see how they fit into the broader genetic picture of so-called Paman or Pama-Maric languages (Hale 1964, 1966, Alpher & Nash 1999). This goes far beyond the study of Yintyingka, however – in this section we merely tried to show where the language may belong locally.

Chapter 7

Lexicon

1 Introduction

This chapter provides a lexicon of Yintyingka (section 2), together with an English-Yintyingka finder list (section 3). The lexicon presents our analysis of the form and meaning of each morpheme, as well as all attestations in our corpus, in the form in which they appear in the original source. This way, the lexicon also serves as a concordance for the Yintyingka corpus, which allows the reader to trace back our analyses to the original source material.

Entries in the lexicon are organized as follows:

(i) **BASIC INFORMATION:** We first list the shape of the morpheme, in the orthography described in chapter 3, section 6.1, and its meaning or meanings as they can be derived from the sources. For items attested in sound recordings or sources with professional phonetic transcription, the shape is based on the phonological analysis presented in chapter 3. Items only attested in Donald Thomson's or Norman Tindale's materials are marked with * when we can use comparative material to reconstitute their shape, or with ^T when we have no such material. For the forms marked with ^T, chapter 3, section 6.2, can be consulted for an interpretation of Donald Thomson's transcription conventions.

(ii) **NOTES:** The basic information about form and meaning of a morpheme is followed by one or more notes supporting our analysis, organized in four categories: notes on the meaning of the item, on related meanings, on the form of the item, and on related forms.

(iia) **MEANING:** We add a note about our semantic analysis whenever the meaning of an item is not self-evident from the sources, for instance if there is no gloss or if there are conflicts between sources. We also use this label for any relevant ethnographic comments relating to the item in our sources.

(iib) **RELATED MEANINGS:** Notes on related meanings list sense relations as they can be derived from the sources (i.e. whenever a source makes an explicit semantic link between two items), as well as apparent relations of synonymy and their basis (e.g. dialect differences).

(iic) **FORM:** We add a note about form whenever we need to justify our representation of an item, for instance if the representation in a particular source is unclear or if there is a conflict between sources. We also use this label to comment on what appear to be instances of lexical borrowing.

(iid) RELATED FORMS: Notes about related forms, finally, list any cognate forms or relevant reconstructed forms we can find. Reconstructed forms are taken from Alpher (2004b) for Proto-Pama-Nyungan and Proto-Paman, and from Hale (1976b) for Proto-Paman. Cognate forms are taken from Hill (n.d.) and Thompson (1988) for Umpila, Rigsby (fieldnotes) for inland Wik Mungkan, Kilham et al. (1986) for Wik Mungkan, Sutton (1995b) for Wik Ngathan, Hamilton (1997a) for Western Ayapathu, Hamilton (1997b) for Pakanh, Hamilton (1997c) for Olkola, Gaby (2006) for Kuuk Thaayorre, Verstraete (fieldnotes) for Umpithamu and Umbuygamu, Haviland (n.d.) for Guugu Yimidhirr and Alpher (1991) for Yir Yoront.

(iii) ATTESTATIONS: The basic information and the notes are followed by a list of all attestations of the morpheme in our sources.

(iiia) COVERAGE: The lists of attestations are generally exhaustive, except for very productive items of morphology, like bound pronouns or tense-mood markers. In such cases, we include a representative selection under the morpheme itself, but all other attestations can be found with the relevant stems in the lexicon.

(iiib) TRANSCRIPTION: The first line of each attestation represents the item as it is found in the sources, followed by its source identifier and the number within the source (see chapter 2, section 2, for identifiers). This also includes any relevant context in the source, e.g. an elicitation prompt, a gloss or translation or a comment. Several sources provide phonetic transcriptions (BSC, BSL, GR, JS, RAK and RAL): we represent these transcriptions as they are, even if they use a different convention from the IPA conventions we use for our own transcriptions. Items from JLL, JLTA, JLTB, PC1, PC2 or PC3, for which we have good sound recordings, are listed with our own transcription in IPA. We mark word stress for individual words, but when transcribing phrases we only mark phrase stress (see chapter 3, section 5.3, on differences between the two levels).

(iiic) ANALYSIS: If an item is attested in a broader morphosyntactic context, the first line is followed by the standard three-line morphosyntactic analysis, viz. morphological breakdown, glosses and free translation. The free translation is ours, except when the source provides a good translation or gloss: in such cases we explicitly mark the translation or gloss as coming from the source.

2 Yintyingka lexicon

a discourse marker (DM; see further chapter 5, section 8)

Attestations:

- (1) A: jewfish?
B: a uympa (JLL-0101)
DM jewfish
'A: Jewfish? B: (Yintyingka word)'
- (2) a yeaya-ngi kanhingka (JLTA-0084)
DM go-1MIN.NOM placename
'I went to Kanhingka.'

aampa* type of fishnet (for small fish)

Meaning: DT notes this is made from *kaaypa** fibre (DTS-2).

Related forms: aamp 'pair of fishing nets held by the hand (two people working together)' (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) Ārm|pā Ompeila pē|kōnū Fishnet for small fish (DTC1-41)
- (2) 'Arm'pā (fishing net) (DTS-2)

aampayi father-in-law (wife's father, husband's father)

Related meanings: The reciprocal term is *ngathamay*.

Related forms: kaal-aamp 'poison uncle; a man's father-in-law' (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) [?'a.mpa,jinŋa,tuna] (RAK-22)
aampayi ngathuna
father-in-law 1MIN.ACC
'my father-in-law' (See chapter 4, section 2.2, and chapter 5, section 4.2, on *ngathuna* in this structure)
- (2) armpeyi WF (DTK-26)
- (3) armpii (DTC5-80)
- (4) A woman calls her husband's father (moki <-> mokindinu) armpei <-> ɲatameiyi or her husband's mother pinaye ɲaiyunpa [illegible] (DT209-29)

aanguma heart

Form: We have no attestation in isolation for Yintyingka, so we cannot be entirely sure about the stem. One other language elicited in the same recording (Kaanju) has *aangum*, but since Yintyingka has very few consonant-final stems (see chapter 3, section 4.1) we chose to represent this form as *aanguma*.

Attestations:

- (1) [a:'ŋumanga'wale:ŋga] (JLL-0222)
 aanguma=ngka wali-ŋka
 heart=EMPH ?-PRS
 (elicited as 'heart')

aaya^T language or human noise (probably)

Meaning: DT describes this as 'stick used by man to beat time (man who sings)' (DT4-16). The word probably does not refer to the stick, but to the human noise it accompanies. Relevant evidence is: (i) DT's Umpila translation as <ko|ko> (*kuuku*), which is definitely 'language', and (ii) a pattern of polysemy between 'language' and 'human noise' attested in other languages in the region (e.g. Umpithamu *uuku*).

Form: Cognates in other languages have a short vowel, but Donald Thomson represents this form with <r> following the first vowel, which in his system usually represents vowel length (see chapter 3, section 6.2), and is used as such in the same notebook from which this form is taken.

Related forms: wika 'aya 'avoidance lg for Pakanh' (Pakanh), 'aya 'language' (Western Ayapathu)

Attestations:

- (1) Ynjinga Ářyă'h Omeila [sic] ko|ko stick used by man to beat time (man who sings) (DT4-16)

alku^T left-hand

Related meanings: This form is attested for left hand (*yu'u alkut*) and left incisor (*kaya^T alkut*). DT also records the form *thaku** for 'left-handed'.

Attestations:

- (1) yuo is hand / *yu-o mīn-tă* is left hand / right hand is *yu-o alkō* (DT183-30)
 [glosses should be the other way round; *yu'u miintha* is 'right hand' in Umpithamu]
 (2) left incisor *kai-ă ałko* / *kai-ă mīni* (DT183-32)

altyi^T pokó small upper stone of a grindstone set

Meaning: DT notes this is used to prepare lily seeds.

Related meanings: The term for the large lower stone is *kul'a* paapa* (literally 'stone mother').

Form: Literally 'grindstone child' (see *poko* 'child (man speaking)').

Attestations:

- (1) Kola [crossed out] altfi pako = small top (pickaninny) stone used for lily to prepare lily (DTI-79)

angku here; locative demonstrative (proximal; PROX.DEM)

Related meanings: The distal demonstrative ('there') is *nhamani*.

Attestations:

- (1) *ŋai-yuŋa äŋko wuŋinjɪ* (DTC2-64)
ngayu=ngka angku wuna-ngi
1MIN.NOM=EMPH PROX.DEM lie-1MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: 'I sleep here.')
- (2) *ŋai-yu äŋkʉŋgä nipo wopimbo* (DTI-70)
ngayu angku-ngka nhipu wopi-mpu*
1MIN.NOM PROX.DEM-NLOC 2AUG.NOM go-IMP.PL
(DT's translation: 'I am staying here, you (plural) go.')
- (3) Tonki ninä ngai-y'ärkuŋjä (DTC2-4&5)
thongke nhinu ngayu angku-ngka
come 2MIN.NOM 1MIN.NOM PROX.DEM-NLOC
'You come, I am here.'
- (4) [ʔanŋku'niŋku] (JLL-0093)
angku nhingku
PROX.DEM 2MIN.GEN
(elicited as 'belong you')

antalka^T stingray spear

Related meanings: DT records another word glossed as 'stingray spear' (*keke^T*). It is unclear if these words refer to different types of spears or if they are synonyms.

Attestations:

- (1) *ən-täl-gə yapən-o* (DT183-6)
antalka^T yapanu
stingray.spear big
(DT's gloss: 'stingaree spear (big one)')

-apirringu placename suffix (PLACE; see chapter 4, section 3.3)

Attestations:

- (1) *Məŋ-ola-birin-ü* Saltpan outside Port Stewart (DTC2-50)
(currently attested as *Mangulapirringu*)
- (2) *Witʃinäbiirin-ü* close creek to Stewart (DTC2-42)
(currently attested as *Wityinapirringu*)

atapa river

Related forms: atapa 'river' (Umpila), wa'ap 'river' (Kuuk Thaayorre)

Attestations:

- (1) [ʔʌtʌpʌ] river (GR-58)
- (2) kopoko R attapa river (NTL-62)

athi nail

Related forms: This form is only attested in the compound forms *yu'u athi* ‘finger nail’ and *tha'u athi* ‘toe nail’.

Attestations:

- (1) [ju?u'ʔaṭe'kale:ŋga] (JLL-0218)
yu'u athi kali-ŋka
finger nail ?-PRS
(elicited as ‘finger nail’)
- (2) [ta'ʔaṭe] (JLL-0177)
tha'u athi
toe nail
(elicited as ‘toe’)
- (3) yu/ədi (DTC5-52)
See *yu'u athi* ‘finger nail’.

atu type of sugarbag (short funnel)

Related forms: ‘athu ‘sugarbag’ (Western Ayapathu), atu ‘sugarbag’ (inland Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) [ʔat.u] [məj'atū] sugarbag, short funnel (BSL-21)
- (2) [a'trū] sugarbag (JLL-0024)

atu^T

1. four

Related meanings: Other forms attested in number elicitation are *thonongko** ‘one’, *kuuthi** ‘two’, *kuntu* ‘three’, and *mangku** ‘five, plenty’.

Attestations:

- (1) [ʔatū] ‘four’ (GR-19)
- (2) 4. ət-o (DTC2-72)
- (3) tūlā mē|ātū four finger spear (DTC1-42)
See *tala^T me'atu^T* ‘four-finger spear’.
- (4) ātu|warra long spear (DT3-7)
- (5) atu four (NTL-152)

2. plenty

Meaning: This form is attested as ‘four’ in the elicitation of numerals, but it is also used with a vaguer quantifying meaning ‘plenty’, just like the form attested as ‘five’ (*mangku**).

Attestations:

- (1) Yintyinga ət-ü = plenty (of men) ompela = yalli (DTC2-276)
- (2) pəmä ət-u = plenty men (DTC2-227)

atyaku long time*Attestations:*

- (1) ἑtfä-go long time (DTC2-104)
- (2) wämä ἑfṣa=go no more long time (DTC2-105)
- (3) ἑtfä-go wunidi a long time (DTC2-106)

atyaku wuna-ti*

long.time lie-2MIN.NOM

‘You sleep a long time.’
- (4) wämä ἑfṣa-go wämä used as a prefix – infers a negative (DTC2-189)

wama^T atyaku

NEG.IMP long.time

(DT’s translation: ‘no more/not long time’)
- (5) nhanyane wuna-ngi-ngki wuna-ngi-ngki wuna-ngi-ngki wuna-ngi-ngki
 ? lie-1MIN.NOM-REDUP (x4)
 atyaku yongka (JLTA-0037)
 long.time ?
 ‘I camp a long time.’
- (6) [pa'lapam'acagu] (JLTA-0104)
 palapam atyaku
 ? long.time
 (translation unclear)

atyampa emu*Related meanings:* There is also a form *nhampi* for ‘emu’.*Related forms:* *Catyampa ‘emu’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)*Attestations:*

- (1) [miṇa atⁱamba] emu (BSC-3)
- (2) at^fämba (DTC5-65)

atyaparrpu^T person who has lost their older brother or sister; bereaved younger sibling*Form:* Most of the bereavement terms are loans from Umpila, but this one is different from its Umpila equivalent (<koiyomo> in Thomson 1972: 10).*Attestations:*

- (1) Atfä-barr^xpo (koi^Y-yo-mo) lost elder brother or sister (DT209-52)

atyi- dig*Attestations:*

- (1) [Pa'cini] dignim (JLL-0064)

awita^T person who has lost his or her father; bereaved child (of father)

Form: Most of the bereavement terms, including this one, are loans from Umpila.

Related forms: awida ‘bereaved child of a man’ (Umpila, Thomson 1972: 10)

Attestations:

- (1) Ḥwida pipi pinya (DT209-49)
- (2) awida name given to a ♀ or ♂ who has lost his father (DT209-63)

awu devil (malevolent spirit)

Meaning: Sunlight Bassani described *awu* to Bruce Rigsby as a different type of being from humans, unlike *wapa**, which refers to an individual who can work sorcery.

Related forms: awu ‘devil, bad spirit, bush spirit’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) [a'wu] devil (JLL-0115)
- (2) ['a,wu] devil (BSL-51)
- (3) awu dead man (DTG-28a)

aympayi bush doctor

Form: DT records what is probably a token of the same form, glossed as ‘medicine man’ (DT2-8).

Attestations:

- (1) [ajm'pajil] bush doctor (JLL-0154)
- (2) ai-im-pè-i [form in sources could be read either as ayimpayi or ayunpayi] is medicine man (DT2-8)

eka^T type of tree

Meaning: DT notes the leaves are ‘rubbed, soaked in water’ and used as a medicine for ‘cold sick’ (DTS-12). The Umpila equivalent provided by DT, <Kuln'tamo>, is glossed as ‘tree type, used to make a bush pipe as branches/twigs are naturally hollow’ in Hill (n.d.).

Attestations:

- (1) Ompela – Kuln'tamo Yintʃiṇa – 'EK'A (leaves only) leaves rubbed, soaked in water & employed for “cold sick”. (DTS-12)

entye lower leg

Related forms: endye ‘dance’ (Umbuygamu)

Attestations:

- (1) [ta'ʔu:ŋga] [ɛn'ce] lower leg (JLL-0172)
(tha'u=ngka: foot=EMPH)

epa^T antbed

Related meanings: There is another word glossed as ‘antbed’ in the sources, viz. *mungka*. It is unclear if this is a dialectal difference or if there is a difference in meaning (as in Yir Yoront, where the reflex of Proto-Paman **mungka* refers to antbeds built ‘against trees, stumps, logs’ (Alpher 1991: 424)).

Related forms: **tipa* ‘termite mound’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) epa he told me later is Yinjinga name for antbed (DT1-1)

epo^T type of grub (probably)

Meaning: This form is unglossed in DT’s notes, but the context suggests it may be a small tree-living animal, probably a grub if the Umpithamu form *epu* is cognate. DT notes it is taken especially from *kaaypa** trees, and is no good if it is taken from mangroves (DTS-32).

Related forms: *epu* ‘grub’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) Yintʃɪŋa E-po Ompela Kai-pamo (no good if from mangroves) especially from Kai-pa trees. (DTS-32)

errke- talk, speak

Related forms: **yirrka-* ‘speak’ (Proto-Paman, Hale), *errke-* ‘speak, talk’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) ngayu errke-ngka ayapathu (JLTA-0002)
1MIN.NOM talk-PRS name
'I speak Ayapathu.'
- (2) ngayu ayapathu errkengka (JLTA-0009)
- (3) ayapathu errke-ngka ngarrku-ku (JLTA-0012)
name talk-PRS country-DAT
'I speak Ayapathu for country.'
- (4) [?'ajapatʃuraju'wε:rke:n̩ga] (JLL-0200)
Ayapathu ngayu errke-ngka
name 1MIN.NOM talk.PRS
'I speak Ayapathu.'

iiwa up, away

Form: This is the only form in the lexicon that consistently has a fricative phonetically, which we assigned to the bilabial glide phonologically (see further in chapter 3, section 2.1).

Attestations:

- (1) [muŋka'ʔi:βa] takim away (JLL-0157)
- (2) [ʔi:'βago'dɔŋke] (JLL-0181)
iiwa-ku thongke
up-DAT come
'Come up.' (elicited as 'go up')

ilpa scar, cicatrice

Meaning: The illustration in DT's notebook (DT3-8), as well as the cognate forms, make it clear that this refers to cicatrices, i.e. scars made deliberately as a form of body ornamentation.

Related forms: ilpa 'scar, cicatrice' (Olkola), lilpm 'keloid scars, cicatrizations' (Yir Yoront)

Attestations:

- (1) [ilpa'kale:ŋga] (JLL-0220)
ilpa kali-ŋka
scar ?-PRS
(elicited as 'scar')
- (2) ilpá mark (DT3-8)
- (3) [il'pa] (JLL-0221)

imantharra* sandpiper

Form: This term is most likely borrowed from Umpithamu (where *-rrV* is a common historical increment to stems, unlike in Yintyingka; see Verstraete 2009b).

Related forms: imantharra 'sandpiper' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) Im-män-därrä Bird 254 (DTG-1)
- (2) Imändärrä bird 254 (DTG-29)

impali flame

Meaning: This form is first elicited as a response to 'fire', but this is corrected with the next item 'flame'.

Attestations:

- (1) [im'palə] fire (JLL-0083)

inga^T leaf*Attestations:*

- (1) inja = leaf (DTC2-255)
- (2) Ingä Yint|a (DT8-5)

ingka freshwater turtle

Meaning: Based on a cognate form in Umpithamu, this form probably refers to a long-neck freshwater turtle.

Related forms: ingkal ‘long-neck freshwater turtle’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) [in'ka] turtle (JLL-0105)
- (2) Ink-a fw tortoise (DTG-12)

inuku* type of tree

Related forms: enuku ‘tree sp.’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) ino-go wood, certain tree, can't find out what kind of wood (DTC2-53)

itharra* big salmon

Form: This term may be borrowed from Umpithamu (where *-rrV* is a common historical increment to stems, unlike in Yintyingka; see Verstraete 2009b).

Related forms: itharra ‘king salmon’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) Itarra big salmon (DTG-14)

-ka^T intensifier (INT; see chapter 4, section 3.3)

Attestations:

- (1) towa ga = you my cousin, -ga (DTC2-221)
thowi-ka^T
child.f.s-INT
- (2) me, myself / (ŋä of kami-gä = himself myself etc) (DTC2-256)
kami-ka^T
parallel.grandparent-INT

kaakolamo^T galls (outgrowths on plants)

Meaning: In DT's notes the Yintyingka form does not have a translation, but a separate fieldnote for 17-1929 notes “galls” as a gloss for the same form in Umpila. In this note, DT explains they are bitten open and the fleshy inside is eaten, as a casual food.

Attestations:

- (1) Karkolamo (DTI-97)

kaaku red lady apple

Form: This form is elicited as [ku'ka:ku], but *ku-* could be analysed as a pre-fixed alternative to generic *yuku*, also attested in [ku'pi:bi] for *pipi* ‘white-apple’ (see further in chapter 5, section 2.2).

Related forms: kaaku ‘red lady apple’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) [ku'ka:ko] red-apple (JLL-0076)

kaali mother's younger brother

Meaning: DT gives the following uses: MB-, FZ-H, maleFMB+S, (MBS), (MMZ-SS) (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal term is *thowi*.

Form: Most attestations have forms ending in a close vowel, but there is one token that ends in an open vowel. This variation suggests that the spread of a close front final vowel through the paradigm of kinship terms is not yet complete.

Related forms: *kaala ‘uncle’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) ['ka:ləŋqatu] uncle (JLL-0142)

kaali	ngathu
MyB	1MIN.GEN
'my uncle'	
- (2) ['ka.,lɪŋqtu] (BSL-61)
- (3) ['ɳin̪ku'ka.li] ['ka.li'ɳin̪ku] (RAK-9)

kaali	nhingku
MyB	2MIN.GEN
(elicited as 'your MB-')	
- (4) kali MB-, FZ-H, maleFMB+S, (MBS), (MMZ-SS) (DTK-12)
- (5) kali (DTC5-70)
- (6) kali uncle (DT2-2)
- (7) A man marries the daughter of his kali + pin'eyi (pima) / actual first cousins are called tata? or its equivalent (DT211-3)
- (8) I found that his hair was carried, wrapped in wooe – generally fibre is used – & was carried by Yumpanamo, his towi (Old man Kali). Sometimes also by the ɳai-yunpa of the dead man – his daughter. (DT200-7)
- (9) The funeral feast or mai-yi yapanu was presided by the ɳai-yunpa (ɳonorli “Harry”) & also responsible were the mukindinu & towi of the dead man who is to them respectively muki & kali. (DT200-32)
- (10) The ɳai-yunpa (Harry) partakes, mukindinu eats but towi does not (Kali a potential father-in-law, muki not?) (DT200-55)
- (11) kali <-> towi (DT209-13)
- (12) kali talk kintya till ngampa, minya etc, then talk (DT183-15)
- (13) kali, failing kala moryi ♂ (DT183-23)

kaalu ear

Related forms: *kaalu ‘ear’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) ['ka:lu] ear (JLL-0192)
- (2) [kʌ.lu] ear (GR-2)

ka'arra^T type of mangrove (Bruguiera rheedii)

Meaning: This type of mangrove is processed to produce a porridge-like food, which is used as a staple food in the wet season. Thomson (1934: 259) describes the Umpila equivalent *i'irra* as ‘Bruguiera rheedii, one of the Black Mangroves’.

Attestations:

- (1) I-irrä Ompela Yintſinä Ka-arr*ä mangrove (See notes on preparation) (DTS-24)
- (2) Kä-arrä = Ompela I-irrä (DTC2-62)
- (3) I-irra = Ompela / Kä-ärä Yinjinga (DT192-7)
- (4) 'Kä'-ärrä (DT200-38)

kaarrika wire spear

Meaning: Cognate forms in neighbouring languages refer to a type of spear with four prongs, used for fish, crabs etc. DT notes that wood from the *untangala** tree is used for the handle.

Related forms: kaarrika ‘wire spear’ (Umpithamu),kaarrika ‘spear with four prongs’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) wire fish spear Kär*igä Ompela & Yintſinä (DTS-6)
- (2) ['ka.rika] wire spear (RAL-8)
- (3) Kärk-ă (DTC5-57)
- (4) kariga (DTS-4)

kaa'uma echidna

Meaning: This form was elicited as ‘porcupine’, a local term for ‘echidna’.

Related forms: kaa'uma ‘echidna’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) [ka:'?omo] porcupine (JLL-0008)
- (2) ['ka,?oma] porcupine (BSL-6)
- (3) kauma R also porcupine (Echidna) (NTL-6)

kaawa east, southeast

Meaning: Systems of cardinal directions in languages of the region are often rotated slightly relative to magnetic compass points (e.g. Haviland 1998 on

Guugu Yimidhirr, Hill 2002: 73–75 on Umpila, and Gaby 2006: 594). As noted by Haviland, this may reflect the orientation of the coastline, prevailing winds etc.

Related forms: *kaaway ‘east’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) ['ka:wə] sunup (JLL-0049)
- (2) [kʌ.wʌ] S.E. (GR-67)
- (3) Kär-wä mälñ'-känän'o East-windward / sand beach (DTC2-16)

kaawa malngkana*-ngu
east sandbeach-BLOC
'at the sandbeach to the east'
- (4) ['ka.wə] sunup (east) (BSL-36)

kaaya* type of spear, with a bamboo handle and stingray barb

Meaning: DT notes this was part of the trade with Ayapathu people (DTC1-43).

Form: Vowel length in the Umpila equivalent (which DT also represents as <kai|ya>) suggests that this form has a long first vowel. DT's notes contain a similar form with a potentially related meaning (<kai̇-ă> ‘incisor’), which could possibly be linked to this form. However, there is no independent evidence for length in this second form. and the semantic link is not very strong, so we decided to represent it with a short vowel (see further under *kaya^T*).

Related forms: kaaya ‘fighting spear’ (Umpila), kaay ‘spear type’ (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) Kai̇yä Ompeila Kai̇yä Bamboo handled stingaree spear a form of spear (traded for [illegible]) from Koko iebado (DTC1-43)

kaaypa*

1. type of tree (*Sterculia quadrifida*)

Related forms: kaaypa ‘tree sp.’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) Ompela 'Kai̇-'pä Yintyinja " Sterculia sp. Inner bark of trunk of young trees or young branches cut into length, bark stripped, inner bark next [to the] cambium stripped, bitten or hammered. Pikon-u (dilly bag) 'Arm'pä (fishing net) Wātu (occasionally). If small quantity bitten, it & [the] lot hammered & dried in sun & then shredded fine & rolled. Fruit also eaten (see plate taken last year). (DTS-1)
- (2) Kai̇-pä(n)-jiŋ-o tree used for dilly bag making / place belong (DTC2-48)
- (3) Hair carried in dilly bag or may be worn around neck _ called Yärŋa / wrapped around with fibre string of Kai-pa (same term as Ompela) & wrapped in wax ([illegible]) ornamented with portſila (orchid) & red [illegible] Netʃi (DT200-10)

2. fibre made from this tree

Meaning: DT notes that the white fibre is used for making dilly bags and *aampa** fishnets, for wrapping objects and for tying things together.

Attestations:

- (1) Fibre kaipa (*Sterculia quadrifida*) fibre taken from young limb, cut into lengths four to six feet or so in length, stripped, bast & fibre pulled out & clean by scraping with yonkomo shell, the fibre stretched taut, meantime, from big toe. Kaipa is prepared by biting or hammering. (DT193-3)

ka'i not; non-imperative negation (NEG; see chapter 5, section 6.1)

Related forms: **kari* ‘not’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) ka-i – kän-ämbi utſa-go you & I not go (DTC2-218)
 ka'i kana^T-mpi utya*-ku
 NEG look-12AUG.NOM dugong-DAT
 ‘Let’s not look for dugong.’
- (2) [ŋayu kə?i ŋakə.nə] I can’t see (GR-73)
 ngayu ka'i ngaka-na
 1MIN.NOM NEG see-PST?
 ‘I could not see.’ [This translation assumes that all morphology is Yintyingka, including *-na*, but this speaker often uses Umpila morphology on Yintyingka stems. In Umpila, *-na* is a non-future form.]
- (3) ka-i = no more (DTC2-216)
- (4) kä-i = no more, not (DTC2-294)

kaka

1. spear (general)

Related forms: **kalka* ‘spear’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher), *ayka* ‘spear’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) Kaka spear (DTC5-31)
- (2) kaka spear general (NTL-160)
- (3) [kəkə] spear (GR-62)

2. generic for spears in generic-specific constructions (see chapter 5, section 2.2)

Attestations:

- (1) kaka pañga/di or panti short spear (DTC5-32&33)
 See *pankati^T* ‘bullet spear, short spear’.
- (2) kaka e/kana long spear (DTC5-34)
 See *yikana** ‘prong spear, iron spear’.
- (3) Kek-i yi-kana iron spear (DTC5-58)

- (4) kaka ekuna long spear (DT4-1)
- (5) kaka keke stingaree spear (DTC5-40)
See *keke^T* ‘stingray spear’.
- (6) kaka Tála four finger spear (DT4-2)
See *tala^T* ‘four-finger spear’.

kala* waist

Meaning: The Umpila cognate *kala* refers to ‘buttocks’, but DT records *thumu* as the Umpila equivalent for *kala** in Yintyingka. *Thumu* is glossed as ‘area across the lower back and around the waist’ in Hill (n.d.).

Related forms: *kala* ‘buttocks’ (Umpila)

- (1) Mola Külā waist mola (DTC1-8)
See *moola** *kala** ‘mourning strings worn around the waist’.
- (2) mola Kala Kataji (DTC5-45)

<i>moola*</i>	<i>kala*</i>	<i>katha-tyi^T</i>
mourning.string	waist	tie-SUB
‘mourning strings tied around the waist’		
- (3) kalla buttock (NTL-125)

kali- (meaning unclear)

Meaning: This form is used by Jinny Long in her response to the elicitation of various body parts. It has the suffix *-ngka*, which could be nominal or verbal, but in at least one instance the form also combines with a free pronoun, which suggests it is a verb. In light of its combination with body parts, it could be a basic locative or a possessive verb.

Attestations:

- (1) ngayu theeye theeye ngayu kalingka (JLL-0201)
See *theeye* ‘mouth’.
- (2) kati ngayu kalingka (JLL-0202)
See *kati* ‘spit’.
- (3) manungka kalingka (JLL-0205)
See *manu* ‘neck’.
- (4) manu wintyi kalingka (JLL-0216)
See *manu wintyi* ‘collarbone’.
- (5) maapu thiyenka kalingka (JLL-0211)
See *maapu* ‘armpit’.
- (6) maapu kalingka (JLL-0210)
- (7) yu'u athi kalingka (JLL-0218)
See *yu'u athi* ‘finger nail’.

- (8) *yuungka kalingka* (JLL-0219)
See *yuungka* ‘elbow’.
- (9) *ilpa kalingka* (JLL-0220)
See *ilpa* ‘scar, cicatrice’.
- (10) *thuutungka kalingka* (JLL-0213)
See *thuutu* ‘breast’.

kalkeyiT green turtle*Attestations:*

- (1) *kalkè-i* = green turtle (DTC2-195)
- (2) *kalkè-i mampa* = no got (DTC2-196)
kalkeyiT mampa
 green.turtle nothing
 ‘I have no green turtle.’
- (3) also *kalkè-gino no got* (DTC2-197)
*kalkeyiT-kinu**
green.turtle-PRIV
 ‘I have no green turtle.’

kalmpikalmpiT fast, quickly*Related forms:* **kalmpa* ‘fast’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher), *kamparra* ‘fast’ (Umpithamu)*Attestations:*

- (1) *Kalmbi-kalmbi* you come quick (DTC2-103)
- (2) *worrfja kalmbi-kalmbi* (DTC2-186)
*worrtya** *kalmpikalmpiT*
 cloud fast
 (DT’s translation: ‘that cloud goes quickly’)
- (3) *ŋai-you tonkinji kalmbi-kalmbi* (DTC2-223)
ngayu thongke-ŋgi kalmpikalmpiT
 1MIN.NOM come-1MIN.NOM fast
 (DT’s translation: ‘I will come up quickly.’)

kami parallel grandparent (father’s father, mother’s mother)*Meaning:* DT notes the following uses: FF, FFB, FFZ, MM, MMZ, MMB, FMMB-S, HFZD (Thomson 1972: 28).*Related meanings:* The reciprocal terms are *kaminthinhu* and *kamithu*.*Related forms:* **kami* ‘mother’s mother’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) [kam:ɛ'ŋaṭu] [ŋaṭɛ'ŋaṭu] grannie (JLL-0139)

kami	ngathu
parallel.grandparent	1MIN.GEN
'my grannie'	
- (2) ['kam:ɛ] brother-in-law (JLL-0138)
- (3) ['kamɪŋaṭu] ['kame] (BSL-59)
- (4) ['kam.i] (RAK-1)
- (5) kami FF, FFB, FFZ, MM, MMZ, MMB, FMMB-S, HFZD (DTK-1)
- (6) Kă̄mi (DT2-1)
- (7) kami <-> kamindinu or kamido (DT209-8)
- (8) me, myself / (ngä of kami-gä = himself myself etc) (DTC2-257)

kami-ka ^T
parallel.grandparent-INT

kaminthinhu parallel grandchild (son's child for a man, daughter's child for a woman)

Meaning: DT notes the following uses: maleSC, BSC, femaleDS, ZDC, maleFZ+DSC, femaleMBSW (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal term is *kami*, a synonym is *kamithu*.

Related forms: *kami 'mother's mother' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) kamindinu maleSC, BSC, femaleDS, ZDC, maleFZ+DSC, femaleMBSW (DTK-2)
- (2) ['kam.itu] ['kam.indinu] Rosie recognized kamindhinhu (RAK-2)
- (3) kami <-> kamindinu or kamido (DT209-9)

kamithu parallel grandchild (son's child for a man, daughter's child for a woman)

Meaning: DT notes the following uses: maleSC, BSC, femaleDS, ZDC, maleFZ+DSC, femaleMBSW (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal term is *kami*, a synonym is *kaminthinhu*.

Related forms: *kami 'mother's mother' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) kamido maleSC, BSC, femaleDS, ZDC, maleFZ+DSC, femaleMBSW (DTK-3)
- (2) ['kam.itu] ['kam.indinu] Rosie recognized kamindhinhu (RAK-2)
- (3) kami <-> kamindinu or kamido (DT209-10)

kampala sun

Related forms: *kampal(a) 'sun' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) [kam'pa:la] sun (JLL-0050)
- (2) ['kam,pa,la] sun (BSL-37)

kampinhu

1. type of grass (used to make dilly bags)

Meaning: This form is elicited from Jinny Long as ‘fishnet’, whereas DT records both ‘dilly bag’ and the grass used to make the dilly bag. DT notes the grass is dried, put in water, worked while wet and then dried (DT3-1). He also notes the dilly bags are made by women.

Related meanings: DT records *kampinhu* and *wayu^T* together under the same gloss ‘dilly bag’, but it is unlikely that they are synonyms.

Related forms: *kempan* ‘woven basket usually made of grass’ (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) kaṁpīnō / wai-ōō

grass used for dilly bag is kampino – same name as dilly bag (DT3-1)

2. type of dilly bag (made of grass of the same name)

Attestations:

- (1) kampino wurkiñā my|no|argo te'e'|inta (DT3-5)

kampinhu wurkiñā na mayi nu'a-ku the'e*-inta^T
 dilly.bag start-PST veg.food karol-DAT bark.trough-?
 (DT's translation: ‘the dilly bag I have started / bin startim for karol in
 bark (trough)’)

- (2) Noi|emo wurki kampino (DT3-4)

noiemo wurki^T kampinhu
 name start dilly.bag
 ‘Noiemo starts a dilly bag.’

3. type of fishnet

Attestations:

- (1) [kam'piñu] fishnet (JLL-0038)

- (2) ['ka.m.piñu] fishnet (BSL-28)

kamu blood

Related forms: *kamu ‘blood’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) ['kam:u] blood (JLL-0168)

- (2) kammo blood (NTL-137)

kana perfective (PFV; see chapter 5, section 6.2.2)

Related forms: *kana ‘finished, ready’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) känä finish (DTC2-116)

- (2) Känä-ninidi sit down (finish) – wait a bit (DTC2-31)

kana nniina-ti*

PFV sit-2MIN.NOM

(DT's translation: ‘Sit down (finish).’)

- (3) Past *ŋai-yu* känäŋga wo-pinjä etc. (DTI-69)
 ngayu kana=ngka wopi-ntyä^T
 1MIN.NOM PFV=EMPH go-?
 'I went.'
- (4) *ŋai-yu* Kaño-po'tſinji ñar*xk-o-go (DTC2-30)
 ngayu kana pootya*-ngi ngarrku-ku
 1MIN.NOM PFV go-1MIN.NOM camp-DAT
 (DT's translation: 'I (myself) I want to go. to camp (= home etc.) I want to go back to camp')
- (5) kana wuna-na ngarrku ngathu=nhang (JLTA-0039)
 PFV lie-PST country 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
 'We camped in my country.'
- (6) ngaiyu känäŋgå wipa wunänä (DTI-9&10)
 ngayu kana=ngka weepa wuna-na
 1MIN.NOM PFV=EMPH sleep lie-PST
 'I slept.'
- (7) Or just kananga wunänä (DTI-11&12)
 kana=ngka wuna-na
 PFV=EMPH lie-PST
 'I slept.'

kana^T- look for, go for

Attestations:

- (1) (let us) you & I look out dugong känämbi utſa-go (DTC2-217)
 kana^T-mpi utya*-ku
 look-12AUG.NOM dugong-DAT
 'Let us look for dugong.'
- (2) ka-i – kän-ämbi utſa-go you & I not go (DTC2-218)
 ka'i kana^T-mpi utya*-ku
 NEG look-12AUG.NOM dugong-DAT
 'Let's not look for dugong.'

kani up

Meaning: This form may also have a meaning 'inland' ('inside' in local varieties of English), like forms meaning 'up' in related languages. This is also suggested by the combination with *maalatha-ku* 'scrub-DAT' in one of the attestations in our corpus (scrub typically being inland).

Related forms: *kan(y)i 'up' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) kani yeyana climb up (JLL-0186)

kani yeya-na
up go-PST
'go up'
- (2) kani maalatha-ku (JLTA-0029)

up scrub-DAT
'to the scrub'

kanpi back (probably)

Meaning: The recording has no gloss, but this form occurs in a four-language elicitation session. The Olkola equivalent *ebmbar* means 'back', and the Wik Mungkan equivalent *kaantyi* means 'bone'. The preceding form in the session is 'neck', and the next one is 'small of the back', so the most likely gloss for *kanpi* is 'back'.

Attestations:

- (1) ['kanpi] (JLL-0206)

kanti^T saltwater

Meaning: There is one other form with the same gloss in DT's notes, viz. *ku-lanta*. *Kulanta* probably refers to the open sea (as suggested by an Umpithamu cognate), while *kanti^T* probably refers to the substance (as suggested by the contrast with *umpu^T* 'fresh water' in one of its attestations, and its use as a totem in Thomson's genealogies).

Attestations:

- (1) Kanti salt water (DTC5-15)
 - (2) OKol känti salt water (DTG-10)
- See *okolo^T* *kanti^T* 'salt water'.

kantya

1. tooth

Attestations:

- (1) käntfää = tooth (DT183-21)
- (2) kantfää tooth erupted (DT183-22)
- (3) [kʌnca] tooth (GR-13)

2. name

Meaning: People receive a name in the process of tooth avulsion, which may explain why a construction referring to teeth can also be used to ask about someone's name.

Attestations:

- (1) ḡämpa Käntjä-ṇiŋona wai̯ idi (DT183-10)
 ngampa* kantya nhingkuna waayiT-ti*
 IGNOR tooth 2MIN.ACC jump-2MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'What name your tooth jump along?')

karrki younger brother

Meaning: DT records the following uses: B-, MZ-S, FB-S, femaleFMB-DS, maleFMZ+SS, maleMMZ-DS, WMBS, maleMFZ+S (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: Reciprocal terms are *yapi* and *wunayi*.

Related forms: arrkatha 'younger brother' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) [pɔgɔ'pɛce] [karki'ɳaṭu] little brother (JLL-0130)
 karrki ngathu
 yB 1MIN.GEN
 'my younger brother'
- (2) [karki'ɳaṭu] little father (JLL-0149)
- (3) [karki] ygr. br (GR-38)
- (4) karki B-, MZ-S, FB-S, femaleFMB-DS, maleFMZ+SS, maleMMZ-DS, WMBS, maleMFZ+S (DTK-19)
- (5) ['karki'ɳaṭu] my B- (BSL-53)
- (6) ['kar,kiɳaṭuna] ['kar,kiɳaṭu] (RAK-15)
- (7) younger (last) brother kai-ki (DT2-4)
- (8) Brothers both older (wunei) & younger (kar^xki) are also responsible & there are the relations who would formerly have been called upon to furnish the mayi – chiefly 1) No-a (Ka-ata) 2) morki (yam) 3) wir^xki 4) 'Ka^l-ärrä. (DT200-34)
- (9) yapi <-> karki (DT209-23)
- (10) karki <-> wuneyi (DT209-24)

karrpi^T moiety name

Meaning: The anthropological literature (Sharp 1938/39: 269, Smith 2000b: 258) identifies the two moiety names as mopoke (*karrpi^T*) and nightjar (*kuya**). These meanings cannot be confirmed in Yintyingka, as is the case in several other languages (see also Chase 1980: 140 on Umpila). Sharp (1938/1939) also discusses the regional spread of the terms.

Attestations:

- (1) Yintyingka Tribe – Marriage rule. Moieties kär^xpi koi̯'yä (DT211-1)
- (2) moiety names koya karpi (DT209-4)

katha stinking

Related forms: *katya ‘rotten’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) [ŋɔki'kat:a] (JLL-0162)
 ngoki katha
 water stinking
 (elicited as ‘stinking water’)

katha- tie up

Related forms: *katya- ‘tie’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) ɳai-yu ka-täŋa (DTC2-110)
 ngayu katha-ngka
 1MIN.NOM tie-PRS
 (DT’s translation: ‘I tie up.’)
- (2) kätäŋe/i (DTC2-111)
 katha-ngi
 tie-1MIN.NOM
 (DT’s translation: ‘I tie up.’)
- (3) nin-o – kä-tä (DTC2-112)
 nhinu katha
 2MIN.NOM tie
 (DT’s translation: ‘you [tie up]’)
- (4) nino – kä-ta (DTC2-113)
 (DT’s translation: ‘him (he) [tie up]’)
- (5) ɳai-yu Kä-täŋi (DTC2-114)
 ngayu katha-ngi
 1MIN.NOM tie-1MIN.NOM
 ‘I tie up.’
- (6) kätäŋa (DTC2-150)
 katha-ngka
 tie-PRS
 (DT’s translation: ‘I tie up.’)
- (7) ɳai̇-yu kätäŋi to tie up (DTC2-210)
- (8) nino kätä he tie up (DTC2-211)
- (9) nino kata you tie up (DTC2-212)
- (10) nipo kätumbo they tie up (DTC2-213)
 nhipu katha-mpu*
 2AUG.NOM tie-IMP.PL
 ‘You all tie up.’

- (11) nipo käälä-bo they tie up (DTC2-214)
 See chapter 4, section 4.2.1, on this structure (see also (15) below).
- (12) nilo he kä-ta (DTC2-215)
 nhilu katha
 3MIN.NOM tie
 (DT's translation: 'he tie up')
- (13) nilo tfäibo – katämbo he (other man) ties up. (DTC2-254)
 See chapter 5, section 4.2, on this structure.
- (14) [ŋaju'kataŋga] ['?umu] chest (JLL-0212)
 ngayu katha-ngka umu
 1MIN.NOM tie-PRS chest
 (elicited as 'chest', precise translation unclear)
- (15) ['ka:tälalu] tie up (JLL-0229)
- (16) mola Kala Kataji (DTC5-45)
 moola* kala* katha-tyiT
 mourning.string waist tie-SUB
 'mourning strings tied around the waist'
- (17) mola Kia Kataji (DTC5-46)
 moola* kay'a katha-tyiT
 mourning.string arm tie-SUB
 'mourning strings tied around the arm'

kathi yamstick

Related forms: *katyin 'digging stick' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher), athin 'yamstick' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) ['ka:t:i] yamstick (JLL-0037)
 (2) ['ko:t.i] yamstick (BSL-27)
 (3) ['ka:t:i] fur [sic] (RAL-2)

kati spit

Form: In spite of the laminal in the Pakanh cognate, the Yintyingka form definitely has an apical, as shown by the fact that it has trilled release in the sound recording.

Related forms: kathi 'spit' (Pakanh)

Attestations:

- (1) ['kat'iŋaju'kale:ŋga] (JLL-0202)
 kati ngayu kali-ngka
 spit 1MIN.NOM ?-PRS
 (elicited as 'spit'; precise translation unclear)
- (2) katti spittle (NTL-135)

katyi far, long way

Related forms: *katyi ‘far’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) [pama'kac:i] (JLL-0179)

pama katyi

man far

(elicited as ‘long way’)

katyikatyi far, long way

Related forms: *katyi ‘far’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) kätfi-kätfi-ŋja (DTC2-286)

katyi-katyi=ngka

far-REDUP=EMPH

(DT’s translation: ‘I stay a long long way.’)

katyimu^T bone pointer

Meaning: DT notes this is used for night killings [by murri doctors], and made from the bone of a wallaby (*wu'ati^T*) (DTC1-44&45).

Attestations:

- (1) Kā|chimo Ompeila Ō'|ōn|ñō Bone pointer for night killing (DTC1-44)

katyipanku plains turkey

Meaning: The form from Norman Tindale’s vocabulary is listed under ‘cassowary’, but the line underneath has ‘plains turkey’, so his gloss ‘cassowary’ is probably a mistake.

Attestations:

- (1) [kat'ipanku] plain turkey (BSC-4)

- (2) lampi, katjabanko, R nampi cassowary (NTL-16)

kaya^T incisor

Meaning: Around puberty, people underwent avulsion of the (left or right) incisor, during which operation they received a personal totem (Thomson 1933: 493–499).

Form: DT’s notes contain a similar form with a possibly related meaning (*kaaya** ‘type of spear’), which could possibly be linked to this form. However, unlike with *kaaya** there is no independent evidence for length in this form, and there is a possibly related proto-form with a short vowel, so we decided to represent this form with a short vowel.

Related forms: *kaya ‘axe’ (proto-Southwest-Paman, Alpher p.c.)

Attestations:

- (1) kai-ã ḡlko (DT183-32)
kaya^T alku^T
incisor left-hand
(DT's translation: 'left incisor')
- (2) kai-ã m̩ni (DT183-33)
kaya^T mini*
incisor right-hand
'right incisor'

kay'a

1. arm

Attestations:

- (1) mola Kia Kataji (DTC5-46)
moola* kay'a katha-tyi^T
mourning.string arm tie-SUB
'mourning strings tied around the arm'
- (2) [kay?Λ] arm (GR-7)

2. creek

Meaning: If the basic meaning is 'arm' (as attested in a complex form for 'arm-let' in DTC5-46), La Mont West's 'creek' gloss is most likely 'tributary'. The same polysemy is attested in Umpithamu (*wenpen* 'lower arm, tributary') and Umpila (*puntha* 'arm, tributary'), among many other languages in the region.

Related meanings: Our sources also have a form *puntha*, which probably refers to a bigger type of watercourse.

Attestations:

- (1) [kaj?a'piki,biki] (JLL-0071)
kay'a pikipiki
creek small
(elicited as 'little creek')
- (2) [kaj?a'wu:ni] (JLL-0070)
kay'a wuuni
creek ?
(elicited as 'river')

kayi^T bulguru (edible tuber of a plant that grows in and around swamps)

Related meanings: There is also a form *otyetyene* for 'bulguru', which is only recorded from inland speakers.

Attestations:

- (1) Kai/i bulgaroo (DTC5-11)
- (2) Kai/i bulgaroo (DTC5-29)
- (3) Bulkuru Ḷom-pela 'Yun-'to Yintſiṇa 'Kai'-i (DTS-20)
- (4) Kai-i Mäi-yi wō-in-i Bulgaroo / mayi (vegetable food) / you give me (DTC2-29)
 kayiT mayi wo'e-nhi*
 bulguru veg.food give-1MIN.ACC
 (DT's translation: 'Give me bulgaroo.')

kaympu* kookaburra

Meaning: DT uses the older term 'jackass'.

Related forms: kalmpuy 'kookaburra' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) Jackass = Kālm-poi-yu [Dacelo] leachi[i] Yintſiṇa (Jackass) Kāim-po (DTC3-1)

keene

1. type of fish poison

Meaning: DT notes it is common along the coast. Sticks are pounded and put in the water to poison the fish (DTC1-28).

Attestations:

- (1) Kēni Cook's bark. Fish poison Keeni i.e. tobacco (DTC1-28)

2. tobacco

Form: The material recorded from Jinny Long shows the expected vowel harmony, but DT's rendering ends in a close vowel, as in the neighbouring language Umpithamu.

Related forms: keeni 'tobacco' (Umpithamu), kiini 'tobacco' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) wul-i wō-un-in̄-i keni ko (DTC2-24)
 waliT wo'e-niT-ngi keene-ku
 bye-and-bye give-?-1MIN.NOM tobacco-DAT?
 (DT's translation: 'bye&bye I give you')
- (2) ['k̄.ni] smoke (RAL-5)
- (3) keni yap-anu (DTC2-3)
 keene yapanu
 tobacco much
 (DT's translation: 'plenty tobacco')
- (4) rjai-yu keni-gin-u (DTC2-118)
 ngayu keene-kinu*
 1MIN.NOM tobacco-PRIV
 'I have no tobacco.' (DT's translation: 'Give me tobacco.')

- (5) keene [?] patha-ngi Coen [?] yeaya-ngi keene-ku (JLTA-0124)
 tobacco eat-1MIN.NOM Coen go-1MIN.NOM tobacco-DAT
 'I will smoke tobacco. I will go to Coen for tobacco.'
- (6) keini tobacco (NTL-148)

keke^T

1. stingray spear

Meaning: DT notes that wood from the *untangala** tree is used for the handle.

Related meanings: DT records another word glossed as 'stingray spear' (*antalka^T*). It is unclear if these words refer to different types of spears or if they are synonyms.

Form: The similarity with *kaka* 'spear' is striking. Other languages like Kugu Muminh and Wik Mungkan have *keka* and *kek*, respectively, with *a in PPN *kalka 'spear' raised to e by the following approximant, itself derived from *l. Yintyingka does not show this process, which suggests that *keke^T* may be a loan from one of these languages (see further in chapter 6, section 2.1.2).

Attestations:

- (1) kéké Ompeila = mōlinpōn stingray spear (DTC1-38)
 (2) Kaka Keke (DTC5-40)
 kaka keke^T
 spear stingray.spear
 (DT's translation: 'stingaree spear')
 (3) stingaree [spear] ('Mälīn-'pūn Ompela Yintsiṇa Kè-kè) (DTS-8)

2. small stingray

Related meanings: DT lists an alternative form *tulantlyi^T*, which may be a synonym or a form from a different language.

Attestations:

- (1) Kè-ki (tülänji) small stingaree (DTC2-77)
 (2) keKi onki|edji stingray spine (DTC1-40)
 Ompeila nāy[e onko
 See *onkitya^T* 'bora sticks' for the second form.

kintya* taboo, forbidden

Form: DT may have been using this as a regional term, rather than as a term specific to Yintyingka.

Related forms: kintya 'law' (Umpithamu), kintya 'taboo, sacred' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) if a man kumpu on weapons or any such thing then they are tapu, proper kintṣa to all yinjinga & ompela (DT2-7)

- (2) kali talk kintya till ngampa, minya etc, then talk (DT183-16)
- (3) Koko kintsa until soreness gone and then makes big kai-kai and after talks. (DT183-37)

-kinu* without; privative (PRIV; see chapter 4, section 3.3, and chapter 5, section 6.1)

Meaning: This morpheme can also be used to indicate absence of possession, like *mampa* ‘nothing’.

Related forms: -kin(u) ‘privative’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) $\eta\widehat{ai}\text{-yu}$ keni-gin- \underline{u} (DTC2-118)
ngayu keene-kinu*
1MIN.NOM tobacco-PRIV
'I have no tobacco.' (DT's translation: 'Give me tobacco.')
- (2) kalké-i mampā = no got, also kalké-gino no got (DTC2-197)
kalkeyi^T-kinu*
green.turtle-PRIV
'I have no green turtle.'
- (3) Suffix -gino = negative or nothing & mampā (DTC2-198)
- (4) $\eta\widehat{ai}\text{-yu}$ kɔ̄-ta mampā = I have not got a, $\eta\widehat{ai}\text{-yu}$ also kɔ̄-ta-gino (DTC2-201)
ngayu kuta-kinu*
1MIN.NOM humpy-PRIV
'I have no humpy.'

ko'anaka^T small black fruit

Attestations:

- (1) Co-ajanä-ga a small black fruit (DTG-15)

ko'a^T dog

Related meanings: There are two other terms for ‘dog’, viz. *pantyi*, only recorded from inland speakers, and *ukukuyi*.

Related forms: *kuta(ka) ‘dog’ (Proto-Paman, Hale), ku’aka ‘dog’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) Ko-ă = dog (DTC2-288)

koli^T only

Meaning: This form is recorded in a paradigm of pronouns, in combination with *ngali** ‘1MIN.NOM’, presumably to emphasize that this is the minimal form ‘you and I only’, in contrast to augmented forms. There are no other attestations to determine its function more precisely.

Attestations:

- (1) ηalli koli (DTI-46)
 ngali* koli^T
 12MIN.NOM only
 (DT's translation: 'you & I only')

kolka^T big mob, many

Meaning: In the one example we have, *kolka^T* is combined with another from (*nunta^T*), but the cognate forms from related languages suggest quite clearly that it is *kolka^T* that means 'big mob'.

Related forms: *kulka* 'together' (Umpithamu), *kulka* 'very, many, big mob' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) kol-ka-nunta pama [pama above *nunta*] (DTC2-56)
 kolka^T *nunta^T* pama
 big.mob ? man
 (DT's translation: 'a big mob of men')

komono^T woman who has lost her child; bereaved mother

Form: Most of the bereavement terms are borrowed from Umpila. DT records the Umpila form <*konmono*> for 'bereaved mother, mother's younger brother, or mother's younger sister' (Thomson 1972: 10), but there is no indication in the Yintyingka sources for a consonant cluster between the first and second syllable.

Attestations:

- (1) Ko-mono (DT209-51)

kompoyi^T type of tree

Meaning: DT notes that the inner bark of the roots is used for fibre (itself used for string) (DTS-11).

Attestations:

- (1) Qompela 'MA'TÄLä Yintjña Kompöi-yi (DTS-11)

kongompe kidney

Related forms: gungimbarr 'kidney' (Guugu Yimidhirr), kongam 'kidney' (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) [kɔ'ŋɔmbɛ] kidney (JLL-0223)

ko’o eye

Related meanings: There is another form for ‘eye’ that is attested once in the sources, viz. *nhee’e*. It is unclear if these forms represent dialect differences or if they are just synonyms.

Related forms: **kuru* ‘eye’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) ko-o eye (DTC2-81)
- (2) ko-o – mäntä eye lid upper and lower (DTC2-82)
See *ko’o manta** ‘eyelid’.
- (3) ko-o eye (DTC2-258)
- (4) ko-onjo (DTC2-259)
ko’o-ngu
eye-BLOC
(DT’s translation: ‘go in eye’)
- (5) [ku?u] eye (GR-3)
- (6) [‘kɔ?ɔ] eye (JLL-0194)
- (7) Ko’o matidi (DTC2-84)
ko’o mati^T-ti*
eye flash-2MIN.NOM
(DT’s translation: ‘In my eye you flash.’)

ko’o manta* eyelid (upper and lower)

Meaning: *Manta** is not attested anywhere else in the Yintyingka corpus, but Umpithamu has the cognate form *manta* ‘child’, which is often used to mark a small part of something (e.g. *yu’u manta*, literally ‘hand/finger child’, i.e. ‘little finger’).

Related forms: *manta* ‘child’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) ko-o – mäntä eye lid upper and lower (DTC2-82)

koomulu^T barramundi

Related forms: oomolo ‘barramundi’ (Umpithamu), kaa’-mul ‘mature barramundi, largest stage’ (Wik Ngathan)

Attestations:

- (1) kor/mooloo barramundi (DTC5-14)

ko’onontyi^T type of fishnet (large)

Meaning: DT notes that it is used in mourning (DTC1-10)

Attestations:

- (1) large fishing net draped over when crying Kō|ō|NoNJI Ompeila Kō|ōn
píckōnō Same names used for these nets or string bags (of bark string),
whether for mourning or other uses & old net used for cry for sorry for
dead man (DTC1-10)

koothaye blue-tongue lizard*Attestations:*

- (1) [kɔ:'t̪ajɛ] blue tongue (JLL-0109)
(2) the iguana [?] (ko-tai̯in) (DT209-38)

koothe water

Related meanings: There are two other forms for ‘water’, *okolo^T*, which is only attested in sources from coastal speakers, and *ngoki*, which is only attested in sources from inland speakers.

Attestations:

- (1) ['kɔ:t̪i] water (JLL-0060)
(2) [ŋaju'kɔ:t̪e'kalɛ:ŋga] (JLL-0214)
ngayu koothe kali-ngka
1MIN.NOM water ?-PRS
(no English prompt on tape)
(3) koothe-mu yeya-ngi (JLTA-0093)
water-ABL go-1MIN.NOM
(no translation available)

korrye- wet, make wet*Attestations:*

- (1) [ŋɔki'gɔrce] (JLL-0055)
ngoki korrye
water wet
(Elicited as ‘rain’)
(2) nino Kortjini (DTC2-252)
nhinu korrye-nhi*
2MIN.NOM wet-1MIN.ACC
(DT’s translation: ‘You wet me.’)
(3) kortʃi ɳatuna (DTC2-253)
korrye ngathuna
wet 1MIN.ACC
(DT’s translation: ‘He wet me.’)

kowampa^T type of dilly bag (made of bark string)

Meaning: DT notes that in mourning these are worn over the head (DTC1-9). Other mourning paraphernalia include mourning strings (*moola**), old fishnets (*mooye^T*) and mourning sticks (*wanampa^T*).

Form: Given the phonotactic structure of the language, the vowel cluster in DT's rendering almost certainly represents two syllables, with the vowels separated by a glide or glottal stop. There is no clear indication in this source (or any cognate forms) to help us decide between a glide and a glottal stop, but since DT usually marks glottal stops with some kind of syllable break, we opted for a glide.

Attestations:

- (1) string dilly bag for head used in mourning kōāmbā Ompeila pēkōn|ōō
Same names used for these nets or string bags (of bark string), whether for mourning or other uses & old net used for cry for sorry for dead man (DTC1-9)

-ku dative (DAT; see chapter 4, section 3.1, and chapter 5, section 4)

Attestations:

- (1) yupa yeya-ngi ngarrku-ku (JLTA-0025)
FUT go-1MIN.NOM camp-DAT
'I will go to camp soon.'
- (2) kani maalatha-ku (JLTA-0029)
up scrub-DAT
'to the scrub'
- (3) pontamyena-mu yeya-ngi / meenthela-ku (JLTA-0097)
placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename-DAT
'I go from Pontamyena, towards Meenthela.'
- (4) keene [?] patha-ngi Coen [?] yeya-ngi keene-ku (JLTA-0124)
tobacco eat-1MIN.NOM Coen go-1MIN.NOM tobacco-DAT
'I will smoke tobacco. I will go to Coen for tobacco.'
- (5) [kōwenego] (JLTA-0132)
Coen-ku
name-DAT
'to Coen'
- (6) narko-go (DTC2-261)
ngarrku-ku
camp-DAT
(DT's translation: 'to camp')
- (7) [ŋar'kɔ:gɔ] bringim (JLL-0156)

- (8) [ʔi:ˈβago'ðɔŋke] (JLL-0181)
 iiwa-ku thongke
 up-DAT come
 ‘Come up.’ (elicited as ‘go up’)
- (9) [ŋar'kɔ:go] go down (JLL-0182)
- (10) par-pinä wäi-imbi, nařko yin-tfjñä-go (DTC2-8&9&10)
 parrpingka waayi^T-mpi ngarrku yintyingka-ku
 tomorrow go-12AUG.NOM place placename-DAT
 ‘Tomorrow we will go to Yintyingka.’
- (11) nai-yuč Käño-po'tfjini ñar^xk-o-go (DTC2-30)
 ngayu kana pootya*-ngi ngarrku-ku
 1MIN.NOM PFV go-1MIN.NOM camp-DAT
 (DT’s translation: ‘I (myself) I want to go. to camp (= home etc.) I want to go back to camp’)
- (12) wul-i wø-un-in̩-i keni kø (DTC2-24)
 wali^T wo'e-ni^T-ngi keene-ku
 bye-and-bye give-?-1MIN.NOM tobacco-DAT?
 (DT’s translation: ‘bye&bye I give you’)
- (13) mampago (DTC2-117)
 mampa-ku
 nothing-DAT
 ‘to nothing’ (DT’s translation ‘nothing’)
- (14) [ŋa.niku pəŋka.la] (GR-75)
 ngaani-ku pangka-la
 IGNOR-DAT call.out-?
 (DT’s translation: ‘What are you calling out?’)
 (George Rocky probably uses Umpila morphology on the verb here.)
- (15) känämbi utfä-go (DTC2-217)
 kana^T-mpi utya*-ku
 look-12AUG.NOM dugong-DAT
 ‘Let us look for dugong.’
- (16) ka-i – kän-ämbi utfä-go (DTC2-218)
 ka'i kana^T-mpi utya*-ku
 NEG look-12AUG.NOM dugong-DAT
 ‘Let’s not look for dugong.’
- (17) kampino wurrkiña my|no|argo te'e'|inta (DT3-5)
 kampinho wurrki^T-na mayi nu'a-ku the'e*-inta^T
 dilly.bag start-PST veg.food karol-DAT bark.trough-?
 (DT’s translation: ‘the dilly bag I have started / bin startim for karol in bark (trough’)

- (18) ayapathu errke-*ngka* / ngarrku-ku (JLTA-0012)
 name talk-PRS country-DAT
 'I talk Ayapathu for (my) country.'
- (19) mätiŋi n̄ai-*yu-go* (DTC2-132)
 mati^T-*ngi* ngayu-ku
 flash-1MIN.NOM 1MIN.NOM-DAT?
 (DT's translation: 'I/me flash.')
 See chapter 4, section 2.3, on this and the following structure.
- (20) nino-*go* mätidi (DTC2-131)
 nhinu-ku mati^T-*ti**
 1MIN.NOM-DAT? flash-2MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'You flash.')

kulanta saltwater (sea)

Related meanings: There are two other forms with the same gloss in DT's notes, viz. *kanti^T* and *okolo^T* *kanti^T*. *Kulanta* probably refers to the open sea (as suggested by the Umpithamu cognate), while *kanti^T* probably refers to the substance (as suggested by the contrast with *umpu^T* 'fresh water' in one of its attestations, and its use as a totem in Thomson's genealogies).

Related forms: *ulanta* 'sea, saltwater' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) [ku'lə:nd^ra] saltwater (JLL-0161)

kul'a*

1. stone

Meaning: Norman Tindale also records a meaning of 'reef' for this form, a pattern of polysemy that is attested in the neighbouring language Umpithamu.

Related forms: *kul'a* 'stone' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) Kúlå Ompeila [id] Large stone used for smashing bone of snakes (Kapal Ompeila) por|le Yintjing[gla & goanna (DTC1-19)
- (2) Köl-a stone (DTC2-46)
- (3) kol-a R stone large (NTL-58)
- (4) kul'a reef (NTL-74)
- (5) n̄ařko – kölän-jijo (DTC2-59)
 ngarrku kul'a*-ntyingu
 place stone-PLACE
 'Kul'antyingu' (placename)

2. money

Attestations:

- (1) kol yampangi tenkingi trade money (NTT-7)
 kul'a* yampa^T-ngi tenki^T-ngi
 money lift.up-1MIN.NOM let.go-1MIN.NOM
 'I will trade.' (Lit. 'take and let go of money')

kul'a* paapa large lower stone of a grindstone set*Meaning:* DT notes that this is used to prepare lily seeds.*Related meanings:* The term for the small upper stone is *altyi^T pok* (literally 'grindstone child').*Form:* Literally 'stone mother' (*paapa* 'mother').*Attestations:*

- (1) Kola papa = simply stone (DTI-80)

kumanta (meaning unclear)*Meaning:* This is an unglossed term that is found in La Mont West's elicitation session with Jinny Long. It is found with directional terms, which suggests that it may be some kind of directional marker.*Attestations:*

- (1) ['kuw:a] [ku'ma:nda] sundown (JLL-0048)
 See *kuwa* 'west, northwest'.
 (2) ['?uku'kuma:nda] this way, north (JLL-0046)
 The regular form for 'north' is *kungki*.

kumpa^T type of sugarbag*Form:* This is part of a list of types of sugarbag, with Yintyingka names on the left-hand side and Umpila names on the right-hand side. *Kumpa^T* is in the Yintyingka column and <koompänä> is in the Umpila column, even though phonotactic patterns of the two languages would suggest the opposite (see chapter 3, section 4.1, and chapter 6, section 2.4.2).*Attestations:*

- (1) Koompän koompänä (DTI-29)

kuna intestines*Meaning:* This form is only attested as 'intestines' in elicitation, but most likely it also refers to excrement.*Related forms:* **kuna* 'excrement' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)*Attestations:*

- (1) ['kuna] belly (JLL-0224)

kungki north, northeast

Meaning: Systems of cardinal directions in languages of the region are often rotated slightly relative to magnetic compass points (e.g. Haviland 1998 on Guugu Yimidhirr, Hill 2002: 73–75 on Umpila, and Gaby 2006: 594). As noted by Haviland, this may reflect the orientation of the coastline, prevailing winds etc.

Related meanings: Jinny Long, as recorded by La Mont West, also provides a form *uku* for ‘north’, but this is not confirmed in any other source.

Related forms: **kungkarr* ‘north’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) [kuŋki] N.E. (GR-68)

kunki* finished

Form: It is uncertain if this is a nominal or a verbal element.

Related forms: *oonkin* ‘finished’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) *kunki* finish (DTC2-115)
- (2) ɳatunjä 'kun-'ki (DTC2-119)
ngathu=ngka *kunki**
1MIN.GEN=EMPH finished
(DT's translation: ‘I have nothing / (Belong me nothing) / me nothing.’)

kuntu three

Related meanings: Other forms attested in number elicitation are *thonongko** ‘one’, *kuuthi** ‘two’, *atu^T* ‘four, plenty’, and *mangku** ‘five, plenty’.

Related forms: *kuntu* ‘three’ (Umpithamu), *kuntu* ‘two (‘old word’), occasionally glossed three’ (Umpila, Hill)

Attestations:

- (1) 3. Kunto (DTC2-71)
- (2) 3 kunt-o (DTC2-204)
- (3) kuntu three (GR-18)
- (4) untu three (NTL-151)
- (5) konto = plenty five (NTL-153)

kurrkarrku^{T-} help

Attestations:

- (1) ɳatäna kuř-kaj-gini (DTC2-224)
ngathuna kurrkarrku^{T-}nhi*
1MIN.ACC help-1MIN.ACC
(DT's translation: ‘You help me.’)

- (2) **ŋatäna kuř-kař-gidi** (DTC2-225)
 ngathuna kurkarrku^T-ti*
 1MIN.ACC help-2MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'You help me.')
- (3) **ŋatäna kur-kar-gu** DTC2-227
 ngathuna kurkarrku^T
 1MIN.ACC help
 (DT's translation: 'He (will) help me.')

kuta humpy (bark humpy)*Attestations:*

- (1) [kuta] humpy (JLL-0034)
- (2) here kota is used for bark humpy (DTC2-194)
- (3) ko-ta = bark house (DTC2-199)
- (4) **ŋai-yu ko-ta mampa** = I have not got a (DTC2-200)
 ngayu kuta mampa
 1MIN.NOM humpy nothing
 'I have no humpy.'
- (5) **ŋai-yu ko-ta-gino** also (DTC2-201)
 ngayu kuta-kinu*
 1MIN.NOM humpy-PRIV
 'I have no humpy.'

kuuthi* two

Related meanings: Other forms attested in number elicitation are *thonongko** 'one', *kuntu* 'three', *atu^T* 'four, plenty' and *mangku** 'five, plenty'.

Form: This form is recorded with an alveolar stop in our only phonetically transcribed source, but comparative evidence suggests this is most likely a dental stop.

Related forms: *kuutyi(-ma) ~ kutyi(ma) 'two' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) 2 KOTI (DTC2-70)
- (2) 2 ko-ti (DTC2-203)
- (3) päm-a ko-ti ŋarko tonkiř (DTC2-5&6)
 pama kuuthi* ngarrku thongke-rru^T
 man two camp come-3AUG.NOM?
 'The two boys come to camp.'
- (4) [ku.ti] two (GR-17)
- (5) kouti two (NTL-150)

kuwa west, northwest

Meaning: Systems of cardinal directions in languages of the region are often rotated slightly relative to magnetic compass points (e.g. Haviland 1998 on Guugu Yimidhirr, Hill 2002: 73–75 on Umpila, and Gaby 2006: 594). As noted by Haviland, this may reflect the orientation of the coastline, prevailing winds etc.

Related meanings: *kuwa ‘west’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) ['kuwa:a] [ku'ma:nda] sundown (JLL-0048)
- (2) [kuwʌ] N.W. (GR-66)
- (3) kuwa-ngka (JLTA-0145)
west-NLOC
'in the west'

kuya* moiety name

Meaning: The anthropological literature (Sharp 1938/39: 269, Smith 2000b: 258) identifies the two moiety names as mopoke (*karrpi^T*) and nightjar (*kuya**). These meanings cannot be confirmed in Yintyingka, as is the case in several other languages (see also Chase 1980: 140 on Umpila). Sharp (1938/1939) also discusses the regional spread of the terms.

Related forms: kuyan ‘moiety name’ (Umpila), kuyen ‘moiety-like division in ceremony’ (Wik Ngathan)

Attestations:

- (1) Yintyingka Tribe – Marriage rule. Moieties kär^xpi kōi'yä (DT211-2)
- (2) moiety names koya karpi (DT209-3)

kuympatyi red kangaroo

Related forms: kuympayi ‘red kangaroo’ (inland Wik Mungkan), kuympatyi ‘red kangaroo, Macropus rufus’ (Umpila, Thomson 1933: 522).

Attestations:

- (1) [kujm'pajɪ] kangaroo (JLL-005)
- (2) ['kujmpajɪ] red kangaroo (BSL-3)

kuyurru* wooden harpoon

Meaning: This word probably refers to the detachable harpoon head on the long harpoon pole, which is attached to a rope and comes loose from the pole when set in the animal.

Related meanings: DT notes *ngalu^T* is a synonym. The hook on the harpoon is called *olpo^T*, and the long harpoon pole is called *taaningkamu^T*.

Related forms: This is a ‘regional’ term, used in a number of languages in the region (e.g. Umpithamu and Umpila).

Attestations:

- (1) Yinqinga ḥalo wooden harpoon. Olpo is hook ([above ‘wooden’]: Koi-yero also used for harpoon) (DT192-5)

-la* imperative singular (IMP.SG; see chapter 4, section 4.2)

Form: See chapter 4, section 4.2.1 on the forms with *-la-pu* in (2) and (3).

Attestations:

- (1) waliŋa nino tonkilla (DTC2-146)
 wali^T-ngka nhinu thongke-la*
 today-NLOC 2MIN.NOM come-IMP.SG
 (DT's translation: ‘You come now or you come today.’)
- (2) nipo kätälä-bo they tie up (DTC2-214)
- (3) [‘ka:talapu] tie up (JLL-0229)

-li* we (you and I); 12 minimal nominative (12MIN.NOM)

Related forms: The corresponding free pronoun is *ngali**.

Attestations:

- (1) ḥalli portjalli (DTI-63)
 ngali* pootya*-li*
 12MIN.NOM go-12MIN.NOM
 ‘We go.’
- (2) ngälli wänälli (DTI-16)
 ngali* wana*-li*
 12MIN.NOM leave-12MIN.NOM
 ‘We leave.’
- (3) ngalli wunilli we (2) (DTI-4)
 ngali* wuna-li*
 12MIN.NOM lie-12MIN.NOM
 ‘We lie down.’

-lintyi^T we (we all, except you); 1 augmented nominative (1AUG.NOM)

Related forms: This is a variant of the bound pronoun *-ntyi**. The corresponding free pronoun is *ngantya**.

Attestations:

- (1) ḥantʃu wopillinji (DTI-67)
 ngantya* wopi-lintyi^T
 1AUG.NOM go-1AUG.NOM
 ‘We go.’
- (2) ngäntʃa wunallinji us (we not you) (DTI-7)
 ngantya* wuna-lintyi^T
 1AUG.NOM lie-1AUG.NOM
 ‘We lie down.’

-ma* become, grow; intransitive verbalizer (VBLZ; see chapter 4, section 3.3)

Related forms: -ma ‘intransitive verbalizer’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) nino ɳotomā (DTC2-283)
nhinu ngotho*-ma*
2MIN.NOM black-VBLZ
(DT's translation: 'you grow black')
- (2) we grow [id] / ɳai̯-yu ɳotomi (DTC2-284)
ngayu ngotho*-ma*
1MIN.NOM black-VBLZ
'I grow black.'
- (3) nilo ɳotomā (DTC2-285)
nhi lu ngotho*-ma*
3MIN.NOM black-VBLZ
'He grows black.'

maakatyi* man who has lost a child; bereaved father

Form: Most of the bereavement terms are borrowed from Umpila, including this one.

Related forms: maakatyi ‘old man widow’ (Umpila, Hill), makadji ‘bereaved father or father’s younger sister’ (Umpila, Thomson 1972: 10), maakiy ‘a man bereaved of his child or whose brother has lost his child; or a woman whose brother’s child has died’ (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) a makaji may cover his head with white paint & then place a sheet of the skin of his dead child over the paint on his head, covering it again with paint until it is scarcely detectable. (DT200-2)
- (2) Makaji (DT209-50)

maalatha scrub

Related forms: maalatha ‘scrub, thicket, rainforest’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) kani maalatha-ku (JLTA-0029)
up scrub-DAT
'to the scrub'

maampi

1. rain

Attestations:

- (1) Mampi = rain (DTG-31)
- (2) [mʌ.mpi] rain (GR-59)

2. wet time

Attestations:

- (1) mǟmpi ompibi wet time / freshwater (DTC2-15)
 maampi ompipi^T
 wet.time fresh.water
 (DT's translation: 'When wet time comes.')

maapu armpit

Meaning: This form is elicited as 'arm', but cognates, as well as other contexts (e.g. 'sweat' and 'mourning strings tied around the shoulders'), suggest that 'armpit' is a more likely gloss.

Related forms: maapu 'armpit' (Pakanh)

Attestations:

- (1) ['ma:pu?am'kalɛ:ŋga] (JLL-0210)
 maapu-? kali-ngka
 armpit-? ?-PRS
 (elicited as 'arm'; precise translation unclear)
- (2) [ma:pu'tijenka'kalɛ:ŋga] (JLL-0211)
 maapu thiyenka kali-ngka
 armpit ? ?-PRS
 (elicited as 'sweat'; precise translation unclear)
- (3) moola marpoonga round shoulder (DTC5-43)
 moola* maapu-ngka
 mourning.string armpit-NLOC
 'mourning strings worn around the shoulders'

maathi pelican

Related forms: *maatyurr 'pelican' (Proto-Paman, Hale), moothi 'pelican' (inland Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) ['ma:tɛ] pelican (JLL-0018)
 (2) ['ma.tɛ] pelican (BSL-15)

ma'atyi^T type of fishnet (not flexible, hinged)

Meaning: DT notes that it is made by women (DTC5-79).

Related forms: makatyi 'fishnet' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) mä-adji it is made by woman not flexible hinged (DTC5-79)

malawiya^T type of tree (*Ficus* sp.)

Meaning: DT notes this is used to make a ‘mop’ (*thaypa*) to soak up sugarbag, like the mop made from lawyer cane (*wuntu^T*). DT notes the aerial roots are used to make string (which is used for dilly bags), and to attach a ‘head’ piece of heavy wood to spearhandles (DTS-3).

Attestations:

- (1) *Ficus infectoria*. *Ficus* sp. (Banyan fig??) Big spreading tree often lives on other tree for support. Aerial roots used for string, with wallaby tying fibre for hanging spears up. This is the principal string for “head” piece etc of heavy wood which is often attached to handle. Qompela Yitʃano 'Yin'tʃiŋa Mälä-wj-a. Used (1) spears (2) wətū (3) dilly bag. (DTS-3)
- (2) but a second type [of mop, authors] made of Mälä-wia ('yi'tʃano) from which the bark (for string) has been stripped, is also used (DTI-34)
- (3) Tai-pä (literally beard) & there needs qualifying word wunt'o (lawyer cane) or mäläwiɑ (Ficus) (DTI-39)

malngkana* sandbeach

Form: This stem is not attested in isolation, but the general phonotactic pattern in Yintyingka (see chapter 3, section 4.1) suggests that the root is *malngkana* rather than *malngkan*.

Related forms: malngkan(a) ‘beach’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) Kär-wä mälñ'-känäñ'o East-windward / sand beach (DTC2-16)
kaawa malngkana*-ngu
east sandbeach-BLOC
'at the sandbeach to the east'
- (2) ñalli mälñkänäñjo wunilli (DTC2-66)
ngali* malngkana*-ngu wuna-li*
12MIN.NOM sandbeach-BLOC lie-12MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: 'You and I sleep on the sandbeach.')
- (3) pama tonongo mälñkänäñjo wunidi He (one man) sleeps on the sand beach (DTC2-67)
pama thonongko* malngkana*-ngu wuna-ti*
man one sandbeach-BLOC lie-2MIN.NOM
'You sleep alone on the sandbeach.'

malu deep sea

Meaning: There is no clear gloss in the single attestation of this term; we only know that it is connected to water and is glossed as ‘blue’ in its reduplicated form (*malumalu*). The Umpila cognate suggests it may refer to the deep blue water outside the reef.

Related forms: malu ‘deep blue water outside of reef’ (Umpila, Hill)

Attestations:

- (1) mālo wuni = smooth fine water DTC2-270

malumalu blue

Meaning: It is not very likely that there is a basic colour term for blue. This term probably refers to the colour of deep blue water outside the reef (as in the Umpila cognate).

Related forms: malu ‘deep blue water outside of reef’ (Umpila, Hill)

Attestations:

- (1) [mālumalu] blue (GR-36)

mampa nothing, no

Meaning: This form can also be used to indicate absence of possession, like the privative morpheme *-kinu** (see chapter 5, section 6.1).

Related forms: *mampa ‘nothing’ (Proto-Paman, Alpher p.c.)

Attestations:

- (1) māmpă nothing (DTC2-2)
- (2) [mampə] no (GR-53)
- (3) [majɪ'mampa] tucker (JLL-0166)

mayi mampa
tucker nothing
'there is no tucker'
- (4) māmpa-go (DTC2-117)

mampa-ku
nothing-DAT
'to nothing' (DT's translation: 'nothing')
- (5) kalkē-i māmpa = no got (DTC2-196)

kalkeyi^T mampa
green.turtle nothing
'I have no green turtle.'
- (6) n̪ai-yu kɔ-ta māmpa = I have not got a (DTC2-200)

ngayu kuta mampa
1MIN.NOM humpy nothing
'I have no humpy.'

mangka*

1. sugarbag wax (hard)

Meaning: DT notes this is a mixture of plain resin and wax, used to cement cracks in the nest (DTI-37).

Related meanings: DT mentions this as an equivalent of *wakantha** in his notes, but elsewhere he glosses it as ‘soft wax’ (see further in the entry for *wakantha**). Soft wax is called *wama**.

Related forms: ma’ mangk ‘sorcerer (Activities can include coming at night and getting someone’s rag or hair and then putting it in sugarbag wax and tying it up, with the intention of doing harm.)’ (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) the hard [wax] is mänkä & is evidently a mixture, plain resin mixed with wax & used to cement cracks in nest tree by bee. (DTI-37)
- (2) mänkä (DTI-96)

2. sorcery material

Meaning: DT says the Ebagoolah people are renowned for making this (DT2-12).

Attestations:

- (1) A second & very potent method of killing is the use of Mänkä. This is simply sugar bag wax in a large lump about the size of a man’s fist & inside which is a small stone & string or pandanus leaf. (DT2-12)

mangkuntyi* cassowary

Related forms: mangkuntyi ‘cassowary’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) mänkōenji cassowary (DTC5-67)

mangku*

1. five

Related meanings: Other forms attested in number elicitation are *thonongko** ‘one’, *kuuthi** ‘two’, *kuntu* ‘three’, and *atu^T* ‘four, plenty’.

Related forms: mangku ‘four, a few, several’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) Mänko five or plenty (DTC2-73)

2. plenty

Meaning: This form is attested with glosses ‘four’ and ‘five’, in both cases the highest number in a session of number elicitation by DT. The vague quantificational meaning is most likely the primary one here (see also *atu^T* ‘four, plenty’).

Attestations:

- (1) Mänko five or plenty (DTC2-73)
- (2) 4 mänk-o or plenty (DTC2-205)

manta* See *ko’o manta* ‘eyelid’.

manti^T person who has lost a younger sibling; bereaved older sibling

Meaning: DT provides this as a basic meaning, but in another place he notes that *manti^T* does not make a distinction between an older and a younger relative, unlike in Umpila where it refers to a man who lost a younger sibling. Given that Yintyingka has a specialized term for ‘bereaved younger sibling’ (*atyaparrpu^T*, not found in Umpila), it is likely that ‘bereaved older sibling’ is correct.

Form: Most of the bereavement terms are borrowed from Umpila, including this one.

Related forms: manti ‘bereaved elder sibling’ (Umpila, Thomson 1972: 10), mant ‘bereaved older brother or sister puk mant, pam mant, wanch mant, etc.’ (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) Mänti lost younger brother sister (DT209-53)
- (2) mänti term applied to a man or woman who has lost his or her brother or sister. Note that no distinction between elder & younger relative, but that such a distinction is made in Ompela where mänti was used for a ♂ or ♀ who has lost an elder brother or sister. (DT209-65)

manu neck

Meaning: This term probably also refers to ‘throat’, since it is found in an expression for thirst.

Related forms: *manu ‘neck’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) ['man:un'gale:ŋga] (JLL-0205)
manu=ngka kali-ŋka
neck=EMPH ?-PRS
(elicited as ‘neck’; precise translation unclear)
- (2) ['manu'baŋana] (JLL-0164)
manu patha-na
neck drink-PST
(elicited as ‘water, perishing for thirst’; precise translation unclear)
- (3) mola mūn|oo mola for neck (DTC1-6)
moola* manu
mourning.string neck
'mourning strings worn around the neck'
- (4) mola mana katāji necklets (DTC5-44)
moola* manu katha-tyi^T
mourning.string neck tie-SUB
'mourning strings tied around the neck'
- (5) R mannu neck (NTL-98)

manu wintyi collarbone

Meaning: This form is elicited as ‘shoulder’, but it probably refers to ‘collarbone’. The combination ‘neck boomerang’ has a gloss ‘collarbone’ in other languages (e.g. Umbuygamu). Pointing while eliciting may have caused the confusion.

Form: Literally ‘neck boomerang’ (*wintyi* ‘boomerang’).

Attestations:

- (1) [manu'wjinci'gale:ŋga] (JLL-0216)
manu wintyi kali-ŋka
neck boomerang ?-PRS
(elicited as ‘shoulder’; precise translation unclear)

mati^T- flash, shine

Meaning: The transitivity value of this verb is not entirely clear, see chapter 4, section 2.3.

Attestations:

- (1) mätidi (DTC2-83)
mati^T-ti*
flash-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: ‘you shine, flash’)
- (2) Ko'o matidi (DTC2-84)
ko'o mati^T-ti*
eye flash-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: ‘In my eye you flash.’)
- (2) Nino mätidi (DTC2-85)
nhinu mati^T-ti*
2MIN.NOM flash-2MIN.NOM
‘You flash.’
- (3) n̪ai̪-yu mätin-äŋa (DTC2-86)
ngayu mati^T-nanga^T
1MIN.NOM flash-?
‘I flash.’
- (4) nino mäti he (it) flashes (DTC2-130)
nhinu mati^T
2MIN.NOM flash
‘You flash!'
- (5) mätinji n̪ai̪-yu-go (DTC2-132)
mati^T-ngi ngayu-ku
flash-1MIN.NOM 1MIN.NOM-DAT?
(DT's translation: ‘I/me flash.’)

See chapter 4, section 2.3, on this and the following structure.

- (6) nino-go mätidi (DTC2-131)
 nhinu-ku mati^{T-ti*}
 1MIN.NOM-DAT? flash-2MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'You flash.')
- (7) nilo mäti / he (it) (DTC2-247)
 nhilu mati^T
 3MIN.NOM flash
 'He flashes.'
- (8) ɳai-yu mätinji (DTC2-248)
 ngayu mati^{T-ngi}
 1MIN.NOM flash-1MIN.NOM
 'I flash.'
- (9) nino mätidi (DTC2-249)
- (10) nino mäti = slip, slide, flash past (eye) (DTC2-265)
 nhinu mati^T
 2MIN.NOM flash
 'You flash!'

ma'u cloud

Meaning: There is another word glossed as 'cloud' in the sources, viz. *worrrya**, recorded from coastal speakers. It is unclear if there is any difference in meaning, or if this is just a dialectal difference.

Related forms: ma'u 'cloud' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) ['ma?ɔ] cloud (JLL-0054)
 (2) ['ma?o] cloud (BSL-40)

mayanta^T feather

Meaning: DT uses this in combination with *nhampi* 'emu', glossed as 'emu feather'. This suggests that *mayanta^T* could be 'feather', except that it is in first position (whole-part constructions normally have a different order, see chapter 5, section 2.3). There is another form *yiwot* for 'feather' (recorded with the word for 'cassowary'). It is uncertain if there are different names for different types of feathers, or if one of the two terms is not Yintyingka (*yiwot* co-occurs with Umpila *ma'a* 'hand').

Attestations:

- (1) mai-yäntä nampi Emu feather (DTI-78)

mayi

1. vegetable food

Related forms: *mayi ‘vegetable food’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) [m̥ayi] veg. food (GR-50)
 - (2) Mai-ⁱ/ni n̥äni pa-tänä? (DTC2-28)
- | | | |
|----------|--------|------------|
| mayi | ngaani | patha-ngka |
| veg.food | IGNOR | eat-PRS |

(DT's translation: ‘What food (vegetable) belong you. you are eating.’)

2. generic for vegetable food in generic-specific constructions (see chapter 5, section 2.2)

Attestations:

- (1) [maji'bunpiñu] (JLL-0074)

mayi	punpinhu
veg.food	lily.root
(elicited as ‘lily root’)	
- (2) Kai-ⁱ Mai-ⁱ wo-in-i (DTC2-29)

kayi ^T	mayi	wo'e-nhi*
bulguru	veg.food	give-1MIN.ACC

(DT's translation: ‘Bulgaroo / mayi (vegetable food) / you give me. Give me bulgaroo.’)
- (3) kampino wurrkiña my|no|argo te'e|inta (DT3-5)

kampinhu	wurrki ^T -na	mayi	nu'a-ku	the'e*-inta ^T
dilly.bag	start-PST	veg.food	karol-DAT	bark.trough-?

(DT's translation: ‘the dilly bag I have started / bin startim for karol in bark (trough)’)
- (4) mayi wontene=nhang (JLL-0027)

veg.food	sugarbag.type=EMPH
‘type of sugarbag’	
- (5) mayi panampingi^T (DTI-81)

veg.food	lily
‘lily (part)’	

3. tucker, food, meal

Attestations:

- (1) [maji'mampa] tucker (JLL-0166)

mayi	mampa
tucker	nothing
‘there is no tucker’	

- (2) mai jie yapyapona heap (DTC5-76)
 - mayi yap-yapanu
 - tucker REDUP-much
 - ‘a heap of food’
- (3) Mai-*yi* (DTI-24)
- (4) Brothers both older (wunei) & younger (kar^xki) are also responsible & there are the relations who would formerly have been called upon to furnish the mayi – chiefly 1) No-*a* (Ka-ata) 2) m^orki (yam) 3) wir^xki 4) 'Ka'-ärrä. Apparently minya is sometimes also included inspite of the name. (DT200-35)
- (5) maiyi (DT200-47)
- (6) mai-*yi* (DT200-49)
- (7) Mai-*yi* (DT200-51)

mayi yanpanu funeral feast

Form: Literally ‘meal big’ (*yapanu* ‘big’).

Attestations:

- (1) The funeral feast or mai-*yi yanpanu* was presided by the *ŋai*-yunpa (*ŋonjorli* “Harry”) & also responsible were the mukindinu & towi of the dead man who is to them respectively muki & kali. (DT200-27)

mimpa* bailer shell

Meaning: Based on the identification by Norman Tindale and the Umpila cognate, this is probably a bailer shell. DT notes that this is used as a counter-balance for a woomera (*thuli*) (DTC5-36).

Related forms: mimpa ‘counter balance on woomera, carved from bailer shell’ (Umpila, Hill)

Attestations:

- (1) Mimpa Ompeila mimpa shell (DTC1-32)
- (2) deilamba R mimpa Melo diadema (NTL-45)

minha

1. meat of game animal

Related forms: *minya ‘meat, animal’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) [miŋa] meat (RAL-1)
- (2) [mina] meat (GR-49)

2. generic for game animal (meat) in generic-specific constructions (see chapter 5, section 2.2)

Related forms: DT sometimes also uses *minya* in his notes, which is probably the Umpila term.

Attestations:

- (1) minā – ninani wallaby (big one) (DTC2-75)

minha	ninani ^T
game.animal	big.wallaby
'big wallaby'	
- (2) mina ot|cha (DT4-5)

minha	utya*
game.animal	dugong
'dugong'	
- (3) minä wätfū wan-o watfunj-i (expresses possibility, own doubtful, translation) (DTC2-19&20)

minha	utya*	wanhu*	watyu*-ngi
game.animal	dugong	perhaps	spear-1MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: 'Dugong / perhaps he was speared.')			

mini* right-hand

Meaning: The form is attested with *kaya^T* 'incisor', and possibly in derived form with *minitiku^T* 'right-handed'. DT also uses the form *miinthia* for right-hand (in *yu'u müinthia* 'right hand'), but this is most likely Umpithamu.

Related meanings: DT contrasts this with *alku^T* 'left-hand'.

Related forms: *mini 'good' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) left incisor kai-ă ălko / kai-ă mini (DT183-33)
- (2) yu-o mīn-tă / hand right (DT183-27)

minitiku^T right-handed

Meaning: This contrasts with *thaku** 'left-handed'. DT also notes *yu'u müinthia* for 'right hand', but this is probably an Umpithamu form.

Form: This form looks like it is morphologically related to *mini**, but there is no independent attestation of *tiku^T* (except if we could relate it to *thaku**).

Related forms: *mini 'good' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) Täko minitigō right handed (DT209-59)

molama^T boiling

Meaning: DT records this in a structure glossed as 'water boils', parallel to *okolo^T* *tunpantinu^T* 'water hot'. In both cases, the part of speech is unclear. There is no obviously related form in the data for *molama^T*, so it is not clear

how *molama^T* can be related to the gloss ‘boils’: as a verb, or as a nominal derived with the verbalizer *-ma**?

Attestations:

- (1) okolo molämä water boils (DTC2-207)

mongkongo cabbage tree

Attestations:

- (1) [maji'mɔŋkɔŋɔ] cabbage tree (JLL-0078)

mongo^T own, proper

Meaning: This form is recorded by DT in combination with what we interpret as a possessive pronoun. There are no other attestations to determine its precise function.

Attestations:

- (1) ḥata-mongo my own (proper father) (DTC2-222)

monpeye eaglehawk

Attestations:

- (1) [mɔn'peje] eaglehawk (JLL-0016)
- (2) [munpiyʌ] eagle (GR-42)

monte jabiru

Related forms: *mu(:)nturr ‘jabiru’ (Proto-Paman, Alpher p.c.), munti ‘jabiru’ (inland Wik Mungkan), mont ‘jabiru’ (Wik Mungkan), montorro ‘jabiru’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) ['mɔntɛ] jabiru (JLL-0013)
- (2) ['mon,pe] jabiru ‘redleg’ (BSL-11)

montiti^T a long time

Related meanings: DT records *monto^T* and *montiti^T* as synonyms. They look like they are morphologically related, but there are no other attestations of *-ti^T* or similar affixes.

Attestations:

- (1) montidi a long time (DTC2-128)

monto^T a long time

Related meanings: DT records *monto^T* and *montiti^T* as synonyms. They look like they are morphologically related, but there are no other attestations of *-ti^T* or similar affixes.

Form: DT records *monto^T* ‘long time’ and *monto** ‘road’ as different forms, with contrasting redrenderings on the same page, but there are no internal indications or cognates to determine where the phonological contrast lies (e.g. vowel length or an apical-laminal contrast).

Attestations:

- (1) monto a long time (DTC2-127)
- (2) ,mõnt'õ = long time / - mõnt'õ = road (DTC2-292)

monto* road

Form: DT records *monto^T* ‘long time’ and *monto** ‘road’ as different forms, with contrasting redrenderings on the same page, but there are no internal indications or cognates to determine where the phonological contrast lies (e.g. vowel length or an apical-laminal contrast).

Related forms: mont ‘road, track, avoidance register’ (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) ,mõnt'õ = long time / - mõnt'õ = road (DTC2-293)

montyama^T (meaning unclear)

Meaning: DT glosses this as ‘where cloud go quick’, but it is unclear how this relates to the form. Hale (1976b) has a Proto-Paman form *muntya ‘crushed charcoal used for black paint’, which together with the verbalizer *-ma** could yield *muntyama*, but even with this hypothesis the semantics remains unclear.

Attestations:

- (1) montʃama = “where cloud go quick!” (DTC2-184)

montye nose

Attestations:

- (1) ['mɔŋce] nose (JLL-0191)
- (2) [munci] nose (GR-4)

moola* mourning strings (made from bark)

Related meanings: Other mourning paraphernalia include old fishnets (*mooye^T*), dilly bags (*kowampa^T*) and mourning sticks (*wanampa^T*).

Form: Our representation of this form with a long first vowel is based on Bruce Rigsby’s work with Bobby Stewart. Unfortunately, we were not able to track down the form in his fieldnotes to confirm this.

Attestations:

- (1) Mola mourning strings (DTC1-5)
- (2) string = mola from bark (string) (DTC1-27)

- (3) mola the short string armlet & waist band worn by Upanamo. He also wore in picture (DTC5-41)
- (4) These shoulder bandole[e]rs are mola (DTC5-42)
- (5) mōla mourning bands (DTC5-77)
- (6) In late afternoon the women with mola on & mouyi on heads began to cry. (DT200-42)
- (7) Before eating all bathe in saltwater & throw their molas & mouyi into salt water. (DT200-58)
- (8) with this he is finished with – no mola worn or cry indulged in for now (DT200-62)

moola* kala* mourning strings worn around the waist

Form: Literally ‘mourning.string waist’ (*kala** ‘waist’).

Attestations:

- (1) Mola Kūlā waist mola (DTC1-8)

moola* maapungka mourning strings worn around the shoulders

Form: We can probably interpret DT’s rendering <marpoonga> as *maapu-ngka* ‘armpit-NLOC’.

Attestations:

- (1) round shoulder = mola marpoonga (DTC5-43)
- moola* maapu-ngka
- mourning.string armpit-NLOC
- ‘mourning strings worn around the shoulders’

moola* manu mourning strings worn around the neck, necklets

Form: Literally ‘mourning.string neck’ (*manu* ‘neck’).

Attestations:

- (1) mola mūn|oo Ompeila móla man|ōō, mola for neck (DTC1-6)

moola* wakontama^T mourning strings worn around the shoulders

Meaning: The form *wakontama^T* is not attested anywhere else.

Attestations:

- (1) mola wák|ontámá, Ompeila same (DTC1-7)

mooye^T type of fishnet (large, barramundi net)

Meaning: DT notes that it is made by men (DTC5-78). Old nets of this kind are worn as a sign of mourning.

Related meanings: Other mourning paraphernalia include mourning strings (*moola**), dilly bags (*kowampa^T*) and mourning sticks (*wanampa^T*).

Attestations:

- (1) mōr|yē Ompeila = Tōlkā|monji Barramundi net (DTC1-4)
- (2) Yintjīna moryi made by man big fishing net (DTC5-78)
- (3) moryi large fishing nets (DTI-72)
- (4) In late afternoon the women with mola on & mouyi on heads began to cry. (DT200-43)
- (5) Before eating all bathe in saltwater & throw their molas & mouyi into salt water. (DT200-59)
- (6) mor-yi fishing net (DTG-13)

morrop^T white paint

Meaning: DT notes that both ochre and white paint come from long distances (specifically Ebagoolah). His Yintyingka informants say there is no red or white pigment in their territory (DTC1-15).

Related forms: mutpu ‘white clay’ (Umpila), pip morrp ‘white clay’ (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) Mořpō Ompeila Mōřpō white paint etc (DTC1-15)
- (2) polpo (or) R morupo white clay (NTL-67)
- (3) The bones are washed & dried in sun. Then put into a Ti-i, which is painted with red & white paint – nänkä & mur^xpo respectively. (DT200-18)

moyoy^T Acacia sp.

Meaning: DT notes the roots are used as a fish poison (DTS-13).

Attestations:

- (1) Acacia sp. Grows in or above watercourses & used for poisoning or stupefying fish. Ompela Moi-qi Yintjīna ". Green pods used in dilly bag – froths like soap. roots hammered & used in water. Stupefied & speared. (DTS-13)

-mpi we (you, I and others); 12 augmented nominative (12AUG.NOM)

Meaning: This form is also attested for 3 augmented, as shown in (11)–(13) below (see further in chapter 4, section 4.1).

Related meanings: The corresponding free pronoun is *ngampu*.

Attestations:

- (1) (let us) you & I look out dugong känämbi utſa-go (DTC2-217)
kana^T-mpi utya^{*}-ku
look-12AUG.NOM dugong-DAT
'Let us look for dugong.'

- (2) ka-i – kän-ämbi utja-go you & I not go (DTC2-218)
 ka'i kana^T-mpi utsya*-ku
 NEG look-12AUG.NOM dugong-DAT
 ‘Let’s not look for dugong.’
- (3) [ŋɔki'paṭambe] drink water (JLL-0061)
 ngoki patha-mpi
 water drink-12AUG.NOM
 ‘We drink water.’
- (4) ḡampu portfäm̩bi (DTI-64)
 ngampu pootya*-mpi
 12AUG.NOM go-12AUG.NOM
 ‘We go.’
- (5) ḡampu wo-pimbi (DTI-65)
 ngampu wopi-mpi
 12AUG.NOM go-12AUG.NOM
 ‘We go.’
- (6) par-pinjä wai-imbi, naiko yin-tʃinjä-go (DTC2-8&9&10)
 parrpingka waayi^T-mpi ngarrku yintyingka-ku
 tomorrow go-12AUG.NOM place placename-DAT
 ‘Tomorrow we will go to Yintyingka.’
- (7) ngampu wänämbi we (DTI-17)
 ngampu wana*-mpi
 12AUG.NOM leave-12AUG.NOM
 ‘We leave.’
- (8) ngampu kaanpi wopi-mpi (PC1-0045)
 12AUG.NOM placename go-12AUG.NOM
 ‘We go to Kaanpi.’
- (9) nämpu wunimbi we (DTI-5)
 ngampu wuna-mpi
 12AUG.NOM lie-12AUG.NOM
 ‘We camp.’
- (10) wo-pimbi ḡarv-kō (DTC2-17)
 wopi-mpi ngarrku
 go-12AUG.NOM camp
 ‘Let us go home.’
- (11) wun-um-bi donor-go all sleep / one day (DTC2-8)
 wuna-mpi^T thonongko*
 lie-3AUG.NOM? one
 ‘They camp one day.’

- (12) pulla wänämbi (DTI-19)
 pula wana*-mpi^T
 3AUG.NOM leave-3AUG.NOM?
 ‘They leave.’
- (13) wänkämbi (DTC2-273)
 wangka-mpi^T
 hit-3AUG.NOM?
 (DT’s translation: ‘They (hammer).’)

-mpu* imperative plural (IMP.PL; see chapter 4, section 4.1)

Attestations:

- (1) nipo kätumbo they tie up (DTC2-213)
 nhipu katha-mpu*
 2AUG.NOM tie-IMP.PL
 ‘You all tie up.’
- (2) Nipo wöpimbo (DTI-66)
 nhipu wopi-mpu*
 2AUG.NOM go-IMP.PL
 ‘You go.’
- (3) nipo tonkimbo (DTC2-244)
 nhipu thongke-mpu*
 2AUG.NOM come-IMP.PL
 ‘You come.’
- (4) They nepona tonkimbo (DTC2-245)
 nhipu-na^T thongke-mpu*
 2AUG.NOM-? come-IMP.PL
 ‘You come.’
 (See chapter 4, section 2.3, on *-na* in this structure)
- (5) nipo wünimbo (DTC2-137)
 nhipu wuna-mpu*
 2AUG.NOM lie-IMP.PL
 (DT’s translation: ‘you (plural) (“you fellas”) sleep’)
- (6) nipo wünimbo (DTI-6)

-mu ablative (ABL; see chapter 4, section 3.1, and chapter 5, section 4)

Form: There is some evidence for another allomorph *-m*, see chapter 4, section 3.1.

Attestations:

- (1) wiinti-mu yeya-ngi / wokeka (JLTA-0058)
 placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename
 ‘I go from Wiinti to Wokeka.’

- (2) wokeka-mu yeya-ngi / maka (JLTA-0059)
placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename
'I go from Wokeka to Maka.'

(3) maka-mu yeya-ngi (JLTA-0060)
placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM
'I go from Maka.'

(4) ngoki yakali-mu (JLTA-0055)
water placename-ABL
'from Yakali'

(5) ngarrku keenka-mu (PC1-0029)
place placename-ABL
'from Keenka'

(6) pontamyena-mu yeya-ngi / meenthela-ku (JLTA-0097)
placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename-DAT
'I go from Pontamyena, towards Meenthela.'

(7) palantyi-mu yeya-ngi / wiiya-ngu (JLTB-0033)
placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM other-BLOC
'I go from Palantyi to another (place).'

(8) poonha-mu yeya-ngi / konhanha (JLTA-0075)
placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename
'I go from Poonha to Konhanha.'

(9) thu'a-mu / wiinti (JLTA-0057)
placename-ABL placename
'from Thu'a to Wiinti'

(10) It is one of the totems of the Yintyingga tribe & from it a dingo dog is
name [sic] "walpa-ma" (DT9-2)
walpa^T-mu
crab.sp-ABL

muki mother's older sibling

Meaning: DT notes the following uses: MB+, MZ+, femaleFFZS, femaleFMBD, maleMMZ-C, FFMB-DS (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal term is *mukithu* or *mukinthinhu*.

Related forms: *mukur ‘mother’s older brother’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) ['mu,kɪ,ŋaθu] (RAK-12)
muki ngathu
MeSI 1MIN.GEN

- (2) moki MB+, MZ+, femaleFFZS, femaleFMBD, maleMMZ-C, FFMB-DS (DTK-15)
- (3) The funeral feast or *mai-yi yapanu* was presided by the *ŋai-yunpa* (ŋororli “Harry”) & also responsible were the mukindinu & towi of the dead man who is to them respectively muki & kali. (DT200-31)
- (4) The *ŋai-yunpa* (Harry) partakes, mukindinu eats but towi does not (Kali a potential father-in-law, muki not?) (DT200-56)
- (5) A woman calls her husband’s father (moki <-> mokindinu) armei <-> ŋatameiyi and her husband’s mother pinaye ŋaiyunpa [illegible] (DT209-27)

mukinthinhu younger sister’s child

Meaning: DT notes the following uses: Z-C, maleMBSD, femaleFZSD, maleMFZ+SDC (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal term is *muki*, a synonym is *mukithu*.

Related forms: *mukur ‘mother’s older brother’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) mokindinu Z-C, maleMBSD, femaleFZSD, maleMFZ+SDC (DTK-16)
- (2) The funeral feast or *mai-yi yapanu* was presided by the *ŋai-yunpa* (ŋororli “Harry”) & also responsible were the mukindinu & towi of the dead man who is to them respectively muki & kali. (DT200-29)
- (3) In this case flour was used & two bags were made into damper provided by the *ŋai-yunpa* & mukindinu. (DT200-41)
- (4) The *ŋai-yunpa* (Harry) partakes, mukindinu eats but towi does not (Kali a potential father-in-law, muki not?) (DT200-53)
- (5) A woman calls her husband’s father (moki <-> mokindinu) armei <-> ŋatameiyi or her husband’s mother pinaye ŋaiyunpa [illegible] (DT209-28)

mukithu younger sister’s child

Meaning: DT notes the following uses: Z-C, maleMBSD, femaleFZSD, maleMFZ+SDC (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal term is *muki*, a synonym is *mukinthinhu*.

Related forms: *mukur ‘mother’s older brother’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher), mukathu ‘younger sister’s child’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) ['mukiθuŋaŋtuna] (RAK-13)
mukithu ngathuna
yZC 1MIN.ACC
(See chapter 4, section 2.2, on the analysis of *ngathuna* in this structure)
- (2) mukido Z-C, maleMBSD, femaleFZSD, maleMFZ+SDC (DTK-17)

mulu egg

Related forms: mola ‘egg’ (inland Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) [mulu] egg (GR-47)

mungka antbed

Related meanings: There is another word glossed as ‘antbed’ in the sources, viz. *epa^T*. It is unclear if this is a dialectal difference or if there is a difference in meaning (as in Yir Yoront, where the reflex of Proto-Paman *mungka refers to antbeds built ‘against trees, stumps, logs’ (Alpher 1991: 424)).

Related forms: *mungka ‘anthill’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) ['muŋka] antbed (JLL-0022)
- (2) ['muŋka] antbed (BSL-19)

munta red

Meaning: This form is used in two complex forms glossed as ‘lightning’. The most likely meaning is ‘red’, because (i) a reduplicated form (*muntamunta*) is attested as ‘red’ in Yintyingka, and (ii) other languages in the region have idioms for ‘lightning’ that contain the form for ‘red’ (e.g. *weeren koro* ‘rain red’ in Umpithamu).

Attestations:

- (1) [ŋɔki'munta] (JLL-0057)

ngoki munta
water red
(elicited as ‘lightning’)
- (2) ['ŋɔki,munta] lightning (BSL-43)
- (3) munṭa wa-gi lightening [sic] (DTC2-109)
(*waki^T* is not attested anywhere else)

muntamunta red

Form: This form is transcribed with dentals in the source, but we represent it with alveolars because the non-reduplicated equivalent (*munta*) has an apico-alveolar (as attested in a sound recording).

Attestations:

- (1) [munt_aṇmunt_a] red (GR-35)

mutamuta^T hard, strong

Meaning: DT does not supply a gloss in the sources, but he mentions an Umpila equivalent (*kuntha*) that is glossed as ‘hard’. In the context of this source, *mutamuta^T* probably refers to ‘supernatural power’, which is also an extended mean-

ing of the reduplicated version of the Umpila equivalent (see Thomson 1933: 522–523).

Attestations:

- (1) Reference to the meaning of word kunta ie muta muta at Yijinga.
(DT164-1)

mutha eelfish

Attestations:

- (1) ['mутa] eelfish (JLL-0100)

muuki yam

Attestations:

- (1) ['mu:ki'ŋan] yam (JLL-0030)
muuki=nhang
yam=EMPH
(elicited as 'yam')
- (2) [mayi mo.ki] (BSC-1)
mayi muuki
veg.food yam
(elicited as 'yam')
- (3) (moaki)? yam (NTL-24)
- (4) ['mo.ki] yam (BSL-25)
- (5) Morgi yam dampu ompeila (DT4-6)
- (6) Brothers both older (wunei) & younger (kar^xki) are also responsible & there are the relations who would formerly have been called upon to furnish the mayi – chiefly 1) No-a (Ka-ata) 2) mørki (yam) 3) wir^xki 4) 'K^a-ärrä. (DT200-37)
- (7) Fruit of yam. Ompela 'DÄM'PU Yintsiŋa 'Mor-'Ki (DTS-23)

muutaka* type of mangrove (*Bruguiera gymnorhiza*)

Meaning: Thomson (1934: 261) identifies the Umpila equivalent <timo> as 'Bruguiera gymnorhiza [sic], one of the black mangroves'.

Related forms: muutaka 'mangrove species' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) Mötägä = Yijinga / Temo = Ompela mangrove wood (DT192-6)

muuyu husband

Meaning: DT notes the following uses: H, ZH, femaleFZ-D, femaleFFZSD(=HZ), femaleFFZSS(=H), maleFZ+S(="Z" H), femaleMB-S(=W"B") (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal is *yuntyi*.

Form: Sound recordings have a close back vowel as the final vowel, while DT mainly has a front vowel (but also one instance of a back vowel). This variation may suggest that a close front final vowel has not yet spread through the whole paradigm of kinterms.

Related forms: *muuyu ‘husband, sister’s husband’ (Proto-Paman, Hale), moye ‘husband’ (Pakanh)

Attestations:

- (1) ['mo.ju] (BSL-67)
- (2) ['paŋŋiman] ['mo:ju] what cousin call you (JLL-0153)
- (3) morye (DTC5-73)
- (4) moryi H, ZH, femaleFZ-D, femaleFFZSD(=HZ), femaleFFZSS(=H), maleFZ+S (=“Z”H), femaleMB-S(=W“B”) (DTK-22)
- (5) ['mo.jinŋatuna] ['mu.jinŋatuna] (RAK-18)

muuyu	ngathuna
husband	1MIN.ACC

 (See chapter 4, section 2.2, on the analysis of *ngathuna* in this structure)
- (6) Moryu (DTC5-4)
- (7) yuntyi <-> moryi (check use of kulnta by Ompela for ♀ wullomo after marriage; equiv to yuntyi, Yintyingga) (DT209-21)
- (8) kali, failing kala moryi ♂ (DT183-24)

-na

1. past (PST; see chapter 4, section 4.2.1)

Attestations:

- (1) kana wuna-na ngarrku ngathu=nhang (JLTA-0039)

PFV	lie-PST	country	1MIN.GEN=EMPH
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 ‘We camped in my country.’
- (2) ngaiyu känängä wipa wunänä (DTI-9&10)

ngayu	kana=ngka	weepa	wuna-na
1MIN.NOM	PFV=EMPH	sleep	lie-PST

 ‘I slept.’
- (3) Or just kanan̄ga wunänä (DTI-11&12)

kana=ngka	wuna-na
PFV=EMPH	lie-PST

 ‘I slept.’
- (4) kampino wurrkiña my|no|argo te'e'|inta (DT3-5)

kampinhu	wurrki ^T -na	mayi	nu'a-ku	the'e*-inta ^T
dilly.bag	start-PST	veg.food	karol-DAT	bark.trough-?

 (DT’s translation: ‘the dilly bag I have started / bin startim for karol in bark (trough)’)

2. citation form (see chapter 4, section 4.2.1)

Meaning: Most of the attestations as a citation form could also be interpreted as a bound 3MIN.ACC form *-na^T* (see chapter 4, section 4.2.1).

Attestations:

- (1) [pa:'tana] (JLL-0188)
patha-na
eat-PST
(elicited as 'eatim')
- (2) [ta:'?ina] (JLL-0042)
thaai'-na
throw-pst
(elicited as 'chuckim')
- (3) ['ta.?ina] I chuckim (BSL-32)
- (4) [ta:'kana'wunku] (JLL-0184)
thaaka-na wunku
enter-PST house
(elicited as 'go inside')

-na^T him, her; 3 minimal accusative (3MIN.ACC; see chapter 4, section 4.2.1)

Meaning: Most of the attestations without free pronouns could also be interpreted as the citation form *-na* (see chapter 4, section 4.2.1).

Related meanings: The corresponding free form is *nhinguna*.

Attestations:

- (1) nino wänkadinä (DTC2-274)
nhinu wangka-ti*-na^T
2MIN.NOM hit-2MIN.NOM-3MIN.ACC
(DT's translation: 'you hammer (him)')
- (2) See attestations under *-na* (meaning 2 'citation form').

nhampa* (meaning unclear)

Meaning: The meaning of this form is unclear, but its context of use (a discussion of naming practices associated with tooth avulsion), as well some potential cognates, suggest that it may have something to do with naming.

Related forms: *nyamparr 'name' (Proto-Western-Cape-York, Alpher p.c.), namp 'name' (Wik Mungkan), nhampa 'number, mark' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) nämpä (DT183-20)

-nanga^T (meaning unclear)

Meaning: The function of this suffix is unclear, see chapter 4, section 4.3.

Attestations:

- (1) *ŋai-yu mätin-äŋa* (DTC2-86)
ngayu matiT-nanga^T
1MIN.NOM flash-?
'I flash.'
- (2) *nino wai-idi wâ-i-najä* (DTC2-175)
nhinu waayiT-ti* waayiT-nanga^T
2MIN.NOM get.up-2MIN.NOM get.up-?
(DT's translation: 'you get up')
- (3) *Nilo wâ-i-najä* (DTC2-176)
nilu waayiT-nanga^T
3MIN.NOM get.up-?
(DT's translation: 'he (him) gets up')
- (4) *ŋai-yu wâ-i-naŋinji* (DTC2-177)
ngayu waayiT-nanga^T-ngi
1MIN.NOM get.up-?-1MIN.NOM

nanka^T red paint

Related meanings: DT also records *poota** for 'red ochre'. It is unclear if this is a synonym, or if it refers to a different substance.

Attestations:

- (1) The bones are washed & dried in sun. Then put into a Ti-i, which is painted with red & white paint – nänkä & mur^xpo respectively. (DT200-17)

nenki^T- wait

Form: There are two attestations, <nenkidi> and <neidi>, the second one with <nен> crossed out before <neidi>. We chose to represent the stem as *nenki^T*.

Attestations:

- (1) *nenkidi* (DTC2-250)
nenki^T-ti*
wait-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: 'you wait (for me)')
- (2) *neidi* *ŋätuna* I wait for you (DTC2-251)
nenki^T-ti* ngathuna
wait-2MIN.NOM 1MIN.ACC
'You wait for me.' (DT's translation: 'I wait for you.')

nga'älaka^T bottle spear

Related meanings: In one attestation, this form is linked to a form *marrana-mu^T*, which is unglossed. This form may be an Umpila form, with *-namu* as the genitive suffix (Thompson 1988: 21).

Form: This form is attested both with initial n and initial engma in DT's notes. Given that initial engma is more specific, and more difficult to recognize for non-linguists, the representation with initial n is probably a mis-hearing.

Attestations:

- (1) ḡa-ṛlägä bottle spear (bottle & stone) (DT183-4)
- (2) marän-ämō ḡa-ṛlägä bottle spear (DTC5-55)

ngaani what; ignorative (things; IGNOR)

Related forms: *ngaani 'what' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) ['ŋa.ni] what (RAL-10)
- (2) Mai-yi/ni ḡa-ni pa-täŋa? (DTC2-28)

mayi ngaani patha-ngka
veg.food IGNOR eat-PRS
(DT's translation: 'What food (vegetable) belong you. you are eating.')
- (3) [ŋa.niku pəŋkə.la] (GR-75)

ngaani-ku pangka-la
ignor-DAT call.out?
(DT's translation: 'What are you calling out?')
(George Rocky probably uses Umpila morphology on the verb here.)

ngaka- see

Attestations:

- (1) [ŋayu ka?i ŋakə.na] I can't see (GR-73)

ngayu ka'i ngaka-na
1MIN.NOM NEG see-PST?
'I could not see.' (This translation assumes that all morphology is Yintyingka, including -na, but this speaker often uses Umpila morphology on Yintyingka stems. In Umpila, -na is a non-future form.)

ngalangkayi*

1. type of tree (*Canarium australasicum*)

Meaning: In DT's notes, *ngalangkayi*^T is mainly attested as a Yintyingka form for 'gum', and the tree is called *yintinyu** in another set of notes (where *ngalangkay* is listed as an Umpila equivalent). In Umpila, both terms are used for the tree, *yintinyu* as the regular term and *ngalangkay* in the respect variety.
Form: DT has representations that suggest a final glide or a final vowel. The former probably represent Umpila forms, the latter Yintyingka (see chapter 3, section 4.1).

Related forms: ngalangkay 'gum tree (*Canarium australianum*)' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) ηälän'āi Ompela ηälän'āi-i / yintʃin-yu yintʃiŋa (DTS-14)
- (2) yintʃinyu (Canarium australasicum) ηälängai (DTI-100)

2. gum from the Canarium australasicum tree

Meaning: DT notes that the gum is used to attach parts to spears and woomeras (DTS-14).

Attestations:

- (1) Ngalang/ae gum from milk tree (DTC5-39)

ngali* we (you and I); 12 minimal nominative (12MIN.NOM)

Related meanings: The corresponding bound pronoun is *-li**.

Related forms: *ngali 'we INDU' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) ηalli mälnkänärjo wunilli (DTC2-66)
ngali* malngkana*-ngu wuna-li*
12MIN.NOM sandbeach-BLOC lie-12MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: 'You and I sleep on the sandbeach.')
- (2) ngalli wnilli we (2) (DTI-4)
- (3) ηalli (DTI-45)
- (4) ηalli portʃalli (DTI-63)
ngali* pootya*-li*
12MIN.NOM go-12MIN.NOM
'We go.'
- (5) ngälli wänälli (DTI-16)
ngali* wana*-li*
12MIN.NOM leave-12MIN.NOM
'We leave.'
- (6) ηalli koli (DTI-46)
ngali* koli^T
12MIN.NOM only
(DT's translation: 'you & I only')
- (7) Ngali enchinga We.go Pt Stewart (NTT-4)
ngali* yintyingka
12MIN.NOM Yintyingka
'We go to Yintyingka.'

ngalingu* our (you and I); 12 minimal genitive (12MIN.GEN)

Related forms: *ngali 'we INDU' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) ngällin'o yours & mine (only) (DTI-57)

ngalu^T wooden harpoon

Meaning: This word probably refers to the detachable harpoon head on the long harpoon pole, which is attached to a rope and comes loose from the pole when set in the animal.

Related meanings: DT notes *kuyurru** is a synonym. The hook on the harpoon is called *olpo^T*, and the long harpoon pole is called *taaningkamu^T*.

Attestations:

- (1) Yinjinga ḷalo wooden harpoon. Olpo is hook ([above ‘wooden’]: Koi-yero also used for harpoon) (DT192-3)

ngampa* how; ignorative (manner; IGNOR)

Meaning: This form is only attested in a series of questions about names. Since all the other material in the structures can be interpreted in other ways, *ngampa** is most likely an ignorative form. It cannot be a ‘what’ interrogative (*ngaani*), so the best candidate is ‘how’, which in other languages (like Umpithamu) is also used in questions about names.

Related forms: angampal ‘how’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) ḷämpa ḷortjoro (DT183-8)
ngampa* ngootyorro*
IGNOR name
- (2) ḷämpa tarpidji (DT183-9)
ngampa* thaapityi*
IGNOR name
- (3) ḷämpa Käntfä-ṣinjona wai̇ idi (DT183-10)
ngampa* kantya nhingkuna waayi^T-ti*
IGNOR tooth 2MIN.ACC jump-2MIN.NOM
(DT’s translation: ‘What name your tooth jump along?’)
- (4) ḷämpa tarpidji ninjona wai̇-idi? (DT183-11)
ngampa* thaapityi* nhingkuna waayi^T-ti*
IGNOR name 2MIN.ACC jump-2MIN.NOM
(DT’s translation: ‘What is your (proper) name?’)

ngampu tiger snake

Related forms: ngampu ‘brown snake’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) [‘ŋampɔ] tiger snake (JLL-0110)

ngampu we (you, I and others); 12 augmented nominative (12AUG.NOM)

Related meanings: The corresponding bound pronoun is *-mpi*.

Related forms: *ngampul(a)/ngampa ‘we PL INC’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) ŋampu we (including you) (DTI-47)
- (2) [ŋampu] we incl. (GR-23)
- (3) ngampu kaanpi wopi-mpi (PC1-0045)
12AUG.NOM placename go-12AUG.NOM
‘We go to Kaanpi.’
- (4) nämpu wunimbi we (DTI-5)
ngampu wuna-mpi
12AUG.NOM lie-12AUG.NOM
‘We lie down.’
- (5) ngampu wänämbi we (DTI-17)
ngampu wana*-mpi
12AUG.NOM leave-12AUG.NOM
‘We leave.’
- (6) ŋampu portfämbi (DTI-64)
ngampu pootya*-mpi
12AUG.NOM go-12AUG.NOM
‘We go.’
- (7) ŋampu wö-pimbi (DTI-65)
ngampu wopi-mpi
12AUG.NOM go-12AUG.NOM
‘We go.’
- (8) [pama'ŋampu'ŋampu:ŋga] (JLL-0124)
pama ngampu ngampu=ngka
man 12AUG.NOM 12AUG.NOM=EMPH
(elicited as ‘people belong us’)

ngampulang* our (you, I and others); 12 augmented genitive (12AUG.GEN)

Related forms: *ngampul(a)/ngampa ‘we PL INC’ (Proto-Paman, Hale), ampu-
nguna ‘1 plural inclusive genitive’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) ŋämpullajo ours (including you) (DTI-55)

ngantya* we (we all, except you); 1 augmented nominative (1AUG.NOM)

Related meanings: The corresponding bound pronouns are *-ntyi** and *-lntyit^T*.

Form: See chapter 4, section 2.1, on our phonologization of this form.

Related forms: *nganytyan ‘we EXC’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) ŋäntʃu we (but not you) (DTI-50)

- (2) **ŋantʃu wɔp̩ill̩inji** (DTI-67)
 ngantya* wopi-lintyi^T
 1AUG.NOM go-1AUG.NOM
 'We go.'
- (3) **ngäntʃa wunallinji us** (we not you) (DTI-7)
 ngantya* wuna-lintyi^T
 1AUG.NOM lie-1AUG.NOM
 'We lie down.'
- (4) **ngä+ntʃa wänänji** (DTI-18)
 ngantya* wana*-ntyi*
 1AUG.NOM leave-1AUG.NOM
 'We leave.'

ngantyangu* our (we all, except you); 1 augmented genitive (1AUG.GEN)

Form: See chapter 4, section 2.1, on our representation of this form.

Related forms: *nganytyan 'we EXC' (Proto-Paman, Hale), antyangana '1 plural exclusive genitive' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) **ngäntʃo** ours (but not yours) (DTI-58)
- (2) **Yintʃin-a ɳarko ɳantʃän-o** (DTC2-36)
 Yintyingka ngarrku ngantyangu*
 placename country 1AUG.GEN
 (DT's translation: 'We here are all belong Yinyinga country.')

ngapanu^T girl

Form: Most of the status terms are borrowed from Umpila, but this one is different from its semantic equivalent in Umpila (recorded as <antaiyu> in Thomson 1972: 10).

Attestations:

- (1) **ɳapanu** girl (arnta-yu of Ompela) (DT209-68)

ngarrku

1. ground

Related forms: errk 'land, ground, earth, place, camp' (Oykangand)

Attestations:

- (1) **ɳaṛk-᷑** ground (DTC2-23)
- (2) **ɳar^vko** = ground camp (DTC2-187)
- (3) **ngaruko** R ground earth country (NTL-60)
- (4) **[ɳarko]** sand (JLL-0062)
- (5) **[ɳarku]** sand (BSL-47)

2. camp

Attestations:

- (1) ['ŋarko] camp (RAL-7)
- (2) päm-ä ko-ti ɳaɪ̯ko tonkiɪ̯ camp / boys come (DTC2-5&6)
pama kuuthi* ngarrku thongke-rru^T
man two camp come-3AUG.NOM?
'The two boys come to camp.'
- (3) each of these name a place – often (crossed out) of a camp & was I think frequently the home of a local group them being called "ŋarko" eg "ŋarko Yin-tʃiŋa etc" "ɳaɪ̯ko – kōlən-jin̩o" Etc (DTC2-57)
- (4) ɳarv̩ko = ground camp (DTC2-187)
- (5) ie naɪ̯ko camp, narko-go to camp (DTC2-260&261)
ngarrku-ku
camp-DAT

3. country

Attestations:

- (1) Yintʃiŋ-a ɳaɪ̯ko ɳantʃän̩-o (DTC2-36)
Yintyingka ngarrku ngantyangu*
placename country 1AUG.GEN
(DT's translation: 'We here are all belong Yintyinga country.')
- (2) ɳaɪ̯ko ɳai̯-yu (DTC2-188)
ngarrku ngayu
country 1MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: 'native land, country')
- (3) ngaruko R ground earth country (NTL-60)
- (4) ayapathu errke-ngka / ngarrku-ku (JLTA-0012)
name talk-PRS country-DAT
'I talk Ayapathu for (my) country.'

4. generic for placenames in generic-specific constructions (see chapter 5, section 2.2)

Attestations:

- (1) each of these name a place – often (crossed out) of a camp & was I think frequently the home of a local group them being called "ŋarko" eg "ŋarko Yin-tʃiŋa etc" "ɳaɪ̯ko – kōlən-jin̩o" Etc (DTC2-57)
- (2) par-pin̩ä wai̯-imbi, naɪ̯ko yin-tʃin̩ä-go (DTC2-8&9&10)
parrpingka waayi^T-mpi ngarrku yintyingka-ku
tomorrow go-12AUG.NOM place placename-DAT
'Tomorrow we will go to Yintyingka.'

ngathamay son-in-law (daughter's husband, man speaking); daughter-in-law (son's wife, man speaking)

Related meanings: The reciprocal term is *aampayi*.

Form: We represent this form with final [j] because it is transcribed as such in our only phonetically precise attestation, but there are indications for a final syllable [ji] in at least one of Thomson's renderings (see further in chapter 3, section 4.1).

Related forms: athamayi 'son-in-law' (Umpithamu), ngatyamungu 'daughter's husband (man or woman speaking)' (Umpila, Hill)

Attestations:

- (1) ['ŋaṭamaj] (RAK-23)
- (2) ngatamei maleDH (DTK-27)
- (3) ngatamei (DTC5-81)
- (4) armpai or armpei <-> ḷata mai yi (DT209-6)
- (5) A woman calls her husband's father (moki <-> mokindinu) armpei <-> ḷatameiyi or her husband's mother pinaye ḷaiyunpa [illegible] (DT209-30)

ngathi cross-grandparent (father's mother, mother's father)

Meaning: DT notes uses as: FM, FMZ, FMB, MF, MFB, MFZ (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal term is *ngathihu* or *ngathinthinhu*.

Related forms: *ngatyi 'mother's father' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) ['ŋati'ŋaṭu:ŋga] (JLL-0140)

ngathi ngathu=ngka
 cross.grandparent 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
 (elicit as 'grandfather')
- (2) ['ŋatiŋaṭu] ['ŋatiŋaṭunga] (BSL-60)
- (3) ['ŋa.tiŋa.tu] (RAK-3)
- (4) ngati FM, FMZ, FMB, MF, MFB, MFZ (DTK-4)
- (5) During ceremony own son (Harry) ḷaiyunpa cried, then jumped up & hooked short (man) spear in woomera as if to throw into the crowd of mourners, ritual expression but he was restrained by an old man (his ngati) who caught him by the wrists. (DT200-61)
- (6) ḷati <-> ḷatindinu (DT209-11)

ngathinthinhu cross-grandchild (son's child for a woman, daughter's child for a man)

Meaning: DT notes uses as femaleSC, ZSC, maleDC, BDC (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal term is *ngathi*, a synonym is *ngathihu*.

Related forms: *ngatyi 'mother's father' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) [‘ŋatiŋdiñu] Rosie also recognized ngathinhdhinhu (RAK-4)
- (2) ngatindinu femaleSC, ZSC, maleDC, BDC (DTK-5)
- (3) ŋati <-> ŋatindinu (DT209-12)

ngathithu cross-grandchild (son's child for a woman, daughter's child for a man)

Meaning: DT notes uses as femaleSC, ZSC, maleDC, BDC (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal term is *ngathi*, a synonym is *ngathinthinhu*.

Related forms: *ngatyi 'mother's father' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher), ngatyityu 'daughter's children' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) ['ŋatit̪u] (RAK-4)
- (2) ngatido femaleSC, ZSC, maleDC, BDC (DTK-6)

ngathu my, mine; 1 minimal genitive (1MIN.GEN)

Related forms: *ngatyu '1 sg oblique' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations (selection):

- (1) ŋatu mine (DTC2-237)
- (2) [wə:li'ŋat̪u] (JLL-0133)
weeli ngathu
yZ 1MIN.GEN
(elicited as 'little sister')
- (3) Pa-pa ŋät-ü My (own) mother (DTC2-35)
- (4) [ŋati'ŋat̪u:ŋga] (JLL-0140)
ngathi ngathu=ngka
cross.grandparent 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
(elicited as 'grandfather')
- (5) ŋatunjä 'kun-'ki (DTC2-119)
ngathu=ngka kunki*
1MIN.GEN=EMPH finished
(DT's translation: 'I have nothing / (Belong me nothing) / me nothing.')
- (6) ngathu wo'e-nhi* (JLL-0094)
1MIN.GEN give-1MIN.ACC
'Give me.' (elicited as 'belong me')

ngathuna me; 1 minimal accusative (1MIN.ACC)

Meaning: This form also appears to be used as a variant for the genitive form *ngathu*, as in (8)–(16) below (see chapter 4, section 2.2, and chapter 5, section 4.2).

Related forms: athuna 'my' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) neidi ɳätuna (DTC2-251)
 nenki^T-ti* ngathuna
 wait-2MIN.NOM 1MIN.ACC
 ‘You wait for me.’ (DT’s translation: ‘I wait for you.’)
- (2) kortʃi ɳatuna (DTC2-253)
 korrtye ngathuna
 wet 1MIN.ACC
 (DT’s translation: ‘He wet me.’)
- (3) ɳatäna kuř-kař-gini (DTC2-224)
 ngathuna kurrkarrku^T-nhi*
 1MIN.ACC help-1MIN.ACC
 (DT’s translation: ‘You help me.’)
- (4) ɳatäna kuř-kař-gidi (DTC2-225)
 ngathuna kurrkarrku^T-ti*
 1MIN.ACC help-2MIN.NOM
 (DT’s translation: ‘You help me.’)
- (5) ɳatäna kur-kar-gu DTC2-227
 ngathuna kurrkarrku
 1MIN.ACC help
 (DT’s translation: ‘He (will) help me.’)
- (6) when find sweetheart woimpi – tonki ɳatunä / you come close,
 sweetheart, along me (DT183-36)
 thongke ngathuna
 come 1MIN.ACC
 (DT’s translation: ‘You come close along me.’)
- (7) (ɳatuna wuntfama join up those?) (DTC2-269)
 ngathuna wuntyama^T
 1MIN.ACC join
 (DT’s comment: ‘join up those’)
- (8) ɳatüna (DTC2-233)
- (9) ɳatuna mine (DTC2-238)
- (10) ɳatäna belong me / me (DTC2-228)
- (11) [‘?a.mpa,jinŋa,tuna] (RAK-22)
 aampayi ngathuna
 father-in-law 1MIN.ACC
 ‘my father-in-law’
- (12) [‘kar,kinŋatuna] (RAK-15)
 See *karrki* ‘younger brother’.
- (13) [‘mu.jinŋatuna] (RAK-18)
 See *muuyu* ‘husband’.

- (14) ['mukit̪uŋat̪una] (RAK-13)
See *mukithu* ‘younger sister’s child’.
- (15) ['wunajin̪at̪una] (RAK-14)
See *wunayi* ‘older brother’.
- (16) ['ju,ncin̪a,t̪una] (RAK-20)
See *yuntyi* ‘wife’.

ngatyungatyu* slow, slowly*Related forms:* ngatyu ‘slowly’ (Umpila)*Attestations:*

- (1) ɳǟt̪u ɳǟt̪u slow, slowly (DT192)

ngayani^T sore (painful)

Meaning: This term is glossed as ‘sore’, and linked to the expression ‘feelim sore’ in a description of tooth avulsion. It is uncertain if it is a nominal or a verbal element.

Attestations:

- (1) Underneath with back of thumb first, then with the front and push incisor back into mouth. From there when feelim sore (ɳǟi-yäne sore) shakes head sideways, then cut tooth with wallaby sinew then ties wallaby sinew with knot, then places a short stick against it and taps it, calling names as he does it; another holds string until tooth comes out name given as above. (DT183-34)

ngayu I; 1 minimal nominative (1MIN.NOM)*Related meanings:* The corresponding bound pronoun is -ngi.*Related forms:* *ngayu 'I' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan)*Attestations (selection):*

- (1) ɳǟi-yu = I (DTC2-239)
- (2) ɳǟi-yu keni-gin-u (DTC2-118)
ngayu keene-kinu*
1MIN.NOM tobacco-PRIV
‘I have no tobacco.’ (DT’s translation: ‘Give me tobacco.’)
- (3) ɳai-yu wǟtamba wankǟni (DTC2-140)
ngayu wathampa* wangka-ngi
1MIN.NOM hard hit-1MIN.NOM
‘I hit it hard.’
- (4) ɳai-you tonkiŋi kalmbi-kalmbi (DTC2-223)
ngayu thongke-ngi kalmpikalmpi^T
1MIN.NOM come-1MIN.NOM fast
(DT’s translation: ‘I will come up quickly.’)

- (5) *ŋai̯-yu ängkungä nipo wöpimbo* (DTI-70)
 ngayu angku-ngka nhipu wopi-mpu*
 1MIN.NOM PROX.DEM-NLOC 2AUG.NOM go-IMP.PL
 (DT's translation: 'I am staying here, you (plural) go.')
- (6) *ngayu ayapathu errke-ngka* (JLTA-0002)
 1MIN.NOM name talk-PRS
 'I speak Ayapathu.'
- (7) *ngayu mampa* (PC1-0040)
 1MIN.NOM nothing
 'I have nothing.'

ngayunpa child (man speaking)

Meaning: DT notes uses as maleC, BC, WZC, HZC, maleMBDS, maleFZDS, femaleMSS, maleMFZ+SSC, maleMZ+SS, (maleFZSW), (WFZS), maleMMBS (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal terms are *piipi* and *piinhayi*. On two occasions, DT also records *pininthinhu^T* as a reciprocal of *piinhayi*, but otherwise his genealogies consistently use *ngayunpa* or *poko*. DT records *ngayunpa* and *poko* as synonyms. His fieldnotes mainly use *ngayunpa*, but his genealogies use both terms.

Attestations:

- (1) ['ŋajjunpa] what auntie calls a girl (RAK-7)
- (2) *ngaiyunpa* (*poko*) maleC, BC, WZC, HZC, maleMBDS, maleFZDS, femaleMSS, maleMFZ+SSC, maleMZ+SS, (maleFZSW), (WFZS), maleMMBS (DTK-9)
- (3) his brother's daughter who he calls Ngār/yūm/ba (DTC5-25)
- (4) I found that his hair was carried, wrapped in wooe – generally fibre is used – & was carried by Yumpanamo, his towi (Old man Kali). Sometimes also by the *ŋai̯-yunpa* of the dead man – his daughter. (DT200-8)
- (5) The funeral feast or *mai̯-yi yapānu* was presided by the *ŋai̯-yunpa* (*ŋonorli* "Harry") & also responsible were the mukindinu & towi of the dead man who is to them respectively muki & kali. (DT200-28)
- (6) In this case flour was used & two bags were made into damper provided by the *ŋai̯-yunpa* & *mukindinu*. (DT200-40)
- (7) The *ŋai̯-yunpa* (Harry) partakes, mukindinu eats but towi does not (Kali a potential father-in-law, muki not?) (DT200-52)

- (8) During ceremony own son (Harry) $\eta\acute{a}i$ -yunp \acute{a} cried, then jumped up & hooked short (man) spear in woomera as if to throw into the crowd of mourners, ritual expression but he was restrained by an old man (his ngati) who caught him by the wrists. (DT200-60)
- (9) pipi <-> η aiyunpa (equiv of piado) (DT209-16)
- (10) A woman calls her husband's father (moki <-> mokindinu) armpei <-> η atameiyi or her husband's mother pinaye η aiyunpa [illegible] (DT209-31)

ngetyi^T giddy giddy bead

Meaning: DT records this as ‘red bead’ or ‘red bean’. He notes it is used to decorate firesticks and neck pendants (*yanga*) (DT200-12), and also in rain and thunder ceremonies (DTC2-129).

Attestations:

- (1) red bean Yinjinga gnet|chi ompeila wo|karl (DT4-14)
- (2) red bead (used for firesticks also in rain & thunder ceremony) netf \acute{i} (DTC2-129)
- (3) Hair carried in dilly bag or may be worn around neck _ called Yän \acute{a} / wrapped around with fibre string of Kai-pa (same term as Ompela) & wrapped in wax ([illegible]) ornamented with portf \acute{i} la (orchid) & red [illegible] Netf \acute{i} (DT200-12)

-ngi I; 1 minimal nominative (1MIN.NOM)

Related meanings: The corresponding free pronoun is *ngayu*.

Attestations (selection):

- (1) k \acute{a} täne/i (DTC2-111)
katha-ngi
tie-1MIN.NOM
(DT’s translation: ‘I tie up.’)
- (2) $\eta\acute{a}i$ -yu wämäni (DTC2-88)
ngayu wama*-ngi
1MIN.NOM hold-1MIN.NOM
(DT’s translation: ‘I hold it.’)
- (3) $\eta\acute{a}i$ -yuŋa änko w \acute{u} nini (DTC2-64)
ngayu=ngka angku wuna-ngi
1MIN.NOM=EMPH PROX.DEM lie-1MIN.NOM
(DT’s translation: ‘I sleep here.’)
- (4) wonpo patha-ngi (JLTA-0065)
fish eat-1MIN.NOM
'I eat fish.'

- (5) Enchinga wowingi nengkuna me Pt Stewart meet.you you (NTT-8)
Yintyingka wowi^T-ngi nhingkuna
placename meet-1MIN.NOM 2MIN.ACC
'I will meet you at Yintyingka.'
- (6) yupu yeaya-ngi ngarrku-ku (JLTA-0025)
FUT go-1MIN.NOM camp-DAT
'I will go to camp soon.'
- (7) thaawolo-ngu wuna-ngi (JLTA-0167)
placename-BLOC lie-1MIN.NOM
'I camp at Thaawolo.'

-ngka

1. narrow locative (NLOC, see chapter 4, section 3.1)

Meaning: In some instances (specifically with time words, as in (6) and (7) below), -ngka may be ambiguous with the emphatic marker =ngka.

Attestations:

- (1) ɳai-yu ängkungä nipo wopimbo (DTI-70)
ngayu angku-ngka nhipu wopi-mpu*
1MIN.NOM PROX.DEM-NLOC 2AUG.NOM go-IMP.PL
(DT's translation: 'I am staying here, you (plural) go.')
- (2) moola marpoonga round shoulder (DTC5-43)
moola* maapu-ngka
mourning.string armpit-NLOC
'mourning strings tied around the shoulder'
- (3) Tonki ninä ngai-y'ärkunä (DTC2-4&5)
thongke nhinu ngayu angku-ngka
come 2MIN.NOM 1MIN.NOM PROX.DEM-NLOC
'You come, I am here.'
- (4) thiipi-ngka (JLTA-0182)
south-NLOC
'in the south'
- (5) kuwa-ngka (JLTA-0145)
west-NLOC
'in the west'
- (6) waliŋa nino tonkilla (DTC2-146)
wali^T-ngka nhinu thongke-la*
today-NLOC 2MIN.NOM come-IMP.SG
(DT's translation: 'You come now or you come today.')

- (7) pařpiňa (DTC2-291)
 parrpi-n̩gka
 tonight-NLOC
 (DT's gloss: 'tomorrow night')

2. placename suffix The narrow locative also functions as a placename suffix (see chapter 4, section 3.1).

Attestations:

- (1) wariŋ-ă (DTC2-47)
Warringka (placename)
- (2) Yälä-wunkă (DTC2-39)
Yalawangka (placename)
- (3) Yintſiňa (DTC2-44)
Yintyingka (placename)
- (4) yin-tſinjă-go (DTC2-10)
 yintyingka-ku
 placename-DAT
 'to Yintyingka'

-ngka present (PRS; see chapter 4, section 4.2)

Attestations (selection):

- (1) ngayu ayapathu errke-ngka (JLTA-0002)
 1MIN.NOM name talk-PRS
 'I speak Ayapathu.'
- (2) ɳai-yu kə-tänjă (DTC2-110)
 ngayu katha-ngka
 1MIN.NOM tie-PRS
 (DT's translation: 'I tie up.')
- (3) [ŋaju'kaʈāŋga] ['?umu] chest (JLL-0212)
 ngayu katha-ngka umu
 1MIN.NOM tie-PRS chest
 (elicited as 'chest', precise translation unclear)
- (4) Mäi-yi/ni ɳăni pa-tänjă? (DTC2-28)
 mayi ngaani patha-ngka
 veg.food IGNOR eat-PRS
 (DT's translation: 'What food (vegetable) belong you. you are eating.')
- (5) wänängänipongonq (DTI-22)
 wana*-ngka nhipunguna
 leave-PRS 2AUG.ACC
 (DT's translation: 'I leave you fellas.')

=**ngka** emphatic (EMPH; see chapter 4, section 3.2)

Meaning: In some instances, =*ngka* may be ambiguous with the narrow locative -*ngka* (specifically with time words, see examples (6)–(7) under -*ngka* (meaning 1)).

Attestations (selection):

- (1) me, myself / (ŋä of kami-gä = himself myself etc) (DTC2-256)
- (2) [t̪a'ʔu:ŋga] [ɛŋ'ce] lower leg (JLL-0172)
tha'u=ngka
foot=EMPH
(elicited as: 'lower leg' (*entye*))
- (3) ['pa:pəŋat̪u] ['t̪a?ɔd̪ɛŋga] (JLL-0150)
paapa ngathu tha'othe=ngka
mother 1MIN.GEN oldest=EMPH
(elicited as 'biggest mother')
- (4) ɳai-yuŋa äŋko wuŋinj (DTC2-64)
ngayu=ngka angku wuna-ngi
1MIN.NOM=EMPH PROX.DEM lie-1MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: 'I sleep here.')
- (5) ɳat̪unjä 'kun-'ki (DTC2-119)
ngathu=ngka kunki*
1MIN.GEN=EMPH finished
(DT's translation: 'I have nothing / (Belong me nothing) / me nothing.')
- (6) [pama'ŋampu'ŋampu:ŋga] (JLL-0124)
pama ngampu ngampu=ngka
man 12AUG.NOM 12AUG.NOM=EMPH
(elicited as 'people belong us')
- (7) [ŋati'ŋat̪u:ŋga] (JLL-0140)
ngathi ngathu=ngka
cross.grandparent 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
(elicited as 'grandfather')
- (8) Past ɳai-yu känänga wo-pinjä etc. (DTI-69)
ngayu kana=ngka wopi-ntyä^T
1MIN.NOM PFV=EMPH go-?
'I went.'
- (9) ngaiyu känängä wipa wunänä (DTI-9&10)
ngayu kana=ngka weepa wuna-na
1MIN.NOM PFV=EMPH sleep lie-PST
'I slept.'

- (10) Or just kananga wunänä (DTI-11&12)
 kana=ngka wuna-na
 PFV=EMPH lie-PST
 'I slept.'
- (11) kätfi-kätfi-ña (DTC2-286)
 katyi-katyi=ngka
 far-REDUP=EMPH
 (DT's translation: 'I stay a long long way.')
- (12) See attestations under *-ngka* 'NLOC' (meaning 1, (6)–(7))

ngoki

1. water

Related meanings: There are two other forms for 'water', *okolo^T*, which is only attested in sources from coastal speakers, and *koothe*, which is only attested in sources from inland speakers.

Related forms: *nguku/nguki 'water' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) ['ŋoki] water (BSL-45)
- (2) [ŋɔki'paʈambɛ] drink water (JLL-0061)
 ngoki patha-mpi
 water drink-12AUG.NOM
 'We drink water.'
- (3) ['ŋoki'paʈanbɛ] drink water (BSL-46)
- (4) [ŋɔki'kaʈ:a] (JLL-0162)
 ngoki katha
 water stinking
 (elicited as 'stinking water')
- (5) [ŋɔki'gɔrce] (JLL-0055)
 ngoki korrye
 water wet
 (elicited as 'rain')

2. generic for places in generic-specific constructions (see chapter 5, section 2.2), probably places with a significant body of fresh water

Attestations (selection):

- (1) ngoki yakali-mu (JLTA-0055)
 water placename-ABL
 'from Yakali'
- (2) wuna-ngi ngoki yakanthi
 lie-1MIN.NOM water placename
 'I camp at Yakanthi.'

ngoki kakale (meaning unclear)

Meaning: This is recorded in an elicitation session with Jinny Long. The prompt is inaudible, and there is no fixed order of elicitation or any cognates that can enlighten its meaning.

Attestations:

- (1) [ŋɔki'kakale] (JLL-0065)

ngoki munta lightning

Related meanings: DT also records another form glossed as lightning, viz. *munta waki^T*.

Form: Literally ‘water red’ (*munta* ‘red’), as in other languages in the region (e.g. Umpithamu *weeren kooro* ‘rain red’).

Attestations:

- (1) [ŋɔki'munta] lightning (JLL-0057)
- (2) ['ŋɔki,munta] thunder, lightning (BSL-43)
- (3) munta wə-gi lightening [sic] (DTC2-109)
(*waki^T* is not attested anywhere else)

ngoki oolka lagoon

Form: Literally ‘water lagoon’ (*oolka* ‘lagoon’).

Attestations:

- (1) [ŋɔki'ʔɔ:lka] lagoon (JLL-0072)

ngolana^T black clouds

Meaning: DT uses this form to refer to black clouds. Comparative evidence suggests that it may be related to a form for ‘forehead’, a pattern of polysemy that is attested in other languages in the region (e.g. Umpithamu *weeren yaarni* ‘rain cloud’, lit. ‘rain forehead’).

Related forms: *ngulu ‘forehead’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) nilo tonki ɳølanä (DTC2-271)
nhilu thongke ngolana^T
3MIN.NOM come black.clouds
(DT's translation: ‘it comes up black (clouds)’)

ngomerre type of spear

Meaning: This is probably a specific type of spear rather than a generic term for spear. Yintyingka has *kaka* as a generic term for spear, as does Pakanh, where *ngomerre* belongs to the avoidance register.

Related forms: ngomerre ‘spear’ (Pakanh)

Attestations:

- (1) [ŋɔ'mere] spear (JLL-0039)
- (2) ['wɔ,meri] spear (BSL-29)
- (3) [ŋu'miri] (PC2-0003)

ngonpa^T blackfruit

Meaning: DT notes that the flavour is not acid, and compares it to a dry plum. He mentions the fruit has a large stone (DTC5-63). Perhaps this is a tree of the *Buchanania* genus.

Attestations:

- (1) ɳunpã black fruit (DTC2-60)
- (2) ɳon-pa Yintsinga ɳa-tuln-gi Ompela, flavour not acid – rather like a dry plum – fruit like large stone which is eaten about size of cherry stone & hard (DTC5-63)
- (3) ɳonpã blackfruit (DTG-19)

ngontye type of dilly bag

Meaning: This form is elicited as ‘dilly bag’, but it probably refers to a specific type.

Attestations:

- (1) ['ɳɔŋce'ɳaŋ] (JLL-0032)
ngontye=nhang
dilly.bag=EMPH
(elicited as ‘dilly bag’)

ngootyorro* name

Related meanings: In the genealogies that use Yintyingka, this term is systematically paired with *thaapityi** (<ngootyorro> and <manthala> in the genealogies that use Umpila). As explained by Chase (1980: 187–189) for Umpila, people receive several names at different life stages, some of which are never used publicly. The *thaapityi** name provided in the genealogies is typically also the name used in DT’s notes, which suggests it is the publicly used name. The *ngootyorro** name is never used in DT’s notes beyond the genealogies. This, together with the partial correspondence with the Umpila form *nyuturu* ‘navel’, suggest it is the name obtained from a paternal relative at the severing of the umbilical cord.

Form: DT consistently uses an initial velar nasal in this form, both for Yintyingka and for Umpila, while the current Umpila equivalent is consistently recorded with an initial palatal nasal.

Related forms: nyutyurru ‘navel’ (Umpila), manthala nyutyurru ‘navel name’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) ɳämpa ɳortjoro (DT183-8)
ngampa* ngootyorro*
IGNOR name
‘What is your name?’

ngotho* black

Related forms: *ngultyurr ‘black’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) ɳoto = black Omp tonko tonko (DTC2-282)
- (2) [ɳutuɳu] black (GR-33)

ngothoma*- become black, grow black

Related forms: *ngultyurr ‘black’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) nino ɳotomä (DTC2-283)
nhinu ngotho*-ma*
2MIN.NOM black-VBLZ
(DT’s translation: ‘you grow black’)
- (2) we grow [id] / ɳai-yu ɳotomi (DTC2-284)
ngayu ngotho*-ma*
1MIN.NOM black-VBLZ
'I grow black.'
- (3) nilo ɳotomä (DTC2-285)
nihilu ngotho*-ma*
3MIN.NOM black-VBLZ
'He grows black.'
- (4) ɳo-tumä darkness (DT183)

-ngu broad locative (BLOC; see chapter 4, section 3.1, and chapter 5, section 4)

Attestations:

- (4) ko-oŋo (DTC2-259)
ko'o-nga
eye-BLOC
(DT’s translation: ‘go in eye’)
- (3) Kar-wä mäln'-känän' East-windward / sand beach (DTC2-16)
kaawa malngkana*-ngu
east sandbeach-BLOC
'at the sandbeach to the east'

- (2) ɳalli mälnkänäjo wunilli (DTC2-66)
 ngali* malngkana*-ngu wuna-li*
 12MIN.NOM sandbeach-BLOC lie-12MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'You and I sleep on the sandbeach.')
- (3) pama tonongo mälnkänäjo wunidi He (one man) sleeps on the sand
 beach (DTC2-67)
 pama thonongko* malngkana*-ngu wuna-ti*
 man one sandbeach-BLOC lie-2MIN.NOM
 'You sleep alone on the sandbeach.'
- (6) palantyi-mu yeya-ngi / wiiya-ngu (JLTB-0033)
 placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM other-BLOC
 'I go from Palantyi to another (place).'
- (7) thaawolo-ngu wuna-ngi (JLTA-0167)
 placename-BLOC lie-1MIN.NOM
 'I camp at Thaawolo.'
- (8) ngoki yakali-mu waayi^T-ngi-ngki / wiiya-ngu (JLTA-0055)
 water placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM-REDUP other-BLOC
 'I go from Yakali to another place.'

nguka smoke

Form: La Mont West's recording of Jinny Long has *wuka*, but we have three other independent sources with *nguka* (as well as a cognate form in Umpila), so we decided to represent this form as *nguka*.

Related forms: *nguka* 'smoke' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) [ŋukʌ] smoke (GR-60)
- (2) ['wuk:a] smoke (JLL-0086)
- (3) ɳuk-a smoke (DTC2-162)
- (4) ngokka smoke (NTL-80)

nguntyama^T dark, darkness

Form: DT also lists a variant form *nguntyala^T*. It is not clear if they represent different parts of speech (*nguntyama^T* possibly with the intransitive verbalizer *-ma**), or simply a doublet.

Related forms: *ngunty* 'black rain clouds, signalling that a big storm is about to break, or already has broken' (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) ɳuntʃall̩ / ɳuntʃama = dark, darkness (DTC2-168)
- (2) ɳuntʃämä = darkness (DTC2-182)

nguyumpa* magpie goose

Form: DT's rendering suggests the first syllable may have a long vowel, but none of the cognates have this, so we decided to represent it with a short vowel.

Related forms: nguyumpa 'magpie goose' (Umpila), nguypang [?nguyempang] 'magpie goose (respect form?)' (Wik Ngathan)

Attestations:

- (1) ηor-yumba magpie goose (DTG-2)
- (2) ηoryumba magpie goose (DTG-26)

nhamani there; locative demonstrative (distal; DIST.DEM)

Related meanings: The proximal demonstrative ('here') is *angku*.

Attestations:

- (1) *ŋai-yunja änko wuŋinjɪ* I sleep here (DTC2-64)
ngayu=ngka angku wuna-ngi
1MIN.NOM=EMPH PROX.DEM lie-1MIN.NOM
nino näməni wunidi He sleeps there (DTC2-65)
nhinu nhamani wuna-ti*
2MIN.NOM DIST.DEM lie-2MIN.NOM
'I sleep here, you sleep there.'
- (2) nhamani-mu yega-ngi olampa (JLTA-0062)
DIST.DEM-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename
'From there I go to Olampa.'

nhampi emu

Related meanings: There is also a form *atyampa* for 'emu'.

Related forms: *ñampi 'emu' (Proto-Paman, Alpher p.c.), nhampi 'emu' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) ['ñampi] emu (JLL-0011)
- (2) ['ñampi] emu (BSL-9)
- (3) Nampi (DTC5-66)
- (4) *mai-yäntä* nampi emu feather (DTI-78)
See *mayanta*^T 'feather'.
- (5) R nampi emu (NTL-15)

=nhang emphatic (EMPH; see chapter 4, section 3.2)

Attestations:

- (1) ['mu:ki'ñar] yam (JLL-0030)
muuki=nhang
yam=EMPH
(elicited as 'yam')

- (2) ['ŋɔŋce'ɳan] (JLL-0032)
 ngontye=nhang
 dilly.bag=EMPH
 (elicited as 'dilly bag')
- (3) ['nu?a'ɳan] (JLL-0031)
 nu'a=nhang
 karol=EMPH
 (elicited as 'karol')
- (4) ['wat?a'ɳan] (JLL-0028)
 wata=nhang
 sugarbag.type=EMPH
 (elicited as 'other sugarbag')
- (5) [majɪ'wɔntrəne'ɳan] (JLL-0027)
 mayi wontene=nhang
 veg.food sugarbag.type=EMPH
 (elicited as 'other sugarbag')
- (6) [majɪ'pɔlpɔ'ɳan] (JLL-0026)
 mayi polpo=nhang
 veg.food sugarbag.type=EMPH
 (elicited as 'other sugarbag')
- (7) kana wuna-na ngarrku ngathu=nhang (JLTA-0039)
 PFV lie-PST country 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
 'We camped in my country.'

nhee'e eye

Meaning: In one instance of elicitation, Jinny Long provides this form for 'eye', after three tokens of the more common form *ko'o*. It is unclear if these forms represent dialect differences or if they are just synonyms.

Attestations:

- (1) ['kɔ?ɔ] ['ɳɛ:ɻɛ] eye (JLL-0194)

-nhi* me; 1 minimal accusative (1MIN.ACC; see chapter 4, section 4.2.1)

Related meanings: The corresponding free pronoun is *ngathuna*.

Attestations:

- (1) Kai-i Mai-yi wɔ-in-i Bulgaroo / mayi (vegetable food) / you give me
 (DTC2-29)
 kayiT mayi wo'e-nhi*
 bulguru veg.food give-1MIN.ACC
 (DT's translation: 'Give me bulgaroo.')

- (2) nino Kortjini (DTC2-252)
nhinu korrye-nhi*
2MIN.NOM wet-1MIN.ACC
(DT's translation: 'You wet me.')
- (3) ɳatäna kuɻ-kaɻ-gini (DTC2-224)
ngathuna kurkarrku^T-nhi*
1MIN.ACC help-1MIN.ACC
(DT's translation: 'You help me.')
- (4) ngathu wo'e-nhi* (JLL-0094)
1MIN.GEN give-1MIN.ACC
'Give me.' (elicited as 'belong me')

nhiiina- sit, sit down

Related forms: *nyiina- 'sit' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) ne-nid-i I sit down myself (DTC2-22)
nhiiina-ti*
sit-2MIN.NOM
'You sit down.'
- (2) Känä-ninidi sit down (finish) – wait a bit (DTC2-31)
kana nhiiina-ti*
PFV sit-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: 'Sit down (finish).')
- (3) (you) sit down Nini-di (DTC2-32)
- (4) [ɳinanɛ:ŋga] (JLL-0209)
nhiiina-ne-ŋka
sit-?-PRS
(elicited as 'sit down')

nhilu he, she; 3 minimal nominative (3MIN.NOM)

Related forms: *nyulu/nyilu 'he' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations (selection):

- (1) nilo (he, him her she) (DTI-44)
- (2) [nilu] he (GR-22)
- (3) nilo tonki (DTC2-241)
nhilu thongke
3MIN.NOM come
(DT's translation: 'he comes up')
- (4) [nilu] (PC2-0003)

nhingku your (one person); 2 minimal genitive (2MIN.GEN)

Related forms: *nyungku/nyingku '2 SG OBL' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) ni[?]k'o [something crossed out between i and k] yours (thine) (DTI-53)
- (2) ['ŋɪŋku'ka.li] ['ka.li'ŋɪŋku] (RAK-9)
kaali nhingku
MyB 2MIN.GEN
(elicited as 'your MB-')
- (3) [Panku'ninku] (JLL-0093)
angku nhingku
PROX.DEM 2MIN.GEN
(elicited as 'belong you')

nhingkuna you (one person); 2 minimal accusative (2MIN.ACC)

Meaning: This form also appears to be used as a variant for the genitive form *nhingku*, as in (4)–(8) below (see chapter 4, section 2.2, and chapter 5, section 4.2).

Related forms: *nyungku/nyingku '2 SG OBL' (Proto-Paman, Hale), ingkuna '2 singular genitive' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) waneini nengkuna me.leave you (NTT-5)
wana*-ngi nhingkuna
leave-1MIN.NOM 2MIN.ACC
'I will leave you.'
- (2) Enchinga wowingi nengkuna me Pt Stewart meet.you you (NTT-8)
Yintyingka wowi^T-ngi nhingkuna
placename meet-1MIN.NOM 2MIN.ACC
'I will meet you at Yintyingka.'
- (3) ninkona tantälmba (DTC2-264)
nhingkuna tantalmpa^T
2MIN.ACC flash
(DT's translation: 'you flash'; precise translation unclear)
- (4) ninkona = "belong you" (DTC2-266)
- (5) ninjona = belong you / your (DT183-13)
- (6) ḡämpa Käntfää-nijona wai idi (DT183-10)
ngampa* kantya nhingkuna waayi^T-ti*
IGNOR tooth 2MIN.ACC jump-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: 'What name your tooth jump along?')
- (7) ḡämpa tarpidji ninjona wai-idi? (DT183-11)
ngampa* thaapityi* nhingkuna waayi^T-ti*
IGNOR name 2MIN.ACC jump-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: 'What is your (proper) name?')

- (8) [‘bi, ⁿnaj, ⁿninkuna] (RAK-6)
 piinhayi nhingkuna
 FeB/FZ 2MIN.ACC
 (elicited as ‘your auntie’)

nhingu his, her; 3 minimal genitive (3MIN.GEN)

Related forms: *nyungu/nyingu ‘3 SG OBL’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) niŋo his (DTI-54)
- (2) 'pī-pin-inj-o wā-i (DTC2-25)
 piipi nhingu waa'i*
 father 3MIN.GEN IGNOR
 (DT's translation: ‘Who is her father?’)
- (3) pa-pa Niŋ-o (DTC2-34)
 paapa nhingu
 mother 3MIN.GEN
 (DT's translation: ‘his (belong him / mother’)
- (4) 'Tā-pigin-inj-u (DTC2-37)
 thaapityi* nhingu
 name 3MIN.GEN
 (DT's translation: ‘name belong him ie his name’)
- (5) [n̩iŋu] (PC2-0065)

nhinguna him, her; 3 minimal accusative (3MIN.ACC)

Meaning: While the morphology suggests an accusative function, and we have glossed it as such, the only attestation in DT's notes is as an equivalent to the genitive form *nhingu* (see chapter 4, section 2.2, and chapter 5, section 4.2).

Related meanings: The corresponding bound pronoun is *-na^T*.

Related forms: *nyungu/nyingu ‘3 SG OBL’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) niŋona (DTI-111)

nhinu you (one person); 2 minimal nominative (2MIN.NOM)

Related meanings: The corresponding bound pronoun is *-ti**.

Related forms: *nyinu ‘2 SG OBL’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Hale)

Attestations (selection):

- (1) ninō you / term of address (DTC2-229)
- (2) [ninu] (GR-21)

- (3) nino-dă! (DTC2-231)
 nhinu-ta^T
 2MIN.NOM-?
 (DT's gloss: 'you, you!'; see chapter 4, section 3.3.2, on *-ta^T*)
- (4) nino purtsidi (DTC2-157)
 nhinu pootya*-ti*
 2MIN.NOM go-2MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'you go')
- (5) nini/neni wämädi (DTC2-95)
 nhinu wama*-ti*
 2MIN.NOM hold-2MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'you hold')
- (6) Nino watamba = wankä (DTC2-139)
 nhinu wathampa* wangka
 2MIN.NOM hard hit
 (DT's translation: 'You hit it hard.')
- (7) nino Kortfjini (DTC2-252)
 nhinu korrye-nhi*
 2MIN.NOM wet-1MIN.ACC
 (DT's translation: 'You wet me.')
- (8) waliŋa nino tonkilla (DTC2-146)
 wali^T-ngka nhinu thongke-la*
 today-NLOC 2MIN.NOM come-IMP.SG
 (DT's translation: 'You come now or you come today.')
- (9) nino wänkadinä (DTC2-274)
 nhinu wangka-ti*-na^T
 2MIN.NOM hit-2MIN.NOM-3MIN.ACC
 (DT's translation: 'you hammer (him)')
- (10) [nину] (PC1-0039)

nhipu you (more than one person); 2 augmented nominative (2AUG.NOM)

Related forms: *nyupul(a)/nyipul(a) 'you DU' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations (selection):

- (1) nipo you (plural) (DTI-49)
- (2) [nipu] you pl (GR-25)
- (3) nipo tonkimbo (DTC2-244)
 nhipu thongke-mpu*
 2AUG.NOM come-IMP.PL
 'You come.'

- (4) nipo kätlä-bo they tie up (DTC2-214)
See chapter 4, section 4.2.1, on this structure.
- (5) *ŋai-yu ängkungä nipo wopimbo* (DTI-70)
ngayu angku-ngka nhipu wopi-mpu*
1MIN.NOM PROX.DEM-NLOC 2AUG.NOM go-IMP.PL
(DT's translation: 'I am staying here, you (plural) go.')
- (6) [n̩ipu] (PC2-0050)

nhipungu your (more than one person); 2 augmented genitive (2AUG.GEN)

Related forms: *nyupul(a)/nyipul(a) 'you DU' (Proto-Paman, Hale), ipunguna '2 dual genitive' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) nipoŋo yours (plural) (DTI-59)

nhipunguna you (more than one person); 2 augmented accusative (2AUG.ACC)

Related forms: *nyupul(a)/nyipul(a) 'you DU' (Proto-Paman, Hale), ipunguna '2 dual genitive' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) wänängänipongonä (DTI-22)
wana*-ngka nhipunguna
leave-PRS 2AUG.ACC
(DT's translation: 'I leave you fellas.')

ninani^T wallaby (big)

Attestations:

- (1) minà – ninani wallaby (big one) (DTC2-75)
minha ninani^T
game.animal big.wallaby
'big wallaby'

noyka^T chrysalis of a colonial butterfly sp.

Meaning: DT notes it is roasted in the ashes and eaten (DTS-31).

Attestations:

- (1) Noica mäkäñ [Umpl] (DTI-98)
- (2) Chrysallis of colonial lepidoptera sp. Roasted in ashes & eaten. Ompela Mū Kān Yintſa noi-Kä / Minya (DTS-31)

-nthinhu reciprocal (for kinterms; REC, see chapter 4, section 3.3)

Related meanings: -*thu* is also attested as a kin reciprocal. It is not clear if there is any semantic difference.

Attestations:

See *kaminthinhu*, *mukinthinhu*, *ngathinthinhu*, *pininthinhu^T*.

-ntyi* we (we all, except you); 1 augmented nominative (1AUG.NOM)

Related meanings: There is also a variant bound pronoun *-lintyi^T*. The corresponding free pronoun is *ngantya**.

Attestations:

- (1) ngä+ntʃä wänänji (DTI-18)
 ngantya* wana*-ntyi*
 1AUG.NOM leave-1AUG.NOM
 ‘We leave.’

-ntyingu placename suffix (PLACE; see chapter 4, section 3.3)*Attestations:*

- (1) Inogonjino (DTC5-74)
 inuku*-ntyingu
 tree.sp-PLACE
 ‘Inukuntyingu’
- (2) Ino-go/n-jin̪-o (DTC2-52)
- (3) Köl-an-djin̪-ó (DTC2-45)
 kul'a*-ntyingu
 stone-PLACE
 ‘Kul’antyingu’
- (4) Käi-pä(n)-jin̪-o tree used for dilly bag making / place belong (DTC2-48)
 kaaypa*-ntyingu
 tree.sp-PLACE
 ‘Kaaypantyingu’

nu'a karol (hairy yam)*Attestations:*

- (1) ['nu?ɑ] karol (BSL-26)
- (2) ['nu?a'ɳar] (JLL-0031)
 nu'a=nhang
 karol=EMPH
 (elicitated as ‘karol’)
- (3) [mayi nu?ɑ] (BSC-6)
 mayi nu'a
 veg.food karol
 (elicitated as ‘karol’)

- (4) nō|ōw karol (DTC1-2)
- (5) no-a (DTC2-63)
- (6) no|ar (DT3-6)
- (7) kampino wurrkiñā my|no|argo te'e'|inta (DT3-5)
 kampinhu wurrki^T-na mayi nu'a-ku the'e*-inta^T
 dilly.bag start-PST veg.food karol-DAT bark.trough-?
 (DT's translation: 'the dilly bag I have started / bin startim for karol in
 bark (trough)')
- (8) Brothers both older (wunei) & younger (kar^xki) are also responsible &
 there are the relations who would formerly have been called upon to
 furnish the mayi – chiefly 1) No-a (Ka-ata) 2) morki (yam) 3) wir^xki 4)
 Kä -ärrä. (DT200-36)

nyintyana^T pregnant woman

Form: Most of the status terms are borrowed from Umpila, including this one.

Related forms: n'yintjan 'pregnant woman' (Umpila, Thomson 1972: 10)

Attestations:

- (1) n'yintʃanä pregnant woman (no term for ♂ whose ♀ is pregnant) (DT209-43)
- (2) N'yintʃanä term applies to ♀ when pregnant. no special term for a man
 when his wives are pregnant (DT209-60)

nyorrtymo^T devil, white man

Meaning: This form is unglossed in the source, but Thomson (1933: 526) provides a gloss for its equivalent in Umpila. This source is clearly identified as Yintyingka, but the form is probably borrowed from Umpila.

Attestations:

- (1) n'yoitʃomo (DTI-8)

okayinta^T part of the bora ceremony

Meaning: DT does not provide a gloss for this form in his notes, but Thomson (1933: 526) describes it as part of the bora ceremony.

Attestations:

- (1) ḥkainta Yintʃinga calls ḥkainta too / " calls ḥimpiba def. pronounced like this. (DT200-24)

okolo^T water

Related meanings: There are two other forms for 'water', *koothe* and *ngoki*, which are only attested in sources from inland speakers.

Attestations:

- (1) okolo = water R pii (NTL-1)
- (2) okal po-i (DTC2-171)

okolo^T po'i^T
water dirty
(DT's gloss: 'dirty water')
- (3) okolo molämä water boils (DTC2-207)
See *molama*^T 'boiling'.
- (4) okolo tunpantinu water hot (DTC2-208)
See *tunpantinu*^T 'hot'.

okolo^T kanti^T saltwater

Related meanings: There is one other form with the same gloss in DT's notes, viz. *kulanta*. *Kulanta* probably refers to the open sea (as suggested by an Um-pithamu cognate), while *kanti*^T probably refers to the substance (as suggested by the contrast with *umpu*^T 'fresh water' in one of its attestations, and its use as a totem in Thomson's genealogies).

Form: Literally 'water saltwater' (*kanti*^T 'saltwater').

Attestations:

- (1) OKol känti salt water (DTG-10)

okolo^T umpu^T fresh water

Related meanings: In one of its attestations, *umpu*^T is contrasted with *kanti*^T 'saltwater'.

Form: DT records both *umpu*^T and *okolo*^T *umpu*^T (*okolo*^T 'water') as 'fresh water'.

Attestations:

- (1) ūkolumpu water (fresh) (DTC5-13)

ola^T resin from tree (grass tree, milk tree)

Meaning: DT also calls it 'pitch', and notes it is used to fasten barbs to spears (DTC1-23).

Form: There is quite a bit of variation in DT's rendering of this form, with two attestations suggesting a long first vowel and two a short one, and one attestation suggesting a final front vowel.

Attestations:

- (1) ola from grass tree (in both languages) barb of spear (DTC1-23)
- (2) pitch on it O/lu gum from milk tree (DTC5-38)
- (3) Note also reference to importance of orli (resin) in Forbes Island and Quoin Island. (DT192-1)
- (4) Grass Tolō orlo gum (DTS-17)

olpo^T

1. bone barb of a long spear or a harpoon head

Related meanings: DT does not specify the spear type, but the harpoon head is called *ngalu^T* or *kuyurnu**.

Related forms: ulpuna ‘spear nail’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) ōlpo Ompeila ōlpō bone barb of long spear (DTC1-37)
- (2) Yinjinga ḷalo wooden harpoon. Olpo is hook ([above ‘wooden’]: Koi-yero also used for harpoon) (DT192-4)

2. long quill of a cassowary (under the wing)

Meaning: DT glosses this form as ‘nail of cassowary under wing’ (DTC5-68).

Attestations:

- (1) tolo olpo nail of cassowary under wing (DTC5-68)

ompipi^T fresh water

Meaning: This form may be related to *umpu^T* ‘freshwater’.

Attestations:

- (1) mampi ompibi wet time / freshwater (DTC2-15)

maampi ompi^T
wet.time fresh.water
(DT’s translation: ‘When wet time comes.’)

ompirili* sooty oyster catcher

Related forms: ompiril ‘bird sp.’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) ompiril-i sooty oyster-catcher (tego tego Umpila) (DTG-7)

onkitya^T bora sticks

Meaning: DT’s notes do not explain what ‘bora sticks’ means, but Thomson (1933: 520) mentions a set of sticks used in the headdress of the <ompoipo> (*oymypipa^T* in Yintyingka). These sticks are called *antya* in Umpila, in current Umpila sources glossed as ‘toy spear’.

Form: In DT’s notes, <ei> can stand for /i/ or for /ay/. In this case, we chose for /i/ because /ay/ would make for a cluster /yc/ that is not attested elsewhere in Yintyingka (see chapter 3, section 4.3, but also footnote 15).

Related forms: DT also records a possibly related form <onki|edji>, which combined with *keke^T* ‘small stingray; stingray spear’ is glossed as ‘stingray spine’

Attestations:

- (1) Bora sticks onkei-jä (DTI-86)
- (2) keKi onki|edji (DTC1-40)

onula^T heavy rain

Form: DT lists several variants of this form (<on-nullänga>, <on-nullgo>), but it is unclear how they relate to each other and which part of speech they represent.

Attestations:

- (1) on-nulla “when the rain comes like smoke” (DTC2-151)
- (2) on-nullänja it rains (heavily) (DTC2-152)
- (3) on-nullgo = heavy rain (DTC2-153)

oolka See *ngoki oolka* ‘lagoon’.

oolo rock cod

Attestations:

- (1) ['?ɔ:lɔ] rock cod (JLL-0102)

oo'owotimo ibis

Meaning: It is uncertain if this refers to the white or the black ibis. In Bruce Rigsby’s elicitation with Bobby Stewart, we find the form *weenawantena* ‘black ibis’.

Form: It is uncertain if the first syllable really belongs with this form, but there are no other attestations or cognate forms to check this.

Attestations:

- (1) [o:'?ɔwo'd'imɔ] ibis (JLL-0014)

orrka green ant

Form: DT and Norman Tindale record a variant form *wurrkō^T*. This probably represents lexical variation, as Yintyingka does not have any regular word-initial alternation between close vowels and glide-vowel combinations.

Attestations:

- (1) [na'?ɔ:rka] green ant, black ant (JLL-0023)
- (2) ['o.r,ka] green ant, black ant (BSL-20)
- (3) wuri-ko green ants (larvae etc) (DTC2-61)
- (4) wurk-o un-ta Ompela green tree ants has apparent purgative effect (?) (DTC5-62)
- (5) woruko R onta green ant (NTL-56)

opo^T sugarbag honey (as opposed to the wax)

Related forms: upu ‘bees’ honey, syrup, juice’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) The honey is (o-po) the wax is wämä when of the soft type, while the hard is mäankä (DTI-35)
- (2) op-o honey (DTI-77)

oto^T grave, corpse*Attestations:*

- (1) grave or corpse called *QT'Q* (DT200-26)
- (2) Oti (DT200-48)

otyetyene bulguru (edible tuber of a plant that grows in and around swamps)*Related meanings:* There is also a form *kayi^T* for ‘bulguru’, which is only recorded from coastal speakers.*Attestations:*

- (1) [majɪ'ʔɔcejene] bulguru (JLL-0079)

oympipa^T stage of the bora ceremony, and the name of the principal character in that stage*Meaning:* This form is mainly left unglossed in DT’s notes (except for one gloss as ‘initiation ceremony’), but Thomson (1933: 526) provides a description of the Umpila equivalent *ompopyo* as characters in the *okayinta^T* part of the ceremony, and a name for that stage in the ceremony.*Attestations:*

- (1) Oimpiba (DTI-88)
- (2) Yintjingga calls əkainta too / " calls əimpiba def. pronounced like this. (DT200-25)
- (3) oimpiba initiation ceremony (DTG-16)

paampi swamp*Related forms:* paamp ‘swamp’ (Wik Mungkan)*Attestations:*

- (1) ['pa:mpe] swamp (JLL-0073)
- (2) ['pa_,mpe] swamp (BSL-49)

paapa

1. mother

Meaning: DT notes uses as M, MZ-, FB-W, maleMFZ+SW, (MBD), (maleFMB+SD), (maleMMZ-SS) (Thomson 1972: 28).*Related meanings:* The reciprocal term is *thowi*.*Related forms:* *paapa ‘breast, mother’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)*Attestations:*

- (1) ['pa.pa] (BSL-64)
- (2) [pʌ.pʌ] mother (GR-46)
- (3) papa M, MZ-, FB-W, maleMFZ+SW, (MBD), (maleFMB+SD), (maleMMZ-SD) (DTK-11)

- (4) ['pa₁.paŋa₂.tu] (JS-8)
 paapa ngathu
 mother 1MIN.GEN
 'my mother'
- (5) Pa-pa n̄at-ü My (own) mother (DTC2-35)
- (6) pa-pa n̄atü my father (DTC5-50)
- (7) pa-pa Nin₁-o his (belong him) mother (DTC2-34)
 paapa nhingu
 mother 3MIN.GEN
 (DT's translation: 'his (belong him) mother')
- (8) ['pa:paŋatü] ['t̄a?ɔðəŋga] (JLL-0150)
 paapa ngathu tha'othe=ngka
 mother 1MIN.GEN oldest=EMPH
 (elicited as 'biggest mother')

2. this term is also used to indicate the biggest member of a set of items (e.g. the thumb for the fingers (*yu'u paapa*), or the big bottom stone in a grindstone set (*kul'a paapa*))

Attestations:

- (1) K̄ola papa (DTI-80)
 (2) yu-o papa thumb (DT183-31)

pa'ayiT woman who has had a child or children

Meaning: DT also records a special term for a woman who has just given birth (*waymityaT*).

Form: Most of the status terms are borrowed from Umpila, including this one.

Related forms: pa-a-yi (Umpila, Thomson 1972: 10)

Attestations:

- (1) Pa-a-yi same ♀ who has had child born (DT209-44)
 (2) pā-a-yi name given to a ♀ who has given birth to a child – a matron (DT209-62)

pa'i head

Attestations:

- (1) ['pa?i] head (JLL-0190)
 (2) [pΛ?i] head (GR-1)

pa'i native cat

Attestations:

- (1) ['pa?i] wild cat (JLL-0010)
 (2) ['pa₁?i] native cat (BSL-8)

paku^T spear making tool, probably a resin palette

Meaning: DT glosses this form as a ‘spear making tool’, but mentions there is ‘pitch on it’, which may imply this is a resin palette.

Attestations:

- (1) Pako spear making tool (DTC5-37)

palnkawonka^{T-} slip*Attestations:*

- (1) nino pälnkä-wonka (DTC2-125)
 nhinu palnkawonka^T
 2MIN.NOM slip
 (DT’s translation: ‘you slip’)
- (2) nai-ui pälnkä-wonkiŋi (DTC2-126)
 ngayu palnkawongka^T-ngi
 1MIN.NOM slip-1MIN.NOM
 (DT’s translation: ‘I slip up’)

palpingangka early morning*Attestations:*

- (1) [p̪alpiŋʌŋka] early morning (GR-56)

pama

1. man

Related forms: *pama ‘person’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) man = päm-ă (DTC2-278)
- (2) páma boy (JS-3)
- (3) Pámə wi-ă tən-i one line (DTC2-209)
 pama wi'a^T tani^T
 man in.line stand
 (DT’s translation: ‘All the men stand in line ie genealogically.’)
- (4) Pám-a tonkor-muli-ゅ (DTC2-7)
 pama thongke-rru^T muliyu^T
 man come-3AUG.NOM? ?
 (DT’s translation: ‘When altogether boy come up.’)
- (5) pama ,yu'to (DTC2-55)
 pama yoto*
 man many
 (DT’s gloss: ‘one camp me fellas’)

- (6) kəl-ka-nunta pama [pama above nunta] (DTC2-56)
 kolka^T nunta^T pama
 big.mob ? man
 (DT's translation: 'a big mob of men')
- (7) pama tonongo mälñkänärö wunidi He (one man) sleeps on the sand beach (DTC2-67)
 pama thonongko* malngkana*-ngu wuna-ti*
 man one sandbeach-BLOC lie-2MIN.NOM
 'You sleep alone on the sandbeach.'

2. Aboriginal person

Attestations:

- (1) [pama] Murri (RAL-3)
 (2) pamma blackfellow (NTL-89)
 (3) [pama'ŋampu'ŋampu:ŋga] (JLL-0124)
 pama ngampu ngampu=ngka
 man 12AUG.NOM 12AUG.NOM=EMPH
 (elicited as 'people belong us')

pama tongkani^T sandbeach people

Related meanings: The second form is not attested anywhere else in our sources. The regular form for sandbeach is *malngkana**.

Form: The final syllable of the second element is almost illegible in DT's notes. It could be <ny> or <rry>. <y> almost certainly stands for a vowel, but in the absence of cognates it is impossible to decide on the consonant. We represent it as <n> here.

Attestations:

- (1) pama tonk|gany pama mälñkān ompeila language sandbeach (DTC1-39)

pama wiya stranger

Form: Literally 'man other' (*wiya* 'other').

Attestations:

- (1) [pama'wi:ja] stranger (JLL-0123)

pama wuutu old man

Form: *Wuutu* is not attested independently. If the Umpila form were cognate, we would expect the first vowel to be short, but it is clearly long in the sound recording.

Related forms: pama wu'u 'old people' (Umpila), wu'u 'bad, no good' (Umpila), wuut 'male, old man' (Wik Mungkan), wuutu 'old man' (inland Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) [bama'wu:t'u] old man (JLL-0116)
- (2) [pamawu.tu] old man (BSL-52)

panampingi^T lily or part of lily

Meaning: It is unclear if this form refers to a specific type of lily or to a part of a lily. The form is used in the context of a discussion of grindstones, which suggests it may refer to a type of lily or part of the lily that is processed with grindstones.

Attestations:

- (1) mai-^{yi} pänäm-biŋi = prepare lily (erased) (DTI-81)
mayi panampingi^T
veg.food lily

pangka- call out

Form: The morphology of the single attestation of this form looks like it is Umpila (-la as a non-future marker), but we decided to include it as a Yintyingka form for two reasons: (i) the stem is not found in Umpila, and (ii) lengthening of the second vowel is a clear Yintyingka feature. The same speaker uses Umpila morphology with Yintyingka stems elsewhere (see *paya-*).

Attestations:

- (1) [ŋa.niku paŋka.la] (GR-75)
ngaani-ku pangka-la
ignor-DAT call.out?
(DT's translation: 'What are you calling out?')

pankati^T bullet spear, short spear

Meaning: DT notes that wood from the *untangala** tree is used for the handle (DTS-9).

Related forms: panki ‘bullet spear’ (Pakanh)

Attestations:

- (1) pánk|ádi ompeila panti spear (DTC1-35)
- (2) On the third day the body is dug up & the accumulated gas is let out by piercing with a thrust of the pankädi by the Pulominki (Mungi almost always here). (DT200-14)
- (3) short spear Ompela pánt'i Yintʃiŋa pankädi. (DTS-9)
- (4) kaka paŋga/di short spear (DTC5-32)
kaka pankati^T
spear short.spear
(DT's gloss: 'short spear')

panku wallaby

Form: The cognate forms suggest a homorganic cluster, but the sound recording has a heterorganic cluster, so we represent it as such.

Related forms: *pangkul ‘wallaby’ (Proto-Paman, Hale), pangku ‘agile wallaby’ (Pakanh), pangku ‘wallaby’ (Western Ayapathu), pangk ‘wallaby’ (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) ['panku] wallaby (JLL-0006)
- (2) ['panku] wallaby (BSL-4)

panmata^T bullroarer

Meaning: DT does not record a meaning for this form, but Thomson (1933: 527) identifies the same form in Umpila as ‘bullroarer’.

Attestations:

- (1) Pän-mäda (DTI-85)

panpa paddle

Meaning: The response to the prompt ‘paddle of canoe’ is a single phrase *ngoki panpa*. It is unclear why *panpa* is combined with *ngoki* ‘water’, but we assume it can be interpreted as ‘paddle’.

Attestations:

- (1) [ŋɔki'panpa] paddle of canoe (JLL-0067)

panta ankle

Attestations:

- (1) ['pant̪a] ankle (JLL-0176)

pantawoki^T pad of tea tree bark for carrying loads on the head

Meaning: DT glosses this form as ‘tea tree bark for carrying load’ (DTC1-13), but it is probably more specific, referring to a pad of tea tree bark that is folded over and placed on the head to carry a load.

Attestations:

- (1) Pánđa|wókí Ompeila = Wy'e Tea tree bark for carrying load (DTC1-13)

pantya type of goanna

Meaning: The source does not tell us if this is a generic term or a specific type of goanna, but the Pakanh cognate suggests it is a specific type.

Related forms: pantha ‘black headed monitor’ (Pakanh)

Attestations:

- (1) [pənca] goanna (GR-51)

pantyi dog

Related meanings: There are two other terms for ‘dog’, viz. *ko'a^T*, only recorded from a coastal speaker, and *ukukuyi*.

Related forms: There is another form *pantyi^T* recorded from a coastal speaker meaning ‘white cockatoo’. This would be a very unlikely pattern of polysemy, so we decided to separate the two.

Attestations:

- (1) ['pajci] dog (JLL-0003)
- (2) ['pa,jci] dog (BSL-1)
- (3) ['pajjɛ] (JLL-0097)

pantyi^T white cockatoo

Related meanings: There is another form for ‘white cockatoo’, *theenye*, which is only attested in sources from inland speakers.

Related forms: There is another form *pantyi* recorded from an inland speaker meaning ‘dog’. This would be a very unlikely pattern of polysemy, so we decided to separate the two.

Attestations:

- (1) Panchi is name of white cockatoo (DTC5-19)
- (2) Pantſi white cockatoo (DTG-11)

pantyiman wife’s brother, brother-in-law

Meaning: This interpretation is not in the sources (which only have ‘cousin’ or ‘bunjee’), but there is a regional loanword with this meaning (see Hale n.d.).

Attestations:

- (1) ['pajjiman] what cousin call you (JLL-0153)
- (2) [pqnciman] bunjee (BSL-66)

pa'olo^T nonda plum

Meaning: DT notes the fruit is eaten raw if ripe, and otherwise is roasted in the ashes (DTS-28).

Related forms: po'ola ‘nonda apple’ (Pakanh), po'ol ‘nonda’ (Western Ayapathu)

Attestations:

- (1) Yintyinga Pa-u-lo nunda (plum) (DT8-2)
- (2) Nunda plum Yintſiŋa 'Pa'-ol'o Ompela 'Pul'-närrä Eaten raw if ripe, if not roasted in ashes (DTS-28)

parrpi

1. tonight

Attestations:

- (1) pař pi tonight (DTC2-290)

2. nighttime

Meaning: Apparently this term also allows non-deictic uses, as confirmed by two independent sources.

Attestations:

- (1) [pərpi] night time (GR-54)
- (2) patpi nighttime (NTL-77a)

parrpingka tomorrow (night)

Attestations:

- (1) paipiŋa tomorrow night (DTC2-291)
- (2) [parpiŋka] tomorrow (GR-57)
- (3) par-pinjä wai-imbi, nařko yin-tſinjä-go (DTC2-8&9&10)
 parrpingka waayi^T-mpi ngarrku yintyingka-ku
 tomorrow go-12AUG.NOM place placename-DAT
 ‘Tomorrow we will go to Yintyingka.’

patha-

1. eat

Meaning: Possibly this also includes ‘smoke’ (or more generally ‘ingest’), since one possible attestation of *patha-* from Jinny Long’s unglossed narratives also mentions *keene* ‘tobacco’.

Related forms: *patya- ‘bite’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) Mai-yi/ni n̄ani pa-tänja? (DTC2-28)
 mayi ngaani patha-ngka
 veg.food IGNOR eat-PRS
 (DT’s translation: ‘What food (vegetable) belong you. you are eating.’)
- (2) wonpo patha-ngi (JLTA-0065)
 fish eat-1MIN.NOM
 ‘I eat fish.’
- (3) paykalawu wuna-ngi wuna-ngi wonpo patha-ngi (JLTA-0081)
 placename lie-1MIN.NOM lie-1MIN.NOM fish eat-1MIN.NOM
 ‘I camp at Paykalawu for a long time, and eat fish.’
- (4) keene [?] patha-ngi Coen [?] yeya-ngi keene-ku (JLTA-0124)
 tobacco eat-1MIN.NOM Coen go-1MIN.NOM tobacco-DAT
 ‘I will smoke tobacco. I will go to Coen for tobacco.’
- (5) [pa:t̄ana] (JLL-0188)
 patha-na
 eat-PST
 (elicited as ‘eatim’)

2. drink

Attestations:

- (1) [ŋɔki'paṭambɛ] drink water (JLL-0061)
ngoki patha-mpi
water drink-12AUG.NOM
'We drink water.'
- (2) ['manu'baṭana] (JLL-0164)
manu patha-na
neck drink-PST
(elicited as 'water, perishing for thirst'; precise translation unclear)

3. bite

Attestations:

- (1) ['pata] bite (JLL-0204)

patya grass

Meaning: DT notes that a ball of chewed grass can be used as a honey 'mop' (DTI-41) (see also *thaypa*).

Related forms: patya 'grass' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) [pʌca] grass (GR-52)
- (2) patcha but grass used for dilly bag is kampino – same name as dilly bag (DT3-3)
- (3) Patʃa (grass) chewed until it is a fibrous ball May be used instead. It is then dipped in the honey (or honey & water mixed, sucked). See account Qompela Tribe. (DTI-41)

paya- see, look

Form: The morphology of one attestation looks like it is Umpila (-la as a non-future marker), but the use of Umpila morphology with Yintyingka stems is attested elsewhere for the same speaker (see *pangka-*).

Attestations:

- (1) nino pai-yă (DTC2-87)
nhinu paya
2MIN.NOM see
(DT's translation: 'you look')
- (2) minā - ninani ɳai-ya pai-yane (DTC2-75&76)
minha ninani^T ngayu paya-na
game.animal big.wallaby 1MIN.NOM see-PST
'I have seen a wallaby.'

- (3) [wiyʌ pʌyʌlʌ] (GR-72)
 wiiya paya-la
 other see-?
 (DT's translation: 'You see another one?')

payamu rainbow

Related forms: payamu 'rainbow' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) [pa'ja:mu] rainbow (JLL-0059)
 (2) ['pa.yamo] rainbow (BSL-44)

pe'e skin

Meaning: This form is elicited with 'mosquito', but other instances of the form, as well as cognates, suggest a meaning of 'skin'.

Related meanings: In La Mont West's lexical elicitation there is another form *aku*, which also has cognates meaning 'skin' (e.g. '*aku* 'skin' in Pakanh). We decided not to include this as a separate entry, because unlike *pe'e* it is not confirmed by any other source.

Related forms: **patin(a)* 'skin' (Proto-Paman, Hale), *pe'en* 'skin, avoidance register' (Pakanh), *pe'en* 'skin' (Western Ayapathu)

Attestations:

- (1) ['pe?e] mosquito (JLL-0020)
 (2) ['pe?e] skin (JLL-0169)
 (3) [pama wa.'ku a'pi?] mosquito (BSL-17)

peeka^T type of lily

Related meanings: The seed capsules of this lily are called *yonka^T*.

Attestations:

- (1) Lily 'QNK'on Ompela 'PerK-ä Yintʃiŋa Roasted in ashes & eaten (seed capsules called by Ompela 'ya'pi & by Yintʃiŋa 'Yonk-'ä. Eaten raw & eaten if cooked in ant bed, soaked in water & ground & eaten (DTS-29)

peete moon

Attestations:

- (1) ['pɛ:dɛ] moon (JLL-0051)
 (2) puti moon (NTL-84)

petyepetye little

Meaning: This form is elicited in response to 'little auntie', followed by *piinhayi* 'father's older brother and all of father's sisters'. A non-reduplicated version is

found in *poko petye* ‘little boy’, which implies that *petyepetye* probably means ‘little’.

Related meanings: The sources also contain a form *pikipiki* ‘small’. It is not clear how these are related. *Petye* and *petyepetye* are only attested for people, *pikipiki* is attested both for people and landscape terms.

Attestations:

- (1) ['peceb̥e] ['pi:najinga'ŋaṭu] (JLL-0145)
petyepetye piinhayi=ngka ngathu
little FeB/FZ=EMPH 1MIN.GEN
(elicited as ‘little auntie’)

piinhayi father’s older brother & all of father’s sisters

Meaning: DT notes uses as FZ, FB+, MBW, MZ+H, FMD, FFMB-DS, maleFMZ+D (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocals are *ngayunpa* and *poko*. DT also records a form *pininthinhut* as a reciprocal, but this is rarely used in the genealogies.

Related forms: **piinya/pinyi* ‘father’s sibling’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) [pi'ŋa:jɛ] auntie (JLL-0143)
- (2) ['pi,ŋaji] auntie (BSL-62)
- (3) pineyi FZ, FB+, MBW, MZ+H, FMD, FFMB-DS, maleFMZ+D (DTK-8)
- (4) A man marries the daughter of his *käli* + pin'eyi (pima) / actual first cousins are called *tata?* or its equivalent (DT211-4)
- (5) ['peceb̥e] ['pi:najinga'ŋaṭu] (JLL-0145)
petyepetye piinhayi=ngka ngathu
little FeB/FZ=EMPH 1MIN.GEN
(elicited as ‘little auntie’)
- (6) [pi:ŋaji'ŋaṭu] (JLL-0144)
piinhayi ngathu
FeB/FZ 1MIN.GEN
(elicited as ‘biggest auntie’)
- (7) ['bi,ŋaj,niŋkuna] (RAK-6)
piinhayi nhingkuna
FeB/FZ 2MIN.ACC
(elicited as ‘your auntie’)
(See chapter 4, section 2.2, and chapter 5, section 4.2, on *nhingkuna* in this structure)

piinka canoe*Attestations:*

- (1) ['pi:nka] canoe (JLL-0066)
- (2) ['pi.n,ka] canoe (BSL-48)

piipi father

Meaning: DT notes uses as: F, FB-, MZ-H, maleMFZ+S, (HMBS), (maleMBDH) (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal terms are *ngayunpa* and *poko*.

Related forms: **piipa/piipi* ‘father’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) ['pi.pi] (RAK-5)
- (2) [pi.pi] father (GR-45)
- (3) ['pi.pi] (BSL-63)
- (4) pipi F, FB-, MZ-H, maleMFZ+S, (HMBS), (maleMBDH) (DTK-7)
- (5) pipi (DTC5-72)
- (6) pipi <-> *ŋaiyunpa* (equiv of *piədo*) (DT209-15)
- (7) pipi <-> *poko* son or d. (DT209-17)
- (8) 'pi-pin-inj-o wə-i (DTC2-25)
 piipi nhingu waa'i*
 father 3MIN.GEN IGNOR
 (DT's translation: 'Who is her father?')
- (9) [pi:pia'ða?ɔ:tə] (JLL-0148)
 piipi tha'othe
 father oldest
 (elicited as 'biggest father')

pikipiki pig

Form: We represent the velar stops as voiceless, even though they are voiced in the recording, in a position where Yintyingka normally does not have voicing (IV_i). This may represent a lack of adaptation of the loanword to Yintyingka phonology.

Attestations:

- (1) ['pigibigi] pig (JLL-0007)
- (2) ['pigi,pigil] pig (BSL-5)

pikipiki

1. small

Related meanings: The sources also contain a form *petyepetye* ‘little’. It is not clear how these are related. *Petye* and *petyepetye* are only attested for people, *pikipiki* is attested both for people and landscape terms.

Attestations:

- (1) [pikipiki] small (GR-32)
- (2) [kaj?ə'piki,biki] (JLL-0071)
kay'a pikipiki
creek small
(elicited as 'little creek')
- (3) Begibigi small one (DTC5-7)

2. younger (e.g. in a sibling set)

Related meanings: The antonym is *yapanu*.

Attestations:

- (1) he [George] yapano Bob is Begibigi (DTC5-17)

pila^T swelling on a tree, from which water is extracted

Meaning: DT notes the water is saline, and is often mixed with sugarbag to drink (DTS-25). The tree mentioned in the notes is *wayi^T* 'ti tree'.

Attestations:

- (1) Melaleuca sp. Walō-i Ompela Pilə Yintsiŋa Water derived from knots by cutting (other allied species too but this chiefly) water saline but used for mixing with sugarbag chiefly. (DTS-25)
- (2) waī-i ~ tree Yintyinga – Pil-a, ontchi Ompela – ponk-älä, series of tea tree (sp) & water used with sugar bag to drink (DT8-4)

pilomampa^T man who has lost his wife; bereaved husband

Form: Most of the bereavement terms are borrowed from Umpila, including this one.

Related forms: pilumampa 'widower' (Umpila), pilomampa 'bereaved husband' (Umpila, Thomson 1972: 10)

Attestations:

- (1) Pilo-mämpä (DT209-55)
- (2) pilomämpä = a ♂ who has lost his wife (DT209-67)

pilu hip

Related forms: *pilu 'hip' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) ['pil:u] hip (JLL-0178)
- (2) pilu hip (NTL-129)

pilupa brother-in-law (wife's brother)

Meaning: DT notes uses for WB, femaleFZS(=“Z”H), maleMB-S(=W“B”) (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: Our sources also have *pantyiman* for ‘brother-in-law’, which is a regional loanword.

Related forms: pilupa ‘wife’s brother’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) piloba WB, femaleFZS(=“Z”H), maleMB-S(=W“B”) (DTK-23)
- (2) ['pilupa] (RAK-19)
- (3) fault of girl brother (piloba) (DT209-34)

pininthinhu^T younger brother’s child

Meaning: DT does not include this term in his published list of Yintyingka kinterms, but it is found in his notes on kinterms. Since DT uses the Umpila term *piinya* ‘father’s older sibling’ as the reciprocal of *pininthinhu^T*, and *-nthinhu* is a reciprocal morpheme in Yintyingka, the reference must be ‘younger brother’s child’. However, the generalogies typically use the regular reciprocals *ngayunpa* and *poko*, and only rarely *pininthinhu^T*.

Attestations:

- (1) pinya <-> pinindinu or pinado (f.e.s.) (DT209-19)
- (2) NB term pin-in-dini father in law talks to man: woman must feed aampayi and pinhayi with mayi as man must feed thami (DTG-32)

pinta type of tree

Meanings: This form is not glossed in our sources. The evidence in DT’s notes points to an interpretation as a tree species, although we cannot identify it precisely. DT’s Umpila equivalent does not allow us to identify the species, but La Mont West’s recording points to a tree product (string). Cognate forms in Pakanh and Western Ayapathu point to *Sterculia quadrifida*, which is a source of fibre (Hamilton 1997c), but DT has a form *kaaypa** which he explicitly identifies as *Sterculia quadrifida*.

Related forms: pinta ‘monkeynut tree’ (Pakanh), pintan ‘monkeynut tree’ (Western Ayapathu)

Attestations:

- (1) [juku'pint'a] (JLL-0228)
yuku pinta
tree tree.sp
(elicited as ‘twist string’)
- (2) pinta pintan [Umpila] (DTI-94)

pintyi saltwater crocodile

Meaning: The prompt does not specify if it is a saltwater or freshwater crocodile, but cognates suggest it is a saltwater crocodile.

Related forms: pintyi ‘alligator saltwater’ (inland Wik Mungkan), pintyi ‘saltwater crocodile’ (Pakanh)

Attestations:

- (1) ['piŋci] alligator (JLL-0106)

pipi white-apple

Form: This form is elicited as [ku'pi:bi], but *ku-* could be analysed as a prefixed alternative to generic *yuku*, also attested in [ku'ka:ku] for *kaaku* ‘red lady apple’ (see further in chapter 5, section 2.2). The location of the voiced consonant also suggests that the form is interpreted as a single word, which means that length in the second vowel is probably phonetic. This is why we decided to represent the form as *pipi*.

Attestations:

- (1) [ku'pi:bi] white-apple (JLL-0075)

po'i^T dirty

Meaning: DT notes that this word is used only for water. In one source he contrasts it with the more general term *purrka** ‘dirt’ (DTC2-161).

Attestations:

- (1) po-i = dirt used apparently only of water (DTC2-170)
- (2) purka / poi difficult words not yet translated “when that wind blowim smoke”, “rain like smoke” etc. (DTC2-161)
- (3) okal po-i (DTC2-171)

okolo ^T	po'i ^T
water	dirty
(DT's gloss: 'dirty water')	

poko

1. child (man speaking)

Meaning: DT notes uses for maleC, BC, WZC, HZC, maleMBDS, maleFZDS, femaleMSS, maleMFZ+SSC, maleMZ+SS, (maleFZSW), (WFZS), maleMMBS (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings:

- The reciprocal terms are *piipi* and *piinhayi*. On two occasions, DT also records *pininthinhu^T* as a reciprocal of *piinhayi*, but his genealogies consistently use *ngayunpa* or *poko*.
- DT records *ngayunpa* and *poko* as synonyms. His fieldnotes mainly use *ngayunpa*, but his genealogies use both terms. Thomson (1972: 28) also records *poko* as a synonym of *thowi*.
- There is also a non-relational use of the term in *poko petye* ‘little boy’.

Related forms: puku ‘child’ (Western Ayapathu), puku manya ‘small child’ (inland Wik Mungkan), puk ‘child’ (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) ['poko] [pukuŋaŋu] (RAK-11)
poko ngathu
child.m.s 1MIN.GEN
'my child'
- (2) [pɔkɔ'ŋaŋu:ŋga] (JLL-0129)
poko ngathu=ngka
child.m.s 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
(elicited as 'brother, big brother')
- (3) naiyunpa (poko) maleC, BC, WZC, HZC, maleMBDS, maleFZDS,
femaleMSS, maleMFZ+SSC, maleMZ+SS, (maleFZSW), (WFZS), maleMMBS
(DTK-10)
- (4) ['pokoŋaŋuŋga] my C (BSL-57)
- (5) [pɔkɔ'ŋaŋu] boy (JLL-0127)
- (6) pipi <-> poko son or d. (DT209-18)
- (7) thowi (poko) femaleC, Z+C, maleFZSS, (femaleFFZ-SS), (maleFMZ-DC)
(DTK-14)

2. this term is also used to indicate the smallest member of a set of items (e.g. the small upper stone in a grindstone set (*altyi^T poko*))

Attestations:

- (1) Kôla [crossed out] altfi pako = small top (pickaninny) stone used for lily to prepare lily (DTI-79)

poko aympiku^T man with a young child (until it walks)

Related meanings: DT records *poko penteko^T* as an equivalent.

Attestations:

- (1) Pôko-āimpé-go / Pôko-bentergo Ompela ka-inamo, poko-bintergo name given to a male with young child till it walks (DT209-46)

poko penteko^T man with a young child (until it walks)

Related meanings: DT records *poko aympiku^T* as an equivalent.

Attestations:

- (1) Pôko-āimpé-go / Pôko-bentergo Ompela ka-inamo, poko-bintergo name given to a male with young child till it walks (DT209-47)

poko petye

1. little boy

Form: Literally 'child.m.s little'.

Related forms: Petye is not attested in isolation, but there is a reduplicated form *petyepetye*.

Attestations:

- (1) [pəgɔ'pəce] little boy (JLL-0118)
- (2) [pəgɔ'pəce] [karki'ŋaŋ] (JLL-0130)
poko petye karrki ngathu
child.m.s little yB 1MIN.GEN
(elicited as 'little brother')

2. baby

Attestations:

- (1) [pəgɔ'pəce] baby (JLL-0119)

polpo type of sugarbag (short funnel)

Attestations:

- (1) [majɪ'pɔlpɔ'ŋan] (JLL-0026)
mayi polpo=nhang
veg.food sugarbag.type=EMPH
(elicited as 'other sugarbag')
- (2) mayi polpo sugarbag short funnel (BSL-24)

poolə^T type of snake (like a carpet snake)

Meaning: DT's Umpila equivalent is *kapal*, described in Thompson (1988) as 'snake, like carpet snake'.

Related forms: pool 'black snake with white dots; like a carpet snake' (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) porlə (Kapal Ompeila) (DTC1-20)

poota* red ochre

Meaning: DT notes that both ochre and white paint come from long distances (i.e. Ebagoolah). His Yintyingka informants say there is no red or white pigment in their territory (DTC1-14).

Related meanings: DT also records *nanka^T* for 'red paint'. It is unclear if this is a synonym, or if it refers to a different substance.

Related forms: puuta 'red ochre' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) Pō|ta (DTC1-14)
- (2) kappa R poota red clay (NTL-68)

pootya*- go

Form: The paradigm recorded by DT appears to use two stems, one for the minimal forms (*pootya**-) and one for the augmented forms (*wopi-*), with both stems recorded for the 12 augmented form.

Related forms: wootya- ‘go’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) puītſa = go; go away (DTC2-154)
- (2) $\eta\overset{\circ}{i}\text{-}yu$ portſāŋi (DTI-60)
ngayu pootya*-ngi
1MIN.NOM go-1MIN.NOM
'I go.'
- (3) $\eta\overset{\circ}{i}\text{-}yu$ puītſiŋi (DTC2-155)
- (4) Koen potjinga (NTT-6)
Coen pootya*-ngi
Coen go-1MIN.NOM
(glossed by NT as 'Coen me.go')
- (5) potjingi (NTT-9)
pootya*-ngi
go-1MIN.NOM
(glossed by NT as me.go)
- (6) $\eta\overset{\circ}{i}\text{-}yu$ Käño-po'tſiŋi $\eta\ar^xk\text{-}o\text{-}go$ (DTC2-30)
ngayu kana pootya*-ngi ngarrku-ku
1MIN.NOM PFV go-1MIN.NOM camp-DAT
(DT's translation: 'I (myself) I want to go. to camp (= home etc.) I want to go back to camp')
- (7) nino puītſa he goes (DTC2-158)
nhinu pootya*
2MIN.NOM go
'You go.'
- (8) nino puītſa (DTC2-156)
- (9) nino portſa (DTI-62)
- (10) ninä portſa'di (DTC2-33)
nhinu pootya*-ti*
2MIN.NOM go-2MIN.NOM
'You go.'
- (11) nino puītſidi (DTC2-157)
- (12) nino puītſidi (DTC2-159)
- (13) Nilo portſa (DTI-61)
nhilu pootya*
3MIN.NOM go
'He goes.'

- (14) ηalli portʃalli (DTI-63)
 ngali* pootya-li*
 12MIN.NOM go-12MIN.NOM
 ‘We go.’
- (15) ηampu portʃämbi (DTI-64)
 ngampu pootya*-mpi
 12AUG.NOM go-12AUG.NOM
 ‘We go.’

pootyila^T orchid (stem)

Meaning: DT mentions it was roasted and scraped. When prepared, it had a yellow colour and was used to decorate objects, like firesticks and neck pendants (*yanga*).

Form: In spite of potential cognates with a short first vowel, we represent this form with a long first vowel because DT is consistent in using <r> following the first vowel, which is his way to mark length.

Related forms: putyalam ‘orchid’ (Western Ayapathu), putyalam ‘orchid, orchid fibre’ (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) Yinjinga / Porcheila Ompeila (orchid stem used) Por|cheila (DT4-12)
- (2) Orchid portjila, dendrobium phalaenopsis prepare, roasting & turn yellow & scraping with shell, then use to adorn fire stick holders etc. (DT193-5)
- (3) Hair carried in dilly bag or may be worn around neck _ called Yän̄a / wrapped around with fibre string of Käi-pa (same term as Ompela) & wrapped in wax ([illegible]) ornamented with portfila (orchid) & red [illegible] Net̄ji (DT200-11)

pootyimantyi^T type of lily (small)

Related meanings: The seed of this lily is called *wantu^T*, the bulb is called *yun-ka^T*.

Attestations:

- (1) Pudgi/munji lily (DTC5-12)
- (2) Pooge|munggi lily anything (DTC5-28)
- (3) lily small 1 portʃi-män-ji (DTI-82)

pula they; 3 augmented nominative (3AUG.NOM)

Related meanings: The corresponding bound pronouns are -*rnu^T* or -*mpi^T* (but see chapter 4, section 4.1, on -*mpi^T*).

Related forms: *pula ‘they DU’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) pulla they (DTI-51)
- (2) [pula] they (GR-26)
- (3) pulla (DTI-68)
- (4) pulla wänämbi (DTI-19)
 pula wana*-mpi^T
 3AUG.NOM leave-3AUG.NOM?
 ‘They leave.’
- (5) pulla wunirxo (DTI-8)
 pula wuna-rru^T
 3AUG.NOM lie-3AUG.NOM
 ‘They lie down.’

pulangu their; 3 augmented genitive (3AUG.GEN)

Related forms: *pula ‘they DU’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher), ulangana ‘their’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) pulläŋo theirs (DTI-56)

pulominki^T term for a person with a specific role in mortuary ceremonies

Meaning: This form is not glossed in DT’s notes. It is most likely a status term or bereavement term, also associated with specific duties in mortuary ceremonies.

Attestations:

- (1) When man is buried for the first time at Yintsinga the pulominki lies on top of the ground, the others all round him in a circle, where they cry. (DT200-13)
- (2) On the third day the body is dug up & the accumulated gas is let out by piercing with a thrust of the pankadi by the Pulominki (Mungi almost always here). (DT200-15)

pungku knee

Related forms: *pungku ‘knee’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) ['puŋku] knee (JLL-0173)
- (2) ponko knee (NTL-131)

punpinhu lily root

Meaning: This form probably refers to the root of a specific type of lily, since other languages in the region do not have a generic term for ‘lily’.

Attestations:

- (1) [majɪ'bunpiŋu] (JLL-0074)
 mayi punpinhu
 veg.food lily.root
 (elicited as 'lily root')

punta* heavy

Meaning: The lay-out of this part of DT's manuscript is not entirely clear, but the Umpila equivalent DT provides, as well as the cognate form in Pakanh, suggest that *punta** is 'heavy'.

Related forms: *punta* 'heavy' (Pakanh)

Attestations:

- (1) tant-i 'Pn,ta (DTC2-12)
 tanti^T punta*
 canoe heavy
 (DT's translation: 'heavy canoe')
 (2) tanti 'Pn,tq (DTC2-18)

puntayi^T

1. man

Form: There are two forms in DT's material, one suggesting that the word ends in a glide (<poontāi>, overwriting a form <poontae-i>), the other suggesting that it ends in a vowel (<poontāē|e>). Jack Shephard's form ends in a glide. Given the phonotactic patterns of Yintyingka, the form ending in a vowel is more likely (see chapter 3, section 4.1). Jack Shephard's form may have been influenced by his main language Kaanju.

Attestations:

- (1) púntáy man (JS-1)

2. male part of a firestick set

Meaning: This is part of a discussion of *thumantyi** 'firesticks', so the term probably refers to the 'male part' of a firestick set: the stick that is twirled, placed in a hole in the female part called *yuntyi*. This interpretation is confirmed by the use of Umpila *kalmpa* 'male part' further on.

Attestations:

- (1) poontāi poontāē|e (ae e dif lang) (DT4-11)

puntha river

Meaning: This form is probably (historically) related to a term meaning 'arm', as suggested by the reconstructed form below. This is a general pattern of polysemy in the region (compare our comments on *kay'a*).

Related meanings: Our sources also have a form *kay'a*, which probably refers to a smaller type of watercourse.

Related forms: **punytya* ‘arm’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) [pu'^ŋta:ŋgu'wu:ni] river (JLL-0068)
(-*ngku* and *wuni* are not attested anywhere else, and cannot be glossed)
- (2) [puŋta'wuni] river (JLL-0069)
- (3) *ponta* arm (NTL-117)

puntyi big mob, many

Attestations:

- (1) [punci.ŋka] (GR-30)
puntyi=ngka
many=EMPH
(elicited as ‘big mob, many’)
- (2) ɳampu_ pɔntʃi (DTI-48)
ngampu puntyi
12AUG.NOM many
(DT’s gloss: ‘all of us’)

purrka* dirt, filth

Related meanings: In one source DT contrasts this term with the more specific term *po'i^T* (DTC2-160), which is only used for water.

Related forms: *wurkan* ‘dirt, dust’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) puṛka = dirt, filth (DTC2-169)
- (2) purka / poi difficult words not yet translated “when that wind blowim smoke”, “rain like smoke” etc. (DTC2-160)
- (3) poruka ashes (NTL-82)

purṛpi^T- come out

Attestations:

- (1) purpiṇja (DT183-14)
purṛpi^T-ngka
come.out-PRS
(DT’s gloss: ‘come out’)

putyikan cat

Meaning: The shape of this word suggests that it does not refer to ‘wild cat’ (as it is elicited), but to a European cat.

Attestations:

- (1) ['pucigan] wild cat (JLL-0009)
- (2) ['puci,kan] cat (BSL-7)

puu'a snake

Meaning: It is uncertain if this is a specific type of snake or the generic term. Norman Tindale's notes seems to suggest it is general, but as mentioned in chapter 2, section 2.3, we cannot be sure which forms from this source represent Yintyingka material.

Attestations:

- (1) [po.?ʌ] snake (GR-61)
- (2) R po-a snake general (NTL-25)

puumpili ground

Meaning: This form is elicited as 'ground', but it is unclear if it really refers to 'ground', or to a specific place or a type of soil.

Attestations:

- (1) [pu:m'pili] ground (JLL-0063)

-rru^T they; 3 augmented nominative (3AUG.NOM)

Related meanings: There is also a variant bound pronoun *-mpi^T* (but see chapter 4, section 4.1, on this form). The corresponding free pronoun is *pula*.

Attestations:

- (1) pulla wunir^{xo} (DTI-8)
pula wuna-rru^T
3AUG.NOM lie-3AUG.NOM
'They lie down.'
- (2) Päm-a tonkor-muli-u (DTC2-7)
pama thongke-rru^T muliyu^T
man come-3AUG.NOM? ?
(DT's translation: 'When altogether boy come up.')
- (3) päm-ä ko-ti ḷarko tonkir (DTC2-5&6)
pama kuuthi* ngarrku thongke-rru^T
man two camp come-3AUG.NOM?
'The two boys come to camp.'

-ta^T (meaning unclear)

Meaning: The function of this suffix is unclear, see chapter 4, section 3.3.

Attestations:

- (1) wi-ada = another – somebody else (DTC2-230)
 wiiya-ta^T
 other-?
 (DT's gloss: 'another – somebody else')
- (2) nino-dä! you, you! (DTC2-231)
 nhinu-ta^T
 2MIN.NOM-?
 (DT's gloss: 'you, you!')

taaningkamu^T long harpoon pole (also known as warp)

Related meanings: The harpoon itself is called *ngalu^T* or *kuyurru**, and the hook on the harpoon is called *olpo^T*.

Attestations:

- (1) Ompela long harpoon pole wānagädji / Ynjinga " Tar|ningämo (DT192-2)

taka^T woomera chisel

Meaning: This probably refers to a chisel used to smooth woomeras, and not to a woomera with a blade attached to it (used in other parts of Australia but not attested in this region, Noelene Cole p.c.).

Form: The form is uncertain, but it looks as if DT used <t> to overwrite an earlier <ch>.

Related forms: thagal 'front, point' (Guugu Yimidhirr)

Attestations:

- (1) Woomera & woomera "chisel" Thákă, Bat|iđi Ompeila (DTC1-16)

tala^T four-finger spear

Meaning: DT describes both *tala^T* and *tala^T me'atu^T* as a 'four-finger spear', which may refer to the presence of four prongs (compare *atu^T* 'four, plenty'?). The Umpila equivalent listed by Thomson can be recognized as *thaya* 'four-pronged spear with prongs made from stingray barbs' (Hill n.d.). DT notes that wood from the *untangala** tree is used for the handle.

Form: DT also records a form *tolo^T*, mentioned in the context of *olpo^T* 'bone barb', and possibly related to Umpithamu *tolo* 'spear type'. It is not certain if this represents the same form as *tala^T*.

Attestations:

- (1) tier – (four finger Ompela) Yintſiňa Täl'ä (DTS-7)
- (2) He carried a woomera & 2 long spears, four finger spear kaka Tála (DT4-2)
 kaka tala^T
 spear four.finger.spear
- (3) spear – not stingray but panti tälä & yikan (DT209-36)

- (4) tolo olpo nail of cassowary under wing (DTC5-68)
 See *olpo^T* ‘bone barb’.

tala^T me'atu^T four-finger spear

Meaning: DT describes both *tala^T* and *tala^T me'atu^T* as a ‘four-finger spear’, which may refer to the presence of four prongs (*atu^T* ‘four, plenty?’). The Um-pila equivalent listed by Thomson can be recognized as *thaya* ‘four-pronged spear with prongs made from stingray barbs’. DT notes that wood from the *untangala** tree is used for the handle.

Attestations:

- (1) tūlā mē|ātū ompeila tie|yā four finger spear (DTC1-42)

tani^T- stand, stand up

Related forms: *tyana ‘stand’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) n̪ai-yu täniŋji (DTC2-279)
 ngayu tani^T-ngi
 1MIN.NOM stand-1MIN.NOM
 (DT’s translation: ‘I stand up’)
- (2) nino tänidī (DTC2-280)
 nhinu tani^T-ti*
 2MIN.NOM stand-2MIN.NOM
 (DT’s translation: ‘you stand up’)
- (3) he / nilo täni (DTC2-281)
 nhilu tani^T
 3MIN.NOM stand
 ‘He stands up.’
- (4) Pāma wi-ă tän-i one line (DTC2-209)
 pama wi'a^T tani^T
 man in.line stand
 (DT’s translation: ‘All the men stand in line ie genealogically.’)

tankamu^T type of shell

Meaning: DT notes it is used to scrape the bristles off dugong (DT183-1).

Attestations:

- (1) tän-kämo (DT183-1)

tankatanka^T crashing thunder

Meaning: This form probably refers to the sound of thunder. Its status is uncertain. Ideophones are not documented in Yintyingka or any of the neighbouring

languages, except for Olkola, which neighbours a region on the west coast of Cape York Peninsula where they are frequent and well-documented (see Alpher 2001).

Attestations:

- (1) tänkä tankä = crashing thunder, rat tat tattle (DTC2-178)

tantalmpa^T flash (of sun, lightning, mirror etc.)

Meaning: The part of speech is uncertain: the form seems to be used as a predicate, but does not take tense-aspect-mood markers or bound pronouns (-ngu in DTC262-263 can possibly be interpreted as a case marker). If the Umpila form below is a cognate, it could be a nominal.

Related forms: thanthalpa ‘sharp eye’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) tantälmbaŋo = flash in eye (of sun, light[n]ing mirror etc.) (DTC2-262)
- (2) I flash ɳai-yu tantalmbaŋo (flash) (DTC2-263)
ngayu tantalmpa^T-ngu
1MIN.NOM flash-BLOC
(DT's translation: 'I flash')
- (3) ninkona tantälmba (DTC2-264)
nhingkuna tantalmpa^T
2MIN.ACC flash
(DT's translation: 'you flash'; precise translation unclear)

tanti^T canoe

Meaning: The lay-out of this part of DT's manuscript is not entirely clear, but the Umpila equivalent DT provides, as well as the cognate form for *punta**, suggest that *tanti^T* is ‘canoe’.

Attestations:

- (1) tant-i 'Pun_ta (DTC2-12)
tant^T punta*
canoe heavy
(DT's translation: 'heavy canoe')
- (2) tanti 'Pun_tä (DTC2-18)

tapawa^T type of fish (like a kingfish)

Attestations:

- (1) Tapaū-ä fish like kingfish (DTG-24)

taypongkoyu^T crayfish

Attestations:

- (1) Tai-pon̄ goi-yu crayfish (DTG-22)

teengke dead*Attestations:*

- (1) ['tε:n̩ke] dead (JLL-0044)

te'erro^T spearhandle tree

Meaning: DT notes that this tree grows in swampy ground, and that its wood is used for handles of short spears, wire spears, four-finger spears and stingray spears (DTS-19).

Attestations:

- (1) used for spears. grows in swampy ground. About 8–12 feet high, one of the important woods for spears. light & of whipstick growth. 'Qm-'pela 'Tupa'-gä spear handle Yintſiŋa 'Te-'er-'ro spear handle Wood used for short spears, wires, four finger, stingaree. (DTS-19)

tempamo^T type of tree (*Ficus opposita*; sandpaper tree)

Meaning: DT notes that the leaves are used as sandpaper to finish spears and woomeras (DTS-18).

Attestations:

- (1) *Ficus opposita*. Sandpaper leaf. KOMēlä Ompela Tempäm'o Yintſiŋa. leaves for spears & woomeras – sandpaper used green. Fruit eaten raw. (DTS-18)

tenki^{T-} let go*Attestations:*

- (1) nino tenkidi (DTC2-99)
 nhinu tenki^T-ti*
 2MIN.NOM let.go-2MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'you let go')
 (2) nino tenkidi you (him) go (DTC2-90)
 (3) kol yampangi tenkingi trade money (NTT-7)
 kul'a* yampa^T-ngi tenki^T-ngi
 money lift-1MIN.NOM let.go-1MIN.NOM
 'I will trade.' (Lit. 'take and let go of money')

thaai'i- chuck, throw*Attestations:*

- (1) [ta.'?ina] chuckim (JLL-0042)
 thaa'i-na
 throw-PST
 (elicited as 'chuckim')
 (2) [ta.?ina] (BSL-32)

thaaka- go inside, enter*Attestations:*

- (1) [ta:kana'wunku] (JLL-0184)
 thaaka-na wunku
 enter-PST house
 (elicited as 'go inside')

thaami

1. mother-in-law (wife's mother)

Meaning: DT notes uses for WM, femaleDH, ZDH, WMB, WMZ (Thomson 1972: 28).*Related meanings:* This term is its own reciprocal (see below).*Related forms:* *tyaami 'wife's mother's brother' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)*Attestations:*

- (1) ['ta.mi] (RAK-21)
 (2) [ta:me'ŋat̪u] husband (JLL-0134)
 thaami ngathu
 mother-in-law 1MIN.GEN
 'my mother-in-law'
 (3) tami WM, femaleDH, ZDH, WMB, WMZ (DTK-25)
 (4) Tami (Yintſin̪a) yami (Ompela) (DT2-13)

2. son-in-law (daughter's husband, woman speaking)

Meaning: DT notes uses for WM, femaleDH, ZDH, WMB, WMZ.*Attestations:*

- (1) [ta:me'ŋat̪u] boy (JLL-0127)
 (2) tami <-> tami (= yami) (DT209-26)

thaapi tongue*Related forms:* yaapi 'tongue' (Umpithamu), thaapi 'tongue' (Umpila)*Attestations:*

- (1) ['ta:pe] (JLL-0199)

thaapityi*

1. namesake

Meaning: Most of the uses in DT's notes and genealogies suggest a meaning of 'name'. However, given the structure of cognates in other languages (tongue-comitative), as well as what we know about naming practices in the region, 'namesake' is more likely as the primary meaning of this form.*Related forms:* thaapityi 'namesake' (Umpila), thaapity 'substitute name given after someone of the same name or similar name has died' (Wik Mungkan)

2. name

Meaning: In the genealogies that use Yintyingka, this term is systematically paired with *ngootyorro**. In the genealogies that use Umpila, its equivalent is <manthala> ‘name’, again paired with <ngootyorro>. As explained by Chase (1980: 187–189) for Umpila, people receive several names at different life stages, some of which are never used publicly. The *thaapityi** name provided in the genealogies is typically also the name used in DT’s notes, which suggests it is the publicly used name. The *ngootyorro** name is never used in DT’s notes beyond the genealogies. This, together with the partial correspondence with the Umpila form *nyuturnu* ‘navel’, suggest it is the name obtained from a paternal relative at the severing of the umbilical cord.

Attestations:

- (1) 'Tā-pigin-iŋ-ū (DTC2-37)
thaapityi* nhingu
name 3MIN.GEN
(DT’s translation: ‘name belong him ie his name’)
- (2) 14. Tapaji also & mäntälä (DT209-56)
- (3) njämpa tarpidji (DT183-9)
ngampa* thaapityi*
IGNOR name
- (4) njämpa tarpidji niñona wai-idi? (DT183-11)
ngampa* thaapityi* nhingkuna waayi^T.ti*
IGNOR name 2MIN.ACC jump-2MIN.NOM
(DT’s translation: ‘What is your (proper) name?’)

thaku* left-handed

Related meanings: This contrasts with *minitiku^T* ‘right-handed’. DT also records the form *alku^T* for left hand (*yu'u alku^T*) and left incisor (*kaya^T alku^T*).

Related forms: *tyaku ‘left hand’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) Täko minitigō right handed (DT209-58)

thampi* burdekin duck

Related forms: thampi ‘duck (generic)’ (Umpila), themp ‘Pacific Black Duck’ (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) Dämpi Burdekin duck (DTG-30)

thangkingkamu dingo

Form: This form is probably internally complex, but there is no evidence to further analyse it, apart from a potential cognate in Umpila.

Related forms: ngakamu ‘dingo’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) [tɻŋkiŋkam̩] dingo (GR-41)

tha'oth̩e oldest of a sibling set

Meaning: This form is elicited as ‘biggest’ with kintterms for father and mother, which probably refers to the oldest in a sibling set.

Attestations:

- (1) ['pa:panat̩u] ['ta?ɔdɛŋga] (JLL-0150)
paapa ngathu tha'oth̩e=ngka
mother 1MIN.GEN oldest=EMPH
(elicited as ‘biggest mother’)
- (2) [pi:pia'da?ɔ:t̩e] (JLL-0148)
piipi tha'oth̩e
father oldest
(elicited as ‘biggest father’)

thata frog

Related forms: *tyata ‘green frog’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) ['tat̩r̩a] frog (JLL-0104)

thatyi type of goanna

Meaning: The Umpila equivalent *yita* mentioned by DT suggests the term may refer to a sand goanna, as does the cognate in inland Wik Mungkan.

Related forms: that.tyi ‘goanna’ (Pakanh, Alpher p.c.; see further in chapter 3, footnote 14), thatyi ‘big sand goanna’ (inland Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) ['fac̩i] goanna (JLL-0107)
- (2) tat|chi, yi|tā Ompeila (DTC1-21)
- (3) Tat̩ji goanna (Varanus) (DTG-17)

tha'u

1. foot

Related forms: *tyaru ‘foot’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) [tɻ?u] foot (GR-8)
- (2) [ta'ʔu:ŋga] [ɛŋ'ce] lower leg (JLL-0172)
tha'u=ngka
foot=EMPH
(See entye ‘lower leg’)

2. toe

Attestations:

- (1) tao toes (NTL-122)
- (2) See also *tha'u athi* ‘toe nail’.

tha'u athi toe nail

Meaning: This form is elicited as ‘toe’, but parallelism with *yu'u athi* ‘finger nail’ suggests it is ‘toe nail’.

Attestations:

- (1) [t̪a'ʔat̪ɛ] (JLL-0177)
tha'u athi
toe nail
(elicited as ‘toe’)

thaypa

1. beard

Related forms: *calparr ‘chin’ (Proto-Pama-Maric, Alpher p.c.), yayparra ‘beard’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) ['t̪ajpa] beard (JLL-0226)

2. sugarbag ‘mop’

Meaning: A ‘mop’ refers to a piece of a plant with a frayed end that is used to soak up sugarbag and remove it for eating. DT mentions lawyer cane (*wuntu^T*) or ficus (*malawiya^T*) as the material for ‘mops’. See also *patya*.

Attestations:

- (1) The “mop” is called * “Tai-pä” litt (beard) is generally of lawyer cane ('wunt'-o) (DTI-30)
- (2) eg Taipä counts literally lawyer cane beard = or freely “mop of frayed lawyer cane.” (DTI-40)

thaypan taipan

Form: This form is probably borrowed from a Wik language (see Sutton 1995b: 101), as also reflected in its shape (see chapter 3, section 4.2).

Related forms: thaypan ‘taipan’ (Wik Mungkan), thaypen ‘taipan’ (Wik Ngathan)

Attestations:

- (1) ['t̪ajpan] taipan (JLL-0111)
- (2) ['t̪ɔj,pan] taipan (BSL-50)

thaypanamu frillneck lizard

Form: This form may contain the Umpila genitive suffix *-namu* (Thompson 1988: 21). We still decided to include this form in the lexicon, because there are no indications in the source that it is elicited as Umpila.

Attestations:

- (1) [t̪ajpa, namu] bighead one, frill lizard (JLL-0108)

theekampa fish

Meaning: It is unclear if this is a generic term or a specific type of fish. A specific type is more likely, given that *wonpo* is available as a generic term.

Attestations:

- (1) [t̪e:kampa] fish (JLL-0098)

theenye white cockatoo

Related meanings: There is another form for ‘white cockatoo’, *pantyi^T*, which is only attested in sources from coastal speakers.

Attestations:

- (1) ['t̪e:ne] cockatoo (JLL-0017)
 (2) ['kε.,nε] white cockatoo (BSL-14)

(This may be a mishearing, given that this informant was responding to Jinny Long’s recordings)

theeye mouth

Related forms: *caa ‘mouth’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) [naj'dε:jε] ['dε:jεnaju'kalε:ŋga] (JLL-0201)
 ngayu theeye
 1MIN.NOM mouth
 theeye ngayu kali-ngka
 mouth 1MIN.NOM ?-PRS
 (elicited as ‘mouth’)
 (2) [t̪eyi] mouth (GR-5)

the'e* bark trough

Meaning: DT mentions that this is used in food preparation (e.g. the preparation of *karol*) (DT3-5) and to store the bones of a deceased person (DT200-16). Thomson (1934: 261) describes this as ‘Name of a trough manufactured from bark of Eucalyptus tetradonta, Yintjingga tribe.’

Related forms: the'e ‘billycan’ (Pakanh), the’ ‘billycan (recent use of word), dish made from the bark of the ti-tree’ (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) t̪é'ě bark trough (DT3-7)
 (2) t̪ě|ě (DT3-10)
 (3) Ti-i Yintchinga, Yer-ä Koko ompidamo (DT8-6)

- (4) The bones are washed & dried in sun. Then put into a Ti-i, which is painted with red & white paint – nänkä & mur^xpo respectively. (DT200-16)
- (5) kampino wurrkiña my|no|argo te'e'|inta (DT3-5)
 kampinhu wurrki^T-na mayi nu'a-ku the'e*-inta^T
 dilly.bag start-PST veg.food karol-DAT bark.trough-?
 (DT's translation: 'the dilly bag I have started / bin startim for karol in bark (trough)')

thiipi south, southwest

Meaning: Systems of cardinal directions in languages of the region are often rotated slightly relative to magnetic compass points (e.g. Haviland 1998 on Guugu Yimidhirr, Hill 2002: 73–75 on Umpila, and Gaby 2006: 594). As noted by Haviland, this may reflect the orientation of the coastline, prevailing winds etc.

Related forms: *yiiparr ‘south’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) [t̪i:pɪ] and this south (JLL-0047)
- (2) [t̪i:pɪ] south (BSL-24)
- (3) [ti.pi] S.W. (GR-65)

thiiyarri* rock cod (big)

Related forms: thiiyarri ‘rock cod’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) ti-qiː big rock cod (DTC2-80)

thinthu* close, near, in the vicinity of

Related forms: *tyinytyu ‘near’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) dintu = close to close at hand near in the vicinity of (DTC2-289)

thongke- come

Related forms: yongki- ‘come’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) wäli tonki (DTC2-108)
 wali^T thongke
 today come
 (DT's translation: ‘come today’)
- (2) Tonki nñä ngai-y'arŋkuŋä (DTC2-4&5)
 thongke nhinu ngayu angku-ngka
 come 2MIN.NOM 1MIN.NOM PROX.DEM-NLOC
 ‘You come, I am here.’

- (3) [ʔi:ˈβago'ðɔŋke] (JLL-0181)
 iiwa-ku thongke
 up-DAT come
 'Come up.' (elicited as 'go up')
- (4) when find sweetheart woimpi – tonki ɳatunä / you come close,
 sweetheart, along me (DT183-36)
 thongke ngathuna
 come 1MIN.ACC
 (DT's translation: 'You come close along me.')
- (5) wämä tonki / tonkidi (DTC2-190&191)
 wama^T thongke thongke-ti*
 NEG.IMP come come-2MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'no more you come')
- (6) nino tonki / tonkidi (DTC2-179&180)
 nhinu thongke thongke-ti*
 2MIN.NOM come come-2MIN.NOM
 'You come.'
- (7) nino tonkidi / you come up (DTC2-243)
- (8) waliŋa nino tonkilla / tonkidi (DTC2-146&147)
 wali^T-ngka nhinu thongke-la* / thongke-ti*
 today-NLOC 2MIN.NOM come-IMP.SG come-2MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'You come now or you come today.')
- (9) ɳai-you tonkiŋi kalmbi-kalmbi (DTC2-223)
 ngayu thongke-ngi kalmpikalmpi^T
 1MIN.NOM come-1MIN.NOM fast
 (DT's translation: 'I will come up quickly.')
- (10) ɳai-yu tonk-inji I come up (DTC2-181)
- (11) nilo tonki ɳolanä (DTC2-271)
 nhilu thongke ngolana^T
 3MIN.NOM come black.clouds
 (DT's translation: 'it comes up black (clouds)')
- (12) nilo tonki (DTC2-241)
 nhilu thongke
 3MIN.NOM come
 (DT's translation: 'he comes up')
- (13) nipo tonkimbo (DTC2-244)
 nhipu thongke-mpu*
 2AUG.NOM come-IMP.PL
 'You come.'

- (14) They nepona tonkimbo (DTC2-245)
 nhipu-na^T thongke-mpu*
 2AUG.NOM-? come-IMP.PL
 'You come.'
 (See chapter 4, section 2.3, on *-na* in this structure)
- (15) päm-a ko-ti nyačko tonkiř (DTC2-5&6)
 pama kuuthi* ngarrku thongke-rru^T
 man two camp come-3AUG.NOM?
 'The two boys come to camp.'
- (16) Päm-a tonkor-muli-u (DTC2-7)
 pama thongke-rru^T muliyu^T
 man come-3AUG.NOM? ?
 (DT's translation: 'When altogether boy come up.')

thonongko* one

Related meanings: Other forms attested in number elicitation are *kuuthi** 'two', *kuntu* 'three', *atu^T* 'four, plenty' and *mangku** 'five, plenty'.

Related forms: **tyunu* 'one' (Proto-Paman, Hale), *onongkol* 'one' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) 1. One tonoro (DTC2-69)
- (2) tunungo one (NTL-149)
- (3) [nuŋu] one (GR-16)
- (4) pama tonongo mälnkänäňo wunidi He (one man) sleeps on the sand beach (DTC2-67)
 pama thonongko* malngkana*-ngu wuna-ti*
 man one sandbeach-BLOC lie-2MIN.NOM
 'You sleep alone on the sandbeach.'
- (5) wun-um-bi donor-go all sleep / one day (DTC2-8)
 wuna-mpi^T thonongko*
 lie-3AUG.NOM? one
 'They camp one day.'

thowi child (woman speaking)

Meaning: DT records the following uses: femaleC, Z+C, maleFZSS, (femaleFFZ-SS), (maleFMZ-DC) (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal terms are *paapa* and *kaali*. Thomson (1972: 28) also records *poko* as a synonym of *thowi*.

Form: The phonetic transcriptions, as well as DT's renderings, mainly have forms ending in a close vowel, but DT also records one form in ending in an

open vowel. This variation suggests that the spread of a close front final vowel through the paradigm of kinship terms is not yet complete.

Related forms: *cuwa ~ cuway ‘child (to woman), sister’s child’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) ['tow.e'ŋaṭu] ['tuwi'ŋaṭu] (RAK-10)
thowi ngathu
child.f.s 1MIN.GEN
(elicited as ‘kaali calls him, (what) uncle callim’)
- (2) towi femaleC, Z+C, maleFZSS, (femaleFFZ-SS), (maleFMZ-DC) (DTK-13)
- (3) tote (DTC5-71)
- (4) mampa = tuwi (ŋäṭo) / tuwä (DT211-6)
- (5) towa ga = you my cousin, -ga (DTC2-221)
thowi-ka^T
child.f.s-INT
- (6) I found that his hair was carried, wrapped in wooo – generally fibre is used – & was carried by Yumpanamo, his towi (Old man Kali).
Sometimes also by the $\widehat{\etaai}$ -yunpa of the dead man – his daughter.
(DT200-6)
- (7) The funeral feast or \widehat{mai} -yi yapanu was presided by the $\widehat{\etaai}$ -yunpa (\etaonorli “Harry”) & also responsible were the mukindinu & towi of the dead man who is to them respectively muki & kali. (DT200-30)
- (8) Parry (towi) of dead man carry the bark over to the hole, the fire being put out by the women. (DT200-50)
- (9) The ηai -yunpa (Harry) partakes, mukindinu eats but towi does not (Kali a potential father-in-law, muki not?) (DT200-54)
- (10) kali <-> towi (DT209-14)

-thu reciprocal (for kinterms; REC, see chapter 4, section 3.3)

Related meanings: *-nthinhu* is also attested as a kin reciprocal. It is not clear if there is any semantic difference.

Attestations:

See *kamithu*, *mukithu*, *ngathithu*.

thuli woomera

Related forms: *tyuli ‘spearthrower’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) ['tul:i] woomera (JLL-0040)
- (2) ['tu,l.i] woomera (BSL-30)
- (3) Töli woomera (DTC1-31)

- (4) Tooli woomera (DTC5-35)
- (5) tul-i woomera (DTC5-60)
- (6) He carried a woomera & 2 long spears, four finger spear tool|li (DT4-4)
- (7) woomera tūl-ɻ (DT183-5)

thulikuna* woomera peg, hook

Meaning: This form is not glossed in DT's notes, but the Umpila equivalent DT provides allows us to identify it as 'woomera hook'.

Related forms: *tyuli 'spearthrower' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) Tooli|gōna, Kān|chu Ompeila (DTC1-34)

thuma

1. fire

Related forms: *tyuma 'fire' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) [tuma] fire (BSC-2)
- (2) tumma (Pt Stew) fire (NTL-88)

2. firewood

Attestations:

- (1) [tuma] fire, wood (RAL-4)
- (2) [tum:a] firewood (JLL-0082)

thuma kaykarra ashes

Form: Literally 'fire ashes' (*kaykarra* 'ashes').

Attestations:

- (1) [tuma'kajkara] ashes (JLL-0085)

thumanstyi*

1. firesticks

Related meanings: In the same set of notes, DT identifies the 'male' and 'female' parts of a firestick set as *puntayi^T* and *yuntyi*.

Related forms: *tyuma 'fire' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) Yinjinka too|mūñgi, omeila ti|ki fire sticks with red bean seed (DT4-9)

2. firestick wood

Attestations:

- (1) Firestick wood 'Om'pela tjk-i Yintſin̄a tūmāngi. Firesticks only. (DTS-10)

thunpi star

Related forms: *tyunpi 'star' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) [tunpi] star (JLL-0052)
- (2) [tunpi] star Ump too (BSL-38)
- (3) tunpi star (NTL-85)
- (4) [tunpi'jɛ:nə] sky (JLL-0053)

Yeena is not attested anywhere else.

thuutu breast

Related forms: thuutu ‘breast, milk’ (Pakanh)

Attestations:

- (1) [tu:t'unj'kale:ŋga] (JLL-0213)
thuutu=ngka kali=ngka
breast=EMPH ?-PRS
(elicited as ‘breast’)

-ti* you (one person); 2 minimal nominative (2MIN.NOM)

Related meanings: The corresponding free pronoun is *nhinu*.

Attestations (selection):

- (1) pama tonongo mälñkänäño wunidi He (one man) sleeps on the sand beach (DTC2-67)
pama thonongko* malngkana*-ngu wuna-ti*
man one sandbeach-BLOC lie-2MIN.NOM
'You sleep alone on the sandbeach.'
- (2) wämä tonki / tonkidi (DTC2-190&191)
wama^T thongke thongke-ti*
NEG.IMP come come-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: 'no more you come')
- (3) waliña nino tonkilla / tonkidi (DTC2-146&147)
wali^T-ngka nhinu thongke-la* thongke-ti*
today-NLOC 2MIN.NOM come-IMP.SG come-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: 'You come now or you come today.')
- (4) nino näm̄oni wunidi He sleeps there (DTC2-65)
nhinu nhamani wuna-ti*
2MIN.NOM DIST.DEM lie-2MIN.NOM
'You sleep there.'
- (5) nini/neni wämädi (DTC2-95)
nhinu wama*-ti*
2MIN.NOM hold-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: 'you hold')

- (6) nino tänidi (DTC2-280)
nhinu tani^T-ti*
2MIN.NOM stand-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: 'you stand up')
- (7) ḷatäna kuř-kař-gidi (DTC2-225)
ngathuna kurkarrku^T-ti*
1MIN.ACC help-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: 'You help me.')
- (8) nino wänkadinä (DTC2-274)
nhinu wangka-ti*-na^T
2MIN.NOM hit-2MIN.NOM-3MIN.ACC
(DT's translation: 'you hammer (him)')

tilampa^T big clam shell*Attestations:*

- (1) Tilampä = big clam shell (DTI-93)

tima^T type of grass (used to make dilly bags)*Attestations:*

- (1) Tee|mā, Ompeila – grass = patcha [pacha] Used for dilly bag All the one same of grass dilly bags called in each case (DTC1-3)
- (2) Tima, yē|mūn = Ompeila, grass for dilly bags / bundle of grass (DTC1-26)
- (3) "Grass" for "Porn'toi-yu" Ompela 1. yi-'mān 2. wət-ol & dilly bag 'Porndoī-yu may be called " too. Yintſirja Yapä-därrä & dilly bag called " & grass called Ti'mā (DTS-22)

titi^T heavy cloud cover*Attestations:*

- (1) ti-ti = heavy cloud (DTC2-166)

tompongo^T stingray (big, with a long tail)*Attestations:*

- (1) tompono big stingaree (DTC2-78)
- (2) Tompono stingaree with long tail (DTG-25)

tuku^T part of the bora dress

Meaning: This is part of a cluster of terms relating to bora paraphernalia (*tuku^T*, *walkana^T*), whose reference is somewhat unclear. Given independent attestations of *walkana^T* with an interpretation 'dugong rope', it is most likely that

walkana^T refers to a type of string, and that *tuku^T* refers to another aspect of the bora dress.

Attestations:

- (1) Duku rope wälkänä (DTI-90)

tulantyi^T small stingray

Related meanings: DT lists this as an alternative form for *keke^T*. It is uncertain if *tulantyi^T* is a synonym or a form from a different language.

Attestations:

- (1) Ke-ki (tulänji) (DTC2-77)

tunpantinu^T hot

Meaning: DT uses this form in a phrase glossed as ‘water hot’, parallel to *okolo^T* *molama^T* ‘water boils’ (*okolo^T* ‘water’). In both cases, the part of speech is unclear.

Attestations:

- (1) okolo tunpantinu = water hot (DTC2-208)

tuulka brolga

Related forms: tuulka ‘brolga’ (Umpila), thuulk ‘brolga’ (Wik Ngathan)

Attestations:

- (1) ['t̪u:lkə] brolga (JLL-0012)
- (2) ['tu.l̪ka] brolga (BSL-10)

tyamu^T adze

Meaning: DT only mentions ‘adze’, but his photographs allow us to narrow this down to an adze whose blade is formed by the inner core of a bailer shell.

Attestations:

- (1) Chāmō, Woo|máē|amō Ompeila adze (DTC1-29)

tyatyī^T other

Related meanings: There is another form glossed as ‘other’, *wiyya*. It is unclear if there is any difference in meaning. Both forms are attested from coastal speakers, so the distinction probably does not represent a dialect difference.

Attestations:

- (1) tfätfi = other; other people; another man (DTC2-219)
 - (2) nilo tfäibo – katämbo (DTC2-254)
 - nhilu tyaypu katha-mpu*
 - 3MIN.NOM other? tie-IMP.PL
 - (DT's translation: ‘He (other man) ties it.’)
- (See chapter 4, section 4.2, on this structure)

-tyiT subordinator (SUB; see chapter 4, section 4.3, and chapter 5, section 8)*Attestations:*

- (1) mola mana katâji necklets (DTC5-44)
moola* manu katha-tyiT
mourning.string neck tie-SUB
'mourning strings tied around the neck'
- (2) mola Kala Kataji (DTC5-45)
moola* kala* katha-tyiT
mourning.string waist tie-SUB
'mourning strings tied around the waist'
- (3) mola Kia Kataji (DTC5-46)
moola* kay'a katha-tyiT
mourning.string arm tie-SUB
'mourning strings tied around the arm'

-tyi* comitative (COM; see chapter 4, section 3.3.1)*Attestations:*See *thaapityi** 'name, namesake'.**tyilpu***

1. old man (as a term of respect)

Related forms: tyilpu 'grey, old man' (Umpithamu, Umpila)*Attestations:*

- (1) Tjil-po, A frequent term for old or older men. Not a disrespectful man in anyway (DTC2-26)
- (2) [id]-oi! (DTC2-27)
tyilpu-yT
old.man-VOC
(DT's gloss: 'old man!')
- (3) jilbo man (old) (NTL-142)

2. important man

Attestations:

- (1) 'Tjil' LBO is term used for old man in both Yintyinga & Ompela tribes – a term generally of respect & used I think for men of importance, & not necessarily old, though its primary meaning is a man with grey hair & beard. Yet young man were prematurely grey, he would not be Tjilbo (DT200-4)

tyootyunu* type of tree

Meaning: A cognate from Umpithamu suggests that this may be cottonwood.

Related forms: tyootyun ‘cottonwood’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) Tʃo-chun-o stick used by yumpanamu (DTI-87)

ukukuyi dog

Related meanings: There are two other terms for ‘dog’, viz. *pantyi*, only recorded from inland speakers, and *ko'a^T*, only recorded from a coastal speaker.

Ukukuyi is a long form without any obvious cognates (except possibly Umpila *ngungkuyi-* ‘bark, of dog’).

Attestations:

- (1) [ukukuyi] dog (GR-28)
- (2) okokoyi dog camp (NTL-3)

uminyu* person who has lost his or her mother; bereaved child (of mother)

Form: Most of the bereavement terms are borrowed from Umpila, including this one.

Related forms: ominyu ‘bereaved child of a woman, or more generally, one whose papa, kala, mukka or pinya has died’ (Umpila, Thomson 1972: 10), uminyu (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) ḡominyu ♀ or ♂ who has lost mother (DT209-64)
- (2) ḡominyu papa kala muka (DT209-48)

umpu^T fresh water

Related meanings: In one of its attestations, *umpu^T* is contrasted with *kanti^T* ‘saltwater’.

Form: DT records both *okolo^T* *umpu^T* and *umpu^T* as ‘fresh water’.

Attestations:

- (1) u'm|po fresh water (DTC5-13a)
 - (2) ḡokolumpu water (fresh) (DTC5-13)
- See *okolo^T* *umpu^T* ‘fresh water’.

umu chest

Related forms: *tumu ‘chest’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) [ŋaju'kat̪aŋga] ['?umu] (JLL-0212)

ngayu	katha-ŋka	umu
1MIN.NOM	tie-PRS	chest

(elicited as ‘chest’, precise translation unclear)

unti^T type of dilly bag*Attestations:*

- (1) For half finished neat gra[ss] string dilly bag ôn|ti, Ompeila Pinkonu (DTC1-25)
- (2) un-ti dilly bag (DTI-92)

untangala*

1. type of tree (*Thespesia populnea*)

Meaning: DT's Umpila equivalent *yanitha* is identified as *Thespesia populnea* in current Umpila sources. DT notes the wood is used for handles of various types of spears (*kaarrika*, *tala^T*, *keke^T*, *pankati^T*), and the seed capsules are used as spinning tops by children (DTS-5).

Related forms: untangala 'hibiscus' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) oón|tungülá, Yánid|á Ompeila Bark for spears (DTC1-12)
- (2) Yuk/ō untun-älä eibadu & Yinjinga (DTC5-54)
yuku untangala*
tree tree.sp
'*Thespesia populnea*'

2. seed capsules of the *untangala** tree, used as spinning tops by children.

Attestations:

- (1) Hibiscus sp. Ompela YANIDA Yintinja 'Un'tänälä. Specimens: 1. Specimens taken of leaves, fruit and flower, also photographs of flower & fruit. 2. "Tops" from seed capsules, also called by same names in both tribes. 1. used for "tops" as above play for children. leaves are sometimes torn, bored thru & dropped on top as we decolorized papers. 2. Handles for spears 1. wire fish spear Kar^xigä Ompela & Yintinja 2. tier – (four finger Ompela) Yintinja Tälä 3. stingaree ('Mälin-'pün Ompela Yintinja Ké-ké 4. short spear Ompela pант'i Yintinja pankädi. (DTS-5)

utya* dugong

Related forms: utyarra 'dugong' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) mina ot|cha (DT4-5)
minha utya*
game.animal dugong
'dugong'
- (2) ka-i – kän-ämbi utſa-go you & I not go (DTC2-218)
ka'i kana^T-mpi utya*-ku
NEG look-12AUG.NOM dugong-DAT
'Let's not look for dugong.'

- (3) (let us) you & I look out dugong kăñämbi utſa-go (DTC2-217)
 kana^T-mpi utya*-ku
 look-12AUG.NOM dugong-DAT
 ‘Let us look for dugong.’
- (4) minä wătſu wăñ-o watſun-i (expresses possibility, own doubtful, translation)
 (DTC2-19&20)
 minha utya* wanhu* watyu*-ngi
 game.animal dugong perhaps spear-1MIN.NOM
 (DT’s translation: ‘Dugong / perhaps he was speared.’)

uympa jewfish*Attestations:*

- (1) [?ujm'pa] jewfish (JLL-0101)

uympa wallaby*Attestations:*

- (1) [uympa] wallaby (GR-29)

waa'i* who; ignorative (person; IGNOR)

Related forms: *waari/waara ‘who’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher), waa'i ‘who’ (Umpila), wayi ‘who’ (Western Ayapathu)

Attestations:

- (1) 'pī-pin-inj-o wā-i (DTC2-25)
 piipi nhingu waa'i*
 father 3MIN.GEN IGNOR
 (DT’s translation: ‘Who is her father?’)

wa'ama carpet snake

Related forms: wa'am ‘carpet python’ (Pakanh)

Attestations:

- (1) [wa'ʔa:mu] carpet snake (JLL-0114)

wa'amu rib

Related forms: wa'amu ‘rib’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) [wa'ʔa:mu] rib (JLL-0215)
 (2) waamo rib (NTL-133)

waayiT-

1. go

Form: DT records the forms for ‘bark’ and ‘get up’ both as <wai-i>, mentioning ‘short’ and ‘note difference in short i for bark’ for the form referring to ‘ti tree’. <i> probably represents a glide, but a short glide does not make sense, except as a glide followed by a glottal stop (phonotactically rare in Yintyingka, see chapter 3, section 4.2) or as a short vowel followed by a glide. Because of this, and the potential cognates for ‘ti tree’ and ‘get up’, we decided to represent the form for ‘bark’ with a short vowel (*wayiT*), and the form for ‘get up’ with a long vowel (*waayiT*). (The one relevant sound recording we have (see example (2) below) is not clear enough to decide on this question.)

Related forms: waathi ‘go’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) par-pinjä wai-imbi, nařko yin-tſinjä-go (DTC2-8&9&10)
parrpingka waayiT-mpi ngarrku yintyingka-ku
tomorrow go-12AUG.NOM place placename-DAT
'Tomorrow we will go to Yintyingka.'
- (2) ngoki yakali-mu waayiT-ngi-ngki / wiiya-ngu (JLTA-0055)
water placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM-REDUP other-BLOC
'I go from Yakali to another place.'

2. get up

Attestations:

- (1) wai-i get up (DTC2-101)
- (2) nin-o wai-i (DTC2-100)
nhinu waayiT
2MIN.NOM get.up
(DT's translation: 'you get up')
- (3) nino wai-idi wâ-i-najä (DTC2-175)
nhinu waayiT-ti* waayiT-nangaT
2MIN.NOM get.up-2MIN.NOM get.up-?
(DT's translation: 'you get up')
- (4) Nilo wâ-i-najä (DTC2-176)
nhilu waayiT-nangaT
3MIN.NOM get.up-?
(DT's translation: 'he (him) gets up')
- (5) nai-yu wâ-i-najinji (DTC2-177)
ngayu waayiT-nangaT-ngi
1MIN.NOM get.up-?-1MIN.NOM

3. jump out (tooth)

Meaning: These forms are recorded in a list of questions about names. Given that one of the ways to receive a name is through tooth avulsion, asking how a tooth ‘jumped out’ is a way to ask about a name.

Attestations:

- (1) ḡämpa Käntfā-niŋona wai idi (DT183-10)
ngampa* kantya nhingkuna waayiT-ti*
IGNOR tooth 2MIN.ACC jump-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: ‘What name your tooth jump along?’)
- (2) ḡämpa tarpidji niŋona wai-idi? (DT183-11)
ngampa* thaapityi* nhingkuna waayiT-ti*
IGNOR name 2MIN.ACC jump-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: ‘What is your (proper) name?’)
- (3) wänälinyu wai-idi (DT183-19)
wanalinyu^T waayiT-ti*
? jump-2MIN.NOM
(DT's gloss: ‘wanalinyu (you jump)’)

wakantha* sugarbag wax

Related meanings: DT mentions this as equivalent to *mangka**, which may suggest that *wakantha** also refers to a type of hard sugarbag wax, but Thomson (1934: 251, 261) glosses the Umpila form *wakantha* as ‘soft wax’, i.e. as an equivalent of *wama**.

Related forms: *wakantha* ‘beeswax’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) wäkäntä (DTI-95)

walantyi death adder

Attestations:

- (1) [wa'la:pŋj] death adder (JLL-0113)

wali^T

1. today

Attestations:

- (1) wali today
- (2) wäli tonki (DTC2-108)
wali^T thongke
today come
(DT's translation: ‘come today’)

2. bye-and-bye

Form: DT's representation of this form is <wul-i>, different from *wali^T*, but there are other <u>-/a/ correspondences in DT's material, and other languages in the region have temporal forms that cover both 'today' and the near future (like *yupa* in Umpithamu).

Attestations:

- (1) wul-i wo-un-inj-i keni ko (DTC2-24)
 wali^T wo'e-ni^T-ngi keene-ku
 bye-and-bye give-?1MIN.NOM tobacco-DAT?
 (DT's translation: 'bye&bye I give you')

walingka^T now, today

Form: DT's rendering does not use a cluster in the last syllable, but there are two reasons to assume there is one: (i) DT typically uses a single velar nasal to represent a cluster in the third syllable (see chapter 3, section 6.2), and (ii) there is no suffix *-nga* attested in any source, but there are two candidates for *-ngka*. Literally 'today-NLOC' (in this instance, the suffix could also be interpreted as the emphatic clitic *=ngka*, see chapter 4, section 3.1).

Attestations:

- (1) walinja now, today, this time (DTC2-145)
- (2) walinja now (DTC2-149)
- (3) walinja nino tonkilla / tonkidi (DTC2-146&147)
 wali^T-ngka nhinu thongke-la* / thongke-ti*
 today-NLOC 2MIN.NOM come-IMP.SG come-2MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'You come now or you come today.')

walkana^T

1. Hibiscus sp.

Meaning: DFT notes that the wood is used for spears, though not very often (DTS-4), and that the inner bark is used to make dugong rope (see below) and the *oypipaq^T* dress (DTI-89).

Attestations:

- (1) Oimpiba bark string bora dress walkänä ompiba (DTI-89)
- (2) Hibiscus sp. Ompela 'Wütan-'yu Yintsiña 'WÅL-'KÄNÄ. Sometimes used for spears Kariga & four finger but not often. Inner bark stripped from younger limbs (about 2"-3" diameter). Bark stripped from limbs, & left in sun to dry. The inner layer (used for rope) separated from outer. Used for dugong rope & for Oimpiba dress. Specimens of this & dugong rope taken during last year. Tree from which this taken kintya to women as it was also used for last initiation ceremony. Not for spears. (DTS-4)

2. dugong rope

Attestations:

- (1) Duku rope wälkänä (DTI-91)
See *tuku*^T ‘part of the bora dress’.
- (2) wälkän dugong rope (DTG-8)

walpa^T sand crab with big stalked eyes

Related meanings: DT records *yenthere** as a synonym, but if this form refers to the same species, it is probably the Umpithamu equivalent (*yentheri* ‘little sandcrab’).

Attestations:

- (1) 'WALPÄ, called this by both Ompela and Yintchinga tribes. Numerous on ocean beach, only at low tide. Burrow in sand and runs, with eyes erect, on tips of its “toes” (DT9-1)
- (2) Yentere crab (Walpa crab) (DTG-28)
- (3) 'wälpa-'mä It is one of the totems of the Yintyingga tribe & from it a dingo dog is name [sic] “walpa-ma” (DT9-2)
walpa^T-mu
crab.sp-ABL

wama^T imperative negation (NEG.IMP; see chapter 5, section 6.1)*Attestations:*

- (1) wämä tonki / tonkidi (DTC2-190&191)
wama^T thongke / thongke-ti*
NEG.IMP come come-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: ‘no more you come’)
- (2) nino wäm-wämä (DTC2-91)
nhinu wama^T wama*
2MIN.NOM NEG.IMP hold
(DT's translation: ‘no more hold’)
- (3) nini/neni wäm-wämä (DTC2-96)
- (4) nini/neni wäm-wämädi (DTC2-97)
nhinu wama^T wama*-ti*
2MIN.NOM NEG.IMP hold-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: ‘you no catch hold me’)
- (5) wämä ḫtʃa-go wämä used as a prefix – infers a negative (DTC2-189)
wama^T atyaku
NEG.IMP long.time
(DT's translation: ‘no more/not long time’)
- (6) wämä ḫtʃa=go no more long time (DTC2-105)

wama^{*}-

1. hold

Related forms: wama- ‘hold, touch’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) nino wämä (DTC2-89)
nhinu wama^{*}
2MIN.NOM hold
(DT's translation: ‘you hold’)
- (2) nino wämä you hold it, you catch it (DTC2-92)
- (3) nine/nini wämä you hold (DTC2-94)
- (4) nini/neni wämädi (DTC2-95)
nhinu wama^{*}-ti^{*}
2MIN.NOM hold-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: ‘you hold’)
- (5) nino wäm-wäma (DTC2-91)
nhinu wama^T wama^{*}
2MIN.NOM NEG.IMP hold
(DT's translation: ‘no more hold’)
- (6) nini/neni wäm-wämä (DTC2-96)
- (7) nini/neni wäm-wämidi (DTC2-97)
nhinu wama^T wama^{*}-ti^{*}
2MIN.NOM NEG.IMP hold-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: ‘you no catch hold me’)
- (8) ḷai-yu wämäŋi (DTC2-88)
ngayu wama^{*}-nги^{*}
1MIN.NOM hold-1MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: ‘I hold it.’)
- (9) ḷai-y wämäŋi ‘I hold (it), I catch (hold) of it’ (DTC2-98)

2. catch

Attestations:

- (1) ḷaiyu wä-mänja (DTC2-93)
ngayu wama^{*}-ngka
1MIN.NOM hold-PRS
(DT's translation: ‘I catch it’)
- (2) nino wämä you hold it, you catch it (DTC2-92)
- (3) wämidi you hold (him) it & catch hold (DTC2-102)
- (4) nini/neni wäm-wämidi (DTC2-97)
nhinu wama^T wama^{*}-ti^{*}
2MIN.NOM NEG.IMP hold-2MIN.NOM
(DT's translation: ‘you no catch hold me’)

wama* sugarbag wax (soft)

Related meanings: Hard sugarbag wax is called *mangka**. Another term for sugarbag wax is *wakantha**, but it is unclear if this refers to hard or soft wax (see further under *wakantha**).

Related forms: wama ‘sugarbag wax after squeezing it’ (Pakanh), wamarra ‘wax’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) Yinjinga wām|ā ompeila wakunta (DT4-13)
- (2) The honey is (o-po) the wax is wämä when of the soft type, while the hard is mänkä (DTI-36)

wana*- leave

Related forms: wana- ‘leave’ (Umpila), wana- ‘leave’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) ngaiyū wäŋänji (DTI-13)
ngayu wana*-ngi
1MIN.NOM leave-1MIN.NOM
‘I leave.’
- (2) nilo wäna (DTI-15)
nhilu wana*
3MIN.NOM leave
‘He leaves.’
- (3) ngälli wänälli (DTI-16)
ngali* wana*-li*
12MIN.NOM leave-12MIN.NOM
‘We leave.’
- (4) ngampu wänämbi we (DTI-17)
ngampu wana*-mpi
12AUG.NOM leave-12AUG.NOM
‘We leave.’
- (5) ngä+ntʃä wänänji (DTI-18)
ngantya* wana*-ntyi*
1AUG.NOM leave-1AUG.NOM
‘We leave.’
- (6) pulla wänämbi (DTI-19)
pula wana*-mpi^T
3AUG.NOM leave-3AUG.NOM?
‘They leave.’

- (7) waneini nengkuna me.leave you (NTT-5)
 wana*-ngi nhingkuna
 leave-1MIN.NOM 2MIN.ACC
 'I will leave you.'
- (8) wänängänipongonä (DTI-22)
 wana*-ngka nhipunguna
 leave-PRS 2AUG.ACC
 (DT's translation: 'I leave you fellas.')

wanampa^T

1. stick

Meaning: This probably refers to a long, thin type of stick (as suggested by the illustration of the frame of a humpy in DT's notes next to DTC5-48).

Attestations:

- (1) wa/numpa stick (DTC5-48)

2. mourning stick

Related meanings: Other mourning paraphernalia include mourning strings (*moola**), old fishnets (*mooye^T*) or dilly bags (*kowampa^T*).

Attestations:

- (1) Crying stick or baton called wanamba. by Yintyingga tribe of the Stewart River Estuary, Princess Charlotte Bay. The wanamba, used only by the Yintyingga – not by their neighbours the Ompela – is held in the left or right hand during the intermittent ritual lamentation for the dead. at intervals during the day or at any time during the night a man would stand at his fireside to give voice to loud lamentation, crying "aya! aya! aya!", hand or hands supported by the baton – which he raised one foot after the other – giving expression to his injured sentiments, due to the loss of a kinsman. (DT200-63)
- (2) yuko – wänämbä crying stick (DTI-73)
 yuku wanampa^T
 tree mourning.stick
 (DT's gloss: 'crying stick')

wangka-

1. hit

Attestations:

- (1) [pama'waŋka] (JLL-0043)
 pama wangka
 man hit
 (elicited as 'hit somebody with')

- (2) Nino wätamba = wänka (DTC2-139)
 nhinu wathampa* wangka
 2MIN.NOM hard hit
 (DT's translation: 'You hit it hard.')
 (3) nai-yu wätamba wankanji (DTC2-140)
 ngayu wathampa* wangka-ngi
 1MIN.NOM hard hit-1MIN.NOM
 'I hit it hard.'

2. hammer

Attestations:

- (1) nai-yu wän-kurji (DTC2-272)
 ngayu wangka-ngi
 1MIN.NOM hit-1MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'I hammer (it) (you)')
 (2) nino wänkadina (DTC2-274)
 nhinu wangka-ti*-na^T
 2MIN.NOM hit-2MIN.NOM-3MIN.ACC
 (DT's translation: 'you hammer (him)')
 (3) nino wänkadi (DTC2-275)
 nhinu wangka-ti*
 2MIN.NOM hit-2MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'you hammer (him)')
 (4) wänkämbi (DTC2-273)
 wangka-mpi^T
 hit-3AUG.NOM?
 (DT's translation: 'They (hammer).')

wanhu* perhaps

Meaning: Cognate forms with interrogative meanings are not unlikely, given that other languages in the region use interrogatives as epistemic modifiers (e.g. *ngaani* 'what, maybe' in Umpithamu).

Related forms: *wanyu 'who' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) minä wätju wän-o wätjuni (expresses possibility, own doubtful, translation)
 (DTC2-19&20)
 minha utya* wanhu* watyu*-ngi
 game.animal dugong perhaps spear-1MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'Dugong / perhaps he was speared.')

wanthonyu* woman who has lost her husband; bereaved wife

Form: Most of the bereavement terms are borrowed from Umpila, including this one.

Related forms: wantanyu ‘bereaved wife’ (Umpila, Thomson 1972: 10), wan-thanyu ‘widow’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) wäntanyu = a ♀ who has lost her husband (DT209-66)
- (2) wäntanyu (DT209-54)

wanti good

Related forms: wanhi ‘good’ (Western Ayapathu), wanti ‘good’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) [maji'wanti] (JLL-0159)

mayi	wanti
tucker	good
(elicited as ‘good one’)	
- (2) [ŋɔki'wanti] (JLL-0163)

ngoki	wanti
water	good
(elicited as ‘good water, good drinking water’)	

wanti'a* mangrove worm

Meaning: This form is unglossed in DT’s notes, but the Umpila equivalent provided in his notes can be recognized as ‘mangrove worm’.

Related forms: wanti'a ‘mangrove worm’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) Minya WAN'TIA Ompela & Yintſirja Eaten raw – found in the mangroves named. (DTS-33)

wantila^T type of sugarbag

Meaning: The Umpila equivalent provided by DT, <wäntina>, cannot be found in current Umpila sources.

Attestations:

- (1) wantilä wäntina (DTI-28)

wantyu old woman

Related meanings: There is also a form *wolomo* for ‘old lady’, also recorded from an inland speaker.

Related forms: wantya waarruthu ‘old woman’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) wäñtyu old woman (JS-4)

wantyu^T seed (of the lily)

Related meanings: This form is mentioned in a list of terms relating to *pootyi-mantyi^T* ‘small lily’, together with *yunka^T* ‘bulb’.

Attestations:

- (1) seed wantfu (DTI-84)

wapa* wapa

Meaning: This form is unglossed in Thomson’s notes, but Thomson (1933: 520) describes Umpila *wapa* as ‘an individual who is stealing about on a secret killing expedition.’ Current Umpila sources gloss *wapa* as ‘bush man, wild man’, and Sunlight Bassani described *wapa* to Bruce Rigsby as an individual who can work sorcery, unlike *awu*, which is a different type of being from humans.

Related forms: *wapa* ‘bush man, wild man’ (Umpila, Hill)

Attestations:

- (1) The flesh & skin are buried in the hole & a watch is kept over corpse of deceased & hole where flesh is buried for the wäpä that come up.
(DT200-19)
- (2) The wäpä is killed (DT200-20)

warrku^T grass skirt

Meaning: DT records this as ‘women’s petticoat’, but it is currently better known as a grass skirt.

Form: DT also records a form <wän-ŋo> as ‘women’s petticoat’. It is not clear if this represents the same lexeme.

Attestations:

- (1) Wärglö Ompeila – wat|u women’s petticoat (DTC1-11)
- (2) wän-ŋo woman’s petticoat (DTG-23)

wata type of sugarbag

Attestations:

- (1) ['wat'a'ŋan] (JLL-0028)
wata=nhang
sugarbag.type=EMPH
(elicited as ‘other sugarbag’)

wathampa* hard (forcefully)

Related forms: *wathampa* ‘hard/loud’ (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) wə-tambä hard (DTC2-138)

- (2) Nino wätamba = wänka (DTC2-139)
 nhinu wathampa* wangka
 2MIN.NOM hard hit
 (DT's translation: 'You hit it hard.')
- (3) ŋai-yu wätamba wankanji (DTC2-140)
 ngayu wathampa* wangka-ngi
 1MIN.NOM hard hit-1MIN.NOM
 'I hit it hard.'

watokapa^T nautilus shell, necklace made of nautilus shell

Attestations:

- (1) wätotoga-ba = pearl nautilus also name of necklace made from it (DT183-3)

watyu*- spear

Related forms: watyu- 'spear' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) minä wätju wän-o wätjuŋ-i (expresses possibility, own doubtful, translation)
 (DTC2-19&20)
 minha utya* wanhu* watyu*-ngi
 game.animal dugong perhaps spear-1MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'Dugong / perhaps he was speared.')

wayi^T

1. ti tree

Related meanings: A swelling on this tree from which water is extracted is called *pila^T*.

Related forms: wati 'bark' (Umpithamu), wati 'paperbark' (Western Ayapathu), wati 'paperbark' (Pakanh)

Attestations:

- (1) wäi-i ~ tree Yintyinga – Pil-a, ontchi Ompela – ponk-älä (DT8-3)

2. ti tree bark

Meaning: DT notes it is used to wrap objects, to make bark humpies and (by women) as a drum to beat the time for dancing.

Form: DT records the forms for 'bark' and 'get up' both as <wai-i>, mentioning 'short' and 'note difference in short i for bark' for the form referring to 'ti tree'. <i> probably represents a glide, but a short glide does not make sense, except as a glide followed by a glottal stop (phonotactically rare in Yintyingka, see chapter 3, section 4.2) or as a short vowel followed by a glide. Because of this, and the potential cognates for 'ti tree' and 'get up', we decided to represent

the form for ‘bark’ with a short vowel (*wayi^T*), and that the form for ‘get up’ with a long vowel (*waayi^T-*).

Attestations:

- (1) waī-i bark (DTC2-173)
- (2) waī-i = bark of melaleuca, used for house (DTC2-193)
- (3) waī-i Yinjinga & Ompela (DTC5-51)
- (4) 'waī-i (DT1-2)
- (5) ompeila waīee Yinjinga same name Bark for dance beating (belong female) (DT4-15)
- (6) Wāé|é Bark used for striking ground by women in dance – woman['s] drum (DTC1-30)
- (7) I found that his hair was carried, wrapped in wooe – generally fibre is used – & was carried by Yumpanamo, his towi (Old man Kali). Sometimes also by the n̄aī-yunpa of the dead man – his daughter. (DT200-5)

waymitya^T woman who has given birth, used from the birth of the child until it walks

Related meanings: There is a more general term for a woman who has had a child or children (*pa'ayi^T*).

Form: Most of the status terms are borrowed from Umpila, but this one is different from its Umpila equivalent (<ompodjilla>, Thomson 1972: 10).

Attestations:

- (1) wāé mitſa ♀ who has had child born (Ompela ɔmpo jillä) (DT209-45)
- (2) Waī-mitſa name applied to a ♀ when child just born about till the child walks. (DT209-61)

wayu^T type of dilly bag

Related meanings: DT records *kampinhu* and *wayu^T* together under the same gloss ‘dilly bag’, but it is unlikely that they are synonyms.

Attestations:

- (1) waī-ōō kāmpinō koko – i|ebadōō (DT3-2)

weeli younger sister

Meaning: DT notes the following uses: Z-, MZ-D, FB-D, femaleFZSW, (maleMB-DD) (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal terms are *yapi* and *wunayi*.

Form: There is some variation between forms ending in a close vowel and forms ending in an open vowel, which suggests that the spread of a close front final vowel through the paradigm of kinship terms is not yet complete.

Related forms: iilatha ‘younger sister’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) ['we:l:e] sister (JLL-0131)
- (2) ['we:le] ['yape] grannyboy (JLL-0141)
- (3) [wε.li] ygr.sister (GR-39)
- (4) ['we_,le] Z- (BSL-54)
- (5) ['we.e] ['we_,linq̩.tu] (RAK-17)
weeli ngathu
yZ 1MIN.GEN
'my younger sister'
- (6) ['we:linq̩tu] little sister (JLL-0133)
- (7) ['we.,linq̩tu] Z- (BSL-56)
- (8) ['we:linq̩ 'tu:ŋga] littlest uncle (JLL-0147)
weeli ngathu=ngka
yZ 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
- (9) weli Z-, MZ-D, FB-D, femaleFZSW, (maleMB-DD) (DTK-21)
- (10) wel-i younger sister (DT2-6)

weenawantena black ibis*Attestations:*

- (1) ['we.na,wantena] black ibis (BSL-12)

weepa sleep

Form: There is a cluster of similar-looking forms in DT's notes, variably glossed as 'sleep' and 'shade', possibly cognate with *wiipa 'shade'. The sound recordings of Jinny Long contain a form *weepa* for 'sleep', and a form *wiipa* in a context where 'shade' is a more likely interpretation. Consequently we created two separate entries, even though we cannot exclude that we are dealing with one lexical item with polysemy and variation in vowel height (see chapter 3, section 4.3). *Weepa* always co-occurs with *wuna-* 'lie down', which itself can also occur on its own meaning 'sleep'.

Related forms: *wiipa 'shade' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) ngaiyu känängā wipa wunänä (DTI-9&10)
ngayu kana=ngka weepa wuna-na
1MIN.NOM PFV=EMPH sleep lie-PST
'I slept.'
- (2) [?aj'wuni:ŋga 'we:pa] (JLL-0198)
wuna-ngka weepa
lie-PRS sleep
(elicited as 'sleep')

weerinmun* wet time

Meaning: This form is recorded in DT's notes on the building of a wet-time house (*wunku*). The text right next to the form mentions a type of bark string, but this probably does not relate to *weerinmun**.

Form: *Weerinmun** can be recognized as a loan from Umpithamu (*weerenmun* 'wet time').

Related forms: *weerenmun* 'wet time' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) wéerin/muñ (DTC5-49)

wenthemo groper

Attestations:

- (1) [wən'te:mɔ] groper (JLL-0103)

we'omo little girl

Meaning: There is a similar form *wiy'umu* recorded from George Rocky, glossed as 'woman'. However, the same source also has *witimu* 'woman', a gloss that is confirmed by a form recorded from Rosie Ahlers (see under *wethemu*). This is why we decided to gloss *we'omo* as 'little girl'.

Attestations:

- (1) [we'ɔ:mɔ] little girl (JLL-0120)
- (2) [wiy?umu] woman (GR-70)

wethemu woman

Attestations:

- (1) wétemu woman (JS-2)
- (2) [witimu] woman (GR-71)

wi'a thigh

Form: In the sound recording, *wi'a* is followed by a second token *wi'a thongko*. There are no other attestations of *thongko* in the sources.

Related forms: *wi'an* 'upper leg' (Umpila), *wi'an* 'thigh' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) ['wi?a] [wi?a'tɔŋkɔ] this part, thigh (JLL-0174)

wi'a^T in line

Meaning: DT mentions that *wi'a^T* means 'one line', in a structure translated as 'standing in line'.

Attestations:

- (1) Pāmə wi-ă tən-i one line (DTC2-209)

pama wi'a^T tani^T

man in.line stand

(DT's translation: 'All the men stand in line ie genealogically.'

wiipa shade

Form: There is a cluster of similar-looking forms in DT's notes, variably glossed as 'sleep' and 'shade', possibly cognate with *wiipa 'shade'. The sound recordings of Jinny Long contain a form *weepa* for 'sleep', and a form *wiipa* in a context where 'shade' is a more likely interpretation. Consequently we created two separate entries, even though we cannot exclude that we are dealing with one lexical item with polysemy and variation in vowel height (see chapter 3, section 4.3).

Related forms: *wiipa 'shade' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) ngayu ngarrku-wa wiipa yeya-ngi (JLTA-0014)

1MIN.NOM place-? shade go-1MIN.NOM

'I go to a shady place.' (no translation provided in source)

- (2) werpa shade (DTC2-68)

- (3) weipa shadow (NTL-77)

wiiya other

Related meanings: There is another form glossed as 'other', *tyatyi*^T. It is unclear if there is any difference in meaning. Both forms are attested from coastal speakers, so this distinction probably does not represent a dialect difference.

Related forms: *wiiya 'another' (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) [wiyə p̪ayalə] (GR-72)

wiiya paya-la

other see-?

(DT's translation: 'You see another one?')

- (2) wi-ada = another – somebody else (DTC2-230)

wiiya-ta^T

other-?

(DT's gloss: 'another – somebody else')

- (3) palantyi-mu yeya-ngi / wiiya-ngu (JLTB-0033)

placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM / other-BLOC

'I go from Palantyi to another (place).'

- (4) ngoki yakali-mu waayiT-ngi-ngki / wiiya-ngu (JLTA-0055)
 water placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM-REDUP other-BLOC
 'I go from Yakali to another place.'
- (5) [pama'wi:ja] (JLL-0123)
 See *pama wiya* 'stranger'.

wintyi boomerang

Related forms: winty 'boomerang' (Wik Mungkan), wintyi 'boomerang' (Pakanh)

Attestations:

- (1) ['wijn̩ci] boomerang (JLL-0041)
 (2) ['wi,ŋki] boomerang (BSL-31)
 (This may be a mishearing, given that this informant was responding to Jinny Long's recordings)

wirrki* type of sugarbag (big sugarbag)

Related forms: wirrki 'sugarbag, big, short funnel' (Umpithamu), wirrk 'good quality sugarbag, found in abundance' (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) wir̩ki big sugar bag (DTG-18)
 (2) wir̩ki (DTI-26)
 (3) we̩ki sugar bag (DTI-76)
 (4) Brothers both older (wunei) & younger (kar̩ki) are also responsible & there are the relations who would formerly have been called upon to furnish the mayi – chiefly 1) No-a (Ka-ata) 2) mørki (yam) 3) wir̩ki 4) Kä-ärrä. (DT200-38)
 (5) wirki honey bee wax (NTL-54)

witha stomach

Attestations:

- (1) [wita] stomach (GR-11)

wo'e- give

Related forms: *wu(tyi-, ma-) 'give' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) ngathu wo'e-nhi* (JLL-0094)
 1MIN.GEN give-1MIN.ACC
 'Give me.' (elicited as 'belong me')

- (2) Kai-i Mai-yi wɔ̄-in-i Bulgaroo / mayi (vegetable food) / you give me
(DTC2-29)
kayiT mayi wo'e-nhi*
bulguru veg.food give-1MIN.ACC
(DT's translation: 'Give me bulgaroo.')
(3) wul-i wɔ̄-un-in̄-i keni kq (DTC2-24)
waliT wo'e-niT-ngi keene-ku
bye-and-bye give-?-1MIN.NOM tobacco-DAT?
(DT's translation: 'bye&bye I give you')

wolo fly

Meaning: This form is also elicited as 'sandfly', but it is unlikely that the same term is used to refer to sandflies.

Related forms: *wulul 'blowfly' (Proto-Paman, Alpher p.c.), wolol 'fly' (Umpithamu), wol 'blowfly' (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) ['wɔlɔ] fly (JLL-0019)
- (2) ['wɔlɔ] sandfly (JLL-0021)
- (3) ['wɔlɔ] sandfly (BSL-18)
- (4) ['wɔlɔ] fly (BSL-16)
- (5) wullu R pulpul fly (NTL-50)

wolomo old lady

Related meanings: There is also a form *wantyu* for 'old lady', also recorded from an inland speaker.

Related forms: wulumu 'elder brother's wife' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) [cmɔlɔ] old lady (JLL-0122)

wonpo fish

Meaning: It is unclear if this is the generic term or a specific type of fish. But the frequency of the form in Jinny Long's texts suggests that it may be a generic term.

Attestations:

- (1) wonpo patha-ngi (JLTA-0065)
fish eat-1MIN.NOM
'I eat fish.'
- (2) paykalawu wuna-ngi wuna-ngi wonpo patha-ngi (JLTA-0081)
placename lie-1MIN.NOM lie-1MIN.NOM fish eat-1MIN.NOM
'I camp at Paykalawu for a long time, and eat fish.'

- (3) [wunpu] fish (GR-48)
- (4) [minha wunpu] fish (BSC-5)
 - minha wonpo
 - game.animal fish
 - (elicited as 'fish')
- (5) ['wunpuku] fish+DAT (RAL-9)

wontene type of sugarbag

Attestations:

- (1) [maj'i'wɔntrɛne'ŋan] (JLL-0027)
 - mayi wontene=nhang
 - veg.food sugarbag.type=EMPH
 - 'type of sugarbag'

woonta^T scrub turkey

Meaning: This form is identified as Yintyingka but unglossed in DT's notes. Thomson (1933: 530) identifies it as 'brush turkey'.

Attestations:

- (1) worn-tă punkuř-o (Yinjinga) women at mound of scrub (DT1-3)
 - (*Punkurro^T* is unglossed and not attested anywhere else in the sources.)

wootyo* rock cod (small)

Related forms: wootyo 'rock cod' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) wotſo rock cod (small) (DTC2-79)

wopi- go

Form: The paradigm recorded by DT appears to use two stems, one for the minimal forms (*pootya**-) and one for the augmented forms (*wopi-i*), with both stems recorded for the 12 augmented form.

Attestations:

- (1) ngampu kaanpi wopi-mpi (PC1-0045)
 - 12AUG.NOM placename go-12AUG.NOM
 - 'We go to Kaanpi.'
- (2) ḡampu wɔ-pimbi (DTI-65)
 - ngampu wopi-mpi
 - 12AUG.NOM go-12AUG.NOM
 - 'We go.'

- (3) wo-p̄imbi ḡarv-kō (DTC2-17)
 wopi-mpi ngarrku
 go-12AUG.NOM camp
 'Let us go home.'
- (4) ḡantſu wop̄illinji (DTI-67)
 ngantya* wopi-lintyi^T
 1AUG.NOM go-1AUG.NOM
 'We go.'
- (5) Nipo wop̄imbo (DTI-66)
 nhipu wopi-mpu*
 2AUG.NOM go-IMP.PL
 'You go.'
- (6) ḡai-yu ängkungä nipo wop̄imbo (DTI-70)
 ngayu angku-ngka nhipu wopi-mpu*
 1MIN.NOM PROX,DEM-NLOC 2AUG.NOM go-IMP.PL
 (DT's translation: 'I am staying here, you (plural) go.')
- (7) Past ḡai-yu känänga wo-p̄injä etc. (DTI-69)
 ngayu kana=ngka wopi-ntyat^T
 1MIN.NOM PFV=EMPH go-?
 'I went.'

worapura* type of crab

Meaning: DT mentions it is a tree climbing crab (DT8-1).

Form: DT's rendering suggests this form has two trills, but the cognate form suggests they are alveolar approximants. We decided to represent them as approximants.

Related forms: wooroporo 'little mudcrab (red and yellow)' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) worä burä yintyinga calls this crab, tree climbing crab Ompela calls wälñ-täln (DT8-1)

worrtya* cloud

Related meanings: There is another word glossed as 'cloud' in the sources, viz. *ma'u*, recorded from an inland speaker. It is unclear if there is any difference in meaning, or if this is just a dialectal difference.

Related forms: po-wurrtyl 'white of egg' (Yir Yoront), wut.tya 'cloud' (Pakanh, Alpher p.c.), wurrtya 'cloud' (Pakanh, Hamilton)

Attestations:

- (1) woitʃã = cloud (DTC2-165)
- (2) woitʃa = cloud (DTC2-185)
- (3) woitʃa kalmbi-kalmbi (DTC2-186)
worrtya* kalmpikalmpi^T
cloud fast
(DT's translation: 'that cloud goes quickly')

wowi^T- meet

Related forms: *wuwi- 'find, meet' (possibly Proto-Paman, Alpher p.c.), uwi- 'meet' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) Enchinga wowingi nengkuna me Pt Stewart meet.you you (NTT-8)
Yintyingka wowi^T-ngi nhingkuna
placename meet-1MIN.NOM 2MIN.ACC
'I will meat you at Yintyingka.'

woympī* sweetheart, lover

Related forms: woympil 'sweetheart' (Umpithamu), wolmpil 'sexual intercourse' (Umpila, Thomson 1933: 530)

Attestations:

- (1) sweetheart woimpi (DT183-35)

wu'ati^T wallaby

Related meanings: DT notes that the bones of *wu'ati^T* are used to make bone pointers (*katyimu^T*).

Attestations:

- (1) wō|adi, ompeila pee|mo kangaroo bone (DTC1-45)
- (2) wa'adi Port Stewart name for wallaby (DTC5-27)
- (3) wo-odi small wallaby (DT183-25)

wuna-

1. sleep, lie down

Form: This form can occur with or without the nominal *weepā* 'sleep'.

Related forms: *wuna- 'to be lying down' (Proto-Paman, Hale)

Attestations:

- (1) $\widehat{\eta\ai}$ -yunja ändo wuninjī I sleep here (DTC2-64)
ngayu=ngka angku wuna-ngi
1MIN.NOM=EMPH PROX.DEM lie-1MIN.NOM

- nino nämöni wunidi He sleeps there (DTC2-65)
 nhinu nhamani wuna-ti*
 2MIN.NOM DIST.DEM lie-2MIN.NOM
 ‘I sleep here, you sleep there.’
- (2) ḷalli mälñkänäño wunilli (DTC2-66)
 ngali* malngkana*-ngu wuna-li*
 12MIN.NOM sandbeach-BLOC lie-12MIN.NOM
 (DT’s translation: ‘You and I sleep on the sandbeach.’)
- (3) pama tonongo mälñkänäño wunidi He (one man) sleeps on the sand beach (DTC2-67)
 pama thonongko* malngkana*-ngu wuna-ti*
 man one sandbeach-BLOC lie-2MIN.NOM
 ‘You sleep alone on the sandbeach.’
- (4) ḑfää-go wunidi (DTC2-106)
 atyaku wuna-ti*
 long.time lie-2MIN.NOM
 ‘You sleep a long time.’
- (5) ngaiyu känängå wipa wunänä (DTI-9&10)
 ngayu kana=ngka weepa wuna-na
 1MIN.NOM PFV=EMPH sleep lie-PST
 ‘I slept.’
- (6) Or just kananga wunänä (DTI-11&12)
 kana=ngka wuna-na
 PFV=EMPH lie-PST
 ‘I slept.’
- (7) nipo wūnimbo (DTC2-137)
 nhipu wuna-mpu*
 2AUG.NOM lie-IMPL.PL
 (DT’s translation: ‘you (plural) (“you fellas”) sleep’)
- (8) wūnī nino NB pronounced after (DTC2-134)
 wuna nhinu
 lie 2MIN.NOM
 (DT’s translation: ‘you sleep (singular)’)
- (9) [?aj'wuni:ŋga'wε:pa] (JLL-0198)
 wuna-ngka weepa
 lie-PRS sleep
 (elicited as ‘sleep’)
- (10) ḷai-yu wū-niŋi (DTC2-135)
 ngayu wuna-ŋgi
 1MIN.NOM lie-1MIN.NOM
 ‘I sleep.’

- (11) **wunij*i*** I (DTI-1)
- (12) [wu'naŋɛ] lie down (JLL-0036)
- (13) nino wunidi you (DTI-2)
 nhinu wuna-ti*
 2MIN.NOM lie-2MIN.NOM
 'You sleep.'
- (14) nilo wuni he (DTI-3)
 nhilu wuna
 3MIN.NOM lie
 'He sleeps.'
- (15) ngalli wunilli we (2) (DTI-4)
 ngali* wuna-li*
 12MIN.NOM lie-12MIN.NOM
 'We sleep.'
- (16) nämpu wunimbi we (DTI-5)
 ngampu wuna-mpi
 12AUG.NOM lie-12AUG.NOM
 'We sleep.'
- (17) nipo wunimbo (DTI-6)
- (18) ngäntsja wunallinji us (we not you) (DTI-7)
 ngantya* wuna-lintyi^T
 1AUG.NOM lie-1AUG.NOM
 'We lie down.'
- (19) pulla wunir^{xo} (DTI-8)
 pula wuna-rru^T
 3AUG.NOM lie-3AUG.NOM
 'They lie down.'

2. camp

Attestations:

- (1) wun-um-bi donor-go all sleep / one day (DTC2-8)
 wuna-mpi^T thonongko*
 lie-3AUG.NOM? one
 'They camp one day.'
- (2) wuni you stop (DTC2-107)
- (3) nhanyane wuna-n*gi*-ng*ki* wuna-n*gi*-ng*ki* wuna-n*gi*-ng*ki* wuna-n*gi*-ng*ki*
 ? lie-1MIN.NOM-REDUP (x4)
 atyaku yongka (JLTA-0037)
 long.time ?
 'I camp a long time.'

- (4) kana wuna-na ngarrku ngathu=nhang (JLTA-0039)
PFV lie-PST country 1MIN.GEN=EMPH
'We camped in my country.'
- (5) thaawolo-ngu wuna-ngi (JLTA-0167)
placename-BLOC lie-1MIN.NOM
'I camp at Thaawolo.'
- (6) wuna-ngi ngoki yakanthi
lie-1MIN.NOM water placename
'I camp at Yakanthi.'
- (7) paykalawu wuna-ngi wuna-ngi wonpo patha-ngi (JLTA-0081)
placename lie-1MIN.NOM lie-1MIN.NOM fish eat-1MIN.NOM
'I camp at Paykalawu for a long time, and eat fish.'

wunan type of sugarbag (long funnel)

Attestations:

- (1) ['maji'wunan] other sugarbag (JLL-0025)
- (2) [,ma'ji,wu'nан] sugarbag long funnel (BSL-23)

wunayi older brother

Meaning: DT notes the following uses: B+, MZ+S, FB+S, maleFMB-DS, maleMMZ+DS, femaleMBSW, maleFZDH, (femaleMB-DS), (maleMFZ+S) (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal terms are *karki* and *weeli*.

Related forms: unatha 'older brother' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) [wunay] elder br. (GR-37)
- (2) ['wunajinqtuna] ['wu,ŋaji] B+ (RAK-14)
wunayi ngathuna
eB 1MIN.ACC
'my older brother' (See chapter 4, section 2.2, and chapter 5, section 4.2, on *ngathuna* in this structure)
- (3) [wu'naŋɛ] father in law (JLL-0136)
- (4) ['wu,na.jɛ] father-in-law (BSL-58)
- (5) wunei B+, MZ+S, FB+S, maleFMB-DS, maleMMZ+DS, femaleMBSW, maleFZDH, (femaleMB-DS), (maleMFZ+S) (DTK-18)
- (6) wu-nai elder brother (DT2-3)
- (7) Brothers both older (wunei) & younger (kar^xki) are also responsible & there are the relations who would formerly have been called upon to furnish the mayi – chiefly 1) No-ä (Ka-ata) 2) mörki (yam) 3) wir^xki 4) 'Ka^ä-ärrä. (DT200-33)

- (8) The man who had married the widow of the dead man could not eat
(dead man is wunei elder brother). (DT200-57)
- (9) karki <-> wuneyi (DT209-25)

wunku house

Related forms: wunku ‘house’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) woo/nko house (DTC5-47)
- (2) [ta:'kana'wunku] (JLL-0184)
thaaka-na wunku
enter-PST house
(elicited as ‘go inside’)

wunta wind

Related forms: wonta ‘wind’ (Pakanh)

Attestations:

- (1) ['wunt'a] wind (JLL-0056)
- (2) ['wu,nta] wind (BSL-42)
- (3) wuntə = wind (DT164)
- (4) wonta wind (NTL-75)

wuntalporo^T steam (from the ground after rain or from water when it boils)

Attestations:

- (1) wuntal-boro = steam from ground after rain or from water she/when boil
(DTC2-163)

wuntu^T lawyer cane

Meaning: DT notes this is used to make a ‘mop’ (*thaypa*) to soak up sugarbag, like the mop made from Ficus (*malawiya^T*).

Attestations:

- (1) The “mop” is called * “Tai-pä” litt (beard) is generally of lawyer cane ('wunt'-o) (DTI-31)
- (2) Tai-pä (literally beard) & there needs qualifying word wunt'o (lawyer cane) or mäläwiä (Ficus) (DTI-38)
- (3) wunto lawyer (DTI-75)

wuntyama^T join up

Form: Given the absence of tense-aspect-mood marking or bound pronouns in the attestations, it is uncertain whether this is a verb or a derived predicate.

Attestations:

- (1) *ŋai-yu wuntjämä* (DTC2-267)
ngayu wuntyama^T
1MIN.NOM join
(DT's translation: 'I join up')
- (2) *nino wuntjämä* (DTC2-268)
nhinu wuntyama^T
2MIN.NOM join
- (3) (*ŋatuna wuntfama* join up those?) (DTC2-269)
ngathuna wuntyama^T
1MIN.ACC join
(DT's comment: 'join up those')

wurrki^T- start*Attestations:*

- (1) *kampino wurrkiña my|no|argo te'e'|inta* (DT3-5)
kampinho wurrki^T-na mayi nu'a-ku the'e*-inta^T
dilly.bag start-PST veg.food karol-DAT bark.trough-?
(DT's translation: 'the dilly bag I have started / bin startim for karol in
bark (trough)')
- (2) *Noi|emo wurrki kampino* (DT3-4)
noiemo wurrki^T kampinho
name start dilly.bag
'Noiemo starts a dilly bag.'

wurrp^a lower back*Attestations:*

- (1) ['wurpa] small of back (JLL-0207)

wurrpurrpul* type of fruit (gathered on the beach)

Meaning: DT notes that this is burned to make a type of charcoal used by the widow of a dead man in the mourning ritual (as opposed to the other women who smeared themselves with mud).

Related forms: worrpurrpul 'type of root' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) She would not have used mud but charcoal often made by burning
(wurr^x-purr^x-bul) a fruit gathered on the beach. (DT200-46)

wuutu See *pama wuutu* ‘old man’.

-y^T vocative (voc; see chapter 4, section 3.1)

Attestations:

- (1) Tfil-po [id]-oi! (DTC2-26&27)
tyilpu* ‘old man’ tyilpu*-y^T ‘Old man!’ (DT’s translations)

yaaku* type of small round white fruit

Meaning: DT notes that it has a bitter aftertaste, but is good with sugar.

Related forms: yaaku ‘tree, small berry, Securinega melanthesioides’ (Umpila, Thompson), yaaku ‘white currant’ (inland Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) ya-ko Yintsinga, ya-ko Ompela white fruit (DTC5-64)

yalpatyi^T type of spear

Meaning: DT glosses this form in his notes, but the gloss is almost illegible. It could be ‘stone’, in which case this form may refer to a spear with a stone chip.

Attestations:

- (1) yalpaji spear of [illegible] (DTC5-56)

yampa^{T-} lift up, raise

Attestations:

- (1) yämpa lift up, raise (DTC2-141)
- (2) yu-o yämpädi (nino) (DTC2-142)

yu'u	yampa ^T -ti*	nhinu
hand	lift-2MIN.NOM	2MIN.NOM

 (DT’s translation: ‘You lift up my hand.’)
- (3) yu-o yämpä (DTC2-143)

yu'u	yampa ^T
hand	lift

 (DT’s translation: ‘You lift up my hand.’)
- (4) n̄aiyu yu-o yampänji (DTC2-144)

ngayu	yu'u	yampa ^T -ngi
1MIN.NOM	hand	lift-1MIN.NOM

 (DT’s translation: ‘I lift up my hand.’)
- (5) kol yampangi tenkingi trade money (NTT-7)

kul'a*	yampa ^T -ngi	tenki ^T -ngi
money	lift-1MIN.NOM	let.go-1MIN.NOM

 ‘I will trade.’ (Lit. ‘take and let go of money’)

yanga

1. hair

Related forms: *yangan ‘head hair’ (Proto-Paman, Hale)*Attestations:*

- (1) [γληλ] hair (GR-12)

2. neck pendant containing hair of a deceased person

Meaning: DT notes that the neck pendant is wrapped in fibre from the *kaaypa** tree, and decorated with orchid (*pootyila^T*) and giddy giddy beads (*ngetyi^T*) (DT200-9).*Attestations:*

- (1) Burial of old man outright. Hair only carried as neck pendant (specimen obtained) called *yäŋa* (DT200-1)
- (2) Hair carried in dilly bag or may be worn around neck _ called *Yän̄a* / wrapped around with fibre string of *Kai-pa* (same term as *Ompela*) & wrapped in wax ([illegible]) ornamented with *portſila* (orchid) & red [illegible] *Netſi* (DT200-9)

yantyampa bone*Attestations:*

- (1) [γλντα.μρλ] bone (GR-15)

ya'omo^T gum from the roots of the ironwood tree*Related meanings:* DT's notes suggest that *yungku** ‘ironwood tree’ can also be used to refer to the gum.*Attestations:*

- (1) Yā|ōmō, Ompeila yan|ko gum fr root of tree (DTC1-22)

yapanu

1. big

Attestations:

- (1) [γλρλν] big (GR-31)
- (2) ən-täl-gə yapan-o (DT183-7)
antalka^T yapanu
stingray.spear big
(DT's gloss ‘stingaree spear (big one)’)

2. much, plenty

Attestations:

- (1) keni yap-anu (DTC2-3)
keene yapanu
tobacco much
(DT's translation: ‘plenty tobacco’)

- (2) yapä – yapinu big lot (DTC2-206)
- (3) mai jie yapyapano heap (DTC5-76)
 - mayi yap-yapanu
 - veg.food REDUP-much
 - ‘a heap of food’

3. older (e.g. in a sibling set)

Related meanings: The antonym is *pikipiki*.

Attestations:

- (1) yapano first one (DTC5-8)
- (2) he [George] yapano Bob is Begibigi (DTC5-18)

yapatharra* type of dilly bag

Meaning: DT notes it is used for karol, which may suggest that it is a sieve-type bag.

Related forms: yapatharra ‘grass sp. used for dilly bag weaving’ (Umpila, Hill)

Attestations:

- (1) yapa|darra, pörntōr|ū = Dilly Bag (Ompeila), dilly Bag used for karol (DTC1-1)
- (2) “Grass” for “Porn’toi-yu” Ompela 1. yi-'mən 2. wət-əl & dilly bag
‘Porndoi-yu may be called “ too. Yintsiŋa Yapı-därrä & dilly bag called “ & grass called Ti'mə (DTS-21)

yapi older sister

Meaning: DT notes the following uses: Z+, MZ+D, FB+D, maleMFZ+SD, HFZD (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal terms are *weeli* and *karki*.

Form: There is some variation between forms ending in a close vowel and forms ending in an open vowel, which suggests that the spread of a close front final vowel through the paradigm of kinship terms is not yet complete.

Related forms: *yapa ‘sister, older’ (Proto-Pama-Nyungan, Alpher)

Attestations:

- (1) ['jap:eŋat̪u] (JLL-0132)
 - yapi ngathu
 - eZ 1MIN.GEN
 - (elicited as ‘big sister’)
- (2) [yʌpi] elder sis (GR-40)
- (3) ['jap:e] mother in law (JLL-0137)
- (4) ['yape] grannyboy (JLL-0141)
- (5) ['ya,pɪŋat̪u] Z+ (RAK-16)

- (6) ['ya,piŋaṭu] ['yap.e] my Z+ (BSL-55)
- (7) yapi Z+, MZ+D, FB+D, maleMFZ+SD, HFZD (DTK-20)
- (8) yapı elder sister (DT2-5)
- (9) yapi <-> karki (DT209-22)

yapintu bream

Meaning: This form is elicited as ‘bream’ pronounced with [i:], so it may have been heard as ‘dream’ by the informant.

Attestations:

- (1) [ja'pindu] bream (JLL-0099)

yarraman horse

Form: This is a general Australian loanword, see Dixon et al. (1990: 86–87).

Attestations:

- (1) [jaraman] horse (RAL-6)

yatha (meaning unclear, possibly a kinterm)

Meaning: This form is elicited as ‘biggest uncle’, but it is not found in DT’s or Bruce Rigsby’s lists of kinterms.

Attestations:

- (1) [jaṭa'ŋaṭu] (JLL-0146)
- yatha ngathu
- ? 1MIN.GEN
- (elicited as ‘biggest uncle’)

yenthere* type of crab

Meaning: It is not sure if *yenthere** and *walpa^T* refer to the same species of crab. If they refer to the same species, *yenthere** may be an Umpithamu form, since *walpa^T* is attested elsewhere as a Yintyingka form.

Related forms: yentheri ‘little sandcrab’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) Yentere crab (Walpa crab) (DTG-27)

yeya- go

Form: Variation in this form (from full form *eyeya-* to reduced form *yeya-*) suggests it may have originated as a reduplication of *iya-* (found as a cognate form in other languages).

Related forms: *iya-* ‘go’ (Umpithamu), *iya-* ‘go’ (inland Wik Mungkan)

Attestations (selection):

- (1) [jɛ'janɛ] (JLL-0088)
 yeya-ngi
 go-1MIN.NOM
 (elicited as ‘go away’)
- (2) a yeya-ngi kanhingka (JLTA-0084)
 DM go-1MIN.NOM placename
 ‘I went to Kanhingka.’
- (3) keene [?] patha-ngi Coen [?] yeya-ngi keene-ku (JLTA-0124)
 tobacco eat-1MIN.NOM Coen go-1MIN.NOM tobacco-DAT
 ‘I will smoke tobacco. I will go to Coen for tobacco.’
- (4) kani yeyana climb up (JLL-0186)
 kani yeya-na
 up go-PST
 ‘go up’
- (5) koothe-mu yeya-ngi (JLTA-0093)
 water-ABL go-1MIN.NOM
 (No translation available)
- (6) yupu yeya-ngi ngarrku-ku (JLTA-0025)
 FUT go-1MIN.NOM camp-DAT
 ‘I will go to camp soon.’
- (7) pontamyena-mu yeya-ngi / meenthela-ku (JLTA-0097)
 placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename-DAT
 ‘I go from Pontamyena, towards Meenthela.’
- (8) wiinti-mu yeya-ngi / wokeka (JLTA-0058)
 placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename
 ‘I go from Wiinti to Wokeka.’
- (9) wokeka-mu yeya-ngi / maka (JLTA-0059)
 placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename
 ‘I go from Wokeka to Maka.’
- (10) maka-mu yeya-ngi (JLTA-0060)
 placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM
 ‘I go from Maka.’
- (11) palantyi-mu yeya-ngi / wiiyaa-ngu (JLTB-0033)
 placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM other-BLOC
 ‘I go from Palantyi to another (place).’
- (12) poonha-mu yeya-ngi / konhanha (JLTA-0075)
 placename-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename
 ‘I go from Poonha to Konhanha.’

- (13) nhamani-mu yeaya-ngi olampa (JLTA-0062)
 DIST.DEM-ABL go-1MIN.NOM placename
 'From there I go to Olampa.'
- (14) ngayu ngarrku-wa wiipa yeaya-ngi (JLTA-0014)
 1MIN.NOM place-? shade go-1MIN.NOM
 'I go to a shady place.' (no translation provided in source)

yeyo^T mudwhelk

Meaning: DT only glosses this as an edible shell, but the drawing in his notes suggests it is a mudwhelk.

Attestations:

- (1) 'yēi-ō (DTC2-21)

yikana*

1. type of spear (prong spear, iron spear)

Meaning: DT glosses this form as 'prong spear' or 'iron spear', but it is locally better known as 'crowbar'.

Form: The form *yikana** is attested as a spear type, with a cognate form *yikan* in Umpila. The form *yikan* is also attested once in Yintyingka, referring to 'lancewood'. Given that Yintyingka almost exclusively has V-final stems, we decided to join these two forms under the single lexeme *yikana**.

Related forms: *yikan* 'fighting spear' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) ye|kūnā, ompeila yanka onKo, prong spear (DTC1-36)
 (2) kaka e/kana long spear (DTC5-34)
 (3) Kek-i yi-kana iron spear (DTC5-58)
 (4) kaka ekuna He carried a woomera & 2 long spears, four finger spear (DT4-1)
 (5) spear – not stingray but panti tālā & *yikan* (DT209-37)

2. lancewood

Meaning: DT notes that this wood is used for wallaby spears, and as a spear tip to give weight and balance to short spears and bamboo spears.

Attestations:

- (1) Lancewood Ompela yi-kān Yintsiṇa yi-kān. used for wallaby (hunting spear), tips for short spears, bamboo spears etc, to give weight & balance. Also rarely used for spear-throwers. Even used to give balance sometimes in bamboo stingaree spears & yam sticks. (DTS-26)

yintyinyu* type of tree (*Canarium australasicum*)

Meaning: In DT's notes, the gum from this tree is called *ngalangkayi^T* (which in one place is also listed as a synonym for *yintyinyu** in Yintyingka). In Umpila, both terms are used for the tree, *yintyinyu* as the regular term and *ngalangkay* in the respect variety.

Related forms: *yintyanyu* 'gum tree (*Canarium australianum*), respect variety' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) *yintsinyu* (*Canarium australasicum*) *ŋälängai* (DTI-100)
- (2) *ŋälänŋ'ai* Ompela *ŋälänŋ'ai-i* / *yintſin-yu* *yintſiŋa* (DTS-15)

yinyamu^T wallaby tail sinew

Meaning: DT notes this is used to sew barks (e.g. for a bark trough), to tie spearpoints to spears, and in the ritual removal of incisors.

Attestations:

- (1) Wallaby tail sinew pulled out & carried in dry condition for spear / spears, especially for sewing barks, is *yi'n'yamo* (Yintyingga) / *Oton'mo, Yarki* (Ompela) (DT193-2)
- (2) *in-yame* wallaby sinew to pull tooth (DT183-26)

yipatyi^T type of sugarbag

Meaning: DT records <pul-po> as an Umpila equivalent, but in current Umpila sources this is only glossed as 'white'. Yintyingka has a form *polpo* 'short-funnel sugarbag', as confirmed by several sources.

Attestations:

- (1) *Yi-paji pul-po* (DTI-25)

yithala pandanus*Attestations:*

- (1) [ji'ta:la] *pandamus* [sic] (JLL-0077)

yiwo^T feather

Related meanings: There is another form *mayanta^T* for 'feather' (recorded with the word for 'emu'). It is uncertain if there are different names for different types of feathers, or if one of the two terms is not Yintyingka (*yiwo^T* co-occurs with Umpila *ma'a* 'hand').

Attestations:

- (1) *yi-wo* feather (DTC5-69)

yonka^T seed capsules of the *peeka^T* lily*Attestations:*

- (1) Lily 'QN'k'on Ompela 'PerK-ä Yintsiña Roasted in ashes & eaten (seed capsules called by Ompela 'ya'pi & by Yintsiña 'Yonk-ä. Eaten raw & eaten if cooked in ant bed, soaked in water & ground & eaten (DTS-30)

yonkomo^T type of shell*Meaning:* DT notes this is used to scrape *kaaypa** fibre.*Attestations:*

- (1) Fibre kaipa (*Sterculia quadrifida*) fibre taken from young limb, cut into lengths four to six feet or so in length, stripped, bast & fibre pulled out & clean by scraping with yonkomo shell, the fibre stretched taut, meantime, from big toe. Kaipa is prepared by biting or hammering. (DT193-4)

yoome possum*Attestations:*

- (1) ['jɔ:me] possum (JLL-0004)
 (2) ['jo.,me] possum (BSL-2)

yoto* big lot, many*Related forms:* yoto 'many' (Pakanh), yot 'lots, many' (Wik Mungkan)*Attestations:*

- (1) big lot yōt-ō (DTC2-74)
 (2) pama ,yu'to (DTC2-55)
 pama yoto*
 man many
 (DT's gloss: 'one camp me fellas')

yoyko hill, mountain*Related forms:* *yuyku 'mountain' (Proto-Paman, Hale)*Attestations:*

- (1) yoyko (JLTA-0067)
 (2) yoiko R mountain hill (NTL-64)

yuku

1. tree, wood

Related forms: *yuku 'tree, stick' (Proto-Paman, Hale)*Attestations:*

- (1) [yuku] tree (GR-63)
 (2) yoko wood (NTL-70)

2. generic for trees in generic-specific constructions (see chapter 5, section 2.2)

Attestations:

- (1) Yuk/ō untun-älä eibadu & Yinjinga (DTC5-54)

yuku	untangala*
tree	tree.sp
'Thespesia populnea'	

3. stick

Attestations:

- (1) yuko – wänämbä crying stick (DTI-73)

yuku	wanampa ^T
tree	mourning.stick
(DT's gloss: 'crying stick')	
- (2) See *yuku maaka* 'message stick'.

yuku maaka* message stick

Related forms: maaka 'message stick' (Umpila), maak 'message stick' (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) yuK|o marga, Ompeila is Umpila maiga, message sticks, ie marked sticks (DTC1-24)

yungku*

1. ironwood tree

Meaning: DT notes that this wood is often used for woomeras and yamsticks.

Related forms: yungku 'ironwood tree' (Umpila)

Attestations:

- (1) yún|kō wood for woomera (DTC1-33)
- (2) yonko (not used by Ompela) & only known to Ompela at southern end, near Claremont Point (DTI-99)
- (3) Ironwood 'yunk'o ompela " Yintsiṇa used for spearthrowers, yam sticks & for gum by Yintsiṇa & tribes to south not by Ḷompela. (DTS-27)

2. gum from the ironwood tree

Meaning: DT notes that the use of ironwood resin is not found among Umpila, except where they are in contact with Yintyingka.

Related meanings: DT also records a specific term ya'omo^T for the gum made from the roots of the ironwood tree

Attestations:

- (1) Ompela do not know or use yonko as a resin except in the South near Claremont Point – "Clammen" – where they are in contact with the Yintyingka. (DT193-1a)

yunka^T bulb (of the lily)

Related meanings: This form is mentioned in a list of terms relating to *pootyi-mantyi^T* ‘small lily’, together with *wantu^T* ‘seed’.

Attestations:

- (1) big bulbs *yn*-kä (DTI-83)

yuntyi

1. wife

Meaning: DT notes uses for: W, BW, femaleMBD, femaleFMBSD(=BW), maleFMBSD(W), maleFZ+D(=“Z”HZ) (Thomson 1972: 28).

Related meanings: The reciprocal term is *muuyu*.

Attestations:

- (1) [yuncı] wife (GR-69)
- (2) ['ju_nçinqa_tuna] (RAK-20)

yuntyi	ngathuna
W	1MIN.ACC

 (elicited as ‘what banydyiman callim’)
 (See chapter 4, section 2.2, and chapter 5, section 4.2, on *ngathuna* in this structure)
- (3) ['juŋci] cousin (JLL-0152)
- (4) yuntji W, BW, femaleMBD, femaleFMBSD(=BW), maleFMBSD(W), maleFZ+D(=“Z”HZ) (DTK-24)
- (5) The yuntfi of the dead man who had since married wrong & was the source of much wrath in this camp was (perhaps very tactfully sick). (DT200-45)
- (6) Note yuntyi here takes place of Umpila wullomo, kulnta is not used. It is Umpila term for wife after marriage, also Kaanju. (DT209-7)
- (7) yuntyi <-> moryi (check use of kulnta by Ompela for ♀ wullomo after marriage; equiv to yuntyi, Yintyingga) (DT209-20)

2. female part of firestick set

Meaning: This term is used in a discussion of *thumanⁱyi** ‘firesticks’, so it probably refers to the ‘female part’ of a firestick set: a stick with a hole in which the male part (called *puntayi^T*) is twirled. This interpretation is confirmed by the use of Umpila *kalmpa* ‘male part’ further on.

Attestations:

- (1) two parts yunchi (woman) use ompeila with hollow in it yinjinga yunchi (DT4-10)

yupa future (FUT; see chapter 5, section 6.2.1)

Related forms: yupa ‘future’ (Kugu Nganhcara), yupa ‘around now’ (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) yupa yea-ngi ngarrku-ku (JLTA-0025)
 FUT go-1MIN.NOM camp-DAT
 'I will go to camp soon.'

yurrkinanga^T - slip, slide*Attestations:*

- (1) ŋai-yu yurkin-ä-äñi (DTC2-120)
 ngayu yurrkinanga^T.ngi
 1MIN.NOM slip-1MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'I slip slide')
- (2) nin-o yuřimärñä (DTC2-121)
 nhinu yurrkinanga^T
 2MIN.NOM slip
 (DT's translation: 'you slip, you slide')
- (3) nin-o yuřinänädi (DTC2-122)
 nhinu yurrkinanga^T.ti*
 2MIN.NOM slip-2MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'you slip, you slide')
- (4) yuřinařa he (DTC2-123)
- (5) yuřinařidi (DTC2-124)
 yurrkinanga^T.ti*
 slip-2MIN.NOM
 'You slip.'

yu'u

1. hand

Related forms: yu'u 'hand' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) ['ju?u] hand (JLL-0217)
- (2) [yu?u] hand (GR-6)
- (3) yu-o yämpädi (nino) (DTC2-142)
 yu'u yampa^T.ti* nhinu
 hand lift-2MIN.NOM 2MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'You lift up my hand.')
- (4) yu-o yämpä (DTC2-143)
 yu'u yampa^T
 hand lift
 (DT's translation: 'You lift up my hand.')

- (5) $\eta\widehat{aiyu}$ yu-o yampäñi (DTC2-144)
 ngayu yu'u yampa^T-ngi
 1MIN.NOM hand lift-1MIN.NOM
 (DT's translation: 'I lift up my hand.')
- (6) yuo is hand / yu-o min-tă is left hand / right hand is yu-o alk|ō (DT183-27)
 See *yu'u alkut* 'left hand'.

2. finger

Attestations:

- (1) yu-o papa thumb (DT183-31)
 See *yu'u paapa* 'thumb'.

yu'u alkut left hand

Related meanings: DT also records *thaku** for 'left-handed'.

Form: Literally 'hand/finger left' (*alkut* 'left-hand').

Attestations:

- (1) right hand is yu-o alk|ō (DT183-30)

yu'u athi finger nail

Form: Literally 'hand/finger nail' (*athi* 'nail').

Related forms: *yu'u* 'hand' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) [ju?u'?aṭe'kale:ŋga] (JLL-0218)
 yu'u athi kali-ngka
 finger nail ?-PRS
 (elicited as 'finger nail')
 (2) yu/ădi (DTC5-52)

yu'u paapa thumb

Form: Literally 'finger/hand mother' (*paapa* 'mother').

Related forms: *yu'u* 'hand' (Umpithamu)

Attestations:

- (1) yu-o papa thumb (DT183-31)

yuungka elbow

Related forms: *yungka* 'elbow' (Pakanh), *yuungk* 'elbow' (Wik Mungkan)

Attestations:

- (1) [ju:ŋka'kale:ŋga] (JLL-0219)
 yuungka kali-ngka
 elbow ?-PRS
 (elicited as 'elbow')

yuupi^T type of sugarbag

Related meanings: DT records <wi-ergi> (probably *wirki*) as an Umpila equivalent, but in current Umpila sources this is not found. Yintyingka has a form *wirki** ‘big sugarbag’, as confirmed by several sources.

Attestations:

- (1) yurpi wi-ergi (DTI-27)

yuwingi^T type of snake (with a black-collared neck)*Attestations:*

- (1) yu-wiŋii a snake with a black collared neck (DTG-20)

yuwiyo^T type of shell (edible)

Meaning: DT notes that it is used by hermit crabs when empty.

Attestations:

- (1) spiral (eaten) shell food inhabited hermit crabs often yuo-i-o (DT183-2)

yuypa thigh*Attestations:*

- (1) [yuypl] thigh (GR-10)

3 English-Yintyingka finder list

ablative (ABL; see chapter 4, section 3.1, and
chapter 5, section 4)

-mu

Aboriginal person

pama (2)

adze

tyamu^T

ankle

panta

ant (green ant)

oorrka

antbed

epa^T; mungka

arm

kay'a (1)

armpit

maapu

ashes

thuma kaykarra

away

iiwa

baby

poko petye (2)

back

kanpi

back (lower back)

wurrpa

bailer shell

mimpa*

bark humpy	kuta
bark (ti tree bark)	wayiT (2)
bark trough	the'e*
barramundi	koomuluT
beard	thaypa (1)
become black	ngothoma*-
bereaved child (of father) (person who has lost his or her father)	awitaT
bereaved child (of mother) (person who has lost his or her mother)	uminyu*
bereaved father (man who has lost his child)	maakatyi*
bereaved husband (man who has lost his wife)	pilomampaT
bereaved mother (woman who has lost her child)	komonoT
bereaved older sibling (person who has lost a younger sibling)	mantiT
bereaved wife (woman who has lost her husband)	wanthanyu*
bereaved younger sibling (person who has lost older brother or sister)	atyaparrpuT
big	yapanu (1)
big clam shell	tilampaT
big lot	yoto*
big mob	puntyi
biggest member in a set of items	paapa (2)
bite	patha- (3)
black	ngotho*
black clouds	ngolanaT
black ibis	weenawantena
blackfruit	ngonpaT
blood	kamu
blue	malumalu
boiling	molamaT
bone	yantyampa
bone barb (spear or harpoon head)	olpot (1)
bone pointer	katyimuT
boomerang	wintyi
bora ceremony (part)	okayintaT
bora ceremony (stage)	oympipaT
bora dress (part)	tukuT
bora sticks	onkityaT

bottle spear	nga'ala ^T
bream	yapintu
breast	thuutu
broad locative (BLOC; see chapter 4, section 3.1, and chapter 5, section 4)	-ngu
brolga	tuulka
brother (older)	wunayi
brother (younger)	karrki
brother-in-law	pantyiman; pilupa
bulb (of the lily)	yunka ^T
bulguru	kayi ^T ; otyetyene
bullet spear	pankati ^T
bullroarer	panmata ^T
burdekin duck	thampi*
bush doctor	aympayi
bye-and-bye	wali ^T (2)
cabbage tree	mongkongo
call out	pangka-
camp	ngarrku (2)
canoe	piinka; tanti ^T
carpet snake	wa'ama
cassowary	mangkuntyi*
cassowary quill	olpo ^T (2)
cat	putyikan
catch	wama*- (2)
chest	umu
child (man speaking)	ngayunpa; pok
child (woman speaking)	thowi
chrysalis of a colonial butterfly sp.	noyka ^T
chuck	thaa'i-
cicatrice	ilpa
citation form (see chapter 4, section 4.2.1)	-na (2)
close	thinthu*
cloud	ma'u; worrtya*
cloud (black clouds)	ngolana ^T
cloud (heavy cloud cover)	titi ^T
cockatoo (white cockatoo)	pantyi ^T ; theenye
collarbone	manu wintyi

come	thongke-
come out	purpri^T-
comitative (COM; see chapter 4, section 3.3.1)	-tyi*
corpse	oto^T (2)
country	ngarrku (3)
crab sp.	worapura*; yenthere*
crab sp. (sand crab)	walpa^T
crashing thunder	tankatanka^T
crayfish	taypongkoyu^T
creek	kay'a (2)
crocodile (saltwater crocodile)	pintyi
dark	nguntyama^T
darkness	nguntyama^T
dative (DAT: see chapter 4, section 3.1, and chapter 5, section 4)	-ku
daughter-in-law	ngathamay
daughter's child (man speaking)	ngathinthinhu; ngathithu
daughter's child (woman speaking)	kaminthinhu; kamithu
daughter's husband (woman speaking)	thaami (2)
daughter's husband (man speaking)	ngathamay
dead	teengke
death adder	walantyi
deep sea	malu
demonstrative (distal; DIST.DEM)	nhamani
demonstrative (proximal; PROX.DEM)	angku
devil	awu; nyorrtyomo^T
dig	atyi-
dilly bag type	ngontye; unti^T; wayu^T; yapatharra*
dilly bag type (made of bark string)	kowampa^T
dilly bag type (made of grass of the same name)	kampinhu (2)
dingo	thangkingkamu
dirt	purcka*
dirty	po'i^T
discourse marker (DM; see chapter 5, section 8)	a
dog	ko'a^T; pantyi; ukukuyi
drink	patha- (2)
duck (burdekin duck)	thampi*

dugong	utyā*
dugong rope	walkana^T (2)
eaglehawk	monpeye
ear	kaalu
early morning	palpingangka
east	kaawa
eat	patha- (1)
echidna	kaa'uma
eelfish	mutha
egg	mulu
elbow	yuungka
emphatic (EMPH; see chapter 4, section 3.2)	=ngka; =nhang
emu	atyampa; nhampi
enter	thaaka-
eye	ko'o; nhee'e
eyelid	ko'o manta*
far	katyi; katyikatyi
fast	kalmpikalmpi^T
father	piipi
father-in-law	aampayi
father's father	kami
father's mother	ngathi
father's older brother	piinhayi
father's sister	piinhayi
feather	mayanta^T; yiwo^T
female part of firestick set	yuntyi (2)
fibre type	kaaypa* (2)
filth	purrka*
finger	yu'u (2)
finger nail	yu'u athi
finished	kunki*
fire	thuma (1)
firestick set (female part)	yuntyi (2)
firestick set (male part)	puntayi^T (2)
firestick wood	thumantyi* (2)
firesticks	thumantyi* (1)
firewood	thuma (2)
fish	theekampa; wonpo
fish poison (type)	keene (1)

fish sp. (like a kingfish)	tapawa^T
fishnet (big, barramundi net)	mooye^T
fishnet (for small fish)	aampa*
fishnet (large)	ko'onontyi^T
fishnet (not flexible, hinged)	ma'atyi^T
fishnet (type)	kampinhu (3)
five	mangku* (1)
flame	impali
flash	mati^{T-}; tantalmpa^T
fly	wolo
food (general)	mayi (3)
foot	tha'u (1)
forbidden	kintya*
four	atu^T (1)
four-finger spear	tala^T; tala^T me'atu^T
fresh water	okolo^T umpu^T; ompipi^T; umpu^T
frillneck lizard	thaypanamu
frog	thata
fruit sp.	yaaku*
fruit sp. (gathered on the beach)	wurppurrpul*
fruit sp. (small black fruit)	ko'anaka^T
funeral feast	mayi yapanu
future (FUT; see chapter 5, section 6.2.1)	yupa
galls	kaakolamo^T
generic (game animals)	minha (2)
generic (placenames)	ngarrku (4)
generic (places with water)	ngoki (2)
generic (spears)	kaka (2)
generic (trees)	yuku (2)
generic (vegetable food)	mayi (2)
get up	waayi^{T-} (2)
giddy giddy bead	ngetyi^T
girl	ngapanu^T
give	wo'e-
go	pootya*-; waayi^{T-} (1); wopi-; yeya-
go for	kana^{T-}
go inside	thaaka-
goanna sp.	pantya; thatyi

good	wanti
grandchild (cross)	ngathinthinhu; ngathithu
grandchild (parallel)	kaminthinhu; kamithu
grandparent (cross)	ngathi
grandparent (parallel)	kami
grass	patya
grass skirt	warrku ^T
grass sp. (used to make dilly bags)	kampinhu (1); tima ^T
grave	oto ^T (1)
green ant	oorrka
grindstone set (large lower stone)	kul'a* paapa
grindstone set (small upper stone)	altyi ^T pok
groper	wenthemo
ground	ngarrku (1); puumpili
grub sp.	epo ^T
gum (Canarium australasicum)	ngalangkayi ^T (2)
gum (ironwood tree)	ya'omo ^T ; yungku* (2)
hair	yanga (1)
hammer	wangka- (2)
hand	yu'u (1)
hand (left hand)	yu'u alku ^T
hard (forcefully)	wathampa*
hard (strong)	mutamuta ^T
hard sugarbag wax	mangka* (1)
harpoon (wooden)	ngalu ^T
harpoon pole	taaninkamu ^T
he	nhilu
head	pa'i
heart	aanguma
heavy	punta*
heavy cloud cover	titi ^T
heavy rain	onula ^T
help	kurrkarrku ^T .
her	-na ^T ; nhingu; nhinguna
here	angku
hibiscus sp.	walkana ^T (1)
hill	yoyko
him	-na ^T ; nhinguna
hip	pilu

his	nningu
hit	wangka- (1)
hold	wama*- (1)
horse	yarraman
hot	tunpantinu^T
house	wunku
how	ngampa*
human noise	aaya^T
humpy	kuta
husband	muuyu
husband's father	aampayi
 I	 ngayu; -ngi
ibis	oo'owotimo
ibis (black ibis)	weenawantena
ignorative (manner; IGNOR)	ngampa*
ignorative (person; IGNOR)	waa'i*
ignorative (things; IGNOR)	ngaani
imperative negation (NEG.IMP; see chapter 5, section 6.1)	wama^T
imperative plural (IMP.PL; see chapter 4, section 4.1)	-mpu*
imperative singular (IMP.SG; see chapter 4, section 4.2)	-la*
important man	tyilpu* (2)
in line	wi'a^T
incisor	kaya^T
intensifier (INT; see chapter 4, section 3.3)	-ka^T
intestines	kuna
intransitive verbalizer (VBLZ; see chapter 4, section 3.3)	-ma*
ironwood tree	yungku* (1)
 jabiru	 monte
jewfish	uympa
join up	wuntyama^T
jump out (tooth)	waayiT- (3)
 kangaroo (red kangaroo)	 kuympatyi
karol (hairy yam)	nu'a
kidney	kongompe

knee	pungku
kookaburra	kaympu*
lagoon	ngoki oolka
lancewood	yikana* (2)
language	aaya^T
lawyer cane	wuntu^T
leaf	inga^T
leave	wana*-
left hand	yu'u alku^T
left-hand	alku^T
left-handed	thaku*
leg (lower)	entye
let go	tenki^T
lie down	wuna- (2)
lift up	yampa^T-
lightning	ngoki munta
lily (or part of lily)	panampingi^T
lily bulb	yunka^T
lily root	punpinhu
lily sp.	peeka^T
lily sp. (small)	pootyimantyi^T
little	petyepetye
little boy	poko petye (1)
little girl	we'omo
lizard (blue-tongue lizard)	koothaye
lizard (frillneck lizard)	thaypanamu
long time	atyaku; montiti^T; monto^T
look	paya-
look for	kana^T-
lover	woympi*
lower back	wurrrpa
lower leg	entye
magpie goose	nguyumpa*
male part of a firestick set	puntayi^T (2)
malevolent spirit	awu
man	pama (1); puntayi^T (1)
man with a young child	poko aympiku^T; poko penteko^T

mangrove sp. (<i>Bruguiera gymnorhiza</i>)	muutaka*
mangrove sp. (<i>Bruguiera rheedii</i>)	ka'arra^T
mangrove worm	wanti'a*
many	kolka^T; puntyi; yoto*
me	ngathuna; -nhi*
meal	mayi (3)
meat	minha (1)
meet	wowi^T
message stick	yuku maaka*
mine	ngathu
moiety name	karipi^T; kuya*
money	kul'a* (2)
moon	peete
mother	paapa (1)
mother-in-law	thaami (1)
mother's father	ngathi
mother's mother	kami
mother's older sibling	muki
mother's younger brother	kaali
mountain	yoyko
mourning stick	wanampa^T (2)
mourning strings	moola*
mourning strings (arms)	moola* kay'a
mourning strings (neck)	moola* manu
mourning strings (shoulders)	moola* maapungka; moola* wakontama^T
mouth	theeye
much	yapanu (2)
mudwhelk	yeyo^T
my	ngathu
nail	athi
name	kantya (2); ngootyorro*; thaapityi* (2)
namesake	thaapityi* (1)
narrow locative (NLOC; see chapter 4, section 3.1)	-ngka (1)
native cat	pa'i
nautilus shell	watokapa^T (1)
near	thinthu*
neck	manu

neck pendant	yanga (2)
necklace (made of nautilus shell)	watokapa^T (2)
negator (imperative; NEG.IMP; see chapter 5, section 6.1)	wama^T
negator (non-imperative; NEG; see chapter 5, section 6.1)	ka'i
nighttime	parrpi (2)
no	mampa
nonda plum	pa'olo^T
north	kungki
northeast	kungki
northwest	kuwa
nose	montye
not	ka'i
nothing	mampa
now	walingka^T
ochre (red ochre)	poota*
old lady	wolomo
old man	pama wuutu
old man (term of respect)	tyilpu* (1)
old woman	wantu
older (e.g. in a sibling set)	yapanu (3)
older brother	wunayi
older sister	yapi
oldest of a sibling set	tha'othe
one	thonongko*
only	koli^T
orchid (stem)	pootyila^T
other	tyatyi^T; wiiya
our (we all, except you)	ngantyangu*
our (you and I)	ngalingu*
our (you, I and others)	ngampulangu*
own	mongo^T
pad for carrying loads on the head (tea tree bark)	pantawoki^T
paddle	panpa
paint (red paint)	nanka^T
paint (white paint)	morppo^T
pandanus	yithala
past (PST; see chapter 4, section 4.2.1)	-na (1)

pelican	maathi
perfective (PFV; see chapter 5, section 6.2.2)	
perhaps	kana
person with a special role in mortuary ceremonies	wanhu*
pig	pulominki^T
placename suffix (NLOC; see chapter 4, section 3.1)	pikipiki
placename suffix (PLACE; see chapter 4, section 3.3)	-ngka (2)
plains turkey	-apirringu; -ntyingu
plenty	
porcupine	katyipanku
possum	atu^T (2); mangku* (2);
pregnant woman	yapanu (2)
present (PRS; see chapter 4, section 4.2)	kaa'uma
privative (PRIV; see chapter 4, section 3.3, and chapter 5, section 6.1)	yoome
proper	nyintyana^T
rain	-ngka
rain (heavy rain)	-kinu*
rainbow	
raise	mongo^T
reciprocal (for kinterms; REC, see chapter 4, section 3.3)	maampi (1)
red	onula^T
red kangaroo	payamu
red lady apple	yampa^T-
red ochre	-nthinhu; -thu
red paint	
resin	munta; muntamunta
rib	kuympatyi
right-hand	kaaku
right-handed	poota*
river	nanka^T
road	ola^T
rock cod	wa'amu
rock cod (big)	mini*
rock cod (small)	minitiku^T
	atapa; puntha
	monto*
	oolo
	thiiyarri*
	wootyo*

salmon (big)	itharra*
saltwater	kanti ^T ; kulanta; okolo ^T kanti ^T
saltwater crocodile	pintyi
sand crab	walpa ^T
sandbeach	malngkana*
sandbeach people	pama tongkani ^T
sandpaper tree	tempamo ^T
sandpiper	imantharra*
scar	ilpa
scrub	maalatha
scrub turkey	woonta ^T
see	ngaka-; paya-
seed (of the lily)	wantyu ^T
seed capsules of the <i>peeka</i> ^T lily	yonka ^T
seed capsules of the <i>untangala</i> * tree	untangala* (2)
shade	wipa
she	nhilu
shell sp.	tankamu ^T ; yonkomo ^T
shell sp. (bailer shell)	mimpa*
shell sp. (big clam shell)	tilampa ^T
shell sp. (edible)	yawiyo ^T
shine	mati ^T -
short spear	pankati ^T
sinew (wallaby tail)	yinyamu ^T
sister (older)	yapi
sister (younger)	weeli
sit (down)	nhiina-
skin	pe'e
sleep	weepa; wuna- (1)
slide	yurrkinanga ^T -
slip	palnkawonka ^T ;- yurrkinanga ^T -
slow(ly)	ngatyungatyu*
small	pikipiki (1)
smoke	nguka
snake	puu'a
snake sp. (black-collared neck)	yuwingi ^T
snake sp. (like a carpet snake)	poole ^T

soft sugarbag wax	wama*
son-in-law	ngathamay; thaami (2)
son's child (man speaking)	kaminthinhu; kamithu
son's child (woman speaking)	ngathinthinhu;
son's wife (man speaking)	ngathithu
sooty oyster catcher	ngathamay
sorcery material	ompirili*
sore (painful)	mangka* (2)
south	ngayani ^T
southeast	thiipi
southwest	kaawa
speak	thiipi
spear	errke-
spear (general)	watyu*-
spear type	kaka (1)
spear type (bamboo handle, stingray barb)	ngomerre; yalpatyi ^T ;
spear type (bottle spear)	yikana* (1)
spear type (four-finger spear)	kaaya*
spear type (short, bullet spear)	nga'alaka ^T
spear type (stingray spear)	tala ^T ; tala ^T me'atu ^T
spear type (wire spear)	pankati ^T
spearhandle tree	antalka ^T ; keke ^T (1)
spit	kaarrika
stand (up)	te'erro ^T
star	kati
start	tani ^T .
steam	thunpi
stick	wurki ^T .
stingray sp. (big, with a long tail)	wuntalporo ^T
stingray sp. (small)	wanampa ^T (1); yuku (3)
stingray spear	tompongo ^T
stinking	keke ^T (2); tulantyi ^T
stomach	antalka ^T
stone	katha
stranger	witha
strong	kul'a* (1)
subordinator (SUB; see chapter 4, section 4.3, and chapter 5, section 8)	pama wiiya
	mutamuta ^T
	-tyi ^T

sugarbag honey	opo^T
sugarbag ‘mop’	thaypa (2)
sugarbag type	kumpan^T; wantila^T; wata; wontene; yipatyi^T; yuupi^T
sugarbag type (big)	wirrki*
sugarbag type (long funnel)	wunan
sugarbag type (short funnel)	polpo; athu
sugarbag wax	wakantha*
sugarbag wax (hard)	mangka* (1)
sugarbag wax (soft)	wama*
sun	kampala
swamp	paampi
sweethart	woympi*
swelling (on tree)	pila^T
taboo	kintya*
taipan	thaypan
talk	erke-
their	pulangu
there	nhamani
they	pula; -rru^T
thigh	wi'a; yuypa
three	kuntu
throw	thaa'i-
thumb	yu'u paapa
ti tree	wayi^T (1)
ti tree bark	wayi^T (2)
tie up	katha-
tiger snake	ngampu
tobacco	keene (2)
today	walingka^T; wali^T (1)
toe	tha'u (2)
toe nail	tha'u athi
tomorrow (night)	parrpingka
tongue	thaapi
tonight	parrpi (1)
tool (spear making)	paku^T
tooth	kantya (1)
tree	yuku (1)

tree sp.	eka^T; inuku* ; kompoyi^T ;
tree sp. (Acacia sp.)	pinta ; tyootyunu*
tree sp. (<i>Canarium australasicum</i>)	moyoy^T
tree sp. (<i>Ficus opposita</i> , sandpaper tree)	ngalangkayi^T (1);
tree sp. (<i>Ficus</i> sp.)	yintyinyu*
tree sp. (spearhandle tree)	tempamo^T
tree sp. (<i>Sterculia quadrifida</i>)	malawiya^T
tree sp. (<i>Thespesia populnea</i>)	te'erro^T
tucker	kaaypa* (1)
turtle sp. (freshwater turtle)	untangala* (1)
turtle sp. (green turtle)	mayi (3)
two	ingka
up	kalkeyi^T
vegetable food	kuuthi*
vocative (VOC; see chapter 4, section 3.1)	iiwa; kani
waist	mayi (1)
wait	-y^T
wallaby sp.	kala*
wallaby sp. (big)	nenki^T
wallaby tail sinew	panku; uympa; wu'ati^T
wapa	ninani^T
warp	yinyamu^T
water	wapa*
wax (hard sugarbag wax)	taaningkamu^T
wax (soft sugarbag wax)	koothie; ngoki (1); okolo^T
wax (sugarbag wax)	mangka* (1)
we (we all, except you)	wama*
we (you and I)	wakantha*
we (you, I and others)	-lintyi^T; ngantya* ; -ntyi*
west	-li* ; ngali*
wet	-mpi; ngampu
wet time	kuwa
what	korrrye-
white cockatoo	maampi (2); weerinmun*
white man	ngaani
white paint	pantyi^T; theenye
	nyorrtyomo^T
	morrpo^T

white-apple	pipi
who	waa'i*
wife	yuntyi (1)
wife's brother	pantyiman; pilupa
wife's father	aampayi
wife's mother	thaami (1)
wind	wunta
wire spear	kaarrika
without	-kinu*
woman	wethemu
woman (old lady)	wolomo
woman (old woman)	wantu
woman who has given birth	waymitya^T
woman who has had a child or children	pa'ayi^T
wooden harpoon	kuyurru*
woomera	thuli
woomera chisel	taka^T
woomera hook	thulikuna*
woomera peg	thulikuna*
yam	muuki
yamstick	kathi
you (more than one person)	nhipu; nhipunguna
you (one person)	nhingkuna; n hinu; -ti*
younger brother	karrki
younger brother's child	pininthinhu^T
younger (sibling set)	pikipiki (2)
younger sister	weeli
younger sister's child	mukinthinhu; mukithu
your (more than one person)	nhipungu
your (one person)	nhingku
1 augmented (genitive; 1AUG.GEN)	ngantyangu*
1 augmented (nominative; 1AUG.NOM)	-lintyi*
1 augmented (nominative: 1AUG.NOM)	ngantya*
1 augmented (nominative; 1AUG.NOM)	-ntyi*
1 minimal (accusative; 1MIN.ACC)	ngathuna; -nhi*
1 minimal (genitive; 1MIN.GEN)	ngathu
1 minimal (nominative; 1MIN.NOM)	ngayu; -ngi

12 augmented (genitive; 12AUG.GEN)	ngampulangu*
12 augmented (nominative; 12AUG.NOM)	-mpi; ngampu
12 minimal (genitive; 12MIN.GEN)	ngalingu*
12 minimal (nominative; 12MIN.NOM)	-li*; ngali*
2 augmented (accusative; 2AUG.ACC)	nhipunguna
2 augmented (genitive; 2AUG.GEN)	nhipungu
2 augmented (nominative; 2AUG.NOM)	nhipu
2 minimal (accusative; 2MIN.ACC)	nhingkuna
2 minimal (genitive; 2MIN.GEN)	nhingku
2 minimal (nominative; 2MIN.NOM)	nhinu; -ti*
3 augmented (genitive; 3AUG.GEN)	pulangu
3 augmented (nominative; 3AUG.NOM)	pula; -rru^T
3 minimal (accusative; 3MIN.ACC)	nhinguna
3 minimal (accusative; 3MIN.ACC; see chapter 4, section 4.2.1)	-na^T
3 minimal (genitive; 3MIN.GEN)	nhingu
3 minimal (nominative; 3MIN.NOM)	nhilu

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