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The grammar of Yalarnga A language of western Queensland

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See also the introduction to the vocabulary for abbreviations used only in the Yalarnga to English vocabulary.

Language informants:

MH	Maudie Hayden
LM	Lardie Moonlight
MM	Mick Moonlight

Language names:

KJ	Kalkutungu
PP	Pitta-Pitta
WI	Warluwarrা

Grammatical and phonetic terminology:

1	first person	LOC	locative
2	second person	NF	non-future
3	third person	NOM	nominaliser
ALL	allative	OBL	oblique
AP	antipassive	PART	participial
APPL	applicative	PAST	past tense
AVERS	aversive	pl, PLUR	plural
C	any consonant	POSS	possessor (of kin)
CAUS	causative	POT	potential
DAT	dative	PRES	present tense
du, DUAL	dual	PROP	proprietary
FUT	future	PURP	purposive
HAB	habitual	RE	reflexive/reciprocal
IMP	imperative	sg	singular
IMPERF	imperfective	TLOC	time-locative
INTR	intransitive verb formative	TR	transitive verb formative
IRR	irrealis	V	any vowel
LESS	privative	VOC	vocative
LIG	possessor ligative	- ²⁸	prosodic suffix

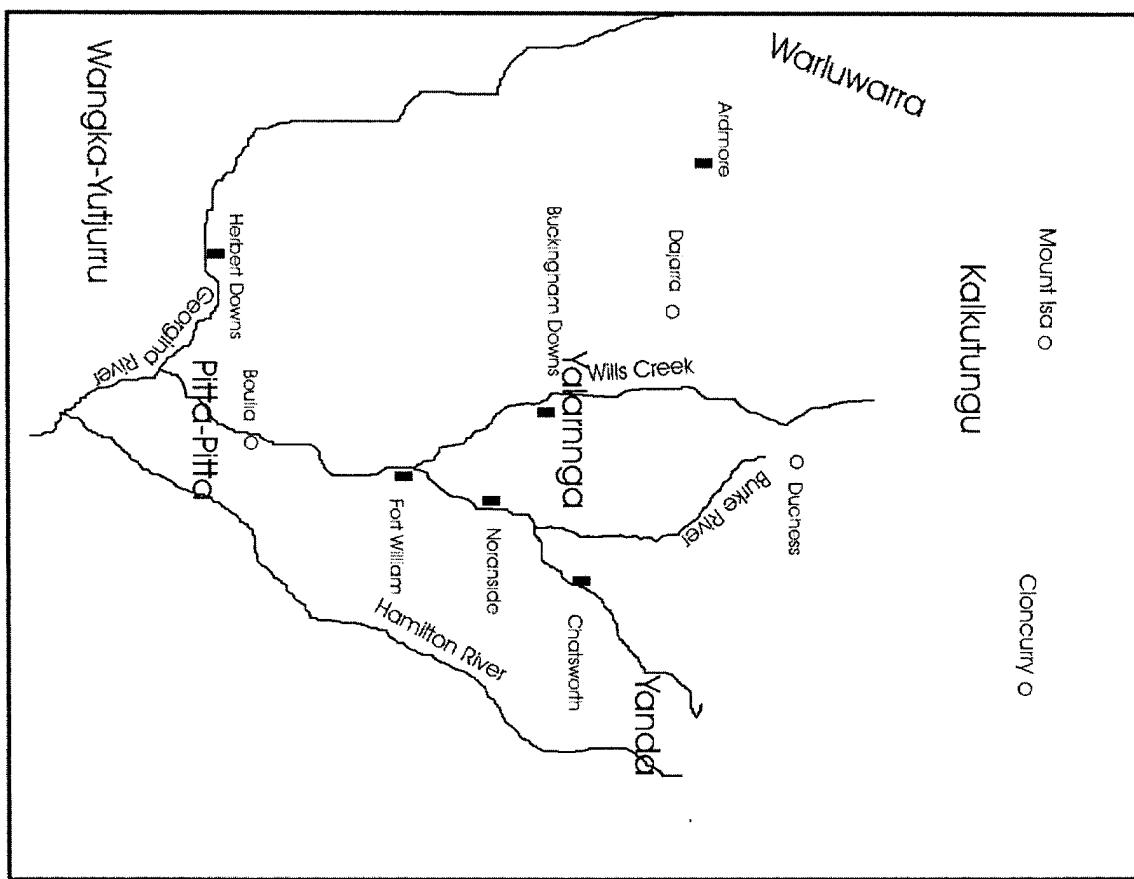
Abbreviations and conventions

Abbreviations used only in Chapter 5:

N	noun
O	object
V	verb (also vowel)
V trans	transitive verb
V intrans	intransitive verb

BECOME, HENCE, HITHER, LIKE, OTHER, YOUR.

English translations of example sentences are given in single quotes except when they are as given by the informant, when they are in double quotes. Sometimes this applies to only part of a translation.



1 *The language and its speakers*

1.1 Linguistic type

The Yalarunga language is a fairly typical language of the Pama-Nyungan type, at least of the type that lacks bound pronouns. Yalarunga shares a lot of lexical items with its northern neighbour, Kalkunungu, and diffusion is likely to be responsible. The two languages also share a number of affixes, some widespread and some distinctive, but there is not enough evidence to claim the two languages form a subgroup. The two languages may constitute a relic area (see §1.3 and, especially, Chapter 5).

Yalarunga is a suffixing, agglutinating language; all known inflectional and derivational affixes are suffixes, and no prefixes are attested. It probably resembled other languages of the area in having a much more complex morphology of verbs than of nouns, involving marking of associated motion, number, and a variety of aspects, but the information available is not sufficient to demonstrate this. The morphology seems to have been generally regular: only a few of the more common verbs are somewhat irregular. There are no divisions of nouns into major declensions (although there are some differences in suffixes on the basis of length of stem, and some differences for kinship terms) or of verbs into major conjugations. There is no morphological gender.

The morphology distinguishes three classes: nominals (with case inflection), verbs (with inflection for tense etc.) and uninflected words, many of which are enclitics. The nominal class includes common nouns, kinship nouns, proper names and pronouns. The equivalents of most English adjectives are morphologically nouns. It may be possible to distinguish adjectives from other nominals on syntactic grounds, but we do not have sufficient evidence. All nominals follow an absolute-ergative pattern in their morphology. There are no bound pronouns (unless *-mhu*, which marks non-singular imperative, is to be regarded as a bound pronoun).

Phonology is typical for the area: six points of articulation are distinguished for stops and nasals, and three or perhaps four of these for laterals. There are two rhotics — basically a tap and a glide — and two semivowels. There are three vowels, probably without any length distinction although there are some words that suggest that such a distinction did exist for the low vowel.

1.2 The language name

No alternative names are known for the language. The first spelling of the name to appear in print seems to have been Yallunga (Cox 1880). The next, rather less accurate, was Yelina (Eglington in Curr 1886). Roth (1897, 1901) used Yellunga and Yellanga. Tindale (1940, 1974), using the IPA system (with /j instead of /y), spelt it Jalanga, as did Blake (1971a, b). Capell (1963) and Oates and Oates (1970) also used this as their main spelling. The spelling Yalarunga, presumably from Ken Hale, first appeared in O'Grady et al. (1966). The *Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia* uses the spelling Yalarnga (Horton 1994, vol.2:1214).

1.3 Territory and neighbours

According to Tindale (1940:176) Yalarunga territory was 'On Wills River from south of Duchess to Fort William; on Burke River north to Chatsworth; at Noranside and Buckingham Downs'. (Roth (1897) also mentions Noranside and the Burke River.) However, this leaves a substantial gap between Yalarunga and its western neighbour Warluwarrwa and it seems likely that Yalarunga country extended further west, perhaps to Ardmore and certainly including Dajarra. Warluwarrwa speakers consulted by Breen did not know names of places in that area and seemed to regard it as Yalarunga or Kalkutungu; the latter is unlikely because it is too far south.

Neighbours of the Yalarunga were the Kalkutungu on the north, Warluwarrwa on the west, Wangka-Yutjurru and Pitta-Pitta on the south, and Yanda on the east. Cognates were counted with all of these, using the 250-word list used by Breen (1971) except with Yanda. The Yanda data consist of just one short wordlist, so the whole of it was used. (See also O'Grady et al. (1966), Blake (1971b, 1979:Ch.7) and Breen (1990:Ch.7) on the relationship of Yalarunga with other languages.)

Eighty-nine words could be compared for Yalarunga and Yanda, and 23% were judged as cognate (with no allowance made for possible loans). For the other three pairs about 210 items could be compared of which a little over 40 were verbs. (See Breen (1990:Ch.7) on the reasoning behind the separate counts made on verbs. No figure is given for verbs with Yanda, because there were only eight comparable items.) Cognate percentages with Warluwarrwa were the lowest, with 7.1% overall and 11.7% for verbs. Percentages with Wangka-Yutjurru were 13.9 and 14.3, while with Pitta-Pitta (closely related to Wangka-Yutjurru) they were 14.7 and 11.7. All of these suggest quite distant relationships. A substantial proportion of the words involved in positive counts were very widespread or at least regionalisms, while others were clearly loans.

With Kalkutungu the raw figures were 34.6% overall and 22.6% with verbs. (See Chapter 5 for a comparison of these two languages based on a much bigger lexicon and, more importantly, on sound changes and grammar comparison and with consideration of possible shared innovations.) Since Kalkutungu has undergone substantial phonological change while Yalarunga is phonologically conservative (see Blake 1971b), it seems to be a reasonable assumption that words with the same form in both were items that had been borrowed, by one or the other, or by both from a third language. (There are just a handful of words in Kalkutungu that Yalarunga probably would be less likely to borrow because they had undergone sound changes that made them no longer fit its phonology; it does seem to have borrowed its only /l/-initial words but none with initial consonant clusters.)

Removing such words from the counts reduced the overall number by 42 (of which only

two were verbs). The resulting cognate percentages were 17.8% overall and 17.7% for verbs. The pruning was perhaps unduly severe, but the lower percentages may be a better indicator of the actual closeness of the languages than the raw figures.

It was interesting to note that borrowing between Yalarunga and Kalkutungu seems to have been at a much higher rate than borrowing between Yalarunga and any of its other neighbours. Semantic fields most susceptible to borrowing are fauna and flora. Yalarunga and Kalkutungu shared 38% (of 35 words) in this (combined) field, and every one of these items was eliminated from the final count as a likely loan. With Warluwarrwa, Wangka-Yutjurru and Pitta-Pitta in these two fields Yalarunga shared only 6%, 16% and 8% respectively.

1.4 Ethnological information

Roth (1897, reprints of part or all in 1935 and 1984) published substantial ethnological information on the Aborigines of north Queensland, including the general area where the Yalarunga were located, but he makes virtually no reference to the Yalarunga themselves. We can only assume that Yalarunga culture was generally similar to that of the neighbouring groups (especially the Pitta-Pitta), which are covered in more detail. Our own data indicate that they had a four-section system governing their social lives, with a man marrying a woman who is in the same section as his classificatory cross-cousin. However, certain kinds of second cousins are also in the same section, and in some systems it is one of these whom one should marry. The fact that the term for mother's mother is also the term for father's father, while the terms for mother's father and father's mother are different, suggests that in the Yalarunga system a man should marry his father's sister's daughter, and should not marry his mother's brother's daughter.

The section names were Pathingu and Kangilangu (comprising the Wutharru patrimoietry) and Marinangu and Thunpuypungu (comprising a patrimoietry whose name could not be confirmed, but was probably Malyarra). Pathingu married Marinangu and Thunpuypungu married Kangilangu. Children of a man belonged, of course, to the other section in his patrimoietry.

1.5 Present situation

Yalarunga is no longer spoken, although descendants of the speakers do have some knowledge. Only one person who may have been a first-language speaker, and two who spoke it as a second language, could be found in the late 1960s and 70s. The last of these died in April 1980.

Blake, while a post-graduate student working on Kalkutungu in 1967, found that his main informants, Mick and Lardie Moonlight, of Boulia, knew some Yalarunga, and took the opportunity to do some recording and publish some very preliminary material (see Blake 1971a, b). Breen first contacted the other speaker, Maudie Hayden, in 1967, but she did not then feel able to help. However, she was recorded in 1971, 1973 and 1974. She died in 1977 or 1978. She had been born at Linda Downs (perhaps in Warluwarrwa country, or Antekerrepanh) of a Yalarunga mother and a Kalkutungu father (information from her; Lardie Moonlight said that both parents were Yalarunga). It appears that her maiden name may have been Thorpe (to judge from a cryptic reference to 'Maudie Thorpe (Hayden)' in a 1971 fieldnote). Mick Moonlight also had had a Yalarunga

mother. He died in 1970. Blake recorded Lardie Moonlight again in 1975, and Breen recorded her in 1971–72–73–75–76–77–78–79, some of this fieldwork being planned in conjunction with Blake. Elicitation was mainly through English, but Kalkutungu was used at times, especially by Blake.

One other partial speaker, Willie Sullivan, was recorded briefly; he too knew Kakutungu better and had forgotten most of his Yalarninga. All informants were, of course, quite old. Maudie Hayden especially so. She was quite frail and very hard of hearing, and so a particularly difficult person to work with. A substantial part of the work done with Lardie Moonlight involved interpretation and discussion of material recorded from Maudie Hayden. All are to be thanked for their willingness to do this work, which was difficult for them too, using, as they had to, an imperfectly known and long disused language.

1.6 Past investigations

The only previous work on Yalarninga seems to have been the collection of a short vocabulary by Ernest Eglington on behalf of E.M. Curr; see Eglington (1886). Curr altered the spelling by replacing *ee* with *i*.

The spelling of this vocabulary is quite bad, but its correspondence with the modern material (aided by a little creative thinking at times) is remarkably good. Of 108 items, 91 either correspond or can be explained (for example, *narilin* ‘food’ must be *ngarriina* ‘eat-non-future’). Of the other items, six have no correspondence in the modern corpus and 11 are different. These 17 will be listed here for completeness:

<i>wamer-la</i> ‘young man’	no word
<i>neer</i> ‘wife’	no word
<i>mitcheri</i> ‘possum’	modern words <i>thakurnu</i> and <i>mirrampa</i>
<i>koobenroo</i> ‘pelican’	<i>walkirrparri</i> (= KI)
<i>koorerboo</i> ‘wood duck’	no word; note the resemblance to <i>koobenroo</i>
<i>booralgoo</i> ‘native companion’	no word, but similar words are common in the area, for example, <i>purraku</i> in PP
<i>yungerli</i> ‘white cockatoo’	<i>yawirra</i> (=KI)
<i>koondagi</i> ‘crayfish’	no word, but similar words are common in the area, for example, <i>kurntaji</i> in PP, <i>gu(r)ndadj</i> in WI
<i>karemingo</i> ‘woomera’	<i>karrimingu</i> (=KI ‘hook of woomera’)
<i>ringaba</i> ‘plenty’	?; <i>yikata</i> is ‘many’
<i>kooler-nerilin</i> ‘hungry’	<i>ngamatjarraya-</i> , <i>yarka(rri)ya</i> , compare
<i>kooley-leyerlin</i> ‘thirsty’	<i>nerilin</i> ‘Food’
<i>minerno</i> ‘light’	<i>kapalarriya-</i>
<i>noomerloo</i> ‘sleep’	<i>paru, miya</i>
<i>nowerli</i> ‘yesterday’	<i>mirlakuma, wamila, nguna-</i>
<i>neer moolanabanalli</i> ‘I don’t know’	<i>ngana ‘go’</i>
	<i>miyangarra, mukampangarra,</i>
	<i>mirlakumangarra</i>
	<i>kali;</i> <i>neer</i> would be <i>ngiya</i> ‘I’

Eglington’s wordlist is relevant to two lexical puzzles.

- (a) The word for ‘hand’ is given as *wanyi* by MH, and variously by the other informants as *makanhi* (MM), *mampila* (LM), *mampunu* (MM, LM) and *mara* (MM). *Makathni*, *mampila* and *mara* are respectively KI, Mayi-Thakurti (and also Wunumara, from LM) and PP (and many other languages). *Mampunu* (not *mampunu*) means ‘good’ in WI. MM and LM gave *wanyi* as the word for ‘elbow’, as it is in their first language, KI. However, LM accepted and used *wanyimpa* for ‘Having nothing, empty-handed’ in Yalarninga. Eglington gave the word for ‘hand’ as *wanera*, which, given the poor quality of his spelling in general, can be reasonably taken to represent *wanyi*. It seems, then, that MH was probably right (although perhaps *mampunu* is too).

- (b) All three speakers gave *katjimpa* for ‘two’. LM also gave the expected *katjimpa ngururu* ‘(two one)’ for ‘three’. However, LM also gave *pulari* for ‘two’ on several occasions and MM gave *pularu*. Yanda, to the east of Yalarninga and extinct since probably early in the twentieth century, had *pulari*, as did Kungkari, some distance to the southeast, while Guwa, to the east of Yanda, and some more distant languages to the southeast had *pularu*. However, Eglington gave *cherkumber* (= *katjimpa*) for ‘two’ and *boolerier-booneroo* for ‘three’. He gave *nooreroo* (= *ngururu*) for ‘one’ and *cherkumber-cherkumber* for ‘four’. The ‘three’ word could be two alternative spellings of a word like *pularu*. One would expect a two-word compound for ‘three’, and conceivably Eglington’s word could represent *pulari-ngururu*. In any case, Eglington’s word seems to confirm that *pulari* as well as *katjimpa* means ‘two’.

Three placenames given by Roth (1897:133) refer to the waterholes adjacent to station homesteads in Yalarninga country. These are:

Buckingham Downs	Wol-ul-ia (our Walaria)
Chatsworth	Mo-a (probably Muwa or Mawa)
Fort William	Tou-er-el-la.

2 Phonology

2.1 Consonants

The consonant inventory is conventional for a language of the area, remote from the eastern languages which lack the opposition between two apical series and the languages to the west and northwest which lack the laminal contrast. Examples are given to illustrate these oppositions, and also those between /r/ and /rr/.

2.1.1 Consonants

The consonant inventory is conventional for a language of the area, remote from the eastern languages which lack the opposition between two apical series and the languages to the west and northwest which lack the laminal contrast. Examples are given to illustrate these oppositions, and also those between /r/ and /rr/.

2.1 Phonemes and their realisations

Table 2.1 shows the phonemes of Yalarnga in the orthography we have chosen to use.

Table 2.1: Phonemes

	Peripheral	Bilabial	Velar	Interdental	Laminal	Alveo-palatal	Apical	Open
	stop	p	k	th	tʃ	t	r̪	
nasal		m		ŋ	n̪	ny	n	rn̪
lateral				lh	l̪	l̪	l	rl̪
tap						r̪		
glide					w̪	y̪	r̪	
vowel					u̪	i̪	a̪	

In phonetic notation the laminal alveo-palatal stop, nasal and lateral are written with raised j: [f̪] or d̪, n̪, l̪] respectively.

Only one of these phonemes is not firmly attested; this is /lh/, which is quite rare in all those languages of western Queensland and adjacent areas that have it at all. No probable Yalarnga word in the vocabulary is written with intervocalic <lh>; there is a word, ‘to drown’ entered as *yijengkull(h)ta*, which perhaps has it. One word with intervocalic /lh/ in the corpus (*ngallhu* ‘daughter’) seems likely to be an intrusion from the speaker’s first language, Kalkutungu. There is a handful of words with the cluster [l̪l̪] (written *llh*), but these do not force us to accept it as a phoneme. We conclude that it is probably phonemic but that evidence is lacking because of the smallness of the corpus.

The orthography is simplified by writing *n̪* instead of both *nh* and *ny* and / instead of *lh* and *ly* in homorganic clusters; thus, for example, *nhth* for *nlh*, *lyf* for *lyh*. Likewise, we write *r̪* instead of *rr̪* in homorganic clusters; thus *rrn̪* not *rrrt̪*. These simplifications probably do not obscure any possible distinctions except in the case of the alveo-palatals. In some languages to the west, such as Arrente, there is a distinction, albeit with a very low functional load, between clusters of alveolar nasal or lateral and alveo-palatal stop, on the one hand, and homorganic alveo-palatal nasal-stop or lateral-stop clusters on the other.

Laminal series:

ngathi ‘to cook’ / *ngatjii* ‘for me’

katha ‘to wait’ / *katjapi* ‘hawk’

tharra ‘to carve’ / *tjarralku* ‘frog’

thipathhipparri ‘firestick’ / *tjipa* ‘moon’

thurii ‘ground’ / *tjurlu* ‘hidden’

manhi ‘vegetable food’ / *manyimpa* ‘of one’s own accord’

nhina ‘to sit’ / *nyiki* ‘fat’

Apical series:

wata ‘to get down’ / *wanta* ‘dark’

ngarkkati ‘kidney’ or ‘liver’ / *nhakarti* ‘bad’

thani ‘mouth’ / *karni* ‘shoulder’

ngarkkunu ‘wallaroo’ / *pukurnu* ‘still’

kala ‘to creep’ / *karia* ‘neck’

ngali ‘we two’ / *ngarlingarli* ‘rock wallaby’

Rhotics:

paru ‘light’ / *parnparru* ‘yellow’ (likely to be from *parru* ‘yellow ochre’, attested in neighbouring languages)

mari ‘to get’ / *marni* ‘to rub’

marorri ‘goanna’ / *marra* ‘now’, also ‘to spear’

ngururu ‘one’ / *kururruru* ‘blood’

karawara ‘shallow’ / *kikawarra* ‘sand’

warri ‘meat’ / *waripa* ‘soakage’

There is a neutralisation of the two apical series when there is a sequence of apical-vowel-apical. In these cases the second apical consonant is always retroflexed (and so the language name could have been written without ambiguity as Yalamnga). This clearly does not apply when the second consonant is /rr̪/, perhaps because /r̪/ differs from /rr̪/ in manner as well as place of articulation. Compare Henderson (1998:171–182) on a similar situation in Arrente. Examples involving bound morphemes which have alveolar consonants in a ‘neutral’ environment, include:

with -*li* imperative, *kanyili* [kan'jili] 'fetch (it)!' / *manili* [mānili] 'get (it)!'; with -*lu* ergative, *kangulu* [kaŋulu] 'cousin (did it)' / *karlulu* [kalulu] 'father (did it)';

with -*ta* purposive, *ngatjita* [ŋatjida] 'for me' / *yimata* [i,maða] 'for fish'; with -*ti* 'hither', *ngapati* [ŋabadi] 'come here!', *watai* [wataq] 'come down' (and note also the allomorph -*nhati* as in *nganamhati* [ŋanamhati] 'is coming' and the hither imperative -*lati* as in *kanyiliti* [kan'jli] 'fetch (it) here');

with -*nti* causative/applicative, *nhinttu* [ŋindinu] 'had' (*nhini* from *nhina* 'sit', with -*na* non-future, *tajana* [tar'jana] 'bite' / *kulunguntita* [kulu,ŋundinu] 'lift'; with -*ti* optative, *nupati* ['tubadi] 'you can play' / *ngunati* ['yūnatj] 'let it lie'.

In addition, there is neutralisation in word-initial position, and initial apical consonants, in the few words that have them, are retroflexed.

Details of pronunciation should be treated with a certain amount of caution, due to the small number of speakers recorded and their advanced age. Pronunciations were quite unclear at times, and such non-English contrasts as that between alveolar and retroflex consonants and between /r/ and /l/ were often difficult to hear. Note also that Kalkutungu was the first language of two of the speakers and possibly of the other, who also seemed to have a fair knowledge of Warluwarra. They all also knew some Pitta-Pitta. There were frequent instances of interference from Kalkutungu, a fair number from Pitta-Pitta and some from Warluwarra.

There are six oral stops: bilabial, (dorsal-)velar, interdental (= laminal-dental) with the blade of the tongue touching the front teeth, upper or both upper and lower), (laminal-)alveo-palatal (with the tongue tip behind the lower front teeth), apical-alveolar and retroflex (apical-postalveolar). The two laminal stops tend to have some friction in the release. Stops are generally lenis voiceless, but there is some tendency to voicing between vowels, especially away from the primary stressed vowel, and also in clusters, most of all in homorganic nasal-stop clusters. Utterance-initially, stops are less likely to be heard as voiced. This perhaps applies also to a stop preceding the second stressed syllable in a long word, like *ngamatiarriyama* 'is hungry', in which this secondary stress (here on *tja*) tends to be stronger than usual. It also applies to stops anywhere in a word pronounced more strongly to correct a linguist's mispronunciation. There is occasional aspiration, both initially and immediately following the primary stressed vowel. A feature occasionally heard in the onset to the third syllable of a word, and once or twice in the onset to the second or in a consonant cluster, is voicing combined with weak frication; this was heard only with the peripheral stops: [wut'ufa] *wutupa* 'frog', [gambuyambu] *kampukampu* 'white man', [kʰn̩yl̩] *kikla* 'arm'. Another rare phenomenon, but common cross-linguistically in the occasional words which have the appropriate structure, is the pronunciation of initial /ku/ as [kʷi] when /y/ follows, as in *kuyirri* 'boy' [kʷiyiri]. Also common in inland Australia and heard in Yalarunga is labialization of /k/ in the environment /u/a/ as in *thuka* 'stick' [tukʷa].

Nasals are generally unexceptional in their pronunciation: voiced nasal stops occur at the same point of articulation as the corresponding oral stops. When intervocalic /n/ follows a stressed vowel it tends to be lengthened, or even geminated: [ŋanna] *ngana* 'going', [tan̩i] *thani* 'mouth', [ŋanimunadi] *nganimunhati* 'came'. Occasional

examples of /ng/ being pronounced very lightly may be attributable to the speaker's age and infirmity.

Laterals, insofar as can be determined given the rarity of /l/y/ and doubtful existence of /lh/, were lateral continuants with the same points of articulation as the four non-peripheral oral stops. Like the corresponding nasal, the alveolar lateral /l/ tends to be lengthened after a stressed vowel; a difference is that the lengthening may take the form of pre-stopping. Another difference is that lengthening (but not pre-stopping) is attested also for the retroflex lateral. Examples are: [gaði] *ngali* 'we two', [kadieya,ŋana] *kalayangana* 'got sore', [walli] *wali* 'hit (him)', [kal'a] *karla* 'throat'.

The alveolar tap /rr/ in fact ranges from an occasional trill through a tap and a continuant with some friction to a frictionless continuant: [paramamu] *parrumamu* 'missed', [tarkuru] *tharkurru* 'man', [piūmugu] *pirrimuku* 'goanna', [ŋauwai] *nhanguwari* 'whatsaname'. In a cluster the last realization is more common, as in [paikunu] *ngarkamu* 'wallaroo', but all others have been heard and the tap is quite common.

The three glides are labio-velar /w/, palatal /y/ and retroflex /r/. The two semivowels, /w/ and /y/, are often not heard (at least as consonants) when preceding the homorganic vowels, /u/ and /i/ respectively. They are written in these positions because (a) they are heard sometimes, and (b) this preserves the generalisation that all syllables are consonant-initial. /r/ is a retroflexed glide [d].

2.1.2 Vowels

In conventional terms, /a/ is a low vowel, /i/ high front unrounded and /u/ high back rounded. It is perhaps more useful in a typical Australian language to characterise /i/ as a palatal vowel which is the syllabic counterpart of the palatal glide or semivowel /y/ and /u/ as a labio-velar vowel, the syllabic counterpart of /w/. The phonotactics refers much more to these features than to their height or frontness/backness.

/i/ is most commonly about [i], /u/ about [u] and /a/ about [ə]. However, the symbols [i], [u] and [a] are generally used to represent these in phonetic transcription unless greater accuracy is required, as in this subsection.

/i/ is raised towards cardinal [i] when stressed and following /y/ and sometimes other palatals, as in [ikate] *yikata* 'mob', [t̩ipe] *tjiipa* 'moon', or when preceding /y/ as in [pjiver] *pyarri* 'long', [wetjelje] *watjalya* 'first'. Initial /yi/ may be realised as a lengthened vowel [i] as in [i'rl̩i] *yilari* today, now, [i'mndi] *yimnri* 'father's sister'.

/u/ can become a rounded release from an initial /k/ as noted above with reference to *kayirri* 'boy'. Before /y/, when unstressed, it can be fronted (and has even been heard as [y]): [k'alpurya] *kalpurnya* 'at Boulia', [puŋyjaem] *puuyama* 'is dry'. Similarly, it has been heard with a palatal on-glide to a following palatal consonant: [k'uktja] *kutja* 'rotten'. Word-final /u/ has been heard occasionally as [o]. Before /w/, /u/ may be raised to [u]: [muwenu] *muwamu* 'tomahawk'.

/a/ is raised and fronted after a palatal and especially before /y/: [pinkejæmæmæ] *pinkayamama* 'scratching oneself', [ʃæbndidj] *yapintiji* 'type of snake', [ʃembjeja] *thampiyaya* 'in the cave'. It may be retracted when flanked by peripheral consonants and especially when stressed and preceded by /w/: [moŋuru] *manguru* 'dog', [walleŋaŋmo] *walaryamu* 'fought', [womar] *wamarri* 'snake'.

A problematical word which had the fronted vowel [æ] where there did not seem to be conditioning for it was [ŋa:mændi]; the best solution seemed to be to call it *ngamayanti* and regard the troublesome vowel as resulting from the merging of the sequence /aya/. The secondary stress on it lends weight to this solution.

Vowels in general are occasionally centralised when unstressed, for example [bɪl̩bəl̩] *pirlapirla* 'child', [ʃynd̩d̩g̩w̩] *nganjukura* 'arm, elbow', [paramnu] *parramamu* 'missed'. The nature of final vowels was especially hard to detect at times. Stressed vowels may be lengthened if the following consonant is not, and in these cases they are closer to the cardinal vowel represented by their orthographic spelling: [m̩l̩l̩] *mili* 'eye', [ba:b̩b̩l̩] *papipi* 'father's mother', [ka:t̩imbe'ge:t̩imbe] *kajimpa kajimpa* 'four'.

2.2 Phonotactics

Phonotactically, Yalarlunga is quite simple. The minimal word (excluding a couple of function words of the form CVV) is disyllabic, of the form CVCC(C)V. Of the 700-odd entries in the vocabulary, which comprise a majority of roots, a handful of irregular inflected forms, and some compounds, about 35% are of this form and about a third of these have a consonant cluster. Another 35% are trisyllabic, of the form CVCC(C)VCC(C)V; of these about 80% have no cluster, 13% have a CVC initial syllable, 6% have a CVC second syllable, and just one word has a consonant cluster in both positions. Apart from the two CVV words mentioned above (*laa* 'now', perhaps a loan from Kalkutungu, and a doubtful item, *ngaa* 'yes'), there are two words that seem to have /aa/, *kunkaatajja* 'type of goanna', and *jitaama* 'to look after', and possibly three more: a doubtful form *thamu* or *thaamu*, 'a person's dreaming or totem', a placename *dijyada* 'Dajarra' stressed in such a way as to suggest that it may actually be *dijyada*, and *thinaa*, an alternative to *thinawa* 'to send' and presumably the result of deletion of /w/. All of these words except the last occur also in Kalkutungu. Another source of long vowels in the speech of MH was her frequent reduction of reflexive-reciprocal -*yama* ~ -*yama* to -*nyaa* ~ -*yaa*.

Twenty-four per cent of entries have four syllables, and only 6% are longer. Most words longer than three syllables are reduplications, derived forms or compounds, and perhaps all that do not come into one of these categories are loans which would be analysable in other languages.

The most frequently occurring phonemes are, naturally, the vowels, which form 47% of the total. /a/ occurs more frequently than the other two combined, with 24%; /i/ and /u/ each account for a little over 11.5%. The most common consonants tend to be peripherals: /k/ leads with 7% followed by /m/ 5.4, /p/ 4.9, /r/ 4.4, /y/ 3.9, /w/ 3.8 and /hg/ 3.7. Next are /n/ and /th/, just over 3%, /l/ 2.7, /tj/ 2.4, /t/, /r/ and /rt/ around 1.4, /ny/ and /tl/ around 1.2, /nh/ 0.9, /rn/ 0.9 and /ly/ 0.1.

Word-initially only single consonants occur, and the most frequent is again /k/ with 17% followed by /m/ and /w/ with 16%, /p/ and /y/ around 12 and /th/ and /ng/ just under 10. No other is more than about 3%. The apico-alveolars do not occur initially (notwithstanding the high frequency of /rr/) and the other four apicals have only about 3% between them. /ly/ also does not occur initially. Yalarlunga seems to share in a minor regional feature in that it has a couple of lateral-initial words, but these are perhaps loans

from Kalkutungu, which has a handful. Warluwarra, Pitta-Pitta and the Mayi languages all have a handful or fewer.

Word-finally only vowels occur: 48% of vocabulary entries end in /a/, 29% in /i/ and 22% in /u/. In initial syllables /a/ is the vowel in 51%, /u/ in 31% and /i/ in 19%.

There are some biases evident in CV combinations: velar consonants are rarely followed by /i/, /tu/ is another combination which seems to be disfavoured and there is only one instance of /nyu/. Palatal consonants other than /y/ favour a following /i/, as does /rr/. Also disfavoured are sequences of iC(C)u; for example, there are only two disyllables with this sequence; numbers of other possible sequences range from 12 to 61. Of the 27 possible vowel sequences in trisyllables, *iin*, *iua*, *iui* and *uin* are the only ones that are not attested at all.

Consonant clusters attested — all binary — include all possible homorganic nasal-stop clusters, all possible clusters of apical nasal or lateral plus peripheral stop, all combinations of apical nasal plus peripheral nasal (but all rare), and both clusters of /rn/ plus peripheral stop. (All components are in the order given.) The only lateral-nasal cluster attested was in *ngurima*, a word that we could not gloss, other than to say that it was a transitive verb whose object was 'sugarbag'? The four most common clusters belonged to the first category: /mp/, /nt/, /ntj/, /ngk/; then followed /trk/, /nth/ and /nk/. Rarest were /tp/ and /rm/, each attested once. Something like a half of the occurrences of /n/ and /m/ were in consonant clusters; in fact, although there are only 34 instances of /m/ in the vocabulary, 18 of these were in clusters and they were divided among five different combinations.

These figures generally show that Yalarlunga is a typical phonologically conservative Australian language.

2.3 Stress

Primary stress, heard as greater loudness, fell regularly on the first vowel of a word and a secondary stress was irregularly heard on the third syllable of a four-syllable word or the first syllable of a disyllabic bound morpheme. Further secondary stresses may be heard later in a long word, two or more syllables after the previous stress and not on the final syllable. Some examples, with morpheme boundaries shown by hyphens and stresses by acute (primary) and grave (secondary) accents, are: *yirri* 'man', *māngurru* 'dog', *pirlapirla* 'child', *ngalanga-ma* 'speaks', *yālarninga-yā* 'in Yalarlunga', *wāmrri-jū* 'snake (ergative)', *pinka-yama-ma* 'scratching oneself', *wantha-ma-nhāti* '(rain) falling this way', *juŋkunhi-mu-nhāti* 'came back'.

There are a number of seemingly random exceptions which could be attributed to the age of the speakers and their lack of practice with the language. One probably genuine exception is the reduction in stress on a pronoun, as in *nhīna-ma ngīya* 'I'm sitting'. An alternative to this is transfer of the (reduced) stress from a pronoun (and perhaps other function words) to the final syllable of the preceding word; examples are *wārka-niyi-ka nhāngwali-mā nhāwa* 'what are you doing?'. This seems to be a common sporadic phenomenon cross-linguistically in Australia. Another exception noted several times is movement of the main stress from a /y/ initial syllable to the next

¹ *Ngaw* was heard only once, not translated but plausibly meaning 'yes' as it does in Kalkutungu; also, some other words have been given for 'yes'. *Laa* is assumed to be a loan as it and the third person singular pronoun are the only l-initial words in the corpus.

² It was heard from MM, in a series of untranslated short sentences, partly as follows:

... *ngīya* *ngāmīmī*; *purrñija* *ngāthu* *ngārñamā*, *thiŋkamā* *ngāthu* *purrñija*, ...

... I went,

sugarbag

I ?

chopped

I sugarbag, ...

syllable, as in [i'mədəq] *yimata-ta* 'for fish' ([i'mədəq] also heard). The determination of the correct form of the verb 'to cry' posed a problem for some time, for example, the present tense form *yivarlma* was heard as ['yæl] [i'ma] because of stress shift and coalescence of the first syllable /y/ and the following glide /y/ to form a long semi-vowel.

3 Morphology

3.1 Parts of speech

There are basically three word classes, as determined by inflectional criteria: nominals, which take case inflection, verbs, which take tense, aspect and mood inflection, and a third class, which takes no inflection.

3.1.1 Nominals

On the basis of inflectional differences we can distinguish common nouns, kinship nouns, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns. Words corresponding to adjectives in English are almost all nominals and morphologically indistinguishable from common nouns. However, they naturally tend to be used predicatively or as modifiers of nouns. The few proper names recorded appear to inflect like common nouns. We have no data on personal names.

3.1.2 Verbs

Verbs inflect for tense, aspect and mood.

3.1.3 Uninflected words and particles

Among the uninflected words there are interjections such as *ngaa* 'yes' and *yaka* 'exclamation expressing surprise', which play no part in the syntax. The rest of the uninflected words do not form a well-defined syntactic class. For instance, *kuntu* 'not' tends to come at the beginning of a clause, but *manyimpa* 'oneself' does not.

There are a number of particles, forms that are sometimes pronounced as separate words but which tend to be used as enclitics. Monosyllabic particles such as *-ka* are always enclitic.

3.2 Nominal morphology

3.2.1 Case inflection

3.2.1.1 Nouns

Table 3.1 displays the case marking for nouns. Kinship nouns take some distinctive case markers. For other nouns there are two partially distinct sets of case markers, one set for disyllabic stems and one for longer stems. The aversive markers consist of the ergative markers plus *-ngu* and the ablative markers consist of the locative markers plus *-ngu*. These formations have parallels in Kalkutungu.

Table 3.1: Case marking on nouns

	Disyllabic	Longer	Kinship
nominative	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset
ergative	<i>-ngku</i>	<i>-yu</i>	<i>-lu</i>
locative	<i>-ngka</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-nguta</i>
dative	<i>-wu</i>	<i>-wu</i>	<i>-wu</i>
purposive	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-ta</i>
aversive	<i>-ngkangu</i>	<i>-yangu</i>	<i>-lungu</i>
ablative	<i>-ngkangu</i>	<i>-yangu</i>	<i>-ngutangu</i>
allative	<i>-wampa</i>	<i>-mpa</i>	<i>warringka</i>
locative II	<i>-ngila(mpa)</i>	<i>-ngila(mpa)</i>	<i>warriinha*</i>

There are some deviations from the paradigms in Table 3.1:

- There are some instances of *-lu* for *-yu*, e.g. with *kuyirri* ‘boy’, *mirmiri* ‘woman’, *kaya* ‘child’, *mara* ‘hand’, *mikara* ‘mosquito’, *mangurru* ‘dog’, and *yikata* ‘moh’. This also applies to the aversive, hence *kayirri-lungu* ‘of the boy’, *parrkamu-lungu* of a turkey, *wamari-lungu* ‘of a snake’, etc.
- There are some instances of *-yangu* for *-lungu*: *waputhu-yangu* ‘of a man’s mother-in-law’, *kanamu-yungu* ‘of a younger sibling’.
- There is an instance of *-la* for *-yu* in the ablative: *mutu-ngarra-langu* ‘from the other camp’.
- There is an instance of *-ya* for *-nguta* in the ablative: *kanamu-yangu* ‘from the younger sibling’.
- There are some instances of locative *-nguta* with non-kinship nouns: *mimmirri-ngutangu* ‘from the woman’, *matjampa-ngutangu* ‘from the kangaroo’, *wamarri-nguta* ‘on the snake’.
- There are some instances of a locative *-ngu* with stems consisting of a kinship noun plus a suffix for ‘third person possessor’: *yimirt-anja-ngu* ‘with his/her father’s sister’, *thithi-yanja-ngu* ‘with her niece/nephew’.
- Forms suffixed by *ngarra* ‘other’ usually take ergative *-lu*, aversive *-lungu*, locative *-la*, ablative *-langu*: *mutu-ngka* ‘in the camp’, *mutu-ngarra-la* ‘in another camp’, *mutu-ngarra-langu* ‘from another camp’.

- #### 3.2.1.3 Vocative
- There are two tokens of an apparent vocative *kanama* for *kanamu* ‘younger sibling’, one of *thirrirra* for *thirrirri* ‘elder sister’, and one of *mirmirra* for *mirmiri* ‘woman’. The suffix would then be *-a*, replacing the stem-final vowel.
- (3-1) *Yummali-ma nhuwu-wu thirrirri(i)-a.*
- look.for-PRES 2sg-DAT elder.sister-VOC
- ‘Sister, I’ve been looking for you.’
- #### 3.2.1.4 Personal pronouns
- Personal pronouns distinguish singular, dual and plural. *Ngali* and *ngawa* can be inclusive or exclusive. Specifically inclusive forms can be formed by adding a second person form, e.g. *ngali nhawa* (we-two you) ‘you and I’.
- The third person form *laya* is little used. The third person singular is usually expressed by a demonstrative, with the ‘near’ series being the unmarked choice. See Table 3.2. Where the third person singular is a subject or object, it is often left unexpressed. A handful of the personal pronoun forms were elicited only by using leading questions.

Table 3.2: Personal pronouns

	First person	Second person	Third person
Singular			
nominative	<i>ngiya</i>	<i>nhawa**</i>	<i>laya</i>
ergative	<i>ngathu</i>	<i>nhurlu</i>	<i>lartu</i>
locative	<i>ngatingguta</i>	<i>nhuwunguta</i>	
dative	<i>ngatji(nu)*</i>	<i>nhuwunu</i>	
purposive	<i>ngatjita</i>	<i>nhawuta</i>	
aversive	<i>ngathartungu</i>	<i>nhurlungu</i>	
ablative	<i>ngatjungutangu</i>	<i>nhuwangutangu</i>	
allative	<i>ngatiwampa</i>	<i>nhuwuwampa</i>	
locative II	<i>ngatjingila(mpa)</i>	<i>nhuwungila(mpa)</i>	<i>layangila(mpa)</i>
Dual			
nominative	<i>ngali</i>	<i>nhumpala</i>	<i>pula</i>
ergative	<i>ngarlu, ngalili, ngalulu</i>	<i>nhumpalalu</i>	<i>pulalu</i>
locative	<i>ngarhunguta, ngalinguta</i>	<i>nhumpalanguta</i>	<i>pulanguta</i>
dative	<i>ngalihu, ngaluwu</i>	<i>nhumpalawunu</i>	
purposive	<i>ngarlawuta</i>	<i>nhumpalayungu</i>	
aversive	<i>ngarlungu, ngalulungu</i>	<i>nhumpalangutangu</i>	
ablative	<i>ngalingutangu</i>	<i>nhumpalawampa</i>	<i>pulawampa</i>
allative	<i>ngarhwampa</i>	<i>nhumpalangila(mpa)</i>	
locative II	<i>ngalingilampa</i>		
Plural			
nominative	<i>ngawa</i>	<i>nhala</i>	<i>thana</i>
ergative	<i>ngawahu</i>	<i>nhalalu</i>	<i>thanalu</i>
locative	<i>ngawanganta</i>	<i>nhalangguta</i>	<i>thananguta</i>
dative	<i>ngawawuu, ngawuwuu</i>	<i>nhalawuu</i>	<i>thanawuu</i>
purposive	<i>ngawuta</i>	<i>nhalalungu</i>	<i>thanahlungu</i>
aversive	<i>ngawalungu</i>	<i>nhalangutangu</i>	<i>thanangutangu</i>
ablative	<i>ngawajwampa</i>	<i>nhalawampa</i>	<i>thanawampa</i>
locative II	<i>ngawangilampa</i>		

* *ngyji* is the most common adnominal form.

** *nhawa* is sometimes abbreviated to *mha*.

3.2.1.5 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstratives exhibit a three-way distinction between near to the speaker, mid-distant from the speaker and far from the speaker. The 'middle' forms are always used to refer to the place (camp, house) where the speaker is living.

Table 3.3: Demonstrative pronouns

	Near	Middle/Neutral	Far
Singular			
nominative	<i>tjala</i>	<i>vita</i>	<i>waya, wathi(?)</i>
ergative	<i>tjarrurtu</i>	<i>yitantu</i>	<i>wayantu, wayirru</i>
locative	<i>tjarrunguta</i>	<i>wayanguta</i>	<i>wayunguta</i>
dative	<i>tjarruru</i>	<i>yitavu</i>	<i>wayavu</i>
purposive	<i>tjarruta</i>	<i>yitata</i>	<i>wayata</i>
aversive	<i>tjarrungutangu, (tjarruri lungu)</i>	<i>yitartungu</i>	<i>wayartungu, wayurungu</i>
ablative	<i>tjarrungutangu</i>	<i>yitangutangu</i>	<i>wayangutangu</i>
allative	<i>tjarrivwampa</i>	<i>yitavwampa</i>	<i>wayinwampa</i>
locative II	<i>tjalangila(mpa)</i>	<i>yitangila(mpa)</i>	<i>wayangila(mpa)</i>
Dual			
nominative	<i>tjarruwula</i>	<i>yitavwula</i>	<i>waynvula</i>
ergative	<i>tjarruwulalu</i>	<i>yitavwulalu</i>	<i>wayavwulalu</i>
locative	<i>tjarruwulanguta</i>	<i>yitavwulanguta</i>	<i>wayavwulanguta</i>
dative	<i>tjarruwulawuu</i>	<i>yitavwulawuu</i>	<i>wayavwulawuu</i>
purposive	<i>tjarruwulalungu</i>	<i>yitavwulalungu</i>	<i>wayavwulalungu</i>
aversive	<i>tjarruwula(nguta)ngu</i>	<i>yitavwulangutangu</i>	<i>wayavwula(nguta)ngu</i>
ablative	<i>tjarruwulampaa</i>	<i>yitavwulampaa</i>	<i>wayavwulampaa</i>
locative II	<i>tjarruwulangila(mpa)</i>	<i>yitavwulangila(mpa)</i>	<i>wayavwulangila(mpa)</i>
Plural			
nominative	<i>tjarringali</i>	<i>yitangali</i>	<i>wayngali</i>
ergative	<i>tjarringalju</i>	<i>yitangalju</i>	<i>wayngalju</i>
locative	<i>tjarringaku, tjarringaru</i>	<i>yitangartu</i>	<i>wayngartu</i>
dative	<i>tjarringalinguta</i>	<i>yitangalinguta</i>	<i>wayngalinguta</i>
purposive	<i>tjarringalwu, tjarringaluu</i>	<i>yitangaliwu</i>	<i>wayngaliwu</i>
aversive	<i>tjarringalungu</i>	<i>yitangaljyungu</i>	<i>wayngaljyungu</i>
ablative	<i>tjarringalingutangu</i>	<i>yitangalingutangu</i>	<i>wayngalingutangu</i>
allative	<i>tjarringaljwampa</i>	<i>yitangaljwampa</i>	<i>wayngaljwampa</i>
locative II	<i>tjarringalingila(mpa)</i>	<i>yitangalingila(mpa)</i>	<i>wayngalingila(mpa)</i>

A nominative *tjarruwulampaa* occurs once, also an ergative *wayuwulampayu* and a locative *wayuwulampaya*. *-wulampa* forms the dual of nouns.

There are two examples ((3-18), (3-212)) of a possible demonstrative *wathi*. There are also a few examples of forms *wathunguta*, *wathuwampa* and *wathyu*, which could be inflected forms of such a demonstrative. The first is clearly locative (although there is no convincing example) and the second allative, but the third also has the appearance of being allative.

- (3-2) *Ngiya ngana wathyu yukala-mpa.*

Isg go:INF
'I'm going to the creek.'

- (3-3) *Ngiya wathiyu ngani-mu nanyi-Ji-njata kurriti-wu.*
1sg go-PAST see-AP-PURP mother's.brother-DAT
'I went and saw my uncle.'

In Breen's discussion with LM of this sentence (elicited from MH) she said, in part: '... *wathiyu ngiya ngana*; he might be way down on nother place; *wathiyu ngiya ngana*, *kurritimpia*'.

Backing up this mention of 'another place' as a possible meaning for *wathi*, *wathiwampa* is attested on two occasions with reference to going to another named place. However, the two examples of *wathi* itself do not support this.

3.2.1.6 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are given in Table 3.4. Other interrogatives are dealt with in §4.1.2.

Table 3.4: Interrogative pronouns

who	what
<i>nhanku</i>	<i>nhangu</i>
<i>nhantlu</i>	<i>nhangyu</i>
<i>nhankunguta</i>	-
<i>nhankuwu</i>	<i>nhanguru</i>
<i>nhankuta</i>	<i>nhanguta</i>
<i>nhantingu*</i>	<i>nhanguyungu</i>
<i>nhankungutangu</i>	<i>nhankuwampa</i>

* One occurrence of *nhankuwa*.

3.2.2 Functions of the cases

3.2.2.1 Prefatory notes

Yalarinja has full case concord with case marking on all nominals in a phrase. In Yalarinja, as in many Australian languages, the notional noun phrase may be split up with modifiers separated from their heads. Concord naturally extends to such separated nominals and serves to indicate which modifiers go with which heads.

As in Kalkutungu there is a high frequency enclitic *-ka*, which makes no contribution to the propositional meaning. It may appear with a word of any class and occasionally it appears on more than one word in a clause as in (3-4) below. It has been glossed as \Rightarrow . There are also a few examples of enclitics *-pa* and *-wa*, which are glossed the same. See §4.4.12.

The nominative has been left without any gloss.

3.2.2.2 Nominative: -O

The nominative case is unmarked and is used for the following:¹

- (a) a nominal in S function (subject of an intransitive predicate)
- (b) a nominal in P function (patient of a transitive verb)
- (c) both the recipient and the patient with *ngunyi* 'to give' and with *panayi-nyama* 'to rob someone of' (see (3-203))
- (d) complement to S in examples like (3-4) below and complement to *ngalanga* 'to speak such-and-such a language as in (3-5). The complement of *ngalanga* can also be in the dative (see (3-33)).

Examples are given in (3-4) to (3-12), along with the ergative.

3.2.2.3 Ergative: -ngku, -yu, -lu

The ergative has the following functions:

- (a) it marks A (the actor or controller of a transitive verb)
- (b) it marks the instrument used to carry out an action.

- (3-4) *Ngunuru ngiya-ka Yalarinja-ka nhina-ma.*
one 1sg: \Rightarrow Yalarinja: \Rightarrow remain-PRES²
'I am the sole remaining Yalarinja.'

- (3-5) *Yalarinja ngiya ngalaŋga-ma.*
Yalarinja 1sg speak-PRES
'I speak Yalarinja.'

- (3-6) *Mangurrulu tjala taj-a-mu kaya-ka.*
dog-ERG this bite-PAST child: \Rightarrow
'The dog bit the/this child.'

- (3-7) *Tjarru-ru nhawa mukulu ngunyi-mu.*
this-ERG 2sg money give-PAST
'He gave you money.'

- (3-8) *Kilawuru tjala ngathu wala-mu payarla-yu.*
galah this 1sg:ERG hit-PAST boomerang-ERG
'I killed the galah with a boomerang.'

- (3-9) *Kunhu-ŋku ngiya wantha-njiji, murni-ŋka wirka-njata.*
water-ERG 1sg wet-POT inside-LOC enter-PURP
'The rain might wet me, (I'm) going to go inside.'

The ergative is also used with body parts as in (3-10) and (3-12). Presumably the body part is conceived of as an instrument in these instances. The locative II case would appear to be an alternative (see (3-79)). (3-11) illustrates a body part in the locative (*pumkuluya*)

¹ Some linguists prefer to use the term 'absolutive' for a case that covers S and P, and reserve S for a case that covers S and A, or just S. We use 'nominative' for the case that is used on nouns in isolation, and for S irrespective of what else is covered.

² This verb has a lexical meaning 'sit/stop/stay' and can also be used grammatically like the verb 'to be'.

and it has been included here to provide a contrast with the ergative (*thunputhuyu*) in (3-12).

- (3-10) *Nhangu-ta nhawa nguna-ma-ka rijurruyyu-ka?*
what-PURP 2sg lie-PRES- $\ddot{\alpha}$ stomach-ERG- $\ddot{\alpha}$
'Why are you lying on your stomach?'

- (3-11) *Miya-li tjala kaya-ka, punkulu-ya nhurlu nhinti-yata.*
pick-up-IMP this baby- $\ddot{\alpha}$ knee-LOC 2sg:ERG hold-PURP
'Pick up the baby and "putim long your lap".'

- (3-12) *Kuntu tjala nhin(a)atiyi, nhanganvarri-yu-ka, thunputhu-yu-ka,*
not this sit-IRR whatsit-ERG- $\ddot{\alpha}$ buttocks-ERG- $\ddot{\alpha}$
'He can't sit on his whatsaname, his backside.'

There are a few examples where the ergative is used to form the equivalent of an adverb of manner. See, for instance, '*yulkami-yu*' in an aggressive manner' in (3-200).

3.2.2.4 Locative: -ngka, -ya, -nguta

The locative basically indicates location including the sense of accompanying someone as in (3-17) to (3-19). Note that, in contrast to nearby languages like Warlpiri (Breen forthcoming) and Antekkerrepeh (Breen 1982), locative marking is used for the goal or location of the object of a transitive verb as in (3-14), (3-15) and (3-16).

- (3-13) *Purluwarra wayu-nguta mirmirri-yaka minji-ngka-ka.*
white that-LOC woman-LOC- $\ddot{\alpha}$ back-LOC- $\ddot{\alpha}$
'[There is some] white [stuff] on that woman's back.'

- (3-14) *Ngathu nangku ngakupulu kumhu-ngka.*
1sg:ERG see:PAST yellowbelly water-LOC
'I saw a yellowbelly [fish] in the water.'

- (3-15) *Tharmu-nunga ninyi ngathu ngathi-mu warri-ka.*
hole-LOC here 1sg:ERG cook-PAST meat- $\ddot{\alpha}$
'I cooked the meat in the hole.'

- (3-16) *Nimji warri wajani-ya ngathu ngarra-na.*
here meat fire-LOC 1sg:ERG put-NF
'I put the meat into the fire.'

- (3-17) *Tjala pitjalpirla ngana ngali-nguta.*
this child go:NF 1du-LOC
'The kid is following us.'

- (3-18) *Nhina-ma ngiya thirrirri-ngata.*
remain-PRES 1sg older.sister-LOC
'I'm stopping with (my) sister (living at my sister's).'

- (3-19) *Ngana waya karlu-ngata.*
go-NF that father-LOC
'That one's going with (his) father.'

In (3-20) and (3-21) the locative is used with the abstract noun 'sleep', (3-21) containing an idiom *mirlakuma-ya ngarra* 'to put in sleep' for 'to dream'.

- (3-20) *Mirlakuma-ya ngija nguna-mu, wamarri-yu tatja-mu.*
sleep-1-LOC 1sg lie-PAST snake-ERG bite-PAST

'When I was asleep, a snake bit me.'
(Another version with *mirlakuma-rrii* 'sleep-having' also exists; for -rrii see §3.2.3.5.1.)

- (3-21) *Mirlakuma-ya ngahu nhawa ngarra-mu.*
sleep-LOC 1sg:ERG 2sg put-PAST
'I dreamt about you.'

- (3-22) *Muklu ngathu ngathar-rungu wulamanti-mu manhi-ngka.*
money 1sg:ERG 1sg:AVERS consume-PAST food-LOC
'I spent all my money on food.'

In the following example the locative indicates a sense of 'because of' or 'in order to possess' and the locative seems to be an alternative to the aversive (compare (3-58) and (3-108)).

- (3-23) *Wala-nyama-mu tjarri-ngali ngatji-nguta.*
hit-RE-PAST this-PLUR 1sg:DAT-LOC
'These (fellas) had a fight over me.'

The locative can also refer to 'time when' or 'time how long'. There is also an enclitic -mpa that indicates location in time. It is illustrated in §4.3.

- (3-24) *Ngan-mu miya-ngarra-rla.*
go-PAST sun-OTHER-LOC
'He went the other day.'

- (3-25) *Nhina-mu ngija longa Tjiyata kajimpa-ya mungata-ya.*
sir-PAST 1sg Dajarra two-1-LOC day-LOC
'I stopped "longa" Dajarra for two days.'

There are three examples of placenames with a suffix -yamu, apparently locative (but reminiscent of the Piti-Piti allative -imu).

- (3-26) *Pavimarra-yamu wulanga-mu, waya kupakupa-ka.*
Cloncurry-LOC die-PAST that old.man- $\ddot{\alpha}$
'He died at Cloncurry, that old man.'

3.2.2.5 Dative, purposive and aversive

These three cases appear to have overlapping meanings or functions, in fact dative and purposive appear to be co-extensive in meaning. If we consider three meanings, which could be designated roughly 'purpose', 'belong to' and 'because of', then the relationship between the three cases and the three meanings is as follows:

	dative	purposive	aversive
purpose	+	+	
belong to	+		+
because of		+	+

The aversive case presents no great problem. It covers two distinct meanings and one can justify the establishing of two separate meanings by reference to the fact that one but not the other can find alternative expression in the dative or sometimes the purposive. The fact that the dative and the purposive are apparently coextensive in meaning is suspicious. There are strong preferences for one case rather than the other in various functions. For instance, the dative is the preferred means of expressing a possessor (along with the aversive which is also used, especially with pronouns) while the purposive is rare in this function. Similarly the dative is commonly used to mark the patient in an independent antipassive construction (see (3-195)), whereas the purposive is much less frequent in this function. The purposive commonly marks the adjunct in clauses of the pattern *He went for fish*.

In applying the labels dative and purposive to these very similar suffixes we have considered the most frequent use of each suffix and allotted the labels in a way that gives good cross-language comparability.

3.2.2.6 Dative: -wu

The principal functions of the dative are to mark:

- (a) the complement of two-place intransitive predicates
- (b) purpose
- (c) possessor
- (d) complement of an antipassive verb.

The following predicates have been observed with dative complements: *wayirra nguna* (lit. 'heart³ lie') 'to like', 'want, desire', *yijarli* 'to cry for', *tupa* 'play with' or 'play/dance corroboree', *yulkaniwatharra* 'get angry with', *yarnpamu* '(be) good (to)' and *yingka* 'to laugh at'.

(3-27)	<i>Kuntu</i>	<i>ngiya</i>	<i>wayirra</i>	<i>nguna-ma</i>	<i>yjarru-wu-ka</i>	<i>rijurrwu-wu</i> .
	not	1sg	heart	lie-PRES	this-DAT- \rightarrow	viscera-DAT

'I don't want that inside part.'

(3-28)	<i>Mimi-wu</i>	<i>kaya</i>	<i>tjala</i>	<i>yijarli-ma</i> ,	<i>yarika-ya-ma</i> .
	breast-DAT	child	this	cry-PRES	hunger-INTR-PRES

'The baby is crying to be breast-fed. He's hungry.'

(3-29)	<i>Tupa-njata</i>	<i>ngawa</i>	<i>malkarri-wu</i> .
	dance-PURP	1pl	malkarri-DAT

'We are going to dance *malkarri* (corroboree).'

(3-30)	<i>Tjala</i>	<i>nguringgarra-ka</i>	<i>yulkani-watharra-mu</i>	<i>nganji-wu</i> . ⁴
	this	one- \rightarrow	sulky-BECOME-PAST	1sg:DAT-DAT

'This one got wild with me.'

(3-31) *Niryi-ka* *makkamarru-ka⁵* *ngawa-wu* *yarnpamu*.

'The policeman's good to us.'

(3-32) *Ngija* *yingka-nyana* *tjarrawu* *yirri-wu*.

'I laugh at him.'

(also occurs with purposive complement)

(3-33) *Pampara-wu* *ngali* *ngalanga-mu*.

'Me'n her talking word.'

The dative also expresses purpose.

(3-34) *Kunhu-wu* *ngija* *ngana*.

water-DAT 1sg go:NF

'I'm going for (to get) water.'

In the following examples the dative expresses the notion of possessor. It can be used attributively as in (3-35) or predicatively as in (3-36). In the majority of Australian languages there is no case indicating a possessor with parts of wholes (man's foot, bank of the river) (see Blake 1987:94–98). The word for the whole and the word for the part take the same case, whatever is appropriate for the function of the noun expressing the whole.

This holds true for Yalarnga (see (4-26) and (4-27)). However, although we have no examples of the dative expressing the possessor of a part of a whole, there are several of the aversive (3-56).

(3-35) *Wamarri-yu* *tjita-na* *ngajji* *mangurru*.

snake-ERG bite-NF 1sg:DAT dog

'The snake is biting my dog.'

(3-36) *Ngajji* *tjala* *manhi-ka*.

1sg:DAT this food- \rightarrow

'This food's mine.'

(3-37) *Nhawa* *ngavinthi* *kuntu* *yita-wu* *muwu*.

2sg stranger not this-DAT camp-DAT

'You're a stranger, "you not belong to this country".'

(3-38) *Karpilinjirri-wu* *tjala-ka* *yijipiyarri*.

policeman-DAT this- \rightarrow horse

'The horse is the policeman's.'

Transitive verbs may be converted to intransitive, the derivation being marked by a first order suffix on the verb with the form *-li*. Derived intransitives of this type are not uncommon in Australian languages and are generally referred to as antipassive. In Yalarnga the demoted P is usually expressed in the dative, though the purposive is sometimes used. In independent clauses the antipassive seems to be used for a generic or nonspecific patient. It is regularly used with *ngarri* 'to consume' where the patient is 'food' or 'drink'. It is also used where the sense is one of striving towards but not

³ Strictly *wayirra* is 'breath', but we have taken it to be analogous to 'heart' in forming this idiom.

⁴ *Nguntingarra* is literally 'one other' and can be translated 'one' or 'another' according to context. Where it is used on its own, as here, a contrast with another is implied.

⁵ *Malkamanyu* is a word from Pitta-Pitta or a related tongue.

achieving an object, and where there is no object at all. The use of the antipassive in subordinate clauses is described in §4.2.

The following example illustrates the difference between the transitive construction and the derived intransitive. The latter is used in asking ‘What are you eating?’ where the patient is indefinite and the transitive construction is used in the reply to indicate a definite patient.

- (3-39)a. *Nhangu-wu nhawa ngarri-ngarri-li-maka?*

what-DAT 2sg eat-eat-AP-PRES- \Rightarrow

‘What are you eating?’

- b. *Warri nnyi ngahu ngarri-na.*

meat here 1sg:ERG eat-NF

‘I’m eating the meat.’

The following illustrates the antipassive with a generic patient. Other examples are given under -*hi* in §3.4.3.

- (3-40) *Kupi-iwu ngawa tata-li-ma*

fish-DAT 1pl bite-AP-PRES

‘We eat fish.’

Here is a residue of examples that are not easy to classify.

- (3-41) *Nhawa-ka kuntu ngalanga-ma yarrpamu-wu-ka.*

2sg- \Rightarrow not talk-PRES good-DAT- \Rightarrow

‘You’re not talking right (=correctly).’

- (3-42) *Kuntu nhumpala nguma-maka mirakuma-wu-ka.*

not 2du lie-PRES- \Rightarrow sleep-DAT- \Rightarrow

‘You’re not asleep.’

- (3-43) *Yarnka-ma ngiya yita-wu pinarri-wu.*

ail-PRES 1sg this-DAT eat-DAT

‘My ear is aching.’

3.2.2.7 Purposive: -*ta*

As noted above, the range of functions of -*ta* is practically coextensive with that of -*wu*. The examples will be presented in the same order as for -*wu*.

The purposive has been found marking the complement of *wayirra nguma* ‘to like, want, desire’, though the dative is more common. There are also examples of the purposive marking the complement of other intransitive verbs but too few tokens to indicate a preference for purposive or dative.

- (3-44) *Kunu wgya mirimirri wayirra nguma-ma wayu-ta yirri-ntha.*
not that woman heart lie-PRES that-PURP man-PURP
‘That woman didn’t want that man.’

- (3-45) *Tharti ngajji-ta nhina.*
later 1sg:DAT-PURP remain:IMP
‘You wait for me.’

- (3-46) *Ngamaja-rrri-yama ngija, warri-ta.*

hunger-PROP-INTR-PRES 1sg meat-PURP
‘I’m hungry, for meat.’

In the following example there are two tokens of -*ta*. The first is ‘purpose-like’ (compare (3-48)) and the second marks the complement of a two-place intransitive verb.

- (3-47) *Nhangu-ta tjala yingka-ma ngatji-ta?*

what-PURP this laugh-PRES 1sg:DAT-PURP
‘What is this (woman) laughing at me for?’

-*ta* regularly marks purpose as in the following examples. The verb inflection in (3-48) contains the purposive case marker -*ta* and is glossed pur(positive). See §3.4.1.

- (3-48) *Ngani-njata ngawa yimata-ta.*

go-PURP 1pl fish-PURP

‘We lot are going for fish.’

- (3-49) *Thikuthiku nhala ngana-ka wutja yulkani-ta.*

often 2pl go:NF- \Rightarrow just fight-PURP

‘You only come up all the time for fight.’

The purposive also marks a beneficiary:

- (3-50) *Wapirri woya yarnta-mu karlu-yantja-ta.*

humpy that build-PAST father-POSS-PURP

‘He built that humpy for his father.’

There are some examples of -*ta* marking the possessor though -*wu* is more common in that function. All the examples appear to be predicative.

- (3-51) *Mapira tjala tjarru-ta wamarri-ta.*

skin this this-PURP snake-PURP

‘This is the snake’s skin.’

The purposive is used sometimes to mark the complement of an antipassive verb (§3.4.3.2), though the dative is much more common in this function. In subordinate clauses and in any clause in which the verb is marked by -*njata* both -*wu* and -*ta* occur.

- (3-52) *Yuma-li-ma ngiya thirrirri-ta.*

seek-AP-PRES 1sg older.sister-PURP

‘I’m looking for my sister.’
(also with dative complement)

3.2.2.8 Aversive: -*ngahngu*, -*yungu*, -*rungu*

The aversive has two meanings, one is that of possessor and the other is roughly ‘because of, in order to avoid’. This division can be justified by reference to the fact that the possessor sense finds alternative expression in the dative. The first example below (3-53) illustrates the interchangeability of the dative and aversive in possessor function. There are two contrastive clauses, yet one contains the dative and the other the aversive.

- (3-53) *Kunu tjala mhuringu, ngurungarra-wu tjala-ka.*

not this 2sg:AVERS other-DAT this- \Rightarrow
‘This isn’t yours. It belongs to someone else.’

- (3-54) *Yitjipi-yarri kampukampu-yungu.* (compare (3-34))
horse white.man-AVERS
'The white man's horse.'

- (3-55) *Nhamungu ninyi mangurru?* *Ngatha-rungu.*
who-AVERS here dog 1sg-AVERS
'Who's dog is this?'

- (3-56) *Wirkka-npi-li tjala marli nhurlungu.*
enter-TR-IMP this tongue 2sg-AVERS
'Pull your tongue in (to someone who is poking it out).'

- (3-57) *Wulanga-mu waya kungkurrpa-yungu.*
die-PAST that flu-AVERS
'He died of the flu.'

In the following examples the sense is something like 'because of'.

In the following example we have the aversive expressing the possessor of a body part. This is unusual. In Yalarnga, as in other Australian languages, whole-part relationships are normally expressed by having the body and the part in parallel (see (3-13), (3-71), (3-124) and (4-27)). The examples cannot easily be dismissed as errors. There are a handful of them and the present one was given twice.

- (3-58) *Nhangu-yungu pula wala-nya-a-ma?* *Mirimirri-yungu.*
what-AVERS 3du hit-RE-PRES woman-AVERS
'What are they fighting over?'

In the following group of sentences the sense is aversive, the reference is to something that is to be avoided.

- (3-59) *Ngantawa-li tjala warri, yumunthurri-yungu.*
cover-IMP this meat fly-AVERS
'Cover the meat up from the flies.'

- (3-60) *Kintja tjala karpi-li, yita-rungu mangurru-yungu, kurlavangu ninyi.*
female this tie-IMP this-AVERS dog-AVERS male here
'Tie up the bitch (to keep her away) from the dog, the male one here.'

In the following group of sentences the sense is aversive, the reference is to something that is to be avoided.

- 3.2.2.9 Allative: -wampa, -mpa
The allative expresses 'motion to'. The allative allomorphs are to be compared with the -mpa extension to the locative II suffix -ngila (see below), the -mpa extension to the dual suffix -wula (§3.2.3.4), -mpa as part of the plural suffix -arrampa (§3.2.3.4), and the time-locative suffix, -mpa (§4.4). It is not clear how, or whether, these are to be related to one another.

- (3-67) *Ngija watjaliya ngani-mu yita-wampa mutu-wampa ngatha-langki-mpa.*
1sg first go-PAST this-ALL camp-ALL 1sg-LG-ALL
'I was the first to come to this camp, my (camp).'

The allative may also express the target of an attitude or speech.

- (3-68) *Nhawa yulkani-watharra-mu ngatji-wampa.*
2sg angry-BECOME-PAST 1sg:DAT-ALL
'You got wild at me.'

- (3-69) *Nhakarti-ngila tjala nhina-ma ngatji-wampa.*
bad-LOCII this bè-PAST 1sg:DAT-ALL
'This one no good to me [swearing at me].'

- (3-70) *Kumtu nhawa ngathu mangka-mu, yarrka nhawa ngalanga-mu ngatji-wampa.*
not 2sg 1sg:ERG hear-PAST far 2sg talk-PAST
1sg:DAT-ALL
'I didn't hear you. You were talking to me (from too) far away.'

The following example should probably be included here. It was given in response to 'jealous' but the sense is doubtful. *Yijithana* is literally 'nose stand up' and may mean 'to be snooty', or 'cock one's nose' in local English. An expression meaning literally 'nose get up' appears with the translation 'be jealous' in Kukatj (Breen, unpublished vocabulary) but

as 'be sulky' in Kuk-Narr (Breen, unpublished vocabulary). An idiom involving 'eye' (as in Wik-Mungkan, Kilham et al. 1986:111) rather than 'nose', would seem more appropriate for jealousy.

- (3-64) *Yijithana-ma tjarru-rungu yiri-nithjungu.*
jealous-PRES this-AVERS man-AVERS
'He is jealous of this man.'

- (3-65) *Thangani-mu lanya-ka, pirlapirla-ka, marna-yanya-lungu.*
run-PAST 3sg-> child-> mother-POSS-AVERS
'He ran away, (that) kid, from his mother.'

- There is no hint of avoidance in the following example:
- (3-66) *Kurirri-wulampa nhina-ma yarrka ngatha-rungu-ka.*
uncle-DUAL remain-PRES far 1sg-AVERS->
'[My] two uncles live a long way from here'

3.2.2.10 Ablative: -ngkangu, -yangu, -ngutangu

The ablative expresses ‘motion from’. In (3-71) the literal translation would be ‘Blood here is flowing from me, from nose’. As noted above under dative, no marking for possessor is normally used with the ‘ownership’ of a body part.

- (3-71) *Ngurki ninji ngarali-ma ngaiji-ngutangu yiji-ngangu.*
blood here flow-PRES 1sg:DAT-ABL nose-ABL

‘My nose is bleeding.’

- (3-72) *Kukapi-yangu ngathu miya-mu kakuna.*
grass-ABL 1sg:ERG get-PAST egg

‘I got the egg from the grass.’

3.2.2.11 Locative II: -ngila, -ngilampa, -ngilarli

The forms *-ngila* and *-ngilampa* both seem to have local (place) and manner (in such a fashion) senses and it has not been possible to distinguish them. The local sense is something like ‘in the vicinity of’ so that with a verb of rest (e.g. *nhina* ‘remain’, ‘be present’) the sense is ‘near’ and with a verb of motion (e.g. *ngana* ‘go’) the sense is ‘towards’. If *-mpa* is to be identified with the allative, one would expect that perhaps *-ngila* meant ‘near’ and *-ngilampa* ‘towards’ but such a distinction is not supported by the data. It may be better identified with the time-locative (see §4.4). The form *-ngilarli* occurs a few times with both local and manner senses. The following is a complete list of the manner examples:

<i>ngunu(rnu)</i>	one	<i>nguru(rnu)ngila(mpa)</i>	once ⁶
<i>kajimpa</i>	two	<i>katjimpangila</i>	twice
<i>kuripyapa</i>	three	<i>kurripyayangila</i>	three times
<i>yikata</i>	many	<i>yikatangilampa</i>	many times
<i>yarrpamu</i>	good	<i>yarrpacamungila</i>	well
<i>nhakartti</i>	bad	<i>nhakarttingila</i>	badly
<i>juri'u</i>	hidden	<i>juriungilala(rli)</i>	in a sneaky way
<i>Yalarnga</i>	Yalarnga	<i>Yalarngangila</i>	in Yalarnga

- (3-73) *Wamarri-ningila ngiya ngana.*

snake-1.OCII 1sg g:INF
'I went up to the snake.'

- (3-74) *Nanyi-li-ma fjala ngati-ningila.*
see-AP-PRES this 1sg:DAT-LOCII
'He's looking towards me.'

- (3-75) *Kala-mu tjala-ka walayu tjiptulu-ngilampa.*
creep-PAST this-> along duck-LOCII
'He crept up on the ducks.'

(3-76) *Wampa waya ngana yirri-ningilampa.*

girl that go:NF man-LOCII

‘That girl walked towards the man.’

(3-77) *Tjala kaya thana-ma tjari-ngilampa wamarri-ngila.*⁷

the child stand-PRES this-1-LOCII snake-LOCII

‘The kid is standing near the snake.’

(3-78) *Wamarri-ningilampa nhina-ma waya-ka ngurukathu-pa.*

snake-LOCII remain-PRES that-> hawk.species->

‘That hawk is near the snake.’

(3-79) *Nhawa nguna-ma thulkparra-ngila.* (compare (3-77))

2sg lie-PRES back-LOCII
'You are lying on your back.'

(3-80) *Yarrka nhina-ka, kunu ngaiji-ngilarli-ka.*

far sit:IMP-> not 1sg:DAT-L-LOCII->

‘Stop over there, not near me.’

(3-81) *Nhangunwarri-juu tjala ngathu wala-mu ngaiji-ngilarli thangani-mu-nhari.*

whatisit-ERG this 1sg:ERG kill-PAST 1sg:DAT-LOCII run-PAST-HITHER

‘I killed him with a whatisaname as he ran past me (?).’

(3-82) *Yarpamu-ningila yita-rtu ngawa nhinti-na*

good-LOCII that-ERG 1pl hold-NF
'He looked after us well.'

3.2.2.12 Reason for aggression: -milaya

A suffix *-milaya* occurs in the example:

(3-83) *Nhangu-ta nhurhu ngiya wa-na-ka, nhangu-milaya.*

what-PURP 2sg:ERG 1sg hit-PAST-> what-OVER

‘What did you hit me for?’

We suggest that this is a ‘reason for aggression’ suffix, such as occurs in other languages of the area including Wariwarrwa (where it is a simple suffix; Breen forthcoming) and Kuk-Narr (Breen, unpublished notes) and Arandic languages (where it follows dative). Wilkins (1989:359) glosses it as ‘IndReasAng’ for ‘be indirect reason for anger’ and translates it ‘over’. The *ya* could be locative.

3.2.3 Pre-case suffixes

3.2.3.1 Possessor ligative: -langki

In Yalarnga it is generally true that all the words that make up a noun phrase, including a notional noun phrase (see §4.1.4), bear the case marking appropriate to the head noun. However, if a dependent with the function of possessor appears as an adnominal dependent, then the concordial case marking for the phrase as a whole is not simply added on to the possessor marking (dative, purposive or aversive). With nouns a suffix *-langki*

⁶ One instance of *ngunungilaya* ‘once’ recorded.

⁷ Note the imperfect concord.

appears instead of the expected adnominal case (3-84). With pronouns our examples feature only the first and second person singular where the forms are:

- Isg *ngatha-langki-*
2sg *nhurlu-langki-* (one example of *nhuwu-ngata-wu* 'you-loc-dat')

With the first person singular there is one example of *ngatji-langki* (3-85). Since *ngatji* is a form of the dative (as in Kalkutungu), -*langki*- is here simply a ligative, but in the other examples -*langki* functions as a form indicating the possessor to be used when a case suffix follows. However, it is glossed just as LIG(ative).

- (3-84) *Tharrapattha, mutu-nagara-la, marnu-langki-va.*
Tharabatha camp-OTHER-LOC mother-LIG-LOC

- (3-85) *Ngathu waya wala-mu ngatji-langki-yu papurla-ju.*

- Isg:ERG that kill-PAST 1sg;DAT-LIG-ERG boomerang-ERG
'I killed it with my boomerang.'

- (3-86) *Nhangu-la nhawa nhina-ma tjarru-nguta ngatha-langki-ya mutu-nga*
what-PURP 2sg remain-PRES this-LOC 1sg:LIG-LOC camp-LOC
'Why are you in my camp?'

- (3-87) *Nhawa wawu-rungu kanta-ma, nhurlu-langki-lungu minmirri-lungu-ka.*
2sg that-AVERS fear-PRES 2sg:ERG-LIG-AVERS woman-AVERS- \Rightarrow
'You're frightened of that one, your woman.'

- (3-88) *Nangi-mu ngija yunkunhi-mu mutu-wampa ngatha-langki-mpa.*

- see-PAST 1sg return-PAST camp-ALL 1sg:LIG-ALL
'I saw it when I was coming back to my camp.'

There are only three examples with nouns and these are with kinship nouns (*marnu* in (3-84) above and *thawirri* 'elder brother') and with *munthi* 'one's own':

- (3-89) *Mantha-wu tjala munthi-langki-wu ngarri-li-ma kaya-ka.*
food-DAT this self-LIG-DAT eat-AP-PRES child- \Rightarrow
'The child is eating his/her own tucker.'

3.2.3.2 Possessor suffixes

3.2.3.2.1 his, her: -yanja, -warra

-*yanja* is used to indicate that a kinship noun is possessed by a third person. With -*i* stems, the -*i* of the stem and the -*y*- of the suffix are usually elided: *thawirri* + -*yanja* = *thawirranya* 'his/her elder brother'. There are a couple of tokens of -*warra* with apparently the same function. This form is found in Pitta-Pitta and related tongues and may be an intrusion. There is also *papuwunji* 'father's mother' and *waputhuwunji* 'man's mother-in-law' (alongside regular *waputhuyanja*). -*wunji* seems to be a Kalkutungu form.

In the following example -*yanja* is used for both of the kin that form the relationship, the mother *marnu* and her children *ngathari*.

- (3-90) *Yarpamu-ngila tjala marnu-yanja-ka nhinti-li-ma tjarru-wu,*

good-LOCII this mother-POSS- \Rightarrow look.after-AP-PRES this-DAT

ngathari-yanja-wu.

'Mother is looking after her child.' [lit. 'Her motherj is looking after hetj child.]'

- (3-91) *Wapirri waya yarma-mu karlu-yanja-ta.*

humpy that build-PAST father-POSS-PURP
'He built that humpy for his father.'

- (3-92) *Thangani-mu lava-ka pirlapirila-ka marnu-yanja-lungu.*

run.away-PAST 3sg- \Rightarrow baby- \Rightarrow mother-POSS-AVERS

'The little kid ran away from his/her mother.'

- (3-93) *Ngija mujii-yanja-ka.*

1sg father's,father-POSS- \Rightarrow
'I'm his grandfather.'

3.2.3.2.2 your: -mala

-*mala* means 'your'. In the dozen or so examples to hand the possessor is singular and the possessed a kinship term. In a few instances -*mala* was translated as 'his' or 'her', but the same form -*mala* is also found in Pitta-Pitta as 'your', so we are inclined to dismiss the third person translations. There are a number of instances where the first, second and third person are mistranslated.

- (3-94) *Pijaka-mala-mpa ngap(a)-anthu-wa.*

son.in.law-YOUR-ALL go-HENCE- \Rightarrow

'Go over to your son-in-law.'

- (3-95) *Wanta ini-ja tjarru-nguta kuhu-nga marnu-mala-yu nangi-ji nhawa.*

don't stop-IMP this-LOC water-LOC mother-YOUR-ERG see-POT 2sg

'Don't stay in the water. Your mother might see you (when she comes back).'
(the second word, *inija*, is Kalkutungu)

- (3-96) MM *Marnu ngatji-ka.*

mother 1sg;DAT- \Rightarrow
'My mother.'

- LM *Ngaa, nhurlungu marna-ka, marnu-mala-ka.*

yes 2sg:AVERS mother- \Rightarrow mother-YOUR- \Rightarrow

'Yes, your mother, your mother.'

Note in LM's reply the use of one of the normal expressions for the possessor followed by the use of -*mala* denoting a second person possessor of kin.

3.2.3.3 Other: -ngarra

'(An)other' can be expressed by a free form *nguringga* (*nguru* < *ngururu* 'one' + *ngarra* 'other') or by a pre-case suffix -*ngarra*.

(3-97) *Ngani-ma-nhati mutu-ngarra-langu.*go-PRES-HITHER camp-OTHER-ABL
[He's] coming here from another camp.'(3-98) *Pirlapirla tjarru-ru thingka-niyi ngurungarra.*'He might hit that other little kid.' (*thingka* means 'hit with a missile')(3-99) *Tjala ngurungarra-ka ngana thanga-na wayu-wu ngurungarra-wu*
this another-&² go:NF run-NF that-DAT another-DAT
wala-li-njata.
hit-AP-PURP

'This one ran to hit that other one.'

(3-100) *Tjipa-ngarra-rla ngiya yunkunhi-mi-nhati.⁸*

moon-OTHER-LOC 1sg return-FUT-HITHER

'I'll come back in a month's time.'
"I come back one moon."

3.2.3.4 Number

3.2.3.4.1 dual: -*wulampa*The dual (indicating 'two') of demonstratives is formed with -*wula* (see Table 3.3) and the dual of nouns with -*wulampa*. (See §3.2.9 on the various meanings of -*mpa*.)*mirmirri-wulampa* 'two women'
yirri-wulampa 'two men'*kaya-wulampa* 'two children'
mil-wulampa 'two eyes'*punkula-wulampa* 'two thighs'(3-101) *Thawirri-wulampa tjarru-wula ngarri-li-ma manhi-wu.*
elder.brother-DUAL this-DUAL eat-AP-PRES food-DAT
'These two brothers are eating.'(3-102) *Mangurri-wulampa tatji-nyaa-ma.*
dog-DUAL bite-RE-PRES
'The two dogs are biting one another.'(3-103) *Kayirri-wulampa-yu ngiya wala-mu.*
boy-DUAL-ERG 1sg hit-PAST
'The two boys hit me.'(3-104) *Nhawa-ka thanga-na pantjarr-ka, wawi-mu yita-wula-ka*
2sg-&² run-NF very-&² sing-PAST this-DUAL-&²
thirkali-wulampa-ka.
knee-DUAL-&²
'You're a fast runner, "they bin sing your knee".'(3-105) *Parluru-ka ngarri-li-ma yanu-wulampa-ya.*little-&² eat-AP-PRES big-DUAL-1-LOC
'The little one is having a feed with his "two big (brothers)"',3.2.3.4.2 plural: -*larrampa*, -*wala*, -*ngali*The suffix -*ngali* marks the plural of demonstratives (Table 3.3). With nouns two plural forms have been recorded: -*larrampa* and -*wala*. Most examples involve kinship terms and none involve non-human nouns.*yimiri-wala* 'all my aunties'
ngatharti-wala 'woman's children'
thavirri-wala 'older brothers'
thiti-wala 'man's children'(3-106) *Mirnmirri-wala tjarrri-rgali ngana-nhati.*woman-PLUR this-PLUR go:NF-HITHER
'The women are coming.'(3-107) *Yimiri-larrampa yit-angali wala-nyama, yimiri-wala.*
father's.sister-PLUR this-PLUR hit-RE-PRES father's.sister-PLUR
'"They all my auntie fighting."(3-108) *Kurritti-wala wala-nyama-ma yimiri-larrampa-nga.*
uncle-PLUR hit-RE-PRES father's.sister-PLUR-LOC
'"All my uncle fighting over all my hauntie."(3-109) *Yampu-larrampa ngana kalpurri-yangu ngana yampu-wala*
banji-PLUR go:NF Boulia-ABL go:NF banji-PLUR
ngana tangkarri.
go:PRES - west'All my banji are leaving Boulia, "all my banji going sundown way".'⁹(3-110) *Yikata-mpa ngiya ngana kayirri-larrampa-ka.*
mob-ALL 1sg go:NF boy-PLUR:ALL-&²
'I walked up to the boys,'(Note: -*larrampa* for -*larrampa-mpa*)

3.2.3.5 Nominal-forming suffixes

As in most Australian languages there are suffixes meaning 'having' and 'lacking'. The former is similar in function to the suffix found in English words such as: long-eared, short-tailed and bearded. It is glossed as PROP(rietary). The 'lacking' or privative, suffix is glossed as LESS. Words derived with these suffixes function like adjectives in that they can modify a noun or be used predicatively. They can also be the head of a noun phrase like other nominals. The 'adjective-forming' suffixes can presumably be followed by case suffixes, but it happens that none of our examples contain overt case markers.

⁸ *Tjipa*: moon' is Pitta-Pitta.⁹ The word 'banji' or 'benjamin' is common in the English of Aboriginal people of the area. It refers to husband or brother-in-law. According to Roth (1897:2), it is derived from English *fancyman*.

3.2.3.5.1 proprietive: *-rri*

-rri is used with noun stems to indicate ‘having an object or a quality’.

<i>mangu</i>	‘nasal mucus’ (?)	<i>mangurri</i>	‘having a cold’
<i>mirlakuma</i>	‘sleep’	<i>mirlakumarrri</i>	‘sleeping’
<i>mangarni</i>	‘death bone’ (PP)	<i>mangarnirri</i>	‘doctor’ (the one who has the bone for ‘pointing the bone’)

- (3-111) *Kuntu ninyi nyilki-rri-ka warri-ka.*
not here fat-PROP- \Rightarrow meat- \Rightarrow
'The meat's got no fat.'

- (3-112) *Yimata-ta ngiya rgana, kartapi-rri, miya-li-nhya.*
fish-PURP 1sg go:INF fishing line-PROP get-AP-PURP
'I'm going for fish, with a line, to get some (fish).'

- (3-113) *Wamarri-yu ngiya tafia-mu, nguma-mu, mirlakuma-ri.*
snake-ERG 1sg bite-PAST lie-PAST sleep-PROP
'The snake bit me while I was asleep.'

- (3-114) *Ngiya kuntu-pa kula-purruru-ri, kula-purrnu-nhiya ngiya nguma-ma.*
1sg not- \Rightarrow blanket-PROP blanket-LESS 1sg lie-PRES
'I haven't got a blanket. I'm lying without a blanket.'

- (3-115) *Mili-rii marra nhawa kuntu nhari ngiya nangku*
eye-PROP now 2sg not 2sg:ERG 1sg see:PAST
yita-nguta nhina-mu.
here-LOC sit-PAST
'You've got eyes (but) you didn't see me sitting here.'

3.2.3.5.2 privative: *-nhija*

-nhija is used with noun stems to indicate ‘not having’ or ‘lacking’. See also (3-114).

- (3-116) *Mangurru-wu tjala wala-l-ma yirri-ka, kulpurnu-nhiya.*
dog-DAT this hit-AP-PRES man- \Rightarrow shame-LESS
'He got no shame hitting that dog.'
- (3-117) *Kunu tjala ngatha-rungu, thawirti-lungu mangurru-ka.*
not this 1sg-AVERS elder.brother-AVERS dog- \Rightarrow
not- \Rightarrow 1sg- \Rightarrow tell-IMP 1sg dog-LESS
'It's not mine, it's my brother's dog. Don't tell me. I don't have a dog.'

English words ‘to cook’ and ‘to work’ (and no doubt others) have been adopted into Yalarnga as intransitive verbs. Both are suffixed with *-yaa*:

- kukuya* ‘to cook’
wakaya ‘to work’

3.2.3.5.3 *-yangu*

There is another derivational suffix, *-yangu*, which forms nominals from nominals. It is of low frequency. It also occurs in Kalkutungu. In Yalarnga, but not in Kakutungu, it is homophonous with an ablative case marker, and it may be a derivational use of that form.

- purpu* ‘hair’
watjali ‘first’
purppuyangu ‘long haired, hairy’
watjalyangu ‘first’

<i>thinangkali</i>	‘behind’	<i>thinangkali-yangu</i>	‘following, second’
<i>ngankarri</i>	?	<i>ngankarri-yangu</i>	‘policeman’

The word *ngankarri* is intriguing; it was given for ‘(traditional) doctor’ and seems to be cognate with *ngangkari* and similar words in languages to the west of the Yalarnga area, but *ngankarri-yangu*, homophonous with ‘from the *ngankarri*’, was given for ‘policeman’, and this suggested that *ngankarri* also meant ‘police station’, and speakers accepted that this was so.

The word *warluwayangu* (cf. *warluwa* ‘shade’) was used to describe the kangaroo and glossed as *warluwa-ja nhina-njirri* (‘shade-LOC remain-ACTOR’ lit. ‘shade-in dweller’)

- (3-118) *Ngiya watjali-yangu, nhawa-ka thinangkali-yangu.*
1sg first-YANGU 2sg- \Rightarrow behind-YANGU
'I'm older, you "second young".'

3.3 Verb forming suffixes

3.3.1 intransitive forming: *-yaa*

-yaa is used with noun stems to form intransitive verbs. It often has an inchoative (‘becoming’) sense.

<i>thurrkali</i>	‘hard’	<i>thurrkalya</i>	‘to grow hard’
<i>nhakarti</i>	‘bad’	<i>nhakartiya</i>	‘to deteriorate’
<i>yirratji</i>	‘woman’	<i>yirratjiya</i>	‘to become a woman’
<i>mili</i>	‘eyes’	<i>miliya</i>	‘to be born’
<i>yarpamu</i>	‘good’	<i>yarpumuya</i>	‘to get better’
<i>mamu</i>	‘tired, weak’	<i>marmiya</i>	‘to grow tired, weak’
<i>puyu</i>	‘dry’	<i>puyuya</i>	‘to dry’ (intrans.)
<i>warta</i>	‘dark’	<i>wariaya</i>	‘to grow dark’
<i>wanhaka</i>	‘sun’ (Kal.)	<i>wanhakaya</i>	‘to get hot’ (of weather)
<i>kijakiya</i>	‘itchy’	<i>kijakiyaya</i>	‘to be itchy’
<i>ngamatjarrri</i>	‘hungry’	<i>ngamatjarrya</i>	‘to become hungry’
<i>kapalarri</i>	‘thirsty’	<i>kapalarriya</i>	‘to be(come) thirsty’

- (3-119) *Thurrkali-yamu ninyi parta-ka.*
hard-INTR-PAST here mud- \Rightarrow
'The mud became hard here.'

- (3-120) *Laa tjala yirri-ka wulanga-ma, laa kankati-ja-ma*
now this man- \Rightarrow die-PRES now on-top-INTR-PRES

yita-nguta, manamana-yā.

that-LOC sky-LOC
'Now this man dies, now he is "up on top" in the sky.'

- (3-121) *Nimika yirri-ka laa yarpamu-ya-ma, kunu yarntka-ma-ka.*
here-> man-> now good-INTR-PRES not ail-PRES->
'The man here is recovering now. He's not ill.'

- (3-122) *Thari nhawa yanu-ya-njata. Yanu-ya-mi nhawa tharti.*
later 2sg big-INTR-PURP big-INTR-FUT 2sg later
'You're going to be big one day. You'll be big one day.'

3.3.2 transitive forming: *-ma*

There are a few examples of a derivational suffix *-ma* added to a nominal root to form a transitive verb:

<i>kibikibii</i>	'armpit'	<i>kilyikilyima</i>	'to tickle'
<i>parla</i>	'loose'	<i>parlama</i>	'to loosen, untie'
<i>yampamu</i>	'good'	<i>yampamuma</i>	'to teach(?)'
<i>thina</i>	'footmark'	<i>thinama</i>	'to track'
<i>yilarra</i>	'awake'	<i>yillarroma</i>	'to keep awake'

The last example above is tentative; the root has not otherwise been attested. See also the examples of *-ma* in §3.4.3.

3.4 Verb morphology

Verb suffixes fall into three broad classes:

- (a) In the first class there are the valency-changing suffixes:

causative/applicative	<i>-nti</i>
antipassive	<i>-li</i>
reflexive	<i>-nyama, -npi, -yama</i>

- (b) Then there are the tense/aspect/modality/mood suffixes:

present	<i>-ma</i>
past	<i>-mu, -lu</i>
non-future	<i>-na</i>
imperfective	<i>-mavī, -mavī</i>

future	<i>-mi</i>
potential 'lest'	<i>-mīji, -nyīji</i>
habitual	<i>-nyangu, -yangu</i>
non-future participle	<i>-nyana</i>
purposive	<i>-nyata, -yata</i>
optative	<i>-nati, -ati</i>
irrealis	<i>-natiyī, -atīyī</i>
imperative	<i>-li</i>

non-singular (imperative)	<i>-nhu</i>
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(c) The final group consists of the directionals:

-nhati, -nharrayi, -nyamharrinta
-anthu

A note on insubordination and the formative *-yi*

It is a feature of a number of Australian languages that they use constructions that were originally found in dependent clauses for independent clauses. One clear example occurs in Yalarngga. The suffix *njata* 'purposive' consists of a nominaliser *-njā* plus the purposive case marker *-ta*. It has parallels in other languages, e.g. *-njā-qya* in Kalkutungu and *-njāku* in Warlpiri and The Western Desert Language. The *-njā* essentially nominalises a dependent verb, which then takes case marking appropriate to its function in the clause (see (3-156) below, for instance). This dependent form then gets to be used without its governing clause, i.e. it gets to be used as an independent verb. It's as if in English we took the dependent clause in a sentence like 'I want to go to town' and made it independent: 'I to go to town.' This process is evident too in some other languages of the area, including Warlpiri, Yalarngga's western neighbour. Evans has dubbed this process insubordination (Evans 1988a).

Two other suffixes listed — *-nyangu* 'habitual' and *-nyama* 'participial' — probably arise by this mechanism.

Some verb forms have a formative *-yi* following suffixes of the tense class.¹⁰ These are:

- mīyi* potential 'lest' (*-ni* not recorded separately, but the analogy with *-mī-yi* is suggestive)
-natiyī 'irrealis' (compare optative *-nati*)
-mavī 'imperfective' (cf. *-ma* present)
-mavī 'imperfective' (cf. *-ma* non-future)

It is likely that these arise from the process of insubordination. In the case of 'lest' clauses, the context is usually something like 'Don't go too close to the fire. You might get burnt', but the imperative can be left implicit. With the irrealis, the context is typically along the lines of, 'I would have done-so-and-so, if I had ...'. Again a biclausal environment. With *-mavī*, there are some examples where the *-mavī* verb is subordinate as in (3-136) to (3-138). The fact that *-yi* follows suffixes of the tense series suggests that these arise from the suffixing of a subordination marker *-yi* to a tensed verb. See also the discussion in §5.2.

There are some irregular verbs. These are shown in Table 3.5 and the following text.

10 In Chapter 5 we suggest that *-yi* is probably cognate with Kalkutungu locative *-thi*.

Table 3.5: Irregular verbs

	see	give	go	hit	run	carry,	leave
						take	
present	<i>manji</i>	<i>ngunyi</i>	<i>ngana*</i>	<i>wana</i>	<i>thangana*</i>	<i>kanyi</i>	
future	<i>mangi</i>	<i>ngungqi</i>	<i>ngani</i>	<i>wani</i>		<i>kangi</i>	
past	<i>manku</i>	<i>ngunyimi</i>	<i>nganimi</i>	<i>walami</i>			
purposive	<i>manjima</i>	<i>ngunyimu</i>	<i>nganimu</i>	<i>walamu</i>		<i>kanyimu</i>	<i>tanyimu</i>
potential	<i>manga</i>	<i>ngunga</i>		<i>walu</i>		<i>kanga</i>	
optative						<i>thantjata</i>	<i>tanijata</i>
imperative	<i>manvili</i>		<i>ngapu</i>	<i>waliwala</i>	<i>thangapa)</i>	<i>kanyili</i>	<i>tanyili</i>
reflexive	<i>manvinpar-</i>	<i>ngunyinpa-</i>					

* Regular verbs have a present tense in -ma and a non-future in -na. These verbs have only -na forms.

** There is also a derived verb *thangani* 'to run away'. It is regular.

*** *wanyiyipi* is irealis of *wa*. It is not based on the optative.

The verb *ngalanga-* 'to speak' shows stem alternation with *ngalanga-ma* 'present', *ngalanga-mu* 'past', but *ngalangka-yata* 'purposive', *ngalangk(a)-ati* 'optative' and *ngalangka-yangu* 'habitual'. Similarly with *wulanga* 'to die'. It has *wulanga-ma* 'present', *wulanga-mu* 'past', *wulanga-mi* 'future', but *wulangka-yata* 'purposive'.

The stative verbs *nhina* 'to sit', *thana* 'to stand' and *ngura* 'to lie' lose their second syllable when -ni causative/applicative is added: *nhini* 'to keep', 'to mind', *thanti* 'to wear' and *ngunti* 'to lie on'.

Another irregularity is the reflexive/reciprocal and the habitual of *wa*- 'hit' being based on *wala*.

In the following subsections the tense, aspect, modality and mood inflections are treated first along with the imperfective (§3.4.1), followed by the directionals (§3.4.2) and then the valency-changing suffixes (§3.4.3).

3.4.1 Tense, aspect, modality and mood

3.4.1.1 present: -ma

The present tense is similar to the English present in that it covers activities and states contemporary with the speech act, and also repeated or regular activity.

- (3-123) *Yita-ngalli yirri, kuntu wayirra nguna-ma ngyija nhina-njata*
this-PL man not heart lie-PRES 1sg live-PURP
nhunu-rguta.

2sg-LOC

'These men, they don't want me to live with you.'

(3-124) *Tiala mikara wuka-nga nhunu-rguta nhina-ma tatajali-ma.*
this mosquito cheek-LOC 2sg-LOC sit-PRES bite-AP-PRES
'The mosquito is on your cheek, biting.'

3.4.1.2 past: -mu, -lu

The normal past tense is -mu. There are about a dozen tokens of -lu, all from Lardie Moonlight, most of them occurring with *mangka* 'to hear' in sentences like (3-126).

- (3-125) *Miya-mu tjarru-ru warri nhanguwarri-yangu, pungkuwarri-yangu,*
pick-up-PAST this-ERG meat whatsit-ABL bag-ABL
nitha-mu. Nhitha-mu tjarru-ru warri parnayi-mu tjurhu-rgila.

steal-PAST steal-PAST this-ERG meat take-away-PAST hidden-LOCII
'This [fellow] took the meat out of the whatsaname, the bag, he stole it. This [fellow] stole the meat, he took it away surreptitiously.'

- (3-126) *Mirrimirri-nhanka tjala ngathu mangka-lu.*
woman-LIKE this 1sg:ERG think-PAST

'I thought you were a woman.'

- (3-127) *Nhangu-ta nhawa yijari-ma-ka?* *Kuntu nharl u miya-lu thukaka*
what-PURP 2sg cry-PRES-~~~~~ not 2sg:ERG get-PAST stick-~~~~~
wala-ni-yata ka? hit-APL-PURE-~~~~~
'Why are you crying? Didn't you pick up a stick and hit him with it?'

3.4.1.3 non-future: -na

-na occurs with great frequency but its meaning is elusive. For some tokens the past tense marker could be substituted without any apparent change in meaning and for other tokens the present could be substituted. We have taken it to be simply non-future.

- (3-128) *Ngathu karta-na tjala tharkurnu-wa.*

1sg:ERG know-NF this man-~~~~~
'I know this man.'

- (3-129) *Ngaa, tharri negathu mangka-yata. Kuntu ngyija karta-na.*

yes later 1sg:ERG hear-PURP not 1sg know-NF
'Yes, I'll find out later. I don't know.'

- (3-130) *Nhangu-wu nhawa ngarri-ngarri-li-ma-ka?* *Warri ninyi ngathu ngarri-na.*

what-DAT 2sg eat-eat-AP-PRES-~~~~~ meat here 1sg:ERG eat-NF
'What are you eating?' 'I'm eating the meat.'

- (3-131) *Kikka-rgku tjala ngathu warrika-ni-na.*

arm-ERG this 1sg:ERG fall-CAUS-NF
'I knocked it over with my arm.'

3.4.1.4 imperfective: -yi

As noted in §3.4, -yi follows -ma 'present' and -na 'non-future' and indicates ongoing or uncompleted activity. Examples such as (3-136) to (3-138) are complex sentences. Examples with -yi in apparently independent clauses probably arise through the process of insubordination mentioned above. See also §4.2.3.

- (3-132) *Mangurru-yu waya parnayi-na thuka, waya ngarri-ngarri-nayi.*
dog-ERG that take-NF bone that eat-eat-NF-IMPERF
'That dog took the bone. (Now) he's eating it.'
- (3-133) *Tjala nhina-nhina-ma-yi yimirantiya-ngu.¹¹*
this sit-sit-PRES-IMPERF auntie-POSS-LOC
'She's sitting with her auntie.'
- (3-134) *Kaya tjala wanti-ma-yi kankati thuka-ya tjarru-nguta,*
child this climb-PRES-IMPERF aloft branch-LOC this-LOC
warrka-niyi tjala.
fall-POT this
'The kid's climbing up on the branch. He might fall.'
- (3-135) *Wanpi-na-yi rgyiya ngani-ngani-mu yarrka wafani-ta.*
paint-NF-IMPERF 1sg go-go-PAST far wood-PURP
'I'm out of breath (from) having walked a long way for firewood.'
- (3-136) *Miya-li tjala kaya yiyarti-ma-yi.*
get-IMP this child cry-PRES-IMPERF
'Pick up this kid (who's) crying.'
- (3-137) *Kuhaparra miya-li nhanguwari waya nguna-nguna-ma-yi.*
stick pick-up-IMP whatst that lie-lie-PRES-IMPERF
'Pick up the stick, that whatchacallit lying there.'
- (3-138) *Waya nhina-nhina-ma-yi ngatha-rungu-ka kaya-ka.*
that sit-SIT-PRES-IMPERF 1sg-AVERS-~~as~~ child-~~as~~
'The one sitting over there is my kid.'

3.4.1.7 non-future participle: -nyana

The suffix -nyana is used to subordinate one verb with respect to another in much the same way as the English present participle is in 'Returning home, I met John'. This usage is illustrated in examples (3-146) to (3-148) and in §4.2.2. This suffix also occurs on the verb of independent clauses (3-144) and (3-145). As noted in §3.4, the former usage is probably the original and the latter arises via the process of insubordination, whereby a governing clause is omitted and an erstwhile subordinate clause becomes an independent one. All tokens are glossed PART(icipial).

- (3-144)a. *Mukulu ninyi warka-nyana yita-nguta wamarri-ya.*
rock here fall-PART this-LOC snake-LOC
'The rock fell on the snake.'
- b. *Mukulu ninyi warka-nyana wa-hu ninyi nhanguwari*
rock here fall-PART hit-PAST here whatst
wamarri-ka wulangka-yata.
snake-~~as~~ die-PURP
'The rock fell and hit the whatisname, snake, and killed it.'
- (3-145) *Ngyiya wurrka-nyana tjarru-nguta kunti-nga-k yumu-nga-k nhina-njata.*
1sg enter-PART this-LOC house-LOC dry-LOC remain-PURP
kumhu-nga-kungu. Wantha-na ninyi kumhu-ka.
water-AVERS fall-NF here water-~~as~~
'I came into this dry house to get out of the rain. The rain's pouring.'
- (3-146) *Ngathu tjala nanyi-mu manguwati ngani-nyana ngati-wampa.*
1sg:ERG this sec-PAST before go-PART 1sg:DAT-ALL
Ngathu tjala karta-na.
1sg:ERG this know-NF
'I saw him coming towards me earlier. I know him.'

3.4.1.6 habitual: -nyangu, -yangu

The basic form is -nyangu. The variant -yangu occurs following a nasal-stop cluster in the stem, but a form *ngantawa-nyangu* 'cover' has been recorded with no dissimilation.

- (3-141) *Nhangu nharlku ninyi ngapa-nyangu-ka?*
what 2sg:ERG this call-HAB-~~as~~
'What do you call this?'

- (3-142) *Ngawa ngani-nyangu manguwati warri-ta wala-li-njata.*
1pl go-HAB before meat-PURP kill-AP-PURP
'Once we used to go and kill game.'

- (3-143) *Kuntu tjala ngalangka-yangu, manyimpa tjala nhina-nyangu.*
not this talk-HAB oneself this remain-HAB
'He doesn't talk. He lives on his own.'

¹¹ Expected form is -nguta. -ngu is Kalkutungu.

- (3-147) *Ngiya yunkunhi-myana tawunu-yangu nhanku ngathu waya pitjuru.*
1sg return-PART town-ABL see-PAST 1sg:ERG that plane
'As I was coming back from town, I saw that aeroplane.'
- (3-148) *Ngiya kulpurnu-rriyaya-myana nhanguarri-wu nanyi-li-mu karri-i-njirri-wu.*
1sg shame-PROP-INTR-PART whatstid-DAT see-AP-PAST tie-NOM-DAT
'bin shame', when I saw the whatisname, policeman.' (usual form for policeman *karri-i-njirri*)

- (3-149) *Ninyi ngatha-rungu mutu yita-ngata ngiya nhina-mu-ka. Ngiya*
this 1sg-AVERS camp there-LOC 1sg sit-past- \rightarrow 1sg
yita-ngata marni-ya-myana, marni-ya-myana ngiya yita-ngata
there-LOC mother-INTR-PART mother-INTR-PART 1sg there-LOC
mutu-njka, ninyi ngatha-rungu.
- camp-LOC this 1sg-AVERS
'I been there long time, when I was young.'
Presumably, 'This is the camp where I lived when I became a mother'. Sentence asked for was 'This is my old camp'.

3.4.1.8 purposive: -njata, -yata

The basic form of the suffix is *-njata*. The variant *-yata* occurs after stems containing a nasal-stop cluster (*mangka-yata* 'to hear', *thampu-yata* 'to bathe') and after the reflexive/reciprocal *-nyama* (*wala-nyama-yata* 'to fight', *watji-nyama-yata* 'to cut oneself'). The purposive suffix occurs in independent clauses where it indicates intention or desire. This suffix also occurs on the verbs of subordinate clauses expressing purpose, indirect command or the complement of *wayirra ngata* 'to want, to wish, to like to' (see §4.2.1 for further examples). The form of the suffix appears to incorporate the purposive case marker *-ta*, and it is probable that the suffix was first used in subordinate clauses and then in independent clauses, another example of the insubordination referred to above. The verbal suffix is glossed as PURP(ositive), the same as for the case.

- (3-150) *Ngani-njata ngawa yimata-ta.*
go-PURP 1pl fish-PURP
'We lot are going for fish.'

- (3-151) *Kuntu nhawa ngathu wala-njata, ngurungarra ngathu wala-njata.*
not 2sg 1sg:ERG hit-PURP another 1sg:ERG hit-PURP
'I didn't mean to hit you, I been want to hitin nother one'.
- (3-152) *Kunhu-wu tjala-ka kaya-ka tuka-li-njata.*
water-DAT this-> child-> drink-AP-PURP
'This child wants a drink of water.'
- (3-153) *Tharti nhawa yamu-ya-njata.*
later 2sg big-INTR-PURP
'You'll be big one day.'

- (3-154) *Ngapa-mu ngathu ngani-njata.*
tell-PAST 1sg:ERG go-PURP
'I told him to go.'
- (3-155) *Ngathu ngapa-mu waya pirlapirla ngani-njata puljurru-wu*
1sg:ERG tell-PAST that child go-PURP chip-DAT
miya-li-njata.

- (3-156) *Kunhu-wu ngija wayirra nguma-ma tuka-li-njata.*
water-DAT 1sg heat lie-PRES drink-AP-PURP
'I want to have a drink of water.'

3.4.1.9 potential 'lest': -mjii, -nyji

Both these forms refer to the possibility that something unpleasant might happen. The corresponding markers in other Australian languages are sometimes referred to as 'lest' forms, since clauses with such inflection tend to be subordinate to a clause containing a warning, and can be translated with 'lest': 'Keep away from the fire, lest you get burnt'.

The form *-mjii* obviously invites comparison with the simple future *-mi*, and *-yi* is probably a subordinating marker, as discussed at the beginning of the section. It may be that *-nyji* consists of *-ni* plus *-yi*, but *-ni* has not been recorded on its own. We have treated *-mjii* and *-nyji* as single morphemes and glossed each as POR(ential).

- (3-157) *Watjani-ya nhawa wali-mjii.*

fire-LOC 2sg burn-POT
'You might get burnt.'

- (3-158) *Wala-nyama-mjii ngathu ngapan-njata.*

hit-RE-POT 1sg:ERG tell-PURP
'I'm going to speak (to them) in case they start fighting.'

In the following example the reflexive/reciprocal suffix is used to intransitivise *putha*.

- (3-159) *Thurrkali tjala pantjarru karra-lli putha-nyama-mjii.*

tight this very tie-IMP break-RE-POT
'Tie it real tight or it'll break.'

- (3-160) *Ngaa, ngiyaka nanyi-li-ma wamarri-wu, taja-mjii, wamarri-yu.*
yes 1sg- \rightarrow see-AP-PRES snake-DAT bite-POT snake-ERG
'Yes, I'm looking for the snake. It might bite, the snake.'

Note in the following example, *-mjii* is used in the first clause and *-mjii* in the second. The example follows a sentence, in Kalkutungu, that means, 'Don't go in there'.

- (3-161) *Warka-njii nhawa, karlaa putha-mjii.*

fall-POT 2sg neck break-POT
'You might fall and break your neck.' (*karlaa* is Kalkutungu)

- (3-162) *Kuntu ngija ngani-njata mangurru-yu ngija taja-njii.*
not 1sg go-PURP dog-ERG 1sg bite-POT
'I'm not going to go, the dog might bite me.'

3.4.1.10 optative: *-nati*, *-ati*

The optative and the irrealis (discussed next) both have forms with and without initial /n/. We do not know what determines which of the two is used. One verb, *wirka*: ‘to enter’ is attested with both. The sense is ‘let him/her/it do so-and-so’, e.g. *ngalangkati* ‘let him talk’. A form *marrikai* (*marri* ‘to rub’) which seems to be inflected with antipassive *-li* and optative is taken (along with the comparable irrealis form in (3-170)) to be justification for postulating the short form as *-ati*, not *-ii*. However, there is a counter-example, *yummali* (*yumma* ‘to look for’).

- (3-163) *Kuntu watharra-niti-li ngum(a)-ati.*
not get-up-CAUS-IMP lie-OPT

‘Don’t wake him up. Let him sleep.’

- (3-164) *Ngarri-nati, ngamati-a-rri-ja-ma tjala.*
eat-OPT hunger-PROP-INTRANS-PRES this
‘Let him eat it. He’s hungry.’

3.4.1.11 irrealis: *-natiyi*, *-atiyi*

As noted in the previous paragraph, we do not know what conditions the use of one or other of the allomorphs. These forms consist of the optative plus *-yi*, and it seems likely that we have another example of the subordinating *-yi* mentioned in §3.4. The meaning is ‘would have (but didn’t)’ in the affirmative and ‘cannot’ in the negative. The forms are glossed NRR(realis).

- (3-165) ... *ngathu yita-nguta murlakawarra-natiyi wa-natiyi thukani-ju-ka.*
1SG:ERG this-LOC hit.on.head-IRR hit/kill-RR spear-ERG-~~2~~
(‘If I’d seen him coming), I would’ve hit him on the head, struck (killed?) him with a spear.’

- (3-166) *Tjarru-ru ngija wamarri-yu-ka yita-nguta taifa-natiyi, tjarru-ru-yu!*¹²
this-ERG 1SG snake-ERG-~~2~~ this-LOC bite-IRR this-ERG-ERG

ngurungarra-yu nangku tjala ngatji-ngilari ngan-mu-nhati, tjarru-ru
other-ERG see:PAST this 1SG:DAT-LOCII go-PAST-HITHER this-ERG
wala-uu.

kill-PAST
‘This snake here would have bitten me, but this other (fellow) saw it coming towards me and he killed it.’

- (3-167) *Ngathu kuntu ngarri-natiyi tjala warri-ka.*
Isg:ERG not eat-IRR this meat-~~2~~
‘I can’t eat this meat.’ (It’s taboo.)

- (3-168) *Yamu tjala-ka kuntu wirka-natiyi, tjarru-nguta munningka-ka.*
big this-~~2~~ not enter-IRR this-LOC inside-~~2~~
‘This is big. It won’t go inside here.’

(3-169) *Kuntu ngija ngalangk(a)-atiyi ngurnti-nhijya-ka.*

not 1sg talk-IRR tongue-LESS-~~2~~
‘I can’t talk without my tongue.’

In the following example the combination of *-li* antipassive and *-atiyi* appears as *-lariyi*.

- (3-170) *Ngiya kuntu tingka-l(i)-atiyi watjani-wu.*
1sg not chop-AP-IRR firewood-DAT
‘I can’t chop firewood.’

3.4.1.12 imperative: *-li*

The suffix *-li* occurs with transitive verbs. The bare stem is used with intransitive verbs.

- (3-171) *Yarrka nhina-ka, thina-ngka nhawa ngati-nguta nhina-ma.*
far stay:IMP-~~2~~ foot-LOC 2SG 1SG:DAT-LOC stay-PRES

‘Get away! You’re on my foot.’

- (3-172) *Kuntu watharra-niti-li*
not get.up-CAUS-IMP

‘Don’t wake him up.’

- (3-173) *Ngap(a)-anthu wurrkayu.*
go:IMP-HENCE away

‘Go away!’

- (3-174) *Nhuri kanyi-l(i)-anthu-wa.*
2SG:ERG take-IMP-HENCE-~~2~~
‘Take it back.’ (‘Take back the gift.’)

The negative imperative is expressed by *kawarla*. See §4.1.3.

3.4.1.13 non-singular (imperative): *-nhu*

An actor may be marked by *-nhu* following the imperative suffix. It has not been recorded with the hither and hence suffixes (see §3.4.2). It is used when imperatives with non-singular subjects or agents are elicited, and there are no examples where it is unambiguously singular. It is assumed to be a number marker rather than a person marker, and is glossed as PL. However, it could be cognate with the first syllable of the proto-forms of the non-singular dual pronouns.

- (3-175) *Mhumpala-hu tjala mantha ngarri-li-nhu.*
2du:ERG this food eat-IMP-PL

‘You two eat up this tucker.’

- (3-176) *Nhala yikata, kunu tjala tuka-li-nhu.*
2pl mob water this drink-IMP-PL

‘You mob, drink this water.’

- (3-177) *Tapa-nhu wurrkayu.*
play:IMP-PL there
‘Play over there.’

12 We assume the extra ergative marker is a slip.

3.4.2 Directional suffixes

These follow all other verbal suffixes. -(*nh*)*ati* indicates movement towards the speaker and -*anthu* movement away from the speaker.

3.4.2.1 hither: -(*nh*)*ati*

-*nhati* occurs following overt tense/aspect inflections and -*ati* after the bare stem representing the imperative of intransitive verbs. With the imperative of transitive verbs, the hither form is -*lati* instead of the simple imperative -*ti*. This is the reason for postulating the short form as -*ati* and not -*ti*; however, we do not have the evidence — examples of the suffix following the imperative of *i-* or *u*-final intransitive stems — to prove this. Note that there is an adverb *wayilati* ‘hither’.

- (3-178) *Thang(a)-ati* *ngatji-wampa*.

‘Run to me,’

- (3-179) *Nhangu-ta nhawa ngana-nhati thikuthika?*

‘What-PURP 2SG go:NF-HITHER 1sg:DAT-ALL’

‘Why do you keep coming here?’

- (3-180) *Kaya tjala kanyi-l(i)-ati* *ngatji-wampa*

‘child this bring-IMP-HITHER 1sg:DAT-ALL’

‘Bring the kid over to me.’

The ‘hither-imperative’ can be used with non-motion verbs as in *watjani ithingkalai* (firewood chop-IMP-HITHER) ‘Chop some firewood and bring it here’, *mijalati tjala warramparla* (get-IMP-HITHER this axe) ‘Pick up that axe and bring it here’.

3.4.2.2 hence: -*anthu*

Since the transitive imperative -*ti* combines with this suffix to give -*lanthu* (cf. -*lati* in (3-180) above), we have taken the form to be -*anthu* with the initial vowel replacing the stem-final vowel. Unfortunately we do not have examples with stem-final vowels other than /a/ apart from those with the imperative suffix.

- (3-181) *Manpanhi-ma, wathi manpanhi-m(a)-anthu matjumpawa.*

‘Hop-PRES ? hop-PRES:HENCE kangaroo-~’

‘He’s hopping, the kangaroo’s hopping away.’

- (3-182) *Thang(a)-anthu miya-li-njata kuhu-wu longa river.*

‘Run and fetch some water from the river.’

- (3-183) *Nhuri lu kanyi-l(i)-anthu-wa.*

‘2sg:ERG take-IMP-HENCE-~’

‘You take it back.’

- (3-184) *Kanhti-l(i)-anthu.*

‘chase-IMP-HENCE’

‘Hunt him (the dog) away.’

3.4.2.3 hither: -*nharrayi*, -*nyanharririta*

There are only a few tokens of -*nharrayi*, which indicates motion towards the speaker.

- (3-185) *Pijurru kamkati ngana-nharrayi.*

‘The aeroplane is “coming in the top”.’

- (3-186) *Karpi-li-njirri-ka tjala ngana-na-nharrayi wakana nhina*

tie-AP-NOM-~ this go:NF-PRES-HITHER quiet remain:IMP

nhawa. (repeated with *ngana-nharrayi*; the -*ma* may be a mistake)

2SG

‘The policeman’s coming. You keep quiet.’

There are also four tokens of -*nyanharririta* in the corpus. This seems to incorporate -*nharrayi* and all examples are consistent with a sense of ‘hither’, but with the additional sense of ‘future’. The variant -*yankarririta* in (3-187) is probably triggered by the nasal stop cluster in the stem, but it also occurs in (3-188).

- (3-187) *Kunhu wanha-yankarririta.*

water fall-HITHER

‘The rain’s going to come.’

- (3-188) *Nhangu-ta kampaya ngani-yankarririta, ngija ngani-njata.*

what-PURP ? go-HITHER 1sg go-PURP

‘Why he want to come now, I going to go.’

- (3-189) *Thangani-ma kunhu-ta miya-li-nyanharririta.*

run-away-PRES water-PURP get-AP-HITHER

‘He is going to fetch water.’

3.4.3 Valency-changing suffixes

3.4.3.1 causative/applicative: -*nti*

This suffix is found with intransitive verb stems where it marks the derivation of a transitive counterpart mostly with an additional causative sense. In a majority of examples the S of the intransitive verb corresponds to the P of the transitive verb (causative function), in some S corresponds to A (applicative function). See *tupanti* and *ngumi*, the only two that are clearly applicative, not causative.

yunkunhi ‘to go back, return’

warrka ‘to fall’

watharra ‘to emerge, to wake up’

kala ‘to crawl, to creep’

nhina ‘to remain’

tupa ‘to play’

nguna ‘to lie (down)’

yunkunhini ‘to send/take back’

warrkanti ‘to drop’

watharranti ‘to rouse, wake someone up’

kalanti ‘to drag, pull’

nhinti ‘to keep, to mind, to maintain’

tupanti ‘to play with’

ngunti ‘to lie on’ (e.g. a blanket)

Note also the following:

tjurlu-ya ‘to hide’ (intrans.)

cf. *yayawinti* ‘to have a baby’

The following appear to contain other causative forms. *-ma* seems to be the same suffix as the transitive verb formative illustrated in §3.3.

<i>wilka</i>	'to enter'	<i>wilkampi</i>	'to insert, to hide' (tr.)
<i>wanti</i>	'to climb'	<i>wantima</i>	'to carry, to lift'
<i>nhaka</i>	'to run'	<i>nhakama</i>	'to pour'

The following example illustrates what seems to be a combination of *-ma*, as in the preceding examples, and *-nti*.

<i>wula</i>	'to disappear, to be absent'	<i>wulamani</i>	'to use up, to eat all'
	'to be used up, to die'		

The first example illustrates the causative function. For other examples of case on tense-marked verbs, as in (3-190)b, see §4.2.3.

- (3-190)a. *Watharra-mu* *ngiya*.
get-up-PAST 1sg
1 got up'

b. <i>Watharra-anti-mu</i>	<i>ngiya</i>	<i>yila-rtu</i>	<i>pirlapirla-yu</i>	<i>yiyarli-mu-yu</i> .
get-up-CALV-PAST	1sg	this-ERG	baby-ERG	cry-PAST-ERG

'The crying baby woke me up.'

The next example illustrates the applicative function where A corresponds with S and an argument is introduced as the object. In (3-191)b the locative argument of (3-191)a is the object.

- (3-191)a. *Tjala mangurru nguma-ma kula-purru-ya*.
this dog lie-PRES blanket-LOC
'The dog is lying on the blanket.'
- b. *Mangurru-yu tjala rgu-ni-ma* *tjala kula-purru*.
dog-ERG this lie-APL-PRES this blanket
'The dog is lying on the blanket.'

Almost all the examples of applicatives are to be found in subordinate clauses where the basic verb is transitive. With the applied verb a 'new' argument is expressed as the object and the patient is demoted to the dative or purposive. In all the examples in the corpus the new object is left unexpressed since it is co-referent with an argument in a previous clause. Indeed the motivation for the applicative would appear to be to facilitate the covert expression of what is given information. Since the new object is covert, it is difficult to see the change of valency. Examples (3-192)a and (3-192)b are concocted to show the pattern. The real example on which they are based is given as (3-192)c. Other examples with transitive verbs are (3-193) and (3-194).

- (3-192)a. *Ngathu mangurru thuka-nga-wa wala-njata*.
Isg:ERG dog stick-ERG hit-PURP
'I'm going to hit the dog with the stick.'
- b. *Ngathu mangurru-ta thuka wala-ni-jata*.
Isg:ERG dog-PURP stick hit-APPL-PURP
'I'm going to hit the dog with the stick.'

- c. *Nhangu-ta nhawa yiyarli-ma-ka?* *Kunu nhunlu miya-lu*
what-1LOC 2sg cry-PRES- \Rightarrow not 2sg:ERG get-PAST
thuka-ka wala-ni-yatka.
stick- \Rightarrow hit-APPL-PURP- \Rightarrow
'Why are you crying? Didn't you pick up a stick and hit him with it?'

The object of the applied verb can be an instrument as in (3-192) above or a location as in (3-191).

- (3-193) *Tjarrili laya tjuru-ka* *kunhu-ta* *ngathu* *pinpa-anti-jata*.
where 3sg coolamon- \Rightarrow water-PURP 1sg:ERG fetch-APPL-PURP
'Where's the coolamon? I want to get water in it.'
- (3-194) *Watjani tjala ngarra-li tjarru-nguta manhi-ta* *ngathi-ni-yata*.
fire this make-IMP this-LOC food-PURP cook-APPL-PURP
'Make a fire here to cook this food on.'

3.4.3.2 antipassive: *-li*

-li marks the derivation of an intransitive verb from a transitive one. The P of the transitive verb appears in the dative or sometimes the purposive, or it may be omitted as in (3-196). As noted in the discussion under dative the antipassive in independent clauses is used to indicate a generic object or uncompleted activity. The function of the antipassive in dependent clauses is discussed in §4.2.

- (3-195) *Yalpungu-wu waya ngarri-ngaari-li-ma wamakurtu-ka*.
conkerberry-DAT that eat-eat-AP-PRES emu- \Rightarrow
'That emu is eating conkerberries.'

- (3-196) *Tjala nanyi-li-ma mukampa-ya*.
here see-AP-PRES dark-LOC
'(Possums) can see in the dark.'

- (3-197) *Mangurru tjala wuna-wu tha-li-mu* *tjarru-nguta munu-nga*.
dog this faces-DAT excrete-AP-PAST this-LOC camp-LOC
'The dog defecated in the house.'

3.4.3.3 reflexive/reciprocal: *-nyama*, *-mpa*

The normal form is *-nyama* but there are instances of *-yama* following stems containing a nasal-stop cluster (*pinta-yama-ma* 'scratch oneself'). There are also instances of *nyaa* instead of *nyama* before suffixes beginning in *m-* (*watji-nyaa-mi-yi* 'you'll cut yourself', and see (3-58)). A suppletive allomorph *-mpa* occurs with *ngunyi* 'to give' and *nanyi* 'to see'.

The suffix *-nyama* and its alternants mark the reflexive and reciprocal senses, the former applying with singular subjects and the latter being typical with plural subjects. In all the tokens to hand the stem is a transitive verb and the *-nyama* derivative intransitive. With the following verbs *-nyama* marks a derived intransitive, but there is no reflexive or reciprocal sense in *puthanyama* and there isn't always a reflexive/reciprocal sense with *nappyama*.

- (3-198) *Kiyakiya-ya-ma* *ngiya-ka* ... *pinka-yama-jata*.
itchy-INTR-PRES 1sg-~~NP~~ scratch-RE-PURP
'I'm itchy ... (I'll) have to scratch myself.'
- (3-199) *Kunhu-nga-ka* *ngiya* *manyi-ipa-ma*.
water-LOC 1sg see-RE-PRES
'I look at myself in the water.'

- (3-200) *Tjarrnu-wula* *laa* *ngapa-nyamama* *yulkani-yu* *wala-nyama-yata*.
this-DUAL now tell-RE-PRES sulky-ERG hit-RE-PURP
'These two are "having words" and (look as if they are) going to have a fight.'

- (3-201) *Nhanguwali-ma* *nhumpala* *nguniyi-ipa-ma* *ngiya-nhiya* *nhumpala-lu*
do.what-PRES 2du give-RE-PRES 1sg-LESS 2du-ERG
ngap(a)-atiy. tell-IRR

- (3-202) *Pinarri* *nityi* *ngiya* *mangka-yama-ma*.
eat here 1sg hear-RE-PRES
'My ear is aching.'

With the verb *parnayi* 'to take/rob' -*nyama* acts as an applicative allowing the possessor of the goods taken/stolen to be expressed as an object. The patient remains as a second object. The following example illustrates both the possessor expressed by the aversive (it could have been expressed in the dative) and the possessor expressed as an object. The word *nhurra* is a word for 'food' found in Pitta-Pitta.

- (3-203)a. *Parnayi-mu* *tjarrnu-ru* *ngatha-rungu* *nhurra*.
take-PAST this-ERG 1sg-AVIRS food
'This fellah stole my food.'

- b. *Manhi* *tjarrnu-ru* *ngiya* *parnayi-nyama-mu*.
food this-ERG 1sg take-RE-PAST
'This (fella) robbed me of (my) food.'

A puzzling use of -*yama* is in the one-word sentence *kaltunguntiyamamu* 'I lift that wood up'; the subject and object were not expressed but clear from the context. Perhaps this was a reflexive with the meaning 'by [myself]' or '[I] myself'.

3.5 Agent-noun-forming suffix: *-njirri*

The suffix *-njirri* is added to verb stems to produce nouns referring to actors. With transitive verbs the suffix *-njirri* is appended to the antipassive stem. Note the dative in (3-207), but not in (3-206). It is glossed as NOM(inaliser). We have no data on the question

of whether this suffix dissimilates when the verb stem has a nasal-stop cluster (as does the purposive, *-njirra*, for example).

- (3-204) *karipi-li-njirri*
tie-AP-NOM
'policeman'

- (3-205) *munawa-ngaari-li-njirri*
?-eat-AP-NOM
'eaglehawk'

- (3-206) *kumayi-rlatja-li-njirri*
raw-bit-AP-NOM
'eaglehawk'

- (3-207) *warri-wu* *wala-li-njirri-ka*
meat-DAT kill-AP-NOM-~~NP~~
'butcher'

- (3-208) *warluwa-ya* *nhina-njirri*
shade-1-LOC sit-NOM
'shade dweller' (This phrase was given as a description of the kangaroo and is equivalent to *warluwa-yangu*, see end of §3.2.3.5.)

- (3-209) *yulka-njirri*
sulky-NOM
'aggressive (person or creature)' cf. *yulkani* 'be aggressive'

3.6 Reduplication

Reduplication, at least in many languages of eastern inland and central Australia (see, for example, Wilkins 1984 on Arrente), indicates attenuation or spreading (i.e. distribution over an area), rather than plurality. With noun stems the reduplicated form denotes something characterised by, or having something of the nature of, the thing denoted by the noun. This can imply a big number, as in stone-stone 'stony (country)', or coolibah-coolibah 'place with coolibahs growing', but the number is not the essence, rather the stoniness or the 'coolibahness'. In Arandic languages we have reduplications like 'good-good' meaning 'not too bad' and 'bad-bad' with a similar meaning; also 'tobacco-tobacco' as the name of a species of wild tobacco that is not good for chewing (so its 'tobacceness' is attenuated). There is not much evidence that this holds for Yalarinja; there are only a few examples of reduplication of nominals (or adverbs). One example that conforms to this pattern is the pair *kunhu* 'water', the substance, and *kunhukunhu* 'wet', the quality associated with that substance. Another is illustrated in (3-215); reduplication of *yamu* 'big' gives, in the words of the speaker, *yamyamu* "(a) bit big" – the bigness is attenuated. Note also *kurrikurri* 'red' from (in Pitta-Pitta, not attested in Yalarinja) *kurri* 'red ochre' (and similarly 'yellow'); *kurnukurta* 'crooked' from *kurru* 'shield'; *makamaka* 'hot' (a loan from Pitta-Pitta, which has *maka* 'fire').

There are, of course, examples of a root occurring only in reduplicated form, as with *puwapuwa* 'conversation, yarn' in (3-213).

¹³ Hear-reflexive = 'feel, have a feeling' in Arrente (Henderson & Dobson 1994:334). There is a similar construction in Warluwarra (Breen forthcoming).

The word *kuyikuyirri*, a plural derived from *kayirri* 'boy', would seem to suggest that reduplication marks plurality. However, there are a number of languages of western Queensland that have a pluraliser that applies to just a handful of words like 'child', 'woman', but not to other semantic fields. Bidjara has a suffix that pluralises just 'child': *gandu* > *gandum*, and another that pluralises just the four section names. Kuk-Narr has a reduplicative pluraliser just for the word for 'child': *kungak* > *kungakangak*. Kukatj has a reduplicative plural for just 'woman', 'young man', 'white person' (= 'devil') and 'dog', while reduplication of other nominals has the attenuative/spreading function (as it has also in Bidjara).

For verbs, reduplication, which is fairly common, means spreading in time or space (which can also involve 'more', of course), which is consistent with a sense of continued or repeated action. *Kitikitijwala* 'to tease' or 'to tickle' vs *kijiwala* 'to pick a fight' suggests attenuation of intensity of the action.

Kuyikuyirri above is an example of partial reduplication. Some others are *mungkungka* 'to think wrongly' from *mingka* ~ *mangka* 'to hear, etc', and *poyarrawari* 'light (in weight)' (no simple form attested). An apparent reduplication of the reflexive/reciprocal suffix appears in *yungkayamayamayamu* 'poked self in the eye'. This clearly does not have the same semantic effect as verb root reduplication. (The function of the third -ya in this word is not known, but there are a couple of other equally enigmatic occurrences of -ya preceding a tense suffix, such as *walanyamayama* for *walanyamama* 'are fighting' — three times within a few minutes from LM.)

- (3-210) *Ngaa ngija ngana ngana nanyi-nanyi-li-ma*.
 yes(?) 1sg go:NF:GO:NF see-see-AP-PRES
 'I'm just looking around.'

- (3-211) *Yirri tjala nhina-nhina-ma, manyi-nanyi-li-ma ngati-wu*.
 man this sit-sit-PRES look-look-AP-PRES 1sg:DAT-DAT
 'This man's sitting looking at me.'

- (3-212) *Kupanguru wathi nhina-nhina-ma ngarri-ngarri-li-ma mantha-wu*,
 old.man that? sit-sit-PRES eat-eat-AP-PRES food-DAT
warri-wu.
 meat-DAT
 'The old man is sitting down having a feed.'

- (3-213) *Ngal-ka puwapuwa ngala-ngalanga-mu ngani-ngani-mu*.
 Idu-> yarn talk-talk-PAST go-go-PAST
 'We were walking along talking.' (For *wathi* see p.17–18)

- (3-214) *Kunhu-ka wantha-mu, kunhu-kunhu ngija ngani-mu-nhati kunhu-ngka*.
 rain-> pour-PAST water-water 1sg go-PAST-HITHER rain-LOC
 'It rained. I got wet in the rain coming here.'

- (3-215) *Parlulu tjala tharniti-wa, yanu pinjawa-li yanu-yamu*.
 little hole-> big dig-IMP big-big
 'The hole is little; "make it bit big".'

- (3-216) *Ngija ngana yita-ngali-wu kiyikuyirri-wu nanyi-li-ntjata*.
 1sg go:NF this-PLUR-DAT boy:boy-DAT see-AP-PURP
 'I'm going to see these boys.'

- (3-217) *Thartitharti ngani-njata ngawa kunhu-ta-ya yunma-i-njata*.
 later go-PURP 1pl water-PURP? seek-AP-PURP
 'We'll go and look for water later.'

3.7 Compounding

There are only a few examples of compounds in our corpus and so it is difficult to make generalisations.

There are several examples of compounds consisting of a noun and a verb:

<i>yulkani-watharra</i>	angry-arise/emerge	'to get wild'
<i>mili-wati</i>	eyes-turn	'to be intoxicated'
<i>yiji-thana</i>	nose-stand	'be jealous' ¹⁴

There are also 'phrase compounds' where the component words are pronounced as separate words but where the meaning is idiosyncatic:

<i>wayirra nguna</i>	breath/heart lie	'to want, desire'
<i>wayirra nhakarti-ja</i>	breath/heart bad-INTR	'to be sad'

A clear compound occurs with the word for horse, namely *yiji-pyarri* (nose-long), but a number of likely compounds contain an unidentified formative, e.g. *murlakawarra* 'to hit on the head', *murla* 'head', *kawarra* unknown. With others the identification of the components is uncertain. For instance, the word for 'plain potato' is *murlakarla* and *murla* is 'head' and *karla* 'neck', but the connection is not transparent. Two other examples are: *pintjivaniwaki* 'to be giddy' involving *waki* 'to turn' but otherwise obscure, and *kupanguru* 'old man', a compound involving *kupa*, which also appears in *kupakupa*, with the same meaning.

¹⁴ Note *kaw phwal* 'to be jealous' in Kukatj (west of Normanton, Queensland) and *kum-wak* 'to be sulky' in Kuk-Narr (southwest Cape York Peninsula), both literally 'nose to get up'.

4 Syntax

hesitancy in the informants' normal sentence production was such that no significance can be attached to such differences.

(4-3) *Ngani-mu ngiya milwaderi-mu.*
go-PAST 1sg go-wrong-PAST

'I went the wrong way.'

(4-4) *Ngantarti-ma ngiya laa yunkunhini-ma.*
go-away-PRES 1sg now return-PRES

'I'm going back.'

There are, of course, verbless sentences such as *nhanku nhawa* (who you) 'Who are you?' There is at least one grammatical verb, namely *nhina*, which serves as a copula. It is a grammaticalised derivative of *nhina* 'sit, stop, stay, remain' having the same form, but a different meaning or function, and a different valency (see below in §4.4). The copula is generally used for an existential function (as in (3-4) and (3-69)), and the examples in §4.4 below), and only a couple of verbless sentences or clauses have this function (see (3-37) and (3-93)). Most verbless sentences or clauses in the corpus specify ownership ((3-36), (3-38), (3-51), (3-53), (3-55), (3-114), (3-115), (3-117)) but a few are descriptive ((3-31), (3-111) and (3-118)) or locate the topic ((3-13) and (3-120)). Probably, as in many Australian languages, a copula would be used if non-present tense were to be indicated, but we have no relevant examples.

4.1.2 *Interrogatives*

There are interrogative nominals and at least one interrogative verb. In keeping with the focus-first principle the interrogative normally comes first in the clause.

who	<i>nhanku</i> (see Table 3.4)
what	<i>nhangu</i> (see Table 3.4) <i>tharrunguta</i> , ¹ <i>tharrili</i>
where	<i>tharrimpala</i> , <i>tharrawawampa</i>
where to	<i>tharrungutanga</i> , <i>tharralungu</i> / <i>tharrilungu</i> / <i>tharrulungu</i> ,
where from	<i>tharrivalanga</i> , <i>tharrungu</i>
when	<i>nhalangu</i>
how many	<i>nhamngu</i> (also found in Kalkutungu)
why	<i>nhanguta</i> , <i>nhanguwu</i> , <i>nhangiyungu</i>
do what	<i>nhanguwali</i> (also 'to do whatсанame' and 'what to happen?')
(4-5) <i>Nhanku tjala ngani-mu-nhati?</i>	who that go-PAST-HITHER "Who that bin come here."
(4-6) <i>Nhangu-wu nhawa ngarri-ngarri-li-ma-ka?</i>	what-DAT 2sg eat-eat-AP-PRES- ~ "What are you eating?"

Secondly, the notional noun phrase is frequently broken up into separate phrases linked by case marking.

(4-2) *Tjala ngatha-langki-ya nhina-ma mutu-nga-ka-ka.*
1sg-LIG-LOC remain-PRES camp-LOC-~~~~~
this 'He's stopping at my place (camp).'

This tendency is reflected in the frequent use of *nhanguwari* 'whatsit' (derived from *nhangu* 'what', see §4.1.2) early in the clause, which is then amplified later in the clause by a more specific noun in a kind of apposition. See, for instance, (4-34) and (3-81).

There is also a tendency to use adjectives as secondary predicates where we would use an attributive adjective in English. In fact there are very few attributive adjectives in the corpus.

Usually there is only one verb in a clause, but there are quite a number of examples of two verbs in parallel, i.e. two verbs bearing the same tense etc. inflection. Some examples could be interpreted as two clauses, the second being elliptical, consisting just of the verb, but this cannot apply to all of them. (4-3) is a clear example of a single-clause sentence with two verbs, one with an adverbial function modifying the other. In (4-4) the situation is not so clear; the second verb could be a more informative correction of the other. Examples (3-125) seems to have, in its second sentence, an example of serial verbs. Many examples in Chapter 3 show two-clause sentences; (3-211) and (3-212) are two similar sentences, one of which has a comma between the clauses indicating that there is intonational evidence for their being separated while the other does not. However, the degree of

¹ The identity of the second (unstressed) vowel is not certain.

- (4-7) *Tharra-nguta nhawa ngalanga-ma?*
Where-LOC 2sg talk-PRES
'Where are you calling out? (I can hear you, but I can't see you.)'

- (4-8) *Tharra-wampa nhawa ngana?*
Where-ALL 2sg go:NF
'Where are you going?'
'Where are you going?'
Tharra-lungu nhuru tjala mani-mu-ka mantha-ka?
Where-ABL 2sg:ERG this get-PAST- \rightarrow food- \rightarrow
'Where'd you get the food?'
Wanyu-ngutangu tjala ngathu kuyirri-ngutangu mani-mu.
that-ABL this 1sg:ERG boy-ABL get-PAST
'I got it from that boy over there.'

- (4-9) *Nhangu-yungu nhawa kuntu ngunga?*
what-AVERS 2sg not give:PAST I.don't.know
'Why didn't [they] give [it] to you? 'I don't know.'

- (4-10) *Nhangu-wu nhaw[w]a minjiya-mu.*
what-DAT 2sg mess.about:PST
'What are you messing about there for?'
Nhalangu nhawa ngani?
when 2sg go:FUT
'When will you go?'

- (4-14) *Nhamingu nhurlu wala-mu-ka?* *Pulari.*
how.many 2sg:ERG hit-PAST- \rightarrow two
How many [galabs] did you kill? 'Two,'

- (4-15) *Nhanguwali-ma nhumpala kaya?*
do.what-PRES 2du child
'What are you two kids doing?'

It is common in Australian languages for words that function as interrogative pronouns or adverbs to have a range of functions from interrogative to indefinite; thus 'who' — 'I don't know who' — 'someone'; for example. The following examples illustrate this for Yalarunga.

- (4-16) *Nhangu tjala? Nhangu tjala, mgiya kuntu karta-na tjarru-wu.*
what that what that 1sg not know-NF that-DAT
'What's that? 'I don't know what that is. [LM: "He wouldn't know either."]'
I don't know that.'
- (4-17) *Tharri-mpala lava ngani-mu-ka.*
where-ALL 3sg go-PAST- \rightarrow
'I don't know which way he been go.'

- (4-18) *Wantja-na ngathu nthantu ngathi-na warri.*
smell-NP 1sg:ERG who:ERG cook-NF meat
Sentence asked for: 'I can smell something cooking', actual translation seems to be 'I can smell someone cooking meat' (or: 'I can smell meat being cooked by someone').

There is no reliable information on the formation of 'yes-no' questions.

4.1.3 Negatives

Negation is expressed by *kuntu*, which normally comes first in the clause.

- (4-19) *Kunu ngiya yita-nguka-ka nguna-nyangu yikata-ya-ka.*
not 1sg this-LOC- \rightarrow lie-HAB mob-LOC- \rightarrow
'I don't live with this lot.'

The negative imperative is expressed by *kawarla*.

- (4-20) *Kawarla waharra-ni-ka.*
don't wake.up-CAUS- \rightarrow
'Don't wake him up.'

4.1.4 The noun phrase

All the dependents in a noun phrase exhibit case concord with the head. Given the strong tendency mentioned above to split the notional noun phrase, there are not many noun phrases with more than one word other than ones with a demonstrative and a common noun. In these the demonstrative usually precedes, but see (3-194) and (3-197). A pronominal possessor usually precedes the noun representing the possessed. There are a few examples of numerals and in these the numeral precedes the head noun. There are hardly any examples of adjectival nouns used attributively, but for what it worth the adjectival noun follows as in *mimi yamu* (breasts big) 'big breasts'. There is certainly no fixed order within the noun phrase.

- (4-21) *Tjarru-tu mangurru-yu ngiya tatja-mu warri-nha.*
this-ERG dog-ERG 1sg bite-PAST meat-LOC
'The dog bit me "over the meat".'

- (4-22) *Ngatji thirriri yangkata-wu wayrra nguna-ma pintjawa-li-mjata.*
1sg:DAT elder.sister yam-DAT heart lie-PRES dig-AP-PURP
'My elder sister wants to dig yams.'

- (4-23) *Kawa ngaii thangani-mjata yuku-wampa kunhu-wu*
come.on 1du run.off-PURP creek-ALL water-DAT
mani-li-njata yita-wula-hu kajimpa-yu pilikumi-yu.
get-AP-PURP this-DUAL-ERG two-ERG billycan-ERG
'Come on, let's run to the creek to get water in these two billycans.'

There are some examples of a noun phrase consisting of a third person pronoun plus noun as in *luya tharkurru* (he man) 'the man'. This is a regular feature of some Australian languages, such as Arrernte (see Henderson and Dobson (1994) *re* entry, meaning 2a), and can be contrasted with the situation in some neighbouring languages, such as Pinta-Pinta (Blake 1979b:193), where the third person pronouns are the demonstratives, with deictic clitics, and Warluwarrra (Breen forthcoming); where the third person singular pronoun is one of the demonstratives.

4.1.4.1 Inclusive construction

There are a number of examples of non-singular pronouns accompanied by another nominal specifying part of the range covered by the non-singular pronoun. 'You and I', for instance, is *ngali nhawa* (we.two thou).

- (4-24) *Karlu ngali ngani-mu mangurawiji warri-ta wala-li-njata.*

father 1du go-PAST before meat-PURP kill-AP-PURP

'Once my father and I used to go hunting (lit. to kill meat).'

4.1.4.2 Generic-specific expression

Sometimes an entity, particularly an animal, is referred to by a generic term and a more specific one. There are a few examples in the corpus where the generic term is placed first in the clause and the specific term later.

- (4-25) *Warri-ta ngiya ngana matjumpa-ta.*

meat-PURP 1sg go-NF kangaroo-PURP

'I went for kangaroo.'

4.1.4.3 Whole-part expression

Where a whole and its part are referred to, two noun phrases are used in parallel. Almost all the available examples involve body parts. The dative or aversive is not normally used to signify possession of a creature's own body part (the example that appears as (3-51) concerns a detached body part; and (3-56) is unexpected). These whole-part expressions are similar to the generic-specific ones referred to above.

- (4-26) *Yumunhurnu-yu ngiya tafja-mu mili.*

fly-ERG 1sg bite-PAST eye

'A fly bit me in the eye.'

- (4-27) *Murla-nga kurrruru nhaka-ma nhunu-nguta.*

head-LOC blood flow-PRES 2sg-LOC

'There's blood running on your head.'

4.2 Subordinate clauses

There are basically three types of subordinate clause in our corpus:

(a) -njata clauses

There are numerous tokens of -njata clauses. They are used to indicate purpose, indirect command or the complement of *wayirra nguna* 'to like, to desire'. The marker -njata consists of -njia plus -ta, which can be equated with the purposive case marker. See also §3.4.1.8.

(b) -nyana clauses

There are very few examples. -nyana is used to subordinate one verb with respect to another. See also §3.4.1.7.

(c) case-marked clauses

These are clauses in which case marking for the function of the clause is added to tense marking. Such clauses are not very frequent in our corpus. They serve to express the complements of verbs such as *manyi* 'to see' and *mangka* 'to hear', and the equivalent of relative clauses in English.

There is a sub-type in which tense marking is followed by -yi, a form that does not match a case marker. Some examples were given in §3.4.1.4.

4.2.1 -njata clauses

As indicated above, -njata clauses are used to indicate purpose, indirect command or the complement of *wayirra nguna* 'to like, to desire'. Where the A of the -njata clause is co-referent with S or P of the governing verb, the -njata clause appears in the antipassive. In the nature of things coreference is common between S and A ('I am going to catch fish') and between P and A ('I told him to catch fish').

- (4-28) *Ngani-mi ngiya manhi-wu miya-li-njata.*

go-FUT 1sg food-DAT get-AP-PURP

'I'll go and get food.'

- (4-29) *Nhawa wayirra nguna-ma mangurru-ta wala-li-njata.*

2sg heart lie-PRES dog-PURP hit-AP-PURP

'You want to hit the dog.'

In the next example the reflexive, which is appropriate to the sense, is used to detransitivise the -njata clause.

- (4-30) *Laa ngiya ngana karrinyama-yata yarna-wu.*

now 1sg go-NF wash-RE-PURP face-DAT

'Now I'm going to wash my face.'

The following example contains two examples of P=A coreference. It also contains an example of S = A coreference.

- (4-31) *Tjuwa tjala ngathu ngapa-mu, wajani-wu pimpa-li-njata,*

boy this 1sg:ERG tell-PAST wood-DAT gather-AP-PURP

ngatha-langki-wu. Ngathu ngapa-mu tjala, miya-li-njata

me-LIG-DAT 1sg:ERG tell-PAST this get-AP-PURP

4.2.2 -nyana clauses

There are very few examples of subordinate clauses marked by -nyana in our corpus. It is likely that the antipassive is used as in -njata clauses and it is likely that -nyana can be followed by case marking as illustrated in §4.2.3, but we do not have the relevant data.

- The following example provides a nice contrast with the preceding. Here there is coreference between S and P and there is no antipassive. The word *yjaa* is Kalkutungu for 'this/here' and -nha the verb inflection on the first verb is the Kalkutungu past tense suffix.
- (4-32) *Ngathu* *yjaa* *ngapa-nha* *ngani-njata* *mamu-yanta-mpa* *karri-njata*.
 1sg:ERG this tell-PAST go-PURP mother-POSS-ALL wash-PURP
 'I told him to go to his mother and get washed.'

With the verb *ngunyi* 'to give' which takes a double object construction as in English, there are some examples of coreference between the recipient object and A, along with coreference between the patient of the two clauses, and there is no antipassive.²

- (4-33) *Ngathu* *yjala* *ngunyi-mu* *warri* *ngathi-njata*.
 1sg:ERG this give-PAST meat cook-PURP
 'I gave him meat to cook.'

- (4-34) *Nhangawarri* *ngiya* *ngunyi-mu*, *merrithin*, *ngarri-njata*.
 whatsit 1sg give-PAST medicine eat-PURP
 'He gave me whatsit, medicine, to take.'

In each of the next examples there is A=A and O=O coreference and no antipassive.

- (4-35) *Ngathu* *miya-njata* *yimata* *yunkunhi-ni-yata* *yita-wampa*.
 1sg:ERG get-PURP fish return-CAUS-PURP this-ALL

- Ngari-njata* *ngathu* *nhawa*.
 give-PURP 1sg:ERG 2sg
 'I am going to get some fish and bring it back here. I'll give it to you.'

- (4-36) *Ngarlu* *yunkunhi-ni-yata* *mutu-wampa* *ngathi-njata*.
 1du:ERG return-CAUS-PURP camp-ALL cook-PURP
 'We will take it back to the camp and cook it.'

- (4-37) *Nini* *ngathu* *mukulu-ya* *wala-mu* *putha-njata* *ninyi*, *watjani-ta*.
 here 1sg:ERG rock-1-LOC hit-PAST break-PURP here firewood-PURP
 'I hit it on the rock here to break it up for firewood.'

- (4-38) *Kulapurru* *ngiya* *ngunyi-(i)-ati* *yita-ta* *mangurru-ta* *ngu-ni-yata*.
 blanket 1sg give-IMP-HITHER this-PURP dog-PURP lie-APPL-PURP
 'Give me a blanket for the dog to lie on.'

- (4-42) *Narpi-mu* *ngathu* *pintjicava-li-mu* *tharntru-wu*.
 see-PAST 1sg:ERG dig-AP-PAST hole-DAT
 'I saw him digging a hole.'
- (4-43) *Tjarru-rtu*, *watjani-wu* *thingka-li-ma-yu*, *mani-mu*.
 this-ERG firewood-DAT chop-AP-PRES-ERG get-PAST
 'This (fella) who's chopping the wood took it.'
- (4-44) *Mangurru-yu* *ngiya* *yilarrrama-mu*, *mutha-mutha-li-mu-yu*.
 dog-ERG 1sg keep.awake-PAST bark-bark-AP-PAST-ERG
 'The dog kept me awake barking.'

² A reviewer raised the question of whether *ngathi* and *ngarri* are ambitransitive. They are not. They are transitive.

- (4-45) *Tharti nhawa ngathu ngungi ngani-mu-yu-mpa.*
later 2sg 1sg:ERG give:FUT go-PAST-ERG-LOC
'I'll give it to you later when I'm going.'

As mentioned at the beginning of §4.2, there are subordinate clauses where tense marking is followed by *-yi*. This marker does not match a case marker. It has been glossed imperfective and it indicates ongoing activity. Other examples are given in §3.4.1.4.

- (4-46) *Tjala ngathu nanya nhina-mayi kankati thukuya tjarru-nguta.*
1sg:ERG see:PAST sit-PRES-IMPERF up branch-LOC this-LOC
this
'I saw [the bird] sitting on the branch.'

4.3 Time, location and direction

As in many languages, time (in its various aspects), location and direction are specified in some cases by inflected nouns and in other cases by adverbs, which do not inflect. The nouns involved may be defective in that they combine with only a subset of nominal inflections. The forms of those affixes used may be irregular. Some words, like, for example, in English, 'behind', may refer equally to time or location.

Data on Yalarnga in these fields is quite incomplete. Nouns which show no evidence of irregularity (but little evidence either of regularity) include *murni* 'interior' (usually as *murningka* 'inside'), *thiangulari* (with ablative *-yangu*) 'after, behind, last' and *kawana* 'middle' (with locative *-ya*). Others, like *wartangampa* 'tomorrow' and *watjanganra* 'other side', have never been heard in a context in which they might be inflected. Words that seem to be nominals with irregular inflection include *yarrka* 'far', with ablative *-ngu*, and the interrogative *tharrV-* 'where'; see §4.1.2 for details:

- (4-47) *Yarrka nhina-ka kuntu wanggarra-ka.*
far sit:IMP- \Rightarrow not near- \Rightarrow
'Sit down a long way off, not nearby.'

- (4-48) *Majurri-na ngiya yarrka-ngu ngani-mu.*
be.tired-NF 1sg far-ABL go-PA
'I'm tired from walking a long way.'

It seems that *yarrka* (and *watjanganra*) has zero locative, and so ablative, being locative + *-ngu*, is just *-ngu*. *Watjaliya* 'older, eldest, first, in front' has regular allative *-mpa* and irregular ablative *-ngu*. This word, like *yarrka*, can be thought of as having zero locative (this being preferred to the alternative of regarding the final syllable, which has the appearance of a locative suffix, as that).

- (4-49) *Ngiya-ka thinangkali ngani nhawa-ka watjaliya ngap(a)-anthu.*
1sg- \Rightarrow behind go:FUT 2sg- \Rightarrow in.front go:IMP-HENCE
'I'll come behind; you go on ahead.'
- (4-50) *Ngiya-ka watjaliya-ngu nhawa-ka thiangulari-yangu.*
1sg- \Rightarrow first-ABL 2sg- \Rightarrow after-ABL
'I'm older and you're younger.'

The only inflected compass-point terms that have been heard are *karruwaliyangu* and *tangkarriyangampaka*, both with ablative. (The latter also has what seems to be the time-locative ending; see below.) This is hardly informative, as ablative is the inflection most likely to combine with these terms, and could even be the only one that does. Words for 'on the left' and 'on the right', respectively *tharriwangu* and *pypyumpangu*, have the appearance of location nouns (like *yarrka*) with *-ngu* ablative suffix.

Other words that could be adverbs, or, more likely perhaps, nouns which do not take a locative suffix, include *wamgarra* 'near' and *kankati* 'high, on top'. The latter, at least, can combine with ablative *-yangu* and can be verbalized: *kankatiya* 'to go up high'.

- (4-51) *Kankati tjala nhina-ma thuka-ya tjarru-nguta.*
on:top that sit-PRES tree-LOC that-LOC
'It's on top of the tree.'

Words that seem likely to be genuine adverbs include *yilarli* 'now, today' (see (4-63)), *mangawatiji* 'before, long ago' (see (3-142), (3-146)), *pukurnu* 'still', *kurukurlu* 'still, more, again, keep on (doing)', *wurruru* 'for good, all the time' (see (4-89)), *ninyi* 'here' (common, see for example (3-55), (3-60), (3-141)), *wurrikayu* 'away (from here)' (see (3-173), (3-177)) and *walayu* 'that way, along, away' (see (3-75)).

- (4-52) *Pukurnu lape-ka wula-ma.*
still 3sg- \Rightarrow be.absent-PRES

- (4-53) *Yita-nguta nhina-ka pukurnu; ngya-ka laa ngana.*
there-LOC sit:IMP- \Rightarrow still 1sg- \Rightarrow now go:NF
'He's still away.'

- (4-54) *Kuntu ngiya kurukurlu ngani-njata, yumma-li-njata-ka.*
not 1sg again go-PURP look-for-AP-PURP- \Rightarrow
Ngya laa yunkami-ma mutu-wampa.
1sg now return-PRES camp-ALL
'I'm not going to go and look [for yams] any more; I'm going back home.'

A frequently used adverb clearly borrowed from Kalkutungu (as witness the initial /l/ and the CVV form of the word) is *laa* 'now'; see (4-30) and (4-54).

Laa can combine with (often cliticised) particles *marra*, also meaning 'now', and *kamu* 'again, too' (neither gloss well attested). These can, it seems, be attached also to nouns and verbs, although there are few examples. A relevant word (occurring in an English sentence) is *purrumarra* 'grey-headed) now'.

- (4-55) *Laa-marra yalarnnga-ka wula-ma; kuntu yita-nguta nhina-ma*
now-now Yalarnnga- \Rightarrow be.all.gone-PRES not there-LOC sit-PRES
yalarnnga-ka. Ngurru ngiya-ka yalarnnga-ka nhina-ma.
Yalarnnga- \Rightarrow one 1sg- \Rightarrow Yalarnnga- \Rightarrow sit-PRES
'Now the Yalarnnga are all gone; there are no Yalarnnga. I'm the only Yalarnnga living.'

- (4-56) *Ngija laa-kamu ngana, wajingali-mpa nhina-njata.*

1sg now-again go:NF that-PL-ALL sit-PURP
'I'm going now too, to be with those others.'

4.4 Other function forms

The following is a list of free function words and enclitics.

4.4.1 *manyimpa*: oneself, one's own

- (4-57) *Ngathu tjala miya-mu warri-ka, ngahartungu, manyimpa.*
1sg:ERG this get-PAST meat-> 1sg-AVERS self
'I got this meat. (It's) mine. (My) own.'

- (4-58) *Tjalaka kypangurru-ka manyimpa nhina-mayi.*
this-> old.man-> self remain-PRES-IMPERF
'The old man is living alone.'

- (4-59) *Mnuwu-ta tjala thukani-ka manyimpa.*
2sg-PURP this spear-> self
'This spear is yours, your own.'

There is one example of *-mpa* with *ngija* which seems to provide emphasis.

- (4-60) *ngija marri-wu ngaihi-li-mu, ngija-kamu ngarri-li-mu-ka ngunuru*
1sg goanna-DAT cook-AP-PAST 1sg-too eat-AP-PAST-> one
ngija-mpa, ngahu walamu.
1sg-? 1sg:ERG hit-PAST

'I cooked the goanna and ate it. I killed it myself.'
(Or, better perhaps, (as a referee suggested) 'I cooked the goanna I killed and ate it on my own'. The only translation given by the speaker, LM, was 'I kill that goanna myself'. It is likely that *ngururu* is to be interpreted here as 'alone' or 'on one's own'. The *nu* of *ngiyakamu* was quite unclear.)

4.4.2 *muthi*: self, one's own

There are only a dozen or so tokens of this form. It also occurs in Kalkutungu.

- (4-61) *thana-lungu, muthi*
3pl-AVERS self
'theirs, their own'

- (4-62) *Wala-myama-ma tjarru-wula muthi-wulampa.*
hit-RE-PRES this-DUAL self-DUAL
'They are fighting with one another.'

4.4.3 *lamu*: might

lamu could be described as an irrealis particle. It translates as 'may' or 'might' and indicates uncertainty or unfulfilment. It also occurs in Kalkutungu. MM is the only source.

- (4-63) *Yunkunhi-mi laya lamu yilarli.*

return-FUT 3sg might today
'He might come back today.'

- (4-64) *Wulanga-mu lamu laya.*

die-PAST might 3sg
'He might have died (perhaps he's dead).'

- (4-65) *Kantu lamu laya ngani-mu.*
not might 3sg go-PAST
'He mustn't have gone.'

4.4.4 *ngunjimpa*: nearly

This was heard only twice, in one utterance, elicited from MH. It was not recognized by LM.

- (4-66) *Ngunjimpa ngija warri-mu; ngunjimpa ngija thinkali-ka*
nearly 1sg fall-PAST nearly 1sg knee->
hurt-im-RE-PAST

'I nearly fell over; I nearly hurt my knee.'

4.4.5 *pula*: if

There are only a few examples of *pula*. It can refer to a situation which might happen (4-67) or one that could have happened, but didn't (4-68). For the latter situation, the irrealis can be used without *pula*. In all the examples *pula* follows the verb of its clause, but in all bar one the verb is the first word in the clause.

- (4-67) *Ngani-mi pula laya yita-wampa, ngahu waya wanii.*
go-FUT if 3sg this-ALL 1sg:ERG that hit:FUT
'If he comes here, I'll hit that [fellow].'

- (4-68) *Ngani-mu pula-ka laya larti-ka kanginatyi mukulu-ka.*
go-PAST if-> 3sg 3SG:ERG-> bring-IRR money->
'If he had come, he would have brought money.'

4.4.6 *marra*: now, then

There are a few examples of a particle/clitic *marra*, which seems to have the meaning 'now' in most cases. Examples (4-55) and (4-56) show it cliticised to the adverb *laa*, also 'now'. However, the following example suggests that *marra* in a past tense context means 'then'. A morpheme meaning 'now' or 'then' according to context is common in Australian languages.

- (4-69) *Ngani-mu-mar(r?)a ngija-ka parhirlu-ka ...*
go-PAST-them(?) 1sg-> small->
'I used to go [hunting] when I was young ...'

- (4-70) *Nhangu-ta nhuru tjala putha-na-ka warluwa-ri-ka?*
what-PURP 2sg:ERG this break-NF- \Rightarrow shade-PROP- \Rightarrow

Tjarru-wumarra ngawa nhina-ma-ka.

'here-DAT-now 1pl sit-PRES- \Rightarrow

'What did he break that shady [limb] for?', '[To make a shade] for us sitting here now.' (?)

4.4.7 *kanu*: again, too

There are very few examples of this morpheme, which seems to have the meaning 'again' or 'too'.

- (4-71) *Yirri-nthu tjarru-tu wana tjala wamarri. Wala-kanu.*
man-ERG this-ERG hit:PAST that snake hit:IMP-again

'This man hit the snake. Hit it again!'. (?)

- (4-72) *Ngiya-ka laa yunkunhi-ma-kanu.*
1sg- \Rightarrow now return-PRES-again
'I'm going back home.'

- (4-73) *Ngiya laa-kanu ngana, wayi-ngali-mpa nhina-njala.*
1sg now-again go:NF that-PL-ALL sit-PURP
'I'm going now too, to be with those others.'

4.4.8 *ngururu, ngure*: one, alone

- (4-74) *Ngiya ngami-mu-nhati, ngiya ngururu.*
1sg go-PAST-HITHER 1sg one
'I came on my own.'

- (4-75) *Kanta-ma ngija nguru nguru nguna-nga-nya-ma yita-nguta mutu-ngka.*
fear-PRES 1sg one lie-lie-PRES this-LOC camp-LOC
'I'm afraid sleeping alone in the camp.'

- (4-76) *Ngiya nguru nhina-nyangu ngatha-langki-ya mutu-ngka.*
1sg one remain-HABIT 1sg-LIG-LOC camp-LOC
'I stop longa my own place.'

4.4.9 copula: *nhina*

The verb *nhina* 'to sit, stop, remain' can be used as a grammatical verb corresponding to the verb 'to be' as in the examples below. Whereas the lexical verb takes an optional locative complement, the grammatical verb takes an obligatory complement, usually a nominative one as in the following examples. It may be that, as in other languages of the area, other stative verbs may have the same function when appropriate. Note example (4-80), in which *ngana* 'to lie' perhaps functions in this way.

- (4-77) *Thawinti-nhiya ngija nhina-ma.*
elder-brother-LESS 1sg be-PRES
'I have no elder brother.'

- (4-78) *Kuyirri nhina-mu, ngija ngani-mu.*
boy be-PAST 1sg go-PAST
'When I was a boy, I went.'

Nhawa mantawitha nhina-mu, ngija ngani-mu nhunu-wampa.

'You bin sit down single man, you had no wife, so I come longa you."

- (4-80) *Tjala parruparru tjarru-nguta wamarri-nguta nguna-ma.*
there yellow that-LOC snake-LOC lie-PRES
'There's a yellow mark on that snake.'

4.4.10 resembling: -*nhangka*

This form was heard sometimes as *-nhanka*. It corresponds to 'like' in English as in 'The girl looks like a boy'. In most instances it occurs with *mangka* 'to hear, to think' to indicate a mistaken assumption. Some tokens are pronounced (stressed) as separate words, but others are pronounced as part of the preceding word, which can be a noun or a verb.

- (4-81) *Nhangu-ta nhawa nhina-ma-ka thuri-nga-ka tharrkurr-nhangka?*

- what-PURP 2sg sit-PRES- \Rightarrow ground-LOC- \Rightarrow Aboriginal.man-LIKE

'Why are you sitting on the ground like a black man?'

- (4-82) *Ngathu-ka nhawa yamu-nhangka mangka-mu, parturu nhawa-ka.*
1sg:ERG- \Rightarrow 2sg big-LIKE think-PAST little 2sg- \Rightarrow
'I thought you were big, (but) you're little.'

- (4-83) *Ngethu nhawa ngathi-li-mu-nhangka mangka-lu, nhawa yita-nguta*
1sg:ERG 2sg cook-AP-PAST-LIKE think-PAST 2sg this-LOC
nhina-ma.
remain-PRES
'I thought you were cooking, (but) you're still here.'

4.4.11 time-locative: -*mpa*

The form *-mpa* is an enclitic indicating 'when' or 'since'. There is also a form *-mpangu*, perhaps an ablative, which means 'since', and *-yangumpa* (ablative *-yangu* plus *-mpa*) also means 'since'. *-mpa* can follow verbal inflection or nominal inflection. There is one example where *-mpa* follows the aversive and two where it follows the allative. Compare also the *-mpa* that appears as part of one form of the Locative II suffix (§3.2.2).

- (4-84) *Parluri-mpa wala-nyaa-nu.*
little-TLOC hit-RE-PAST
'They have been fighting since they were little.'

- (4-85) ... *tatja-mu-mpa vyayari-nyana.*
bite-PAST-TLOC cry-PART
'[He] cried when it bit him.'

- (4-86) *Parlurlu-mparangu ngiya nhina-mu yita-nguita longa djivaata.*
 little-TLOC-ABL 1sg remain-PAST this-LOC
 'I've been living in Dajarra ever since I was a baby.'

- (4-87) *Tharti nhawa ngathu ngungi ngani-mu-yi-mpa.*
 later you 1sg:ERG give:FUT go-PAST-ERG-TLOC
 'I'll give you some [money] later, when I'm going.'

- (4-88) *Makamaka-yungu-mpa ngathu ngathi-nyata matha-rrinya-mpa.*
 hot-AVERS-LOC 1sg:ERG cook-PURP cool-PROP-INTR-TLOC
 'I'm going to cook it before it (the weather) gets hot, while it's still cool.'

- (4-89) *Phlapirla-yangu-mpa tjala yankamu wurruru.*
 child-ABL-TLOC thus ail-PAST always
 'She's been sick ever since she was a kid.'

4.4.12 prosodic suffix: *-ka* (also *-pa*, *-wa*)

As noted in the prefatory notes (§3.2.2.1), *-ka* is a clitic of very high frequency. It occurs in around 30% of sentences, and sometimes it occurs on more than one word in a clause. Its function is elusive. It does not correlate with discourse functions such as given information, new information or focus. We have called it a prosodic suffix for want of a better term. There are a few instances of *-pa* and *-wa* as clitics, the function of which is obscure. The form *-wa* might be a weakened variant of *-ka* or *-pa*.

The following example is from a conversation between Lardie and Mick Moonlight.

- (4-90) LM *Marmu-mala-ka mangka-mu. Ngalanga-mu-ka yita-wu-ka*
 mother-YOUR- \Rightarrow hear-IAST speak-PAST- \Rightarrow this-DAT- \Rightarrow

Yalarnga-wu-ka.

Yalarnga-DAT- \Rightarrow

'Your mother understood it. She spoke this Yalarnga.'

- MM *Marmu ngatji-ka.*

- mother 1sg:DAT- \Rightarrow

- 'My mother.'
 LM *Ngoa, nhuriyangu-ka marmu-ka, marmu-mala-ka.*
 yes 2sg:AVERS- \Rightarrow mother- \Rightarrow mother-YOUR- \Rightarrow

Ngathu mangka-mu.

1sg:ERG hear-PAST

'Yes, your mother, your mother. I heard her.'

- MM [mutterts something]

- LM *Yeah, ngathu mangka-mu, ngalanga-mu-ka.*
 1sg:ERG hear-PAST speak-PAST- \Rightarrow
 'Yeah, I understood it, I spoke it.'

- MM *Ngiya-ka Yalarnga.*
 1sg- \Rightarrow Yalarnga
 'I'm Yalarnga.'

- (4-91) *Ngani-imu-nhati-pa.*
 go-PAST-HITHER- \Rightarrow
 'He came.'

- (4-92) *kuntu-pa warri*
 not- \Rightarrow meat
 'no meat'

- (4-93) *Manpanhi-m(a)-anthu matijampa-wa.*
 hop-PRES-HENCE kangaroo- \Rightarrow
 'The kangaroo is hopping away.'

4.5 Co-ordination

4.5.1 *-ya* 'and(?)'

There are half a dozen or so tokens of *-ya*. It follows marking for tense/aspect and has no clear reflex in the translation. In a few instances it looks as if it might mean 'and' or 'then'.

- (4-94) *Mantha ngathu ngathi-mu, ngarri-ilimur-ya.*
 food I-ERG cook-PAST eat-AP-PAST-?
 'I cooked some food and ate it.'

- (4-95) ... and he *putha-mu* bridle-*ka*, he *thangani-nyanya*, he
yunkunhi-nyanya yita-wampa again
 return-PART-? this-ALLATIVE
 ... and he (the horse) broke the bridle. He ran away and then he
 came back here again.

5

The relationship between Yalarnga and Kalkutungu

5.1 Lexicon¹

O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966) classified Kalkutungu and Yalarnga as separate one-language groups within the Pama-Nyungan family. Blake (1971b) lists sound changes in Kalkutungu which have obscured the closeness of the morphological and lexical relationship between the two languages, though he does not offer any comment on the degree or nature of the relationship. Blake (1979a) notes that Kalkutungu and Yalarnga share 43% of vocabulary, but only 23% when likely borrowings are excluded (1979a:118, 128). Breen notes that 'lexical cognates reflecting sound changes in Kalkutungu' and morphological correspondences, do support the belief that, while not closely related, these two languages form a group in the sense of being more closely related to one another than to any other languages' (1990:158).

In his recent study of Australian languages Dixon notes that Kalkutungu and Yalarnga are more similar to each other than either is to any other. He states that 'it is clear that Kalkutungu and Yalarnga do not make up a low-level genetic group. They appear to constitute something resembling a linguistic area, but much less integrated than those surveyed above. It is likely that Kalkutungu and Yalarnga have been in their present locations, and in contact with each other, for a fair time' (Dixon 2002:679). This is correct as far as it goes. Certainly much of the sharing of vocabulary and one or two structural features are due to diffusion, but it ignores the fact that Kalkutungu and Yalarnga are similar partly because they have a large number of common retentions.

We claim that Kalkutungu and Yalarnga are more similar to one another than either is to any other language and we would claim that this is true independently of any local diffusion. Kalkutungu and Yalarnga are relatively close genetically, but this does not imply they form a subgroup. They may do, but it is difficult to find clear evidence of common innovations. Languages can be genetically close without forming a subgroup. Consider a language A that splits into B (with innovation b), C (with innovation c) and D

(with innovations d, e, f, etc.). B and C are relatively close genetically with respect to D, but they do not share an exclusive innovation and therefore do not form a subgroup.²

The two languages share 41% of vocabulary.³ The following is a breakdown of the general vocabulary into broad semantic categories:

body (head, breast, urine, etc.)	25/58	43%
human (woman, father, etc.)	18/41	44%
fauna and flora	46/80	58%
inanimate nature (sun, water, etc.)	19/38	50%
culture	20.5/34	60%
adjectives	14.5/59	25%
verbs	27.5/111	25%

The overall figure of 41% is based on a figure of 193.5/473 words including 23.5/52 of words that do not fit into any of the above groups. These figures are highest in the categories of fauna and flora and culture where borrowing is likely and lowest in categories where borrowing is least likely. The figure of 25% for adjectives and verbs is still higher than the overall scores for Kalkutungu or Yalarnga with any other language. Dixon claims that 'few grammatical forms are similar' (2002:679), but a count based on bound forms for grammatical categories represented in both languages, and counting as separate those allomorphs that do not relate transparently to a single basic form (e.g. locative *-ngka* and *-ya*), and counting the pronouns, we get a figure of 59% (28.5/48).⁴

5.2 Sound changes

Some of the vocabulary common to the two languages is reflected in Kalkutungu by forms reflecting fossilised changes. These shared forms must be old. Some are widespread roots (Capell's 'Common Australian' (Capell 1956:80ff)), others are found in some other languages, and others again are found, to the best of our knowledge, only in Kalkutungu and Yalarnga. These rules are non-productive and there are numerous words in Kalkutungu that do not reflect the changes. The changes are as follows:

² We feel that it is important to point this out since a reviewer claimed that our saying Kalkutungu and Yalarnga are more closely related to one another than either is to any other implies a period of common innovation. This erroneous notion may be widespread. Discussions of how languages come to look as if they are related are dominated by ideas of subgrouping versus diffusion.

³ These figures are supplied by Blake. They agree pretty well with the figures independently obtained by Breen (1990:158) who gives an overall figure of 42% and a figure of 27% for verbs. Dixon gives a figure of 43% for general vocabulary, but about 10% for verbs (Dixon 2002:679). Where matches are likely but uncertain a score of 0.5 is used, hence the appearance of 0.5 in some of the totals.

⁴ Blake made counts for English, German, French and Italian using the same 300-word list he uses for the Australian material, but substituting where necessary, e.g. 'bear' for 'koala'. On this basis English shares 56% with German, 19% with French and 15% with Italian. German shares 13% with both French and Italian. French shares 67% with Italian. The figures for adjectives and verbs were well below the overall figures for comparisons between Germanic and Romance. German shares 5% of adjectives and verbs with French and 7% with Italian. English shares 8% with French and 9% with Italian.

If one counts as plus those instances where a Yalarnga allomorph matches a minor fossilised allomorph in Kalkutungu the figure rises to 68% (32.5/48). These figures are based on the forms appearing in the tables of this paper.

¹ This chapter was presented several times in 2004: at a workshop in the Department of Linguistics, University of Melbourne; in the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology, La Trobe University, and in the Department of Linguistics, The Faculties, ANU. The authors would like to thank the following for their helpful comments on the presentations and/or the drafts of this paper: Barry Alpher, Nick Evans, Harold Koch, Patrick McConvell, David Nash, Mary Laughren and Ian Smith.

(5-1) a consonant is lost between identical vowels

Yalarnnga	Kalkutungu
<i>kunhu</i>	<i>kau</i>
<i>martha</i>	<i>maa</i>
<i>mutu</i>	<i>muu</i>
<i>tjala</i>	<i>tja</i>
<i>yangkata</i> ⁷	<i>ngkaa</i>

(5-2) loss of initial C or CV⁸

Yalarnnga	Kalkutungu
<i>kanhi</i>	<i>nthiyi</i>
<i>kuna</i>	<i>unu</i>
<i>nguma</i>	<i>nu</i>
<i>nhina</i>	<i>ini</i>
<i>nhumpala</i>	<i>mpaya</i>
<i>thana</i>	<i>na</i>
<i>tharntu</i>	<i>ntuu.lo</i>
<i>tharri</i>	<i>arra-</i>
<i>wantja</i>	<i>nija</i>
<i>warri</i>	<i>ati</i>
<i>yangkata</i>	<i>ngkaa</i>
<i>yarka</i>	<i>arka</i>

(5-3) 1 → y/V — V

Yalarnnga	Kalkutungu
<i>pula</i>	<i>puya</i>
<i>pula</i>	<i>puyu</i>
<i>nhumpala</i>	<i>mpeya</i>
<i>nhalangu</i>	<i>nhiyangu</i>
<i>-li</i>	<i>-yi</i>
<i>-ngila</i>	<i>-ngiyi</i>

(5-4) loss of final vowel

Yalarnnga	Kalkutungu
<i>watjani</i>	<i>utjan</i>
<i>-njirri</i>	<i>-njirr</i>
<i>ngarkunu</i>	<i>ngarkun</i>
<i>pipinyi</i>	<i>pipiny</i>
<i>-nyana</i>	<i>-nyin</i>

(5-5) /a/ assimilates to high vowel in preceding syllable

Yalarnnga	Kalkutungu
<i>pula</i>	<i>puyu</i>
<i>kuna</i>	<i>unu</i>
<i>-ngila</i>	<i>-ngiyi</i>
<i>*nhurra</i>	<i>nhutu</i>
<i>Pama-Nyungan</i>	<i>nukami</i> 'foot'
Wanyi	<i>nuku</i>

(5-6) (C)aCa → (C)iCa where one of the consonants is laminal.¹² The imperative of *ma-* verbs is *-myia* (<*-maya*)

Yalarnnga	Kalkutungu
<i>thama</i>	<i>thina</i>
<i>tjaja</i>	<i>iija</i> ¹³
<i>nhalangu</i>	<i>nhiyangu</i>
<i>-myana</i>	<i>-nyin</i>

(5-7) some instances of rr → t in Kalkutungu¹⁴

Yalarnnga	Kalkutungu
<i>warri</i>	<i>aii</i>
<i>Yanda</i>	<i>purru</i>
<i>Mayi</i> (gs)	<i>kuluRa</i> ¹⁵
<i>*-tjarri</i>	<i>kuhuta</i>
<i>*-tjarrri</i>	<i>-thaii</i>
<i>*-nhurra</i>	<i>-ti</i>
	<i>nhutu</i>

⁵ Alternatively *kun* could derive from the widespread *nguku* via rule (5.2).

⁶ See Table 5.2.

⁷ Yal *yangkata*, Kal *ngkaa* 'yam' might continue pPNy **yangkara* (slim, calf). Compare Yir-Yoront *yegar* 'skin', a constituent of *may-yegar* 'long yam (*Dioscorea transversa*)', which is transparently named for its form (B. Alpher pers. comm.).

⁸ A reviewer raises the question of whether these words that reflect initial dropping have been borrowed from another language. This would seem unlikely in light of the large number of them. All words beginning with *a* and all words beginning with consonant clusters are candidates.

⁹ The meanings are not identical, so the cognacy is uncertain.

¹⁰ Note that the distinction between retroflex and alveolar apicals is neutralised in initial position. This word could have been written *ntuu*.

¹¹ Alternatively from **wari* 'where' reflected in various Cape York languages including Yir-Yoront *warr* and Ogyanyan *arr-i* (B. Alpher pers. comm.).

¹² Mary Laughren (pers. comm.) has suggested this last rule is a more general rule dissimilating the first *a* in a sequence aCa, and she has produced a number of possible examples. See footnote 16.

¹³ Alternatively *tjaja* could derive from the widespread *patja*.

¹⁴ Possibly also Yolngu *ngarra* 'I' and Kalkutungu *ngata* 'we' (M. Laughren pers. comm.).

¹⁵ *R* represents a rhotic in the old sources where no distinction is made between *rr* and *r*.

5.3 Morphology

5.3.1 Nominal inflection

The strongest evidence that Kalkutungu and Yalarnnga are relatively closely related comes from the morphology. As noted above, 59% of bound grammatical morphs or allomorphs are cognate, in some cases identical. More tellingly, where the productive

allomorphs do not match, a non-productive allomorph in Kalkutungu does sometimes match the productive form in Yalarnga.

Consider first the case markers:

Table 5.1: Simple cases

Proto	Yalarnga	Kalkutungu	
	Regular	Irregular	
ergative			
disyllabic V-stems	*-ngku	-(<i>ng</i>)ku	-(<i>ng</i>)ku
longer V stems	*-ihu	-yu	-ihu
kin and pronouns	*-lu	-lu	-yi <i>kankunu-ru</i> 'child'
sg demonstrative		-tu	-yi
du demonstrative		-lu	-ru
pl demonstrative		-yu	-ru
locative			
disyllabic V-stems	*-ngka	-(<i>ng</i>)ka	-piya ¹⁶ <i>kui-ngka</i> 'water', <i>mpuu-ka</i> 'rotten', etc.
longer V-stems	*-tha	-ya	-hi <i>nga-ji-wa-tha</i> (me-DAT-LIG-LOC) 'on my'
kin and pronouns	*-ngu	-nguta	-ngu
dative			
C-final stems	*-ku	-wu	-tu
V-final stems			harmonic V <i>ng-a-ji-wa-ku</i> (me-DAT-LIG-DAT) 'for my'
purposive			
		-ta	<i>ujian-ta</i> 'in fire', <i>ingka-tjin-ta</i> 'on coming'

It is common among the northern Pama-Nyungan languages to find that the ergative with disyllabic nouns is *-ngku*. Sands (1996) has demonstrated that there are two other widespread forms, *-ihu* and *-lu*. The former is found scattered over most of the mainland and *-lu* is found in a large number of Pama-Nyungan languages. Sands suggests that *-lu* was originally confined to the upper end of the nominal hierarchy and covered pronouns and demonstratives, a distribution still found in some languages, while in others *-lu* has become the marker for vowel-final stems of more than two syllables. The locative allomorphs typically match the ergative in their consonants, but have the vowel *a* instead of *u*, thus we find forms such as *-ngka*, *-tha* and *-ta*.

With vowel-final stems Yalarnga has *-yu* (except for two irregular pronouns *ngarlu*, *nhuri lu*) while Kalkutungu has *-yi*, possibly derived from *-ihu*, but *-ru* occurs on the word *kankunu-ru* 'child'. With demonstratives there is a match with duals, but not with the singular and plural. With the locative both languages have *-ngu* with pronouns and kin, though Yalarnga has an extra formative *-ta*, which is also a dative/purposive case marker. In both languages *-ngu* occurs on some common nouns, in some instances as an option. The form *-ngu* appears in various Pama-Nyungan languages, usually as a genitive marker, particularly with pronouns (see, for instance, Dixon 2002:319; Schweiger 2002). It is likely that it paralleled *-lu* in being associated with the upper end of the nominal hierarchy. It is not unexpected to get a split of this type since there is a frequent form *-thi* in a number of words: *milhi* 'eye' (widespread *mi*), *patha* 'fork' (Wanyi *pale*), *ngitha* 'thigh' (Wanyi *ngulp*). The Mayi languages have an allative *-pir*, which may be related to *-piya*.

¹⁶ The form *-piya* may be old, but new as a locative. It is interesting to compare the following Yoingu forms and Kalkutungu forms on the assumption that rule (5.3) operates and rule (5.6) operates generally, e.g. Ritharngu (Heath 1980): *bala* 'directional' /*piya* 'locative', *gala* 'locative increment' /*kuya* 'in this way', *mala* 'group' / *-niya* 'plural' (cf. *malitha* 'mob'). Kalkutungu seems to have added a syllable of the form *-thi* in a number of words: *milhi* 'eye' (widespread *mi*), *patha* 'fork' (Wanyi *pale*), *ngitha* 'thigh' (Wanyi *ngulp*). The Mayi languages have an allative *-pir*, which may be related to *-piya*.

¹⁷ We lack the evidence to determine whether *th>y* was regular in Yalarnga.

	Yalarnga	Kalkutungu	Yalarnga	Kalkutungu
nominative	<i>warri</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>mantha</i>	<i>maa</i> < * <i>mantha</i>
ergative	<i>warrinhu</i>	<i>atinthu</i>	<i>manthaku</i> (?)	<i>maathu</i> < * <i>manthandhu</i>
locative	<i>warringka</i>	<i>atintha</i>	<i>manthaka</i> (?)	<i>maatha</i> < * <i>manthantha</i>
dative	<i>warrintha</i>	<i>atintji</i>	<i>manthawu</i>	<i>maat-fiji</i> < * <i>manthanthi</i>

Table 5.2: Irregular nouns

With kinship nouns and pronouns Yalarnga has *-lu* (except for two irregular pronouns *ngarlu*, *nhuri lu*) while Kalkutungu has *-yi*, possibly derived from *-ihu*, but *-ru* occurs on the word *kankunu-ru* 'child'. With demonstratives there is a match with duals, but not with the singular and plural. With the locative both languages have *-ngu* with pronouns and kin, though Yalarnga has an extra formative *-ta*, which is also a dative/purposive case marker. In both languages *-ngu* occurs on some common nouns, in some instances as an option. The form *-ngu* appears in various Pama-Nyungan languages, usually as a genitive marker, particularly with pronouns (see, for instance, Dixon 2002:319; Schweiger 2002). It is likely that it paralleled *-lu* in being associated with the upper end of the nominal hierarchy. It is not unexpected to get a split of this type since there is a frequent

requirement to express accompaniment with pronouns and the like; ‘with you’, ‘with the women’, just as there is a frequent requirement to express pure location at the lower end of the hierarchy ‘in the water’, ‘up the tree’, etc. Since abstract functions generally derive from concrete ones, particularly local ones, it is likely that the locative sense found in Yalarnga and Kalkutungu is earlier than the widespread genitive function.¹⁸ The form *-ngu* is also widespread as a formative of various ablative markers.

One of the most widespread grammatical forms among Australian languages is *-tu*, which has dative or similar functions. It is reflected as *-tu* with C-final stems in Yalarnga and lenited to *-wu* with V-final stems in Yalarnga. Kalkutungu has an idiosyncratic way of forming the dative with V-final stems. The final vowel is repeated (alternatively, lengthened) and may be augmented by *-ya*. Yalarnga has another form *-ta* that covers the same range of functions as *-wu*. In this grammar it is described as a separate ‘purposive case’. This reflects our feeling that a language is unlikely to have alternative markers for the same case, but in practice *-wu* and *-ta* cannot be clearly distinguished.

Both languages also have four compound cases. They are as follows:

Yalarnga	Kalkutungu
aversive	ERG + <i>-ngu</i>
ablative	LOC + <i>-ngu</i>
allative	-wampa (2-syll stems)
locative II ‘near’	-ngila(mpa)
allative II ‘towards’	-ngiyi-nha

The compound cases are obviously a later formation than the simple cases. In Kalkutungu there is some confirmation of this in that while the simple cases are added to the monosyllabic root *yurr* ‘man’ as in *yurru* and *yurngu*, the compound cases take the nominative *yurru* as their stem: *yurringinha* etc.¹⁹ The aversive and ablative are built on the ergative and locative respectively in the two languages.

With the locative II and allative II there is an oddity in the Yalarnga data in that *-ngila* and *-ngilampa* seem to be interchangeable for the meanings ‘near’ and ‘towards’, though these two notions are distinguished in Kalkutungu. On the analogy of Kalkutungu one would expect *-ngila* to indicate ‘near’ and *-ngilampa* to indicate ‘towards’. This and the oddity with the two datives mentioned above may reflect the fact that the data was collected from the last speakers, two of whom spoke Kalkutungu as their first language. Leaving this irregularity aside we find that in both languages the allative and locative II/allative II have a common second formative in each language, *-mpa* in Yalarnga and *-nha* in Kalkutungu. The first formative of the allative in Yalarnga is *-wa*, which may be a variant of dative *-wu*, which would mean that in both languages the allative is built on the

dative. Even allowing that *-wa* is not a variant of the dative, the way the allative and allative II are built up in the two languages is clearly parallel. Parallel formations of this type are a classic instance of a pattern being diffused, and the pattern is particularly significant in that it has not been recorded in any other language. The parallel build up of the aversive and ablative is probably another example of calquing. However, it could be that the formations were made during a period of common development since it is not only the formation that is parallel but the actual forms: **ngku-ngu*, **thu-ngu*, etc. Since Kalkutungu forms the aversive of pronouns by adding *-wa*, which has no parallel in Yalarnga, the calquing is more likely.

Table 5.4: Other suffixes on nouns

Yalarnga	Kalkutungu
3 rd possessor	* <i>yanya</i> (?)
2 nd possessor	-mala (= Pitta-Pitta)
other	*-ngarra
dual	-wulampa (< * <i>pula</i>)
plural	-larrampa, -wala, 20 -miya (< * <i>mala</i> cf. mal- <i>tha</i> ‘mob’)
proprietary	-ngali
privative	-rra
N-forming	-yanji
forms V intrans	*-yangu
forms V trans	-iti
forms V trans	-thati (V stems)
forms V trans	-ma
forms V trans	-ma (non-productive with N & V)
	-puni (productive with N)

The other suffixes used with nouns are shown in Table 5.4. Taking these in turn:

- The third-person possessor forms, which are used with kinship nouns (‘her father’, ‘his mother’, etc.), appear to be cognate, though the processes that have led to the differences between them remain obscure.
- The second-person possessor form *-mala* in Yalarnga is also found in Pitta-Pitta. Given that these two languages are very distinct and that the few forms they have in common are identical, as in this case, it is likely that there has been borrowing in one direction or another.
- The form *-ngarra* ‘other’ is a clear match. It is perhaps worth noting that the correspondence involves *rr/rr* not *rr/t* as in *warri/ati* etc. (see (5-7) above). This indicates that the sharing does not belong to the oldest stratum and may reflect borrowing.
- The privative forms would appear to be unrelated, but consider the fact that Nhanda (WA) has *-nyida*, a language which shows hardening of an intervocalic tap to a stop, and Jiwari and Tharrkari have *-yirra* (Blevins 2001:64). The Kalkutungu form *-iti* would derive from *-yirra* by independently attested processes ((5-5) and (5-7) above). The Nhanda *nyida* suggests **nyirra* may be the

¹⁸ Another example of a local marker developing into a genitive-type marker is Latin *de* ‘from’, which is reflected in French *de* ‘of’, Italian *di* ‘of’, etc. The widespread Pama-Nyungan locative *-ngka* is reflected in Pitta-Pitta as a purposive suffix *-nga* (the loss of the stop occurs also in the ergative *-ngku*, which shows up as *-ngu* (subjetive of verbs in the future) (Blake 1979)).

¹⁹ *Yurru* has an irregular ergative *itiyi* and the aversive is built on this *itiyingu*.

original form, and that this is reflected in Yalarnga *-nhiya*. Warluwarrwa and Bulanru have *-nharrangu* and Wakaya has *-nhawerr(u)*. Some of the Yolngu languages have similar forms including *-nharrangu* in Yan-nhangu.

- The suffix *-yangu*, which forms nouns from nouns in Yalarnga matches the ablative allomorph for stems of more than two syllables, but note this *-yangu* occurs with disyllabic stems as in *purpu-yangu* ‘long-haired’ from *purpu* ‘hair’. In Kalkutungu nouns can be formed by adding *-ngu* to the dative plus ligative. For vowel stems like *kurla* ‘father’ we get formations such as *kurla-a-ya-ngu* ‘male’. It is not certain what the relationship between these two forms is.

- The Kalkutungu form for forming intransitive verbs from nouns, often with an inchoative sense, clearly reflects the widespread root **-tharri*, with a hardening of the tap (see (5.7) above). The corresponding form in Yalarnga, *-ya*, is likely to be cognate reflecting the *θ>y* lenition as in the ergative and locative allomorphs.
- The form *-ma* used to form transitive verbs in both these languages reflects a very widespread root.

The rest of the forms in Table 5.4 are clearly not identifiable.

5.3.2 Verb inflection

First we consider the following tense, aspect, mood and modality suffixes:

Table 5.5: Verb inflection

	Yalarnga	Kalkutungu
present	*-ma -ma	∅ (but <i>patuma</i> ‘tells’, <i>yuu-ma</i> etc.)
past	-mu, -hi	-nha
non-future		
future	*-mi -mi	-ni
imperfective		-minka
perfective		-mpa
imperative	*-li, *-la -li	-ya (but <i>mayi-la</i> ‘rub!’ etc.)
imperfective	*-thi -na-yi	-manthi (< <i>ma-ti-thi</i>)
potential ‘test’		-ni-yi
optative ‘let’	-ni-yi	-ni-yi
irrealis ‘would’ve’	(-na)ji-yi	

Yalarnga has a neat present/past/future system *-ma/-mu/-ni* plus a minor allomorph of the past *-hi*. Kalkutungu has no marking for present tense, but does have *-ma* as an option for a few verbs such as *lli* ‘to relinquish’ and *yuu* ‘to climb’. The form *-m(a)* is also found as a present in the Arandic languages, and *-(n)ma* is the continuative imperative in the Western Desert Language and in Watjari.²¹

The Kalkutungu past tense marker is one of a number of similar widespread forms which Dixon (2002:214) suggests are likely to derive from *-*nhmu*. Both Yalarnga and Kalkutungu share the future *-mi*. There are scattered examples of *-mi* with future or similar functions including non-past for *-ya* class verbs in Warlpiri, and *-(ki)mi* desiderative non-past in Garawa [= Garwa] (Furby & Furby 1977:63ff.).

The imperative forms may be related. Since there are instances of intervocalic *l>y* in Kalkutungu (see (5.3) above), *-ya* may reflect *-la*. The fact that *-la* occurs on a few verbs adds to the plausibility. These verbs include:

- (5.8) *mayi* *mayila* ‘rub (it)!’

- tjirra* *tjylla* ‘take (it) out!'

- Yal. *marri*

- tjirra*

- nhanguwarr* *waya nguna-nguna-ma-yi*.

- stick* *pick.up-IMP* *whatisit*

- stick* *grab-NP* *whatisit*

- stick* *grab-NP* *whatisit*

The only other point to be made about the forms in Table 5.5 concerns *-yi* in Yalarnga. It follows markers of the tense series and it occurs in some clauses that may be subordinate, such as the following:

- (5.9) *Kuthaparra miya-li*

- stick* *pick.up-IMP* *whatisit*

- Pick up the stick, that whatchacallit lying there.’*

As noted in §3.4 it is likely that *-yi* is a marker of subordination and that forms such as *-mayi* and *-nayi* in independent clauses arise via insubordination. It is also likely that *-yi* is a case marker, originally marking the function of the clause in which it appeared. In Kalkutungu the locative marker *-thi* can appear following tense marking in clauses with the auxiliary *ngu*, and there is an imperfective marker *-manthi* used in both dependent and independent clauses. Given that there are instances of *θ>y* in Yalarnga, it is likely that *-yi* reflects *-thi*. The following example illustrates *-manthi* in Kalkutungu.

- (5.10) *Kunka ngulurrimi-ya minhangarra nhaa ranthi-manthi.*

- stick* *grab-NP* *whatisit*

- stick* *grab-NP* *whatisit*

- stick* *grab-NP* *whatisit*

The verbs **na* ‘to see’ and **ngu* ‘to give’ (reflected as *a-* in Kalkutungu) are irregular, and the irregularities match in the present and future and to some extent in the past (cf. *mgunga* and *anga*) (Table 5.6). Yalarnga has forms in *-tu* that do not match anything in Kalkutungu, and there are regularised variants with *-mu* and *-ni*.

Table 5.6: Irregular verb inflection

	Yalarnga	Kalkutungu	Yalarnga	Kalkutungu
present	<i>nanyi</i>	<i>nanyi</i>	<i>ngunyi</i>	<i>anyi</i>
past	<i>nanga</i> (also <i>nangimu</i>) and <i>nanku</i>	<i>nanya</i>	<i>ngunga</i> (also <i>ngunyimu</i>) and <i>ngunku</i>	<i>anya, anga</i>
future	<i>nangi</i>	<i>nangi</i>	<i>ngungi</i> (also <i>ngunyimi</i>)	<i>angi</i>

These irregular verb forms would appear to be relics, and this is confirmed by scattered examples of matching irregularities:

- (5.11) Watjari (past) *nyanya* *inya*
Djalu (potential) *nyanggi* *yungi*
Warumungu (past punctual) *nyanyi* *nyunu*

21 The present tense in Wajari consists of *-(n)ma* + *nha*. This same formation may lie behind the Kalkutungu *-minha* imperfective, since there are other instances of *aCa* → *iCa* where a neighbouring consonant is laminal (see (5.6) above).

Both languages also have a series of verb markers that involve nominalisation in at least one of the two languages. These are subject to dissimilation where a nasal-stop cluster occurs in the stem. The dissimilated allomorph is shown second in each example in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: verb inflection based on nominalisation

	Yalarnga	Kalkutungu
purposive	*-nija + dative *-nija-rrī	-nijata, -tjata, -yata -nijirri
agent-noun		-njiirr, -tjirr
continuing		-njiāni, -tjāni
dative applicative	*nija-ma	-nyama
habitual	*nija-ngu	-nyangu, -yangu
participial	*nija-na	-nyana, -yana
reflexive		-ti
	-nyama, -yama	

A number of languages in the northern Pama-Nyungan area have purposive verb forms built on the nominaliser *-nija/-ntha* (Evans 1988a:94) to which they add a case marker for purposive function, e.g. Waripiri *-nijaku*. Yalarnga and Kalkutungu have each added their own purposive marker. In the case of Yalarnga this is *-ta*. In Kalkutungu the dative with vowel stems involves repeating the vowel and optionally adding *-ya*. The purposive is thus *-nija-a-ya*, the last formative being obligatory in this environment. This parallel formation is a clear instance of calquing and evidence of diffusion, probably part of diffusion that involved more than just Yalarnga and Kalkutungu.

The agent-noun forming suffix in Yalarnga appears to be *-nija* plus *-rrī*, the proprietive 'having' suffix, with regressive assimilation responsible for the vowel *i* in the first syllable. If this assumption is correct, then it would appear that the suffix has been borrowed from Yalarnga, where it is motivated, to Kalkutungu, where its origin is opaque.²³ The final vowel has been lost in Kalkutungu (see (5-4) above). In the Pitta-Pitta and related languages to the south of Yalarnga the proprietive suffix is used in nominalisations following a form *-li-*, which is analogous to *-nija*: Pitta-Pitta *-li-marru*, Wangka-Yutjurru *-li-muku* and Wangka-Manha *-li-tha*.²⁴

The purposive and the agent-noun forming suffix exhibit the same pattern of dissimilation: *-nija/-nja* in the two languages. This pattern is also found in the continuing, the dative applicative and the habitual in Kalkutungu, but in Yalarnga the alternation is *-ny-/y* in the habitual (evidence is lacking for the continuing and the dative-applicative). In the case of the dative applicative, we have examples with only one verb, and the form of the suffix matches that of the reflexive. The Kalkutungu habitual doubtless consists of the nominaliser *-nija* plus *ngu*, probably the locative marker that appears in Tables 1 and 2. The Yalarnga form presumably contains the same *-ngu* as the second formative, but it is

not clear where *-nya-* comes from.²⁵ Analogous comments apply to the applicative forms where the second formative may be the widespread grammatical verb *ma-* (see Table 5).

Now while the Yalarnga participle form shows the alternation *-nyan/-yana*, Kalkutungu is irregular in having *-nyin/-jin*. The form *-nyin* is a plausible borrowing from Yalarnga with the first vowel assimilating to the preceding consonant and the second one being lost (see (5-4) and (5-6) above). The form *tjin* may have a separate origin. Note that a same-subject subordinate marker *-jina* occurs in Garwa and Wanyi (Breen 2003:447–448). It is also worth noting that there is a locative *-na* in Wangka-Yutjurru, Wangka-Manha and Baagandji, *-na* in Pitta-Pitta and *-i/na* in Garwa.

Table 5.8: Other verbal morphology

	Yalarnga	Kalkutungu
hither		-nhati ²⁶
hence	*-nihu	-anthu
causative/applicative	*-ni	-ni
antipassive	*-li	-li

Of the forms in Table 5.8 the hither forms are obviously distinct, whereas the hence forms are almost identical. The form *-(a)nhu* is not found in any other language to the best of our knowledge. It could be a common innovation or a borrowing from one to the other.

The causative/applicative *-ni* is found not only in these two languages, but in Bandjalang (Crowley 1978), and in the following reported in Holmer (1983): Dharumbal, languages of the Waka-Gabi group (Waka-Waka, Goreng-Goreng and Manandjali) and Gunggari (Mari group). Holmer also records *-ri* in Bidjara and Gangulu (Holmer 1983:208, 288), and *-rrī* is reported from Djabugay (Patz 1991:283).²⁷ Either or both of these may be cognate. The form *-ni* is possibly to be identified with the instrument-forming *-nti* in Yularnitja *karpilpinti* 'string', which is based on the widespread Pama-Nyungan root *karpip* 'to tie' (O'Grady et al. 1966:154). The Yalarnga equivalent would be *karpip-ni-tjirrī*, which is not recorded, but the Kalkutungu equivalent has been and it is *kamima-nti-tjirrī*.

The antipassive forms appear to be cognate (see (5-3) above), and *-li* occurs on a few verbs in Kalkutungu, e.g. *ari-li-yalyi-li* 'eat'. The form *-li* is also found in Pitta-Pitta, Wangka-Yutjurru and Wangka-Manha to the immediate south, in various Mari languages to the southeast, in Bandjalang in southeastern Queensland (Crowley 1978) and Yuwaalaay in northern New South Wales (Williams 1980:83).²⁸

²⁵ It may be significant, as Patrick McConville has pointed out (pers. comm.), that *-ny*, as opposed to the 'expected' *-nija*, occurs where the following syllable begins with a nasal.

²⁶ Warlmanpa has *-ri* 'hither' on imperatives and *-rni* on non-imperatives (David Nash pers. comm.).

²⁷ However, Breen (1973 and unpublished notes), in much more substantial studies, does not confirm these statements regarding Bidjara and Gunggari. For both the suffix is *-ma* (~*hma* and uncommon other allomorphs of the form *-Cma*), while there is also a rare transitive formative *-i*, replacing the final vowel (*a* in the few attested forms) of an intransitive verb stem.

²⁸ Holmer (1983) reports *-li* 'reflexive' in Gunggari (187), Bidjara (208), Manandjali (416), Gangulu (273), Wirri (288) and Birri (304).

²² Compare Garwa *-fjina*, same subject marker (Furby & Furby 1977:88ff).

²³ The 'having' suffix in Kalkutungu is *-can* following consonants and *-yan* following vowels. On the basis of this irregular allomorphy it is safe to say the form is unlikely to be a recent innovation.

²⁴ Data from Breen and Blake field notes. A summary of forms from Breen and Blake appears in Blake (1979b:224ff).

5.3.3 Pronouns

One of the outstanding differences between the two languages under consideration is that Kalkutungu has bound pronouns whereas Yalarninga lacks them (but see §3.4.1.13).

There is something odd about the distribution of bound pronouns in Kalkutungu. Although they are obligatorily in all clauses where there is an auxiliary and with the perfective and imperfective, they are optional with the past, present and future. This may indicate that the language was losing its bound pronouns, as Dixon suggests (Dixon 2002:679). Kalkutungu lies to the south-east of a large area of languages with bound pronouns, though languages to the immediate north-west either lack bound pronouns (e.g. Wanyi) or have transparent reductions of free forms which must surely be recent innovations (e.g. Garrwa). It is likely that we have a linguistic area with gaps because a feature has been lost or because of migration. Given the areal distribution of bound pronouns, which cuts across lexicostatistical boundaries, it is highly unlikely that Kalkutungu was always isolated from other languages with bound pronouns. However, at the time of European incursion, Kalkutungu was surrounded by languages without bound pronouns, and probably under areal pressure to lose them. The following example illustrates the way Kalkutungu can alternate between using bound pronouns or using just free pronouns. The speaker first expresses the notion of ‘intention’ by using the auxiliary *a* plus a bound pronoun for object, namely *-ngi*. He then paraphrases using the future tense, where bound pronouns are not normally used.

- (5-12) *Nyin-ti a-ngi lha? Nnakakawa nyin-ti ngayi lhami?*
 you-ERG PURP-1sg.O hit why
 'Are you going to hit me? Why are you going to hit me?'

The pronouns are shown in Table 5.9. There are several series of bound pronouns in Kalkutungu. Not all forms are shown.

Table 5.9: Pronouns

Singular	Proto	Yalarninga	Kalkutungu	
			Subject	Object
first	* <i>ngapni</i>	<i>ngiya</i>	<i>ngayi</i>	<i>-ngi</i>
		<i>ngathu</i> (ERG)	<i>ngathu</i> (ERG)	
		<i>ngajji</i> (DAT)	<i>ngafji</i> (DAT)	
second		<i>nhawa</i>	<i>nyini</i> (< * <i>ngini</i>)	<i>-n(i), -nha</i>
		<i>nhurru</i> (ERG)	<i>nyinti</i> (ERG)	
		<i>nhwuu</i> (OBL)		
third		<i>nhuu</i>	<i>laa, ala</i> (OBL)	<i>-i</i>
dual				
first	* <i>ngali</i>	<i>ngali</i>	<i>ngalhi</i>	<i>-l, -lhi</i>
	* <i>nhumpala</i>	<i>nhumpala</i>	<i>mpaya</i>	<i>-mpaya</i>
	* <i>pula</i>	<i>pula</i>	<i>pyu</i>	<i>-pyu, -ilu</i>
plural				
first		<i>ngawa</i>	<i>ngata</i> (< * <i>ngarra?</i>)	<i>-rr, -ti</i>
		<i>nhala</i>	<i>nhuta</i> (< * <i>nhurra</i>)	<i>-nhurr</i>
		<i>thana</i>	<i>thina</i>	<i>-na, -ina</i>

We will comment first on the dual pronouns, since there the relationship is straightforward. The dual pronouns match, allowing for the operation of the rules given in (5-1) to (5-7) above, and are all widespread forms. Kalkutungu exhibits an unexpected dental in *ngalhi*, but note that the unimpeded operation of the rule turning intervocalic / into y (see (5-3) above) would have produced homophony with the first person singular.

In the singular the first person forms are cognate. Most Australian languages have first-person forms beginning with *nga-*. In Yalarninga there has been an assimilation of the first vowel to the following glide (cf. *myia* ‘to take’, probably from widespread *ma-*).

In the second person Kalkutungu exhibits the widespread root *ngin*, but Yalarninga has *nhawa*. Dixon (2002:311) suggests that the form may have been borrowed from the third person in Pitta-Pitta. However, the *nh-a* also appears in the plural with an apparent one-off plural formative *-la*. A few scattered languages have a second person singular beginning with *na-*, *nha-* or *nya-*. These include Nunggubuyu *nagang* and Jingulu *nyama*. In some languages the second person plural is built on *na*, e.g. Garrwa and Wanyi *narri*. There is a second person singular bound form *-nh-a* in Kalkutungu, though only when attached to the auxiliary *ngu*. The *nh(a)wa* form could be a relic.

The third person singular forms look to be related and they are distinctive. The Yalarninga form is suspicious since that language does not have any initial-/ words other than a few shared with Kalkutungu. One possibility is that Kalkutungu *laa* is derived from the widespread third person *nhulu*, which consists of a very widespread root *nu/nhu* plus a fossilized ergative *lu*. This appears as *nhulu* in Pitta-Pitta, for instance, as *nyulu* in Garrwa and as *nhulu* in Gunya. If a form such as *nhulu* or *nyulu* lost its first syllable as with the forms illustrated in (5-2) above, *la* would result (pronounced with a long vowel to meet the minimum requirements for an independent word). Such a form could then have been borrowed into Yalarninga.

In the plural the third person forms match, again allowing for the operation of an independently attested process (see (5-6)). In the second person the Yalarninga form appears to contain the same root as the singular with the plural marked by *-la*. The Kalkutungu form is a variant of the widespread *nhurru* with progressive vowel harmony and hardening of the tap to a stop (see (5-7) above). The most widespread first-person plural form in the northern part of the Pama-Nyungan area is *ngana*. Both Yalarninga and Kalkutungu have idiosyncratic second formatives.

5.4 Summary and conclusions

It is clear that Yalarninga and Kalkutungu share old material both lexical and grammatical, some of the latter being irregular. It is also clear that similarities between the two languages have been augmented by diffusion. This can be seen in the formation of the compound cases and in the parallel formations of the verbal purposive, and possibly some of the other inflections in Table 5.7.

About two thirds of the shared grammatical material (21/32) is widespread or at least found in a few non-contiguous languages, and must be old material from a remote proto-language or languages. Yalarninga and Kalkutungu are similar in terms of grammatical forms partly because they share more than the average of old forms, and partly through diffusion. There is no clear evidence that Yalarninga and Kalkutungu share innovations. Some of the exclusively shared forms such as *-ngarra* ‘other’ and *-(a)nhuu* ‘hence’ could be shared innovations or innovations in one language diffused to the other. The form *-ngarra* is unlikely to belong to an old stratum since the correspondence is *VrrV-VrrV* with

no hardening of the flap as in (5-7). The form *-(a)nihu* belongs to a category easily borrowed.

If one were to claim that Yalarnga and Kalkutungu form a subgroup, there would be the problem of defining what they were a subgroup of. There is no language or group of languages that is relatively close to the pair. The next node up the tree would be Pama-Nyungan, but although the phonology, a number of roots and some morphology has been reconstructed (e.g. Alpher 2004), Dixon (2002) argues strongly that it is not a significant entity and that forms that are widespread in the Pama-Nyungan area such as pronouns like *ngali* and case markers like *-ngku* have diffused. Note in passing that if Dixon's claim is true, it does not render impossible the establishment of a set of Pama-Nyungan reconstructed forms as found in a source such as Alpher (2004), though one would be left with the problem of how a sizable number of roots are found exclusively in the Pama-Nyungan area.

However the distribution arose, a certain number of grammatical forms are widespread in the Pama-Nyungan area, as well as a few that are scattered over the mainland. Yalarnga and Kalkutungu share more of these widespread forms than many other languages, including forms such as ergative *-thu*, that are relatively old. To some extent Yalarnga and Kalkutungu constitute a relic area. It is possible for two languages within a set of genetically related languages to be comparatively close because they are conservative. But in this instance the languages are contiguous and that raises the question of whether they are conservative because of conditions in the area, for instance, being located in a mountainous area away from contact with other languages. Kalkutungu, but not Yalarnga, did occupy mountainous territory, but the mountains are not particularly formidable and there is no sharp boundary between the relatively high country of the Kalkutungu and the surrounding country. In any event the Yalarnga did not occupy territory that was significantly mountainous.

Although Yalarnga and Kalkutungu share widely distributed forms, the fact that the two happen to share much the same selection of old forms is interesting. At some distant time Kalkutungu underwent initial-dropping, but Yalarnga did not. Kalkutungu also underwent a number of other phonological changes as listed in (5-1) to (5-7) above. These processes are non-productive and belong to an old stratum. Since the period when these rules were productive, a lot of vocabulary has been introduced into Kalkutungu; some of it is shared with Yalarnga and may have been borrowed thence.

The vocabulary is in two parts. The first is Yalarnga to English, in alphabetical order of the Yalarnga words. This gives an indication of the source of words and sometimes other information, as well as their meaning. The second is English to Yalarnga, in alphabetical order not necessarily of the first word of the entry but of important words. For example, all verbs are given preceded by 'to' but are ordered according to the next word: 'to creep' comes after 'creek' and before 'crested pigeon', for example. Some entries are in two or more places: 'crested pigeon' is ordered by 'crested' and also by 'pigeon'. If you look up a word in the English to Yalarnga vocabulary you should check the Yalarnga to English for possible extra information, as this often contains more detail.

Conventions used: sources of words are divided into three groups, one being the wordlist collected by Eglinton (1886), the second Mick and Lardie Moonlight and the third Maudie Hayden. Any word attested from two of these source groups is assumed to be confirmed and listed with no indication of source; other words are given an indication of source. These indications use the initials E for Eglinton, M for Mick Moonlight, L for Lardie Moonlight and H for Maudie Hayden. Hal means 'given by H and accepted by L', Ha?L 'given by H and accepted, but doubtfully, by L', Hnal 'given by H but not accepted by L', Hknal 'given by H, not known by L'. These could be spread over two different glosses, so spit (H), dribble (al) means that H gave the Yalarnga word as the word for 'spit' and L recognised it but with the meaning 'dribble'. Note also the difference between *tampiya* 'hole' (inc of goanna) (H) and *tharmu* 'hole' (as for a grave — H). In the first case H was the source of the word; in the second there were two or more sources for the word, but H was the source of the comment. The indications do not apply to glosses in separate quotes; for example, "plain", 'ground' (M)" means "plain" (well-attested), 'ground' (M)". It does not mean that both glosses were attested only from M. The = sign followed by a language name or (usually) an abbreviated language name (KI Kalkutungu, PP Pitta-Pitta, WI Warluwarria) means that the word is the same as, or almost the same as, the word in that language. =Mayi means the same as the word in one or more of the Mayi languages. The sign ≈ means that the word is a calque on the word in the language named; for example *furluya* is marked ≈KI because it is *furlu* + inchoative suffix, just as is *furluhai* in KI. Eng stands for English and <Eng means 'from English'.

A few words are written with a hyphen at the end. These never occur without some ending. A hyphen at the beginning of something, such as *-wu*, means that it is an ending, and never occurs except on the end of some word. Where a word is written partly in brackets, such as *fjalangila(mpa)*, the part in brackets is sometimes left out and this does not seem to affect the meaning. Some additional words could be guessed, and the guess

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would probably be right — for example, *pulawu* 'for them two' — but are not included simply because they have not been heard by the compilers. Some pronominal forms are included with a question mark (in brackets) because they were given in agreement with a suggestion by the linguist. An English gloss may be question-marked if it is doubtful. Other Yalarnga words have a question mark simply because they could not be heard properly.

Yalarnga–English vocabulary

- ka-* 'to take, to bring', 'to carry' (H), 'to wear' (M) (PRES *kanyi*, PAST *kanga*, PURP *kantjata*); see also *mangkina*, *mani, mijia*
- kakurna* 'egg'; see *pamnu*
- kala* 'sore', only in *kalayangana* '(has) got sore'; see *wuthi*
- kala* 'to creep', 'to sneak'
- kalani* 'to drag'
- kalathurra* 'turkey' (HnAL) =PP
- kalatja* 'coolibah'; 'bark that you peel off to cook tobacco' (L); see *makarri kali* 'I don't know'
- kaliya* 'bitter' (L), 'beer' (L) =KL; see also *karukaru*
- kalpalkalpa* 'chest' (HnAL); see *ngalinyirri, putu*
- Kalpuru* 'Boulia' (not in Yalarnga country)
- kama* 'to catch, to hold', 'to feel (with hand)' (H)
- kampukampu* 'white man'; also *wuthani kamamu* 'younger sister', 'younger brother'
- kanga* 'beer' (L), 'rum' (L) =KL, WL, PP (also 'poison')
- kanga* see *ka-*
- Kangilangu* 'skin' (= section) name, marries *Thumpuyungu* (L) =KL
- kangkayi* 'plain potato' (grow on the plain, like a parsnip) (L) = *murlakarla kangu* 'cousin' (probably cross-cousin, mother's brother's child and father's
- ka-* 'sister's child), 'man's daughter's child' (L)
- kankari* 'knife' (L) =KL, PP, Maiyi
- kankati* 'high', 'on top'
- kankatiya* 'to go up high'
- kampa* 'to put foot on'
- kanta* 'to be afraid'
- kantha* 'nest' (H)
- kanthi* 'to hunt away', 'to chase'
- kantjata* see *ka-*
- kamu* 'again, too' (L)
- kanyi* see *ka-*
- kapalarriya* 'to be thirsty' (HAL); cf. *puyuya*
- kapani* 'to hunt' (M) =KL, see *kwani kapara* 'edible grub', 'witchetty grub' (probably from turpentine bush), =KL, PP
- karawara* 'shallow' (H)
- karla* 'throat' (HnAL), 'nape' (L), 'neck' (L) KL *karlaa* 'neck'; see *tjilkarri karli* 'to get stuck, get bogged' (H); see also *purraka(r)li*
- karlu* 'father'
- karni* 'shoulder', 'limb of tree' (H); see *ngulhu, warrku*
- karnku* 'boy' =KL
- karri* 'to wash, to wipe, to clean' =KL
- karryiyama* 'to wash self' (L)
- karrkuru* 'perch (fish)'
- karri* 'to tie'
- karpilintjiiri* 'policeman' (M,L); also *ngankarriyangu*

karruwali ‘south’
karta ‘to know’ (L); *kuntu ngiya kartana*
tjarruwu ‘I don’t know that thing’, also
wangama, yika
kartapi ‘hook’ (L) =K1; see *wartku*
kartarii ‘to leak’? (L) (translated
“leaking”, used of blood)
karringarrarra “talking too much” N? (L)
karukuru ‘bitter’ (H), ‘cheeky’ (al);
see also *kalya*
katha ‘to wait, to wait about’; *kathati*
ngajiwampa ‘wait for me’
kathi, kathimma ‘to tell lies’ (Ha?L)
kathi see *ngathi*
katjapi ‘kitehawk, black kite’ (L,M),
‘aeroplane’ (L,M) =K1; see also
ngunukuru, pitjuru
katjarrra ‘crippled’ (L) =K1 ‘pox’
katjimpa ‘two’; also *pulari*
katjimpa katjimpa ‘four’ (H)
katjimpa negururu ‘three’ (L); see also
kurpayi, kurtarni
katju ‘clothes’ (M,L)
kawa ‘come on! (=PP; *kawa ngali* ‘let’s
(you and me) go’)
kawana ‘middle’ (H)
kawani ‘to hunt’ (H) see *kapani*
kawarla ‘don’t’ (L)
kawunu ‘dress’ (L) <Eng ‘gown’
kaya ‘baby, child’ (L,M) (= *pirlapirla* M)
kikavarra ‘sand’ (L) =K1; see *yuka(la)*
kilawuru ‘galah’ =K1
kilkka ‘arm’ =PP; once said ‘forearm’ in
contrast to *yunhu* ‘upper arm’ (L)
kilyitilyi ‘armpit’ (H) =W1, see *kitjipurlu*
kinjia ‘female’ =K1
kinjirrala ‘leaves’ (H)
kinyikinyi “you can’t stop him” (H, of a
child), “getting silly, for man” (L, of a
big girl or a woman); also *kirnikirni*
(L, and it may be that these are two
different words)
kirnikirni see *kinyikinyi*

kitjikitjiwala ‘to tease’? (H), ‘to tickle’
(aL) see also *kitjivala*
kitjipurlu ‘armpit’ (L) =K1, see *kilyikilyi*
kitjivala ‘to pick on, to pick a fight’ (H)
see also *kitjikitjiwala*
kiyakiyani, (H), *kiyakiyaya* (al) ‘to be
itchy’
kitkalirrini ‘back of neck’ (HnA)
kukapi ‘grass’
kukithirri ‘claypan’ (L) =K1
kukayya ‘to cook’ (M) <Eng? see *ngathi*
kulapuru ‘blanket’ (L) =K1
kulkaparra ‘bark on tree’
kulpi ‘carbeen (= ghost gum)’
kulpuru ‘shame’ (L) =K1; also *walangu*
kulungunti ‘to lift’ (H); see also *wanima*
kulupatji ‘crested pigeon’ (L) =K1
kumayi ‘raw’ (H)
kumovirratjalinfirri ‘eaglehawk, wedge-
tailed eagle’ (M) lit. ‘bitter of raw
(meat)’ ≈K1; also *mumuwangarrilinfirri*
kumpatha ‘adze’ (H) =K1 (*kumpaltha* in
PP, W1)
kuna ‘shit, faeces’ (M) widespread, cf
wuna
kunkaaftja ‘plain goanna’ (L) =K1; see
pirrimuku
kungkurnpa ‘a cold’ (H), ‘flu’ (H), said
by L to be K1, but Blake (1979:170)
gives the K1 word as *ngunkurr*
kunhu ‘water’, ‘rain’
kunhukunhu ‘rainy’ or ‘wet’ (H)
kunkayu ‘man’s child, brother’s child’
(L) =K1; cf *piyaka, thithi*
kunti ‘house’ (widespread)
kunjji ‘tail’ (L), cf. K1 *kunjai*; also
yarri
kuntu ‘no, nothing’ =K1
kupakappa ‘old man’ =K1
kupanguru ‘old’, ‘old man’
kupu ‘spider’ (L) =PP, =K1
kurarri ‘bright’ (M) =K1

kurayi ‘dogwood’ (H)
kurlavangu ‘male’ (L) =K1, cf. K1 *kurla*
‘father’
kuriyijiji ‘peewee’ (L) “mate belong to
*wuringa
cf. K1 *kurrijijin*, see *wiringara*
kurrariapu ‘magpie’ (M) =K1
kurrawula ‘to shut up, to stop talking’
(HnA) see *wakanula*
kurrikurri ‘red’ =K1, PP
kurrinti ‘uncle, mother’s brother’,
‘father-in-law’ (L)
kurirkira ‘cave’ (L) =K1
kurpkakurpa ‘hot’ (as water) (H), ‘hot
(weather)’ (H)
kurpajji ‘three’ (M) =K1, Mayi; probably,
as in many Australian languages, the
correct meaning is ‘a few’; see also
katjimpa ngunuru, kurtarni
kurtarru ‘blood’, see also *ngurru*
kurtarni ‘three’ (H); see *katjimpa*
ngurru, kurpaya
kurtu ‘shield’ (M); see *katjakutia*...
kurtakurtu ‘crooked’ (al) =K1;
kurtakurtya ‘to become ingrown
(toenail)’ (L)
kuta ‘to swim’ (HnA); also
wilangun(h)ama, wulawunta
kuta ‘to dirty, to make smelly’
kutha(?) ‘to gather’ (M)
kuthaparra ‘stick’ (M), ‘big stick’ (L);
see *pintha, thuka, thukani*
kuthu ‘smoke’; also *ngaru*
kutja ‘rotten’
kutjakutja ‘shield, helmet’ see *kurtu*
kutjukutju ‘pup’ (L) =K1
kayirri ‘boy’ (M,L), ‘little boy’ (L) =K1;
kuykayirri ‘boys’ (L)
laa ‘now’ (L) =K1, see also *marra, yilarli*
lamu ‘night’ (M) =K1
laru ‘he, she, it (transitive subject)’*

<i>manpanhi</i> 'to jump', 'to hop (kangaroo)' (HnaL)	<i>Marrinta</i> 'Marion Downs' (M) (?) probably from the English name; see <i>Tjirrimangu</i>
<i>mantawitha</i> 'single (man?)' (M) =K1	<i>marrinya</i> 'to paint up, to paint oneself' ≈K1
<i>mantha</i> '(vegetable) food, tucker' (M,H,naL) =Mayi; see <i>manhi</i> , <i>ranharri</i>	<i>marti</i> 'cautiously, watchfully' (M)
<i>manthakumpa(langu)</i> 'urine' or 'urinate' (L), later said to be K1 (L) but cf. Blake (1979:170, 190)	<i>mata</i> 'cold' (heard as <i>matarri</i> with PROP and <i>matarni/a/u</i> with unknown ending)
<i>maniyirri</i> 'father-in-law of man' (L); cf. Wakaya <i>mentirru</i>	<i>matia</i> 'pitchery' (L) =WI (seems to refer to a native tobacco, <i>Nicotiana</i> sp., growing in caves, not to the pitchery of s.w. Qld, <i>Duboisia hopwoodii</i>). This word is also spelt <i>pituri</i> , a spelling that tends to lead to gross mispronunciation)
<i>manumpli</i> 'middle one' (L)	<i>matiumpa</i> 'kangaroo' =K1
<i>manungkurnu</i> 'north' (Hal)	<i>majurri</i> 'to be tired' (M,L) =K1; see <i>marnu</i>
<i>manuwa</i> 'to cough' (HnaL); also <i>ngaka</i>	<i>mayaqungu</i> 'corella' (Hal); see <i>murrinari</i>
<i>manyimpa</i> 'of one's own accord', 'oneself', 'myself' in Aboriginal English; 'one's own' (L); see <i>munthi</i>	<i>mika</i> 'woman's genitals' (Hal) PP <i>miku</i>
<i>mapira</i> 'skin', 'paper', 'paper money'	<i>mikara(?)</i> 'mosquito' (M) =K1; see <i>murrrika</i>
<i>mapirarrampa</i> '(cook) in its skin' (H)	<i>milla</i> 'red ochre' (H)
<i>mara</i> 'hand' (M) =PP and many other languages; see <i>makathi</i> , <i>mampila</i> ,	<i>mili</i> 'eye'
<i>maramarawirri(ya)</i> 'to feel about with the hand' (L)	<i>miliwaki</i> 'to go the wrong way' (H); 'to be drunk' (L) lit. 'eye-go round'
<i>mararri</i> '(river) goanna' = K1	<i>miliya</i> 'to be born' (L) ≈K1
<i>mari</i> 'to (go and) get' (M,L) =PP?	<i>milyinyi(?)na</i> 'eyebrow' (HnaL); see <i>mingarkarri</i>
<i>Marinangu</i> 'skin' (= section) name: child of <i>Thunpiyungu</i> man and <i>Kangilangu</i> woman (L)	<i>mimi</i> 'milk, breast' (M) =K1; see <i>ngama</i>
<i>marli</i> 'tongue' =K1	<i>mingankarri</i> 'eyebrow' (L) =K1; see <i>milyinyi(?)na</i>
<i>marlinhiya</i> 'quick'	<i>minpini</i> 'lower back', 'ribs' (both HnaL)
<i>markarra</i> 'mud' (H); see also <i>parta</i> , <i>piriki</i>	<i>miniminima</i> 'to look after' (H); see also <i>nhinti</i> , <i>tjiitaama</i>
<i>marmi</i> 'tired' (heard only in <i>marmiyama</i> 'am/is are tired'); see <i>matjurri</i>	<i>minkanya</i> 'to "mess about"' (H)
<i>marra</i> 'mother', 'mother's sister' (L) =K1	<i>mirlkuma</i> 'sleep, sleepy'; <i>ngunama</i>
<i>marmiya</i> 'to become a mother'	<i>mirlakumamu</i> 'lying asleep'; see <i>wamila</i>
<i>marra</i> 'to spear' (M,L)	<i>mirlkumangarra</i> 'yesterday' (M); also <i>miyangarra</i> , <i>mukampangarra</i>
<i>marra</i> 'now'; see also <i>laa</i> , <i>yilarri</i>	<i>mirlkumarri</i> 'asleep' (L)
<i>marri</i> 'to rub' (H)	

<i>mimmirri</i> 'woman'	<i>mungkungka</i> 'to think wrongly' (H); cf. <i>murgka</i>
<i>mirrampa</i> 'possum' (M) =K1	<i>muntha</i> 'to bathe, bogey, be in the water' (L); also <i>thampa</i>
<i>thakurru</i>	<i>munthi</i> 'one's own' (H) =K1;
	<i>munthiwulampa</i> "two together, friend" (H, translation by L); see <i>manyimpa</i>
	<i>munthaanyi</i> meaning not clear; connected with a person's relationship to a place: <i>munthaanyi tjala yuka</i> 'belongs to that creek?' (HnknL)
<i>mata</i> 'to boil (tea)' trans. (L)	<i>munuwangarrilintirri</i> 'eaglehawk' (<i>ngarilihintirri</i> 'eater', <i>munuwa</i> unknown); also <i>kumayirratjalintirri</i>
<i>mayaqungu</i> 'corella' (Hal); see <i>murrinari</i>	<i>mura</i> (<i>munra?</i>) 'bad'? (L, heard only in the phrase <i>wayirra mur(r)ayama</i> 'broken-hearted', which was repeated as <i>wayirra nhakariyama</i> "getting no good longa heart")
<i>mika</i> 'woman's genitals' (Hal) PP <i>miku</i>	<i>murlakarta</i> 'plain potato' (grow on the plain, like a parsnip); also <i>kangkayi</i> (L)
<i>mikara(?)</i> 'mosquito' (M) =K1; see <i>murrrika</i>	<i>murlakawarra</i> 'to hit on head' (L)
<i>milla</i> 'red ochre' (H)	<i>murni</i> 'inside, interior' (L); <i>murringka</i> 'inside, in amongst' (L)
<i>miliwaki</i> 'to go the wrong way' (H); 'to be drunk' (L) lit. 'eye-go round'	<i>murntu</i> 'blunt' (H) =K1
<i>miliya</i> 'to pick up' (M,L), 'to take' (L), 'to touch' (L); see also <i>ka</i> , <i>mangkima</i> , <i>mani</i> , <i>mija</i> , <i>pinya</i>	<i>murra</i> 'head'
<i>milyinyi(?)na</i> 'eyebrow' (HnaL); see <i>mingarkarri</i>	<i>murrkathaha</i> 'tree sp.' (H given for 'snappy' gum but id. doubtful; al. as 'gidgee', then 'coolibah'); throwing stick made from that tree' (used to kill wallabies — H, thrown like a boomerang — L); see also <i>purtapurta</i>
<i>minkanya</i> 'to "mess about"' (H)	<i>murrurka</i> 'mosquito' (H); see <i>mitkara</i>
<i>mirlkuma</i> 'sleep, sleepy'; <i>ngunama</i>	<i>murrumari</i> 'corella' (M,L) =K1; see <i>mayapingu</i>
<i>mirlakumamu</i> 'lying asleep'; see <i>wamila</i>	<i>mutha</i> 'to bark' (Hal)
<i>mirlkumarri</i> 'asleep' (L)	<i>mutirri</i> 'crab' (HaL)
	<i>mutju</i> , <i>mutjuju</i> 'granfy, mother's mother', 'father's father' (L), 'woman's daughter's child' (L), 'man's son's child' (L)

<i>mutu</i> 'camp', 'country' (L), 'place', 'ground' (M,L), 'home' (L), 'house' (L); cf. <i>thuri</i> , <i>mafja</i>	<i>nganini</i> 'stupid' (aH) =K1, also <i>parrawangku</i>
<i>muwanu</i> 'tomahawk' (L) =K1; see <i>warramparta</i>	
<i>muwparri</i> 'grey hair' (M) =K1	
<i>muwaya</i> 'to be short (of wind)' (L)	
<i>muyutju</i> 'old woman' (H) =PP	
<i>na-</i> 'to see, to look' (PRES <i>nanyi</i> , PAST <i>nanku</i> , <i>nanya</i> , <i>nanga</i> , FUT <i>nangi</i> , PURP <i>nantjata</i> , IMP <i>nanyiji</i>) =K1	
<i>narra</i> 'to put on' (L)	
<i>nga-</i> 'to walk, to go' (NIF <i>ngana</i> , PAST <i>nganku</i> , <i>nganima</i> , FUT <i>ngani</i> , PURP <i>nganintjata</i> , IMP <i>ngana</i> , POT <i>ngamijij</i>)	
<i>ngaa</i> 'yes?' (L) =KL; see also <i>yaya</i> , <i>yuuu</i>	
<i>ngaka</i> 'to cough' (L) =KL; also <i>manuwa</i>	
<i>ngakupulu</i> 'yellowbelly, golden perch' (L); see <i>ngannukala</i>	
<i>ngalangka</i> , <i>ngalangka</i> 'to talk'	
(<i>ngalangka</i> with -mu PRES and -ma PAST; <i>ngalangka</i> (L) with -yata PURP, -ti OPT, -tyi IRR); see <i>ngapa</i>	
<i>ngalavi</i> see <i>ngurrik, thana</i>	
<i>ngalhu</i> 'daughter (of woman)' (L) =K1	
<i>ngali</i> 'we (two, intransitive subject)', 'us (two)', 'us (two, as the base for certain suffixes)' <i>ngaliwu</i> 'for us', <i>ngalingutangu</i> 'with us', <i>ngalingilampa</i> 'near us, towards us'	
<i>ngali</i> 'us (two, as the base for certain suffixes)', <i>ngalihu</i> 'from us', <i>ngalingutangu</i> 'from me', <i>ngalingilampa</i> 'towards us'	
<i>ngali</i> 'us (two, transitive subject)', 'us (two)', 'us (two, as the base for certain suffixes)', <i>ngarlungu</i> 'our (two)', <i>ngarlungu</i> 'our (two)', <i>ngarlungu</i> 'our (two)', <i>ngarlungu</i> 'because of us', <i>ngarlungu</i> 'with us', <i>ngarlungu</i> 'to us', <i>ngawangilampa</i> 'near us, towards us'	
<i>ngalili</i> 'we (two, transitive subject)', <i>ngalinyirri</i> 'chest' (L); see <i>kalpakalpa</i> , <i>putu</i>	
<i>ngalu</i> 'us (two, as the base for certain suffixes)', <i>ngalunu</i> 'for us', <i>ngalulungu</i> 'because of us'	
<i>ngalu</i> 'we (two, transitive subject)'	
<i>ngama</i> 'breast'; see <i>mini</i>	
<i>ngamajarrya</i> 'to be hungry' (<i>ngamatjatja</i> + -tri 'having' + -ya 'become') (M also <i>ngamatjaya</i>)	
<i>ngamayanti(?)</i> 'spinifex' (H)	

<i>ngana</i> , <i>ngani</i> , <i>nganimu</i> see <i>nga-</i> (L); see also <i>thimangtu</i>	<i>nguna</i> 'to lie, to sleep', 'to camp' (M), 'to be (of a mark)' (M)
<i>ngaru</i> 'smoke' (H); also <i>kuthu</i>	<i>ngunga</i> , <i>ngungi</i> see <i>ngu-</i>
<i>ngatharti</i> 'woman's child', 'sister's child', 'man's daughter-in-law' (L)	<i>ngunka</i> , <i>ngunkatha</i> 'without looking at, unable to see' (L) =K1 <i>ngunkangu</i>
<i>ngathartungu</i> 'my, because of me'; cf. <i>ngatji</i>	<i>nguniti</i> 'to lie on' (L)
<i>ngatji</i> 'police station' (aL)	<i>nguniti</i> 'mixture of tobacco and ash, for chewing' (L) =WL
<i>ngankarri</i> 'doctor' (L) cf. <i>ngangkari</i> and similar terms over a wide area to the west of Queensland	<i>ngunjukura</i> 'arm, elbow' (Hhal)
<i>ngankarryangu</i> 'policeman' (H); also <i>karrpiltingirri</i>	<i>ngunjata</i> see <i>ngu-</i>
<i>nganku</i> see <i>nga-</i>	<i>ngunjimpa</i> 'nearly' (Hnknl)
<i>nganthama</i> 'to find?' (M)	<i>ngunjukura</i> 'arm, elbow' (Hhal)
<i>nganji</i> 'skinny' (H) =W1	<i>ngunyu</i> , <i>ngunyimi</i> , <i>ngunyimu</i> see <i>ngu-</i>
(L); see <i>ngakupulu</i>	<i>ngunyimpa</i> 'to get married' (L) (lit. 'give one another')
<i>ngapa</i> 'to go, to go away'; <i>ngapati</i> 'to come', 'to tell', 'to talk to', 'to talk'	<i>ngurangura</i> 'now?' (H); see also <i>laa</i> , <i>marra</i> , <i>yilarli</i>
(L), 'to call (sth sth)', 'call (by kinship term)', (L); see <i>ngalanga</i>	<i>nguriji</i> 'whitewood' (H)
<i>ngapalinijirri</i> 'bossy' (L)	<i>ngurima</i> '?', trans verb, object is sugarbag (M) [see last paragraphs of §2.2]
<i>ngapanyama</i> 'to argue' (L)	<i>ngurki</i> 'blood' (L); <i>ngurki ngalayi</i> refers to bleeding, but it is not clear exactly what <i>ngalayi</i> means or even if it is a free form; see <i>kurruru</i> , <i>thana</i>
<i>ngar(r)ingar(r)i</i> 'to run away with?' (L)	<i>nguru</i> see <i>ngururu</i>
<i>ngarlingarli</i> 'rock wallaby' = K1(?)	<i>ngurukurtu</i> 'hawk' (M,L) = <i>katjapi</i> (L); see also <i>pitjurtu</i>
<i>ngarlu</i> 'we (two, transitive subject)', 'us (two)', 'us (two, as the base for certain suffixes)', <i>ngarlungu</i> 'with us', <i>ngarlungu</i> 'from us', <i>ngarlungu</i> 'to us', <i>ngawangilampa</i> 'near us, towards us'	<i>ngurungila</i> 'once' (L); <i>ngurungara</i> 'other, another' (M,L) (<i>ngurungka</i> seems to be preferred to <i>ngururya</i> as the locative)
<i>ngawalu</i> 'we (more than two, transitive subject)', 'us (more than two, as the base for certain suffixes)', <i>ngawunu</i> , <i>ngawuta</i> both 'for us'	<i>ngurka</i> 'to flow' (L), e.g. nose to run, blood to flow
<i>ngawua</i> 'our (more than two)'	<i>nhaka</i> 'to put in, to pour' (H)
<i>ngavimala</i> 'heart' (L) = 'stomach' in Wangkumara, Kungkari	<i>nhakama</i> 'bad', 'no good'
<i>nguya</i> 'me' (intansitive subject)	<i>nhakarti</i> 'bad', 'no good'
<i>ngiya</i> 'I (intansitive subject)' (L,M), 'to make, build'	<i>nhala</i> 'you (more than two, intransitive subject)', 'you (more than two, object)
'to light (fire)' (L,M), 'to have (baby)'" (L), 'to dream about' (H) <i>milakumaya ngahu rhawa</i>	<i>nhala</i> 'you (more than two, as the base for certain suffixes)', <i>nhatalawu</i> 'for you', <i>nhalangulta</i> 'with you', <i>nhalangutangu</i> 'from you', <i>nhalawampa</i> 'to you'
<i>ngarrawu</i> 'I dreamt about you'	
<i>ngarri</i> 'to eat, to take (medicine)' (L)	
<i>ngulthu</i> 'branch' (M) =K1; see <i>karni</i>	
<i>ngumunthirri</i> see <i>yumunthirri</i>	

nhalalu 'you (more than two, transitive subject)'
nhatalungu(?), *nhalawu* 'your (more than two)',
nhamingu 'how many?' (L)
nhamuru 'something' (L), 'whatsaname' (L); see also *nhanguwari*
nhangu 'what? (intransitive subject, or object, and base for endings -*wu* 'for', -*ta* 'for', -*jungu* 'because of')'
nhanguwali 'to do what?', 'what to happen?', 'to do whatsaname'
nhanguwarri 'whatsaname' (L); see also *nhamuru*
nhanguyu 'what? (transitive subject)'
nhanku 'who? (intransitive subject, or object, and base for certain endings: -*wu* 'for', -*ta* 'for', -*nguta* 'in, on, at', -*ngutangu* 'from', -*wampa* 'to')'
nhantu 'who? (transitive subject)'
nhantungu 'because of whom?'
nhawa 'you (one, intransitive subject)', 'you (one, object)'
nhina 'to sit', 'to be', 'to stay'
nhinti 'to have' (M,L), 'to look after' (L), 'to keep (back)' (L), 'to nurse' (L), 'to treat' (L); see also *miminimima*, *tjiama*, *nhitha* 'to steal' =PP
nhumpala 'you (two, intransitive subject)', 'you (two, object)', 'you (two, as the base for certain suffixes)', *nhumpalawu* 'for you', *nhumpalanguta* 'with you', *nhumpalayungu* 'because of you', *nhumpalangutungu* 'from you', *nhumpalawampa* 'to you', *nhumpalangila(mpa)* 'near you, towards you', *nhumpaladlu* 'you (two, transitive subject)', *nhurlu* 'you (one, transitive subject)', *nhumpalungu* 'your (two) (?)', *nhurlu* 'your (one)', *nhurlungu* 'your (one)'

nhurrangu 'tea tree bark, used for blankets/mattress' (L,M) =K1
nhuvvu 'you (one, as the base for certain suffixes)' *nhuvvuu* 'for you', *nhuwunguta* 'with or on you', *nhuwutu* 'for you', *nhuwungutangu* 'from you', *nhuvwampa* 'to you', *nhuwungila(mpa)* 'near you, towards you'
nhuvuta 'your (one)'
ninyi 'here'
nyiku 'navel' (aL); cf. K1 *tjiku*
nyikki 'fat'
nyilkijamu 'fat (quality)' (H); lit. 'fat-big'
nyumma 'to lay (egg)' (H)
palkili 'to split' (L) =PP
pampara 'speech, word' (L)
pampu 'egg' (L) =PP; see *kakurna*
panhangarra 'other side (as of river)' (HnaL); see *pinjangula*, *watjangarra*
panka 'firewood' (M,L) =K1; cf. *watjani*
pankakamani 'to cook' ? (M); see *makapu*, *ngathi*
panjiarra 'hard, tight' = *thurrkali?* (H), 'hard (hitting, blowing)', 'fast (running)' (L); 'very' (e.g. very sick) (M,L) =PP 'very', note also K1 *panja* 'very' and see *yamu*
papipi 'father's mother', 'grandson (probably woman's son's son, also likely to be woman's son's daughter)' (L) =KL; also *papu*, *powiri* (L)
papu 'father's mother' (L), 'woman's son's child' (L)
parla 'loose' (L)
parlana, *parlawa* 'to undo, loosen, take off' (M); see also *tjiara*
parlaya 'to come loose, loosen' (L) ≈K1
parlpa(wa?/ja?/nga?) 'to light (fire), to make (fire)' (final syllable unclear or absent); see *ngarra*
partur-lu 'little'

parnayi 'to take away'; 'to bring' (with HITH) (L)
parrawangku 'stupid' (H) =PP; also *nganiningani*
parkamu 'turkey' (M) =K1; see *thurrkuna*, *kalathurna*
parruklu 'little baby' (L)
paruma 'to miss (with spear)' (H), 'to spear but fail to kill'
parryparnu 'yellow' (M) =PP,K1; see also *yilharru*
parta 'mud' (L) =K1; see also *markarra*, *piriki*
paru 'a light' (as a torch) (H)
Pathingu 'skin' (= section) name, LM, marries *Marimangu* (L)
patjeyama 'to want to do, to be ready to do' (L); *patjeyamama nganinjata* 'wants to go'
payarla 'boomerang'
payarpayarti 'light (weight)' (Hal)
payiki 'bag' (L) <Eng>; see *pungkumarri* see *papipi*, *papu*
pavaria 'fingermails, toenails' =K1
pikku 'fingermails, toenails' =KL
pilkani 'billycan' (M)
pilpongavirri 'forehead' (H), 'giddy' (aL), 'headache' (aL); cf. PP *pilpa* 'forehead'; the meaning 'forehead' seems unlikely
pukurnu 'still' (as in 'still here'); cf. *kurukurku*
pula 'if' (M)
pula 'they (two, intransitive subject)', 'them (two, object)', 'them (two, as the base for certain suffixes)' *pulawuta* 'for them', *pulalungu* 'with them', *pulangutangu* 'because of them', *pulawampa* 'to them', *pulalu* 'they (two, transitive subject)', *pulari* 'two' (L), 'twice' (L) =Yanda; also *katjingga*

pintji 'to cut' (L); also *watji*
pintjivunwaki 'to be giddy' (H); cf. *waki* 'to turn around'
pirimpi 'fruit sp.' (M) =K1 *piripy*
pirakarra 'white paint, copi (L) =K1; see *malyurru*
pirlapirla 'baby', 'child' =K1 (hal once, but used by her); see also *kaya*
pirlik 'opening (as a door)' (L), 'hole' (L) 'big hole in a tent, anything like that'
piriki 'mud'? (H); see also *parta*, *markarra*
pirrimuku 'plain goanna'; also *kunakatja*
pirkipirki 'bloodwood' (HnaL) =K1
pirkirri 'munyeroo, wild onion' (L)
pitjurtu 'kitehawk, black kite', 'aeroplane' (L) = K1; see also *katjapi*, *ngurukurtu*
piyaka 'man's son (or child?), brother's son (or child?)' (M,L), 'woman's daughter's husband' (L), 'uncle (M); see *kunkuyu*, *thithi*
piyangirri 'carney, bearded dragon' (L)
piyarri 'long, tall'; 'long (time)' (H)
puka 'to pull'
pukurnu 'still' (as in 'still here'); cf. *kurukurku*
pula 'they (two, intransitive subject)', 'them (two, object)', 'them (two, as the base for certain suffixes)' *pulawuta* 'for them', *pulalungu* 'with them', *pulangutangu* 'because of them', *pulawampa* 'to them', *pulalu* 'they (two, transitive subject)', *pulari* 'two' (L), 'twice' (L) =Yanda; also *katjingga*
pulalungu 'their (two)'
pularu 'two' (M)
pulithi 'bullock', 'cattle'

- thuka* 'tree', 'stick', 'log' (L); 'bone' (L,M)
thukani 'bone' (M)
thukani 'spear' (L,M), 'stick' (L), 'yamstick' (H)
thulunganinjirri 'lily' (H)
thumpararra 'blue-tongue lizard' (L) =KL; see *thupa*
thumpalihu 'backside, buttocks' (L) =KL
Thumpuyungu skin name, child of *Marinangu* man and *Pahingu* woman (L)
thuri 'ground' (H); cf. *mutu*, *maltya*
thuritiyanu 'dirty' (H)
thurrithurri 'root' (Mal) =KL; also *putumpulu*
- thurrkali* 'tight, hard' (L); 'soft' (H); L's meaning is tentatively accepted because heard more than once; see *pantjarrpa*
thurrkaiya 'to get hard' (L)
thurrkuna 'turkey' (L); also *kalathurra*, *parrkamu*
thurrurru 'pad (of wallaroo or wallaby)' (H)
thutha 'poison' (M)
thuthu 'bird' (H) =WI; see also *waya*
thutha 'mark' (e.g. birthmark, something written) (M)
tikarra 'talking all night?' (L)
Tijarra 'Dajarra' (M); perhaps from Eng version of *Tijyata*
- tjala* 'thunder' (M); see *rungka*, *tuktu*
tjala 'this (intransitive subject, or object)', 'tiolangila(mqa) 'near this, towards this'
tjalkili 'narrow' (L) =KL
tjampara 'walking stick' =KL
tiarralku 'frog' (M) =KL,PP,WI; see also *wutipa*
- Tjarrimangu* 'Marion Downs' (?) (L); see *Marrinta*

- tjarringali* 'these (more than two, as intransitive subject or as the base for endings as occur on nouns)'
tjarringalilu 'these (more than two, transitive subject)'
tjarru- 'this (as the base for certain endings, -wu 'for', -ta 'for', -nguta 'at, in, on', -rungu 'because of', -ngutu 'from', -wampa 'to')'
tjarrurtu 'this (transitive subject)'
tjarruwula 'these (two, as intransitive subject or as the base for endings as occur on nouns)'
tjarruwulalu 'these (two, transitive subject)'
tjatjiji 'husband' (H), 'mother's father' =KL
Tjatjivutti 'Chatsworth' (M); from Eng; see § 1.6
- tjikirijikirtima* 'to mess (it) up' (L)
tjikirri 'throat' (L); see *karla*
tjimirrijimirri 'willy wagtail' (H)
tjipa 'moon, month' (*tijangarra* 'next month') (M)
tijipulyu 'duck' (M) =KL 'whistler duck' but widespread
tjirra 'to take out, to take off'; cf. *parlamia*
- tjirka* 'star' (M) =KL, 'sky' (H); see *manamana*, *mamunamu*, *purturungu*
tjiatama 'to look after' (H), 'to be careful' (M =KL); see also *mintimintima*, *nhinti*
- Tijyata* 'Dajarra' (H); also *Tijarra*
tjala 'hidden, invisible' (not heard as free form) =KL
- tjurkumpa* 'without being seen' (H)
tjurlungila 'sneakily' (L), 'without telling' (L)
tjurluwini 'to hide (trans.)', 'to plant' (L) ≈KL; also *wilkampi*
- walayu* 'that way', 'along', 'away'; see also *wurkayu*
wali 'to pick up?' (M)
wali 'to burn' (trans and intrans); see also *makapu*
wali see *wa-*
walipirri 'humpy' (M) =KL; see *wapirri*
walkirriparri 'pelican' (M) =KL
Walpi 'Noranside' (L)
- wama* meaning not clear; as used once by H *wamangka* seems to mean '(camping) along the road (to somewhere)' while as used by L it seems to mean '(camping) in one's own place'
- wamakurra* 'emu' (H)
wamakuru 'emu'
wamari 'snake'
wamila 'sleep' (M) =KL; see *mirakuma*
wampa 'girl', 'little girl' =KL; see *manngayana*
wamparla 'heedless, careless, not worrying about others'; *wamparlaka nhinama* 'sitting on his own not taking any notice of anybody'; =KL
wamparlampa 'anyway', 'carelessly' (L)
wamparlampaya 'to be friends?' (L)
wana 'threw' (? given for 'is throwing' (M), and, more reliably, 'threw' (H,L), cf. *wa-*)
wana, *wanati* see *wa-*
wangama 'to know' (H) =PP; see *karta*, *yika*
wanhaka 'heat, sunshine' (L) =KL 'sun'
wani see *wa-*
wanika 'rope, chain' (L) =KL
waniji see *wa-*
wamgarra 'close, near' (M,L)
wanpi 'to be/get short of breath', 'to pant'; see *wajirra*

wantha 'to fall (rain)', '(rain) to fall on, to wet' (L); *kumhu wanhamunhati* 'it's raining' (L) =K1
wanthinti 'to follow' (L) =K1
wanti 'to climb'
wantima 'to carry, to lift' (L), 'to carry in coolamon' (H); see also *kuhnguniti*
wantja 'to smell' (H); transitivity not clear
wanyi 'hand', 'elbow' (L) =K1 'elbow'; see also *makathi*, *mampuru*, *mampila*, *mara*

wanyimpa 'empty-handed' (HAL)

wapirri 'humpy' (H); cf. *walipirri*

waputhu 'mother-in-law of man' (L), 'son-in-law of woman' (L) =K1

waripa 'soak, soakage' (H)

warluwa 'shade' =KL

warluwari 'shady'

warluwayangu 'kangaroo' (M,L)

warramparia 'axe; tomahawk' =KL, Yanda, PP; see *muwamu*

warri 'meat', 'edible animal'; *nhangu* *kankati warri?* 'what's that, meat (an edible bird) up there?'; *uu wokarla nimyika* 'oh, it's only a crow'

warrka 'to fall'; 'to be born' (L)

warkanti 'to drop' (L), 'to knock down' (L)

warkanya(ma) 'to spill' (L)

warkki 'to turn around' (L); see also *waki*

warkkima 'to turn something' (L)

warriku 'shoulder' =KL; see *karni*

warrpanthuru 'hair on head' =KL; also *warpu*

warta 'dark', 'night' (L) =KL; also *miyawaru*, *mukampa*

warrampa 'dark' (M)

wartangampa 'tomorrow'

waratji 'wild orange' (M) =KL; see *yinpkuru*

wartaya 'to get dark' (L)

wartuku 'hook' (M) =KL; see *kartapi*

warupu 'hair' (L) =KL; cf. *warpanthuru*

waruwuru 'Milky Way' (L) =KL

wata 'to get down' (H)

watharra 'to wake up, to get up, to go out, to rise (sun), to grow (plant)' =KL

watharranti 'to wake (somebody) up', 'sit (somebody) up' (H) =KL

wathi 'hot stone for cooking, put inside carcass' (L), 'cooking hole' (L) =*riki*

wathi 'that' (?)

wathunguta 'at or in or on that' (?)

wathuwampa 'to that' (?)

wathunu 'to that' (?)

wathulya 'first' (L,M), 'in front' (L) ≈KL; see *ithnangkali*

watjalyangu 'older, eldest' (L)

watjangarra 'other side' (L,M); see *wtjangarrampa* 'behind' (L); see *panhangarra*, *pintiangula*

wayinwula 'those (two, as intransitive subject) occur on nouns'

wayinwulalu 'those (two, transitive subject)'

wayinwulama 'to swim' (H) see *wilawunna*, *kuta*

wilka 'to go in, enter' (L); cf. *wulkka*

wilkampi 'to hide (sth)' (L), 'to put in' (L), to wear' (L); cf. *tjurlawinti*, *ngarra*, *mhakama*

wiringara 'peewee' (Hnal.; L interpreted as *wuringa* 'quarion'); see *kurtiyifiji*, *wuringa*

wuku 'check' (M) =KL

wula 'to disappear, be absent, be away' (M,L), 'to be used up, all gone' (H); 'to die' (Mal.); cf. KL *uli*, Mari *wula*, similar words over a wide area

wulamanti 'to use up, to eat all' (L)

wulanga, *wulangka* 'to die'; 'to dry up, to disappear (water)' (H) (*wulanga* with -*mu* PRES, -*ma* PAST, -*mi* FUT; *wulangka* (L) with -*yata* PURP)

wulawunta 'to swim', 'to fly' (H); see also *wilangun(h)ama*, *kuta*

wayantu 'that (far, transitive subject)' *waylarti* 'this way' (L), 'to here' (L)

wayingali 'those (far, more than two, as intransitive subject or as the base for endings as occur on nouns)',

wayingalihu 'those (far, more than two, transitive subject)' translated as 'heart', in the sense 'seat of feeling or emotion'; see *wampi*

wayirra mur(r)aya 'to be broken-hearted' (?L), 'to get short of breath' (?L)

wayirra nguna 'to like, to want' (M,L)

wayirra nhakartiya 'to be sad' (L)

wayirra wampi 'to breathe' (H), 'to breathe heavily, to pant' (AL)

wayinwula 'those (two, as intransitive subject) occur on nouns'

wayinwulalu 'those (two, transitive subject)'

wayinwulama 'to swim' (H) see *wilawunna*, *kuta*

wilka 'to go in, enter' (L); cf. *wulkka*

wilkampi 'to hide (sth)' (L), 'to put in' (L), to wear' (L); cf. *tjurlawinti*, *ngarra*, *mhakama*

wiringara 'peewee' (Hnal.; L interpreted as *wuringa* 'quarion'); see *kurtiyifiji*, *wuringa*

wuruma 'baby near birth or newborn' (L) =KL

wuthani 'devil, dead man' (H), 'ghost' (E), 'white man'; see *kampukampu*

wuharrnu moiety name, *Pathingu* + *Kangilangu* (aL) (the other moiety name may be *Maharra*, but this could not be confirmed)

wuthi 'sore' (L); see also *kala*

wutja 'lies, gammon', (L); =KL

wutjari 'net' (H); cf. KL *ujurla*, *ujurra*

wutjpa 'frog' =KL; see also *tjarralku*

yaka exclamation of surprise (L) *Yaka*, *yarnpamu ninyi munu*, "that means he get shock, 'Oh, it's lovely place'"

yakana 'to sing out' (H), 'to squeal' (aL)

yakarunhnya "got no sense, talk too much" (L), includes -*nhya* LESS

Yalarunga language name

yalpungu 'conkerberry' =KL

yampangu 'flood' (H)

yampi 'bank' (M) =KL

yampu 'shit, faeces' (L); cf. *kuma*

yanpamu see *yarnpamu*

- yamu* 'big', 'very' (L); see *panjarrar*
- yamuya* 'to grow, get big' (H)
- yaparla* 'leg, shin'
- yapintiji* 'snake species, possibly mulga snake' (second vowel not clear) =Kl
- yara* 'pouch' (M,L) =Kl
- yararri* 'tail' (L) =Kl; also *kunji*
- yarawali* 'deep' (H)
- yarikarriya* 'to be hungry' (M,L) ≈Kl
- yarna* 'face', 'forehead' (L); see also *punkirra*
- yarkama* see *yankama*
- yarpama* 'to make' (H); see *ngarra*
- yarpampamu* or *yarpamu* 'good'
- yarpampamuma* 'to make good, to cure' (L), 'to teach'? (L)
- yarnta* 'to make (humpy), to build' (H); see *tharlji*
- yarnru* 'windbreak' (L) =Kl
- yarramana* 'horse' (H); widespread; also *yijipiyarri*
- yarrka* 'far, long way' (L,M) =Kl
- yarta* 'brother-in-law' (L), 'sister-in-law'? (L)
- yathayathawantaria* 'to lie belly up' (HaL)
- yawirra* 'white cockatoo' (MaL)
- yaya* or *yija* 'yes' (H); also *yunu*, *ngaa*
- yayawinti* 'to have (a baby)' (L)
- yika* 'to know' (M) =Kl; see *karta*, *wangama*
- yikaf?* 'hey!', 'look out!'; cf. widespread *yakavi*
- yikapuyu* 'quiet'; see also *miya*
- yikara* 'mob'
- yikatangilampa* 'every day' (M); see also *thikuthiku*
- yilakirri* 'song to get a woman' (M, also referred to as "bad song") =Kl
- yilarri* 'today, now, just now'; see also *laa, marra*
- yillarrama* 'to keep (somebody) awake' (H)
- yiltharra* 'yellow, green' (H); see also *paruparru*
- yimata* 'fish'; also *wakarri*
- yimirri* 'auntie, father's sister', 'mother-in-law of woman' (L), 'sister of father-in-law of woman' (L)
- yingka* 'to laugh'
- yimpikurtu* 'wild orange' =Kl; see *wartaji*
- yirrali* 'teeth' (M); see *yija*
- yirrati* 'young woman' (H), 'initiated young woman' (L) =Kl
- yirratjiya* '(young woman) to be initiated' 'She a woman now, she can do what she like and get married' (L)
- yirri* 'man'; also *tharkurnu*
- yita* 'that (intransitive subject, or object)', 'that (as the base for certain endings, -wu 'for', -ta 'for', -nguta 'at, in, on', -rungu 'because of', -ngutangu 'from', -wampa 'to', -ngila(mpa) 'near, towards')'
- yitangali* 'those (more than two, as intransitive subject or as the base for endings as occur on nouns)'
- yitangalii* 'those (more than two, transitive subject)'
- yitarri* 'that (transitive subject)'
- yitawula* 'those (two, as intransitive subject or as the base for endings as occur on nouns)'
- yitawulahu* 'those (two, transitive subject)'
- yithinha* 'to hang up' (H)
- yijji* 'nose'
- yijingkul(h)a* 'to drown' (HinkNL)? (L interpreted this as *yijingkaya* 'nose-LOC-INTR')
- yijipiyarri* 'horse' (lit. 'long nose');
- also *yarramana*
- yijijihana* 'jealous' (HaL) (see notes on this word in §3.2.2, after (3-63))
- yija* 'teeth' (E,H,naL); see *yirrali*
- yija* see *yaya*
- yijarli, yijapiyarli* 'to cry'
- yiji* question marker (L)? cf. Kl *wiji*
- yukala* 'sand, creek' (L); see *kikawarra*
- yulkani* 'sulky' (M,L), 'angry' (al.)
- yulkantivatharra* 'to get wild' (L); also *thakunawatharra*
- yulkanjirri* 'angry one' (L), 'savage (dog)' (M); also *taijalnjirri*
- yumu* 'warm' (L) (actual translations given were 'dry place' and 'warm place') *yumu ngumanjata* 'to sleep warm', *yumungka ngumanjata* 'to sleep in a warm place'; =Kl
- yuranyiri* 'storm' (L)
- yurruma* 'cloud' (Ha²L) =Kl
- yurtpurru* 'crocodile' (L) =Kl
- yururta* 'heart' (HaL)
- yuthuhu* 'ant' (also once *yithihu* M)
- yuthuvarra* 'alive'
- yuvu* 'yes' (L); see also *yaya, ngaa*

- yumunthirri* 'fly' (M) =Kl (also heard as *ngumunthirri*)
- yumunthuru* 'fly' (H) =Kl
- yungku* 'to poke', heard only in
- yungkayama* 'to poke self' (H)
- yunkunhi* 'to return', 'to go back'
- yunkunhini* 'to bring back, take home, take back' (L)
- yumma* 'to look for'
- yunthu* 'arm, upper arm' (L) =Kl; see also *kilkia*
- yurlanyiri* 'storm' (L)
- yurruma* 'cloud' (Ha²L) =Kl
- yurtpurru* 'crocodile' (L) =Kl
- yururta* 'heart' (HaL)
- yuthuhu* 'ant' (also once *yithihu* M)
- yuthuvarra* 'alive'
- yuvu* 'yes' (L); see also *yaya, ngaa*

List of bound morphemes

Form	Gloss	Sections
- <i>a</i>	vocative	3.2.1.3
- <i>anthu</i>	hence	3.4, 3.4.2.2
- <i>ati</i>	hither	3.4, 3.4.2.1
- <i>atiyi</i>	optative	3.4, 3.4.1.10
- <i>ka</i>	irrealis	3.4, 3.4.1.11
- <i>langki</i>	prosodic suffix	4.4.12
- <i>larrampa</i>	possessor ligative	3.2.3.1
- <i>lu</i>	plural	3.2.3.4.2
- <i>li</i>	antipassive	3.4, 3.4.3.2
- <i>ji</i>	imperative	3.4, 3.4.1.12
- <i>lu</i>	ergative	3.2, 3.2.2.1
- <i>lu</i>	past tense	3.4, 3.4.1
- <i>lungu</i>	aversive	3.2, 3.2.2.8
- <i>ma</i>	present tense	3.4, 3.4.1.2
- <i>ma</i>	transitive verb formative	3.3.2
- <i>mala</i>	your (kin)	3.2.3.2.2
- <i>mayi</i>	imperfective	3.4, 3.4.1.4
- <i>mi</i>	future tense	3.4, 3.4.1.5
- <i>milaya</i>	reason for aggression	3.2.2.1.2
- <i>natj</i>	potential 'lest'	3.4, 3.4.1.9
- <i>mpa</i>	allative	3.2, 3.2.2.9
- <i>mpa</i>	time-e-locative	4.4.11
- <i>mu</i>	past tense	3.4, 3.4.1.2
- <i>na</i>	non-future tense	3.4, 3.4.1.3
- <i>nati</i>	optative	3.4, 3.4.1.10
- <i>natjnj</i>	irrealis	3.4, 3.4.1.11
- <i>natj</i>	imperfective	3.4, 3.4.1.4
- <i>ngali</i>	plural	3.2.3.4.2
- <i>ngarra</i>	other	3.2.3.3
- <i>ngila</i>	locative II	3.2, 3.2.2.11
- <i>ngilampa</i>	locative II	3.2, 3.2.2.11
- <i>ngilarli</i>	locative II	3.2, 3.2.2.11
- <i>ngka</i>	locative	3.2, 3.2.2.3
- <i>ngkangu</i>	ablative	3.2, 3.2.2.10
- <i>ngku</i>	ergative	3.2, 3.2.2.1
- <i>ngkungu</i>	aversive	3.2, 3.2.2.8
- <i>ngua</i>	locative	3.2, 3.2.2.3
- <i>nguangu</i>	ablative	3.2, 3.2.2.10
- <i>nhangka</i>	resembling	4.4.10
- <i>nhanka</i>	resembling	4.4.10
- <i>nharrayi</i>	hither	3.4, 3.4.2.3
- <i>(nh)ati</i>	hither	3.4, 3.4.2.1
- <i>nhya</i>	privative	3.2.3.5.2
- <i>nhu</i>	non-singular (imperative)	3.4, 3.4.1.13
- <i>nyi</i>	potential 'test'	3.4, 3.4.1.9
- <i>npa</i>	reflexive/reciprocal	3.4, 3.4.3.3
- <i>nti</i>	causative/applicative	3.4, 3.4.3.1
- <i>nyata</i>	purposive (verb)	3.4, 3.4.1.8, 4.2.1
- <i>nyirri</i>	agent noun-forming suffix	3.5
- <i>nyama</i>	reflexive/reciprocal	3.4, 3.4.3.3
- <i>nyama</i>	non-future participle	3.4, 3.4.1.7, 4.2.2
- <i>nyangu</i>	habitual	3.4, 3.4.1.6
- <i>nyanharrirra</i>	hither	3.4, 3.4.2.3
- <i>pa</i>	clitic, function obscure	4.4.12
- <i>rri</i>	propriative	3.2.3.5.1
- <i>ta</i>	purposive (nominal)	3.2, 3.2.2.7
- <i>wa</i>	clitic, function obscure	4.4.12
- <i>wala</i>	plural	3.2.3.4.2
- <i>(waj)ampa</i>	allative	3.2, 3.2.2.9
- <i>warra</i>	his/her (kin)	3.2.3.2.1
- <i>wu</i>	dative	3.2, 3.2.2.6
- <i>wulampa</i>	dual	3.2.3.4.1
- <i>ya</i>	and(?)	4.5
- <i>ya</i>	intransitive verb formative	3.3.1
- <i>ya</i>	locative	3.2, 3.2.2.3
- <i>yama</i>	reflexive/reciprocal	3.4, 3.4.3.3
- <i>yangu</i>	ablative	3.2, 3.2.2.10
- <i>yangu</i>	derivational suffix	3.2.3.5.3
- <i>yangu</i>	habitual	3.4, 3.4.1.6
- <i>yantja</i>	his/her (kin)	3.2.3.2.1
- <i>yata</i>	purposive (verb)	3.4, 3.4.1.8, 4.2.1
- <i>yu</i>	ergative	3.2, 3.2.2.1
- <i>yungu</i>	aversive	3.2, 3.2.2.8

English–Yalarnga vocabulary

be absent <i>wula</i>	blood <i>kurnuru, ngurnki</i>
adze <i>kumpatha</i>	bloodwood <i>pirkipirki</i>
aeroplane <i>katjapi, pijturu</i>	to blow (hard?) (wind) <i>thanga-</i>
to be afraid <i>kanta, wakinta(?)</i>	blue-tongue lizard <i>thumpararra, thupa</i>
after <i>thinangkali</i>	blunt <i>murnu</i>
again <i>kurlukurlu</i>	body hair <i>punjju</i>
alive <i>yuthawarra</i>	to bogey <i>muntha, thampa</i>
all the time <i>thikuhiku, wurruru</i>	to get bogged <i>karli, purraka(r)li</i>
to be all gone <i>wula</i>	boil (tea) <i>munthapa</i>
alone <i>ngururu</i>	bone <i>thuka, thukani</i>
along <i>walayu</i>	boomerang <i>pavaria</i>
always <i>ngulli</i>	to be born <i>miliya, warika</i>
in amongst <i>murningka</i>	bossy <i>ngapalintirri</i>
angry one <i>yulkamnjirri</i>	Boulia <i>Kapurru</i>
ant <i>yuthuthu</i>	boy <i>karnku, kuyirri, tjuwa</i>
anyway <i>wamparlampa</i>	backside <i>thunpulihu</i>
to argue <i>ngapanyama</i>	bad <i>nhakarti</i>
arm <i>ngunjukura, yumhu, kilka</i>	bag <i>payiki, pungkavarri</i>
upper arm <i>yunthu</i>	bank (of river) <i>minji, yampi</i>
armpit <i>kilykilyi, kitijipurlu</i>	bark on tree <i>kulkaparra</i>
ashes <i>pumpa</i>	bark that you peel off to cook tobacco
to ask <i>wavepa</i>	<i>kalaia</i>
asleep <i>mirlakumarri</i>	to bark <i>mutha, thanili</i>
auntie <i>yimirri</i>	to bathe <i>muntha, thampa</i>
away <i>walayu, wurrayu</i>	to be <i>nhina</i>
to be away <i>wula</i>	beard <i>thalpirri</i>
axe <i>warramparta, muwanu</i>	bearded dragon <i>piyangirri</i>
baby <i>kaya, pirapirria</i>	beer <i>kanga, kalya</i>
	before <i>manguwati</i>
	behind <i>thinangkali, watiangarrampa</i>
	belly <i>ritjurru</i>
	(to lie) belly up <i>yathayathawaranta</i>
	benji (= brother-in-law) <i>yampi</i>
	beneft of a parent <i>mungkata</i>
	big <i>mangkura, yamu</i>
	billycan <i>pilikani</i>
	bindeye <i>piyangu</i>
	bird <i>thuthu, wayat(?)</i>
	to bite <i>tatja</i>
	buttocks <i>thunpulihu</i>
	to burn <i>makapu, wali</i>
	to bury <i>ngarniawa, pungka</i>
	cold <i>mata</i>
	a cold <i>kungkurra, mangurri</i>
	cloud <i>yurruna</i>
	clean <i>karri</i>
	to climb <i>wanti</i>
	close <i>wamgarra</i>
	clothes <i>katju</i>
	cloudy <i>yarri</i>
	conkerberry <i>yalpungu</i>
	camp <i>mutu</i>
	to camp <i>ngama</i>
	carbeen (= ghost gum) <i>kulpi</i>
	to be careful <i>tjaaama</i>
	careless <i>wamparia</i>
	carney <i>piyangirri</i>
	to carry <i>ka, wanima</i>
	to carve <i>tharra</i>
	to catch <i>kama, miya</i>
	cattle <i>pulithi</i>
	cautiously <i>marri</i>
	cave <i>kurrkira, tampiya</i>
	chain <i>wanika</i>
	charcoal <i>mukaru</i>
	to chase <i>kanthi</i>
	Chatsworth <i>Tjajiwutti</i>
	cheeky <i>karukaru</i>
	chest <i>kalpakalpa, ngalinyirri</i>
	child <i>kaya, pirlapirla</i>
	man's child <i>kumkyu, piyaka, thithi</i>
	woman's child <i>ngatharti</i>
	woman's daughter's child <i>mutju,</i>
	<i>mutjuju</i>
	woman's son's child <i>papu</i>
	chips <i>pulifuru</i>
	to chisel <i>tharra</i>
	to chop, to chop out <i>thingka</i>
	claypan <i>kukithirri, mitamita,</i>
	<i>mitapamitapa</i>
	to climb <i>wanti</i>
	close <i>wamgarra</i>
	clothes <i>katju</i>
	cloud <i>yarri</i>
	clean <i>karri</i>
	to climb <i>wanti</i>
	close <i>wamgarra</i>
	clothes <i>katju</i>
	cloud <i>yarri</i>
	cold <i>mata</i>
	a conversation <i>punapunwa</i>
	to come loose <i>partaya</i>
	come on! <i>kawa</i>
	to come <i>ngaparti</i>
	conkerberry <i>yalpungu</i>
	to consider <i>mangka</i>
	to cook <i>kukuya, makapu, ngathi,</i>
	<i>pankakomanti</i>

(cook) in its skin <i>mapirarrampa</i>	to dig <i>pintjawa</i>	eldest <i>watjaliyangu</i>	flood <i>yampangu</i>
cooking hole <i>riki</i>	dillybag <i>pungkuwarru</i>	empty-handed <i>wanyimpa</i>	flour <i>puluwarra</i>
coolamon <i>tjurru, tharrka</i>	dinner <i>thnara</i>	emu <i>wamakuria, wamakuru</i>	to flow <i>nhaka</i>
coolibah <i>katalja, makarri</i>	direction <i>pintjangula</i>	to enter <i>wilka, wilka</i>	flu <i>kungkurra</i>
copi <i>pirkarra</i>	dirty <i>thurliyamu</i>	every day <i>thikuthiku, yikatangilampa</i>	(fluid) to run <i>ngartarli</i>
corella <i>meyapungu, murrumari</i>	exclamation of surprise <i>yeka</i>	to disappear <i>wula, wulanga, wulangka</i>	fly <i>yummunthirri, yummuntharru</i>
corroboree <i>malkarri, ngunjija, ngunjanggu</i>	to excrete <i>thali</i>	to do all <i>wurrima</i>	to fly <i>wilawunta</i>
country <i>mutu</i>	eye <i>mili</i>	to do what's name <i>nhanguwali</i>	to follow <i>wanthinti</i>
cousin <i>kangu</i>	eyebrow <i>milyimyi(?)na, mingankarri</i>	doctor <i>mangarnirri, ngankarri</i>	to follow (track) <i>thinama</i>
to cover <i>ngarmtawa, pungka</i>	face <i>punkrra, yarna</i>	dog <i>mangurru</i>	foot <i>thma</i>
covered with(?) <i>ngalayi</i>	faeces <i>kuna, wuna</i>	dog's hair <i>puntju</i>	to put foot on <i>kampa</i>
crab <i>mutirri</i>	to fall <i>warrka</i>	dogwood <i>kuryoi</i>	forehead <i>yarna</i>
creek <i>yuka, yukala</i>	to fall on (rain) <i>wantha</i>	don't <i>kawarla</i>	foreigner <i>ngawinthi</i>
to creep <i>kala</i>	fat (quality) <i>nyilklyamu</i>	door <i>pirkki</i>	four <i>katjimpa katjimpa</i>
crested pigeon <i>kulupatji</i>	father <i>karlu</i>	fast (running) <i>pantjarrা</i>	fruit sp. <i>pipinyi</i>
crow <i>wakara</i>	father's sister <i>yimiri</i>	fat <i>nyilkli</i>	full <i>thakathaku</i>
crippled <i>katjarrা</i>	father's father <i>muju, mutintju</i>	fat (quality) <i>nyilklyamu</i>	frog <i>tjarralka, wutuppa</i>
crocodile <i>yuntiyuntu</i>	father's mother <i>papipi, papu, pawiri</i>	father's sister <i>yimiri</i>	fur <i>wurrova</i>
crooked <i>kurukurru</i>	feather <i>thiljarrা</i>	father-in-law <i>kurrirti, maniyirri, pupi</i>	galah <i>kilawurru</i>
to cut <i>pinji, watji</i>	to feel (pain) <i>mangkayana</i>	feather <i>thiljarrা</i>	gammon <i>wutja</i>
to cut off, to cut up <i>watji</i>	to feel (with hand) <i>kama</i>	to gather <i>kukha(?)</i>	to get <i>kukha(?)</i>
Dajarra <i>Tijarra, Tijyata</i>	to feel about with the hand	woman's genitals <i>mika</i>	ghost <i>wilhuni</i>
damper <i>tampaya</i>	<i>maramarawirri</i>	to get (water) in <i>pinpani</i>	ghost gum <i>kulpi</i>
to dance <i>tupa</i>	female <i>kinjia</i>	to get <i>mani, miya</i>	giddy <i>pilpangayirri</i>
dark <i>miwarru, mukampa, warta,</i>	to fetch <i>miya, pinpa</i>	ghost <i>wilhuni</i>	to be giddy <i>pinjiwumivaki</i>
<i>wartampa</i>	a few(?) <i>kurpayi</i>	ghost gum <i>kulpi</i>	gidgea <i>thilmarri</i>
to get dark <i>wartaya</i>	to fight <i>walanya(ma)</i>	girl <i>manngayana, wampa</i>	girl <i>manngayana, wampa</i>
daughter of woman <i>ngalhu</i>	to fight (as dogs) <i>tatjanyama</i>	to give <i>ngu-</i>	to give <i>ngu-</i>
daughter-in-law of woman <i>thihii</i>	to find out <i>mangka</i>	to go <i>nga-</i>	to go (for water) <i>thangga-</i>
woman's daughter's husband <i>piyaka</i>	to find(?) <i>nganthama</i>	to go away <i>ngapa, ngartarli</i>	to (go and) get <i>mari</i>
day <i>zungatha</i>	fingernails <i>piku</i>	to go around <i>waki</i>	to go around <i>waki</i>
daytime <i>miya lhana-</i>	to finish <i>wurrima</i>	to go back <i>yunkunhi</i>	to go away <i>ngapa, ngartarli</i>
dead man <i>wuthani</i>	fire <i>watjani</i>	fish <i>wakarri, yimata</i>	to go hunting <i>kapani, kawani</i>
dead <i>wurruru</i>	firestick <i>thipathiparri</i>	fish sp. <i>munghami</i>	to go in <i>wilka, wilka</i>
deep <i>yarawali</i>	firewood <i>panka, watjani</i>		
devil <i>wuthani</i>	first <i>watjaliya</i>		
dew <i>wiltha</i>	elder brother <i>thawirti</i>		
to die <i>wula, walanga, ta-</i>	elder sister <i>thirrini</i>		

to go out <i>watharra</i>	he (trans subject) <i>laru</i>
to go up high <i>kankatiya</i>	head <i>murla</i>
to go the wrong way <i>milwaki</i>	headache <i>pil pangayirri</i>
plain goanna <i>kunkaatajja, pirrimuku</i>	husband <i>makurtu, tjatjiti</i>
(river) goanna <i>mararri</i>	woman's daughter's husband <i>piyaka</i>
goat <i>puriapura</i>	golden perch <i>ngakapulu, ngantukala</i>
to be all gone <i>wula</i>	to be gone <i>ngakapulu, ngantukala</i>
good <i>yurpamu</i> or <i>yanpamu</i>	good <i>yurpamu</i> or <i>yanpamu</i>
to go <i>ngapa</i>	grandchild <i>papu, papipi, pawiri, mutju,</i>
grandchild <i>papu, papipi, pawiri, mutju,</i>	<i>mutjutju, tjatjiti</i>
grandfather <i>mutju, mutjutju, tjatjiti</i>	grandfather <i>mutju, mutjutju, tjatjiti</i>
greedy <i>yilharrpa</i>	greedy, grandmother <i>mutju, mutjutju,</i>
green <i>yilharrpa</i>	green <i>yilharrpa</i>
grey <i>purrpa</i>	grey hair <i>mnwaparri</i>
grey hair <i>mnwaparri</i>	ground <i>malija, mutu, thurli</i>
to grow <i>yamaya</i>	to grow (plant) <i>watharra</i>
to grow (plant) <i>watharra</i>	edible grub <i>kapara</i>
gully <i>tharrpali</i>	gully <i>tharrpali</i>
gum tree <i>pinpirri</i>	ghost gum <i>kulpi</i>
ghost gum <i>kulpi</i>	mountain gum <i>puriapura</i>
hill <i>mukulu</i>	hill <i>mukulu</i>
him (object) <i>laya</i>	to hit <i>wa-</i>
near him, towards him <i>layangila(mpa)</i>	to hit on head <i>murlakawarra</i>
to hit <i>wa-</i>	to hit with missile <i>thingka</i>
high <i>kamkati</i>	to hold <i>kama</i>
hole <i>pitiki, tampiya, tharnu</i>	hole <i>pitiki, tampiya, tharnu</i>
guts <i>ritjurrnu</i>	hair <i>purrpu, warpu</i>
hair on head <i>warpanthurrnu</i>	body hair <i>punju</i>
animal hair <i>wurrawa</i>	hand <i>wanyi, makathi, mampunu,</i>
hang up <i>yithinthra</i>	<i>mampila, mara</i>
hard <i>panjarrra, thurrkali</i>	to get hard <i>thurrkaliya</i>
to have <i>nhini</i>	to have (a baby) <i>yayawinti, ngarra(?)</i>
to have (a baby) <i>yayawinti, ngarra(?)</i>	hawk <i>katjapi, ngurukuru, pitjuru</i>
he (intrans subject) <i>laya</i>	he (intrans subject) <i>laya</i>

to hunt away <i>kanthi</i>	to leak(?) <i>kartari</i>
hunt <i>kawani, kapani</i>	to leave <i>ngarra</i>
to hurt <i>putha</i>	to leave alone <i>ta-</i>
headache <i>pil pangayirri</i>	leaves <i>kinjarla</i>
to hear <i>mangka, mungka</i>	on the left <i>tharriwangu</i>
heart <i>ngayimala, yurulta</i>	heart (figurative sense) <i>wayirra</i>
heart (figurative sense) <i>wayirra</i>	heat <i>wanhaka</i>
I (intrans subject) <i>ngathu</i>	heaven <i>manamana</i>
to lie <i>ngathu</i>	heavy <i>ngawarri</i>
I don't know <i>kali</i>	heedless <i>wamparia</i>
if <i>pula</i>	her (object) <i>laya</i>
in amongst <i>murningka</i>	near her, toward her <i>layangila(mpa)</i>
in front <i>watjaliya</i>	here <i>ninyi</i>
to become ingrown (toenail)	to here <i>wayilarri</i>
<i>kartukuruya</i>	to hide <i>tjirlyya</i>
initiated young man <i>wuparintji</i>	to hide (sth) <i>wilkampi, tjurhawini</i>
initiated young woman <i>yirratji</i>	hielamon <i>kutjakuju, kartu</i>
(young woman) to be initiated <i>yirratjiya</i>	high <i>kamkati</i>
inside <i>murningka</i>	hill <i>mukulu</i>
interior <i>murni</i>	to hit <i>wa-</i>
invisible <i>tjurlu</i>	to hit on head <i>murlakawarra</i>
it (intrans subject, or object) <i>laya</i>	to hit with missile <i>thingka</i>
it (trans subject) <i>laru</i>	to hold <i>kama</i>
to be itchy <i>kyakiyawi, kiyakiyaya</i>	jump <i>manpanhi</i>
jealous <i>yijithana</i>	just a minute <i>tharti</i>
jump <i>manpanhi</i>	kangaroo <i>matjumpa, warluwayangu</i>
little <i>parturru</i>	to keep (back) <i>nhinti</i>
little girl <i>wampa</i>	to keep (sb) awake <i>yilarrama</i>
little baby <i>parruk</i>	keep on (doing) <i>kurtukuru</i>
little boy <i>kayirri</i>	kidney <i>ngarkkai</i>
log <i>thukka</i>	to kill <i>wa-</i>
long time <i>wulku</i>	call (by kinship term) <i>mgapa</i>
long ago, for a long time <i>manguwati</i>	kitehawk, black kite <i>pitjurtu, katjapi</i>
long way <i>yarrka</i>	knife <i>kankari</i>
long <i>piyarru</i>	to knock down <i>warrkanti</i>
to look for <i>yumma</i>	to know <i>karta, wangama, yika</i>
look out! <i>yika(?)</i>	lap <i>punkulu</i>
to look after <i>mintimintima, nhinti,</i>	<i>tjiatama</i>
<i>tjiatama</i>	to look for <i>yumma</i>
to loosen <i>parlama, parlava, parlaya</i>	look out! <i>yika(?)</i>
lower back <i>minpini</i>	to look up <i>tharrka</i>
magpie <i>kurriapu</i>	loose <i>parla</i>
to be hungry <i>ngamatjarriya, yarkarriya</i>	to loosen <i>parlama, parlava, parlaya</i>

to make <i>ngarra, yarmpana</i>	wild onion <i>pirkirri</i>
to make (fire) <i>parlpa(wa?/ha?/nga?)</i>	opening <i>pirlki</i>
to make (humpy, windbreak) <i>tharli</i>	wild orange <i>wartatji, yinpikurtu</i>
to make (humpy, windbreak) <i>panhangarra</i>	other side (as of river) <i>panhangarra</i>
male <i>kurlayangu</i>	other side <i>wajanggarra</i>
man <i>tharrkunru, yirri</i>	other <i>ngurungarra</i>
young fellow, young man <i>tjiwa</i>	our (two) <i>ngarlungu</i>
young initiated man <i>wuparinjii</i>	our (more than two) <i>ngawntu</i>
man's child <i>kunkuyu, piyaka, thithi</i>	of one's own accord <i>manyimpa</i>
man's daughter-in-law <i>ngatharti</i>	pad (of wallaroo or wallaby) <i>thurnuru</i>
man's son's child <i>mutju, mutjutju</i>	to paint up, to paint oneself <i>marrinyama</i>
Marion Downs <i>Tjarrimangu, Marrinta</i>	to paint up <i>wapi</i>
mark <i>thuthu</i>	paper, paper money <i>mapira</i>
to get married <i>nguyinpa</i>	peewee <i>kunlyijitji, wiringara</i>
mattress <i>nhurrungu</i>	pelican <i>walkirriparri</i>
me <i>nguya</i>	perch (fish) <i>karlkuru, ngakupulu,</i>
me (as base for certain suffixes) <i>ngatji</i>	<i>ngantukala</i>
meat <i>warri</i>	permanently <i>wurruru</i>
to mess (it) up <i>tkirkirkirkirtima</i>	to pick on, to pick a fight <i>kijiwala</i>
middle one <i>manumpilli</i>	to pick up <i>miya, pimpa, wali(?)</i>
middle <i>kawana</i>	crested pigeon <i>kulupati</i>
night <i>lamu</i>	pigweed <i>thalu</i>
milk <i>mimi</i>	to pinch <i>pinka</i>
Milky Way <i>warwuru</i>	pitchery, pituri <i>matja</i>
to miss (with spear) <i>parruma</i>	place <i>mutu</i>
to mix <i>thatahama</i>	placenames <i>Marrinta, Papimarra,</i>
mob <i>yikata</i>	<i>Tharrapattha, Tijarra, Tjarrimangu,</i>
motley name <i>Wuharru</i>	<i>Tjafinwati, Tjivata, Walarta, Wapi</i>
money <i>mukulu</i>	plain goanna <i>kunakaatja, pirrimuku</i>
moon, month <i>tjipa</i>	plain <i>malija</i>
next month <i>tjipanggarra</i>	to 'plant' <i>tiurlawinti</i>
more <i>kurlukuru</i>	to play <i>tipa</i>
mosquito <i>mitkara(?), murruka</i>	to pluck <i>punta</i>
mother <i>marnu</i>	poison <i>thutha</i>
to become a mother <i>marnuya</i>	to poke <i>yungku</i>
mother's brother <i>kurrirti</i>	to poke out (tongue) <i>wala</i>
mother's father <i>tjatjiti</i>	police station <i>ngankarri</i>
mother's mother <i>mutju, mutjutju</i>	policeman <i>karrpilimjirri,</i>
mother's sister <i>marnu</i>	<i>ngankarriyangu</i>
mother-in-law of man <i>waputhu</i>	possum <i>mirrampa, thakurru</i>
	plain potato <i>kangkuyi, murlakarla</i>
	pouch <i>yara</i>
	section names <i>Kangilangyu, Marinangu,</i>
	<i>Pathingu, Thunpuwungu</i>
mother-in-law of woman <i>yimirri</i>	wild onion <i>pirkirri</i>
mountain <i>mukulu</i>	opening <i>pirlki</i>
mountain gum <i>purnapunta</i>	wild orange <i>wartatji, yinpikurtu</i>
mouth <i>thani</i>	other side (as of river) <i>panhangarra</i>
mud <i>markarra, parta, pirlki(?)</i>	other side <i>wajanggarra</i>
snake species, mulga snake(?) <i>yapinitiji</i>	other <i>ngurungarra</i>
man's daughter-in-law <i>ngatharti</i>	our (two) <i>ngarlungu</i>
man's son's child <i>mutju, mutjutju</i>	our (more than two) <i>ngawntu</i>
Marion Downs <i>Tjarrimangu, Marrinta</i>	of one's own accord <i>manyimpa</i>
mark <i>thuthu</i>	pad (of wallaroo or wallaby) <i>thurnuru</i>
to get married <i>nguyinpa</i>	to paint up, to paint oneself <i>marrinyama</i>
mattress <i>nhurrungu</i>	to paint up <i>wapi</i>
me (as base for certain suffixes) <i>ngatji</i>	paper, paper money <i>mapira</i>
meat <i>warri</i>	peewee <i>kunlyijitji, wiringara</i>
to mess (it) up <i>tkirkirkirkirtima</i>	pelican <i>walkirriparri</i>
middle one <i>manumpilli</i>	perch (fish) <i>karlkuru, ngakupulu,</i>
middle <i>kawana</i>	<i>ngantukala</i>
night <i>lamu</i>	permanently <i>wurruru</i>
milk <i>mimi</i>	to pick on, to pick a fight <i>kijiwala</i>
Milky Way <i>warwuru</i>	to pick up <i>miya, pimpa, wali(?)</i>
to miss (with spear) <i>parruma</i>	crested pigeon <i>kulupati</i>
to mix <i>thatahama</i>	pigweed <i>thalu</i>
mob <i>yikata</i>	to pinch <i>pinka</i>
motley name <i>Wuharru</i>	pitchery, pituri <i>matja</i>
money <i>mukulu</i>	place <i>mutu</i>
moon, month <i>tjipa</i>	placenames <i>Marrinta, Papimarra,</i>
next month <i>tjipanggarra</i>	<i>Tharrapattha, Tijarra, Tjarrimangu,</i>
more <i>kurlukuru</i>	<i>Tjafinwati, Tjivata, Walarta, Wapi</i>
mosquito <i>mitkara(?), murruka</i>	plain goanna <i>kunakaatja, pirrimuku</i>
mother <i>marnu</i>	plain <i>malija</i>
to become a mother <i>marnuya</i>	to 'plant' <i>tiurlawinti</i>
mother's brother <i>kurrirti</i>	to play <i>tipa</i>
mother's father <i>tjatjiti</i>	to pluck <i>punta</i>
mother's mother <i>mutju, mutjutju</i>	poison <i>thutha</i>
mother's sister <i>marnu</i>	to poke <i>yungku</i>
mother-in-law of man <i>waputhu</i>	to poke out (tongue) <i>wala</i>
	police station <i>ngankarri</i>
	policeman <i>karrpilimjirri,</i>
	<i>ngankarriyangu</i>
	possum <i>mirrampa, thakurru</i>
	plain potato <i>kangkuyi, murlakarla</i>
	pouch <i>yara</i>
mother-in-law of woman <i>yimirri</i>	wild onion <i>pirkirri</i>
mountain <i>mukulu</i>	opening <i>pirlki</i>
mountain gum <i>purnapunta</i>	wild orange <i>wartatji, yinpikurtu</i>
mouth <i>thani</i>	other side (as of river) <i>panhangarra</i>
mud <i>markarra, parta, pirlki(?)</i>	other side <i>wajanggarra</i>
snake species, mulga snake(?) <i>yapinitiji</i>	other <i>ngurungarra</i>
man's daughter-in-law <i>ngatharti</i>	our (two) <i>ngarlungu</i>
man's son's child <i>mutju, mutjutju</i>	our (more than two) <i>ngawntu</i>
Marion Downs <i>Tjarrimangu, Marrinta</i>	of one's own accord <i>manyimpa</i>
mark <i>thuthu</i>	pad (of wallaroo or wallaby) <i>thurnuru</i>
to get married <i>nguyinpa</i>	to paint up, to paint oneself <i>marrinyama</i>
mattress <i>nhurrungu</i>	to paint up <i>wapi</i>
me (as base for certain suffixes) <i>ngatji</i>	paper, paper money <i>mapira</i>
meat <i>warri</i>	peewee <i>kunlyijitji, wiringara</i>
to mess (it) up <i>tkirkirkirkirtima</i>	pelican <i>walkirriparri</i>
middle one <i>manumpilli</i>	perch (fish) <i>karlkuru, ngakupulu,</i>
middle <i>kawana</i>	<i>ngantukala</i>
night <i>lamu</i>	permanently <i>wurruru</i>
milk <i>mimi</i>	to pick on, to pick a fight <i>kijiwala</i>
Milky Way <i>warwuru</i>	to pick up <i>miya, pimpa, wali(?)</i>
to miss (with spear) <i>parruma</i>	crested pigeon <i>kulupati</i>
to mix <i>thatahama</i>	pigweed <i>thalu</i>
mob <i>yikata</i>	to pinch <i>pinka</i>
motley name <i>Wuharru</i>	pitchery, pituri <i>matja</i>
money <i>mukulu</i>	place <i>mutu</i>
moon, month <i>tjipa</i>	placenames <i>Marrinta, Papimarra,</i>
next month <i>tjipanggarra</i>	<i>Tharrapattha, Tijarra, Tjarrimangu,</i>
more <i>kurlukuru</i>	<i>Tjafinwati, Tjivata, Walarta, Wapi</i>
mosquito <i>mitkara(?), murruka</i>	plain goanna <i>kunakaatja, pirrimuku</i>
mother <i>marnu</i>	plain <i>malija</i>
to become a mother <i>marnuya</i>	to 'plant' <i>tiurlawinti</i>
mother's brother <i>kurrirti</i>	to play <i>tipa</i>
mother's father <i>tjatjiti</i>	to pluck <i>punta</i>
mother's mother <i>mutju, mutjutju</i>	poison <i>thutha</i>
mother's sister <i>marnu</i>	to poke <i>yungku</i>
mother-in-law of man <i>waputhu</i>	to poke out (tongue) <i>wala</i>
	police station <i>ngankarri</i>
	policeman <i>karrpilimjirri,</i>
	<i>ngankarriyangu</i>
	possum <i>mirrampa, thakurru</i>
	plain potato <i>kangkuyi, murlakarla</i>
	pouch <i>yara</i>

see <i>na-</i>	smoke <i>kuthu, ngaru</i>
unable to see <i>ngunka</i>	sulky <i>yulkani</i>
without being seen <i>tjurlumpa</i>	sun <i>miya</i>
to send <i>thinawa, thinaa</i>	snake <i>wamarrri</i>
shade <i>warluwa</i>	snake species, mulga snake(?) <i>yapiniji</i>
shady <i>warluwari</i>	sneakily <i>tjurlungila</i>
shallow <i>karawara</i>	supplejack (tree) <i>pimara</i>
shame <i>walanggu, kulpurru</i>	to sneak <i>kala</i>
sharp <i>thayirri</i>	snot <i>mangu</i>
she (intrans subject) <i>loya</i>	soak, soakage <i>waripa</i>
she (trans subject) <i>lartu</i>	soft(?) <i>thunrkali</i>
sheep <i>mangkimangki, purrapurra</i>	somebody(?) <i>thamparri</i>
shield <i>kurtu, kutjakujua</i>	son-in-law of woman <i>wapuhu</i>
shin <i>yaparla</i>	woman's son's child <i>papu</i>
shit <i>kuna, wuna</i>	song to get a woman <i>yilakirri</i>
short <i>pinthatha</i>	sore <i>wuhi, kala</i>
to be short (of wind) <i>mumoya</i>	sound <i>waka</i>
shoulder <i>karni, warrku</i>	south <i>karrwali</i>
to shut up <i>kurravula</i>	spear <i>thukani</i>
sick <i>yankama or yarkama</i>	to spear <i>marra</i>
side <i>pinjangula</i>	to spear but fail to kill <i>parruma</i>
to sing out <i>yakana</i>	speech <i>pampara</i>
single (man?) <i>mantawitha</i>	spider <i>kupu</i>
to sing <i>wavi</i>	to spill <i>warkanya(ma)</i>
elder sister <i>thirrirri</i>	spinifex <i>ngamayani(?)</i>
younger sister <i>kanamu</i>	spit <i>wirawura</i>
sister's child <i>ngatharti</i>	to spit <i>wura wa-(?)</i>
sister-in-law(?) <i>yaria</i>	to split <i>palka</i>
to sit <i>nhina</i>	to squeal <i>yakana</i>
to sit (sby) up <i>watharranti</i>	to stand <i>thana</i>
skin names <i>Kangilangu, Marinangu,</i>	star <i>manumamu, purturuungu, tjirrka</i>
skin <i>mapira</i>	teach <i>yampamuma</i>
skinny <i>ngantji</i>	teeth <i>yirrali, yija</i>
skirt (made of wallaby hair) <i>munaru</i>	tame <i>miya</i>
sky <i>manamama, tjirrka</i>	tea tree bark <i>nhurrungu</i>
sleep <i>mirlakuma, wamila</i>	to tell <i>ngapa</i>
to sleep <i>ngunu</i>	to tell lies <i>kathi, kathima</i>
sleepy <i>mirlakuma</i>	without telling <i>tjurlungila</i>
slow <i>rantiu</i>	that (intrans subject, or object) <i>yita,</i> <i>waya, wahii(?)</i>
to smell <i>wantja</i>	that (trans subject) <i>yitaru, wayartyu</i>
to make smelly <i>kuta</i>	that (as base for certain endings) <i>yita,</i> <i>waya, wahii-(?)</i>
	their (more than two) <i>thanablungu,</i> <i>thanamu</i>
	their way <i>wakayu</i>
	long ago, for a long time <i>mangnawati</i>
	long time <i>wultu</i>
	long ago, for a long time <i>mangnawati</i>
	tired <i>marri, matjurri</i>
	native tobacco <i>mayia</i>
	tobacco-ash mixture, for chewing <i>ngunti</i>
	today <i>yilarri</i>
	toenails <i>piku</i>
	tomahawk <i>muwanu, warramparta</i>
	tomorrow <i>wartangampa</i>

tongue <i>marri</i>	to wash <i>karri</i>
on top <i>kankai</i>	to wash self <i>karryinyama</i>
a person's dreaming or totem <i>thamu</i>	watchfully <i>marri</i>
to touch <i>miya</i>	woman's daughter <i>ngatharti</i>
town <i>tawunu</i>	woman's daughter's child <i>mutju</i> , <i>mutjifiju</i>
track <i>thina</i>	woman's daughter's husband <i>piyaka</i>
to follow (track) <i>thinama</i>	woman's genitals <i>mika</i>
to treat <i>nhinti</i>	woman's son's child <i>papu</i>
tree <i>thuka</i>	woomera <i>wumar(r)a</i>
type of tree <i>murrkathatha</i>	word <i>pampara</i>
tucker <i>ranthuru</i> , <i>manhi</i> , <i>manha</i>	work <i>wakaya</i>
turkey <i>parrkamu</i> , <i>thurrkuna</i> , <i>kalthurra</i>	not worrying about others <i>wamparla</i>
to turn around <i>waki</i> , <i>warkki</i>	(rain) to wet <i>wanha</i>
to turn sth <i>warkima</i>	what <i>nhangu</i>
turpentine bush <i>kapara</i>	what (trans subject) <i>nhanguyu</i>
twice <i>pulari</i>	whatsaname <i>nhamuru</i> , <i>nhanguwarri</i>
two <i>karimpa</i> , <i>pulari</i> , <i>pularu</i>	whistler duck <i>tipulpu</i>
unable to see <i>ngunka</i>	white <i>pulhuwarra</i>
uncle <i>kurritti</i> , <i>piyaka</i>	white cockatoo <i>yawirra</i>
unto <i>parlanta</i> , <i>parlawa</i>	white man <i>kampukampu</i> , <i>wuthani</i>
upper arm <i>yuntru</i>	white paint <i>pirakarra</i>
to get up <i>watharra</i>	whitewood <i>nguriji</i>
urine/urinate <i>manthakumpa(langu)</i>	who <i>nhantu</i>
us (two) <i>ngali</i>	who (trans subject) <i>nhantu</i>
us (two, as base for suffixes) <i>ngali</i> , <i>ngari</i>	because of whom <i>nhantungu</i>
us (more than two) <i>ngawa</i>	to get wild <i>thakunawatharra</i> , <i>yulkunawatharra</i>
to use up <i>walamanti</i>	willy wagtail <i>tjimirritjintiri</i>
to be used up <i>wala</i>	wind <i>wumungka</i> , <i>wumungkati</i>
vegetable food <i>ranthuru</i> , <i>manhi</i> , <i>mantha</i>	to be short (of wind) <i>minwaya</i>
very <i>yamu</i> , <i>pantiarra</i>	windbreak <i>yarntu</i>
wait on! <i>tharti</i>	wipe <i>karri</i>
to wait <i>kahha</i>	witchetty grub <i>kapara</i>
to wake up <i>watharra</i>	without being seen <i>tyurlumpa</i>
to wake (sby) up <i>watharranti</i>	without looking at <i>ngunka</i>
to walk <i>nga</i> , <i>thinangku</i> <i>ngantari</i>	without telling <i>tyurlungila</i>
walking stick <i>tjanpara</i>	warm <i>yumu</i>
rock wallaby <i>ngarlingarti</i>	
wallaroo <i>ngarrkunu</i>	
to want to do <i>patjayama</i>	
to want <i>wajirra nguna</i>	

woman <i>mirmirri</i>	you (one) <i>nhava</i>
woman's child <i>ngatharti</i>	you (one, trans subject) <i>nhurlu</i>
woman's daughter <i>ngatharti</i>	for you (one) <i>nhwu</i>
woman's daughter's child <i>mutju</i> , <i>mutjifiju</i>	you (as base for certain suffixes) <i>nhuvvu</i>
woman's daughter's husband <i>piyaka</i>	you (two) <i>nhumpala</i>
woman's genitals <i>mika</i>	you (two, trans subject) <i>nhumpalalu</i>
woman's son's child <i>papu</i>	you (more than two) <i>nhala</i>
woomera <i>wumar(r)a</i>	you (more than two, trans subject) <i>nhalalu</i>
word <i>pampara</i>	
work <i>wakaya</i>	
not worrying about others <i>wamparla</i>	
(rain) to wet <i>wanha</i>	
what <i>nhangu</i>	
what (trans subject) <i>nhanguyu</i>	
whatsaname <i>nhamuru</i> , <i>nhanguwarri</i>	
whistler duck <i>tipulpu</i>	
white <i>pulhuwarra</i>	
white cockatoo <i>yawirra</i>	
white man <i>kampukampu</i> , <i>wuthani</i>	
white paint <i>pirakarra</i>	
whitewood <i>nguriji</i>	
who <i>nhantu</i>	
who (trans subject) <i>nhantu</i>	
because of whom <i>nhantungu</i>	
to get wild <i>thakunawatharra</i> , <i>yulkunawatharra</i>	
willy wagtail <i>tjimirritjintiri</i>	
wind <i>wumungka</i> , <i>wumungkati</i>	
to be short (of wind) <i>minwaya</i>	
windbreak <i>yarntu</i>	
wipe <i>karri</i>	
witchetty grub <i>kapara</i>	
without being seen <i>tyurlumpa</i>	
without looking at <i>ngunka</i>	
without telling <i>tyurlungila</i>	

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