THE YINDJIBARNDI LANGUAGE

by

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PREFACE

This project, which began in April 1975, took about five and a half years to complete. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, a Statutory Authority of the Commonwealth Government of Australia, for having provided most of the funding and all of the required facilities. I also take this opportunity to acknowledge a grant for six months salary from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Commonwealth Government of Australia. The grant was requested by and awarded through Ieramugadu Group Inc, Roebourne, Western Australia. Finally, I wish to thank the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Senator the Honourable F.M. Chaney, for an extraordinary grant, which enabled me to bring this project to a satisfactory conclusion, and Peter Dowding, Member of the Legislative Council for the Pilbara, Government of Western Australia, for supporting the grant request.

I also want to thank the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies for the support it has given me in the course of carrying out the project and in writing up the results. I wish to thank the Administration, especially Dr P.J. Ucko, Principal of the Institute, and Mr Warwick Dix, Deputy Principal of the Institute, for organizing and administrating the project. In this regard I must also mention past and present chairmen of the Institute's Linguistics Advisory Committee, Professor R.M.W. Dixon, Dr Barry J. Blake and Professor Bruce Rigsby, as well as its members. I would also like to thank the Finance Department for ensuring that I did not go hungry, Audio-Visual for providing appropriate equipment and the Library and Archives for rounding up required reference materials. The Linguistics Research Staff requires a special vote of thanks for supplying advice in connection with analyzing the language. Here I name Dr Peter J. Sutton, former Linguistics Research Officer, Dr Michael Walsh, present
Linguistics Research Officer, Dr Paul Black, former Research Fellow, and Dr Francesca Merlan, former Research Fellow. Finally, thanks to Dr David Horton, Paleoeconomist, and Peter Latz, Ethnobotanist, for helping with animal and plant identifications.

I would like to congratulate Ieramugadu Group Inc for the interest they have expressed in learning to write their language and also to thank them for the confidence they have shown in the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies by asking us to perform an in-depth study of it. I would especially like to thank the Board of Directors of Ieramugadu Group Inc for their continuing support and in particular the past and present Chairmen, Mick Lee, Coppin Dale and Jack Smith. Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to all my Aboriginal collaborators, especially Gilbert Bobby, Ken M. Jerrold, Long Mack and Harold and Cheedy Ned, for so generously having shared their language with us.

I also wish to thank the Department of Aboriginal Affairs for the co-operation they showed me through their Roebourne-based operations. Specifically, I would like to thank the one-time Community Advisors to Ieramugadu Group Inc, John Imrie and Charles Nicholson, and also the past and present Project Directors for the Group, Dave Pianti, D.B. Duncan and Geoffrey Togo. It might also be appropriate at this time to thank the employees of the Department for Community Welfare, the State Housing Commission, Police Department and the Department of Conservation and Environment for the many courtesies they have extended to me.

Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to Professor Kenneth L. Hale for allowing me to use his unpublished field notes on the Yindjibarndi (1959a), Kurrama (1959b) and Ngarluma (1960) languages. I also want to thank him for discussing these languages with me, when I visited him in Cambridge. I wish to thank Professor Geoffrey N. O'Grady for sending me a copy of Hale's Ngarluma field notes (1960) and a copy of D.S. Davidson's unpublished manuscript (1928-1932) on Western Australian Aboriginal languages. My gratitude to Baron Dr C.G. von Brandenstein for graciously permitting me to consult his unpublished Ngayardic dictionary (1975). I would also like to thank Professor Arnold Pilling for having given useful advice in respect of the Texts, and Alan Dench for having provided a number of Pandjima vocabulary items. Lastly, I want to thank Dr Peter J. Sutton, Dr Eric Vaszolyi and Professor S.A. Wurm for recommending this project to the Institute, and Professor Wurm again for publishing the results of my labour.
In closing, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the following individuals without whose help, this project would not have succeeded: Dr Michael Walsh, Linguistics Research Officer for the Institute, Charles Nicholson, former Department of Aboriginal Affairs' Community Advisor to Ieramugadu Group Inc, and Gilbert Bobby and Ken M. Jerrold, my steadfast collaborators in this study of the Yindjibarndi language.
PART I

PRACTICAL GRAMMAR
YINDJIBARNDI GRAMMAR

1. INTRODUCTION
1.1. The Language
1.1.1. Brief Description

Yindjibarndi has a six-way contrast in point of articulation in respect of stop consonants. This division is mirrored in the nasal series. The resonants are not so uniformly allocated. There are two 'r's, a glide and a flap/trill, two 'y's (an ordinary palatal and a very unusual interdental), but only a single 'w'. A zero resonant occurs at velar position. On rare occasions, this zero resonant is manifested as a glottal stop.

Yindjibarndi follows a typical Australian pattern in having three short vowels, i, a and u, together with three long counterparts, which contrast in all positions. There is also a long 'o', which occurs in extremely limited environments.

A number of interesting phonological processes can be observed in the language, including lenition, w assimilation and nasal-plus-stop consonant cluster dissimilation. Stress is not constant, but is predictably placed. Long vowels are a disturbing factor. Syllable structure is not simple.

Yindjibarndi words belong to four parts of speech: nouns, pronouns, indeclinables and verb stems. There are two kinds of word endings, suffixes and clitics. Prefixes do not occur, a characteristic of Pama-Nyungan languages in general. The three general classes occupied by nouns are common, proper and retroflex, the latter possessing only a single member. There are also two small closed classes, which contain compass points and river directions. Nouns are declined through eight cases, namely nominative (having optional classifiers for proper and retroflex nouns), objective, genitive, comitative, instrumental, locative (with numerous subtypes), ablative...
and allative (three different kinds). Nouns may occur in the singular, dual and plural. There are many irregular plural number markers, two of which are homophonous with allative case markers!

The personal pronouns occur in three persons (the third person forms also acting as demonstratives), three numbers and two generation levels (same or adjacent). There are also special indeclineable inclusive forms for the second person dual and plural. Singular forms of the personal pronouns decline irregularly for the most part through the eight cases, while dual and plural forms are nearly all regular. Only two of the latter do not belong to the common noun class. Interrogative pronouns occur in free and bound forms, all of them finding membership in either the common, proper or retroflex noun class. Certain ones may be used as indefinite and even relative pronouns. There is one reflexive pronoun.

Indeclinable are invariant words, something like adverbs and conjunctions in English. They will only accept clitics.

Verb stems belong to four classes: $\emptyset$, L, R and N. The verb stem for 'see' is the only irregular one in the language, having three irregularly distributed stem variants. Even so, it is still conjugated regularly as a $\emptyset$-stem verb. Many $\emptyset$-stem verbs are transitive, and some verb stems in other classes are intransitive. Verb stems may be inflected in two tenses, present and past; four moods, potential, optative (active and passive), irrealis and imperative; and five aspects, imperfective (dependent and independent), perfective (active and passive), habitual, progressive and (dependent) infinitive. These endings cannot be combined.

Yindjibarndi is interesting syntactically. It is more similar to English than most Aboriginal languages, being - in familiar terms - of the Nominative/Accusative type. There is also a passive voice, although it works somewhat differently from English. Even though all permutations are possible, the normal structure for transitive sentences seems to be Subject Verb Object with Subject Object Verb a common alternative. Imperative sentences are perhaps the most interesting sentence type. Conjoined clauses are not as common as in English, but they do occur relatively frequently. Temporal and spatial clauses, along with relative clauses and reason and condition clauses, are essentially identical to conjoined clauses. The latter are superficially differentiated through the use of interrogative pronouns, the causal suffix and the determiner clitic, respectively. Rare occurrences of disjunction can be observed in Yindjibarndi.
1.1.2. Present Situation

Yindjibarndi is described here as it is spoken in Roebourne, Western Australia. Although Roebourne is situated deep in Ngarluma territory, Yindjibarndi is the principal Aboriginal language, being spoken not only by native Yindjibarndies, but also by members of other nations as well.¹ In fact Yindjibarndi is the first language of most Ngarlumas and Marduthuniras, whose own languages are for all practical purposes extinct.² It is also spoken as a second language by many members of other resident language groups, which still claim a substantial number of speakers, namely Kurrama and Pandjima.³ Thus, Yindjibarndi has become a sort of lingua franca, so much so that Aborigines tend to identify it as the language of Ieramugadu Group Inc, an association consisting essentially of all the Aborigines resident in Roebourne. Therefore, if a person belongs to Ieramugadu Group, he is likely to say that he speaks Yindjibarndi no matter how heavy the admixture of words from another language. At the present time there are about 500 Aborigines in Roebourne, and of these I would say that at least 400 are able to speak the Yindjibarndi language with some facility.

Yindjibarndi is also spoken outside of Roebourne, particularly on surrounding stations, three of which⁴ belong to Ieramugadu Group. It is heard as far north as Port Hedland, as far south as Carnarvon and as far east as Wittenoon. But Yindjibarndi is only a marginal language in these outlying areas. I would be surprised if it were found that more than 150 speakers dwelled there.

¹See also O'Grady 1966:73.

²See, for example, von Brandenstein 1970:8-11. I was only able to find two fluent speakers for each of these two languages. Robert Churnside, a pensioner of some eighty-five years (now deceased), and Jacob Scroggins, a younger pensioner who is in charge of the Woolshed, impressed me as able Ngarluma speakers. Alf Boona, a middle-aged man, and Algie Paterson, a mature Kurrama living at Mardie Station, can speak Marduthunira well. I suspect that one or two women can also speak Ngarluma with some facility, but frankly I doubt that any additional really capable Marduthunira speakers will turn up. Now even though Ngarluma has become nearly extinct, it has left behind a substantial amount of vocabulary, which has embedded itself in Yindjibarndi and surfaces from time to time as synonyms for Yindjibarndi words. For example, Ngarluma kumpal brother-in-law and kumpu urine seem to occur in Yindjibarndi speech about as often as the corresponding Yindjibarndi terms, which are respectively marrkanhu and kuwarta.

³Both of these languages have about fifty speakers each. Most Pandjima speakers reside in Onslow, where Pandjima is the principal language. Speakers of other Ngayardic languages, like Nyamal and Pailgu, are not numerous in Roebourne. See also Wordick 1977.

⁴They are Mt. Welcome, Woodbrook and Chiratta.
1.1.3. Dialects

I can find almost no real evidence for dialectical variation within Yindjibarndi. The phonology is nearly invariant. Only one phonological rule seems to have a limited distribution among Yindjibarndi speakers. It is the one described in 2.2.14 (see the second footnote). The grammar also appears to be unitary. There is some variation in the use of verbalisers, but the secondary derivations are most likely borrowings from other languages or just plain errors. For example, parnrtaya- (VL) find alternates with the little used parnrtayi- (VN). With these two forms compare Kurrama kuwartaya- (VL), Yindjibarndi kuwartayi- (VN) urinate. The word for kick in Yindjibarndi is tharlaa- (VL). The root tharla- apparently means knee (see von Brandenstein 1975:18,186). However, one Yindjibarndi consistently uses the form tharlayi- (VN). With it compare Kurrama kurtkayi- (V) listen (to) in which kurta means ear. Finally, another Yindjibarndi once volunteered that it was possible to say puyuwa- (VL) for puyuw i- (VN) singe (off), but that it was not as good. Clearly, puyuwa- (VL) should be avoided.

However, certain minor lexical variations do occur within idiolects. For example, Long Mack consistently uses the form thuu- (VL) to mean spear with a thrown object, while most everyone else employs thuwayli- (VN). But one of Hale's informants will use either (see 1959a:11,39). For silky pear, a kind of milkweed bearing edible pear-shaped pods, we observe the following alternants: mimityangu (Jerry Jerrold and Harold and Cheedy Ned), kakurla or kakurlira (Gilbert Bobby) and kakurila (the majority).

It is possible that these lexical variants reflect previous geographical dialects, but it is impossible to demonstrate this at the present time. This is because the various local groups left their countries soon after European colonization began and settled on different stations, mixing together and with other local groups, speaking different languages, in an almost haphazard fashion. I have been told by the Yindjibarndi themselves that the language(s) an Aboriginal speaks is more likely to reflect which station he was brought up on rather than which country his ancestors came from.²

It is also possible that certain of these variant terms are borrowings from adjacent languages. For example, I suspect that warparra, apparently a rare synonym for mirru woomera, is in fact a

¹For an analysis of these two verb stems see 3.1.4.1.3.2.

²This explains why Algie Paterson, a Kurrama, speaks such good Marduthunira.
borrowing of Ngarluma warlpirri, which has been modified according to Yindjibarndi lenition rules.¹ In the case of wiyunu eyro, I am certain that it has been borrowed from Pandjima and been suitably modified. Compare Yindjibarndi pattyarri eyro with its Pandjima synonym wiyunu. Some multilinguals are well aware of the lenition correspondences linking Yindjibarndi with the most conservative Ngayardic languages.

1.1.4. Historical Context²

Yindjibarndi is surrounded on all sides by Ngayardic languages to which it is related (see Map). It is most closely related to those languages which lie beyond its southern border, namely Kurrama (Kurrama) and Pandjima (Panytyima). It is particularly closely related to the former, which is situated to the southwest. Yindjibarndi and Kurrama are about as similar as Czech and Polish and are about as mutually comprehensible. The two languages possess identical phonological systems. They share a characteristic unique among Ngayardic languages, which is that of being able to lenite peripheral stops in medial position between vowels. Their grammars are also very similar. They share a large number of cognates. Thus, some linguists may want to consider them as dialects of the same unnamed language.³

Be that as it may, I have not included a description of Kurrama in this book. This is mainly because the Yindjibarndi and Kurrama themselves consider their respective languages to be different. They say that the similarities which exist between them indicate that they are 'brother' languages. Moreover, even though the two languages share the same phonological system, the distribution of phonological units within the cognate morphemes may be quite different. This stems from the fact that the historical phonological rules which describe the relationship between Proto-Ngayardic and Yindjibarndi on the one hand and Proto-Ngayardic and Kurrama on the other are different.⁴ There are also some cultural differences, which sharply separate the Kurrama from the Yindjibarndi, the most important of which is the practice of subincision.

¹Consider also what Radcliffe-Brown (1913:160-61) has to say about people who formerly dwelled along language borders.

²See also O'Grady 1966:73-74, 84-85 and O'Grady and others 1966:80-103.

³As O'Grady in O'Grady 1966:73 and O'Grady and others 1966:91 has already done. See also Radcliffe-Brown 1912a:144.

⁴See O'Grady's (1966:86-93) excellent discussion.
Pandjima, which lies to the east of Kurrama, is more distantly related to Yindjibarndi than is Kurrama. However, it is still not very far off. A knowledge of Pandjima would be especially useful to anyone engaged in a historical study of Yindjibarndi. This is because Pandjima seems to resemble an unlenited Yindjibarndi except that it and its brother language Pailgu (Pailku) appear to lenite flapped 'r'.

Ngarluma (Ngarluma) and Kariera (Kariyarra), two brother languages to the north of Yindjibarndi, are a step further away in genealogical distance. Even so, they do lenite apical stops intervocally like Yindjibarndi (and Kurrama) and share many cognates with it.

Marduthunira (Martuyhunira), the language bordering on the west of Yindjibarndi, appears to be even more distantly related to it than Ngarluma and Kariera, although it is difficult to say anything for certain, since Marduthunira has never been studied in any depth. It is clear, however, that Marduthunira, like Yindjibarndi and Kurrama, lenites laminal stops in medial position between vowels.

The two languages which are located to the east of Yindjibarndi, namely Nyamal (Nyamal) and Pailgu, appear to be the least similar to Yindjibarndi of all the Ngayardic languages. For one thing they are the only non-Nominative/Accusative languages in the entire subgroup. For another, these languages are unique among Ngayardic languages in being able to mark verbs for subject and object. Finally, neither shares leniting traits with Yindjibarndi at all.

The other Ngayardic languages, which do not abut on Yindjibarndi, are Ngarla (Ngarla) in the north and Nuwala (Nhuwala), Tjururu (Tyurruru) and Pinigura (Pinikurra) in the south. The former is similar to Nyamal. Of the latter three, the first appears to be most similar to Marduthunira, while latter two apparently resemble Yindjibarndi and Kurrama.

The Ngayardic languages as a whole are bounded by the Marrngic subgroup on the north, the Watic subgroup on the east and the Kanyaric subgroup on the south. The Indian Ocean lies to the immediate west.

1.2. Informants

My principal informants were Gilbert Bobby (Yurtarriny), Ken M. Jerrold (Pityin), Long Mack (Yinpiirpa), and Harold (Arrarl) and Cheedy (Tyiirti) Ned. Gilbert Bobby, a half Yindjibarndi half Kurrama man in his middle forties, possesses an in-depth knowledge of Yindjibarndi grammar and an extensive repertoire of sacred tales. He was glad to share these with me. Ken M. Jerrold, who says he is
of one-quarter Western Desert stock, is a superb story-teller. He can make one up at a moment's notice. Long Mack, a pensioner, is evidently one hundred percent Yindjibarndi. He has a fine-honed ability to pick out loan words in texts and to provide variants for Yindjibarndi words. The Ned brothers, Harold and Cheedy, also pure Yindjibarndies, were happy to dictate a number of non-sacred stories and a substantial amount of vocabulary items. I owe these five informants a great debt of gratitude for putting up with my incessant questions without losing their patience and for supplying the great bulk of information which made this work possible.

I would also like to point out that many other members of Ieramugadu Group Inc. supplied useful linguistic data, sometimes only in terms of a word or two or perhaps a bit of grammatical information, but each of the following provided something: Alf Boona, Cherry Cheedy, Robert Churnside, Coppin Dale, Dempsey Hicks, Morris Jacob, Henry Jerrold, Jerry Jerrold, Maudie Jerrold, Tim Kerr, Wilbur Kerr, Woodley King, Yilbie King, Eric Miller, Jacob Miller, Jack Moses, Algie Paterson, Jack Ray, Jacob Scroggins, Desley Smith, Jack Smith, Lilla Snowball, Wilson Wally and Jack Wedge. I also wish to thank anyone else whose name I may have forgotten to mention.

1.3. Field Research

Research on the Yindjibarndi language is divided into two periods. The first extends from 1896 to 1911. During this fifteen year period linguistic data were collected as a secondary pursuit by anthropologists, who were engaged in ethnographic research. Almost all of the data consists of vocabulary items.

For instance, Clement gathered enough vocabulary, supposedly on the 'Gnalluma' language to fill three printed pages (1903:14-16), while doing ethnographic research in Roebourne, Western Australia and environs during the period 1896-1898. This list is in fact full of 'Ingibandi' words, demonstrating that by the turn of the century, Yindjibarndi was already a major language in the area. For example, the first word in the list, which is 'cunjerie' "one", is obviously to be equated with Yindjibarndi kunytyirri and not with its Ngarluma synonym kunytyimu.

Then in 1911 Radcliffe-Brown, accompanied by Bates, visited the same area to collect social anthropological data mainly on the Kariera,

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1 Earlier summations can be found in O'Grady 1966:77-78 and von Brandenstein 1970:VII-IX.
Ngarluma and Marduthunira for his famous 'Three Tribes of Western Australia' article. The name 'Indjibandi' is mentioned in this paper (see, for example, Radcliffe-Brown 1913:143), and in a slightly earlier one (1912b) a couple of Yindjibarndi words appear. However, Radcliffe-Brown's language vocabularies (1910-12, 1926-1931, parts 3 and 11) do not contain any Yindjibarndi words. Bates (n.d.), working at the same time, did acquire a substantial amount of information on the Yindjibarndi language by submitting one of her very detailed questionnaires to S.H. Meares of Tambrey Station.

All of the data discussed above is for the most part only of historical interest, since it is not really of good phonetic quality.

After a gap of some forty years, linguistic data on the Yindjibarndi language began to appear again. However, this time the orientation of the field research was primarily linguistic and it was performed by professional linguists: In 1954 and again in 1958 O'Grady gathered a certain amount of linguistic data on Yindjibarndi, while engaged in field research on a number of different languages. In between the two field excursions, he solicited vocabulary items in the form of a questionnaire. The results of his research can be found in O'Grady 1957-58, 1966 and 1968, and O'Grady and others 1966. Then at the turn of the decade Hale made a visit to the Roebourne area. He worked mainly on Ngarluma, but also collected a large quantity of complex sentential material on Yindjibarndi. His very useful field notes are stored in the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies library (see Hale 1959a). Next, von Brandenstein did research in and around Roebourne off and on between 1964 and 1968, again principally on Ngarluma, but he also obtained a substantial amount of textual material on Yindjibarndi. The results of his research are contained in two books of texts and two dictionaries (1970, 1975).

Finally, Wordick went into the field in April of 1975 and stayed for a preliminary period of two weeks. He returned in June of the same year and remained in Roebourne for the next twenty months, gathering data almost exclusively on Yindjibarndi. He returned to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in February 1977. Wordick also did a lot of checking old data and eliciting new data on the telephone with his principal informant Gilbert Bobby during 1978, while in residence at the Institute. All his raw field notes are on deposit at the Institute library (see Wordick 1975-).
2. SOUND SYSTEM
2.1. Segmental Phonology
2.1.1. Orthography

The Yindjibarndi language is written in an orthography which is based on the English alphabet. However, only fifteen letters of this alphabet are relevant to the needs of Yindjibarndi. They are 'a', 'g', 'h', 'i', 'k', 'l', 'm', 'n', 'o', 'p', 'r', 't', 'u', 'w' and 'y'. These letters may be put together in the following manner in order to represent the twenty-six significant sound units in the Yindjibarndi language: a, aa, i, ii, k, l, m, n, ng, nh, ny, oo, p, r, rl, rn, rr, rt, t, th, ty, u, uu, w, y, yh. Now the preceding characters can be rearranged from linear alphabetical order into three two-by-two matrices, one for consonants and two for vowels, keeping the short separate from the long (see accompanying Matrix Displays). These matrices will enable us to more easily present a systematic description of the Yindjibarndi sound system.

Matrix Display for Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>nh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>yh</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Matrix Display for Short Vowels

i

a

Matrix Display for Long Vowels

ii uu

aa oo
2.1.2. Consonants
2.1.2.1. Types of Consonants

In general, all consonants are pronounced with lenis (weak) articulation. Also, except for rt and sometimes rr, they are pronounced as if they were geminate (doubled) in medial position between vowels. The pronunciation of rr varies freely between a flap (e.g., like t or d between vowels in many dialects of American English) and a trill (i.e., the burry Scots r). There seems to be no preference between the two, the same speaker using one variant on one occasion and the other on another. In using the trilled form, it is not usual to flip the tongue more than two or three times.

Referring to the 'Matrix Display for Consonants', the sounds in row I. are called 'stops', because the flow of air through the mouth (and nose) is completely obstructed as they are produced. The only exception to this dictum is rt, which is a reverse flap only in medial position between vowels (as in certain dialects of American English such as my own). Otherwise it is a normal stop. Stops are voiced in medial position, voiceless peripherally (word initially and finally).\(^1\) They are always unaspirated.

The sounds found in row II. are called 'nasals', because air is diverted from the mouth, being allowed to flow through the nose instead. Note that there is a nasal corresponding to each stop in Yindjibarndi.

The sounds of row III. are referred to as 'glides', because the articulating apparatus used in their production only 'glides' toward the point of articulation as they are pronounced. The sound rr forms an exception. Here the articulator (tip of the tongue) actually touches the point of articulation (alveolar ridge) during part of the duration of its production. In any case air flow through the mouth is at best only partly obstructed during the production of glides. Usually it is only mildly constricted.\(^2\)

The sounds in row IV. are called 'laterals', because the flow of air through the mouth passes around the sides of the tongue - being impeded only at the center - during their production. Note that

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\(^1\)On one occasion I actually heard a final trilled rr devoiced during the terminal half of its articulation.

\(^2\)If the empty space in this row (often the lenition product of k) can be interpreted as a 'zero glide', then there is one case in which air flow is unrestricted.
Yindjibarndi lacks a complete set of laterals, none appearing at the intersection with column 2. If one wishes to write another Ngayardic language which does have laminal laterals, e.g. Ngarluma and Pandjima, he may use Ih for the interdental (column c) and II for the palatal (column d). Please do not use iy for the latter as this represents the cluster alveolar l plus the laminal glide y.

2.1.2.2. Articulation of Consonants

Sounds which occur in column 1. are called 'peripherals', because they are articulated at the extremities of the mouth. Those in column a are called 'bilabials' (made with the two lips), those in column b 'velars' (produced at the velum in the back of the mouth). The reader should be aware of the fact that bilabials in Yindjibarndi manifest a smaller amount of lip rounding than their English counterparts.

The sounds shown in column 2. are 'laminals'. Here the tip of the tongue is behind the lower incisors and the flat surface of the tongue blade hits (in rows I. and II.) or glides toward (in row III.) the biting edge of the upper incisors for interdentals (column c) and the hard palate for palatals (column d). Speakers of English will please bear in mind that, although th does have a fricative release, it is a stop. Therefore, do not pronounce it like th in English. And please do not pronounce ty like English ch! The unusual yh sound resembles a very fronted y. The edges of the tongue often rub the inner sides of the cheeks during its production.

The sounds represented in column 3. are called 'apicals', because they are produced using the tip (apex) of the tongue. For alveolars (column e.) the tip of the tongue hits precisely at the alveolar ridge. For 'retroflexes' (column f), the tip of the tongue is retracted to a position more or less (usually the latter) behind that of the alveolar ridge. It is often extremely difficult for the native English speaker to hear the difference between corresponding alveolar and retroflex sounds, even though the two are structurally distinct.\(^2\)

\(^1\)The two series are structurally distinct as is demonstrated by the following brief list of minimal pairs: thulu face down, tyulu all; nhanti husband, nyanti brow; ngayi I, ngayhi cries. The interested reader will be able to find many more such pairs in the Dictionary.

\(^2\)Note the following minimal pairs: mata climbing sweet-potato, marta blood; mani part, rest, marni mark; Marra Gilbert Bobby's country, mara hand; kulu louse, kuru hot.
The 'r's form one exception to this statement. It should be somewhat easier to differentiate flapped rr from retroflex r. The other exception is in the stops, where the alveolar remains a stop in medial position between vowels, but the retroflex becomes a reverse flap; that is, the tip of the tongue strikes the post-alveolar velum while travelling from the back of the mouth to the front.

2.1.2.3. Distribution of Consonants

In Yindjibarndi not all consonants occur in all available positions within the domain of the word. For example, only the following ones are found regularly in final position: t, rt, ty; n, rn, ny; rr. The sounds m and ng sometimes occur in this position by virtue of the fact that final u may be optionally deleted, when it follows them (see 2.2.1). I also heard an example of final p, when Long Mack on one single occasion dropped the final u in the word Loopu Friday. The p was pronounced voiceless. But p also normally occurs in final position in borrowed words like maap mob, oblique stem maapu-.

All consonants are found medially between vowels. However, w cannot occur between u's, nor can y occur between i's or between u and i (in that order). See 2.2.11 and 2.2.9, respectively.

Only peripherals and laminals, excluding yh, normally occur in word initial position. r occurs once in initial position in the borrowed term rapit rabbit, t occurs a few times in borrowings, e.g. Tampa Dampier, tii (varying with thi) tea, and l occurs once in the anomalous term Loopu Friday.

Velar and interdental stops and nasals do not ordinarily occur initially before i. In fact nh is not common in initial position before any vowel. The sequence ki occurs initially in the following six items: the three sure borrowings kii key, kiitaa guitar and kimiti civil boss, onomatopoeic kitakita tap-tap, the proper name3 Kiyaki Clarence Bobby and kilirr ornamental bullroarer. The sequence thi occurs initially in two obvious borrowings, thi (varying with tii) tea and thingkitingki bell.

The restrictions on the occurrence of the two rhotics, r and rr, are quite interesting, being of the co-occurrence type. In the first

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1 The reader will note that retroflex r is not rounded as it is in English.


3 Proper names are in general to be regarded with suspicion, often being borrowed, e.g. Arrarli Harold Ned.
place the sequence \(^*rVr\) does not occur at all in Yindjibarndi, unless \(V\) is long; e.g. \(kururu\) plump. Thus, if the sequence \(rV\) occurs first, and a second syllable containing a rhotic plus vowel follows, then the second rhotic will be \(rr\), regardless of whether a morpheme boundary does or does not intervene.

The situation with respect to \(rrVrr\) is similar except that the alternation restriction only applies, if a morpheme boundary comes between the two syllables. Thus, a sequence of two \(rr\)'s in a row does obtain in the monomorphemic suffix \(-rrirri\), which is found in the names for two kinds of birds, i.e. \(minpirrirri\) kestrel and \(wiirrirri\) blue wren. However, if the sequence \(rrV\) occurs first in a word, and a suffix or verbaliser containing a rhotic plus vowel is added on, then the second rhotic will always be \(r\). This constraint is most noticeable in the derivation of inchoative verb stems from nouns. \(-ri-\) (V0) only appears after \(rrV\) where one would otherwise expect \(-rri-\) (V0). For examples see 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.2. But again, the constraint does not hold when \(V\) is long, e.g. \(warruurra\) twilight (cf. \(warru\) night). Nor does it hold, when a consonant intervenes, e.g. \(Purlinytyirrmarra\).\(^1\) And it certainly does not prevent two \(rr\)'s from being joined directly together (see 2.2.3).

2.1.2.4. Consonant Clusters\(^2\)

Consonant clusters only occur in medial position between vowels. Such clusters are all diconsonantal. The following ones have been observed intramorphemically:

- homorganic nasal plus stop: \(mp, nhth, nt, rnrt, nty, ngk\)
- non-homorganic nasal plus stop: \(np, rnp; nty; nk, rnk, nyk\)

One could also expect to find the sequence \(*nyp\) to complement the observed sequence \(nyk\), which is not common intramorphemically, e.g. \(manyka\) son.

- glide plus stop: \(rp; rrk, rk, yk\)

The cluster \(rrp\) does occur in the name \(Yinpirrpa\) Long Mack, but because it occurs only in a name, I regard it as suspicious. The

\(^1\) This is the proper name of a certain emu-man (see Text 72). \(-marrra\) here is certainly a suffix as it occurs over and over again in the names of other emu-men; e.g. \(Yartanymarrra, Nyarrilmarra\), etc.

\(^2\) O'Grady (1966:84) comments on Proto-Ngayardic consonant clusters and then over the next several pages discusses their reflexes in Yindjibarndi and other daughter languages.
sequence *yp is not to be expected.¹

stop plus stop: tp, typ, tty

nasal plus nasal: nng; rnm, rnn ng

One would also expect to find nm; nny, rny. These clusters do occur in the verb suffixes -nma, -nnya and -rnyaa; however, I have analysed these suffixes as being bimorphemic in the Dictionary (which see).

rr and l plus glide: rrw, rry; ly

The sequence *lw definitely does not occur.²

Other consonant clusters may also occur, but they are too suspicious to list, e.g. rrm in Wirrna Jack Ray and Karrminy Ginger Samson.

If one permits a morpheme boundary to occur within the consonant cluster, the following clusters are or could be observed:³

1. Cp, Cth, Cty, Ck; Cm, Cnh, Cny, Cng — where C = t, rt, ty; n, rn, ny

In this respect note that: -pa is the emphatic clitic

-tyarri- is an inchoative verbaliser

-kw is the objective case marker

-mu is the anaphoric clitic

-nha is the proper noun classifier

-nya is the allocative suffix

-ngarli is the generic plural suffix

11. Due to the assimilation of l after n, rn, rt, to t, rt, ty, respectively, the sequences nt, rnr t, nty also occur (see 2.2.4).

¹While Proto-Ngayardic *llk produces Yindjibarndi yk (cf. Ngarluma mallkan, Yindjibarndi maykan, Kurrama matykan mountain gum), Proto-Ngayardic *llp reflects as typ (cf. Ngarluma pillparra, Yindjibarndi pityparra dessicated; Ngarluma pillparrara, Yindjibarndi pityparrara milkfish).

²Do, however, see Hale 1960:97.

³The geminate clusters, which result, are automatically simplified to single consonants by phonological rule (see 2.2.3). It might also be worth pointing out that when interdentals follow C as in kurrarnkurarrnthurrtu (see also footnote to Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 2) and Yurtarrinyhna (cf. Yurtarriny Gilbert Bobby), the resulting clusters seem somewhat 'funny', even though Gilbert Bobby says there is nothing wrong with them.
2.1.3. Vowels

2.1.3.1. Short Vowels

Each of the three short vowels shown in the 'Matrix Display for Short Vowels' has two different pronunciations. These are governed by the specific contexts in which vowels appear. One pronunciation is that of a high, relatively tense and close vowel, while the other is low, lax and open. Intramorphemically, the distribution is as follows:

The low, lax and open variant occurs before p, k, th, t; m, ng, nh, n; yh, r, rl. The high, tense, close variant occurs everywhere else, including before another vowel and before nothing (word boundary). When a morpheme boundary occurs between a vowel and its conditioning environment (i.e. the following consonant), the high, tense, close variant replaces the low, lax, open one everywhere except before mp, n + consonant, ngk and r - and with some speakers even before ng + vowel.

The tense pronunciation of i resembles 'i' in the word 'radio' or 'ee' in 'beet' in American or cultivated British English. It does not resemble at all the diphthong commonly heard in Australian English.

The lax pronunciation resembles 'i' in English 'bit'.

The tense pronunciation of o resembles the 'o' in 'cot' in many varieties of Mid-Western American English, except that the mouth

1This cluster occurs in the term thangkarrpa that's enough, I said (see 2.2.12).

2See, for example, the term maarrkka in the Dictionary.

3These latter three clusters arise when the emphatic clitic and the two forms of the determiner are attached to nouns ending in rr. Gilbert Bobby insists that yh and y can also occur after C as well; e.g. see the footnote to Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 2. See also 2.2.10.

4As demonstrated by the following minimal sets: yirra edge, yarra shield, yurra sun; marti trail, marta blood, martu space.

5However, before rt, rn; rr, I this high variant is lowered slightly to a position which is still above the low variant.

6This exception does not hold in the case of clitics, so that the i in ngayimpa I'm the one is high, tense and close.

7When this happens, the high variant is lowered somewhat. One can notice this comparing the pronunciation of i in maningaa others with that of it in pangkarringu going. In the first instance, i sounds high (by unconscious comparison with the following very low vowel), while in the second it sounds low.

8That is, it resembles the 'a' in 'father', but is only about half as long.
should be opened wider. The lax pronunciation resembles the 'u' in 'but' in British or Australian English, being much lower and more open than in American English.

The tense pronunciation of u resembles 'oo' in English 'boot' or 'moot'. The lax pronunciation falls below the level of the tense pronunciation, but usually well above the pronunciation of 'u' in 'put'.

2.1.3.2. Long Vowels

Referring to the 'Matrix Display for Long Vowels', one can see that Yindjibarndi possesses four long vowels, one more than the number of short ones. The long vowels are ii, aa, uu, oo.¹ The first three have corresponding short vowels,² but not the latter.

Long vowels, when pronounced as such, are always high, relatively tense and close. Thus, they are pronounced like tense variants of their short vowel correspondents except that they are about twice as long. The following pronunciation hints may be noted:

   ii is pronounced like 'ea' in 'bead' in cultivated British or American English.
   aa is pronounced like 'a' in 'father'.
   uu is pronounced like 'oo' in English 'mood'.
   oo is pronounced like 'oa' in English 'toad'.
   Do not pronounce oo as in English 'mood'.

All long vowels - except oo - may also be pronounced with audible medial breaking, that is, as if they were a sequence of two identical short vowels, ordinarily with a volume decrease or trough separating them, but rarely with an intervening glottal catch. In this situation, the pronunciation of the two short parts of the long vowel is governed by the pronunciation rules for short vowels already given above.

oo may be pronounced as uwa everywhere except in the word Loopu Friday (see 2.2.14).

However, this does not mean that long vowels are merely sequences of two identical short vowels. There exist two factors which make it difficult to treat them in this manner:

¹There is a solitary example of ee in my notes; to wit, wanhthiwee (cf. wanhthiwayi) how are you!, where ee seems to be a reduced form of ay! (see 2.2.14).

²For example, note the following minimal pairs: maarta right (hand), marta blood; wirkaa shoulder, wirka gap; tyirri speak, tyirri prick; pirriirri match, pirri rhyme afternoon; thuurr - the objective case of thuurr big and slow, thurru - the respect form of parrimirmnti sea serpent; tyurtuu dust, tyurru native flower.
1. The long vowel oo cannot be pronounced with medial breaking, that is, as a sequence of two identical short vowels, and in fact there is no short o in the Yindjibarndi language.

11. Long vowels are discriminated from sequences of two short vowels in one part of the grammar. That is, the objective case of thaa mouth and mil limb is thaau and miilu, respectively, while the objective case of tyia chair is tyiayi. In other words monosyllabic common nouns, containing a long vowel, take the objective case marker for trisyllabic common nouns, while disyllabic common nouns, containing a sequence of two dissimilar short vowels, take the objective case marker for ordinary disyllabic common nouns.

Therefore, we conclude that long vowels are not functionally equivalent to sequences of two identical short vowels, even though they may be derived from them, either historically or synchronically.

2.1.3.3. Vowel Colouring

The short vowel a, when it precedes a palatal consonant, frequently picks up 'i'-colouring. For example, in the word manyka son, a often sounds like 'ai' in Australian English. Note also the borrowing watypala white fellow, where English 't' has been realised in Yindjibarndi as ty, because the preceding vowel in English is pronounced with a 'y' off-glide. When a occurs before the single consonant y in intervocalic position, it very obviously sounds like a diphthong, because y is pronounced as if it were geminate in this position, with syllable division separating the two parts.

Short vowels, primarily a and u, can become nasalised, when they appear immediately before a nasal. The effect is most apparent before ng. For example, in the word mangumangu a kind of spear, nasalisation can be heard very clearly on both a's.

---

1 The reader may be further interested to know that when thara — evidently a borrowing — is used in place of thaa mouth, the objective form is tharayi as expected.

2 This is also evidently true of Ngarluma and Kariera as Radcliffe-Brown (1913:149, 172) spells the first a in manyka son as 'ai'.
Short vowels, preceding retroflex consonants, can have their vowel formants deformed by the adjacent retroflex environment. But this does not always happen, because retroflex consonants in Yindjibarndi are generally pronounced with a minimum of retroflexion, especially by mature speakers. However, when it does occur, the vowel i appears to be relatively immune to distortion.

Long vowels in general seem to follow the pattern for short vowels except that the effects of the distorting environments, specifically nasalisation and retroflexion, are not as pervasive.

2.1.3.4. Distribution of Vowels

All vowels except oo occur word finally and medially between consonants. oo can only occur in medial position in the environment of a labial consonant (see 2.2.14.). Also, u and uu cannot occur before y (see 2.2.9).

Vowels do not normally occur in word initial position. If one thinks he is hearing u or i in initial position, he is really hearing wu or yi, respectively. There are a few borrowed words in which a occurs in word initial position, e.g. alarti holiday. No long vowels occur in word initial position except in the borrowed word uu or.

2.1.3.5. Vowel Clusters

The following clusters of two vowels occur in Yindjibarndi: ai, au, ia, iu, ua, ui. Four of these almost certainly occur intramorphemically; e.g. maunrtu punishment spear,

1 Dropping of w and y in initial position before u and i, respectively, is a function of individual speech. For example, Long Mack always pronounces w and y clearly in initial position. Gilbert Bobby, on the other hand, drops y before the tense allophone of i and on occasion w before the tense allophone of u. I have heard other speakers fail to pronounce initial y and w before the respective lax allophones of i and u as well.

2 It is very easy to hear the difference between ai and ayi. The latter sounds like ay + (y)i, while ai sounds like a + i.

3 It is very difficult to hear any difference between au and awu. After pestering Gilbert Bobby about this problem over a long period of time, he presented me with a definitive subminimal pair; i.e., pauny wind grass / Wawuny Eric Diamond. On another occasion long after, I again tested this contrast on Gilbert by querying him over the phone about the relative pronunciation of ngau yees! (−u = Ny -ku, see 3.2.1.1.1) and ngawurr bubble (cf. Nm ngapurr). After listening to him pronounce these two words a number of times, I found that I could distinctly hear w in ngawurr two out of three times, but never could I hear it in ngau. Similarly, while Gilbert would accept without comment a pronunciation of ngawurr with w in it, he would not accept a similar pronunciation with ngau.
maurarra second part of the initiation rite), tyianti- (VR) pour,
tyiurra bony bream and mui- run (cf. muirri- (VØ) run away, muii- (VN) run down). It is possible that ai and ua may also occur intramorphem-
ically, but I cannot find any sure examples. For example, based on
Ngarlumayili father's father one would perhaps expect Yindjibarndi *maili. But instead we find that the predicted ai has coalesced into
a long vowel (see 2.2.13). That is, we actually observe maalii.
Intermorphemically, we can find a number of examples, e.g. kartairri rock outcropping, kurnmairti good hunter, karlairtu black swan, etc.
ua seems to occur only when the genitive case marker -arnrtu is
attached to a noun ending in u and usually not even then (see
3.1.1.2.2.1).

Sequences of three different short vowels can also occur. For
example, iaau occurs in locative forms of disyllabic nouns incorporating
nasal plus stop clusters (see 2.2.12), when these nouns appear in
certain types of clauses (see, for example, 4.2.4.2.3). Specific
examples include yantiaau (Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 4) and
kantylaau (Text 62, paragraph 1, sentence 2).

Finally, it is possible to observe sequences consisting of a long
vowel plus a non-corresponding short vowel as in piriiau,1 the
objective case of piriirii match, and of short vowel plus a non-
corresponding long vowel as in nyintauu,2 the plural of nyinta you.
Also, a sequence of two different long vowels can be observed, e.g.
piriiaa like a match.

The following types of vowel clusters do not occur: two identical
short vowels,3 two identical long vowels,4 short vowel plus correspond-
ing long vowel, long vowel plus corresponding short vowel.

2.2. Phonological Processes
2.2.1. Silent 'u'

When u occurs in word final position after a peripheral nasal,
that is, either m or ng, it may be optionally dropped. This dropping
would probably not occur in any one speaker's idiolect with a frequency

1Also thaau, the objective case of thaa mouth, pilarntu, the genitive case of pii flat and purruuarnrtu, the genitive case of purruu hair belt.
2Also ngaliu you and we (cf. ngali you and I), nganiaa like what (cf. ngani what) and muii- (VN) run down.
3This is by definition a long vowel. See 2.1.3.2.
4See 2.2.13 in relation to this and the following items.
of more than ten percent. Thus, palamu long ago is from time to time pronounced 'palam' and marnrtanyungu euro, 'marnrtanyung'.

On one occasion Long Mack pronounced Loopu Friday as if it were spelled 'Loop' with the p devoiced. This deletion probably did not occur in precontact times, but with the advent of English speech and the borrowing of such words like 'mob', giving Yindjibarndi maap, oblique stem maapu-, this rule has apparently widened its scope. On another occasion Ken M. Jerrold pronounced the verb garriwartaarnu baking without the final u. However, it seemed clear from the social context that he was going to some lengths to show me a tricky piece of language.

2.2.2. Silent 'i'

When i occurs in word final position, following ay, it appears to be deleted. Thus ngayi I usually sounds like 'ngay', and ngamayi tobacco like 'ngamay'. However, the i becomes properly audible, when suffixes are attached, although even then it may still be

---

1 This rule is apparently not restricted to Yindjibarndi but operates in other Ngayardic languages as well. For example, Radcliffe-Brown (1913:147) lists the term Purungu Perentie section as 'Burung' in Kariera.

2 That is, that oblique stem has been back-formed in treating the nominative case as if it had been produced by the application of this rule. Note, however, that English 'pub' has not been assimilated into Yindjibarndi and hence is not treated the same way in the grammar. The declensional paradigm for 'pub' is as follows:

   NOMINATIVE   'pub'
   LOCATIVE    'pub'la
   ABLATIVE    'pub'langu
   INSTRUMENTAL 'pub'lu
   OBJECTIVE   'pub'u
   DIRECT ALLATIVE 'pub'warta
   INDIRECT ALLATIVE 'pub'wurraa
   COMITATIVE  'pub'wari
   GENITIVE    'pub'arnrtu

   Its dual and plural are 'pub'uyha and 'pub'ngarli, respectively. A consideration of the information just given and of the treatment of English words in the Texts will lead the reader to conclude that unassimilated English words often do not follow the rules which guide Yindjibarndi words.

3 But when I ask Gilbert Bobby to articulate these two words, the final i is clear. Therefore, there must remain some doubt as to whether i is really deleted or whether it is just difficult to hear. But see also the preceding section.
difficult to hear, when the suffix begins with a vowel,¹ e.g. ngamayiarra possessing tobacco. Also, the i in payi pa tends to be 'swallowed',² but this may be due to the continuing phonetic presence of English 'pipe'. However, the i is definitely there, because payipa counts as a trisyllabic word, when locative and objective case markers are added.

2.2.3. Geminate Consonant Cluster Simplification

When two identical consonants are adjacent, they are automatically simplified to a single one. That is, ...

\[ C_1C_2 + C_1, \text{ where } C_1 = C_2 \]

Consider the following examples:
- kangkaty *loose* + -tyarri- (VØ) \rightarrow kangkatyarrri- (VØ) come loose
- ngarurr *clawing* + -rra- (VR) \rightarrow ngarurrara- (VR) claw
- warrkam *work* + -ma- (VL) \rightarrow warrkama- (VL) work (on)

Note that the last derivation obtains even though there exists an oblique stem warrkamu- for warrkam. And see the Dictionary under 'muwarangu' for a derivation similar to that involving ngarurr.

2.2.4. 'l' Assimilation

When alveolar l is placed in a position immediately following any nasal or stop which may occur in word final position without the benefit of 'silent u' (see 2.2.1), then it becomes a stop at the same point of articulation as the consonant it immediately follows. The formula is:

\[ l \rightarrow t; rt; ty / n, t; rn, rt; ny, ty + \]

This rule is relevant to the locative and instrumental case markers, -la and -lu, respectively. Note the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Gilbert Bobby</th>
<th>Yurtarriny</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maykan</td>
<td>my gum tree</td>
<td>+ -la + maykanta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pityin</td>
<td>Ken M. Jerrold</td>
<td>+ -lu + Pityinu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yurrurn</td>
<td>hair</td>
<td>+ -la + yurrurnrta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yurtarriny</td>
<td>Gilbert Bobby</td>
<td>+ -lu + Yurtarrinytyu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹And, indeed, it is not even always easy to distinguish the stem of tyiantiku pours from tyanti coughs. Note also that some speakers use 'ngamayu' rather than ngamayiu as the objective case of ngamayi (NC) tobacco. This substitution may have nothing to do with the dropping of i, since others use 'mayu' in place of mayingu, the objective case of mayi (NP) younger sister (see 3.1.1.2.2.1).

²And in mayit might as well. I should add that i is so inaudible in these two words that I doubt I would have ever realised that it was there, if it weren't for the fact that I had the use of Haie's (1959a) hand-written field notes.
And note how the geminate consonant cluster simplification rule (see directly above) works in sequence with this rule:

\[
\text{kurnrtat daughter} + -la \rightarrow ^{*}\text{kurnrtatta}
\]
\[
+ \text{kurnrtata}
\]
\[
\{\text{thurrurt wartirra prescribed woman}\} + -la \rightarrow ^{*}\text{thurrurttrta wartirrala}
\]
\[
+ \text{thurrurtta wartirrala}
\]
\[
\text{kangkaty loose} + -la \rightarrow ^{*}\text{kangkatytya}
\]
\[
+ \text{kangkaty}
\]

When alveolar \(\text{l}\) is placed in a position immediately following \(\text{rr}\), it assimilates to \(\text{rr}\)... 

\(\text{l} \rightarrow \text{rr} / \text{rr} + \_\)

the resulting geminate consonant cluster again being simplified according to rule. Note the following examples:

\[
\text{martarr red ochre} + -la \rightarrow ^{*}\text{martarrrra}
\]
\[
+ \text{martarra}
\]
\[
\text{martarr red ochre} + -lu \rightarrow ^{*}\text{martarrrru}
\]
\[
+ \text{martarru}
\]

2.2.5. Fortition\(^1\)

Fortition of glides is not a significant phonological process in the Yindjibarndi language. Strengthening of \(w\) after a nasal is observed in reduplicated compounds like waunpaun mopoke and warrurnparrurn blow fly. It is not clear whether fortition or lenition is illustrated by the term tyurlawirtnypirtiny Sturt's desert pea.\(^2\) In any case such fortitions can probably be considered to reflect historical mechanisms.\(^3\)

The suggestion that strengthening of glides is not an on-going process in present-day Yindjibarndi can be defended by observations that endings which begin with a glide, such as the vocative suffix -yi, cannot be attached to words ending in a nasal or stop.\(^4\) Thus, with personal names like Pityin Ken M. Jerrold, vocative content is carried

\(^1\)I will not consider anything but glides in this section. For a discussion on the fortition of \(l\) in certain contexts, see the immediately preceding section.

\(^2\)However, see the reasonable etymology given in the Dictionary.

\(^3\)Fortition was definitely an important process historically in the Yindjibarndi language. See O'Grady 1966:87-89.

\(^4\)It is not clear whether the vocative clitic can occur after \(rr\). I have never heard it used in this environment. However, the sequence \(rryi\) does occur in the word yirryiwartu native cat.
solely by volume and intonation pattern. Furthermore, I have never heard anyone use the determiner clitic -yhu with a noun ending in a nasal or stop - except Gilbert Bobby.\(^1\) Even so, Gilbert does not strengthen yh to th in these circumstances.\(^2\)

It may also be worth mentioning here - purely for historical interest - that Yindjibarndi has **restructured**\(^3\) those suffixes and clitics that began with *w in Proto-Ngayardic. So, for example, the comitative case marker, which appears in Ngarluma as *-wari, emerges in Yindjibarndi as *-pari and then simply follows the normal rules for lenition (see 2.2.10), when it is used to inflect nouns.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kurtan} & \quad \text{baok, bag} + \text{-pari} \rightarrow \text{kurtanpari} \\
\text{warntta} & \quad \text{stick} + \text{-pari} \rightarrow \text{warnttawari} \\
\text{tyuntaa} & \quad \text{way} + \text{-pari} \rightarrow \text{tyuntaapari}
\end{align*}
\]

However, interestingly enough, the comitative case marker appears differently, when it descends from Proto-Ngayardic as a derivational suffix already attached to a noun. See section 3.2.1.1.2 under *-pari.*

2.2.6. 'u' Assimilation

\(\text{u}^4\) may optionally become \(\text{i}\) when it precedes \(\text{i}\) in an immediately following syllable...

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{u} \rightarrow \text{i} / _{\text{C}5}\text{i}
\end{align*}
\]

as illustrated by the following doublets:

- tyarrwurti, tyarrwirti
- pirtuwirtaa, pirtiwartaa
- martumirri, martimirri

---

\(^1\)Gilbert also claims that it is possible to lenite the morpheme separator *-th- after a nasal, deriving such constructions as 'kurrankurrarnyharntu' (see footnote to Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 2), which I cannot accept.

\(^2\)Despite the fact that *-yhu must have descended from Proto-Ngayardic *-thu (cf. Ngarluma *-tha*).

\(^3\)I avoid saying that *w was strengthened to p in these circumstances.

\(^4\)On rare occasions \(\text{u}\) appears to be affected as well. For example, wirtirri- (\(\text{w}\)) *climb* must come from wirta (NC) *leg* plus *-rri- (\(\text{w}\)) INCHOATIVE VERBALISER. In this regard note Marduthuniira wirta- (\(\text{w}\)) *climb.* Compare also palyiirri *euro section,* pattyarri *euro,* both from *paltyarri (*ity goes to ly, tty, respectively). Examples from Ngarluma are undebitable. Consider, for example, the following cognate chain: Ngarluma marriirli, Yindjibarndi marrarli, Pandjima marra wing. Also, compare Ngarluma tyurtirriri with Yindjibarndi tyurtairri red-backed kingfisher. The proto-Ngayardic form is *tyurtairri.*

\(^5\)I cannot demonstrate 'u assimilation' across a consonant cluster.
Even though the assimilation process probably crosses a morpheme boundary in all three of the examples given above (cf. Tharkari tyarrku three and Ngarluma pirtupirtura scout), this rule is probably a phonological one as can be seen by comparing Yindjibarndi wirtiwiirtaa- (VL) hang (note wirtiwiirti hanging, wirti bell) with Tharkari wurtiya- (V) hang.

Furthermore, it should be understood that this rule is not recursive; that is, an assimilated u cannot in turn cause a preceding u to assimilate:¹

\[
\begin{align*}
murru & \quad back + -tyi + murrityi \quad emu \ tail \\
murru & \quad back + -rni + murrirni \quad behind
\end{align*}
\]

And finally, it should be emphasised that this rule is NOT obligatory. There are plenty of examples, such as kurri girl, martulji centre and warrkamurri- be working, in which the assimilation of u is not observed at all.²

2.2.7. Fronting of 'u'

Infrequently, u becomes fronted to i before a palatal consonant. In this respect consider the following derivations:

\[
\begin{align*}
plyulu & \quad yellow + -ny + -karra \quad piyulinykarra \quad painted \ yellow \\
tyarpu & \quad bird \quad + -ny + -tya + -rr \quad + tyarpintyarr \quad pratincoole \\
purlu & \quad front \quad + -ny + -tyi + -rr + -marra \quad Purlinytyirrmarra³
\end{align*}
\]

The word pairs illustrated below suggest a fronting of u before -ty as well as -ny:⁴

1In this regard compare also Yindjibarndi tyumpirimri with Ngarluma tyumpurirri knife. This constraint is not evident in Ngarluma. For example, wilityirni from the south derives from wulutyu in the south plus -rni.

2And note the Yindjibarndi form karlutyuu dove in which original i preceding u has assimilated to u (cf. Ngarluma karlikuru). Consider also Yindjibarndi yirrauyu thunderstorm in which the reverse appears to have occurred, namely that the following i has assimilated to the preceding u (cf. Ngarluma yirrakuti! However, something else must be going on here. Compare Ngarluma pukatyi, Yindjibarndi puwayu club-rush.

³This is a proper name. See the Dictionary.

⁴In regard to the fronting of u before ny consider also Yindjibarndi yungku- (VØ) give from Proto-Ngayardic *yungku gives and Pandjimpa, Pailgu yinya- (Ø) give from *yunya gave. Also compare Ngarluma pinytya- (VL) drink with Nyamal punytya- (VL) drink and Yindjibarndi punytyat dew.
Yindjibarndi kupitya,¹ Marduthunira kuputya small
Yindjibarndi mitya- (VL),² Ngarluma mutya- (VL) drink

In a somewhat similar fashion, a may become fronted to i after palatal consonant clusters, when it occurs in final³ position:

punytyi native yellow perch, punytyat dew
tyinytyi wage payment, tyinytyanungu worker
kantyi⁴ edge, kantyaurla on one’s side
ikaarrwanytyi-⁵ (VØ) slip, Nm kararrwanytyarri- (VØ)⁶

See also O'Grady 1979:117-18.

2.2.8. Lowering of 'u'

u lowers to a relatively frequently before a retroflex consonant, that is...

u → a / rn, rt

as shown by the following evidence.⁷

This rule always applies when the factitive verbaliser -rni- (VØ) is combined with foreign nouns to derive verb stems. Consider the following examples:

warrkamarni- (VØ) work on + warrkamu- (the oblique stem of warrkam (NC) work) + -rni-

payilamarni- (VØ) boil + payilamu- (the oblique stem of payilam (NC) boil) + -rni-

It also usually works in conjunction with the ablative locative suffix, which is -rni. Note the following derivation:

¹Yindjibarndi kupitya is not cognate with Ngarluma kupilla dew(drop). This is certain, because the plural form is kupiyarri. ty from Proto-Ngayardic *11 never lenites (see 2.2.10). Note also Pandjima kupinya small.

²But note also Ngarluma milla- (VL) lick.

³But note Yindjibarndi warrinyin, Ngarluma warrinyan painted finch.

⁴The original cluster nty has been changed to nty in order that this term can be discriminated from the otherwise homophonous kantyi runji bush. nty also occurs in a derivative term kantyirr sneeze.

⁵The final vowel in this verb stem becomes word final in the present tense. See also preceding footnote plus one.

⁶Kararr means tight in Ngarluma. Compare wayntyarri- with Yindjibarndi wantyari- (VØ) come off and Ngarluma wayntyipi- with Yindjibarndi wantyawii- (VN) take off. Note also Yindjibarndi wantyta dog and see preceding footnote plus one.

⁷Consider also the following cognate chain: Yindjibarndi karrwarn summer, Kurrama karrwu sun, Nyamal karrpu summer.
Also compare yawurra from downstream with Ngarluma yapurr in the west and wartantarni from the north with Marduthunira wartantu in the east. However, in the derivation of murrirni behind (cf. murru back), the operation of this rule is inhibited by the prior application of the rule for 'u assimilation' (see the preceding section plus one). And then again in tyunturri around this way neither rule gets applied!

Note the following cognate pair, which indicates the lowering of u to a before r in Yindjibarndi: thuwarta, Ngarluma thukurta a sweet, fruit.

2.2.9. 'y' Elision

y falls when it directly follows any high vowel, that is, either i or u, providing it also immediately precedes i...

\[ y + \emptyset / V\_i, \text{where } V = i, u \]

This happens, for example, when the objective case marker -yi is attached to disyllabic nouns ending in i and also when the potential mood marker -yi is added to \( \emptyset \)-stem verbs ending in i. Thus the objective case of parri devil is parrii, and the potential mood of ngarri- (VØ) lie is ngarrii.

When the vocative suffix -yi is appended to names ending in i or u and when the causative verbaliser -yirra- (VR) is added to \( \emptyset \)-stem verbs in i or u, the same deletion occurs. Thus the vocative form of Nyillku Paddy William\(^1\) is Nyillku!, while the causative form of ngarrku- (VØ) eat is ngarrkuirraa- (VR) make someone eat.

2.2.10. Lenition\(^2\)

Considering lenition in its widest context, it can be said that all Yindjibarndi stops and glides (except rr\(^3\) and apparently w and yh) are potentially lenitable, when they occur between vowels or between rr\(^4\)

---

\(^1\)A Pandjima friend of Gilbert Bobby's, living in Onslow.

\(^2\)O'Grady (1966:86-91) has a lot of interesting things to say on this topic from a historical perspective. I also found his discussion to be a good source for examples.

\(^3\)rr definitely does not lenite anywhere in Yindjibarndi. However, O'Grady (1966:89) suggests with good reason that it may in Pandjima and Pailgu.

\(^4\)But lenition after any other consonant is impossible.
and a vowel.¹ I say potentially, because the rules governing lenition (taken in this context) are not mandatory but only optional. This truism can be perceived by comparing the two forms tyityarlarri pearl shell pendant and tyiyartarri- (Vø) get bright, where the root tyitya-bright, shiny has its second ty lenited in the second term but not in the first, even though the two environments are for all practical purposes identical.² Moreover, such lenitions may even be reduplicated; that is, the same phonological segment may be lenited twice. For example, karta- bottom plus -tyirri stick out gives kartairri rock outcropping. That is, ty is first lenited to y and then further to Ø.

Now let us consider the range of possibilities:

\[
p \ + \ w
\]

Example: parpa- + reduplicative -parpa + parpawarpa thumpity-thump

\[
k + w / u_3
\]

\[
+ \emptyset \text{ elsewhere}^4
\]

Example: partu feather + -karlaa having + partuwarlaa bird

marnrta money + -karlaa having + marnraarlaa rich

warnrta penis + -karlaa having + warnrtiarlaa male

ngawurr bubble + -karlaa having + ngawurrarlaa beer

th + yh

Example: tharru- + reduplicative -tharru + tharruyharru obscured

¹There is some evidence to suggest that lenition in word initial position is also possible: Compare yarnkarra brogga with tyarnkarra ruffled feather (see also yiwa in the Dictionary), warnrta penis with karnrta tail, and wala that (mid-distant) with Nyangumarda pala.

²It is not always the case that the non-lenition of a stop cannot be attributed to anything save the apparent perverseness of the language. For example, it is an observable fact that ty which is the reflex of Proto-Ngayardic *11 will not lenite no matter how encouraging the environment in which it occurs may be. Compare the two words thami maternal grandfather and murrtyi tail of an emu. In the first one, an original ty has lenited to y and then been deleted by the rule for 'y Elision' (see 2.2.9) as can be surmised by examining its Nyangumarda cognate jamuji. However, in murrtyi the ty has not lenited even though it falls in exactly the same environment, because this ty is the result of a fortition of Proto-Ngayardic *11 (cf. Ngarluma murri). On the change of u to i, see 2.2.6.

³Note also the following three examples, which are, however, only relevant in a historical context: warrwu, Ngarluma warrku adolescent kangaroo; Yindjibarndi tyarrwurti (varying with tyarrwurti), Thargari tyarrku three; and Yindjibarndi thurrwiny, Ngarluma thurrkuny white gooseberry shrub. But consider also Yindjibarndi thurrurtu, Ngarluma thurrkurl true.

⁴Remember that our universe is restricted to those environments described in the first sentence in this section.
ty + y ( + ∅)

Example: See introductory discussion to this section.

rt automatically lenites to a reverse flap everywhere in medial position between vowels, the resulting flap constituting an allophone of rt (see 2.1.2.1. and 2.1.2.2).

t in intervocalic position has already lenited to and merged with rr nearly everywhere in Yindjibarndi. There are very few examples of t in this position: kitakita tap-tap, kutu (NC) short, kuta (NP) short, mata climbing sweet potato, pitinyarra kind of lerp and tyuti native canary. The fact that this lenition has taken place is recoverable from the doublet ngunhaatumpa, ngunhaarrumpa that's the one I'm talking about. The same observation can be made by examining the following items of data: ngarra scene, view, pangkarri- (VØ) ngarraurlu go for good (ngarraurlu back view), ngunhaangata that position.

w + ∅

Example: The only apparent examples occur where a putative *w descends from Proto-Ngayardic *p:

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Thus, the proto-form suggested by Ngarluma wanyaparri- could very well have been spuriously changed to *wanyakarri- as if it were to be analysed as *wanya- + *karri-. Here compare payaarri- (VØ) get wild from *patya + *karri- and note Walmatyari pinakarri- hear, pina ear. We do know that such spurious changes of p have indeed occurred in Yindjibarndi. Compare, for example, kurlu small of back with Ngarluma purlu, and -kula both with Ngarluma -pula. The other example given by O'Grady (1966:101) is an unfortunate slip. The putative form thaathomarrnta greedy has little to do with Pandjima thapatha vegetable. It is a mishearing of thathamarrnta from *thathamarta (see 2.2.15), which responds to Ngarluma thalhanharri (see Hale 1960:350), where -nharri is the normal agentive suffix for ∅-stem verbs.

1Compare, for example, kurrurta dead still, Kurrama kurru dead, Pandjima kutu.

2It is difficult to explain why the Yindjibarndi word for boomerang is not *wirrwa, particularly when we have Yindjibarndi warrrwa far, Ngarluma warrrpa. However, it is possible that pre-Yindjibarndi *wirrpa somehow got crossed with another synonymous form *warrkunti. Compare Pandjima warrkurnti, Kurrama warrwinti boomerang (von Brandenstein 1975:136). But then we still have to explain the loss of *w in Yindjibarndi wuthurrungka- (VL) squirt (cf. Ngarluma wollarrrpuyungka-).

3I am suspicious of this example, because wanyaarri- has no related forms in Yindjibarndi. Thus, the proto-form suggested by Ngarluma wanyaparri- could very well have been spuriously changed to *wanyakarri- as if it were to be analysed as *wanya- + *karri-. Here compare payaarri- (VØ) get wild from *patya + *karri- and note Walmatyari pinakarri- hear, pina ear. We do know that such spurious changes of p have indeed occurred in Yindjibarndi. Compare, for example, kurlu small of back with Ngarluma purlu, and -kula both with Ngarluma -pula. The other example given by O'Grady (1966:101) is an unfortunate slip. The putative form thaathomarrnta greedy has little to do with Pandjima thapatha vegetable. It is a mishearing of thathamarrnta from *thathamarta (see 2.2.15), which responds to Ngarluma thalhanharri (see Hale 1960:350), where -nharri is the normal agentive suffix for ∅-stem verbs.
\[ yh + \emptyset \]

Example: wayharrri- (V\emptyset) look for + waarrri-\(^1\)
\[ y + \emptyset \]

Example: cf. kaarrka redwood, kayawayi orange caper
\[ r + y \mid a\_1 \]
+ \emptyset elsewhere

Example: markurrya good + -ri- (V\emptyset) + markurrri- (V\emptyset) come good
+ markurrayi-\(^2\)

cf. warruurka, warrururka black monitor

However, if one wants to be practical and ignore the vagaries of lenition as it exists in the derivation of words, then one only needs to remember four simple rules:

\[
\begin{align*}
p & \rightarrow w \mid V, \quad rr + \_V^3 \\
k & \rightarrow w \mid u + \_V^4 \\
& + \emptyset \mid V_1, \quad rr + \_V, \text{ where } V_1 \neq u \\
\text{th} & \rightarrow yh \mid V + \_V \\
\text{ty} & \rightarrow y \mid V + \_V \\
\end{align*}
\]

The first practical rule operates on the indirect allative case marker -purraa,\(^5\) for example:

maya house + -purraa + mayawurraa

The second practical rule operates on the direct allative case marker -karta, for example:

wuntu river + -karta + wuntuwarta
maya house + -karta + mayaarta
wangkarr throat + -karta + wangkarrarta

\(^1\) This example is practically without substance, because waari- can be straightforwardly derived from waa- go + -rri- (V\emptyset). See the Dictionary. I am unable to corroborate O'Grady's (1966:116) other example, where yh in Yindjibarndi thuyhu- (VL) push from Proto-Ngayardic *thuthu- undergoes a second lenition to \emptyset. But see the Dictionary under 'thuu- (VL)'.

\(^2\) Cheedy Ned is the only Yindjibarndi that I have heard use this form.

\(^3\) When *w is produced in the environment u__u, it is immediately elided (see 2.2.11).

\(^4\) I have not actually observed the lenition of k in the environment u__i. See also the immediately preceding footnote.

\(^5\) And also very importantly upon the emphatic clitic -pa and the intensifier -parlu to form their respective lenition variants -wa and -warlu.
And also on the objective case marker -ku, for example:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{warrapa grass} & + & -\text{ku} & + & \text{warrapau} \\
&\text{pirrii match} & + & -\text{ku} & + & \text{pirriiu} \\
&\text{martarr red ochre} & + & -\text{ku} & + & \text{martarru}
\end{align*}
\]

The third practical rule is relevant to the morpheme separator -th-, when it occurs with the genitive case marker -arnrtu,\(^1\) for example:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{murr}u \text{ back} & + & -\text{th} & + & -\text{arnrtu} & + & \text{murruyharntu}
\end{align*}
\]

And the fourth and final practical rule is relevant to the variant of the morpheme separator -th-, which is -ty-, for example:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{kurri girl} & + & -\text{ty} & + & -\text{arnrtu} & + & \text{kurriyarnrtu}
\end{align*}
\]

At the beginning of this discussion, we made the point that lenition is always optional. However, since we have simplified the problem of lenition to one of describing its operation synchronically within the domain of syntax, we can now say that lenition must take place unless it is obstructed for some particular reason. What then are the reasons for lenition not taking place?

Some reasons are phonological. For example, it is clear that stops which are the product of Proto-Ngayardic *l + stop never lenite. Thus the present tense marker for L-stem verbs is always -ku with no lenition variants, because it descends from -*l + -*ku.\(^2\) In Ngarluma the present tense marker for this stem class is still -1ku. Note also what happens to the directional allative case marker -kurru in compass point directions:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{wuluyu} & \text{in the west} < & *\text{wulu} & + & -*\text{tyu} \\
&\text{wuluyuurru} & \text{westwards} < & *\text{wulu} & + & -*\text{tyu} & + & -*\text{kurru}
\end{align*}
\]

whereas

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{wartat} & \text{in the north} < & *\text{warta} & + & -*l \\
&\text{wartakurru} & \text{northwards} < & *\text{warta} & + & -*l & + & -*\text{kurru}\(3\)
\end{align*}
\]

The kinship dual kurnrtakarra mother's brother and sister's son has developed in a manner similar to wartakurru. See the Dictionary.

\(^1\)-th- is actually quite rare in syntactic contexts. However, see 3.1.1.2.2.1. and 3.2.1.1.1.

\(^2\)See O'Grady (1966:88) on this point. The optative mood marker for L-stem verbs, i.e. -tyaa, has developed similarly (see 3.1.4.2.1).

\(^3\)Compare the fate of *l in this derivation with that of *l in the derivation of wuyurkaa easy from *wu(t)yul (cf. wuyut nothing) plus -*kura. Consider also the etymology of the term maarrka praying mantis given in the Dictionary.
Grammar is another reason for lenition being blocked. Let us take, for example, two similarly derived nouns, kuyaa that side and tyuntaa that way. The first is derived from kuyu side plus the suffix -ra, the second from tyuntu way plus the same suffix. However, while the objective case of kuyaa is kuyaa, the same case for tyuntaa is tyuntaaku. The reason for the difference is that kuyaa remains a common noun like kuyu, but tyuntaa has been reclassified as a retroflex noun. This can be seen clearly by comparing their respective locative cases, namely kuyaala vs. tyuntaarta. This retroflex grammatical environment is consistent in that it blocks lenition in other cases, e.g. tyuntaakarta (direct allative), tyuntaapurraa (indirect allative), tyuntaatharnrtu (genitive) and it even prevents lenition of clitics, e.g. tyuntaaparu always.

Finally, lexical environments can also block lenition. So, for example, the allative case of murna close is murnakurruru. -kurru here is not derived from Proto-Ngayardic -*k + -kurru, because the locative case of murna is murnangka, which is almost never used, the nominative being substituted in its place. The same blocking of k can be observed in the compound murnakuyu this side. However, the emphatic form of murna is murnawa, showing that lenition of p is not blocked!

2.2.11. 'w' Elision

w falls when it occurs between two u's, that is,

\[ w \rightarrow \emptyset / u \_u \]

Thus,

\[ warru \_night + -ku \rightarrow *warruwu \]
\[ \rightarrow warru \]

as in warruu yini until night. -ku is, of course, the objective case marker. Note also

\[ warru \_night + -purraa \rightarrow *warruwurraa \]
\[ \rightarrow warruwurraa \_twilight \]

where -purraa is the indirect allative case marker employed as a derivational suffix.

\[ 1 \text{Compare ngunthhuuyu that side from ngunthi way over there plus kuyu side.} \]

\[ 2 \text{The term tyina foot may provide an even stronger lenition-blocking environment than murna. See the several relevant entries immediately following tyina in the Dictionary.} \]
2.2.12. Peripheral Nasal Plus Stop Cluster Dissimilation

When a cluster, consisting of peripheral nasal plus stop, is placed in a position immediately following a short vowel (or short vowel plus consonant) which is itself immediately preceded by any nasal plus stop cluster, then the peripheral nasal in the appended nasal plus stop cluster is automatically deleted. That is,

\[ mp; ngk + p; k / \text{NSV(C)} + ___ \]

where \( N = \) any nasal
\( S = \) any stop
\( V = \) any vowel
\( C = \) any consonant

Such dissimilations are perhaps most noticeable in connection with the inflection for locative and instrumental case of disyllabic common nouns ending in a vowel. In this situation the locative case marker -ngka is first simplified to -*ka\(^2\) and then further lenited to -a or -wa, depending upon the quality of the final vowel in the noun being inflected, while the instrumental case marker -ngku is simplified to -*ku and then just reduced to -u. For example:

\begin{align*}
\text{wuntu} & \quad \text{river} \quad + -ngka \rightarrow *wuntuka \\
& \quad \rightarrow wuntuwa \\
& \quad -ngku \rightarrow *wuntuku \\
& \quad + *wuntuwu \\
& \quad + wuntuu \\
\text{warnrta} & \quad \text{stick} \quad + -ngka \rightarrow *warnrtaka \\
& \quad \rightarrow warnrtaa \\
& \quad -ngku \rightarrow *warnrtaku \\
& \quad + warnrtau \\
\text{manytyi} & \quad \text{death adder} \quad + -ngka \rightarrow *manytyika \\
& \quad \rightarrow manytyia \\
& \quad -ngku \rightarrow *manytyiku \\
& \quad + manytyiu
\end{align*}

Simplification of \( mp \) proceeds similarly except that the resulting \( p \) does not lenite. Such dissimilations can be perceived by comparing

\(^1\)There are a few pieces of evidence to suggest that another kind of dissimilation process involving retroflexion is also extant in Yindjibarndi. See kakurla, kukura and wakaru in the Dictionary.

\(^2\)As suggested by the Ngariluma evidence (see O'Grady 1966:75).
the objective cases of certain pronouns which have a plural in -mpurrru. For example:

ngaliya + -mpurrru + -ngu + ngaliyampurrungu

while

nyiniku + -mpurrru + -ngu + nyinkupurrungu

The reader is advised to consult the Dictionary for further information about these formations.

In the following derivation, 'u assimilation' occurs together with the dissimilation of m:

kantu- low + -mpi + kantipi tiny

Simplification of peripheral nasal plus stop clusters also occurs in clitics. The following illustrations involve the topic clitic -mpa:

munti really + -mpa + muntipa

Note that dissimilation will proceed even when the leading term ends in a consonant, for example:

thangkarr enough + -mpa + thangkarrpa

The reader should understand that this is not simply a reduction of an impossible triconsonantal cluster to a disyllabic one: the topic clitic will just not fit on words ending in a consonant with no immediately preceding nasal plus stop cluster.\(^1\)

On the other hand dissimilation will not proceed if another syllable isolates the dissimilating environment:

wuntu river + -ngka + -mpa + -rtu + *wuntukampartu\(^3\)

\[ \rightarrow \text{wuntuwampartu} \]

not even if the intervening syllable collapses, coalescing with the preceding vowel to form a single long vowel:

ngaarnrtu my + -ku + -mpa + -rtu + *ngaarnrtuwumpartu

\[ \rightarrow \text{ngaarnrtuumpartu} \]

---

\(^1\) I did not break down this derivation into two stages, because I am not sure about the relative ordering of the two phonological processes which are manifested. However, there is a possibility that vowel assimilation follows consonant cluster dissimilation, since none of the examples listed in 2.2.6 shows 'u assimilation' across a consonant cluster.

\(^2\) Gilbert Bobby tells me that the only thing you can do in this case is to use the emphatic clitic in its place.

\(^3\) Incidentally, this example demonstrates that the rule is applied from left to right.
In the two examples given above, -rtu is the contrast clitic and -ku is the objective case marker.

The rule for nasal plus stop cluster dissimilation definitely does not operate on non-peripheral nasal plus stop clusters:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kangkan fork in} & \quad \text{yirtiya the road} \\
& + \text{-la} \\
\text{kangkan fork} & + \text{-karra} + \text{kangkankarra forked}
\end{align*}
\]

Nor can it be applied if the stipulated conditioning environment is replaced by a nasal plus nasal cluster. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{parnka female bungarra} & + \text{-ngka} + \text{*parnkaka} \\
& \rightarrow \text{parnkaa}
\end{align*}
\]

but

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{parnnga bark} & + \text{-ngka} + \text{parnngangka}
\end{align*}
\]

Finally, we must mention Yantimpurrwa, the name of a local country to which Harold and Cheedy Ned belong. This term appears to be the only exception to the 'peripheral nasal plus stop cluster dissimilation' rule. Perhaps as a proper name it is exempt from the rules which govern the phonology (see section 2.1.2.4).

2.2.13. Coalescence, Levelling and Reduction of Vowels¹

When two identical short vowels meet directly or after lenition (see 2.2.10) and/or elision of an intervening consonant (see 2.2.9 and 2.2.11), they unite to form a long vowel.² Thus,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} + \text{a} & \rightarrow \text{aa}
\end{align*}
\]

Example: ngaarta mam + -arnrtu + ngaartaaarnrtu mam's

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngatya- help} & + \text{-karra} + \text{ngatyaarra} \quad \text{helpful}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i} + \text{i} & \rightarrow \text{ii}
\end{align*}
\]

Example: Tyirti Cheedy Ned + -yi + Tyirtii Cheedy!

In the above example, -yi is the vocative suffix.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{u} + \text{u} & \rightarrow \text{uu}
\end{align*}
\]

Example: paru spinifex + -(k)urru³ + paruurru lots of spinifex

¹See also O'Grady 1966:92-93.

²There is no such thing as a sequence of two identical short vowels (see 2.1.3.5).

³This plural suffix takes the form -kurru in Ngarluma, so that the plural of 'spinifex' is parukurru there.
When two different short vowels meet under the circumstances stated above, they may remain or else they may be levelled. Thus,

\[ a + i \rightarrow a + i + a = a + a \]

Example: \textit{karta} bottom + -tyirri sticking out + *kartayirri

\[ + karta yawrri rock outcropping \]

\textit{purta} lump + -tyirri sticking out + purtatyirri

\[ + *purtayrirri rough ground \]

\[ + *purtairirri \]

\[ + Purtaarri place where death began \]

Example: \textit{warnrta} tree + -ku + warnrtau

\textit{ngarra} view + kurlu lower back + ngarraurlu back view

In the first example, -ku is the objective case marker.

\[ i + a \rightarrow i + a + a \]

Example: cf. Kanyia, Kanyira\(^2\) place where the purnrtut lies

\[ cf. yaala now, yiyangu new \]

\[ i + u \rightarrow i + u + i = i + u + u \]

Example: ngunhthi way over there + kuyu side + ngunhthiuyu\(^3\) other side

\[ + ngunhthuuyu \]

\[ u + i \rightarrow u + i + u = u + i + i \]

Example: Nyillku Paddy William + -yi + Nyillkui Paddy!

\[ cf. thamii mother's father, Nyangumarda tyamutyi\(^4\) \]

\(^1\)I cannot find any examples in which au is levelled, and evidently O'Grady (1966: 92) couldn't either.

\(^2\)Long Mack is the only person I know who uses this form.

\(^3\)As far as I can tell, only Ken M. Jerrold uses this form.

\(^4\)The intermediate situation is illustrated in papui woman's brother's child, evidently from papui father plus -tyi. Of course, the derivation could just as well be explained in terms of 'u assimilation' (see 2.2.6). The term \textit{mantiiirti} Tree-in-the-Moon would be an excellent example to include here were it not a borrowing from Ngarluma. See the Dictionary.
\[ u + a \rightarrow ua \]
\[ + \rightarrow aa \]

Example: Murtimaa Frank Wordick + -ngu + -arnrtu + Murtimaanguarnrtu

Frank Wordick's + Murtimaangaarnrtu

purlu \( \text{front} \) + -ra + *purlua

+ purlaa \text{in front}

In the first example, -ngu is the objective case marker for proper nouns.

When a long vowel and a corresponding short vowel meet, they unite and shorten to form a long vowel. For example:

wangarkaa \text{crow} + -arnrtu + wangarkaarnrtu \text{crow's}

purruu \text{hair belt} + -ku + *purruuwu

+ *purruuu

+ purruu

In the last derivation, -ku is the objective case marker.

When a short vowel and a corresponding long vowel meet, they coalesce and are reduced to a single long vowel, for example:

murla \text{bird} + -kaa \text{like} + *murlaa

+ murla

Finally, when two identical long vowels meet, they again result in a single long vowel, for example:

partuwarlaa \text{bird} + -kaa \text{like} + *partuwarlaaaa

+ partuwarlaa

2.2.14. Source of 'oo'

When uwa occurs in word medial position following m, it may optionally coalesce to form oo, that is

\[ uwa + oo / m \]

This form is not common. The following one is the usual one.

If the two original vowels are not of the same quality, then no reduction will obtain. This statement also holds true with respect to the rest of the reductions discussed in this section. See also 2.1.3.5.

The rule will not apply, if uwa occurs in word final position. For example, there exists no form *moo to complement muwa buried alive.

In Gilbert Bobby's idiolect this option does not exist. For him, oo only occurs in the word for Friday, that is, Loopu.
For example,

\[
\text{Wikamu-1 Wickham + -karta + Wikamuwarto (wards) Wickham} \\
\quad + Wikamoorra
\]

This rule also operates intramorphemically, demonstrating that it is strictly phonological, not morphophonemic. For example, consider the following doublets, muwarlingu, mooringu *silver-leaf wattle*, and compare Ngarluma mukarli.

In general, everywhere we find a word containing oo, we also find its near twin, having uwa in place of oo. Loopu, the word for *Friday*, forms the only exception to this rule: *Luwapu* definitely does not exist. However, one may note that even in this word, oo still abuts on a labial consonant, suggesting that oo has only one source, namely uwa.

I have one example in my notes of ee, to wit wanhthiwee! *how are you!*, where ee is a reduced form of ayi (cf. wanhthiwayi). This transformation of ayi to ee bears a remarkable resemblance to the production of oo from uwa, even to the presence of a similar labial environment. However, such a comparison may be misdirected, since a different - and simpler - explanation is possible: The problematic utterance was spoken by a well educated young woman. Therefore, one might guess that she was taught to correct her country English pronunciation of 'ay' to that of cultivated English and that she then generalised this correction to Yindjibarndi (see also 2.2.2).

2.2.15. Consonant Variation

There exist a number of morphemes in which the point of articulation of one of the consonants contained in them varies, evidently being conditioned by some high-level, non-phonological factor in the environment. Such variation is most apparent in respect of laminals. Note, for example, the following list of allomorph pairs, each consisting of free morpheme plus bound morpheme:

\[\text{This is the oblique stem of Wikam (see 2.2.1).}\]

\[\text{For specific words containing the bound morphemes, see the Dictionary. The reader should also consider the fact that Ken M. Jerrold claims that it is possible to say ngurrinhtha for ngurrinytya, the locative case of ngurriny swag, roll. Gilbert Bobby would not accept such a construction, but Robert Churnside provides a similar one for Ngarluma (see Hale 1960:234).}\]
thurla butt-peg, tyurla-
mutha nose, mutya-
kuyhi bone, kul-\(^1\)

Note also the interchange which takes place between nh and ny in the following cognate set, consisting of verb stems and nouns: puntha- (VØ) be washing, puntha- (VL) wash; puntyat (NC) dew, puntyi\(^2\) (NC) native yellow perch.

Interchange between alveolar and retroflex articulation is observable within certain bound morphemes. Consider the following word pairs: kalawara trousers, karlaura wheel (cf. Nyamal kala thigh);\(^3\) mantarrangu kind of twisting vine, marnrtamirraa eel (cf. manta- (VR) bind).\(^4\) Such interchange between p and k\(^5\) cannot be perceived unless data from another language is introduced; that is, Yindjibarndi kurlu small of back, Ngarluma purlu; Yindjibarndi -kula both, Ngarluma -pula; Yindjibarndi wirnka- (VØ) whistle, Nyangumarda wi[r]napalpi- (VL).

There is at least one example involving variation in manner of articulation of a consonant between free and bound morpheme: nguri circle, kuriwaartarri- (VØ) circle back. In this context compare Yindjibarndi kumpa face with Nyangumarta ngumpa. Note also the variation between stop and nasal plus stop in the morpheme meaning weight found in the following two terms: martama- (VL) put weight on, ngungkumarrnta strong and heavy.\(^6\) Here also compare Yindjibarndi winpiri long and slender, Ngarluma wipiri. Assimilation is indicated in Yindjibarndi yillimpirraa mudlark and nyimpa- (VØ) react. Compare Ngarluma yilinpirriya and nyinpa-, respectively.

\(^1\)kul- comes from *kuyi- (see 2.2.9).

\(^2\)See the latter part of 2.2.7 on the fronting of a.

\(^3\)Compare parntanyat (NC) part of the body where the thigh joins the hip from *parntanyal, parntanyarpirri- (VØ) sit cross-legged from *parntanyarl + -*pi + -*rrri- (VØ).

\(^4\)Note also Yindjibarndi kartaa side of face, Ngarluma kartara, but Pardjima katara (cf. Nyungar, Western Desert kata head).

\(^5\)On that obtaining between m and ng, consider the following examples: Yindjibarndi muurkarrri- (VØ) hum, Western Desert nguuruma- (VN); Yindjibarndi ngartarla tubular, Western Desert marta.

\(^6\)Compare thathamarnrta greedy and see the Dictionary.
2.3. Prosodies

2.3.1. Syllable Structure

A syllable in Yindjibarndi consists of one mora\(^1\) or of two identical morae plus a consonant on either or neither side. The mora (M) or mora pair carries an accent (see following section) and therefore contains the volume peak of the syllable, while the potential consonants (C) make up the slopes. Syllables may take on the following forms:

- **M**: u in nhau *sees* and uu or and i in pii *flat*
- **MM**: uu or\(^2\) and aa in pii*aa* like a flat
- **CM**: nha in nhau *sees* and pi in pii *flat*
- **CMM**: pii *flat*
- **MC**: uur in thuurr *big and slow*
- **MMC**: 'no examples'
- **CMC**: mun in munti *really* and may in maya *house*
- **CMMC**: thuurr *big and slow*

Variations in syllable structure occur in the terms uu or, pii *flat* and thuurr *big and slow*, because long vowels, especially high ones, may be pronounced either as part of a single syllable consisting of two morae or as part of two different ones, i.e. with one mora in each. When a long vowel is pronounced as part of a single syllable, the accent tends to centre on the first mora and trails off through the second.

Syllable boundaries are characterised by a volume decrease or trough. Because consonant clusters can only be disyllabic (see 2.1.2.4) and because single consonants are pronounced as if they were a geminate cluster in medial position between vowels (see 2.1.2.1), syllable boundaries consist only of the following types:

\[ ...C_1.C_2... \text{, where } C_1 \neq C_2 \text{ or } [C_1 = C_2] + C \]

Examples: "n.t... in munti *really*\(^3\)
"y.y... in maya *house"

\(^1\)A mora is a unit of vocalic quantity which is equivalent to one short vowel or half a long vowel.

\(^2\)This word, which is a borrowing, is the only one in the language consisting of only a long vowel.

\(^3\)On one occasion I asked an able Yindjibarndi speaker to divide this word into syllables. He did it in the following way: mu.n.ti. Whatever this datum may suggest, I can assure the reader that munti is not pronounced this way in normal speech.
Examples: ...

Examples: ...

2.3.2. Accent

Within the domain of the word, stress and pitch are combined to form three degrees of accent - primary or strong (1), secondary (2) and tertiary or weak (3). In words containing only short vowels, the accent pattern is straightforward, adhering to the following basic design:

1 3 2 3 2 3

The same formula also holds, when long vowels only occur in odd syllables, e.g. thaarta hollow. However, even here some variation already begins to occur, because of 'vowel breaking'. So, for example, in the word ngunhungkiirri they, the accent pattern is 1 3 2 3 varying with 1 3 2 3 2. That is, when the long vowel is pronounced as a long vowel the regular pattern obtains. However, when it is pronounced as if it were a sequence of two short vowels, the variant pattern is obtained.

Now when a long vowel occurs in an even syllable, the basic pattern may not be adhered to, depending on whether the long vowel is pronounced as long vowel or not. If it is, then the stronger accent on the syllable, preceding it, will be attracted onto it. Let us, therefore, consider a number of cases in order to see how the standard accent pattern may be altered, when long vowels occur in Yindjibarndi words:

In disyllabic words with a long vowel in the second syllable, the accent is optionally deflected to the second syllable, providing the possible pattern 3 1. However, if the long vowel is a high one, it may be broken, producing a pattern 1 3 2. Examples of words following

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1Syllables are discussed in the preceding section. Other examples include kaarrwara loincloth and kaarrwanytyaangu the infinitive aspect of karrwanytyi- (Vø) slip, slide.

2See what Capell (1956:8) has to say.

3In words with twice this number of syllables, the same change can be observed. For example, ngunhaangata this position follows the pattern 3 1 2 3, and ngurnaapurra approximately towards him the pattern 3 1 3 2.
these patterns include pirrii match, purruu hair belt, kartaa side of face, yunrrtaa flour and tyarraarn frog. When a second long vowel is introduced, the situation becomes slightly more complicated. With kiitaa guttar and maapuu, the objective case of maap mob, the pattern is 3 1 for the former\(^1\) and 1 3 2 for the latter. However, paarnpaarn mulga parrot with a final consonant seems to follow the pattern for disyllabic words with short vowels, i.e. 1 3. And nyilnyiin giddiness distinctly follows the pattern 1 3 2 3, having both its high vowels broken.

In trisyllabic words with a long vowel in the second syllable, the accent ordinarily deflects to the long vowel, if that vowel is aa, giving a pattern of 3 1 2. Examples include nyillaarti native mead, nyinkaarnruu yours, plyaarri gets thirsty, purnngaarri cyclonic cloud, wanyaarri heare and Purtaarri place where death is said to have originated. However, if the long vowel is ii or uu, then the vowel is nearly invariably broken, producing an accent pattern of 1 3 2 3. Examples include paliirri blue-tongue lizard, nhungkiirri these, kuruuru plump and ngunthhuuyu other side. However, one must remember that these rules are not hard and fast, so that, for example, ngatyaaarra helpful seems to follow the pattern for words with high long vowels, whereas purniina follows the pattern for words containing aa.

The same pattern just discussed also holds when the first short vowel is replaced by a long vowel. Examples include nguurraarri snaarle and kaayuurru southward. However, it does not hold, if the second long vowel is placed in the third syllable instead of the first. The accent pattern now becomes 1 3 3 2. Relevant examples include thathaarlaa liar and martuurraa twilight. This accent pattern of 1 3 3 2 also holds for trisyllabic words having three long vowels. One example is maapuurraa in the general direction of the group.

2.3.3. Intonation and Punctuation

I did not do much in the way of studying intonation, my time being kept fully occupied by a consideration of the more mundane aspects of the language. Therefore, I will only briefly note that declarative and 'wh'-interrogative sentences seem to follow a 'bumpy', staccato type of intonation pattern, while imperative sentences are characterised

\(^{1}\)I would feel more confident about making this statement, if I could observe this same shift in a non-borrowed word. It is difficult to hear length in the first syllable, yet the vowel is pronounced tense.
by a relatively loud, fortis level one, and 'yes-or-no' interrogative sentences by a final rising intonation contour. These three types of sentences (see 4.2.2) are marked at the end by a 'period' or 'full stop' (.), 'question mark' (?) and 'exclamation point' (!), respectively, as in English. And, of course, they always begin with a capital letter.

Internal types of punctuation marks also find good use in Yindjibarndi. The semicolon (;), for instance, is used to conjoin closely associated independent sentences as, for example, in bipolar comparatives (see 4.2.6). It is also really essential to have a semicolon in falsely conjoined sentences like the following:

1. The intonation patterns for imperative and 'yes-or-no' interrogatives roughly resemble those used in English, but the one for declarative and 'wh'-interrogative sentences seems to be very different. I doubt very much whether the first two types have been affected by English. See Dixon 1977:382.

2. It is important to punctuate Yindjibarndi sentences in this way, because these marks indicate intonation patterns, and sometimes it is only the intonation pattern, which enables one to discriminate a declarative sentence from an interrogative sentence from an imperative sentence. For example, compare the following:

Ngayinhtharrri pangkarrii.
We will go.

Ngayinhtharrri pangkarrii?
Will we go?

Ngayinhtharrri pangkarrii!
Let us go!

As one can plainly see, there is even more reason for having punctuation marks in Yindjibarndi than there is in English.

3. Vocative forms are also punctuated with an exclamation mark. See 3.2.1.1.1.

4. It is important to recognise that English provides a dominating linguistic environment for Yindjibarndi. Punctuating Yindjibarndi as much as possible like English will mean that Aboriginals who become literate in their own language will have less trouble learning to read and write English. Also, a regional language which closely resembles a major language in written form will stand a much greater chance of acceptance by native speakers of English, who frequently think of such languages as being disorganised and underdeveloped.

5. Capital letters are also used to capitalise proper names, regardless of whether these proper names are proper nouns or not in Yindjibarndi. Capital letters are also used to capitalise just about everything else that is capitalised in English. So, for example, Minkala God is capitalised, but parr! the devil is not. Similarly, the words for sun and moon, yurra and wilarra, respectively, are not capitalised, but Venua, that is, Parnturrarna is. However, there is no reason to capitalise the first person singular pronoun in Yindjibarndi, i.e. ngayi, as there is in English.
Another example, similar to the one given above, can be found in Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 7.

The comma (,), on the other hand, can be used to separate clauses within a sentence, thereby making the internal grammatical structure apparent. For example, a liberal application of the comma turns out to be very helpful in explicating very long and complicated sentences, such as the one which occurs in Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 5. The comma may also be used to introduce quoted speech. In such circumstances the quoted material is always set off by quotation marks (' '). See Text 71, paragraph 2, for illustrations. However, when the quoted material consists of several sentences, it should be introduced by a colon (: ) instead of a comma as shown in Text 54.

The dash (–) may be used as in English to mark off a statement within a statement or to introduce a listing of items, for example –

Note also the use of the comma to separate the individual items in the list.² And see also 4.1.1.3.

Parentheses ( ( ) ) may be employed from time to time to enclose parenthetical matter. In this regard see Text 52, sentence 4 and Text 55, sentence 5.

Finally, there is the apostrophe ('). This mark of punctuation does not seem to have much use in Yindjibarndi except perhaps to indicate an elided final vowel, e.g. palam' for palamu (see 2.2.1).

2.3.4. Speech Style

Cultivated Yindjibarndi, that is, Yindjibarndi as it is spoken by mature, knowledgeable individuals whose primary orientation is toward Aboriginal rather than White culture, is spoken with weak articulation and at low volume. Crisp, clear diction is interpreted as an overt

¹ This rare and remarkable utterance, produced by Cheedy Ned, literally states: The sun is rising. I ate., where -wa is a lenited form of the emphatic clitic used as an indicator of 'time' (see 3.2.2.4). Normally, one would expect a construction of the following type: Yurra karpayangula(wa), ngayi ngarrkunha. See 4.2.4.3.

² See the first two sentences in Text 55 for similar examples.
indication of hostility, especially when it is combined with a loud voice. However, fortis pronunciation alone is often enough to make an Aborigine grimace. Another characteristic of Yindjibarndi, which is worth mentioning is the speed at which it is spoken. It is comparable to that of lively Spanish, again making the language somewhat difficult to follow.

Finally, we will discuss a style of speech, which the Yindjibarndi call 'talking light'. What this means is that retroflexion is effectively neutralised, making it impossible to hear a contrast between alveolar and retroflex consonants, unless one learns to use the subphonemic quality of the preceding vowel as a cue (see 2.1.3.1). However, even this tactic can be difficult to use with rapid speech, where laxness tends to replace tenseness. One may at first think that the dropping of retroflexion in Yindjibarndi could be caused by some speakers trying to emulate the pronunciation of modern Australian English, where post-vocalic 'r' has been lost.1 However, if one considers the overall situation, he will realise that the solution cannot be that simple.2

On one occasion I asked a man about my own age whether the word for and is supposed to be pronounced 'muntu' or 'murnrtu'. He replied that it is 'murnrtu' if you are talking 'heavy' and 'muntu' if you are talking 'light'. Thus, the situation consists not only of erasing retroflexion from surface representations3 of retroflex consonants, but also of adding it to alveolars from time to time. Such pronunciation 'shifts' are known to have occurred in earlier periods, because they have become standardised in the language and are therefore retrievable via the comparative method. For example, consider the following cognate sets: karlaura wheel, kalawara panta, Nyamal kala thigh, Yindjibarndi kukkanityayi sheep, Nyungar, Western Desert kukkanyari; Yindjibarndi kurtan sack, bag, Nyungar kutu; Yindjibarndi kartaa side of face, Ngarluma kartara, Pandjima katara, Nyungar, Western Desert kata head.

1What sort of English the first settlers in this area must have been speaking can be inferred from borrowings like tharrki turkey and warrkam work.

2This is not to say that some speakers do not indulge themselves in post-vocalic r dropping, which is no doubt traceable to English. One old fellow consistently pronounces the word for ear as 'kuka' and that for ankle as 'nhuuka'.

3I do want to assure the reader that there is without doubt an underlying structural contrast between alveolar and retroflex articulation in Yindjibarndi, even though it may take a while to determine which pronunciation is correct for a particular word. For example, the correct pronunciation for and is definitely 'muntu'. Murnrtu means thick. See also 2.1.2.2, where minimal pairs are provided in a footnote.
3. WORD MORPHOLOGY
3.1. Parts of Speech

Every word in the Yindjibarndi language belongs to one of four parts of speech - noun, pronoun, indeclinable or verb stem. Each one of these parts of speech will be discussed in detail in the order in which they have just been listed.

3.1.1. Nouns

We shall begin our discussion of the parts of speech with nouns, which constitute the most common type of word encountered in Yindjibarndi.

3.1.1.1. Stem Classification

Nouns may be classified in terms of the inflectional classes to which they belong, as to whether they are free or bound, and also in respect of their internal structures.

3.1.1.1.1. Inflectional Classes

There are three open nominal declensional classes in Yindjibarndi: common, proper and retroflex. The first is by far the largest, containing the great majority of nouns. The second is a much smaller class. It contains the names (but not nicknames) of humans, emu-people and dogs, many place names (specifically excluding rivers) and a few ordinary words which are thrown in for no apparent good reason.¹ The third class only contains one noun² as far as I have been able to tell, but there is no reason to assume that this class is closed. Additional members may come to light later, particularly if the high language is studied in detail.

It is important to understand that the classification of nouns according to these three declensional classes has a large measure of arbitrariness associated with it. For example, if one takes the common noun kuyu side and attaches the suffix -ra to it, he derives kuyaa

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¹For example, kutapa (NP) short. Cf. kuta (NC) short. A very large number of kinship terms are proper nouns. One might argue that the reason they are so classified is that they are in a sense names of humans. However, then he must think up a reason to explain why some of them are common.

²However, a few pronouns belong to this class. They are wala that (mid-distant), oblique stem walaa-, ngunhaa that with two oblique stems, ngulaa- and ngurnaa-, and wanhta- which, which is a bound stem (see 3.1.2.1.3 and 3.1.2.2).
other side, another common noun. However, when the same suffix is added to kaya older brother, a synonymous proper noun kayaa is produced. Finally, when the same operation is performed on tyuntu way, the retroflex noun tyuntaa that way appears.

Besides these three open classes, there are two additional closed classes to which are assigned the four cardinal directions plus upstream and downstream. It is clear that these two classes are closed, their membership being semantically determined.

3.1.1.1.2. Free Stems vs. Bound Stems

Nouns can also be divided into free stems and bound stems. Free stems are those nouns which can appear as independent words. Nouns which are bound stems cannot stand as independent words, but must appear in conjunction with a suffix, clitic or another stem. In Yindjibarndi one often finds special bound stems which are synonymous with free stems. For example, the word for thigh is wulu, but in derivations one usually finds kala-.1

This free vs. bound dichotomy more or less cross-cuts the system of declensional classes discussed in the previous section, so that it is theoretically possible for any free stem to occur in any declensional class as well as any bound stem to occur in any declensional class.2 In reality all possible combinations do not obtain. The vast majority of bound nouns are also common nouns. A miniscule number of bound nouns are proper. Yiya- in yaala now, yiyangu new is one of them. No bound nouns3 belong to the retroflex class. On the other hand, nouns belonging to the two classes for directions are all bound. Free nouns are restricted to the three open classes, common, proper and retroflex.

3.1.1.1.3. Internal Structure

In terms of their internal structure, nouns can be divided into five types: simple, compound, complex, compound-complex and sentential.

1For derivations incorporating kala- see the Dictionary below that bound stem. See also tyinakala and karlaura.

2However, bound stems, unlike free ones, do not as a rule possess complete declensional paradigms within the declensional class to which they belong.

3There is, however, a bound pronominal stem. It is wanhtaa- (FR) which (see 3.1.2.2). Compare wanhthi- (FP) which and tha- (PC) what with it.
There is not much to say about simple, that is, monomorphemic, nouns except that one should not assume that every short one is simple. For example, the term *watyi bad*, although it looks simple enough, is actually a complex noun (see further below) which consists of the bound root *watyi* - bad plus the contentless suffix -tyi (see 3.2.1.2). This fact can be ascertained by comparing the Ngarluma cognate *wallka bad*, which is composed of *wall*- and -ka. The Proto-Ngayardic form was evidently *wall bad*, which reflected into Yindjibarndi as the bound stem *watyi*, since Yindjibarndi does not permit monosyllabic free stems of one mora length. The Yindjibarndi word for the Pailgu, which is *Patyku*, is apparently structured similarly; cf. Pailgu *Pallku Pailgu*.

Compound nouns are composed of two different nouns joined together. They are of two types, those consisting of an adjectival noun modifying an ordinary noun and those consisting of an ordinary noun modifying another ordinary noun. 4

In the first case the order of appearance is generally head plus modifier as is demonstrated in the following examples:

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1 One noun discussed below in the text contains three words. But even it is in a sense composed of two nouns, the first itself a compound and the second a simple noun.

2 If the two nouns are identical, and each is two syllables or less long, the second is considered to be a representation of the suffix of reduplication (see 3.2.1.1.2). Forms like *kuyharra kuyharra four*, literally two and two, are not compounds, but conjoined nouns (see 4.2.4.1).

3 There are also two examples, namely *ngunha anga ta that position* and *ngunh thu uu that side*, which consist of pronoun plus noun. See the Dictionary for a morphological analysis and compare the latter example with *murnakuyu this side*, which appears further below in the text. These two examples do not really constitute exceptions, since pronouns are more or less a variety of noun (see especially 3.1.2.1.4). Another, somewhat more unusual example, consists of indeclinable plus noun. It is *mirtawayi (NC) good*, literally not bad. Perhaps this exception can be explained as having been formed at an earlier period in time, when *mirta not* was presumably a common noun. Compare Ngarluma *mirta (NC) not*, *mirtawallka (NC) good*. In any case this construction must still be considered unusual, since *mirta* is not a negator for nouns (see 4.1.3).

4 But note the co-ordinate compound noun *ngungkumarnta (NC) strong and heavy*, literally strength and weight, which consists of the two bound noun stems *ngungku*-strength (cf. *ngungkuwarrimarta weak*, literally without strength) and *marnnta weight* (cf. *martama- (VL) put weight on* and see also *thathamarnnta* in the Dictionary).
karlawirrura
fire-quick
dragonfly

kumpawirruu\(^1\)
face-wrong
proscribed for marriage

kurkawaytji
ear-bad
deaf

ngurrangarnrtu
ground-sore
place where a person has died

thaawarru
mouth-black
carpet snake

wangkarrwanarra
throat-long
camel

Significant exceptions are:

kantungarra
low-view
low-lying cloud over the ocean

murnakuyu
close-side
this side

In the second case the order of appearance is modifier plus head:

kalawara
thigh-clothes
short pants

kariwarnrta\(^2\)
poison-plant
plant used to poison fish

marnrtangatha
rock-root
ridge-tail monitor

parumaya\(^3\)
spinifex-house
humpy

Putthingaarta
cat-man
Frank Wordick (nickname)

\(^1\)In Aboriginal English this term is translated as funny face. Funny is in fact a legitimate translation of wirruu.

\(^2\)It is true that karl can function as an adjective and mean bitter, salty, etc., but here it is used as a noun meaning poison.

\(^3\)There are a myriad of compound nouns in which maya house is the final element.
Exceptions include:

- **martawutpu**
  - *blood-axe*
  - *sap from the bloodwood tree*

- **ngarraurlu**
  - *view-small of back*
  - *for good (as in go for good)*

The following one is especially interesting because it contains three terms, the first two of which are out of order:

- **ngarlupurpaamaya**
  - *belly-hump-house*
  - *take-away liquor store*

Complex nouns are those consisting of stem plus suffix or of *bound stem plus clitic* (see 3.3.3). Many examples of complex nouns can be found below 3.2.1.

Compound-complex nouns are similar to compound nouns except that one of the nouns is complex. Consider the following examples:

- **ngurrwarnrturala**
  - *place-various-LOC*
  - *on walkabout, on tour*

- **ngurranyutyungkamu**
  - *earth-soft-LOC-ANA*
  - *before when the earth was soft, during the dreamtime*

In the second example presented immediately above, there is an anaphoric clitic following the locative suffix. Note further that this locative suffix is relevant to the second term and not the sum of the first and second.

In the following example, which contains a purely derivational suffix, the adjective is apparently out of order:

- **kayauluyu**
  - *red-louse-SUFFIX*
  - *coppertail snake*

Compare *kuluwirri brown snake*, the name for another small snake.

Sentential nouns are unusual. They are composed of a verb and its direct object (in reverse order), the latter being in the nominative case. The subject of the verb is not expressed and thus translates into English as *someone, something or he, she, etc.* (see 4.2.1).

The best example is:

- **Tyirnrtawurrina**
  - *hot coal-pull out-PAST*
  - *Millstream*
Evidently, sometime in the past - possibly back at the beginning of the world - someone pulled some hot coals out of a fire there. Note that the first consonant in the verb stem purri- (VN) pull out has been lenited.

The next example is not as clear:

Murlunmunytyurna
-swallow-PAST
Crossing Pool

The meaning of the element murlun- is not known by the present-day Yindjibarndi, but since we know that Crossing Pool is the place where the sea serpent swallowed the two initiands back during the dreamtime (see Text 75), we can guess that murlun- is the bound form of pirtuwangu initiand (see also the first footnote in 2.2.8).

In the final example there are also problems:

karlamana
-fire-
falcon

According to today's language, we should translate mana as grabs, that is, high language mana- (VØ) grab plus -Ø PRESENT TENSE MARKER. However, it is clear that Falcon grabbed the fire from Willy Wagtail before when the earth was soft (see Text 74), and thus we really ought to interpret mana here as the past tense of the Proto-Ngayardic monosyllabic verb stem *ma- (VN) grab (see 3.1.4.1.3.2). The preceding two examples, which are clearly in the past tense provide further support for this analysis. In modern Yindjibarndi past tense forms are indeclinable (see 3.3.1) and therefore obviously cannot be the basis for a compound noun. The old language was evidently like Ngarluma, where past tense forms are nominal.

3.1.1.2 Case and Number
3.1.1.2.1. Number

Singularity is not marked, and there is only a single dual number marker -kuyha\(^2\) for all nouns\(^3\) irrespective of stem class. In contrast,

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1 This discussion should be of particular interest to linguists in that 'the marking of number with nouns is rare...' (Wurm 1977:25) in Aboriginal languages.

2 The suffix -kula is not an alternate number marker, but a derivational suffix meaning both (see 3.2.1.1.1).

3 The situation with respect to pronouns is very different. I have never come across an interrogative (3.1.2.2) or reflexive pronoun (3.1.2.3) marked for dual number or plural number for that matter either. The personal pronouns employ four distinct dual number markers (see 3.1.2.1.2).
there are many plural number markers. The rules governing their distribution are as follows: -ngarli is used with common nouns and retroflex nouns. -pathaa, which also serves as an alternate direct allative case marker, is employed with proper nouns. The other plural number markers listed below are preferred with the particular common nouns which are indicated in the discussion that follows them.

-ngaa: This plural number marker only occurs with mani part, rest. However, its Ngarluma cognate -ngara evidently has a somewhat wider distribution.

-pirri: This plural number marker only occurs with tyurtu native flower. It is homophonous with a derivational suffix meaning -ish (see 3.2.1.1.2). Compare -pirri (next item), which sounds the same as another meaning -y. In this regard see also discussion on -warrangu below.

-pirri: -pirri apparently only occurs with pauny wind grass, but there is little doubt in my mind that it is a base form of which -wirri, -pirri and -wirri (see above and below) are variants. -wirri is an obvious lenition (2.2.10) product of it. -pirri and -wirri manifest a spurious dissimilation of rt to rr in relation to the consonants in the second syllable of the words which they pluralise. It is not clear why -pirri does not lenite after tyurtu.

-pura: This plural number marker is apparently only employed with kamparra, a noun denoting a kind of substance used to kill sea serpents. The noun was borrowed from Ngarluma, and the plural suffix came with it. As a point of interest note that -pura is an allative case marker in Thalandji (see O'Grady and others 1966:107). Compare -pathaa, the plural number marker for proper nouns which was mentioned in the opening paragraph to this section.

-rarrri: Occurs only with mina soft spinifex.

-rra: Only with mangkurla child.

1 There are also many plural number markers in Nyangumarda (see O'Grady 1964:63-64) and Bandjalang (see Crowley 1978:39-42).

2 At least it is used with tyuntaa that way, which is the only retroflex noun I collected. Sometimes -ngarli is also employed with proper nouns, but this practise should be avoided.

3 I have only observed this suffix in the environment after a vowel where it lenites to -wathaa. However, after a consonant other than rr, it will without doubt appear as -pathaa.
-rri: This plural number marker occurs with kupitya small. The derivation is an interesting one in that ty in the stem then lenites, giving rise to kupiyarrri little one(s). Such a lenition does not occur in the dual or with oblique cases in the singular. -rri may also be found in the term ngawurtarrri hailstorm, which is evidently the plural form of a bound noun meaning hailstone (cf. ngawurtan miniature cucumber). But see also next item.

-rtarrri: This plural number marker is used with the term for puppy, which is warnma. It may also occur in the word ngawurtarrri hailstorm (cf. ngawurr bubble). But see preceding item.

-urrri: -urrri occurs only with paru (hard) spinifex. It is a lenited form of -kurru. Compare Ngarluma parukurru lots of spinifex. Note that -kurru serves as a directional allative case marker in Yindjibarndi (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). See also -pirri.

-warrangu: This plural number marker only occurs with maanu unfortunate. It may be derived from -karra + -ngu (cf. Nyangumarda -karrangu PLURAL SUFFIX). In this regard note that Ken M. Jerrold normally employs warrapaarrra as the plural of warrapa grass, whereas Gilbert Bobby says that to him it just means grassed or grassy (see 3.2.1.1.2 under -karra). See also -pirri.

-wirri: -wirri only occurs with wartu very soft spinifex, but see -pirri above.

-wirti: This plural number marker occurs with at least the following nouns: warrapa grass, wrpinynkaa tall river spinifex and yalarri fan-top rush. Note that all of them are names for plants as are all the nouns which take plural number markers which are related to -wirti (see -pirri above).

Agreement with numerals is as follows:¹

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kalli '1' + NOUN-SINGULAR} \\
\text{kunytyirri '1' + NOUN-SINGULAR} \\
\text{kuyharra '2' + NOUN-DUAL} \\
\text{tyarrwirti, tyarrwurti '3' + NOUN-PLURAL} \\
\text{yurlu '0' + NOUN-PLURAL}
\end{align*}
\]

However, the dual and plural can always be replaced by the singular.

¹The quantifiers kutya few, maru many and manuwarra great multitude, which are used in lieu of larger numbers, follow tyarrwirti three.
It is also worth mentioning here that there appears to be no real difference between count nouns and mass nouns in Yindjibarndi as there is in English. Thus, mass nouns like pawa water can take plural number\(^1\) markers just like count nouns. Under these circumstances plural suffixes mean a lot of or much; for example, pawangari maru a lot of water. I should also point out that one must be careful in translating plural forms of words such as warrapa grass. Warrapawirti means a lot of grass. In order to express the meaning grasses one must add the topic clitic -mpa plus the categorial clitic -purtu (see 3.2.2.3).

On the use of plural number markers\(^2\) to express the meaning group, see Text 74.

Finally, the reader should understand that number markers are suffixes and that marking for number constitutes a derivational process, which leads to the production of common nouns. Such derived nouns may then be inflected for case just like any common noun.

3.1.1.2.2. Case

There are eight cases in Yindjibarndi. They are the nominative, locative, ablative, instrumental, objective, allative, comitative and genitive. The locative case and the allative case each have a number of distinct subtypes. Although a vocative occurs, it is not treated as a case, because its distribution is extremely restricted (see the last item in 3.2.1.1.1).

3.1.1.2.2.1. The Endings, Their Distribution and Internal Structure

All case markers in Yindjibarndi are suffixes except for -yi and -ku, two of the endings which indicate the objective case. -yi and -ku are clitics. Nouns which have been inflected with them become indeclinables (see 3.3.3), whereas nouns which have been inflected with any of the suffixes are converted into common nouns, irrespective of their original classification.

In the discussion that follows, please refer to the accompanying table, entitled 'Inflectional Endings for Nouns'.

\(^1\)But I have never seen one inflected for dual number.

\(^2\)Quantifiers are often employed in this capacity as well. Consider, for example, the phrase Yinytyiparnrti manuwarra Yindjibarndi nation, literally Yindjibarndi multitude. See also Radcliffe-Brown 1913:159.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>NC</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>NR</th>
<th>NDN</th>
<th>NDS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOMINATIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATIVE</td>
<td>-ngka, -la</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>-rta</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>-yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABLATIVE</td>
<td>-ngkangu, -langu</td>
<td>-langu</td>
<td>-rtangu</td>
<td>-tngu</td>
<td>-yungu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTRUMENTAL</td>
<td>-ngku, -lu</td>
<td>-lu</td>
<td>-rtu</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJECTIVE</td>
<td>-yl, -ku</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALLATIVE, DIRECT</td>
<td>-karta</td>
<td>-nguwarta, -pathaa</td>
<td>-karta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIRECT</td>
<td>-purraa</td>
<td>-nguurraa</td>
<td>-purraa</td>
<td>-kurruru</td>
<td>-yuurruru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRECTIONAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMITATIVE</td>
<td>-pari</td>
<td>-nguwari</td>
<td>-pari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENITIVE</td>
<td>-arnrtu</td>
<td>-ngaarnrtu</td>
<td>-tharnrtu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOMINATIVE CASE: The nominative case is not marked. However, the noun classifiers -nha and -rna (see 3.2.2.1) may be used with proper and retroflex nouns, respectively, as a sort of ersatz nominative case marker. Evidently, they are the reflexes of Proto-Ngayardic accusative case markers. The change in function may have something to do with the shift in Yindjibarndi from Ergative/Absolutive syntax to Nominative/Accusative syntax (see also 4.2.3).

LOCATIVE CASE: Common nouns take -ngka and -la in the locative case. -ngka goes with monosyllabic common nouns ending in a vowel. It also occurs with disyllabic common nouns ending in a vowel provided that each syllable contains only a single short vowel. This case marker may undergo certain morphophonemic changes here (see 2.2.12). Common nouns containing three or more morae as well as all of those ending in a consonant take -la. In the latter context -la will be subjected to certain morphophonemic changes (see 2.2.4). All proper nouns take -la. All retroflex nouns take -rta. Directional nouns like north take -t; those like south take -yu.

There also exist a number of special purpose locative suffixes. These suffixes, namely -ra (reversing locative), -rru varying with

1On occasion -nha is employed with common nouns as a derivational ending meaning one, thing, person, etc. For example, consider the following sentence, which was spoken by Ken M. Jerrold:

Nhaa warrunha parni ngarrkungu puwayi murlayi.
this black-thing be-PRES eat-IMPRF rotten-OBJ meat-OBJ
This crow is eating rotten meat.

See also Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 4.

2-nha (or -nya) not infrequently indicates the direct object of a transitive verb with proper nouns in Australian languages. Sometimes it marks the subject of an intransitive verb as well. See Dixon 1970:89 and 1972:9.

3Note, for example, that the objective form of the first person singular personal pronoun, which is ngayu (= Ngarluma ngatyu), is an obvious reflex of the Proto-Pama-Nyungan ergative.

4-nht hi , a kind of locative suffix indicating extreme position, is not discussed here, because it only occurs with the bound pronominal stems nhu- this and ngu- that (far) to form nhunthi the point upon which the speaker is standing and ngunthi the farthest conceivable distance away, respectively.

5The reversing character of the -ra locative suffix can perhaps be perceived most clearly in the word warrura dark (cf. warru black), literally black on (it) (but see also 3.1.4.1.3.4). Note, however, that in certain contexts it appears to be equivalent to an ordinary locative case marker. Compare, for example, kankaama-(VL) raise (cf. Ngarluma kankara above) with kankalarri- (VØ) rise (cf. kankala above).
-tu (allatival locative\(^1\)) and -rni (ablatival locative\(^2\)) often behave more like derivational suffixes than case markers. -ra occurs in malura shady (cf. malu shade) and purlaa in front (= Ngarluma purlura). -rru occurs most importantly in thulurrungu bent over (cf. thulu face down) and pampangurru sleepy (cf. pampa sleep). -rni occurs in kankarni on top of (cf. kankala above, at the top) and murrirni behind (cf. murrungka at the back).

ABLATIVE CASE: The ablative case is generally formed by joining the ablative suffix -ngu to the locative case of any given noun. With certain nouns, namely pampa sleep and yirriri sick, the locative case marker is omitted, because such nouns designate amorphous conditions. Note pampangu\(^3\) from sleep and yirriringu recovered. The vague positions murna close and warrwa far usually occur without locative case markers when indicating a position, and hence the ablative forms also ordinarily occur without them (see the last part of 4.1.2.2). The locative case marker is also omitted in constructions in which -ngu means through (see next section for examples).

It is interesting to observe that the nouns which designate the four cardinal directions and upstream and downstream all have alternate ablative forms, possessing highly irregular derivations.\(^4\) These forms are yaarni from the east (cf. yaayu in the east), wurlarni from the west (cf. wuluwu in the west), tyingkarni from upstream (cf. tyingkat upstream), yawurrarni from downstream\(^5\) (cf. yawut downstream), wartantarni from the north (cf. wartat in the north) and kayilarni from the south (cf. kaayu in the south). It is easy to see that they are really locative constructions, since all of them involve -rni (see preceding discussion). In this form they are restricted to use with verbs describing an on-going motion. With completed movements, the ordinary ablative suffix -ngu must be added. See the next section for examples.

\(^1\) Allatival locatives 'lean toward' the thing indicated.
\(^2\) Ablatival locatives 'lean away from' the thing indicated.
\(^3\) See, for example, Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 8.
\(^4\) See the Dictionary for precise analyses.
\(^5\) With this term compare purluyharrarni each other in which the sequence of allatival locative (-rru) plus ablative locative (-rni) evidently indicates back-and-forth reciprocal action. Purluyharrarni occurs in combination with verbs containing a reciprocal verbaliser.
INSTRUMENTAL CASE: There are three instrumental case markers -ngku, -lu and -rtu.¹ Their distribution is precisely the same as that of the three locative case markers with which they alliterate.

OBJECTIVE CASE: Common nouns take either -yi or -ku. Disyllabic common nouns containing two short vowels and ending in a vowel take -yi, providing that the final vowel is not u. y is elided when -yi follows i (see 2.2.9). Those ending in u² or a consonant as well as all monosyllabic common nouns containing two morae³ and all trimoraic (or longer) ones take -ku. -ku lenites to -u after vowels and rr (see 2.2.10). Retroflex nouns take unleniting -ku. Proper nouns take -ngu.

Some speakers use the objective case marker for the laminal declension (see 3.1.2.1.3), which is -yu⁴ as a replacive morpheme to form the objective case of long-stem common nouns ending in ...yi. In other words, for them, the objective case of ngamayi *tobacco* is ngamayu (see also 2.2.2). Gilbert Bobby claims that this is not correct, but that it is permissible to apply the same replacive morpheme to proper nouns ending in ...yi. For example, he says that the objective case of mayi *younger sister* is either mayingu or mayu. I advise the student of Yindjibarndi to stick to the standard rules outlined in the previous paragraph.⁵

ALLATIVE CASE: All common nouns take -karta in the direct allative and -purraa in the indirect allative. The initial consonants in these two case markers undergo changes following a vowel or rr (see 2.2.10 and 2.2.11). Retroflex nouns take the same two endings, which now, however, do not lenite. The respective forms for proper nouns consist again of the same two suffixes, but this time they are added on to the

¹But see also -ru in section 3.2.1.2.

²In Pandjima the objective case marker for this type of noun is -yu (see O'Grady and others 1966:90). This fact suggests that historically -u in this environment is from -*yu rather than -*ku.

³No free noun stems contain only one mora.

⁴See also penultimate footnote.

⁵The reader should understand that the formation of mayu and ngamayu from mayi and ngamayi, respectively, is based on false analogy. In the laminal declension, which contains only the pronoun ngayI I, the stem is nga- and the endings are -yi for nominative case and -yu for objective case. But mayi (cf. Ngarluma marl) is a monomorphemic word, while the -yi in ngamayi (cf. Ngarluma ngamari) may be a lenited form of the derivational suffix -ri (see 3.2.1.2 and also the Dictionary).
objective case marker -ngu. -pathaa,\(^1\) leniting to -wathaa, infrequently replaces -nguwarta. Nouns belonging to one or the other of the two directional declensions have only a single allative form - the directional. Those in the same paradigm as north take unleniting -kurru, which is the reflex of -*k (LOCATIVE CASE MARKER) + -*kutu, and those in the one for south accept -yuurr, which is the reflex of -*tyu (LOCATIVE CASE MARKER) + -*kutu (cf. Western Desert -kutu in Douglas 1964:106-107). There is also a leniting -kurr (from -*kutu), which occurs in the terms kankalaurru upwards (cf. kanka above), ngunthiurr in that direction (cf. ngunthi way over there) and murnakurr (to) here (cf. murna close). In the first example the locative case marker is easily identifiable. In the second -nhtth is a kind of locative suffix indicating extreme distance. No locative suffix precedes -kurr in the last example, because murna normally occurs without a locative case marker in any context.

-kurr comes from -ku OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER + -rru ALLATIVAL LOCATIVE SUFFIX, the latter being a lenited variant of -tu.\(^2\) In a similar manner -karta may be derived from -ku + -rta, a locative case marker employed in conjunction with retroflex nouns.\(^3\) Consider, for example, what Blake (1977:56) says about the internal structure of many allative suffixes and note specifically the situation in Thargari (see Klokeid 1969:27-29). However, Ngarluma, a closely related language, has -karti varying with -tharta\(^4\) (see Hale 1960:364), and therefore the second analysis may not be correct. -purra pretty clearly comes from -purra, a pseudo-semblative suffix\(^5\) (see 3.2.1.1.2) plus -ra, a kind of locative suffix.

\(^1\)I never actually received an example containing this base form, because in all of the ones I did get, -pathaa follows a vowel. However, if -pathaa is attached to a proper noun ending in a consonant other than rr, it will not lenite.

\(^2\)There is little doubt of this as in the Western Desert either -ku or -tu may replace -kutu, according to Douglas (1964:106).

\(^3\)Lowering of u to a before a retroflex consonant is not unknown (see 2.2.8).

\(^4\)I received an apparent cognate -yarta from one person, but Gilbert Bobby insisted that it was incorrect.

\(^5\)I say this because the semblative suffix -kaa (see 3.2.1.1.1) is evidently cognate with an allative case marker in Pandjima. But also compare -purraa with the Thargari allative case marker -kurr (see O'Grady and others 1966:112) and recall that Ngarluma -pula = Yindjibarndi -kula (S) both (see 2.2.15).
COMMITATIVE CASE: The comitative case is indicated by the suffix -pari. This case marker lenites after vowels and rr with common nouns, but not with retroflex nouns. With proper nouns it is preceded by the objective case marker -ngu.

GENITIVE CASE: The genitive case is marked by the suffix -arnrtu. -arnrtu is usually added directly to common nouns. However, it may be preceded by the morpheme separator -th/-ty-, which lenites to -yh/-y- after a vowel.1 -ty- occurs frequently with common nouns ending in i, but sometimes even after u and a (see Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 4 and Text 73, paragraph 2, sentence 1). With retroflex nouns unleniting -th- always precedes -arnrtu. Concerning this point note the structure of the genitive case of the third person mid-distant pronoun, which is walaatharnrtu, and also that of the augmented far pronoun, which is ngurnaatharnrtu. With proper nouns -arnrtu is always preceded by the objective case marker -ngu with which it coalesces to form -ngaarnrtu (see 2.2.13). However, -nguarntu is heard on rare occasions. It is also possible to interpose the morpheme separator -ty-, deriving forms like -nguyarnrtu. In this regard compare the genitive cases of the third person pronouns nhaa this and ngunhu that, which are nhurnuyarnrtu and ngurnuyarnrtu, respectively.

3.1.1.2.2.2. Functions

A number of case markers have derivational functions in addition to the syntactic ones, which are discussed here. For example, the one employed to mark the genitive case is quite productive (see 3.2.1.1.1). Others like the one used for the indirect allative are not productive (see 3.2.1.1.2). On the locative see 3.2.1.2.

NOMINATIVE CASE: The most important function of the nominative case is to mark the subject of any verb that lies in an independent sentence, in the main clause of a sentence containing more than one clause or in a non-main conjoined clause the subject of which is identical to that of the main clause (see 4.2.4.2.1) or the verb of which is marked for locative case (see 4.2.4.2.2).

The nominative case is also employed to indicate the predicate complement of an intransitive verb, for example:

1Generally, the morpheme separator is only employed with nouns ending in a vowel, and with common nouns it is almost always -ty- that is used. But see the footnote to Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 2.
Mu rla parn i puwa.
meat be-PRES rotten
The meat is rotten.

Of course, with linking verbs such as parni- (V₀) be, sit, karri- (V₀) be, stand and ngarri- (V₀) be, lie the verb itself is generally omitted (see 4.2.1). Another example is

Mu rla parnrti watyi.1
meat smell-PRES bad
The meat smells bad.

For another similar example, see Text 33, sentence 4. What appears to be a predicate nominative with verbs in passive voice (e.g., see Text 3, sentence 2 and Text 75, paragraph 7, sentence 4) is probably just an example of the nominative case being used as a substitute for the objective case.2

The nominative case ordinarily marks the direct object of imperative verbs. Moreover, it may also optionally replace the objective case with direct objects3 for any type of verb. First and second person pronouns do not follow this pattern. They must always appear in the objective case. It is definitely impossible4 to say, for example,

*Ngayi nhau nyinta.
I see-PRES you(NOM)
I see you.

See also 4.2.2.3.

Certain nouns and pronouns possessing innate locative meaning will normally appear in the nominative case rather than the locative case. Consider the following example:

Wanytya kunayina nhungu.5
dog defecate-PAST right next to speaker
The dog defecated right next to me.

Tyampu left and maarta right never take the locative case, when specifying a position, nor do murnakuyu this side and ngunhthuuyu other side. On murna near and warrwa far, see the last paragraph in 4.1.2.2.

1 According to Ken M. Jerrold, one cannot say *Murla parnrti puwa the meat smells rotten. However, he can say Puwa murla parnrti rotten meat smells. See also the preceding example in the text.

2 That is, sentences like X is called Y are probably best interpreted as passivizations of Z says Y to X (see 4.2.3) with Z deleted.

3 The nominative case may not replace the objective case with indirect objects.

4 I checked this point a number of times with Gilbert Bobby and Harold and Cheedy Ned.

5 But compare the last example under -mu in 3.2.2.2.
Nouns, such as *tyampa short time* (see Text 30, sentence 4; Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 6; Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 7; and paragraph 4, sentence 1; Text 76, paragraph 5, sentence 10; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 3), *parraa long time* (see Text 63, paragraph 1, sentence 1; Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 5; and Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 4) and *mirnawarra* (see Text 49, sentence 5 and Text 69, paragraph 3, sentence 2) or *mirna while* (see the fourth example in 4.2.2.3), which describe a period of time, always appear in the nominative case unless they are situated in a clause of the type discussed in 4.2.4.2.3. This is true even when the English rendition may require the prepositions *in* or *for*.

**LOCATIVE CASE:** The locative case is used to indicate general proximity. In order to give precise orientation, an additional descriptive noun inflected in parallel, is apposed to it (see 4.1.1.4).

The locative case is also used to indicate 'motion into'. In this regard, see Text 38, sentence 4; Text 40, sentence 2; Text 41, sentences 1, 5 and 6; Text 45, sentence 2; Text 51, sentence 2; Text 55, sentences 7 and 8; Text 56, sentence 4; Text 60, sentence 4; Text 74, paragraph 2, sentences 4 and 5; Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 8 and paragraph 7, sentence 3; Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 16 and paragraph 6, sentence 7; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 8. And also 'onto'. See Text 40, sentence 4; Text 54, sentence 4; Text 71, paragraph 1, sentence 6; and Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 6.

This case takes the place of a 'progressive'. That is, it expresses 'motion through'.\(^1\) Consider the following two examples:

```
Mangkurla kuwartirrinha mutyingka marntaa.\(^2\)
child crawl-FAST hole-LOC mountain-LOC
The child crawled through the cave.
```

```
Pangkarrintha karrangka. Kanangkarrintha wuntuwua.
go-FAST scrub-LOC come-FAST river-OBJ-EMP
He went through the scrub. He came to a river.
```

See also the very interesting example contained in Text 60, sentence 3.

\(^1\)There is in fact an independent word meaning *through*, which is *tyinartu* (see Text 31 and also Hale 1960:288). I can't think of any reason why it couldn't be used in conjunction with a noun in the locative case as *kartawinyarra across* is. On the latter see Text 40, sentence 4.

\(^2\)In this sentence *mutyingka marntaa* can, of course, mean *into the cave*, but Gilbert Bobby assures me that it also means *through the cave*. 
Words which designate points in time like times of the day (see, for example, Text 46, sentence 1; Text 66, paragraph 2, sentence 1; and Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 2), days of the week (see Text 62, paragraph 1, sentence 1 and Text 69, paragraph 1, sentence 2) and seasons of the year (see, for example, Text 23, sentence 4 and Text 62, paragraph 2, sentence 1) occur in the locative case, when appearing in time expressions (see also 4.1.1.4.2 for further discussion and examples). When the locative case is employed in this manner, it may be translated into English in a number of ways such as by in, on, at, during and for.

Note further that before can be represented in Yindjibarndi by the term palamu, now by yaala and after by murrirni (but see also 4.2.4.3). Palamu actually refers specifically to a long time ago. Yaalayhu means nowadays (see Text 75, paragraph 7, sentence 4). Murrirni also means afterwards (see Text 76, paragraph 5, sentence 1) and from now on (see Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 10). After that is murrirniyhu (see Text 73, paragraph 2, sentence 1; Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 2; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentences 10 and 14), and later mirnaawa (see Text 65, paragraph 3, sentence 4).

The locative case can express the concept of accompaniment. In such a situation it is normally translated into English as with, although it means more precisely in the company of.¹ Note the example given immediately below:

Ngayi maathala pangkarrii.
I boss-LOC go-POT
I am going to go with the boss.

For another similar example see Text 43, sentence 1. The locative case is also used to translate with in the English construction mix this with that. See Text 41, sentence 3.

This case also renders the English preposition for, when the latter represents a goal to be reached. See, for example, Text 56, sentence 8; Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 3; Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 9; Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 7; and Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 2.

The expression times as in once, twice, three times is expressed in Yindjibarndi by the locative case as shown in the following example:

Kuntyirrilampa payharna.
one-LOC-TOP throw-PAST
I threw it exactly one time.

See also Text 54, sentence 2 and the second example in 4.1.1.4.2.

¹The meaning accompanied by is provided by the comitative case (which see).
-la is used as a verb conjunction (see 4.2.4.2.2). There is no doubt that this -la is the locative case marker, for in Ngarluma all nominals in such conjoined clauses are in the locative case (see Hale 1960:236-40).

The locative case can also be used as a substitute case for certain other cases. For example, it may always replace the allative case for cardinal (and similar) directions. See the last paragraph in 4.1.2.2. It may also replace the ablative case under certain conditions. For example, the ablative locative may replace the ablative case with cardinal directions, provided that the movement is still going on. For example,

```
Kanangkarri yaayingu.
come-PRES east-LOC-ABL
Someone is coming from the east.
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may be replaced by

```
Kanangkarri yaarni.
come-PRES east-ABL LOC
Someone is coming from the east.
```

However, once the motion is completed the single ablative locative ending will not suffice. Compare the following corresponding sentences:

```
Kanangkarrinha yaayingu.
come-PAST east-LOC-ABL
Someone came from the east.
```

```
Kanangkarrinha yaarningu.
come-PAST east-ABL LOC-ABL
Someone came from the east.
```

The locative case may also replace the ordinary ablative case as a style of speech. The following is a good example of this:

```
Pungkanha parlungka.¹
call-PAST cliff-LOC
Someone fell off the cliff.
```

Another good example is found in Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 6.

ABLATIVE CASE: The principal function of the ablative case is to indicate 'motion away from':

```
Ngayi pangkarrinha thuumayalangu karimayaarta.
I go-PAST store-LOC-ABL pub-DIR ALL
I went from the store to the pub.
```

¹According to Ken M. Jerrold and Gilbert Bobby, either parlungkangu or parlungka is correct in this context. Compare, for example, Text 40, sentence 2. See also Text 38, sentence 4.
See also Text 27, sentence 3; Text 33, sentence 1; Text 40, sentence 2; Text 69, paragraph 1, sentence 4; and Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 2 for similar examples. The thing from which motion is directed away from may be abstract as shown in the following example:

Warrkamulangu pangkarrinha ngurraarta.
work-LOC-ABL go-PAST home-DIR ALL
He came home from work.

'Motion out of', the so-called "elative" function, is indicated in the same manner, for example:

Mutyingkangu tyirraakarrinha kaluntyya.
hole-LOC-ABL jump-PAST mouse
The mouse jumped out of the hole.

Mawarnkarra mirnumakayi watypalau
native doctor show-POT white fellow-OBJ
The native doctor will show the white fellow how

karpayhukayi parrimirntiu yintaangu.
raise-POT sea serpent-OBJ pool-LOC-ABL
to raise the sea serpent out of the pool.

For additional examples, see Text 24, sentence 2; Text 40, sentence 4; Text 66, paragraph 2, sentence 4; Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 8; Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 6; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 15.

The ablative case also indicates motion out of a direction, for example, see Text 56, sentence 6; and from a relative position, for example, see Text 69, paragraph 3, sentence 2.

In a single peculiar context, -ngu unpreceded by the locative case marker is used to mean through. Consider the following interesting examples:

Ngayi nhau ngaartau mutyingu.
I look at-PRES man-OBJ hole-ABL
I am looking at the man through a hole.

Yuntu payhaku tyiirri mutyingu.
rain blow-PRES tiny particle hole-ABL
Rain is blowing through the hole in a spray.

Compare the first example with Text 69, paragraph 3, sentence 1 and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 5 and the second with the antepenultimate preceding example in the text.

On rare occasions the ablative case may be employed in a time expression:
INSTRUMENTAL CASE: The instrumental case is the case that the subject of a verb in active voice goes into when that verb is put into passive voice. See 4.2.3 for a discussion with numerous examples.

The instrumental case is also employed to indicate the instrument used in the course of performing an action (see also comitative case further below). Consider the following examples in which this function of the instrumental case is illustrated:

```
Mintyuwakyi marangku!  
point at-POT hand-INST  
Point at it with your finger!
```

```
Tyinangku tyinytiwina ngayi, pungkangumarnu.  
foot-INST bump-PAST I fall-PROG  
I stubbed my toe and fell.
```

```
Parnima kartawinykara! Ngayi nyinku mankuwayi kamarakul.  
sit-IMP sideways I you(OBJ) take-POT camera-INST  
Sit sideways! I will take your picture.
```

```
Ngayu wanpirna warnrtau.  
me beat-PAST stick-INST  
Someone hit me with a stick.
```

For another example, see Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 6.

OBJECTIVE CASE: The objective case is used to mark both the indirect and direct object of the verb (O'Grady 1966:76 and O'Grady and others 1966:94). Numerous examples are contained in the Texts. It is also employed to indicate the indirect object of a noun as shown below:³

³The preposition from, which translates the indirect object in the first example, is a peculiarity of standard English. to is what is ordinarily heard in Australia. In the dialect of American English that I grew up in, than is the preferred form. The latter observation leads me to wonder whether comparative than (see 4.2.6) fits in here as well.
Nhaa wirruu ngurnu.
this different that(OBJ)
This is different from that.

Ngayi ngarlu winya pawayi.
I belly full water-OBJ
My belly is full of water.

Parnka piningkarri ngaliyau waa.
female bungarra run-PRES us scared
The female bungarra is running away, scared of us.

And also the direct object of same. For examples in which mirnu (NC) knowing, clever, purpi (NC) want and manyu (NC) ask(ing) for are seen to take direct objects, turn to Text 20, sentence 1; Text 69, paragraph 2, sentences 1 and 5; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 4, respectively.

The objective case also identifies nominal elements contained in a non-main clause, the subject of which is equated with a noun in the main clause that is not the subject of the main clause. In this regard, see 4.2.4.2.3. It also marks an embedded sentence which functions as the direct object of the verb (see 4.2.7).

The objective case demonstrates a great capability for replacing other cases (see also 3.1.1.2.2.3). It automatically replaces the locative, ablative and instrumental cases under the conditions specified in the former part of 4.1.2.2. It optionally replaces the direct and indirect allative as described in the latter part of the same section. Finally, the objective case may be used as a substitute for the genitive case in either of its two functions, that is, as a mark of possession or as a benefactive. Consider the following respective examples:

\[ \text{Ngayu maali.} \]
\[ \text{me son's son} \]
\[ \text{My son.} \]

\[ \text{Nhaa murla nyinku.} \]
\[ \text{this meat you(OBJ)} \]
\[ \text{This meat is for you.} \]

1This is a special form of address used by a man to his son.

2I am not sure whether the following two examples are comparable:

\[ \text{Ngayi tyuntaamarna nyinku.} \]
\[ \text{I do that-PAST you(OBJ)} \]
\[ \text{I did it for you.} \]

\[ \text{Wanhtharni ngarra wangkayi nyinku?} \]
\[ \text{how tell-OBJ you(OBJ)} \]
\[ \text{How can I tell you?} \]

\[ \text{Yurluwarraku nyinku thangkarrpa.} \]
\[ \text{have nothing-PRES you(OBJ) enough-TOP} \]
\[ \text{I've got nothing for you and that's all there is to it.} \]
Additional examples can be found in Text 44, sentence 5; Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 10; and Text 74, paragraph 3, sentence 1.

**ALLATIVE CASE:** The allative case occurs in three forms: direct, indirect and directional. Each one has a different function. The direct allative indicates 'motion directly toward'\(^1\) a specific point in space,\(^2\) which is expected to be reached. It generally translates into English as to. Consider the following example:

\[
\text{Ngayi nhaunha Kukurntyayingu,} \\
\text{I saw Dempsey Hick-OBJ} \\
\text{tyiwarnu 'bus'u Wickumwartu.} \\
\text{drive-IMPRF -OBJ Wickham-DIR ALL-OBJ} \\
\text{driving the bus to Wickham.}
\]

In contrast the indirect allative case indicates 'motion in the general direction of' a certain point, which is expected to be missed. Note the following illustrative example:

\[
\text{Ngayi pangkarri mayawurraa, yimpaarnu.} \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \\
\text{I am going directly towards the house.}
\]

Text 61, sentence 2 contains another example. This one is slightly better in that the allative character of this case form is obviated by the context in which it appears. See also O'Grady and others 1966:93. It might also be well to mention here that the indirect allative case marker is also employed as an unproductive suffix, under which circumstances it has a slightly different meaning (see 3.2.1.1.2).

Finally, the directional allative case is used to specify 'motion in' a direction, such as a cardinal or current direction, and also 'toward' a relative, non-fixed position, such as 'up', 'close' and 'way over there'.

See the latter part of section 4.1.2.2 for more discussion and further examples involving these three variants.

**COMITATIVE CASE:** The comitative case seems to be a nearly superfluous case. One could just about get along without it by substituting other cases or suffixes. For example, the comitative case can be used to describe accompaniment under which circumstances

\(^1\)But not 'into' or 'onto', concepts which are expressed by the locative case. Text 40 makes this point very clear.

\(^2\)In saying this I do not mean to imply that the point has to be a physical one. The direct allative may be employed, for example, in talking about 'going to work' (see the third example in 4.2.4.3).

\(^3\)Cf. Ngayi pangkarri mayarta I am going directly towards the house.
it means 'accompanied by'. In this situation it stands in a reverse relationship with respect to the locative case (which see). The following example will give a clear indication of what this means:

Wantaa ngayi pangkarrri nyintala?
can I go-POT you(LOC)
Can I go with you?

Wantaaawarlu! Ngayi pangkarrri nyinkuwari.1
can-INTNS I go-POT you(COM)
Of course you can! You are going to go with me.

See Text 76, paragraph 5, sentence 3 for another example.

The comitative case is also used as a replacement for the proprietary suffix (on the latter see 3.2.1.1.1 under -karlaa). The veracity of this statement can be demonstrated by making the following comparisons: Text 26, sentence 4 with Text 50, sentence 5; Text 39, sentence 3 with Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 4; Text 63, paragraph 3, sentence 4 with Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 2. Also, be sure to see 3.2.1.1.2 under -payi.

Finally, the comitative case may replace the instrumental case when the latter marks the instrument used in the performance of an action. When the instrument employed is something that is alienably possessed, then the comitative tends to replace the instrumental case provided that the verb is not in passive voice.2 For example, the following sentence is a more common form of the last example shown in the discussion on the instrumental case (which see):

Ngayu wanpirna warntawari.
me beat-PAST stick-COM
Someone hit me with a stick.

For additional examples see Text 49, sentence 4; Text 55, sentence 4; Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 5; Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 5; Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 5; and apparently Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 5. On the other hand, when the instrument is inalienably possessed (see 4.1.1.2), the instrumental case tends to resist replacement. The customary differential treatment of inalienable and alienable nouns is exemplified in the following single sentence:3

1Gilbert Bobby translates this sentence as follows: I'm taking you with me. Compare the first sentence in Text 57.

2When the verb is in passive voice, the instrument used in performing an action must be marked either for instrumental case or for comitative plus instrumental case. See the 9th and 10th examples in 4.2.3.

3See also O'Grady and others 1966:94.
Be that as it may, there is still a definite overlap in the functions of the two cases. Compare, for example, Text 11 with Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 6 and see also Hale 1959a:11. Moreover, on many occasions Gilbert Bobby indicated to me that either case is correct for specifying an employed instrument.

**GENITIVE CASE:** The principle function of the genitive case is to indicate alienable possession. Alienable possession is anything which is not subsumed under inalienable possession. On the latter see 4.1.1.2.

This case can also be employed as a benefactive as it is in the following sentence:

```
Nhaa murla nyinkaarnrtu.
this meat you(DEF)
This meat is for you.
```

See also Text 59, sentence 1, 5 and 7.

The genitive case may be replaced in both its functions by the objective case (which see). However, this does not happen often.

### 3.1.1.2.2.3 Hierarchy

A consideration of what has been said in the two immediately preceding sections and also in 4.1.2.2 might lead one to think that cases in Yindjibarndi are arranged in a hierarchy having the following structure:

```
NOMINATIVE
  
  OBJECTIVE

  GENITIVE
  
  INSTRUMENTAL
  
  LOCATIVE direct & indirect

  ALLATIVE

  COMITATIVE

  ABLATIVE directional
```

3 Thanks to Ken M. Jerrold for supplying this very useful sentence.
3.1.2. Pronouns

There are three categories of pronoun: personal and demonstrative; interrogative, indefinite and relative; and reflexive. Each of these categories will be considered in detail in separate sections below.

3.1.2.1. Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns

Let us consider personal and demonstrative pronouns first.

3.1.2.1.1. Overview

The personal pronouns (see table) occur in three persons, first (I), second (you) and third (he, she, it), and three numbers, singular (one), dual (two) and plural (three or more). The third person pronouns are not marked for gender (masculine, feminine and neuter) as in English, but rather for distance from speaker (near, mid-distant and far). There are two different forms for the 'far' pronoun. These seem to be essentially synonymous; however, sometimes the augmented form appears to mean that one. All of the third person pronouns are also used as demonstratives, translating the English terms, this and that.

The reader will note that there exist two pronouns in the dual for each singular pronoun, one for 'same generation' and another for 'adjacent generations'. The first is used in reference to any two persons who are exactly in the same generation level or are in generation levels which are separated by an even number of generations; for example, two brothers, a man and his sister-in-law, a woman and her grandmother, a man and his great uncle. The second is used in respect of two persons who are separated by an odd number of generations; for example, a man and his son, a woman and her aunt, a man and his great grandmother.

The reader is also advised that there is a special inclusive form for the first person dual same generation pronoun, which is not shown in the table for 'Personal Pronouns'. This form is ngali. It means specifically you and I and it is indeclinable (see 3.1.3). In order to express the oblique cases of this pronoun, one must employ the general form ngaliya, which means we two and mark it for inclusiveness by focal apposition (see 4.1.1.3). Thus, the objective case of ngali

---

\[1\]
I asked Gilbert Bobby what the difference in meaning was between ngunhu and ngunhaa. He said that they really mean just about the same thing.

\[2\]
Harold Ned would not accept ngunhaa as a free stem, but he did translate ngunhaana and the objective case ngurnaaku as that one.
### Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st Person</strong></td>
<td>ngayi</td>
<td>ngaliya&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ngaliyaau&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd Person</strong></td>
<td>nyinta</td>
<td>nyintauyha</td>
<td>nyintauu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>near</strong></td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhurnuuyha</td>
<td>nhungkiirri&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd Person</strong></td>
<td>wala</td>
<td>walaakuyha</td>
<td>walaangkaatyirri&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mid-distant</strong></td>
<td>ngunhu</td>
<td>ngurnuwi</td>
<td>ngunhungkiirri&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>far</strong></td>
<td>ngunhaa</td>
<td>ngurnaakuyha</td>
<td>ngunhaangkiirri&lt;sup&gt;8&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup>There also exists a special inclusive form ngali you and I, which is indeclinable.

<sup>2</sup>The alternate form ngunhuuyha, which is based on the nominative case, is equally correct.

<sup>3</sup>The alternative form ngunhaakuyha is equally correct. For example, see Text 75, paragraph 2, sentences 3 and 4.

<sup>4</sup>There is also a special inclusive form ngaliu several of us including you, which is indeclinable. It is true that an objective form for this pronoun occurs in Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 7, but it must be an archaism. In contemporary speech it is most definitely impossible to decline this pronoun or its corresponding dual.

<sup>5</sup>There are two alternate forms for this pronoun, nhungkaatyirri, which also declines like a common noun, and nhungku, which is indeclinable. See the Dictionary for further derivations.

<sup>6</sup>It is not possible to say *walaangku* or *walaangkiirri*.

<sup>7</sup>There are two alternate forms for this pronoun, ngunhungkaatyirri, which also declines like a common noun, and ngunhungku, which is indeclinable. See the Dictionary for further derivations.

<sup>8</sup>There are two alternate forms for this pronoun, ngunhaangkaatyirri, which also declines like a common noun, and ngunhaangku, which is indeclinable. See the Dictionary for further derivations.
is ngaliyau nyinku. In the plural there is only a distinction between same generation and adjacent generations for the first person. But again there is a special indeclinable inclusive form for the first person same generation pronoun. This plural form is ngaliuu.

3.1.2.1.2. Number

The singular forms of the personal pronouns are derived from distinct roots, namely nga- I, nyin- you, nhu- this, wala that (mid-distant) and ngu- that (far). In most instances, if not all, there are overt suffixes indicating nominative singular case. Such affixes are not observed among nouns (see 3.1.1.2.2.1).

Duals are formed in a relatively regular fashion for the 2nd and 3rd persons. The 'same generation' form consists of the nominative singular case plus the dual suffix -kuyha, while the 'adjacent generations' form is constructed on either the objective stem or the objective case itself, using the dual suffix -pi. The forms for 1st person do not follow this pattern. They contain the unique dual suffixes -li and -parta.

Plurals are ordinarily based on some form of the singular, either the stem or the nominative case. Ngali(ya)uu is the only plural which is derived from a dual. The pluralising suffixes are -uu, -mpurruru, -ntharri, -ngku and -tyirri, the latter two usually being found in tandem.\(^1\) Persons who are interested in the derivational morphology of a particular pronoun should consult the Dictionary, where complete detailed analyses are given.

3.1.2.1.3. Case

The singular forms of the personal pronouns do not decline very regularly. The first person pronoun constitutes the only member of a laminal class. The second person pronoun is just plain irregular. Of the third person pronouns, nhaa and ngunhu uniquely form an anti-retroflex class, while wala and ngunhhaa have more or less irregular

\(^1\)The former preceding the latter. When the latter is absent, the form is indeclinable (see 3.1.3). For example, compare nhungku (PI) these with nhungkiligiri (PC) these.
### Declension of Personal Pronouns in the Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Personal Pronoun</th>
<th>NOMINATIVE</th>
<th>LOCATIVE</th>
<th>ABLATIVE</th>
<th>INSTRUMENTAL</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
<th>ALLATIVE, DIRECT</th>
<th>INDIRECT</th>
<th>COMITATIVE</th>
<th>GENITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOMINATIVE</td>
<td>ngayi</td>
<td>nyinta⁴</td>
<td>nhaa⁶</td>
<td>wala⁹</td>
<td>ngunhu</td>
<td>ngunhaa¹⁵</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOCATIVE</td>
<td>ngayhala¹</td>
<td>nyintala</td>
<td>nhula⁷</td>
<td>walaarta¹⁰</td>
<td>ngula¹¹</td>
<td>ngulaarta</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABLATIVE</td>
<td>ngayhalangu</td>
<td>nyintalangu</td>
<td>nhulangu</td>
<td>walaartangu</td>
<td>ngulangu</td>
<td>ngulaartangu</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>INSTRUMENTAL</td>
<td>ngayhalu</td>
<td>nyintalu</td>
<td>nhulu⁸</td>
<td>walaartu</td>
<td>ngulu¹²</td>
<td>ngulaartu</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJECTIVE</td>
<td>ngayu²</td>
<td>nyinku</td>
<td>nhurnu</td>
<td>walaaku</td>
<td>ngurnu¹³</td>
<td>ngurnaaku</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALLATIVE, DIRECT</td>
<td>ngayuwarta</td>
<td>nyinkuwarta</td>
<td>nhurnuwarta</td>
<td>walaakarta</td>
<td>ngurnuwarta¹⁴</td>
<td>ngurnaakarta</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIRECT</td>
<td>ngayuurraa</td>
<td>nyinkuurraa</td>
<td>nhurnuurra</td>
<td>walaapurrara</td>
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<td>ngurnaapurrara</td>
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<tr>
<td>COMITATIVE</td>
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<td>nyinkuwari</td>
<td>nhurnuwari</td>
<td>walaapari</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENITIVE</td>
<td>ngaarnrtu³</td>
<td>nyinkaarnrtu⁵</td>
<td>nhurnuyarnrtu</td>
<td>walaatharnrtu</td>
<td>ngurnuyarnrtu</td>
<td>ngurnaatharnrtu</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹The stem of this case form, which is ngayha-, is a reflex of the Proto-Ngayardic locative case, which was apparently *ngatyα. In some Ngayardic languages, e.g. Nyaam (see 0'Grady and others 1966:83), the reflex of this form is used as the nominative case. See also nyinta.
²This form is a reflex of the Proto-Ngayardic ergative case, which was *ngatyu. Compare the Pandjima and Ngarluma cognates given in O'Grady and others 1966:88, 96.
³The alternates ngayarnrtu and ngayharnrtu are also possible, but unconventional.
⁴This is a reflex of an earlier locative case form (see the second paragraph in 2.2.4). See also ngayhala. Nyinta has a vocative form which is nyintayi (see 3.2.1.1.1).
⁵An extremely rare variant is nyinkuyarnrtu. Compare nhurnuyarnrtu, etc.
⁶This pronoun also occurs with the classifier -na. On rare occasions it is declined in parallel with ngunhaa (which see), which also takes -na. See, for example, Hale 1959a:30. This is evidently a non-standard usage as some speakers refuse to accept it as a valid form.
⁷This form also means here. There is also an uncommon, but acceptable variant nhulangka.
⁸A less common alternate is nhulungku.
⁹According to Gilbert Bobby, it is also possible to say wala, but I have never heard anyone spontaneously do so. The oblique stem of wala also occurs with the classifier -rα. See also under -rt in 3.2.1.1.2.
¹⁰This form also means there (mid-distant).
¹¹This form also means there (far). It has an alternate form ngulangka, which doesn't occur very frequently.
¹²There also exists the variant ngulungku.
¹³Compare ngunhungu, which means to there.
¹⁴Compare ngunhungwarta, which means the same as ngunhungu (see preceding footnote).
¹⁵This form also occurs with the classifier -na and with the unproductive suffix -r one. With ngunhaa, compare ngunthaa(na) that one, that place, which is a non-declining derivation of the extreme locative construction ngunhthi way over there.
Declension of Irregular Personal Pronouns in the Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>NOMINATIVE</th>
<th>LOCATIVE</th>
<th>ABLATIVE</th>
<th>INSTRUMENTAL</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
<th>ALLATIVE, DIRECT</th>
<th>INDIRECT</th>
<th>COMITATIVE</th>
<th>GENITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngaliyauu¹</td>
<td>ngaliyauula</td>
<td>ngaliyauulangu</td>
<td>ngaliyauulu</td>
<td>ngaliyampurrungu</td>
<td>ngaliyampurrunguwaarta</td>
<td>ngaliyampurrunguwaarta</td>
<td>ngaliyampurrunguwarri</td>
<td>ngaliyampurrungaarnrtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nyintauu</td>
<td>nyintauula</td>
<td>nyintauulangu</td>
<td>nyintauulu</td>
<td>nyinkupurrungu¹</td>
<td>nyinkupurrunguwarta</td>
<td>nyinkupurrunguuraa</td>
<td>nyinkupurrunguwari</td>
<td>nyinkupurrunguaraa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

oblique stems, which follow the paradigm for retroflex nouns.¹ Because of the many complexities involved in this series, I have presented a complete declensional paradigm for each of the pronouns. See the table labelled 'Declension of Personal Pronouns in the Singular'. The dual forms all decline regularly like common nouns. Therefore, their declensional paradigms are not presented.

All the plurals except ngaliyauu and nyintauu decline in parallel with common nouns. The declensional paradigms for the two exceptional pronouns are presented in the table shown above.

¹Some speakers have regularised this paradigm by back-forming a nominative case from the stem of the objective case. This variant ngaliyampurruru is then declined regularly like a proper noun (see O'Grady and others 1966:92). However, not all speakers will accept it, and thus the form is best avoided.

²The 'm' in the plural suffix -mpurruru has been deleted by morphophonemic rule (see 2.2.12).

³It is interesting to note that, while nhaa and ngunhaa decline differently, they take the same classifier -na. The situation may be explained in the following manner: Nhaa and ngunhaa really belong to the same class. This class is marked by -na and it consists of a small number of pronouns, which do not decline. Cf. nguntha(a)(na). But nhaa has a bound variant nhu-, which belongs to the anti-retroflex class, while ngunhaa has two complementary bound variants, both of which belong to the retroflex class. These bound variants serve as oblique stems.
3.1.2.1.4. Relationship to Nouns

From the preceding discussions, the reader may well conclude that personal pronouns more or less resemble nouns\(^1\) except that they often manifest irregularities in inflecting for case and number. This is essentially true. However, there are other differences as well. For example, while nouns, which are the direct object of a verb, may appear in the nominative case, first and second person pronouns cannot.\(^2\) Also, it is very rare to find the singular form of any personal pronoun substituting for a dual\(^3\) or plural,\(^4\) although it is very common to find nouns doing so.

3.1.2.2. Interrogative, Indefinite and Relative Pronouns

There are basically only three interrogative pronouns. The first one is ngana who, which declines like a proper noun. The second is ngani what, which declines like a common noun. It has a bound variant tha-, which apparently only occurs in a single construction. The third, which means which, consists of two complementary bound-stems, wanthi-, which declines like a proper noun, but has a truncated paradigm, and wanatha-, which declines like a retroflex noun and has an even more abbreviated paradigm. All other required interrogative pronouns are derived from these basic forms through the use of various suffixes, clitics, verbalisers and supplementary nouns. See the table, entitled 'Interrogative Pronouns'. Persons desiring precise morphological analyses of these derived pronouns should consult the Dictionary. Example sentences illustrating the use of interrogative pronouns can be found in 4.2.2.2.

Interrogative pronouns also serve as indefinite pronouns. Thus, ngana means someone, anyone as well as who. However, indefinite pronouns are often represented by nothing. For example, consider the following sentence, which was provided by Ken M. Jerrold:

\[
\text{Ngayi mirnu tyiwalkayi murtimaau.} \\
\text{I knowing drive-POT motorcar-OBJ} \\
\text{I know how to drive a motorcar.}
\]

\(^1\)Recalling, of course, that a few personal pronouns are indeclineable (see mainly 3.1.3).

\(^2\)Even in imperative sentences (see 4.2.2.3). But note the form that the first person singular pronoun takes in Ngarluma, when it inalienably possesses the direct object of a verb in imperative mood (see von Brandenstein 1970:55).

\(^3\)But see Text 76, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

\(^4\)But note how the narrator changes from nyintauu to nyinta about half way through the second paragraph in Text 69.
Interrogative Pronouns

ngana (PP) who

ngani (PC) what:

- nganingka what for
- nganinya what for
- nganiwuntharri what for
- nganiyarntu what for
- nganiaa like what
- nganimalu what quantity
- nganiwurtu what kind
- nganiwayi yurra what time
- nganima- (VL) do what
- nganirungi- (VØ) what happen
- nganirwannaayi why
- nganirwarninha why

tha- (PC) what:

thampa so what, what about it

wanhthi- (PP) which:

- wanhthila where at
- wanhthilangu where from
- wanhthinha which one
- wanhthiwa how do
- wanhthiwantu which dweller

wanhtha- (PR) which:

- wanhtharni where to, which way
- wanhtharni ngarra how
- wanhtharta when

1 I have never heard any derivations from this pronoun except for the ordinary cases, e.g. ngananguyarntu whose, and ngananha. However, since verbalised forms of the personal pronouns exist, e.g. nhaawarni this is it (see Text 77, paragraph 2, sentence 6), I would also expect to hear nganawarni who is it?.

2 These first four derived forms do not have exactly the same meaning. See the Dictionary for more information.

3 Most of my best informants stated that this pronoun means how many, but not how much. Therefore, they rejected such sentences as Nganimalu pawayi nylinta kanytyaku pakita? How much water do you have in the bucket?, insisting that one has to use nganiaa like what in place of nganimalu there. However, Cherry Cheedy dissented, saying that nganimalu also means how much. She must be correct, since there is no difference between count nouns and mass nouns in Yindjibarndi. See 3.1.1.2.1 and also 3.2.1.1.2.

4 The answer to the question Nganiwayi yurra? What time is it? could be any of the following:

Warruwarrulamu. First light.
Kanalili. Dusk.
Yurra karpa. Sunrise.
Yurra kankarniirri. Forenoon.
Yurra kankarni. Noon.
Pirri murnawarni. Early afternoon.
Ngurra pirriwa. Late afternoon.
Yurra yunitharrra. Sunset.
Tharruru. Sundown.
Warruurraa. Twilight, last light.
Warru. Night.
Martullimpill. Midnight (middle of the night).
See also section 4.2.1 and Text 23, sentence 1.

Finally, ngana who can be employed to translate the English relative pronoun who (see 4.2.4.4). I suspect that it may also be the case that ngani what can be used to represent the English relative pronouns which and that in relative clauses in Yindjibarndi.

3.1.2.3. Reflexive Pronoun

There is only a single reflexive pronoun. It is tyarnku self, which is declined like a common noun. Consider its use in the example shown immediately below:

\[
\text{Ngayi punhthakayi tyarnkuu.}
\]

\[
I \text{ wash-POT self-OBJ}
\]

\[
I \text{ will wash myself.}
\]

In the next pair of examples, tyarnku is inalienably possessing (see 4.1.1.2) the direct object of the verb.

\[
\text{Ngayi marayi punhthakayi tyarnkuu.}
\]

\[
I \text{ hand-OBJ wash-POT self-OBJ}
\]

\[
I \text{ will wash my hands.}
\]

\[
\text{Ngayi nhau tyarnkuu kumpayi pawangka.}
\]

\[
I \text{ look-PRES self-OBJ face-OBJ water-LOC}
\]

\[
I \text{ am looking at my reflection in the water.}
\]

It is important to include the reflexive pronoun in such constructions.\(^1\) If it were omitted, the hearer would assume that the object of the verb is different from the subject. For instance, according to Gilbert Bobby, if the reflexive pronoun is deleted from the second example illustrated in this section, then the meaning of the sentence will change to I will wash someone else's hands.

3.1.3. Indeclineables

The Yindjibarndi language contains a class of words, which resemble nouns, but do not decline. They will accept clitics, but not suffixes. I call these non-inflecting noun-like words 'indeclineables'.

\(^1\)However, pirrinu own may be substituted for tyarnku self in examples like the latter two illustrated in the text. Gilbert Bobby prefers pirrinu in such constructions, which involve inalienable possession, while others seem to stay with tyarnku. See, for example, Hale 1959a:139, but also sentences 3 and 4 in Text 37. The reader should also understand that reflexive sentences like the first two given in the text are generally avoided in Yindjibarndi. The information contained in them would normally be expressed in the form Ngayi punhthayi and Ngayi mara punthayi, respectively, with middle verbs replacing the transitive ones. See also 4.2.2.1.
The usual term is 'particle', but this suggests to me a short monomorphemic word, which belongs to a small closed class of similar items. Yet in Yindjibarndi these kinds of words may be polymorphemic due to the fact that they can be produced during the course of inflection or derivation (see 3.3.3). Therefore, I prefer the term 'indeclinable'.

The following is an exhaustive list of monomorphemic indeclinables (particles): kuyu let, may, mirta not, no,1 muntu and, ngarta still, ngurni simultaneously, parla very, tyarru over and over, waia not straightforwardly, wanta and then, also and yini just. Note that most of these words correspond to things which would be called adverbs or conjunctions in English.2 There are also five3 indeclinable pronouns, namely ngali you and I, ngaliu several of us including you, nhungku they, these and ngunhunngku or ngunhaangku they, those (see also 3.1.2.1.1). Note that all of them are polymorphemic and that none of them ends in a clitic! Evidently, sometime in the past they became arbitrarily reclassified as indeclinables.5

3.1.4. Verb Stems
3.1.4.1. Stem Classification

In the following sections we shall discuss a number of ways in which verb stems may be classified.

3.1.4.1.1. Inflectional Classes

There are four conjugational classes among which verb stems are distributed: Ø, L, R and N. These classes are named after the particular stem formative which preceded the attachment of the

1The corresponding term in the respect language is purnan, which I would assume is also an indeclinable.

2But not all English conjunctions and adverbs translate into Yindjibarndi as indeclinables. Take, for example, but and or, which come out as the common nouns thampa and uu, respectively, in Yindjibarndi. Regarding adverbs, see the second paragraph in 4.1.2.1.

3I am not sure whether I should have included nhunhtha this place and ngunhtha that place in this list. Both apparently do not decline, but unlike the five listed pronouns, they take a classifier, namely -na.

4It is true that an objective form for this pronoun occurs in Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 7, but it is obviously an archaism. In contemporary speech it is most definitely impossible to decline this pronoun.

5The fact that ngali does decline in Ngarluma (see O'Grady and others 1966:97) tends to support this suggestion. See also the preceding footnote for further supportive evidence.
potential mood marker (among others) to member verb stems during Proto-Pama-Nyungan times. For example, verb stems in the Ø-stem class took a -*Ø stem formative before the potential mood marker -*ku. In the same manner verb stems belonging to the L, R and N stem classes took -*I, -*rr and -*n, respectively.

Because of the many changes which occurred throughout the history of the Yindjibarndi language, these stem formatives are often no longer directly isolatable today. For instance, the old potential mood marker has been reinterpreted as a present tense marker. Moreover, -*ku has been deleted from the old Ø-stem class marker, leaving the original -*Ø stem formative to represent the present tense at the present time. In reverse fashion the stem formative in the L-stem class potential mood marker -*Iku has been deleted by regular sound change (see O'Grady 1966:88), leaving unlenitable -*ku (see 2.2.10) to represent the present tense there. Furthermore, this -*ku has then been generalised to the other two stem classes, that is, R and N. See table entitled 'Inflectional Endings for Verb Stems' in section 3.1.4.2.1.

However, all four conjugational classes are still clearly identifiable, if one considers the imperative mood and past tense markers for each class. The Ø-stem class has -*ma (from -*Ø + -*ma) and -*na, respectively. The L-stem class has -*mma (from -*I + -*ma) and -*rna, while the R-stem class has -*rnma (from -*rr + -*ma) and also -*rna, and the N-stem class -*nma (from -*n + -*ma) and -*na (see 3.1.4.2.1).

All Yindjibarndi verb stems belong to one of the four conjugational classes just described, so that there is no problem with irregular verbs. See, look presents a kind of exception to this statement in that it consists of three different but related\(^1\) verb stems (all belonging to the Ø-stem class) which complement each other. The conjugational paradigm is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Tense</th>
<th>nhau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past Tense</td>
<td>nhaunha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective Aspect (Dependent)</td>
<td>nhaungu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective Aspect (Passive)</td>
<td>nhawaayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive Aspect</td>
<td>nhaungumarnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ininitive Aspect</td>
<td>nhaaungu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual Aspect</td>
<td>nhaumarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative Mood</td>
<td>nhama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential Mood</td>
<td>nhawayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optative Mood</td>
<td>nhauyaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Passive)</td>
<td>nhaunyaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrealis Mood</td>
<td>nhawayingu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)See section 3.1.4.1.3.2.
The dominant stem in the paradigm is clearly nhau-. It occurs in all verbal categories except for the imperative mood, which has nha-, and the perfective and infinitive aspects and potential and irrealis moods, which have nhawa-. Moreover, nhau- is evidently expanding its domain at the expense of the other two stems, for it is even possible to say, for example, nhauma and nhauwayi\(^1\) in place of nhama and nhawayi, respectively. Finally, nhau- is the stem upon which the passive and reciprocal\(^2\) forms are built.

Class membership of particular verb stems is not generally predictable, but there appear to be certain phonological constraints on the distribution of verb stems among the four classes. That is,

- N-stems end in i.
- R-stems end in a. Exceptions: tyianti- (VR) pour, wanpi- (VR) beat. Verb stems ending in rra belong to the R-stem class irrespective of whether this sequence can be identified with the verbaliser -rra- (VR) or not. Examples: ngarurra- (VR) claw (cf. ngurr (NC) clawing), nhaungarra- (VR) watch over (cf. ngarra (NC) view).
- L-stems end in a or u.
- Ø-stems end in a, u or i.

The reader may be interested to know that most Ø-stem verbs seem to be intransitive or middle,\(^3\) and most non-Ø-stem verbs are transitive. However, a large number of Ø-stem verbs are transitive, for example, winpa- chase, manyuurri- ask for and manku- take.\(^4\) Also, a few non-Ø-stem verbs are intransitive, for example, pama- (VL) get going. Finally, some Ø-stem verbs may be intransitive or transitive, for example, karpa- rise, go up (something), and one or two non-Ø-stem verbs may be transitive or intransitive, for example, wirtiwiirtaa- (VL) hang up, be hanging.

\(^1\)Since it is possible to replace nhawayi with nhauwayi, it must also be possible to use nhauwayingu instead of nhawayingu.

\(^2\)The reciprocal form is nhaumarri- (VØ) rather than the expected *nhauntyarri- (see 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.4).

\(^3\)Regarding middle verb stems, see 4.1.2.2.

\(^4\)Note also the ditransitive Ø-stem verb yungku- give, which can take an indirect as well as a direct object.
3.1.4.1.2. Free Stems vs. Bound Stems

There is a division between free stems and bound stems among verb stems just as there is among nouns.

3.1.4.1.2.1. Free Stems

Free verb stems are those like tyanti- (VØ) cough, muntyu- (VL) swallow, munta- (VR) take away from and kanpi- (VN) yandy. Once an inflectional ending is added, they can stand alone.

3.1.4.1.2.2. Bound Stems

Bound verb stems, unlike free ones, cannot stand by themselves — with or without inflectional endings — until they have been attached to a noun. Bound verb stems are of two kinds, productive and unproductive.

3.1.4.1.2.2.1. Unproductive Stems

There are a very small number of unproductive bound verb stems in Yindjibarndi. Consider the examples given below which constitute an exhaustive list — or nearly so:

-karra- (VR) have in yurluwarra- (VR) have nothing,  
   cf. yurulu (NC) nothing, kanytya- (VL) have,  
   -karlaa (S) having, -rra- (VR) FACTITIVE VERBALISER

-ungka- (VL) blow in wuthurrungka- (VL) blow water out of the mouth in a spray, cf. Ngarluma wullurppuyungka- (VL) blow water out the mouth in a spray, puyungka- (VL) blow

-wanytyi- (VØ) become detached in kaarrwanytyi- (VØ) slip, cf. wantyarri- (VØ) become detached, also Ngarluma kararrwanytyarri- (VØ) slip, kararr (NC) tight

3.1.4.1.2.2.2. Productive Stems

There are a fair number of productive bound verb stems, which are here called 'verbalisers'. There are essentially four categories of verbaliser: factitive, inchoative, causative and reciprocal.1 All known verbalisers are listed below by category together with illustrative examples of their use:

1Thanks to Jeffrey Heath for discussing the use of these terms with me.
3.1.4.1.2.2.1. Factitive Verbalisers

Factive verbalisers are those verbalisers which generally transform nouns into transitive verb stems. A number of them appear to be reflexes of archaic monosyllabic verb stems (see also 3.1.4.1.3.2). Compare, for example, -ma- (VL) and -ka- (VL) with Ngayimbaa ma- (VL) make, do and ka- (VL) be (Donaldson 1977:185). Also compare -yhu- (VL) with Pailgu thuna- (V0) put, the latter evidently being the reflex of the past tense of *thu- (VN) put (O'Grady 1966:77, 80, 116).

- ma- (VL) make, do: This verbaliser is the one used most frequently in the production of transitive verb stems:

- kutama- (VL) shorten, kuta (NC) short
- wanarrama- (VL) lengthen, wanarra (NC) long
- mulimulima- (VL) spin, mulimuli (NC) around and around
- kuthanyma- (VL) squash, kuthany (NC) squashed
- mankarrma- (VL) tighten, mankarr (NC) tight
- warrkama- (VL) work on, warrkam, oblique stem warrkamu- (NC) work3

-pima- (VL) CAUSATIVE VERBALISER, -pi (S) sticking out, manifest

-rni- (V0): -rni- means the same as -ma-. It is the preferred verbaliser for borrowed English nouns, which have come into Yindjibarndi with the pidgin English ending -am(u-). For example:

- payilamarni- (V0) boil, payilam, oblique stem payilamu- (NC) boil
- warrkamarni- (V0) work on, warrkam, oblique stem warrkamu- (NC) work

Note the regular morphophonemic change which accompanies this verbaliser: the final u in the oblique stem of the noun to which it is being attached is replaced by a (see 2.2.8).

1 There are a few exceptions. For example, note murtima- (VL) go fast, speed, which derives from murti (NC) fast plus -ma- (VL) FACTITIVE VERBALISER.

2 Remember that in Yindjibarndi N-stems do not end in u (see 3.1.4.1.1).

3 See section 2.2.3.
-ka- (VL) make be, do be: This verbaliser is a passive transitive form of -ma-.¹ Consider the following examples in which it occurs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>katyartaa-</td>
<td>(VL) tickle, katyart (NC) tickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minytyuwa-</td>
<td>(VL) point at, minytyu (NC) pistol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parpaa-</td>
<td>(VL) massage, cf. Ngarluma parpa slapping sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wirtiwirtaa-</td>
<td>(VL) hang, wirtiwirti (NC) hanging</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-ra- (VR): -ra- is a variant of the preceding verbaliser, which occurs in environments that call for a retroflex consonant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pirriwirraa-</td>
<td>(VR) scale (fish), pirra (NC) rough outer covering, note also pirrapirra (NC) shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yirraa-</td>
<td>(VR) CAUSATIVE VERBALISER, -tyirri (S) sticking out, manifest, cf. also Ngarluma -tyirrima- (VL) CAUSATIVE VERBALISER²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rnaarnu (S)</td>
<td>PASSIVE PERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER, cf. -rnumarnu (S) ACTIVE PROGRESSIVE ASPECT MARKER, -rnu (S) ACTIVE IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-raa- (VR): This is another variant, which seems to occur in environments that require rr:³

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngarurra-</td>
<td>(VR) claw, ngarurr (NC) clawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waarra-</td>
<td>(VR) track down, hunt, cf. waarri- (VØ) search for, Ngarluma waka- (VØ) go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarra-</td>
<td>(VR) chase, cf. Proto-Pama-Nyungan *ya- (VN) go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The apparent association of this verbaliser with foot movement must be fortuitous.

-tya- (VL): Still another variant. This one is always⁴ preceded by the preparatory suffix -ny:

¹In order to grasp the veracity of this assertion see below under -ra- (VR) and also in section 3.1.4.1.3.4.

²The fact that Ngarluma -ma- (VL) corresponds to Yindjibarndi -ra- (VR) in this particular example suggests that the final vowel in the verb stem hnaungarra- (VR) look after is long, because the Ngarluma version is nhakungarra- (VL). However, Gilbert Bobby assures me that it is short.

³Compare the distribution of -rr- (VØ), which is illustrated in the next section.

⁴This characteristic helps us to identify certain verb stems like parnrtaya- (VL) find as borrowings. Cf. Yindjibarndi parnrtayi- (VN). Consider also the following pair of verb stems: Kurrama kwartayaa- (VL), Yindjibarndi kwartayi- (VN) urinate.
kanytya- (VL) have, cf. -karlaa (S) having
kurkanytya- (VL) think, kurka (NC) ear
purlunytya- (VL) nod, cf. purlumarri (NC) face-to-face
tyalinytya- (VL) suck on, cf. Ngarluma thaliwarru
(NC) blue-tongue (lizard), warru dark-coloured

Note its use in connection with body parts or perhaps more generally with one's person.

-yhu- (VL) put at or on: This verbaliser seems to be most closely related to -ka-. However, unlike -ka-, it contains a built-in locative component. Study closely the following examples, especially the last:

maluyhu- (VL) cast a spell on, malu (NC) shade, shadow, cf. also Marduthunira malungu kind of evil spirit
pirtuyhu- (VL) blow on, purtu (NC) chest
purluyhu- (VL) have a look at, cf. purlumarri face-to-face
puuyhu- (VL) smoke, cf. Pailgu puyu smoke, cf. also Yindjibarndi purrknurntaa- (VL) smoke,¹
purrknurnta smoke (LOC), purrkurn (NC) close smoke

-pi- (VN) stick out, pull off: This verbaliser is obviously related to the suffix -pi sticking out. Note the following examples in which it occurs:

mutyawi- (VN) stick one's nose out (like a poisoned fish), mutha (NC) nose
partuwii- (VN) pluck (a bird), partu (NC) feather
purtatpi- (VN) can't do, purtat (NC) can't
wantyawi- (VN) take off, pull off, detach, cf. wantyarrri- (VØ) come off

¹See Dixon 1972:30.

²But see also 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.3 where -yhu- appears to include the semantic element manifest.

³Note also the following example in which the locative component is made very apparent: minkayhu- (VL) raise, cf. minkaaama- (VL) lift, minkaa above, minka top. Unfortunately, the relationship of -yhu- to -ka- is obfuscated by the 'back-to-front' meaning of minka. In this regard notice how minkaa means at the top instead of the top is at something, which one would expect the reversing -ra locative suffix to produce (see 3.1.1.2.2.1).

⁴But be sure to see 3.1.4.1.3.4 for numerous similar examples.
-yi- (VN) shoot out, expel: The function of this verbaliser is transparent:

- kunayi- (VN) defecate, kuna (NC) faeces
- kuwartayi- (VN) urinate, kuwarta (NC) urine
- parnrtayi- (VN) find, cf. Kurrama parnrtaya- (VL)
- thuwayi- (VN) spear by throwing, cf. Nyamal thuwa- (V)

3.1.4.1.2.2.2. Inchoative Verbalisers

Inchoative verbalisers are those verbalisers which are generally employed in the production of intransitive verb stems. The reader should note that such verb stems can have a stative as well as inchoative function. A complete list of inchoative verbalisers is presented below.

-warni- (V0): This is the basic inchoative verbaliser which is used with nouns of two morae length, ending in a vowel or rr. Relevant examples are as follows:

- kutawarni- (V0) shrink, kuta (NC) short
- kurluwarni- (V0) get warm, kurlu (NC) warm
- nyurnrtiwarni- (V0) die, nyurnrti (NC) dead
- mankarrwarni- (V0) get hard, mankarr (NC) hard

However, sometimes inchoative verbalisers give rise to transitive verb stems. For example, consider wirrirri- (V0) climb (cf. wirra leg, Marduthunira wirta-(V0) climb).

In reference to middle verb stems, see section 4.1.2.2.

For example, consider the meaning of tyiniyarri in Text 49, sentences 1, 7 and 8, of waarrri in Text 61, sentence 9, and of nhaawarni in Text 77, paragraph 2, sentence 6.

Note, however, that -rarrri- (V0) is buried in a footnote, because it is evidently only used in conjunction with a certain locative suffix (see 3.1.4.1.3.4).

The reader will probably notice that a number of disyllabic verbalisers appear to consist of a factitive verbaliser plus the inchoative verbaliser -rrri-. However, the distributions of these apparently derived inchoative verbalisers do not always match that of the factitive verbalisers from which they appear to be derived. Therefore, such inchoative verbalisers are described without reference to factitive verbalisers. Also, it is possible that certain inchoative verbalisers are derived from free verb stems. For example, compare karri- (V0) be, stand with -karri- (V0).

-warni- is also used with pronouns. See nhaawarni- (V0), nyintawarni- (V0) and nganiwarni- (V0) in the Dictionary.

That is, consisting of two syllables, each containing one short vowel, or of a single syllable, containing a long vowel. For an example involving the latter case, see the preceding footnote.
waarrwarni- (VØ) tease, waarr (NC) teasing
yintyirrwarni- (VØ) become cruel, yintyirr (NC) cruel

-rr- (VØ): This variant occurs with nouns of more than two
morae which end in a vowel:

kutaparri- (VØ) shrink, kutapa (NP) short
warrkamurri- (VØ) be working, warrkam, oblique stem
warrkamu- (NC) work
yarrwatharri- (VØ) sweat, yarrwatha (NC) sweat
yirririrri- (VØ) get sick, yirriri (NC) sick
muimulirri- (VØ) go around and around,
muimul (NC) around and around

However, a number of nouns which are only two morae long, but end in
C plus a short vowel, where C is a laminal consonant, rt or k, also
take -rr-:

patharri- (VØ) be painted, pathama- (VL) paint
wayharri- (VØ) look for, wayha (NC) leg
tyiyarri- (VØ) wait
thartarri- (VØ) get covered, tharta (NC) covered
wirtirri- (VØ) climb, wirta (NC) leg
wankarri- (VØ) come alive, wanka (NC) alive

Monosyllabic nouns with the same underlying structure seem to follow
this pattern as well:

waarri- (VØ) get scared, waa (NC) frightened (cf. Ngarluma
waya frightened)
waarri- (VØ) look for, cf. Ngarluma waka- (VØ) go

-ri- (VØ): This is a form of -rr-, which is used with nouns,
trimoraic or longer, ending in rr plus a short vowel:

---

1 One might expect that wirta would take -karri- (see below) as a verbaliser.
Perhaps wirtirri- might be better understood as a derivation from a verbalised
form, cf. Marduthunira wirta- (VØ) climb. Here compare tyaama- (VØ), tyaamarri-
(VØ) yawn.

2 Note, however, that the Ngarluma synonym for waarri- (VØ) get scared, which
constitutes the first example immediately below, is wayakarri- (VØ).

3 See 2.1.2.3.
wanarrari- (VØ) get long, wanarra (NC) long
nyutuywiriri- (VØ) get soft, nyutuywirri (NC) soft
parrawarrari- (VØ) shiver, parrawarra (NC) shiver
yirtinykarrari- (VØ) line up, yirtinykarra (NC) lined up
-parri- (VØ) run out of, cf. Pandjima
-pati (S) without
-tyarri- (VØ): Another variant which is used with nouns, ending in a consonant other than rr, irrespective of length:
yilintyarri- (VØ) get thin, yillin (NC) thin
kutharnntyarri- (VØ) grow weary, kutharn (NC) weary
karlinntyarri- (VØ) return, karliny (NC) returning
mirnattyarri- (VØ) get ready, mirnat (NC) ready
wirrarttyarri- (VØ) feel like, wirrat (NC) feelings
kangktyarri- (VØ) come loose, kangkaty (NC) loose
-karri- (VØ): This inchoative verbaliser is employed with nouns which describe physical activities, concerning the body:
muurnkarri- (VØ) hum, muurn (NC) humming
ngayinykarri- (VØ) breathe, ngayiny (NC) breath
ngurtuwarri- (VØ) have diarrhoea, ngurtu (NC) diarrhoea
thumpurtankarri- (VØ) turn a somersault, thumpurtan (NC) somersault
yakayinykarri- (VØ) call out in pain, yakayi (NC) ouch
-y (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
yuwakkarri- (VØ) become seductive, yuwa (NC) seduction
-rrari- (VØ): This is a variant of -karri-, which is used with certain nouns, ending in rr:
karnrtarrari- (VØ) burp, karnrtarr (NC) burp
nguthurrari- (VØ) snore, nguthurr (NC) snoring

1 It is not clear to me why wirrat does not take -nguli- (see below) as a verbaliser. Perhaps -nguli- may not be attached to nouns ending in a consonant.
2 But note that the inchoative form of kupiya small is kupiyaarri-, evidently from kupiya + -karri-. Kupiya does not take -rr- as a verbaliser, apparently because the plural of kupiya is kupiyarri.
3 A derivational suffix is added to yakayi before -karri- is attached, apparently because -karri- cannot follow i. Compare -karra (S) in 3.2.1.1.2.
4 Other such nouns ending in rr take a locative suffix (-rru) followed by a different inchoative verbaliser, namely -rarri-. See 3.1.4.1.3.4.
-nguli- (VØ): This particular inchoative\(^1\) verbaliser is generally used with nouns which describe non-physical body states:\(^2\)

- kamunguli- (VØ) get hungry, kamu (NC) vegetable, kamungu (NC) hungry
- muyhunguli- (VØ) get cold, muyhu (NC) the cold, winter, muyhumuyhu (NC) cold, not warm\(^3\)
- pampanguli- (VØ) get sleepy, pampa (NC) sleep, pampangurru (NC) sleepy
- punhanguli- (VØ) get randy, punha (NC) sexual desire, punhamali (NC) randy

Note how these verbs are all based on the nouns describing the states rather than on the adjectives which are derived from them:\(^4\)

3.1.4.1.2.2.2.3. Causative Verbalisers

There are essentially two causative verbalisers, -pima- (VL) and -yirraa- (VR)\(^5\). The first is used in conjunction with nouns:

- purrkurnpima- (VL) puff on, purrkurn (NC) smoke
- ngurnrtirriwima- (VL) start (an internal combustion engine), ngurnrtirri (NC) putt-putt
- wangkawima- (VL) make someone talk, wangka (NC) speech

The second is employed with Ø-stem verbs:\(^6\)

- karpayirraa- (VR) cause something to rise, karpa- (VØ) rise
- karriirraa- (VR) make someone stand up, karri- (VØ) stand
- nyimpayirraa- (VR) startle, nyimp- (VØ) give a start
- parniirraa- (VR) set something down, parni- (VØ) sit
- wangkayirraa- (VR) make someone talk, wangka- (VØ) talk

\(^1\)This verbaliser also acts as a passiviser for transitive verb stems (see 4.2.3).

\(^2\)-nguli- is also used with pa li n (NC) mirage. See the Dictionary.

\(^3\)The inchoative forms of this and the preceding noun are respectively muyhumuyhurri- (VØ) get cold (in reference to inanimate objects) and muyhuwarni- (VØ) get to be winter.

\(^4\)However, Gilbert Bobby said that is is possible, for example, to say punhamalirri get randy in place of punhanguli.

\(^5\)On the internal structure of these two verbalisers see section 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.1 under -ma- (VL) and -ra- (VR), respectively.

\(^6\)Note how passivising -ra- replaces -ma- in the causative verbaliser which is employed in this environment (see preceding footnote).
However, the factitive verbaliser -yhu- (VL) may also be used as a causative verbaliser in place of -yirraa-:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{karpayhu-} & \quad \text{(VL) raise, karpa- (VØ) rise} \\
\text{ngarriyhu-} & \quad \text{(VL) lay, ngarri- (VØ) lie} \\
\text{parniyhu-} & \quad \text{(VL) set, parni- (VØ) sit}
\end{align*}
\]

Note that there are no causative verbalisers for non-Ø-stem verbs.

In order to express causation with such verb stems, an infinitive construction must be employed. See the last example in 4.2.4.2.3.

3.1.4.1.2.2.2.4. Collective/Reciprocal Verbalisers

-\text{marri-} (VØ): This form occurs with nouns and Ø-stem verbs, where it usually means either together or with one another (each other).\(^1\)

The following examples involve nouns, both free and bound:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kumamarri-} & \quad \text{(VØ) come together, kuma together} \\
\text{mayumarri-} & \quad \text{(VØ) make peace with one another, mayu (NC) calm, not angry} \\
\text{nguntamarri-} & \quad \text{(VØ) dance together or with one another, ngunta (NC) corroboree} \\
\text{payamarri-} & \quad \text{(VØ) argue together, quarrel with one another, paya (NC) aggression} \\
\text{wantamarri-} & \quad \text{(VØ) take leave of one another, cf. wantama- (VL) separate}
\end{align*}
\]

Here are some examples incorporating Ø-stem verbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{karpamarri-} & \quad \text{(VØ) get up together, karpa- (VØ) rise} \\
\text{ngarrkumarri-} & \quad \text{(VØ) eat together or with each other, ngarrku- (VØ) eat} \\
\text{parnimarri-} & \quad \text{(VØ) sit together or with each other, parni- (VØ) sit}
\end{align*}
\]

-\text{nytyarri-} (VØ): This variant is employed with transitive Ø-stem verbs, ending in i and u. Like all the variants that follow, it never means together or with each other.\(^2\) Consider the examples listed immediately below.

\(1\)It is true that in the construction nhaumarri- (VØ) look at each other, -\text{marri-} does not mean together or with each other. However, the Yindjibarndi verb stem meaning see, Look at is irregular anyway (see 3.1.4.1.1).

\(2\)At least as far as I can tell. It is, of course, possible to translate wangkayinytyarri- (VØ) as talk together (see below in the text under -\text{yinytyarri-}). But by talk together one obviously does not mean speak in unison. I have never received an intransitive L, R or N-stem verb with a collective/reciprocal verbaliser attached.
wanyarrinytyarri- (V0) listen to each other, wanyarri- (V0) hear, listen to
yungkunytyarri- (V0) pass something back and forth, yungku- (V0) give

-yinytyarri- (V0): This is an augmented form of the preceding variant, which is used with ∅-stem verbs ending in a:
wangkayinytyarri- (V0) converse, wangka- (V0) speak

-nmarri- (V0): A variant used with L- and N-stem verbs:
mirnumanmarrri- (V0) teach each other, mirnuma- (VL) teach
pirninmarrri- (V0) swear at each other, pirni- (VN) swear
waayhunmarrri- (V0) say goodbye to each other, waayhu- (VL)
say goodbye

-rnmarrri- (V0): The variant used with R-stems:
muntarnmarrri- (V0) take things away from one another,
munta- (VR) take away from
wanpirnmarrri- (V0) beat each other, wanpi- (VR) beat

3.1.4.1.3. Internal Structure

In the next several sections we shall discuss the various types of internal structures found among verb stems in Yindjibarndi.

3.1.4.1.3.1. Single Morpheme

There are a number of simple (monomorphemic) verb stems in Yindjibarndi, e.g. pani- (VN) grind (cf. Nyangumarda pani seed). However, as with nouns, it is dangerous to assume that a short stem is necessarily simple. If one considers, for example, the verb stems thani- (VN) chop, yarra- (VR) chase and kanytya- (VL) have, he will find that the first consists of a monosyllabic bound noun plus derivational suffix, which has been verbalised, the second of a monosyllabic bound stem plus verbaliser, while the third contains the root ka- (NC) have plus a derivational suffix -ny, followed by the factitive verbaliser -tya- (VL).¹ Thus, even disyllabic verb stems can have a relatively complex internal structure.

¹Further reference to the internal structure of these three verb stems is made in the next section in the text.
3.1.4.1.3.2. Reflexes of Proto-Ngayardic Monosyllabic Verb Stems

Yindjibarndi does not permit monosyllabic verb stems of one mora length. Such verb stems, which once existed in Proto-Ngayardic, were either augmented or lost. The survivors were augmented in a number of ways. Ordinarily, the old present tense — and sometimes the past tense as well — was adopted as a new Ø-stem verb. Rarely were these tense forms assigned to a different class or implemented with a factitive verbaliser. Otherwise, the old verb stem was nominalised, then augmented with a suffix and finally verbalised directly or with a verbaliser. In the latter event, the suffix might even be omitted. Below is a list of archaic monosyllabic verb stems which have been converted by the methods just described:

*ka-(VL) have: kanytya-(VL) have < *ka-(NC) have + -*ny (S) + -*tya-(VL), cf. Nyangumarda ka-(VL) have

*ka-(VNG) carry: karpa-(VL) carry < *ka-(NC) carry + -*r1 (S) + -*wa (S), cf. Nyangumarda ka-(VNG) carry

*ma-(VN) grab: manku-(VØ) grab < *manku grabs, high language mana-(VØ) grab < *mana grabbed

*nga-(VL) eat: ngarrku-(VØ) eat < *ngalku eats, cf. Pandjima ngarna-(VØ) consume < *ngarna ate

*nha-(VØ) see: nhau-(VØ) see < *nhaku sees, nhawa-(VØ) see < *nha-(NC) + -*wa (S), nha-(VØ) see < *nha-(VØ) see, cf. Tharkari nhanya-(V) see < *nhanha saw

1 This section is largely based on O'Grady's (1966:77) earlier discussion.

2 A short vowel counts as one mora, a long one as two.

3 The only certain exception to this statement occurs in connection with see, look and even here the exception is only a partial one. A monosyllabic verb stem of one mora length remains in the imperative mood and only there (see 3.1.4.1.1). However, it is also possible that certain factitive verbalisers (productive bound verb stems) were once monosyllabic free verb stems in Proto-Ngayardic (see 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.1).

4 Putative additions include *mi-(VL) know (but see the Dictionary) and *ma-(VNY) ask for (see Hudson 1978:43). Mirnu (NC) knowing, clever and manyu (NC) asking for, which are often employed as verbs in sentences, may be reflexes of their active imperfective aspects.

5 Compare yurluwarra-(VR) have nothing (see the Dictionary).

6 Cf. karpa-(VØ) rise.

7 1 has been lenited to rr here rather than Ø, because the preceding morpheme boundary is not productive (see O'Grady 1966:88).
*tha- (VL) hit: thani- (VN) chop < *tha- (NC) hit + -*ni (S), cf. Kurrama thani- (VØ) hit, Ngarluma thalu- (VØ) hit < *thalu hite
*thu- (VØ) spear: thu- (VL) spear < *thuku spears, thuwayi- (VN) *thu- (NC) spear + -*wa (S) + -*tyi- (VN), cf. Nyamal thuwa- (V) spear, Ngiyambaa thu- (VR) spear¹
*ya- (VN) go: yarra- (VR) chase < *ya- (NC) go + -*rra- (VR), cf. Kurrama yanki- (VØ) go < *yanku goes, Pailgu yana- (VØ) go < *yana went
*yu- (VNG) give: yungku- (VØ) give < *yungku gives, high language yunayi- (VN) give (apparently) < *yunya gave + -*tyi- (VN), cf. Pandjima, Pailgu yinya- (VØ) give²

3.1.4.1.3.3. Noun Plus Verb Stem

There are not many verb stems in Yindjibarndi which consist of a noun joined to a free verb stem, but note the two examples listed below:

partuwankama- (VL) revive someone whose head has been screwed, using the feather of an eaglehawk, partu (NC) feather, wankama- (VL) bring to life

kuriwaartarri- (VØ) circle back, nguri (NC) circle, high language waartarri- (VØ) go back

For examples containing bound verb stems, see below 3.1.4.1.2.2.

3.1.4.1.3.4. Noun Plus Suffix Plus Verbaliser

The Yindjibarndi language contains quite a number of verb stems which are built according to the formula, noun plus suffix plus inchoative or factitive verbaliser. The suffixes involved are most importantly the locative case markers, but also include the proprietary and allocative suffix as well as a bound form of the privative suffix and -pi, a suffix meaning sticking out or manifest(ed).

¹Despite the fact that thu- belongs to the R-stem class in Ngiyambaa (Donaldson 1977:185), it must have been a Ø-stem in Proto-Ngayardic as Ngarluma also preserves the old Ø-stem present tense in thukutha- (VL) spear. It may be significant that in Yindjibarndi no verb stems ending in u belong to the R-stem class (see 3.1.4.1.1).

²On the change of u to i, see section 2.2.7.
Note that in all the examples that follow the verbalisers are attached to the nominal derivations in a regular fashion, according to the rules outlined in 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.1 and 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.2.

Let us look at structures incorporating inchoative verbalisers, the first of which are derivations built on the various locative case markers (see below 3.1.1.2.2):

With -ngka: kanangkarri- (V∅) come, appear,\(^1\) kanangka in the clearing, kana (NC) clear
kartangkarri- (V∅) get down, kartangka down, karta (NC) the down, lowlands
martungkarri- (V∅) take one's place, martungka in place, martu (NC) space, place
pingingkarri- (V∅) run,\(^2\) piningka at speed, pini (NC) fast
thangkawarni- (V∅) get hooked in, thangka hooked in thurnungkarri- (V∅) get inside, thurnungka inside, thurnu (NC) the interior

With -la:

With -ra:

With -ra:

\(^1\)Cf. pangkarri- (V∅) go.

\(^2\)It is also possible to say murtlingkarri- (V∅); but people just don't use this form. On the other hand, murti (NC) fast is strongly preferred over pini.

\(^3\)This verb stem is an intransitive one, being derived from the transitive verb stem which follows it, using the inchoative verbaliser -rri- (V∅). Such derivations are not common, but compare ngatha- (VL) and ngatharri- (V∅) and also see the Dictionary. Compare tyamaa- (V∅) and tyamarrri- (V∅) as well.

\(^4\)Note that this verb stem is constructed differently from the one presented immediately above, which it superficially resembles. Here the locative form of the noun is verbalised directly by the inchoative verbaliser -karri- (V∅).
With -rru:  
- kantylraarri- (VØ) sneeze, kantyrr (NC) sneeze, 
- nguurrearri- (VØ) snarl, nguurr (NC) snarl 
- thumpirraarri- (VØ) fart, thumpirr (NC) fart 

With -yu:  
wuluuyurri- (VØ) get to be in the west, wuluuyu in the west 

With -rni:  
tyin karri (VØ) emerge, tyin karni from the interior, from upstream 
tyuntunirri- (VØ) walk around this way, tyunturni around this way, tyuntu (NC) way 

The derivations which are listed next contain the proprietary suffix -karla (see 3.2.1.1.1), which means having: 
- partuwarrlaarri- (VØ) sprout feathers, partu (NC) feather 
- tyimpuwarlraarri- (VØ) become egg-laden, tyimpu (NC) egg 
- yurrurnkarlaarri- (VØ) grow hair or fur, yurrurn (NC) hair, fur 

At this point it might be interesting to compare the use of the privative suffix in parallel constructions. The productive form of this suffix is -parrimarta without, but when verbalised, it drops the last two syllables, becoming -parriri- (VØ) run out of. Consider the following construction in which it appears: 
- piwrntuwarrirri- (VØ) run out of food, piwrntu (NC) food 
- wiwrartpparriri- (VØ) get sick of, wiwrart (NC) feelings 

1 Compare Ngarlumka kanytyrrma- (VØ). The correspondence Yindjibarndi -rraarrri-(VØ) = Ngarlumka -ma- (VØ) is carried through the next two examples. Cf. Ngarlumka ngu(w)urrma- (VØ) and thumpirrrma- (VØ), respectively. But note also Yindjibarndi karntarrari- (VØ) burp, Ngarlumka karntarrma- (VØ) and Yindjibarndi ngayinykarri- (VØ) breathe, Ngarlumka ngayinya- (VØ). Locative -rru shows up in Ngarlumka ngunhurruma- (VØ) snore (see Hale 1960:270). Compare Yindjibarndi nguthurrarri- (VØ). 

2 This verbaliser appears to occur only after the allatival locative case marker -rru. 

3 Unfortunately, I did not receive an example incorporating the other form of the locative case marker which occurs with compass points, namely -t. However, if such an example is found, it will contain the inchoative verbaliser -tyarri- (VØ). 

4 For some reason the verb stem meaning bear fruit, which is purlaalari- (VØ), does not contain this suffix (cf. purlaala (NC) fruit). Purlaalari- is constructed like yarrwatherri- (VØ) sweat.
This last set of examples contains the suffix -pi sticking out, manifest(ed) (see 3.2.1.1.1):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yirrntiwrri-} & \quad (V\emptyset) \text{ peep out, yirrnti (NC) forehead} \\
\text{payawirri-} & \quad (V\emptyset) \text{ get angry, paya (NC) anger} \\
\text{parntanyarpippi-} & \quad (V\emptyset) \text{ sit cross-legged, parntanyat (NC) part of the body where the thigh joins the hip}
\end{align*}
\]

Like constructions employing factitive verbalisers are not as varied, but they are still quite interesting and well worth discussing. Most of them involve locative case markers. Let us consider first, examples based on -ma- (VL):

With -la: wirkaalama- (VL) rest/sling something over one's shoulder, wirkaa (NC) shoulder

With -ngka: puyhangkama- (VL) put something on one's head, puyha (NC) head

murrungkama- (VL) load something into a womera, murr (NC) womera

marangkama- (VL) get one's hands on, literally make something (be) in one's hands, mara (NC) hand

thangkama- (VL) hook something in, thangka hooked in

With -ra: kankaama- (VL) lift,¹ kankaa above, at the top (cf. Ngarluma kanka), kanka (NC) top

On the verb stem warrunyamaa- (VL) leave something for the night, which contains the allocative suffix -nyaa, see Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 6. Note also section 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.3.

Now we shall consider the remaining examples involving locative case markers, which are based on -ka- (VL).² They are important in that they further clarify the difference in meaning between -ma- and -ka- (see 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.1) and also shed some additional light on the nature of passivisation (see 4.2.3) in Yindjibarndi. In particular notice how the sense of the locative phrase is reversed by -ka- in the first three examples illustrated below:

¹The synonym for this verb stem in the high language, which is minkaama- (VL), is structured similarly.

²Note also the verb stem piyaanta- (VR) dry (meat), which has -ra- (VR) in place of -ka- (VL). Piyaan-, an obvious derivation from piyaa (NC) thirsty, apparently is a bound noun stem, meaning dryness.
With -la: mawarnrtaa- (VL) put magic power into something, mawarn (NC) magic power
yawantaa- (VL) insert cooking stones into something, yawan (NC) cooking stone
yathurnrtaa- (VL) lick, literally put the tongue on, yathurn- (NC) tongue (cf. Ngarluma yathuru)

With -ngka: wijhangkaa- (VL) spit (on), wijha (NC) saliva

With -ra: ngarriwartaa- (VL) put something in an earth oven, ngarriwartu (NC) earth oven
yuvartaa- (VL) put something in a fireplace, yuvarta (NC) fireplace

Note how the sequence -ra plus -ka- found in the last two examples corresponds to -ngka/-la plus -ma- in those observed in the previous set. This is because -ra is a reverse locative, which is then reversed again by -ka-.

3.1.4.2. Tense, Aspect and Mood

In Yindjibarndi there are two tenses, present and past; five aspects, imperfective, perfective, progressive, infinitive and habitual; and four moods, imperative, potential, optative and irrealis. The markers which indicate tense are clitics, while the rest are suffixes (see 3.3.1).

3.1.4.2.1. The Endings, Their Distribution and Internal Structure

In the discussion that follows, please refer to the accompanying table, entitled 'Inflectional Endings for Verb Stems':

\[\text{1In particular, compare the structure and meaning of yuvartaa- (VL) put something into a fireplace with those of mirrungkama- (VL) put something into a woomera.}\]
### Inflectional Endings for Verb Stems

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<td>INFINITIVE</td>
<td>-(a)angu</td>
<td>-langu</td>
<td>-langu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABITUAL</td>
<td>-marta</td>
<td>-nmarta</td>
<td>-rnmarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-nma</td>
<td>-rnna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POTENTIAL</td>
<td>-yi, -wayi</td>
<td>-kayi</td>
<td>-kayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPTATIVE</td>
<td>-yaa</td>
<td>-tyaa</td>
<td>-tyaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(passive)</td>
<td>-nyaa</td>
<td>-nnyaa</td>
<td>-rnnyaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRREALIS</td>
<td>-yingu, -wayne</td>
<td>-kayingu</td>
<td>-kayingu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PRESENT TENSE:** In the present tense there is a basic contrast between \(\emptyset\)-stem verbs, which take \(-\emptyset\), and all other kinds, which take \(-\emptyset\). This unleniting \(-\emptyset\) (see 2.2.10) is a reflex of the Proto-Pama-Nyungan L-stem suffix for potential mood, namely \(-*\emptyset\), which has been generalised to the R and N-stem classes (see O'Grady 1966:76, 80-81). For more discussion on the source of \(-\emptyset\) and \(-\emptyset\) see 3.1.4.1.1.

**PAST TENSE:** The inflectional endings indicating past tense in Yindjibarndi appear to be identical to those that were employed in Proto-Pama-Nyungan.

**IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT:** These suffixes, excluding \(-yangu\), are evidently reflexes of Proto-Pama-Nyungan perfective aspect markers. The exact same forms indicate completed action in the languages of the Western Desert (see Douglas 1964:101). Moreover, certain languages in Queensland apparently have reflexes of related forms, which are now used as past tense markers. Compare, for example, Yidiny \(-nyu\)
(Dixon 1977:204) with Ngarluma -nhu (contrast with -nha PAST TENSE MARKER), a variant of -nguru (= Yindjibarndi -ngu). -yangu is a Yindjibarndi invention, deriving from -ya- (= Thargari -ya DEPENDENT IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER - see Klokeid 1969:45-46) plus -ngu IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER.

PERFECTIVE ASPECT: The active perfective aspect markers were built upon the present tense endings, when the latter were still suffixes. Evidently, to these endings were added -*ra (= Western Desert IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER) + -*tyi (= Thargari -tya1 PAST TENSE MARKER = Western Desert -ntyay). It seems clear then that this construction is connected with the one used to form the past continuative2 in the Western Desert language (see Douglas 1964:98, 101; O'Grady and others 1966:143-44). The suffix chains underwent historical sound change in Yindjibarndi, giving rise to two aspect markers, namely -(a)ayi and -kaayi. The required change in the final vowel of Ø-stem verbs to a, when -ayi is attached, is an artefact of this historical process (see 2.2.13).

The passive perfective aspect markers are neologisms. The formula which describes their internal structure reads as follows:

(DEPENDENT) IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER + -*ra- (VR) PASSIVE FACTITIVE VERBALISER + IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER. Compare it with the one used to form the progressive aspect (see immediately below). The fact that the Ø-stem variant is based on the dependent form of the imperfective aspect marker suggests that these suffixes once only occurred in conjunction with verb stems in dependent clauses.

PROGRESSIVE ASPECT: The internal structure of the progressive aspect markers is transparent. It closely resembles that of the passive perfective aspect markers, which are discussed immediately above. The formula is IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER + -*ma- (VL) FACTITIVE VERBALISER + IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER.

INFINITIVE ASPECT: The inflectional suffixes for the infinitive aspect are derived from the old mood markers -*ra and -*1a, which were apparently once used to indicate inceptive action (see Klokeid 1969:39,

1 Compare Yindjibarndi -yi, Western Desert -ya VOCATIVE SUFFIX and see the latter part of 2.2.7.

2 The reader will please bear in mind that we have already pointed out that Yindjibarndi imperfective (= continuative) aspect markers are cognate with those which indicate completed action in the Western Desert.
HABITUAL ASPECT: The habitual aspect markers have been derived from 
\[*marta\] in the same manner that the imperative mood markers have been 
derived from \[*ma\] (see below).

IMPERATIVE MOOD: The imperative mood markers have been derived from 
the suffix \[*ma\]. They surely hark back to Proto-Pama-Nyungan times 
as cognates occur all over Australia. The various forms reflect the 
addition of the stem formatives \[*Ø\], \[*l\], \[*r\] and \[*n\] (see 
3.1.4.1.1).

POTENTIAL MOOD: The suffix indicating potential mood for \Ø-stem verbs 
ending in a and i is \(-yi\), reducing to \(-i\) after the latter vowel 
(see 2.2.9). The one for those ending in u is \(-wayi\), a lenited form 
of \(*katyi\)\(^1\) (= Pandjima, see O'Grady and others 1966:89). The L-stem 
variant is \(-kayi\), regularly from \(*l\) + \(*katyi\). This same form has 
been generalised to the two remaining stem classes in parallel with 
\(-ku\) (see discussion under PRESENT TENSE).

OPTATIVE MOOD: In respect of the active forms, \(-yaa\) is from \(*tyaku\) 
(= Western Desert, see Douglas 1964:101) and \(-tyaa\) is from \(*l\) + \(*tyaku\) 
(cf. preceding mood). The passive forms have been derived from \(*nyura\) 
(= Ngarluma, see von Brandenstein 1975:54). For details see the 
relevant discussion under IMPERATIVE MOOD.

IRREALIS MOOD: The various irrealis mood markers are simply potential 
mood markers to which the \Ø-stem imperfective aspect marker \(-ngu\) has 
been added.

3.1.4.2. Functions

PRESENT TENSE: The present tense has five functions. The first and 
by far the most basic one is to indicate that an action is going on 
while the verb to which it refers is being spoken. In this respect 
the present tense in Yindjibarndi corresponds to the ordinary present 
progressive or present imperfect in English. This function is so 
common that there is no need to give references, documenting its use 
here. The second function of the present tense is to state that an

\(^1\)Cf. Western Desert \(-kitya\) (Douglas 1964:99, 101).
action does in fact occur. Here the present tense appears to resemble an aspect, because temporal reference is not clear. The unclarity stems from the fact that the present tense here is describing a perpetual present. For examples illustrating the perpetual present see Texts 3, 5 and 11, and also Text 23, sentence 4 and Text 53, paragraph 1. The third function, which is not a common one, is to act as a continuous imperative, that is, one that means 'keep on doing something'. An example is given in 4.2.2.3.

The fourth function is to give a description of an event which occurred in the past. This function corresponds more or less to the historical present of English. Examples are not uncommon in the more complex Texts. See, for example, Text 50, sentence 1; Text 58, sentence 1; Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 1; Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 1; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 13. The fifth and final function of the present tense is to specify the less remote of two past actions which occur in sequence. The present tense in Classical Greek evidently had a similar function. Again, examples are fairly numerous in the more advanced Texts. Note the following: Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 5 and paragraph 2, sentence 3; Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 5; Text 67, paragraph 2, sentences 2 and 3; Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 4; Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 3; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

In summing up the functions of the present tense, one might be tempted to describe it as a non-future, a description which might seem somewhat absurd, when the suffixes which represent it are considered in a comparative-historical framework.

PAST TENSE: The past tense is used to describe actions belonging to the past without reference as to whether they have been completed or are still going on. See Text 24.

IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT: The imperfective aspect is used to describe a continuous action without reference to past, present or future time. The suffixes used to indicate the independent imperfective aspect may occur in either independent clauses or in conjoined clauses in which the subject is identical to that of the main clause. For examples of the first kind see Text 23, sentence 1; Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 2; and Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 7. For examples of the second kind see 4.2.4.2.1. When the imperfective aspect occurs in a non-main clause, the subject of which is not the same as that of the main clause, then the dependent imperfective aspect marker is employed,
providing, of course, that the verb belongs to the Ø-stem class (see 4.2.4.2.2, 4.2.4.2.3 and 4.2.7). Non-Ø-stem classes do not have a special dependent form for the imperfective aspect marker (see 3.1.4.2.1).

The imperfective aspect marker also has a number of substitute functions. It may replace the dependent imperfective aspect marker and the infinitive aspect marker in verbs which are linked in parallel with another verb which is inflected for dependent imperfective or infinitive aspect (see 4.2.4.2.3). It may also replace the potential mood marker when the latter is functioning as an infinitive, if the leading verb is in the imperfective, perfective or progressive aspect (see 4.2.4.2.1).

PERFECTIVE ASPECT: The perfective aspect is used to describe any action which has been completed. For examples in which it occurs see Text 59, sentence 1 and Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 5.

PROGRESSIVE ASPECT: The progressive aspect essentially describes movement towards an action. It appears in two contexts. In one it describes goal oriented movements like sitting down and standing up for which verb stems do not exist. See Text 19. In the other, it specifies that the action described by the verb in which it occurs follows the action described by a preceding verb to which it is conjoined. See 4.2.4.2.1.

INFINITIVE ASPECT: The infinitive aspect is employed to characterise an action which occurs or may occur as a direct result of another earlier action. The subject of the infinitive is always the object of the verb describing the motivating action. Thus, the infinitive aspect never occurs in independent clauses. For examples illustrating the infinitive aspect see the latter part of 4.2.4.2.3.

HABITUAL ASPECT: The habitual aspect indicates habitual action. Certain Texts contain large sections delivered in the habitual aspect. See, for example, Texts 52, 55 and 76, paragraph 2.

IMPERATIVE MOOD: The imperative mood is used in positive commands. See 4.2.2.3.

POTENTIAL MOOD: The potential mood, like the present tense, is a very complex verbal category, having a number of functions. A very important one is to indicate that an action will occur or will probably occur in the future. Relevant examples are found all through
the Texts and hence additional ones need not be provided here. Another function is to indicate a potential action in the past. See, for example, Text 48. Still another use is to specify a hypothetical situation, where English would begin with 'suppose' plus an embedded sentence in the simple present. In this regard see Texts 51 and 53, paragraph 2.

The potential mood is also used to form negative commands and even weak positive ones. See 4.2.2.3. Finally, it corresponds to the infinitive aspect in English, when the subject of the infinitive is the same as that of the main clause. See 4.2.4.2.1.

OPTATIVE MOOD: The optative mood indicates, according to Gilbert Bobby, that there is a '50/50 chance' that the action may occur. Examples illustrating the use of the active optative can be found in 4.2.5 (see the second example) and in Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 4. A passive optative is found in Text 22, sentence 3.

The reader may be interested to know that a special past optative may be derived by adding the anaphoric clitic -mu to the ordinary non-tense marked optative mood suffix. Consider, for example, the following sentence:

\[
\text{Witypanha parniyaamu yirriyala?} \\
\text{Jerry Jerrold-PN sit-OPT-ANA street-LOC} \\
\text{Could Jerry have been sitting by the street before?}
\]

See also 3.2.2.2 under -mu.

It may also be appropriate to mention here that it is possible to construct an alternate optative in Yindjibarndi by combining mayit, a borrowing of English 'might', with other verbal categories. Note, for instance, how mayit combines with the potential mood in the following sentence:

\[
\text{Ngayi mayit pangkarrii warrungkam'.} \\
\text{I might go-POT tomorrow} \\
\text{I might go tomorrow.}
\]

See also Text 45, sentence 6, for an example involving the past tense.

IRREALIS MOOD: The irrealis mood is used in situations in which information that is contrary to fact is being presented. Consider the following examples:

\[
\text{Yirramakartula ngayi parnlingu yaalayhu, mityarnu} \\
\text{Roebourne-LOC I be-IRR now-DET drink-IMPRF} \\
\text{Right now I could be in Roebourne, drinking}
\]
muyhumuyhu karīl ngawurrarlaau.
cold alcohollic beverage-OBJ beer-OBJ
a cold beer.

Minytyuwarna.
point at-PAST apparently I
I was threatening him with it. Apparently I
thuukaying'.
spear-IRR
was going to spear him.

Mirta mirnu wanhthartau ngaarnrtulu nyampaliliu
not knowing when-OBJ my-INST boss-INST
I don't know when I could be given
yungkunguliingu ngayu alartiu.1
give-PASS-IRR I(OBJ) holiday-OBJ
a holiday by my boss.

See also the last example sentence in 4.2.4.5 and in 4.2.5.

3.2. Word Endings

This section is devoted to a consideration of non-inflectional suffixes and clitics.

3.2.1. Suffixes

Suffixes are essentially of two types, inflectional and purely derivational.2 Inflectional suffixes, indicating case and number in the instance of nouns and pronouns, mood and aspect in the case of verb stems, are discussed in 3.1.1.2, 3.1.2.1.2 and 3.1.2.1.3, and 3.1.4.2, respectively, and therefore nothing further need be said about them here. This section, then, will be devoted only to a discussion of derivational suffixes, which may be used in the construction of nouns, pronouns and verb stems.

1Here is a rare sentence in which the irrealis mood is employed in respect of a future action. Gilbert Bobby says that it is possible to utter such a sentence, only if you know that you are in fact not going to get a holiday and have already been told as much by your boss. Otherwise, you must use the potential mood. That is, you would have to substitute 'yungkunguliingu', the objective form of will be given, for 'yungkunguliingu'.

2I say 'purely' derivational, because inflectional suffixes are also derivational, words inflected with suffixes being able to take case endings. See 3.1.1.2.1, 3.1.2.1.2 and 3.3.1.
Purely derivational suffixes may be divided into two groups, those that are contentful (meaningful) and those that are not.\(^1\) The former in turn are further divided into productive suffixes, which are characterised by the fact that they can be employed consciously by a speaker to form new words, and unproductive suffixes, which cannot.\(^2\) Contentless suffixes are not so divided, because all contentless suffixes are unproductive. However, on this account one must not jump to the conclusion that these suffixes are linguistically dead items. They can and do enter into the production of new words.\(^3\)

Now let us turn to a consideration of the suffixes themselves, which I have arranged in three lists as described above.

3.2.1.1. Contentful Suffixes

3.2.1.1.1. Productive Suffixes

-arnrtu for, belonging to: This suffix is identical to the genitive case marker. When it is used syntactically, it may appear with or without a morpheme separator (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). However, when it is employed in a purely derivational manner, it is always preceded by a morpheme separator, that is, either -th- or -ty- (see below in this section). Consider the following examples:

- wangkayarnrtu, wangkayharnrtu radio, wangka talk
- muyhumuyhuyarnrtu icebox, fridge, muyhumuyhu cold
- kampayarnrtu, kampayharnrtu stove, kampa- (V\(\tilde{O}\)) cook

It is also possible to employ ordinary genitive case forms derivationally.\(^4\)

\(^1\)Contentless suffixes can actually be completely vacuous in terms of meaning. A derived word may have exactly the same meaning as the original word from which it has been derived. However, usually the new word will have a different meaning from the old one, even though a semantic relationship may be apparent. The point is that when a number of words sharing the same contentless suffix are compared, it is not possible to abstract out a common meaning, which may then be assigned to the contentless suffix. See especially the suffixes -ngu and -ra in 3.2.1.2.

\(^2\)I have been cautious in assigning suffixes to the productive subgroup. When I was not sure which subgroup to assign a particular contentful suffix to, I put it in the unproductive subgroup. Thus, it may later turn out that certain unproductive suffixes are really productive. For example, -karra may be productive. When I mentioned 'Gum Tree Valley' to Ken M. Jerrold, he immediately came out with 'Wirrangkaarra Parkarra'. The first word is apparently a derivation from wirrangkaa river red gum plus -karra. Cf. warrapaarra parkarra grassy plain. The suffix of reduplication is also suspicious as it appears in many many derivations.

\(^3\)Consider, for example, the derivations meaning shoe and wheel, which involve the contentless suffix -ku.

\(^4\)Gilbert Bobby once declined ngaarnrtu my (property) for me in the singular and also inflected it for dual and plural number. It followed the pattern for common nouns exactly.
-kaa like: Consider the following examples in which this semblative suffix appears:

par-karrany-kaa plains kangaroo, par-karrra grassy plain,
-ny CONTENTLESS SUFFIX
wu-yurrkaa easy, wuyut nothing
manka-rraa difficult, mankarr hard
ngan-iia like what, ngani what

For another example in context, see Text 21, sentence 3. -kaa is apparently related to the allative case marker -kura in Pandjima (see O'Grady and others 1966:90). Blake (1977:56) suggests that similar allative forms in other Aboriginal languages are based on the dative case marker -ku. See also -purra and -purraa in the next section.

-karraa having: This is the so-called proprietive suffix. It appears in a number of derivations. Some interesting ones are listed below:

marniarra stripped, marni mark
martuwarraa ute, martu space
ngawurarraa beer, ngawurr foam
nguurrarlaa pig, nguurr grunt
partuwarraa bird, partu feather
thaarriarlaa female, thaarri vagina
thathaarlaa liar, thatha lie
wantaarlaa insane, wanta insanity
wirratkarraa loved one, wirrart feelings

The Texts are full of examples showing -karraa being used syntactically as a substitute for the verb stem kanytta- (VL) have. For instance, see Text 8, sentence 1 and Text 44, sentence 4. Sometimes the proprietive suffix is used to render the English preposition 'with', even though Yindjibarndi has a special comitative case marker -pari (which see). See, for example, Text 52, sentence 2 and Text 54, sentence 1. For information on the derivation of -karraa, see 3.3.4.

1 Note also warnrtiarlaa male, warnrti penis.
2 Compare the reduplicated form wantawanta insane.
-kula both: This suffix is distinct from the dual number marker -kuyha. -kula is evidently cognate with Ngarluma -pula (see 2.2.15), which occurs in the second person dual pronoun nyintapula you two (see O'Grady and others 1966:97). Capell (1956:61-63, 93) discusses the distribution of the roots *kutha and *pula from which these two different suffixes are derived. For examples illustrating the use of -kula in Yindjibarndi, see Text 74, paragraph 1, sentences 3 and 6; Text 75, paragraph 2, sentences 1 and 8; and Text 76, paragraph 1, sentence 4 and paragraph 6, sentence 2.

-maa maker, doer: This suffix is composed of the factitive verbaliser -ma- (VL) and the obsolete agent suffix -ra (see next section). Some words in which it occurs are presented below:

mirnumaa teacher, mirnu knowing, clever
murtimaa fast-runner, motorcar¹ (cf. Nm murtimara),
murti fast
tyutyumaa flesh of the plains kangaroo which makes one grow old, tyutyu old person

-marta, -nmarta, -rnorta AGENT SUFFIX: These three complementary productive agent suffixes are homophonous with the habitual aspect markers (see 3.1.4.2.1), which are also used with verb stems.² I suspect that they are developed from them. Consider the following examples in which these agent suffixes appear:

Nyinta mirta parni ngartangka muyanmartala! you not sit-POT beside-LOC steal-AGT-LOC Don't you sit by the thief!

Ngunhu thathayi parrwarnmarta.³ he tell a lie-AGT He is a liar.

See also Hale 1966:77 for an example, which employs a ŋ-stem verb.

¹Note also the homonym Murtimaa Frank Wordick and also the synonym pinimaa.

²Also note -marta eater, which appears in the following section, and the homophonous contentless suffix in the one after that.

³Perhaps a more literal translation of this sentence might be He is a teller of lies. Compare the first three examples in the discussion on the objective case in 3.1.1.2.2.2. It is, of course, possible to translate this sentence as He habitually tells lies, but I wish to assure the reader that this is the correct (and only) way to say He is a liar, using the expression thathayi parrwa- (VR).
-ngaala on account of, over: This suffix is used very infrequently. It occurs in the term ngunhungaala on account of that, which I asked for, and also in a different context in Text 76, paragraph 6, sentence 4. -ngaala is cognate with Ngarluma -ngara, which has the same meaning (see Hale 1960:383). -la is evidently the locative case marker.

-nyaa for, goes here: Consider the following examples¹ in which -nyaa is used as a purely derivational suffix:

- Pampanyaa Sunday,² pampa sleep
- pawanyakaa depression at the base of the throat, pawa water
- wanangkaanyaa depression in the small of the back,
- wanangkaa whirlwind
- wartanyaa bladder, kuwarta urine

See also the interesting example in Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 6, where this suffix is employed syntactically. -nyaa is identical³ to the passive optative mood marker for Ø-stem verbs (see 3.1.4.2.1).

-nyungu dweller: This suffix is derived from its unproductive synonym -nyu (see 3.2.1.1.2) by the addition of the contentless suffix -ngu (see 3.2.1.2). It occurs with common nouns.⁴ Proper nouns take -partu (see below). Note the following examples:

- marntanyungu mountain dweller, marnta mountain
- ngarnkanyungu bird, airplane, ngarnka sky
- ngartanyungu kidney, ngarta (along)side
- Thungkawarnanyungu person from Tunkawanna, Thungkawarna
- Tunkawanna, Long Mack's country
- warntanyungu tree dweller, warnta tree

See also Text 62, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

-parrimarta lacking, without: The privative suffix serves as an antonym for both the proprietary suffix -karlaa having (see above)

¹Note also Kurrama purruunya waist (Hale 1959b:8), literally where the hair belt goes.
²Coppin Dale indicated to me that this term for Sunday literally means for sleep. See Text 69, paragraph 1, sentence 1, for an example in which Pampanyaa is used in context.
³See von Brandenstein 1975:54, who gives -nyura as the corresponding Ngarluma form, which is used with both nouns and Ø-stem verbs.
⁴It is possible that -nyungu may also be used with retroflex nouns, but I did not receive any such examples.
and the comitative case marker -pari with \((\text{see } 3.1.1.2.2.2)\). For examples of its syntactic use with nouns, see Text 51, sentence 3; Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 3; Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 2; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 6. See also 4.1.3, where the privative suffix is used in connection with a verb. In the following and final example -parrimarta is employed in the production of a purely morphological derivation:

\[ \textit{manyuwarrimarta bludger, moocher, manyu something good to eat}^{1} \]

-\textit{partu dweller}: This suffix appears productively with proper nouns (cf. -nyungu above). For example:

\textit{Marrawartu person from Marra, Marranha Gilbert Bobby's country}

However, it also occurs in the term \textit{ngarriwartu earth oven}, where \textit{ngarri} is an extremely rare common noun meaning \textit{ashes}. Here it seems to have the same meaning that it does in Thalandji and Bayungu, which is \textit{possessed of} (see O'Grady and others 1966:107 and 110). That is, it is equivalent to -karlaa (see above). Consider also the term \textit{yirryiwartu native cat} in which the meaning of \textit{yirryi-} is unfortunately unknown.

-pi sticking out: This suffix occurs in the following morphological derivations:

\[ \textit{tyirriwi native porcupine, tyirri prickles} \]
\[ \textit{wayawi species of grasshopper, wayha leg} \]
\[ \textit{kartawinykarra sideways, kartaa side of face} \]

The last example shown above is especially interesting, because -pi there is first followed by the contentless suffix -ny and then by the unproductive suffix -karra and also because -pi exhibits a more abstract meaning of \textit{manifested} in this context. The two examples which are found in Text 16, sentences 1 and 2, demonstrate that this suffix is surely productive.

\[^{1}\text{Manyuwarrimarta may also be reasonably derived from manyuwarri- (W) ask for with -marta (see further above in text) being interpreted as the agent suffix. See also Hale 1960:377, where Robert Churnside translates manyu as begging.}\]
-puntharri, -npuntharri, -rnuntharri thing for: This set of suffixes occurs with nouns as well as verb stems. Consider the following examples:

thurlawuntharri depression in the base of a throwing spear, thurla butt-peg on a woomera
parniwuntharri chair, parni- (VØ) sit
mantawuntharri belt, manta- (VØ) encircle oneself
warlimanpuntharri broom, warlima- (VL) sweep
wanpirdpuntharri club, wanpi- (VR) hit with a held object

-rra (be)cause: The causal suffix is usually found in conjunction with nominalised verbs in which case it translates into English as because (see 4.2.4.5). However, it may also be observed attached to the subject of a sentence as shown immediately below:

Nyintarra nyunntimarna "nanny-goat"ku.
you-CAUS kill-PAST -OBJ
You're the cause of that nanny-goat getting killed.

Thus, it can be employed to disambiguate the subject of certain types of clauses in which the subject and object of the verb are both typically inflected for objective case (see especially 4.2.4.2.3 and 4.2.7), even though it is extremely unusual to do so. Note the following example:

Ngayi mirnu ngaartarrau waniakaayi warrrau.
I know man-CAUS-OBJ hit-PRF-OBJ woman-OBJ
I know that the man hit the woman.

-th-, -ty- MORPHEME SEPARATOR: Although -th- and -ty- do not contain any real lexical meaning, they nevertheless possess a very precise function. This is to separate a suffix, beginning with a vowel, from the final vowel of a word to which it is being attached. See -arnrtu for, belonging to further above.

Compare Ngarluma (Hale 1960:75-85, 189-95), where -puntharri is employed with nouns and Ø-stem verbs and -lpuntharri (cf. Yindjibarndi -npuntharri) with L-stem verbs.

Western Desert has -rraka (O'Grady and others 1966:158), which suggests that the Yindjibarndi form should be *rraa. However, I did check the vowel for length and found it to be short. Hale (1959a:17) also records it as short.

In fact it was difficult to get even the single example illustrated below in the text, although the preceding one was freely volunteered. Compare the situation in Ngarluma, where -kapu, which appears to correspond with Yindjibarndi -rra (see Hale 1960:39, 351, 400, 404), is evidently normally used to mark the object in such ambiguous circumstances (see Hale 1960:179-80, 267, 339, 380).
-winyangu full of: This suffix is frequently heard in connection with the word kari *alcoholic beverage*. However, I am told by Gilbert Bobby that it can occur in combination with any semantically suitable term; for example:

pawawinyangu full of water, pawa water
pirnrtuwinyangu full of food, pirnrtu food

The relationship between -winyangu and the free word winya full is obvious (see 3.3.4).

-yi and -u VOCATIVE SUFFIXES:¹ -yi frequently occurs with people's names, the pronoun nyinta you² and certain interjections such as wanhthiwa how do and parra go on, when the speaker is calling out. Consider also the following minitext³ provided by Long Mack, which contains two interjections that cannot be uttered without -yi:

Yakayi! Ngunu ngayu wanpirna.
\( ow(VOC) \) he me hit-PAST
\( Ow! \) He hit me.

Kuwayi!
Ngayu mingkayhukayi.
\( come\ here(VOC) \) me protect-POT
\( Come\ here! \) Help me!

Sometimes it may even occur with an ordinary noun in an exclamatory context.⁴ -yi has a defective distribution. It can only be attached to words ending in a vowel; for example, Yinpirrpai! Long Mack!, Kakui! Norman!, Tyirtii! Cheedy!. With words ending in a consonant, vocative content is carried by the intonation contour alone, for example Pityin! Ken!.

-u has an even narrower distribution. It presents itself as an alternative to -yi with trisyllabic nouns, for example Yinpirrpau! and wanhthiawai!. It is also found in interjections, the bound stems of which are monosyllabic morphemes; that is, pau! hey!⁵ nyau! boo!

¹-yi and -u are treated as derivational suffixes rather than as case markers, because both have quite incomplete ranges of occurrence and because they occur indifferently on either common or proper nouns, a characteristic of derivational suffixes but not case markers.

²I have not heard vocative forms of its dual or plural.

³See also Text 25.

⁴See, for example, Text 14, sentence 3.

⁵Compare the corresponding Nyangumarda term, which is payi! (see O'Grady 1964:2).
and ngau! yes!.\(^1\) Compare the distribution of \(-yi\) and \(-u\) (= Nyangumarda
-ku)\(^2\) with the objective case markers \(-yi\) and \(-ku\) (see 3.1.1.2.2.1).

3.2.1.1.2. Unproductive Suffixes

-irti speaker:

  kurnma rti good hunter, kurnma delicious
  mutya rti nose plug, mutha nose

-karra: This suffix has two meanings. The first is '-ed'.
The second is 'and reciprocal'. It occurs with all nouns except
those ending in \(i\),\(^3\) which take \(-yarra\) (see below). Consider the two
sets of examples listed below:

1. kangkankarra forked (road), kangkan fork
   yirtinykarra lined up, yirtiny queue, line
2. kurtaarra a man and his younger sibling,
   Nl kurta older brother
   thurtuwarra a woman and her younger sibling,
   thurtu older sister

-malu quantity:

  nganimalu how many, how much,\(^4\) ngani what
  wartumalu flock of crows, warru black,
  warnrturla magpie
  payamalu king brown snake, paya viciousness

-man person, thing: Judging from the nature of the examples
given below, this suffix has an ancestry, which runs parallel to
-pala (see below):

\(^1\)Compare the non-vocative form ngaa. I asked Gilbert Bobby, if it were possible to
construct a similar vocative form for mirta no. He stated categorically that both
*mirtau and *mirtyai were impossible. This demonstrates that \(-yi\) and \(-u\) are
suffixes and not clitics. But see von Brandenstein 1970:195, 202-203 and look
elsewhere in the same Text for other occurrences of \(-u\) in contradictory places.

\(^2\)See O'Grady 1964:65, 77.

\(^3\)I may have over-simplified the analysis. There may also be a \(-warra\) variant.
Compare mi\(\text{rnawar}ra,\) mirna while. But see the Dictionary.

\(^4\)Most of my male informants do not use nganimalu in this latter sense, employing
nganiaa like what in its place. Gilbert Bobby, for example, says that \(-malu\) means
number. But then see the last example in this set.
ylr tly aman
shir re oounoi , yl rly ar
road r
bu l im an
bu��, oow
ty i la man
rif, ty il a
tap- root

This suffix seems to be an active form of -karra (see above). In this regard note the relationship obtaining between
the two verbalisers -ma- and -ka- (see 3.1.4.1.2.2.1). Consider
the following examples:

karnkamarra independent fellow, karnka independent
tyartunmarra rock wallaby, tyartungu rock hole
karimarra plains kangaroo section, kari bad-tasting

-marra each other:

ngartamarrri side-by-side, ngarta (be)side
purlumarri face-to-face, purlaa in front

-marta eater: This suffix is homophonous with the productive
agent suffix for Ø-stem verbs (see preceding section) as well as with
a contentless suffix (see next section). Some examples in which it is
used are listed below:

puwamarta scavenger, puwa rotten (food)
warrayimarta species of fly-eating lizard,
warrayi bush fly
tyayumarta bee-fly (cf. Ku tyayimarta),
tyayimarra flower of the blackheart tree

-mirtayi where the is/are:
marnrtamirtayi rocky ground, mountain country,
marnrta rock, mountain
wirlukurumirtayi gravy, wirlukuru drippings

-nu -ing: This suffix is homophonous with the imperfective aspect
marker for N-stem verbs (see 3.1.4.2.1) and it appears to possess a
similar meaning - at least in the examples presented immediately below:

The shire council is responsible for the upkeep of the roads.

For another interpretation, see Worms 1937-38:459-60.

Gilbert Bobby translated this suffix 'stuff'. It is clear to me that -mirtayi is
cognate with the Nyangumarda suffix -martatyi, which means place of. On the latter
see O'Grady 1964:48, 61.
wiyanu hunting (cf. Pn wiya- (V) look), wiyangarra barn owl
waranu kind of lerp covering the leaves of the river red gum, wara clothing

However, this meaning does not come through well in the terms pirtunu kidnapped (cf. pirtuwangu initiand, prisoner) and tyinytyanungu worker (cf. tyinytyi wage payment).¹ See also the related suffix -rnui in this section.

-ny INCEPTIVE SUFFIX: This suffix occurs with both nouns and ø-stem verbs as shown below:

karliny returning, karlima- (VL) hold back,
-ma- FACTITIVE VERBALISER
parninyny starting to sit,² parni- (VØ) sit
karriny starting to stand, karri- (VØ) stand

-nyu dweller: This suffix is the unproductive variant of -nyungu (see preceding section). It only appears in the following two words:

ngurranyu wife, ngurra camp
kananyuwarra woman and her husband's sister,
kana clearing, -karra UNPRODUCTIVE SUFFIX

-pala BORROWED ADJECTIVE SUFFIX: This is the modifier suffix which is often encountered in English pidgins. It derives from the word 'fellow' (cf. -man above). In the Pilbara the remains of what apparently was once a pidgin language has become embedded in the Aboriginal languages. The Aborigines now speak more or less ordinary country English. Note the following terms in which -pala occurs:

arlipala early
purtipala pretty
watypala white (Caucasian)
yangupala young

-paya having: This suffix is the unproductive version of -karlaa (see preceding section). It apparently only occurs in the following two terms:

¹The original Pama-Nyungan meaning '-ed' appears to be preserved in these two terms (see 3.1.4.2.1). See also ngayinuwarra in the Dictionary.

²Note also parninyparniny a baby which has just learned to sit up, and see the last item in this section.
See also the immediately following suffix.

-payi having: This suffix is cognate with the comitative case marker -pari with (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). When it occurs in words in which it has a derivational function, it always appears in the form -wayi (cf. homophonous possibility suffix further below). This is because in these circumstances it is the direct reflex of proto-Ngayardic *wari.¹ Compare kayawayl orange caper with Ngarluma katoryawari.

-vari has been restructured as -pari for use in the syntactic domain (see also 2.2.5). Now consider the examples listed below:

\[\text{kayawayl orange caper, kayalangkarr tiny red and white striped melon,}
\text{panthawayl perentie, Nm panthha hump,}
\text{yilwayi rainbow, yilimpirraa mudlark (small black bird streaked with white)}\]

Note that this suffix possesses a function, which resembles that of the immediately preceding one except that in this case the thing being possessed is inalienable (see 4.1.1.2 and compare Sharpe 1972:68).

-pirri -ish: This suffix may be a variant of the one which immediately follows, although this is not completely clear given the available examples, which are listed below:

\[\text{karliwirri pancreas, WD karli boomerang,}
\text{kulwirri brown snake, kulu louse (cf. Nm k(u)r)luku(r)lu small),}
\text{ngartawirri turtle, ngarta (be)side²}
\text{nyutyuwirri soft, ngurranyutyungkamu before when the earth was soft}\

Compare the irregular plural number marker -pirri.

-pirti -y: This suffix is homophonous with and possibly identical to an irregular plural number marker (see 3.1.1.2.1). See also the preceding suffix. Consider the following examples:

¹Compare Thargari in which the proprietary suffix has the form -vari (see O'Grady and others 1966:112).
²The turtle's neck is so long that it must be turned to the side in order to get it under the shell.
karnratypirti teary, karnrtal tear
pawatypirti watery, juicy, pawa water
karratypirti slippery, karra thicket
nyurrwirti snotty, nyurru snot
warliwirti lightning, warli clear

Note that when this suffix is added to a noun ending in a as in the first examples, it is preceded by the contentless suffix -ty (see next section).

-puka thing, person: This suffix may be borrowed from Ngarluma. The first example in which it occurs, namely Kurnapuka Goonabooka Pool or Blackfellow's Pool as it is known to the Aborigines (cf. kurna charcoal), is most surely a borrowing as this pool is only walking distance from Roebourne, meaning it is in the middle of traditional Ngarluma territory. The other example in which it manifests itself is tyinapuka shoe, boot (cf. tyina foot). This example is also suspect, because there is no lenition of intervocalic p, which would be expected in a Yindjibarndi word. But note the following suffix and see also the last footnote in 2.2.15.

-purnu user: This suffix is unusual in that it does not lenite when it is attached to a word ending in a vowel. Perhaps it is preceded by the contentless suffix -Ø- (see the next section). In any case consider the following exhaustive list of examples in which it is present:

thurlapurnu nosy, thurla eye
tyinapurnu footloose, tyina foot

-purra almost like: This suffix appears to possess a meaning which approaches that of the semblative suffix -kaa (see preceding section), but does not quite equal it. Of course, this interpretation must remain a rather tentative one, since I can only find a single example in which this suffix occurs. It is:

waawurra wild, not tame (cf. Nm wayapurra),
waa frightened (cf. Nm waya)

But see also the indirect allative case marker -purraa in section 3.1.1.2.2.1.

1 The word for slippery is used in reference to submerged rocks. Thus, karra must refer to the slimey vegetation which covers them.

2 Thanks to Henry Jerrold for this bit of information.
-purra just short of: This suffix is identical to the indirect allative case marker (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). However, when it is used derivationally, it takes on a slightly different meaning, which is indicated in the following three examples:

warruurra last light, warru night  
martuurraa flat on one's back, martungkamu  

after sleep, time to get up  
wirrwurraa upwind, wirrwi wind

-ra AGENT SUFFIX: This suffix goes specifically with non-Ø-stem verbs. It occurs in three examples. The first is the productive suffix -maa (see preceding section). The second is mara, the term for hand. Compare Proto-Ngayardic *ma- (VN) grab.¹ The third is tyankara policeman, a borrowing from Ngarluma. Note Ngarluma tyanka-(VL) tie. In Ngarluma -ra is the productive agent suffix for non-Ø-stem verbs (see Hale 1960:71). See also -rr below and -marta in the preceding section.

-rnu -ing: This suffix is homophonous with the imperfective aspect marker for R and L-stem verbs (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). It is closely related to -nu (see above). -rnu occurs in at least these two examples:

mirnu knowing, mlrtuurra knowledgeable person  
minytyarnu including

-rr AGENT SUFFIX: Here is yet another agent suffix (cf. -ra above). However, this one occurs with nouns as well as with Ø and non-Ø-stem verbs as shown by the following list of examples:

ngatyarr native doctor's spirit helper, ngatyarrra helpful  
wangkarr throat, wangka speech, wangka-(VØ) talk  
yintirr water-boatman (diving beetle), yinti- (VØ) go down  
panhthurr someone who can't keep his hands to himself,  
panhthu- (VL) touch

¹ Both *ma- and mara are of Proto-Pama-Nyungan vintage.
-rt one, place: This suffix occurs in two terms:

walaart that (mid-distant) one, wala, oblique stem
walaat that (mid-distant)

Tyikurrart Sherlock Station (Place of the Bony Bream),
 tyiurra bony bream (cf. Nm tyikurra)

Compare the meaning of -rt in these two terms with that of the classifier clitic -na in ngunhthaana that place, that one. See also -t below.

-t one: This suffix - unlike -rt (see above) - only occurs in conjunction with pronouns, specifically with the third person near and augmented distant singular forms nhaa this and ngunhaa that respectively, as well as with the augmented plural stems nhungkaa- these, walaangkaa-those (mid-distant), ngunhungkaa- those (far) and ngunhaangkaa- those (far). See also -t in the following section.

-tyarri each other: The status of this suffix is unclear. It only occurs in the name of a corroboree, Kurnrtatyarri Mutual Respect\(^1\) (cf. kurnrtta respect), which was dreamed by Jack Ray, a person of mixed Aboriginal ancestry. Thus, the word may not be Yindjibarndi. In this regard note the unlenited ty in medial position between vowels. However, lenition here may be impeded by a preceding -∅- suffix (see next section). Consider also the fact that -tyarri is matched by a reciprocal verbaliser -nytyarri- just as its synonym -marri (see above) is paired with the reciprocal verbaliser -marri- (see 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.4).

-tyirri sticking out: This suffix is an unproductive synonym for -pi (see preceding section). Note the following examples in which it occurs:

 kartairri flat granite outcropping, karta bottom
 puntiirri spike bush (cf. WD punti cassia bush)
 purtatyirri impossibly rough ground\(^2\)
 -yirraa- (VR) CAUSATIVE VERBALISER (cf. Nm -tyirrima-),
 -ra- (VR) FACTITIVE VERBALISER

Note that in the last example -tyirri is better translated as manifested just as -pi- is in the causative verbaliser -pima- (see 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.4).

\(^1\)The name describes the relationship which occurs between Jack Ray and the spirit man who taught him the corroboree.

\(^2\)The bound root purta- here must refer to lumps of rock. In other terms it refers to small round seeds, e.g. purtartu sandalwood. The free stem means testicle.
-wayi potentially: This suffix is homophonous with the potential mood marker for Ø-stem verbs ending in u (see 3.1.4.2.1). It also has a similar meaning. It has a very restricted distribution, occurring only with the word munti really, which it converts into a term meaning perhaps or maybe.

-yaa possibly: This suffix is homophonous with the optative mood marker for Ø-stem verbs (see 3.1.4.2.1) and has a similar meaning. Consider the following example(s)¹ in which it occurs:

muntiyaamu, muntiyaawayhu possibly, apparently, munti really

-yarra: This suffix is the variant of -karra (see above) which occurs after I. The examples listed below are divided into two sets according to the scheme outlined under -karra:

1. marniyarra carpet snake, marni mark  
   Kariyarra Kariera, karl salty (ground)

2. kanhtharraarra woman and her daughter's daughter  
   (cf. Nm kanhtharriyarra), kanhtharri mother's mother

REDUPLICATION SUFFIX: When this suffix is applied to a word or bound stem, it affects the last two syllables in that word or stem, regardless of how long the particular item is, whether it ends in a consonant or vowel or whether or not suffixes are present. Consider the following examples:

marnrtamarnrta rocky, marnrtta rock  
karrinykarriny a baby which has just learned to stand up, karriny starting to stand, karri- (VØ) stand, ² -ny INCEPTIVE SUFFIX  
kawarliwarli butterfly, kawarli father's mother³

¹See also ngartiyaawayhu in the Dictionary.

²Verb stems do not reduplicate in Yindjibarndi. Reduplication takes place in this example only after nominalisation. I did get kartakarta- (VL) poke around (cf. kartaa- (VL) poke) from one informant, but no one else would approve the construction.

³According to W.E.H. Stanner (personal communication), the Murinpata regard butterflies as the spirits of deceased ancestors. Also, John R. von Sturmer tells me that among the Yuulingu the members of the dua moiety hold a butterfly corroboree in connection with the belief that souls of the deceased travel to Bralgu Island where they turn into butterflies.
tyurlawirtinypirtiny Sturt’s desert pea, tyurlarr milkweed pod wirtiwirti hanging (cf. wirti bell)<sup>1</sup> -ny CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

After reduplication, lenition (see 2.2.10) may occur as shown below:

- kuruuru fat and round, Ma kuru eye, Nm seed
- parliwarli snaky, parli bend

or it may not occur, for example:

- pirrapirra shell, pirra rough outer covering
tyurtutyurtu fragrant, tyurtu native flower

On rare occasions, fortition (see 2.2.5) may also take place as it does in the following example:

- warrurnparrurn blue blow-fly, warru dark-coloured,
  -rn CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

Evidently, additional suffixes may then be added:<sup>2</sup>

- pirtuwirtaa scout (cf. Nm pirtupirtura)
tyakatyakara barking gecko

Most of the time the reduplication suffix is used to form noun modifiers, which describe a principle characteristic of the noun from which they are derived:

- martamarta red, marta blood
- muyhumuyhu cold, muyhu the cold, winter
- purnrtaawurrrta bumpy, purrrta pot-hole
- tyurtutyurtu fragrant, tyurtu native flower
- wantawanta insane, wanta insanity

However, sometimes it means – or at least possesses the connotation of a lot of:<sup>3</sup>

- mutyimutyi full of holes, mutyi hole
- parliwarli full of bends, parli bend

And then sometimes apparently has no significance as in

- pikipiki pig(gie), also piki

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<sup>1</sup>I doubt that -wirti (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER or -pirti (S) -ish have anything to do with this derivation.

<sup>2</sup>Unfortunately, the examples given below in the text are not the best, because it is not possible to clearly identify the root in them. However, note the following example: Ngarluma pirrupirrura sacred kingfisher, Yindjibarndi pirrupirru, Thargari pirru (= Yindjibarndi murla meat; animal, especially a bird).

<sup>3</sup>Throughout northern Australia reduplication is the typical means by which plurals are formed.
3.2.1.2. Contentless Suffixes

-ka: ngarnka sky (cf. Nm beard), ngarnngarn chin
    mayharka exposed tangled roots, Pn matha root,
    -r- CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

See also relevant examples under -r- and -rr- below.

-ku: This suffix is homophonous with the objective case marker
    which is a clitic (3.2.2.1). Note the following examples in which it
    appears:
    tyutyiku boots, shoes, English shoes
    karlaura wheel, Nl kala thigh, -ra CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

In regard to the latter example see also 3.2.1.1 under -kaa.

-la: This suffix is homophonous with the locative case marker -la.
    Consider the following examples:
    purlaala fruit, purlaawa non-native flower
    kayalangkarr small red-and-white striped melon,
        kayawayi orange caper, -ngka , -rr
    DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

In terms like Minkala Aboriginal deity and mirrurtula infant, it is
difficult to decide whether -la is best interpreted as the locative
suffix or as the purely derivational suffix. See the Dictionary.

-li: martuli centre, martu two-dimensional space
     mirrilli loud clear sound, mirrimpa native fiddle

-lili: kanalili dawn, kana clear

-ma: This suffix is homophonous with the imperative mood marker
    for Ø-stem verbs. It occurs in the following examples:
    Kurrama Kurrama, kurrura rough (ground)
    punhamali randy, punha sexual desire,
    -ll CONTENTLESS SUFFIX
    yurrrama soak, well, yurra- (VR) dig

-mama: tyintyilmama obese, chubby, tyintyi animal fat

-marta: This suffix is homophonous with the unproductive suffix
    meaning eater (see 3.2.1.1.2) and also with the agent suffix for Ø-stem
    verbs (see 3.2.1.1.1). Note the following examples:
karnrtimarta bloodwood seed, karnrti tail
-parrimarta (see 4.1.3), Pn/Pl -pati lacking, without

-mpi: kantipi tiny (see 2.2.12), kantuwarri- (VØ)
stoop down
martulimpi middle of the night, martungkamu
after sleep, -li CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

-mpu: pilampurrwa spearwood, Nm pilarra spear, Yi-rr,
-pa CONTENTLESS SUFFIXES
Yantimpurrwa Harold and Cheedy Ned's country,
1 yantl hollow log

-n: kurnan kind of black rock used for paint, kurna
charcoal
mirntin clitoris, mirntil wart, mole
tyartun rock wallaby, tyartungu rock hole

-nga: yirringan river wattle, yirrima- (VL) chop out a
section of wood, -n CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

-ngka: This suffix is homophonous with a locative case marker.
Consider the examples given below:
kuingka thigh bone, kuyhi bone (cf. Nm kutyl)
nyilinyillingka, nyilinyili swallow (bird)

-ngku: This suffix is homophonous with an instrumental case marker
(see 3.1.1.2.2.1). Some words in which it is found are listed below:
tharrangkurla kurrajong (deciduous tree), tharra
jag hook, made of a twig stripped of its leaves,
which is used to snag bardie grubs, -rla
CONTENTLESS SUFFIX
thurnungkurla deep, thurnu under, -rla
CONTENTLESS SUFFIX
tyilangkurr water-holding frog, tyila tap-root,
-rr CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

-ngu: muwarlingu, Nm mukarli silver-leaf wattle
ngangkungu, ngangku old boomer kangaroo
payankarrangu, payankarra soldier, warrior

1It is unclear why the 'm' in -mpu is not dissimilated here as it is in -mpi (see immediately above in text) in the term kantipi tiny.
payarrangu, payarra soldier, warrior
pirtungu, pirtu chest
ylrrangu type of stone used to make knives, yirra sharp edge

-nhthu: ngawunththur tiny rock melon, ngawurr bubble
nyarrimanthhu eyelash, nyarri rim
-ma CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

-nhu: Evidence for the existence of this suffix is very tenuous. It surely occurs in the term mantanhu kind of fish net, but there is little doubt that this word has been borrowed from Ngarluma (see Hale 1960:317, Hall 1971:14). It is possible that this suffix may be present in the kinship term marrkanhu wife's brother. However, I have not been able to identify the first two syllables in it as a root. The only place -nhu surely obtains in a Yindjibarndi word is in the demonstrative pronoun ngunhu (see 3.1.2.1.2), where it appears to serve as a marker for the nominative case.

-ni: mama, oblique singular stem mamani- father's younger brother (cf. yumuni father's older brother)

-ny: This suffix is homophonous with the unproductive inceptive suffix (see preceding section). Note the following examples:¹

tylrriny Millstream palm, tylrri sharp projection
wirtany (kangaroo) path, wirta leg

-nya: kurkanyan species of tree, kurkaurta related species of tree, -n CONTENTLESS SUFFIX
parntanyat part of the body where the thigh joins the hip, WD parnrtta groin, Yi-t CONTENTLESS SUFFIX (cf. parntaryarpin cross-legged)

-Ø-: This suffix is a variant of -t (see below). On how this can be so, see 2.2.10. It occurs in the following example:
kunrtakarra two people who are related as mother's brother and sister's son (cf. Nm kunrtalkarra), kunrta respect, -karra UNPRODUCTIVE SUFFIX

¹See also section 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.1 under -tya- (VL).
-pa: This suffix is homophonous with the emphatic clitic (see 3.2.2.4). Note its presence in the examples shown below:

kutapa, kuta short
purlaawa non-native flower, purlaala fruit

-r-: This suffix is a variant of -rt (see below), both developing from Proto-Ngayardic -*rl (see O'Grady 1966:89). After examining the single example listed below, consider also the examples given under -ka in this section.

kurrarka hairy caterpillar, kurrurrurra rough,
-ka CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

-ra: This suffix is homophonous with the reverse locative suffix (see 3.1.1.2.2.1) and also with an unproductive agent suffix (see 3.2.1.1.2). A contentless -ra appears in the examples presented immediately below:

kakurlira, kakurli species of milkweed
karntara cloud, karnta tear(drop)
kukura wool, kukuntyayi sheep
Martuyhunira, Martuyhuni Marduthunira
ngunhaa, ngunhu that (far)

-ri: pirrii slender like a toothpick, pirriti fibula
(slender bone in the lower leg)
thungkari grave,
thungka soil, dirt
wangkuri corner, warnku bend (see next suffix)

-rla: kakurla, kakurli kind of milkweed
kumarla, kuma together
warnkurla elbow, warnku bend

-rlarla: tyawarlarla whisper, Ny tyawa mouth

1This last term has a very wide distribution throughout Western Australia. See the Dictionary and also Worms 1937-38:461.

2As was pointed out in 3.1.2.1.1, ngunhaa sometimes appears to mean that one, suggesting that -ra here means one. However, in nhaa this (from nhu- + -ra) -ra seems to function as a nominative case marker (see 3.1.2.1.2), while in wala-, oblique stem of wala that (mid-distant), it is clear that -ra does not mean anything.

3Somewhere in Bates n.d. I saw the lenited form thungkayi.
-ril: marrarli, Pn marra wing
  wírrarli collarbone, wírra boomerang
  yutyurlí Schomburgk's skink, yutyu small turd
See also first example under -rla.

-rlu: marlurlulu bark target, marlumarlu species of tree
  puwarlu rotten like wood, puwa rotten like food

-rlurlu: plnhtharlurlu muddy, pinhtha wet sloppy mud
  tyuurlurlu with head down, Tj tyuru head

-rn: karrarnmarra thick scrub, karra scrub, -marra
UNPRODUCTIVE SUFFIX
  karrwarn summer, Ku karrwu sun, Nl karrpu summer

-rr: This suffix is homophonous with an unproductive agent suffix (see preceding section). Some words in which it occurs follow:
  martarr red oohre, marta blood
  thartarr pocket gorge, tharta closed
  tyurlarr milkweed pod, tyurlawirtlnypirtiny
    Sturt's desert pea

-rr-: This suffix, like -ð- discussed above, is a variant of -t (see below). See O'Grady 1966:88-89 for some relevant historical information and note the following examples:
  kayarrka redwood, kayawayl orange caper,
    -ka CONTENTLESS SUFFIX
  maarrka preying mantis, mara hand

-rra: This suffix is homophonous with the causal suffix (see 3.2.1.1.1) and an irregular plural number marker (see 3.1.1.2.1) as well as the dubitative clitic (see 3.2.2.3). Consider the examples listed below:

1See Alpher 1972:82.
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kurarra native mesquite, kura spiderflower
kurnarra black ash, kurna charcoal
mararra index finger, mara hand
parturra plain turkey, partu feather
tyampurra left-handed implement, tyampu left (hand)

-rri: This suffix is homophonous with an irregular plural number marker (see 3.1.1.2.1). Some examples of its use are given below:

kurntyirri, Nm kunytyimu one
thaarri vagina, thaa mouth
tyirri, WD tii spark

-rrirri: This suffix is clearly monomorphemic and not the result of the reduplication of -rrri (see directly above). This must be the case, because there exists a co-occurrence restriction on rr across morpheme boundary, when a short vowel intervenes (see 2.1.2.3). The existence of monomorphemic -rrirri provides a rationale for considering -lili, -mana, -rIlrla, -rlurlu, -rtirri and -rturtu (see elsewhere) to be unitary morphemes as well. In neither of the two words which contain the suffix -rrirri (see immediately below) can the root be independently isolated on the basis of present information.

minpirrirri keatrel
wiirrirri fairy wren

-rru: This suffix is homophonous with the allatival locative suffix (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). There is only one good example, documenting the existence of this suffix, that is

wungkurru roaring noise such as that made by the wind,
wungku windbreak

-rra: This suffix is homophonous with the locative case marker for retroflex nouns (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). Note the following examples in which it occurs:

1According to Gilbert Bobby, the kurarra or Pied Piper bush, which is similar to mesquite, closely resembles the kura tree (Grevillea pyramidalis).

2Some people like Gilbert Bobby insist that mararra means thumb. But see ngangkaanyu in the Dictionary.

3On the form kunytyimu, see also section 3.3.3.

4However, consider the following related terms: Ngarluma punhamama, Yindjibarndi punhamali randy, punha sexual desire.

5The root in this term is apparently a lenited form of wiri- (see Serventy and Whittell 1976:345).
pularta heart, pula ball, lump
kurrurta dead still, Ku kurru dead
ngawurtan miniature cucumber, ngawurr bubble
-n CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

-rti: pirriti fibula (slender bone found in the leg),
    pirrll slender like a toothpick
Thuthurti name of a certain dog that lived
during the dreamtime, Ma thuthu dog
tyarrwurti, Tr tyarrku three

-rtirrti: wirnkarti rti music and song, wirnka whistle

-rtu: This suffix is homophonous with the instrumental case
marker for retroflex nouns (see 3.1.1.2.2.1) and also with two different
clitics (see 3.2.2.1 and 3.2.2.3). Consider the following examples:
mirrturru cradle, mirru womera
murturtu, Nm murtumurtu overly seasoned
tylnartu through, past, tyna foot

-rturtu: Evidence to support the existence of this suffix is not
good, because it only appears in one word (see below), where it is
difficult to isolate the root.
nyankarturtu man's kilt
But see also discussion under -rrirr further above.

-ru: karlaru species of stinging catfish, karla fire
ngawaru boy just about ready to be initiated,
ngawarra unknowing
yathuu (cf. Nm, Pn yalhuru) tongue, yathurnrtaa-
(VL) lick
It is possible that in certain instances (e.g., see the first example
presented above) -ru is the reflex of an obsolete instrumental case
marker (see O'Grady and others 1966:110), which was once paired with
the unproductive locative case marker mentioned under -ra (see above).
Compare the following sets of paired locative/instrumental case
markers: -ngka/-ngku, -la/-lu, -rta/-rtu (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). Also
compare the derivation and function of the unproductive suffix -payi
(see preceding section).

-t: This suffix is homophonous with a locative case marker
(see 3.1.1.2.2.1) and also with an unproductive suffix meaning one
(see 3.2.1.1.2). It appears in the terms shown below:

- mirnat ready, mirna a while
- punytyat dew, Nl punytya- drink
- pirtitha white cockatoo, pirtirra dry leaf
- yarrwatha sweat, yarrwayi species of tobacco growing near water
- kuuthu tadpole, kururu fat and round (cf. Pn kurukuru), Ma kuru eye, Nm seed
- kangkaty, Nm kangkany loose
- pirtimantaty makeshift cloth belt, pirti false, manta- (VØ) put on a belt
- karlantya scorpion, karla fire,-n CONTENTLESS SUFFIX
  thaaarriya priest in charge of children's increase site, thaaarri vagina
- kanatyi lightning bolt, kana clear
  murrityi tail of an emu, murruru book¹
  papui woman's brother's child,² papu father
  yurratyi small twigs and leaves used to start a fire, tinder, yurra sun
- karlutyuu,³ Nm karlikuru dove
  kumputyutyaa spinifex roach,⁴ Nm kumpu urine
  -tya CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

¹On the change of u to i see section 2.2.6.

²This suffix evidently occurs in a number of kinship terms, e.g. thamii mother's father (= Ny tyamutyi, cf. WD tyamu), kamayi mother's mother, nhakatyi spouse in the wrong section.

³The source of this form is evidently *karlityuru. Compare the Ngarluma partial cognate and see also Serventy and Whittel 1976:260. The observed form arises in the following manner: First -*r-* lenites to nothing (see 2.2.10), leading to the formation of a long vowel (see 2.2.13), and then *i evidently assimilates to the quality of this long vowel (contrast 2.2.6).

⁴Harold Ned described this insect as 'a watery bug living in the spinifex'. This bit of information suggests that the name for this beetle is indeed based upon the Common Australian for 'urine'. See also Hale 1960:232, where the Ngarluma word for spinifex roach is given as kumpukumpura. Note what he records about the bug's behaviour.
3.2.2. Clitics

A clitic is a kind of word ending, which has the ability to attach itself to indeclinables (as well as nominals) and to transform free nouns, pronouns and verb stems into indeclinables. Clitics follow a very rigid order, when being attached to a word. See the chart entitled 'List of Clitics by Order of Attachment'. To the best of my knowledge, this ordering is never violated.¹ Now let us turn to a discussion of these clitics and their functions. Each will be taken up in the order in which it appears in the chart.

List of Clitics by Order of Attachment

0. -ku, -y₁ | OBJECTIVE CASE MARKERS
-ku, -∅ | PRESENT TENSE MARKERS
-nha, -rna, -na | CLASSIFIERS / PAST TENSE MARKERS
-tu (-rru-), -rtu | ONE

1. -mpa | TOPIC CLITIC
-mu | ANAPHORIC CLITIC
-nta | INTERROGATIVE CLITIC
-nyu | TRUTH CLITIC
-parlu | INTENSIFIER
-purtaa | SEQUENCE CLITIC

2. -purtu | CATEGORIAL CLITIC
-rra | DUBITATIVE CLITIC
-rtu | CONTRAST CLITIC

3. -pa | EMPHATIC CLITIC

4. -yhu (-yu) | DETERMINER
-yi | DEICTIC CLITIC

3.2.2.1. Oth Order Clitics

As I have already remarked in the preceding section, Oth order clitics consist almost entirely of inflectional endings. Since these types of endings have already been discussed under 3.1.1.2.2 and

¹Examples like Purlumpanha Booloomba Pool in which clitics appear in reverse order are not exceptions. In this particular case the topic clitic -mpa is attached to a bound stem, not a free word. The resulting free word is then classified as a proper noun, because it is the name of a pool and hence is entitled to take the classifier which is appropriate to proper nouns. See also 3.3.3.
3.1.4.2, they need not be considered again here. Only -tu (-rru-)\(^1\) and -rtu are clearly not inflectional endings and therefore need to have a few words spoken about them. The former occurs with the two pronouns nhaa this and ngunhaa that, for example ngunhaatu that one,\(^2\) while the latter apparently only occurs with wala(a-) that (mid-distant). Now even though -tu and -rtu are not really inflections, they behave very much like them, having very well-defined distributions like the classifiers -na and -rna to which they may be compared.\(^3\) Also note that -na and -rna may mean one, for example ngunhaana that one (see 3.1.2.1.3).

3.2.2.1s t Order Clitics

**TOPIC CLITIC -mpa:** The topic clitic can usually be translated as *that's what I'm talking about* as it is in

\[
\text{Ngunhaatumpa} \quad \\
\text{that-ONE-TOP} \quad \\
\text{That's the one I'm talking about.}
\]

In the following example -mpa is required in order to assure the hearer that the dual suffix -kuyha is not to be taken as redundant with respect to kuyharra:

\[
kuyharrauyhampa \quad \\
\text{two-DU-TOP} \quad \\
\text{four}
\]

Therefore, here it probably means more like *that's what I said*. In this regard consider the meaning of -mpa in ngunhaarrumpa, a doublet to the penultimate example, as it occurs in the last line in Text 77.

The topic clitic is a reasonably important one as it often serves as the base for the attachment of 2nd order clitics (which see).

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\(^1\)When -tu is followed by another clitic, it may lenite (2.2.10) to -rru-. Compare, for example, Text 72, paragraph 2, sentence 5 with Text 73, paragraph 2, sentence 11 and also see the next section under the anaphoric clitic -mpa.

\(^2\)-tu also occurs with bound stems of the plural forms of the demonstrative pronouns, that is nhungkaatu these ones, walaangkaatu those (mid-distant) ones, ngunhungkaatu, ngunhaangkaatu those ones.

\(^3\)However, it is also possible to compare -tu and -rtu with the synonymous derivational suffixes -t and -rt (see 3.2.1.1.2).

\(^4\)See, for example, Text 3, sentence 2 and Text 55, sentence 10.
ANAPHORIC CLITIC -mu: This clitic is a very complex one. It has the ability to change its orientation by 180° and is the only clitic which can follow itself. These bizarre properties it exhibits make it a most interesting clitic.

As its name suggests, this clitic can be used anaphorically to mean previously mentioned. However, it basically means back. The Texts contain many examples of it being used in this manner. One especially interesting one is

\[ \text{ngartimu} \]
\[ \text{then-ANA} \]
\[ \text{again} \]

There is one example in which -mu plus the locative suffix means past. It is

\[ \text{nyarringkamu} \]
\[ \text{rim-LOC-ANA} \]
\[ \text{overflowing} \]

In a temporal domain -mu essentially means before. This sense comes through most clearly in terms like

\[ \text{ngurranytyungkamu} \]
\[ \text{earth-soft-LOC-ANA} \]
\[ \text{before when the earth was soft} \]

in which it follows the locative suffix. Consider also the following sentence:

\[ \text{Pawawarrimartalamu, ngayl ngarrlmarta.} \]
\[ \text{water-PRIV-LOC-ANA I lie-HAB} \]
\[ \text{Before when there wasn't any water there, I used to camp there.} \]

1Compare the suffix -rni, which means from in yaarni from the east, but to in wantharni where to.

2See, for example, Text 72, paragraph 2, sentence 2; Text 74, paragraph 3, sentence 1; and Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 9.

3See Text 70, sentence 5; Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 5; Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 7; and Text 76, paragraph 2, sentences 9 and 12.

4See Text 74, paragraph 3, sentence 1 and Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 8.

5Note, however, that in the two examples which immediately follow, the anaphoric clitic can still be translated as back.

6This term occurs in the first sentence of most of the Sacred Texts. The Yindjibarndi regard the term 'dreamtime' as an English expression. See also the Dictionary under 'manguny'.

7See also purlutmu in the Dictionary. In Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 3, there could be an example in which -mu doesn't follow the locative case marker but still means before. However, in this context -mu could just as well mean back.
However, in the following pair of terms, which demonstrate that -mu can follow itself, a somewhat different translation is required:

1. **palamu**
   - remote point in time-LOC-ANA
   - long ago

2. **palamumu**
   - long ago-ANA
   - long long ago

And in the two examples shown immediately below, the anaphoric clitic and the preceding locative case marker must be translated together as after:

1. **warrungkamu**
   - night-LOC-ANA
   - tomorrow

2. **warruwarrulamu**
   - dark-LOC-ANA
   - first light

-mu may also be used to indicate past tense with the optative mood marker (see 3.1.4.2.2). In this regard consider the following:

- **Parniyaamu nhungulampa.**
  - opt-OPT-ANA adjacent-LOC-TOP
  - Someone might have been sitting here.

Note further that the terms muntiyaamu and ngartiyaamu seem to occur only in reference to past actions. For examples including the former term see 4.2.5.

**INTERROGATIVE CLITIC -nta:** This is a relatively unimportant clitic. It is occasionally used to indicate 'yes-or-no' questions (see 4.2.2.2), which are normally identified only by a rising intonation pattern (see 2.3.3). It is also employed to translate the English conjunction 'whether' (see 4.2.7).

**TRUTH CLITIC -nyu:** Another somewhat rare clitic. It may be observed following the causal suffix -rra, when the latter is being used to indicate a 'because' clause, in order to assure the listener

---

1. See, for example, Text 75, paragraph 1, sentence 1.
2. For example, see the first sentence in Text 73.
3. Compare the situation discussed above in which they mean 'past'.
4. Evidently, it may also be used to indicate past tense in verbless clauses. See von Brandenstein 1970:210.
that the reason being given is a true one (see 4.2.4.5). -nyu also occurs in the term thampanyu but really (see Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 16). Note that it is not demonstrable using the data just presented that -nyu is in fact a clitic rather than a suffix. However, it is apparent to me that this word ending is cognate with quotative -nyu of the Western Desert language(s), which is treated by Douglas (1964:119-121) as an encliticised particle (see also 3.3.5).

INTERSIFIER -parlu: In most of its occurrences this intensifying clitic possesses a transparent meaning. Compare the meanings of the following pairs of antonyms in which it appears: mirtawaru not at all, never\(^1\) (mirta not) / tyuntaaparlu always\(^2\) (tyuntaa this way) and yuriuwarlu nothing at all\(^3\) (yuru nothing) / tyuluwarlu absolutely everything\(^4\) (tyulu all). See also Text 76, paragraph 6, sentence 5, including footnote. However, when it occurs with munti in sentences where munti must be rendered that's how it came about that, it is not really clear how to translate it.\(^5\) In Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 4, -parlu in lenited form appears to mean very. This suggests that it may be derived from the indeclinable parla very, hard (see 3.3.5).

SEQUENCE CLITIC -purtaa: This clitic basically means turn as in your turn (see Text 50, sentence 3). When it occurs with the objective case of murna close, loosely this,\(^6\) it can mean time as in the following example provided by Long Mack:

```
Nyinta yirraamakayi murnayiwurtaa.
you sing-POT close-OBJ-TURN
You sing this time.
```

However, in most cases murnayiwurtaa is better rendered in return (see Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 12, and von Brandenstein 1970:205). In von Brandenstein 1970:222, -purtaa is found attached to a verb, where it apparently means next\(^7\) or then.

\(^1\)See Text 15, sentence 1 and Text 42, sentence 5.

\(^2\)As in Ngayi pangkarrimarta tyuntaaparlu I always go.

\(^3\)See Text 45, sentence 4.

\(^4\)See Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 14.

\(^5\)See, for example, Text 70, sentence 2; Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 4; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 21 and paragraph 5, sentence 8.

\(^6\)Cf. murnakuyu this side.

\(^7\)Also consider the following sentence: Yurtarrinypurtaa yirraamakayi. Gilbert Bobby will sing next.
3.2.2.3. 2nd Order Clitics

CATEGORIAL CLITIC -purtu: This is a straight-forward clitic, meaning *kind, sort, type*. It is usually found attached to the free stem pays as is shown in the following phrase:

    payawururu  wanytya
    vicious-SORT dog
    vicious (sort of) dog

Pays is rarely observed standing on its own.¹ -purtu also occurs in the interrogative pronoun nganiwururu *what kind*. When the categorial clitic is combined with the topic clitic and a plural suffix, a complex ending meaning *different types of* is produced (see Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 5). See also 3.1.1.2.1.

DUBITATIVE CLITIC -rra: The dubitative clitic, which indicates unsureness as its name suggests, seems to appear only rarely. When it occurs with indeclinables, it is found directly attached. Consider the example shown immediately below:

    Wanka  ngartarra.
    not ripe still-DUB
    It's still green, I think.

Otherwise, it is preceded by the topic clitic as illustrated in the following example:

    Yaalamparra pangkarrii.
    now-TOP-DUB go-POT
    I guess I'll go now.

Evidently, this is to prevent it from being confused with the homophonous causal suffix (see 3.2.1.1.1).

I suspect that the dubitative clitic is a lenited form of -*ta and that it is related to the interrogative clitic -*ta (see preceding section), which is apparently a prenasalised version of it. On the use of -*mparra in questions, see the last paragraph in section 4.2.2.2.

CONTRAST CLITIC -rtu: As its name implies, the contrast clitic indicates contrast between the word to which it is attached and some other one, which is not always stated.² This clitic does not appear to be used very much in ordinary speech, but consider the following exchange between myself and Gilbert Bobby:

¹But see Text 22, sentence 4.
²In this regard see Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 10.
Nyinta kanytyaku ngaarnrtu ngamayiu?
you have-PRES my tobacco-OBJ
Do you have my tobacco?

Mirta: Ngayi kanytyaku ngaarnrtu umpartu ngamayiu.
no I have-PRES my-OBJ-CONTRA tobacco-OBJ
No! I have my own tobacco.

It does, however, occur with fair frequency in the higher-numbered Sacred Texts.¹

Note that -rtu is homophonous with one of the 0th order clitics.

3.2.2.4. 3rd Order Clitics

EMPHATIC CLITIC -pa. The emphatic clitic is one of the most widely used clitics in the language. It occurs with nouns and pronouns (uninflected or not), indeclineables and conjugated verb stems, where it is ordinarily used to express emphasis. Examples of its use in this function can be found everywhere throughout the Texts. Therefore, no such examples need to be presented here.

The emphatic clitic also possesses two less important functions. The first is to translate the English suffix '-time' ² as, for example,³ in

```
karrwarnpa
summer-EMP
summertime
```

and

```
muyhuwa
winter-EMP
wintertime
```

The second is to indicate inceptive and cessational action.⁴ Consider the following examples,⁵ which were provided by Gilbert Bobby and Harold and Cheedy Ned, respectively:

¹See Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 4; Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 10 and paragraph 6, sentence 12; Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 11 and paragraph 3, sentence 16; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 7.

²Compare Donaldson 1977:142-43.

³See also Text 62, paragraph 2, sentence 1 and Text 66, paragraph 2, sentence 1 for examples involving the locative case and consider the following sentence, courtesy of Gilbert Bobby: Ngayi mirta purpi muyhuwa. I don't like wintertime.

⁴For another way to indicate inceptive action, see Text 50. See also Text 72, where both methods are demonstrated.

⁵Contrast them with the one found in Text 65, paragraph 1, sentence 2, where the emphatic clitic obviously only indicates emphasis.
Ngayi ngarrkuwa. ¹
I eat-PRES-EMP
I am starting to eat.

Ngayi yurrarna. Mirtawa yurrarna.
I dig-PAST not-EMP dig-PAST
I was digging. I stopped digging.

3.2.2.5. 4th Order Clitics

DETERMINER -yu varying with -yu:² Examples of this clitic are numerous in the Texts, especially in numbers 75 and 76. Generally, it translates into English as the or certain, particular. However, other meanings are also encountered. For example, when it is used in conjunction with murrinirri behind, after, it possesses the same meaning as the pronoun ngunhu that; he, she, it³ and when it is attached to munti really, it produces a superlativeiser (see 4.2.6). The determiner can also mean if or then (see 4.2.4.5).

DEICTIC CLITIC -yi: Only three sure⁴ examples of the deictic (demonstrative) clitic occur in my data, all of them in Text 75. The clearest example is found in paragraph 2, sentence 3, which see. However, the other two examples (see paragraph 5, sentence 7 and paragraph 6, sentence 9) are valuable in establishing the clitic nature of this word ending, for in them -yi follows the emphatic clitic.

Note that the deictic clitic is homophonous with an objective case marker and also a vocative suffix.

3.3. Interrelationships
3.3.1. Nominalisation

Verb stems may be nominalised in one of two ways, by inflection or by derivation. In either case the product is a common noun and it is

¹Compare Text 21, sentence 2.
²This variant form only occurs twice in the Texts, once in Text 21, sentence 3 and one in Text 49, sentence 7. It is also found in Hale’s Kurrama field notes (1959b:47) and, therefore, may be a borrowing. However, note that the morpheme separator in Yindjibarndi is sometimes manifested as -y- and sometimes as -yh- in the speech of a single individual.
³See, for example, Text 71, paragraph 1, sentence 4 and Text 73, paragraph 2, sentence 1.
⁴However, see also the last footnote to Text 2 and under ‘nganiway!’ in the Dictionary.
treated accordingly. Verb stems which are inflected for mood or aspect (see 3.1.4.2) become nouns, because the markers employed to represent these categories are suffixes. Tense markers will not produce nouns, because they are clitics (see 3.3.3). There are also a few purely derivational suffixes which can be attached to verb stems. These are inceptive -ny and the set of mutually related suffixes -punhtharrri, -npunhtharrri and -rnpunhtharrri, meaning thing for (see 3.2.1.1.1) as well as the agent suffixes -ra and -rr¹ (see 3.2.1.1.2).

There are no productive means by which nouns can be produced from indeclinables. By definition, indeclinables cannot take suffixes, only clitics, and therefore they can only give rise to more indeclinables. However, there are a few nouns in Yindjibarndi, the structure of which suggests that they were once indeclinables which have been arbitrarily nominalised. For example, the proper noun Kurnaana Spirit Mountain looks as if it were patterned according to the structure of the indeclinable pronoun ngunhaana that one, where ngunhu that is the base, which has been augmented by a suffix -ra, and -na a classifier for such augmented pronouns (see 3.2.2.1). In Kurnaana there is surely a root kurna charcoal,³ apparently followed by the suffix -ra, followed again by the clitic -na. Perhaps this noun was once a member of the same class as ngunhaa (see 3.1.2.1.3), but then got moved into the proper noun class together with its classifier.⁴ Compare Parnrurrarnna Venus, a common noun which appears to end in the classifier clitic for the retroflex noun class (see 3.1.1.2.2.1).

As has already been suggested in 3.1.2.1.4, pronouns for the most part constitute a special category within that part of speech called

¹ I did not mention the set of productive agent suffixes -marta, -nmarta and -rnmarta here, because it appears that they are closely related to or even identical with the habitual aspect markers and hence are not purely derivational. See also the discussions on the productive suffix -nyaa and the unproductive suffixes -nu, -rnù, -wayi and -yaa.

² The common pronoun ngaliya we two appears to be derived from the indeclinable pronoun ngali you and I by means of a suffix -ya. However, this is just a typical irregularity associated with pronoun morphology (see also 3.1.2.1.4). The derivation is clearly not regular. For example, note that ngali plus suffix -uu produces another indeclinable pronoun ngaliuwu several of us including you.

³ Mountains are generally thought to be warrura dark (see, for example, Text 68, paragraph 1, sentence 4), a term built on warru, the word for black. Cf. also Kurnapuka Goonabooka Pool, Blackfellow's Pool.

⁴ The reader should also be aware of the fact that there exists a term ngunthaa(na) that place (cf. ngunthi way over there), which is structured like ngunhaa(na), but does not decline at all.
'noun'. Therefore, there would seem to be little point in discussing the nominalisation of pronouns. However, it might be worth mentioning here that I have never observed a pronoun become a noun in the course of derivation. For example, one can take the interrogative pronoun ngani what, verbalise it using an inchoative verbaliser, producing the verb stem nganiwarni- (VØ) what happen, and finally inflect it for perfective aspect by employing a nominalising case marker. The result is nganiwarnaayi why, another interrogative pronoun (see 3.1.2.2).

### 3.3.2. Verbalisation

Nouns can be verbalised in either of two ways - by means of a verbaliser or without a verbaliser. We have already discussed verbalisers in connection with nouns in 3.1.4.1.2.2. Therefore, we do not need to say anything further here except that verbalisers may be used with pronouns as well. Note the following examples:

nyintawarni- (VØ) it be you (see Hale 1959a:136), nhaawarni- (VØ) this be it, nganiwarni- (VØ) what happen and nganima- (VL) do what.

It generally seems to be the case that, when a noun is verbalised without the use of a verbaliser, the product is a Ø-stem verb, for example, tyanti- (VØ) cough (cf. tyanti (NC) cough). However, sometimes a non-Ø-stem verb is produced. Consider nhaungraarra- (VR) watch over, look after (cf. nhaungraara (NC) look out). And on occasion it can go both ways. Consider the very interesting cognate set, consisting of kampa- (NC) cook(ing) (cf. kampayarnrtu stove), kampa- (VØ) be cooking, kampa- (VL) cook, in which both types of verb stem are evidently derived from the bound noun stem without the benefit of verbalisers.

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1. A few pronouns are innately indeclinable (see 3.1.3) and all can be made indeclinable by the addition of clitics (see 3.3.3).

2. That is not to say that pronouns do not occur in compound nouns. See, for example, ngunhthuyu that side in the Dictionary.

3. See, for example, Text 77, paragraph 2, sentence 6.

4. For examples see 4.2.2.2.

5. See preceding footnote.

6. This noun is itself interesting from the standpoint of the interrelationship between nouns and verbs. It is a compound consisting of the common noun nhau look (cf. the verbalised form nhau- (VØ) look), which is the reflex of the present tense of the Proto-Ngayardic verb stem *nya- (VØ) look plus ngarra (NC) view.

7. Also compare manta- (NC) bind (cf. mantarrangu stringy plant which entwines itself in the spinifex, pirtlmantatay kind of makeshift belt), manta- (VØ) encircle oneself, manta- (VL) aware.
3.3.3. Indeclineablisalisation

Verb stems become indeclineables, when they are inflected with tense markers (see 3.1.4.2). Likewise, free noun and pronoun stems are converted into indeclineables by the attachment of clitics. These clitics can be inflectional as in the instance of the objective case markers or they can be non-inflectional as with other non-0th order clitics (see 3.2.2). Bound noun and pronoun stems, on the other hand, behave in a very unusual manner. When a clitic is attached to such a stem, the result is a noun or pronoun, respectively! Consider the following examples, which illustrate this particular point:

kunytyimu (NC) single, solitary, alone, only = kunytyi- one (cf. kunytyirri one) + -mu
ANAPHORIC CLITIC

Purlumba (NP) Booloomba Pool (the first pool one comes to upon entering Yindjibarndi territory when heading upstream from the coast) = purlu-face, front (cf. purlumarrri face-to-face, purlaa in front) + -mpa TOPIC CLITIC

wanththinha (PC) which one = wanhthi- (PP) which (cf. wanhthila where) + -nha PROPER (PRO) NOUN CLASSIFIER

wanththiwa (PC) how do = wanhthi- (see immediately above) + -pa EMPHATIC CLITIC

1 I was tempted to also list nyinkupurrungu, the objective case of nyintauu you (PL) among them. Note that this form is built upon nyinku (= nyin- you + -ku OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER), the objective case of nyinta you (SG). However, pronoun morphology is often extremely irregular anyway (see 3.1.2.1.4), so I decided that it was best to leave it out.

2 This example is annoying. My informants tell me that kunytyimu is the Ngarluma word for one (= Yindjibarndi kunytyirri). Moreover, in Ngarluma the anaphoric clitic is -illi, not -mu, meaning that this example is entirely irrelevant, if kunytyimu is in fact a borrowing. Note, however, that kunytyimu does not mean one in Yindjibarndi (see also O'Grady and others 1966:95).

3 The following words also appear to be derived from a bound noun stem plus the topic clitic: kurlimpa (NC) tea tree (cf. Ngarluma kurlipirn), kurtampa (NC) old (thing) (cf. Ngarluma kurtamparra old, Nyamal kurta older brother), mirlimpa (NC) native fiddle (cf. mirlilli loud clear noise), thampa (PC) what about it (cf. Pailgu tyarni where).

4 This clitic can mean one. See 3.1.1.2.2.1 under nominative case.

5 The salutation wanhthiwa is generally pronounced very emphatically indeed.
The reader may also wish to refer back to section 3.1.3 for some historical information in reference to the indeclinableisation of pronouns.

3.3.4. Sources of Certain Suffixes

Eight suffixes appear to be derived from nouns. One of them, namely -kuyha is a dual number marker (see, for example, 3.1.1.2.1), four others, that is -karlaa, -kula, -parrimarta and -winyangu, are productive suffixes (see 3.2.1.1.1), while the remainder, -man, -pala and -tyirri, are unproductive (see 3.2.1.1.2). These suffixes are presented below in alphabetical order with cognate elements, which suggest their sources, listed after them:

- karlaa PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX (having): Ngarluma
  - karlira PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX, Yindjibarndi -ra
  LOCATIVE CASE MARKER, karlima- (VL) keep,
  -ma- (VL) FACTITIVE VERBALISER

-kula both: Ngarluma -pula in nyintapula you (DUAL),
  nyinta you, Western Desert -pula, pula they two, both

-kuyha DUAL NUMBER MARKER: kuyharra two, -rra
  CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

-man person, thing: English man

-pala BORROWED ADJECTIVE SUFFIX: English fellow

-parrimarta PRIVATIVE SUFFIX (lacking, without):
  Pandjima, Pailgu -pati PRIVATIVE SUFFIX, Nyungar
  pati! no!

-tyirri sticking out: tyirri prickle

-winyangu full of: winya full, -ngu CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

3.3.5. Sources of Certain Clitics

The origin of one clitic can be traced to a part of speech. This clitic is the intensifier -parlu (see 3.2.2.2). It appears to have developed from the indeclinable parla very with which it is approxi-
mately synonymous. There is a difference in quality of the final

1But see also Douglas 1964:119 for information regarding a possible source for the truth clitic -nyu. Then consider a possible relationship between the interrogative clitic -nta and the interrogative particle munta, which occur in different dialects of the Western Desert language (Douglas 1964:119-20; O'Grady and others 1966:153, 159).
vowel, but such a difference is not crucial. Compare, for example, the variation in vowel quality within the following obvious cognate set: Yindjibarndi wala, Nyangumarda pala, Ngarluma palu *that* (*middistant*). The distribution of *parla* tends to support this claim. Unlike all other indeclinables, it always precedes the noun it modifies (see 4.1.4). This means that *parla* is, in a certain sense, in complementary distribution with -*parlu*.

4. SYNTAX
4.1. Phrases
4.1.1. Noun Phrases
4.1.1.1. Structure and Function
4.1.1.1.1. Structure

Noun phrases consist of a head plus modifiers. The modifiers, like the head itself, are nouns and in the nominative situation, they have adjectival meaning, stipulating number, colour, temperature, size, etc. For example,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kunytyirri warrayi} & \quad \text{one fly} \\
\text{one fly} & \\
\text{yawarta martamarta} & \quad \text{horse red} \\
\text{chestnut horse} & \\
\text{kurlu pawa} & \quad \text{hot water} \\
\text{hot water} & 
\end{align*}
\]

Phrases, containing more than one such descriptive modifier are not common. But note the following example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kupitya warnrta kuta} & \quad \text{small plant short} \\
\text{little bitty plant} & 
\end{align*}
\]

Sometimes one modifier is a demonstrative pronoun, such as *nhaa this* or *ngunhu that*. On rare occasions one may even find an indeclinable functioning as a modifier for a noun. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{parla yankarr} & \quad \text{hard noise} \\
\text{loud noise} & 
\end{align*}
\]

However, more frequently indeclinables modify another modifier,

1. The complete sentence from which this example was taken can be found in a footnote to the relevant part of 4.1.4.
for example,

```
parlə munti yankarr
very loud noise

or the modifier of a modifier, for example,

parlə munti pawa yarta
very really water plenty
really really a lot of water
```

Compare the example presented immediately above, which was given by Long Mack, with Text 63, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

It is difficult to discriminate nouns which modify by inalienable possession\(^1\) from those which simply modify adjectivally. For example, in the phrases ngungkumarrnta ngaarta strong man and payawurtu wanytya vicious dog the modifiers are not in fact adjectival. Ngungkumarrnta is a compound consisting of the bound morphemes, meaning strength and weight\(^2\) and thus obviously must be inalienably possessing the noun it modifies. Similarly, payawurtu consists of the noun paya meaning fierceness or ferocity\(^3\) plus the categorial clitic which can be translated as sort. Again, the relationship between modifier and head is one of inalienable possession.

4.1.1.1.2. Function

A noun phrase can function within the context of a sentence in all the ways that a single noun can (see 3.1.1.2.2.2). Thus, we can rightly expect to find noun phrases in all cases, including nominative, objective, genitive, allative, locative, ablative, comitative and instrumental. The reader should keep in mind that ideally all the nominal and pronominal constituents in a phrase are marked in parallel by the relevant case marker.\(^4\) However, in actual situations one can observe that often only a single item is so marked, the rest appearing in the nominative case.\(^5\) This point was made explicit to me by Gilbert Bobby, when he told me that the locative case of the phrase

\(^1\)For an in-depth discussion on inalienable possession, see 4.1.1.2.

\(^2\)Compare the meanings of ngungku- and -ma(rn)nta in the respective terms ngungkuwarrimarta weak and martama- put weight on. Use the Dictionary.

\(^3\)This meaning is apparent in the term payamalu. See the Dictionary.

\(^4\)See, for example, Text 23, sentence 1; Text 39; Text 59, sentence 5; Text 60, sentence 1; and Text 73, paragraph 2, sentence 2. And also 4.2.3.

\(^5\)If the phrase is functioning as the direct object of the verb, then all the nominal constituents may be in the nominative case. See under 3.1.1.2.2.2.
mina paru *soft spinifex*\(^1\) can be expressed in any of the following three ways: minangka paru, mina parungka or minangka parungka. All possibilities are equally correct. If the reader cares to take the time to read through the Texts, he will find that the other oblique cases are affected similarly.

4.1.1.2. Inalienable Possession

Inalienable possession is based upon the premise that something which is part of something else is that something else and, therefore, cannot be possessed by it. Thus, in stating a possessive relationship between two things which are deemed\(^2\) to be inalienable, one must use a verb stem meaning *be* or none at all (see 4.2.1) and not *kanytya-*(VL) *have* nor the proprietive suffix *-karlaa having*. So, for example, in the Yindjibarndi language a person can 'have' a hat (see Text 8), but he can only 'be' a head! In phrasal constructions, which we will be mostly concerned with here, inalienable possession is demonstrated by the omission of the genitive case marker *-amrtu*, which indicates alienable possession. Hence one says 'My hat', but 'I head' (see first example below). Inalienable possession does not operate below the level of the phrase.\(^3\)

In Yindjibarndi, inalienable possession governs the relationship which exists between a person (on one hand) and all his body parts.\(^4\)

---

1 The phrase literally means *soft spinifex* (hard) *spinifex*. See the Dictionary.

2 I say this, because what is actually considered to be inalienable varies from language to language. For example, see Blake 1977:40-41.

3 The veracity of this statement can be seen by considering the derivations involving *-karlaa having* in 3.2.1.1.1. But see also the discussion on *-payi* in 3.2.1.1.2.

4 See Text 4; Text 26, sentence 2; Text 49, sentence 1; Text 56, sentence 4; Text 57, paragraph 2, sentence 3; Text 65, paragraph 3, sentence 4; Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 3; Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 4; Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 8.
his feelings,¹ his soul,² his name (see below) and even his footprints³ and reflection,⁴ and probably also his shadow⁵ (on the other). However, this list specifically excludes things like one's relatives⁶ or one's dog. Hence, the student of Yindjibarndi should not be surprised when he encounters constructions of the following type:

```
Ngayi tyiniyarri puyha.⁷
I ache-PRES head
My head hurts.
```

```
Ngayi wirrat mirtawatyi.⁸
I feelings good
I am in good spirits.
```

```
Ngana nyinta yini?
who you name
What is your name?
```

One can also see this mechanism at work in non-simple sentences such as the third one in Text 58, where the subject of a relative clause is inalienably possessing the object of a verb in the main clause.⁹

¹The best example is the second one listed below. However, note also the construction involving purpi desire in Text 43, sentence 3 and Text 69, paragraph 2, sentences 1 and 5.

²According to Gilbert Bobby, the correct way to say my soul is 'ngayi mangkarn'. The three examples in Text 69, which show the term mangkarn soul being alienably possessed, do not, I think, contradict what Gilbert Bobby has told me. The phrase parriyarnrtu mangkarnku (paragraph 2, sentence 7), clearly a reference to 'alcoholic spirits', is explained in a footnote to the Text. Mamayarnrtu mangkarnku (paragraph 2, sentence 17) is obviously a translation (into the objective case) of the English expression 'Spirit of God'. Compare the similar phrases 'Spirit of Christmas', 'Spirit of Giving', etc. Parriyarnrtu mangkarnku in its second occurrence (paragraph 2, sentence 15) must also fit in here. It is difficult to see how else it could be understood. The phrase cannot contain a reference to the devil's soul, because devils don't have souls. They are animate dead bodies, whose souls have departed.

³See Text 58, sentence 3 and Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 2.

⁴See Text 77, paragraph 2, sentence 9.

⁵This is not really clear from the available data. On the one hand see Text 50, sentence 5 and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 24, but on the other Text 67, sentence 3.

⁶See Text 44 and Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 1.

⁷Other reasonable translations for this sentence are I have a head that hurts or I have a headache.

⁸Compare Text 63, sentence 3.

⁹Compare sentence 2 in the first paragraph of Text 72 and sentence 10 in the fifth paragraph of Text 75.
The concept of inalienable possession is not restricted to humans, but extends to animals, plants and even inanimate objects. For example,

**Yurtarriny, ngana nyinkaarnrtu wanytya yini?**
*Gilbert who your dog name*  
*Gilbert, what is your dog's name?*

**Ngaarnrtu wanytya yini Warrunha.**  
*my dog name Blackie-PN*  
*My dog's name is Blackie.*

References to plants are very limited, but I did manage to get three examples:

**Watyrurr parni wuntuwa.**  
**Tyularr yarta.**  
*twinbean live-PRES river bed-LOC pod plenty*  
*The twinbean lives in the river bed. It has plenty of pods.*

In regard to inanimate things, we find that motor cars inalienably possess tyres and loading areas, mountains - caves and edges and rocks - clefts or chinks, while camps, that is, dwelling grounds, inalienably possess houses.

Unfortunately, the concept of inalienable possession is not always applied consistently. For example, nyirlarli *excessive noise made by humans* is always inalienably possessed. However, wangka *speech, language* is not:

**Nhaa mirlimirli wangka nyinkaarnrtu.**  
**this paper language your**  
*This paper is your language.*

---

1 On body parts, see Text 12, sentence 5; Text 24, sentence 2; Text 37, sentence 3; Text 60, sentence 1; Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 13.

2 The one shown here was provided by Ken M. Jerrold. The other two occur in sentence 2 of Text 5 and in sentence 3 of Text 27.

3 See Text 51, sentence 2.

4 See Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 10.

5 See Text 76, paragraph 4, sentences 6 and 7.


7 See Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 6 and Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 1.

8 See Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 2 and paragraph 2, sentence 3.

9 See Text 36, sentence 4 and Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 10. Note also paragraph 7, sentence 2 in the latter Text.

10 See also Text 69 for numerous examples.

11 By means of this pithy sentence Long Mack was trying to explain to me that Aborigines keep everything in their heads. They do not have poor memories like White people, who have to write everything down on paper.
And wi rinka whistle may not be either:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{Partuwarlaa wirnkaarlaa.} \\
& \text{feather-POSS whistle-POSS} \\
& \text{Songbird.}
\end{align*}
\]

And similarly, even though something can 'be' a head, and indeed must be as we pointed out earlier, the head cannot 'be' a peak;\(^2\) that is,

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{Kakarlurlu puyha winytyurnkarlaa.} \\
& \text{crested pigeon head peak-POSS} \\
& \text{The crested pigeon has a head with a peak on it.}
\end{align*}
\]

There are also situations in which it is difficult to discern whether inalienable possession is extant or whether one word is simply modifying the other. For example, in Text 75 the phrase kurrarnkurrarn mityara (in the accusative case) mulga parrot egg appears several\(^3\) times, perhaps leading one to believe that inalienable possession is operating. But no, for in one instance,\(^4\) we find kurrarnkurrarn mityara (in the accusative case) mulga parrot's egg, which clearly demonstrates that the former phrase is in fact adjectival and that a mulga parrot can no more 'be' its egg than a man can 'be' his son.\(^5\)

The reverse situation obtains in the sentence

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{Kupitya tyiniyarri ngarlu.} \\
& \text{little ache-PRES stomach} \\
& \text{The little one's stomach hurts.}
\end{align*}
\]

Here one might at first think the phrase kupitya ngarlu is adjectival. However, the 'sense' of the sentence requires us to understand the relationship between kupitya and ngarlu as one of inalienable possession.

\(^1\)I interpret this phrase to mean bird with a whistle, the first proprietary suffix having a morphological function and the second a syntactic one.

\(^2\)I checked this very closely with Gilbert Bobby, who said it was impossible to leave off the -karlaa. I also received this same construction from Ken M. Jerrold with wiru cockatiel taking the place of kakarlurlu. However, it is possible to say Puyha tyurtun kakarlurlu The crested pigeon has a pointed head. Compare Wanytya karnti kunpurlu The dog has a fluffy tail.

\(^3\)Paragraph 2, sentence 6; paragraph 3, sentence 1; paragraph 6, sentence 5.

\(^4\)Paragraph 4, sentence 2.

\(^5\)Refer back to the second paragraph in this section. See also Text 53, paragraph 2, and compare the first sentence with the second.

\(^6\)Note also Patya thampi purrrta A skinny person has hollow ribs. Both of these sentences were provided by Ken M. Jerrold.
Phrases like pırnkartangu parra, evidently either *wild tobacco leaves* or *leaves of the wild tobacco plant*, are even more inscrutable, probably because they are ambiguous.¹

4.1.1.3. Apposition

Simple apposition is the term used to describe a situation in which additional information is provided about the referent(s) of a noun or noun phrase by apposing a second noun or noun phrase after it. Simple apposition occurs in a number of Yindjibarndi texts. See, for example, Text 20, sentence 1; Text 70, sentences 2 and 4; Text 73, paragraph 1, sentence 3 and paragraph 2, sentence 1; Text 76, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

Focal apposition also occurs in Yindjibarndi. It differs from simple apposition in that the apposed item or items do not add information about all the referents in the noun or noun phrase being apposed, but only about part of them. For example,² in the phrase

\[
\text{ngaliya nyinta}^{3} \\
\text{we two you} \\
\text{you and I}
\]

*you* is in focal apposition to *we two*.⁴ It clarifies the meaning of *ngaliya* by giving additional information about the ambiguous half of its referent.

Inclusive apposition resembles focal apposition in that the appended information does not refer to the complete range of referents designated by the head phrase. However, with inclusive apposition the term *minytyarnu including*⁵ appears, for example:

\[
\text{Palamumu tyutyangarlí, tyarta minytyarnu,} \\
\text{long long ago old person-PL old woman including} \\
\text{Long long ago the old people, including the old women,} \\
\text{pangkarrimarta marlangka tyinytyanungungarrliyla,} \\
\text{go-HAB behind worker-PL-LOC} \\
\text{used to march behind the workers,}
\]

¹See Text 28, sentence 1.

²See also Text 44, sentence 4 and Text 72, paragraph 2, sentence 2 and even Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

³I have never heard the phrase ngayi nyinta muntu.

⁴That is, *you or he or she or it and I*.

⁵Minytyarnu can also mean *as well*. See Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 9 and paragraph 3, sentence 10.
karparnu pirtuwangu kuyharrau.
take-IMPRF initiant two-OBJ
who took the two initiands along.

Also, a number of different items may be apposed to the head phrase. See Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 11.

4.1.1.4. Spatial and Temporal Phrases

4.1.1.4.1. Spatial Phrases

If one only needs to define a position with respect to something vaguely, then one can simply put the noun which refers to that something in the locative case. However, in the event more precision is required, a nominal modifier is added. This qualifier is then inflected in parallel with its head, producing a noun phrase. For example, parku means hill, while parkungka means anywhere in the vicinity of the hill. To express the information at the bottom of the hill, one takes the noun karta, which means low place, inflects it in parallel with parkungka and then juxtaposes it to it, producing the spatial phrase kartangka parkungka. Similarly, at the top of the hill is expressed in Yindjibarndi as kankala parkungka.

In certain situations, the noun being modified is required to be in a case other than the locative. Generally, in these situations the modifier follows the case inflection of its head. For example, consider the following sentence:

Ngayi tharrwanha thurnuu mayayi.
I enter-PAST interior-OBJ house-OBJ
I went inside the house.

4.1.1.4.2. Temporal Phrases

The time words tyampa short time, parraa long time and mirna or

---

1See, for example, Text 3, sentence 1; Text 5, sentence 1; and Text 11, sentence 1. In many cases the context makes the specific position clear. In this regard, see Text 17, sentence 1.

2This word is used to refer to the 'coastal lowlands' in Yindjibarndi. See the Dictionary.

3It is possible to delete the head, leaving only the inflected modifier. For example, see Text 53, sentence 2.

4See Text 60 for similar examples used in context.

5Note also Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 4 and see preceding footnote plus one. In Text 60, sentence 1 we have a spatial phrase in the ablative case.
mirnawarra while usually occur by themselves. However, infrequently one can find them combined to form a temporal phrase expressed in the nominative case. Consider, for example, the following sentence:

\[
\text{Mi r n a w a r r a t y i y a r r i m a t y a m p a !}
\]

*while wait-IMP short time
Wait a little while!

Another interesting example, consisting of tyampa plus parraa, can be found in Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 4.

More commonly, one finds temporal phrases in the locative case as in:

\[
\text{Ngayi pangkarrinha thuumayaarta}
\]

*I go-PAST store-DIR ALL
*I went to the store

\[
kuyharrala\textsuperscript{2} nhula kuntyirrila\textsuperscript{3} yurrangka.
\]

two-LOC this-LOC one-LOC day-LOC
twice on this one day.

In the examples contained in the following mini-text contributed by Long Mack, one can observe that the locative case corresponds to English for as well as in (and on):

\[
\text{Ngayi pangkarri. Parnii ngunhthi karrwarnrta.}\textsuperscript{4}
\]

*I go-PRES stay-POT way over there summer-LOC
*I am going. I will stay there for the summer.

\[
Karlinytarrri kuntyirrila muyhungka.\textsuperscript{5}
\]

return-POT one-LOC year-LOC
*I will return in one year.

See Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 2 for an interesting example which must be translated into English as during (temporal progressive).

Consider also the following useful time expressions which occur in the locative case:

\textsuperscript{1}See the discussion on the functions of the nominative case in 3.1.1.2.2.2.

\textsuperscript{2}See the discussion on the functions of the locative case in 3.1.1.2.2.2.

\textsuperscript{3}If kuntyirrila is omitted here, the sentence will read I went to the store on two (different) days.

\textsuperscript{4}This item is not really a noun phrase or at least not a good example of one, but see the last sentence in Text 76 for a true phrasal construction of a comparable type.

\textsuperscript{5}Long Mack says that this is also the way one says next year. See also the second example below in the text.
There is one temporal construction, involving yini until, which makes use of the objective case. Note the following sentence, which contains a relevant example:

Ngayi pangkarrinha, yurr a karpaayila, warru yini.  
I go-PAST sun rise-PRF-LOC night-OBJ until  
I walked from sunrise until dark.

See also Text 46, sentence 6, which contains a complementary example.

4.1.2. Verb Phrases
4.1.2.1. Structure

Verb phrases may consist of an indeclinable plus verb (stem), the former modifying the latter in the way an adverb modifies a verb in

1Pirringka in the afternoon and warrungka at night can be substituted for yurrangka in the morning, provided an appropriate change in meaning is acknowledged.

2In the word for tomorrow -ngkamu translates as after, whereas in the following example plus one the same construction means before when.

3In Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 1 this same construction occurs with the emphatic clitic and the determiner attached to the first constituent. This additional material is a means for indicating non-past time and contrasts directly with -mu in the immediately following construction, which see. See also the Dictionary under 'ngartiyaawayhu' and 'ngartiyaamu'.

4See also Text 42, sentence 1, where this phrase is used in a sentence. Compare the phrases palamu ngurranyutungkamu long ago when the earth was soft and palamunu ngurranyutungkamu long long ago when the earth was soft, where -mu is employed to indicate past time. See Text 75, paragraph 1, sentence 1 and Text 73, paragraph 1, sentence 1, respectively.

5An interesting comparable example can be found in the fourth footnote in 4.2.4.3.
English, often producing a phrase which can be translated by a single English word. Examples of such verb phrases include:¹

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wala} & \quad \text{wangka-} \ (V\emptyset) \quad \text{not straightforward talk} \\
\text{lie} & 
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tyarru} & \quad \text{wangka-} \ (V\emptyset) \\
\text{over and over say} & \\
\text{repeat} & 
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{parla wanpi-} \ (VR) \\
\text{hard beat} & \\
\text{hit hard} & 
\end{align*}
\]

Verb phrases can also consist of a noun plus verb, where the noun is adjectival in character, since such words can also function as adverbs.² For example, the following sequences of noun plus verb stem may be considered to be verb phrases:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{murti pangkarri-} \ (V\emptyset) \\
\text{fast go} & \\
\text{go quickly} & 
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{warrwa pangkarri-} \ (V\emptyset) \\
\text{far go} & \\
\text{go away} & 
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pirti wanpi-} \ (VR) \\
\text{false beat} & \\
\text{try to hit but miss} & 
\end{align*}
\]

However, sometimes sequences of noun plus verb which may appear to be phrases are really not. For example, in

¹For examples involving mirta not and kuyu let, may, see 4.1.3 and 4.2.2.3, respectively.

²See Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 1. See also the Dictionary under 'wala' for a series of examples.

³See Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 18.

⁴See the Dictionary under 'parla' for an additional example.

⁵Consider, for example, the phrase 'yirri ri watyiwa' badly sick in Text 70, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

⁶It is also possible to say murti pangkarri- (V\emptyset) go at speed.

⁷See Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 13.

⁸See Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 5 and also Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 12. Note also the following examples: Mangkurla pirti thuurna marlurlu. The child tried to spear the bark target, but missed. Mangkurla pirti yirraakarrinha marnrtayi. The child tried to jump over the rock, but failed.
tyina pangkarri- (Vø)¹
foot go
walk

mara pungka- (Vø)²
hand fall (on)
choose

and

wirrart pungka- (Vø)
feelings fall (together)
agree with each other

the initial nominal element is actually the subject of the verb. When a sentence is formed and a noun or pronoun is placed before this nominal element to act as the subject of the sentence, the added noun or pronoun then inalienably possesses it (see 4.1.1.2).

In sequences like

thatha parrwa- (VR)
lie cook (up)
lie

and

kurnrta wangka- (Vø)
respect speak
speak respectfully

the initial element is the object of the verb.³ This fact is easy to verify, because one can find examples in which these noun plus verb sequences appear as kurnrtayi wangka-⁴ and thathayi parrwa-⁵ with objective case markers on the noun. I leave it to the reader to decide for himself whether such constructions ought to be considered verb phrases. But in any case he should see the following section.

In phrases of the following type

parni- (Vø) purnrtut⁶
be initiation rite
put on an initiation rite

¹See Text 52, sentence 5 and Text 62, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

²See Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 4.

³In fact it is the direct object (see 3.1.1.2.2.2 under nominative case). In the phrase wilayi pangkarri- go for a walk (see Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 3), wilayi appears to be the indirect object.

⁴Gilbert Bobby indicates that you can say it either way, kurnrta wangka- or kurnrtayi wangka-. Kurnrtayi wangka- is short for kurnrtayi wankayi wangka- speak the respect language.

⁵See Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 1.

⁶See Text 76, paragraph 1, sentence 1.
it is difficult to understand the grammar. The nouns involved are certainly not predicate complements. Perhaps they are best treated as idioms. The construction

may also fit in here.

4.1.2.2. Case Selection

In Yindjibarndi there is no doubt that the objective case is the one which is most frequently selected by verbs. For example, *mirra- (V0) call out (to), muirri- (VR) take away (from), panyi- (VN) step (on) and thurni- (V0) laugh (at)* all take the objective case. Even

1See Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 1. See also the Dictionary under 'pingkayi', the objective form of which is pingkayiu.

2One might expect a locative construction, for example *be on a holiday*. Compare the interesting instrumental construction in Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 7.

3See discussion under nominative case in 3.1.1.2.2.2.

4Pampa is indeed a common noun in the nominative case. For proof see the first paragraph in 4.1.4.

5Indeed, the propensity for intransitive verb stems like *karpa- (V0) rise* to take objects is very disconcerting (see following paragraph in the text). The key here seems to be semantics. If an intransitive verb can take on a sense which is transitive, then it can take an object. In this regard see the verb stems *yiinti- and yuni- (V0) descend* in the Dictionary. And see also the discussion on the objective case in 3.1.1.2.2. Predicate complements with linking verbs, etc. are discussed under the nominative case in the same section.

6See Text 31, sentence 2.

7See Text 76, paragraph 5, sentence 7. Muirri- (V0) *run away (from)* also selects for objective case. See Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 8. But both of these verb stems can take the ablative case as a possible alternative. With muirri-, which is ditransitive, this ablative alternates with the indirect object.

8See Text 38, sentence 2.

9See Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 14.
constructions like thurnungkarri- (V0) mayayi go inside a house are the norm,\(^1\) even though once one is inside the house, he is thurnungka mayangka.\(^2\)

However, with a number of Ø-stem verbs there is variation between the objective and locative case. So, for example, one can use either karpa- (V0) marntayi ascent a mountain or karpa- (V0) marntaa get up on a mountain.\(^3\) Tharrwa- (V0) enter works similarly. Either tharrwa- (V0) (thurnuu) mayayi enter (the inside of) a house or tharrwa- (V0) (thurnungka) mayangka enter into (the inside of) a house is possible,\(^4\) although as in the previous example, the former construction is clearly preferred.\(^5\) Sometimes the alternation is between the objective and the instrumental case. For example, one ordinarily uses the construction nyirra- (V0) nyarnayi put on white paint,\(^6\) but nyarnangku is also possible.\(^7\) Similarly, thartarri- (V0) kawurnku cover up with a skin\(^8\) can be replaced with thartarri- (V0) kawurnrnu.\(^9\)

The case alternation that sporadically occurs in this context is interesting, because it reflects one which exists between factitive and inchoative verbs.\(^10\) For example, even though one tharrwa mayayi enters a house, he tharrwaku nganii mayangka puts something into the house. Similarly, one nyirrayi nyarnayi will put on white paint, but he nyirrekayi nganangu nyarnangku will paint someone (else) with white

\(^1\)That is not to say that this is normally the way one would say enter a house. He would usually use the construction tharrwa- (V0) mayayi. See further below in the Text. For a construction similar to thurnungkarri- (V0) mayayi, see Text 47, sentence 1.

\(^2\)And when one comes out, he 'tyingkarnirri mayangkangu', which makes the previous example all the more remarkable.

\(^3\)Compare Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 16 with Text 71, paragraph 1, sentence 6.

\(^4\)Compare Text 57, paragraph 2, sentence 4 with Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 8.

\(^5\)There are plenty of examples with the objective case, but only one additional one besides the one mentioned in the previous footnote, in which the locative case appears. See Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 7.

\(^6\)See Text 26, sentence 2. Also, see Text 52, sentence 4.

\(^7\)But Gilbert Bobby says that it is not as good.

\(^8\)See Text 46, sentence 4.

\(^9\)And in this particular case, I believe that one could even get away with the locative kawurnrta. Compare also the sentence Kanytyanma marangka/marangku! Hold it in your hand!

\(^10\)Some might phrase this relationship in terms of transitive and middle.
paint. Therefore, one can see that when the object of a factitive verb\(^1\) is equated with the subject, this factitive verb is ordinarily\(^2\) replaced by an inchoative verb,\(^3\) and the constituent in the locative or instrumental\(^4\) case then falls into the less marked objective case (see 3.1.1.2.2.3). However, on rare occasions, this constituent does not shift into the objective case, and it is then that we observe the kind of case variation, commented on in the preceding paragraph.\(^5\)

Variation in case usage also occurs with respect to verbs of motion. For example, with *pangkarri-* (V0) *go* and most other verbs of motion, *to* is expressed by the direct form of the allative case\(^6\) and *roughly toward(s)* or *in the general direction of* by the indirect form.\(^7\) However, from time to time, the indirect allative is replaced by the simple object,\(^8\) and the direct allative by *thurrurt directly* plus the objective case.\(^9\) What is really interesting, though, is that *kanangkarri-* (V0) *come* almost never\(^10\) takes the direct or indirect allative case. The objective case — with or without *thurrurt* — is nearly always used.\(^11\)

---

\(^1\) In the examples given above in the text, *tharrwaku* and *nyirrakayi* are the factitive verbs.

\(^2\) But reflexive constructions are also possible (see 3.1.2.3 and 4.2.2.1).

\(^3\) Perhaps the relationship between factitive and inchoative will become more apparent, if an example containing a verbalised noun is considered. Compare, for example, *Ngayi thartamarna tyarnkuu kawurnrtu* *I covered myself with a skin* with *Ngayi thartarrinha kawurnku* *I covered up with a skin.*

\(^4\) Or comitative (see 3.1.1.2.2.2).

\(^5\) Note, however, that it does not appear to explain the variation between objective and locative case with *karpa-* (V0) *rise, go up*, since *karpa-* (VL) means *carry, bring.*

\(^6\) See discussion on the allative case in 3.1.1.2.2.2.

\(^7\) For examples see directions in the preceding footnote.

\(^8\) See Text 32, sentence 1 and Text 68, paragraph 1, sentence 4. Note also Text 69, paragraph 3, sentence 2.

\(^9\) See Text 61, sentence 6 and Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 6, but also Text 43, sentence 3. I wish to thank Gilbert Bobby for explaining this rule to me.

\(^10\) There is only one counter example and it is somewhat unusual. See Text 65, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

\(^11\) See Text 22, sentence 4; Text 42, sentence 6; Text 61, sentence 6; Text 64, paragraph 1, sentences\(^4\) and 6; Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 7; and Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 11. Also note Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 5.
The directional allative also has a substitute case. It is the locative.\(^1\) Thus, in expressing directional motion in terms of the compass points or current flow, one may use either the directional allative case or the locative case.\(^2\) One also has the same options with respect to certain other directions. For example, one can either go 'up' or 'upwards'.\(^3\) With murna close, near, however, the locative case is almost never\(^4\) used in any context. Therefore, with this particular lexeme, the choice is between the directional allative murnakurru\(^5\) and the simple nominative murna, with a decisive preference for the former.\(^6\) In this context note that the ablative case of murna is murnangu.\(^7\)

4.1.3. Negation

Nouns and verbs are treated differently. The negator for nouns is the noun yurlu, which basically means none and nothing, but also zero and empty.\(^8\) The negator for verbs is the indeclinable mirta not,\(^9\)

---

\(^1\)The reader may recall from our discussion on noun cases (see 3.1.1.2.2.1) that the directional allative is built on the locative case.

\(^2\)For example, see Text 76 and compare the fifth sentence in paragraph 1 with the last sentence in paragraph 4.

\(^3\)Compare Text 67, paragraph 2, sentence 1 with Text 70, sentence 3. On the alternation between ngunthi (way) over there and ngunthiurru, see Text 45, sentence 5 and Text 47, sentence 2. See also Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 18 and paragraph 4, sentence 4.

\(^4\)I only got one example with this term in the locative case and it was from Long Mack. In a minitext, he narrated: 'Kumalarrima! Payankarrangu ngula murnangkaw.' Get together! The soldiers are over there nearby. However, Gilbert Bobby confirmed that the locative case of murna is indeed murnangka. Warrwa far, away behaves similarly to murna. See Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 1 and Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 4.

\(^5\)Note the absence of the locative case marker.

\(^6\)See Text 25, sentence 3; Text 54, sentences 6 and 9; Text 65, paragraph 1, sentence 2; Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 1. On the other hand Gilbert Bobby says that warrwa does not really have a directional allative and hence the nominative case must be used. See Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 2 and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 13. Tyampu left and maarta right behave similarly to warrwa. Consider the following sentence: Maarta pinkalima! Turn to the right! And also note these constructions: tyuntu murruyu backwards, murruyu karlindyarri- (VØ) back up, reverse.

\(^7\)I have illustrated its use in sentence 2 of Text 54. The ablative case of warrwa is constructed similarly. However, in Street 1972:8 there is a sentence in Yindjibarndi provided by Robert Churnside, a Ngarluma, which contains a recording of the form warwangaŋkangu from a distant place.

\(^8\)See the Dictionary under 'winya' as well as under 'yurlu'.
which is also used to answer 'yes-or-no' questions. The difference in operation between these two terms can be illustrated by examining the following two sentences, which constitute a sort of minimal pair:¹

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Yurlu pawa pakita.}^2 \\
&\text{nothing water bucket-LOC} \\
&\text{No water is in the bucket.}
\\
&\text{Mirta pawa pakita.} \\
&\text{not water bucket-LOC} \\
&\text{The water is not in the bucket.}
\end{align*}
\]

In the first sentence yurlu is negating pawa, which is the subject. In the second, mirta is negating the understood verb parni (or more appropriately ngarri) is (see 4.2.1).

One can employ the privative suffix (see 3.2.1.1.1) in certain circumstances in order to avoid making an outright negative statement. For example

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Ngayi yarralanyyparrimarta.}^3 \\
&\text{I water peanut-PRIV} \\
&\text{I lack water peanuts.}
\end{align*}
\]

can serve in place of its semantic equivalent⁴

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Ngayi mirta kanytyaku yarralanyku.} \\
&\text{I not have-PRES water peanut-OBJ} \\
&\text{I do not have any water peanuts.}
\end{align*}
\]

which contains the verb stem kanytya- (VL) have⁵ preceded by the explicit negator mirta not.⁶

¹The veracity of these two examples is assured by Gilbert Bobby. Incidentally, they can be further simplified to Yurlu pakita Nothing is in the bucket and Mirta pakita Something is not in the bucket, respectively. See also Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 7, which makes it clear that Yindjibarndi does not employ 'double negatives'.

²A more fluent translation of this sentence might be There is no water in the bucket.

³Another possible translation is I am without water peanuts. See also Text 51, sentence 3; Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 3; and Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 2 for additional examples.

⁴According to Long Mack.

⁵The reader may also be interested in the following two sentences provided by Long Mack: Ngayi kanytyaku yarralanyku I have some water peanuts and its equivalent Ngayi yarralanykarlaa.

⁶There is also a verb stem yurluwarra- (VR), which means have nothing. Note the appearance of the noun negator within it and see the Dictionary for additional information. It is used in Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 17.
The privative suffix can also be employed together with a nominalised verb stem to render a rare but possible alternative to an overtly negative construction. For example, one can either say

\[
\text{Ngunhu ngaarta yimpaaarna ngaarnrtu mayayi, mirta karringu.}^1
\]

\[
\text{that man pass-PAST my house-OBJ not stop-IMPRF}
\]

That man went by my house and didn't stop.

or else

\[
\text{Ngunhu ngaarta yimpaaarna ngaarnrtu mayayi karringuwarrimarta.}
\]

\[
\text{that man pass-PAST my house-OBJ stop-IMPRF-PRIV}
\]

That man went by my house without stopping.

and really mean the same thing.

In a universal context I suppose that it is a matter for debate whether sentences containing privative constructions are non-negative. However, in the Yindjibarndi case it seems reasonably clear that such sentences are in fact negative. That is, the root -parri-\(^2\) in -parrimarta is certainly cognate with the Pandjima-Pailgu privative suffix -pati.\(^3\) The latter is in turn apparently related to the Nyungar exclamation pati! no!\(^4\) Thus, there is some reason to suspect that privatives in general do indeed have negative content.

4.1.4. Word Order

Some firm and also some not so firm restrictions on word order can be observed within the domain of noun and verb phrases. For instance, when an indeclinable modifies a verb, the indeclinable precedes the verb.\(^5\) So, for example, the verb phrase wala wanti looks back must be spoken in this order.\(^6\) One cannot say *wanti wala.\(^7\) However, in similar phrases, consisting of noun plus verb, either order is possible.

---

1See 4.2.4.2.1 for a discussion on conjoining.

2Compare -parrimarta lacking, without with -parri- (V一分钱) become without, lack.

3See 2.2.10 where intervocalic t is discussed. The datum is taken from O'Grady and others 1966:87, 90.

4Apparently as in You don't say!. See Douglas 1976:71.

5Thanks to Kenneth L. Hale for driving this point home.

6See, for example, Text 37, sentence 2.

7I specifically checked the veracity of this statement with Gilbert Bobby. I might also note that I have never heard the constituents in the phrases wala wangka lies (see Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 1) and wala nhau spies used in any other order.
Thus, pampa ngarri *sleeps* may also appear as *ngarri pampa*.¹

On the other hand, when an indeclinable modifies a noun, the order is distinctly reversed. The indeclinable follows the noun.² For example, on one occasion I asked Gilbert Bobby, if it were possible to substitute *yini warru* for *warru yini until night*.³ He chuckled and said that *warru yini* meant *until night*, but *yini Warru* meant *Blackie's name*.⁴ Conjunctions also seem to invariably follow the noun they conjoin.⁵

The preceding example seems to also suggest that the preferred position for a noun modifier is after the noun it modifies. However, I would be hesitant to make such a claim on the basis of what I have observed in the Texts.⁶ In any case nouns which function as adjectives,⁷

¹I did in fact hear it spoken precisely this way in conversation on at least one occasion. I also received ngarringumaru pampa in a Text which is not included in this book, and Hale (1959a:52) recorded ngarriyangu pampayi. Moreover, see Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 7. And the penultimate example sentence in 4.2.4.5.

²However, note the aberrant position of *parla* (I) in Text 63, paragraph 1, sentence 4; Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 10 and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 2. Then see 3.3.5.

³Compare sentence 6 in Text 46. Note also Text 71, paragraph 1, sentence 5; Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 5 and paragraph 2, sentence 3; Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 3; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 22.

⁴In addition to *yini* (I) *until*, there is the noun *yini*, which means *name*. Names are among the items which may be inalienably possessed. See 4.1.1.2. 'Blackie' is Gilbert's dog.

⁵There are, however, three apparent counter examples, but in all such cases the conjunction *muntu* and *splits* the two conjoined nouns. See Text 61, sentences 3 and 5 and Text 73, paragraph 1, sentence 1. Therefore, in such a situation it could be argued that the first noun, which is followed by the conjunction, is being conjoined to the second, which is preceded by the conjunction, rather than the reverse.

⁶For example, in Text 75 we find two examples of *kurrarrkurrarrku mityara* *mulga* *parrot egg* (in the accusative case) versus only one of the expected *mityara* kurrarrkurrarrku. The loci are paragraph 2, sentence 6; paragraph 3, sentence 1; and paragraph 6, sentence 5.

⁷For example, I checked the position of *kupitya* *small, little*, a frequently used modifier, in Texts provided by Ken M. Jerrold. On ten occasions it preceded the noun it modified and on two occasions it followed it. The references are Text 32; Text 38, sentence 2; Text 55, sentences 8 and 9; Text 60, sentences 1, 3 and 8; Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 4; Text 66, paragraph 2, sentence 2; Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 4; and Text 69, paragraph 1, sentence 3. I also received an interesting sentence in which a second adjectival-like noun is modifying the same head as *kupitya*. The sentence is: *Kupitya warnrta kuta, parningu marnrtaa karkangka, minytyaarr. A little bitty plant, which lives in washe in the mountains, is the Stemodia.* Note the position of the second modifier with respect to the head.
demonstratives\(^1\) and genitives\(^2\) tend to precede the noun they modify. But there is a lot of variation.\(^3\) Numerals, interestingly enough, invariably come before the noun they modify. The situation with respect to quantifiers appears to be complex.\(^4\)

See also 4.2.8 for more discussion on word order.

4.2. Sentences
4.2.1. Minimal Sentences

The minimal sentence in Yindjibarndi is a single word. The most perfect example of it is a sentence consisting of only an interjection,\(^5\) for example,

\[
\text{Thangkarr!} \\
\text{Enough!}
\]

and

\[
\text{Parra!} \\
\text{Go on, do it!}
\]

as there are no 'understood' words under these circumstances.

However, a minimal sentence can also consist of a noun or pronoun standing by itself. In this situation the verb\(^6\) parni\(^7\) is usually understood. For example, in Text 1 the second sentence is composed of the single word\(^8\) karntatypirti teary, a noun functioning like an adjective. The verb here is clearly parni\(^7\), which is unexpressed according to preferred Yindjibarndi style. Compare the preceding sentence Thurla\(^6\) watyi\(^9\) in the same Text. Now because the subject of

\(^1\)See, for example, Text 44.

\(^2\)See the preceding footnote.

\(^3\)For example, if we check the distribution of\(^10\) watykarta\(^11\) big, large in Texts dictated by Ken M. Jerrold, we find that it precedes the noun it modifies once and follows it twice. See Text 32, sentence 1; Text 57, paragraph 2, sentence 2 and Text 63, paragraph 1, sentence 1. For an example showing a demonstrative following its head, see Text 68, paragraph 1, sentence 4. For differently placed genitives see Text 48.

\(^4\)Maru\(^12\) many, much, for example, tends to follow its head, while mani\(^13\) part, some; rest, other tends to precede. On the former see Text 10, sentence 3; Text 36, sentences 1 and 4; Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 11. On the latter see Text 6, sentence 2; Text 10, sentence 3; Text 52, sentence 5; Text 56, sentence 8; Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 2; Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 5; Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 2; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 5.

\(^5\)'Interjection' is only a functional category.

\(^6\)Also compare this sentence with the title of the Text in which it appears. Note that the title is a phrase.
the sentence is the same as in this preceding one, it is not expressed again in Yindjibarndi, but translates as it in English. Thus, the Yindjibarndi sentence

Karnratypirti.

is rendered into English as

*It is teary.*

Another good example - this one provided by Long Mack - consists of the following single-word question

Nhaampa?

*Is this what you're talking about?*

Ngunhaarrumpa.

*That's the one I'm talking about.*

Finally, a minimal sentence can also be simply a verb. For example, the subject of a third person imperative (see 4.2.2.3) is often omitted as in English. This results from time to time in the production of one-word commands as shown immediately below:

Pangkarrima!

*Go!*

A similar situation may also occur in isolated declarative sentences (see 4.2.2.1). But here the subject is understood to be *someone* or *something.*

Note, for example, the following:

Kanangkarri.

*Someone is coming.*

In Text 71 there is a sentence positioned in the middle of the first paragraph which consists of a single verb having an understood subject and an understood object. In this regard compare the two preceding sentences in that Text.

These several examples should give the reader some idea of what minimal sentences are like in Yindjibarndi.

---

1. *Yindjibarndi* tends to be economical. Items which can be considered redundant are generally omitted. See 4.2.9.
2. Another frequently heard one-word sentence is: *Ngani? What (is it)?* See 4.2.2.2 for a discussion of interrogative sentences.
3. See also 3.1.2.2 in the part on indefinite pronouns.
4.2.2. Simple Sentences
4.2.2.1. Declarative Sentences

Declarative sentences consist of a subject and a predicate. The subject is a noun or pronoun, which is sometimes understood (see 4.2.1), or phrase (see 4.1.1.1 to 4.1.1.3). The predicate usually\(^1\) contains a verb (again sometimes unexpressed) or verb phrase (see especially 4.1.2.1) plus or including potential nouns governed by the verb (see 4.1.2.2) together with additional predicate qualifiers such as temporal and spatial phrases (see 4.1.1.4). The order which governs the appearance of constituents in declarative sentences is discussed in section 4.2.8. A comment on the intonation pattern observed in declarative sentences is made in the first paragraph in 2.3.3.

There are essentially two kinds of declarative sentences, transitive and intransitive. Intransitive sentences contain an intransitive verb, which by definition cannot take a direct object.\(^2\) However, intransitive sentences may contain predicates which include nouns in other cases, such as the nominative (see 3.1.1.2.2.2), allative (with verbs of motion), etc. Transitive sentences, on the other hand, contain a transitive verb and therefore may include direct objects in their predicates as well as nouns in other cases, for example, the locative.

Reflexive sentences constitute a subtype of transitive sentence. The following example illustrates how a reflexive sentence can be derived from a transitive sentence:

\[\text{Ngayi punthakayi.}\]
\[I \text{ wash-POT}\]
\[I \text{ will wash someone (else).}\]

becomes

\[\text{Ngayi punthakayi tyarnkuu.}\]
\[I \text{ wash-POT self-OBJ}\]
\[I \text{ will wash myself.}\]

with the addition of the reflexive pronoun \text{tyarnkuu} \text{self} (see 3.1.2.3).

A still further subtype can be derived. Since the subject and object are basically the same in a reflexive sentence, the factitive

\(^1\)A few nouns such as \text{purpi want} and \text{manyu ask for} seem to work like verbs. See 3.1.1.2.2.2 under the discussion on the objective case.

\(^2\)The reader is reminded of the fact that some intransitive verb stems such as \text{karpa- (V∅)} can be either intransitive or transitive, depending on what they mean in the particular context in which they appear. For example, \text{karpa-} can mean \text{rise} and hence be intransitive or denote \text{go up} and thereby take a direct object.
verb can be replaced with its inchoative counterparts and the direct object deleted, forming a middle sentence, which says essentially the same thing, but in a different way, that is

\[
\text{Ngayi punhthayi.}
\]
\[
I \text{ wash-POT}
\]
\[
I \text{ will wash.}
\]

Such middle sentences can contain objects, the underlying sources of which are nouns or pronouns in other less general case forms. See the discussion contained in section 4.1.2.2.

The simple declarative sentence as described in this section is considered to represent the ideal, that is unmarked, Yindjibarndi sentence, and all other types will, therefore, be described in terms of it.

4.2.2.2. Interrogative Sentences

There are no differences — especially in regard to word order\(^2\) — between 'yes-or-no' questions and statements except that the former are marked by a final rising intonation pattern.\(^3\) For example, consider the following interrogative sentences:

\[
\text{Nyinta patharrii purpi?}
\]
\[
you \text{ be painted-POT want}
\]
\[
Do you want to be painted?
\]

\[
\text{Ngau!}^4
\]
\[
\text{Nyinta ngayu pathamakayi?}
\]
\[
yes \quad \text{you me paint-POT}
\]
\[
Yes! \quad \text{Will you paint me?}
\]

1. I say 'essentially', because middle sentences can replace passive sentences (see 4.2.3) as well as reflexive sentences. See, for example, the first example shown in section 4.2.2.2.

2. I did receive one 'yes-or-no' question containing inverted word order like English from Gilbert Bobby. The sentence reads: Wantaa ngayi pangkarrii nyintala? Can I go with you? However, the shift must be a spurious one. Compare the second sentence in Text 4.

3. See 2.3.3. and compare Dixon 1977:382-83.

4. In answering negative 'yes-or-no' questions such as

\[
\text{Nyinta mirta purpi?}
\]
\[
you \quad \text{not want}
\]
\[
Don't you want it?
\]

the following format is used:

\[
\text{Ngau!} \quad \text{Ngayi mirta purpi.}
\]
\[
yes \quad I \quad \text{not want}
\]
\[
Yes! \quad I \quad \text{don't want it.}
\]

\[
\text{Mirta!} \quad \text{Ngayi purpi.}
\]
\[
no \quad I \quad \text{want}
\]
\[
No! \quad I \quad \text{want it.}
\]
However, it is possible to mark such a question by attaching the interrogative clitic -nta to one word in the sentence as shown below:

Nyinta ngamayiarlaanta?  
*you tobacco-POSS-QUES*  
*Do you have any tobacco?*

Nyinta pangkarrinta?  
*you go-PRES-QUES*  
*Are you going?*

But usually no one bothers.

On the other hand, in 'wh'-questions there is a very clear and definite change in word order (see also 4.2.8). Here the interrogative pronoun or verb always appears in initial position within the sentence. In all other respects these sentences resemble the unmarked declarative-type. For example, consider the following:

1 I have only observed this clitic within 'yes-or-no' questions, never in 'wh'-questions.

2 I have not been able to determine whether -nta is supposed to be attached to the last word in a sentence or to the specific word being interrogated, because it is used so rarely. However, this clitic is also used to mark 'whether' clauses and in the example that I collected, it also occupied final position within the sentence (see 4.2.7). But note the following Kurrama sentence, which is taken from Hale 1959b:47: Mi ranta ngayuthunii, yiirrarmarnyu? *Won't someone laugh at me, if I sing?* Compare Dixon 1972:122.

3 Ken M. Jerrold translated his sentence, Don't you ever have any tobacco? suggesting that the interrogative clitic contributes a certain intensity to a question.

4 I really only received one unsolicited example, which is the first one shown above in the text. I had to ask Gilbert Bobby for the second one. He responded as if it weren't very interesting.

5 The interrogative pronouns observed in the Texts include the following: ngana who (Text 58, sentence 2), ngani what (Text 44, sentence 1; Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 2), thampa what about (Text 49, sentence 7), wanthinhnha which (Text 43, sentence 3), wanthhila where (Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 6), and wantharni ngarra how (Text 44, sentence 3). On nganinyaa what for and related forms, see the example in this section of the text. Similarly for wantharni where to. A list of interrogative pronouns can be found in 3.1.2.2.

6 The term for why is an inflected form of the verb stem nganiwarni- (VØ) what happen, which is in turn a verbalised form of the pronoun ngani what (see 3.3.2). Usually the perfective aspect nganiwarnaayi is employed (see, for example, Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 1), but infrequently one encounters the simple past tense (see Text 31, sentence 1). The factive counterpart to the inchoative nganiwarni- is also used in interrogation. See the example involving nganima- (VL) do what in this section of the text.

7 There are no exceptions to this rule that I am aware of. But see what Klokeid (1969:17) has to say about Thargari.

8 At least as far as I can tell. Declarative sentences are discussed in the preceding section.
Ngana nhaa tyina pangkarrinna?\(^1\)
who this foot go-PAST
Who walked here?

Nganinyaa nyinta yurraku purnrtayi?\(^2\)
what for you dig-PRES hole-OBJ
What are you digging the hole for?

Wanhtinhala mayangka parni Yinpirrpa?\(^3\)
which-LOC house-LOC live-PRES Long Mack
Which house does Long Mack live in?

Wanhtarni nyinta pangkarri?\(^4\)
where to you go-PRES
Where are you going?

Wanhtarni ngarra waramakayi wirrayi?\(^5\)
how make-POT boomerang-OBJ
How does one make a boomerang?

Wanhtarta nyinta wanhtakayi?
when you leave-POT
When will you leave?

Nganiwarninha nyinta?\(^6\)
what happen-PAST you
What is wrong with you?

Nganimaku nyinta?\(^7\)
do what-PRES you
What are you doing?

Sometimes the dubitative clitic -rra (see 3.2.2.3) may appear in an
interrogative sentence, coupled to the topic clitic -mpa. Evidently,
it gives the question a peculiar negative flavour.\(^8\) In this regard
see the footnote to Text 58, sentence 2.

\(^1\)Evidently nhaa this is to be translated here in this context. Compare the following
example taken from Hale 1959a:5: Wanhthila parni? Where is he? Nhaa parni. Here
he is. On the relationship between who and foot see 4.1.2.1.

\(^2\)Compare Text 18, sentence 2 and see also Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 7.

\(^3\)Wanhtinhala literally means which one. This meaning is brought out in the first
element in 4.2.5.

\(^4\)It is possible to substitute wanththila where at for wanhtarni where to. See
Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 18 and also the last paragraph in 4.1.2.2.

\(^5\)Cheedy Ned tells me that it is possible to leave out the 'ngarra'. I have seen one
or two examples elsewhere which support his claim.

\(^6\)This example was provided by Long Mack. His follow-up question was: Yirrirri?
Are you sick? Compare the example which occurs in Text 13, sentence 2.

\(^7\)See also Text 68, paragraph 1, sentence 1. Hale (1959a:60) records the following
interesting example: Nganimakayi pawayi? What are you going to do with the water?

\(^8\)Gilbert Bobby says that -mparra means isn't it? See also von Brandenstein's (1970:
41, fn. 5) interesting comment on the clitic cluster -lparrapa (= Yindjibarndi
-mparrawa) in Ngarluma.
4.2.2.3. Imperative Sentences

Commands may occur in all three persons in Yindjibarndi. However, first person imperatives only occur in the dual or plural and then only in the potential mood. Often they go unnoticed, because they are nearly identical to declarative sentences, differing from them only in terms of intonation contour. Consider the following examples which illustrate the formation of the positive and negative imperative, respectively:

Kuwayi! Ngali wanpinnmarrrii!
Come here you and I beat up-RECIPI-POT
Come on! Let's fight!

Ngali mirta pangkarrrii!
you and I not go-POT
Let's not go!

Second person imperatives, unlike those in the first person, may occur freely in all numbers. Moreover, they occur in the imperative mood as well as in the potential mood. There is a rule which governs the distribution of these verbal categories among the formal commands for this number: The positive command is in the imperative

1Gilbert Bobby says that it is not possible to speak a command in the first person singular (contrast Dixon 1977:370). For commands in the first person plural, see the second footnote in 2.3.3, where a positive command is illustrated, and Text 48, sentence 3, where there is a negative command.

2Gilbert Bobby says that it is impossible to deliver a first person command in the imperative mood.

3See the first paragraph in 2.3.3.

4This example is borrowed from Hale 1959a:133. Ken M. Jerrold provided me with the following similar but longer example: Kuwayi! Come on! Ngali pangkarrrii ngunhungu parni malungka, wankayinytyarringu! Let's go over there and sit in the shade and talk! Also note this one produced by Gilbert Bobby: Ngali tyampa karrii wankayinytyarringu, pangkarringumarnu pirntiwinnti! Let's stand here for a little while and talk, and then we'll go our separate ways! See also Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 9.

5Another negative first person imperative can be found in Text 48, sentence 3. This example is particularly interesting, because the verb is transitive and has a direct object.

6A dual command occurs in Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 10 and a plural one in the same Text, paragraph 6, sentence 3.

7Given to me by Gilbert Bobby. Rarely did I hear it broken.
mood,\(^1\) while the negative command is in the potential mood.\(^2\) For example, compare the following pair\(^3\) provided by Long Mack:

Karrima!
stop-IMP
Stop!

Mirta pangkarrrii mirnayhu!
not go-POT while-DET
Don’t go for a while!

Also, in contrast with first person commands, the subject of second person commands is generally unexpressed—no matter what number it is in. It is understood to be you just as in English. However, examples can be found in which nyinta you is manifested:\(^4\)

Nyinta karrima murriri ngayhala!\(^5\)
you stand-IMP behind I(LOC)
You stand behind me!

Nyinta mirta tyaamayi!\(^6\)
you not yawn-POT
Don’t you yawn!

The reader is also invited to turn to Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 3, where he will observe that the 'ocean', in being commanded to recede, is addressed by its own name:\(^7\)

There is also an informal or weak positive command, which is characterised by having its main verb in the potential mood. This

\(^1\)See, for example, Text 22, sentence 2; Text 25, sentence 3; Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 3; Text 76, paragraph 4, sentences 14 and 15; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

\(^2\)For example, see Text 13, sentence 2 and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 10.

\(^3\)Another pair can be found in Text 76, paragraph 5, sentences 5 and 6.

\(^4\)See also Text 13, sentence 2, and Text 76, paragraph 5, sentence 5.

\(^5\)Ken M. Jerrold provided this example. Compare the one in the following mini-text formulated by Gilbert Bobby: Ngaliya nhaa pangkarri. He and I are going. Nyinta karrima! You stay!

\(^6\)This one is from Hale 1959a:142. Hale's Yindjibarndi field notes also contain a number of other imperative sentences in which a personal pronoun is included as subject.

\(^7\)See also Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 15, where half of the subject is expressed.
command occurs, for example, in recipes. It is perhaps a politer version of the formal command.

Finally, we can also find verbless imperatives in the second person as for example:

Nhaungarra!
look out
Look out!

and see especially Text 25, sentence 2.

Third person imperatives are marked by the presence of the indeclinable kuyu let in initial position in the sentence. Otherwise, they seem to follow the pattern established for second person commands except that the subject is often mentioned. For example:

Kuyu ngunhu pangkarrima!
let he go-IMP
Let him go!

Kuyu mirta parntakayi yuntu!
let not fall-POT rain
Let it not rain!

There is even a third person command in the present tense. See Text 70, sentence 4.

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1See Texts 17 and 41. See also Text 54, where the potential mood is used to give directions for working a sacred site.

2A suggestion which is immediately dismissed by all my better informants. However, observe in Text 13, sentence 3, how Gilbert Bobby delivers a positive command to a dead man, someone who is obviously a potential source of trouble. Compare also the way a devil addresses a man, when he finds himself in a weak position (see Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 10 through 12), with the way he talks, when he knows he holds the upper hand (see paragraph 5, sentences 5 and 6).

3I have never observed kuyu in any other position.

4Even to the extent that there is also a weak form of the positive imperative. See Text 17, sentence 3.

5However, the subject is not mentioned in Text 17, sentence 3 nor in Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 6.

6I should have translated this sentence May he go! to prevent the reader from confusing it with Thaanma ngunhu pangkarraangul! Let him go!, that is, Allow him to go!
It has already been observed\(^1\) that direct objects\(^2\) in imperative sentences are found in the nominative case rather than the objective case.\(^3\) Therefore, one may well conclude that commands having the following grammar are what is to be expected as a rule:

\[
\text{Ngayu yungkuma pawai}^4 \\
to me give-IMP water \\
Give me water!
\]

However, out of curiosity, I asked Long Mack if one could substitute pawayi for pawa in the above sentence.\(^5\) He replied that one could use either form, but if he spoke the command using pawa (the nominative case), then he would get it 'right away'. Then he added that one usually said pawayi (the objective case) in sentences like

\[
\text{Ngayu yungkanha pawayi} \\
to me give-PAST water-OBJ \\
Someone gave me water.
\]

but even here pawa was possible.\(^6\)

Then I went to Ken M. Jerrold and asked him what the difference was, using wangk\(a(\text{yi})\) language (OBJ) in place of pawa(\text{yi}). He said that Yungkuma ngayu wangka! meant Give me some language!, while Yungkuma ngayu wangkayi! meant Give me all the language!. Gilbert Bobby, who I spoke to next, confirmed this interpretation, when I presented him with the same example only with ngamayi(u) tobacco (OBJ) substituted

\(^1\)See O'Grady and others 1966:102.

\(^2\)Excluding non-third person pronouns, for example, Thaanma ngayu nhawaangul Let me see! For examples involving the negative imperative, see Hale 1959a:24, 126. But not excluding third person pronouns (see Hale 1959a:24) and proper nouns, for example, Karlimanma Warrunha! Hold Blaokie back!

\(^3\)For relevant examples involving positive imperatives, see Text 25, sentence 3; Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 9; Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 3, and Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 14. On the negative imperatives, see Text 48, sentence 3 and Hale 1959a:146.

\(^4\)Cf. Hale 1959a:36.

\(^5\)I did this, because on another occasion Long Mack narrated Yungkuma ngayu thamayi!, then stopped for a moment, thought and then corrected himself by substituting the construction illustrated in Text 9, sentence 1.

\(^6\)Indeed, if one goes through the Texts, he will find numerous non-imperative sentences in which the direct object is in the nominative case.
Thus, it appeared that there exists a partitive nominative in Yindjibarndi within the domain of imperative sentences. Later I went back to Long Mack and told him what the other two had said. He agreed that what they had told me was true. Then he gave me one last tidbit. He said that if one really wanted to use the form *pawayi* in the frame *Ngayu yungkuma*—!, he could provide he included *kupityau*, the objective case of the word for *little*. Thus, *Ngayu yungkuma kupityau pawayi!* means exactly the same as *Ngayu yungkuma pawa!*

4.2.3. Passivisation

Yindjibarndi, unlike the vast majority of indigenous Australian languages, is essentially of the Nominative/Accusative type. Thus, with a transitive verb, the subject of a sentence is in the nominative case, while the direct object finds itself in the objective case. Since the objective case in Yindjibarndi corresponds to the dative case in other Australian languages, the normal transitive Yindjibarndi sentence resembles the 'antipassive' in many of the Australian languages which possess such a transformation, except that in these languages there is a special suffix on the verb. Therefore, it should come as no surprise to the reader to find that passivisation in

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1This suggests that objective case markers have a quality of definiteness about them. Such definiteness can perhaps be perceived more clearly in a couple of sentences provided by Woodley King and Gilbert Bobby on different occasions and in different contexts: Nhaa yungkuma pawayi mityalangu! *Give me the water to drink!* and Mantarnma wala kayawayu ngaarrntu ngarrkyuyangu! *Take that orange of mine away (from him)*, respectively. The Proto-Pama-Nyungan accusative case marker for pronouns and proper nouns, which was -*nha*, also seems to have been imbued with definiteness. For example, when attached to a *-o*-stem verb, it produced past tense meaning. In Yindjibarndi the reflex of this suffix, along with -*na* and -*rna* (also past tense markers), has developed into a clitic meaning *one*.

2Compare Russian, which has a partitive genitive.

3Besides most of the other Ngayardic languages (see 1.1.4), there are also some languages of the Nominative/Accusative type in Western Queensland (see Hale 1970: 759). Leerdil is the best known of these (see Hale 1967; Klokeid 1976).

4Or the nominative case (see 3.1.1.2.2.2).

5That is, the case governing the indirect object.

6After Silverstein 1976.

7According to Blake (1977:20), all of them are situated in Queensland. See especially the example from Yalarnnga (1977:21), but Blake discusses the antipassive in a number of different languages in succeeding pages. See also McConvell 1976.
Yindjibarndi amounts to deriving an 'antiapassive' construction, one which corresponds to the normal Ergative/Absolutive structure of transitive sentences in most Australian languages.¹

To derive a passive transformation in Yindjibarndi, one takes the subject of the sentence, which is in the nominative case, and puts it into the instrumental case. The object of the verb, which is usually in the objective case, goes into the nominative case. Finally, a special intransitive verbaliser -nguli-² (V0) is attached³ to the stem of the transitive verb, which is then properly reinflected. So, for example,

\[ \text{Ngaarta thuwayina pattyarriu.} \]
\[ \text{man spear-PAST euro-OBJ} \]
\[ \text{The man speared the euro.} \]

is transformed into

\[ \text{Ngaartalu thuwayingulinha pattyarri.} \]
\[ \text{man-INST spear-PASS-PAST euro} \]
\[ \text{The euro got speared by the man.} \]

via the passive transformation rule. Similarly,

\[ \text{Kumirn paaku ngaartau.} \]
\[ \text{mosquito sting-PRES man-OBJ} \]
\[ \text{A mosquito is stinging the man.} \]

can be rendered as

\[ \text{Kumirnrtu paanguli ngaarta.} \]
\[ \text{mosquito-INST sting-PASS-PRES man} \]
\[ \text{The man is being stung by a mosquito.} \]

And

\[ \text{Manguny waramarna marnii marnrltau.} \]
\[ \text{primeval anima make-PAST mark-OBJ rock-LOC-OBJ} \]
\[ \text{The primeval anima made the rock engravings.} \]

¹Consider what Hale (1970:761) has to say on this point.

²See also the discussion on this verbaliser in 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.2.

³Except that in the perfective and optative, one may choose to use the special passive perfective and passive optative suffixes, which allow one to avoid using -nguli- at all. For example, see Text 59, sentence 1; Text 65, paragraph 2, sentence 1; and Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 5 on the passive perfect. On the passive optative, see Text 22, sentence 3 and consider the following examples: Ngayhalu karpanyaa marnrau. The mountain might be gone up by me. Nyinta kartaaanyaa ngulu maurrenrtulu. You might get stabbed by that dueling spear. See also the discussion on inflectional endings in 3.1.4.2.1.

⁴Cf. O'Grady 1966:76.
Mangunytyu waramangulinha marni marnrtaa.
primeval anima-INST make-PASS-PAST mark rock-LOC
The rock engravings were made by the primeval anima.

It does not matter, if the verb has no subject (see 4.2.1). So, for example,

Waramarna warnrtayl pakitku.
make-PAST wood-OBJ bucket-OBJ
Someone made a wooden bucket.

can be rewritten as

Warnrta waramangulinha pakit.
wood make-PASS-PAST bucket
The bucket was made of wood.

And

Ngayu wanpirna warnrtawari.
me hit-PAST stick-COM
Someone hit me with a stick.

has the following interesting passive formation:

Ngayi wanpingulinha warnrtawarilu.
I hit-PASS-PAST stick-COM-INST
I got hit by someone with a stick.

Nor does it matter, if the verb has no object. Thus

Yuntu parnrtaku.
rain fall-PRES
Rain is falling.

easily transforms into:

Yuntuu parnrtanguli.
rain-INST fall on-PASS-PRES
Something is being fallen on by the rain.

Similarly,

Ngaarta wangka.
man say-PRES
The man is saying something.

1See also Text 59.

2According to Gilbert Bobby, the simple instrumental warnrtau can also be used here (see 3.1.1.2.2.2), but not the bare comitative.

3An abbreviated version of Yuntuu parnrtanguli pii The flat is being fallen on by the rain, which is itself a passivisation of Yuntu parnrtaku piilu Rain is falling on the flat. It is interesting to note that for Harold Ned the sentence as quoted in the text meant It is starting to rain. The reader may recall that -nguli- also functions as an inchoative verbaliser with certain nouns (see 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.2)
goes to:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ngaartalu wankanguli}. & \quad 1 \\
\text{man-INST say-PASS-PRES} & \\
\text{Something is being said by the man.} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Note that wankaka-
\text{say}\ can be correctly passivised even though it is a \(\emptyset\)-stem\(^2\) verb. All that is required for passivisation is that the verb be transitive.\(^3\)

One word sentences, consisting of only a verb in passive voice, are also known. For example, see Text 22, sentence 3 and Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 9.

Intransitive verbs will definitely not undergo the passive transformation. For example, although it is quite correct to say

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ngayi pangkarri}. & \\
\text{I go-PRES} & \\
\text{I am going.} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

it is completely impossible\(^4\) to say:

\[
\begin{align*}
*\text{Ngayhalu pangkarrninguli}. & \\
\text{by me go-PASS-PRES} & \\
*\text{It is being gone by me.} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Nor is it possible to derive a passive form for

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Thuwarta wirtiwiartaaku warntaa.} & \\
\text{fruit be hanging-PRES tree-LOC} & \\
\text{The fruit is hanging in the tree.} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

because again the verb is intransitive.\(^5\) The fact that it belongs to the L-stem class is irrelevant.

When a verb has two objects, a direct and an indirect one, the situation becomes more complicated. Now only the indirect object can be shifted into the nominative case. The direct object must remain in

\(^{1}\text{Compare the last sentence in Text 3 and Text 75.}\)

\(^{2}\text{In this respect note also Manthuungarrkunguli nhaa warnta puwarrluwarlu. This completely rotten wood is being eaten by termites from Manthu ngarrku nhurnu warrntayi puwarluuwarlu. Termites are eating this completely rotten wood and Karruwarkantu thurninguli ngayi I am being laughed at by a kookaburra from Karruwarkan thurni ngayu A kookaburra is laughing at me.}\)

\(^{3}\text{One can even passivise Ngayi karpayi purpaa I will go up the rise to Ngayhalu karpanguli purpaa The rise will be gone up by me.}\)

\(^{4}\text{I did actually get confirmation of this fact from Gilbert Bobby.}\)

\(^{5}\text{That is, it is intransitive here. It can also be used transitively. See the Dictionary.}\)
the objective case. For example, the passive voice for

\begin{align*}
\text{Ngaarta yungkuna ngayu murlayi.} \\
\text{man give-PAST to me meat-OBJ} \\
\text{A man gave me the meat.}
\end{align*}

is only:

\begin{align*}
\text{Ngayi yungkungulinha murlayi ngaartalu.} \\
\text{I give-PASS-PAST meat-OBJ man-INST} \\
\text{I was given the meat by a man.}
\end{align*}

The following alternative is utterly impossible:

\begin{align*}
\text{*Murla yungkungulinha ngayu ngaartalu.} \\
\text{meat give-PASS-PAST to me man-INST} \\
\text{The meat was given to me by a man.}
\end{align*}

Thus, it seems clear that passivisation in Yindjibarndi, while resembling that in English, is more restrictive – at least in this respect.

One last point must be brought up in relation to what has just been said, namely that the student of Yindjibarndi must take care not to confuse the differential treatment of two distinct kinds of verb object (direct and indirect) with that of two similar kinds of objects (either direct and direct or indirect and indirect) as would obtain, for instance, when a phrase illustrating inalienable possession (see 4.1.1.2) acts as the object of a verb. For example, in the following sentence

\begin{align*}
\text{Puthi yirrwana ngayu marayi.} \\
\text{cat scratch-PAST me hand-OBJ} \\
\text{A cat scratched my hand.}
\end{align*}

hand is being inalienably possessed by me and, consequently, in the passivised form

\begin{align*}
\text{Ngayi mara yirrwangulinha puthingku.} \\
\text{I hand scratch-PASS-PAST cat-INST} \\
\text{I was scratched on the hand by a cat.}
\end{align*}

both objects, being direct ones, have been moved into the nominative case. In a similar manner,

\begin{enumerate}
\item If the direct object were already in the nominative case, I can see no reason why it couldn't remain there.
\item I checked this point carefully with both Gilbert Bobby and Jerry Jerrold. On another occasion I asked Gilbert Bobby to give me the passive voice of Ngaarta ngayu yungkuna ngamayi. The man gave me tobacco. I got exactly the same results. Ngaartalu ngayi yungkungulinha ngamayi I was given tobacco by the man was accepted, and *Ngaartalu ngayu yungkungulinha ngamayi Tobacco was given to me by the man was rejected.
\end{enumerate}
Manytyi warlu paarna wirtayi yawarta.
death adder snake bite-PAST leg-OBJ horse-OBJ
A death adder bit the horse in the leg.

is transformed into

Manytyi warlungku paangulinha wirta yawarta.
dead adder-INST snake-INST bite-PASS-PAST leg horse
The horse got bit in the leg by a death adder.

4.2.4. Conjoining
4.2.4.1. Nouns

Nouns may be conjoined through simple juxtaposition. Examples of
this can be found in Text 29, sentence 2; Text 55, sentence 2; Text 56,
sentence 2; Text 60, sentence 1; and Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 17.

However, there are special conjunctions, namely muntu and wanta
and then, also, which can be employed. The following examples
illustrate the differential use of these two conjunctions:

Ngayi puthi manunha wanytyayi muntu.¹
I cat-OBJ get-PAST dog-OBJ and
I got a cat and a dog.

Ngayi puthi manunha wanytyayi wanta.
I cat-OBJ get-PAST dog-OBJ and then
I got a cat and then a dog.

In the first example, the cat and dog were gotten at the same time.
In the second example, the subject received the cat first and then
later got the dog.² Wanta can also convey the information that the
noun being conjoined is of lesser importance than the noun to which
it is being conjoined. In such a situation, for example, see the
first sentence³ in Text 74, this conjunction is perhaps best translated
as also.

Ngurni at the same time seems to be used from time to time as a near
synonym for muntu. Consider the following example⁴ offered by
Ken M. Jerrold:

¹See also Text 63, paragraph 2, sentence 1 and Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 1.

²This fact was first pointed out to me by Ken M. Jerrold, while discussing the
sentence Parnmatayarna kuyharrau murlayi, tyirriwi kurrumanthhu wanta. [I] found two
animals, a porcupine and then a male bungarra. Ken said that wanta means then. The
difference between muntu and wanta was verified by Gilbert Bobby, using the two
example sentences shown in the Grammar.

³And then read the rest of the story. Contrast the last sentence in Text 76.

⁴And also Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 2.
Nyirramarta martraru piyulu ngurni.

paint oneself-HAB red ochre-OBJ yellow ochre at the same time

They used to put on red ochre and at the same time yellow ochre.

However, it is also used in connection with conjoined verbs and, therefore, its conjoining function may be more apparent than real. I also received one example with ngarti then used as an apparent substitute for wanta:

Ngaartangarli, wartirrangarli ngarti mangkurlarra.

man-PL woman-PL then children-PL

Men, women and also children.

Note, however, the different position occupied by ngarti.

4.2.4.2. Verbs

Verbs conjoin differently from nouns. Verb conjoining is effected primarily through the use of ordinary nominalising inflectional suffixes, which are supplemented by certain words, suffixes and clitics.

4.2.4.2.1. With Same Subjects

In order to conjoin two verbs which have the same subject, one puts the verb belonging to the potential conjoined clause into an appropriate aspect or mood, and then deleting one of the subjects, he simply runs the two sentences together, making a unitary one. For example, if the actions described by the two verbs are going on at the same time, the verb in the potential conjoined clause is put into the imperfective aspect as shown below:

Thurni. Ngurruwarni.

laugh-PRES smile-PRES

Someone is laughing. Someone is smiling.

See Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

That is, it may just be providing supplementary content. Conjoining may just be being effected by non-immediate juxtaposition. This may also be the case in phrases such as kumirnkula warrayi both the mosquito and the fly, where -kula both (see 3.2.1.1.1) seems to act like a suffixal conjunction. But see Heath 1978:128, recalling that -kula responds to Ngarluma -pula. And also see my discussion on focal apposition in 4.1.1.3.

Coppin Dale translated ngarti here as next one coming up.

Ngarti, unlike wanta, is a noun. See 4.1.4.

The potential conjoined clause is in fact a complete sentence. It is not essentially dependent upon the potential main clause, but can stand alone. For example, see 3.1.4.2.2 under imperfective aspect.
becomes

\[\text{Thurningu}, \ ngurruwarni.\]
\[\text{laugh-IMPRF smile-PRES}\]
\[\text{Someone is laughing and smiling.}\]

The reader has perhaps already noticed that the conjoined clause in the sentence shown immediately above is really something which would be called a 'present participial phrase' in traditional grammar. In fact, such clauses can be translated into English either as conjoined clauses or participial phrases, depending upon the context. Compare, for example, the first sentence with the second, and the fifth sentence with the sixth in Text 51. Consider also Text 35, sentence 3 and Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 6.

If the actions described by the two verbs occur at different times, the situation becomes slightly more complicated. If the less important action is considered to precede the main action, then the verb describing it will go into the perfective aspect\(^2\) and the clause which contains it will become the conjoined clause. Thus,

\[\text{Kanangkarrintha thaunku. Mankunha pirnrty.}\]
\[\text{come-PAST town-OBJ get-PAST food}\]
\[\text{He came to town. He got food.}\]

becomes

\[\text{Kanangkarrayi thaunku, mankunha pirnrty.}\]
\[\text{come-PRF town-OBJ get-PAST food}\]
\[\text{Having come to town, he got food.}\]

But if the less important action follows the main one, then the verb describing it will go into the progressive aspect\(^4\), for example,

\(^1\)In this particular instance one could just as well have said: Thurni, ngurruwarningu. \textit{Someone is laughing and smiling}. But Long Mack chose to say it the other way. For a number of examples similar to this one, see Text 39, sentence 4; Text 47, sentence 2; Text 59, sentence 6; Text 69, paragraph 3, sentence 2; Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 4; Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 14; and Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 5.

\(^2\)Unless the action described is contrary to fact, whereupon the dependent verb will go into the irrealis mood. See the third example in 4.2.5.

\(^3\)For additional examples, see Text 46, sentence 1; Text 67, paragraph 2, sentence 5; and Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 1 and paragraph 4, sentence 4.

\(^4\)Sometimes one finds such compound sentences with the inflections appearing in reverse order. Compare, for example, Text 76, paragraph 5, sentence 2 with Text 77, paragraph 2, sentence 2. In such cases he will notice that the leading verb is usually describing the process of sitting down or standing up (see Text 19), which in most cases must be expressed in the progressive aspect. But see also Text 61, sentence 8.
He came to town and (then) got food.

except in the case where the purpose of the main action is the less important action. Then the verb, describing this action, will go into the potential mood:

He came to town (in order) to get food.

Note that the conjoined clause corresponds to an 'infinitive phrase' in English.

4.2.4.2.2. With Different Subjects

In order to conjoin two verbs having different subjects, the verb which will sit in the dependent clause is first inflected for mood

1Text 57 contains a lot of examples with this kind of clause. See also Text 28, sentence 2 in which two of these clauses appear in series.

2Except when the leading verb is in the imperfective, progressive or a perfective aspect. Then, ordinarily, the goal verb will go into the imperfective aspect. See, for example, Text 55, sentence 6; Text 57, paragraph 2, sentences 1 and 2; and Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 5. But see also Text 76, paragraph 2, sentences 8 and 12.

3It is also possible to have two purposive clauses in parallel. For example, Ngayi pangkarri thaunku nhawayi ngarrtau mankuwayi pirnrtuu. I am going to town to see a friend and to get food. And in series: Ngayi pangkarri punpipa parniyi tiyarrayarrnu pattyariu thwayikayi. I am going to go sit in a blind and wait to spear a euro. Note that there are no grammatical differences between the parallel and serial constructions. Context alone is usually sufficient to disambiguate them. However, minytarnu as well can be used to mark parallel constructions, which might otherwise be taken to be serial ones. See Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 9 and paragraph 3, sentence 10. Also, one of the parallel clauses can be put into the imperfective aspect. See Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

4But not always. For example, see Text 17, sentence 1. And see also Text 25, sentence 2, where there is a purposive clause without a leading verb.

5In this case, unlike the preceding one, the conjoined clause is dependent. It definitely cannot stand alone as a complete sentence with the conjoining suffix attached. Moreover, when the verb in this clause is inflected for imperfective aspect, it will be pre-marked with a special dependency suffix -ya-, providing it belongs to the 'Ø'-stem class.
or aspect\(^1\) and then is marked with the locative suffix -la,\(^2\) which serves as a conjunction. For example,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Yungkuma ngayu kayawayi!} \\
\text{give-IMP to me orange} \\
\text{Give me an orange!}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ngayi ngarrkuwayi.} \\
\text{I eat-POT} \\
\text{I will eat it.}
\end{align*}
\]

becomes

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Yungkuma ngayu kayawayi, ngayi ngarrkuwayila!} \text{\(^3\)} \\
\text{give-IMP to me orange I eat-POT-LOC} \\
\text{Give me an orange, and I will eat it!}
\end{align*}
\]

It is not easy to find appropriate examples in which the dependent verb is in something other than the potential mood,\(^4\) because other moods and aspects usually seem to require that other English conjunctions be used in the translation.\(^5\)

4.2.4.2.3. With Different Constituents in Common

In order to conjoin two verbs which have different subjects, but some other nominal constituent in common, it being the subject in one sentence and something else in the other, one treats the former sentence as the potential conjoined clause, deletes the subject, puts the verb into an appropriate aspect or mood, marks everything\(^6\) in the emerging dependent clause which is not an indeclinable for objective

\(^1\)If the verb is inflected for tense, then it will obviously be impossible to attach the conjoining suffix to it, because tense markers are clitics and when they are attached to verb stems, they form indeclinables (see 3.3.3).

\(^2\)There is no doubt whatsoever that -la is in fact the locative suffix, for in Ngarluma all nominal elements of such conjoined clauses are in the locative case, disyllabic common nouns ending in a vowel receiving -ngka and ngayi I being represented by ngatha la (see Hale 1960:236-40).

\(^3\)Compare Yungkuma ngayu kayawayi ngarrkaangu! Give me an orange to eat! For a discussion on the grammar of this kind of sentence, see the following section.

\(^4\)Even so, I can only find one other relevant example with the dependent verb in the potential aspect. It is: Wangkawimannma wangkayharrtu, wanyaarriila ngani wangkayi! Turn on the radio, and I will listen to what it will say!

\(^5\)See especially 4.2.4.3, but also 4.2.5. In fact even when the dependent verb is in the potential mood, the English translation will sometimes contain a different conjunction. See, for example, Text 9, sentence 2.

\(^6\)In practice not everything is marked. See, for example, Text 57, paragraph 1, sentence 3 and Text 61, sentence 5.
case, and then attaches it to the other sentence, which becomes the independent main clause. For example,

\[
\text{Ngayi nhau ngaartau.} \\
\text{I am watching a man.}
\]

\[
\text{Ngarta karri kartangka warnrtaa,} \\
\text{The man is standing under a tree,}
\]

\[
\text{muukarringu payipau.} \\
\text{smoking a pipe.}
\]

becomes

\[
\text{Ngayi nhau ngaartau,} \\
\text{I am watching a man,}
\]

\[
\text{karriyangu kartangka warnrtaa,} \\
\text{standing under a tree and}
\]

\[
\text{muukarringu payipau.} \\
\text{smoking a pipe.}
\]

The reader will note in the above example that there is a special form for the imperfective aspect marker, when it occurs with 'Ø'-stem verbs in dependent clauses. This dependent imperfective aspect marker (DEP) consists of a bound dependency marker -ya- plus the imperfective aspect marker. Verbs belonging to other stem classes have no special markings in that context. They employ the ordinary imperfective aspect marker for their respective classes.

In this next example, the constituent being referenced in the main clause is in the locative case:

\[\text{1}\]

\[\text{2}\]

\[\text{3}\]

\[\text{4}\]
Ngayi wiyanu pangkarri pattyarrila,
I hunting go-PRES euro-LOC
I am going hunting for the euro, (which is)

parniyangu parungkau.
sit-DEP spinifex-LOC-OBJ
sitting in the spinifex.

On another occasion I received the same sentence, but with a different dependent clause, which is reproduced below:

...wirruulam' yurrangkau tyayakaayiu.
different-LOC-ANA day-LOC-OBJ get away-PRF-OBJ
...that got away the other day.

Note how the dependent verb in perfective aspect is marked for objective case.¹

On rare occasions, one can find a dependent conjoined clause, having its verb in the optative or potential mood. See Text 74, paragraph 2, sentences 4 and 5, respectively.

When the action described by the verb in the potential dependent conjoined clause occurs as a direct result of the action described by the verb in the independent main clause, the verb in the former will go into the infinitive aspect as shown below:

Ngayi wangkanha ngaarnrtu ngaartau
I tell-PAST my friend-OBJ
I told my friend

wanththalau parnaangu,
where-OBJ sit-INF
where to sit

tyiyarringu ngayu.
wait for-IMPRF me
and wait for me.

It is possible to say tyiyarraangu in the example given above, but ordinarily when there are two infinitive clauses in parallel, the verb in the second one will be in the imperfective aspect.²

The next example shows that it is not necessary for the main clause to contain a transitive verb in order to have a dependent clause, containing a verb in the infinitive aspect, attached to it:

¹It is similarly marked in Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 2; Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 5; Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 4 and paragraph 4, sentence 11, but not in Text 53, paragraph 2, sentence 2. See also Text 65, paragraph 2, sentence 1, where the dependent verb is inflected with the passive perfective aspect marker.

²See also Text 59, sentence 6 and Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 9. But note how the corresponding verb in Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 4 is in the infinitive aspect, evidently because it is connected in series to the preceding verb, which is also in infinitive aspect.
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Yaala muyhu munti ngayu pangkarraangu tyipi.
now cold really for me go-INF naked
It's too cold now for me to go around naked.

Dependent conjoined clauses, containing a verb in the infinitive aspect, do not always translate into English in a uniform manner. For example, consider the following sentences:

Ngayi mirnrtnynmarna pattyarriu tyilamanpari tharkarraangu.
I shoot-PAST euro-OBJ rifle-COM thud-INF
I shot the euro with a rifle and it (the euro) thudded.

Ngayi tyumpikayi arintyiui pawayi yintaangu.
I squeeze-POT orange-OBJ juice-OBJ run down-INF
I will squeeze the orange until the juice flows.

Ngayi pangkarrii yuralau nhawayi yuntu waramalangu.
I go-POT rainmaker-OBJ see-POT rain make-INF
I am going to go see the rainmaker to get him to make rain.

4.2.4.3. Temporal and Spatial Clauses

Temporal clauses possess exactly the same grammatical structure as the conjoined clauses that we have just discussed. The strategies used to express before, when and after in temporal clauses are verbal as shown below:

Yurra mirta karpaayila, ngayi thurlawrininha.
sun not rise-PRF-LOC I wake up-PAST
Before the sun rose, I woke up.

Yurra karpayangula, ngayi karpanha pampangu.
sun rise-DEP-LOC I get up-PAST sleep-ABL
When the sun rose, I got up.

Yurra karpaayila, ngayi pangkarrinha warrkamuwarta.5
sun rise-PRF-LOC I go-PAST wor -DIR ALL
After the sun rose, I went to work.

1 See also Text 18, sentence 3.
2 See also Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 3.
3 See also Text 15, sentence 1; Text 70, sentence 1; and Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 4.
4 See also Text 47, sentence 1; Text 56, sentence 6; Text 62, paragraph 2, sentence 1; Text 65, paragraph 2, sentence 1; Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 6; Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 10; and Text 77, paragraph 2, sentence 2.
5 At this point it might be worth mentioning the following example: Ngayi warrkamurinha, yaalamu yurra karpaayila, yurra tharrwaayila yini. I worked from sunrise till sunset.
'While' clauses\(^1\) appear as 'when' clauses. For example, consider the following sentence:

\[
\text{Ngayi kaant wangkayi, mityarnu pawayi.}
\]

*I can't talk-POT drink-IMPRF water-OBJ

*I can't talk, while I'm drinking water.

'As' clauses\(^2\) again have the same structure as 'when' and 'while' clauses.

Yindjibarndi spatial or 'where' clauses\(^3\) are organised exactly like temporal clauses as shown by the following example:

\[
\text{Yinpirrpanha parniyangula, maya wanhthanguinha yirtiyamantu.}^4
\]

*Long Mack-PN live-DEP-LOC house build-PASS-PAST shire-INST

The house, where Long Mack lives, was built by the shire.

'In which', etc. clauses are structurally equivalent to 'where' clauses:

\[
\text{Wanhthila nyinta wanhtharna ngurnu tyiayi,}
\]

*where you put-PAST that(OBJ) chair-OBJ

*Where did you put that chair,

\[
\text{ngayi parnaayila wirruulam' pampanyaala?}
\]

*I sit-PRF-LOC last week-LOC

*that I sat in last week?

4.2.4.4. Relative Clauses

Again, relative clauses possess the same structure as conjoined clauses. The only difference is that they have an added relative pronoun, which is identical in form to the interrogative pronoun (see 3.1.2.2) having the same meaning. The following sentence contains an example of a relative clause:

\[
\text{Palamumu payankarra pangkarrimarta marlangka pirtuwirtaala,}
\]

*Long long ago warrior go-HAB behind scout-LOC

*Long long ago the warriors used to march behind the scouts.

---

\(^1\)See also Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 2; Text 75, paragraph 3, sentences 3 and 11, and paragraph 5, sentence 13; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 16.

\(^2\)See Text 63, paragraph 3, sentence 5; Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 4 and paragraph 6, sentences 4 and 12; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 13.

\(^3\)See also Text 66, paragraph 2, sentence 2; Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 3; Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 10; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 5.

\(^4\)I got this example from Gilbert Bobby. Compare Harold Ned's offering: Ngunhaana yirtiyamantu wanhthanguilaayi, Yinpirrpa parniyangula. The one, where Long Mack lives, has been built by the shire.
The reader should be sure to see the very interesting example which appears in Text 58, sentence 3.

True relative clauses, of the type which has just been discussed, are extremely rare. When one finds a relative clause in an English translation, it nearly always corresponds to an ordinary conjoined clause in Yindjibarndi. See, for example, Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 11; Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 2; and Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 4.2

4.2.4.5. Reason and Condition Clauses

Finally we come to reason and condition clauses. And again, when we consider the examples given, we find that these kinds of clauses correspond in structure to ordinary conjoined clauses with the exception that they contain an additional suffix or clitic. For example, 'because' clauses have a characteristic causal suffix (BEC) attached to the verb as shown below:3

\[
\text{Nyampa ли yungkunha mangkurlau thuwartau,} \\
\text{boss give-PAST child-OBJ sweet-OBJ} \\
\text{The boss gave the child the sweets,} \\
\text{purpiwarnaayirra.} \\
\text{want-PRF-BEC} \\
\text{because he wanted to.}
\]

\[
\text{Nyampa ли yungkunha mangkurlau thuwartau,} \\
\text{boss give-PAST child-OBJ sweet-OBJ} \\
\text{The boss gave the child the sweets,} \\
\text{purpiwarnaayilarra.} \\
\text{want-PRF-LOC-BEC} \\
\text{because he wanted them.}
\]

Sometimes an optional truth clitic (TRU) is added, for example,4

\[
\text{Mangkurla waarri,} \\
\text{child be afraid-PRES steal-PRF-BEC-TRU money} \\
\text{The child is afraid, because he really did steal the money.}
\]

1Compare the following sentence: Palamumu payankarra pangkarrimarta marlangka pirtwirtaala, ngana wayharringu payayi maap. Long long ago the warriors, who were looking for the fierce mob, used to march behind the scouts. I checked both of these examples with Gilbert Bobby.

2See also Hale 1976a.

3See also Text 63, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

4See also Text 65, paragraph 2, sentence 4.
'If' clauses are indicated by the determiner clitic (DET) as shown in the following examples:

Panhthawayiu nhaunguyhu, wanpi kayi warnrtawari.
perentie-OBJ see-IMPRF-DET beat-POT stick-COM
If you see a perentie, hit it with a stick.

Often the 'then' clause is marked in the same manner, for example,

Nyinta ngarringu pampa yaalayhu,
you sleep-IMPRF now-DET
If you sleep now,

warrungkayhu mirtawa pampa ngarrii.
might-LOC-DET not-EMP sleep-POT
then you won't sleep tonight.

Tyirrityirrinhayhu tharrwakaayila thamayi pawangka,
willy wagtail-PN-DET insert-PRF-LOC fire-OBJ water-LOC
If Willy Wagtail had stuck the fire in the water,

ngayinhtharriyhu ngarrkuwayingu wankayi murlayi.¹
we-DET eat-IRR raw-OBJ meat-OBJ
then we would eat meat raw.

4.2.5. Disjunction²

Yindjibarndi lacks a special construction for disjunction. In order to express this concept one uses essentially the construction for conjoining. For example, one might ask a native speaker the following question:

Wanhhthinhau nyinta purpi - nhurnu, ngurnu?
which one-OBJ you want this(OBJ) that(OBJ)
Which one do you want - this one or that one?

He will say 'ngau' yes, if he wants either one or the other or both, 'mirta' no, if he want neither. He replies in this manner, because Yindjibarndi, unlike English, employs inclusive disjunction, which actually expresses an 'and/or' proposition. Unfortunately, his reply causes much confusion and frustration for the unsuspecting student of the language. It can also lead to misunderstandings.³

¹Compare Text 74, paragraph 3, sentence 3.
²See also Dixon's (1972:363-64) discussion.
³In this regard see the example taken from Worora, which is mentioned in Dixon 1972:361.
I was fortunate enough to record one sure example\(^1\) of disjunction in a statement. It is found in the first sentence in Text 55. The basic format is again exactly the same as that for conjoining, a fact which can be perceived by examining the very next sentence in the same Text.

Disjunction may also occur in connection with verbs. For example:

\[
\text{You watch out, or I might spear you!}
\]

In the few other very similar examples that I collected, the disjoined verb is also in the optative mood.

Native speakers, who have a command of English, will sometimes use a borrowed form of English 'or', that is \textit{uu}, as an exclusive disjunct.\(^2\) For example, they will phrase the first example illustrated in this section in the following manner:

\[
\text{Wanhthinhau nyinta purpi - nhurnu uu ngurnu?}
\]

To which the answer is logically

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ngayi purpi nhurnu.} \\
\text{I want this(OBJ)} \\
\text{I want this one.}
\end{align*}
\]

or

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ngurnu.} \\
\text{that(OBJ)} \\
\text{That one.}
\end{align*}
\]

The reader is urged to be careful in employing this latter construction. If he uses it on a speaker who lacks an in-depth knowledge of English, he will find that the person addressed will treat this query like an ordinary inclusive-disjunctive question.

Yindjibarndi uses \textit{munyiama} apparently and \textit{thampa} but to express adversative disjunction (contrast). In this regard see the very interesting example involving nouns, which occurs in Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 16. Consider also the following sentence in which two verbs are contrastively disjoined:

\[\text{It is not clear to me whether the juxtaposition or nouns noted in Text 23, sentence 1, is best interpreted as disjunction or apposition, that is, whether warrimayila parkarrala should be translated as \textit{in the grasslands or plain} or as \textit{in the grasslands, that is, in the plain.}\]

\[\text{I wish to thank Gilbert Bobby for bringing this word to my attention and for discussing its use with me.}\]
Muntiyaamu pangkarriingu, ngayi parninha.\(^1\)

\[
\text{apparently go-IRR} \quad I \quad \text{stay-PAST}
\]

_I was going to go, but I stayed._

Note that _thampa_ has been omitted here, but it is often not found in circumstances where 'but' is required in English. See, for example, Text 23, sentence 3, and Text 53, paragraph 2, sentence 5. On the other hand, the borrowing _paat but_ cannot be used in this context,\(^2\) and therefore it may well be that _thampa_ cannot be used in association with disjunctively conjoined verbs.

### 4.2.6. Comparative and Superlative

_Yindjibarndi,_ unlike English, does not have special forms for the comparative and superlative. Both degrees are phrased in terms of the positive form of the nominal.

There are two ways to express the comparative - through the use of a bipolar nominative construction or by putting the referent in the objective case. The following is an example\(^3\) of a 'bipolar' comparative:

\[
\text{Nyinta tyintyimama; ngayi patya.} ^4
\]

\[
you \quad \text{obese} \quad I \quad \text{bony}
\]

_You are fatter than I._

This construction is the preferred one.\(^5\) It is used by nearly\(^6\) everyone. However, there is another one, which is not commonly used.\(^7\) This second type more closely resembles the English construction.\(^8\)

---

\(^1\) Thanks to Long Mack for providing this excellent example.

\(^2\)I am assured of this by Gilbert Bobby, who says that _paat_ is only used to begin a sentence. In this respect it seems to equate more with 'however'.

\(^3\)I asked Harold Ned to tell me how to say _I am going to a better place_. He said, _Ngayi pangkarri markurraarta ngurraarta_. This is probably another example of a bipolar comparative except that the other 'pole', _Nhaa watyi This one is bad_, has been omitted.

\(^4\)To make _I am skinnier than you_, reverse the order of the two falsely conjoined clauses. For a short discussion of false conjoining see the use of the semicolon in 2.3.3.

\(^5\)In fact it appears to be fairly common all around Australia. For example, see Blake (1969:69), who gives a similar example in Kalkatungu.

\(^6\)However, Gilbert Bobby refuses to accept it as an adequate translation for the English comparative.

\(^7\)Gilbert Bobby insists that this is the only way to express the comparative in _Yindjibarndi_.

\(^8\)But I don't think that it was borrowed, because the same construction also occurs in Kunjen. See Sommer 1972:37.
For example:

\[
\text{Nyinta tyintyimama ngaarta ngayu.}
\]
\[
you \text{ obese man to me}
\]
\[
\text{You are a fat man compared to me.}
\]

The student of Yindjibarndi, who wishes to have a good command of the language, would do well to become familiar with both types.

The superlative is of the absolute type. It is constructed by postposing the superlativiser (SUPER) 'muntiyhu'\(^1\) to the nominal, which is to be put into the superlative degree. For example:\(^2\)

\[
\text{Nhaampa ngamayi mirtawatyi muntiyhu.}
\]
\[
\text{this-TOP tobacco good SUPER}
\]
\[
\text{This tobacco is the best.}
\]

The next example is especially interesting, because there the superlative possesses an adverbial character:

\[
\text{Walaakumpa ngamayi ngayiyhu mirta purpi muntiyhu.}
\]
\[
\text{that-OBJ TOP tobacco-OBJ I-DET not like SUPER}
\]
\[
\text{I myself like that tobacco the least.}
\]

Note that the superlativiser is postposed to the noun like, which operates within the sentence as if it were a verb.

4.2.7. Embedding

I collected a number of sentences, containing more than a single verb,\(^5\) which cannot be analysed as being compound in type - the result of a conjoining rule. All of them appear to be of the complex type, containing an embedded sentence.

\(^1\)Which consists of the noun munti really plus the determiner. However, in Text 67, sentence 1, we find a superlative construction, employing only munti.

\(^2\)The following example and the one after that were provided by Gilbert Bobby. Also consider this sentence given by Jack Ray: Kutypirupiru parninha mawarnkarra mirtawatyi muntiyhu. \textit{Rainbow Bird was the best of doctors.}

\(^3\)A more literal translation of this sentence might be \textit{This tobacco is the really good one.}

\(^4\)The topic clitic, which appears here and in the preceding sentence, has nothing to do with forming the superlative. It is interesting to observe, however, how the topicalised object of the verb has been shifted to an unusual position in the sentence. See the discussion on word order in 4.2.8. See also Blake 1969:71.

\(^5\)Sometimes, however, the second verb is unexpressed, for example, Ngayi kurkanytyarnu nyinta yirriri, \textit{I think that you are sick.} See also Text 34, sentence 1 and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 4.
In one kind of complex sentence we find a clause acting as the direct object of a verb. Such sentences are reasonably common in the Advanced Texts and in the Sacred Texts.\(^1\) It is interesting to observe that when a clause occurs in this function, the embedded verb may be marked either for aspect or mood or for tense. When it is inflected for aspect or mood, then all the constituents of the embedded sentence which are not indeclinable may be marked with objective case markers.\(^2\) But when the embedded verb is inflected for tense, the entire embedded sentence is treated as an indeclinable\(^3\) with none of its constituents being permitted to be marked for objective case except, of course, those which are the direct or indirect object of

\(^1\)See Text 68, paragraph 1, sentence 1; paragraph 2, sentence 12; Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 6; Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 3 (note nesting); Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 4; paragraph 6, sentence 3; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

\(^2\)See, for example, Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 4 and also further below in the Grammar. Ordinarily not all of the constituents will be so marked, however. For example, verbs which are inflected with imperfective and passive perfective aspect markers seem never to appear with objective case markers attached to them. But this is no doubt because there is a special dependent form for the imperfective aspect marker, and the passive perfective aspect marker already has the dependency marker -ya- included with it (see 3.1.4.2.1). Other non-indeclinables may or may not be marked evidently at the whimsy of the speaker. Compare Text 76, paragraph 6, sentence 3, with the example just given. However, there is also some evidence to indicate that nominal elements of an embedded sentence which is serving as the object of a verb may not be marked either for dependency or objective case, when the subject of the embedded sentence is identical to that of the verb of which it is an object. Consider the following example, which was dictated by Ken M. Jerrold and affirmed to be grammatically correct by Gilbert Bobby:

\begin{quote}
Ngayi munkunha arlipala tyutyungu.
I pick up-PAST early old fellow-OBJ
I picked up an old fellow early this morning.

Ngunhaa ngayu wangkanna pangkarringu tyampa nha wayi
he to me tell-PAST go-IMPRF little while check-POT
He told me that he was going for a little while to check

marntayi ngurangkae parniyangu "pillow" ngka.
money-OBJ home-LOC-OBJ be-DEP -LOC
the money that was at home under the pillow.
\end{quote}

Compare the treatment of the piece "pangkarringu tyampa", which is the object of the verb "wangkanna" with that of "marntayi...", which is the object of "nha wayi". See also Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

\(^3\)Remember that aspect and mood markers are suffixes, producing nominalised verbs, while tense markers are clitics, which produce indeclinables (see 3.3.1).
the embedded verb itself.\(^1\) Compare the following two sentences:

\[
\text{Ngayi mirta mirnu wanhtharni pangkarrinha Arrarlinha.}
\text{I don't knowing to where go-PAST Harold-PN}
\]

\[
\text{Ngayi mirta mirnu wanhtharniu pangkarraayiu Arrarlingu.}
\text{I don't knowing to where-OBJ go-PRF-OBJ Harold-OBJ}
\]

Now consider the following paradigm, which is designed to provide a fuller understanding of the range of structural variation possible among embedded sentences, functioning as direct objects:\(^2\)

\[
\text{Ngayi nhaunha nganii yungkunha nyinku ngunhu ngaarta.}
\text{I see-PAST what-OBJ give-PAST to you that man}
\]

\[
\text{yungkuyangu nyinku ngurnu ngaartau.}
\text{give-DEP to you that(OBJ) man-OBJ that man was giving you.}
\]

\[
\text{yungkaayiu nyinku ngurnu ngaartau}
\text{give-PRF-OBJ to you that(OBJ) man-OBJ that man has given you.}
\]

\[
\text{yungkungulinha nyinta ngulu ngaartalu.}
\text{give-PASS-PAST you by that man-INST was given to you by that man.}
\]

\[
\text{yungkunguiyangu nyinku ngulu ngaartalu.}\footnote{3}
\text{give-PASS-DEP you(OBJ) by that man-INST was being given to you by that man.}
\]

\[
\text{yungkungulaayiu nyinku ngulu ngaartalu.}
\text{give-PASS-PRF-OBJ you(OBJ) by that man-INST has been given to you by that man.}
\]

\(^1\)I went over this point very carefully with Gilbert Bobby. For examples in addition to those found immediately below (and further on) in the Grammar, see especially Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 6 and also consider the second sentence in the following set:

\[
\text{Ngayi parninha tyiyarringu parraawa.}
\text{I sit-PAST wait-IMPRF long time-EMP I have been sitting and waiting for a long time.}
\]

\[
\text{Ngayi kurkangtyaku ngunhaana tyutyunha ngayu}
\text{I think-PRES that one old fellow-PN to me}
\]

\[
\text{I think that that old fellow thathayi parrwarna. Pangkarrinha ngarraurlu.}
\text{tell a lie-PAST go for good-PAST told me a lie. He left for good.}
\]

\(^2\)I checked the sentences in this paradigm with Gilbert Bobby.

\(^3\)It is also possible to mark the instrumental phrase with objective case markers, but this evidently is usually not done.
'Whether' clauses constitute an interesting variation in that they are indicated by the interrogative clitic (QUES). I only collected one example, containing such a clause. It is presented immediately below:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ngayi pangkarrinha mirlimirlimayaarta} & \\
\text{I went to the Post Office} & \\
\text{nhawayi mirlimirliu ngaarnrtu ngarriyangunta.} & \\
\text{to see whether there was a letter for me.}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of sentences containing embedded clauses in other structural positions are rare. I have only been able to find two. In the first one, which is shown immediately below, an embedded sentence is functioning as the subject of the sentence:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Karringu wirnamaku ngayu.} & \\
\text{Standing makes me tired.}
\end{align*}
\]

In the second, an embedded sentence serves as the basis for a locative phrase, that is,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kuyharramarnula wilarrala ngayi karlinytyarri.} & \\
\text{At the completion of two months I shall return.}
\end{align*}
\]

The reader will specifically note that this sentence definitely does not possess the same structure as the second example in 4.2.4.3, which it superficially resembles. -1a cannot be deleted from wilarrala in the example shown here, whereas yurra day must remain in the nominative case in the contrasting example mentioned in the other section.

---

This clause means exactly the same thing as the immediately preceding one.

Cf. Karringu wirnawarni ngayi I get tired standing. Cheedy Ned and Gilbert Bobby assure me that both of these sentences, which were formulated by me, are grammatically correct.

Thanks to Gilbert Bobby for providing this novel example.

I checked this information carefully with Gilbert Bobby.
4.2.8. Word Order

Take, for the sake of discussion, the following transitive declarative sentence:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ngayi nhau nyinku.} \\
I \text{ see-PRES you(OBJ)} \\
I \text{ see you.}
\end{align*}
\]

A mathematician will tell you that there are three! ways to order the words which make up this sentence. And if one actually does go to the trouble of generating the six possible permutations and then reads them to a fluent speaker, he will find that every one of them constitutes an acceptable Yindjibarndi sentence. Furthermore, if he queries the Yindjibarndi speaker about potential differences in meaning between these various alternants, he will be told that there isn't any. Indeed, he will be told that there isn't even any difference in connotation.

This is not to say, however, that all six permutations will be observed to occur with the same frequency in the context of normal discourse. If one examines a substantial quantity of data on Yindjibarndi, he will see that two of them are strongly favoured in

\(^1\)See also 4.1.4.

\(^2\)In intransitive declarative sentences the subject usually precedes the verb. However, the reverse is also possible. See, for example, Text 38, sentence 1; Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 1; and Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 8; paragraph 5, sentence 10; and paragraph 6, sentence 8.

\(^3\)On peculiarities of word order within interrogative and imperative sentences see sections 4.2.2.2 and 4.2.2.3, respectively.

\(^4\)That is, three factorial or \(3 \times 2 \times 1\).

\(^5\)I did actually attempt to go through the whole series, while my best grammarian constantly interrupted with interjections of the following sort: 'same one', 'just the same', 'anyway at all'. The point that I was trying to get at was evidently too obvious for him to bother with.

\(^6\)I tried to determine whether the first word in a sentence was somehow 'marked' by asking whether it was more important than the others or whether one was 'pointing at it' by putting it in initial position. The answer was a flat 'no'. However, the reader should be aware of the fact that interrogative pronouns always occupy initial position in questions (see 4.2.2.2). Note also that the topicalised object of the verb in the fourth example in 4.2.6 appears in sentence-initial position, an unusual one for objects. On the other hand there are examples in which topicalised words appear in sentence-final position. See Text 49, sentence 7 and Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 10. Finally, note Text 55, sentences 7 and 8.

\(^7\)As, for example, is contained in my companion Texts.

\(^8\)That is, they occur with a combined relative frequency of more than 90%.
terms of style. They are the one illustrated in the preceding paragraph\(^1\) and

\[
\text{Ngayi nyinku nhau.} \\
I \quad \text{you(OBJ) see-PRES} \\
I \quad \text{see you.}
\]

From time to time, other orderings can also be observed.\(^2\)

When an indirect object is added, the situation becomes more complex. Usually, it precedes the direct object and follows the verb.\(^3\) But sometimes it follows the direct object\(^4\) and then again it may precede the verb in a way such that the two objects straddle the verb.\(^5\)

Positional restraints on locatives resemble somewhat those placed on objects. Spatial locatives for the most part\(^6\) follow the verb, while temporal locatives may precede or follow the verb. When following the verb, the locative may precede or follow the object. Generally, the constituents in a locative phrase will occur juxta posed to one another.\(^7\) However, when there are two different locatives, one will precede the verb and the other will follow.\(^8\) Ablatives and allatives nearly always\(^9\) follow the verb.

\(^1\)In view of the fact that the preceding one occurs six times more frequently than the following one in the Non-Sacred Texts and twice as frequently in the Sacred Texts, it seems doubtful that the word order contained in this sentence has been borrowed from English by stimulus diffusion. But it is quite possible that the presence of English has led to its being used with greater frequency than in pre-contact times.

\(^2\)For example, see Text 7, sentence 2; Text 38, sentence 2; Text 74, paragraph 3, sentence 1; and Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 12.

\(^3\)See, for example, Text 34, sentence 3; Text 56, sentence 2; Text 69, paragraph 1, sentence 5 and paragraph 2, sentence 13; Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 3 (with an embedded sentence as direct object); and Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 13. Note also Text 9, sentence 1, which is an imperative.

\(^4\)See, for example, Text 18, sentence 3; Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 17; and Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 10.

\(^5\)See, for example, Text 69, paragraph 1, sentence 1 and paragraph 2, sentence 6 (the latter with an embedded sentence serving as direct object) and Text 76, paragraph 5, sentence 7.

\(^6\)But note Text 55, sentence 8 (compare with preceding sentence) and Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 4. See also Text 73, paragraph 2, sentence 5 where a locative precedes an intransitive verb and then compare sentence 3 in the same paragraph.

\(^7\)But note Text 23, sentence 1.

\(^8\)See, for example, Text 17, sentence 1 and Text 50, sentence 5, but also Text 32, sentence 2.

\(^9\)But in Text 27, sentence 3 we find an ablative preceding an intransitive verb, and in Text 61, sentence 6 an allative object is found in a comparable position.
Finally, it is worth pointing out that although word order tends to be relatively fluid within the confines of a single clause, aside from the abovementioned restrictions, there is generally no mixing of words between distinct clauses which occur within a single sentence. I can only find a very few solid examples of split clauses. One appears in Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 3. Here the main clause is dividing the second (infinitive-type) clause, which is conjoined to it. Another can be found in Text 14, sentence 1.

4.2.9. Relations between Sentences

I do not have a great deal to say about relations between independent sentences. Most of it consists of simple observations. However, for whatever it may be worth, I will make the following few comments:

The Yindjibarndi tend to be economical in their use of words, so that once a subject is mentioned, it tends not to be repeated in the sentences that follow, provided, of course, that the subject remains the same in them. Sometimes a pronoun is substituted, but ordinarily there is nothing at all. The situation with respect to other sentential constituents appears to be essentially the same. However, again, we do find cases in which objects and locatives are repeated.

In certain situations it may be difficult to determine whether two clauses constitute a single sentence or two different ones. This is because the verb inflections which are used to conjoin one clause to

---

1See also Rumsey 1978:231-67.

2See, for example, Texts 1, 10, 36, 37, 40 and 46. However, there may be some particular reason for repeating a subject. For example, in Texts 8 and 39 subjects are repeated, evidently as an aid to the English-speaking recorder. In Texts 15, 29 and 61 repetition of subjects is associated with anger or excitement. Emphasis seems to be indicated in Texts 21, 45, 49, 53 (paragraph 2) and 57 (paragraph 1). On the other hand there appears to be no explanation for the repetition of subjects observed in Texts 34, 38, 57 (paragraph 2) and 68. But the reader may be interested to know that in the last case mentioned, there is no change of subject at all throughout the whole rather long story and perhaps for that very reason the subject tends to be repeated at random intervals as a reminder to the reader.

3For example, see Text 3. But then the pronoun itself is not repeated in the sentences that follow. See Text 47.

4See Text 8 and Text 29, sentences 3 through 5.

5See Text 55, sentences 7 through 9. The repetition here must be for the sake of emphasis or something similar. See especially sentence 8.
another may also appear in independent verbs. In such situations, one must try to listen for a pause between the clauses. If it sounds very long, one should probably conclude that both clauses are in fact independent sentences.

Similarly, one will find that on occasion two clauses, which on grammatical grounds must be treated as independent sentences, are so closely interrelated semantically that one feels compelled to treat them as a single sentence. In such situations, I have already suggested that the two sentences be joined by a semicolon as they would be in English.

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1See the discussion on the functions of verb endings in section 3.1.4.2.2 especially under the imperfective, perfective and progressive aspects and also potential mood.

2As I have done in Text 57, paragraph 2, sentence 3 (note also repetition of subject); Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 2; and Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 9.

3See, for example, the first example in 2.3.3.
PART II

GRADED TEXTS
INTRODUCTION

These texts are divided into two main sections, a sacred and a non-sacred one. The sacred texts consist of traditional stories, which codify events which are said to have occurred 'ngurranyutuyungkamu', literally back when the earth was soft, that is, at the beginning of the world. They describe the exploits of the deity, devils, the not always so angelic bird-men and, of course, the first Aborigines. Now even though these texts are sacred, they are not secret. Gilbert Bobby has assured me that they can even be heard by little girls.

Any text that is not sacred is termed non-sacred. Non-sacred texts, while not being traditional stories, may well comment on aspects of traditional life as, for example, making war or preparing for a corroboree. They may even include statements on sacred aspects, such as initiation or rock art. But these texts are never sacred in the sense defined above. Non-sacred texts may also describe some modern experience such as digging a well or fixing a flat tyre. A number of texts concern the activities of animals, both native and introduced. Thus, non-sacred stories touch upon a wide variety of topics.

The non-sacred texts are divided into three parts: elementary, intermediate and advanced. The elementary texts are short and simple, and therefore suitable for use by the beginner in learning to read Yindjibarndi. The intermediate texts are generally longer and incorporate more complex grammar. One would be expected to have some knowledge of Yindjibarndi in order to be able to read them. Finally, the advanced texts are on the whole longest and have the most complex grammar except for the sacred texts, which are all very involved even though some of them are shorter than certain of the non-sacred texts. The last three sacred texts are the most intricate of all. The antepenultimate is very difficult, while the last two, which form a unit, are not only very difficult, but also contain a number of hurdles, designed by the narrator to test the reading ability of the very advanced student. The penultimate and final text, taken together, and the preceding one also constitute the longest texts in the book.

Because this work is to be used for educational purposes, I have had to alter certain of the non-sacred texts to a minor degree. Namely, I corrected all mispronounced words. I also removed some foreign words, replacing them with Yindjibarndi equivalents. However, I did leave in English words which have no real synonyms in Yindjibarndi, Yindjibarndi words which have their source in pidgin English, and non-Yindjibarndi words which have more or less replaced their Yindjibarndi counterparts.
I also deleted parts of a few texts, which were not interesting or which were redundant with respect to one or more included text. In a few instances, I spliced interesting pieces of a text, which was otherwise redundant or inappropriate, into another selected text. Thus, scholars who are interested in language performance will restrict themselves to a consideration of the sacred texts, which have been reproduced here without alteration.
NON-SACRED TEXTS

ELEMENTARY TEXTS

TEXT 1

Thurla Ylrriri
eye sore
The Sore Eye

Arrarlulu
Haro ld-INSt
by Harold Ned

Thurla watyi.¹ Karnrrtatypirti. Pawa yinti.
eye bad teary water run down-PRES
The eye is bad. It is teary. Water is running down.

TEXT 2

Tyawiwanarra²
song-long
Longsong

Yinpirrpalu³
Long Mack-INSt
by Long Mack

Kantipingarli mangkurlarra.⁴ Kantipingarli pawangkawa.
tiny-PL child-PL tiny-PL water-LOC-EMP
Tiny children. Tiny ones in the water.

¹Linking verbs are not often employed in simple sentences in Yindjibarndi. See section 4.2.1 in the Grammar.

²Tyawiwanarra is the actual name of this song. I did not invent it as I did the titles for most of the remaining stories in this book. The name stems from the fact that the first line is repeated a number of times and then the last line is repeated a number of times.

³Ejong or Yityangu, a deceased relative of Long Mack's, was the composer.

⁴The song is recorded here as it was dictated by Long Mack. However, when he sung it, the last word in each line received a terminal -y1, which I am not sure how to interpret.
TEXT 3

Kartantyi
dwarf bearded dragon
The Dwarf Bearded Dragon

Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Warnrtaa katyarti kurraurr 1
tree-LOC lizard rough
A rough-looking lizard lives in trees.

Ngunhaatumpa wangkanguli
that-ONE-TOP be called-PRES

kartantyi 2
dwarf bearded dragon
about is called the dwarf bearded dragon.

TEXT 4

Yiimit 3
itchy
Itchy

Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-PRES
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayi yiimittyarri murru 4
I itch-PRES back you can me back-OBJ scratch-POT
My back itches.

TEXT 5

Mintyurlu 5
kangarooberry
Kangarooberries

Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

1 The narrator is referring to the soft spines which cover its body.

2 In Roebourne this lizard is commonly called 'mountain devil'. But Gilbert Bobby tells me that the kartantyi does not have horns like the mountain devil nor does Moloch horridus occur in the Roebourne area. And we do know for sure that mountain devils don't live in trees.

3 The spelling of this word - like that of kiltaa (NC) guitar and Wimat (NC) Chiratta Station - is somewhat problematic. Although it is difficult to hear length on the first vowel, this vowel must be long as it is definitely high and tense rather than low and lax as a short vowel would be before m. See 2.1.3.1 in the Grammar.

4 Here and again in the next sentence murru is being inalienably possessed by the first person singular pronoun. See 4.1.1.2 in the Grammar for a discussion on inalienable possession.

5 There are two different kinds of mintyurlu, a bitter one eaten by kangaroos and a sweet one eaten by men. The narrator is obviously talking about the former.
Kangarooberry are found in the spinifex. Eurolres eat

that-OBJ sphere-OBJ kangarooberry
those round things on the kangarooberry plant.

**TEXT 6**

Muyarnaarnu
steal-PASS PRF
Something Has Been Stolen

Ngai wanhtharnha nhurnu ngaarnrtula ngurrangka. Maningaa ngaarta
I leave-PAST this(OBJ) my-LOC place-LOC other-PL man
I left this thing at my place.

some-PAST steal-PROG
came along and stole it.

**TEXT 7**

Wirra Mutyimutyi
boomerang holey
The Holey Boomerang

Wirra mutyimutyi. Mutyimarna pirna warnrtayi
boomerang full of holes hole-FACT-PAST bug wood-OBJ
The boomerang is full of holes. A bug made holes in the boomerang

Ngai wanhthaku purrkayi mutyingka.
boomerang-OBJ I put-PRES spinifex resin-OBJ hole-LOC wood.
I am putting spinifex gum in the holes.

**TEXT 8**

NGaarnrtu Tyangkuruuyha
my hat-DU
My Two Hats

Note the irregular plural. See 3.1.1.2.1 in the Grammar.
Ngayi parninha warruwarlalaa tyangkurrwarrlalaa.\(^1\) Ngayi tyangkurrruu

*be-PAST* black-POSS *hat-POSS*

I had a black hat.

\(^1\)Long Mack says that this sentence means exactly the same thing as Ngayi kanytyarna warru tyangkarrwu.

Ngayi\(^2\) mankunha tyangkurru\(^3\) yiyangu.

*lose-PAST* I *get-PAST* hat *new*

the hat. I got a new one.

TEXT 9

Purrrkurnrtaarnu Payipau

smoke-IMPRF pipe-OBJ

Smoking a Pipe

Yinprrpulu

Long Mack-INST

by Long Mack

Yungkuma ngayu thamal\(^4\) Kampakayi ngamayiu payipalau, ngayi

give-IMP to me fire

Give me a light!

Kampakayi ngamayiu payipalau, ngayi light-POT tobacco-OBJ pipe-LOC-OBJ I

Light the tobacco in my pipe as I want

purpi\(^5\) mukurriita.\(^6\)

to smoke-POT-LOC

to smoke it.

TEXT 10

Yirraamarnu

sing-IMPRF

Singing

Arrrarri

Haroald Ned-INST

by Harold Ned

Ngayi pangkarri mankuwaiyi tyurnayi.\(^7\) Parni yirraamarnu.

*I go-PRES* get-POT club-OBJ *sit-PRES* sing-IMPRF

I am going to get a club. I am sitting singing.

\(^2\)Such repetition of subjects is not stylistically typical of Yindjibarndi. See section 4.2.9 in the Grammar.

\(^3\)Repetition of objects is not common either. See preceding footnote.

\(^4\)Note the usual format for sentences containing a verb inflected for imperative mood. The indirect object is in the objective case, and the direct object is in the nominative case. See also 4.2.2.3 in the Grammar.

\(^5\)This is a noun, which functions as a verb. See section 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar under objective case.

\(^6\)Note how the locative case marker is employed to conjoin two sentences with different subjects. See 4.2.4.2.2 in the Grammar.

\(^7\)There exists a certain style of singing in which men keep time by beating the ground with fighting clubs.
Mani maru  ngunhthi  ngayu wanyaarri.
other many  way over there  me  listen to-PRES
A lot of other people way over there are listening to me.

TEXT 11

Tyirriwi
echidna
The Native Porcupine
Pitylntu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Tyirriwi pangkarri yuntuwa, kartaarnu ngurrayi muthawari,
echidna  go-PRES  rain-LOC poke-IMPRF ground-OBJ nose-COM
The native porcupine goes around in the rain, rooting in the ground
ngarrkungu manhthunganri ngurrangkau.¹
eat-IMPRF termite-PL ground-LOC-OBJ
with its nose and eating termites.

TEXT 12

Payawurtu Wanytya
savage-SORT dog
A Savage Sort of Dog
Arrarilu
Harold Ned-INST
by Harold Ned

Payaarri wanytya.² Thulaku.  Ngayi mankuwayi warnrtayi.
get wild-PRES dog bark-PRES  I  get-POT stick-OBJ
The dog is getting wild. He is barking. I will get a stick.

Wanpikayi.  Tharlaakayi wanytyayi thumpuu.
beat-POT kick-POT dog-OBJ arse-OBJ
I will beat him. I will kick the dog in the arse.

TEXT 13

Wangka Nyurnrtii³
word  dead-OBJ
Words to a Dead Person
Yurtarrinntyu
Gilbert Bobby-INST
by Gilbert Bobby

Nylankaarnrtu nhaampa  ngurra muyhumuyhu.  Mirta nyinta
yours  this-TOP ground cold  not you
Yours is this cold ground.  Don't you bother

¹Note how conjoining is effected here. See section 4.2.4.2.1 in the Grammar.

²Word order at sentence level is not as rigidly organised in Yindjibarndi as it is in English. See 4.2.8 in the Grammar.

³Words such as the following are recited by a senior Aboriginal after the Christian graveside ceremonies are finished.
nganiwarni! ngayinhtharriu! Parni nyinta ngurrangka
do anything-POT we-OBJ stay-POT you ground-LOC
us! You stay in this cold

cold-LOC

ground.

TEXT 14

Kurlumarnu Pawayi
heat-IMPRF water-OBJ
Heating Water
Pltyintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayi mankuwayi wuntuwau ngarriyangu pawayi 2 "billycan"ta.
I get-POT river-LOC-OBJ be-DEP water-OBJ
I will get water from the river in a billycan.

Wanhtakayi "billycan"ku 3 thamangka. Kuru pawayi 4
put-POT fire-LOC hot water-VOC
I will put the billycan on the fire. Hot water!

TEXT 15

Kurkawayi 5
stupid
The Stupid One
Pltyintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Nyinta mirtawarlu wanyarri 6 ngayu, wangkayangu nyinku. 7
you never understand-PRES me talk-DEP to you
You never understand me, when I am talking to you.

1According to the Yindjibarndi, dead people come out of their graves after dark and walk around.

2This segment actually reads '...water (which is) lying in the river...' rather than '...water from the river...'. See section 4.2.4.2.3 in the Grammar for a discussion on this type of clause/phrase.

3Note that the English word 'billycan' is handled just like a Yindjibarndi word. Contrast the treatment of 'dish' in Text 41.

4The final utterance was delivered as an exclamation, hence the vocative suffix.

5The primary meaning of this term is deaf, literally ear-bad. Consult Dixon 1972:30 and then see the next footnote.

6This verb ordinarily means hear or listen to. See also the preceding footnote.

7"When" clauses - excluding embedded sentences - do not include the word for when. See 4.2.4.3 in the Grammar.
Nyinta puyha mankarr munti. Puyha paarnpaarni!
you head hard really head not all there
You are a real blockhead. A half-wit!

TEXT 16

Ngarringu Mitu
lie-IMPRF hidden
Lying Hidden
Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Karnrtiwi ngarri.
tail-STICK lie-PRES
Something is lying there with its tail sticking out.

Tharpa ngarri tharta
lie-PRES
body be-PRES covered
is lying there with its ears sticking out. Its body is covered up

karrangka thurnungka.
thicket-LOC inside
inside the thicket.

TEXT 17

Pattyarriu Payilamakayi
euro-OBJ boil-POT
How to Boil a Euro
Tyirtilu
Cheedy Ned-INST
by Cheedy Ned

Thamangka wanhthakayi
fire-LOC put-POT
Put it in a bucket on the fire in order to boil it.

pattyarri. Kuyu kampayi.
euro let cook-POT
the euro. Let it cook.

TEXT 18

Warnrtayi Wantharnu
tree-OBJ plant-IMPRF
Planting a Tree

Yinpirrpalu
Long Mack-INST
by Long Mack

1Another acceptable translation for this sentence is: You have a really hard head. See Text 4.

2Another translation for this utterance might be: Your head (brains) is (are) not all there!

3Note how the potential mood is used to express a weak command.

4Here is an interesting third person command.
Ngayi yurraku purnrtayi. Nganiyarntu nyinta yurraku purnrtayi?
I dig-PRES hole-OBJ what for you dig-PRES hole-OBJ
I am digging a hole. What are you digging a hole for?

Ngayi wanhthakayi warnrtayi maluu¹ wankanarraangu.
I plant-POT tree-OBJ shade-OBJ grow-INF
I will plant a tree for shade.

TEXT 19

Parningumarnu Karringumarnu
sit-PROG stand-PROG
Sitting Down and Standing Up

Arrarlulu Tyirti muntu
HAROLD NED-INST Cheedy Ned and
by Harold and Cheedy Ned

we two stand-PRES sit-PROG now sit-PRES-EMP
We two are standing. We are sitting down. Now we are sitting.

Karpa karriwa.² Ngartimu karri.
get up-PRES stand-POT-EMP again stand-PRES
We are rising to stand. Again we are standing.

TEXT 20

Mirnuwarngu Papungu³
learn-IMPRF Father-OBJ
Learning about God

Yinplirrpulu
Long Mack-INST
by Long Mack

Ngayinhtharri tyutyungarli⁴ mirta mirnu parninha Minkalau,⁵
we mature-PL not knowing be-PAST Jesus Christ-OBJ
We old people didn't know about Jesus Christ,

Papu ngayinhtharriyarnrtu. Mirnuwarninga.
Father we-MS-GEN knowing-INCHO-PAST
our God. We learned.

¹The segment warnrtayi maluu could just as well have been translated shade tree were it not for the fact that the narrator indicated that he meant tree for shade.

²For the standard formula karpa karrili it is possible to substitute karpangumarnu as well as karringumarnu.

³In this story the narrator shows how to make an overt contrast between stative and inchoative action.

⁴Note the use of -ngarli here instead of the special plural number marker reserved for proper nouns. See 3.1.1.2.1 in the Grammar.

⁵It is obvious that the narrator is specifically referring to Jesus Christ and not the Aboriginal deity, who appears in Texts 76 and 77. Note that Minkala is not really a name as it is a common noun.
TEXT 21

Yuralaarnntu Manyka
rainmaker-GEN son
The Rainmaker's Son
Yinpirrpalu
Long Mack-INST
by Long Mack.

Yurala nyurnrtiwarninha. Yuntu parntakuwa.¹ Muntiwayi
rainmaker die-PAST rain fall-PRES-EMP perhaps
The rainmaker died. Rain is starting to fall. Perhaps

Nhaampa yuntuyu² puyamaa.³
this-TOP rain-DET orphan-LIKE
this particular shower that I'm talking about is like an orphan.

TEXT 22

Payankarra
soldier
The Soldiers
Wutliyul
Woodley King-INST
by Woodley King

Payarra⁴ kanangkarri. Thurlawarnima! Kartaannya.⁵
soldier come-PRES wake up-IMP spear-PASS OPT
Enemy soldiers are coming. Wake up! You might get speared.

Nhungku⁶ paya kanangkarri ngayinhtharrriu.
these savage come-PRES we-OBJ
Those savages are coming after us.

TEXT 23

Palin
mirage
The Mirage
Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

¹The emphatic clitic translates as start to here. See 3.2.2.4 in the Grammar.

²Compare the form of the determiner used here by Long Mack with the one he employs in the following sentence: Mirtawa ngayi kurkanytyaku ngurnaakuyu. I just don't remember that particular thing. The former may be a borrowing from Kurrama. See 3.2.2.5 in the Grammar.

³That is, it is crying for its father.

⁴The Yindjibarndi language has no word for friend or enemy. Payarra is simply a synonym for payankarra.

⁵Note the use of the rare passive optative mood marker.

⁶Nhungku is an indeclinable form of the more commonly encountered nhungkiirri.
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Warrimayila¹ parkarrala nhaungu² martulilau. Ngayi
plain-LOC plain-LOC see-IMPRF in the centre-OBJ I
I see something in the middle of the plain. I

kurkanytyarna pawayi. Ngunhaa wuyut.³ Karrwarnrtta palin
think-PAST water-OBJ it nothing summer-LOC mirage
thought it was water. But it's nothing. In the summer mirages

karpa.
arise-PRES
arise.

TEXT 24

Punthangu
bathe-IMPRF
Bathing
Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST

Wanytya parninha pawangka, punthangu. Karpahna
dog sit-PAST water-LOC bathe-IMPRF get up-PAST
A dog was sitting in the water, taking a bath. He got out

pawangkangu manthiwa, karringumarnu piilawa, tharpa⁵
water-LOC-ABL wet-EMP stand-PROG outside-EMP body
of the water very wet and stood outside, shaking himself

pinytyawinytyarringu.
shake oneself-IMPRF
all over.

TEXT 25

Karpanna Mawarnkarra
bring-IMP doctor
Get a Doctor
Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST

¹Warrimayi is an unpreferred synonym for parkarra. See also section 4.2.5 in the Grammar.
²Note how the verb is splitting the spatial phrase. See also the last paragraph in 4.2.8 in the Grammar.
³Wuyut is a different kind of nothing from yurlu. Wuyut is something that amounts
to nothing.
⁴Long Mack says that one can also say '...ngurra karpa palinta'.
⁵The introduction of this word at this point does not indicate a change of subject.
Tharpa is being inalienably possessed by the understood subject of the sentence,
which is wanytya.
Yakayi! Kuwayi ngayu parpaakayi! Wangkama mawarnkarrangarli!

Ooh! Come here me massage-POT tell-IMP doctor-PL
Ooh! Come here and massage me! Tell the doctors

kanangkarraangu murnakurrung ngayu Parpaakayi.
come-INV close-DRN ALL to me cure-POT
They will cure me.

text 26

Yamarti Nguntawarningu
by oneself dance-IMPRF
Dancing by Oneself

Arrarlilu
Harold Ned-INST
by Harold Ned

Wurrwilwanthakayi.
Purtu5 nyirrayi
screen put-POT chest cover oneself-POT
I will put up a dressing partition. I will cover my chest with

nyarnayi. Nguntawarnii. Nyirrirri murtimakayi
white paint-OBJ dance-POT songman go fast-POT
white paint. I will dance. The songman will click

wirraarla.
boomerang-POSS
the boomerange at a fast tempo.

text 27

Warnrtangarlimpawurtu
branch-PL-TOP-SORT
Different Sorts of Branches

Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

1Note how this interjection, complete with vocative suffix (see 3.2.1.1.1 in the Grammar), enters into a syntactic construction by taking the place of an imperative verb.

2This example demonstrates that even though the direct object of an imperative verb typically appears in the nominative case, the verb of which it is subject must still be in the infinitive aspect rather than the potential mood.

3The verb stem meaning come ordinarily takes a noun in the objective case rather than the allative. However, with murna one will get either the nominative or the directional allative case. See also 4.1.2.2 in the Grammar.

4Massage is one method employed by native doctors to treat illness.

5Purtu, together with unexpressed ngayi I which inalienably possesses it, is the subject of the sentence.

6See section 4.1.2.2 in the Grammar for an explanation of why nyarna is in the objective rather than the comitative case.

TEXT 28

Purku Pirkartangu quid wild tobacco A Quid of Wild Tobacco Pityintu Ken M. Jerrold-INST by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayi mankuwayi pirkartangu1 parrayi.2 Wanpikayi marnrta wari, I pick-POT wild tobacco leaf-OBJ pound-POT rock-COM I will pick some wild tobacco leaves. I will pound them with kuthanyarnunu, kamparnumarnu yiwawari, mash-IMPRF prepare-PROG white ash-COM a rock, mashing them. Then I will prepare them with white ash and tyalinytyarnurnarnu3 purku. suck on-PROG quid suck on the resulting quid.

TEXT 29

Payawirringu get wild-IMPRF Getting Wild Arrrarrii Harold Ned-INST by Harold Ned

Ngayi thanikayi warnrta yai. Ngayi waramakayi wirrayi, maurnrtuu, I chop-POT tree-OBJ I make-POT boomerang-OBJ spear-OBJ I will chop down a tree. I will make a boomerang, dueling spear

---

1One of two species of wild tobacco used by the Yindjibarndi. The other is called yarrwayi. See also the Dictionary.

2This peculiar term for leaf tends to appear in the context of ingestion. The ordinary words are watharn green leaf and pirtitha dry leaf.

3Yindjibarndi quids are made to be sucked on. They are not chewed.
TEXT 30

Kanalili
dawn

Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Yurra karpa ngunhthi yaayu. Tyiyartarri.\textsuperscript{3}
sun get up-PRES way over there east-LOC get bright-PRES
The sun is coming up over there in the east. It is getting to be

Ngurra martamarartarri. Tyampawa yurra yinrtiwriri. earth red-INCHO-PRES short time-EMP sun peep out-POT
daybreak. The earth is turning red. Soon the sun will peep out.

\textsuperscript{4}Kanawarniwa.
visible-INCHO-PRES-EMP
It is starting to become visible.

TEXT 31

Kanangkarringu Tyinartu
come-IMPRF through
Coming Through

Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Nganiwarninha\textsuperscript{5} ngunhu ngaarta pangkarrinha tyinartu? Ngayi why that man go-PAST past I
Why did that man go right by? I

mirranha ngurnaaku. Ngunhu pangkarrinha tyinartu, marriwaangu
call out-PAST ke-OBJ he go-PAST past wave-IMPRF
called out to him. He went right past me, waving.

ngayu parniyangu. Ngayi mirrangu parninha.
to me sit-DEP I call out-IMPRF sit-PAST
I sat there, calling out.

\textsuperscript{1}Note the absence of a copula here. See section 4.2.4 in the Grammar.

\textsuperscript{2}This is the time for getting rid of unwanted guests.

\textsuperscript{3}I have translated this sentence in the manner indicated by the narrator.

\textsuperscript{4}Evidently, the subject of this sentence is yurma sun. See section 4.2.9 in the Grammar. But see also Hale 1960:139.

\textsuperscript{5}Nganiwarnaayi is the common form for why.
TEXT 32

Tyarraarn
frog
The Frog
Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Tyarraarn tyirraakarrinha kupityalangu marnrtaangu watyikarta
frog jump-PAST small-LOC-ABL rock-LOC-ABL big
The frog jumped from a small rock over a big

marnrtayi,1 mathungkau ngarriyangu.2 Tyirraakarrinha
rock-OBJ middle-LOC-OBJ lie-IMPRF jump-PAST
rock, lying in between. It jumped onto a

kuyaala kupityala marnrtaa.3
other side-LOC small-LOC rock-LOC
small rock on the other side.

TEXT 33

Wanpayi
bee
The Bee

Arrarliliu Tyirti muntu
Harold Ned-INST Cheedy Ned and
by Harold and Cheedy Ned

Ngayi mankunha tyurtupirriu purtipalau warnrtaangu. Wanththarna
I pick-PAST flower-PL-OBJ pretty-OBJ bush-LOC-ABL put-PAST
I picked the pretty flowers from the bush. I put them

muthangka ngaarntula. Parntinja. Parntinha1 mirtawatyl.5
nose-LOC my-LOC smell-PAST smell-PAST good
up to my nose. I smelled them. They smelled good.

Wanpayi tyayarna. Muthayi paarna.
bee get out-PAST nose-OBJ sting-PAST
A bee got out. It stung me on the nose.

1The objective case is functioning here as the indirect allative. See 3.1.1.2.2.2
in the Grammar.

2It is unusual to find lie in this context. Rocks typically 'stand' in Yindjibarndi.
See, for example, Text 68, paragraph 1, sentence 4 and Text 71, paragraph 1,
sentence 2.

3It is a bit difficult to interpret this sentence, because the narrator has omitted
the expected dependent verb karrlyangu standing and even the objective case marker on
kuyaala. See 4.2.4.2.3 in the Grammar. If it were not for what he said in the
preceding sentence, kuyaala kupityala marnrtaa would have to be taken to mean on the
other side of the small rock. See 4.1.1.4.1 in the Grammar.

4Note the change in stem class.

5Consider how mirtawatyl in the nominative case corresponds to the predicate
adjectival complement 'good' in English. See also 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar.
TEXT 34

Pirtuwirta
scout
The Scout
Yinpirrpalu
Long Mack-INST
by Long Mack

Pirtuwirta\(^1\) purlaa pangkarri purluyhakayi wanalthila
scout ahead go-PRES take a look-POT where-OBJ
The scout is going ahead to take a look and see where the
payankarranguu.\(^2\) Pirtuwirta karlinnyarrii wangkaarlal.
soldier-OBJ scout some back-POT information-POSS
enemy soldiers are. He will come back with some information.

Wangkayi ngayharnrtu\(^3\) payankarranguu wangkayi.
tell-POT my soldier-OBJ information-OBJ
He will give it to my soldiers.

TEXT 35

Munytyurnu Purrkurnku
inhale-IMPRF close smoke-OBJ
Inhaling Smoke
Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayi waramarnta ngamayiu. Mirrilmirrila ngurrinymarna,
I prepare-PAST tobacco-OBJ paper-LOC rolled up-FACT-PAST
I prepared some tobacco. I rolled it up in paper and
kamparnurnarnu pirrriwari.\(^4\) Parningumarnu purrkurnku\(^5\)
light-PROG match-COM sit-PROG close smoke-OBJ
lit it with a match. I sat down, inhaling the smoke
munytyurnu, thaarnu muthangkangu.
inhale-IMPRF send-IMPRF nose-LOC-ABL
and blowing it out my nose.

\(^1\)This variant of the word for scout derives from the one found in the title by the
optional assimilation of \(u\) to \(i\) before \(i\) in an immediately following syllable.
See 2.2.6 in the Grammar.

\(^2\)Note the embedded sentence containing an understood verb. See section 4.2.7 in
the Grammar.

\(^3\)Ngayharnrtu is a rare and unpreferred variant of ngaarnrtu. See also the
Dictionary.

\(^4\)Pirrri actually means very slender (thing). The augmented borrowing matyirr means
specifically match, but it does not seem to be used as much.

\(^5\)The Yindjibarndi discriminate between near and distant smoke. Compare, for
example, Text 58, sentence 1 and Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 4.
TEXT 36

Nyirlarli
excessive noise
Too Much Noise

Pityuntu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Mangkurlarra maru munti parni ngula wirriwaringu. Ngali
child-PL many really be-PRES there play-IMPRF you and I
A lot of children are over there playing. You and I

karri nhula wangkayin tyarringu. Kaantpa1 wanyaarrinytyarrii.
stand-PRES here talk-RECIP-IMPRF can't-EMP hear-RECIP-POT
are standing here, talking. We can't hear each other.

Mangkurlarra maru munti nyirlarli.2
child-PL many really very noise
A lot of children are really very noisy.

TEXT 37

Warnrtaa Mulimulila
tree-LOC around and around-LOC
Around and Around the Tree

Pityuntu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Wanytya karrinha warnrtaa kartangka.3 Wala wantinha.4
dog stand-PAST tree-LOC under look back-PAST
A dog was standing under a tree. He looked back.

Nhaunha tyarnku5 karnti. Winpanha karnrti pirringu warnrtaa
see-PAST self tail chase-PAST tail own tree-LOC
He saw his tail. He chased it around and around

1 The proper term is purttat. See the fifth sentence in the following Text. However, this borrowing of English 'can't' is employed very extensively. Note that it can even take clitics.

2 In this sentence nyirlarli, which actually means a lot of noise made by humans, is being inalienably possessed by mangkurlarra children. Compare its meaning in Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 10 and paragraph 7, sentence 2.

3 Kartangka actually means at the bottom. See, for example, the last sentence in the next Text. If something were literally 'under' something else, for example, like a bug under a rock, then the term thurnungka, which means primarily inside, would be employed.

4Wala wanti- (VØ) is a set phrase. The second member cannot occur by itself.

5 If tyarnku- or pirringu as in the next sentence - didn't appear here, the 'tail' would be thought of as belonging to another dog. See also section 3.1.2.3 in the Grammar and consider sentence 5 in paragraph 3 of Text 75.
around and around-LOC cannot bite-PAST fall-PAST
the tree. He couldn't catch it. He fell.

Wirnawarininha.
tired-INCHO-PAST
He had gotten tired out.

TEXT 38

Yawarta
horse
The Horse
Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Kantyia marntaa pangkarrinha yawarta. Kupityau
edge-LOC mountain-LOC go-PAST horse little-OBJ
A horse was walking along the edge of a mountain. He stepped

marntayi panyina yawarta. Pirrwintinha.
stone-OBJ step on-PAST horse slip off and fall-PAST
on a little stone. The horse slipped off the edge

Purnrraa pungkanha. Nhanka paanha. Nyurnrtiwa
hole-LOC fall-PAST nape get broken-PAST dead-EMP
and fell. He fell into a chasm. He broke his neck. He is lying

ngarri kartangka.
ils-PRES bottom-LOC
at the bottom very dead.

TEXT 39

Pangkarringu Thuumayaarta Pirnrntuwa
go-IMPRF store-DIR ALL food-LOC
Going to the Store for Food
Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayi pangkarrri yaala. Pangkarrri mankuyayi pirnrtuu thuumayalau.
I go-PRES now go-PRES get-POT food-OBJ store-LOC-OBJ
I am going now. I am going to get food at the store.

Ngayi karlinytyarrri ngaarnrtuwartaa mayarta pirnrtuwarlaa.
I go back-POT my-DIR ALL house-DIR ALL food-POSS
I will go back to my house with the food.

1The reader will immediately notice how very un-English word order and sentence style are in this story. See also 4.2.8 in the Grammar.

2It is interesting to observe how the narrator has carefully avoided omitting any requisite case markers whatsoever from either nouns or pronouns in the course of telling this story. The reader may wish to compare his performance in other Texts.

3Note how the genitive case of ngayi I is declined here and twice in the next sentence like a common noun. See also 3.1.1.2.2.1 in the Grammar.
Ngayi parnii ngaarnrtula mayangka, kampannu ngaarnrtuu pirnrtuu.
I stop-POT my-LOC house-LOC cook-IMPRF my-OBJ food-OBJ
I will stop at my house and cook my food.

TEXT 40

Mutyira

Dingon

The Dingo

Arrarlulu Tyirti muntu
Harold Ned-INST Cheedy Ned and
by Harold and Cheedy Ned

Mutyira piningkarrinha wuntuwarta. Tyirraakarrinha parlungkangu
dingo run-PAST river-DIR ALL jump-PAST bank-LOC-ABL
The dingo ran to the river. He jumped off the bank into

pawangka. Kurrawayina kuyaarta. Karpanha
water-LOC swim-PAST other side-DIR ALL get up-PAST
the water. He swam to the other side. He climbed up

pawangkangu piyungkawa, piningkarrinungumarnu kartawinykarra
water-LOC-ABL dry-LOC-EMP run-PROG across
out of the water onto dry ground and ran right across the

parkarralawa. Thartarrinha.¹
plain-LOC-EMP vanish-PAST
plain. He vanished.

TEXT 41

Martumirriu Kampakayi²
damper-OBJ prepare-POT
How to Prepare Damper

Tyirti
Cheedy Ned-INST
By Cheedy Ned

Pawayi tyiantikayi "dish"a. Wanththakayi yurnrtuu. Kulumakayi
water-OBJ pour-POT -LOC put-POT flour-OBJ mix-POT
Pour water into a dish. Add flour. Mix the

yurnrtuu pawangka.³ Thurnrtakayi. Pirnrtuu wanththakayi "dish"a.
flour-OBJ water-LOC roll-POT food-OBJ put-POT -LOC
flour with the water. Roll it out. Put the dough in the dish.

Wanththakayi kampayharrntula. Purrikayi martimirri⁴ pirnrtuu.
put-POT stove-LOC take out-POT damper food-OBJ
Put it in the oven. Take out the damper bread.

¹See Text 46, sentence 4.

²Note how this entire recipe is delivered in the potential mood, which serves as a
weak positive imperative in this context. Compare Text 17 and see 4.2.2.3 in the
Grammar.

³One function of the locative case is to translate the English preposition 'with'.
See 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

⁴Martimirri is a predictable variant of martumirri. See 2.2.6 in the Grammar.
Wirnrtakayi. Ngarrkuwayi. Punthakayi "dish"u. 1
out-POT eat-POT wash-POT -OBJ
Cut it up. Eat it up. Wash the dish.

TEXT 42

Warrkam Mankarr
work hard
Hard Work
Tyirtilu
Cheedy Ned-INST
by Cheedy Ned

Ngayi nhaunha nyinku wirruulumu yurrangka. 2 Nyinta
I see-PAST you(OBJ) different-LOC-ANA day-LOC you
I saw you the other day. You were

pangkarrinha ngunhunghu. 3 Ngayi ngula 4 karrinha. Nhaunha nyinku.
go-PAST to there I there stand-PAST see-PAST you(OBJ)
going over there. I was standing there. I saw you.

Nyinta ngayu mirtawarlu nhaunha. Nyinta kanangkarrinha ngayu.
you me not-INTNS see-PAST you come-PAST to me
You didn't see me at all. You came toward me.

Parnrtayarna 5 ngunthi parniyangu. Yurrarna warrapa.
find-PAST way over there be-DEP dig-PAST weed
You found me way over there. I was digging up weeds.

Tyilayi 6 purrina. Ngayina.
unexposed root-OBJ pull out-PAST throw out-PAST
I was pulling them out by the roots. I was throwing them out.

---
1 It is often difficult to predict what form an inflectional ending will assume
when it is attached to an unassimilated English noun. For example, the objective
and locative cases of "pub" are "pub"u and "pub"la, respectively.

2 See 4.1.1.4.2 in the Grammar for a discussion on temporal phrases.

3 This term is interesting in that it appears to consist of ngunhu that plus the
objective case marker for proper nouns. See also next footnote. Ngunhunghuwart -
with the direct allative case marker attached - is also possible.

4 There is simply the locative case of the pronoun meaning that.

5 This is evidently a borrowing from Kurrama. See 1.1.3 in the Grammar. It is much
preferred over parntayi- (VN), which appears to be the proper Yindjibarndi form.

6 Exposed roots are called mayharka.
INTERMEDIATE TEXTS

TEXT 43

Watyi Ngurra
bad place
A Bad Place

Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayi wirrartparrii pangkarrii ngunhthaana¹ nyintala² kuma.
I get sick of-PRES go-POT that place with you together
I am getting sick of going to that place with you.

Tyatya munti ngunhthaana ngurra. Wanhthinha³ ngurrayi⁴ nyinta
no good really that place place which one-OBJ place-OBJ you
That place is really no good. Which other place do you want

purpi⁵ pangkarrii?
want go-POT
to go to?

TEXT 44

Ngayu Kayaanha
to me older brother-PN
My Older Brother

Yurtarrinytyu
Gilbert Bobby-INST
by Gilbert Bobby

Ngani nyinku nhaa ngaarta? Nhaa ngaarta ngaarnrtu kaya.⁶
what to you this man this man my older brother
What is this man to you? This man is my older brother.

Wanhtharni ngarra⁷ nyinkaarnrtu kaya? Ngaliya nhaa
how your older brother we two this
How is he your older brother? We two, this

¹This pronoun does not decline.
²The locative case typically indicates accompaniment in Yindjibarndi. See 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Dictionary.
³In Yindjibarndi anything that can be translated as one can also be translated as other. Compare kuntyirri (see the Dictionary).
⁴Note the appearance of objective case markers in this phrase instead of allative ones.
⁵Purpi is indeed a noun.
⁶Kaya is a common noun, while kayaa is a proper noun. That is the only difference between them.
⁷This phrase literally means which way view.
oga ngu nthi pangkarrinha thuumayaarta. Ngunthaana ngayi mayit way over there go-PAST store-DIR ALL that place I might go over there to the store. I might have spent my yurlumarna spend-PAST money-OBJ there.

TEXT 46

Warru Muyhumuyhu
night cold
A Cold Night

Ngayi karpanha, warrungka muyhungulaayi, mankuwayi I get up-PAST night-LOC get cold-PRF get-POT Having gotten cold during the night, I got up to get

---

1The phrase nhaa ngaa ngu nthi kaya is in focal apposition to ngaliya. See 4.1.1.3 in the Grammar.

2The objective case can be used in place of the genitive. See 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

3Marnrt is the common term for money.

4Note the neologism mayit yurlumarna for yurlumatya(mu). See also section 3.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar under optative mood.
watharnku. Wanhtharnu wungkuwa.\textsuperscript{1} Markurrarnarna.\textsuperscript{2} leafy bough-OBJ put-PAST windbreak-LOC-OBJ good-FACT-PAST some leafy boughs. I put them on the windbreak. I made it better.

Ngartimu thartarrinha kawurnku.\textsuperscript{3} Ngarrinha kunyurr. once more cover oneself-PAST skin-OBJ lie-PAST cosy Once more I covered myself with a skin. I lay snug and warm.

Yurray! yini ngarrinha. sun-OBJ until lie-PAST I slept till sunrise.

TEXT 47

Thurangku
drunk
The Drunk
Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngunhu ngaarta martungkarrinha ngaarnrtu murmitmaau,\textsuperscript{4} that man take a seat in-PAST my vehicle-OBJ That man took a seat in my car, after having had a few

mityakaayi kari. drink-PRF alcoholic drink that one putt putt-CAUS-PAST vehicle-OBJ drinks.

karlinytyarrnugu\textsuperscript{5} ngunhthlurru. Tyinytiwina warnrtayi. back up-IMPRF in that direction bump-PAST tree-OBJ in that direction. He started it and backed it up He bumped into a tree.

Marlirrimarna thumpu\textsuperscript{6} murmitmaau. flattened-FACT-PAST rear end vehicle-OBJ He smashed the rear end of my car in.

\textsuperscript{1} The objective case appears, because the sense of the sentence is I left them to lie on the windbreak.

\textsuperscript{2} Yindjibarndi lacks a derivation for the comparative degree. See section 4.2.6 in the Grammar.

\textsuperscript{3} Compare Text 26, sentence 2.

\textsuperscript{4} Note the use of the objective case, where one might expect the locative.

\textsuperscript{5} This verb is in the imperfective rather than the progressive aspect, because the verb in the main clause literally means make it go putt-putt, and to reverse a vehicle, one must obviously keep it going putt-putt as well.

\textsuperscript{6} Note how the term thumpu is employed in reference to inanimate objects. See the Dictionary.
TEXT 48

Maatha Payankarraarnrtu  
Chief Warrior~GEN
The Chief of the Warriors

Yurtarrinytytu  
Gilbert Bobby~INST
by Gilbert Bobby

Kitakita¹ wanpikayi² maathayu³ payankarraarnrtu.  
The chief of the warriors would tap for attention.

The chief would tap on his shield with his spear.

²This story is narrated largely in the potential mood, because it describes an event which potentially could have occurred in the past. The irrealis mood is not employed, because such events did in fact take place from time to time.

³The Yindjibarndi say that their term for boss is maatha, while the Ngarluma use nyampali. However, maatha looks very much like a borrowing of English 'master' and it is interpreted as such by von Brandenstein (1970:441). Maatha also occurs on the opposite side of the continent in the Ngiyambaa language, where Donaldson (1977:78) indicates that it is an English borrowing.

⁴The verb stem kartaa- (VL) stab is employed here, even though a throwing spear is being used, because the spear is being held onto. Cf. thuwayi- (VN) spear (by throwing).

⁵It is perhaps better to translate wankama- (VL) here as keep alive rather than as bring to life, even though a parri is in fact a kind of zombie, one of the living dead.
Ngayi thampi1 tyiniyarrl. Ngayi pangkarri marnrtaarta
I rib hurt-PRES I go-POT mountain-DIR ALL
My ribs hurt.

mankuwayi ngaarntu pirrlngu tyami.2 Nyirrayi thampi.3
get-POT my own medicine get-my own medicine.
I will rub some on my ribs.

Nyinta ngayu punthakayi tyamiwarl. Mirnawarrawa ngayi
you me wash-POT medicine-COM a while-EMP I
You wash me with the rest of it. In a while I will surely

markurrali. Ngayi markurra yaala. Thampa nyintayu
well-INCHO-POT I well now what about you-DET
get well. I am fine now. What about you?

be sick-PRES-TOP I not be sick-PRES I well
Are you sick? I'm not sick. I'm well.

TEXT 50

Parningu Mirrimpawari Wirnkartiirtita
be-IMPRF native fiddle-COM music and song-LOC
Singing and Playing the Native Fiddle

Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Kuyharra tyutuyuyha payamarringu parni6 tyawi
two mature man-DU force-RECIPIPRF be-PRES song
Two old fellows were urging each other to sing a song.

yirraamakayi. Parnlnha7 yirraamarnu kuntyirri tyutyu.
sing-POT be-PAST sing-IMPRF one mature man
One old fellow started singing.

1Here is a clear example of inalienable possession.

2The narrator means that he is going to collect a medicinal plant from which he intends to make a kind of water-based liniment. Read on.

3Thampi is in the required nominative case. The structure of this sentence resembles that found in the first sentence in this Text.

4See Text 21, sentence 3.

5This verb can also mean get sick. See section 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

6Note that the Yindjibarndi verb unlike the English one is in the present tense. See section 3.1.4.2.2 in the Grammar for an explanation.

7Parni- (VØ) is employed here as an auxiliary to indicate inceptive action. It may be possible to interpret it as meaning become rather than be. In connection with this see 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.2 in the Grammar.
Then he said, "It's your turn to sing". Then the other one started singing. The two old fellows sat in the shade under a paperbark tree, singing and playing music on a woomera.

TEXT 51

Minytya Thaya
deflated tyre
The Flat Tyre

Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayl pangkarrli4 murtimaala, wayharringu pattyarri murlayi.
I go-POT motor car-LOC look for-IMPRF euro animal-OBJ
Suppose I go out in my motor car, looking for euros.

Warnrta5 kartaakayi ngaarnrtu murtima, minytyamarnu thayai.6
stick pierce-POT my motor car deflated-FACT-IMPRF tyre-OBJ
A stick pierces my tyre and deflates it.

Ngayl "patch"warrimarta. Ngayl pangkarrli marnrttaarta
I -PRIV I go-POT mountain-DIR ALL
I don't have any patches. I head for the mountains to

wayharril purrkayi. Kampakayi purrkayi,
look for-POT spinifex resin-OBJ heat-POT spinifex resin-OBJ
look for spinifex gum. I heat the gum, melting it.

mathamarnu Wanthhakayi mutyingka purrkayi mathayi,
melted-FACT-IMPRF put-POT hole-LOC spinifex resin-OBJ melted-OBJ
I put the melted gum in the hole and plug it.

thartamarnu mutyi.
plugged-FACT-IMPRF hole

1 The portion in quotation marks could also be translated as You sing next.
2 The native fiddle is built into a woomera.
3 Note how all of the locative constructions in this sentence are carefully kept separate from each other except for the two which constitute a phrase.
4 This story is about a hypothetical event which could happen in the future. Thus it is delivered in the potential aspect.
5 A puntiirri, no doubt.
6 The literal meaning of this sentence is interesting. Read the interlinear.
TEXT 52

Parningu  Purangka Palamumu
live-IMPRF bush-LOC long long time ago
Living in the Bush a Long Long Time Ago

Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INSTR
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngaartangarli palamumu  parnimarta karrangka.
Aborigine-PL long long time ago dwell-HAB scrub-LOC
A long long time ago the Aborigines used to dwell in the scrub.

Tyiipi parnimarta kayirrwarraalaa.¹
naked be-HAB loincloth-POSS
They used to go around naked with only a loincloth.

Kayirrwa ngaartaaarnru ²  pattyarri kawurn.³ (Nyirramarta
loincloth Aboriginal man-GEN euro skin cover oneself-HAB
The Aboriginal man's loincloth was a euro skin. (They used to cover
kawurnku pattyarriu.)⁴ Tyinangarli⁵ palamumu  pangkarrimarta
skin-OBJ euro-OBJ foot-PL long long ago go-HAB
themselves with euro skins.) A long time ago they used to go on

mani purluhykayi ngaartangarli, kuntyirrilau ngurrangkau
rest visit-POT person-PL other-LOC-OBJ place-LOC-OBJ
foot to visit other people, who dwelled together in other

parnimarrilyangu. Tyuntaarna parnimarta palamumu.
dwell-RECIPE-DEP that way live-HAB long long time ago
places. That's the way they used to live a long long time ago.

TEXT 53

Parnka
female Gould's sand goanna
The Female Bungarra

Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INSTR
by Ken M. Jerrold

Parnka  muyhungka tyimpualaarri. Tharrwayi ngurrayi
female bungarra winter-LOC egg-POSS-INCHO-PRES enter-POT ground-OBJ
In winter the female bungarra gets egg-laden. She enters the ground

¹I would have expected yini only, just to end this sentence.

²The meaning recorded here for ngaarta is the basic one. Information contained in
Text 48, sentence 3 and Text 62, sentence 3 makes this clear.

³Descriptions are often given without temporal reference.

⁴Compare 46, sentence 4.

⁵The construction tyina pangkarri- (VØ) - with tyina being inalienably possessed by
the understood subject of the sentence - means walk, go on foot. See the third
paragraph in section 4.1.2.1 in the Grammar.
ngarrii thurnungka. Tharlayiku tyinawari, mutyi thartamarnu.
lie-POT inside kick-PRES foot-COM hole plug-IMPRF
and lies inside. She kicks with her feet, plugging the hole.

Ngarrri muwawa.
lie-PRES buried alive-EMP
She lies there buried alive.

Ngaarta ngaarkuwayi2 parnkayi tyimpuwarlha.
person eat-POT female bungarra-OBJ egg-POSS
Suppose a person eats a female bungarra with eggs.

Kanatyi parnrtikayi ngaarta, ngaarkaayi tyimpu
lightning bolt smell-POT person-OBJ eat-PRF egg
Lightning would smell the person, who ate the bungarra

parnkayi. Kanatyi wanpikayi, nyurnrtimarnu.
female bungarra-OBJ lightning bolt strike-POT kill-IMPRF egg
Lightning would strike him dead.

Tyutyungarli3 wantaa ngaarkuwayi. Yangupala mirta.4
mature-PL can eat-POT young not
Mature people can eat them. But not young ones.

TEXT 54

Thalumakayi Yuntu Kuyupuyula
sacred site-FACT-POT rain Cooya Pooya-LOC
How to Operate the Rain Thalu at Cooya Pooya

Yinpirrpalu
Long Mack-INST
by Long Mack

Nguramakayi thalu wirraarlaa. Kunytyirrila
sneak on-POT sacred site boomerang-POSS one-LOC
Sneak up on the sacred site with a boomerang. Throw the

payhakayi wirrayi kankala thalungka murnangu.5
throw-POT boomerang-OBJ above sacred site-LOC close-ABL
boomerang over the sacred site one time from close range.

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1 This verb stem must be borrowed from Kurram. See section 1.1.3 in the Grammar. The ordinary Yindjibarndi form occurs in Text 12, sentence 5.

2 See Text 51, sentence 1.

3 See Text 20, sentence 1.

4 I do not know whether this food prohibition extends beyond the Roebourne area. Gilbert Bobby, who grew up around Panniwonica, tells me that it is not operative there.

5 This entire sentence is my own. The narrator gave me all this material in English, translating it into Yindjibarndi at my insistence. But somehow I didn't get this part in Yindjibarndi, so rather than leave out this important information, I translated it into Yindjibarndi myself.
Karpakayi pawayi parnngangka. Wuthurrungkakayi bring-POT water-OBJ bark-LOC blow liquid out the mouth
Get some water in a bark vessel. Blow the water out of

pawayi thalungka,¹ wangkangumarnu ngurnu in a spray-POT water-OBJ sacred site-LOC say-PROG to that
your mouth in a spray on the sacred site and then

thaluu: "Nyinta karri Kuyupuyula. Nyinta karpakayi sacred site-OBJ you stop-POT Cooya Pooya-LOC you bring-POT
say to it: "You will stop at Cooya Pooya. You will bring

nyinkaarnrtu wayhayi murnakurru. Nyinta karri² parnrtarnu your storm-OBJ here-DRN ALL you stay-POT fall on-IMPRF
your storm here. You will stay here and fall on

Kuyupuyungu." Tyiwakayi yuntuu thaluu. Warruwarru Cooya Pooya-OBJ operate-POT rain-OBJ sacred site-OBJ dark
Cooya Pooya." This will get the rain thalu going. Dark

karrntara kanangkarri murnawa.
cloud come-POT close-EMP
clouds will surely come in.

TEXT 55

Nyilaarti
mead
Mead
Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Palamumu ngaartangarli mirta mirnu parrayi, yurti.³
long long ago Aborigine-PL not knowing tea-OBJ sweet
Long long ago the Aborigines did not know about tea or sugar.

Ngaartaarnrtu pinnrtu pattyarri, tyarnkurna, kurrumanthhu, marliya.⁴ Aborigine-GEN food euro emu bungarra honey
The Aborigines' food was euro, emu and bungarra meat and honey.

¹Long Mack later told me that he forgot to say that one has to hit the topmost stone on the sacred site with a bark-curl wand, after spitting the water.

²The narrator employs the verb stem karri- (V∅), which means primarily stand, evidently because wayha storm is homonymous with a rare term for leg (see the Dictionary). Also, it is clear from the preceding few sentences in the Text that he considers the sacred site, which is built of stones, to be directly connected with the storm, and stones typically 'stand' in Yindjibarndi. See, for example, the second footnote to Text 32, sentence 1.

³There is no native Yindjibarndi word for or. See section 4.2.5 in the Grammar.

⁴Note the common practice of omitting muntu and, when conjoining nouns. See also 4.2.4.1 in the Grammar.
Honey is found inside trees. Long long ago the Aborigines used to chop with tomahawks. (The stone part is called a tomahawk blade.) Two men used to sit in a tree with tomahawks.

Two men used to sit in a tree with tomahawks, chopping away in order to get the honey out. Long long ago they used to put the honey in a small bark container. They used to stir it up in a little coolamon. That was the Aborigines' mead.

TEXT 56

Wangka Mangunyarnrtu
language law-GEN
Legal Talk

Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayinhtharri parni wangkayinatyarringu. Tyutyungarri, 4 we sit-PRES talk together-IMPRF old-PL
We are sitting talking. The old people and

1 See section 3.1.4.2.2 in the Grammar under imperfective aspect.

2 The narrator is restating his previous sentence more precisely. Note where the restated material goes.

3 They also used to flavour this drink with a kind of aromatic grass, called mayhanka, according to Jerry Jerrold, Ken's father.

4 See Text 53, paragraph 2, sentence 4.
tyinytyanungunarli wanngkangu karnkungarli manguny
initiation worker-PL talk about-IMPRF initiation boss-PL law
the initiation workers are talking to the initiation bosses about

wangka ngayinhtharriyarnrtu. Karnkungarli mankuwayi
language we-MS-GEN initiation boss-PL get-POT
our legal language. The initiation bosses will get the

purruu. Tharrwakayi marangka tyinytyanungunarliila.
hair belt put into-POT hand-LOC initiation worker-PL-LOC
hair belt. They will put it into the hands of the initiation workers.

Ngaliyauu tyinytyanungunarli pangkarrri wuluwuy Pirtannguwartu
we initiation worker-PL go-POT west-LOC Onslow-OBJ-DIR ALL
We initiation workers will go west to Onslow

marangkamakayi kuntyirriu yangupalau, parniyangu.
get one's hands on-POT one-OBJ young fellow-OBJ live-DEP
to get our hands on one young fellow, who lives there.

Karlinymakaayi wuluuyungu nhula, wuntuwa tyingkat
bring back-PRF west-LOC-ABL here river-LOC upstream-LOC
After we bring him back, we will paint ourselves up the

patharrri. Maru parni thaunta pirtuwangu. paint oneself-POT many stop-PRES town-LOC initiand
river. Many initiands are stopping here in town.

Mani pangkarrri pirtuwangu pirtarrala.
some go-POT initiand concluding ceremonial feast-LOC
Some of the initiands will go through the Yindjibarndi initiation rite.

1Compare Text 55, sentence 2.

2Note that this word as indirect object is inflected with the objective case marker, while the following phrase, which forms the direct object, is in the nominative case.

3I think that I have translated this phrase correctly.

4It is not possible to discern whether this word is inflected or not. If it were, the requisite objective case marker -ku would first lenite to -u and then be automatically deleted by phonological rule. See sections 2.2.10 and 2.2.13 in the Grammar.

5The pronoun ngaliyauu must be used here rather than ngayinhtharri, because the initiation workers would all be of the same generation level. See 3.1.2.1.1 in the Grammar.

6My insert. The Aboriginal name for this town momentarily escaped the narrator.

7This noun has a dual, but no plural. This is because Yindjibarndi law prohibits the initiation of more than two youths at any one time.

8Rites involving arm-tying, circumcision and subincision all take place in the Roebourne area.
Wiyanu Wanytyawari
hunting dog-Com
Hunting with a Dog
Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayi pangkarrinha karparnu kuyharrau "mate" kuyhau.
I go-PAST take along-IMPRF two-OBJ -DU-OBJ
I went out taking two mates along.

Ngayinhtharri yuninha wanytyawari, pattyarri wayharringu.
we go down-PAST dog-Com euro look for-IMPRF
We went out with a dog, looking for euros.

Wanytya paranrtayarna¹ kuyharrau pattyarri, parniyangu ngarrkungu² dog find-PAST two-OBJ euro sit-DEP eat-IMPRF
The dog found two of them, sitting eating grass.

Warrapa. Wanytya yarrarna. Murnamarna³ pattyarri
grass dog chase-PAST close-FACT-PAST euro-OBJ
He chased them. He closed in on one and grabbed it.

Mankungumarnu. Wanytya wangkarru mankunha, nyurnrtimarnu.
grab-PROG dog throat-OBJ grab-PAST kill-FACT-IMPRF
The dog grabbed it by the throat and killed it.

Ngayinhtharri karparna nyurnrti, parningumarnu wuntuwa
we take-PAST dead sit-PROG river-LOC
We took the dead one and sat down by the river to

Wirnrtarnu murlayi. Ngayinhtharri kamparna thamayi watyikartau,
out-IMPRF meat-OBJ we light-PAST fire-OBJ big-OBJ
out up the meat. We lit a big fire and sat down to eat the

Parningumarnu ngarrkungu parrku murlayi. Ngayinhtharri
sit-PROG eat-IMPRF chunk of meat meat-OBJ we
chunk of meat.

Then we went

¹See Text 42, sentence 7.
²Because ngarrkungu is in apposition to parniyangu, it is inflected for imperfective aspect rather than for dependent imperfective aspect, which would ordinarily be considered redundant. See also section 3.1.4.2.2 in the Grammar under imperfective aspect.
³I believe that I have translated this word correctly, even though the meaning I recorded is not the usual one. See the Dictionary and compare Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 6.
⁴Compare Text 55, sentence 6.
winyawa ngarlu¹ pangkarringumarnu ngurraarta! Tharrwanha
full-EMP stomach go-PROG home-DIR ALL enter-PAST
home with full bellies!

mayayi ngaarnrту, ngarringumarnu wirnawa!
house-OBJ my lie-PROG tired-EMP
my house and lay down - all tired out!

¹Ngarlu is not inflected for comitative case or marked with the proprietive suffix, because it is being inalienably possessed by ngayinhtarri, which is the subject of the sentence and hence in the nominative case.
ADVANCED TEXTS

TEXT 58

Karnrtirri

Distant smoke

Pityintu

Ken M. Jerrold-INST

by Ken M. Jerrold

Karnrtirri⁴⁸ kampa⁴⁹ tyingkat. Nganalumparra
distant smoke burn-PRES upstream-LOC who-INST-TOP-DUB
Smoke was rising up the river. Who lit it,
kampanaarnu³⁵ Ngayi pangkarrinha tyingkat ngunhthi
light-PASS PRF I go-PAST upstream-LOC way over there
I wonder? I went way upstream to inspect the
tyinayi nhawayi,⁴ nganangu⁵ kampanu⁶ karnrtirri.
footprint-OBJ look at-POT who-OBJ burn-IMPRF distant smoke
footprints of the one who was making the smoke.
Ngayi parntayarna. Mirnuwa!
I find-PAST knowing-EMP "Terry"nha
-I-PN
I found them. Now I know who started the fire! Terry
kampana.
light-PAST
did.

TEXT 59

Marni Marnrtaa
mark rock-LOC
Rock Engravings
Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

¹See Text 35, sentence 3.

²In Yindjibarndi smoke is usually said to 'burn' rather than 'rise'. See also Text 50, sentence 1 in respect of the tense marking.

³The narrator specifically began his translation with I don't know who.... See the last paragraph in 4.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

⁴If the narrator meant to look for, we would expect to find wayharrii.

⁵Note that ngana is being employed here as a relative pronoun. It only rarely occurs in such a function. See 4.2.4.4 in the Grammar. Furthermore, note that ngana(ngu) is inalienably possessing tylna(yi). It can do this, because tylna means primarily foot. Finally, note that ngana(ngu) as subject of the dependent clause is marked for objective case, while curiously the direct object is left in the nominative case.

⁶I think I translated kampa-(VL) correctly here. Cf. the first sentence in this Text. But see also Text 28, sentence 2.
Ngayi nhaunha Minkalalu wanhtharnaarnu ngaartangarliyarnrtu.
I see-PAST deity-INST leave-PASS PRF Aborigine-PL-MS-GEN
I saw those things left by God for the Aboriginal people.

Ngayinhtharri ngaartangarli mirta wanhtharna marntaa marni. Papu¹
we Aborigine-PL not put-PAST rock-LOC mark Father
We Aborigines did not put the engravings on the rocks. God

wanhtharna kankala parningu.² Ngunhaana marningarli wanhthangulinha.
leave-PAST above be-IMPRF that one mark-PL put-PASS-PAST
above left them. Those engravings were put there.

Papunha wanhtharna marni ngayinhtharriyarnrtu manguny.³
Father-PN leave-PAST mark we-MS-GEN law
God left the engravings as part of our law.

Wanhtharna wayungkau parnaangu yirtayalau,
leave-PAST straight-LOC-OBJ stay-INF road-LOC-OBJ
He left us to stay on the straight and narrow and

pinhumarringu. Minkala kunytyimu⁴ ngayinhtharriyarnrtu
get along together-IMPRF deity alone we-MS-GEN
get along together. God alone has left the engravings

yungkaayi ngurrangkau marningarliu ngarraangu.
give-PRF land-LOC-OBJ mark-PL-OBJ lie-INF
to lie on the land for our benefit.

TEXT 60

Kupitya Wanytja Puthi muntu
little dog eat and
The Fox and the Cat

Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Kupitya wanytja karnrnti kunpurulu, kumpa yumpu⁵ yintinha
little dog tail bushy face pointed come down-PAST
A little dog with a bushy tail and pointy nose, that is, a fox

¹Apparently, the Aboriginal deity is being identified with the Christian god. See Text 20.

²This sentence could also be translated: God, who dwells above, left them. Note that minka, which occurs in Minkala deity, is the term in the respect language which corresponds to kanka in kankala above. See the Dictionary. See also von Brandenstein 1975:85.

³I believe that I have translated this sentence correctly. Evidently, marni is being inalienably possessed by manguny. See also Text 56, sentence 2.

⁴But I think that most Roebourne Aborigines would give the maarrka or emu-people credit for the actual physical labour involved in making the engravings.

⁵Compare Text 56, sentence 2 and Text 57, paragraph 2, sentence 3.
A man went hunting at top speed by Ken M. Jerrold

Kunytyirri ngaarta pangkarrinha wuntuwa another man go-PAST river bed-LOC hunting take along-IMPRF
A man went hunting in the bed of a river, taking three dogs

Most people would catch this word as an English borrowing, but what about the next one?

Yindjibarndi lacks a pergressive case. The locative is employed as a substitute. See 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar. The narrator includes the (irregular) plural number marker here in order to indicate that a lot of ground was covered in the course of the chase.

Even though only half of the subject of this verb agrees with the subject of the verb in the preceding clause, the narrator shows that it is still possible to conjoin the former to the latter using only the progressive aspect marker. See also the next sentence.

The word wuntu really refers to a large trench through which water flows from time to time rather than to the water itself.
tyarrwirti wanytyayi. Mani\(^1\) ngunhthi kankala wuntuwa three dog-OBJ other way over there up river-LOC with him. This man, who was way over on the top end

yinti kunkurr ngayuurraampa.\(^2\) Ngurnuyarnrtu come down-PRES downwards in my direction-TOP his of the river, was coming down almost towards me. His dogs were

wanytyangerli yarrarnu parnka muntu puthi.\(^3\) Ngayi dog-PL chase-IMPRF female bungarra and cat I chasing a cat and female bungarra. I was

karrinha wuntuwa malungka, wanyaarringu yankarru. stand-PAST river bed-LOC shade-LOC listen-IMPRF noise-OBJ standing in the shade in the river bed, listening to the noise.

Ngayi nhaunha yarranguliyangu puthi muntu\(^4\) parnka. I see-PAST chase-PASS-DEP cat and female bungarra I saw the bungarra and cat getting chased.

Ngayu thurrurt\(^5\) kanangkarrinha nyurnrtiyarnrtula.\(^6\) Ngayi to me directly come-PAST at top speed I They were coming directly towards me at a dead run. I

tyirraakarrinha waa. Ngurrayi yurrarnumaru,\(^7\) tyirraakarrinha jump-PAST frightened ground-OBJ dig-PROG jump-PAST jumped up frightened. Then I dug my heels into the ground and

kankala warnrtaa. Parninha waarringu.\(^8\) in the top tree-LOC sit-PAST scared-INCHO-IMPRF jumped into the top of a tree. I sat there scared.

\(^1\) Mani refers to the same other man mentioned in the first sentence.

\(^2\) Note the indirect allative.

\(^3\) The bush is full of feral cats, which are much larger than their domestic ancestors.

\(^4\) Note the position of muntu with respect to the two conjoined nouns here and in the penultimate preceding sentence. Then see section 4.2.4.1 in the Grammar.

\(^5\) Thurrurt plus the objective case provides a construction which is equivalent to the direct allative case, which cannot be used because kanangkarri-(VØ) come governs the objective case. See section 4.1.2.2 in the Grammar.

\(^6\) This term is apparently based on the colloquial Australian English construction 'leave for dead' as in 'This brand leaves the others for dead'.

\(^7\) This verb is in the progressive aspect apparently in order to indicate that the preceding tyirraakarrinha and the following one refer to two distinct acts of jumping. Compare the structure of the sentence in which it appears with that of Text 76, paragraph 5, sentence 2.

\(^8\) Since the narrator has already said two sentences earlier that he was scared, this verb clearly cannot have inchoative meaning. See section 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.2 in the Grammar.
On Friday we are going to go see the engravings by the Mangkurta. We will leave the bus sitting by the yiriyalau. We will get down from the bus and watypalau. We will show him our pilintau. We will take them to the river. We will paint

1 This is the only word in the Yindjibarndi language that begins with l and contains a long '0' which cannot be replaced by uwa. It obviously must have originated during the post-contact period, but I do not know its source.

2 A vehicle 'stands' in Yindjibarndi, evidently because it remains supported by its four wheels, which are apparently considered to be its legs. See the Dictionary under "karlaura".

3 Note the sequence of three different short vowels without intervening consonants.

4 See Text 52, sentence 5. Tyinarlirr is also possible here.

5 Evidently, F.L. 'Enzo' Virili.

6 The native fruits ripen about Christmas time.

7 I salvaged this and the immediately following sentence from another Text by Ken. Both of them appear in passive voice there.
Martarru.

Red ochre-INSTR show-POT we-MS-GEN. We will put them through our concluding ceremonial feast-RECEP initiation rite.

**TEXT 63**

Yurrarnu Yurrarnau Watyikarta
dig-IMPRF soak-RECEP big
Digging a Well

Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INSTR

by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayinhtharri parninha parraawa yurrarnu yurrarnau
we be-PAST long time-EMP dig-IMPRF soak-RECEP
We have been digging this well for a long time.

Watyikarta. Yaala pawa kanangkarrinha. Ngayiny ngurruwa,
big-RECEP just water come-PAST spirits glad-EMP
time. Water has just come up. Our spirits are high,

Pawamakaayirra.
Pawa parla munti yarta munti. Ngunhaana
water-FACT-PRF-BEC water very really plenty really
because we have struck water. The water is really really very plentiful.

Ngayi wanthhakayi puyhayi ngula kankala karnrti muntu. Ngunhaana
I put-POT head-RECEP there up tail and that one
I will put the fan and vane up there. The fan

Karrii piningkarringu, purrinu pawayi. Ngunhu karrii
be-POT run-IMPRF extract-IMPRF water-RECEP it be-POT
will run, bringing up the water. It will

Ngarluramarnu pawayi.
overflowing-FACT-IMPRF water-RECEP
overfill the tank.

Kunytyirri ngaarta parni thurnungka, yurrarnu thungkayi.
one man be-PRES inside dig-IMPRF dirt-RECEP
One man is inside the well, digging out dirt.

1Compare the use of yaala in the following sentence provided by Harold Ned: Yaalawa wanthhanguinha warnra. A tree has just been planted [here]. Evidently, yaala does not always mean now.

2This is a colloquialism. The precise term is wiarrart feelings.

3Note the use of karri- (V0) stand to indicate that piningkarri- (V0) does not denote a changing of location. Cf. Hale 1960:326.

4Cf. winyama- (VL) in the Dictionary.

5Harold Ned, Ken's brother-in-law.
Wilmrtaku nhunthi\textsuperscript{1} parlayi. Ngunthi break-PRES exactly here hard mud-OBJ way over there He is breaking out the hard mud right under me. It is really warruwarru munti. Kunytyirri tyutyu\textsuperscript{2} parni kantya, dark really one mature man sit-PRES edge-LOC dark way down there. One old fellow is crouching near the edge, mirrityi wayumarnu\textsuperscript{3} thungkaarlau. Karpayangu, manku rope straight-FACT-IMPRF dirt-FOSS-OBJ rise-DEP grab-PRES keeping the rope with the dirt straight. He grabs the pakitku. Ngayiku piila thungkayi. Ngunhu mangkurla\textsuperscript{4} bucket-OBJ tip-PRES outside dirt-OBJ that child bucket as it comes up. He dumps the dirt out. That kid is karri mulimimarnu. be-PRES around and around-FACT-IMPRF winding the winch.

**TEXT 64**

Alarti  
holiday  
The Holiday  
Pityintu  
Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
by Ken M. Jerrold  

Kuyharra ngaarta parni alarti\textsuperscript{5} purangka. Ngurrayi kanytyarnu two man be on holiday-PRES bush-LOC camp-OBJ have-IMPRF Two men were on holiday in the bush. They had a wuntuwa parumayau. Pangkarrinha wiyanu river-LOC spinifex house-OBJ go-FAST hunting spinifex house in a camp by a river. They went hunting for

\textsuperscript{1}This is obviously a bit of an overstatement. It would have been better to say nhungu except that the narrator evidently wants to contrast nhunthi with ngunthi, which appears in the next sentence.

\textsuperscript{2}Cheedy Ned.

\textsuperscript{3}Note how a factitive verb can be employed to mean keep on doing something as well as do something. Cf. Text 48, sentence 3.

\textsuperscript{4}Terry Jerrold.

\textsuperscript{5}Parni (V0) alarti is the correct way to say be on holiday. See 4.1.2.1 in the Grammar. It is also possible to substitute the proper Yindjibarndi word for holiday, which is pingkayi, for alarti. In respect of the tense marking, see Text 58, sentence 1.

\textsuperscript{6}The sentence is phrased in this manner, evidently because the house is considered to be an integral part of the camp. See 4.1.1.2 in the Grammar. See also further below in the Text, where the same example comes up again.
pattyarrila. Kanangkarrinha wuntu kupityau. Plyaarringu,
euro-LOC come-PAST gorge small-OBJ get thirsty-IMPRF
a euro. They came to a small gorge. Getting thirsty,
pangkarrri pawayi wayharringu. Kanangkarrinha marnrtayi
go-PRES water-OBJ look for-IMPRF come-PAST rock-OBJ
they went looking for water. They came to a cleft in
ngarpinku. Parnrtayarna thungkayi manhthl ngarriyangu.
cleft-OBJ find-PAST sand-OBJ wet lie-DEP
the rock. They found wet sand, lying there.

Wangkainytyarrinha: "Ngali yurrakayi yurrama!6
say-RECIPI-PAST you and I dig-POT soak
They said to themselves: "Let's dig a soak here!

Nhampa pawa ngaliyu. 7 Ngali mityakayi nhulampa yurramala.
this-TOP water we two-OBJ you and I drink-POT at this-TOP soak-LOC
The water will be for us. We will drink at this very soak."

Mutyira parninha karrangka mirranggu. Kuyharra ngaartauyha
dingo be-PAST scrub-LOC howl-IMPRF two man-DU
A dingo in the scrub started to howl. The two men
waarrinha. Karlinytyarri ngurraarta parumayaarta.
get scared-PAST return-PRES camp-DIR ALL spinifex house-DIR ALL
got scared. They returned to their spinifex house in camp.

Parningumarnu9 wangkainytyarringu, "Thampawa ngali
sit-PROG say-RECIPI-IMPRF nearly-EMP you and I
They eat down and said to each other, "We nearly got
ngarrkungulinha mutyiralu!

eat-PASS-PAST dingo-INST
eaten by a wild dog!"

1 The locative case marker translates as for here.
2 The narrator must be referring to a gorge, because of what he says further on.
3 Cf. Text 61, sentence 6.
4 It is not clear what the verbaliser is in this term, but I would guess that it is -karri- (V0). See section 3.1.4.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar.
5 This verb is in the present tense in order to indicate that the two men went looking for water after they arrived at the gorge. See section 3.1.4.2.2 in the Grammar. Otherwise the listener might think that this and the preceding sentence have been inverted and interpret wuntu as river.
6 The fact that the direct object of the verb in this sentence is in the nominative case suggests that the sentence is best interpreted as a first person imperative rather than a declarative sentence. See 4.2.2.3 in the Grammar.
7 Cf. Text 44, sentence 5.
8 Cf. Text 50, sentence 2.
9 See Text 19.
TEXT 65

Wirnrtaangulaay1 Wintangaril
break-PASS-PRF window-PL
Broken Windows

Pltyntu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayl kanangkarrinha arilpala warrkamuwarta.1 Mangkurlangarli2 I come-PAST early work-DIR ALL child-PL
I came to work early today.

Mangkurlangarli2
I come-PAST early work-DIR ALL child-PL
Some of the children

waarriwa3
kanangkarril murnakurru. Nhungkiirri
afraid-INCHO-PRES-EMP come-POT near-DRN ALL these
were afraid to come near.

Mangkurlarrara watyingarli. Wirnrtnarnawaatypaarrntu
child-PL bad-PL break-PAST white fellow-GEN
the bad ones. They broke the government's

watyi kartaaarrntu.4
big-GEN
property.

Maatha karlinytyarraayi, nhawayl wintangarliu wirntarnaarnu5 boss return-PRF see-POT window-PL-OBJ break-PASS PRF
After the headmaster has returned, he will see the windows

Mangkurlarralru.6
child-PL-INST
Mangkurlarrara kanangkarriri
child-PL come-POT
that have been broken by the children. Some children will come here

Nhungu7 kartaaayi mirlimirlu. Mani mangkurlarrara wirntankaayi, about here write-POT paper-OBJ other children-PL break-PRF
to write their lessons. But the children who broke

1 Use of the direct allative in this context is unusual. See Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

2 Note the use of the generic plural for common nouns here. But throughout the remainder of the story, the narrator employs the special plural number marker for mangkurla, which is -rra. See also section 3.1.1.2.1 in the Grammar.

3 Compare the last sentence in Text 61.

4 Note the interesting genitive construction. Sometimes a White official is referred to as a watylkarta puyha, literally big head. This is probably a loan translation of one of the many American expressions which have filtered into the region through the former base at Carnarvon.

5 This verb has exactly the same meaning as the one which appears in the title of this Text.

6 Another legitimate translation of this sentence can be produced by rearranging "...the windows that..." in the existing one to read "...that the windows...".

7 A reference to the schoolhouse, which we were standing next to.
mirtawa kanangkarri.
not-EMP come-POT
the windows definitely won't come. They are frightened, because

wirrntakaayirranyu.1
break-PRF-BEC-TRU
they really did break them.

Maatha thaakayi mangkuriarrau wantaarlaangarli Karrkaraarta.
boss send-POT child-PL-OBJ crazy-PL Perth-DIR ALL
The headmaster will send the crazy kids to Perth.

Kanytyangulii kunytyimula ngurrangka.2 Mirnumangulii.
keep-PASS-POT solitary-LOC place-LOC teach-PASS-POT
They will be kept in solitary confinement. They will be taught.

Karlinytyarrii mirnaawa kurnrtu markurra.3
come back-POT later mind right
They will come back later with right minds.

TEXT 66

Ngunta
corroboree
The Corroboree

Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngaartangerli parninha4 malungka, wangkayintyarringu nguntayi
person-PL sit-PAST shade-LOC talk-RECIPE-IMPRF corroboree-OBJ
Some people were sitting in the shade, talking about preparing for a

waramakayi. Kunytyirri tytyu nyirnirri.5 Wangkanha waramakayi
prepare-POT one old fellow songman say-PAST make-POT
corroboree. One old fellow was the songman. He said he would make

tyanytyirnku.6 Pangkarrinha wuintuwartapaarniyurrwinu7
bark curl wand-OBJ go-PAST river-DIR ALL be-POT scrape-IMPRF
bark-curl wands. He went to the river to scrape twigs and

1Note the appearance of the rather rare truth clitic. See 3.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

2I think that I have translated this locative phrase correctly. I don't know what else it could mean.

3Cf. Text 57, paragraph 2, sentence 3.

4The narrator is presenting an idealised account of an event which must have happened many times in the past.

5The nyirnirri is typically the man who owns the corroboree. He sings the songs, plays the boomerangs and directs the dancing. Compare the sentence in which this term occurs with the third sentence in Text 52.

6The term tyanytyirn specifically refers to the bark curls, but to the best of my knowledge they are always left on the branches. Cf. watharn green leaf, leafy bough.

7Evidently, this scraping refers to the making of the bark curl wands.
war'amarnu kumpayarnrtau pangkunau.  
make-IMPRF face-MS-GEN wheel shaped mask-OBJ rest old-PL  
to make a wheel-shaped mask for the face. The rest of the old
waramak u kumpangarlimpawurtu.  
make-PRES mask-PL-TOP-SORT stop-POT river-LOC  
people are making different sorts of masks. They will stop by
nguntamarringu tyampa, warrunyaamarnu.  
dance-RECIP-IMPRF little while night-ALLOC-FACT-IMPRF  
the river for a little while and dance, leaving the rest for the night.
Warrungkawa pangkarri manhtharrarta nguntamarringi.  
night-LOC-EMP go-POT flat-DIR ALL dance-RECIP-POT  
In the nighttime they will go to the flat to dance.
Waramakayi kupityau wurru  
construct-POT small-OBJ dressing partition be-POT paint-RECIP-IMPRF  
They will construct a small dressing partition, where they will

Nyirrinri purrikayi kunytyirri nguntayi.  
songman bring out-POT one corroboree-OBJ  
paint themselves. The songman will select one corroboree for
Kuyharra tyirraakarri wurrungkangu, nguntawarningu.  
two jump-POT screen-LOC-ABL dance-IMPRF  
presentation. Two people will jump out from behind the screen, dancing.

TEXT 67

Tyarpurrungu  
eaglehawk  
The Eaglehawk  
Pityintu  
Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
by Ken M. Jerrold

1 It would be quite possible to interpret kumpayarnrtau as a derived noun meaning mask (see 3.2.1.1.1 in the Grammar) were it not for the fact that the narrator uses kumpa alone to mean mask in the very next sentence. See also Text 69, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

2 The narrator brings the action up to the present in this sentence and projects it into the future in the next.

3 This is an interesting construction. With kumpa face, mask compare tyina foot, footprint (see Text 58, sentence 3).

4 This is a rare example in which the allocative suffix is being used productively.

5 Manhtharr is evidently a borrowing from Kurrama. The proper Yindjibarndi term is pil. See also Text 67, paragraph 2, sentence 4.


7 It is also possible to translate the last two words to paint themselves. Parnii is a substitution for recorded parnaangu. On the lack of a word meaning where, see section 4.2.4.3 in the Grammar.
An eaglehawk was sitting on a distant mountain, looking to see which way was best for him to go hunting. He flew up from the mountain.

He came upon a small buck kangaroo, that was hopping through the spinifex, heading for the shade by the river.

The eaglehawk came down from above in a straight path. His talons sunk into the euro's ears.

He had gotten snatched.
Ngartimu tyarrpurrungu karpangumarnu kankala, thaanumarnu. 
then-ANA eaglehawk rise-PROG high drop-PROG
Again the eaglehawk flew up high and then he dropped him.

Pattyarri yinti yamartiwa. Ngurrayi wanpiku euro come down-PRES on one's own-EMP ground-OBJ hit-PRES
The euro came down on his own. He hit the ground

nyurnrtiwa.
dead-EMP eaglehawk dead-FACT-PAST flat-LOC
dead. The eaglehawk killed him there in the flat.

Parningumarnu, nyurnrtimakaayi, ngarrkungu.
sit-PROG kill-PRF eat-IMPRF
Having killed him, he eat down to eat.

TEXT 68

Wiyanu Tyirriwi
hunting echidna
Hunting Porcupines
Pityintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayi parninha arlipala kurkanatyarnu nganimakayi.
I sit-PAST early think-IMPRF what-FACT-POT
Early in the morning I sat thinking about what I was going to do.

Ngayi munkunha tyumpirirri. Tharrwarna kurtanta. Mankunha
I get-PAST knife put in-PAST bag-LOC pick up-PAST
I got a knife. I put it in a bag. I picked up

kurtanka, wirkaalamarnu, yuningumarnu marnrtayi ngurnu,
the bag and, sling it over my shoulder, went down toward that dark

This word means again. The then in the translation comes out of the progressive aspect marker in the second verb. See section 3.1.4.2.2 in the Grammar.

This verb and the following one are in the present tense evidently in order to indicate the less remote of several past actions. Compare Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 5. Note that the more remote actions are described in the progressive aspect.

Note the unusual predicate complement with a transitive verb. See section 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar under nominative case.

This sentence is neat.

Such morphological constructions are not uncommon in Yindjibarndi. See section 3.1.4.1.3.4 in the Grammar.

Consider how the objective case is employed here as a sort of vague allative. Cf. Text 61, sentence 6.
warrawayi karrilyangu¹ warrurau² Ngayi ngunhthaana pangkarrinha
distant-OBJ stand-DEP dark-OBJ I that place go-PAST
mountain, lying in the distance. I went there looking for

wayharringu³ murlayi tyirriwiwu.
look for-IMPRF animal-OBJ echidna-OBJ
porcupines.

Ngayi parnrtayarna ngarriyangu marnrtau ngarpintau kuyharrau.⁴
I find-PAST be-DEP rock-LOC-OBJ chink-LOC-OBJ two-OBJ
I found two of them in a chink in the rocks.

Ngayi purrina. Wanhtharna pilla.
I pull out-PAST put-PAST in the open
I pulled them out. I put them down in the open.

Martuurraamarna. Wanpirna marnrtawari purtungu,⁵
on one's back-FACT-PAST hit-PAST stone-COM chest
I turned them over on their backs. I hit them in the chest with a stone,

nyurnrtimarnu. Tharrwarna kurtanta, karlinytyarringumarnu parni⁶
kill-IMPRF put in-PAST bag-LOC come back-PROG sit-POT
killing them. I put them in the bag and then came back to sit

wuntuwa ngarriwartarnu. Ngayi ngarriyiru pampa.⁷ Karpanha
river-LOC bake-IMPRF I lie-IMPRF sleep get up-PAST
by the river and bake them. I slept. I got up

pampangu, purrinumarnu tyirriwiuyhau ngarriwartulangu.
sleep-ABL take out-PROG echidna-DU-OBJ earth oven-LOC-ABL
from sleep and took the two porcupines out of the earth oven.

¹Mountains 'stand' in Yindjibarndi.

²Note how the two modifiers, distant and dark, straddle the verb in this dependent clause. Dark mountain is a stereotyped image. See also Hale 1960:211.

³This verb is in the imperfective aspect rather than the progressive, evidently because the narrator was looking for porcupines as he went along. Compare Text 62, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

⁴The circumstances indicate a mated pair.

⁵This has to be done, because the animal curls up in a tight ball, making it impossible to handle. The porcupine is covered with prickles as its colloquial name suggests.

⁶Note that this verb is in the potential mood rather than the imperfective aspect, which often replaces it when the leading verb is in the progressive aspect. Compare, for example, the final sentence in this Text.

⁷I guess that the verb is in the imperfective aspect in order to indicate that the action went on for a certain length of time.

⁸Note the absence of a locative case marker before the ablative. This apparently stems from the fact that sleep is a condition, not a position.
I put them on some dry leaves to cool off. My hand tharrwanha kurtanku.¹ Purrina ngaarnrtu tympiririri, enter-PAST bag-OBJ pull out-PAST my knife slipped into the bag. I pulled out my knife and wirrntarnumarnu murlayi² tyirriwi, muyhuyhu ngarriyangu. cut-PROG meat-OBJ echidna-OBJ cool be-DEP cut up the porcupine meat, which was cool.

Parningumarnu ngarrkungu manytyarmtau pirtithalau ngarriyangu. sit-PROG eat-IMPRF bed-LOC-OBJ dry leaf-LOC-OBJ lie-DEP I sat down to eat what was lying on the bed of dry leaves.

TEXT 69

Mamayarnrtu Wangka
Father-MS-GEN word
God's Word
Pittyintu
Ken M. Jerrold-INST
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayi nyinku³ yungkuwayi wangkayi Mamayarnrtu.⁴ Pampanyaala
I to you give-POT word-OBJ Father-MS-GEN Sunday-LOC
I will give you the Word of God. On Sunday

ngayinhtharri pangkarrri yirraamakayi Mamayarnrtu nguntayi.
we go-POT sing-POT Father-MS-GEN corroboree-OBJ
we will attend the church service.

Ngunhaana kunytyimu kanatyaku ngayinhtharrii kupityala wirtanytya that one single keep-PRES we-OBJ small-LOC path-LOC
That single thing keeps us on the narrow path to God.

Mamaarta. Ngayinhtharri karlinytyarrii kukuramayalangu
Father-DIR ALL we come back-POT woolshed-LOC-ABL
We will come back from the woolshed and

wangkayi maningaau. Wangkayi ngaartangarrii wangkayi Mamayarnrtu.
talk-POT rest-PL-OBJ tell-POT person-PL-OBJ word-OBJ Father-MS-GEN
talk to the others. We will tell the people about the Word of God.

¹ This sentence is as stylistically unusual as its English translation.
² Here murla must be translated as meat even though earlier it was used to mean animal.
³ The narrator is addressing the transcriber.
⁴ Mama (NC) means God, the Father, whereas mama, oblique singular stem mamani- (NP) is a kinship term. See the Dictionary. The use of the morpheme separator in this construction is somewhat odd. See also Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 4.
Mama purpi nyinkupurrungu parnaangu wayungkau yirtiyalau.
Father want you(PL)(OBJ) stay-INF straight-LOC-OBJ road-LOC-OBJ
God wants you to stay on the straight and narrow.

Nyintauu mani mirta wanyaarri. Mama nyinkupurrungu wangka
you(PL) part not listen-PRES Father you(PL)(OBJ) speak-PRES
Some of you are not listening. God speaks to your heart.

pulartau. Nyintauu mirta wanyaarri Mamayarnrtu wangkayi.
heart-OBJ you(PL) not listen-PRES Father-MS-GEN word-OBJ
You are not listening to God's Word.

Ngunhaana purpi ngayinhtharrriu parnaangu markurrau. Ngayinhtharrri
that one want we-OBJ be-INF good-OBJ we
He wants us to be good. We are

nyinkupurrungu wangka nyintauu wanyaaari parriyarnrtu wangkayi.¹
you(PL)(OBJ) tell-PRES you(PL) listen-to-PRES devil-MS-GEN word-OBJ
telling you that you are listening to the devil's word.

Parri karpaku karimayaarta mityalangu parriyarnrtu mangkarnku.²
devil carry-PRES pub-DIR ALL drink-INF demon-MS-GEN spirit-OBJ
The devil is taking you down to the pub to drink alcoholic drinks.

Watyiwarnwa. Mankungul marnrtamarangkalu.
bad-INCHO-PRES-EMP catch-PRES-PRES police-INST
You are definitely getting bad. You are getting caught by the police.

Karpangul martungka³ murtimaala. Tharrwanguli
carry-PRES space-LOC vehicle-LOC put in-PASS-PRES
You are getting carried off in the paddy wagon. You are getting

marnrtamayala.⁴ Parri⁵ kumpa purrutha. Ngunhaatpa nyinku⁶
stone house-LOC be-PRES face sad that one-EMP for you
thrown in jail. You have sad faces. That's what you get for

mirta wanyaarriyangu ngayu wangkayangu nyinku. Mamayarnrtu wangkayi.
not listen-to-DEP me tell-DEP you(OBJ) Father-MS-GEN word-OBJ
not listening to me telling you about the Word of God.

¹Note how the embedded sentence, which is the direct object of the main verb, is
treated as an indeclinable. See section 4.2.7 in the Grammar.

²The term mangkarn means spirit, soul. It is used here as a loan translation in
the sense of spirits, alcohol. Thus, parriyarnrtu mangkarn would mean something like
demon rum were it not for the fact that the Yindjibarndi do not drink hard liquor.

³Martu refers to the 'loading space' in the back of the Land Rover, where the
so-called 'cockie cage' sits.

⁴The word for jail is generally mutyi hole.

⁵Parri are, not kanytyaku have, because of inalienable possession. See also
section 4.1.1.2 in the Grammar.

⁶Note the definitely unusual use of a singular pronoun as a substitute for a plural
one here and further below.
The devil is sitting in the corner, laughing at you. You are

You are listening to the spirit of the devil. That's why you are getting

We are telling the old people,

We are telling the girls and the children about the Spirit

of God.

God is watching the people from above, writing the names of the

bad ones in a book.

In a while he will come down for us from above and burn up a

great many people. God will take the good ones. The bad ones

not listen to God's Word. They will get burned

in the fire.
Why People Die

Once long long ago when this fellow was badly sick, the people sent a man out to look for a doctor. That's exactly how it happened.

The narrator agreed that this would be a good title for the story. Another version of this story provided by Jack Ray can be found toward the end of (3) in my raw field notes (Wordick 1975). Von Brandenstein (1970:241-244) records a Ngarluma variant. See also Wright (1970:26-27) for additional relevant material.

Cf. Text 9, sentence 2.

Notice how munti translates in this context.

The Yindjibarndi refer to the rainbow bird as the 'bad-luck bird'. When you hear it whistling, you know someone has just died. The rainbow bird occupies the same position in Yindjibarndi culture that the raven does in English culture.

Note that the names of 'nations' are common nouns. See also further below in this Text.
tyinyarringu nyurnrtli murnayiwa.1 Nhaa mawarnkarra
be sick-IMPRF dead-OBJ close-OBJ-EMP this doctor
This doctor
Kutylpirupirunha2 wangkanha, "Kantapa nhurtu mayaka pukapa
rainbow bird-PN say-PAST let-EMP this man rotten-EMP
Rainbow Bird said, "Let the man lie! He is definitely decomposed".
ngarriku!3 Karlinytyarrinhamuwa4 ngurra pirringuwarta
lie-PRES go back-PAST-ANA-EMP country own-DIR ALL
Then he went back to his own Ngarluma
Ngarlumaarta.5 Nhunkiirri murrirniwa wanththarna ngaartau
Ngarluma-DIR ALL these afterwards-EMP put-PAST man-OBJ
country. Afterwards they put the dead man on a

nyurnrtli pirtangka.6
dead-OBJ burial platform-LOC
burial platform.

TEXT 71
Payhurru Watyikarta7
flood big
The Great Flood
Yurtarrinytyu
Gilbert Bobby-INST
by Gilbert Bobby

1These last two words are perhaps better translated nearly dead. Compare yirriri
watiy badly sick in the first sentence in this Text. Note now the second
adjectival nominal functions as an adverb.

2Evidently, the narrator has reclassified the common noun kutylpirupiru as a
proper noun. However, see also the first footnote in section 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the
Grammar under the nominative case.

3The doctor speaks in Ngarluma. The Yindjibarndi translation is: Kuyuwa nhaa
ngaarta puwawa ngarri! Note that the formal command is in the present tense
evidently to indicate that the action already in progress is to continue. See
section 4.2.2.3 in the Grammar. The Yindjibarndi say that the failure of the
Ngarluma doctor to cure the dying/dead man with magic power is the reason why
people now die permanently. Formerly, such people used to revive after a certain
period.

4The anaphoric clitic provides a meaning which is redundant with respect to the
meaning of the verb.

5I do not think there is any indication of inalienable possession here. Evidently,
tyarkuyarrntu has just been omitted. Cf. Text 13, sentence 1, and also Text 76,
paragraph 2, sentence 11.

6The narrator added this sentence after I asked him whether they did this or not.
Note that pirta literally means nest.

7See also von Brandenstein 1970:208-212.
Ngurranyutyungkamuh pangkarrinah Martuyhunila
back when the earth was soft go-PAST Marduthunira-LOC
Back when the earth was soft, a red-capped robin went out walking
purnanyirunyiru. Parnrtayina manrntay karriyangu
red-capped robin find-PAST stone-OBJ stand-DEP
in Marduthunira country. He found a little stone lying there.
kupityau. Mankunha. Puyhangkamarna karparnumarnu
little-OBJ pick up-PAST head-LOC-FACT-PAST carry-PROG
He picked it up. He put it on his head and carried it
Tyatyluraaartawa, wanhtharnumarnu murrirniyu tharnarti.
Robe River-DIR ALL-EMP leave-PROG behind-DET ocean
right toward Robe River, leaving the ocean behind him.
Karparnawa Tyatylurraa yini. Purnanyirunyiruyhu
take-PAST-EMP Robe River-OBJ as far as red-capped robin-DET
He took it as far as Robe River. That particular red-capped
karpanha marntaa Pantuwarnangkalawa. Karrinha kankarniwa.
get up-PAST mountain-LOC Pannawonica-LOC-EMP stand-PAST on top-EMP
robin got up on Pannawonica Hill. He stood right on top.

Kunytyirriyu ngaarta wankanha, "Nganlwarnaayi walaaku marntay!
a-DET man say-PAST why that-OBJ stone-OBJ
A certain man said, "Why did you bring that stone here? You

1 Compare the translation of nhaungu in the first sentence in Text 67.
2 Martuyhunila is a variant of Martuyhunira. The latter occurs further below in this
Text.
3 Long Mack said that he thought the bird involved was the wirrinytyirr.
4 Cf. the form which occurs in Text 42, sentence 7 and elsewhere throughout the
Non-Sacred Texts.
5 Cf. Text 68, paragraph 1, sentence 4.
6 The narrator alleged that the bird has a flat head.
7 River names are typically common nouns.
8 I do not understand why this verb is in the progressive aspect instead of the
imperfective aspect, when it is describing an action which must be going on at the
same time as that described by the preceding verb.
9 The determiner means him here. See section 3.2.2.5 in the Grammar. The reader
may be interested in seeing how many different meanings he can find for this
clitic in this Text.
10 The locative case is not particularly common in this context. See section
4.1.2.2 in the Grammar.
murnakurrnu karparna tharnarti muntu? Ngunhaa ngaarta putput.  
near-DRN ALL bring-PAST ocean and that man pheasant  
brought the ocean with it!" That man was a native

Ngunhaa mirranhawa, Tharnarti wayinytyarrrimawa!  
coucal he call out-PAST-EMP ocean go back-IMP-EMP  
pheasant. He called out, "Ocean go back!"

Mirranha, Putput! Putput! Tharnarti wayinytyarrrinha  
call out-PAST ocean go back-PAST  
He called out, "Putput! Putput!" The ocean went right back

Martuyuniraartamuwa. Pantuwarnangkawa karpanha karri!  
Marduthunira-DIR ALL-ANA-EMP Pannawonica-EMP rise-PAST stand-POT  
to Marduthunira country. Pannawonica rose up to stand tall, after

watyi kartawa, putput mirrayilla. Ngunhaapa muthayhu!  
big-EMP pheasant coucal call out-PRF-LOC that-EMP end-DET  
the native pheasant called out.  
That's the end!

TEXT 72

Muntipa Parkunytyl Yurnrtaarrinha Tyulu Yirra  
truly-TOP olive python get smashed-PAST all tooth  
How the Python Lost Its Teeth

Yurtarrinytyu  
Gilbert Bobby-INST

by Gilbert Bobby

Ngurranyutyungkamu Purlinytyirrmarrantha pangkarrinha wiyanu.  
in the dreamtime -PN go-PAST hunting  
Once during the dreamtime Purlindjirrmarra went hunting.

1 Compare the translation of the quoted material here with that which appears in  
Text 70, sentence 4. In respect of muntu and, see Text 56, sentence 2.

2 Cf. Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 2.

3 An uncommon synonym for karlinntyarri- (VØ).

4 The bird is evidently calling out in Yindjibarndi. Compare, for example,  
Yindjibarndi putput native pheasant with Ngarluma pulpul.

5 See the last footnote to the second sentence and the first footnote to the fifth  
sentence in Text 70.

6 Cf. Text 19, sentence 4.

7 In Yindjibarndi mountains are generally described as being large rather than tall.

8 See section 4.2.4.3 in the Grammar.

9 Lenition of the emphatic clitic is prevented by the grammatical environment in  
which it occurs. See section 2.2.10 in the Grammar.

10 Another version of this tale is recorded in von Brandenstein 1970:245-248.
He found the track of a certain python, that went by in the night.

He tracked him right to a mountain.

He started poking him with his spear. The python turned around and started chasing.

The python was right at his Achilles tendon.

He bit the tree. Also note that the anaphoric clitic here apparently means previously mentioned.
Muntipa\(^1\) marnrtawarninhawa. Kuyharramu
truly-TOP stone-INCHO-PAST-EMP two-ANA
That is how it came about that he got turned to stone. Those two,

ngurnaakuyha maarrkayhu Purlinytyirrmarranha\(^2\) ngurniwa
those two emu man-DET -PN at the same time-EMP
the python and the emu-man Purlindjirrmarrara, turned to stone

marnrtawarninhawa. Ngunhaapa\(^3\) marnrta parni.\(^4\) Thangkarrpa!
stone-INCHO-PAST-EMP he/it-EMP stone be-PRES enough-TOP
simultaneously. They are stone now. That’s all there

Nhaatumpa muthayhu.\(^5\)
this-ONE-TOP end-DET
is to it! This is the end.

TEXT 73

Wangarkaa Tyarpurrungu muntu\(^6\)
crow wedge-tail eagle and
The Crow and the Eaglehawk

Yurtarrinytyu
Gilbert Bobby-INST
by Gilbert Bobby

Tyarpurrungu muntu\(^7\) wangarkaa parninha palamumu
wedge-tail eagle and crow live-PAST a long long time ago
The crow and the eaglehawk lived a long long time ago

ngurryanyutungkamu. Tyarpurrungu mimi
at the beginning of the world wedge-tail eagle mother’s brother
at the beginning of the world. The eaglehawk was maternal uncle

\(^1\)Here -pa is the topic clitic. Contrast the last sentence in Text 71. It has been reduced from -mpa by dissimilation with the preceding nasal plus stop cluster. See section 2.2.12 in the Grammar. The emphatic form of muntu is muntiwa. See Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 10. On the translation of muntu see Text 70, sentence 2.

\(^2\)See the discussion on focal apposition in section 4.1.1.3 In the Grammar.

\(^3\)Note the appearance of a singular pronoun where a dual would be expected. Cf. Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 13.

\(^4\)The narrator said that one can still see their stone images lying there in Gregory Gorge. Also compare this sentence and the preceding one with Text 20.

\(^5\)It is not unusual for a story in Yindjibarndi to have no closing formula at all, but this one has two!

\(^6\)See also von Brandenstein 1970:163-178 for other variants of this well-known tale.

\(^7\)Cf. Text 61, sentence 5.
Wangtharna ngurrangka paraang end wairrarrwa, leave-PAST camp-LOC sit-INF woman-OBJ He left his woman, the crow's paternal aunt,

to the crow.

Pangkarrinha wiyanu, tyartunmarrau go-PAST hunting rock wallaby-OBJ He went hunting, to look for a rock

crow-GEN father's sister-IMPFE to sit in camp.

He Ze ft 8 woman, the crow's paternal aunt,

Ze ave-PAST camp-LOC sit-INF woman-OBJ

He went hunting, to look for a rock

wayharringu.

look for-IMPRF wallaby.

Wangkarraa murriinyhu muyarna nyirti, wairrarrwa crow after-DET kidnap-PAST father's sister-OBJ woman-OBJ After that the crow kidnapped his paternal aunt, the eaglehawk's

crow-GEN after-DET kidnap-PAST father's sister-OBJ woman-OBJ

The eaglehawk came back to look for

wayharrliwa. Parninha yartayi kurkanytyarrnu. look for-POT-EMP woman-OBJ sit-PAST a lot-OBJ think-IMPRF He sat and thought about a lot of things.

Mawarnkarra ngunhaana. 6 Tyarpurruŋyhu magician that one wedge-tail eagle-DET

That fellow was a magician. While the crow was going away,

Tyarpurruŋyhu wedge-tail eagle-DET

That fellow was a magician. While the crow was going away,

partuwa7 wankarrinha, wangkarraa warrwawa pangkarriyanguła feather-EMP grow-PAST crow away-EMP go-DEP-LOC taking his kidnapped aunt with him, that eaglehawk grew feathers!

Tyarpurruŋu karpanha wedge-tail eagle fly up-PAST The eaglehawk flew way

kidnapped-COM father's sister-COM

8In order to understand the sense of the comitative case here, see section 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar.
kankalawa.² Nhaunha karntirriu kampayangu² warrwayiwa.

high-EMP see-PAST distant smoke-OBJ burn-DEP distant-OBJ-EMP
up high. He saw smoke rising in the distance.

Kankalawa karpanha.³ Yintinha kankarniwa wangarkaala,

high-EMP fly up-PAST descend-PAST on top-EMP crow-LOC
He flew higher. He came down right on top of the crow
wanpirnumarnu, thurnntarnu kurnarrala.⁴ Wangkanha

beat-PROG roll-IMPRF black ash-LOC say-PAST
and beat him and rolled him in the black ash. He said to

thathamnrntau:⁵ "Nyinta parnii puwamarta.⁶ Tyatya ngarrkumarta.

greedy-OBJ you be-POT scavenger garbage eat-HAB
the greedy fellow: "You will be a scavenger. You will feed on

Ngaartau murrunri wungkayi⁷ tyatyayi

man-OBJ from now on scavenge from-POT garbage-OBJ
garbage. From now on you will scavenge from men and eat

ngarrkuwayi." Nhaarrumpa!⁸
eat-POT this-ONE-TOP
garbage." This is it!

TEXT 74

Muntiwa Thama Muyangulinha⁹

truly-EMP fire steal-PASS-PAST
How Fire was Stolen

Yurtarrinytyu
Gilbert Bobby-INST

by Gilbert Bobby

Tyirunaha¹⁰ parninha kawingarliu mankungu Paularrlinha wanta pelican-PN be-PAST fish-PL-OBJ catch-IMPRF night heron-PN also Pelican and also Night Heron and Bony Bream were out fishing.

cf. Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 2.


³ I guess this is what is meant. Cf. Text 46, sentence 3.

⁴ The ash is the remains of the fire that the eaglehawk saw from a distance.

⁵ 'Greedy bugger' according to the narrator.

⁶ This word literally means rotten-meat eater. See the Dictionary.

⁷ This is the only occurrence of wungka- (V6) in my notes. The narrator says that it means walk around after someone, picking up what he has thrown away.

⁸ Cf. the form that occurs in the last sentence in Text 72. Then see the last sentence in Text 71.


¹⁰ Consider how the narrator has reclassified this common noun and the four succeeding names for birds and fish as proper nouns. Note further that he consistently inflects these names as proper nouns throughout the remainder of the story. Compare the treatment of bird names in Text 70 and Text 71.
Tyiurranha wanta.1 Waramarna thamayi.2 Tyirrityirriula
bony bream-PN also make-PAST fire-OBJ willy wagtail-BOTH
They were tending the fire. Both Willy Wagtails

Karlamana3 parninha thaurraarlaa pawangka, mankungu kawingarliiu, falcon be-PAST fishing net-FOSS water-LOC catch-IMPRF fish-PL-OBJ and Falcon were in the water with a net, catching the fish and

ngayinu kankarniurrula.4 Nhunghiiri Tyirunawathaa5 toss-IMPRF up on top these pelican-PL tossing them up on top of the river bank. This Pelican group was

thamangkapartu6 ngayiku7 kampaangu ngarrkungu ngurni fire-LOC-TOP-CONTRA chuck-PRES cook-INF eat-IMPRF at the same time chucking them into the fire to cook and eating them all up at the
tyuluwarlu. Wantharna kuyhingarliiu yini. Tyirrityirriula
all-INTNS leave-PAST bone-PL-OBJ just willy wagtail-BOTH same time. They left just the bones. Willy Wagtail and

Karlamana karpanha pawangkangu wangkayi, "Wanhthilawa kawingarli?" falcon get up-PAST water-LOC-ABL say-POT where-EMP fish-PL Falcon both got up out of the water and said, "Where are the fish?"

Tyirunanha wangkanha yurluwa.8 "Ngaliyauu ngarrkunhawa!" pelican-PN say-PAST nothing-EMP we eat-PAST-EMP Pelican said nothing at first. Then he said, "We ate them up!"

1The narrator employs the sequential copula to show that Night Heron and Bony Bream are less important figures than Pelican. Cf. Text 76, paragraph 6, sentence 8 and also section 4.2.4.1 in the Grammar.

2This sentence could mean They were making a fire except that the context suggests that it really means something more like They were keeping the fire going. Such an interpretation is consonant with the general functioning of factitive verbs in Yindjibarndi. Cf. Text 63, paragraph 3, sentence 4.

3The subject of this sentence appears to consist of two conjoined nouns with -kula (S) acting as a copula. See section 4.2.4.1 in the Grammar. However, since Tyirrityirriula by itself would mean both Willy Wagtails it might make more sense to treat this construction as an example of focal apposition. See section 4.1.1.3 in the Grammar. See also the subject of the next sentence.

4This word contains a somewhat unusual assortment of case endings. See the Dictionary.

5In everyday speech maap - from English 'mob' - is used to mean group. However, here the narrator chooses to express this meaning in one of the traditional ways. He could have also employed the term kutya, which means few, small number of. Cf. Text 69, paragraph 3, sentence 2.

6The contrast clitic is used here to contrast the action described in this sentence with that of the preceding.

7Cf. Text 67, paragraph 2, sentence 2.

8Contrast wangkanha yurluwa said nothing with mirtawa wangkanha didn't say anything.
Ka rl aman ayhu pangkarr in ha patty arr ila. 1 Karl nyty arrin ha falcon-DET go-PAST euro-LOC come back-PAST Falcon went out for a euro. He came back to way har ri i wa Tyl rri tyirr in gu, Tyl rri tyirr in hay hu palamu look for-POT-EMP willy wag tail-OBJ willy wag tail-PN-DET already look for Willy Wagtail, after that Willy Wagtail had already pangkar raay ilawa yaw utpa thami wi rri tharnarti artawa. 2 go-PRF-LOC-EMP downstream-LOC-EMP fire-COM ocean-DIR ALL-EMP gone downstream toward the ocean with the fire.

Nhungkiirri Tyirrunawatha tyatyangar li. 3 Nhung ka atu these pelican-PL worthless-PL these ones This Pelican group was a worthless bunch. They had mawarnpar rimarta. Karlamanan ha y ini maw arn karr ay hu. 4 Nhung ka atyirri magic power-PRIV Falcon-PN only magician-DET they no magic power Only Falcon was a magician. They mara pung kan ha Karlamanangu winpaangu Tyirrityirringu, thamayl select-PAST Falcon-OBJ follow-INF willy wag tail-OBJ fire-OBJ selected Falcon to follow Willy Wagtail, who might stick the fire muntalangu, pawangkau tharrвать a yau. 6 Kanangkarrin ha, take away-INF water-LOC-OBJ insert-OPT-OBJ arrive-PAST in the water, and to take it away from him. He arrived to find him karr ri ya ngu tharnarti lau, tymayi thamayl stand-DEP ocean-LOC-OBJ little while-OBJ-EMP fire-OBJ standing in the ocean just about ready to stick the fire

1 Cf. Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

2 Long Mack said that he was sure that it was the tyilungarta or firestick that was stolen.

3 Note that this and the following two sentences are delivered without linking verbs, a usage which is typical of Yindjibarndi. See section 4.2.1 in the Grammar. See also Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 1.

4 It is tempting to translate this sentence Falcon was the only magician, because of the presence of the determiner. But yini is clearly modifying Karlamananha. See section 4.1.4 in the Grammar.

5 Literally, Their hands fell (on)....

6 Verbs inflected for optative mood are rarely found in dependent clauses.
Karlinyamarnawa thamayi Tyirunawathaartamuwa.
bring back-PAST-EMP fire-OBJ pelican-PL-DIR ALL-ANA-EMP
He brought the fire back to the Pelican group.

Ngartimuwa3 waramarna thamayi4 maanu Karlamana again-EMP make-PAST fire-OBJ unfortunate falcon
Again the poor Falcon made a fire for the abovementioned

thamayi Tyirrityirringu, parniingu ngarrkungu wankayi murlayi, fire-OBJ willy wagtail-OBJ be-IRR eat-IMPRF raw-OBJ meat-OBJ
the fire away from Willy Wagtail, he would have eaten the meat raw,

Tyirrityirrinha tharrwakaayila thamayi pawangkayhu.9 Nhaarrumpa! willy wagtail-PN insert-PRF-LOC fire-OBJ water-LOC-DET this-ONE-TOP
after Willy Wagtail stuck the fire in the water. This is it!

1A very stilted, but more literal translation of this sentence would be: He came upon him, who would soon stick the fire in the water, standing in the ocean.

2Literally, He snatched what was in his hand. Yindjibarndi often employs locative constructions, where English favours ablative ones. See section 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar. I am not really sure how to translate the anaphoric clitic here. The sentence could mean: He snatched what was previously mentioned out of his hand. It could also mean: He snatched it back out of his hand. A third possibility might be that the anaphoric clitic is serving as a marker for past tense in a clause which lacks an expressed verb. In this regard see von Brandenstein 1970:210.

3The anaphoric clitic means back here.

4This time waramarna thamayi definitely means made a fire.

5The meaning of the anaphoric clitic is clear here.

6The determiner means if. There is no doubt of this as on another occasion Ken M. Jerrold told me that mirtayu means if not. See also the latter part of section 4.2.4.5 in the Grammar.

7See section 4.1.2.2 in the Grammar.

8Note the appearance of the irrealis mood to indicate that the stated action is contrary to fact.

9I am not certain whether the determiner should be translated as the or then here.
This story narrates the laying down of one of the two most important sacred tracks for the Yindjibarndi people. Another version of this tale can be found in von Brandenstein 1970:290-297.

Perhaps a certain pair of men would be a more accurate translation for this phrase, but somehow it doesn't sound as good.

Each man had one son, according to the narrator.

The narrator agrees that it is also quite correct to say Tyirnrtawurrianuwartu.

Cf. Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 6.

All over with red ochre. See Text 62, paragraph 2, sentence 3.

The narrator stated that manykauyhayi means those two sons. By comparing this form with manykauyhau, which appears two sentences earlier, it is obvious that -yi here cannot be the objective case marker, which only appears on disyllabic common nouns, ending in a (or i). Therefore, I assume that -yi is a deictic clitic. It is possible to understand why the narrator employed a deictic to express the meaning those in this context: He had already used the requisite demonstrative pronoun, inflected in the genitive case, to mean their.

Compare this form of they two with the one which occurs in the preceding sentence.
were taken prisoner. They sat for a long time being kept waiting for the rest of the initiation bosses to arrive.

Pirtuwanguuyhayhu ngarrkunha kurarrkurrarnku mityarau.²

Maatha³ pirtuwanguuyhaarrntu wangkanha: "Nyintaula wantaa parnii boss initiand-DU-GEN say-PAST you-BOTH can sit-POT The boss for the initiands said: "Both of you can sit and wait for me."

Nhawayi purku manyuwarri-ngamayili minytayarnu. Nyintaula markurra see-POT quid ask-for-POT tobacco as well you-BOTH well behaved to ask for a tobacco quid as well. Both of you be good!"

Pirtuwanguuyha wangkanha, "Ngaa, ngaliya markurra be-POT initiand-DU say-PAST yes we two well behaved The initiands said, "Yes, we will be good."

Pirtuwanguuyha maathau wala wangkanha, palamu nhawaayi mityara⁵

The initiands lied to their boss, having already seen the mulga

²I have not translated this sentence into English, because it does not make any sense in this context. On a second reading, the narrator insisted that the sentence was correct as and where it stands. I suspect that someone in the past made an error, when passing this story on down to the present-day speakers. If one replaces ngarrkunha ate with nhaunga aaw, the sentence then not only makes sense in the context in which it appears, but in fact fills an informational gap in the Text. See the first sentence in the following paragraph.

³This man, who is in charge of the initiands, is not to be confused with the initiation bosses (karntu).

⁴This verb means ask for (something). When asking a question, wangkaj (V?) say is employed. See Text 76, paragraph 6, sentence 3.

⁵The term for egg is consistently used in the singular throughout the Text. However, the informant thought that there were perhaps two eggs, one for each initiand.
kurarrankurranku, pirtangkau ngarriyangu. Maatha¹ mirta nhaunha.
mulga parrot-OBJ nest-LOC-OBJ lie-DEP boss not see-PAST
parrot egg, lying in the nest. The boss didn't see it.

Pirtuwanguuyha yini nhaunha, pangkarringu wilayi.²
initiand-DU only see-PAST go for a walk-IMPRF
Only the initiands saw it, while going for a walk.

Karpanangulingu,³ pangkarrinha, ngartayi⁴ yimpaarnu.
take along-PASS-IMPRF go-PAST beside-OBJ pass-IMPRF
As they were being taken along, they passed beside it.

Kunytyirri pirtuwangu thurlayi nhaunha. Kunytyirri⁵
one initiand eye-OBJ look at-PAST other
One initiand looked at the other one's eyes. The other one

thurlangku mirnumarna: "Kuyu ngarrima tyampa!"⁶
eye-INST indicate-PAST let lie-IMP little while
indicated with his eyes: "Let it lie for a little while!"

Maatha wangkanha: "Nyintaula wantaa parnii tiyarringu ngayu.
boss say-PAST you-BOTH can sit-POT wait-IMPRF for me
The boss said: "Both of you can sit and wait for me.

Ngayi pangkarri ngurraarta karunkarurliu nhayayi ngamayi
I go-POT camp-DIR ALL initiation boss-PL-OBJ see-POT tobacco
I am going to camp to see the initiation bosses and to get a tobacco

minytyarnu purku mankuwayi." Kunytyirri pirtuwangu wangkanha,
as well quid get-POT one initiand say-PAST
as well." One of the initiands said,

"Ngaa, ngaliya mirtawatyi parnii, tiyarringu."
yes we two good be-POT wait-IMPRF
"Yes, we will be good, while we are waiting."

Tyampa pangkarrinha maathayhu. Nhuruuyha murrirniyhu
little while go-PAST boss-DET these two after-DET
In a little while the boss left. After that those two

¹Note that the narrator consistently uses this word rather than the synonymous
nyampa. But see the relevant footnote to Text 48, sentence 1.

²Wilayi pangkarri- (V0) go for a walk is a set phrase. The first element is
apparently the objective form of a bound morpheme, meaning walk. See the
Dictionary and also section 4.1.2.1 in the Grammar.

³Evidently, they were being escorted by their boss (maatha).

⁴Note that beside is in the objective case and not the locative.

⁵Cf. Text 27.

⁶Cf. Text 17, sentence 3 and the second footnote to Text 70, sentence 4.
At this point the narrator demanded that it is also possible to say kurrarnkurrarnyarnntu and kurrarnkurrarnyarnntu, even though he was having a difficult time doing so.

This is the correct way to cook an egg. However, first one has to cover it with mud to prevent it from cracking in the heat.

The Yindjibarndi say that the kurrarnkurrarn is a mate to the sea serpent. It flies in front of its nose, leading it from place to place. This bird is commonly found in the vicinity of fresh water (see Slater 1970:373).

Cf. Text 42, sentence 1. Note how the difference in clitics signals a difference in temporal direction.

This constitutes the only occurrence of yurnrtumarnu in my notes. The narrator translated it without hesitation as now and again. But see yuntu in the Dictionary.

See Text 71, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

The sea serpent travels underground. Wherever it erupted from the river bed, a pool formed.
Mirta parnti nhunhthi.
It sniffed the air: "It doesn't smell just here.

Right here-ANA-EMP-DEIC I(LOC) behind then-ANA
It must be behind me, back of where I'm standing!" Then it went

Tharrwanha thurnungkah. Pangkarrinha
It took off. It heard loud

Nyirlarliu ngaartangarliu, parniyangu, pawa ngarriyangu
excessive noise-OBJ person-PL-OBJ sit-DEP water lie-DEP-LOC
noises, made by a group of people, sitting near where a small pool

Kupityampartu. Ngunaangatangu thaarna ngarantingarliu
little bit-TOP-CONTRA from that position send-PAST duck-PL-OBJ
of water. From there it sent up a flock of ducks.

Maru. Maanuwarrangu tyutyungarli karnkungarli
many poor fellow-PL old-PL initiation boss-PL
The poor old initiation bosses were

Cf. Text 33, sentence 4.

Another manifestation of the deictic clitic. Cf. the third sentence in the second paragraph in this Text.

Generally, this term means again, but here a literal translation of then back seems more appropriate.

In Yindjibarndi as in most Aboriginal languages the concepts inside and under(neath) are not structured separately. See also the next word in the Text and then see the Dictionary.

The narrator told me as an aside that before the sea serpent went under, it covered itself with red ochre from a deposit, which can still be seen near the river.

The noise is being inalienably possessed by the people.

The locative suffix is just acting as a conjunction here. Cf. Text 9, sentence 2. Yindjibarndi does not employ a word for where in 'where' clauses. Cf. Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

The contrast clitic appears on this word in order to bring to our attention the fact that, according to Yindjibarndi oral history, there used to be very little water around Millstream, before the events narrated in this story occurred. Also, it is said that the ground was more level and featureless.

Yindjibarndi tends to lack words for collective concepts like flock, group, etc. Quantifiers, like kuta few, maru many and manuwarra great multitude, are properly used in their stead. See, for example, Text 69, paragraph 3, sentence 2. But see also Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 4.
ngurruwarninhawa. Happy-INCHO-PAST-EMP animal-PL-OBJ be-PAST beat-IMPRF head-OBJ overjoyed. Some of them hit the ducks in the head, 

ngarantingarliu, \(^1\) maniyhu kamparnula tyirrtaawa. \(^2\) duck-PL-OBJ rest-DET cook-IMPRF-LOC hot coal-LOC-EMP while the others cooked them on hot coals.

Ngartiyaawayhu wanyaaarrinha: "Ngani nhulanga\(^3\) then apparently hear-PAST what here
Then apparently they heard something: "What's that there

wungkurrur" Kuntyirri wangkanha tyutyunha, "Nhama wala!" roaring noise one say-PAST mature man-PN look at-IMP that
One fellow said, "Look at that!"

Paru kankalawa pangkarri, \(^4\) wanangkaawa kanangkarriyangula spinifex up-EMP go-PRES whirlwind-EMP come-DEP-LOC Spinifex was flying up as a whirlwind came looking for the

wayharringu pirtuwanguuyhau. Parrimirrntilu thaarnaarnu look for-IMPRF initiand-DU-OBJ sea serpent-INST send-PASS PRF initiands. It had been sent by the

wayharringu pirtuwanguuyhau, nganytyaliu ngarrkaayi sea serpent to look for the initiands, who had eaten the forbidden

kurra_nkurra_nku mityarau. Tyutyu wathaa karnkungarli mulga parrot-OBJ egg-OBJ old-PL initiation boss-PL The old initiation bosses

mulga parrot egg.

wangkayinytyarrin_hawa: "Nganikgra\(^5\) ngallumpurru ngarrkaayi say-RECIP-PAST-EMP what-LOC to us whirlwind said to each other: "What's the whirlwind coming toward us for?

kanangkarri? Warlarralu\(^7\) ngaliuu watylimangulinha. come-PRES initiand-INST we bad-FACT-PASS-PAST We have been defiled by the initiands.

\(^1\) It is in fact possible to hunt ducks in this manner, hard as it may be to believe. For example, if large birds of prey like falcons are about, ducks will not fly, but will try to take cover under brush, flood rubbish or the like.

\(^2\) This is the correct way to cook ducks.

\(^3\) This form is unusual, but acceptable. The standard form is, of course, nhula.

\(^4\) Cf. Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

\(^5\) Sometimes the locative suffix translates into English as for. See section 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

\(^6\) This form would never be used in contemporary conversation. It is the objective case of ngaliuu we many including you, which is indeclinable in present-day Yindjibarndi. See section 3.1.3 in the Grammar. See also the next sentence in the Text.

\(^7\) This is the term used by the initiation bosses. The workers employ pirtuwangu.
Nganytyaliwayi

ngarrkunha!" Wanangkaa parla muntiwa

forbidden food-OBJ-EMP-DEIC eat-PAST whirlwind very really-EMP

They must have eaten that forbidden food!" The whirlwind grew very

watyi kartarrinha. Paruurrru, warnrtangarli, marnrrta minytyarnu

big-INCHO-PAST spinifex-PL tree-PL stone including very big.

Everything, including spinifex, trees and rocks,

tyulu kankalawa wanangkaalu kankaamangulingu.

everything up-EMP whirlwind-INST lift-PASS-IMPRF

was getting picked up by the whirlwind.

Ngartiyaawayhu maanuuyhau pirtuwanu wanangkaa kankaamarna,

then apparently unfortunate-DU-OBJ initiand whirlwind lift-PAST

Then apparently the whirlwind picked up the unfortunate initiands

parrimirnrti karpayangulampartu. Wanangkaa kururtarrinha.

sea serpent come up-DEF-LOC-TOP-CONTRA whirlwind stop dead-PAST

just as the serpent came up. The whirlwind stopped dead.

Pirtuwanguyhahaungkhanha parrimirnrtilawa, munytyungulinguwa

intitiand-DU fall-PAST sea serpent-LOC-EMP swallow-PASS-IMPRF-EMP

The initiands fell right into the sea serpent and got swallowed up.

Ngarringumarnuwa winwayayhu.

lie-PROG-EMP full-EMP-DET

It lay right down all filled up.

Maanuwarrangu karnkungarli ngayinhawa. Nyirlarliu

poor-PL initiation boss-PL cry-PAST-EMP excessive noise-OBJ

The poor initiation bosses started crying. They made a lot

waramarna. Pannrimnrti yuninha7 muntiwa thunnungka muntiwa.

make-PAST sea serpent go down-PAST truly-EMP under really-EMP

of noise. That's really why the sea serpent went under.

1Cf. paragraph 5, sentence 7 in this Text.
2The narrator tells me as another aside that the bosses immediately began to slash
themselves all over as a protection against the sea serpent, since sea serpents
are repulsed by blood.
3See section 4.1.1.3 in the Grammar.
4Whirlwinds have been known to knock motor vehicles off the highway.
5Note the use of the verb stem pungka- (VØ) and not parnrt- (VL) even though the
two initiands are falling out of the sky.
6There is some difference of opinion here. Long Mack thought that the two initiands
got thrown to the ground. Eric Miller went so far as to suggest that one can still
see the two initiands lying under the water in the stone like dugongs. However,
the reader must bear in mind that the name of the pool clearly incorporates the
past tense of the verb stem meaning swallow. See further below in the Text.
7It couldn't stand the noise. And when it went down, it made such a big splash
that it hurled water over the whole area, drowning the bosses.
8Cf. Text 63, paragraph 1, sentence 4.
Ngunaatpa yaalayhu yinta wangkanguli Murulumunytyurnanha
that one-EMP now-DET pool be called-PRES Crossing Pool-PN
Nowadays that body of water at Millstream is called Crossing

Tyrntawurrinala.¹ Nhaatumpa muthayhu!
Millstream-LOC this-ONE-TOP end-DET
Pool. This is the end!

TEXT 76

Minkala Parri muntu²
Aboriginal deity devil and
The Deity and the Devil

Yurtarrinytyu
Gilbert Bobby-INST
by Gilbert Bobby

Palamu ngaartangarli parninha³ ngurranyutungkamulu
long ago person-PL be-PAST back when the earth was soft
Long ago when the earth was soft, some people staged an

purnrtut thalungka Kanyiala.⁴ Nyutyumarna
initiation rite sacred site-LOC -LOC novice-PAST-PAST
initiation rite at the sacred site of Kanya. They initiated

ngaartau. Purnrtut yurluwarninha. Ngurnaakuyha,
man-OBJ initiation rite nothing-INCHO-PAST two of them
the man. The initiation rite was finished Two of them,

tyartaula tyutyunha ⁵ karparnawa ngurnaatjarrntu⁶
mature woman-BOTH mature man-PN take-PAST-EMP he/she-MS-GEN
both an old woman and an old man, took their newly initiated

manykayi nyutyuwwa. Karparna yawutpa⁷ kanytyarnu
son-OBJ novice-OBJ-EMP take-PAST downstream-LOC-EMP keep-IMPRF
son away. They took him downstream and kept him

parni; be-POT
there.

¹On the internal structure of these two proper nouns, see section 3.1.1.1.3 in the Grammar.

²This tale relates the laying down of the second of the two most important tracks, running through Yindjibarndi territory. It appears to be the only recorded version.

³It is interesting to observe how parni- (VØ) is employed in conjunction with purnrtut to mean put on an initiation rite. See section 4.1.2.1 in the Grammar.

⁴Compare this entire opening sentence with the first sentence in Text 75.

⁵Cf. Text 73, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

⁶Another example of a singular pronoun being used in place of a dual. Cf. Text 72, paragraph 2, sentence 3.

⁷The narrator insisted on translating the term yawut as west.

⁸Perhaps, a more literal translation for this sentence might be: They took him downstream, stopped and kept him there.
A devil came along and, using false words, addressed the old man as big brother. They used to go hunting for euros during part of the day, the devil going out at the same time. The man used to spear a euro first.

The devil used to stand there looking at a dried-up euro, lying inside a hollow log, having been dead for a long time.

The narrator translated the phrase maningkayhu yurrangka as sometime in the day.

Cf. Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 9.

See section 4.2.4.1 in the Grammar.

This word literally means in front. It also means before. Cf. murrirni in back, last, after. Note how time and space are brought together here. But contrast wanarra long (object) and parraa long time.

Note the appearance of three different short vowels in a row with no intervening consonants.

The narrator translated this word as forking in this context.

See section 3.1.4.1.3.4 in the Grammar.

'Next thing', according to the narrator.

Apparently what happened was that in the process of shaking his spear at the dead kangaroo, the devil projected life-giving magic power into it. Later on in the story, the narrator tells us that the devil was a wizard. See also the last footnote to sentence 4 in Text 70.
Thuwayinmartawa, piningkarriringumarnu karnrti mankuwayi, wanpirenumarnu spear-HAB-EMP run-PROG tail grab-POT beat-PROG to spear it, then run up, grab it by the tail, and hit it in the back

Nhankayi. Karlinntyarrimarta nguuraartamurwa nyurnrtiwarl
nape-OBJ go back-HAB camp-DIR ALL-ANA-EMP dead-COM
of the neck. The independent fellow that I was telling you about

Karnkamuwa. Thamayi independent-ANA-EMP
earlier used to go back to camp with the dead euro. He used to

Waramamarta ngarriwartaarnumarnu. Ngaartayhu pirringumpartu
make-HAB bake-PROG man-DET own-TOP-CONTRA
make a fire and bake it. The man used to bake his own

Ngarriwartaanmarta mirtawayi murlayi. Parri kanangkarrimarta
bake-HAB good meat-OBJ devil come-HAB
good meat - not the other stuff. The devil used to come over,

Murlayi yungkwayi ngaartaayhu, karlinntyarriringumarnu parni
meat-OBJ give-POT man-OBJ-DET return-PROG
give the man his meat and return to sit, back in his

Pirringulamu malungka, tyiyrarringu murnayiwrtaa yungkungulii
own-LOC-ANA shade-LOC wait-IMPRF close-OBJ-TURN give-PASS-POT
own shade, waiting to be given something in return.

Ngaartayhu karlinymanmarta ngurnaaku ngaarta murlayi parriyarnrtu
man-DET take back-HAB that-OBJ man meat-OBJ devil-MS-GEN
The man used to take the devil man's meat back to him.

Ngaarta. Parri ngurrurwarnimarta.
man devil happy-INCHO-HAB
The devil used to be pleased.

1Cf. Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 6.

2Evidently, this is an accurate description of hunting practice.

3Note how the anaphoric clitic -mu in karnkamuwa translates as previously mentioned, while in nguuraartamurwa, it means back.

4Here as in Text 74 the narrator employs the construction thamayi warama- (VL) make a fire. The preferred form in normal conversation is thamayi kampa- (VL) light a fire. See Text 58.

5Here is an instance, where the contrast clitic can be easily translated into English.

6Cf. paragraph 2, sentence 8 in this Text.

7Cf. Text 70, sentence 5 and Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 6.

8See section 3.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

9If we abstract the clause Parri murnayiwrtaa yungkungulii The devil will be given something in return and backform its active equivalent, which is Parri murnayiwrtaa yungkuway! Someone will give the devil something in return, we observe that the subject of the verb in passive voice is an underlying indirect object. See the end of section 4.2.3 in the Grammar.

10The narrator is having fun in this sentence.
The man got sick of that devil. He went a lot very downstream. He spotted some emus and speared short time long time devil-PN Not too long after, the devil person

He spotted some emus and speared the fat one. 

The man said to the devil: Can you go get a knife stone?"

The devil said: "Yes, big brother.

"We don't have a knife. Can you go ask for some."

The man said to the devil: "You and I knife-PRIV you can go-POT Come over to ask for some."

"Ngali tyumpirirriwarrimarta. Nyinta wantaa pangkarrrii you and I say-PAST devil say-PAST yes older brother The devil said: "Yes, big brother."

But don’t start eating until I get back! Wait for me.

Wait for me.

You could still hear that devil talking

1The narrator translates this word as hard. And, indeed, there are a number of contexts in which this translation appears to be very appropriate. See the Dictionary.

2Note the lone appearance of parnrtaya- (VL), which is unusual in this narrator's vocabulary. See Text 42, sentence 7.

3This is an interesting construction. See section 4.1.1.4.2 in the Grammar.

4Note that -nha here is not marking a proper noun, for as we have observed three sentences earlier and will observe again in the following sentence, parri is inflected like a common noun. With common nouns, -nha means one thing, person. Informants tend to translate it as one. See also Text 70, sentence 4.

5This word is a noun. But see also the fourth footnote in section 3.1.4.1.3.2 in the Grammar.

6This word makes a good tongue-twister, having all three kinds of 'r' which occur in Yindjibarndi - retroflex, flap/trill and reverse flap.

7A kind of shale rock.

8Note the use of the potential rather than the imperative mood here and in the preceding sentence. Perhaps the potential mood is more polite. See section 4.2.2.3 in the Grammar.

9Cf. Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 4.
kana ngarta.\textsuperscript{1} Ngaarta karpanha
clear still man get up-PAST
clearly as he was walking off in the distance. After that, the man

murri niyhu. Purrina tyarnkurnau ngarriwartulangu,
after-DET take out-PAST emu-OBJ earth oven-LOC-ABL
got up. He took the emu out of the earth oven and

wirnrarnumarnu. Karpangumarnu\textsuperscript{2} watylkartau\textsuperscript{3} marnrtau y,
cut-PROG ascend-PROG big-OBJ mountain-OBJ
cut it up. He ascended the tall mountain and went into

tharrwangumarnu ngamarlangu,\textsuperscript{4} parri ngunhu karlinytyarriyangulampartu.\textsuperscript{5}
enter-PROG cave devil that come back-DEP-LOC-TOP-CONTRA
a cave, while the devil was already on his way back.

Kanangkarrinha yurluwarra kayayi. Ngarringumarnu tyarru wakangangu,
come-PAST have nothing-POT lie-PROG over and over say-IMPRF
He came back for nothing. Lying down, he kept repeating,

"Wanththilawa kayaanha\textsuperscript{6} pangkarri?\textsuperscript{7} Ngayi
where-EMP older brother-PN go-PRES I
"Where did big brother go? I'm getting

kamunguliwa.\textsuperscript{8} Ngayi karpayi purrikayiwa yaala
vegetable-INCHO-PRES-EMP I get up-POT take out-POT-EMP now
hungry. I will get up and take the emu out now."

"Kaporrnpurnau." Karpanha muntilwarluwa purrikayi
emu-OBJ get up-PAST truly-INTNS-EMP take out-POT
And that's just exactly how it came about that he got

\textsuperscript{1}The sentence literally reads, The devil is still talking clearly as he is walking away.

\textsuperscript{2}It is possible that the informant means to have this sentence conjoined to the preceding one. However, the sense of the passage suggests that this verb is the first word of a new sentence and that it is inflected for progressive aspect by analogy with karrsingumarnu get up. Cf. the second sentence in the fifth paragraph of this Text. See also the latter part of section 4.2.9 in the Grammar.

\textsuperscript{3}Cf. Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 6.

\textsuperscript{4}The narrator says that this is the proper word for cave. It does not occur anywhere else in this Text in which see further below.

\textsuperscript{5}The contrast clitic here highlights the difference in the two simultaneously occurring actions. Cf. Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 12.

\textsuperscript{6}The short form kaya is a common noun, while the longer one kayaa is a proper noun. Compare kuta (NC), kutapa (NP), both meaning short.

\textsuperscript{7}I am not sure that I translated this sentence correctly. Perhaps I should have rendered it Where is big brother off to?

\textsuperscript{8}Cf. kamungu (NC) hungry.
Parri payawirrinha. \(^1\) Pungkanha thulu ngarris yathangka \(^2\) malungka. get wild-PAST fall-PAST face down lie-POT canopy-LOC shade-LOC went wild. He fell over and lay face down in the shade of

Yurrntiri ngarrinha parraampa, karpangumarnu. nasty lie-PAST long time-TOP get up-PROG his canopy. For a long time he lay there in a foul mood and then he got up.

Mawarnkarra parri ngunhaarrumpayhu. Payharna mawarnparri. \(^3\) magician devil that-ONE-TOP-DET throw-PAST magic power-COM That particular devil was a magician. He cast his magic.

Mawarn karlinytyarri \(^4\) ngarriwartuwarta ngarta. Parri magic power come back-PRES earth oven-DIR ALL yet devil Yet his magic power returned to the earth oven. The devil ngarrinha tyatyawarnaayi, \(^5\) mirta mirnu wanhthilau ngaartau lie-PAST rubbish-INCHO-PRF not knowing where-OBJ man-OBJ lay vanquished, not knowing where the man had gone with pangkarraayi tuarnternawariu murlawariu. \(^6\) Ngarrinha malungka, go-PRF emu-COM-OBJ meat-COM-OBJ lie-PAST shade-LOC the emu meat. He lay in the shade yartayi kurkantryarnu. \(^7\) Ngarrinha nhaungu kankalarru a lot-OBJ think-IMPRF lie-PAST look at-IMPRF upwards and thought a lot. He lay there, looking up at the marnntayi mutyi ngamarlangu. \(^8\) Nhaunha kunytirriiu warrayiu, mountain-OBJ hole-OBJ cave see-PAST a-OBJ fly-OBJ hole in the mountain, i.e. the cave. He saw a fly, going

\(^1\) Cf. Text 12, sentence 1.

\(^2\) This is a simple shelter with a roof, but no walls.

\(^3\) The Yindjibarndi sentence literally states: He threw something with (read containing) magic power. The 'something' was without much doubt a small pebble.

\(^4\) Cf. Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

\(^5\) The word literally means 'rubbished'. I don't know whether it is a loan translation from English or not.

\(^6\) Note how the narrator carefully marks every word in this clause with objective case markers in order to indicate that nominalised verbs and nouns inflected with suffixes are treated in the same manner as ordinary nouns. Earlier I questioned him in great detail about this.

\(^7\) Cf. Text 73, paragraph 2, sentence 3.

\(^8\) This word is annoying, because in this context it could be reasonably read through his magic mirror, ngamarla being the magic mirror and -ngu the ablative suffix. See section 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar. Remember the narrator has already told us that the devil is a magician.
Kurkan tyarnawa, "Ngunhthaa go into-DEP mountain-OBJ hole-OBJ think-PAST-EMP that place He thought, "That must be the place parni nyinta ngayu muiirraayi! Parri karpanhawa. be-PRES you me run away from-PRF devil get up-PAST-EMP you ran away from to!" The devil got up. Wirtirrinha marnrtayi. Kanangkarrinha nhurnu ngaartau climb-PAST mountain-OBJ arrive-PAST this(OBJ) man-OBJ He climbed the mountain. He arrived to find the man parniyangu, wirntakaayiwa palamu. Ngaarta parrii sit-DEP cut-PRF-OBJ-EMP already man devil-OBJ sitting there, having already cut up the meat. The man gave yungkunha. Wangkanha: "Nhaa ngarrkuma munta! give-PAST say-PAST this eat-IMP blood pudding He said: "Here, eat this blood pudding! Thaa martuwarnima!" Tharrwarna thaangka muntiyaamu mouth space-INCHOMP put in-PAST mouth-LOC apparently Open your mouth!" It looked like he put blood pudding muntai thampany kuru yawan. Parri pungkanha blood pudding-OBJ but-TRU hot cooking stone devil fall-PAST in his mouth, but really it was a hot cooking stone. The devil fell nyurnrtiwa! Ngaartauyha pangkarrinha yawukurruwa dead-EMP man-DU go-PAST downstream-LOC-DRN ALL-EMP dead! The men went downstream to Tarda Pool.

1 How is it possible for the devil to do this, when the cave is at the top of a tall mountain? See preceding footnote.

2 Apparently, the sentence literally says: Having run away from me, you are in that place.

3 The narrator is forced to use the proper word for climb and not the colloquial karpa- (V0), because he has just employed the latter form to mean get up.

4 In the preceding sentence the narrator does not say meat. Therefore, we must interpret the zero object here to mean something. See section 4.2.9 in the Grammar.

5 Munta is the cooked coagulated blood, which collects in the body cavity around the spear wound. The narrator indicated that it is a real delicacy.

6 Note how thampa is employed to indicate adversative disjunction. See section 4.2.5 in the Grammar.

7 The cooking stones are hot stones which are inserted into the body cavity preceding cooking in order to insure that the meat gets cooked through in not too long a time. This one was evidently covered with cooked blood.

8 Note the predicate complement.
Thaartanguwarta. 1
Tarda Pool-OBJ-DIR ALL
Murrirni ngunhu parri wankarrinhawa. 2 Kar pangumarnu, afterwards that devil alive-INCHO-PAST-EMP get up-PROG
Afterwards that devil came back to life. He got up and

pangkarrinha 3 ngurrawnrnturala, mankungu pay ankarrangu 4
go-PAST on walkabout pick up-IMPRF soldier went on walkabout, picking up some other devil soldiers.

parringarriu manii. Karlinytyarrinha payankarrawari tyutyungu devil-PL-OBJ other-OBJ return-PAST soldier-COM mature man-OBJ He returned with his soldiers to find the

parnrtyayikayi, 5 parniyangu manykawari. 6 Wan ththarna martulila find-POT sit-DEP son-COM leave-PAST centre-LOC old fellow, sitting with his son. He had his soldiers

Karraangu 7 wangkangumarnu: "Mirta nyinta nganiwarni! stand-INF say-PROG not you something-INCHO-POT surround them and then he said: "Don't you do anything!

Karrima kunhu! 8 Ngayi nyinku muntakayi 9 manykayi stand-IMP still I to you take away from-POT son-OBJ Stand still! I'm going to take your son away from

nyinkaarrnttu." Mun twariuluwa thuwayina manu nyutyuu, your-OBJ truly-INTNS-EMP spear-PAST poor novice-OBJ you." He really truly did spear the poor novice

1 From an examination of its gloss, one can see how this place name sounds to the untrained English ear.

2 Cf. paragraph 2, sentence 7 in this Text.

3 The verb sequence here is unusual, but correct. Kar pangumarnu, pangkarrinha means the same as Karpanha, pangkarringumarnu. Semantic constraints insure this.

4 The informant uses a variant form of payankarra to see if he can fool us into believing that this is an objective form and consequently that payankarra is a proper noun. Further on he employs payankarrangu as the subject of an intransitive verb, insuring that we realise it is a variant form of payankarra.

5 The use of the verb for find here makes me wonder whether this construction could be an anglicism.

6 Note the use of the comitative case marker twice in this sentence to mean in the company of.

7 Literally, He left them to stand in the middle.... This is a typical war manoeuvre.

8 Contrast the structure of this positive imperative with that of the preceding negative one. See also section 4.2.2.3 in the Grammar.

9 See section 4.1.2.2 in the Grammar on this verb.
pangkarrningumarnu. Yirtinykarrarinha. 1 Tyampa pangkarrinha go-PROG lined up-INCHO-PAST short time go-PAST and then he went. The soldiers lined up. In a short time they payankarrangu. soldier were gone, too.

Minkala yintinha. 2 Wangkanka tyutyungu Aboriginal deity descend-PAST speak-PAST mature man-OBJ The deity descended. tyartaulau. Wangkanka nganiwarnaayi mankayi mature woman-BOTH-OBJ ask-PAST why son-OBJ old woman both. He asked them why the devil had nyurnrtimakayiu. Tyutyunha wangkanka, "Tyarnkurnangaala." 5 dead-FACT-PRF-OBJ mature man-PN say-PAST 'emu-ACCT killed their son. The old man said, "On account of the emu".

Minkala wangkanka, "Ngayi nyinku kurruwakayi Aboriginal deity say-PAST I you(OBJ) side with-POT The deity said, "I will side with you completely". muntiwarluwa. 6 Minkala wanpirna ngurrayi, really-INTNS-EMP Aboriginal deity strike-PAST ground-OBJ He struck the ground, making a hole. mutyimarnu. Parringarli tyulu pungkanka thurnungkawa, hole-FACT-IMPRF devil-PL all fall-PAST inside-EMP All the devils fell inside and

1 Soldiers march in single file.

2 See Text 59, sentence 3.

3 Note that wangka- (VØ) say, not manyuwarri- (VØ) ask for is employed in asking a question.

4 The objective case marker on the end of this word makes it impossible for us to translate the sentence as He said, "Why did the devil kill your son?"

5 The narrator translated Tyarnkurnangaala as Over the emu. Later I asked him if ngunhungaala means on account of that, and he said yes. In regard to this, see von Brandenstein 1970:197, 201.

6 A freer translation of this sentence might be: I am totally on your side. The narrator's translation is: I will take your part all the way.
thaartamarnumarnu. 1 Parninha ngurnaakuyha Minkala muntu 2
split open-FACT-PROG stay-PAST those two Aboriginal deity and
split it open. Those two people and the deity stayed

kuyharrala yurrangka kuma. 3
two-LOC day-LOC together
together for two days.

TEXT 77

Minkala Wirra Tyampurra muntu
Aboriginal deity boomerang left handed and
Minkala and the Left-Handed Boomerang

Yurtarrinnytu
Gilbert Bobby-INST
by Gilbert Bobby

Ngarti parni5 wanyaarringu wungkurruwa. Minkala
then be-PRES hear-IMPRF roar-EMP Aboriginal deity
Then they heard a roaring noise. Minkala said to the
tyutyungu wangkanhawa: "Nyinta parni ma tyampa tyiyarringu!
mature man-OBJ say-PAST-EMP you sit-IMP little while wait-IMPRF
old fellow: "You sit here and wait for a little while!

Ngayi karpayi pangkarrii 6 Kawuyungu7 marnrtayi nhaway! 8
I go up-POT go-POT Mount Nicholson-OBJ mountain-OBJ see-POT
I will go climb Mount Nicholson in order to see what that extremely

---

1 And now you know why the pool is called "Thaarta".

2 Cf. Text 63, paragraph 2, sentence 1 and Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

3 There is no closing formula to this story, because it immediately leads into a
new adventure, which is recounted in the next and final Text.

4 This story is a continuation of the preceding one. I decided to separate it,
because it describes an event which is more or less unrelated to the one which
occurred in the preceding story. A different version of this tale - again
presented on its own - can be found in von Brandenstein 1970:284-290.

5 This verb is in the present tense, because it describes the later of the two past
actions, the earlier one being recorded in the last sentence of the preceding Text.
Cf. Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 3.

6 By inverting the order of these two verbs, the narrator lays a trap for the
unsuspecting reader, who may read karpayi pangkarrii Kawuyungu as will get up and
go to Mount Nicholson. However, the next sentence makes it clear that the
translation given in the Text is the correct one.

7 Mount Nicholson is a tall mountain standing by itself, just south of the Fortescue
River and west of the North West Coastal Highway.

8 I suspect that this verb can also mean to find out.
There is really no word for loud. Munti means really. A loud noise is yankarr munti really a noise or parla yankarr a hard noise. A soft sound is said to be nyarni slow.

I think the narrator means some other devils, different from the ones that fell into Tarda Pool. Marduthunira territory is traditionally said to be full of devils and spirits. However, Alf Boona, a Marduthunira man, told me that one doesn't see much of them anymore.

The boomerang was a special left-handed one, made of the red wood of the kaarrka tree.

It is constructions like this, which force us to conclude that parni-(VØ) must mean be as well as sit, stop, etc.

Cf. Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 12.

Weerawandie Plain lies southwest of Mount Nicholson. It is not marked on the official map; however, a Weerawandie Well appears there. According to Gilbert Bobby, Wirrawantli is a 'half-and-half' word: Wirra means boomerang in Yindjibarndi, and wanti means place in Marduthunira. Thus, the name means Place of the Boomerang. It is not clear to me why it includes a non-Marduthunira element.

Cf. Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 10.

The verb stem pampaar-(VL) means test, try out. It does not mean try in the sense try to do something. In such a context one would simply find an appropriately inflected form of do, that is, except where failure is involved. In respect of the latter situation see earlier in this same sentence.

Yiyangu new is not related to the borrowings yilam(u-) lamb and yangupala young (fellow). Cf. Ngarluma yityangu new, yityala now (= Yindjibarndi yaala).

The other boomerangs were just ordinary ones.
Minkala
Aboriginal deity
Then apparently, Minkala started calling it.

be-PAST
Then apparently call over-IMPRF

He

be-PAST
in Minkala’s hand.

hand-INS T
motioned with his hand, and the boomerang rose higher. It came down

be-PAST
to Minka la

hand-LOC-EMP
right in Minkala’s hand.

Tyutyunhayhu
The mature man way over in camp.

mature man-PN-DET
man sit-PRF way over there camp-LOC-DET

Yintinha
descend-PAST

It came down

Tyutyu nhayhu

mature man-PN-DET man

sitting way over in camp.

Wanyaarraayi

hearing the roaring noise, he got up and dug a soak.

hear-PRF
roaring noise get up-PAST soak dig-POT

After he heard the roaring noise, he got up and dug a soak.

wirtirringumarnu

climbed the tall mountain.

mountain-OBJ big-OBJ sit-PAST top-LOC-EMP

Then he climbed the tall mountain. He sat near the top,

kunkurr

looking down.

downwards look-IMPRF Aboriginal deity come back-PAST mature man-OBJ

Minkala looking down. Minkala came back to search for the old fellow.

Pangkarrinha

search for-POT-EMP

He walked over to look at something:

Cf. Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 5.

The use of parni- (V0) here is quite interesting.

On the use of the semicolon, see the last paragraph in section 4.2.9 in the Grammar.

Cf. Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 5.

Evidently, Minkala was left-handed. Lefthandness is not rare among Pilbara Aborigines, but it is not common either. Leonard Wally or Tyampu Lefty is a left-hander as is Elsie Bobby. Gilbert Bobby told me about a family in Port Hedland in which one parent and all or nearly all the half-dozen children are left-handed. The only ambidextrous Aborigine in the area known to me is David Lockyer.

Literally, Having the roaring noise,... Cf. the use of the perfective aspect in the preceding sentence.

Cf. Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 16.

The narrator employs the ordinary locative form rather than kankarni on top. Therefore, I assume that he means near the top.
"Nhaawarni. 1 Yurrramangarri." Minkala
this-INCHO-PRES soak be-PRES Aboriginal deity
"This is it. There is a soak here." Minkala felt thirsty.
piyarrinha. Mityarna pawayi. Parnratyna tyutyungu,
thirsty-INCHO-PAST drink-PAST water-OBJ He drank some water. He found the old fellow,

kumpayi 2 parniyangu yurrumalawa. 3 Minkala
face-OBJ be-DEP soak-LOC-OBJ-EMP Aboriginal deity
whose face was reflected there in the soak. Minkala looked up

nhaunha kankalaurru tyutyungu, parniyangu thurningu
look at-PAST upwards mature man-OBJ sit-DEP smile-IMPRF
at the old fellow, sitting there smiling down on him.
kunkurr. 4 Ngunhaarrumpa! 5 downwards. that-ONE-TOP
That's it!

1 Note the use of an inchoative verbaliser with a pronoun. Note further that the
inchoative verbaliser has a stative function here. Cf. Text 65, paragraph 1,
sentence 2.

2 Perhaps kumpa should be translated reflection here.

3 Cf. Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 2.

4 Cf. the final sentences in Text 60.

5 According to Jerry Jerrold, Minkala climbed the mountain and ascended into the sky.
He was never seen on earth again - at least not on Yindjibarndi ground.
PART III

ANALYTICAL DICTIONARY
Yindjibarndi has a substantial vocabulary. In twenty months it was possible to collect and check in detail enough data to produce a dictionary, containing somewhat less than three thousand entries. This vocabulary is even more substantial than might appear as many Yindjibarndi words are polysemic - see, for example ngayi- and paya - and many concepts which are expressed in English in terms of special words are uttered in Yindjibarndi as phrases - see, for example, pungka-. Thus, the vocabulary is certainly sufficient for normal daily conversation.

A few of the entries represent words taken from the 'respect language'. This is a special set of vocabulary items which in the old days had to be used in communication with in-laws who stood in an adjacent generation level. Today this special lexicon has been nearly forgotten. It might also be worth mentioning here that there is no special vocabulary which is used to communicate with babies (but see kapakapa). Gilbert Bobby, a very knowledgeable speaker, specifically denied that any such thing exists for Yindjibarndi. Hale's extensive Ngarluma field data support this contention for the area in general. 'Baby talk' is only mentioned once there (see Hale 1960:409).

The dictionary is arranged according to the scheme which is described below:

All entries are listed in alphabetical order, irrespective of whether they are free or bound, stems or suffixes. Where there is homonymy, the order of presentation is as follows: nouns (free forms followed by bound - all under the same heading), pronouns (as for nouns), indeclinables, verb stems (free before bound - under different headings), suffixes, clitics. Each entry is spelled in a special orthography, which is based on the English alphabet, but modified to suit the requirements of Yindjibarndi phonology (see section 2.1.1. in the Grammar). If the entry has an oblique stem or a stem variant, this is listed after the entry. For example, the entry for work is recorded as warrkam, obl. stem warrkamu-. Then too, if the entry is a noun which possesses an irregular plural or lacks a dual and/or plural form, this information is also provided. For example, the entry for native flower appears as follows: tyurtu, pl. -pirri. Note that the 'Key to Abbreviations' contains a complete list of abbreviations employed in this book.

Next the entry is identified and classified using a code consisting of letters enclosed in parentheses. Nouns of the type, common, proper or retroflex, are marked '(NC)', '(NP)' or '(NR)' respectively, while
the compass points and the terms for *upstream* and *downstream* are marked '(NDn)' or '(NDs)', depending on whether they follow the declensional paradigm for *north* or *south*. Noun-like words which cannot be declined at all are classified as indeclineables '(I)'. All other types of nouns are simply marked '(N)', and each case is listed immediately preceding this symbol (see, for example, *murna*). Pronouns '(P)' are handled similarly, except that pronouns which cannot be declined are marked '(PI)'. Verb stems and verbalisers are always classified according to stem-class, that is '(VØ)', '(VL)', '(VR)' or '(VN)', but not according to transitivity. Whether a particular verb stem can or cannot take an object is predictable from its meaning. Clarifying examples are provided where there is ambiguity. In this regard, see *karpa-*(VØ) and *wirtiwirtaa-*(VL).

Endings are marked either as suffixes '(S)' or clitics '(C)', regardless of whether they occur with nouns or verb stems.

Then a qualifying remark about the entry may be given, for example, *barr.* (= borrowed, borrowing), *bnd.* (= bound) *form*, *rare*, etc. The reader will note that the caption '*bnd. form*' only occurs in situations in which homophonous free forms are found. Otherwise, the bound form is simply hyphenated. Compare, for example, the treatment of *karta-*(NC2,3) with *karu-*. A definition follows unless a direction to another entry is given, which is always the case when the qualifying remark is *var.* (= variant). See, for example, *kakurli*. If the entry possesses more than one meaning, a complete list of known ones is presented, each meaning being potentially preceded by qualifiers as described above. With nouns and verb stems, the most frequent meaning is given first, unless one is seen to be semantically most basic. For example, the meanings of *piyulu* are presented in the following order: 1. yellow ochre 2a. yellow, 2b. orange. Sometimes phrasal or sentential examples are given immediately after a particular meaning. This happens with some frequency with verb stems, the example illustrating how the verb is used in a sentence and which cases it selects. For example, the last meaning of *kuluma-* is presented as follows: 3. mix, combine, *e.g.* ---- *ngamayulu* *iyawangka*: mix tobacco (OBJ) with white ash (LOC). With suffixes and clitics an attempt is made to list the most characteristic meaning or function first. However, if the suffix or

1 Except that anticipated stative meanings are not usually provided for inchoative verb stems nor are predicatable meanings incorporating the sense *keep on doing it* normally listed for factitive verb stems.
clitic occurs with both nouns and verb stems, then the nominal meaning or function is listed as '1.' and the verbal as '2.'.

Finally, an etymology of the entry is given in brackets. Every attempt is made to present a precise morphological analysis as is done, for example, with karntatypiriti. Sometimes reference is even made to other languages in order to identify roots and stems. In this respect, see tharnangka and yurala. Even so, in a number of cases like tyananyungu and yirryiwartu only a partial explanation or bare suggestion can be presented. Where the entry has been borrowed and its source is known – see, for example, Mulakurla, this information is given instead. In a few instances, mostly involving original monosyllabic verb stems (see especially manku-), a purely historical etymology is noted. Cognates from other Pama-Nyungan languages are also frequently listed irrespective of how the entry has been explained.
-aangu + ...V- (S) INFINITIVE ASPECT MARKER [-ra- (= Tr FUTURE TENSE MARKER, WD INCEPTIVE IMPERATIVE MOOD MARKER) + -angu (2), see also -1angu and see section 3.1.4.2.1 in the Grammar]

-aayi + ...V-(S) PERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER [see section 3.1.4.2.1 in the Grammar]

alarti (NC) borr. holiday, e.g. parni- -----: be on, have or take a holiday, pangkarri- -----: go on holiday [< Eng]

Alyi (NP) app. borr. Algie Paterson [< Eng, see Yi palyirri]

arintyi (NC) borr. orange (fruit) [< Eng]

arlipala (NC) borr. early (in the morning) [arli- (< Eng) + -pala]

-arnrtu (S) GENITIVE CASE MARKER

Arrarli (NP) borr. Harold Ned [< Eng]

-irti (S) speacer [cf. Nm -yirti]

K

ka- (NC) have, possess [cf. Ny ka- (VL)]

-ka- (VL) FACTITIVE VERBALISER [also Nm, cf. Yi ka-, -karri-]

-ka (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

kaa- (NDs) south [see kayilarni]

-kaa (S) like, similar to, resembling [-ku (Cl) + -ra (lb), cf. Pn, Nl -kura (= Yi -kurru)]

kaant (NC) borr. can’t (see purtat) [< Eng]

kaarrka (NC) redwood [kaya- + -rr- + -ka]

kaarrwanyti- (VØ) 1. slip 2. slide [kaarr- (= Nm kararr hard, tight) + -wanyti- (< *wanytya-, see puntyi), cf. Nm kararrwanytyarri- and see Yi wantyarri-]

kaarrwara (NC) var. = kayirrwarra

kaartu (NC) shout

-kaayi (S) PERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER [see -aayi]

kakarlurlu (NC) crested pigeon [kaka- (as if < kaku-, see karrwarn) + -rlurlu, but cf. WD kakallalla white cockatoo]
kaki (NC) borr. bird, e.g. ----- wirnkaarlaa: songbird [<Eng]
kaku- (NC) point [<*karku-, see kakurla]
Kaku (NP) Norman King

kakurla (NC) doubah, silky pear (species of milkwood vine bearing edible pear-shaped pods) [kaku- + -rla, cf. WD karlkurla, see also Yi kuku and wakarlu]
kakural (NC) var. = kakurla [kaku- + -rl]
kakurlira (NC) var. = kakurla [kakural + -ra (1a)]

Kakurka (NC) borr. Yule River [<Ka]

kala- (NC) 1. thigh 2. flexed leg [cf. NL kala thigh, Ku karlarta pents, WD karlu (see also Yi warnrtl, wlrta)]

Kalarrra (NP) patrimoity, dual division, village quarter [kali + -yarra]

kalangku (NC) ----- ngarri-: lie with legs flexed [kala- (2) + -ngku (1)]

kalangu (NC) sugarbag (honey sealed in large wax sacs in paperbark trees)

kalawara (NC) stubbies, short pants [kala- (1) + wara (1)]

kali (NC) one-half, a half

kaluntya (NC) house mouse [also Nm]

kalupurlu (NC) borr. spadefoot toad [<Ka kalhupurlu, see also Yi Mulakurla]

kamara (NC) borr. camera [<Eng]

kamayi (NP) 1. stepmother who is younger sister to real mother. 2. mother's younger sister 3. father's younger brother's wife [see thamii]

kampa- (NC) heat(ing), cook(ing)

kampa- (VØ) 1. be burning 2a. be cooking, get hot 2b. get ripe 2c. get ready 3. purrkurn ----- + -Ø: smoke is rising

Kampa- (VL) 1a. burn 1b. light, e.g. ----- thamayi: start a fire (OBJ) 2a. cook 2b. prepare 3. ----- purrkurnku: make smoke (OBJ) [<PPN *kampa-]

Kampaayi (NC) ready to eat: 1. cooked 2. ripe [kampa- (VØ2) + -aayi + ...V-]

Kampanha (I) var. = kampaayi [kampa- (VØ2) + -nha (2)]

Kamparra, pl. -pura (NC) borr. hard black naturally-occurring substance, which when heated is said to dry up water holes [<Nm (= Yi kampa- [NC] + -rra [SL])]
kampatkampat (NC) spotted [kampat- spot + redup. -kampat, see mutyimuty]
kampayarnrtu (NC) stove [kampa- (NC) + -ty- + -arnrtu]
kampayharnrtu (NC) var. = kampayarnrtu [kampa- (NC) + -th- + -arnrtu]
kamu (NC) any kind of vegetable
kamungu (NC) hungry [kamu + -ngu (lc)]
kamunguli- (VØ) get hungry [kamu + -nguli- (1)]
Kana (NC) la. clear(ing) lb. visible. 2. light, bright
kanalili (NC) dawn [kana (2) + -lili]
kanalirri- (VØ) dawn [kanalili + -rr]-
kanangkarri- (VØ) come, arrive, appear; e.g. ngurrayi -----: come to a place (OBJ), arrive at a place; nganangu -----: come upon someone (OBJ), arrive to find someone, appear to someone [kana (la) + -ngka (1) + -rr]-
kananyuwarra (NC) woman and her husband's sister [kana (la) + -nyu (Sl) + -karra (2), cf. Ma kananyu husband's sister, also Yi ngurrayu]
kanatyi (NC) lightning bolt [kana (2) + -tyi]
kanawarni- (VØ) become clear or visible [kana (1) + -warni-]
kangkan (NC) vee, e.g. -----: wuntu: fork in a river (see mirka) [cf. kangkurra]
kangkankarra (NC) forked, e.g. -----: yirtiya: forked road [kangkan + -karra (1)]
kangkaty (NC) loose, slack [cf. Nm kangkany]
kangkatyarri- (VØ) come loose, get slack [kangkaty + -tyarri-]
kangkurra (NC) forktail catfish [cf. kangkan]
kanhtharraarra (NC) woman and her mother's mother [kanhtharri (1) + -yarra (2), cf. Nm kanhtharriyarrara]
kanhtharri (NP) 1. maternal grandmother 2. man's son's daughter, woman's daughter's daughter
kanka (NP) height, top
kankaama- (VL) lift up [kanka + -ra (lb) + -ma-, cf. Nm kankara (= Yi kankala)]
kankala (NC) up, high, above, at the top, e.g. -----: warnrtaa: in the top of a tree [kanka + -la (1)]
kankalangu (NC) from above [kankala + -ngu (la)]
kankalarri- (VØ) get up, rise [kankala + -rr]-
kankalaurru (NC) upward [kankal + -kurru, cf. Nm kankalakurru]
kankarni (NC) on top [kanka + -rni (1)]
kankarniurrula (NC) up onto the top [kankarni + -kurru + -la (1), cf. wanththarniurrula]
kanparr (NC) spider [also Nm, but cf. Wa centipede, WD kanparrka]
kantipi (VM) yandy, winnow in a thartu
kanti (NC) circumcision knife
kantipi (NC) rare diminutive, tiny [kantu- + -mpi, see muntipa, martimirri]
kantu- (NC) low
kantungarra (NC) rain cloud over the ocean (appears to hang low) [kantu- + ngarra]
kantuwarri- (VØ) squat, stoop down [kantu- + -karri-]
kanytyi (NC) 1. edge, border, drop-off 2. bnd. form nose (see mutha) [< *kanyti (cf. Nm) < kanytya- (NC), see kaarrwanytyi-]
kantyirr (NC) sneeze [kanyti- + -rr (1), see thumpirr]
kantyirraarri- (VØ) sneeze [kanytiirr + -rru (1) + -rarri-, cf. Nm kantyirrma- (VØ)]
Kanyia (NP) site of the sacred dancing circle (bora ring) [< Kanyira]
Kanyira (NP) rare var. = Kanyia
kanytya- (NC) edge
kanytya- (VL) 1. have 2. ------ nganii marangka: hold something (OBJ) in one's hand (LOC) 3. keep [ka- + -ny (2) + -tya-]
kanytyaurula (NC) ------ ngarri-: lie on one's side [kanytya- (NC) + -ku (S) + -rta, cf. Nm kanytyakurla]
kanytyi (NC) ranji bush (a small slender prickly bush)
kapa- (NC) gobble
kapakapa (NC) 1. gobble-gobble (call of the kapakurta) 2. var. = kapakurta (app. children's language) [kapa- + redup. -kapa]
kapakurta (NC) spotted nightjar [kapa- + -ku (S) + -rta (1)]
kapityi (NC) borr. store vegetable [< Eng cabbage]
kari (NC) 1. poison which will only make one sick 2. bad-tasting, bitter, salty 3. alcoholic drink
karimarra (NC) plains kangaroo wuungu [kari (2) + -marra]
karimaya (NC) pub, bar [kari (3) + maya]
kariwarnrta (NC) bush with light bark and reddish flowers, the sap of which is used to poison fish [kari (1) + warnrta (1)]

kariwinyangu (NC) full of alcoholic drink, drunk [kari (3) + -winyangu]

Kariyarra (NC) Kariera (a people who dwell on salty ground) [kari (2) + -yarra (1)]

karka (NC) wash, arroyo [cf. Nm karlka]

karkurrangu (NC) flower of the karrurwa [see muwarrangu]

karla (NC) rare fire [also Pn, Ma, Tr, Nr]

-karlaa (S) PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX: having, possessing [karli- (2a) + -ra (1b), cf. Nm -karliira]

karlairtu (NC) black swan (has a red bill) [karla + -tyi + -rtu (SI), cf. Nm karlayirtu, but see also Yi tyirtu and purnanyirunyiru]

karlamana (NC) falcon [karla + *mana (> mana-), see section 3.1.1.3.5 in the Grammar]

karlangkaarra (NC) man and his wife’s brother [karla + -ngka (1) + -karra (2), cf. kananyuwarra]

karlantya (NC) scorpion [karla + -n + -tya, also Ku, Nm]

karlaru (NC) small species of tandan or eel-tail catfish (has poisonous spines) [karla + -ru, cf. Nm kind of prickly bush]

karlaura (NC) wheel [karla- (< kala-) + -ku (S) + -ra (1a), see also -kaa]

karlawirrrura (NC) 1. dragonfly (iridescent wings) 2. helicopter [karla + wirrrura]

karli (NC) 1. temple 2. bnd. form 2a. proximity, proximate, back 2b. boomerang-like [cf. Nm forehead; Ny, WD, Nr boomerang]

karlima- (VL) hold back, keep, detain, e.g. ----- pangkarriyangu: keep from leaving [karli- (2a) + -ma-, also Ku]

karliny (NC) returning [karli- (2) + -ny (1)]

karlinyma- (VL) take back, bring back, return [karliny + -ma-]

karlinytyarri- (VØ) 1. get back, go back, come back, return 2. back up, reverse [karliny + -tyarri-]

karlirrinykaa (NC) long-nose river lizard [karlirri- (= Nm) + -ny (2) + -kaa]

karliwirri (NC) pancreas, sweetbread [karli- (2b) + -pirri (SI), cf. Nm karlipirri]

karlumpu (NC) common prickly tomato

karlun (NC) cattail bulrush
karlutyuu (NC) diamond dove [karlu- (< karli- [2b]) + -tyu + -ru, cf. Nm karlikuru, also WD -lluru (= Yi -purru)]

karnka (NC) independent, very able [cf. karnku]

karnkamarra (NC) independent fellow [karnka + -marra]

karnku (NC) 1. ceremonial boss for an initiation rite 2. ----- + -uyha: the boss and his wife 3. ----- + -ngarli: the boss, his wife and all the people of their generation attending the rite [cf. karnka]

karnpi (NC) wrinkle

karnrta (NC) teardrop

karnrtara (NC) rain cloud [karnrta + -ra (1a)]

karnrtarr (NC) burp, belch

karnrtarra (NC) 1. tendon, sinew 2. vein, e.g. marta winpa ----- + -u: blood follows the veins (OBJ)

karnrtarrari- (VØ) burp, belch [karnrtarr + -rrari-, cf. Nm karnrtarrma- (VØ)]

karnrtatypirti (NC) teary, bleary [karnrta + -ty + -pirti (1)]

karnrti (NC) tail [cf. Pn, Pl tree, Nm upper part of a tree]

karnrtimarta (NC) seed of the bloodwood tree [karnrti + -marta (S1b), see purlaala]

karnrtirri (NC) distant smoke [app. karnrti + -rri (1)]

karnrtuwangu (NC) camel tree (camels like to eat its leaves) [cf. pirtuwanugu and see also karnrti]

karpa- (VØ) 1a. ascend, rise 1b. fly up or away, take off 2a. get up, arise, e.g. ----- karril: stand up, ----- tyiingka: get up on a chair (LOC) 2b. ----- marnrtayi: go up a mountain (OBJ) [cf. Ku kartpa-; Nm, Pn karlpaa-; see also next entry]

karpa- (VL) 1. carry, transport, take (along) 2. bring, get [< ka- (NC) carry (cf. Ny [VNG]) + -r- + -pa (S), cf. Nm karlpaa-]

karpamarri- (VØ) get up together [karpa- (VØ2a) + -marri-]

karpayhu- (VL) = karpayirraa- [karpa- (VØ) + -yhu- (2), cf. Nm karlpaytiyi-]

karpayirraa- (VR) 1. raise 2. cause to fly 3. cause to climb [karpa- (VØ) + -yirraa-, cf. Nm karlpayirrima-]

karra (NC) scrub, thicket, bush

-karra (S) 1. -ed, -ing 2. and reciprocal

karrarnmarra (NC) thick scrub or woods [karra + -rn + -marra]

karratypirti (NC) slippery, slick [cf. karnrtatypirti]
karri- (VØ) 1. be standing, e.g. ---- + -ngumarnu: stand up, marnrta ---- + -Ø ngurrangka: a pebble is lying on the ground 2. cease moving, stop 3. be [also Nm, Ny, Wa; cf. Nb ka- (VL)]

-karri- (VØ) INCHOATIVE VERBALISER [also Nm, see YI karri- (3)]

karriirraa- (VR) ---- nganil uu nganangu: 1. stand something (OBJ) up or make someone stand up 2. stop something (OBJ) or someone [karri- (1,2) + -yirraa-]

karrimarri- (VØ) stand together [karri- (1) + -marri-]

karriny (NC) starting to stand [karri- (1) + -ny (1)]

karrinykarriny (NC) baby which has just learned to stand [karriny + redup. -karriny]

karrirman (NC) sweet prickly tomato

karriyhu- (VL) = karriirraa- [karri- (1,2) + -yhu- (2)]

karrkari (NC) vomit, puke [cf. Nm kalkari (sic)]

karrkarli- (VØ) vomit, throw up, spew, thunder [cf. Nm kalkari-]

Karrarra (NC) Perth

Karrminy (NP) Ginger Samson [cf. Eng Carmine]

karru- (NC) river (bed) [cf. WD karru river (bed)]

karrurnkaa (NC) shingle rock (one of a number of loose flat rocks found in river beds) [karru- + -rn + -kaa]

karruwa (NC) cork tree, plains corkbark (Aboriginal English) [cf. next entry and see pilygarra]

karruwarikan (NC) kookaburra (bird which dwells in trees along rivers) [karru- + -pa (S) + -r- + -ka + -n, cf. Ng karrupa[ra]kan, Nm karrupu[ru]]

karrwarn (NC) summer [karrwu- (= Ku sun, cf. NL karrpu summer) + -rn, see section 2.2.8 in the Grammar, cf. Nm karrparr]

karrwarnpa (I) summertime [karrwarn + -pa (C2)]

karrwarnyarr- (VØ) get to be summer [karrwarn + -tyarrl-]

karrwiri (NC) white rope-like material used by a parri to snare people

karta (NC) 1a. lowness, bottom 1b. coastal lowlands 2. bnd. form side of the head 3. bnd. form 3a. prickle 3b. projection [cf. Nr, WD kata head]

-karta (S) DIRECT ALLATIVE CASE MARKER [see section 3.1.1.2.2.1 in the Grammar]

kartaa (NC) side of face from cheek to jaw [karta- (2) + -ra (1a), also Ku, cf. Nm kartara, but also Pn katara]
kartaa- (VL) 1. poke, pierce 2. ----- tyumpirirriwari: stab with a knife (COM), ----- maurnruwarli: spear with a duelling spear 3. ----- mirilmirrilu: write a paper (OBJ), ----- wangkayi mirilmirrila: write words (OBJ) on paper (LOC) 4. ----- warayi: sew cloth (OBJ) [karta- (3a) + -ka-, cf. Nm kartaka-; also kartatha- chop, WD karta- cut]


kartairri (NC) outcropping of flat granite rock [karta (la,3b) + -tyirri (Sl), cf. Nm kartatyirri]

kartangka (NC) down, low, below, at the bottom, e.g. yurra -----; the sun is low, ----- warntaa: under a tree [karta (la) + -ngka (1)]

kartangkarri- (VØ) get down, get low [kartangka + -rrri-]

kartangu (NC) gum from the kanytyl [karta-(3a) + -ngu (la,c)]

kartanpatyi (NC) mottled (fur), varicoloured [cf. Nm karta(r)nkarta(r)]

kartantyi (NC) dwarf bearded dragon (see Text 3) [karta- (3a) + -n + -tyl]

kartawinykarra (NC) 1. sideways 2. across [karta- (2) + -pi (1) + -ny (2) + -karra (1), cf. Nm kartatyarra]

kartuwarli (NC) boodie rat, burrowing rat-kangaroo [cf. Nm kartukarli]

karu- (NC) smooth and round [cf. Nm karu testicle]

karu (NC) smooth [karu- + -nu (1)]

karuwarra (NC) meteor, shooting star [karu- + -karra (1), cf. Nm karuili pebble]

katha (NC) scrotum and testicles

kathakatha (NC) (male) masturbation, e.g. ----- + -la parni-: masturbate [katha + redup. -katha]

katharn (NC) weary, worn out

katharnma- (VL) make weary, wear out [katharn + -ma-]

katharntyarri- (VØ) grow weary, get worn out [katharn + -tyarri-]

katharr (NC) small worm living in stagnant water

katpayi (NC) rat-tail goosefoot, crumbweed [cf. WD kaipari]

katyarta (NC) tickly [katya- + -rta (1), cf. Nm katyakatyama- (= Yi katyartaa-)]

katyartaa- (VL) tickle [katyarta + -ka-]

katyarti (NC) 1. lizard 2. coll. uvular appendage [cf. Nm kalharti]
katyartu (NC) soulfather, godfather
katyu (NC) tomahawk, hatchet, axe [also Nm, WD]
kawarli (NP) 1. paternal grandmother 2. man's daughter's daughter, woman's son's daughter [cf. N1 karpali, Ny karpalityi]
kawarliwarli (NC) butterfly [kawarli (1) + redup. -warli, see section 3.2.1.1.2 in the Grammar, cf. Nm, Ny karpalipari]
kawi (NC) fish [cf. Wa kap1, but also WD water]
kaya (NC) la. older brother 1b. older halfbrother 1c. stepbrother through a stepparent who is older sibling to replaced parent 1d. son of father's older brother or of mother's older sister 2. bnd. form red [cf. Nm katya older brother]
kayaa (NP) var. = kaya [kaya + -ra (1a), see marraa]
kayalangkarr (NC) tiny red and white-striped melon [kaya- + -1a (2) + -ngka (2) + -rr (1)]
kayauluyu (NC) copperserial (yellow-face whip snake in a green and red colour phase) [kaya- + kulu + -tyu, cf. kuluwirri]
kayauluyungu (NC) var. = kayauluyu [kayauluyu + -Ngu (1c)]
kawayyi (NC) orange caper, caper tree (fruit is yellowish outside and red inside) [kaya- + -payi, cf. Nm kattyawari]
-kayi (S) POTENTIAL MOOD MARKER
kayii (NC) blunt training spear [kayi- (= WD katiyi) + -ri, cf. Nm katiyiri]
kayilarni (NC) from the south (see ngunthirni[ngu]) [kayi- (> kaa-) + -1a (1) + -rni (1), cf. WD kayili north (country)]
-kayingu (S) IRREALIS MOOD MARKER [-kayi + -ngu (2), cf. Nm -katinguru]
kayirr (NC) obs. nuisance
kayirrwara (NC) app. borr. breechcloth, loincloth, cockrag (Aboriginal English) [< Nm (= kaiyrr paunch + wara cloth)]
kii (NC) borr. key [< Eng]
kiitaa (NC) borr. guitar [< Eng]
kilirr (NC) decorated stave worn by initiand in his headband, small ornamental bullroarer
kimiti (NC) borr. boss by White Australian law: director, manager, etc. [< Eng committee]
kitakita (NC) tap-tap, e.g. ----- wanpi-: tap for attention
    [kita- + redup. -kita]

Kiyaki (NP) Clarence Bobby

-ku (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

-ku (C) 1. OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER 2. PRESENT TENSE MARKER

kuingka (NC) thigh bone [kui- (= kuyhi) + -ngka (2)]
kuku- (NC) wool [as if < *kurku-, see kukura but also kukurntyayi]
kukura (NC) wool [kuku- + -ra (la), cf. Nm kurlkura head hair, wool,
    see also kakurla]
kukuramaya (NC) woolshed [kukura + maya]
kukurntyayi (NC) poss. bbor. sheep [kuku- + -rn + -tya + -ri, also Ku;
    cf. Nm, Ny kukurntyari, Nr kukanadyari, WD kukanadyari(r)i,
    Wa kukanadya]

Kukurntyayi (NP) Dempsey Hicks (a man with curly hair) [< NC]

-kula (S) 1. both 2. couple, pair, duo [cf. Nm -pula DUAL SUFFIX,
    NB pair, WD pula they-two, both < PPN *pula they-two, see also
    section 2.2.15 in the Grammar]
kulu (NC) 1. louse 2. bnd. form joined, attached, mixed
    [cf. Nm ku(r)lu(ku)lu small]
kuluma- (VL) 1. join, e.g. ----- ngaartangili: join a group (OBJ)
    2. attach, e.g. ----- kurriyiartau mirrungka: attach a throwing
    spear (OBJ) to a woomera (LOC) 3. mix, combine, e.g. ----- ngamayi
    yiwangka: mix tobacco (OBJ) with white ash (LOC) [kulu- + -ma-]

kulumarri- (VØ) become joined together, join together
    [kulu- + -marri-]
kuluwirn (NC) flower of the paperbark tree [cf. Nm kuluwurn]
kuluwirri (NC) brown snake [kulu + -pirri (Sl), cf. Nm kulipirri]
kuma (NC) together, e.g. ----- nganala: together with someone (LOC)

Kuma (NP) Assembly Hill (a hill overlooking the assembly ground
    on the Fortescue River) [< NC]
kumamarri- (VØ) assemble together [kuma (NC) + -marri-]
kumarla (NC) var. = kuma [kuma (NC) + -rla]
kumarlarri- (VØ) get together [kumarla + -rri-]
kumauma (NC) man who has lost a child, bereft father [kuma- +
    redup. -kuma, cf. Nm kumakuma]
kumirn (NC) mosquito

kumpa (NC) 1. face and its reflection 2. mask, headdress
    3. manner [cf. Ny ngumpa]
kumpali (NP) borr. = marrkanhu [<Nm]
kumpawirruu (NC) 1. funny-face 2. ----- wartirra: proscribed woman
   [kumpa (1,3) + wirruu (2,3)]
kumpu (NC) 1. borr. urine 2. bnd. form urine [1. <Nm, 2. <PPN]
kumpungu (NC) married [also Nm]
kumputyutya (NC) 1. spinifex roach 2. other types of cockroach
   [kumpu- + app. -tyu + -tya, cf. Nm kumpukumpura]
kuna (NC) faeces, excrement [<PPN]
kunangu (NC) kind of large headdress worn during a corroboree
kunawii (NC) little pine-like shrub with sticky aromatic bark
   [cf. Nm kunapityi]
kunayi (NC) respect lang. = papu (1)
kunayi- (VN) defecate [kuna + -yi-]
kungama- (VL) respect lang. = manku- [cf. -ma-]
kunhu (NC) motionless, still
kunkurr (NC) downwards [cf. kanka(laurru), -rru (1) and see section
   2.2.1 in the Grammar]
kunpurlu (NC) bushy, fluffy
kunti- (VØ) refuse, decline
kuntu (NC) sacred headdress worn during the maurarra
kunytyi- (NC) one
kunytyimu (NC) poss. borr. single, alone, solitary, only [as if
   kunytyi- + -mu, but cf. Nm one]
kunytyirri (NC) la. one 1b. same (one) 1c. ---- + -la: once
   2a. a, an, some 2b. (another (one) [kunytyi- + -rri (1)]
kunyurr (NC) snug and warm, cozy
kupitya, pl. kupiyarri (NC) la. small, little 1b. small amount,
   little bit 2a. thin 2b. narrow
kupityaarri- (VØ) get small(er) or thin(ner), shrink
   [kupitya (1,2a) + app. -karri-]
kupiyarri (NC) see kupitya [kupitya + -rrri (2)]
kupiyarrima- (VL) cut or break into little pieces [kupiyarri + -ma-]
kura (NC) pyramidal spiderflower
kurarra (NC) Pied Piper bush, native mesquite (resembles the kura)
   [kura + -rra (1)]
kuriwaartarri- (V0) 1. circle back 2. spin around as if dizzy
[kuri- (app. > nguri, see kumpa) + waartarri-, cf. Nm
kuriwakartarri-, Tr kuril kurirri- turn around]

kurka (NC) ear [cf. Ku kurtka, Nm kurlka]

kurkanyan (NC) variety of silver-leaf wattle with a large leaf
[kurka + -nya + -n, cf. Nm kurlkanyan]

kurkanntyay- (VL) 1. think 2. remember 3. believe in [kurka + -ny
(2) + -tya-, cf. Nm kurlkawarni-]

kurkaurta (NC) variety of wattle, closely related to the kurkanyan
and providing edible seeds in a jacket [kurka + -ku (S) +
-rta (1)]

kurkawatyi (NC) 1. deaf 2. stupid [kurka + watyi (1)]

kurla (NC) buttock [also Ku]

kurlimpa (NC) tea tree [kurli- + -mpa, cf. Nm kurlipirn]

kurlu (NC) 1. warm, hot 2. small of back [also Ku, but cf. Nm
kurlu hot, purlu saalrum; see also Yi kurla, -kula]

kurluma- (VL) heat, warm up [kurlu (1) + -ma-]

kurluu (NC) black duck

kurluwarni- (V0) get warm or hot [kurlu (1) + -warni-]

kurna (NC) charcoal

Kurnaana (NP) Spirit Mountain (sacred site for insanity) [cf. kurna
and ngunhaana]

kurnan (NC) soft black rock used as paint, app. manganese ore
[kurna + -n]

Kurnapuka (NP) borr. Goonabooka Pool, Blackfellows' Pool
( Aboriginal English) [< Nm (= Yi kurna + -puka)]

kurnarra (NC) black ash [kurna + -rra (S1)]

kurni (NC) turned in upon itself; e.g. kawurn -----: folded skin,
mirtiyi -----: coiled rope, ngaarta -----: parningu: man sitting
huddled up

kurnkurn (NC) blowfish [kurn- + redup. -kurn]

kurnma (NC) delicious

kurnmairti (NC) good hunter [kurnma + -irti]

kurnrta (NC) 1. respect, deference; e.g. wangka -----: respect
language, high language ( Aboriginal English); ----- + -yi wangka-
speak the high language (OBJ), talk deferentially 2. shyness,
shame, embarrassment [also Nm, Ny; cf. WD kurnrta( kurnrta),
Wa kurnrtayi]
kurnrtakarra (NC) mother's brother and his sister's son
[kurnra (1) + -Ø- (3) + -karra (2), cf. Nm kurnrtalkarra]

kurnrat (NC) 1. daughter 2. stepdaughter 3. daughter of a man's
brother or of a woman's sister [cf. Nm, Ny, Wa kurnrtal, also
WD yurnrtal]

Kurnrtatyarri (NC) Mutual Respect (name of a corroboree owned by
Jack Ray) [kurnra (1) + -tyarri]

kurnrtii (NC) small black beetle that swims on top of the water
[cf. Nm kurnrtii]

kurnrtu (NC) 1a. brain 1b. mind 2. milk

kurra- (NC) rough stuff

Kurrama (NC) Kurrama (people who dwell on rough ground, see also
Kariyarra) [kurra- + -ma (1), cf. kurrartu, Ngarluma]

kurrarka (NC) itchy caterpillar [kurra- + -r- + -ka]

kurrarnkurrarn (NC) mulga parrot, many-coloured parrot [kurrarn-
+ redup. -kurrarn, also cf. kurrawayi- and see Text 75]

kurrartu (NC) walking stick [app. kurra- + -rtu (S1), see Kurrama]

kurraurra (NC) rough, course [kurra- + redup. -kurra, cf. Nm
kurrakurra]

kurrawayi- (VN) swim [cf. -yi-]

kurri (NC) young single girl ready for marriage [cf. Nr unmarried
woman, girl, WD (potential) spouse]

kurriyarta (NC) long two-piece throwing spear with a tanged point
[cf. Nm kurriyarta (= kurrtya stone blade + -rta), By kuttyarta,
WD kurlarta]

kurru- (NC) dead [cf. Ku kurru dead; Pn, Pl kutu; Ny deceased
person]

-kurru (S) DIRECTIONAL ALLATIVE CASE MARKER [-ku (Cl) + -rru (1),
cf. WD -kutu]

kurrumanhthu (NC) male bungarra or Gould's sand monitor (a scavenger)
[kurru- + -ma (1) + -nhthu, cf. nyarrmanhthu]

kurrurta (NC) stopped dead, dead still [kurru- + -rta (1)]

kurrurtarri- (VΩ) stop dead [kurrurta + -rri-]

kurrwa- (VL) ---- nganangu: side with someone (OBJ), take sides
with someone, take someone's part [cf. -ka-, see also kurtun,
kuluma- (1)]

kurrwaru (NC) pied butcher bird [cf. Nm kurrparu pied butcher bird,
Wa kurrparuparu, but also note WD kurrparu magpie, Pl kurrparurtu]

kurrwiny (NC) darter (bird) [cf. Nm kurrpiny spearhead, kurrpinykura
darter]
kurta (NC) 1. respect lang. brother 2. bnd. form older brother [cf. Nl, WD older brother]

kurtaarra (NC) man and his younger sibling [kurta- + -karra (2), see also thurtuwarra]

kurtampaa (NC) old (thing) [cf. kurta-, Nm kurtampara]

kurtan (NC) bag, aack [cf. Nr kutu and see Yi tyawurtu]

kurti (NC) red marsupial mouse

kurtinyirri (NC) rain cloud over the land

kurtun (NC) together

kurtuntyarri- (VØ) get together [kurtun + -tyarri-]

kuru- (NC) round and fat object [cf. Ma, WD kuru eye < PPN, also Nm kuru seed, kururr eyeball]

kuruuru (NC) fat and round, plump [kuru- + redup. -kuru, cf. Pn kuruuru]

kuruwa (NC) pimple [kuru- + -ka or -pa (S), also Ku]

kuta (NC) short

kutapa (NP) var. = kuta [kuta + -pa (S)]

kutaparri- (VØ) var. = kutawarni- [kutapa + -rri-]

kutawarni- (VØ) get short(er), shrink [kuta + -warni-]

kuthany (NC) squashed, mashed

kuthanyoma- (VL) squash, mash [kuthany + -ma-, cf. Nm kul[h]anyka-]

kutparn (NC) narrow [cf. Nm kulparn]

kutpurru (NC) pimelane, pigweed [cf. Nm kulpurru]

kutyipirupuru (NC) app. borr. rainbow bird, bee-eater, bird-of-death [< Nm (= kutyi [= Yi kuyhi] + piru- + redup. -piru [its call]), see also Text 70]

kuuthu (NC) tadpole, pollywog [kuru- + -thu]

kuwa (NC) 1. pouch in the inside of the cheek 2. bnd. form travel [cf. Nm kuka cheek, see also Yi kuwayl]

kuwartata (NC) urine [also Ku]

kuwartayi- (VN) urinate [kuwarta + -yi-, cf. Ku kwartaya- (VL)]

kuwartu (NC) crawl on one's hands and knees, e.g. ----- pangkarri-: crawl [kuwa- + -rtu (S1), cf. tyinartu]
kuwarturri- (V) crawl on one's hands and knees [kuwartu + -rr1-]

kuwartuwarra (NC) baby which has just learned to crawl [kuwartu + -karra (1)]

kuwayi (NC) come here! [kuwa- + -yi (Sl), cf. Pl kuka; Nm, Pn kukayi, also see Yi yakayi]

kuyaa (NC) other side [kuyu (NC) + -ra (la), cf. Nm kutyura]

kuyauya (NC) 1. silly 2. dizzy [kuya- + redup. -kuya]

kuyauyarri- (V) get silly or dizzy [kuyauya + -rr1-]

kuyha- (NC) two [see kuyharra]

-kuyha (S) DUAL NUMBER MARKER [< NC]

kuyharra (NC) 1. two 2. ----- -----: four 3. ----- + -la: twice [kuyha- + -rra (Sl), cf. WD kutyarra, Nr kutyal, PPm *kuutyima]

kuyharrauyhampa (I) rare four [kuyharra (1) + -kuyha + -mpa]

kuyhi (NC) bone [also Ku, cf. Nu kuthi, Ma kuyi; Nm, Pn, Pl kutyl]

kuyu (NC) side

kuyu (I) let, may

Kuyupuyu (NP) borr. 1. Cooapooey Pool 2. Cooya Pooya Station [< Nm]
maalaarra (NC) man and his father’s father [maali + -yarra (2)]

maali (NP) la. paternal grandfather 1b. man’s son’s son, woman’s daughter’s son 2c. man’s son’s dog 2. nguyu -----: term of address for one’s son [cf. Nm mayili]

maanu, pl. -warrangu (NC) unfortunate, poor fellow [cf. Nm maratyu nu]

maanyu (NC) man whose head has been screwed [cf. Ku manhu and Nm manhuka- (= Yi pirriya- [2]), also PPM *manu neck, throat (see also wanhtha- [VL])]

maap, obl. stem maapu- (NC) group, mob, bunch [< Eng]

maapu- (NC) see maap [back formation from free form, see paylamu-]

maara (NC) echo

maarrka (NC) 1. preying mantis 2. emu-man [mara (1) + -rr- + -ka, cf. Nm maralka]

maarta (NC) la. right hand 1b. right-handed 2. right side [maa- + -rta (1), cf. Ku maya(a)rta, Nm mayangu]

maatha (NC) poss. borr. boss, chief, master [< Eng, but see Text 48, sentence 1]

malaya (NC) borr. wine [< Nm (= Yi tyinhtharr, see also kari)]

malu (NC) 1. shade 2. shadow

-malu (S) quantity [also Nm, cf. WD -lmarlu and see also Yi maru]

malungu (NC) borr. bug-eyed monster [< Ma (= Yi malu + -ngu [lc])]

malura (NC) shady [malu (1) + -ra (1b)]

malurarr- (V0) get shady [malura + -rri-]

malurta (NC) borr. any member of a series which is neither first nor last; e.g. index, middle or ring finger [Nm malurta (= Yi mathu + -rta [1]), cf. Ku mathurrrka index finger and see Yi Mulakurla]

maluyhu- (VL) give nyiiinnyiin, cast a spell [app. malu + -yhu- (1)]

malyun (NC) butterfish, scat

mama, obl. sg. stem mamani- (NP) 1. prob. borr. father 2. stepfather who is younger brother to real father 3. father’s younger brother 4. mother’s younger sister’s husband

Mama, no du. or pl. (NC) loan trans. God the Father [< Eng via NP1]

-mama (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

mamani- (NP) see mama (NP) [mama (NP) + -ni, cf. yumuni]

mamiya (NC) clown, trickster

Mamiya (NP) Ben Clark [< NC]
-man (S) borr. person, thing [<Eng man]

mana- (VØ) respect lang. = manku- [<past tense of the obs. form *ma- (VN)]

mangkarn (NC) 1a. spirit, soul 1b. loan trans., u.c. Holy Spirit
2. rare loan trans. spirits, alcoholic beverage (see Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 7) [1b., 2. <Eng]

mangkurla, pl. -rra (NC) child

Mangkurtu (NC) Fortescue River [cf. Nm flood, WD sea]

mangumangu (NC) spear similar to maurnru but possessing forward-facing cutting tongs as well [mangu- + redup. -mangu, cf. WD mangurl spear]

manguny (NC) 1. primordial creative force 2. creation, events which occurred at the beginning of the world 3. Aboriginal law [cf. Ny dreamtime]

manhtharr (NC) prob. borr. grassless flat [<Ku, see also Yi pii]

manhthi (NC) wet, damp

manhthu (NC) termite

mani, pl. -ngaa (NC) 1. part, some 2. rest, other (part)

mankarr (NC) 1. hard 2. tight, stuck

mankarraa (NC) difficult, hard [mankarr (1) + -kaa]

mankarrma- (VL) tighten [mankarr (2) + -ma-]

mankarrwarni- (VØ) get hard or tight [mankarr + -warni-]

manku- (VØ) 1. get 2. take hold of, grab, catch 3. pick (up)
4. buy 5. ----- nganangu kamaralu: take someone's picture
   [<pres. tense of the obs. form *ma- (VN), see mana-]

mankunguli- (VØ) feel, e.g. ----- + -Ø matha: it feels sticky (NOM)
   [manku- (2) + -nguli-]

manngarlany (NC) sticky [cf. tyamarlany]

manparli (NC) circumcised [also Ku]

manparlima- (VL) push back the remaining foreskin on a newly circumcised penis [manparli + -ma-]

manta- (NC) bind, snare

manta- (VØ) encircle oneself in a long thin flexible object, e.g. ----- mantawuntharriu: put on a belt (OBJ)

manta- (VR) enclose, snare

mantanhu (NC) obs. borr. kind of fish net having a wide mesh
   [<Nm (app. = Yi mantaayan), but see next entry]
mantanhuwarlaa (NC) police [mantanhu (app. refers to the wire mesh on the paddy wagon) + -karlaa]
mantarrangu (NC) stringy plant which entwines itself in spinifex [app. manta- (NC,VØ) + -rr (2) + -rra (S1) + -ngu (lc), cf. muwarrangu]
mantawuntharrri (NC) belt [manta- (NC,VØ) + -puntharrri]
Manti (NC) rare brrorr. Monday [< Eng]
Mantiirti (NP) brrorr. 1. a certain gum tree on the top of a hill in Cooya Gorge 2. Gum Tree-in-the-Moon [< Nm (= mantu meat + -yirti [= Yi -irti])]
Mantumaya (NC) brrorr. Mount Welcome Station (formerly a butchery) [< Nm (= mantu meat + maya [= Yi])]
manuwarrra (NC) very large quantity [cf. -karra]
manyka (NC) 1. son 2. stepson 3. son of a man's brother or of a woman's sister [also Nm]
manytyangu (NC) stranger
manytyarn (NC) pallet, bed
manytyi (NC) death adder
manytyupi (NC) respect lang. = tyirriwi [cf. -pi (1), but see kantipi]
manyu (NC) 1. ask(ing) for, beg(ging) 2. something good to eat, also possess. tobacco and also (NC) ask + -nyu (S2), cf. Wa ma- (VL) say and see Yi wangka- (VØ1); also see next entry and manyuwarrimarta
manyulaa- (VL) take without asking, steal [manyu- (cf. WD [V] take) + -la (2) + -ka-, note also Nl manya- (V) give and see preceding entry]
manyuwarrri- (VØ) ask for [manyu (1) + -karri-, cf. Nm manyuwarni-]
manyuwarrimarta (NC) bludger, moocher [manyuwarrri- + -marta (S2b), manyu (2) + -parrimarta, also note Ny manyurla lazy, WD manyu(manyu) greedy]
mara (NC) 1. hand, including the fingers 2. parni-----+ -ngku: motion with the hand (INST) [< PPN, but see also Yi manku-, -ra (2)]
marangkama- (VL) get one's hands on [mara (1) + -ngka (1) + -ma-]
mararra (NC) 1. index finger 2. thumb [mara (1) + -rra (S1)]
markurra (NC) 1. right, good 2. well, healthy 3. well-behaved [cf. Ku martkurra]
markurrampa- (VL) make right, better or well; fix (up); cure [markurra (1,2) + -ma-]
markurrari- (VÔ) 1. come good  2. get well or better [markurra (1,2) + -ri-]
markurrawarlu (I) all right [markurra (1) + -parlu]
markurrayi- (VÔ) rare var. = markurrari- [< base form]
marla (NC) lacy carrot
marlangka (NC) close behind, right behind, ----- nganala: on someone's heels [marla- (= WD behind) + -ngka (1)]
marli (NC) lazy
marlirri (NC) flattened
marlirrima- (VL) flatten [marlirri + -ma-]
marlirrirri- (VÔ) get flattened, flatten oneself (out) [marlirri + -ri-]
marliya (NC) honey
marliyarr (NC) headband
marlu- (NC) bark
marlumarlu (NC) tiny tree resembling a palm but with white bark and brittle wood, growing out of cracks in the face of rocky cliffs [marlu- + redup. -marlu]
marlulu (NC) circular bark target for training spear [marlu- + -rlu]
marni (NC) any kind of mark(ing)
marniarlaa (NC) 1. marked  2. striped [marni + -karlaa]
marniyarra (NC) carpet snake [marni + -yarra (1)]
marnmarnkarlurlu (NC) red-browed pardalote (bird) [app. marn- + redup. -marn (poss. bird's call) + -ka + -rlurlu, cf. kakarlurlu and also note WD parnparnparlarla bellbird]
marnpi (NC) common bronzewing pigeon [also WD]
marnpurni- (VN) fan
marnpurr (NC) knee
marnrta (NC) 1. hard material, esp. rock and metal  2. pebble, a stone  3. mountain  4. money, esp. coin; e.g. ----- tylwarra: silver coin, ----- warru: copper coin
marnrtaampirr (NC) firefly (a kind of beetle) [app. marnrta (2) + kampa- (NC,VÔ1) + -rr (2), cf. yintirr and see thumpirr]
marnrtamarranga (NC) 1. rare handcuff  2. police [marnrta- (< manta[NC]) + mara (1) + -ngka (1), see marnrtaamirraa, but note also marnrta (1)]
marnrtaamarnrta (NC) stony (ground) [marnrta (2) + redup. -marnrta]
marnrtamaya (NC) stone house [marnrta (2) + maya]
marnrtamirraa (NC) eel [marnrta- (< manta- [NC]) + mirri- (1) + -ra (1a), see marnrtamarangka]
Marnrtamirraa (NP) Peter Munda [< NC]
marnrtamirtayi (NC) 1. rocky ground 2. mountain country [marnrta (2,3) + -mirtayi]
marnrtangatha (NC) ridge-tail monitor (lives in cracks in rocks) [marnrta (1,3) + -ngatha (= ngatha- [NC])]
marnrtanyungu (NC) 1. mountain-dweller 2. euro, red hill kangaroo 3. ----- paru: buck spinifex [marnrta (3) + -nyungu]
Marnrtapurlungka (NP) app. borr. 1. Mundabullanganna Pool
2. Munda Station, Mundabullangana [< Ka (= Yl marnrta [3] + purlu- + -ngka [1])]

marnrtawarni- (VØ) turn to stone [marnrta (1) + -warni-]
marnrti- (NC) father
marnrtiwarra (NC) young buck kangaroo [marnrti- + -pa (S) + -rra (S1)]
marnrtiyarra (NC) father and child [marnrti- + -yarrarri (2)]

marpa (NC) 1. oadjeput, paperbark tree 2. sheet or blanket of paperbark 3. ---- kumpaarlaa: paper money, banknote

marpamaya (NC) paperbark house [marpa (2) + maya]

Marra (NP) Gilbert Bobby's country [see marrarlari and Partuwartu]

-marraa (NP) 1. younger brother 2. younger halfbrother 3. stepbrother through stepparent who is younger sibling to replaced parent
4. son of father's younger brother or of mother's younger sister [marra- (= Ny marrka) + -ra (1a), cf. Nm marrkara, Ny marrkarto, WD younger sibling, see also Yi kayaa]
marrarlari (NC) wing [marra- (= Pn) + -rli, cf. Nm marrirlari (see Yi tyurtairri)]

Marrawartu (NC) person belonging to the Marra mob (bunch) [Marra + -partu (1)]

-marri- (VØ) RECIPROCAL VERBALISER [< S]

-marri (S) RECIPROCAL SUFFIX

marriwaa- (VØ) wave

marrkanhu (NP) 1. wife's brother, man's sister's husband 2. son of a man's mother's brother or of a man's father's sister [cf. -nhu (2) and see marraa, but also kananyuwarra]
marrkanhuwarrsa (NC) man and his wife's brother [marrkanhu (1) + -karra (2)]
marru (NC) widow(er)
marruwa (NC) snakewood

marta (NC) 1. blood 2. bnd. form weight
= marta (S) 1a. -eater 1b. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 2a. HABITUAL ASPECT MARKER 2b. AGENT SUFFIX

martama- (VL) put weight on, press [marta- + -ma-, cf. Nm malhama-]

martamarta (NC) 1. red 2a. ngaarta -----: mulatto, half-caste, half-breed 2b. yawarta -----: chestnut horse [marta + redup. -marta]

martamartarri- (VØ) turn red [martamarta (1) + -rri-]

martarr (NC) red ochre [marta + -rr (1)]

martawutpu (NC) sap from the bloodwood tree [marta + putpu]

marti (NC) trail, track

martimirri (NC) = martumirri [< base form, see section 2.2.6 in the Grammar]

martirra (NC) rock morning glory, sweet potato bush (sends out many runners from which potatoes grow) [marti + -rra (S1)]

martiya (NC) respect lang. = yirtyiya [marti + -tya]

martu (NC) 1. space, place or spot, e.g. ----- mara: palm of the hand, ----- tyina: sole of the foot 2. bnd. form sleep 3. bnd. form water

martuli (NC) centre, middle of a two-dimensional space [martu + -li (1)]

martulilala (NC) in the centre [martuli + -la (1), cf. Nm marturala]

martulimpili (NC) middle of the night, midnight [martu- (2) + -li (1) + -mpi + -li (1), cf. Nm martumartu]

martuma- (VL) make a place, make room [marty + -ma-, cf. Nm martuka-]

martumirri (NC) damper bread [see martu- (3), mirrin]

martungkamu (I) time to get up, early in the morning [martu- (2) + -ngka (1) + -mu (3b), cf. Nm martungkalli]

martungkarri- (VØ) take one's place, take a seat (see Text 47, sentence 1) [martu + -ngka (1) + -rri-]

martunkura (NC) ibis [martu- (3) + -n + -ku (S) + -ra (1a), cf. Nm martuwari kind of water plant (see kayawayi) and see Yi -kaa]

martururraa (NC) flat on one's back [martu- (2) + -purraa, cf. Nm martutharrara]

martuwarlaa (NC) utility van, ute [martu + -karlaa]
martuwarni- (VØ) thaa ------: open one’s mouth (NOM) [martu + -warni-]
Martuwinthi (NP) app. borr. pool near Yandeearra used to conduct inquest rites [< Ka, but cf. martu- (3)]
Martuyhuni (NC) var. = Martuyhunira [cf. martu- (3) and see also Ngarluma]
Martuyhunira (NC) Marduthunira (people who dwell by the sea) [Martuyhuni + -ra (1a)]
maru (NC) a lot, many, much [cf. Ny marlu]
mata (NC) climbing sweet-potato (a kind of grape vine) [also WD]
matha (NC) 1. melted 2. dissolved 3. sticky [cf. Nm malha]
mathama- (VL) 1. melt 2. dissolve [matha (1,2) + -ma-]
mathangu (NC) purple river fig, sandpaper fig [app. matha (1,3) + -ngu (1c), cf. Nm malhangarra honey]
mathit (NC) languid, inactive [cf. Nm malhil]
mathittyarri- (VØ) become languid [mathit + -tyarri-, cf. Nm malhityarri-]
mathu (NC) the middle of a linear sequence [cf. Nm malhu]
mathungka (NC) in the middle, in between [mathu + -ngka (1)]
matyamatyya (NC) 1. showing off, acting important 2. ----- pangkarri-: strut around [matya- + redup. -matya]
matyamatyarri- (VØ) show off [matyamatyya (1) + -rri-]
matiyrr (NC) borr. match [maty- (< Eng) + -tyi + -rr (1)]
mau- (NC) cut
maurarrara (NC) second ceremony in the initiation rite (involves circumcision) [mau- + -ra (1a) + -rra (S1), cf. Nhankarrarra]
maurnrtu (NC) duelling and punishment spear [mau- + -rn + -rtu (S1), cf. Nm makurnrtu]
mawarn (NC) magic power [cf. Nm, Ny, WD, Nr maparn]
mawarnkarra (NC) native doctor, wizard, magician [mawarn + -karra (1), cf. Nm maparnkarra]
mawarnrtaa- (VL) apply magic power [mawarn + -la (1) + -ka-]
maya (NC) house, building
mayawaya (NC) landlord [maya + -paya]
mayhankaa, pl. -wirti (NC) lemon grass [cf. -kaa, Nm mathankura]
mayharka (NC) exposed tangled roots [mayha- (= Pn matha) + -r- + -ka]
Mayharri (NC) Pleiades, Seven Sisters [cf. -ri (2), Nm Matharri]

mayi (NP) 1. younger sister 2. younger halfsister 3. stepsister through stepparent who is younger sibling to replaced parent 4. daughter of father's younger brother or of mother's younger sister [cf. Nm marl]  

mayiri (NC) level, flat

mayit (NC) borr. might, may [< Eng]

mayitha (NC) water python, water snake (local term) [cf. Nm marilha]

mayitpi (NC) borr. maybe, perhaps [as if mayit + -pi (1), but < Eng might be]

mayikan (NC) mountain gum, my gum (local term < Yi) [cf. Ku matykan, Nm mallkan]

mayu (NC) quiet, calm, peaceful, tame [also Nm]

mayuma- (VL) make peaceful, calm or quiet [mayu + -ma-]

mayumarriri- (VØ) make peace with one another [mayu + -marl-]

mayuwarni- (VØ) quiet down, calm down, become peaceful [mayu + -warni-]

mi- (NC) know

mii (NC) branch, twig [cf. Nm miri]

mila (NC) pelvic bone at socket [cf. Nm buttock]

milintya (NC) spangled perch, mountain trout (local term)

milpinti (NC) borr. bundle of tyanytylrn bound at both ends and carried by dancers in a corroboree [cf. WD drawing stylus]

milyangkut (NC) a meeting which is held for the purpose of getting acquainted

milyinkura (NC) mangrove jack, red snapper (local term) [cf. martunkura]

mimi (NP) 1. mother's brother 2. father's sister's husband 3. spouse's father

mimityangu (NC) silky pear, doubah (see kakurla)

mina, pl. -rarri (NC) soft spinifex

minarrangu (NC) centipede

mingkayhu- (VL) protect [cf. -yhu-]

minka (NF) respect lang. = kanka

minkaa (NC) respect lang. = kanka [minka + -ra (1b) or poss. -ngka (1), see kankaama-]

minkaama- (VL) respect lang. = kankaama- [minkaa + -ma-]
minkaarri- (VØ) respect lang. = kankalarri- [minkaa + -rrri-]

Minkala (NC) 1. the Aboriginal deity 2. Jesus Christ [minka + -la]
minkalamaya (NC) church [Minkala (2) + maya]
minkayhu- (VL) respect lang. = minkaama- [minka + -yhu- (1)]
minpirrirri (NC) kestrel [minpi- + -rrrirri, see wiirirri]

mintyurlu (NC) 1. ---- yurti: spinifex gooseberry, very sweet prickly tomato 2. ---- kari: kangarooberry, bitter prickly tomato

minya (NC) lung [cf. Nm minha slime and see also Yinguinya]

minyaminya (NC) = minya [minya + redup. -minya]

minytya (NC) 1. deflated 2. bnd. form hair

minytyaarra (NC) stemodia (a hirsute aromatic plant) [minytya- + -karra (1), cf. Nm minytyakarra]

minytyama- (VL) 1. deflate 2. ----- piwili: milk a breast (OBJ) [minytya + -ma-]

minytyarnu (NC) including, as well [cf. -runu (1b,2)]

minytyiarri (NC) borrh. hairback herring (ocean fish), bony silver bream (local term) [< Nm minutyikarri, see also wilikarri and cf. Ny minyti- (VL) light]

minytyu (NC) 1. handgun, pistol 2. bnd. form point, thrust

minytyuwa- (VL) 1. ---- nganangu: point at someone (OBJ) 2. thrust at (see Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 5) [minytyu- + -ka-]

mira (NC) 1. gullet 2. borrh. mirror [1. = Nm, 2. < Eng]

miramira (NC) = mira (1) [mira (1) + redup. -mira]

mirka (NC) fork, crotch (of a tree or person) [cf. Ku mirtka]

mirlamirla (NC) worm which invades the flesh [mirla- (< murla [l]) + redup. -mirla, see kuluwirn, tyirtu]

mirlimirli (NC) 1. paper 2. letter, note 3. book [mirli- (app. = Nm paperbark) + redup. -mirli]

mirlimirlimaya (NC) post office [mirlimirli (2) + maya]

mirna (NC) (in, after or for) a while, by-and-by

mirnaawa (I) later [mirna + -ra (1b) + -pa (C2), see murrirniyhu (2)]

mirnat (NC) ready [mirna + -t (3)]

mirnattyarrir- (VØ) get ready [mirnat + -tyarrir-]

mirnawarra (NC) var. = mirna [cf. manrntiwarra]
mirnrti- (NC) small appendage on the body [cf. Nm mirnrti pimple]
mirnrtii (NC) wart, mole or similar growth [mirnrti- + -ri, cf. Nm
mirnrtiri fingernail]
mirnrtin (NC) clitoris [mirnrti- + -n]
mirnrtiny (NC) pop, bang
mirnrtinyama- (VL) shoot [mirnrtiny + -ma-, cf. Nm mirnrtillka-]
mirnrtinyamanpuntharri (NC) gun [mirnrtinyama- + -puntharri]
mirnu (NC) knowing, educated, clever [mi- + -rnu (lb), see also
minytyarnu]
mirnuma- (VL) 1. show 2. direct, indicate 3. teach [mirnu + -ma-]
mirnumaa (NC) teacher [mirnu + -maa]
mirnuwarni- (VØ) learn [mirnu + -warni-]
mirra (NC) 1. call 2. howl
mirra- (VØ) 1. call out, sing out 2. mutyira ----- + -Ø: the dingo
tis howling
mirri- (NC) 1. long, thin and flexible 2. clear sound
mrrili (NC) loud clear noise [mirri- (2) + -li (1)]
mrriminytya (NC) common caterpillar [mirri- (1) + -minytya]
mrriminytyangu (NC) = mrriminytya [mrriminytya + -ngu (1c)]
mrrimimpaj (NC) native fiddle, musical rasp [mirri- (2) + -mpaj]
mirrin (NC) stone hearth [also Nm]
mrrinmirrin (NC) cricket (insect) [mirri- (2) + -n redup.
mirrin, cf. Nb mrrimirrikaraa]
mrrityi (NC) string, rope [mirri- (1) + -tyi, cf. Pa, WD mrrilli]
mirru (NC) 1a. womera, spearthrower 1b. ulna (bone) 2. kind of
black and white snake [cf. WD womera]
mirrungkama- (VL) ----- kurriyartau: load a womera with a throwing
spear (OBJ) [mirru (1a) + -ngka (1) + -ma-]
mirrurtu (NC) baby, cradle [mirru (1a) + -rtu (S1)]
mirrurtula (NC) infant [mirrurtu + -la]
mirta (I) 1. not 2. no (not yes) [cf. Nm (NC)]
mirtawa (I) 1. certainly not 2. emphatically no [mirta + -pa (Cl)]
mirtawarlu (I) 1. not at all, never [mirta (1) + -parlu]
mirtawatyi (NC) 1. good 2. ----- ngurnaaku: better than that one (OBJ) 3. ----- muntiyu: the best [mirta (1) + watyl (1), cf. Nm mirtawallka]

Mirtawayit (NP) Table Hill

-mirtayi (S) where the _____ is [cf. Ny, WD -martatyi place of]

mirtuwarra (NC) very intelligent, brainy [mi- + -rtu (S1) + -karra (1)]

mirurru (NC) soul magnet

mithi (NC) borr. white woman [app. < Eng Missie, but see also matyirr and cf. WD, Dy mityityl app. < Eng Mrs]

mittyu (NC) talon [cf. Nl mil(l)tyu, Pn miltyu, WD miltyi, Wa miltyarn]

mitya- (VL) drink [also Ku, cf. Ng mutya-, but note Nm milla- lick, see also Yi muntytu-, mungartl]

mityara (NC) egg [mitya- (= Nl, Ny) + -ra (1a), also Pl, cf. Nu mityarra]

mityula (NC) hidden [mityu- hide (cf. Nm mill- [VØ]) + -la (2)]

mityulaa- (VL) hide, secret [mityula + -ka-]

mityularri- (VØ) hide oneself, become hidden [mityula + -rri-]

miyhirriny (NC) violet pool fig

moorlingu (NC) var. = muwarlingu [< base form]

-mpa (C) TOPIC CLITIC [cf. Nm -lpa]

-mpi (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

-mpu (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

-mpurru (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER

-mu (C) 1. ANAPHORIC CLITIC: previously mentioned 2a. back 2b. before 3. LOC + -----: 3a. before when, back on, ago 3b. after, past

mui- (NC) run

muii- (VN) make derogatory remarks about, run down [mui- + -yi-, cf. Nm mutyltha-]

muirri- (VØ) ----- nganangu: run away from someone (OBJ) [mui- + -rri-, cf. Nm mutyrarri-]


mul- (NC) around

mulimuli (NC) around and around [mul- + redup. -mull]
mulimulima- (VL) ---- ngalii: make something (OBJ) go around and around:  1. wind  2. spin  3. twist [mulimuli + -ma-]
mulimulirri- (VØ) go around and around:  1. revolve in a circle  2. rotate on an axis, spin [mulimuli + -rri-]
mulinyama- (VL) 1. circle around  2. ----- murrityiu: tie a knot [muli- + -ny (1) + -ma-]

mulu (NC) blade attached to the woomera handle, so-called 'adze' [see next entry]
mulumulu (NC) oattail [mulu- (= PPM tail) + redup. -mulu]
mungarti (NC) respect lang. = murla [cf. Ma mungka- (VL) eat < PPN]
mungkarn (NC) solid
mungku (NC) termite mound [cf. Wa antbed, PPM *mungka anthill]
mungkuuyhu- (VL) nudge [poss. mungku- elbow (cf. PPM *pungku knee) + -yhu- (1), see also nhuurka]
munthha (NC) ring-tail dragon (lizard)
muni (NC) brr. money [< Eng, cf. WD, Dy mani]
munta (NC) blood pudding (baked clotted blood)
munta- (VR) ---- ngalii nganangu: take something (OBJ) away from someone (OBJ)
munti (NC) 1. really, truly  2. wungkurru ---- loud roar
muntipa (I) 1. assuredly  2. that's assuredly how it happened or came about that, that's assuredly why [munti (1) + -mpa, see section 2.2.12 in the Grammar]
muntiwa (I) 1. definitely, certainly, emphatically  2. that's definitely how it happened or came about that, that's definitely why [munti (1) + -pa (1)]
muntiwarlu (I) 1. really truly  2. that's exactly how it happened or came about that, that's exactly why [munti (1) + -parlu]
muntiwayi (NC) perhaps, maybe [munti (1) + -wayi (1)]
muntiyaamuu (I) possibly, apparently (see ngartiyaamuu) [munti (1) + -yaa (1) + -mu (2b)]
muntiyhu (I) SUPERLATIVE MARKER, e.g. wayti ---- the worst, the really bad (one) [munti (1) + -yhu (1b)]
muntu (I) and
munytyu (NC) cicatrice, ornamental scar
munytyu- (VL) 1a. swallow  1b. ----- purrkurnku: inhale smoke (OBJ)  2. chew
murili (NC) echo
murku (NC) pregnant [cf. Pn murku]
murla (NC) 1. meat, flesh 2. animal, esp. a bird
murlawaya (NC) one who always has meat [murla (1) + -paya]
Murlunmunytyurna (NP) Crossing Pool [murlun- app. initian (cf. WD marurlu) + muntyu- (1a) + -rna (2), see also karlamanana]
murna, obj. -yi, loc. -ngka, abl. -ngu, all. -kurru (see sections 2.2.10 and 4.1.2.2 in the Grammar) (N) close, near [also Nm]
murnakuyu (NC) this side [murna + kuyu (NC)]
murnama- (VL) 1. bring close 2. rare = murnawarni- (see Text 57, paragraph 1, sentence 5) [murna + -ma-, cf. Nm murnaka-]
murnawarni- (VØ) get close, come close, close in [murna + -warni-, also Nm]
murnrtu (NC) 1. marriage arbitrator 2. rare thick, stout
murrartu (NC) swollen [murr- swell + -rtu (S1), cf. Nm murramurrari- (VØ) swell]
murrartuma- (VL) ---- nganil: make something (OBJ) swell [murrartu + -ma-]
murrarturri- (VØ) swell (up) [murrartu + -rri-]
murrirni (NC) 1. behind, in back, at the end, last 2. after(wards), from now on, late [murr + -rni (2), see martirimiri]
murrirniyhu (I) 1. behind one 2. after that, later on [murrirni + -yhu (1b,2b)]
murrrityi (NC) tail of an emu [murr + -tli, cf. Nm murrilli and see Yi murrirni]
murr (NC) the back of anything, e.g. kuyhi ------: spine, ------ tyina: instep [also Nm]
murruru (NC) unmarried adult: bachelor, spinster [cf. Nm murrkurru]
murruruuyu (NC) 1. back side 2. tyuntu ------: backwards, ------ karlinytyarri-: go backwards [murruru + kuyu (NC)]
murti (NC) fast, quick
murtima- (VL) do something quickly, speed (see Text 26, sentence 4 and also next entry) [murti + -ma-]
murtimaa (NC) 1. speedy person, fast runner 2. motor vehicle [murti + -maa, cf. Nm murtimara]
Murtimaa (NP) Frank Wordieck [< NC1]
Murtiti (NP) Herbert Parker [see preceding entry]
murturtu (NC) overly seasoned [murtu- + -rtu (S1), cf. Nm murtumurtu]
mutha (NC) 1. tip, end 2. nose [cf. Nm, WD mulha; Nl, WD mulla; Nm milla]
muthayhu (I) the end [mutha (1) + -yhu (1b)]
mutyairti (NC) noseplug [mutya- (< mutha [2]) + -irti, cf. Nm mullayirti]
mutyawi- (VN) poke one's nose out [mutya- (< mutha [2]) + -pi-]
mutyi (NC) 1. perforation 1b. door, window 2a. tunnel, cave, burrow, wormhole 2b. jail [cf. Nm mulli]
mutyi arlaa (NC) 1. perforated 2. hollow like a pipe or reed [mutyi (1a,2a) + -karlaa]
mutyimumityi (NC) full of holes, holey [mutyi (1a,2a) + redup. -mutyi]
mutyi rara (NC) dingo (native wild dog) [mutyi- (= Nu muyi dog) + -ra (1a), also Pn, see also Yi mityara]
muukarri- (VØ) ----- payipau: smoke a pipe (OBJ), ----- ngamaiyu payipala: smoke tobacco (OBJ) in a pipe (LOC) [muu- (app. < puu-, see muwarr) + -karri-, but note Tr muu[k]urri-]
muurn (NC) hum(ming noise)
muurnkarri- (VØ) hum, e.g. ----- yurtli: hum a tune (OBJ) [muurn + -karri-, cf. WD nguurnma- (VN)]
muwa (NC) 1. filled-in with something alive inside 2a. buried alive 2b. coll. settled permanently [cf. Nm muka]
muwama- (VL) burrow into [muwa (1) + -ma-]
muwarlingu (NC) silver-leaf wattle (tree) [muwarl- (= Nm mukarli) + -ngu (1c)]
muwarr (NC) var. = muwarrangu [muwa- (< puwa, see puwarlu) + -rr (1), cf. Nm, Ka pukarra firewood]
muwarrangu (NC) big log for a fire [muwarr + -rra (S1) + -ngu (1c)]
muwawarni- (VØ) bury oneself [muwa (2a) + -warni-]
muya- (VL) 1. steal 2. kidnap [cf. Nm mutya-]
muyanmarta (NC) thief [muya- (1) + -nmarta (2b)]
muyhu (NC) 1. coldness, the cold 2. winter 3. year [cf. Pn muthu, Ma muyu]
muyhumuyhu (NC) cool, cold [muyhu (1) + redup. -muyhu]
muyhumuyhurri- (VØ) get cold, cool off (as of inanimate things like meat) [muyhumuyhu + -rri-]
muyhumuyhuyarnrtu (NC) icebox, refrigerator [muyhumuyhu + -ty- + -arnrtu]
muyhunguli- (V∅) get cold, cool off (as of animate beings like people) [muyhu (1) + -nguli- (1)]
muyhuwa (I) wintertime [muyhu (2) + -pa (C2)]
muyhuwarni- (V∅) turn cold, get to be winter [muyhu (1,2) + -warni-]

-n (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

-na (C) 1. AUGMENTED-STEM DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN CLASSIFIER; one, place 2. PAST TENSE MARKER [< PPN ACCUSATIVE CASE MARKER (for *nyun- [Yiyin-]) and PAST TENSE MARKER]

-naarnnu (S) PASSIVE PERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER [-nu (2) + -ra- + -rnu (2)]

 nga- (P) FIRST PERSON

-nga (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

ngaa (NC) yes [cf. ngau]

-ngaa (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [cf. Nm -ngara]

-ngaaa (S) on account of, over [-ngaa- (= Nm -ngara) + -la (1)]

ngaarnrtu (PC) my, (of) mine [nga- + -arnrtu]

 ngaarta (NC) 1. Aboriginal man 2. Aboriginal person [cf. Pn, N1 ngayarta]

ngali (PI) you and I (in the same generation or in even ones) [< PPN (= Yinya+ -li [2])]

ngalinma- (VL) ask to come along, invite to accompany [cf. -ma-]

ngaliumpurrungu (PC) app. rare arch. us, to us, for us (see Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 7) [ngali + -ku (C1) + -mpurru + -ngu (1b), cf. nyinkupurruru-]

ngaliuu (PI) several of us including you (in the same generation or in even ones) [ngali + -uu]

ngaliya (PC) we two (in same generation or in even ones) [ngali + -ya EXCLUSIVENESS SUFFIX]

ngaliyampurruru- (PP) see ngaliyauu [ngaliya + -mpurruru]

ngaliyauu, obl. stem (except for loc., abl. and inst.) ngaliyampurruru- (PP) several of us (in the same generation or in even ones) [ngaliya + -uu]

ngaluwany (NC) water chestnut [ngalu- (< ngarl [2] + -ka or -pa (S) + -ny (2))]

ngamarla (NC) magic mirror
ngamarlangu (NC) allegedly cave (see Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 16; paragraph 4, sentence 6)

ngamarri (NC) liver [ngama- (= Ny breast) + -rrri (1)]

ngamayi (NC) tobacco [cf. Nm, Pn, WD, Nr ngamari; see also preceding entry]

Ngampiku (NP) app. boll. 1. Wittenoom Gorge  2. Wittenoom [< Pn]

ngana (PP) 1. who  2. someone, anyone [cf. ngani]

ngangany (NC) fontenelle

nganka (NC) mother [also Nm, but cf. Pn, Nl ngarti]

ngangkaanyu (NC) thumb, big toe [ngangka + -ri + (-ny [2] +) -nyu (S2), cf. Nm ngangkariny (and see Yi muwarrangu), Nr ngangkarn]

ngangku (NC) var. = ngangkungu

ngangkungu (NC) old boomer kangaroo [ngangku + -ngu (1c)]

nganhtarla (NC) very husky, overweight [nganhtha- (< nganytya-) + -rla]

ngani (PC) 1. what  2. something, anything [< PPN *ngaani]

nganiaa (PC) 1. like what  2. how much [ngani (1) + -kaa]

nganima- (VL) do what, e.g. nyinta ----- + -ku (walaaku): what are you doing (with that [OBJ]) [ngani (1) + -ma-]

nganimalu (PC) what quantity: 1. how many  2. less com. how much [ngani (1) + -malu]

nganingka (PC) what for (see wiyanu) [ngani (1) + -ngka (1)]

nganinyaa (PC) what for (what goes here) [ngani (1) + -nyaa (1)]

nganiwarnaayi (PC) why [nganiwarni- (1) + -aayi + ...V-]

nganiwarni- (VØ) 1. what happen  2. what be the matter, e.g. ----- + -nha nyinta: what's wrong with you (NOM)?  3. bother, e.g. ----- nganangu: do something to someone (OBJ) [ngani + -warni-]

nganiwarninha (PI) var. = nganiwarnaayi [nganiwarni- (1) + -nha (2)]

nganiwayi (PI) ----- yurra: what time is it? [ngani (1) + -pa (C2) + -yi (C2), cf. Nm nhalapa (nhaλa what)]

nganiwungharri (PC) what for (what purpose) [ngani (1) + -pungharri (1)]

nganiwurtu (PI) what kind, sort or type [ngani (1) + -purru]

nganiyarnztu (PC) what for (belonging to what) [ngani (1) + -ty- + -arnztu]

Ngantularnu (NP) dingo increase site
nganytya- (NC) eat [cf. WD ngan[y]tyarla tongue, PPm *nganytyar, see also Yi ngarrku-]

nganytyali (NC) prohibited food [nganytya- + -li (1), but also cf. WD man[y]tyall food]

ngaranti (NC) any kind of duck but esp. the mountain duck

ngariwi (NC) tropical reed, little bamboo [cf. -pi (1)]

ngarka (NC) ----- nhau-: watch out of the corner of the eye

ngarku (NC) wild onion [cf. Nm ngarlku]

Ngarla (NC) Ngarla (coastal dwellers) [see Ngarluma]

-ngarli (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER

ngarlingka (NC) downwind [cf. -ngka (1)]

ngarliirr (NC) tang on the point of a kurriyarta

ngarlu (NC) 1. belly 2. stomach, innards 2. surface of a liquid

ngarlu (NP) flagon (of wine) [< NC]

Ngarluma (NC) Ngarluma (people who dwell on the coast) [ngarlu (NC2) + -ma (1)]

ngarlpurpaamaya (NC) bottle shop, carry-out liquor store [ngarlu (NC1,NP) + purpaa (1) + maya]

ngarlura (NC) 1. overflowing 2. overfilled, i.e. filled right to the very brim [ngarlu (NC2) + -ra (1b)]

ngarn- (NC) hang

ngarni- (VN) knock away, deflect

ngarnka (NC) sky [ngarn- + -ka, cf. Nm beard]

ngarnkanyungu (NC) 1. bird 2. airplane [ngarnka + -nyungu]

ngarnkarra (NC) flotsam or flood rubbish, esp. that found caught in tree branches [ngarn- + -karra (1)]

ngarnngarn (NC) chin [ngarn- + redup. -ngarn]

ngarnrta (NC) 1. sore, hurt 2. a sore, wound

ngarpin (NC) cranny, cleft, chink

ngarra (NC) view, scene [see ngunhaangata]

ngarra- (VR) hit with a thrown object

ngarraa (NP) var. = ngarraya [< base form]

Ngarrari (NC) prob. borr. Mount Leopold [< Ma]
ngarraurlu (NC) pangkarri- ------: go for good, leave and not return
[ngarra + kurulu (2), cf. Nm ngarrapurlu]

ngarrya (NP) 1. man's sister's daughter 2. man's son's wife
3. wife's brother's daughter [also Nm, Nl]

ngarrayha- (VL) respect lang. = thaa-

ngarri (NC) rare cooking ashes

ngarri- (VØ) 1. lie, e.g. ------ + -ngumarnu: lie down 2. be
[also Nm, WD]

ngarriirraa- (VR) lay [ngarri- (1) + -yirraa-]

ngarrimarri- (VØ) lie together [ngarri- (1) + -marri-]

ngarriwartaa- (VL) cook in an earth oven, bake [ngarriwartu + -ra
(lb) + -ka-, cf. Nm ngarriwartulaka-]

ngarriwartu (NC) earth oven [ngarri + -partu (2)]

ngarriwuntharri (NC) bed [ngarri- (1) + -puntharri (2)]

ngarriyhu- (VL) = ngarriirraa- [ngarri- (1) + -yhu- (2)]

ngarrku- (VØ) eat, feed on [< pres. tense of the obs. form *nga-
(VL)]

ngarrkumarri- (VØ) eat together [ngarrku- + -marri-]

ngarrwanytya (NC) giant dog belonging to the malungu [cf. wanytya]

ngarta (NC) side (as in beside, alongside)

ngarta (I) still, yet [cf. Nm ngarrarn, Ny ngarrany]

ngartamarri (NC) side-by-side [ngarta (NC) + -marri]

ngartangka (NC) beside, alongside of, next to [ngarta (NC) +
-ngka (1)]

ngartanungu (NC) mottled honey [cf. tyinytyanungu]

ngartanyungu (NC) kidney [ngarta (NC) + -nyungu, cf. Nm
ngartanyungu]

ngartarla (NC) hollow like a pipe or reed [ngarta- (= WD marta) +
-rla]

ngartawirri (NC) long-neck turtle (neck retracts to the side)
[ngarta (NC) + -pirri (S1), cf. Nm ngartapirri]

ngarti (NC) then, next

ngartimu (I) again, once more [ngarti + -mu (2a)]

ngartiyamuu (I) then apparently (see wirruulamu) [ngarti + -yaa (1)
+ -mu (2b), cf. next entry]
ngartiyawayhu (I) then apparently (see wirruulawayhu) [ngarti + -yaa (l) + -pa (C2) + -yhu (2b), cf. preceding entry]

ngarurr (NC) clawing

ngarurra- (VR) claw [ngarurr + -rra-, cf. Nm ngarurrrtya- (VL)]

ngatha- (NC) root

ngatha- (VL) have sexual intercourse with [cf. Nm ngalha-, ngalla-]

ngatharri- (VØ) be having sexual intercourse [ngatha- (NC, VL) + -rrl-]

ngatya (NC) 1. app. marsupial mole 2. bnd. form help [1. < app. ngatha- (NC)]

ngatyarr (NC) doctor's spirit helper [ngatya- + -rr (2)]

ngatyarra- (NC) helpful, not lazy [ngatya- + -karra (1)]

ngatyi (NC) neck [cf. Nm, Fn ngalll]

ngau (NC) yes! [cf. ngaa, -u]

ngawa- (NC) nothing in the head

ngawarra (NC) unthinking, unmindful, unknowing [ngawa- + -rra (Sl)]

ngawarrari- (VØ) forget [ngawarra + -rr-]

ngawaru- (NC) boy about fifteen or sixteen years of age ready to be initiated [ngawa- + -ru]

ngawirta (NC) lost [ngawi- (app. < ngawa-) + -rta (1)]

ngawirtama- (VL) lose [ngawirta + -ma-]

ngawirtarri- (VØ) 1. get lost 2. var. = ngawirtama- [ngawirta + -rrl-]

ngawu- (NC) small, round and wet (like a raindrop) [cf. WD ngapa water]

ngawunhthurr (NC) miniature rock melon [ngawu- + -nhthu + -rr (1), cf. Nm ngapunhthurr]

ngawurr (NC) bubble, foam [ngawu- + -rr (1), cf. Nm ngapurr]

ngawurrarlaa (NC) beer [ngawurr + -karlaa]

ngawurtan (NC) miniature cucumber [ngawu- + -rta (1) + -n, cf. Nm ngapurtan and also Yi thumpurtan]

ngawurtarri (NC) hailstorm [ngawu- + -rta (1) + -rrri (2), ngawu- + -rtrri, cf. Nm ngapurtarri]

ngayala (NP) 1. man's sister's son 2. man's daughter's husband 3. wife's brother's son [cf. Nm, Nl ngatya]
ngayarnrtu (PC) prob. borr. = ngaarnrtu [< Ku (= Yi nga- + -ty- + -arnrtu)]

ngayha- (P) = nga- [nga- + -yha-, cf. Pn, Pl ngatha I, see also Yi nyinta]

ngayhala (PC) in proximity to me [ngayha- + -la (1)]

ngayhalangu (PC) from me [ngayhala + - ngu (la)]

ngayhalu (PC) by me [ngayha- + -lu]

Ngayhalyu (NP) a greedy Marduthunira monster with a tail [cf. Ma Ngayhalyuyurrurru, see also next entry]

ngayhantangu (NC) mill slab, metate

ngayharnrtu (PC) rare var. = ngaarnrtu [nga- + -th- + -arnrtu]

ngayhi- (VØ) cry [cf. Ma ngayi-; Nm, Pn ngatyi-; Ng ngatyu-; Nl ngatyukarri-]

ngayi (P) I [< PPN *ngayu (= Yi nga- + -yu [C3])]

ngayi- (VN) la. throw, chuck or toss (away) 1b. ----- kaartuu: let out a shout (OBJ) 2a. tip, dump 2b. ----- mangkurlau: give birth to a child (OBJ) [< PPN *ngaatyi-]

ngayinhtharri (PC) several of us (at least one of which is in an adjacent or odd generation) [ngayi + -nhtharri]

ngayinuwarra (NC) 1. mother and child 2. female kangaroo with joey [ngayi- (2b) + -nu (2) + -karr a (2)]

ngayiny (NC) 1. breath 2. coll. spirits, feelings

ngayinykarri- (VØ) breathe, e.g. ngaarta ----- + -Ø wirrwingka: men breathe air (LOC) [ngayiny (1) + -karri-, cf. Nm ngayinyuma- (VØ)]

ngayu (PC) me, to me, for me [< PPN *ngatyu (= Yi nga- + -yu [S2])]}

ngayuurraa (PC) in my direction [ngayu + -purraa]

ngayuwari (PC) with me [ngayu + -pari]

ngayuwarta (PC) 1. we two (in adjacent or odd generations) 2. directly toward me [ngayu + -parta, cf. Pn ngatyuparta; ngayu + -karta]

-ngka (S) 1. LOCATIVE CASE MARKER 2. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX [1. < PPN]

-ngku (S) 1. INSTRUMENTAL CASE MARKER 2. PLURAL NUMBER MARKER 3. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX [1. < PPN]

ngu- (P) THIRD PERSON DISTANT

-ngu (S) 1a. ABLATIVE CASE MARKER 1b. OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER 1c. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 2. IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER [cf. Nm -nguru ABLATIVE CASE MARKER AND IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER]

ngula (PC) 1. in proximity to him, her or it 2. in proximity to that 3. there [ngu- + -la (1)]
ngulaa- (PR) see ngunhaa [ngula + -ra (la)]

ngulangka (PC) not com. var. = ngula [ngula + -ngka (1)]

ngulangu (PC) 1. from him, her or it 2. from that 3. from there [ngula + -ngu (la)]

-nguli- (VØ) 1. INCHOATIVE VERBALISER 2. PASSIVISER [also Ku, cf. Nm -ngall-]

ngulu (PC) 1. by him, her or it 2. by that, with that [ngu- + -lu]

ngulungku (PC) not com. var. = ngulu [ngulu + -ngku (1)]

-ngumarnu (S) PROGRESSIVE ASPECT MARKER [-ngu (2) + -ma- + -runu (2)]

nguna (NC) armpit [cf. Nm ngunamarra]

ngungku- (NC) strength [cf. WD nungku strong]

ngungkumarnrta (NC) 1. strong 2. heavy [ngungku- + -marnrta (< -marta [NC], see yamartì)]

ngungkuwarrimarta (NC) weak [ngungku- + -parrimarta]

ngunhaa, obl. stems (in loc., abl. and inst.) ngulaa-, (otherwise)
ngurnaa- (PR) 1. he, she, it 2. that [ngunhu + -ra (la), cf. nhaa]

ngunhaakuyha (PC) var. = ngurnaakuyha [ngunhaa + -kuyha]

ngunhaana (PI) that one [ngunhaa (2) + -na (1)]

ngunhaangata (NC) rare that position [ngunhaa (2) + -ngata (> ngarra)]

ngunhaangatangu (NC) rare from that position [ngunhaangata + -ngu (la)]

ngunhaangkaa- (P) 1. they 2. those several distant [ngunhaangku + -ra (la), cf. nhungkaa-]

ngunhaangkaana (PI) those several distant ones [ngunhaangkaa- (2) + -na (1)]

ngunhaangkaat (PC) those several distant ones [ngunhaangkaa- (2) + -t (2)]

ngunhaangkaatu (PI) those several distant ones [ngunhaangkaa- (2) + -tu (C)]

ngunhaangkaatyirri (PC) 1. they 2. those several distant [ngunhaangkaa- + -tyirri (2)]

ngunhaangkiirri (PC) 1. they 2. those several distant [ngunhaangku + -tyirri (2), cf. nhungkiirri]

ngunhaangku (PI) 1. they 2. those several distant [ngunhaa + -ngku (2)]

ngunhaarrumpa (PI) = ngunhaatumpa [< base form]
ngunhaat (PC) that one [ngunhaa (2) + -t (2)]

ngunhaatu (PI) that one, that's it [ngunhaa (2) + -tu (C)]

ngunhaatumpa (PI) that's the one I'm talking about [ngunhaatu + -mpa]

ngunhthaa (P) that place [ngunhthi + -ra (1a)]

ngunhthana (PI) 1. that place 2. that one [ngunhthaa + -na (1)]

ngunhthi (PC) way over there, very distant [ngu- + -nhthi]

ngunhthingu (PC) from that direction [ngunhthi + -ngu (1a)]

ngunhthirni (PC) from that direction (with on-going motion) [ngunhthi + -rni (1)]

ngunhthingingu (PC) from that direction (with completed motion) [ngunhthingi + -ngu (1a)]

ngunhthiurru (PC) in that direction [ngunhthi + -kurru]

ngunhthiuyu (NC) rare var. = ngunhthuuyu [ngunhthi + kuyu (NC)]

ngunhthuuyu (NC) other side, opposite side, that side [< ngunhthliuyu]

ngunhu (P) 1. he, she, it 2. that [ngu- + -nhu (1)]

ngunhungaala (NC) on account of that [ngunhu (2) + -ngaala]

ngunhungkaa- (P) 1. they 2. those several distant [ngunhungku + -ra (1a), cf. nhungkaa-]

ngunhungkaana (PI) those several distant ones [ngunhungkaa- (2) + -na (1)]

ngunhungkaat (PC) those several distant ones [ngunhungkaa- (2) + -t (2)]

ngunhungkaatu (PI) those several distant ones [ngunhungkaa- (2) + -tu (C)]

ngunhungkaatyirri (PC) 1. they 2. those several distant [ngunhungkaa + -tyirri (2)]

ngunhungkiirri (PC) 1. they 2. those several distant [ngunhungku + -tyirri (2), cf. nhungkiirri]

ngunhungku (PI) 1. they 2. those several distant [ngunhu + -ngku (2)]

ngunhungu (PC) to there [ngunhu (2) + -ngu (1b)]

ngunhunguwarta (PC) = ngunhungu [ngunhungu + -karta]

ngunhuuyha (PC) var. = ngurnuuyha [ngunhu + -kuyha]

ngunta (NC) corroboree

nguntamarri- (VØ) dance together [ngunta + -marri-]
nguntatypa (NC) able to dance well in a certain manner so as to avoid getting struck during a trial by spear [ngunta + -ty + -pa (S)]

nguntawarni- (VØ) dance [ngunta + -warni-]

ngunya (NC) sperm [also Ku, but cf. Nm ngunha]

ngura (NC) sneak, e.g. ----- pangkarri- (nganii): sneak up (on something [OBJ])

ngurama- (VL) sneak, e.g. ----- nganli: sneak up on something (OBJ) [ngura + -ma-]

nguri (NC) circle [see kurlwaartarrri-]

Ngurin (NC) Harding River

Ngurlungka (NP) Old Cooya Pooya Station

ngurnaa- (PR) see ngunhaa [ngurnu + -ra (1a)]

ngurnaakuyha (PC) 1. they (in the same generation or in even ones) 2. those two distant [ngurnaa- + -kuyha]

ngurnaapi (PC) 1. they (in adjacent or odd generations) 2. those two distant [ngurnaa- + -pi (2)]

ngurni (I) at the same time, simultaneously

ngurnrtirri (NC) putt-putt

ngurnrtirriwima- (VL) ----- murtimaau: start a motor vehicle (OBJ) [ngurnrtirri + -pima-]

ngurnu (PC) 1. (to or for) him, her or it 2. (to or for) that [ngu- + -rnu (1a)]

ngurnuurraa (PC) 1. in his, her or its direction 2. approximately toward that [ngurnu + -purraa]

ngurnuyyha (PC) 1. they (in the same generation or in even ones) 2. those two distant [ngurnu + -kuyha]

ngurnuwari (PC) 1. with him, her or it 2. with that [ngurnu + -pari]

ngurnuwarta (PC) 1. directly toward him, her or it 2. directly toward that [ngurnu + -karta]

ngurnuwi (PC) 1. they (in adjacent or odd generations) 2. those two distant [ngurnu + -pi (2)]

ngurnuyarnrtu (PC) 1. his, her(s), its 2. of that [ngurnu + -ty- + -arnrtu]

ngurra (NC) 1. earth, land, ground 2. country, territory 3. place, area 4. dwelling place: 4a. home 4b. camp 4c. village

ngurrarnurnrtu (NC) pangkarri- ------: go camping [cf. ngurra (4b)]

ngurrangarnrta (NC) place where a person has died [ngurra (3) + ngarnrta (1)]
ngurranyu (NC) wife [ngurra (4a) + -nyu (81)]

ngurranyutungkamu (I) at the beginning of the world, during the dreamtime, lit. back when the earth was soft [ngurra (1) + nyutyu- + -ngka (1) + -mu (3a)]

ngurrawarnrturala (NC) pangkarrri- -----; go on walkabout or tour [ngurra (2,3) + warnrtura + -la (1)]

ngurrinhtha (NC) rare var. = ngurrinytya [< base form]

ngurriny (NC) 1. rolled-up 2. swag, roll

ngurrinyma- (VL) roll up [ngurriny (1) + -ma-]

ngurrinytya (NC) in proximity to the swag [ngurriny + -la (1)]

ngurru (NC) glad, happy

ngurrungrundraa (NC) wasp [ngurru- + redup. -ngurru + -ra (la), cf. Nm ngurrungrundura]

ngurruwarru- (VØ) become happy, rejoice, smile [ngurru + -warru-]

ngurtu (NC) diarrhoea

ngurtuwarri- (VØ) have diarrhoea [ngurtu + -karri-]

nguthinu (NC) joey (baby kangaroo)

nguthurr (NC) snore, snoring

nguthurraraa- (VØ) snore [nguthurr + -raraa-], cf. Nm ngunhthurruma- (VØ) (see ngurruaraa-)]

nguurrr (NC) snarl, snort, grunt [see next entry]

nguurrraraa- (VØ) snarl, snort, grunt [nguurrr + -rru (1) + -raraa-, cf. Nm ngu[wr]urma- (VØ) and see also Yi nguthurraraa-]

nguurrraraa (NC) pig [nguurrr + -karlaa]

nguwarr (NC) variety of tree which produces edible black seeds

nha- (VØ) see nhau- (VØ)

-nha (C) 1a. PROPER-OUT CLASSIFIER 1b. one, thing, person 2. PAST TENSE MARKER [< PPN -*nya ACCUSATIVE CASE MARKER (for *nga- > Yi) and PAST TENSE MARKER]

nhaa (P) 1. he, she, it 2. this [nhaa- + -ra (la)]

nhaana (PI) this one [nhaa (2) + -na (1)]

nhaarrumpa (PI) = nhaatumpa [< base form]

nhaatpa (PI) this one! [nhaa (2) + -t (2) + -pa (C1)]

nhaatumpa (PI) this is the one I'm talking about [nhaa (2) + -tu (C) + -mpa]
nhaawarni- (V∅) this be it [nhaa (2) + -warni-]

nhakatyi (NC) term for a spouse in the wrong section [cf. Nm, WD nyakatyil, see also Yi thamii]

nhanga (NC) uvular appendage

Nhangumarta (NC) Nyangumarda

nhanka (NC) nape (back of the neck) [cf. Pl, Wa nyanka]

Nhankangu (NP) Deep Reach Pool [see preceding entry]

nhankararra (NC) ceremonial guard for the pirtarra (holds a club across back of neck) [nhanka + -ra (1) + -rra (Sl)]

nhanki (NC) glans penis (penis head)

nhanti (NC) husband

nhantima- (VL) circumcise [nhanti + -ma-]

nhartin (NC) paperbark tray

nhau- (NC) 1. see, look 2. watch [< obs. pres. tense of nha-]

nhau-, usual imp. stem nha-, inf., prf. and usual pot. and irr. stem

nhawa- (see section 3.1.4.1 in Grammar for paradigm) (V∅) 1. see, look 2. watch 3. check [< nhau- (NC), cf. Nm nhaku- (V∅)]

nhaumarri- (V∅) look at each other, see each other [nhau- (NC1) + -marri-]

nhaungarra (NC) look out, watch out [nhau- (NC) + ngarra]

nhaungarra- (VR) look after, watch over, baby-sit with [< nhaungarra (NC), cf. Nm nhakungarrama- (VL)]

nhawa- (V∅) see nhau- (V∅) [< PPN *nyawa-]

-nntharri (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [< -ny (2) + -tyarri, cf. Ny -nytyarri, Ti -(ny)tyarri, see also Yi -nytyarri-]

-nnthi (S) EXTREME LOCATIVE CASE MARKER

-nnthu (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

nhu- (P) THIRD PERSON NEAR

-nhu (S) 1. NOMINATIVE CASE MARKER 2. poss. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

(see section 3.2.1.2 in the Grammar)

nhuka (NC) 1. forbidden to touch (touch-tabooed) 2. borr. ape-man [< Ma]

nhula (PC) 1. in proximity to him, her or it 2. in proximity to this 3. here [nhu- + -la (1)]

nhulangka (PC) not com. var. = nhula [nhula + -ngka (1)]

nhulangu (PC) 1. from him, her or it 2. from this 3. from here [nhula + -ngu (1a)]
nhulu (PC) 1. by him, her or it 2. by this, with this [nhu- + -lu]

nhulungku (PC) not com. var. = nhulu [nhulu + -ngku (1)]

nhungkaa- (P) 1. they 2. these several [nhungku + -ra (1a), cf. walaa-]

nhungkaana (PI) these several ones [nhungkaa- (2) + -na (1)]

nhungkaat (PC) these several ones [nhungkaa- (2) + -t (2)]

nhungkaatu (PI) these several ones [nhungkaa- (2) + -tu (C)]

nhungkaatyrri (PC) 1. they 2. these several [nhungkaa- + -tyirri (2)]

nhungkiirri (PC) 1. they 2. these several [nhungkaa- + -tyirri (2), see walaa-, nhulangka]

nhungku (PI) 1. they 2. these several [nhu- + -ngku (2)]

nhungu (PP) position immediately adjacent to the speaker [nhu- (2) + -ngu (1a)]

nhunhthaa (PI) this place [nhunhthi + -ra (la)]

nhurnu (PC) 1. (to or for) him, her or it 2. (to or for) this [nhu- + -rnu (la)]

nhurnuurraa (PC) 1. in his, her or its direction 2. approximately toward this [nhurnu + -purraa]

nhurnuuyha (PC) 1. they (in the same generation or in even ones) 2. these two [nhurnu + -kuyha]

nhurnuwari (PC) 1. with him, her or it 2. with this [nhurnu + -pari]

nhurnuwarta (PC) 1. directly toward him, her or it 2. directly toward this [nhurnu + -karta]

nhurnuwi (PC) 1. they (in adjacent or odd generations) 2. these two [nhurnu + -pi (2)]

nhurnuyarnrtu (PC) 1. his, her(s), its 2. of this [nhurnu + -ty- + -arnrtu]

nhuurka (NC) ankle [nhuu- (= Ku, cf. Pl nhuku) + -r- + -ka, cf. Ku nhurrtka, Nm nhukurlka, also note Ka nyukuru elbow]

nhuwa (NC) 1. daughter of a man's mother's brother or of a man's father's sister 2. son of a woman's mother's brother or of a woman's father's sister [cf. Nm, Nl, WD nyupa]

Nhuwala (NC) Nwuwa

-ni (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

-nma (S) IMPERATIVE MOOD MARKER [-n + -ma (2), also Ku and Nm]
-nmarrri- (V∅) RECIPROCAL VERBALISER [-n + -marrri-, also Nm]

-nmarta (S) 1. HABITUAL ASPECT MARKER 2. AGENT SUFFIX [-n + -marta (2)]

-nnyyaa (S) PASSIVE OPTATIVE MOOD MARKER [-n + -nyaa (2)]

-npuntharri (S) PURPOSIVE SUFFIX: something to _____ with [-n + -puntharri (2), cf. Nm -lpuntharri]

-nta (C) INTERROGATIVE CLITIC: 1. QUESTION MARKER 2. whether
   [also Ku, WD; see Yi -rra (C)]

-nyu (S) 1. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX, -ing, -ed 2. IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT
   MARKER [cf. WD (app. = Yi -kaay!)]

-numarnu (S) PROGRESSIVE ASPECT MARKER [-nu (2) + -ma- + -nu (2)]

-ny (S) 1. INCEPTIVE SUFFIX 2. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

-nya (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

-nya (S) 1. ALLOCATIVE SUFFIX: _____ goes here 2. PASSIVE OPTATIVE
   MOOD MARKER [-nyu (Sl) + -ra (1b), cf. Nm -nyura]

Nyaarrimirra (NP) name of the emu-man who owned Thuthurt!
   [cf. Purlinytyiirrmarra]

Nyamat (NC) Nyamal [cf. Nl Nyamal]

nyamina (NC) borr. dugong [< Nm, Ma]

nyampali (NC) alleged borr. (see maatha) boss, chief [< Nm]

nyankarturtu (NC) man's kilt

nyanti (NC) brow (ridge and hair) [also Ku]

nyarna (NC) kind of soft chalky stone used for white paint

nyarni (NC) 1. slow 2. ------ yankarr: soft sound

nyarranyarra (NC) app. borr. store bread [cf. Tr vegetable food, Nl nyarra mouth]

nyarrawirtu (NC) small insect-eating bat found in caves [cf. puyawirtu
   and see preceding entry]

nyarri (NC) rim [cf. Nm eyelid]

nyarrimanthhu (NC) eyelash [nyarri + -ma (1) + -nhthu]

nyarringkamu (I) overflowing [nyarri + -ngka (1) + -mu (3b)]

nyartu (NC) emu feather

nyatyu (NC) pubic hair [cf. Nm nyallu]

nyau (NC) boo! (call made by a parri) [cf. pau]

nyawaru (NC) namesake (e.g., see Wartay!)
nyinnylin (NC) 1. ringing in the ears which is produced by a parri and makes a person witless 2. sickness caused by the noise [as if nyin- + redup. -nylin, but see also nyimayi]

nyila (NC) respect lang. = pawa

nyilaarti (NC) native mead (honey and water spiced with lemon grass) [nyila - ka or - ra (la) + - rtl , note also Nm - kart i (= Yi - karta)]

nyilinyili (NC) rare var. = nyilinyilingka [nyili- + redup. -nyili (app. bird's call), see nyimayi and kapakapa (2)]

nyilinyilingka (NC) (welcome) swallow [nyilinyili + -ngka (2)]

nyimayi (NC) zebra finch [nyi- (its call, cf. Ny) + -ma (1) + -ri, cf. Nm nyimari, WD nyilnyi]

Nyimila (NP) Eric Miller

nyimpayirraa- (VR) startle [nyimp- (1) + -yirraa-]

nyin- (P) SECOND PERSON [< PPN *nyun-]

nyinarri (NC) emuberry (vine producing small round bright red berries)

nyinkaarnrtu (PC) your(s) [nyinku + -arnrtu]

nyinku (PC) (to or for) you [nyin- + -ku (C1)]

nyinkupurrru- (PP) see nyintauu [nyinku + -mpurr, see kantipi]

nyinkuurraa (PC) in your direction [nyinku + -purraa]

nyinkuwari (PC) with you [nyinku + -pari]

nyinkuwarta (PC) directly toward you [nyinku + -karta]

nyinkuwi (PC) you two (in adjacent or odd generations) [nyinku + -pi (2)]

nyinkuyarnrtu (PC) rare var. = nyinkaarnrtu [nyinku + -ty- + -arnrtu, see ngurnuyarnrtu]

nyinta (P) you [nyin- + -la (3)]

nyintala (PC) in proximity to you [nyinta + -la (1)]

nyintalangu (PC) from you [nyintala + -ngu (la)]

nyintalu (PC) by you [nyinta + -lu]

nyintauu, obl. stem (expect for loc., abl. and inst.) nyinkupurrru- (PP) several of you [nyinta + -uu]

nyintauyha (PC) you two (in the same generation or in even ones) [nyinta + -kuyha]
nyintawarni- (VØ) it be you [nyinta + -warni-]

nyintayi (PI) hey you! [nyinta + -yi (Sl)]

nyirlarli (NC) overly noisy, lot of loud noise such as one would expect to find at a wild party

nyirlun (NC) navel, belly button

nyiinrirri (NC) conductor or master of ceremonies for a corroboree, songman (Aboriginal English)

nyiinrntiti (NC) waist

nyirra- (VØ) 1. get covered, cover oneself (see thatartarri-)
   2. get painted, paint oneself

nyirra- (VR) 1. cover 2. paint

nyiinri (NC) a shrub, the leafy boughs of which are used to decorate headbands and armstrings for the purnrtut

nyiirrkurn (NC) hiccup

nyiirrkurnntaarri- (VØ) hiccup [nyirrkurn + -la (1) + -karri-]

nyirti (NC) la. father's sister 1b. mother's brother's wife
lc. spouse's mother 2. term of address for a woman's brother's child

nyirtingingu (NP) last one of a series, e.g. mara -----: little finger, mangkurta -----: youngest child

nyiitpingka (NC) on one hip [cf. -ngka (1) and Nm nyilpingka, see also Yi tharnangka]

-nytyarri- (VØ) RECIPROCAL VERBALISER [< -ny (2) + -tyarri, see -marri-]

-nyu (S) 1. rare var. = -nyungu 2. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

-nyu (C) TRUTH CLITIC: actually, indeed, truly, really [cf. WD]

-nyungu (S) dweller [-nyu (Sl) + -ngu (lc), also Tl and Tr, cf. Nm -nuingu, Ku app. -nuwua]

nyurni (NC) joke

nyurnima- (VL) joke, tell a joke [nyurni + -ma-]

nyurnrta (NC) recently initiated, novice initiate [see next entry]

nyurnrti (NC) dead [also Nm]

nyurnrntima- (VL) kill [nyurnrti + -ma-, cf. Nm nyurnrtika-]

nyurnrtnwarni- (VØ) die [nyurnrti + -warni-, also Nm]

nyurnrtiyarnrtu (NC) loan trans. for dead, e.g. pangkarri- -----: go at top speed (see Text 61, sentence 6) [nyurnrti + -ty- + -arnrtu]
nyurru (NC) 1. nasal mucus, snot 2. a cold
nyurruwirti (NC) snotty [nyurru (1) + -pirti (1)]
nyurtun (NC) girl about two years old (see thuku) [also Nm]
nyutyu (NC) 1. karnku lang. = nyurnrta 2. bnd. form soft [cf. Nm, Pn nyulu soft]
nyutyuma- (VL) initiate [nyutyu + -ma-]
nyutyuwirri (NC) soft [nyutyu+ -pirri (Sl), also Ku]
nyutyuwirriri- (VØ) get soft [nyutyuwirri + -rI-]

∅

-Ø (C) PRESENT TENSE MARKER

-Ø- (S) var. = -t (1,3)

P

-pa (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

-pa (C) EMPHATIC CLITIC: 1. emphatically, definitely, certainly
   2. -time 3a. start to 3b. mirta + ------: cease to [also Ku and Nm]

paa- (VØ) 1. get torn 2. get broken [cf. Nm, Pn paka-]
paa- (VL) 1. bite 2. sting [< PPN *patya-, but note Nm, Nl patya- eat < PPN *paaty a-]
paarnpaarn (NC) simple-minded, not all there, half-wit [paarn- + redup. -paarn]
paat (NC) borr. but [< Eng]
pakit (NC) borr. 1. bucket 2. pocket [< Eng]
-pala (S) borr. BORROWED-ADJECTIVE SUFFIX [< pidgin Eng < Eng fellow]
palamu (1) 1. long ago, a long time ago, sometime ago, a while back
   2. previously, formerly 3. already, yet [pa- (NP) + -la (1) + -mu (3a), cf. Nm palallli]
palamumu (1) long long ago, a long long time ago, once upon a time
   [palamu (1) + -mu (2b), cf. Nm palallli111]
paliirri (NC) blue-tongue lizard [pall- dark-coloured + -tylrrl
   (NC,Sl), cf. Ku paliyhu- (= Yi warruma-)]
palin (NC) mirage (see Text 23)
palinnguli- (VØ) ngurra ----- + -Ø: a mirage is appearing on the
   landscape (NOM) [palin + -nguli- (1)]
palyirri (NC) hill kangaroo wuungu [<*palyarri (see wirtirri-) < *paltyarri (= Nm) > pattyarri (which see), see also pattyarringu]

pama- (VL) get going, take off, leave [cf. pangkarri-]

pampa, obj. -yi, abl. -ngu (N) sleep, e.g. ----- ngarri-: sleep

pampaa- (VL) test, try (see Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 5)

pampanguli- (VØ) get sleepy [pampa + -nguli- (1), cf. Nm pampangali-]

pampangurru (NC) sleepy [pampa + -ngu (1b,c) + -rru (1)]

Pampanyaa (NC) 1. Sunday 2. 1.c. week [pampa + -nyaa (1)]

panaa (NC) var. = panaka [< base form]

panaka (NC) bungarra wuungu [cf. parnka]

pangkarri- (VØ) 1. go 2. tyina -----: walk, go on foot [pa- (NC) + -ngka (1) + -rrl-, cf. kanangkarri-]

pangkuna (NC) large wheel-shaped ceremonial headdress

pantharra (NC) jealous

panthawayi (NC) perentie, giant goanna [pantha- (= Nm hump, mound) + -payi]

panthu- (VL) 1. touch 2. feel

panthurr (NC) someone who can't keep his hands to himself [panthu- (1) + -rr (2)]

pani- (VN) grind [Ny pani seed]

pankirti (NC) app. borr. a short throwing spear with a smooth untanged point [< Pn]

panngu (NC) respect lang. = muntl

panta (NC) shallow

Pantiyarra (NC) falcon sacred site [cf. Yantlyarra]

Pantuwarnangka (NC) 1. Pannawonica Hill (a tall slender spire) 2. Pannawonica [pantu- + warna- + -ngka (1), see also yirratharnangka]

panyi- (VN) 1. take a step 2. -----: step on something (OBJ)

Panytyima (NC) Pandjima [cf. Kurrama and panthawayi (see punytyl)]

papu (NP) 1. father 2. loan trans., u.c. God the Father [2. < Eng]

papui (NP) 1. woman's brother's child 2. woman's child's spouse 3. husband's sister's child [papu (1) + -tyl, cf. thamll]
para (NC) borr. subincised (penis), whistlecock (Aboriginal English) [< Ku subincision]

pararrtyi (NC) borr. seagull [< Ma]

-pari (S) COMITATIVE CASE MARKER [cf. Nm -warl, Tr PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX]

parkarra (NC) 1. grassy plain 2. valley [cf. Nm parlkarra]

parkarranykaa (NC) respect lang. = paylwanarra [parkarra (1) + -ny (2) + -kaa]

parkarrawartuwartaa (NC) bush lark [parkarra (1) + -wartuwartaa (= Ku wartuwartaa, Nm wartuwartura)]

parku (NC) hill

parkunytyi (NC) olive python, rock python (local term) [parku + -ny (2) + -tyl, cf. Nm parkunytyl]

parla (NC) hard dry mud


parli (NC) bend, bent

parliwarli (NC) crooked, snakey [parl + redup. -parli, cf. Nm parliparli]

parlu (NC) 1. riverbank 2. cliff

-parlu (C) INTENSIFIER: very, (at) all [cf. parla (I1)]

parnangarri (NC) borr. 1. animal horn 2. coll. loan trans. erection [1. < Nm (= Yi kilirr), 2. < Eng]

parni- (VØ) 1. sit, e.g. ----- + -ngumarnu: sit down 2. cease moving, stop, stay, remain, dwell 3. be situated, be found 4. be, exist [also Ku and Nm]

parniirraa- (VR) set [parni- (1) + -yirraa-]

parnimarri- (VØ) 1. sit together 2. dwell together [parni- (1,2) + -marri-]

parniny (NC) starting to sit [parni- (1) + -ny (1)]

parninyparniny (NC) baby which has just learned to sit [parniny + redup. -parniny]

parniwunhtharrri (NC) chair [parni- (1) + -punhtharrri (2)]

parniyhu- (VL) = parniirraa- [parni- (1) + -yhu- (2)]

parnka (NC) female bungarra (Gould's sand goanna)
parnnga (NC) tree bark, esp. the smooth inner parts

parnparn (NC) ring-neck parrot [parn- + redup. -parn, see putput]

parnrtan- (VL) yuntu ------ + -ku (ngurrayi): rain is falling (on the land [OBJ])

parnrtana- (VR) go boom, explode [cf. -ra-]

parnrtanya- (NC) pertaining to the part of the body where the thigh joins the hip [parnrtana- (= WD groin) + -nya]

parnrtanyarpi- (NC) relating to sitting cross-legged [parnrtanya- + -r- + -pi (1)]

parnrtanyarpin (NC) ------ parni-: sit cross-legged [parnrtanyarpi- + -n]

parnrtanyarpirri- (VØ) sit cross-legged [parnrtanyarpi- + -rri-]

parnrtanyat (NC) part of the body where the thigh joins the hip [parnrtanya- + -t (3), cf. Nm parrtangarti groin]

parnrtaya- (VL) brrr. = parnrtayi- [< Ku, see Yikuwarra]

parnrtayi- (VN) not com. find, discover (see Text 71, paragraph 1, sentence 2) [cf. -yi- and also preceding entry]

parnrtni- (VØ) give off an odor, smell

parnrtni- (VN) detect the odor of, sniff, smell

Parrurrarna (NC) Morning Star, Venus

parpa- (NC) slapping or thumping noise [cf. Nm parlpapa]

parpaa- (VL) (cure by) massage [parpa- + -ka-]

parparr (NC) sky [cf. Nm, Nl parlparr]

parparrnyungu (NC) 1. bird 2. airplane [parparr + -nyungu]

parpawarpa (NC) thumpety-thump, e.g. ------ pangkarri-: hop like a kangaroo [parpa- + redup. -parpa]

parparriny (NC) mountain wattle (tree) [cf. Nm parlparriny]

parra (NC) 1. ingestible leaf, esp. tea but also tobacco (see Text 28, sentence 1) 2. go on, go do it 3. bend. form quiver [cf. Nm parrika leaf, tea, WD tree needle]

parraa (NC) 1a. (for or after) a long time, (for or after) quite a while 1b. tyampa ------: (for or after) not too long a time 2. shoulder [parru- (= Ku time) + -ra (1a), cf. Nm parrura long time, parrkara shoulder]

parrarla (NC) drum [parra- + -rla]

Parrarurru (NP) Robert Churnside

parrattyarri- (VØ) get stuck [cf. -tyarri-]
parrawarra (NC) quivering, shivering [parra- + redup. -parra, cf. WD patapata- (VL) shake off]

parrawarrari- (VØ) quiver, shiver [parrawarra + -ri-]

parrayi (NC) go on! go do it! [parra (2) + -yi (S1)]

parri (NC) 1. zombie (animate dead body), devil (Aboriginal English) 2. loan trans. Lucifer, the devil [2. < Eng]

-parri- (S) lacking [cf. Fn, Pl -pati (= Yi -parrimarta), Nr pati no!]

-parrimarta (S) PRIVATE SUFFIX: lacking, without [-parri- + -marta (S1b)]

parrimirnrti (NC) sea serpent, reptilian monster from the deeps (see Text 75) [parri (1) + -mirnrti (cf. tyiriri/mirnrti)]

-parriri- (VØ) run out of, lack [-parri- + -ri-]

Parrkapinya (NP) borr. Whim Creek [< Nm, see also Yi parra (1)]

parrku (NC) chunk of meat with no fat or bone, muscle [also Ku, cf. Nm pa7ku]

parruu (NC) 1. grinding stone, mano 2. kneecap [cf. Nm parruru]

parrwa- (VR) 1. light, ignite 2. thathayi -----: tell a lie [cf. WD parrpa flame, Nj hot (weather), Pl parrpara]

-parta (S) DUAL NUMBER MARKER

partaurru (NC) beadwood (tree having black seeds with a red/orange dot which are used by children to make necklaces) [cf. pitpakurru]

partirri (NC) large variety of kanytyl having a small leaf, prickly bush

partu (NC) feather other than that of the emu

-partu (S) 1. dweller 2. PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX [cf. Ti -wartuproprietary suffix]

parturra (NC) plain turkey, bustard [partu + -rra (S1)]

partuwankama- (VL) ----- nganangu: revive someone (OBJ) whose head has been screwed using the feather of an eaglehawk [partu + wankama-]

partuwarlalaa (NC) bird [partu + -karlaa]

partuwarlarri- (VØ) sprout feathers [partuwarlalaa + -rrri-]

Partuwartu (NC) Jerry Jerrold's country [partu + redup. -partu, cf. Marra (NP)]

partuwi- (VN) pull feathers out, e.g. ----- parturrau: pluck a turkey (OBJ) [partu + -pi-]
paru, pl. -urru (NC) any kind of spinifex but especially hard (buck) spinifex [cf. Nm paru, pl. -kurru]

parumaya (NC) mia-mia, humpy, spinifex house (Aboriginal English) [paru + maya]

patha- (NC) 1. rubbed 2. painted

-pathaa (S) 1. DIRECT ALLATIVE CASE MARKER 2. PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [cf. Nm -walhara]

pathama- (VL) 1. rub 2. paint [patha- + -ma-, cf. Pn palhama-]

patharra (NC) budgerigar [patha- (2) + -rra (S1), cf. Nm palharra green, blue, pallarra budgie]

patharri- (VØ) 1. get rubbed, rub oneself 2. get painted, paint oneself (see nyirra- [VØ2]) [patha- + -rr-]

pattyarri (NC) hill kangaroo, euro, picketer (local term < Nm pikurta) [cf. Nm paltyarri (= Yi palyirri), WD tyapaltyarri and nyapaltyarri (male and female subsection names)]

pattyarryingu (NC) var. = palyirri [pattyarri + -ngu (1c)]

patya (NC) bony, skinny [cf. Nm palla]

patyawarni (VØ) get skinny [patya + -warni-]

patyila (NC) turkey-fruit, banana caper, caper bush [also Nm, Ka]

Patyinhurrpa (NP) borr. Cossack [< Nm]

Patyku (NC) Pailgu [cf. Pl Pallku, see also maykan and section 3.1.1.3 in the Grammar]

patyuwatyu (NC) wrinkled, rumpled [patyu- + redup. -patyu]

pau (NC) hey! [cf. Ny payi, Yi -u, -yi (S1)]

paul (NC) borr. chicken [< English fowl, but see also next entry]

paularri (NC) night heron [cf. Nm pulyarri]

pauny, pl. -pirti (NC) wind grass

pauta (NC) needlewood [cf. Nm pakurta]

pawa (NC) fresh water, including water-based solutions especially drinkable ones (cf. Nm, Pn papa)

pawama- (VL) 1. strike water 2. coll. ---- warrapau: water the lawn (OBJ) [pawa + -ma-]

pawanyaa (NC) depression at the base of the throat [pawa + -nyaa (1)]

pawatypirti (NC) watery, juicy [pawa + -ty + -pirti (1)]

paya (NC) 1. fight (Aboriginal English), war 2a. viciousness 2b. fierce, savage, vicious 3a. anger, rage 3b. angry, wild 4a. force 4b. forceful, bossy [cf. Nm patya, Nr patyarr]
-paya (S) PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX: having, possessing

payaarri- (VØ) 1. become savage or vicious 2. get wild or angry, fly into a rage [paya (2a,3a) + -karri-, cf. Nm patyawarni-]

payama- (VL) urge, force [paya (4a) + -ma-]

payamalu (NC) king brown snake, mulga snake [paya (2a) + -malu, cf. Nm patyamalu]

payamarri- (VØ) 1. argue together, quarrel with one another 2. urge or force each other [paya (3b,4a) + -marri-]

payankarra (NC) warrior, soldier (Aboriginal English) [paya (1) + -n + -karra (1)]

payankarrangu (NC) = payankarra [paya (3b,4a) + -ngu (1c)]

payanytyi (NC) brr. police [app. < Ma or Ku (= Yi paya [4b] + -ny [2] + -tyi)]

payarra (NC) = payankarra [paya (1) + -rra (S1)]

payarrangu (NC) = payankarra [paya (4a) + -ngu (1c)]

payawirri- (VØ) = payaarri- [paya (2a,3a) + -pl (1) + -rrli-]

payawurtu (I) 1. fierce, angry or bossy type 2. ----- paru: buck spinifex [paya (2b,3b,4b) + -purru, cf. Nm patyapurru]

payha- (VL) 1. ----- nhuru ngula: throw this (OBJ) at that (LOC) 2. wirrwi ----- + -ku: the wind is blowing 3a. ----- yilirru: spin 3b. ----- tyilungarta: drill with a firestick (OBJ) [also Ku, but cf. Nm patha- (VR)]

payhaa (NC) itchy grape [cf. Nm pathara]

payhurru (NC) flood

payi (NC) specifically the radius (bone), but loosely the forearm [also Ku; cf. Pn, Pl, Nl patyi]

-payi (S) PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX [< -pari, see section 3.2.1.1.2 in the Grammar]

payilam, obl. stem payilamu- (NC) brr. boil [app. < Eng boil 'm]

payilama- (VL) var. = payilamarni- [payilam + -ma-]

payilamarni- (VØ) boil [payilamu- + -rni-, see karrwarn]

payilamu- (NC) see payilam [back formation from free form, see also section 2.2.1 in the Grammar]

payilamurri- (VØ) be boiling [payilamu- + -rrri-]

payipa (NC) brr. pipe [< Eng]

payiwanarra (NC) plains kangaroo, marloo (local term < WD marlu) [payi + wanarra (1), cf. Pn patyiwanarra]
-pi- (VN) FACTITIVE VERBALISER [also Nm and Pn]

-pi (S) 1. sticking out, manifest(ed) 2. DUAL NUMBER MARKER

piii (NC) grassless flat [cf. Nm pityiri]

piila (NC) outside, in the open [piii + -la (1)]

piki (NC) borr. pig [< Eng]

pikipiki (NC) = piki [piki + redup. -piki]

pila- (NC) pertaining to spears [cf. Nm pilarrra spear]

pilaa (NC) native millet, panic grass

pilakurta (NC) one who can make anything, master craftsman

[pila- + -ku (S) + -rta (1)]

pilampurrwa (NC) spearwood [pila- + -mpu + -rr (1) + -pa (S)]

pilaurrwa- (VØ) respect lang. = pangkarri- [cf. Yd pila- (VN)

  go into, see also Yi nhau- (NC) and pilampurrwa]

pilin (NC) flat bedrock

-pima- (VL) CAUSATIVE VERBALISER [-pi (1) + -ma-]

pinga (NC) rushing

pingawarni- (VØ) rush around [pinga + -warni-]

pingkayi (NC) holiday, e.g. ---- parni: be on, have or take a

  holiday (NOM), ---- pangkarri-: go on holiday (NOM) [cf. Nm

  pingka hunting]

pinhthara (NC) wet sloppy mud

pinhtharlu (NC) muddy (coloured) [pinhthara + -rlulu]

pinhthi (NC) partly finished, half done

pinhthi (NP) 1. husband's sister, woman's brother's wife

  2. daughter of a woman's father's sister or of a woman's mother's

  brother

pinhu- (NC) 1. correct relationship  2. cordial behaviour

pinhuma- (VL) ngayi ---- + -ku nyinku: I am in the correct section

  (wuungu) with respect to you (considering how we are related in

  terms of kinship and marriage. All our shared kinsmen must have

  married according to the law) [pinhu- (1) + -ma-]

pinhumarri- (VØ) 1. interrelate properly within Yindjibarndi law,

  especially the section system 2a. greet one another cordially

  2b. interact harmoniously, get along together well [pinhu- +

  -marri-]

pini (NC) not com. fast, quick

pinima- (VL) not com. do something quickly, speed [pini + -ma-]
pinimaa (NC) not com. 1. speedy person, fast runner 2. motor vehicle [pini + -maa]

piningkarri- (VØ) go fast, run [pini + -ngka (1) + -rrı-]

pinkali- (VØ) turn (around)

pinkirtira (NC) borr. wolf-man [< Ma]

pinpa- (VØ) flash, sparkle, twinkle

pimpila (NC) grasshopper

pinyarri- (VØ) be fighting [pinya- (= Tr [V] spear) + -rrı-]

pinytyawinytya (NC) shaking [pinytya- + redup. -pinytya]

pinytyawinytyama- (VL) shake [pinytyawinytya + -ma-]

pinytyawinytyarri- (VØ) 1. be shaking, shake oneself 2. puyha ------: disagree, shake one's head (NOM) 'no' 3. wanytya ------ + -Ø

karnrti: the dog is wagging its tail (NOM) [pinytyawinytya + -rrı-]

pirirri (NC) adult male from about eighteen years of age

pirna (NC) bug

pirni- (VN) swear (at), use abusive language (toward)

pirninmarri- (VØ) swear at each other [pirni- + -nmarrı-]

pirnkartangu (NC) species of wild tobacco which grows near the mouth of caves

pirnrtirri (NC) star [cf. next entry]

pirnrtiwirnrti (NC) 1. separate(d), different from each other 2. scattered [pirnrti- + redup. -pirnrti]

pirnrtu (NC) food, groceries, stores, provisions

pirnrtuwarriri- (VØ) run out of food [pirnrtu + -parrılrı-]

pirpu (NC) bone marrow [cf. Ku plırpų, Nm plırlpu]

pirra (NC) rough outer covering of anything, e.g. outer bark on a tree, sloughed off snake skin, etc.

pirrapirra (NC) shell [pirra + redup. -pirra]

pirri (NC) 1. the afternoon in general, but esp. late afternoon just before sunset 2. bn. form very slender [cf. Nm plırı goanna talon, WD nail]

-pirri (S) 1. -ish 2. PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [cf. -plırti]

pirrii (NC) very slender like a spinifex ear, match or toothpick [pirri- + -ri, cf. Nm pirriırı]

pirringu (NC) (one's) own
pirriri (NC) 1. fibula (small bone in the lower leg) 2. rare small boomerang [pirri- + -rti]

pirriwirraa- (VR) ------ kurrumanhthu: scale a bungarra (OBJ) [pirra + redup. -pirra + -ra-, see wirtirri-]

pirriya- (VL) 1. pinch 2. ------ puyhayl: screw a head (OBJ) [cf. Nm pirriitya-, and see Yi puwarrima-]

pirru- (NC) 1. meat, flesh 2. animal, especially a bird [cf. Tr pirru meat]

pirrupirru (NC) sacred kingfisher [pirru- (2) + redup. -pirru, cf. Nm pirrupirrura]

pirrurnmarr (NC) respect lang. = murla [pirru- + -rn + -marr, cf. Nm purrurn cooked food]

pirrwii- (VN) 1. file, rasp, grind 2. ------ matyirru: strike a match (OBJ) 3. ------ tyllungartau: start a fire with a firesaw (OBJ) [cf. Nm pirri-]

pirrwinti- (VØ) come away or apart and fall, slip off and fall [cf. Nm pirrpinti-]

pirta (NC) 1. nest 2. elevated burial platform, platform burial

Pirtan (NP) Onslow [< T1]

pirtarra (NC) concluding ceremonial feast in the initiation rite (takes place on a bed of leaves) [pirta + -rra (S1), see also nyurnrta]

pirti (NC) 1a. not real, not true 1b. try to but fail, try in vain 2. bnd. form discoloured leaf or feather [cf. WD purti, purta, purtu try in vain, cannot (see Yi martimirri), pirtipirti leaf, Nm flower]

-pirti (S) 1. -y, -ie 2. PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [1. = Nm, Ny]

pirtimantaty (NC) kind of makeshift belt consisting of strips of cloth tied together [pirti (la) + mantatety (NC) + -ty]

pirtirra (NC) little corella, white cockatoo [pirti- + -rra (S1), see parturra]

pirtitha (NC) dry or dead leaf [pirti- + -tha, cf. WD pirttil[h]a leaf]

pirtiwirtaa (NC) = pirtiwirtaas [< base form, see martimirri]

pirtu (NC) 1a. chisel 1b. bnd. form big toe 2. bnd. form abduct [cf. Ku, WD pirtu big toe]

pirtunu (NC) 1. captured 2. kidnapped [pirtu- (2) + -nu (1)]

pirtunuma- (VL) 1. capture 2. kidnap [pirtunu + -ma-]

pirtunurri- (VØ) get captured or kidnapped [pirtunu + -rrri-]

pirtupurrka (NC) invisibly, lit. having spinifex gum on one's big toes, e.g. ------ pangkarri-: go on a revenge mission [pirtu- (1b) + purrka (1)]
pirtuwangu, no pl. (NC) initial / [pirtu- (2) + -ka or -pa (S) + -ngu (lc)]

pirtuwanguma- (VL) capture for initiation / [pirtuwangu + -ma-]

pirtuwirtaa (NC) scout, watchman (Aboriginal English) / [pirtu- (2) + redup. -pirtu + -ra (la)]

pirtuyyu- (VL) ----- nganii: blow on something (OBJ) / [pirtu- (< purtu, see mirlamirla) + -yhu- (1)]

pitharnrti (NC) galah (bird) / [pitha- + -rn + -rti, cf. Nm pilhaku; also note Nl pilharri red]

pithu (NC) 1. green 2. blue

pithuwarni- (VØ) turn green or blue / [pithu + -warni-]

pitinymarra (NC) waranu from the mountain gum tree / [pitr- (app. < pirl-) + -ny (2) + -marra]

pitpakurru (NC) mangumangu having a point with four edges / [app. pita- + -ku (S) + -rru (2), cf. Nm pilpakurru, and see next entry]

pitpiy (NC) wooden sword / [cf. Nm pilpiy, note preceding entry and see piyhin]

pitya (NC) rare penis / [cf. WD pilli vagina]

Pityin (NP) 1. Pigeon Camp (outstation to Mount Florence Station) 2. Ken M. Jerrold (who was born there) [2. < 1.]

pityparara (NC) 1. dehydrated, dessicated 2. u.c. piece of dry ground near Yandeearrara where the Pilbara Mining Centre is situated / [cf. Nm pillparra, Ka Pillparra (> Eng Pilbara > Pilbara)]

pityparrara (NC) milkfish, jumper bream (local term) / [app. pityparra (1) + -ra (la), cf. Nm pillparrara]

Piwa (NC) brrr. Peawah River (approximate boundary between Ngarluma and Kariera ground) [< Nm]

piwaarrara (NC) mother's sister and her sister's child / [piwi- + -yarrara (2), cf. Nm pipiyarrara]

piwi (NC) 1. breast, teat 2. bnd. form mother's sister / [cf. Nm pipi breast, Ma mother, mother's sister]

piyaa (NC) thirsty / [piyu + -ra (la)]

piyaanta- (VR) ----- murlayi: jerk meat (OBJ) / [piyaa + -n + -la (1) + -ra-]

piyaantaakaayi (NC) jerky, biltong (preserved meat which has been cooked and dried) / [piyaanta- + -kaayi, see wirtiwirtaa- and kampaayi]

piyaarri- (VØ) get thirsty / [piyaa + -(ka)rri-, see waarri- (VØl) and yarrwatharrri-]
Piyali (NP) pool near the old wagon crossing on the Fortescue River not far from the site of the purnrut

Piyanti (NP) borr. Dave Pianti [< Eng]

piyany (NC) claypan

piyhangarra (NC) white dragon tree, river corkbark (Aboriginal English) [cf. Nm pithangarra and see Yi wiyangarra, yirringan]

piyuhiny (NC) kangaroo tick [cf. Nm pltharn and see Yi pitpiny]

piyu (NC) dry [cf. Nm pityu]

piyulinykarra (NC) painted yellow [piyulu (1,2a) + -ny (2) + -karra (1)]

piyulu (NC) 1. yellow ochre 2a. yellow 2b. orange

piyulurri- (VØ) turn yellow [piyulu (2a) + -rrl-]

piyuma- (VL) dry [piyu + -ma-, cf. Nm pityuka-]

piyuwarni- (VØ) get dry [piyu + -warnl-, cf. Nm pityuwarnl-]

-puka (S) poss. borr. thing, person [< Nm]

pula (NC) 1. spherical, oval 2. ball, lump

pulartara (NC) 1. heart 2. pump, piston [pula (2) + -rta (1)]

pulartangarl（NC）piston engine, motor [pularta (2) + -ngarl]

puliman（NC）borr. cow, bull [pul- (< Eng) + -li (1) + -man, cf. WD puluman, Wa puriluman, see also next entry]

puluku（NC）borr. bull, cow [app. < Eng bullock, cf. Dy puluki, WD puliki, puluka, but see preceding item]

pulurru（NC）species of tree with a leaf resembling that of the peach

Pulurru（NP）Boolooroo Jack Smith [< NC]

punaangu（NC）bloodwood

pungaa（NC）raisin bush, currant tree

pungka-（VØ）1. fall (other than in reference to rain) 2. mara

---- nganangu: choose someone (OBJ) 3. wirrat ---- ngana: agree with someone (NOM)

punha（NC）sexual desire [also Nm]

punhamal（NC）randy [punha + -ma (1) + -ll (1), cf. Nm punhamama]

punhanguuli-（VØ）get randy [punha + -ngull-(1), cf. Nm punhangall-]
punthath- (V$) wash oneself, bathe: 1. mara ------: wash one’s hands (NOM) 2. parla ------: take a bath or shower

punthath- (VL) 1. wash 2. ------ warrapau: water the lawn (OBJ) [cf. N1 punytya- drink, Nm plntyya-]

-puntharthri (S) PURPOSE SUFFIX: 1. something for the ______
2. something to use for ______ing [also Nm]

punpi (NC) hunting blind

puntiirri (NC) spike bush (a source of flat tyres) [cf. -tyirri (S1), WD puntl cassia bush]

punytya- (NC) wash, bath [cf. punthath-]

punytyat (NC) dew [punytya- + -t (3)]

punyti (NC) black-barred grunter, native yellow perch [< punytya-, see also tyintyl and section 2.2.7 in the Grammar]

punytyunytyurrwa (NC) ant lion [app. punytyu- + -ny (2) + -tyu + -rr (1) + -pa (S), cf. Yantlmurrwa]

pura (NC) outback, bush

-pura (S) borr. PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [< Nm]

purkan (NC) hip bone situated at the belt line

purku (NC) tobacco quid [cf. Ku purtku, Nm purliku]

purlaa (NC) 1. ahead, in front, in the lead, first 2. before, already [purlu- (2) + -ra (1b), cf. Nm purlura]

purllaala (NC) fruit [purllaa (1) + -la (2), cf. purllaawa and see also karnrrltmarta]

purllaalarri- (V$) bear fruit [purllaala + -rrl-, cf. yarrwatharrl-]

purllaawa (NC) non-native flower (see tyurtu) [purllaa (1) + -pa (S), cf. purllaala]

Purlinytyirrmarra (NP) name of the emu-man who got chased by rock python at the beginning of the world (see Text 72) [purlu- (2) + -ny (2) + -tyi + -rr (1) + -marra, cf. Yartanymarra and see plyullnykarra]

purliwarna (NC) bullroarer [cf. parnangarrl]

purlu- (NC) 1. face, facing 2. front

purluumarri (NC) face-to-face, facing each other [purlu- (1) + -marrl]

Purlumpa (NP) Booloomba Pool (boundary between Yindjibarndi and Marduthunira ground) [purlu- (2) + -mpa]

purunytya- (VL) 1. nod 2. agree [purlu- (1) + -ny (2) + -tya-]

purlurlu (NC) Rhinocerus beetle [purlu- (1) + -rlu]
purlutmu (I) before reaching the goal, e.g. ---- karri-:
stop short [purlu- (2) + -t (1) + -mu (2b)]

purluyharrarni (NC) each other, one another [purlu- (1) + -tha +
-rru (1) + -rni (1), cf. yawurrarni]

purluyhu- (VL) 1. have a look, take a gander 2. visit [purlu- (1)
+ -yhu- (1)]

purna (NC) erection [cf. Ny axe-handle, WD purnu stick,
see also Yi warnrri]

purnan (I) respect lang. = mlrta

purnanyirunyiru (NC) red-capped robin [purna + nyiru- + redup.
-nyiru (app. bird's call), see also karlalrtu]

purniina (NC) seed of the kurkaurtu

purnngaarri (NC) cyclonic cloud, running cloud (Aboriginal
English)

purnrta (NC) 1. depression, pothole 2. coll. deep 3. thampi ----:
hollow ribs

purnrtaurnrta (NC) full of potholes, bumpy [purnrta (1) + redup.
-purnrta, cf. Nm purnrtaurnrta]

purnrtaut (NC) 1. sacred dancing circle, bora ring 2. first
ceremony in the initiation rite, e.g. parni- ----: put on or
stage an initiation rite

Purnu (NP) Alfred Boona [cf. WD tree, see also Pulurru and
Witypa]

-purnu (S) habitually using the ______

purpaa (NC) 1. mound, hump 2. rise, incline [cf. Ku purtpaa
swollen]

purpi (NC) 1. want 2. like 3. need [cf. Ku purtpi, Nm purlpri]

purpiwarni- (V0) 1. want, desire 2. like, admire 3. need, require

purra (NC) marsupial pouch [cf. WD puta]

-purra (S) PSEUDO-SEMBLATIVE: approaching, something like but not
quite

-purr'a (S) INDIRECT ALLATIVE CASE MARKER [app. -purra + -ra (1b),
see -kaa]

purri- (VN) 1. pull 2. extract: pull, bring or take out 3. suck in
or out 4. select for presentation

purrrka (NC) 1. spinifex resin (loosely called 'gum') 2. wax
[cf. Nm pulka]

purrrkurn (NC) close smoke (see karnrtirri)
purkurnpima-(VL) cause to smoke, e.g. ---- payipau: puff on a pipe (OBJ) [purkurn + -pima-]

purkurnrtaa-(VL) smoke [purkurn + -la (1) + -ka-]

purkurnrtaarri-(VØ) be smoking [purkurnrtaa- + -rrri-]

purrula (NC) a kind of flinty dark blue stone

purrutha (NC) sad

purruu (NC) hair belt [cf. Nm purruru]

purta (NC) 1. testicle 2. bnd. form ball, lump

purtaa (NC) plant bearing a tassel having small round edible seeds [purta- + -ra (la)]

-purtaa (C) 1. turn, time 2. next, then

Purtaarri (NP) country in the tablelands where death is said to have originated [app. < purtatyirri]

purtartu (NC) sandalwood (nut-bearing tree) [purta- + -rtu (S1)]

purtat (NC) cannot [purta- (= WD, see Yi pirti) + -t (3), cf. Nm purtal]

purtatpi- (VN) cannot do [purta- + -pi-, cf. Nm purtalma- (VL)]

purtatyirri (NC) impassibly rough ground [purta- + -tyirri (S1)]

purtipala (NC) brr. pretty, beautiful [purti- (< Eng) + -pala]

purtu (NC) var. = purtungu [also Ku]

-purtu (C) CATEGORIAL CLITIC: kind, sort, type [also Nm]

Purtuna (NC) Purdna

purtungu (NC) chest [purtu + -ngu (1c)]

purtuwayi (NC) curlybark (tree) [as if purtu + -pawii, cf. Nm purtuwai and see Yi nyanti]

purungu (NC) perentie wuungu [cf. Nm purrangara 'perentie (a large monitor which makes its home in the rocks)'; see also Yi puunyngu]

puthi (NC) brr. pussycoat [< Eng, cf. Nm putyi]

Putthingaarta (NC) nickname for Murtima [puthi + ngaarta (1)]

putpu (NC) 1. axe blade 2. u.c. name of a rock waterhole near Pannawonica [cf. Pn pulpur]

putpurli (NC) circular in cross-section, e.g. circular, spherical, etc. [putpu + -rrii]

putput (NC) 1. native pheasant, pheasant auual 2. its call (see Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 4) [put- + redup. -put, cf. Nm pulpul]
puu- (NC) smoke [cf. Pl, WD puyu]
puungu (NC) var. = purungu [< base form]
puunyngu (NC) comb honey found in rock holes [cf. purungu]
puyyhu- (VL) 1. ----- kurrumanthhuu mutyingka: smoke a bungarra (OBJ) out of his hole (LOC) 2. ----- mangkurlau: punish a child (OBJ) [puu- + -yhu- (2)]
puwa (NC) 1. rotten like food 2. sour [cf. Nm puka]
puwaay (NC) little black cormorant [as if puwa (1) + -kaa, cf. Nm pukakura]
puwamarta (NC) scavenger [puwa (1) + -marta (Sla)]
puwarlu (NC) rotten like wood [puwa (1) + -rlu]
puwarrri (NC) 1. dream 2. ----- watyi: nightmare [cf. WD pukarri]
puwarrima- (VL) 1. dream 2. ----- watyi: have a nightmare [puwarri + -ma-, cf. Nm pukarritya-]
puwayi (NC) rare var. = puwayu [cf. Nm pukatyi]
puwayu (NC) club-rush [cf. puwayi, see also yirrauyu]
puya- (VL) kiss [also Nm]
puyaarpa- (VØ) float [< puyaa- (cf. WD puyura- [VNG]) + -r- + -pa (S), see also karp-]
puyama (NC) orphan
puyawirtu (NC) firestick bush [cf. Nm putyayirti (see Yi -lriti) and Yi pirtu (2a), nyarrawirtu]
puyha (NC) 1. head 2. ----- mankarr: blockhead, dense person [cf. Pn putha]
puyhangkama- (VL) put something on one's head, e.g. ----- tyangkurru: put on a hat (OBJ) [puyha (1) + -ngka (1) + -ma-]
puyuwir (VN) singe and then scrape off the burnt hair [cf. Nm putyupi-, app. Ku puyuwa- (VL) and see Yi puyawirtu]

R

-r- (S) var. = -rt (2)
-ra- (VR) FACTITIVE VERBALISER
-ra (S) 1a. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 1b. (REVERSING) LOCATIVE CASE MARKER 2. AGENT SUFFIX
rapit (NC) borr. rabbit [< Eng, cf. WD rapita]
-rarri- (VØ) INCHOATIVE VERBALISER [cf. -ra-]
-rari (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [cf. -rri (2)]
-ri- (VØ) INCHOATIVE VERBALISER [cf. -rri-]
-ri (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
-rla (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
-rlarla (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
-rlu (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
-rlurlu (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
-rn (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
-rna (C) 1. RETROFLEX NOUN CLASSIFIER, one 2. PAST TENSE MARKER [cf. Nm OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER (for nhu- and ngu- [= Yi]) and PAST TENSE MARKER, see also -na and -nha]
-rnaarnu (S) PASSIVE PERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER [-rnu (2) + -ra- + -rnu (2), cf. -rnunaru]
-rni- (VØ) FACTITIVE VERBALISER
-rni (S) 1. ABLATIVAL LOCATIVE CASE MARKER 2. ALLATIVAL LOCATIVE CASE MARKER
-rnma (S) IMPERATIVE MOOD MARKER [-rn + -ma (2), cf. Nm -rrma]
-rnmarri- (VØ) RECIPROCAL VERBALISER [-rn + -mari-, cf. Nm -rrmarri-]
-rnmarta (S) 1. HABITUAL ASPECT MARKER 2. AGENT SUFFIX [-rn + -marta (2)]
-rnnyaa (S) PASSIVE OPTATIVE MOOD MARKER [-rn + -nyaa (2)]
-rnpunhtharri (S) PURPOSEFUL SUFFIX: something to ___ with [-rn + -punhtharri (2)]
-rnu (S) 1a. OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER 1b. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX: -ing 2. IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER
-rnumarnu (S) PROGRESSIVE ASPECT MARKER [-rnu (2) + -ma- + -rnu (2)]
-rr (S) 1. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 2. AGENT SUFFIX
-rr- (S) var. = -t (3)
-rra- (VR) FACTITIVE VERBALISER
-rra (S) 1. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 2. PLURAL NUMBER MARKER 3. CAUSAL SUFFIX: (be)cause (of)
-rra (C) DUBITATIVE CLITIC [also Ku and Nm, cf. Yi -nta and see tyirritityirri]
-rrari- (V0) INCHOATIVE VERBALISER [cf. -rra-]
-rri- (V0) INCHOATIVE VERBALISER [also Nm]
-rri (S) 1. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 2. PLURAL NUMBER MARKER
-rrirri (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
-rru (S) 1. ALLATIVAL LOCATIVE CASE MARKER 2. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX [1. < -tu (S)]
-rt (S) 1. one, place 2. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
-rtta (S) 1. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 2. LOCATIVE CASE MARKER
-rtarri (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [cf. -rrl (2)]
-rti (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
-rtirti (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
-rtu (S) 1. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 2. INSTRUMENTAL CASE MARKER
-rtu (C) 1. CONTRAST CLITIC: on the contrary, not the other
2. one [cf. Pn, WD (= Yi -pa [Cl])]
-rturtu (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
-ru (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX [see -ra (1)]

-t (S) 1. ALLATIVAL LOCATIVE CASE MARKER 2. one 3. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
Tampia (NC) borr. Dampier [< Eng]
-th- (S) MORPHHEME SEPARATOR [also Nm]
tha- (NC) 1. stuck in(to) 2. stuck under
-tha (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
thaat (NC) 1. mouth 2. beak [cf. Pn thara < PPN *tyaraa (= tyaa- [=WD] + *-ra [= Yi (la)]), but note also Nm thaya]
thaat (VL) 1. allow, permit, let 2. release, let go, drop 3. send [cf. Nm thaya- (VL)]
thaarri (NC) 1. female genitalia 2. ------ watyikarta: insulting epithet for a woman [thaarri (1) + -rrl (1), but note Ti thara marsupial pouch, Ny tyara]
thaarriarlaa (NC) female [thaarri (1) + -karlaa]
thaarriya (NC) priest in charge of the baby increase site [thaarri (1) + -tya]
thaarta (NC) 1. split (open) 2. ----- karri-: stand with legs spread apart [thaa (1) + -rta (1)]

Thaarta (NP) Tarda Pool [< NC1]

thaartama- (VL) split open [thaarta (1) + -ma-]

Thaathi (NC) rare borrr. Thursday [< Eng]

thaawarru (NC) coll. carpet snake [thaa (1) + warru (1)]

thala (NC) large black and yellow carpenter bee, native bumblebee

Thalanytyi (NC) Thailandji [thalany- (= Ma tongue) + -tyi]

thalu (NC) 1. sacred site, increase site 2. tame, pet

thaluma- (VL) ----- mutyirau: 1. operate the dingo increase site 2. tame a dingo (OBJ) [thalu + -ma-]

thama (NC) 1. firewood 2. fire

thamii (NP) 1. maternal grandfather 2. man's daughter's son, woman's son's son [thamu- (= WD tyamu paternal grandrelative) + -tyi, cf. Ny tyamutyi]

thampa (PC) 1. what about (it), so what 2. nearly, just about 3. but [app. tha- what + -mpa, cf. Pl tyarni where]

thampanyu (PI) but actually, but really [thampa (3) + -nyu (C)]

thampi (NC) rib

Thampirri (NC) Tambrey Station [cf. preceding entry]

thamunu (NC) uncircumcised [cf. WD thamanu unschooled nyurnrta and see also Yi pirtunu]

thangka (NC) stuck in [tha- (1) + -ngka (1)]

thangkaarlaa (NC) impaled [thangka + -karlaa]

thangkama- (VL) ----- nhurnu ngula: stick this (OBJ) into that (LOC) [thangka + -ma-]

thangkarr (NC) enough, that's all there is to it

thangkawarni- (VØ) become stuck in [thangka + -warni-]

thangkina (NC) plaited hair which may be wrapped around the head or body

thani- (VN) chop [cf. Ku hit, Nm thalku- (VØ) < pres. tense of the obs. form *tha- (VL) hit, but note also Yi tha- (1)]

thankarta (NC) trembling [thanka- + -rta (1), cf. Pn thankarnkiyi- (= Yi thankartarri-)]

thankartama- (VL) ----- nganii: make something (OBJ) tremble [thankarta + -ma-]
thankartarri- (VØ) tremble [thankarta + -rr-]
thanpartan (NC) 1. coolamon (bark basin or bucket) 2. enamel basin [cf. ngawurtan]
thapartu (NC) woman who has lost a child, bereft mother [also Nm]
tharkarri- (VØ) thud [cf. -(ka)rri-]
tharlaa- (VL) kick [tharla- (app. = Nm knee) + -ka-, cf. app. Ku tharlayi- and see section 1.1.3 in the Grammar]
Tharlayinti (NC) app. borrh. 1. Talereendiner Pool 2. Croydon Station [< Nm]
tharlingka (NC) on the shoulders [cf. WD tyarli head ring for carrying]
tharnangka (NC) piggyback [tharna- (=WD tyarna back) + -ngka (1)]
tharnarti (NC) ocean, sea [cf. -rti, tyananyungu]
tharnku (NC) bull ant [cf. Nm karnku]
tharnrtaangu (NC) prickly saltwort, roly-poly, native tumbleweed [tharnrtaa- (=Nm tharnrtaara) + -ngu (1c)]
Tharnrti (NC) The Saucepan (a minor constellation in Orion)
tharpa (NC) body
tharra (NC) jag hook made from a twig stripped of its leaves and used to snag bardie grubs [tha- (1) + -rra (S1)]
tharrangkurla (NC) kurrajong (a deciduous tree) [tharra + -ngku (3) + -rla]
tharrayi (NC) bower bird [cf. Nm tharralll]
Tharrirti (NC) rare borrh. Saturday [< Eng]
Tharrkari (NC) Thargari
tharrki (NC) borrh. domestic turkey [< Eng]
tharrunpirri (NC) female kangaroo past the age of reproduction [cf. Nm tharrkunpirri]
tharruyharru (NC) obscured [tharru- + redup. -tharru]

tharrwa- (VØ) 1a. enter, e.g. ----- mayayi: go into a house (OBJ) 1b. ----- warayi: put on clothes (OBJ) 2a. go under 2b. yurrara ----- + -Ø: the sun is setting [<tha- + -rr- + -pa (S), cf. Nm tharrpa- (VØ)]

tharrwa- (VR) insert; stick, put or drive into, e.g. ----- nhurnungula: put this (OBJ) in(to) that (LOC) [cf. Nm tharrpa- (VL)]

tharta (NC) 1. covered 2. closed, shut (off) 3. plugged [also Nm]
thartaankarri- (VØ) sit with knees bent and parted and heels dug in [thartaa- (<thaarta [2]) + -n + -karri-, see also thartapara]
thartama- (VL) 1. cover 2. close, shut (off) 3. plug [tharta + -ma-, cf. Nm tharatyi-]

thartapara (NC) bow-legged [see thartaankarrl-]

thartarr (NC) pocket gorge [tharta (2) + -rr (1)]

thartarri- (VØ) 1. cover oneself, get covered, e.g. ----- kawurnku: cover up in a skin (OBJ) 2. vanish, disappear [tharta (1) + -rr-]

thartat (NC) dull, blunt

thartu (NC) yandy, winnowing machine (linear centrifuge)

tharurruru (NC) sundown [tha- (2) + -ru + -rru (2), cf. tharrwa- (VØ2b)]

thatha (NC) untrue; 1. lie 2. bnd. form opposite direction (see also wala [I], thurrurt)

thathaarlaa (NC) 1. liar 2. coll. smart aleck [thatha (1) + -karlaa]

thathamarnrta (NC) 1. greedy 2. stingy, mean [*thatha- (VØ) (cf. Nb tha- [VR] eat) + -marnrta (< -marta [S2b], see ngungkumarnrta), cf. Nm thalhanharrl]

thatharruka (NC) borr. sea turtle [< Nm]

thatpi (NC) wide

thaun (NC) borr. town [< Eng, cf. WD, Dy tawun]

thaurra (NC) fishing net [cf. Nm thakura]

thautha (NC) borr. trousers [< Eng, cf. Nm thawutha, WD tawityi]

thawu (NC) house gecko [also Nm]

thaya (NC) borr. tyre [< Eng]

thayhangurri (NC) afternoon shade [thatha- + -ngu (lc) + -rru (1)]

thii (NC) borr. tea [< Eng, cf. Nm thiyl, WD tyil]

thingkithingki (NC) borr. bell [< Eng; also Nm]

-thu (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

thuku (NC) boy about two years of age (see nyurtun) [also Nm]

thula- (VL) wanytya ----- + -ku: the dog is barking

thuli (NC) 1. tawny frogmouth 2. free to eat restricted food

thulima- (VL) free from a food prohibition [thull (2) + -ma-]

thulu (NC) face down

thulurrungu (NC) bent over [thulu + -rru (1) + -ngu (lc)]
thumpira- (VL) turn a cylindrical object inside out

thumpirr (NC) flatulation, fart [< thumpu (la) + -rr (1), cf. kanyirr and also see wirrangkaa]

thumpirraarri- (VØ) flatulate, fart [thumpirr + -rru (1) + -rarri-, cf. Nm thumplrrma- (VØ) and also Yi kanyirraarri-]

thumpu (NC) la. anus 1b. coll. arse, rear end 2. coll. fool, jackass; e.g. ----- kuyauya: silly ass, ----- wantawanta: crazy ass

thumpurtan (NC) 1. flip, sommersault 2. dive [thumpu (1) + -rta (1) + -n]

thumpurtankarri- (VØ) 1. do a flip, turn a sommersault 2. dive [thumpuran + -karri-]

thungka (NC) soil, dirt, sand

thungkari (NC) grave [thungka + -ri, also Nm, but cf. Ny tyungkari]

Thungkawarna (NC) Tunkawanna, Long Mack's country [thungka + -warna (= warna-)]

Thungkawarnanyungu (NC) person belonging to the Tunkawanna mob [Thungkawarna + -nyungu]

thupu (NC) borr. soap [< Eng]

thurangku (NC) borr. intoxicated, drunk [< Eng]

thurangkurri- (VØ) get drunk [thurangku + -rri-]

thurayam, obl. stem thurayamu- (NC) borr. try, test [< Eng try 'm, see also paylam]

thurayamarni- (VØ) try, test [thurayamu- + -rni-, see also paylamarni-]

thurayamu- (NC) see thurayam [back formation from free form, see also paylamu-]

thurla (NC) 1. eye 2. butt peg on a woomera [cf. Nm eye, thurlara butt peg]

thurlangkama- (VL) ----- kurrlyartau: hook a throwing spear (OBJ) to the butt peg of a woomera [thurla (2) + -ngka (1) + -ma-]

thurlapurnu (NC) nosey [thurla (1) + -purnu]

thurlawarni- (VØ) 1. open one's eyes 2. wake up [thurla (1) + -warni-]

thurlawunhtharri (NC) small depression in the butt end of a kurrlyarta that the woomera peg (hook) fits into [thurla (2) + -punhtharri (1)]

thurni- (VØ) laugh (at), smile
thurnrta- (VL) roll (see Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 6)

thurnrtu (NC) seed of the kanytyi

thurnu (NC) 1. interior, the inside 2. the underside

thurnungka (NC) 1. inside 2. under(neath) [thurnu + -ngka (1)]

thurnungkarri- (VØ) 1. get inside 2. get under(neath)
[thurnungka + -rri-]

thurnungkurlu (NC) deep [thurnu (2) + -ngku (3) + -rlu]

thurrii (NC) borr. three [< Eng]

thurruru (NC) respect lang. = parrimirrntl [cf. Ng snake; Nl, Ny tyurruru]

thurrurt (NC) true: 1a. straight toward or forward, direct
1b. ---- wangka-: tell the truth 2a. proper, correct
2b. ---- warrirra: prescribed woman [cf. Nm thurrkurl and see next entry]

thurrwiny (NC) 1. ignorant, uninformed, out-of-it 2. white
gooseberry shrub, hundreds-and-thousands bush [cf. Nm, Ka
thurrkuny bush with white fruit, see tyarrwurtl and warrwu
and also piyulinykarra]

Thurti (NC) Homestead Pool at Millstream

thurtu (NP) 1. older sister 2. older halfsister 3. stepsister
through stepparent who is older sibling to replaced parent
4. daughter of father's older brother or of mother's older
sister [also Nm, cf. WD tyurtu]

thurtuwarrara (NC) woman and her younger sibling [thurtu + -karra
(2)]

thurupu (NC) borr. trough [< Eng, see also thurangku]

Thuthurti (NP) name of the dog owned by Nyaarrimarra [thuthu-
(= Ma dog) + -rtl]

thuu- (VL) poss. borr. = thuwayi- [< pres. tense of the obs. form
*thu- (VØ), cf. Nm thukutha- (VL), Nb thu- (VR)]

thuuumaya (NC) borr. store, shop [thuu- (< Eng) + maya]

thuurr (NC) big and slow

thuwarta (NC) any kind of sweet food including fruit [cf. Nm
thukurta and see karrwarn]

thuwayi- (VN) spear with a thrown instrument [thuwa- (cf. Nl
thuwa- [V]) + -yl-, see also Yi thu-]

thuyhu- (VL) 1. push 2. wirrwil ---- + -ku: the wind is blowing

tii (NC) var. = thli [cf. WD til]

-tu (S) ALLATIVAL LOCATIVE CASE MARKER
-tu (C) one
-ty (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
-ty- (S) = -th- [app. < base form]
-tya- (VL) FACTITIVE VERBALISER [also Nm]
-tya (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
-tyaa (S) OPTATIVE MOOD MARKER

tyaama- (VØ) var. = tyaamarri- [< thaa (1) + -ma (1), but see karnrtarrari-]
tyamarriri- (VØ) yawn [tyama- + -rr-]
tyaart (NC) borr. shirt [< Eng]
tyakatyakara (NC) knob-tail gecko, barking gecko [tyaka- + redup. -tyaka + -ra (la)]
tyalinytya- (VL) ---- ungal: suck on something (OBJ) inside the mouth (like a coughdrop) [tyali- tongue + -ny (2) + -tya-, cf. Nm thalilwarru blue-tongue lizard]
tyammarlany (NC) on tiptoes, sneaking quietly [cf. yarrwarlanykaa]
tyami (NC) medicine

tyampa (NC) (for, in or after) a short time or little while, soon (see also parraa)
tyampirlangu (NC) dry sweet sap found in cracks in the bark of the river red gum, black heart and my gum [tyampi- (< thampl) + -rla + -ngu (lc)]
tyampu (NC) 1. left hand 2. left-handed (person) 3. (on or to the) left side

Tyampu (NP) Leonard Wally [< NC2]
tyampurra (NC) left-handed (implement) [tyampu (NC2) + -rra (S1)]
ytananyungu (NC) parakeelya (an erect variety of pigweed that grows beside water) [cf. -nyungu, tharnartl]
yvangayi (NC) borr. slingshot, catapult, shanghai [< Eng]
yyangka (NC) burrowing goby (fish) [< thangka]
yyangkurru (NC) hat [also WD]
yyangka- (VR) tie [see next entry]
tyankara (NC) borr. police [< Nm tyanka- (VL) + -ra (= Yi [2])]
yanpi- (VN) snatch (grab and run)
tyanta (NC) crippled, lame [cf. Ng thuuta thigh, WD tyunta]
tyanti (NC) 1. cough 2. phlegm

tyanti- (VØ) cough [< NC1]

tyantinti (NC) wild fowl (local term): 1. black-tail native hen
2. eastern swampfen (recent immigrant) [cf. tyanti (1)]

tyanytyirn (NC) 1a. bark curl 1b. wand decorated with them
2. coil. tobacco of poor quality

tyanytyu (NC) sulky, sulking

tyarnangu (NC) bardie grub [see tyananyungu]

tyarnkarra (NC) ruffled feather [cf. ngarnkarra, tyarnkurna]

tyarnku (PC) self [cf. Nm tya[r]nkurl]

tyarnkurna (NC) 1. emu 2. u.c. the Coalblack (a certain dark
spot in the Milky Way) [see yarnkarra]

tyarnrtit (NC) walking stick

tyarparr (NC) hot prickly tomato

tyarpinytyarr (NC) pratincole (bird) [tyarp- + -ny (2) + -tya-
+ -rr (2), see piyulinykarra and wirtinytyirr]

tyarp- (NC) wing

tyarpurrungu (NC) wedge-tail eagle, eaglehawk [tyarp- + -rru (2)
+ -ngu (lc)]

tyarraarn (NC) any kind of frog but esp. the burrowing river
frog [tyarra- (= Nm tyarrka swollen) + -ra (1a) + -rn, cf. Nm
tyarrkararn]

tyarri (NC) niche, proper place

-tyarri- (VØ) INCHOATIVE VERBALISER [also Nm, cf. Ny tyarri- become,
note also Yi -tya-]

-tyarri (S) RECIPROCAL SUFFIX

tyarru (NC) March fly

tyarru (I) over and over, e.g. ----- wangka-: keep on repeating

tyarrwayi (NC) raspberry) jam tree [cf. Nm tyarrpayi]

tyarrwirti (NC) = tyarrwurti [< base form, see martimirri]

tyarrwurti (NC) 1. three 2. ----- -----: six 3. ----- + -la:
three times [tyarrwu- (= Tr tyarrku) + -rti]

tyarta (NC) 1. blind 2. mature woman

tyartawarni- (VØ) 1. go blind 2. thurla -----: close one's eyes
(NOM) [tyarta (1) + -warni-]
tyartima- (VL) have a feast or good feed [tya- (NC) eat (cf. Bj tya- [V]) + -rtl + -ma-, cf. Nm tyartimarr- (VØ) embrace one another]

tyartu (NC) 1. Achilles tendon 2. bnd. form hole in rock [cf. Ku pawatyartu (= Yi pawanyaa)]

tyartun (NC) var. = tyartunmarra [tyartu- + -n]

tyartungu (NC) rock hole [tyartu- + -ngu (lc)]

tyartunmarra (NC) rock wallaby [tyartun + -marra]

tyatyawarni- (VØ) 1. turn to rubbish 2. get beaten, rubbish ed or bested [tyatyawarni-]

Tyatiurra (NC) Robe River

tyawangkarna (NC) owl- nightjar [cf. Nm tyapangkarna]

tyawarlarla (NC) whisper(ing) [tyawarlarla, see also thaa (1)]

tyawarlarlarri- (VØ) whisper [tyawarlarla + -rri-]

tyawi (NC) song [cf. Nm thapi]

Tyawiwanarra (NC) Longsong (see Text 2) [tyawl + wanarra (1)]

Tyawiwanarraarlaa (NC) nickname for Yityangu [Tyawiwanarraarlaa + karlaa]

tyawurtta (NC) facial hair: beard or moustache [cf. Ma tyapurta, WD tyaputu and see also Yi thaa and wurtta]

tyaya- (VL) escape, get away or out [cf. Nm tyaya-]

tyayi (NC) 1. prohibited from eating restricted food, fasting 2. bnd. form nectar [cf. Nm tyayi fasting, WD tatyi]

tyayimarra (NC) flower of the blackheart tree [tyayi- + -marra, cf. Nm thayimarra flower of the cork tree]

tyayira (NC) boy about twelve to fourteen years of age, fasting youth [tyayi- + -ra (la), cf. Nm tyayira]

tyayumarta (NC) bee-fly [tyayu- (< tyayi-, see puwayu) + -marta (S1a), cf. Ku tyayumarta]

-Tyi (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

tyia (NC) borr. chair [< Eng]

tyianti- (VR) pour

tyiirri (NC) tiny particle, speck: 1. thama: spark 2. yuntu payhaku: rain is coming in a mist [tyiirri- (= WD til spark) + -rri (1)]
tyikin (NC) borr. chicken [< Eng]

Tyikulung, obl. stem Tyikulungu- (NC) borr. Jig(g)along

Tyikulungu- (NC) see Tyikulung [app. back formation from free form, see paylamu-]

Tyikurrart (NP) 1. Sherlock Station 2. ----- wuntu: Sherlock River [tyikurr- (> tyiurra) + -rt (1), see also Wirrawanti]

tyila (NC) covered root, taproot [cf. WD snake]

tyilaman (NC) poss. borr. shoulder-gun of any kind: rifle, shotgun [as if tyila + -man]

tyilangkurr (NC) water-holding frog, spinifex frog (Aboriginal English) [tyila- (= WD soak) + -ngku (1) + -rr (2)]

tyilarnngu (NC) app. pinyuru (plant) [tyila + -rn + -ngu (1c)]

tyilungarta (NC) firestick: drill or saw (root of the puyawirtu) [app. tyiulu- (< tyilla) + ngarta (NC)]

tyimarri (NC) circumcision knife [widespread term in Western Australia]

tyimpurrttyimurr (NC) speckled (like a crow's egg) [tyimpu + -rr (1) + redup. -tyimurr]

tyimpuwarlaarri- (VØ) become egg-laden [tyimpu + -karlaa + -rrri-]

tyina (NC) 1. foot including the toes 2. footprint, track [< PPN]

tyinakala (NC) ----- pangkarri-: skip [tyina (1) + -kala (= kala- [2])]

tyinama- (VL) track [tyina (2) + -ma-]

tyinapuka (NC) poss. borr. any sort of footwear from the native boot to the modern boot or shoe [tyina (1) + -puka, see Kurnapuka]

tyinapurnu (NC) footloose [tyina (1) + -purnu]

tyinarlirr (NC) all the way on foot without a lift [tyina (1) + -rl (1) + -rr (1)]

tyinartu (NC) 1. right past, e.g. ----- pangkarri-: go by without stopping 2. (all the way) through [tyina (1) + -rtu (Sl)]

tyinatyamarlany (NC) ----- pangkarri- nganangu: sneak up on someone (OBJ) without making any noise [tyina (1) + tyamarlany]

tyinatyina (NC) woman's skirt [app. tyina (1) + redup. -tyina]

tyinayarnrtu (NC) sook [tyina (1) + -ty- + -arnrtu, cf. Nm tyinatharnrtu]

tyingka- (NDn) 1. upstream 2. interior

tyingkarni (NC) from upstream (see ngunhthirni[ngu]) [tyingka- (1) + -rni (1)]
tyingkarnirri- (VØ) emerge, come out [tyingka- (2) + -rni (1) + -rri-]
tyinhtha (NC) foreskin
tyinhtharr (NC) deadly poison
tyiniyarri- (VØ) get sick, ache, be hurting [cf. -(tya)rri-]
tyinka- (VR) chisel, carve, whittle [cf. WD (VL)]
tyinpi (NC) small spring
tyintyi (NC) animal fat [also Nm]
tyintyimama (NC) obese, fat [tyintyi + -mama]
tyintyimamarri- (VØ) get fat [tyintyimama + -rri-]
tyinytyanungu (NC) worker (particularly for an initiation rite) [tyinytya- (> tyintyi [1]) + -nu (1) + -ngu (1c)]
tyinytyi (NC) 1. wage payment 2. brideprice 3. trade gift (see also tyirta) [see preceding entry and also puntyi]
tyinytyiwi- (VN) bump, bang into, collide with [cf. -pi-]
tyipi (NC) naked
tyirli (NC) arm from shoulder to wrist
tyirlimirnrri (NC) armstring [tyirli + -mirnrri (< mirri- [1], see parrimirnrri), cf. Nm tyirlimarti]
tyirnrnta (NC) hot coal, ember [cf. WD tyirnrntu sum]
Tyirnrntawurrina (NP) Millstream Station [tyirnrnta + purri- (2) + -na (2), see also karlamana]
tyirraakarri- (VØ) jump, hop, e.g. kankala ------ +Ø mangkurla: the child is jumping up and down [tyirri- + -ra (1a) + -karri]
Tyirrayi (NP) Mount Florence Station
tyirri (NC) 1. prickle, thorn, quill, needle 2. bnd. form projection -tyirri (S) 1. sticking out, manifested 2. PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [1.< NC2]
tyirriny (NC) Millstream fan-palm [tyirri + -ny (2)]
tyirrityirri (NC) willy wagtail, black-and-white flicker (bird) [app. tyirri- + redup. -tyirri, cf. Pl, Nt tyirrityiti; Nl, WD tyintityinti]
tyirriwi (NC) echidna, native porcupine [tyirri + -pi (1), cf. Nm tyirrippuka]
tyirrKayiny (NC) large variety of red rock fig [tyirrrka- + -ri + -ny (2), cf. WD tyilkarrpa red ochre and see Yi ngangkaanyu]
tyirru (NC) occiput, back of head

tyirrwirliny (NC) teardrop fruit, caper vine [tyirru- (= Ny tyirru thorn) + -rl + -ny (2), see martimirri, also note Nm tyirruru bush with prickles]

tyirta (NC) ritual gift as in the pirtarra (see tylnytyl)

Tyirta (NP) the Gifts (place name) [< NC]

Tyirti (NP) Cheedy Ned

tyirtu (NC) erection [also Ku, but cf. Nm tyurtu and see Yi mirlmirra]

tyiruna (NC) pelican

tyitya- (NC) bright, shiny

tyityarirri (NC) pearl-shell pendant worn around the neck and/or hips during ceremonies [tyitya- + -rl + -rr (1)]

tyiurra (NC) bony bream (fish) [cf. Nm tyikurra]

tyiwa- (VL) cause to function: 1. ----- nganangu: wake someone (OBJ) up 2. ----- thalu: operate a thalu (OBJ) 3. ----- murtimaau: drive a motorcar (OBJ) [cf. Nm tyipa-]

tyiwarra (NC) 1. white, light grey 2. light coloured tint 3. bright, silvery 4. clean [tyiwa- (> yiwa) + -rr (1)]

-tyu (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

tyuka (NC) borr. sugar [< Eng, cf. WD tukatyi]

tyulu (NC) all, everyone, everything, the lot

tyumi (NC) tender: 1. easily bruised 2. sore

tyumpi- (VN) squeeze [cf. Nm tyumpi-, tyimpi-]

tyumpirirri (NC) knife [tyumpu- (> yumpu) + -rl + -rr (1), cf. Nm tyumpurirri and see Yi martimirri]

tyuna (NC) kurdaitcha man (ritual assassin)

tyuntaa (NR) that way, (in) the manner observed or indicated, e.g. watyi ----- + -rtu: it's no good like that [tyuntu + -ra (1a)]

tyuntaama- (VL) do that, e.g. mlrta ----- + -kayi: don't do that! [tyuntaa + -ma-]
tyuntaaparlu (I) always [tyunta + -parlu]
tyuntaarna (I) = tyuntaa [tyuntaa + -rna (1)]
tyuntu (NC) way, manner
tyunturni (NC) around that way [tyuntu + -rni]
tyuntunirri- (VØ) come or go around that way [tyunturni + -rri-]
tyurlarr (NC) milkweed pod [tyurla- (< thurla [2]) + -rr (1)]
tyurlaurtu (NC) spinifex pigeon (has a topknot) [tyurla- (< thurla [2]) + -ku (S) + -rtu (S1), cf. Nm tyurlakurtu]
tyurlawirtinypirtiny (NC) Sturt's desert pea [tyurla- (< thurla [1]) + wirti- + -ny (2) + redup. -wirtiny, cf. Nm thurlamartamarta lit. red eye and note WD marlukurukuru lit. kangaroo eyes]

Tyuri (NC) obs. Perth
tyurliny (NC) 1. intestine 2. hose
tyurna (NC) club
tyurrawirn (NC) yellow-fronted honeyeater [cf. Nm tyurrapiurn and Yi tyuti, see also kurlimpa]
tyurtairri (NC) red-backed kingfisher [tyurta- + -ri + -rrri (1), cf. Nm tyurtirirri kingfisher (see Yi marrari) and thurtarrara pelican]
tyurtu, pl. -pirri (NC) native flower (see purlaawa)
tyurtun (NC) peaked

tyurtutyturtu (NC) fragrant [tyurtu + redup. -tyurtu]
tyurtuu (NC) dust
tyuti (NC) white-plumed honeyeater, native canary
tyutyiku (NC) borr. shoe, boot [tyuty- (< Eng shoes) + -tyi + -ku (S), see also matyirr]
tyutyu (NP) mature (man or person), old (fellow) [cf. Nm tyullu]
tyutyumaa (NC) food which is prohibited to young people because it is thought to make them old [tyutyu + -maa]
tyuu- (NC) head [cf. Tj tyuru head]
tyuumarta (NC) red-naped snake [tyuu- + marta]
tyuurlurlulu (NC) with the head down, e.g. ----- pangkarri-: sneak [tyuu- + -rlurlu]
tyuurlurlurri- (VØ) duck down [tyuurlurlu + -rrri-]
tyuurri (NC) 1. pigtail, queue 2. fur-string fringe on a nyankarturtu [tyuu- + -rrri (1)]
Tyuuthi (NC) rare brrr. Tuesday [<Eng]
Tyuwarn (NC) Bungarra Burrow, Magellanic Clouds

Tyuyu (NC) light white smoke used to keep mosquitoes away [cf. Nm tyutyu]

U

-u (S) VOCATIVE SUFFIX [cf. Ny -ku]
-urru (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [cf. Nm -kurru (see paru) and see -wathaa]

uu (NC) brrr. or [<Eng]

-uu (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [cf. Nm -kuru]

W

waa (NC) la. fear 1b. afraid, sacred, frightened 2. bnd. form go [cf. Nm wayaafraid, waka- (VØ) go]

waama- (VL) scare, frighten [waa (1b) + -ma-, cf. Nm wayaka-]

waarra- (VR) follow hard upon someone’s heels, track down, hunt [waa- + -rra-]

waarrri- (VØ) 1. get scared, become frightened 2. look for, search for [waa (1a) + -karri-, cf. Nm wayakarri-; waa- + -rrri-]

waartarri- (VØ) respect lang. = karlinytyarri- [waa- + -rta (1) + -rrri-, cf. Nm wakartarri- turn]

waawurra (NC) not tame, wild [waa (1b) + -purra, cf. Nm wayapurra]

waayhu- (VL) say good-bye (to) [waa- + -yhu- (1)]

waayhunmarri- (VØ) say good-bye to one another [waayhu- + -nmarri-]

wakarlu (NC) bloodwood gall [cf. Nm wa[r]karlu, see kakurla]

wakurra (NC) brrr. crow [<Nm, Ka; cf. Ny waakurra, PPm *waatyara and see also Yi waurtu]

wala, obl. stem walaa- (PR) 1. he, she, it 2. that near [wa- THIRD PERSON MID-DISTANT + -la (3), cf. Nm palu, Ny pala, see also Yi nyinta]

wala (I) not straight-forward: 1. ----- wanti-: look back 2. ----- wanka-: tell a lie 3. ----- nhau-: watch surreptitiously, spy on

walaa- (PR) see wala (PR) [wala (PR) + -ra (1a), cf. ngunharaa and also see ngaliya]
walaakuyha (PC) 1. they (in the same generation or in even ones) 2. those two near [wala- + -kuyha]

walaangkaa- (P) 1. they 2. those several near [wala- + -ngku (2) + -ra (1a), cf. nhungkaa-]

walaangkaana (PI) those several near ones [walaangkaa- (2) + -na (1)]

walaangkaat (PC) those several near ones [walaangkaa- (2) + -t (2)]

walaangkaatu (PI) those several near ones [walaangkaa- (2) + -tu (C)]

walaangkaatyirri (PC) 1. they 2. those several near [walaangkaa- + -tyirri (2)]

walaapi (PC) 1. they (in adjacent or odd generations) 2. those two near [wala- + -pi (2)]

walaarna (PI) that one [wala- (2) + -rna (1)]

walaart (PC) that one [wala- (2) + -rt (1)]

walaartu (PI) that one [wala- (2) + -rtu (C2)]

waluu (NC) big rock [cf. Nm waluru]

wampu (NC) bipointed throwing stake

wana (NC) 1. vista, foreground 2. bend. form long, tall [see warna-]

wanangkaa (NC) whirlwind, willy-willy (local term) [wana- + -ngku (3) + -ra (1a), cf. Nm wanangkura]

wanangkaanyaa (NC) depression in the middle of the lower back [wanangkaa + -nyaa (1)]

wanara (NC) small bush with oval leaves and prickles used to make medicine for colds

wanarra (NC) 1. long 2. tall [wana- + -rra (S1)]

wanarrari- (V0) get long(er) or tall(er) [wanarra + -ri-]

Wanaurarra (NC) Milky Way [wana- + -ku (S) + -ra (1a) + -rra (S1), cf. Nm Wanakurarrra]

wanayi- (VN) clean, e.g. ---- thungkayi: remove the dirt (OBJ) [cf. -yi-]

wanga (NC) armpit

wangarkaa (NC) crow [as if wanga + -r- + -kaa, see wakurra and waurtu, but also wangkina and mungart!]

wangka (NC) 1. speech: talk, discussion, story, information, etc. 2. language: word, sentence, etc.
wangka- (V0) 1. speak, talk (about), say, tell, ask (a question), utter 2. make the sound characteristic of the producer, e.g. wirti ---- + -Ø: the bell is ringing

wangkanguli- (VØ) be called [wangka- (1) + -nguli- (2)]

wangkarn (NC) 1. light in weight 2. warrkam ----: light work

wangkarntyarri- (VØ) become light(er) [wangkarn + -tyarri-]

wangkarr (NC) throat [wangka(-) + -rr (2)]

wangkarrwanarra (NC) camel [wangkarr + wanarra (1)]

wangkawatyi (NC) one who speaks broken English [wangka (1) + watyi (1)]

wangkawima- (VL) cause to talk, e.g. ---- wangkay[h]arnrtuu: turn on the radio (OBJ) [wangka (1) + -pima-]

wangkayarnrtu (NC) radio, wireless [wangka (1) + -ty- + -arnrtu]

wangkayharnrtu (NC) = wangkayarnrtu [wangka (1) + -th- + -arnrtu]

wangkayinytyarri- (VØ) talk together, say to each other, converse, have a conversation [wangka- (1) + -yinnyytyarri-]

wangkayirraa- (VR) 1. cause to talk 2. cause to make a noise [wangka- + -yirraa-]

wangkina (NC) berr. crow [< unknown source, cf. Wa waangi (note wangki speech), waangkarna]

wangkuri (NC) corner [wangku- (app. < warnku) + -r1]

wangkurru (NC) salt water

wanhtha- (PR) = wanhthl- [cf. Ma wanhtha where]

wanhtha- (VL) 1. ---- nganli uu nganangu: leave something (OBJ) or someone (OBJ) 2. put, add 3. put up, erect, e.g. ---- mayayl: build a house (OBJ) 4. ---- warnrtayl: plant a tree (OBJ) 5. ---- wangkayl: give information (OBJ) [cf. Nm (VR) and see Yi payha-, note also PPM *wanta-]

wanththarni (PC) 1. where (to) 2. which way 3. ---- ngarra: how [wanththarni- (PR) + -rni (2)]

wanththarniurru (NC) rare var. = wanhtharni [wanththarni (1,2) + -kuru]

wanththarta (PC) when [wanththa- (PR) + -rta (2)]

wanththi- (PP) which [< *wanytyl (see next entry) < PPN *wanytya (see Yi kaarrwanetyi-) where (= Ka), see wanhthha- (PR)]

wanththila (PC) where (at) [wanththi- + -la (1), cf. Nm wanytyila]

wanththilangu (PC) where from [wanththila + -ngu (la)]

wanththinha (PC) which (one) [wanththi- + -nha (1)]
wanthiwa (PC) how are you? [wanthi- + app. -pa (C1)]
wanthiwa (PC) var. = wanthiwayi [wanthiwa + -u]
wanthiwayi (PC) how are you! [wanthiwa + -y! (C1)]
wanthiwartu (PC) ---- nyinta: which mob do you belong to? [wanthi- + -partu (1)]
wanka (NC) 1. alive, living 2. not ripe, green 3. raw
wankama- (VL) 1. bring to life, enliven 2. keep alive [wanka (1) + -ma-]
wankarri- (VØ) 1. come to life 2. grow, live [wanka (1) + -rri-]
wanpayi (NC) honey bee [cf. Nm, Pn wanpari]
wanpi- (VR) 1. beat, strike, pound, hit with a held instrument 2. fight (with), e.g. ----- nganangu: beat someone (OBJ) up
wanpirnmarri- (VØ) fight with each other [wanpi- (2) + -rnmarri-]
wanpirnphuntharri (NC) club [wanpi- (1) + -rnphuntharri]
wanta (NC) 1. insanity, madness 2. bnd. form apart, separate(d)
wanta (I) SEQUENTIAL COPULA: and then, also, as well
wantaa (NC) can, able
wantaarlaa (NC) crazy, insane, mad [wanta (NC) + -karlaa]
wantama- (VL) separate, divide [wanta- + -ma-]
wantamarri- (VØ) take leave of one another, part [wanta- + -marri-]
wantawanta (NC) = wantaarlaa [wanta (NC) + redup. -wanta]
wanti- (VØ) wala -----: look back
wantya- (NC) off, detached [< *wanytya-, see kaarrwanytyl-]
wantyari- (VØ) come off [wantya- + -rri-, cf. Nm wanytyari-]
wantyawi- (VN) detach, take off [wantya- + -pl-, cf. Nm wanytyipi- (see marrarll)]
wanu (NC) fighting staff used by women [cf. Nm wana, but also note Nr wan and WD wana digging stick]
wanyaarrri- (VØ) 1. hear, e.g. ----- wangkay[h]arnrtuu: listen to the radio (OBJ) 2. understand [< *wanyakarrri-, cf. Nm wanyaparri- and see Yi -kula, note also Wa plnakarri- hear, plna ear]
wanyaarrinyyari- (VØ) listen to each other [wanyaarrri- + -nyyari-]
wanetya (NC) dog
wapa (NC) borr. = markurra [< Nm]

wara (NC) 1. clothing in general (originally tanned skin), but particularly that covering the back, e.g. shirt or coat
2. cloth [cf. WD wararri shirt]

warama- (VL) 1. make, construct 2. fix: 2a. prepare 2b. repair
3. ------ thamayi: build or tend a fire (OBJ) [cf. -ma-]

waramurrungka (NC) flying fox (large fruit-eating bat) [wara (1) + murr + -ngka (1)]

waranu (NC) sweet substance (lerp) found covering the leaves of the river red gum [wara (1) + -nu (1)]

wararr (NC) teasing

wararra (NC) green and red string strung between the wands of the tyuna's headdress

wararrwarni- (VØ) tease [wararr + -warni-]

wari (NC) handle

Wari (NP) Yilbie King [see preceding entry]

Warimpi (NC) 1. Warambie Pool 2. Warambie Station

warka (NC) womb [cf. Ku wartka, Pn warlka]

warla (NC) 1a. heel 1b. butt end of a stone knife 2. bnd. form long straight piece of wood 3. bnd. form bird down

warlanu (NC) long wanu [warla- (2) + -nu (1), cf. WD boomerang, walanu throwing stick]

warlarra, no pl. (NC) karnku lang. = pirtuwangu [warla- (3) + -rra (S1)]

warlarri (NC) ghost gum (tree) [warla- (2) + -rrri (1), also Wa]

warlawurru (NC) bird down [cf. Nm eaglehawk down, WD eaglehawk, Ma warlartu (= Yi warla- [3] + -rtu [S1])]

warli (NC) 1. lip 2. bnd. form clear, visible, light, bright [cf. Ku lower lip, Nm lower lip, clear]

warlima- (VL) clean a surface: 1. wipe 2. sweep, e.g. ------ ngurrayi: sweep the floor (OBJ) [warli- + -ma-, cf. Nm warlika-]

warlimanpuntharrri (NC) 1. dust rag 2. broom [warlima- + -npuntharrri, cf. Nm warlikalpuntharrri]

warliwi (NC) boy between the ages of about three and twelve [warli + -pi (1), cf. Nm warlipi and see Yi tyayira]

warliwirti (NC) lightning [warli- + -pirti (1), cf. Nm warlipirti]

warlu (NC) snake [also Ku and Nm]

warlun (NC) too slow, very slow, e.g. ------ pangkarrri: drag one's feet
warna- (NC) ground [cf. WD parna]

-warni- (V0) INCHOATIVE VERBALISER [also Nm and therefore not < parni- (4), but see also -karrl- and -tyarrl-]

warnku (NC) bend, bent [cf. Ku elbow]

warnkurla (NC) elbow [warnku + -rla]

warnma, pl. -rtarri (NC) puppy

warnrnta (NC) 1. plant: tree, bush, shrub 2. trunk, main ascending branch 3. stick, e.g. yumpu ---- (yurrnnapuntharri): digging stick 4. wood [cf. WD warta]

warnntanyungu (NC) 1. tree-dweller 2. comb honey in a tree [warnrta (1,2) + -nyungu]

Warnrtarri (NP) Mick Lee

warnrta warnrta (NC) children's python, tree snake (Aboriginal English) [warnrta (1) + redup. -warnrta]

warnrti (NC) 1. penis 2. ----- puwa: insulting epithet for a man [cf. karrti, warnrta (see purna)]

warnrtiarlaa (NC) male [warnrti (1) + -kalraa]

warnrtura (NC) various, all the different

warnrturla (NC) magpie [see wartumalu]

warpa- (VL) respect lang. = kanangkarri-

warparrara (NC) rare woomera, spear thrower [cf. Nm, WD warlparra and see section 1.1.3 in the Grammar]

-warrangu (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [cf. Ny -karrangu and see also Yi maANu]

warrapa, pl. -wirti (NC) 1. grass, weed 2. coll. tobacco of poor quality

warrapaarrara (NC) grassed over, grassy [warrapa (1) + -karr (1)]

warrayi (NC) bush fly [also Ku, cf. Pn, Pl warrari]

warrayi- (VN) drag [cf. Nm wurrkat-

warrayimartan (NC) small red fly-eating lizard [warrayi + -marta (Sla), but see also tyuumartan]

warrimayi (NC) rare grassy plain [cf. Nm warrimari]

warrinyin (NC) painted finch [cf. Nm warrinyan and see punytyi]

warriwinti (NC) rare borr. boomerang [< Ku warruwinti (see Yi martimirri), cf. Pn warrkunti and see also Yi kurrlyarta]

warrkam, obl. stem warrkamu- (NC) borr. work [< Eng work 'm, see also payllam]
warrkama- (VL) var. = warrkamarni- [warrkam + -ma-, see also payilama-]

warrkamarni- (VØ) work (on) [warrkamu- + -rni-, see also payilamarni-]

warrkamu- (NC) see warrkam [back formation from free form, see also payilamu-]

warrkamurri- (VØ) be working [warrkamu- + -rri-, see also payilamurri-]

warrki (NC) possum, tree 'roo (Aboriginal English) [cf. Pn walki]

warrkungu (NC) plum bush

Warrmarla (NC) borr. Aboriginal people of the Western Desert [< WD soldier, warrior]

warru (NC) 1. black, dark grey, brown 2. dark coloured 3. dull 4. dirty 5. night

Warru (NP) Blackie (Gilbert Bobby's dog) [< NCl]

warruma- (VL) thamayi ------ put out a fire (OBJ) [warru (3) + -ma-, cf. Nm warrukka-]

warrumpu (NC) species of milkweed vine bearing long slender pods, silky stringbean, runner bean (Aboriginal English)

warrungkamu (I) tomorrow [warru (5) + -ngka (1) + -mu (3b)]

warrunha (I) black one, e.g. crow [warru (1) + -nha (1b)]

warrura (NC) dark, e.g. ----- marnrta: dark mountain (see Text 68, paragraph 1, sentence 4) [warru (2) + -ra (1b)]

warrurnparrurn (NC) blowfly, bluefly [warru (2) + -rn + redup. -warrurn, see section 2.2.5 in the Grammar]

warrururka (NC) = warruurka [warru (1) + -ru + -r- + -ka]

warruurka (NC) black monitor [< warrururka]

warruurraa (NC) last light, twilight [warru (5) + -purraa]

warruwarni- (VØ) turn black [warru (1) + -warni-]

warruwarru (NC) dark (see Text 54, sentence 9) [warru (2) + redup. -warru]

warruwarrulamu (I) first light [warru (5) + redup. -warru + -1a (1) + -mu (3b), cf. Nm warruwarulalll]

warrwa, obj. -yi, loc. -ngka, abl. -ngu, no all. (use nom.) (N) far, distant, in the distance, long way, away [cf. Nm wararpa]

warrwu (NC) adolescent kangaroo trailing behind its mother [cf. Nm warrru]

warta- (NDn) north
wartantarni (NC) from the north [warta- + -n + -tu (S) + -rni (1), cf. Mw wartantu (= Yi warta), Pn warta(r)nkura (= Yi warta(kura))]

wartanyaa (NC) bladder [< kuwartanyaa (= kuwarta + -nyaa [1])]

Wartayi (NP) 1. Wilson Wally 2. Claude Bobby (see nyawaru)

wartirra (NC) Aboriginal woman

wartu, pl. -wirri (NC) very soft spinifex

wartumalu (NC) flock of crows [wartu- (app. < warru [1]) + -malu, see warrunha, but also warnrturla (and warnrta)]

waru (NC) 1. dead-end, cul-de-sac, e.g. inside wall with no door or window 2. bottom of a container

waruma (NC) common ant [poss. waru (2) + -ma (1)]

watharn (NC) la. green leaf 1b. leafy bough 2. lung [cf. Nm waltharn lung, Pn leaf]

wathawara (NC) borr. trousers, pants [< Nm (= Yi wayha [2] + wara)]

wathurri (NC) girl between the ages of three and sixteen [cf. Nm wahl[h]urri]

watyi (NC) 1. bad, no-good 2. evil 3. foul, e.g. ----- wangka: foul language 4. sour [watyi- + -tyl, cf. Pl, WD walli, Nm wallka, WD wallku]

watyikarta (NC) 1. big, large 2. thick 3. ----- marnrta: tall mountain [cf. Nm wallikarta (= Yi watyi)]

watikarta-ri- (V0) get big or thick [watyikarta (1,2) + -rrri-]

watyma- (VL) 1. make bad, mess up 2. do evil to 3. defile, pollute, foul [watyma (1,2,3) + -ma-]

watymari- (V0) foul one another [watyma (3) + -marri-]

watyiirr (NC) fish spear

watyiwarni- (V0) 1. go bad 2. become evil [watyi (1,2) + -warni-]

watypa- (VL) detach, take off [also Ku]

watypala (NC) borr. whiteman, Caucasian [watyi- (< Eng) + -pala, but cf. Nm, WD wallpala]

watyparri- (V0) come off [watypa- + -rrri-]

watyyurru (NC) species of milkweed vine bearing paired horn-shaped pods [cf. Nm wyyurru]

waunpaun (NC) mopoke owl [poss. wa- + -u (= hoo!, see pau) + -n + redup. -waun, see also warrurnparrurn]

waurta (NC) armpit hair [cf. Ka wakurtu armpit, Ppm *waatyu and also note Nm wakurla rockhole]
wawartu (NC) halo around the moon [cf. Nm wakartu]

Wawuny (NP) Eric Diamond

wayawi (NC) green grasshopper [waya- (= wayha [2]) + -pi (1), cf. Nm, Ny watyapi]

wayha (NC) 1. storm 2. rare leg [cf. Nm watha leg, cloud]

wayharri- (VØ) look for, search for [wayha (2) + -rri-, cf. Nm watharrri-]

-wayi (S) 1. POTENTIALITY SUFFIX 2. POTENTIAL MOOD MARKER [cf. Pn -katyi VERB SUFFIX, WD -kitya]

-wayingu (S) IRREALIS MOOD MARKER [-wayi (2) + -ngu (2), cf. Nm -katyinguru]

wayiny- (NC) returning [see karliny]

wayinyama- (VL) not com. take back, bring back, return [wayiny- + -ma-]

wayinytyarri- (VØ) not com. get back, come back, go back, return [wayiny- + -tyarri-, cf. Ku warinytyarri-]

wayu (NC) straight

wayuma- (VL) 1. straighten 2. keep straight [wayu + -ma-]

wayuwarra (NC) hare-wallaby, spinifex 'roo (Aboriginal English) [cf. Nm wathyuwarra]

Wiimat (NC) 1. Weymul Pool 2. Chiratta Station [see ylimit]

wiirrirri (NC) blue wren [cf. minpirrirri]

Wikam, obl. stem Wikamu- (NC) borr. Wickham [< Eng]

Wikamu- (NC) see Wikam [back formation from free form, see paylamu-]

wila- (NC) 1. walk 2. float

wila- (VR) float [< NC2]

wilanngarti (NC) baby which has just learned to walk [wila- (NC1) + -n + ngarti]

wilarra (NC) 1. moon 2. month 3. semicircular image in the rock near the purnrtut [wila- (NC2) + -rra (S1)]

wilayi (NC) ----- pangkarri-: go for a walk [wila- (NC1) + app. -yi (C1)]

wilikarri (NC) borr. nymph, female sprite [< Nm sireen (water spirit), see also Yi minytjiiarri]

wiliwili (NC) fishhook [wili- (= WD grub hook) + redup. -will]

wilkurtu (NC) borr. mangumangu having a point with three edges [< Nm]
wilu (NC) blackheart tree
wilumarra (NC) bush stone-curlew [wilu- (= Nr, cf. WD wilu) + -marra]

Wimiya (NP) Wimiya King

Winithi (NC) rare borr. Wednesday [< Eng]
winkaru (NC) stripe-tail monitor [cf. -ru]

winpa- (VØ) 1. follow, chase 2. pawa ---- + -ŋ ngurrangka: water is running along the ground (LOC) [note Penn, P1 winpa- run]

winpirla (NC) long, flexible and slender like a whip or wire [cf. Nm wipirla]
winta (NC) borr. window [< Eng]

winya (NC) 1. full-measure, e.g. ----- pawa paktia: full-measure of water (Nom) in the bucket (LOC) 2. full, e.g. pakti ---- pavyi: full bucket of water (OBJ) [also Ku, Nm and Pn]

winyama- (VL) 1. put a liquid, e.g. ----- pavyi paktia: put water (OBJ) into a bucket (LOC) 2. fill, e.g. ----- paktiku pawawiri: fill a bucket (OBJ) with water (Com) [winya + -ma-]

winyamarangka (NC) borr. sea eagle [app. < Ma, but cf. Yi marnrtamarangka]

-winyangu (S) full of [winya (2) + -ngu (1c)]
winyarr (NC) red rock fig

winyawarni- (VØ) get full [winya (2) + -warni-]

winytyurn (NC) topknot, crest
wirka (NC) gap [cf. Nm wirlka]
wirkara (NC) yoke of the shoulder [cf. Nm wirlkara]
wirkaalama- (VL) ---- nganli: rest something (OBJ) on one's shoulder, sling something (OBJ) over one's shoulder [wirkara + -la (1) + -ma-]
wirluku (NC) grease, lard, drippings [as if wirluku + -ku (S) + -ru]
wirlukurumirtayi (NC) gravy [wirluku + -mirtayi]
wirna (NC) tired

wirnala- (VØ) make tired, tire [wirna + -ma-]
wirnawarni- (VØ) get tired [wirna + -warni-]
wirkara (NC) whistle

wirkara- (VØ) whistle [< PPN *wirnpa-, cf. Ny wi[r]npalpl- (VL)]
Wirnkartirti (NC) music and song: 1. ----- + -la parni-: whistle and sing 2. ----- + -la parni- mirrampawari: play the native fiddle (COM) and sing [wirnka + -rtirti]

Wirnrta (NC) 1. soft sweet white water chestnut 2. bnd. form spear [cf. WD winta spear]

Wirnrta- (VL) 1. cut 2a. tear 2b. tear into, e.g. ----- nganangu: pick a fight with or attack someone (OBJ) 3. break [cf. Tl wurnrta- and see Yi mirlamirla]

Wirnrtamarra (NC) mulga (a tree from which spears are made) [wirnrta- (NC) + -marra, cf. WD wintamarra]

Wirnrtawirnrta (NC) wands used to decorate the tyuna's headband [wirnrtawirnrta (NC) + redup. -wlrnrti, but see also warnrta (3)]

Wirnrtawirnrti (NC) chickenhawk, collared hawk (a swooping raptor) [app. < wirtlwirti (3), see also thathamarnrta]

Wirpinykaa, pl. -wirti (NC) tall river spinifex [cf. Nm wirlpinykura and also Yi parkarranykaa]

Wirra (NC) boomerang [cf. Nm wirrpa, but see also Yi warrwa]

Wirrangkaa (NC) river red gum (tree) [cf. Nm wirrangkura and also WD wurrankura]

Wirrangkaarra (NC) filled with river red gums, e.g. Wirrangkaarra Parkarra: Gum Tree Valley [wirrangkaa + -karra (1)]

Wirrarli (NC) collarbone [wirra + -ril]

WIRR (NC) feelings, emotions

Wirrartkarlaa (NC) loved one [wirrart + -karlaa]

Wirrartparriri- (VØ) get sick of (see Text 43, sentence 1) [wirrart + -parriri-]

Wirrarttyarri- (VØ) feel like [wirrart + -tyarri-]

Wirrawanti (NC) bor. Weerawandie Plain (see Text 77) [wirra + Ma wanti place]

Wirri (NC) 1. play, e.g. ----- + -ngka parni-: be at play (LOC) 2. game, sport

-Wirri (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [< -pirri (S2)]

Wirrili (NC) in a straight path [cf. -li (1)]

Wirrima- (VL) var. = wirriwarni- (2) [wirri (1) + -ma-]

Wirriwarni- (VØ) 1. be playing 2. ----- wirri, yuyu麻醉: play a game (OBJ) or musical instrument (OBJ) [wirri (1) + -warni-]

Wirrma (NP) Jack Ray

Wirrrura (NC) rare quick, fast
wirruu (NC) 1. different 2. wrong 3. funny

wirruulamu (I) last, the other, e.g. ---- yurrangka: the other
day, ----- muyhungka: last year, several years ago [wirruu (1) +
-la (1) + -mu (3a), cf. following entry]

wirruulawayhu (I) ---- yurrangka: several days later [wirruu (1)
+ -la (1) + -pa (C2) + -yhu (2b), cf. preceding entry]

wirrwi (NC) 1. air 2. wind [cf. Pn wirrpi]

wirriwurra (NC) upwind [wirrwi (2) + -purraa]

wirta (NC) 1. leg, specifically the lower part 2. young man
[cf. Wa warta bthm, see also warnra]

wirtany (NC) path, esp. one made by a kangaroo [wirta (1) + -ny (2)]

wirti (NC) 1. bell 2. bnd. form hang, swing, bob [cf. Tr wurtiya-
(VL) hang up, WD urtiyyu- (VN) and see Yi martimirri]

-wirti (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [< -irti (S2)]

wirtinytyirr (NC) pipet (a small bird which continually bobs its
tail up and down) [see tyarpininyyarr, marnrtaampirr]

wirtirri- (VØ) ----- ngani: climb something (OBJ) [< wirta (1)
+ -rrri-, cf. Mx wirta- (VØ) and see the first footnote in
section 2.2.6 in the Grammar]

wirtiwirtaa- (VL) 1. hang (up) 2. be hanging [wirtiwirti (1)
+ -ka-]

wirtiwirti (NC) 1. hanging, suspended 2. swinging 3. bobbing,
swooping [wirti- + redup. -wirti, cf. WD iwirtiwirti]

Youth Hostel

wirtiyangu (NC) species of tree the limbs of which are used to
make corroboree wands

wiru (NC) cockatiel

witypa (NC) species of tree - bearing inedible blue four-lobed
berries - which is used for making baby cradles

Witypa (NP) Jerry Jerrold [< NC]

wiya- (NC) look [cf. Pn wiya- (VL)]

wiyangarra (NC) barn owl [wiya- + ngarra, cf. nhaungarra]

wiyangu (NC) hunting, e.g. ---- pangkarri- ngani uu nganingka:
go hunting something (OBJ) or for something (LOC) [wiya- + -nu
(1)]

wiyha (NC) saliva, spit [cf. Pl wita, Nm witharla]

wiyhangkaa- (VL) spit [wiyha + -ngka (1) + -ka-]
wula- (VR) wuluu ------: dislocate the hind legs (OBJ) (of an animal in preparation for cooking in an earth oven) [cf. Nm (VL), note Yi wila- (VR) and see also tyanka- and payha-]

wularni (NC) from the west (see ngunthirri[ngu]) [wulu- + -rnl (1), see karrwarn]

wulu (NC) thigh [cf. Nm wulukarli]

wulu- (NDs) west

wuluyurri- (VØ) get to be in the west [wulu- + -yu (SL) + -rri-]

wungka- (VØ) rare ------: sgavenge from someone (OBJ), follow someone around picking up what he has thrown away (see Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 10) [poss. < *wangkku-, cf. Wa waa- (VNG) follow and see Yi yungkku-]

wungku (NC) windbreak [cf. WD wuungku]

wungkurru (NC) roaring noise such as that made by the wind (see Text 77, paragraph 1, sentences 4 and 5) [wungku + -rru (2)]

wunhtharri (NC) grey teal (duck)

wuntu (NC) 1. river 2. river bed 3. gorge

wupu (NC) box, container [also Nm]

wurra (NC) hailstone [also Nm]

wurru (NC) dressing screen, partition

wurruru (NC) midwife [as if wurru + -ru]

wurta (NC) emu chick [cf. WD wutu and see Yi tyawurta]

wuthurrungka- (VL) ------: pawayl: blow water (OBJ) out of the mouth in a spray (see Text 54, sentence 4) [cf. Nm wullurrpuyu[ng]ka- (VL) (= wullurr- + puyungka- [VL] blow)]

Wutli (NP) borr. Woodley King [< Eng]

wuungu (NC) social section, marriage class

Wuyhumarri (NC) Gregory Gorge [cf. -marri]

wuyurrkaa (NC) easy, lit. like nothing [wuyurr- (< wu[t]yul > wuyut [1]) + -kaa]

wuyut (NC) 1. amounting to nothing, e.g. yuntu parnrtaku ------: it is sprinkling 2. for nothing, e.g. ngayl ------: parn

nhunhthi: I am sitting here for no real reason
yaa- (NDs) east [cf. Nm yira-]

-yaa (S) 1. POSSIBILITY SUFFIX 2. OPTATIVE MOOD MARKER [cf. WD -tyaku VERB SUFFIX]

yaala (NC) 1. now 2. just [yinya- + -la (1), cf. Ma yiyla, Nm yityala]

yaarni (NC) from the east (see ngunhthirni[ngu]) [yaa- + -rni (1)]

yakayi (NC) ou(ch), (y)ow [yaka- + -yi (S1), cf. Ku yakarti, Dy yakay]

yakayinykarri- (VØ) call out in pain, moan, groan, yowl [yakayi + -ny (2) + -karri-]

yalarri, pl. -wirti (NC) fan-top rush

yali (NC) spinifex ear

yamartti (NC) on one’s own, by oneself [also Ku, but cf. Nm ylka, Pn yikamarta (and also ylkamarnrta)]

yamparla (NC) sweet variety of katpayi

-yangaarnu (S) PASSIVE PERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER [-yangu + -ra- + -rnu (2)]

-yangu (S) DEPENDENT IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER [-ya- (= Tr) + -ngu (2)]

yangupala (NC) brr. young (fellow), youth [yangu- (< Eng) + -pala, but see also yiyangu, wartanyaa]

yankarr (NC) sound, noise

yanta (NC) lean-to

yanti (NC) 1. hollow log 2. wooden vessel

Yanti (NP) app. brr. Yaandina (creche) [cf. Nm yantiyarra (= Yi mirrurtula)]

Yantimpurrwa (NP) Harold and Cheedy Ned’s country [cf. yanti (1) and pilampurrwa, but be sure to see kantipl]

Yantiyarra (NC) brr. 1. Yandearra Station 2. Yandearra Reserve [< Ka, see Yanti]

Yapurarra (NC) brr. Ngarluma group that used to dwell in the Nickol Bay area [< Nm (= Yi yawu- + -ra [1] + -rra [S1]), cf. Yi nhanhkararra]

yarnkarra (NC) brolga, native companion, Australian crane (recent immigrant from the north) [cf. tyarnkarra and see tyumpirriri]
yarnrtirr (NC) crack, fissure, trench
yarra (NC) shield [cf. Ny rlarra and see also Yi yirra]
yarra- (VR) chase [ya- (NC) (cf. PPN *ya- [VN] go) + -rra-,
cf. Ku yanki- (VO) go, Pl yana- and see Yi waarra-]
-yarra (S) = -karra
yarralany (NC) native water lily [cf. Nm yarrkalany, but see Yi
yarrwarlanykkaa and note wirra]
yarramirtangka (NC) ox-eye herring [cf. yirratharnangka, Nm
mirtamirta white, but also see Yi yarralany]
yarrwa- (NC) water
yarrwarlanykkaa (NC) large species of tandan (eel-tail catfish)
[yarrwa- + -rla + -ny (2) + -kaa, cf. Nm yarrpara]
yarrwatha (NC) sweat [yarrwa- + -tha]
yarrwatharri- (VØ) sweat [yarrwatha + -rri-, see purlaalarri-]
yarrwayi (NC) species of wild tobacco growing near water
[yarrwa- + -ri]
yarta (NC) plenty
Yartanymarra (NP) name of an emu-man who was very randy [cf.
Purlinytyilrrmarra]
yartiwi (NC) carp-gudgeon (tiny fish)
yarungu (NC) 1. wife's sister, man's brother's wife 2. husband's
brother, woman's sister's husband [yaru- (= Ka father's sister)
+ -ngu (1a), cf. Nm yarityi (respect lang.) mother's brother]
yatha (NC) canopy
yathu- (NC) tongue
yathumpa (NC) borr. flathead (fish) [< Nm, Ma]
yathurnrtaa- (VL) lick [yathu- + -rn + -1a (1) + -ka-]
yathuu (NC) tongue [yathu- + -ru, cf. Nm, Pn yalhuru]
yawan (NC) cooking stone [cf. Nm yapan]
yawantaa- (VL) ----- thurnuu pattyarriu: put cooking stones
inside (OBJ) a euro (OBJ) [yawan + -1a (1) + -ka-]
yawarta (NC) borr. horse [also Nm, WD, Nr]
yawu- (NDn) downstream [cf. Nm yapu-]
yawurrarni (NC) from downstream (see ngunthirrni[ngu]) [yawu- +
-rru (1) + -rni (1), cf. Nm yapurrri (= Yi yawut) and see Yi
wularni]
yayintarri- (V0) wobble [cf. -rrr-]

yayu (NP) 1. stepmother who is older sister to real mother
    2. mother's older sister  3. father's older brother's wife

-yha- (S) STEM FORMATIVE [< obs. loc. case marker for laminal stems]

-yhu- (VL) 1. FACTITIVE VERBALISER  2. CAUSATIVE VERBALISER [cf. Nm -tha- and see next entry]

-yhu (C) DETERMINER: 1a. particular, certain  1b. the, that  2a. if
    2b. then [cf. Nm -tha and see preceding entry]

-yi- (VN) FACTITIVE VERBALISER [cf. Nm -tyl-]

-yi (S) 1. VOCATIVE SUFFIX  2. POTENTIAL MOOD MARKER [also Nm, cf. WD -ya VOCATIVE SUFFIX and PPm -*y1 VERB SUFFIX]

-yi (C) 1. OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER  2. DEICTIC CLITIC  3. NOMINATIVE CASE MARKER [cf. Pn -yu OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER]

yiimittarrirri- (V0) get itchy [yiimit + -tyarrl-]

yilam, obl. stem yilamu- (NC) borr. lamb [app. < Eng he-lamb]

yilamu- (NC) see yilam [back formation from free form, see payilamu-]

yili- (NC) stripe

yilimpirraa (NC) mudlark, peewit [as if yil + -mpi + -rrl (1)
    + -ra (la), also Ku, but cf. Nm yilimprrira and see Yi nyimpa-]

yilin (NC) thin and flat (like a shingle rock or coin)

yilintyarri- (V0) get thin(ner) [yilin + -tyarri-]

yilirr (NC) spinning machine

yiliwayi (NC) rainbow [yili- + -payl, cf. Ka yilikutyl, Yi kayawayl]

yimpaa- (VL) pass, go past, miss [cf. Nm tyimpaylkra-, see also Yi yiwa]

yinara (NC) playmate

-yingu (S) IRREALIS MOOD MARKER [-y1 (S2) + -ngu (2)]

yini (NC) name

yini (I) 1. just, only  2a. until, e.g. warruu ------: until dark
    (OBJ)  2b. as far as, e.g. Tyatylurrwa ------: as far as Robe
    River (OBJ)

yinima- (VL) speak a name, name [yinl (NC) + -ma-]

yinirirri (NC) method of killing employing the person's name
    [yinl (NC) + -ri + -rrl (1)]
Yinpal (NP) Coppin Dale
Yinpirrpa (NP) Long Mack
yinta (NC) 1. pool  2. rare thunder
yintarri- (VØ) thunder [yinta (2) + -rri-]
yinti- (VØ) descend and remain in sight: 1a. yuntu ----- + -Ø: rain is coming down 1b. pawa ----- + -Ø: water is running down 1c. ----- nganikingkangu: get down from something (ABL) 2. ----- marrntayi: go down a mountain (OBJ)
yintirr (NC) water-boatman (kind of diving beetle) [yinti- + -rr (2)]
yintyirr (NC) cruel
yintyirrma- (VL) ----- nganili: do something (OBJ) cruel [yintyirr + -ma-]
yintyirrwarni- (VØ) become cruel [yintyirr + -warni-]
-yintyarrri- (VØ) RECIPROCAL VERBALISER [-yi- STEM FORMATIVE + -nytyarri-]
Yintyiparnrti (NC) Yindjibarndi [cf. Tl -parntl from] yirnrti (NC) forehead [also Ku] yirnttiwirri- (VØ) peep out [yirnrti + -pi (1) + -rri-]
yirra (NC) la. (sharp) edge 1b. tooth 2. bnd. form sound, noise [cf. PPM *rirra tooth, Yi yinta (2) and see also -rra (C)] -yirraa- (VR) CAUSATIVE VERBALISER [-tyirri (1) + -ra-, cf. Nm -tyirrima- and also see Yi -plma-]
yirrangu (NC) kind of cherty light-yellow stone (used to make blades) [yirra (la) + -ngu (lc)] yirrapuwa (NC) poor hunter [app. yirra (la) + puwa (1), see kurnmairti]
yirrarlal (NC) 1. obs. square of calico (white sheet) 2. obs. sail 3. greensheet [app. yirra (la) + -rla]
yirrarlamaya (NC) tent [yirrarla (3) + maya]
yirrattharnangka (NC) borr. shark [< Nm (= Yi yirra [la] + tharnangka)]
yirrauyu (NC) thunderstorm [yirra- + -ku (S) + app. -tyu, but cf. Nm yirrakutyi and see Yi tyayumarta]
yirri- (NC) board
yirrila (NC) cicada [yirri- (app. < yirra-) + -la (2)]
yirrima- (VL) ---- warnrta:y: chop out a section of wood from
a tree (OBJ) (see Text 55, sentence 6) [yirri- + -ma-, cf. WD
yirrilmari sacred carved board]
yirringan (NC) river wattle [yirrl- + -nga + -n]
yirriri (NC) sick, sore
yirririma- (VL) make sick [yirrirl + -ma-]
yirriringu (NC) recovered, well again [yirriri + -ngu (1a)]
yirririrri- (VØ) get sick, start aching [yirrirl + -rrri-]
yirrkka (NC) nail on finger or toe [also Ku, cf. WD tyilka prickle
and see Yi yiwa]
yirrwa- (VØ) scratch [cf. Nm yirrpa- (VØ)]
yirryiwartu (NC) native (marsupial) cat [cf. -partu]
yirti- (NC) line [poss. < yurti-, see martimirri]
yirtiny (NC) queue, file, line [yirti- + -ny (2)]
yirtinya (NC) coral tree, red-seed wood (Aboriginal English)
[cf. yirringan, kurkanyan]
yirtinykarra (NC) lined up, queued up, in a row [yirtiny +
-karra (1)]
yirtinykarrari- (VØ) get lined up [yirtinykarra + -rl-]
yirtirti (NC) oil [see murturtu]
yirtityirri (NC) black-tipped worm snake, two-headed worm snake
(small burrowing snake which leaves an elevated trail through
the loose sand) [yirti- + -tyirri (S1)]
yirtiya (NC) road [yirti- + -tya]
yirtiyaman (NC) shire council (in charge of maintaining roads)
[yirtlya + -man]
yithi (NC) chip, shaving [cf. Nm yllhi]
yithiyarra (NC) two brothers who are being initiated at the same
time [cf. marntiyarra]
Yityangu (NP) Ejong [see ylyangu]
yityirti (NC) rivulet, small stream
Yityirti (NP) New Village (new suburb of Roebourne where many
Aborigines live) (< NC)
yiwa (NC) white ash (see kurnarra) [cf. Nm ylpa and Pn tylpa
(see yimpaa-)]
yiwarta (NC) ashes [yiwa + -rta (1), but cf. yuwarta]
yiya- (NP) present time
yiyangu (NC) new, fresh [yiya- + -ngu (1c), cf. Nm yityangu]
-yu (S) 1. ALLATIVAL LOCATIVE CASE MARKER 2. OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER
   [cf. Nm -tyu]
-yu (C) poss. borr. = -yhu [< Ku, but see also Yi -ty-]
yumini (NP) var. = yumuni [< base form, see martimirri]
yumpu (NC) 1. sharp, e.g. yirra -----: sharp edge 2. pointy, pointed, e.g. mutha -----: sharp point
yumuni (NP) 1. stepfather who is older brother to real father
   2. father's older brother 3. mother's older sister's husband
yunayi- (VN) respect lang. = yungku- [< *yunyayi-, cf. -yi-;
Pn, Pl yinya- (VØ) < *yunya- < past tense of the obs. form *yu-
   (VNG), note also Ny yu-, yi- (VNG) give and see next entry]
yungku- (VØ) give [< pres. tense of the obs. form *yu- (VNG),
   see also preceding entry]
yungkunytyarri- (VØ) pass something back and forth or around
   [yungku- + -nytyarri-]
yuni- (VØ) descend and disappear from sight: la. yurra ----- + -Ø:
   the sun is setting 1b. ------ pawangka: sink deep into the water
   (LOC) 2. ------ purpaau: go down (the other side of) a rise (OBJ)
yuntu (NC) rain [cf. Nm yungu; also WD yunturrpa cloud]
yurala (NC) rainmaker [yura- (cf. WD yuru puddle) + -la (2)]
yurarr (NC) direction marker
yurlayurla (NC) haze [yurla- + redup. -yurla]
Yurlpurr (NP) borr. Python Pool [< Nm]
yurlu (NC) la. nothing, none, nil, no, e.g. ----- pawa paita:
   no water is in the bucket (LOC) 1b. zero, null 2. empty,
   e.g. ----- pailtai: empty bucket of water (OBJ)
yurluma- (VL) la. finish 1b. use up 1c. spend 2. empty
   [yurlu + -ma-]
yurluwarni- (VØ) 1. become finished, come to an end 2. become
   empty [yurlu + -warni-]
yurluwarra- (VR) have nothing [yurlu (la) + ka- + -rra-]
yurni- (VN) call over, beckon to
yurnrtaa (NC) 1. crushed, smashed into tiny pieces 2. flour
   [cf. Nm yurnrtura]
yurnrtaama- (VL) crush, smash into tiny pieces [yurnrtaa (1) + -ma-]
yurnrtaarri- (VØ) get crushed or smashed into tiny pieces 
[ yurnrra (l) + -rri- ]

yurnrtiri (NC) nasty, in a foul mood

yurrrutmarnu (NC) app. now and again (see Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 2)

yurra (NC) 1. sun 2a. morning 2b. day

yurra- (VR) dig (up or out) [cf. Ku scratch]

yurrrama (NC) 1. soak 2. ----- watyi karta: well [yurra- (NC) dig [see preceding entry] + -ma (l)]

yurratyi (NC) 1. tinder 2. flame [yurra (l) + -tyi, cf. Nm yurralli]

yurrurn (NC) 1. hair 2. fur [cf. Pn yurrkurn]

yurrurnkarlaa (NC) hairy, furry [yurrurn + -karlaa]

yurrurnkarlaa- (VØ) grow hair or fur [yurrurnkarlaa + -rri-]

yurrwi- (VN) 1. scrape 2. shave, e.g. ----- tyawurtau: shave a beard (OBJ) [cf. Nm yurrpi-]

Yurtarriny (NP) Gilbert Bobby

yurti (NC) true, not off: 1a. good-tasting, sweet 1b. pleasant tune 2. bnd. form straight

yurti ngka- (VL) ----- kurriyartau nganingga: aim a throwing spear (OBJ) at something (LOC) [yurti- + -ngka (l) + -ka-]

yutu yu (NC) small turd

yutyurli (NC) Schomburgk's skink [yutu + -rli]

yuuu (NC) respect lang. = ngaa [cf. Ny yu, Yi ngau]

yuuri ru (NC) respect lang. dog [ordinary lang. in Ku; cf. Nm, Pn, Ny yurrru]

yuwa (NC) seduction, romance [cf. Tr yuki sexual intercourse]

yuwakarri- (VØ) be seductive, get romantic [yuwa + -karri-]

yuwartaa (NC) fire built in a shallow depression [cf. Pn yukarta]

yuwartaa- (VL) cook in a yuwartaa [yuwartaa + -ra (1b) + -ka-]

yuuya (NC) quail [cf. Nm yutya]

yuyu (NC) music [cf. WD tyutyu song]

yuyumaa (NC) 1. musician 2. musical instrument [yuyu + -maa]
APPENDIX A

Key to Abbreviations

abl., ABL ablative
all., ALL allative
app. apparent, apparently
arch. archaic, archaism
Bj Bandjalang
bnd. bound
borr. borrowing, borrowed
By Bayungu
C in ( ) = clitic or as noted
otherwise = consonant
coll. colloquial, colloquialism
com. common
COM comitative
DIR direct
du dual
Dy Dyirbal
Eng English
GEN genitive
I indeclinable
imp. imperative
IND indirect
inf. infinitive
inst., INST instrumental
irr. irreals
Ka Kariera
Ku Kurraman
lang. language
l.c. lower case
lit. literally
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>loc., LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>mora</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ma</td>
<td>Marduthunira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>in ( ) = noun</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>otherwise = nasal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nb</td>
<td>Ngiyambaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>common noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDn</td>
<td>cardinal noun declining like 'north'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDs</td>
<td>cardinal noun declining like 'south'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ng</td>
<td>Ngarla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nl</td>
<td>Nyamal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nm</td>
<td>Ngarluma</td>
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<td>nom., NOM</td>
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<td>proper noun</td>
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<td>Nyungar</td>
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<td>retroflex noun</td>
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<td>Nu</td>
<td>Nuwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ny</td>
<td>Nyangumarda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>nothing (structural zero)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td>oblique</td>
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<tr>
<td>obj., OBJ</td>
<td>objective</td>
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<tr>
<td>obs.</td>
<td>obsolete</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>pronoun declined like NC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
<td>Purdna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PI</td>
<td>indeclineable pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>Pailgu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pn</td>
<td>Pandjima</td>
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<td>poss.</td>
<td>possible, possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pot.</td>
<td>potential</td>
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<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>pronoun declined like NP</td>
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<td>Proto-Paman</td>
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<td>PPN</td>
<td>Proto-Pama-Nyungan</td>
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<td>PR</td>
<td>pronoun declined like NR</td>
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<td>present</td>
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<td>prf.</td>
<td>perfective</td>
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<tr>
<td>prob.</td>
<td>probable, probably</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>redup.</td>
<td>reduplicated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>in ( ) = suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>otherwise = stop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sec. section
sg. singular
TJ Tjururu
Tl Thalandji
Tr Thargari
trans. translation
u.c. upper case
V in ( ) = verb
otherwise = vowel
var. variant
VL 'L'-stem verb
VN 'N'-stem verb
VOC vocative
VØ 'Ø'-stem verb
VR 'R'-stem verb
Wa Walmatjari
WD Western Desert Language (certain dialects)
Yd Yidip
Yi Yindjibarndi
* unattested
- bound form or word ending
----- ditto entry
-------- translation of attached item
+ plus (concatenator)
= is equated with
+ is replaced by
< comes from
> goes to
APPENDIX B

Key to Interlinear Symbols

This key contains a list of suffixes and clitics, which the reader will find useful in the analysis of the Texts and example sentences in the Grammar. In this regard he should be aware of the fact that commas separate variants of endings which are phonologically conditioned, while semicolons are employed to segregate those which are morphologically conditioned. The interlinear itself primarily contains analyses which are relevant to the domain of syntax. Thus, purely morphological derivations of words are not normally presented. These are given in the Dictionary.
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>Ablative Case Marker: - ngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL LOC</td>
<td>Ablative Locative Case Marker: - rni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCT</td>
<td>on account of: - ngaala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGT</td>
<td>Agentive Suffix = HAB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALLOC</td>
<td>Allocative Suffix: - nyaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANA</td>
<td>Anaphoric Clitic: - mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>Augmented Demonstrative Pronoun Classifier: - na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEC</td>
<td>Causal Suffix: - rra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOTH</td>
<td>both, pair, couple, duo: - kula, - ula, - la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Causative Verbalizer: - pima-, - wima-; - yirraa-, - Irraa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>Comitative Case Marker: - pari, - wari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTRA</td>
<td>Contrasting Clitic: - rtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEIC</td>
<td>Deictic Clitic: - yi, - i, - Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEP</td>
<td>Dependent Imperfective Aspect Marker: - yangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>Determiner: - yhu, - yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR ALL</td>
<td>Direct Allative Case Marker: - karta, - warta, - ( o) orta, - arta, - rta; - pathaa, - wathaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRN ALL</td>
<td>Directional Allative Case Marker: - kurru, - urru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>Dual Number Marker: - kuyha, - uyha, - yha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUB</td>
<td>Dubitative Clitic: - rra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DWELL</td>
<td>Dweller: - nyungu, - partu, - wartu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMP</td>
<td>Emphatic Clitic: - pa, - wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>Genitive Case Marker: - arnrtu, - rnrtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>Habitual Aspect Marker: - marta; - nmarta; - rmartaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>Imperative Mood Marker: - ma; - nma; - rmna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPRF</td>
<td>Imperfective Aspect Marker: - ngu; - rnu; - nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCHO</td>
<td>Inchoative Verbaliser: - warni-; - rri-, - ri-; - tyarri-; - karri-, - warri-, - arri-, - rri-; - rrari-, - ari-; - rarrri-, - (a) arri-; - ngull-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IND ALL  Indirect Allative Case Marker: -purraa, -wurraa, -urraa, -rraa
INF  Infinitive Aspect Marker: -(a)angu, -(aa)ngu; -langu
INST  Instrumental Case Marker: -ngku, -u, -tu, -rtu, -tyu, -u; -rtu
INTNS  Intensifier: -parlu, -warlu
IRR  Irrealis Mood Marker: -yingu, -ingu, -wayingu; -kayingu
LIKE  Semblative Suffix: -kaa, -waa, -aa, -a, -Ø
LOC  Locative Case Marker: -ngka, -wa, -a; -la, -ta, -rta, -tya, -a; -rta; -t, -Ø; -yu
MS  Morpheme Separator: -ty-, -y-, -th-, -yh-
OBJ  Objective Case Marker: -yi, -i; -ku, -u, -Ø; -ngu
ONE  one: -tu, -rru-; -rtu
OPT  Optative Mood Marker: -yaa; -tyaa
PASS  Passivizer: -nguli-
PASS OPT  Passive Optative Mood Marker: -nyaa; -nnya; -rnya
PASS PRF  Passive Perfective Aspect Marker: -yangaarnu; -rnaarnu; -naarnu
PAST  Past Tense Marker: -nha; -rna; -na
PL  Plural Number Marker: -ngarli; -pathaa, -wathaa; -rra; -ngaa; -warrangu; -pirri, -wirri; -kurr; -urr
PN  Proper Noun Classifier: -nha
POSS  Proprietary Suffix: -karlaa, -warlaa, -arlaa, -rlaa
POT  Potential Mood Marker: -yi, -i, -wayl; -kayi
PRES  Present Tense Marker: -Ø; -ku
PRF  Perfective Aspect Marker: -(a)ayl, -(aa)yi; -kaayi
PRIV  Privative Suffix: -parrimarta, -warrimarta
PROG  Progressive Aspect Marker: -ngumarnu; -rnumarnu; -numarnu
QUES  Interrogative Clitic: -nta
RECIPI  Reciprocal Verbalizer: -marri-; -nytyarri-, -yinytyarri-; -nmarr; -rnmarri-
RN  Retroflex Noun Classifier: -rna
SORT  Categorial Clitic: -pur tu, -wurtu, -urtu, -r tu
STICK  sticking out, manifest(ed): -pi, -wi
SUF  suffix
SUPER  superlativizer: muntiyhu
TOP  Topic Clitic: -mpa, -pa
TRU  Truth Clitic: -nyu
TURN  Sequence Clitic: -purtaa, -wurtaa, -urtaa, -rtaa
VOC  Vocative Suffix: -yi, -i; -u
-
( ) included morpheme may not be easily separated from the preceding one: look the word up in the Dictionary
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