

A grammar of Limilngan

*A language of the Mary River region
Northern Territory
Australia*

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Australia

Mark Harvey



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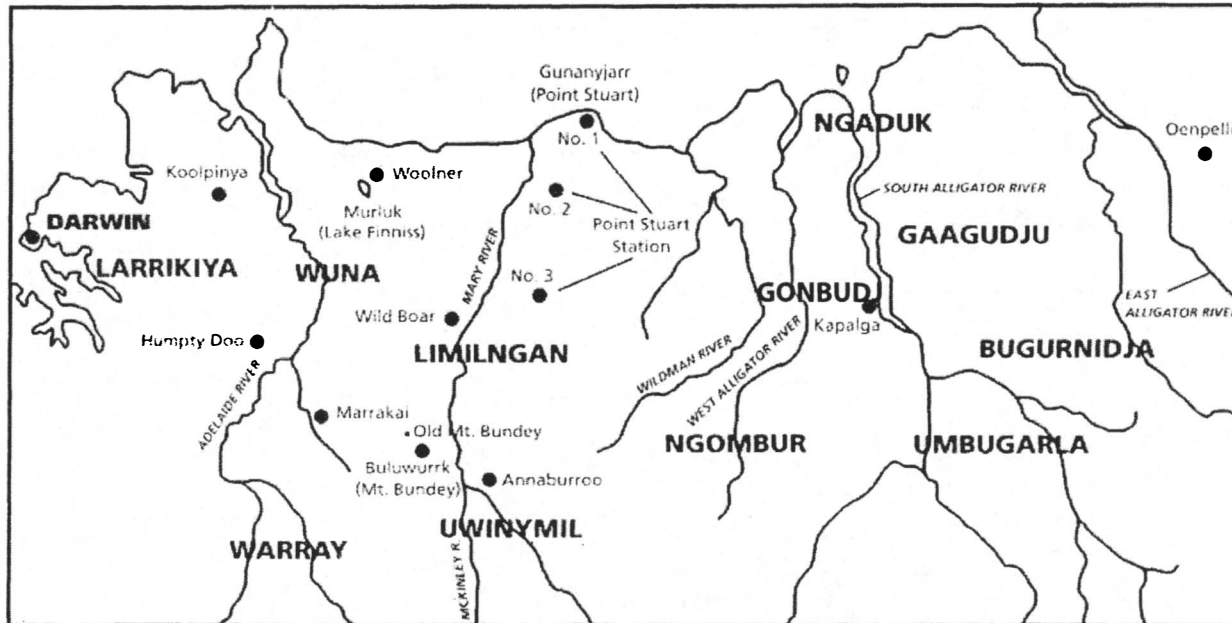
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Abbreviations

I	Class I	GEN	Genitive
II	Class II	IMP	Imperative
III	Class III	IMPF	Imperfective
IV	Class IV	IRR	Irrealis
A	Augmented	ITER	Iterative
AS	Augmented subject	LOC	Locative
CHAR	Characteristic	M	Minimal
COM	Comitative	MASC	Masculine
CONT	Contrastive	OBL	Oblique
DEF	Definite	P	Past
DEL	Delimited	PI	Past realis imperfective
DIST	Distal	PIRR	Past irrealis
DUR	Durative	PL	Plural
EMPH	Emphatic	PP	Past realis perfective
EV	Evitative	PR	Present
FEM	Feminine	PRM	Prominence
FU	Future	PROX	Proximal
		SG	Singular
		SOU	Source



Map 1: Limilngan and neighbouring languages

1 *The language and its speakers*

1.1 Historical background

Limilngan is a language of the Darwin hinterland. Since the settlement of Darwin in 1869, the residential ranges of Limilngan speakers have fallen chiefly within that area of the hinterland commonly known as the “buffalo country”. The buffalo country consists of the coastal belt east from Darwin to Oenpelli. The traditional country of Limilngan language owners lay midway between these two places around the lower Mary River. The buffalo country, and the area to the south along the old railway line from Darwin to Pine Creek, are the areas which were most drastically affected by the changes which followed the establishment of Darwin.

The first and most drastic of these changes was a dramatic population collapse. Keen (1980a:36–44, 1980b:171–172) provides evidence that by 1920 there had been a 95% collapse in Aboriginal population levels in the Darwin hinterland, particularly in the buffalo country and along the railway. While massacres and murders were undoubtedly characteristic of at least the early period of settlement, the principal cause of the collapse appears to have been the exposure of the Aboriginal population to a whole spectrum of new diseases.

The second drastic effect on Aboriginal social structures is inextricably intertwined with the first. Accompanying the population collapse, both as a cause and as a result, was a continual movement of people in towards centres of European settlement. The combination of this movement with the collapse meant that most areas lacking centres of European settlement were depopulated by the 1920s. In the period from 1920 to 1980, and indeed probably from 1900 to 1980, Limilngan speakers lived mostly in Darwin or the stations immediately to the east of Darwin: Koolpinyah, Humpty Doo, Woolner and Marrakai. Based on records from the Northern Territory Aboriginal Welfare, and interviews with a variety of people from this area since 1980, I estimate that there were approximately 20 fluent speakers of Limilngan living in this territorial range in the mid 1950s. By the late 1960s, there were only about 5 speakers.

1.2 Linguistic type

The immediately apparent aspect of Limilngan is the complexity of its morphology. Limilngan is typical of non-Pama-Nyungan languages in that much grammatical, as well as lexical, information is conveyed morphologically rather than syntactically. The principal grammatical information thus conveyed is listed below.

- (a) The person and number of “subject” and “object” by prefixes to the verb.
- (b) Tense, mood and aspect by both prefixes and suffixes to the verb.
- (c) Class membership by prefixes to adjectives, and suffixes to demonstratives.
- (d) Possession by suffixes to kin nouns, and prefixes to body part nouns.
- (e) Case by suffixes to nominals.

All of these kinds of information are similarly conveyed in many non-Pama-Nyungan languages. Limilngan is also similar to many non-Pama-Nyungan languages, and many other languages of the world, in that morphological relationships can be divided into two classes. These two classes are termed ‘root-level’ and ‘word-level’ in this grammar (2.4). Root-level morphology is closed, unproductive, and characterised by a high degree of unpredictable allomorphy in the forms of both roots and affixes. Word-level morphology is open, productive, and with a few marked exceptions, there is no allomorphic variation in the forms of either stems or affixes.

While Limilngan is similar to many languages in having this distinction in morphological relationships, the range of root-level morphology is greater than in most languages, including most other non-Pama-Nyungan languages. Of the categories listed in above, the morphology marking (a-d) is unproductive, root-level morphology. Only nominal case marking is conveyed by productive word-level morphology. Apart from word-level morphology, Limilngan also has productive morpho-syntactic, phrasal compound structures (3.3, 3.11, 4.4.3, 5.5).

In addition to having a comparatively extensive range, the root-level morphology of Limilngan is also unusual in the degree to which morphological boundaries and syllable boundaries fail to match. Many morphemes begin with vowels, including a significant number of roots. Historically, three phonological processes appear to have been co-incident with these patterns of prosodic misalignment and lexicalisation, namely:

- (a) Lenition and deletion processes, resulting in many vowel-initial morphemes including roots (2.8.1).
- (b) Shifts of **a > i*, and **u > i* (2.8.2).
- (c) A pressure for the perfect parsing of words into binary feet, resulting in the deletion of syllables and thereby morphological information which could not be perfectly parsed (4.2.1, 4.3).

Syntactically, Limilngan shows the standard Australian pattern of free word order. As with many other Australian languages, it seems likely that prosodically determined units of information structure, such as intonation groups, are the appropriate reference units for considering issues such as word order and phrasal structure, as opposed to the traditional concept of the clause (Chapter 5).

1.3 Language names

In discussions of language names in Aboriginal Australia, a distinction must be drawn between language ownership and the ability to speak a language (Rumsey 1993:199–201). People claim primary ownership of particular language varieties, by virtue of patrification. With the effects of European settlement, many people who claim to own a particular language may not

be able to speak it. Conversely, there often are, and always were, people with a fluent competence in a particular language variety, who do, or did not, claim primary ownership of that variety.

The Limilngan language and the people who own this language are known by three names: Limilngan, Limil and Minitjja (this last name is spelt in many ways). The first two names are given by the language-owners as the primary names for the language. These two names are obviously related. The longer form, Limilngan, involves the characteristic suffix *-ngan* (3.10.2). There is some possibility that the base *Limil* is meaningful. There is a body part noun *-mil* 'face'; with a Class II possessor, such as a dog or other higher animate, its form is *li-mil*. It may be that the language name is some metaphorical use of this form. However, the connection is not immediately evident, and the language owners did not comment on any relationship.

The language is more commonly and widely known as Minitjja. People who had or have extensive life history contacts with Limilngan language owners usually refer to them as Minitjja. All earlier European references to the language and its owners are under some variant of this name. As such, Minitjja appears to have been a term for Limilngan used by people owning other languages.

There is no direct evidence as to which group(s) used the term Minitjja. In terms of indirect evidence, it would seem most likely that it was in origin a Wuna and/or Larrakia term. Since European settlement, Limilngan people appear to have had more extensive and intimate social contacts with Wuna and Larrakia people than with any other groups speaking languages from the Darwin region. Also, the earliest European contacts with Limilngan people would presumably have come via Larrakia and Wuna people.

1.4 Territory, neighbours and relationships

People owning the Limilngan language own the lower Mary River area between Buluwurk (Mt Bunday) and the coast around Gunanyjarr (Point Stuart). The boundaries of the territory associated with the Limilngan language can only be roughly delimited. The population collapse in the Darwin hinterland means that there is only very limited information on areas associated with Limilngan and neighbouring languages.

There are two pieces of evidence which argue that Limilngan is a member of the Australian language family. One piece of evidence comes from the finite verb conjugations set out in Table 1.1. Dixon (1980:Ch.12) reconstructs a number of monosyllabic finite verb roots, together with attendant conjugational markers, for Proto Australian (PA). Seven of these reconstructed verb roots have potential reflexes in Limilngan: **baja-rr* 'to bite', **DHa-l* 'to eat', **wu-ng* 'to give', **ya-n* 'to go', **bu-m* 'to hit', **NHaa-ng* 'to see', **la-n* 'to spear'. The potential verb root reflexes (underlined in Table 1.1) vary in degree of plausibility, and the attendant conjugational markers are generally absent. There is one other PA verb root **ma-l* 'to do, to make, to tell' which may have been reflexed as auxiliary (4.2).

Table 1.1: Potential Limilngan reflexes of PA verb roots
(Potential reflexes are underlined)

	to bite	to eat	to give	to go
PP	<u>wa</u> -yung	(<u>ng</u>) <u>a</u> -rri (MSUB) <u>ja</u> -rri (ASUB)	<u>u</u> -gi ny- <u>mu</u> -gi (2MSUB)	<u>a</u> -yung
PIRR	a- <u>wa</u> -rri	w- <u>a</u> -rri	w- <u>i</u> -rri	w- <u>a</u> -ngi
PI	alw-alwa-rri	mukbinya-ngi	inymuldi-rri	
PR	alw-alwa-m	mukbinya-ngan	inymuldi-yan	<u>a</u> -ngi <u>ya</u> -ngi (3IISUB)
FU	in- <u>ba</u> -yi	an- <u>yi</u>	an- <u>mi</u>	in- <u>a</u> -yi
EV	a- <u>wa</u> -yi	wa- <u>yi</u>	w- <u>a</u>	w- <u>a</u> -yung
IMP		<u>ji</u> yi		barungan (MSUB) warrayi (ASUB)
PA	*baja-rr	*DH <i>a</i> -l	*wu-ng	*ya-n
	to hit	to see	to spear	
PP	<u>i</u> -m ny- <u>ba</u> -m (2MSUB)	<u>na</u> -gi	(wi) <u>la</u> -m	
PIRR	w- <u>i</u> -rri	wa- <u>na</u> -ni	a- <u>la</u> -rri	
PI	am-ambijiwi-rri	li-liwi-rri	ilkgula-rri	
PR	am-ambijiwi-yan	li-liwi-yan	ilkgula-yan	
FU	an- <u>bi</u>	a- <u>ni</u>	a- <u>li</u>	
EV	wa- <u>wi</u>	wa- <u>ni</u>	wa- <u>li</u>	
IMP		<u>na</u> -gi		
PA	*bu-m	*NH <i>a</i> a-ng	*la-n	

The other piece of evidence comes from the pronominal systems set out in Table 1.2. Blake (1988:7) reconstructs a set of pronominals for the northern languages. A number of these reconstructed pronominals appear to have reflexes in the prefix system of Limilngan. The relationship of the 1 singular and 2 singular forms is immediately evident. Harvey (MSa) suggests that the Limilngan 3 singular prefix *w-* may derive historically from the 3 non-singular **bu-rrV*, and that the Limilngan 1+2 non-singular *ga-rr-* may relate to the alternate 2 non-singular form **gu-rrV*.

Table 1.2: Northern proto-pronouns and Limilngan prefixes

	singular		non-singular	
1	*ngay	nga-	*nyi-rrV	nga-rr-
1+2	*nya	mi-	*nga-rrV	ga-rr-
2	*nginy	nginy-	*nu-rrV	a-rr-
			*gu-rrV	
3	*nu (MASC)	w-	*bu-rrV	i-rr-
	*ngaya (FEM)			

If the paradigms presented in Tables 1.1 and 1.2 are sufficient to establish Limilngan as a member of the Australian language family, then Limilngan is related to most of its neighbours. However, this relationship is the same as that which would hold between Limilngan and almost any other non-Pama-Nyungan language. The only language which appears to be more closely related, is its western neighbour, Wuna.

	Limilngan	Wuna
to bite-PP	<u>wa</u> -yung	waye
to bite-EV	<u>wa</u> -yi	wayi
to cut-FU	in- <u>ing</u> -mi	(a)nanngma
to eat-FU	yi	tjja
to fear-PP	<u>alatj</u> -bi-ny	(i)litjbey
to get-FU	limi	lama
to give-PP	<u>u</u> -gi	agi
to hit-PP	<u>ba</u> -m	bum
to hit-EV	b/ <u>wa</u> -wi	bawa
to lie-PR	alija-yam	alitji-me
to return-FU	mayi	mayi
to see-PP	<u>na</u> -gi	naga
to see-FU	ni	na
to spear-FU	li	la

The Wuna language is associated with the areas around the lower Adelaide River and Murluk (Lake Finnis) areas. Wuna is extinct; the last speaker Jack Wandj having died in the early 1980s. Gavan Breen did some work on Wuna with Jack in 1980. In combination with Wuna materials supplied to Ken Hale in 1959 by Willie Dayal, and earlier sources, there is sufficient information to provide an outline of the basic phonological and morphological structures of Wuna. However, these materials do not permit any detailed phonological or morphological analysis of Wuna, which is an essential pre-requisite to a proper comparison between the two languages. The ensuing discussion can only consider possible, and not definitive, similarities. The most plausible evidence for a relationship between Limilngan and Wuna comes, as usual, from verbal paradigms (the root is underlined in polymorphemic Limilngan forms).

These paradigms are strongly suggestive of a relationship. However, a number of the correspondences involve widespread Proto Australian forms, and could simply reflect inheritance from this common ancestor. The other correspondences could reflect diffusion. Limilngan and Wuna also share a verbal directional suffix 'here'.

	Limilngan	Wuna
here	-iji	-itji

There is little in the way of potential nominal cognates between Limilngan and Wuna. We will see this pattern repeated elsewhere. It is difficult to be certain about the potential nominal cognates that do occur. Jack Wandj also spoke Limilngan, and tended to mix Limilngan into elicitation sessions on Wuna.

	Limilngan	Wuna
black whip snake	<i>lamurr</i>	<i>lamul</i>
catfish	<i>gurdumardi</i>	<i>gudumardey</i>
coals	<i>angalk</i>	<i>angerr</i>
faeces	<i>magun</i>	<i>mugut</i>
fly sp.	<i>luwutjgi</i>	<i>luwiyi</i>
foot	<i>imal</i>	<i>amal</i>
forehead	<i>alinyman</i>	<i>alinymetj</i>
goose	<i>lamay</i>	<i>lumuy</i>
hair	<i>imarr</i>	<i>imarr</i>
magpie	<i>jilalarr</i>	<i>jilalar</i>
nulla-nulla	<i>bambarl</i>	<i>bomburl</i>
rain	<i>umurnitj</i>	<i>murnitj</i>
turtle	<i>lulayk</i>	<i>lulait</i>
watersnake	<i>lambugay</i>	<i>lambugay</i>

Apart from these possible nominal cognates, the Limilngan and Wuna Locative markers also appear to be cognate.

	Limilngan	Wuna
locative	<i>lavgarni</i>	<i>-kgarni</i>

However, Heath (1978:104–115) argues that sharply bounded, (poly)syllabic affixes with a single function, like ‘locative’, may be diffused. Consequently, the evidentiary status of this shared Locative case marking is open to question. The Wuna noun class system appears to be related to the Limilngan noun class system. The class system that appears in the Wuna materials is set out below.

Class marker	Semantic domain
<i>l(V)-</i>	Humans, most animals
<i>b/w(V)-</i>	Dogs
<i>m(V)-</i>	Plants

This system shows some differences from the Limilngan system. In Limilngan, the class marked by *l-* is focally an ‘animal’ class, and the class marked by *bu-* and *w-* is a ‘human’ class (3.2). The noun class systems of Limilngan and Wuna are in turn related to that of Larrakia, the language of Darwin to the west of Wuna. The Larrakia noun class system is set out below.

	Semantic domain	Verbal prefix	Nominal suffix
Class I	Humans	<i>bi-</i>	<i>-ba</i>
Class II	Animals	<i>di-</i>	<i>-la, -da, -rra, -ra</i>
Class III	Plants	<i>mi-</i>	<i>-ma</i>
Class IV	Residue	<i>gu-</i>	<i>-gwa, -wa</i>

The status of this relationship in noun class affixal forms between Larrakia, Limilngan and Wuna remains to be established. It may be a common inheritance from a remote common ancestral proto-language, or it could reflect diffusion. It is not, however, indicative of a close genetic relationship between Larrakia, on the one hand, and Limilngan and Wuna, on the other hand. Larrakia does not show any verbal cognates with Limilngan or Wuna, other than those reflecting inheritance from Proto Australian. Limilngan and Larrakia show only four nominal cognates.

	Larrakia	Limilngan
tobacco	<i>bangbang</i>	<i>bangbang</i>
dove	<i>guluduk</i>	<i>guluduk</i>
willy wagtail	<i>jigirri-jigirritj-ba</i>	<i>jigirritj-jigirritj</i>
owl	<i>mukmuk-ba</i>	<i>mukmuk ilamirl</i>

These cognates evidently do not reflect inheritance, as they are widely attested and highly diffusable lexemes. Despite the lack of evidence for a genetic relationship, there are a number of other structural commonalities between Larrakia and Limilngan. The stress system of Larrakia shows some interesting similarities to that of Limilngan. Larrakia has a system of quantity sensitive trochaic feet, with the final foot bearing the primary word stress. Long vowels and sonorant codas affect stress placement, whereas obstruent codas do not. Stress placement in Limilngan also shows sensitivity to the sonorancy of codas (2.6.1), though not in such a consistent manner as Larrakia. Quantity sensitive stress systems of this particular nature have not otherwise been reported in Australia.

Limilngan has a phrasal desiderative construction consisting of a future tense verb form followed by a form of the verb 'to do' (4.4.3).

- (1-1) *i dak lambangi nga-n-a-yi nga-nami-ny*
 yes town 1-FU-go-FU 1-do-PP
 'Yes, I wanted to go to town.'

The same construction is found in Larrakia.

- (1-2) *ngana bordaan nga-gi-rri nga-gam gudlaa-gwa*
 1M town 1-FU-go 1-do.PP yesterday-IV
 'I wanted to go to town yesterday.'

Like Limilngan, Larrakia uses the locative interrogative element 'where' extensively in all kinds of verbal interrogation (3.6.2).

- (1-3) *gay-gak=m-i-nami*
 where-IV=1+2M-FU-do
 'What will we do?' [Limilngan]

- (1-4) *ngarr=n-iga*
 where=2M-do
 What are you going to do? [Larrakia]

- (1-5) *da-wi-k* *gay-gak=i-nama-yi=mirl* *w-a-yung-iji*
 DEF-I-DIST where-IV=IV-do-PI=DEL 3I-go-PP-here
 'When did that bloke come here?' [Limilngan]
- (1-6) *ngarr-gunikgini ni-gi-rri*
 where-during 2M-FU-go
 'When will you go?' [Larrakia]
- (1-7) *gay-gak=nginy-ami-ny marnitj m-iny-arlarla-ng*
 where-IV=2M-do-PP canoe III<2M-make-PP
 'How did you make a canoe in the old days.' [Limilngan]
- (1-8) *darri-ba ngarr=ni-g-i-ng m-ij-oedloe-m marr-ma*
 old man-I where=2M-FU-do-FU III<2M-make-PR boat-III
 'Old man, how do you make a boat?' [Larrakia]

The Larrakia system of verbal bound pronominals is also similar to that of Limilngan in that it inflects extensively on an Absolutive-Ergative basis. Absolutive-Ergative inflection is not common in verbal pronominal systems in Australia. Larrakia and Limilngan, and presumably Wuna, would therefore appear to constitute a classic example of a sprachbund. The combination of structural similarities and lack of cognates conforms to Thomason and Kaufman's (1988:96) description of a multilateral sprachbund: "What a long-term multilateral Sprachbund seems to promote, in fact, is the gradual development of isomorphism (equivalence of form) in all areas of structure except the phonological shapes of morphemes."

This sprachbund, in fact, appears to have extended further east along the Van Diemen coast. Gonbudj and Ngaduk, the languages immediately to the east of Limilngan, are extinct and unrecorded. To the east of Gonbudj and south of Ngaduk was Gaagudju. Gaagudju, like Limilngan and Larrakia, makes extensive use of 'where' as a verbal interrogative. Its system of verbal pronominal prefixes also inflects extensively on an Absolutive-Ergative basis.

Gaagudju also exemplifies most fully another characteristic of the Van Diemen coast sprachbund; a significant differentiation between stressed and unstressed syllables. In Gaagudju, the differences between stressed and unstressed syllables are of the same order as those found in English, and quite distinct from the minimal differentiation characteristic of the majority of Australian languages. Unstressed vowels are reduced to schwa and unstressed syllables are frequently deleted in faster speech.

Limilngan shows a similar pattern; unstressed vowels are reduced and unstressed syllables may be deleted. Neither of these processes appears to be as common in Limilngan as in Gaagudju. Indeed, it appears that there was an east-west cline in the sprachbund for this characteristic. Larrakia, on the western end of the sprachbund, shows vowel reduction in certain prosodically weak positions, but does not generally delete unstressed syllables. This is not the only cline in the sprachbund. Limilngan appears to be the meeting point for clinal patterns emanating from the east and the west of the sprachbund concerning sequences of alveolar laterals and stops (2.1.6).

As with Larrakia and Wuna, despite the structural similarities, there are again very few potential cognates between Limilngan and Gaagudju. Gaagudju, like Limilngan, shows reflexes of a number of Proto Australian verb roots. In addition to the verb roots discussed in Table 1.1,

there is another widespread verb root *ni* 'to cook' which has reflexes in both Limilngan and Gaagudju.

to cook	Limilngan	Gaagudju
PP	<i>ni-gi</i>	<i>ni-gi</i>
PIRR	<i>ni-ngi</i>	<i>ni-ngi</i>
PI		<i>ni-ngi</i>
PR	<i>ni-ngan</i>	<i>ni-ngi</i>
FU	<i>ni-yuk</i>	<i>ni-ya</i>
EV	<i>ni-yuk</i>	<i>ni-ya</i>

The conjugational system of marking the Past Perfective with *-gi* and the Past Irrealis/Past Imperfective with *-ngi* illustrated above, is found with a number of verbs in both Limilngan and Gaagudju. There are only two immediately evident nominal cognates between Limilngan and Gaagudju.

- (a) 'mangrove goanna': Gaagudju *birneerriny*, Limilngan *bimirriny*, Mayali *bimirriny*
- (b) 'father's mother': Gaagudju *maangga*, Giimbiyu *mangk*, Limilngan *mangi*, Mayali *makkah*

Neither of these cognate sets is exclusive to Limilngan and Gaagudju, and both belong to highly diffusible vocabulary domains. It therefore appears likely that the languages of the Van Diemen coast from Darwin through to the East Alligator River constituted a sprachbund. On the slender evidence available, it appears that Limilngan was more closely associated with languages to the west in this sprachbund, than with those to the east.

The situation with the inland neighbours of Limilngan is quite different from that of its coastal neighbours. To the south of Limilngan country, the area of the mid-Mary and lower McKinley rivers is associated with the Uwinymil language. This language is extinct; the last speaker Mr Stanley Baker having died in 1984. There are only very limited materials on this language (these are analysed in Harvey MSb.). These materials nevertheless suffice to establish that Uwinymil is distinct from Limilngan, and that it is a member of the Gunwinyguan language family.

To the south-east, it appears that Limilngan bordered on a language known as Ngombur. This language is also extinct and it is not certain whether it was in fact contiguous with Limilngan or not. There is a little material on Ngombur, collected by Gavan Breen and Nick Evans. This material suggests that Ngombur was related to, and possibly dialectal with, its southern neighbour Umbugarla. There is somewhat more material on Umbugarla (Davies 1989), also collected by Breen and Evans. There is nothing in this material to suggest any connection between Limilngan and Umbugarla.

In summary, it appears that Limilngan belongs to a sprachbund of the languages along the southern Van Diemen Gulf coast. This sprachbund displays the familiar coastal vs inland opposition in its bounding. Within the sprachbund, the western languages Limilngan, Wuna, and Larrakia appear to have been more intensively connected. In the case of Wuna, some at least of the similarities may reflect a closer genetic relationship to Limilngan.

1.5 Consultants and sources

The principal consultant for this description was Felix Holmes (Iyanuk). Felix was born about 1915. Until the late 1950s, his residential range was focussed on Darwin and Koolpinyah station. During this time, he was in close and intimate contact with a number of people who were owners of the Larrakia, Wuna and Limilngan languages and countries. In the mid/late 1930s he travelled from Koolpinyah over traditional Limilngan territory in the Mary River area.

In the late 1950s, Felix was recruited to work at Kununurra. After working there, he went to work at Annaburroo in traditional Limilngan country at some time probably early in the 1960s. He then went to work at Murganella in western Arnhemland. From the later 1960s, Felix's residence patterns varied over a wide area from Darwin into western Arnhemland.

In the period 1980–1994, a number of linguists, Gavan Breen, Frances Morphy, Linda MacFarlane and myself, worked at various periods with Felix on Limilngan. I collated and checked all previous materials during fieldwork between 1992 and 1994. The material provided in these sessions suffices to establish the basic grammatical patterns of Limilngan. However, there remain many gaps and inconsistencies. Some of these result from the fact that it is many years since Limilngan was actively spoken, and consequently Felix frequently had problems in remembering lexical items. However, Felix was a heavy drinker for many years, so not all inconsistencies or gaps may necessarily result from the lack of use of the language.

Felix's younger sister, Thelma Cooper (Maliny), who was born in about 1917 and died in 1974, was a speaker of Limilngan. She provided some materials to Michael Walsh in 1972; the only other materials on Limilngan. These materials are of high quality and demonstrate her fluency as a speaker.

Felix's youngest sister Lena Henry (Urakgi), who was born about 1930, has a reasonably extensive passive command of Limilngan. She provided considerable assistance on aspects of Limilngan language and culture. Her principal contributions were in species identification, where she was the principal consultant, kinship terminology, and in the interpretation of textual materials provided by Felix (Appendix A). Lena also provided some lexical items, and could produce some basic sentences. Nonetheless, she does not have an active control of the language. The fact that she does not actively control the language shows that it was not actively acquired after the 1920s.

2 Phonology

2.1 Consonantal phonemes and their realisations

The consonantal inventory of Limilngan is set out in a practical orthography in Table 2.1. This inventory is typical of the languages of the Top End. There are five places of articulation, there being no lamino-dentals. As in most Top End languages, the analysis of stops raises a number of issues. These issues and the motivations for the practical orthography representation of stops are discussed in 2.1.1 following.

In addition to the phonemes listed orthographically in Table 2.1, Limilngan also appears to have a labio-velar stop /gw/. This stop is quite common in Larrakia, and appears to occur in Wuna, though not commonly. In Limilngan, it is found only in the forms *ambat-daygwan* ‘short-singular’ and *d/ja-wi-k-gwi* ‘DEF-I-DIST-EMPH’ (3-27). It may be noted that this putative labio-velar stop occurs morpheme-medially in the two Limilngan examples. In Larrakia, the labio-velar stop only occurs initially in noun roots and in the Class IV noun class suffix form *-gwa*.

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Syllable initial stop	b	d	rd	j	g
Syllable final stop	p	t	rt	tj	k
Nasal	m	n	rn	ny	ng
Lateral		l	rl	ly	
Tap		rr			
Continuant	w		r	y	

2.1.1 Stops

As in most languages of the Top End, Limilngan appears to show a manner of articulation contrast between two series of stops. The contrast between these two series is most generally termed a fortis vs lenis contrast as set out in (2-1).

(2-1)		Lenis stop	Fortis stop
	Labial	b	p
	Alveolar	d	t
	Retroflex	rd	rt ?
	Palatal	j	tj
	Velar	g	k

To English speakers, the fortis series is auditorily equivalent to the English voiceless series of stops. The lenis series is auditorily equivalent to the English voiced series of stops. The lenis series is auditorily equivalent to the English voiced series of stops.

It may be noted that there is a gap in the fortis series, with no clear examples of a retroflex fortis stop being attested in the available materials. In Text 10 Line 17, there is a word *jartdarr* with a fortis retroflex stop. However, the meaning of this form is unclear (see Text 10).

The phonetic parameters underlying the fortis/lenis contrast have been the subject of considerable investigation (Butcher MS). These investigations have shown that length and/or voice onset timing are the critical parameters underlying the contrast. The significance of these factors varies regionally within the Top End. In the Daly river region, voice onset timing is the critical parameter. Among the Yolngu languages of north-eastern Arnhemland, both voice onset timing and length are phonetically contrastive, though voice onset timing appears to be the critical factor phonologically. In the rest of the Top End, including Limilngan country, length is the critical factor both phonetically and phonologically. Table 2.2 sets out the results of stop length measurements in Limilngan.

Table 2.2: Stop length measurements (in ms)

Stop	Min length	Next min	Max length	Next max	Av length	No of tokens
b	59	70	130	97	83	11
p	121	124	251	221	172	12
d	35	44	147	90	68	18
rd	32	35	104	71	55	18
t	89	93	183	151	117	14
j	43	47	90	82	63	20
tj	84	95	167	131	114	12
g	25	32	128	107	65	38
k	87	90	203	192	131	49

It would be desirable to have a larger number of tokens. Nevertheless, it is evident that length is a significant contrastive parameter phonetically. The average length of the fortis stops is almost exactly twice that of their lenis counterparts. There is some overlap in the realisation of particular lenis and fortis tokens. However, it is apparent from the comparison of the 'maximum length' and 'next maximum' columns in Table 2.2, that this overlap results from a couple of exceptionally long lenis tokens. I suspect that these exceptionally long lenis tokens are incorrect realisations by Felix. Whatever their status, the great majority of lenis tokens are perceptibly considerably shorter than the great majority of fortis tokens.

Length is not the only phonetic distinction between the fortis and lenis stops. Word-medially, the lenis stops show a strong tendency to be lenited. The labial and velar stops are normally realised as approximants, though there are occasional examples of stop realisations. The apicals tend to be realised as taps. The palatal stop appears to be more resistant to lenition. The fortis stops are resistant to lenition. As Jaeger (1983:184–185) points out, this kind of variation in the closure type of short stops is common in languages where length is the contrastive parameter.

The most satisfactory phonological interpretation of the length contrast is the geminate analysis proposed by McKay (1975:17–21). Under the geminate analysis, fortis closures are analysed as geminate, while lenis closures are the realisations of single stops. The geminate analysis is the most straightforward analysis of the 2:1 contrast in average lengths between corresponding fortis and lenis stops. It also accommodates the other facts about the phonetic

realisation of stops in Limilngan. Further, as McKay points out, the geminate analysis has another salient advantage. In Limilngan, as in most of the languages of the Top End, fortis stops are restricted to the environment set out in (2-2).

(2-2) [+continuant] __ Vowel

The geminate analysis explains the restricted distribution of the fortis/lenis contrast. Geminate stops are naturally restricted to positions where sequences of stops are possible. The principles of syllabification in Limilngan (2.3 and 2.7) ensure that stop sequences are permissible only in the environment set out in above.

The geminate analysis entails that Limilngan has in fact only a single series of stops. The orthographic representations of single and geminate stops among the languages of the Top End vary considerably. I have adopted the Jawoyn orthography: syllable-initial stops are represented by voiced symbols, syllable-final stops are represented by voiceless symbols. This corresponds with the perception of stops in these positions by speakers of English and Kriol. Some sub-minimal pairs illustrating this orthography and the single vs geminate contrast are presented in (2-3).

(2-3)	<i>jubuk</i>	clapstick	<i>girralpbung</i>	green ant
	<i>badambip</i>	lizard sp.	<i>latdinyayan</i>	crocodile
	<i>bi-jurnu</i>	children	<i>bitjjurnurnu</i>	file snake
	<i>lugi</i>	leech	<i>uwukgi</i>	white lily

The absence or rarity of the retroflex geminate conforms with the phonotactic patternings found in languages where length is the contrastive parameter. In length-contrastive languages for which counts have been done, the retroflex is the least frequent fortis/geminate stop (Kamu, Warray - own research; Ngalkan - Merlan 1983:4).

Like most languages with a geminate contrast, the distribution of geminates within the word is restricted in Limilngan. There are only two nominal roots with two geminates.

(2-4)	<i>aykgurnitjjin</i>	hungry	[äikkun̥iccin]
	<i>maykgurnikgun</i>	rib	[maikkún̥ɪkkun]

There is one adjective form which involves two geminates. In this case the pair of geminates derive historically from reduplication (2.4).

(2-5)	-(<i>m</i>)alkgan	small.SG	[(<i>m</i>)áلكkan]	
	-(<i>m</i>)alkgikgan	small.PL	[(<i>m</i>)áلكkɪkkan]	*-(<i>m</i>)alkg-alkgan

There are four verbal paradigms with forms which involve two geminates.

(2-6)		to ask	
	PR	(<i>j</i>)ikgi-jikga-yam	[(<i>j</i>)ɪkkɪjɪkkáiam]
		to cry/yell out	
	PP	ikgurdaykga-gi	[ɪkkùðakkági]
	PIRR/PI	urdayk-gurdaykga-rri	[ùðakkùðakkári]

PIRR/PI	<i>ikgurdaykga-rri</i>	[ɪkkùɖaikkári]
PR	<i>urdaykg-urdaykga-m</i>	[ùɖaikkùɖaikkam]
PR	<i>ikgurdaykga-m</i>	[ɪkkùɖaikkam]
FU	<i>ikgurdaykgi</i>	[ɪkkùɖaikki]
to do all the time		
PP	<i>ay/ikgaykgija-gi</i>	[ai/ɪkkàikkɪjági]
PI	<i>ay/ikgaykgiji-rri</i>	[ai/ɪkkàikkɪjírɪ]
PR	<i>ay/ikgaykgiji-yam</i>	[ai/ɪkkàikkɪjiam]
to talk		
PP	<i>julukgulpba-gi</i>	[jùlukkùlppagi]
PIRR/PI	<i>(j)ulukgulpbi-rri</i>	[(j)ùlukkùlppɪrɪ]
PR	<i>(j)ulukgulpba-yam</i>	[(j)ùlukkùlppaiam]
FU	<i>yulukgulpba-yi</i>	[jùlukkùlppai.i]

In all of these forms, except for the adjective form in (2-5), there is a stress between the two geminates.

2.1.2 Retroflexion

Retroflexion is usually distinguishable by an [ɭ] offglide on the vowel preceding the apical consonant. I did not observe a retroflex contrast for apicals not preceded by a vowel. Given the morphological structures of Limilngan, the only position where apicals are not preceded by a vowel is word-initial position. Retroflexion is contrastive in all other positions: morpheme-finally, morpheme-medially, and morpheme-initially preceded by a vowel-final prefix. The following minimal and sub-minimal pairs illustrate the contrast in these positions.

(2-7)	<i>nidirr</i>	fishing line	<i>dirdatj</i>	native cat
	<i>mumuningi</i>	plain	<i>umurningi</i>	eldest child
	<i>malam</i>	belly	<i>marlam</i>	didgeridoo
	<i>barragut</i>	white man	<i>bagartbagart</i>	frog sp.
	<i>ngalmugan</i>	female leader	<i>lamugarn</i>	bird sp.
	<i>angul</i>	high, top	<i>magangurl</i>	plant sp.
	<i>bi-linan</i>	they are good	<i>b-i-rlarla-ng</i>	they made it

There are no examples of the retroflex stops or nasals morpheme-initially. There are no prefix-taking stems with initial apical stops, and the few prefix-taking stems with initial apical nasals are all alveolar. The alveolar tap /rr/ and the retroflex continuant /r/ differ from the other apicals, as they contrast in manner as well as place of articulation. Neither is attested morpheme-initially, and the continuant /r/ is not attested morpheme-finally. However, as shown in (2-8) it can be seen that they contrast in morpheme-medial position.

(2-8)	<i>-alirmgan</i>	lightweight	<i>lurngun</i>	scorpion
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2.1.3 Word-initial alternations between /j/ and /d/

The palatal stop /j/ is uncommon word-initially, occurring only in a few nominal roots and some verbal imperatives. In nearly all cases a word-initial /j/ is followed by /i/ or /u/. In these cases the palatal realisation is invariant. However there are two cases where a word-initial /j/ is followed by /a/. In these two cases, the palatal realisation alternates with an apical realisation.

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------------------|----------|-----------------------|
| (2-9) | <i>da- ~ ja-</i> | definite | [da- ~ dæ- ~ jæ-] |
| | <i>dakgigak ~ jakgigak</i> | maybe | [dækkɪgak ~ jækkɪgak] |

Both of these roots are high frequency function roots, suggesting further that /ja/ is a marked combination word-initially in Limilngan. The apical-initial realisations are more common than the palatal-initial realisations. The palatal-initial forms may nevertheless be analysed as the original forms for three reasons. Firstly, the paradigm of the *ja-* 'definite' root shows that the palatal forms are original (Table 3.6). Only the palatal form occurs when followed by /i/, as in *j-Ø-iga* 'DEF-I-pl' (**d-Ø-iga*). Secondly, there are a number of roots which commence with /da/ which do not show any alternation. Thirdly, the [æ] vowel which is commonly found in realisations of this form, is otherwise found after palatals, but not after apicals (2.2).

The word-initial alternation between /j/ and /d/ realisations discussed here appears to be of some historical relevance in understanding the phonotactic patterns of Limilngan, which are unusual from the general perspective of Australian languages. Among these unusual patterns is the fact that /d/ is more common than /j/ root-initially. The alternation illustrated in (2-9) suggests that some of these root-initial apical stops may derive historically from /j/.

2.1.4 Lenition of the velars

In addition to the lenition patterns discussed in 2.1.1, the velar stop shows another realisation possibility, or more accurately non-realisation possibility: deletion word-medially. Deletion is usually understood as forming part of a lenition sequence: stop > fricative > deletion. Deletion is not equally possible in all situations, but depends on the nature of the neighbouring segments, and the prosodic structure of the word. There are only a few examples of medial consonant clusters involving the velar stop. It may be deleted in the cluster environment /yg/, at least.

- | | | |
|--------|----------------|---------|
| (2-10) | <i>gay-gak</i> | [gaiak] |
| | where-IV | |
| | 'where' | |

Deletion is principally an intervocalic phenomenon. Deletion with a following /a/ vowel, as in (2-10), is however very rare. Nearly all examples of deletion have a following /i/ or /u/. The velar stop cannot be deleted if deletion would result in the creation of a monosyllable. Some examples of deletion are given in (2-11).

- | | | | | |
|--------|---------------------|-----------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| (2-11) | Form | Meaning | Attested
realisation | Unattested
realisation |
| | <i>marlmi-ja-gi</i> | it barked | [ma miʝayi] ~ [ma miʝai] | |
| | <i>lagurr</i> | crow | [layur] ~ [la.ur] | |
| | <i>gagi</i> | father | [gayi] | *[gai] |

As illustrated in (2-11), with the possible realisations of *lagurr* 'crow', the prosodic restriction cannot be formulated as a restriction against deletion in disyllables. Limilngan permits [a.u] as a hiatus realisation sequence, and so reduction is possible with *lagurr*. It does not permit [a.i] as a hiatus realisation sequence, probably because [ai] is a diphthong sequence in Limilngan whereas [au] is not, and so reduction is not possible with *gagi*. As a final point in considering deletion of the velar stop, it may be noted that in all available examples the velar stop belongs to an unstressed syllable.

The velar nasal is also deleted intervocally in similar circumstances to the velar stop. In this case, it appears that the vowels must be identical. It also appears that the velar nasal cannot be deleted if it belongs to a stressed syllable. Some examples of deletion are given in (2-12).

(2-12) Form	Meaning	Attested realisation	Unattested realisation
<i>w-adlŋan</i>	old man	[wádlaŋan] ~ [wádlaan]	
<i>ŋgilinginyi</i>	niece	[ŋɪlɪŋɪɲi]	*[ŋɪlɪiɲi]

The velar nasal is much more commonly subject to deletion in word-initial position, and it thereby produces a vowel initial form. There are many morphemes and words with underlying initial vowels in Limilngan. The contrast between a form with an underlying initial vowel and a form with an underlying initial velar nasal is established by a contrast in the range of possible realisations of these forms.

<i>ŋginyi</i>	you	[ŋɪɲi] ~ [iɲi]
<i>inyi-</i>	interrogative	[iɲi] ~ *[ŋɪɲi]

The 2M pronoun *ŋginyi* and the interrogative root *inyi-* contrast in their range of possible realisations. In the verbal paradigms, there are systematic contrasts between realisations which may involve an initial velar nasal, and those which do not.

(2-13) a. <i>ŋg-ayurni</i>	I went back	[ŋaiuɲi] ~ [aiuɲi]
1-went back		
b. <i>Ø-ayurni</i>	It went back	[aiuɲi] ~ *[ŋaiuɲi]
IV-went back		
(2-14) a. <i>ŋga-rr-ayurni</i>	We went back	[ŋaraiuɲi] ~ [araiuɲi]
1-AS-went back		
b. <i>a-rr-ayurni</i>	You went back	[araiuɲi] ~ *[ŋaraiuɲi]
2A-AS-went back		

As illustrated in (2-13), there is a contrast between the 1 prefix *ŋga-* and the IV prefix *Ø-*. There is also a contrast between the 1 prefix *ŋga-* and the 2A prefix *a-*, as illustrated in (2-14). The velar nasal undergoes a quite separate lenition when it is in coda position.

(2-15) <i>-mangmũŋ</i>	clever	[maŋmũŋ] ~ [māmũ]
------------------------	--------	-------------------

(2-16) <i>marnanggurr</i>	sky	[maŋaŋgʊr] ~ *[maŋāgʊr]
---------------------------	-----	-------------------------

In this position, the velar specification of the nasal may be deleted and the [nasal] feature is relinked to the preceding vowel. As illustrated in (2-16), this is not attested when the velar specification is shared with the following onset. However it should be noted that (2-16) is the only example of the cluster /ngg/ in the corpus (Table 2.3), and this word was not commonly attested. More frequent attestation might produce examples of vowel nasalisation as an alternate realisation for forms with clusters.

2.1.5 The palatal lateral

The palatal lateral is an uncommon phoneme in Limilngan. It is found in the following lexemes.

(2-17)	<i>ilyiwin</i>	urine
	<i>ilyiwin muluman</i>	mullet
	<i>lalykgi</i>	fly
	<i>lalykgi damban</i>	white apple
	<i>limin balyi</i>	white gum
	<i>lurrilyarr</i>	broilga
	<i>ulikbily</i>	kneecap; mangrove oyster; lily stem
	<i>walyimba</i>	axe
	<i>walykga</i>	younger sibling

Given its rarity, it is necessary to consider an alternative analysis of this sound as a cluster consisting of the alveolar lateral /l/ and the palatal continuant /y/. This analysis is adopted in the paradigms of certain verbs, as illustrated in (2-18).

- (2-18) *il-yirrangi*
 II-go down.PP
 'It went down.'

The Class II prefix is *il-*, and so the verb root is *yirrangi* in this form (otherwise 'to go down' is *jirrangi* ~ *irrangi*). Similar clusters of the alveolar nasal and the palatal continuant also occur inter-morphemically.

- (2-19) *n-in-yugu-k*
 2M-FU-bathe-FU
 'You will bathe.'

There is one example of an intra-morphemic cluster of the other alveolar liquid /rr/ and the palatal continuant.

- (2-20) *larryal* jabiru

Consequently, a cluster analysis of /ly/ cannot be dismissed as phonotactically implausible. The argument against a general adoption of the cluster analysis is the occurrence of /ly/ as a coda in *lalykgi* 'fly', *ulikbily* 'kneecap, mangrove oyster, lily stem', and *walykga* 'younger sibling'.

Codas showing ascending sonority such as /l/ + /y/ are universally dispreferred, and they are not otherwise attested in Limilngan.

The palatal lateral must therefore be analysed as a unitary segment, though one of very restricted frequency. It should be noted that the low frequency of the palatal lateral phoneme is not in itself unusual. In a number of other languages of the Darwin region (Kamu, Malak-Malak, Matngele), where the palatal lateral is a distinctive phoneme, it is also of low frequency. The following (sub-)minimal pairs establish the contrast with the other two laterals.

(2-21)	<i>lalykgi</i>	fly	<i>lalkgi</i>	pigeon sp.
	<i>limin balyi</i>	white gum	<i>arli</i>	to laugh

2.1.6 Sequences of the alveolar lateral and stop

In addition to the standard lateral and stop realisations, Limilngan also shows [ld] and [dl] sequences in intervocalic position. These sequences are also found in other languages of the Van Diemen sprachbund. Larrakia, to the west, shows [dl] sequences, which appear to be analysable as clusters. Gaagudju, to the east, shows [ld] sequences, which are analysable as an allophonic realisation of /l/. The [ld] sequence in Limilngan appears in origin to have been an alternate, allophonic, realisation of /l/, when the preceding vowel was stressed. This is most clearly illustrated in verbal paradigms, where there are alternations in the position of stress, as in the paradigm of 'hear-PP', set out in (2-22).

(2-22)	hear-PP	
1M	<i>ng-aldugi-ny</i>	[ŋáldugɪŋ]
2M	<i>nginy-ulugi-ny</i>	[ŋɪ̃ŋɪulúgɪŋ]
3I	<i>w-aldugi-ny</i>	[wáldugɪŋ]
1A	<i>nga-y-ulugi-ny</i>	[ŋàɪulúgɪŋ]
2A	<i>a-y-ulugi-ny</i>	[àɪulúgɪŋ]
3A	<i>i-y-ulugi-ny</i>	[iulúgɪŋ]

The vowel of the Class II prefix *il-* is not generally stressed, and this prefix does not usually have an [ld] realisation. However, there are a few forms, where the vowel of the *il-* prefix is stressed, and these forms can show [ld] realisations.

(2-23)	<i>ild-igi-ny</i>	[íldɪgɪŋ]
	II-burn-PP	
	'It (got) burnt.'	

(2-24)	<i>il-a-nigi-rri</i>	[ɪlànɪgírɪ]
	II-IRR-burn-P	
	'It did not burn/get burnt.'	

The Past Perfective form in (2-23) has a stress on the vowel of the *il-* prefix and the prefix shows an [ld] realisation. On the other hand, the Past Irrealis form in (2-24), does not have stress on the vowel of the *il-* prefix, and the prefix does not show an [ld] realisation. However, there is no predictive relationship between stress and [ld] realisations synchronically in Limilngan. There are forms which are not attested with an [ld] realisation, despite a preceding stress.

- (2-25) a. *il-ami-ny* [ɪlamiŋ]
 II-do/say-PP
 'It did/said it.'
- b. *milijan* [mɪlɪʃan] *lulayi* [lúlai.i]
 yesterday animal, game

There are in fact no examples of the [ɪd] sequence consistently in the realisations of nominals. This sequence is found consistently only in the realisations of verbs. However, as (2-25) illustrates, it is not found in all verbs, though it is common. Further, there is one verb paradigm which shows [ɪd] preceded by an unstressed vowel.

- (2-26)
- | | | |
|------|----------------------|--------------|
| | to dance | |
| PIRR | <i>w-iyuldarri</i> | [wɪuldári] |
| PI | <i>iyuldarri</i> | [iuldári] |
| PR | <i>iyuldarra-yan</i> | [iuldáraian] |
| FU | <i>in-uldarri</i> | [ɪnuldári] |
| EV | <i>w-uldarri</i> | [wuldári] |

There were some cases where Felix gave [ɪd] realisations in paradigms which generally showed [ɪ] realisations. The paradigm of the verb 'to chase', set out in (2-27), generally involved only [ɪ] realisations.

- (2-27)
- | | | |
|------|-------------------|------------|
| | to chase | |
| PIRR | <i>a-lula-rri</i> | [alúlari] |
| PI | <i>lula-rri</i> | [lúlari] |
| PR | <i>lula-yan</i> | [lúlaian] |
| FU | <i>in-bilula</i> | [ɪnbɪlúla] |
| EV | <i>a-lula</i> | [alúla] |

However, Felix did provide some forms of this verb with [ɪd] realisations.

- (2-28) *du-Ø-lula-yan* [dulúlaian] ~ [dulúldaian]
 IM<3-chase-PR
 'It is chasing me.'

He also gave some [ɪd] realisations with nominals which generally otherwise showed only [ɪ].

ngiliyi dog [ŋɪli.i] ~ [ŋɪldi.i]

The available materials do not, therefore, allow for a definitive resolution of the representation of [ɪd] sequences. It seems likely that a wider range of materials would show a greater variation in [ɪd] vs [ɪ] realisations. However, given that the appearance of [ɪd] sequences is not predictable in the available materials, it does not appear that they should be analysed as an allophone of /ɪ/. The default analysis of a consonantal sequence is as a cluster. In this case, there is no reason to adopt any other analysis, and consequently words which have a high frequency of [ɪd] realisations, are analysed as involving /ld/ clusters in this grammar. It should be noted that, while variation is possible, all word forms showed a distinct preference for either [ɪ] or [ɪd] realisations.

The other sequence [dl] has a rather different status from the [ld] sequence. It is much rarer, being consistently found only in four nominal roots and one verbal paradigm.

(2-29)	<i>-adlingi</i>	small of back	[ádliŋi]
	<i>-idlungminan</i>	strong	[ídlúŋmɪnan]
	<i>ladli</i>	fat	[ládli]
	<i>w-adlangan</i>	old man	[wádlaŋan]
	<i>w-adlalingan</i>	old men	[wadlálaŋan]
(2-30)		to pull/take out	
	PP	<i>ngadla-ng, idla-ng</i>	[ŋádlaŋ], [ídlaŋ]
	PIRR	<i>w-aldaga-rri</i>	[wáldagári]
	FU	<i>in-idlagi</i>	[inidlági]

These forms were consistently realised with the [dl] sequence. However, there were also examples of words, which generally showed [l] realisations, showing [dl] realisations. However, these variant realisations were comparatively infrequent.

The [dl] sequence, like the [ld] sequence, is most commonly found after a stressed vowel. However, as with the [ld] sequence, there is no predictive relationship between stress and the appearance of [dl] realisations. Given that it is not possible to predict the appearance of [dl] realisations, the sequence must be analysed as distinctive. It could be analysed as either a cluster /dl/ or as a unitary prestopped lateral phoneme. There are arguments against both of these analyses. Against the cluster analysis is the fact that there are no other heterosyllabic clusters in Limilngan where the first member is less sonorous than the second member (2.3), and such clusters are universally dispreferred. Against the prestopped lateral analysis is the fact that Limilngan does not otherwise show prestopping, even phonetically. In the absence of compelling evidence for a unitary prestopping analysis, I follow the default analysis of consonantal sequences and analyse the [dl] sequences as realisations of a /dl/ cluster.

2.1.7 Realisations of the labial continuant

The labial continuant has two realisations. It is realised as a continuant following consonants, following the vowels /a/ and /i/, and in word-initial position. Felix maintained a contrast between word-initial /wu/ and word-initial /u/ with reasonable consistency.

<i>wulun</i>	[wúlun]	*[úlun]	(an)other
<i>ulik</i>	[úlik]	*[wúlik]	still, yet

The labial continuant does not have an independent segmental realisation following /u/.

- | | | |
|--------|------------------------|--------|
| (2-31) | <i>w-a-ngi</i> | [wáŋi] |
| | 3I-go-PR | |
| | 'He is going.' | |
| (2-32) | <i>u-w-a-ngi</i> | [uáŋi] |
| | 3I-IRR-go-P | |
| | 'He should have gone.' | |

- (2-33) *i-rr-w-a-ngi* [ɪrwáŋi]
 3-AS-IRR-go-P
 'They should have gone.'

The phonetic contrast between the Present tense form in (2-31) and the Past Irrealis form in (2-32) is one of an initial [w] versus an initial [u]. Comparison of (2-32) and (2-33) shows that the Irrealis prefix is realised as [w] following a consonant, but has no independent segmental realisation in (2-32). This alternation does not, of itself, provide evidence for the positing of a /w/ segment in (2-32). The form in (2-32) would be most directly analysed as *u-a-ngi* '3I.IRR-go-P', where the *u-* prefix combined information about person, number and realis status.

The factor supporting the positing of a /w/ segment in (2-32) is the appearance of the tense [u] allophone. This allophone otherwise appears only in word-final position. It is not required simply by adjacency to another vowel. The lax allophone [ʊ] appears in diphthongal realisations.

- (2-34) a. *d-inmuyngan* II-heavy [dɪnmúɪŋan]
 b. *d-Ø-anynguwinguwa-yan* [daiŋŋùŋúaiŋan]
 IM<3-cover-PR
 'She always covers me.'

As illustrated in (2-34), [ui] is the realisation of /uy/, and [uɪ] is the realisation of /uwi/. There does not appear to be any commonality between hiatus and word-final position that would account for the appearance of the tense allophone in these two positions, which reflects a single motivating factor. The tense allophone in (2-34)b. is most satisfactorily accounted for as a unitary realisation of /u/ + /w/.

2.1.8 Realisations of the palatal continuant

The palatal continuant has three realisations. It is realised as a continuant following consonants (2.1.5), and as an onset following the /u/ vowel.

guyi 1+2A [gúji] *[gúi.i]

The palatal continuant does not occur word-initially in the available materials. There are many examples of word-initial /i/, but forms with an initial /i/ are not attested with a [jɪ] realisation.

iluk ground [íluk] *[jíluk]

Following the /a/ vowel, and as a coda following the /u/ vowel, the palatal continuant is realised as [i], and forms a diphthong with the preceding /a/ or /u/ vowel.

- (2-35) a. *ayal* road [ái.al] *[ájai]
 b. *aykgurr* two [áikkur]
 c. *ng-uykgal* [ŋúikkal]
 1-mouth
 'my mouth'

There are two reasons for analysing the [i] vowels in the above as realisations of a coda /y/, rather than as part of a diphthong. Firstly, if these forms were analysed as involving diphthongs, then Limilngan would be a language with a contrast between short vowels and diphthongs, but no contrast between short vowels and long vowels. This would be a highly marked state of affairs. Secondly, there appear to be dependencies between the [i] vowel and any following coda consonant. The general structure for coda clusters in Limilngan is [+continuant]+[-continuant] (2.3, 2.7). In the available materials, the only coda consonants found in syllables with the [ai] and [ui] diphthongs are stops. If the [i] vowel in these diphthongs was a realisation of an /i/ vowel, then it is likely that there should be examples of [ail], [air], [uil], and [uir] syllables, given that /l/ and /r/ are commonly attested as codas, even in the limited materials available. Therefore, the available materials are best analysed by treating the [i] vowel in these diphthongs as a realisation of a coda /y/, and not as a /i/ vowel forming part of a diphthong.

The palatal continuant does not have an independent segmental realisation following the /i/ vowel.

(2-36)	a. <i>liyarr</i>	pandanus	[liar]	*[lijar]
	b. <i>iyinbayk</i>	ghost	[iɪnbaik]	*[iɪjnbaik]
	c. <i>limiyuk</i>	grub sp.	[limiuk]	*[limɪjuk]

The factor supporting the positing of a /y/ in (2-36) is the tense vowel allophone [i]. This allophone otherwise appears only in word-final position, and in syllables closed by palatal consonants. There is no apparent motivation for its appearance in hiatus. The tense allophone in these forms is most satisfactorily accounted for as a unitary realisation of /i/ + /y/.

2.1.9 Secondary palatalisation

The velar nasal shows optional secondary palatalisation when followed by a stressed /i/, provided that the consonant following the /i/ vowel is not a palatal consonant. Some examples of optional secondary palatalisation are provided in (2-37).

(2-37)	a. <i>ngiliyi</i>	dog	[ŋʲili.i]	b. <i>mingililuk</i>	lily tuber	[mɪŋʲililuk]
	c. <i>l-i-ngi-gi</i>		[lɪŋʲgi]	d. <i>m-i-ngirlirli-ny</i>		[mɪŋʲiɾliɲ]
	II<I -put-PP			III<I -put in-PP		
	'I put it (down).'			'I put it in.'		

In the available materials, the following stress is always a primary stress. Some examples of words, where secondary palatalisation is not possible, because of a following palatal consonant, are provided in (2-38).

(2-38)	a. <i>ng-a-yung-iji</i>	[ŋàɪuŋʲi]	*[ŋàɪuŋʲi]
	I-go-PP-here		
	'I came.'		
	b. <i>nginyi</i>	[ŋɪɲi]	*[ŋʲiɲi]
	'you'		

	[u]	Elsewhere
/a/:	[æ]	An optional realisation when preceded by a palatal. The [æ] realisation is most common in stressed syllables and/or when there is a following alveolar.
	[ai]	a. Obligatory in syllables closed by a palatal. b. An optional realisation if the following onset is palatal.
	[a]	Elsewhere

Stressed vowels always show full realisations. In faster speech, the two high vowels tend to have tense realisations, when stressed. This is particularly so for /i/ when followed by a palatal, and for /u/ when followed by the labial or velar stops.

Unstressed vowels vary between a full realisation and a reduced realisation. The analysis of these reduced realisations is problematic. Reduced realisations are commonly indistinct, and there are a number of situations where it is not clear which vowel phoneme a reduced realisation should be assigned to. Given these uncertainties, I have attempted to represent pronunciations as closely as possible in a narrow transcription. If further information was available, it is certainly the case that some transcriptions of unstressed vowels would be revised.

The distribution of reduced realisations is controlled primarily by position in the word. Vowels in syllables at word boundaries resist reduction. Vowels in syllables following the primary stress also resist reduction. Reduction is therefore most common in medial syllables preceding the primary stress. As such, reduction is more common in verbs than in nominals, given that there are more verb forms of five or more syllables than there are nominal forms of these lengths. Reduction is also influenced by the neighbouring segment. A following [labial] segment encourages rounding.

(2-43) *m-iwi-yi-nija* [muwiriɲa]
 III-3-M-GEN
 'hers/his/its'

The initial unstressed vowel in (2-43) does not in fact attain a full [u] realisation, but it is somewhat raised and rounded towards this target.

2.3 Phonotactics

The phonotactic patterns of nominal roots are set out in Table 2.3. The figures in Table 2.3 are calculated in accordance with a concept of the root as a phonological construct, and not as a lexical entry. Thus, for a lexical entry, such as *bagartbagart* 'frog sp.', which is inherently reduplicated, only the base *bagart* entered into calculations for Table 2.3. The cluster /rtb/ which appears across the reduplication boundary is not included. Similarly, with a lexical entry, such as *minbulungbulung* 'bird sp.', involving a partial reduplication, the /nb/ cluster is included but the /ngb/ cluster is not.

Table 2.3: Phonotactics

Root initial	m	104	l	96	i	50	a	39
	u	35	b	23	d	20	g	16
	ng	15	w	15	n	13	j	11
Root final	i	104	n	92	k	60	l	36
	rr	27	tj	23	ny	23	ng	13
	y	12	rl	12	m	10	a	7
	t	5	u	4	ly	3	p	2
	m	2	rt	2				
Tautosyllabic cluster	lk	23	rrk	7	rmg	1		
Heterosyllabic cluster	mb	27	kb	15	tjb	14	nb	13
	lkg	10	nng	8	ykg	7	tjg	5
	nyb	5	nyng	5	mm	5	ngm	3
	rmg	3	rnng	3	tb	2	nym	2
	lpb	2	rlkg	2	lykg	2	lpb	2
	yng	2	rrkg	2	tg	1	tj	1
	rtb	1	nd	1	ngg	1	mb	1
	r+ny	1	rrpb	1	rrg	1	r+ng	1
	rw	1	yw	1				
Intervocalic stop	g	43	kg	18	j	16	d	6
	tjj	4	b	4	rd	3		

It is evident from Table 2.3 that Limilngan departs in a number of ways from the phonotactic patterns which characterise the distribution of consonants in most Australian languages. These characteristic patterns may be described in terms of the place and sonority hierarchies as set out in (2-44).

- (2-44) Apical > Laminal > Velar > Labial
 Continuant > Liquid > Nasal > Stop

Australian languages prefer root-initial segments to be low on both hierarchies. Root-initial frequencies in Limilngan do not conform to these preferences. There are many roots with an initial vowel, and among the consonant-initial roots the apicals show a high frequency of occurrence. Historically, there was probably a higher frequency of vowel-initial roots. As discussed in 3.3, there is evidence that the Class II and III prefixes *l-* and *m-* have been added to vowel-initial roots to derive new nominal stems. These new stems tend over time to be re-analysed as roots. It seems likely that the high frequency of /m/ and /l/ as root-initial segments is at least partly to be explained by this process. The high frequency of vowel-initial roots cannot be reduced by analysing /u/ and /i/ initial forms as realisations of /wu/ and /yi/ (2.1.7, 2.1.8).

Australian languages prefer root-final segments to be high on both hierarchies, though continuant codas are dispreferred. The root-final patterns found in Limilngan conform to those

found generally in northern languages. The velar stop /k/ has a high frequency, reflecting the universal preference for velar codas. In this respect, it may be noted that the attested tautosyllabic clusters, not involving a geminate stop, consist of an apical liquid + a velar plosive, in all but one case the stop /k/. Tautosyllabic clusters are nearly always root-final. The few cases where they are not root-final are listed in (2-45).

- (2-45) *jitbulkbulk* bird sp. *lumulkban* feather
 lumuwulkbarl bird sp. *uwarrkbi* brain; cycad; to vomit (verbal particle)

These are the only examples of heterorganic tri-consonantal clusters in Limilngan. The status of some of the examples of tautosyllabic /lk/ is somewhat uncertain. In a number of cases, Felix varied between a realisation with a final tautosyllabic cluster /lk/ and a realisation with a single segment coda //l/. There is some uncertainty as to whether the cluster /lk/ is underlying in all cases, or whether some tokens reflected the addition of a velar to an //l/ coda in order to obtain a more desirable place profile.

There is a little independent evidence for the desirability of velar codas in Limilngan. The following example comes from text, and illustrates the insertion of a velar liaison sequence between two vowels which would otherwise have been brought into hiatus.

- (2-46) *bi-jurnu* *i-rr-a-yung-iji* [bɪjɯŋgɪraɪuŋɪjɪ]
 3A-child 3-AS-go-PP-here
 'The children came.'

The one significant variation from usual root-final patterns of northern languages, and indeed of Australian languages generally, is in the high frequency of /i/, and the very low frequencies of /a/ and /u/. This pattern presumably reflects a historical change *V# > /i/ (2.8.2)

Australian languages generally show two kinds of heterosyllabic clusters: homorganic clusters and hetero-organic clusters. The class of homorganic clusters always includes nasal-stop clusters, and in nearly all Australian languages, these clusters are found at all places of articulation and are among the most frequent clusters. An examination of Table 2.3 shows that while /mb/ is the most common cluster, the other homorganic nasal-stop clusters are basically absent. The velar cluster /ngg/ is attested in *marnanggurr* 'sky'. The alveolar cluster /nd/ is found in the loan word *nandu* 'horse'. The palatal cluster /nyj/ is attested in the place name *gunanyjarr* 'Point Stuart'. The retroflex cluster /rnd/ is unattested. It is almost certain that a larger Limilngan vocabulary would provide further examples of the other homorganic clusters. However, it is most unlikely that the frequency patterns would be altered in a significant way.

An examination of the frequencies for intervocalic stops, also listed in Table 2.3, suggests that the frequency of homorganic clusters should not be considered in isolation. For the labials and velars, there appears to be a relationship between the frequency of the homorganic cluster and the corresponding intervocalic single and geminate stops. The homorganic labial cluster is common, but the single labial stop is rare and the geminate labial stop unattested intervocalically. On the other hand, both the single and geminate velar stops are common intervocalically, but the velar cluster is rare. The situation with the coronals is different. The apicals are rare as both intervocalic stops and as clusters. The palatals are not rare as intervocalic stops, though they are as a cluster.

There appears to be a kind of overall patterning to obstruency. Coronal obstruency of any kind is not common, being most frequent with the intervocalic palatals. Both labial and velar

obstruency are common. However, labial obstruency is chiefly realised in homorganic nasal-stop clusters, whereas velar obstruency is chiefly realised by intervocalic stops

In hetero-organic clusters, Australian languages prefer that the coda should be no higher, and usually lower, on both the place and sonority hierarchies than the following onset. In terms of place, these clusters in Limilngan conform to the usual pattern. The place of the coda is always lower than that of the onset. They also conform in terms of sonority, in that there is no case where the onset is more sonorous than the coda. Northern languages usually allow clusters of equal sonority, and so it is not unusual to find hetero-organic clusters of two stops or two nasals.

However, in terms of frequency Limilngan shows a significant departure from even northern patterns. In other northern languages, the most common types of hetero-organic clusters are sonorant + obstruent clusters. Clusters of equal sonority are consistently less frequent. This is obviously not the case in Limilngan, where clusters of equal sonority are at least as frequent as those with a falling sonority. In addition, the clusters of falling sonority show another unusual pattern. In nearly all the liquid + obstruent clusters, the obstruent is geminate. There is only one token of a liquid + single obstruent cluster: /rrg/.

I have not attempted to set out the phonotactic patterns of verb roots in a manner parallel to that of nominal roots. This is partly because many verb roots show a degree of irregular allomorphy, which makes the selection of basic allomorph problematic. It is also partly because the morphological analysis of verbal forms is subject to some uncertainty (4.2). An examination of the verbal paradigms (Appendix C) shows that verb root shapes are not radically different from nominal roots in shape. Verb roots do not commonly involve intra-morphemic clusters. Those roots involving an intra-morphemic cluster, which do not appear historically to be heteromorphemic (see Table 4.1), are listed in (2-47).

(2-47)	<i>marlmi</i>	to bark	<i>anbiny</i>	to be full
	<i>ambirri</i>	to break (intr)	<i>ambulding</i>	to break (tr)
	<i>itjbik</i>	to climb	<i>ambuldi</i>	to die (Min)
	<i>anbiyi</i>	to die (Aug)	<i>aykgaykgi</i>	to do always
	<i>mukbinya</i>	to eat	<i>ilk</i>	to finish
	<i>inymuldi</i>	to give	<i>ambijiwi</i>	to hit
	<i>ambildirrangi</i>	to jump	<i>anbalk</i>	to look after
	<i>urlkgula</i>	to paddle	<i>iyulka</i>	to play
	<i>ambirrwunga</i>	to scratch	<i>ilkgula</i>	to spear
	<i>annuga</i>	to stand	<i>mulungbiny</i>	to stretch leg
	<i>atjbatjbula</i>	to work		

Apart from the geminate /nn/ in *annuga* 'to stand', the clusters are of the type found with nominals. As with the nominals, /mb/ is the most common cluster. There are a number of clusters which appear to have historically occurred across an auxiliary boundary (4.2).

2.4 Root-level and word-level morphology

In Limilngan, there is reason to distinguish between two types of affixation: root-level affixation, symbolised by the hyphen (-), and word-level affixation, symbolised by the equals sign (=). Root-level morphology involves both prefixes and suffixes. The prototypical characteristics of root-level affixation are set out below.

- (a) Root-level affixes attach to roots, many of which cannot occur independently as words.
- (b) In words involving root-level affixation, there is a high degree of unpredictable allomorphy in the forms of both the root-level affixes and the roots.
- (c) Root-level affixation is unproductive. It does not appear that root-level affixes can be attached to loans.
- (d) Root-level suffixes combine with the root to form a single stress placement domain.
- (e) Vowel-initial root-level suffixes syllabify with the root (2.7).

Word-level morphology is entirely suffixing in Limilngan. The prototypical characteristics of word-level suffixation are set out below.

- (a) Word-level suffixes attach to stems which could occur independently as words.
- (b) Word-level suffixes constitute a stress placement domain independently of the word which they attach to.
- (c) In words involving word-level suffixes, there is little or no allomorphic variation in the form of the stem or of the word-level suffix.
- (d) At least some types of word-level suffixation are productive. Nominal case marking (3.11) can be attached to loans.
- (e) Some word-level suffixes can appear as independent words, immediately following the stem, within a phrasal compound structure (3.11).
- (f) Vowel-initial word-level suffixes do not syllabify with the root (2.7).

There are a few examples of allomorphy in word-level suffixation (3.11.2, 4.6.2, 4.6.3). Given that some of the some of the word-level suffixes can occur independently, the term ‘enclisis’ might appear more appropriate than ‘word-level suffixation’. However, a number of word-level suffixes cannot occur as independent words, and the word-level suffixes generally do not display other patternings typical of enclitics. They attach to particular classes of words, and not to particular positions in phrases, sentences, or intonation units. They do not display anomalous phonotactic patternings. Consequently, the term ‘enclisis’ does not appear apposite.

2.5 Reduplication

Most examples of reduplication involve root-level prefixation. Nominal reduplication signals plurality (3.3.1). It is synchronically highly irregular in form. One reduplicant appears to have been a closed monosyllable which was prefixed if the initial segment of the root was a vowel, and infixd if the initial segment was a consonant.

(2-48)	Base	Reconstruction	Reduplication
black	<i>bigagan</i>	* <i>b-ib-igagan</i>	<i>-biwigagan</i>
mature	<i>lambangi</i>	* <i>l-am-ambangi</i>	<i>lamambangi</i>
old man	<i>w-adlangan</i>	* <i>w-adl-adlangan</i>	<i>w-adlalingan</i>
really	<i>-murlkgiji</i>	* <i>-m-um-urlkgiji</i>	<i>-mamurlkgiji</i>
small	<i>-(m)alkgan</i>	* <i>-(m)alkg-alkgan</i>	<i>-(m)alkgikgan</i>

A second nominal reduplicant appears to have been an open monosyllable which was infixed before the final syllable.

(2-49)	Base	Reconstruction	Reduplication
bad	<i>-makgayay</i>	<i>*-makga-ya-yay</i>	<i>-mikgiyayi</i>
fast	<i>-iligen</i>	<i>*-ili-ga-gan</i>	<i>-iligagan</i>
long	<i>-irrinyan</i>	<i>*-irriny-nga-ngan</i>	<i>-irrinyngangan</i>

If the reconstructions above are correct, then the reduplicated forms have been affected by changes reducing vowels and sequences of consonant clusters.

The third nominal reduplicant, found only with the definite demonstratives (3.6.1), appears to have been a complete reduplication.

(2-50)	Base	Reconstruction	Reduplication
	<i>da-na-k</i>	<i>*danak-da-na-k</i>	<i>da-na-k-ganak</i>
	DEF-II-DIST	DEF-II-DIST-EMPH	
	<i>da-ma-k</i>	<i>*damak-da-ma-k</i>	<i>da-ma-k-gamak</i>
	DEF-II-DIST	DEF-II-DIST-EMPH	
	<i>da-ma-n</i>	<i>*daman-da-ma-n</i>	<i>da-ma-n-daman</i>
	DEF-II-DIST	DEF-II-DIST-EMPH	
	<i>j-Ø-iga</i>	<i>*jiga-j-Ø-iga</i>	<i>j-Ø-iga-jiga</i>
	DEF-I-PL	DEF-I-PL-EMPH	

Verbal reduplication appears to have signalled certain probably iterative sub-aspects within the imperfective (4.3.4). The most common verbal reduplicant is a prefixed monosyllable.

(2-51)	Base	Reduplication
to bark	<i>marlmija</i>	<i>marl-marlmija</i>
to be full	<i>anbinyma</i>	<i>anm-anbinyma</i>
to bite (PI & PR)		<i>alw-alwa</i>
to break (intr)	<i>ambirri</i>	<i>am-ambirri</i>
to break (tr)	<i>ambuldingma</i>	<i>am-ambuldingma</i>
to chase off	<i>mila</i>	<i>mi-mila</i>
to cut	<i>ingma</i>	<i>ingm-ingma</i>
to defecate	<i>anya</i>	<i>any-anya</i>
to die	<i>(m)anbiyi</i>	<i>(m)an-manbiyi</i>
to dig	<i>awarra</i>	<i>aw-awarra</i>
to do always		<i>aykg-aykgija</i>
to finish	<i>m/wilkba</i>	<i>m/wil-m/wilkba</i>
to go out	<i>aldiga</i>	<i>al-aldiga</i>
to have	<i>anga</i>	<i>ang-anga</i>
to hear	<i>aldaga</i>	<i>al-aldaga</i>
to hit (PI & PR)		<i>am-ambijiwi</i>
to look after	<i>anbalkba</i>	<i>an-anbalkba</i>
to paddle	<i>urlkgarli</i>	<i>url-urlkgarli</i>
to push	<i>mala</i>	<i>ma-mala</i>
to run around		<i>ang-angiji</i>

to scratch	<i>ambirrwunga</i>	<i>am-ambirrwunga</i>
to see	<i>liwi</i>	<i>li-liwi</i>
to show	<i>atjga</i>	<i>atjg-atjga</i>
to sing	<i>ijuga</i>	<i>ij-ijuga</i>
to smell	<i>inyukba</i>	<i>iny-inyukba</i>
to strike	<i>ungula</i>	<i>ung-ungula</i>
to swim	<i>ijiyungma</i>	<i>jij-ijiyungma</i>
to throw	<i>ajikba</i>	<i>aj-a jikba</i>
to turn	<i>urnikgija</i>	<i>urn-urnikgija</i>
to walk about		<i>atjb-atjbula</i>

As shown in (2-51), some verb roots, such as 'to walk about' are inherently reduplicated in this way. The other verbal reduplicant is a prefixed disyllable.

(2-52)	Base	Reduplication
to ask	<i>jikga</i>	<i>jikgi-jikga</i>
to cover	<i>anynguwa</i>	<i>any-nguwi-nguwa</i>
to crawl	<i>mugurra</i>	<i>mugu-mugurra</i>
to cry/yell out		<i>urdaykg-urdaykga</i>
to fight	<i>minyungmi</i>	<i>minyung-minyungmi</i>
to look for		<i>uldi-j-uldija</i>
to sing	<i>juga</i>	<i>jigi-juga</i>
to swim	<i>jigu</i>	<i>jigi-jigu</i>
to wait for	<i>(j)irriliwi</i>	<i>irri-jirriliwi</i>

Synchronically, the distribution of the two verbal reduplicants is lexicalised. However, there is a correlation between the monosyllabic reduplicant and the verb root being vowel-initial, and a corresponding correlation between the disyllabic reduplicant and the verb root being consonant-initial. Historically, the initial segment of the root may have been the factor conditioning the distribution of the two reduplicants. This would go some way to explaining why the disyllabic reduplicant occurs as an infix with the vowel-initial verb root *anynguwa* 'to cover'

There are only a few examples of word-level reduplication, all involving the complete, compounding, reduplication of nominals.

- (2-53) a. *arnikgan* old woman *arnikgan=arnikgan* old women
- b. *da-wi-k* *arnikgan* *atjban* *atjban=atjban* *w-ima-gi*
DEF-I-DIST old woman morning morning=morning 3I-get up-PP
- aykgirmani* *d-ajan*
now IV-nothing
- 'That old woman used to get up early, every morning, but not now.'

This word-level compounding reduplication appears to have a basic iconic iterative meaning, which is interpreted collectively or distributively, depending on the nature of the base nominal, and possibly on context. It has a different stress pattern to the complete, root-level reduplications found with the definite demonstratives (2.6.4).

2.6 Stress

The basic foot type in Limilngan is the trochee. In general, polysyllabic morphemes constitute independent stress domains and feet are aligned from the left edge of these morphologically determined domains. Monosyllabic or consonantal suffixes are incorporated into the preceding domain. Monosyllabic words receive an independent stress, and involve either a long vowel or a coda cluster. These are standard patterns for stress placement across Australia.

Monosyllabic words are rare in Limilngan. There are only three attested monosyllabic verbal words, all from the paradigm of 'to hit'.

(2-54)	<i>d-Ø-im</i>	[díim]	<i>w-a-m</i>	[wáam]	<i>l-a-m</i>	[láam]
	IM<3-hit.PP		I<I-hit.PP		II<I-hit.PP	
	'S/He hit me.'		'I hit her/him.'		'I hit it (Class II).'	

There is a somewhat wider range of monosyllabic word forms found in the nominal and particle classes.

(2-55)	<i>i</i>	[ii]	yes	<i>dak</i>	[dáak]	house
	<i>larl</i>	[láal]	testicles	<i>larmg</i>	[lárn]	lightning

It is unclear how many monosyllables there are in Limilngan. There are a number of cases where it was not clear whether a word should be analysed as a monosyllable with a long high vowel or a disyllable with the corresponding vowel-semivowel-vowel sequence: /ii/ vs /iyi/, /uu/ vs /uwu/.

(2-56)	<i>liyil</i>	[fi.ɪl] ~ [líɪl]	mouse
	<i>nguwuk</i>	[ŋú.ʊk] ~ [ŋúʊk]	ironwood wax

As shown in (2-56), the two realisations occur as variants. In these cases, I have adopted the disyllabic representation as these were the pronunciations that Felix preferred. However, the status of the variants remains unclear, and it may be that *liyil* and *nguk* are in fact the correct representations. The same variations also occur in polysyllabic words. In these cases there is also some uncertainty.

(2-57)	<i>luwunbun</i>	[lúunbun] ~ [lúunbun]	blowfly
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While *luwunbun* is probably the correct representation, it is possible that *lunbun* is the correct representation. The long vowel and [u.ʊ] sequence could simply be particularly strong realisations of a stressed vowel.

The placement of stress on monosyllabic prefix complexes (4.1, 4.3) depends on the nature of the root. If the root is polysyllabic, then a monosyllabic prefix complex does not generally bear stress. However, if the root is monosyllabic, then the initial syllable of the preceding prefix complex will bear stress. Consequently, all disyllabic words have an initial stress, regardless of their internal morphological structure. The complexities of stress placement arise in words which are trisyllabic or longer, and principally amongst those which are polymorphemic. These are standard patterns among prefixing languages.

Crosslinguistically the auditory perception of stress is most commonly correlated with higher amplitude, longer vowels, and high tones. Of these three potential cues, the first is the most consistent indicator of stress in Limilngan. The potentialities for alternating the respective amplitudes of neighbouring syllables provided the clearest and most consistent guide to stress placement. Stressed syllables accommodate greater amplitude more satisfactorily than unstressed syllables. The role of vowel length is uncertain. It appears that the low vowel /a/ and the high, back vowel /u/ are generally longer when stressed than unstressed. However, it is not clear that the high, front vowel /i/ was generally longer when stressed than when unstressed.

This grammar does not provide a formal analysis of the tonal phonology of Limilngan. The available materials indicate, as in most other Australian languages, that tone is fundamentally phrase-level and not word-level in scope (5.1, Appendix A). Consequently, tone is not a reliable indicator of word-level stress. This is not to deny that there are significant interactions between tone and stress.

There is a perceptible difference in Limilngan between primary and secondary stress. In words with multiple stresses, there is always one stress which permits a noticeably greater amplitude than the other stresses. This is the primary stress. Given that Limilngan has a complex verbal morphology, words with three stresses are quite common. While there is reason to distinguish a primary stress in forms with three stresses, there does not appear to be any reason to distinguish between the two remaining stresses, with one as a secondary stress and the other as a ternary stress.

2.6.1 Stress placement in uninflected words

There are two classes of roots which appear as words without requiring further substantive inflection. They are nouns, which are the open class of nominals (3.1), and the base pronouns (Table 3.2). The placement of stress in uninflected words is relatively simple. The majority of trisyllabic uninflected words also bear stress on their first syllable. The other trisyllables bear stress on the second syllable. The appearance of penultimate stress in trisyllables is not random, but rather shows a relationship to syllable weight. Trisyllables with a heavy second syllable are likely to show penultimate stress. As vowel length is not contrastive in Limilngan, syllable weight depends solely on the nature of the coda. There are nine trisyllabic words where the second syllable has a coda cluster. Eight of these trisyllables have stress on the second syllable.

(2-58)	<i>girralpbung</i>	green ant	[gɪrálppuŋ]
	<i>jitbulkbulk</i>	bird sp.	[ɟɪtpúlkpulk]
	<i>lumulkban</i>	feather	[lumúlkan]
	<i>luralkgalk</i>	bull ant	[luɹálkkalk]
	<i>milalkgalk</i>	ashes	[mɪlálkkalk]
	<i>mimalkgalk</i>	boil	[mɪmálkkalk]
	<i>minyulgulk</i>	spit	[mɪɲúlkkulk]
	<i>uwarrkbi</i>	brain; cycad; to vomit	[uárkpi]
	<i>wangulwa</i>	front	[wáŋulwa]

The initial stress in *wangulwa* 'front' may relate to considerations of vowel sonority. It is the only form in (2-58) where the first vowel is more sonorous than the second. As we will see, there is other evidence suggesting that comparative vowel sonority may affect stress placement in some cases.

In considering trisyllables, with singleton codas in the second syllable, it is firstly necessary to distinguish six nouns which appear to involve the characteristic suffix, *-ngan* (3.10.2), historically.

(2-59)	<i>duwarnngan</i>	north	[duánŋan]
	<i>langinyngan</i>	stingray sp.;	[láŋjɪŋŋan]
		tree sp.; woomera	
	<i>limilngan ~ limil</i>	language name	[líml(ŋan)]
	<i>malinyngan ~ maliny</i>	wasp	[máliŋ(ŋan)]
	<i>mimilngan</i>	flower	[mímɪŋŋan]
	<i>mingilngan</i>	head of sugarbag	[mɪŋɪŋŋan]

The language name and the term for 'wasp' exhibit disyllabic alternants, and consequently there is strong evidence that the final syllable of the trisyllabic alternant was historically the *-ngan* suffix for these two forms. The root is therefore disyllabic and, as such, stressed on the first syllable. The initial stress shown by the forms, other than *duwarnngan* 'north', suggests that they also historically involved the suffix *-ngan*, though they do not exhibit alternant disyllabic forms. The penultimate stress in *duwarnngan* may relate to considerations of vowel sonority. It is the only form in (2-59) where the second vowel is more sonorous than the first.

Apart from the forms in (2-59), there are four trisyllables, where the second syllable has a singleton lateral, tap, or continuant coda. These four trisyllables have stress on the second syllable.

(2-60)	<i>darnmayngi</i>	moon	[daŋmáirji]
	<i>imalngarr</i>	Tiwi	[ímálŋar]
	<i>imirmarr</i>	cloud	[ímírmarr]
	<i>lurrilmal</i>	black cockatoo	[lurílmal]

There are seven trisyllables, where the second syllable has a hetero-organic nasal coda. Four of these trisyllables have stress on the second syllable.

(2-61)	<i>danyarnngi</i>	whistleduck sp.	[daŋánŋji]
	<i>imbinyman</i>	sea eagle	[ímɪŋman]
	<i>lumbangmam</i>	oyster	[lumbánŋmam]
	<i>milingbi</i>	turtle leg	[mílɪŋbi]
	<i>iyinbayk</i>	ghost	[íŋnbai]
	<i>luwunbun</i>	blowfly	[lúunbun]
	<i>maminybal</i>	nail	[mámɪnbal]

It may be noted that *maminybal* 'nail', with initial stress, is the only form in (2-61) where the sonority of the second vowel is less than the first. There are six trisyllabic words, where the second syllable is closed by a homorganic nasal coda. All of these have stress on the first syllable. There are five trisyllables where the second syllable is closed by the first half of a geminate. All of these have stress on the first syllable. There are twelve trisyllables, where the second syllable is closed by a hetero-organic stop. Only two of these have stress on the second syllable.

(2-62)	<i>iwiŋjbi</i>	nearly	[ɪwɪŋɪ]
	<i>uwitjbi</i>	red ochre	[uɪŋɪ]

There are eight trisyllabic words with penultimate stress, where the second syllable is open.

(2-63)	<i>alkgiji</i>	behind	[alkkɪji]
	<i>dinngagi</i>	already, before	[dɪnŋáɪ]
	<i>iwirli</i>	tree sp.; digging stick; snake sp.	[ɪwɪli]
	<i>lurrilyarr</i>	broilga	[lurɪlar]
	<i>luwarli</i>	rat	[luáli]
	<i>umarnung</i>	liver	[umánɪŋ]
	<i>urlanginy</i>	lower arm	[ulánɪŋ]
	<i>uwagi</i>	fire	[uáɪ]

The motivations for penultimate stress in these forms are not clear. The comparative sonority of vowels may be a factor. In five out of the eight forms in (2-63), the sonority of the second vowel greater than that of the first. Only in *alkgiji* 'behind' is the sonority of the first vowel is greater than that of the second.

Quadrisyllabic words generally have a secondary stress on the first syllable, and a primary stress on the third syllable. If a quadrisyllable has closed syllables, then these are generally either or both of the first and third syllables. The quadrisyllabic forms with antepenultimate stress are listed in (2-64).

(2-64)	<i>atjbungaji</i>	tomorrow	[aɪpúŋɪ]
	<i>aykgurajun</i>	three	[aikkúɹɪ]
	<i>dimarrkginyan</i>	dingo	[dɪmárkkɪŋɪ]
	<i>iyatdururr</i>	death adder	[iáttuɹɪ]
	<i>lumaminyan</i>	dilly bag	[lumánɪŋɪ]
	<i>matjbulinan</i>	boomerang	[maɪpúɪŋɪ]
	<i>maykgurnikgun</i>	rib	[maikkúŋɪkkun]
	<i>mingililuk</i>	lily tuber	[mɪŋɪlɪlɪk]
	<i>ulungaruk</i>	billabong	[ulúŋɪɹɪk]
	<i>umalikgan</i>	snake sp.	[umáɪkkɪŋɪ]
	<i>umarlikgan</i>	young woman	[umáɪkkɪŋɪ]

While syllable weight and comparative vowel sonority can explain some of the antepenultimate forms, they cannot explain all of them. Quadrisyllabic forms with unstressed syllables closed by sonorants are listed in (2-65).

(2-65)	<i>iminybikbuk</i>	dream; shadow; whirlwind	[ɪmɪnbɪkɪk]
	<i>liyinmungi</i>	mussel	[liɪnmúŋɪ]
	<i>manybirwarli</i>	back of neck	[máɪnbɪɹwáɪ]
	<i>umunngayan</i>	egg	[umunŋáɪ]

The distribution of stress in quadrisyllables is evidently less predictable than that in trisyllables. There are only four uninflected words which are greater than four syllables in length. These words are listed in (2-66).

(2-66)	<i>imiligarmi</i>	wild peanut tree	[imìlɪgáŋmi]
	<i>magarritjbamirl</i>	star	[màgaricpámɪ]
	<i>urugalitjbagi</i>	bandicoot	[ùrugàlicpági]
	<i>wiwinbirrali</i>	middle of the night	[wɪwɪnbɪráli]

It may be noted that one the five syllable words with ante-penultimate stress may be historically analysable. The term for 'star' may be a deverbal form involving the word-level suffix =*mirl* (4.6.3).

2.6.2 Stress placement in words involving only root-level inflection

The distinction between prefixes and suffixes is of central importance in determining the placement of stress in forms with root-level inflection. Root-level suffixes generally form a single stress placement domain in combination with the root. On the other hand, prefixes, all of which are root-level in Limilngan, do not generally form a single stress placement domain in combination with the root.

Root-level affixation is predominantly verbal in Limilngan. All verbs take substantive suffixes to mark tense, aspect and mood categories. They also take substantive suffixes to indicate a wide variety of information (4.3). This section sets out only the general patterns of verbal stress. Readers are advised to consult Appendix D, which provides stress information for all verbal words.

The general pattern of stress placement in verbal words is that the first syllable of the verb root bears a stress, and that thereafter each alternate syllable also bears a stress, subject to the proviso that final syllables do not bear a stress. The final stress is the primary stress. Polysyllabic prefix complexes bear a secondary stress on their initial syllable. These patterns may be illustrated with forms from the paradigm of 'to follow'.

- | | | |
|--------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| (2-67) | a. <i>d-Ø-in-mamungi</i> | [dɪnmámuŋi] |
| | 1M<3-FU-follow | |
| | 'S/He will follow me.' | |
| | b. <i>w-anga-n-mamungi</i> | [wàŋanmámuŋi] |
| | 3I<2A-FU-follow | |
| | 'You lot will follow her/him.' | |
| | c. <i>du-Ø-mamunga-rri</i> | [dumàmũŋári] |
| | 1M<3-follow-PI | |
| | 'S/He was following me.' | |
| | d. <i>w-anga-rr-mamunga-rri</i> | [wàŋarmàmũŋári] |
| | 3I<2A-AS-follow-PI | |
| | 'You lot were following her/him.' | |

As illustrated, when the verb is trisyllabic, as in the Future form *mamungi*, then this bears a single primary stress on its initial syllable. When the verb is quadrisyllabic, as in the Past Imperfective form *mamunga-rri*, then there is a secondary stress on the first syllable and a primary stress on the third syllable. These forms also show that a polysyllabic prefix complex bears a secondary stress on its first syllable, whereas a monosyllabic prefix complex is unstressed.

Stress placement in verbs is affected by considerations of syllable weight. Syllables closed by coda clusters, continuants, taps, laterals, and hetero-organic nasals attract stress.

- (2-68) *nginy-imbirrwunga-ny* [ŋiŋimbírwuŋajɪn]
 2M-scratch-PP
 'You scratched.'

If stress is not on the initial syllable of the verb, then a monosyllabic prefix complex will bear a secondary stress.

Apart from the suffixes indicating tense, aspect, and mood, the only other root-level verbal suffix in Limilngan is the directional *-iji* 'here' suffix (4.6.1).

- (2-69) *ng-a-yung* [ŋáɪuŋ] *ng-a-yung-iji* [ŋàɪuŋíjɪ]
 1-go-PP 1-go-PP
 'I went' 'I came'

- (2-70) *i-y-a-ngi* [iáŋjɪ] *i-y-a-ng-iji* [iáŋjɪjɪ]
 3-AS-go-PR 3-AS-go-PR-here
 'They are going.' 'They are coming.'

- (2-71) *m-anga-limu-ng* [maŋáɪɪmuŋ] *m-anga-limu-ng-iji* [maŋàɪɪmúŋjɪjɪ]
 III<2A-get-PP III<1-get-PP-here
 'You lot got it.' 'You lot brought it here.'

As illustrated in (2-71), the Past Perfective of 'get' is one of those verbs, where there is no stress on the first syllable of the verb. Rather, stress is irregularly placed on the syllable before the verb root. No synchronic motivation can be provided for this placement, and its historical sources are not evident. This pattern is found elsewhere in the paradigm of 'get', with the vowel of the Irrealis prefix attracting stress.

- (2-72) a. *l-i-y-a-limi* [liáɪɪɪmi] b. *l-i-y-a-limi-rri* [liàɪɪmíɪri]
 II<3-AS-IRR-get II<3-AS-IRR-get-P
 'They might get it.' 'They should have got it.'

This pattern is also found in a number of paradigms, where the verbal words consist of a disyllabic prefix complex and a monosyllabic verb.

- (2-73) a. *w-iny-an-mi* [wɪɲánmi] b. *w-iny-an-bi* [wɪɲánbi]
 3I<2M-FU-give 3I<2M-FU-hit
 'You will give it to him.' 'You will hit him.'

- | | |
|--|--|
| c. <i>w-iny-a-ni</i> [wɪɲáni]
3I<2M-FU-see
'You will see him.' | d. <i>w-iny-ba-wi</i> [wɪɲbáwi]
3I<2M-IRR-hit
'You might hit him.' |
| e. <i>w-iny-ba-ni</i> [wɪɲbáni]
3I<2M-IRR-see
'You might see him.' | |
- (2-74) *w-anga-rr-w-a* [wáɲarwa]
 3I<2A-AS-IRR-give
 'You lot might give it to him.'

As illustrated, if the Future prefix, or the Irrealis prefix has a vowel, then that vowel bears the stress. In most other prefixing languages, it is the initial vowel of the prefix complex which bears stress in verbal words consisting of a disyllabic prefix complex and a monosyllabic verb. In addition to these irregularities, there are also a few verbal paradigms, which are stressed as if the verbal words lacked any internal morphological structure: e.g. the paradigm of 'to get up' (Appendix D).

Only a small proportion of the nominal lexicon takes root-level affixation. Root-level affixation is found principally in the closed nominal classes: adjectives (3.7), body part nouns (3.8), demonstratives (3.6), kin nouns (3.5), and pronouns (3.4). Stress placement in word forms from these classes follows the principles already described for verbs. There is a stress on the first syllable of the root and thereafter each alternate syllable also bears a stress, subject to the proviso that final syllables do not bear a stress. The final stress is the primary stress. Nominal prefixes are monosyllabic, and consequently do not normally bear stress. There are some examples, where paradigms are stressed as if they lacked internal morphological structure: e.g. the paradigm of the body part noun *-inan* 'nose' (Appendix B).

There are only two root-level suffixes which attach to nouns, which constitute the open class of nominals (3.1). One is the *-ini* 'Another' suffix (3.10.1).

- | | |
|--|--|
| (2-75) <i>atjbungaji</i> [aɪcpùŋajíni]
tomorrow
'tomorrow' | <i>atjbungaj-ini</i> [aɪcpùŋajɪ]
tomorrow-another
'the day after tomorrow' |
| (2-76) <i>milijan</i> [mɪlɪʔan]
yesterday
'yesterday' | <i>milijan-ini</i> [mɪlɪʔanɪni]
yesterday-another
'the day before yesterday' |

As shown in (2-76), stress placement with this suffix differs from that found with the verbal *-iji* 'here' suffix, which would appear in most phonological aspects to parallel *-ini*. The *-iji* suffix does not, of itself, attract stress (2-71), whereas the *-ini* suffix does. This suggests that the *-ini* suffix was historically an independent stress domain. There is other evidence for this (3.10.1).

The other nominal suffix which generally patterns as a root-level suffix is the *-ngan* 'Characteristic' suffix (3.10.2).

- (2-77) a. *maywilal* [máiwɪlɐl] *maywilal-ngan* [màiwɪlɐlŋan]
 mud mud-CHAR
 'mud' 'muddy'
- b. *urlirliny* [úɪɾɪɲɪŋ] *urlirliny-ngan* [ùɪɾɪɲɪŋŋan]
 sick sick

As shown in (2-77), stress placement in forms involving the *-ngan* suffix is generally that found with root-level suffixes. There is one problematic example (3-60), apparently involving the *-ngan* suffix, which does not show root-level stress placement.

2.6.3 Stress placement in words involving word-level suffixation

In words involving word-level suffixation, the stem shows the same stress placement that it would if it occurred as an independent word. Consequently, the stem always bears primary stress in words involving word-level suffixation. Disyllabic word-level suffixes bear a secondary stress on their initial syllable. There are two trisyllabic word-level suffixes. One is the Locative case marker, *=lākarni*, which takes stress on the first syllable. The other is the pronominal 'alone, self' suffix, *=nijāni*, which takes stress on the second syllable. There is evidence which suggests that the *=nijani* suffix is analysable historically as **=nija* + **=ini* (3.10.1), and consequently that the medial stress in this form was historically morpheme-initial.

There are three monosyllabic word-level suffixes: *=ji* 'Prominence' (3.11.6), which is a nominal suffix, and *=mirl* 'Delimited' (4.6.2), and *=wany* 'Durative' (4.6.3), which are verbal suffixes. None of these suffixes can appear as independent words. Singleton tokens of these suffixes do not bear a stress. However, neither do they combine with the stem to form a single stress placement domain.

- (2-78) *murlugan=di* [múɪugandi]
 male=PRM
 'male'
- (2-79) *gija ngu-w-ambirriyi=mirl* [ŋùambɪri.ɪmɪɪ]
 Neg 1-IRR-break.EV=DEL
 'I will not break (my leg).'
- (2-80) *i Limilngan nga-lukgɪlɪpbi-rri=wany dinngagi* [ŋàlukkùɪppɪɾɪwain]
 yes limilngan 1-talk-PI=DUR before
 'Yes I was talking Limilngan before.'

If these monosyllabic suffixes combined with the stem to form a stress domain, then the possible stress placement patterns would be one of the starred forms set out in (2-81).

- (2-81) *murlugan=di* *[mùɪugandi], *[múɪugandi]
ngu-w-ambirri-yi=mirl *[ŋùambɪri.ɪmɪɪ], *[ɪŋùambɪri.ɪmɪɪ]
nga-lukgɪlɪpbi-rri=wany *[ŋàlukkùɪppɪɾɪwain], *[ŋàlukkùɪppɪɾɪwain]

The two verbal suffixes can appear in the sequence =*wany*=*mirl*. When they do so, there is a secondary stress on =*wany*.

- (2-82) *da-wi-k* *dinngagi* *gija* *du-Ø-ma-malaga-rri=wany=mirl*
 DEF-I-DIST before not 1M<3-IMPF-push-PI=DUR=DEL
 'That bloke never used to push me before.'

The form *du-Ø-ma-mala-ga-rri=wany=mirl* is stressed [dùmamàlagárwàijnmɪ].

2.6.4 Stress placement in words involving compounding or reduplication

The Limilngan nominal lexicon involves a significant number of compounds. However, each half of the compound is normally an independent word. There are only two words, which appear historically to have been compounds.

<i>anguldiyan</i>	[àŋuldian]	<i>ilidamban</i>	[ɪlɪdámɪbən]
high country		tree sp.	

The term *anguldiyan* appears to be a compound of *angul* 'high' + *d-iyān* 'IV-troublesome', and the term *ilidamban* appears to be a compound of *ili* 'unknown meaning' + *d-amban* 'II/IV-lots'. In neither case is the compound transparent. Both words are quadrisyllabic and they show the stress pattern generally found with unanalysable quadrisyllabic forms (2.6.1).

Only a small proportion of the nominal lexicon involves inherent reduplication, either total or partial. Words involving total monosyllabic reduplication have a stress on their first syllable, as do all disyllabic words.

<i>jukjuk ilamirl</i>	garfish	[júkcuk ílamɪɾ]
-----------------------	---------	-----------------

Words involving total disyllabic reduplication show the same stress as unanalysable quadrisyllabic words.

<i>agi-agi</i>	[àgiági]	<i>bilarrkbilarrk</i>	[bìlarkpílark]
teatree		galah	
<i>j-Ø-iga-jiga</i>	[jìgajíga]		
DEF-I-PL-EMPH			

There is only one word which involves total trisyllabic reduplication.

<i>jigirritj-jigirritj</i>	willy wagtail	[jìgɪrɪccígɪrɪc]
----------------------------	---------------	------------------

In words involving partial reduplication, if the reduplicant is an open monosyllable, then this has no effect on stress placement. There are no examples where the inherent reduplication of a closed monosyllable could affect stress placement.

<i>gurlawirtwirt</i>	bird sp.	[gùɭawíɾwɪɾ]
----------------------	----------	--------------

The word *gurlawirtwirt*, being a quadrisyllable, would have this stress pattern in any case. There are two nouns, which involve the inherent partial reduplication of a disyllable.

<i>gumitgumitgan</i>	[gùmɪtkùmɪɾkən]	<i>minbulungbulung</i>	[mɪnbùɭŋbùɭŋ]
mopoke		butcherbird	

These partial reduplications do affect stress placement. The same is true of the disyllabic verbal reduplications, listed in (2-52). All of these verbal disyllabic reduplicants have a stress on their first syllable. The monosyllabic verbal reduplicants, listed in (2-51), do not generally affect stress placement. Generally, they count as part of the prefix complex. However, there are some examples, where the monosyllabic reduplicant counts as if it were part of the verb for the purposes of stress placement.

- (2-83) *ga-y-alwalwa-rri* [gaiälwalwári]
 1+2A<3-bite-PI
 'They were biting us.'

In the rare examples of word-level, compounding reduplication, the two parts of the reduplicated construction each bear a primary stress.

- (2-84) *arnikgan=arnikgan* [árɪkkanánɪkkan]
 PL=old woman
 'old women'

2.7 Syllable structures

The syllable template in Limilngan is (C)V(C)(C). The constraints on intra-morphemic codas are discussed in 2.3. There are only a few examples of codas arising across morpheme boundaries, and these conform to the basic patterns described in 2.3. There is only one example of a coda type which is not attested intra-morphemically.

- (2-85) *gay-tdak* [gáittak]
 where-II

The form *gay-tdak* has an initial syllable *gayt*, which conforms in most aspects to intra-morphemic standards. The first member of the cluster is the palatal semivowel which is permitted in this position. The second member is a stop, which is also permitted. It is, however, an alveolar, which is not attested intra-morphemically. The second members of intra-morphemic coda clusters are labials or velars.

Vowel-initial syllables occur word-initially. They occur word-medially in disyllabic reduplications, and in words involving the vowel-initial word-level suffixes.

- (2-86) *-in-ɪjbikgu-k* [ɪ.níc.pik.kuk]
 FU-climb-FU
- (2-87) *-in-ikgiju-g-iji* [ɪ.nĩk.ki.jú.gi.ji]
 FU-bring back-FU-here

In both (2-86) and (2-87) the Future suffix is a velar stop *-k*. In the first, it is a coda and normally voiceless and unreleased in realisation. In the second, it is an onset and normally voiced in realisation. The realisation patterns with word-level suffixes are different. When the vowel-initial word-level suffix =*ulang* is attached to a stop final form, that stop remains voiceless. Further the syllable boundary appears to follow the stop.

- (2-88) *di-ya-k=ulang* [di.ak.ù.laŋ] * [di.a.gù.laŋ]
 DEF-IV-DIST=SOU
 'then, from there'

2.8 The historical phonology of Limilngan

2.8.1 Lenition

An overview of the phonotactic patterns of Limilngan suggests that Limilngan has been extensively affected by classical lenition processes. Obstruents have been lenited to the corresponding continuants and in many cases deleted. This is particularly suggested by the fact that many verb roots show a consonant-initial form following a prefix complex with a final nasal, and a vowel-initial form elsewhere, as illustrated in (2-89).

- (2-89) *ng-iritjga-ny* [ŋiɾɪɟkaɪŋ] *nginy-biritjga-ny* [ŋiɲbiɾɪɟkaɪŋ]
 1-lose-PP 2M-lose-PP
 'I lost it.' 'You lost it.'

The probable historical development of the form for 'I lost it' is set out below.

- (2-90) **nga-biritjga-ny* [ŋabiɾɪɟkaɪŋ] > **nga-wiritjga-ny* [ŋawɪɾɪɟkaɪŋ]
 > *ng-iritjga-ny* [ŋiɾɪɟkaɪŋ]

It may be noted that one of the effects of the lenition chain in the above example is that a stress, which was historically medial is synchronically word-initial.

A large number of roots and words in Limilngan are vowel-initial. There are a number of Australian languages which show high percentages of vowel-initial roots and words. In most cases, these high percentages historically reflect initial dropping, which in turn often appears to be related to shifts in stress (Dixon 1980:195–201). However, as Blevins & Marmion (1994:200–203) point out, there are a number of different types of initial dropping in Australian. Limilngan is evidently one of those languages where the loss of initial consonants cannot be related to changes in stress. Rather, the most probable hypothesis is that lenition has operated word-initially, as well as word-medially.

The unusual thing about lenition in Limilngan is that it does not appear to have affected the geminates. Assuming that the Limilngan consonant inventory historically contained both geminate and single stops, then the predicted development under lenition is a drag chain: geminate > single stop > continuant > Ø. Once the single stops had lenited, the geminates would de-geminate to replace them. This is essentially what has happened in Nunggubuyu (Heath 1978:37–41). However, this has not happened in Limilngan. Indeed obstruent sequences of all kinds appear to have resisted lenition. As discussed in 2.3, hetero-organic sequences of stops have a very high frequency in Limilngan.

2.8.2 Vowel shift

There are many verbal paradigms where morphemes show vocalic alternations between /a/ and /i/. These alternations appear to reflect a historical change *a > i. The alternations are

particularly common in two circumstances. One is when the position of a morpheme alternates, such that a vowel varies between word-medial and word-final position.

- (2-91) a. *w-a-na-gi* [wanági] b. *w-iny-ba-na-ni* [wɪŋbanáni]
 3I<1-see-PP 3I<2M-IRR-see-P
 'I saw him.' 'You should have seen him.'
- c. *w-iny-a-ni* [wɪŋáni] d. *w-iny-ba-ni* [wɪŋbáni]
 3I<2M-FU-see 3I<2M-IRR-see
 'You will see him.' 'You might see him.'

As illustrated in (2-91), the 'see' verb root has an /a/ vowel when non-final, and an /i/ vowel when final. Comparison with other forms in other Australian languages shows that the *a vowel is to be reconstructed for the 'see' verb (Dixon 1980:403–404).

The other circumstance, where the alternation is particularly common, is following a coronal consonant within the prefix complex.

- (2-92) a. *m-ambirrwunga-ny* [mambírɯŋajɪŋ]
 1+2M-scratch-PP
 'We scratched.'
- b. *nginy-imbirrwunga-ny* [ŋɪŋɪmbírɯŋajɪŋ]
 2M-scratch-PP
 'You scratched.'
- c. *il-imbirrwunga-ny* [ɪɪmbírɯŋajɪŋ]
 1I-scratch-PP
 'You scratched.'
- d. *w-am-ambirrwunga-rri* [wàmambírɯŋáɪɪ]
 3I-IMPF-scratch-PI
 'He was scratching.'
- e. *nga-y-im-ambirrwunga-rri* [ŋàɪɪmambírɯŋáɪɪ]
 1-AS-IMPF-scratch-PI
 'We were scratching.'
- f. *nga-n-imbirrwunga-yi* [ŋànɪmbírɯŋáɪɪ]
 1-FU-scratch-FU
 'I will scratch.'

The 'scratch' verb root is *ambirrwunga*, and the reduplicative imperfective prefix is *am-* (4.3.4). However, following a coronal consonant in the prefix complex, the root appears as *imbirrwunga*, and the reduplicative imperfective prefix appears as *im-*. Again, the forms with /a/ appear to be historically prior.

In the forms in (2-91) and (2-92), the /i/ vowel is unstressed. Stress does appear to have played a role in the shift *a > i. In the Future verb form in (2-91), the Future prefix allomorph is *a-*. The Future prefix only shows an /a/ vowel when stressed, otherwise it shows an /i/ vowel (4.3.3). However, it does not appear that stress was the sole controlling factor for the *a > i. shift.

Firstly, not all unstressed /a/ vowels have shifted to /i/, even though the environment may strongly favour this shift. The Past Perfective form of 'to scratch' is *ambirrwunga-ny* [ambirwunǵain], and the Past Imperfective is *ambirrwunga-rri* [ambirwunǵári]. The final syllable of the Past Perfective is unstressed, and there is a palatal nasal coda. Given these facts, if stress was the conditioning factor for $*a > i$, then the Past Perfective should be *ambirrwungi-ny*, with the final syllable having an /i/ vowel. There are a number of verb paradigms, which do show this alternation, presumably reflecting the $*a > i$ (Table 4.1).

Secondly, there are many examples where the shift has occurred, and there is no reason to propose that the vowel was ever unstressed. This is illustrated with the paradigm of 'come from-PP' in

(2-93)	Minimal		Augmented	
1	<i>ng-aji-yung</i>	[ŋáʝiʊŋ]	<i>nga-y-iji-yung</i>	[ŋaíʝiʊŋ]
2	<i>nginy-iji-yung</i>	[ŋiŋíʝiʊŋ]	<i>a-y-iji-yung</i>	[aíʝiʊŋ]
3I	<i>w-aji-yung</i>	[wáʝiʊŋ]	<i>i-y-iji-yung</i>	[íʝiʊŋ]
II	<i>il-iji-yung</i>	[ilíʝiʊŋ]		

There is no reason to propose that the first vowel of the verb root was ever unstressed. Nonetheless, this paradigm shows the shift after a coronal consonant in the prefix complex. It appears, therefore, that there were two distinct, and not necessarily contemporaneous, sources for the shift $*a > i$. One was a shift of unstressed $*a > i$. This shift is most consistently attested when the vowel is in word-final position. It is less consistently attested in other positions. The other was a shift of $*a > i$, following coronal consonants in the prefix complex. The appropriate phonological modelling for this change remains unclear.

There is much more limited evidence for the same changes of $*u > i$. The 'give' verb root shows an alternation between /u/ and /i/ dependent on the medial vs final position of the root in the verbal word.

(2-94)	a. <i>w-iny-mu-gi</i>	[wiŋmúgi]	b. <i>w-iny-an-mi</i>	[wiŋánmi]
	3I<2M-give-PP		3I<2M-FU-give	
	'You gave it to him.'		'You will give it to him.'	

Comparison with other forms in other Australian languages shows that the /u/ vowel is to be reconstructed for the 'give' verb (Dixon 1980:404). The 'hide (tr)' verb root shows an alternation between /u/ and /i/, dependent on the presence of the y- Augmented Subject prefix.

(2-95)	a. <i>l-iny-bungula-ng</i>	[liŋbúŋulaŋ]
	II<2M-hide-PP	
	'You hid it.'	
	b. <i>l-anga-y-ingula-ng</i>	[lànǵaíŋulaŋ]
	II<2A-AS-hide-PP	
	'You lot hid it.'	

3 *Nominals*

3.1 Parts of speech

The principal division among parts of speech in Limilngan is that between verb roots and other roots. Verb roots take suffixal inflection indicating tense, mood and aspect. Other roots may provisionally be divided into two classes: nominal roots and particles. The distinguishing characteristic of nominals is that they may function as predicates in verbless clauses of ascription, equation, existence and possession (5.7). Particles do not so function. Nominals may be formally divided into the following subclasses.

- (a) Pronouns: Pronouns take the suffix =*nijani* 'alone, by one's self', and have possessive forms which inflect for noun class (3.4).
- (b) Kin nouns: Kin nouns suffix the pronoun possessive forms to indicate the possessor in some cases (3.5).
- (c) Demonstratives: Demonstratives show a suffixal inflection for four noun classes (3.6).
- (d) Adjectives: Adjectives inflect prefixally for the full range of person categories, and for three noun class categories (3.7).
- (e) Body part nouns: Body part nouns inflect prefixally to mark the person and class of their whole. The class prefixes found with body parts are different to those found with adjectives (3.8). There are a number of nominals belonging to the semantic domain of body parts which do not fall within the body part noun class thus formally defined.
- (f) Nouns: This is a default class including all remaining nominal roots. Nouns do not inflect for class.

3.2 The noun class system

Limilngan does not class mark nouns and consequently class membership is determined by the agreement patterns found with other nominal sub-classes and in the verbal pronominal prefix system. Limilngan maximally distinguishes four agreement classes. The general patterns of these four classes and their associated markers are set out in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: The Limilngan noun class system

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
Semantic domain	Humans	Animals	Plants	Residue
Adjectives and possessive pronouns	<i>bu-</i>	<i>du-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>du-</i>
Demonstratives	<i>-wi</i>	<i>-na ~ -tda</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-ga</i>
= <i>nijani</i> 'alone' Pronouns	<i>w-</i>	<i>l-</i>	<i>m-</i>	\emptyset -
Body part nouns	<i>w-</i>	<i>l-</i>	<i>m-</i>	? \emptyset -
Verbal prefixes	<i>w-</i>	<i>l-</i>	<i>m-</i>	\emptyset -

There are some further variations in the allomorphy of the class markers. These are detailed in the sections which examine the various categories listed in Table 3.1. In general terms, it may be noted that Class III shows the greatest consistency in exponence. Class I varies between labial stop and continuant realisations. Class II shows considerably greater variation in exponence, though all allomorphs are apical-initial. Class IV does not show any consistency in exponence. As illustrated in Table 3.1, adjectives and pronominal possessives distinguish only three classes, with Classes II and IV being combined under a form which appears historically to have been a Class II form.

Limilngan differs from many languages with noun class systems in that it does not appear to show great complexity in the semantic organisation of the classes. The only member of Class I which does not have human reference in the strictest sense is *iyinbayk* 'ghost'. Class II chiefly consists of nouns belonging to the animal semantic domain. However, the membership of Class II is also affected by phonological factors, as is that of Class III.

Nouns whose initial segment is /l/ or /d/ tend to be assigned to Class II, even though their reference falls within a semantic domain which would otherwise indicate that they should belong to another class. Similarly, nouns whose initial segment is /m/ tend to be assigned to Class III. In addition to plants, Class III includes the domains of weapons and vehicles.

There is evidence from agreement with loan nouns, for the continuing force of 'animal' as the focal semantic domain for Class II, and 'plant' for Class III.

- (3-1) *da-na-k* *fowl* *dinngagi* *umunngayan* *i-l-iny-inya-ngi=wany*
 DEF-II-DIST fowl before egg 3>II-IMPF-lay-PI=DUR
aykgimani=jiyak *d-ajan*
 now=CONT IV-nothing
 'That fowl always used to lay eggs before, but not now.'

- (3-2) *da-wi-k* *b-i-wi-gi* *da-ma-k-gamak* *fence*
 DEF-I-DIST III<3-erect-PP DEF-III-DIST-EMPH fence
 'That bloke put up that fence.'

In (3-1), the loan noun *fowl* takes Class II concord, and in (3-2), the loan noun *fence* takes Class III concord.

The residue class, Class IV, principally involves nouns from domains such as geographical features, natural forces and abstract concepts or entities. However, unlike the other three classes, Class IV does not have a focal semantic domain. There is some reason to view Class IV as the default class in Limilngan. In propositions conveying indefinite Object meanings; 'anything, nothing, something', the verb bears prefixing for a Class IV Object (5.4).

3.2.1 Variation in agreement classing

There are a number of types of variation in agreement classing found in the available materials. In one type, there is a variation between parts-of-speech as to the number of classes distinguished. Thus, adjectives and possessive pronouns distinguish only three classes, whereas the other parts-of-speech which show agreement distinguish four classes. With adjectives and possessive pronouns, Classes II and IV bear the same marking. The common markers of Classes II and IV in adjectives and possessive pronouns appear historically to have been Class II forms, as they show an initial apical which is otherwise characteristic of forms marking Class II.

The combination of Class II and Class IV in adjectives and possessive pronouns under forms which are historically Class II appears surprising at first sight. There is also a very similar pattern in the interrogative demonstrative paradigm. As shown in Table 3.6, demonstratives do formally distinguish Classes II and IV. However, the Class IV interrogative demonstrative is attested only in the case marked form *inyi-gak=bungan* 'why'. The Class II interrogative functions as a general non-human interrogative (3.6.2).

Both of these patterns accord with general tendencies in noun class marking among the languages of the western Top End. A number of languages of the western Top End have more than one system of agreement classes (Harvey 1997). Gaagudju is one such language, and it maximally shows four agreement classes.

- I Human males, Most animates, European material objects, Rain.
- II Human females, Some animates.
- III Plants and their parts, Weapons.
- IV Abstract entities, Body parts, Fire, Geographical features, Temporals.

However, it also shows more restricted systems of agreement superclassing.

- (a) Humans: Human referents normally take concordial marking in accordance with their gender (Class I for males, Class II for females). However, female referents occasionally show Class I concord with demonstratives.
- (b) Other Animates: Tend to show Class I concord. Class III concord is occasionally found, chiefly with lower animates.
- (c) Inanimates: Tend to take Class III concord. However, Class I concord is also found.

The relevant point is that inanimates and lower animates tend to be superclassed under Class III forms. Within the four class system, there are two inanimate classes: Class III and Class IV. Class III is more semantically specific and higher on the animacy hierarchy than Class IV. This use of the more semantically specific/higher animacy Class markers as general superclassing markers within inanimate/non-human semantic domains, is found in all languages with agreement superclassing in the western Top End.

In Limilngan, Class II is the highest on the animacy hierarchy of the non-human classes. It seems likely that the use of Class II forms in agreement with Class IV referents relates historically at least to the superclassing patterns found in the western Top End. Indeed, it may be that agreement superclassing functions synchronically in Limilngan. Felix commonly used different agreement classes with a particular referent.

- (3-3) a. *lalagan d-alkgan d-ajan m-annuga-yam*
 scrub II-small II-nothing III-stand-PR
 'There is a big scrub there.'
- b. *lalagan d-alkgan d-ajan Ø-annuga-yam*
 scrub II-small II-nothing IV-stand-PR
 'There is a big scrub there.'

However, his usage of different agreement classes did not yield a consistent pattern of superclassing. The noun *lalagan* 'scrub' apparently belongs to Class II, in accordance with its initial /l/ segment. In the first utterance in (3-3), it takes Class III verbal concord in accordance with its semantic connection with the domain of plants. In the second utterance, it takes Class IV verbal concord, perhaps in accordance with a connection to the semantic domain of geographical features. Most variations in agreement appeared to be of this nature, resulting from a conflict between the phonological and the various semantic bases for classifying a particular noun. As such, they were presumably simply mistakes, owing chiefly to lack of usage of the item.

When adjectives have an adverbial function, or when they have a non-agreeing predication function, they appear with Class II/IV prefixing.

- (3-4) *i d-alkgan Ø-ngu-lakbu-ng Ø-ngi-mimi-yayi ngi-ngimu-ng*
 yes IV-small IV<I-sit-PP IV<I-stay-PI I-enter-PP
- dak lakgarni jirrpungi*
 house LOC inside
 'I sat down and stayed for a little while and then I went inside the house.'

- (3-5) *ngaykgi d-ajan du-linan*
 IM IV-nothing IV-good
 'Me, nothing, I was okay.'

I gloss this agreement as Class IV agreement, as Class IV is the default class semantically. These adverbial and predication functions do appear to relate to the possible generic, indefinite interpretation of Class IV verbal Object prefixing. However, as stated, this adjectival prefixing is historically Class II prefixing, and as such it provides further evidence for Class II markers having been superclass markers historically.

There was a tendency for adjectives to show Class II/IV agreement more generally.

- (3-6) *w-adlangan mimilung d-ajan*
 3I-old male tucker IV-nothing
 'The old man has no tucker.'

The noun *mimilung* 'tucker' is a Class III noun. Given both its semantics and the fact that it has an initial /m/ consonant, there is no motivation for variation from Class III agreement, which would be *mimilung m-ajan*. The appearance of Class II/IV prefixing *d-ajan* in (3-6) could be due either to Class II marking as a historical superclassing marker, or to an extension in the range of Class IV as the default class in Limilngan. I gloss it as Class IV agreement, in accordance with the most probable semantics.

The types of variation in agreement classing thus far discussed, involve only non-human referents. In the texts, there is a quite distinct type of variation in agreement classing, involving human and creative being referents. In the texts, there are many instances where human referents show Class II concord, instead of the usual Class I concord. The appearance of Class II concord with human referents is not random, but rather indicates that the referent is comparatively more powerful. In texts 5–10, where Felix recounts some of his life history, there are many instances where European referents take Class II concord. An indication of the factors affecting the appearance of Class II concord with human referents is provided in Text 10 Lines 15–19, and Lines 27–30. Lines 15–19 describe the death of Evan Herbert, who was one of Felix's principal and long-term employers.

Evan Herbert fell (Class II) down the stairs. Sister Montgomery and the hospital sent an ambulance, but Evan Herbert died (Class I). 'Felix Holmes will come back (Class I). We will bury [Evan Herbert] (Class I)' they said. Then I came back here. We buried [Evan Herbert] (Class I) at Mangul, by the front gate.

At the beginning of this section, as Evan Herbert is dying, the verb shows Class II concord, as is usual with reference to Evan Herbert elsewhere in the texts. However, after his death, the verbs show Class I concord. Lines 27–30 describe the death of Oscar Herbert, Evan's brother.

They used to wait for the old man (Class I). I used to do that every day. I used to see him (Class I). I did that. (Then his) heart gave out. Then we took him (Class II) back. We went to Mangul and we buried him (Class II) there.

This text shows the reverse pattern to that above, with Class I concord being found when Oscar is dying, but Class II concord after his death. However, common to both situations is diminution and loss. In the first text, it is the final phases of this which receive Class I concord, whereas in the second, it is the initial phases. The distribution of Class I and Class II concord for human referents, probably depended on a complex interaction between marking the degree of power differences, and the marking of emotional affect and effect.

Another of Felix's employers, Terry Baldwin, is discussed in Text 10, Lines 5–8. The social distance between Felix and Terry Baldwin was less than that between Felix and the Herbert brothers. Terry Baldwin is described with a mixture of Class I and Class II concord.

Old man (Class II), Terry Baldwin arrived (Class II). 'Where (Class I) is Felix Holmes?' [Terry Baldwin] said (Class I). 'He is in Darwin' he said (Class II).¹ 'All right, he will get work. I will give him (Class I) a job at Annaburoo Station' [Terry Baldwin] said (Class I).

Reference to creative beings can also involve Class II concord. Thus, in Text 1, the creative figures, old man Wanyuwanyjuwa and his children take Class II concord in some instances.

- (3-7) *d-iwi-yi-nija bi-jurnu i-rr-a-yung-iji*
 II-3-M-GEN 3A-child 3-AS-go-PP-here
 'His (old man Wanyuwanyjuwa's) children came.' [Text 1, Line 9]

- (3-8) *wanyjuwanyjuwa l-adlangan bu-murlkgiji*
 wanyjuwanyjuwa II-old male 3I-real
 'Wanyjuwanyjuwa, the real old man.' [Text 1, Line 3]

¹ It is unclear who said this. Given that the verb shows Class II concord, it was presumably some other European in response to Terry Baldwin's question.

In (3-7), the predicted possessive pronoun form is *b-iwi-yi-nija*, with Class I agreement, given that the children are creative beings. In (3-8), the predicted form of the nominal 'old male' is *w-adlangan* with Class I agreement. As also illustrated in (3-8), both Class I and Class II agreement may be found within a single nominal expression. As with human referents, the distribution of Class I and Class II concord with creative being referents probably depended on a complex interaction between the marking of power differentials and the marking of emotional affect.

3.3 The structure of nominal lexemes

The majority of nominal lexemes are simple root forms. However the Limilngan nominal lexicon involves a relatively high proportion of derived forms. Some of these are forms derived using the various noun class prefixes, a pattern of derivation which is found in all noun-class prefixing languages.

<i>anbayk</i>	wind
<i>lanbayk</i>	heart; mosquito
<i>manbayk</i>	lungs

It seems likely that at least historically, *lanbayk* 'heart, mosquito' and *manbayk* 'lungs' are derived from *anbayk* 'wind' by use of the Class II and III prefix forms *l-* and *m-* respectively. The more common structure for derived forms is illustrated below.

<i>mirtbinalk</i>		tick
<i>mirtbinalk</i>	<i>m-amban</i>	goanna sp.
tick	III-lots	

The derived form above consists of two nominals which are independent phonological words. There is no discernable relationship between the meaning of either of the nominals and the reference of the derived form. It should, however, be noted that a number, but not all, of these derived lexemes involve the kind of pejorative overtone evident in the above. The structure illustrated in this derived form is tightly bound. In all examples, the two nominals invariably occur in a particular adjacent ordering and belong to the same intonation unit.

This contrasts with the structuring of the same two words when they convey a combinatorial meaning, such as 'lots of ticks'. In this second meaning, the two words are not constrained to appear in the order noun + adjective, nor are they constrained to appear in the same intonation unit (5.6). Therefore, the derived structure in the above form may be analysed as a tightly bound phrasal compound. Further evidence of the distinctive status of these phrasal compounds is provided by the fact that the class of the derived lexeme is independent of that of its constituents.

- (3-9) *mirtbinalk mamban d-amban l-a-limu-ng*
 goanna sp. II-lots II<I-get-PP
 'I got lots of goannas.'

As shown in (3-9), the lexeme *mirtbinalk mamban* 'topside goanna' takes Class II concord as do lexemes referring to animals generally, despite the fact that the constituent noun *mirtbinalk* 'tick' belongs to Class III. While the most common combination in this construction type is noun + adjective, there are many examples of noun + noun combinations. In most of these noun + noun combinations, neither of the nouns occurs independently.

limin binal

black kite (bird sp.)

There are also two examples where this construction derives a lexeme which is adjectival in meaning.

<i>-alkgan</i>	<i>-ajan</i>	big
small	nothing	
<i>-imiliny</i>	<i>wulun</i>	different
?	other	

The productivity of this nominal phrasal compounding structure in deriving new lexemes, is somewhat uncertain. Nearly all such lexemes which are ascribable to pre-contact times are non-combinatorial in meaning, except possibly in some extremely metaphorical way for some of the pejorative forms. However, there is the compound lexeme, whose structure is set out below.

<i>dak</i>	<i>lambang</i>	town, Darwin
house	mature	

This lexeme must presumably have been coined since 1869, and as such provides evidence that this construction type is of at least marginal productivity. This compound structure is productive in the case marking system of Limilngan (3.11).

3.3.1 Number-based stem variation

While number is not generally marked morphologically in nominals, there are a few nominals which do show number-based variations in stem form. As is common among the languages of the western Top End, the lexemes 'old woman' and 'old man' show special plural stems.

<i>arnikgan</i>	old woman	<i>arnikgan=arnikgan</i>	old women
<i>w-adlangan</i>	old man	<i>w-adlalingan</i>	old men

It is doubtful that the usage of these 'plural' terms depends solely on number. It is likely that some element of social collectivity is a salient aspect of their meaning. Felix used these terms with the 1+2 combination, and so "plural" seems the most appropriate term.

- (3-10) *nginyi ngaykgi w-adlalingan mi-wi-rri*
 2M 1M old men 1+2M-become-PI
 'You and me have become old men.'

Both the plural stems are derived by reduplication. The plural 'old women' involves a straightforward complete reduplication. The plural 'old men' involves a more complicated internal reduplication. This pattern is found with other nominals which show stem variation for number. The stems showing variation for number by this method are listed below.

singular	plural	
<i>-bigagan</i>	<i>-biwigagan</i>	black
<i>-alkgan</i>	<i>-alkgikgan</i>	small
<i>-ildigan</i>	<i>-ildigagan</i>	fast
<i>-irrinynagan</i>	<i>-irrinynangan</i>	tall
<i>lambang</i>	<i>lamambang</i>	mature
<i>-murlkgiji</i>	<i>-mamurlkgiji</i>	person, really

The reduplication pattern deriving these plural stems is evidently highly lexicalised, and I do not attempt any synchronic analysis. Their historical development is discussed in 2.4. It may be noted that the nominals above are all formally adjectives (3.7), apart from *lambangi* 'mature' which is semantically "adjectival".

It is possible that there are some other adjectives which show the pattern of number-based variation illustrated in the above. Many adjectives have only partial paradigms, and the plural forms are particularly lacking. It is also possible that some body part nouns show this kind of variation. Felix gave some forms which suggested this. However, his control and usage of plural body part forms was not consistent. His control and usage of augmented adjective forms also showed inconsistencies. In addition to the plurals listed above, the semantically "adjectival" lexeme 'short' also shows number based variation in stem form. However, the variation in this case historically appears to involve compounding structures.

<i>ambat-daygwan</i>	short-SG	<i>ambat-dikbugan</i>	short-PL
<i>la-muk</i>	<i>dikbugan</i>	short-necked turtle	
II-bum	short		

In discussing the number-based variations described in this section, I have used the terms singular and plural. This is because these oppositions appear to differ in nature from the minimal/augmented opposition which characterises the bound and free pronominal systems (4.3.6). The evidence as to the nature of the oppositions is generally incomplete and there appears to be some variation from lexeme to lexeme as to its nature. Felix stated that the 1+2 form for the adjective 'person, really' was *min-mamurkigi* using the "plural" stem. However, he insisted that the 1+2 form for the adjective 'small' was *mu-malkgan* using the "singular" stem. It is not possible to state whether this represents a genuine difference between the two adjectives, or more probably reflects the general uncertainty that Felix displayed in inflecting adjectives for 1st or 2nd person reference (3.7).

The "plural" stems are attested with non-human class prefixing, which provides further evidence that these stem variations are concerned with marking a different number opposition to that found in the pronominal systems (4.3.6).

- (3-11) *ja-n-iga d-irrinngangan*
that-II-PL II-tall.PL
'Those (dogs) are tall.'

- (3-12) *j-Ø-iga bi-jinangan i-jinan d-irrinngangan*
DEF-I-PL 3A-different 3A-nose II-long.PL
'That different lot have long noses.'

3.4 Pronouns

There are four pronominal paradigms in Limilngan: the base paradigm (Table 3.2); the =*nijani* 'alone, self' paradigm (Table 3.3); the Possessive paradigm (Table 3.4); and the Predicative Possessive paradigm (Table 3.6). There are no 3rd person base pronouns in Limilngan, with the demonstratives being used to convey the equivalent of 3rd person pronominal reference. As in many non-Pama-Nyungan languages, the augmented base pronouns appear historically to consist of a base plus the appropriate prefix. In the case of Limilngan, the

base appears to have been *uyi. The 1A and 1+2A forms may easily be derived from a combination of this base and the corresponding prefix: *nga-+ uyi > nguyi, *ga- + uyi > guyi. The 2A form cannot be equivalently derived. The historical derivation of the initial *wung* portion of this form is unknown.

Table 3.2: Base pronoun paradigm

	1	2	1+2
Minimal	<i>ngaykgi</i>	<i>nginyi</i>	<i>ngami</i>
Augmented	<i>nguyi</i>	<i>wunguyi</i>	<i>guyi</i>

Table 3.3: =Nijani ‘alone, self’ pronoun paradigm

	Minimal	Augmented
1	<i>ngaykgi=nijani</i>	<i>nguyi=nijani</i>
2	<i>nginyi=nijani</i>	<i>wunguyi=nijani</i>
1+2	<i>ngami=nijani</i>	
3I	<i>w-ayi=nijani</i>	<i>w-iyi=nijani</i>
3II	<i>l-ayi=nijani</i>	
3III	<i>m-ayi=nijani</i>	
3IV	<i>Ø-ayi=nijani</i>	

The =*nijani* paradigm, unlike the base paradigm, has a full complement of 3rd person forms. There is a gap in this paradigm, as no 1+2A form is attested. However, this is presumably an accidental rather than a systematic gap, and *guyi=nijani* is presumably the missing form. The =*nijani* suffix conveys the two related meanings ‘alone’ and ‘self’.

- (3-13) *da-wi-k* *manngulan* *Ø-i-mima-n* *w-ayi=nijani*
 DEF-I-DIST camp IV<3-sit-PR 3I-3M=alone
 ‘That bloke is sitting alone in camp.’

- (3-14) *ngaykgi* *ng-a-yung* *ngaykgi=nijani* *lamay*
 1M 1-go-PP 1M=alone goose
 ‘I went myself/alone for geese.’

- (3-15) *ja-wi-k* *darlirli* *darlirli* *l-ayi=nijani* *lulikbi* *i-l-ungula-ng*
 DEF-I-DIST rock rock II-3M=alone head 3>II-strike-PP
 ‘The rock itself/alone struck that bloke on the head.’

- (3-16) *ngaykgi=nijani* *lulikbi* *l-a-m*
 1M=alone head II<1-hit.PP
 ‘I alone/myself hit my head.’

The ‘self’ interpretations are emphatic interpretations indicating that the situation is predicated chiefly or solely of the referent. The =*nijani* forms do not function as reflexive

anaphors. They can appear in Object function in a standard transitive proposition, such as (3-17).

- (3-17) *da-na-k ngiliyi ngaykgi=nijani d-Ø-ulula-yan*
 DEF-II-DIST dog 1M=alone 1M<3-chase-PR
 'That dog is always chasing just me/me alone.'

Consequently, propositions such as (3-16), cannot properly be translated as 'I hit myself on the head', but must be translated as indicated.

There are two possessive pronoun paradigms, and these are probably the most commonly occurring pronoun paradigms. The main possessive pronoun paradigm is derived from the base pronoun paradigm by prefixation of noun class markers, indicating the class of the possessed entity. As with the =*nijani* paradigm, there are two accidental gaps in this paradigm. The 1A Class I possessive form is presumably either *b-uyi* or =*mb-uyi*, and the 3A Class I form is presumably =*mb-iwi-rri*. Morphologically, this paradigm shows the same pattern of inflection as the adjectives (3.7). In some cases the prefix is consonantal and replaces the initial consonant of the root. In other cases, the prefix is syllabic. The distribution of consonantal and syllabic prefix forms does not follow from any general principles and must be analysed as lexicalised. The root *iwi* which occurs in the 3rd person forms may be related to the Class I suffix *-wi*, which occurs in the demonstrative paradigms (Table 3.6).

Table 3.4: Possessive pronoun paradigm

	Class I Poss	Class II/IV Poss	Class III Poss
1 Minimal	= <i>mb-aykgi</i>	<i>d-aykgi</i>	<i>m-aykgi</i>
2 Minimal	<i>bi-nginyi</i>	<i>di-nginyi</i>	<i>mi-nginyi</i>
1+2 Minimal	<i>b-ami</i>	<i>d-ami</i>	<i>m-ami</i>
3 Minimal	= <i>mb-iwi-yi</i>	<i>d-iwi-yi</i>	<i>m-iwi-yi</i>
1 Augmented		<i>d-uyi</i>	<i>m-uyi</i>
2 Augmented	= <i>mb-unguyi</i>	<i>d-unguyi</i>	<i>m-unguyi</i>
1+2 Augmented	= <i>mbu-guyi</i>	<i>du-guyi</i>	<i>mu-guyi</i>
3 Augmented		<i>d-iwi-rri</i>	<i>m-iwi-rri</i>

Table 3.5: Predicative possessive pronoun paradigm

	Class I Poss	Class II/IV Poss	Class III Poss
3 Minimal	<i>b-iwi-yi-nija</i>	<i>d-iwi-yi-nija</i>	<i>m-iwi-yi-nija</i>
3 Augmented	<i>b-iwi-rri-nija</i>	<i>d-iwi-rri-nija</i>	<i>m-iwi-rri-nija</i>

The other pronominal possessive paradigm has only 3rd person forms, and involves a genitive suffix *-nija*. It is likely that this suffix is related to the =*nijani* 'alone, self' suffix (3.10.1). The difference between possessive forms with and without *-nija* appears to be the familiar one of predication vs modification.

- (3-18) a. *inyi-wik=m-iwi-yi ja-ma-k mimilung*
 who-I=III-3-M DEF-III-DIST tucker
 'Whose is that tucker?'
- b. *da-wi-k inyi-wik m-iwi-yi-nija da-ma-k mimilung*
 DEF-I-DIST who-I III-3-M-GEN DEF-III-DIST tucker
inyi-wik da-wi-k mimilung
 who-I DEF-I-DIST tucker
 'I do not know who owns that tucker.'
 (lit. 'Who is that one such that his is that tucker?')

As illustrated in (3-18), the shorter modifying forms may optionally be cliticised to their head. The possessive pronouns appear to be the only way of indicating genitive meanings.

- (3-19) *da-ma-k mimilung j-Ø-iga bi-jinangan m-iwi-rri-nija*
 DEF-III-DIST tucker DEF-I-PL 3A-different III-3-A-GEN
 'That tucker belongs to that different mob.'
- (3-20) *alinyman dinyayan darlirli lakgarni manngulan m-iwi-yi-nija*
 king brown rock LOC camp III-3-M-GEN
 'The king brown's lair is under the rock.'

The Class I possessive forms are only attested indicating kinship possession. This follows from the fact that Class I is essentially restricted to humans. The Class I forms are discussed in 3.5 following on kin nouns.

3.5 Kin nouns and kinship terminology

Kin nouns are formally defined by the fact that they are obligatorily followed by Class I possessive pronouns in referential uses to indicate the possessor. With the 2M and 1+2M persons, the possessive pronoun is a free form. With the other persons, the possessive pronoun is a suffix.

- (3-21) a. *ja-wi-k nginyi gagi bi-nginyi*
 DEF-I-DIST 2M father 3I-2M
 'That bloke is your father.'
- b. *i ngaykgi gagi=mb-aykgi j-Ø-iga aykgurr*
 yes 1M father=3I-1M DEF-I-PL two
 'Yes those two are my fathers.'

When the possessive pronoun is suffixed, the form of the Class I prefix varies. It is a cluster *-mb* following vowels, a geminate *-pb* following liquids, and a single stop *-b* following plosives.

ngil-angil=pb-aykgi
 FEM-O.sister=3I-1M
 'my older sister'

ngil-ngany=b-aykgi
 FEM-aunt=3I-1M
 'my aunt'

The 3 minimal suffix =*mb-iwi-yi* is usually realised as [mbi.i], reflecting the pattern of deleting an unstressed syllable to attain a perfect trochaic foot.

Nominals, other than kin nouns, may be suffixed to indicate the possessor when these nominals have a kinship meaning.

- (3-22) *ngaykgi b-alkgan=b-aykgi giyi=mb-aykgi i-nam*
 1M 3I-small=3I-1M mother=3I-1M 3I-sayPR
 'He is my child. He calls me mother.'

- (3-23) *da-wi-k uginy=b-aykgi*
 DEF-I-DIST woman=3I-1M
 'That is my wife.'

However, these nominals do not thereby fall within the kin noun class. Unlike kin nouns, they are not obligatorily possessed.

- (3-24) *da-wi-k uginy n-ani=mb-iwi-yi b-ajan*
 DEF-I-DIST woman MASC-husband=3I-3-M 3I-nothing
 'That woman has got no husband.'

- (3-25) *arnikgan bi-jurnu bi-jajan*
 old woman 3A-children 3A-nothing
 'The old woman has no children.'

The kin noun in (3-24) is not in a strict sense possessed, but it nevertheless it is suffixed for a 3 minimal possessor. The equivalent sentence involving the adjective *-(j)urnu* 'children' does not bear any possessive marking.

For the reasons discussed in 1.1, it is not possible to provide a full account of Limilngan kinship terminology. However, Lena Henry was able to provide a relatively systematic account of the terminology. The terminologies presented in Figures 3.1 and 3.2 are based principally on discussions with Lena. From an overall perspective, the terminology can be classed as a Kariera terminology as it consistently distinguishes only two kinds of kin, parallel vs cross, rather than four kinds of kin as in an Aranda terminology.

Nonetheless, the presentation in Figures 3.1 and 3.2 is that of an Aranda terminology, as this allows for a clearer presentation of the extension of kin terms. The use of an Aranda presentation should not, however, be taken to imply that marriage was preferentially with a class of persons distinguished as second cousins. Lena Henry stated that 'long way' marriage was preferable to 'close' marriage, but that close marriage was acceptable. Discussions with her indicated that issues of territorial proximity were probably of more concern in marriage, and that a male could probably have legitimately married his actual mother's brother's daughter if territorial requirements were satisfied. The use of affinal kin terms was almost certainly dependent, not on degree of distance in kin linkages, but on the construction of marriage promissory relationships, which in turn depended primarily on territorial and other concerns.

As in many Australian terminologies, a number of kin terms have focal and extended uses. Thus, the term *ngil-iyugalk* focally means 'wife/female cross-cousin', and it is the only term for this relationship. However, it may be extended to include all harmonic female cross-kin. Similarly, *mangi* focally means 'father's mother', but it may be extended to include its reciprocal 'woman's son's child'. Extensions of this kind, where harmonic kin may be called by a single term, are very common in Australian kinship terminologies.

The Limilngan terminology shows another, much rarer, type of extension across disharmonic generations. The focal meaning of the term *ngil-a* appears to be 'mother's mother' as this is the translation given if a Kriol translation is requested. However, it also means 'man's mother-in-law'. This particular, and unusual, merger of disharmonic kin is also found in the Larrakia kinship terminology. However, the Larrakia terminology differs from the Limilngan terminology in that it is an asymmetric terminology of the Yolngu type.

The patterns of both harmonic and disharmonic extensions appear to be comparatively old within the Limilngan kinship terminology. As illustrated in Figures 3.1 and 3.2, a number of masculine kin terms bear a prefix *n-*, and a number of feminine kin terms bear a prefix *ngil-*. Cognate prefix forms are widespread among the languages of the Top End, and the most likely reconstructions are **na-* 'masculine' and **ngal-* 'feminine'. In those cases where *n-* and *ngil-* kin terms are paired, the terms generally refer to a brother-sister pair. Thus *n-ayi* 'woman's son' and *ngil-ayi* 'woman's daughter' are a brother-sister pair.

The obvious exception is *ngil-angil* 'older sister', and *n-angil* 'woman's son-in-law'. The *n-angil* term may also be used to refer to a parallel male grandparent. Given that *n-* and *ngil-* paired terms otherwise refer to brother-sister pairs, it seems likely that the focal meaning of *n-angil* was originally 'older brother'. From this focus, it extended its reference to 'parallel male grandparent'. This is the synchronic reference pattern of the term *garli*. It then extended its reference to the disharmonic 'man's wife's mother's brother' and 'woman's son-in-law', parallel to *ngil-a*, and lost its original 'older brother' reference. Synchronically, the focus of *n-angil* is the disharmonic reference. If requested, the Kriol translation is 'cousin' which means focally 'woman's son-in-law'.

The shifts of reference linking *n-angil* and *ngil-angil* argue that both harmonic and disharmonic extensions of reference and shifts of focus are of some antiquity among Limilngan speakers. They also argue that the prefixes *n-* and *ngil-* are of some antiquity. Further evidence for this comes from the pair *n-anganyi* 'man's sister's son' [náŋaŋi] and *ngil-inginyi* 'man's sister's daughter' [ŋilŋiŋi]. As indicated *ngil-inginyi* has a primary stress on the 3rd syllable and a secondary on the 1st, like the majority of unanalysable 4 syllable nouns (2.6.1). However, given its morphological structure, the predicted form would be *ngil-anganyi* [ŋiláŋaŋi] with stress on the first syllable of the root, and an /a/ root vocalism, if prefixation with *ngil-* was a productive pattern.

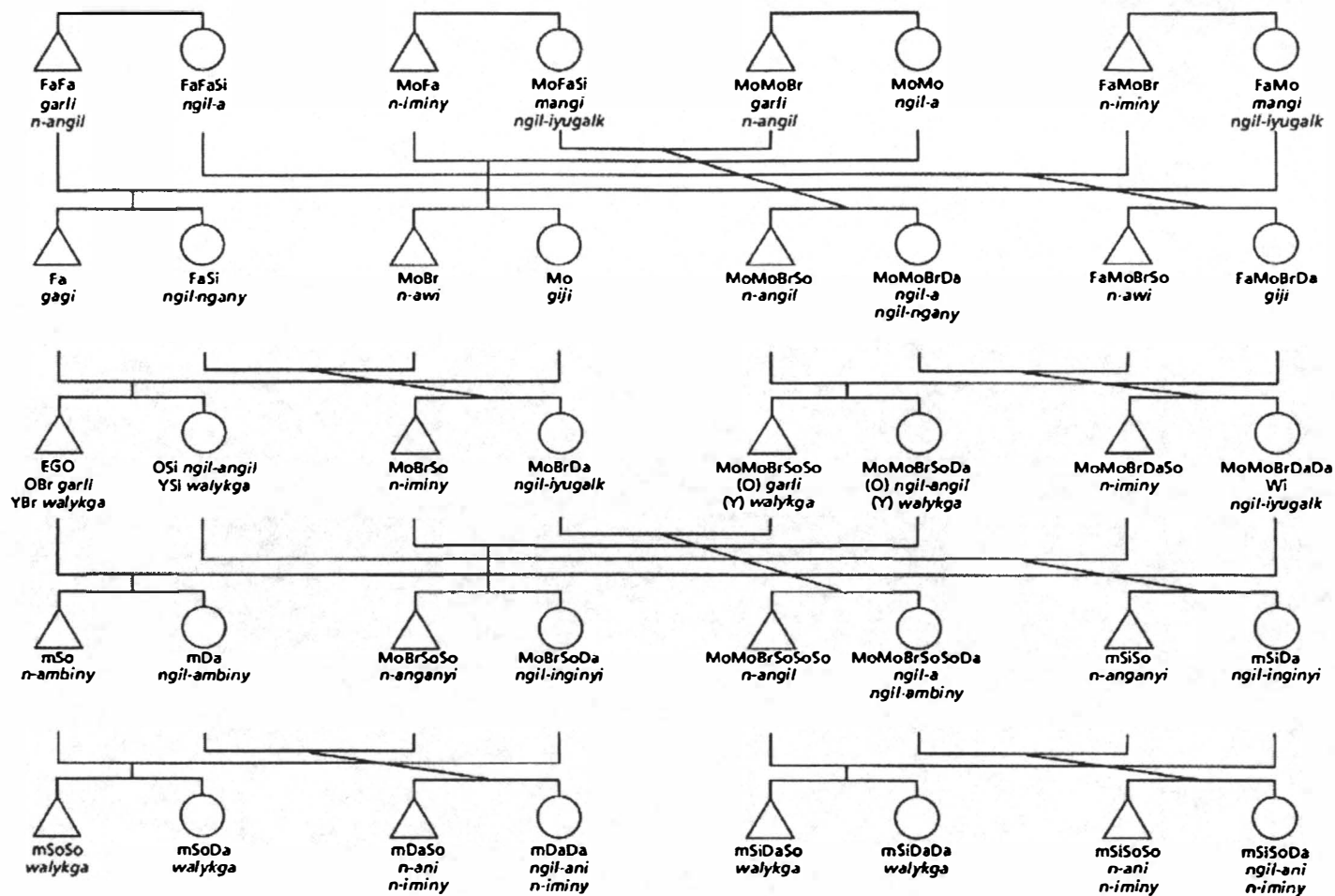


Figure 3.1: Limilngan kin terminology—man speaking

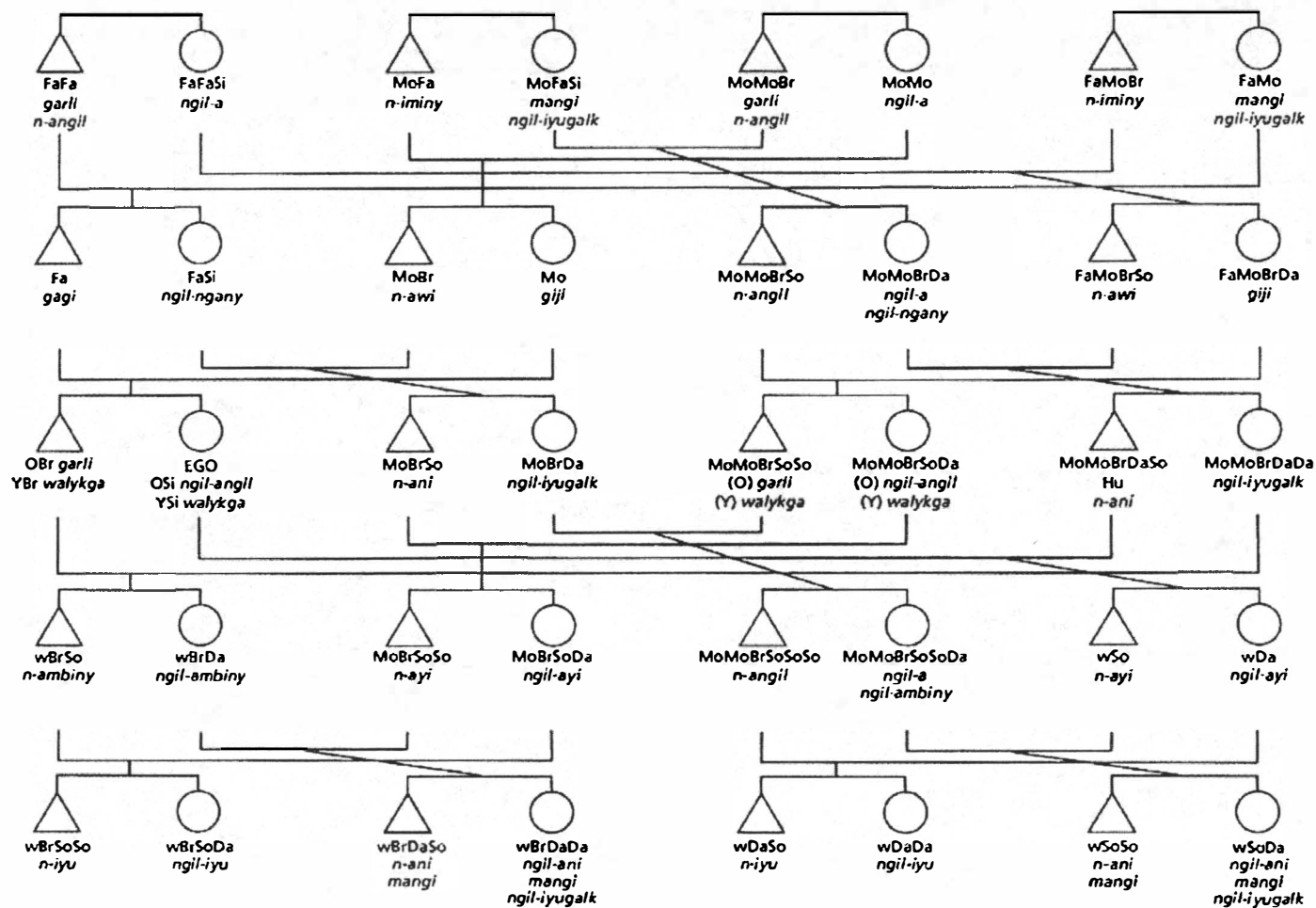


Figure 3.2: Limilngan kin terminology—woman speaking

There are four kin terms whose address forms are different from their reference forms.

Address	Reference	
<i>giji</i>	<i>giyi</i>	mother
<i>n-angil</i>	<i>n-angat</i>	woman's son-in-law
<i>n-iyu</i>	<i>n-iyi</i>	woman's daughter's son
<i>ngil-iyu</i>	<i>ngil-iyi</i>	woman's daughter's daughter

3.6 Demonstratives

The demonstrative paradigms are set out in Table 3.6. There are three demonstrative roots: a definite demonstrative root *da ~ ja ~ ji ~ j*; an entity interrogative *inyi*; and a locative interrogative *gay*. Historically these roots take a class suffix and then either the Distal suffix *-k*, the Proximal suffix *-n* or the plural suffix *-iga*.

Table 3.6: The Demonstrative paradigms

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
that, there	<i>d/ja-wi-k</i>	<i>d/ja-na-k</i>	<i>d/ja-ma-k</i>	<i>d/ji-ya-k ~ ja-yu-ng</i>
this, here	<i>d/ja-wi-n</i>	<i>d/ja-na-n</i>	<i>d/ja-ma-n</i>	<i>d/ja-ga-n ~ d/ja-nga-n</i>
those, these	<i>j-Ø-iga</i>	<i>d/ja-n-iga</i>	<i>d/ja-m-iga</i>	
who, what	<i>inyi-wik</i>	<i>inyi-tdak</i>	<i>inyi-mak</i>	<i>inyi-gak</i>
how many	<i>iny-Ø-igani</i>	<i>inyi-td-igani</i>	<i>inyi-m-igani</i>	<i>inyi-g-igani</i>
where	<i>gay-wik</i>	<i>gay-tdak</i>	<i>gay-mak</i>	<i>gay-gak</i>
where-A				<i>gay-g-iga</i>

This analysis is still viable synchronically for the definite demonstrative forms. However, it does not appear that the division between the class marker and the Distal suffix *-k* can be maintained synchronically for the interrogative roots. There do not appear to be any proximal interrogative forms such as a putative *?inyi-wi-n* 'who-I-here' contrasting with the attested forms such as *inyi-wik* (not **inyi-wi-k* 'who-I-there').

- (3-26) *da-wi-k* *inyi-wik* *ja-wi-n* *w-annuga-yam* *ngaykgi=lakgarni*
 DEF-I-DIST who-I DEF-I-PROX 3I-stand-PR 1M=LOC
gija *w-a-w-ukbi-rri*
 not 3I<1-IRR-know-P
 'Who is that standing here next to me? I do not know him.'

Similarly, while the quantity interrogative forms are presumably to be historically analysed as consisting of *inyi* + class marker + *iga* + *ni*, there is no clear synchronic motivation for separating *iga* from *ni* (3.10.1).

3.6.1 The definite demonstratives

There are a number of variant forms in the definite demonstrative paradigms. The Class IV demonstratives have nasal variants *d/ji-ya-k* ~ *ja-yu-ng* 'DEF-IV-DIST', and *d/ja-ga-n* ~ *d/ja-nga-n* 'DEF-IV-PROX'. The historical origins of these nasal variants are not evident. The distal demonstratives all have longer variants.

Class I	<i>d/ja-wi-k-gwi</i>	Class II	<i>d/ja-na-k-ganak</i>
Class III	<i>d/ja-ma-k-gamak</i>	Class IV	<i>ji-ya-g-i</i>
Class I.PL	<i>j-Ø-iga-jiga</i>		

The variant Class II, Class III, and Class I plural forms are derived by reduplication (2.4, 2.6.3). The variant Class IV form is most probably a reduced form of **ji-ya-k=gi*, the Prominence suffixed form of this demonstrative (3.11.6). The Class I variant may also derived from a Prominence suffixed form **d/ja-wi-k=gi*, but this is less straightforward. These variant forms appear to be emphatic in meaning.

- (3-27) *i ja-wi-k-gwi* *darlirli d-amban i-l-ing-anga-n*
 yes DEF-I-DIST-EMPH money II-lots 3>II-IMPF-find-PR
 'That (woman) always finds lots of money.'

- (3-28) *ngiliyi da-na-k-ganak bi-rr-wa-yi*
 dog DEF-II-DIST-EMPH 2M<3-bite-FU
 'That dog will bite you.'

- (3-29) *anbayk d-alkgan d-ajan ji-ya-g-i Ø-a-ngi*
 wind IV-small IV-nothing DEF-IV-DIST-EMPH IV-go-PR
 'A big wind is going that way.'

- (3-30) *j-Ø-iga-jiga ambuk=bungan i-y-ima-g-iji*
 DEF-I-PL-EMPH far=OBL 3-AS-get up-PP-here
 'That lot, they arrived here from far away.'

There is one example of a variant proximal demonstrative form parallel to the variant distal forms.

- (3-31) *bangi gija m-iny-b-akbi-rri di-ma-n-diman*
 tree not III<2M-IRR-know-P DEF-III-PROX-EMPH
 'You do not know this tree.'

The proximal demonstratives are much less commonly attested than the distal demonstratives. A fuller database might confirm this form and provide a full paradigm of emphatic proximals.

The use of the plural definite demonstrative forms depends on the animacy of the referents (4.3.6). The Class I form is obligatory with human reference. The use of the Class II and III forms appears to follow the usual pattern, being most common with higher animate referents such as dogs, and less common with referents lower on the animacy hierarchy. There is no plural Class IV definite demonstrative form attested. It is not possible to say whether this is a systematic or an accidental gap.

3.6.2 The interrogative demonstratives

While the entity interrogative *inyi* has a complete four class paradigm, the usage of class forms parallels that of adjectives and pronominal possessives where Classes II and IV are combined. The Class IV entity interrogative form is only attested in combination with the Oblique case marker: *inyi-gak=bungan* 'what-IV=OBL', with the meaning 'why'. The Class II entity interrogative form *inyi-tdak* is the general non-human entity interrogative.

(3-32) *inyi-tdak nginy-ami-ny*
 what-II 2M-say-PP
 'What did you say?'

(3-33) *inyi-tdak mimilung m-anga-y-an-yi*
 what-II tucker III<2A-AS-FU-eat
 'What kind of tucker are you lot going to eat?'

(3-34) *bangi da-ma-k inyi-mak inyi-mak uwulk*
 tree DEF-III-DIST what-III what-III name
 'What is that tree? What is its name?'

As shown in (3-33), it is attested with Class III referents such as *mimilung* 'tucker'. A Class III form may alternatively be used with a Class III referent, as illustrated in (3-34). As also shown in (3-33), this interrogative can also be used to convey the generic interrogative meaning 'what kind?'. The quantity interrogative paradigm, which is based on the entity interrogative, shows a similar pattern of class marking. The Class IV form is attested in the meaning 'how many times', and rarely as a general quantity interrogative.

(3-35) *inyi-g-igani i-l-im-ambijiwi-rri dakgigak aykgurrajun l-i-m*
 what-IV-quantity 3>II-IMPf-hit-PI maybe three II<3-hit.PP
 'How many times did that man hit the dog? Maybe he hit it three times.'

(3-36) *nginyi bi-jumu inyi-g-igani*
 2M 3A-children what-IV-quantity
 'How many children do you have?'

However, the Class II form appears to be the general form for non-human referents, though Class III forms are used.

(3-37) *inyi-td-igani bangi m-annuga-yam*
 what-II-quantity tree III-stand-PR
 'How many trees are standing there?'

(3-38) *nginyi mimilung inyi-m-igani*
 2M tucker what-III-quantity
 'How much tucker do you have?'

The locative interrogative paradigm shows a different distribution of class marking to the entity interrogative paradigms. The Class IV form is the most common form. The other forms are all comparatively uncommon.

(3-39) *da-wi-k motdikga gay-wik w-a-ngi*
 DEF-I-DIST car where-I 3I-go-PR
 'Where is he going in the car?'
 (lit. 'Where is he, that one who is going in the car?')

It is unclear what the difference in meaning would be if the Class I form *gay-wik* was replaced by the usual Class IV form *gay-gak*. It seems likely that the use of a Class I form conveys the suggested literal translation meaning, whereas the use of a Class IV form would convey the direct translation meaning. The only attested plural locative is a Class IV form.

(3-40) *j-Ø-iga arnikgan=arnikgan gay-g-iga*
 DEF-I-PL PL-old woman where-IV-PL
 'Where are those old women?'

This plural form *gay-g-iga* is only attested in utterances involving plural human reference. However, unlike the plural definite demonstrative forms, it is not obligatory in such situations.

(3-41) *j-Ø-iga gay-gak i-rr-a-yung-iji ayal angul*
 DEF-I-PL where-IV 3-AS-go-PP-here road high
 'Which way did they come? Along the high road?'

It is possible that plural form *gay-g-iga* indicates multiple localities. As such, the meaning of (3-42) would be 'In what places are those old women?'. However, it was not evident from context that the plural form was distributive in meaning. It is not possible to say whether the absence of plural locative forms for the other classes, such as a putative *?gay-w-iga* 'where-I-PL', is an accidental or a systematic gap.

In combination with various forms of the verb 'to do, to say', the locative interrogative conveys a range of other interrogative meanings. One of these is temporal interrogation.

(3-42) *gay-gak=i-nama-yi=mirl w-a-yung*
 where-IV=IV-do-PI=DEL 3I-go-PP
 'When did he go?'

- (3-43) *nginyi gay-gak=i-nama-yi=mirl n-in-a-yi*
 2M where-IV=IV-do-PI=DEL 2M-FU-go-FU
 'When will you go?'

The temporal interrogative combination is formally analysable as consisting of the Class IV locative interrogative form *gay-gak*, a Past Imperfective form of the verb 'to do' with a Class IV Subject and the Delimited suffix =*mirl* (4.6.3). This formal analysis cannot, however, be maintained synchronically. As illustrated in (3-43), this form is used for future temporal interrogation even though the verb form is morphologically past imperfective. Another function conveyed in this manner is verbal interrogation.

- (3-44) *gay-gak=n-i-nami m-iny-i-ni-yuk limbi*
 where-IV=2M-FU-do III<2M-FU-cook-FU yam
 'How will you cook the limbi yams?'

- (3-45) *nginyi gay-gak=nginy-ami-ny marnitj m-iny-arlarla-ng*
 2M where-IV=2M-do-PP canoe III<2M-make-PP
 '(Old man) how did you make canoes (in the old days)?'

- (3-46) *gay-gak=n-i-nami*
 where-IV=2M-FU-do
 'What are you doing/going to do?'

This construction, though obviously related to the temporal interrogation construction, differs from it in that the verb form varies productively. The construction type shown in (3-44)-(3-46) may also be used to convey a generic entity interrogation.

- (3-47) *gay-gak=mi-nami-ny da-ma-k mimilung*
 where-IV=III-do-PP DEF-III-DIST tucker
 'What kind of tucker is that?'
 (lit. 'In what manner does it exist, that tucker?')

As indicated by the literal translation, the verb 'to do, to say' is probably to be understood as having an existential meaning in this example, and indeed in the other examples of its use in interrogative constructions. This verb also appears quite commonly with quantity interrogation, at least with human referents.

- (3-48) *nginyi walykga i-y-ama-yi=mirl iny-Ø-igani*
 2M younger sibling 3-AS-do-PI=DEL what-I-quantity
 'How many sisters do you have?'

3.6.3 Indefinite reference

In many Australian languages, the interrogative demonstratives also convey indefinite reference, and indeed their interrogative function may be viewed as one possible interpretation of their more general and basic indefinite function. In Limilngan, the interrogatives can have this function, but this is not common.

- (3-49) a. *dumugarnyi dakgigak inyi-wik i-l-wila-m*
 turkey must be who-I 3M>II-shoot-PP
 'It must be that somebody has shot a turkey.'
- b. *dakgigak jubuk l-i-rr-i-m*
 maybe stick II<3-AS-hit-PP
 'Maybe they hit it with a stick.'

As illustrated in (3-49), verb forms with augmented number are also used to convey indefinite reference. Indefinite reference is usually conveyed by forms with 3rd person augmented number reference.

- (3-50) *langan d-iwi-rri*
 meat II-3-A
 '(That) is somebody's meat.'

Verb forms with 3rd person augmented number reference are commonly accompanied by a nominal with generic reference.

- (3-51) *i-y-a-ng-iji bi-rr-mamurlkgiji*
 3-AS-go-PP-here 3A-AS-person.PL
 'Somebody is coming.'

The available materials do not illuminate the difference between the two ways of conveying indefinite reference.

3.7 Adjectives

Adjectives inflect for the full range of persons and for three noun class categories. Felix displayed considerable uncertainties in inflecting adjectives for other than 3rd minimal reference. He did not give a consistent inflectional paradigm for the class of adjectives as a whole. He did consistently inflect certain individual paradigms such as that of *-murlkgiji* 'person, native, really'. However, other paradigms such as that of *-alkgan* 'small' did not receive consistent inflection.

Nevertheless, despite these considerable inconsistencies, there are some generalisations that can be made about the paradigms that were given. The adjectival prefix paradigms show many commonalities with the verbal prefix paradigms for intransitive verbs. There appear to be two adjectival prefix paradigms, one paralleling the verbal realis paradigm and one paralleling the verbal future paradigm (Table 4.2). The adjectival prefix paradigms are set out in Table 3.6.

Table 3.7: Adjectival prefixes

	Realis minimal	Realis augmented	Future minimal	Future augmented
1	<i>ngu-</i>	<i>nga-rr/y/j-</i>	<i>nga-n-</i>	<i>nga-y-in-</i>
2	<i>nginy-</i>	<i>a-rr/y/j-</i>	<i>n-in-</i>	<i>a-y-in-</i>
1+2	<i>mu-</i>	<i>ga-rr/y/j-</i>	<i>m-in-</i>	
3I	<i>bu-</i>	<i>bi-rr/y/j-</i>	<i>bu-n-</i>	
3II/IV	<i>du-</i>			
3III	<i>mu-</i>			

Felix gave mostly realis forms. However, in some cases he gave only future forms, and in others he gave both future and realis forms. There did not appear to be any substantive correlation to the use of realis vs future prefix forms. Historically, it seems likely that Limilngan adjectives did inflect prefixally for tense. This prefixal tense opposition may have become neutralised and lexicalised in Limilngan. If this was the case, then Felix's uncertain usage parallels that in other lexicalised domains. Alternatively, Felix may not have been properly in control of the system.

In addition to the forms listed in Table 3.6, Felix also gave a 2nd augmented prefix *anga-* for the paradigms of *-amban* 'lots' and *-urnu* 'children'. This prefix is an ergative prefix in the verbal paradigms (Table 4.3). This suggests that these paradigms may have inflected inversely, with a default Class IV Object, which would be marked by a \emptyset - prefix. However, the other forms in the paradigm of 'lots', set out below, do not inflect as if they were transitively prefixed with a Class IV Object. As can be seen, adjectives also show the same kinds of variations in root form that verbs do. Readers are advised to consult the paradigms in the dictionary for a full listing of adjectival paradigm forms.

	Actual	Predicted inverse
1A	<i>nga-nyamban</i>	\emptyset - <i>nga-nyamban</i>
2A	<i>anga-nyamban</i>	\emptyset - <i>anga-nyamban</i>
1+2A	<i>ga-nyamban</i>	\emptyset - <i>aga-nyamban</i>
3A	<i>bi-jamban</i>	\emptyset - <i>i-jamban</i>

It is not possible to be certain of the membership of the formally defined class of adjectives. There are only a few forms attested for the paradigms of many nominals which appear to be adjectives. On the basis of attested forms, the following nominals appear to belong to this class.

<i>-agiyan</i>	black	<i>-ajan</i>	nothing
<i>-alirmgan</i>	lightweight	<i>-amban</i>	lots
<i>-aminy</i>	together	<i>-bulngan</i>	alive
<i>-idlungminan</i>	strong	<i>-ildigan</i>	fast
<i>-imiliny</i>	different (other)	<i>-imirrinan</i>	cold
<i>-(j)inangan</i>	different (foreign)	<i>-inmuyngan</i>	heavy
<i>-inyayan</i>	deep	<i>-irrinyan</i>	tall
<i>-linyayan</i>	bitter	<i>-majuk</i>	wrong
<i>-makgayan</i>	bad	<i>-mangmung</i>	clever
<i>-mayan</i>	dangerous	<i>-muligan</i>	hard

<i>-murlkgiji</i>	native, really	<i>-nugikgan</i>	soft
<i>-urnitjgan</i>	same	<i>-walikgan</i>	hot
<i>-wunung</i>	bony, thin		

It appears that the majority of nominals which are semantically “adjectival” belong to the formally defined adjective class. There are only a few such nominals which do not.

<i>ambat-daygwan</i>	short-SG	<i>ambat-dikbugan</i>	short-PL
<i>ditjgan</i>	white	<i>lambanggi</i>	mature
<i>umbugarliny</i>	flat	<i>wulun</i>	other

The lexeme ‘short’ is one of those nominals whose stem varies according to number (3.3.1).

3.8 Body part nouns

There is a set of body part roots in Limilngan which take prefixes that reference the whole. The prefix forms found with body part nouns are set out in Table 3.7. The paradigm appears to be identical with the verbal realis prefix paradigm used with intransitive verbs (Table 4.2). There is some variation in the prefix forms attested and readers are advised to consult the dictionary which lists the paradigms of body part nouns.

Table 3.8: Body part prefixes

	1	2	1+2	3I	3II	3III	3IV
Min	<i>nga-</i>	<i>nginy(u)-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>w-</i>	<i>l-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>?Ø-</i>
Aug	<i>nga-rr/y/j-</i>	<i>a-rr/y/j-</i>	<i>ga-rr/y/j-</i>	<i>i-rr/y/j-</i>			

There is no Class IV prefix form attested in the available data on body part nouns. This follows from the fact that it is difficult to construct plausible contexts for the discussion of the parts of Class IV entities. It could be that there is no independent Class IV form for this paradigm. However, the general identity with the verbal pronominal prefix paradigm suggests otherwise. The Class IV verbal prefix is *Ø-*, and there is some evidence which suggests that this is also the Body Part prefix. We may consider the following nominal lexemes.

a. <i>l-arnung</i> II-arm	<i>d-irrinyngan</i> II-long	bird species
b. <i>m-adlingi</i> III-small of back	<i>m-inyayan</i> III-deep	old man kangaroo
c. <i>Ø-alinyman</i> IV-forehead	<i>d-inyayan</i> IV-deep	king brown snake

As discussed in 3.3, Limilngan has a class of phrasal compound nominal lexemes, most commonly consisting of noun + adjective. As illustrated in a.-c., the noun may be a body part noun. It is evident from a. and c. that the body part noun does not generally appear in root form, and indeed this is contra-indicated by the compound structure which is phonological word + phonological word. The body part noun in c. is therefore presumably not in a root form. Rather it has a *Ø-* Class IV prefix which governs the concord class of the adjective, as the prefix does in the other compounds.

As with the adjectival class, there are uncertainties as to the membership of this class. On the basis of attested forms, the members of this set appear to be those nominals listed in below.

-adlingi	small of back	-alinyman	forehead
-ambirriwirlurl	bone	-arlurl	ear
-arnung	arm	-arrangul	shoulderblade
-imilngalngay	skin	-inan	nose
-milk	eye	-mirnay	shoulder
-mirrmarr	chest	-muk	bum
-urlkgurlk	back	-uykgal	mouth
-wum	belly	-wungal	knee

In addition to the nouns listed above, there are also the nominal roots *adlangan* 'old male' and *arluk* 'language, countryman'. The root *adlangan* 'old male' is attested with the following forms.

<i>w-adlangan</i>	<i>l-adlangan</i>	<i>w-adlalingan</i>
3i-old male	II-old male	3i-old males
'old man'	'old man'	'old men'

The Class II form of this nominal is only attested as a respect form with human referents (3.2.1.). It is not known whether it could be used in an expression such as *langitj l-adlangan* 'an old male emu'. The plural form *w-adlalingan* is not regularly declined for a body part noun. The predicted form would be **i-y-adlalingan*, with plural prefixing. Semantically, this nominal does not belong within the body part class, and given its irregular plural form, it is not included within the body part class. It is analysed as an anomalous nominal with showing some formal commonalities with the body part class. The root *arluk* 'language, countryman' is attested with the following word forms.

<i>arluk</i>	<i>nga-j-arluk</i>	<i>ga-j-arluk</i>
language	1-AS-countryman	1+2A-AS-countrymen
'language'	'We are countrymen.'	'We are countrymen.'

These two plural forms could formally be members either of a body part noun paradigm, or members of an adjective paradigm. The base form as a word *arluk* could not be the member of an adjective paradigm, but it could be a member of a body part paradigm if Ø- is the prefix for Class IV. The categorisation of language generally in Aboriginal sociality suggests that this nominal is more probably a member of a part noun class rather than an adjective class. Consequently, I include it in the discussion here. This nominal is commonly attested without an overt prefix, and when it does so it takes concord as a Class IV noun. Given that it inflects prefixally, its apparent independent occurrence may be analysed as Ø-*arluk* with a semantically default class IV whole.

The formally definable class of body parts is evidently only a subset of any semantically defined class of body parts. The members of the class are all semantically inalienable and apart from the two nouns referring to bones, all refer to external parts. There are, however, a number of nouns satisfying these semantic criteria which are not members of the formally defined class of body parts. These nouns are listed below.

<i>arrk</i>	tail	<i>imal</i>	foot
<i>iyirr</i>	hand	<i>manybirwarli</i>	back of neck
<i>mamalk</i>	front of neck	<i>mumaralk</i>	eye

<i>murirri</i>	cheek	<i>murluk</i>	penis
<i>umugarnbal</i>	hip	<i>urlanginy</i>	lower arm
<i>warlun</i>	leg, thigh		

These nouns do not take prefixes referring to the whole. Rather, the whole must be indicated by a free nominal.

- (3-52) a. *nginyi iyirr du-makgayan*
 2M hand IV-bad
 'Your hand is no good.'
- b. *i ngaykgi iyirr du-makgayan*
 yes 1M hand IV-bad
 'Yes, my hand is no good.'

3.9 Temporals

Unlike the nominal categories discussed in the preceding sections, the category of temporals is a semantically, and not a formally, defined class. The temporals attested in Limilngan are listed below.

<i>dinnagi</i>	before, ages ago, long ago
<i>milijan-ini</i>	the day before yesterday, a few days ago
<i>milijan</i>	yesterday
<i>miliji</i>	afternoon
<i>aykgirnani</i>	now, today, nowadays
<i>atjban</i>	morning
<i>atbungaji</i>	tomorrow
<i>atjbungaj-ini</i>	the day after tomorrow, in a few days time
<i>gija</i>	later

There are three distinctive morphological patterns found with various of the temporals. The suffix *-ini* has the meaning '(an)other' only with temporals (3.10.1). The distal demonstrative *=jiyak* 'that' is most commonly attested as a contrastive prominence marker with the temporals (3.11.7). The temporal *atjban* 'morning', in addition to the usual base form, also shows a Oblique case marked variant.

- (3-53) *atjban=bungan ng-annugi-rri*
 morning=OBL 1-stand-PI
 'I have been standing up all morning.'

- (3-54) *nginyi ngaykgi atjban=bungan m-ima-gi*
 2M 1M morning=OBL 1+2M-get up-PP
 'We got up early.'

This Oblique variant appears to be an emphatic form, picking out salient points among the possible interpretations of *atjban* 'morning'. None of the other temporals are attested with Oblique case marking.

3.10 Root-level nominal suffixes

3.10.1 Another -ini

The meaning of the suffix *-ini* varies with the semantic domain of the root that it attaches to. It is most commonly attested with temporals, where it conveys the meaning ‘another, the other’. This suffix is illustrated with *milijan* ‘yesterday’ and *atjbungaji* ‘tomorrow’ in the list of temporals in 3.9 above. It is also attested with *atjban* ‘morning’.

- (3-55) a. *umurnitj Ø-uluga-ny atjban*
rain IV-fall-PP morning
‘It rained this morning.’
- b. *i atban-ini d-ajan dakgigak atjbungaj-ini Ø-in-buluga-yi*
okay morning-other IV-nothing maybe tomorrow-other IV-FU-fall-FU
‘Okay, (it rained) the other morning. Not (this morning). Maybe it will rain the day after tomorrow.’

The suffix is not attested with *miliji* ‘afternoon’, but this noun is not itself commonly attested.

The suffix is also attested with cardinal direction and landscape category terms in a ‘-wards, via’ meaning.

- (3-56) *arluk imiliny wulun, i-rr-u-gi, duwarnngan-ini*
language different 3-AS-give-PP north-wards
‘They gave a different language northwards.’
- (3-57) *warrayi mirnan-ini*
go.A.IMP high country-via
‘Go via the high country!’
- (3-58) *i-rr-a-yung-iji birmalk-gini*
3-AS-go-PP-here scrub-via
‘They came via the scrub country.’

As illustrated in (3-58), if the root ends in a stop, then the suffix also commences with that stop. This suggests that historically the suffix originally had a standard disyllabic form *-Cini*, which would accord with its having constituted an independent stress domain (2.6.2).

The suffix attaches to nominals generally to convey the meaning ‘owners of totem X’.

<i>lambugay</i>	water python
<i>lambugay-ini</i>	owners of the water python totem

Apart from its attestation with a discernable meaning, the suffix also appears with the numeral ‘one’, which appears in two variants: *ajun* and *ajunini*. The citation form of this numeral is *ajunini*, and this is by far the most common variant. However, *ajun* is also rarely attested (e.g. Text 7, Line 37). There are other forms which may historically have involved this suffix.

<i>-iga</i>	plural suffix with demonstratives (Table 3.6)
<i>-igani</i>	quantity suffix with interrogatives (Table 3.6)

<i>-nija</i>	genitive suffix with 3rd person possessive pronouns (Table 3.4)
<i>=nijani</i>	'alone, self' suffix with pronouns (Table 3.3)

It seems likely that the *=nijani* and *-igani* forms are historically analysable as **-nija* + **-ini* and **-iga* + **-ini*, with **-ini* having borne a meaning related to the 'another token of the same type' meaning that it bears synchronically with the temporals. This analysis is re-inforced by stress placement patterns. The *-igani* and *=nijani* forms take stress on their medial syllables.

<i>ngaykgi=nijani</i>	[ŋáikkɪnɪjàni]	<i>inyi-td-igani</i>	[ɪnɪttɪgáni]
IM=alone		what-II-quantity	
'Me alone'		'How much'	

Trisyllabic morphemes generally have initial stress in Limilngan (2.6). The *-ini* suffix appears historically to have constituted an independent stress domain (2.6.2), with a stress on its initial syllable. If these two morphemes are historically analysable as proposed, then their medial stress can be explained as resulting from the preservation of the stress on the initial syllable of the *-ini* suffix.

3.10.2 Characteristic -ngan

The characteristic suffix *-ngan* is most commonly attested in lexicalised combinations (2.6.1), where it has no evident semantic content. There are two examples where it has a clear semantic contribution.

<i>alkgiji</i>	behind	<i>alkgiji-ngan</i>	the behind one
<i>maywilal</i>	dirt, mud	<i>maywilal-ngan</i>	dirty, muddy

Its contribution in the above forms appears to be a meaning 'characterised by'. The form *alkgiji-ngan* appears in Text 4 Line 78, and is used by the youngest of the three mermaid sisters to refer to herself. In context, it indicates that she is the youngest sister. This suffix also appears with the noun *urlirliny* 'sick', possibly with this function.

- (3-59) *ngaykgi urlirliny(-ngan)*
 IM sick(-CHAR)
 'I am sick.'

The expression of this predication with and without the suffix seemed to be equivalent in meaning. However, it could be that they are opposed as 'I am sick' and 'I am characterised by sickness'.

There is one problematic example, apparently of the Characteristic suffix. This example is problematic because it has a distinctive phonological structure, and because the semantic contribution of the suffix is not evident.

- (3-60) *di-ya-k na-gi iyatduru-ngan da-na-k il-ija-yam*
 DEF-IV-DIST look-IMP brown snake-CHAR DEF-II-DIST II-lie-PR
 'Look! There is a brown snake lying there!'

The form *iyatduru-ngan* was realised as [iáttuɹʊŋan]. The problem with this realisation is that it had only one stress. A word of this form should have two stresses [iáttuɹʊŋan] (2.6.2). The actual realisation is that predicted for the Characteristic as a word-level suffix *=ngan* (2.6.3).

In this respect, it may be noted that Warray, from just to the south-west of Limilngan, has a prominence marker *-ngan*. It may be that *-ngan* is ultimately derived from a prominence suffix. The synchronic Prominence suffix of Limilngan is *=ji* (3.11.6).

3.11 Nominal word-level suffixation and phrasal compounding

In Limilngan, nominal word-level suffixation and phrasal compounding convey two kinds of information. One is adnominal and relational case meanings. The Limilngan case markers are listed below.

	Bound meaning	Independent meaning
<i>=bungan</i>	Oblique	
<i>(=)lalgarni</i>	Locative	close, near
<i>(=)ulang</i>	Source	
<i>(=)inyan</i>	Comitative	also, too, as well
<i>b/m/d-ajan</i>	Privative	nothing

As shown, *=bungan* ‘Oblique’ appears only as a suffix. The Locative, Source, and Comitative case markers generally appear as the second members of a phrasal compound. However, they can also appear as suffixes. The adjective *-ajan* ‘nothing’, which marks privative relations, appears only as the second member of a phrasal compound.

As in many non-Pama-Nyungan languages, the case markers chiefly mark peripheral rather than core relations. Also, as in many non-Pama-Nyungan languages, case marking is usual, but not obligatory.

The second kind of information conveyed by word-level suffixation is discourse-level prominence and emphasis meanings. There are two suffixes with these functions in Limilngan.

<i>=ji</i>	Prominence
<i>=jiyak</i>	Contrastive

3.11.1 Oblique *=bungan*

The Oblique case marker *=bungan* is nearly always a suffix. The few occasions when it occurs independently appear to involve more in the nature of hesitation breaks than genuine word pauses. Nevertheless, even hesitation breaks are of importance as morphological boundaries in Limilngan do not normally support them. Hesitations generally involve starting again at the beginning.

The Oblique case marker conveys a wide range of classical “indirect object” meanings. It conveys purposive relational meanings.

- (3-61) *j-Ø-iga bi-y-alkgikgan mimilung=bungan i-jikga-ny*
 DEF-I-PL 3A-AS-small.PL tucker=OBL 3A-ask-PP
 ‘Those kids asked for tucker.’

- (3-62) *imitj=bungan ng-a-yung-iji*
 story=OBL 1-go-PP-here
 ‘I came here for discussions.’

- (3-63) *i n-awi=mb-aykgi=bungan w-a-ldijuldiya-ngan*
 yes MASC-uncle=3I-1M=OBL 3I<1-look for-PR
 'Yes, I am looking for my uncle.'

It is rare for subcategorised arguments, such as *n-awi=mb-aykgi* 'my uncle' in (3-63), to bear Oblique case marking.

- (3-64) *j-Ø-iga bi-y-alkgikgan w-iny-b-uldijuldiya-ngi*
 DEF-I-PL 3A-AS-small.PL 3I<2M-IRR-look for-P
 '(Why) didn't you look for those kids?'

There are no examples of Oblique case marking with the goal arguments of trivalent verbs such as 'to give' or 'to show'. The Oblique case marker also conveys causal relations, and as such its range overlaps somewhat with that of the Source case marker (3.10.4.).

- (3-65) *j-Ø-iga i-rr-minyung-minyungmi-rri uginy=bungan*
 DEF-I-PL 3-AS-ITER-fight-PI woman=OBL
 'They were fighting over a woman.'
- (3-66) *ngaykgi mimilung ja-ma-k=bungan ngu-wum ngu-wulitjbi-yan*
 1M tucker DEF-III-DIST=OBL 1-belly 1-ache-PR
 'My belly is aching from that food.'

Related to this causal/source function is the use of the Oblique to mark ablative/source of place.

- (3-67) *nginyi gay-gak=bungan nginy-a-yung-iji*
 2M where-IV=OBL 2M-go-PP-here
 'Where did you come from to here?'
- (3-68) *j-Ø-iga belyuen=bungan i-rr-a-yung-iji milijan*
 DEF-I-PL Belyuen=OBL 3-AS-go-PP-here yesterday
 'They came here from Belyuen yesterday.'

3.11.2 Locative =lakgarni

The Locative case marker =*lakgarni* occurs independently with the meaning 'close, near'.

- (3-69) a. *da-wi-k ambuk w-a-yung*
 DEF-I-DIST far 3I-go-PP
 'That bloke has gone far away.'
- b. *da-wi-k lakgarni*
 DEF-I-DIST near
 'That (other) bloke is nearby.'

However, there is reason to distinguish the case meaning from the independent meaning. There are cases where the independent 'near' meaning is not a possible interpretation.

- (3-70) *i dak lakgarni jirrpungi Ø-ng-irlirli-ny*
 yes house LOC inside IV<I-put in-PP
 'Yes I put (the clothes) inside the house.'

In (3-70), the clothes evidently cannot be 'near' or 'close' to the house. In most cases, the independent interpretation cannot be excluded, but there is reason to distinguish the case meaning from the independent meaning.

- (3-71) *limin biyal ngugun lakgarni l-a-na-gi*
 snake sp. water LOC II<I-see-PP
 'I saw a limin biyal snake in(?!near) the water.'

In this context, *lakgarni* had a locative 'in' meaning rather than a 'near' meaning. It is not known whether this sentence could alternatively be interpreted with the meaning 'near' rather than 'in'. The one attempt to elicit the meaning 'near the water' in specific opposition to 'in the water' was translated with the following structure.

- (3-72) *i lakgarni ngugun*
 yes near water
 'Yes, (the crocodile is lying) near the water.'

In this example *lakgarni* 'near' precedes the noun it modifies. In all examples where *lakgarni* has a Locative case function, it immediately follows the nominal it modifies (5.6). It is possible that to achieve a 'near' interpretation that *lakgarni* must be placed in some other position. Alternatively, and more likely, it is probable that *lakgarni* 'near' has the same freedom of occurrence as other nominal modifiers (5.6), and that (3-71) could be interpreted to mean 'near'. Whichever is the case, *lakgarni* 'Locative' is apparently restricted in its ordering to appear after the noun it modifies, as the second member of a phrasal compound, whereas *lakgarni* 'near' is not. All types of locative meanings may be marked with *lakgarni*.

- (3-73) *milijan Ø-ngu-lakbu-ng nawarnarr lakgarni manngulan*
 yesterday IV<I-sit-PP Charlie LOC camp
 'Yesterday, I sat down at/in Old Charlie's camp.'

- (3-74) *lulayi darlirli lakgarni*
 animal stone LOC
 'The snake is under the stone.'

- (3-75) *ngaykgi ngu-wunguldaga-ny bangi lakgarni*
 1M I-hide-PP tree LOC
 'I hid behind the tree.'

- (3-76) *ngaykgi iluk lakgarni m-a-ngiwi-ngan*
 1M ground LOC III<1-put-PR
 'I am putting it on the ground.'

- (3-77) *imirri lakgarni ji-yuk*
 sun LOC put-IMP
 'Put (the clothes) in the sun!'

Allative relations are also marked with *lakgarni*.

- (3-78) *j-Ø-iga gija=jiyak lumanyuk lakgarni i-y-in-yirrang*
 DEF-I-PL later=CONT creek LOC 3-AS-FU-go down
 'They are going down to the creek later on.'

The Locative case marker is not, however, attested marking allative relations with place names. The Locative case marker is attested marking the goal with the verb 'do/say'.

- (3-79) *ngaykgi lakgarni i-y-ami-ny*
 1M LOC 3-AS-say-PP
 'They said X to me.'

There are also a few examples where *lakgarni* appears to have an ablative function.

- (3-80) *nginyi ngaykgi bangi lakgarni m-in-buluga-yi*
 2M 1M tree LOC 1+2M-FU-fall-FU
 'We will fall out of the tree.'

- (3-81) *ja-wi-k b-alkgan nginyi lakgarni w-ininyu-ng*
 DEF-I-DIST 3I-small 2M LOC 3I-grow up-PP
 'That kid grew up from you.'

It is probable that *lakgarni* does not, in fact, have an ablative function in either of these examples. The first example could alternatively be translated as 'We will fall out from in the tree', where *lakgarni* indicates the locative notion 'in' and the ablative meaning is supplied by context. The second example could alternatively be translated as 'That kid grew up at you'.

The Locative case marker attaches to the Class IV proximal definite demonstrative *da-ga-n* 'here, this'. Locative case marked forms of this demonstrative appear to indicate 'this place here' as opposed to 'here'.

- (3-82) *da-wi-k b-alkan da-ga-n=lakgarni w-in-inyu-k*
 DEF-I-DIST 3I-small DEF-IV-PROX=LOC 3I-FU-grow up-FU
 'That kid is going to grow up in this place here.'

- (3-83) *da-ga-n=lakgarni marrimarri gija l-a-y-in-ingangmi*
 DEF-IV-PROX=LOC knife later II<1-AS-FU-find
 'The knife is around this place here. We will find it later.'

Locative marked forms of the Class IV distal demonstrative *di-ya-k* show a special allomorphy and an unpredictable meaning.

di-ya=lakgarni [dʲalàkkanʲi]
 DEF-IV=LOC
 'then'

In this combination, the final coda of the root does not appear. It may be noted that /kl/ is not a possible intramorphemic cluster in Limilngan (2.3). The predicted meaning of this form would be 'that place there'. It seems likely that the synchronic meaning, 'then', is historically derived from this predicted meaning. However, synchronically, the meaning is not predictable.

In one example, *lakgarni* appears to be modifying an ellipsed head.

- (3-84) *ja-wi-k lakgarni w-aji-yung*
 DEF-I-DIST LOC 3I-come from-PP
 '(Which) place does that bloke come from?'

The ellipsed head is presumably *gay-gak* 'where-IV'. Further examples are required to confirm that such ellipsis is a genuine possibility. If it is a genuine possibility, then it provides further evidence for *lakgarni* having a high degree of independence as a Locative case marker.

3.11.3 Source =ulang

The Source case marker =*ulang* indicates source or origin relations, including causal relations.

- (3-85) *i ngaykgi ulang w-a-m*
 yes 1M SOU 3I<I-hit.PP
 'Yes, I hit him.'
- (3-86) *m-in-mayi, dak lakgarni*
 I+2M-FU-go back house LOC
 'We will go back to the station'
il-ami-ny l-adlangan ulang Oscar
 II-say-PP II-old male SOU Oscar
 'The old man Oscar said.'
- (3-87) *ayal=di ja-ya-k wear out i-nami-ny*
 road=PRM DEF-IV-DIST wear out IV-do-PP
 'That road has worn out,
umurnitj ulang, i-y-ami-ny
 rain SOU 3-AS-say-PP
 'From rain they said.'
- (3-88) *aeroplane Ø-i-y-iwi-g-iji Queensland ulang*
 aeroplane IV<3-AS-send-PP-here Queensland SOU
 'They sent a plane from Queensland.'

- (3-89) *winyangarr Ø-i-lakbu-ng winyangarr ulang, i-y-ima-gi*
 winyangarr IV<3-stop-PP winyangarr SOU 3-AS-get up-PP
 'They stopped at Winyangarr. From Winyangarr, they got up.'

However, unlike the other case markers, source or origin relations are commonly not overtly indicated by the =*ulang* marker. Source or origin relations are usually inferred from context. The suffix is most commonly attested attached to temporals.

- (3-90) *ngaykgi mimilung mu-linyayan m-a-mukbinya-ngi di-ya-k=ulang*
 1M tucker III-bitter III<I-eat-PI DEF-IV-DIST=SOU
ng-uwum ngu-wulitjbi-rri
 1-belly 1-ache-PI
 'I ate bitter tucker and that is why my belly was aching.'

Temporals with Source case marking most commonly indicate a causal relationship between two states of affairs as in (3-90). However, they do not necessarily do so.

- (3-91) *dinngagi=ulang m-a-mbuldingmi-ny bangi*
 before=SOU III<I-break-PP stick
 'I broke the stick from ages ago.'

In (3-91), the Source case marker simply reinforces the fact that the breaking of the stick was temporally prior to the present. The Source case marker also occurs in a lexicalised construction. Ascriptive predications of hunger commonly involve the Source case marker. With a 1M Subject, the case marker optionally shows prefixal concord. This does not occur with other persons.

- (3-92) *ngaykgi aykgurnitjjin (ng-)ulang*
 1M hunger (1-)SOU
 'I am hungry.'

3.11.4 Comitative =*inyan*

The Comitative case marker =*inyan* occurs independently with the meaning 'too, also, as well'.

- (3-93) a. *mimilung gija m-a-nigi-rri*
 tucker not III-IRR-burn-P
 'The tucker is not cooked.'
- b. *da-na-k langan inyan gija l-a-nigi-rri*
 DEF-II-DIST mcat too not II-IRR-burn-P
 'That meat too, it is not cooked.'

While the comitative meaning is presumably a development from this meaning, the comitative meaning must be distinguished synchronically.

- (3-94) *wunguyi mimilung inyan*
 2A tucker COM
 'Do you lot have any tucker?'

This sentence has two possible meanings. It could mean 'Do you lot have any tucker as well as X?', where *inyan* has its independent meaning. However, in context it simply had the meaning indicated, with *inyan* in a comitative function. Like the Locative case marker, the Comitative usually appears as the second member of a phrasal compound, but it may also appear as a suffix. The following sentences illustrate the range of comitative meanings conveyed by *inyan*.

- (3-95) *bi-jurnu inyan*
 3A-child COM
 'Do you have children?'

- (3-96) *iluk darlirli inyan*
 ground stone COM
 'The ground is stony.'

- (3-97) *da-wi-k bangi b-i-limu-ng w-a-yung bangi inyan*
 DEF-I-DIST stick III<3-get-PP 3I-go-PP stick COM
 'That bloke has got a stick. He walked with a stick.'

While (3-97) could also be interpreted as an instrumental, it should be noted that prototypical instrumentals are not attested with Comitative case marking. Prototypical instrumentals appear without case marking.

- (3-98) *ja-wi-k b-alkgan darlirli ga-y-ingula-yan*
 DEF-I-DIST 3I-small stone 1+2A<3-strike-PR
 'That kid is always hitting us with stones.'

3.11.5 Privative b/m/d-ajan

The adjective *-ajan* means 'nothing, none'. The Class IV form of this adjective conveys the particle meaning 'No'.

- (3-99) a. *nginyi iyirr Ø-nginy-ambuldingmi-ny*
 2M hand IV<2M-cut-PP
 'Did you cut your hand?'
- b. *d-ajan gija Ø-ngu-w-ambuldingma-rri*
 IV-nothing not IV<1-IRR-cut-P
 'No, I did not cut my (hand).'

The adjective conveys privative meanings as the second member of nominal phrasal compounds.

- (3-100) *da-wi-k uginy bi-jajan*
 DEF-I-DIST woman 3A-nothing
 'That (bloke) has no wives.'
- (3-101) *uginy ngiliyi d-ajan*
 woman dog II-nothing
 '(That) woman has no dogs.'
- (3-102) *motika m-ajan gija ngu-w-a-yung-iji*
 car III-nothing not I-IRR-go-EV-here
 '(I have) no car. I cannot come tomorrow.'
- (3-103) *da-wi-k w-adlangan irarr d-ajan*
 DEF-I-DIST 3I-old male tooth IV-nothing
 'That old man has no teeth.'

3.11.6 Prominence =ji

Prominence markers are common among the languages of the Top End. They signal to the listener to focus on the suffixed nominal, but they are not accompanied by the prosodic and syntactic distinctions which mark topics cross-linguistically. The prominence suffix is extensively attested in the texts (Appendix A). This suffix is unusual among word-level suffixes in showing significant allomorphic variation.

=di /n_
 =gi /k_

These two allomorphs are evidently assimilatory. The suffix does not assimilate following the tap /rɾ/.

miyawarr=ji
 place name=PRM
 'Miyawarr'

The suffix is not attested following other consonants in native vocabulary items. It is attested following an apical stop in a European name.

Mrs Herbert=ji
 name=PRM
 'Mrs Herbert'

There was no assimilation in this case, but given the 'exotic' status of foreign names, this is not evidence that the =di allomorph would not occur after apical stops in native vocabulary.

The fact that the Prominence suffix attaches to evidently foreign vocabulary items is one of the pieces of evidence which shows that it is a word-level suffix, rather than a root-level suffix. It also behaves prosodically as a word-level suffix, and not as a root-level suffix (2.6.3).

3.11.7 Contrastive =jiyak

The Contrastive suffix =jiyak is formally identical to the Class IV distal demonstrative form *ji-ya-k* 'DEF-IV-DIST', and presumably historically derived from the demonstrative. However, the =jiyak suffix does not have a demonstrative meaning, and the two cannot therefore be synchronically identified. At a further historical remove, it is possible that the Prominence suffix =ji is also ultimately derived from a suffixation of the *ji-ya-k* demonstrative form.

The Contrastive suffix differs from the Prominence suffix precisely in that it appears to have a contrastive meaning. The Contrastive suffix is most commonly attested with temporals.

- (3-104) *i mimilung bi-y-alkgikgan i-rr-u-gi dinngagi=jiyak*
 okay tucker 3A-AS-small.PL 3>I-give-PP before=CONT
 'Okay, she used to give the kids tucker in the old days.'

- (3-105) *i nga-y-ikgaykgiji-rr=wany dinngagi aykgirnani=jiyak d-ajan*
 yes I-AS-always-PI=DUR before now=CONT IV-nothing
 'Yes, we always used (to go to town) in the old days, but not now.'

- (3-106) *da-wi-k b-alkgan gija=jiyak w-in-buluga-yi*
 DEF-I-DIST 3I-small later=CONT 3I-FU-fall-FU
 'That kid is going to fall later on.'

The *ji-ya-k* demonstrative has an important temporal function with the meaning 'then' (5.8). It seems likely that it was originally compounded with *dinngagi* 'before' and *gija* 'later' in this meaning. These compounds would contrast with the corresponding plain temporals by having an overt definite specification. The compound forms would also thereby have a somewhat emphatic interpretation. This ancillary emphatic interpretation may have come to dominate, and eventually over-ride, the distal specification thereby permitting compounding with *aykgirnani* 'now, today'.

In propositions with future time reference, such as (3-106), the contrast is between an undesirable future state of affairs, and the implicitly preferable present situation. The Contrastive suffix appears with nominals other than temporals.

- (3-107) *nginyi alkgiji ngaykgi=jiyak*
 2M behind 1M=CONT
 'You are (right) behind me (as opposed to being somewhere else before).'

- (3-108) *nginyi alkgiji ngaykgi=ji*
 2M behind 1M=PRM
 'You are (right) behind me.'

The example in (3-108) is a constructed example, provided to illustrate the probable distinction between the Contrastive and Prominence suffixes.

4 Verbs

4.1 The verbal complex

The verbal complex presents the greatest morphological complexity in Limilngan. The general range of positions found within the verbal complex is set out below.

pronominal prefix 1 + pronominal prefix 2 + subject number prefix + imperfective reduplicative/future/irrealis prefix + verb root + tense suffix + directional suffix + durative suffix + delimited suffix

There are some gaps in the materials. Thus, there are no examples showing the ordering of the directional suffix in relation to the durative and delimited suffixes. The ordering set out above is the one predicted by their respective phonological behaviours. There remain uncertainties as to the morphological analysis of many verbal forms. Felix not uncommonly gave inaccurate verb forms which were not confirmed in subsequent elicitation. I have, as far as possible, based the ensuing account of verbal structures on forms which were confirmed. Readers are advised to consult the verbal dictionary which lists all reasonably supported verbal forms. The following examples are illustrative of the general ordering pattern set out above.

- (4-1) *m-iny-b-arlarla-rri=mirl*
III<2M-IRR-make-P=DEL
[pron 1+pron 2+irr+verb+tense+del]
'You did not make it.'
- (4-2) *m-anga-n-ikgiju-g-iji*
III<2A-FU-take back-FU-here
[pron 1+pron 2+fut+root+tense+dir]
'You lot will bring it back here.'
- (4-3) *l-aga-rr-w-a-rri*
II<1+2A-AS-IRR-eat-P
[pron 1+pron 2+augSubj+irr+root+tense]
'We did not eat it.'

There are phonological criteria which establish two major boundaries within the verbal complex. The first criterion is the distinction between root-level and word-level morphology (2.4). The Durative and Delimited suffixes are word-level suffixes. All the other affixes within the verbal complex are root-level affixes. Consequently, the possible word structures, based on the verbal complex, are those set out below.

$wd[wd[wd[pronominal\ prefix\ 1 + pronominal\ prefix\ 2 + subject\ number\ prefix +$
 imperfective reduplicative/future/irrealis prefix + verb root + tense suffix + directional
 suffix] $_{wd} + durative\ suffix]_{wd} + delimited\ suffix]_{wd}$

Within root-level relations, stress placement generally distinguishes the prefixes from the combination of the root + suffixes (2.6.1). The root + suffixes generally constitute a single stress placement domain. Prefixes are generally only stressed contingently, depending on a range of factors. There are exceptions, but this is the general pattern. Following this general pattern, I divide root-level verbal forms into the prefix complex and the verb.

$wd[prefix\ complex(pronominal\ prefix\ 1 + pronominal\ prefix\ 2 + subject\ number\ prefix +$
 imperfective reduplicative/future/irrealis prefix) $_{prefix\ complex} + verb(verb\ root + tense\ suffix$
 + directional suffix) $_{verb}]_{wd}$

4.2 Verb roots

Historically, it appears likely that a number of the longer verb roots which appear in Limilngan are compounds, consisting of a non-finite verb root followed by a finite verb root. One such group of paradigms is listed in Table 4.1. The paradigms listed in Table 4.1 were probably compounds consisting of a non-finite verb root and an auxiliary finite verb root **ma/mi* (after nasals) ~ **ba/bi* (after stops). A root **ma-l* 'to do, to make, to tell' is reconstructed for Proto Australian (Dixon 1980:405), and the potential Limilngan auxiliary may derive from this form.

A compound analysis of these, and other, finite verb stems would also result in a significant reduction in the number of consonant clusters attested medially in verb roots. It is a general pattern across all northern languages, that verb roots only rarely involve medial clusters.

While these factors support a compound analysis historically, there are no compelling reasons for adopting this analysis synchronically. There are four motivations for the adoption of a compound analysis synchronically. The first of these motivations may be illustrated by a comparison of the two Warray verb paradigms set out below.

	to hit	to clear off
Past Perfective	<i>bu-m</i>	<i>wuhbu-m</i>
Past Imperfective	<i>bu-n-iny</i>	<i>wuhbu-n-iny</i>
Non-Past	<i>bu-n</i>	<i>wuhbu-n</i>
Imperative	<i>bu</i>	<i>wuhbu</i>
		(h = glottal stop)

The final syllable of the lexeme *wuhbu* 'to clear off' is identical to the root for 'to hit' and the two verbs take the same lexically conditioned tense suffix paradigms. This suggests that *wuhbu* should be analysed as *wuh + bu*. This analysis is further motivated by the fact that /hb/ is not otherwise a licit morpheme-medial cluster. Neither of these considerations apply in Limilngan. No potential auxiliary occurs as an independent verb. Neither do any phonotactic infelicities result from a failure to divide certain stems.

Table 4.1: Potential auxiliary paradigms

	to be full	to break (tr)	to cut
PP	<i>anbiny-mi-ny</i>	<i>ambulding-mi-ny</i>	<i>ing-mi-ny</i>
PIRR	<i>anbiny-ma-rri</i>	<i>ambulding-ma-rri</i>	<i>ing-ma-rri</i>
PI	<i>anbiny-ma-rri</i>	<i>ambulding-ma-rri</i>	<i>ing-ma-rri</i>
PR	<i>anbiny-ma-m</i>	<i>ambulding-ma-m</i>	<i>ing-ma-m</i>
FU	<i>anbiny-mi</i>	<i>ambulding-mi</i>	<i>ing-mi</i>
EV	<i>anbiny-mi</i>	<i>ambulding-mi</i>	<i>ing-mi</i>
	to find	to swim	to fear
PP	<i>ingang-mi-ny</i>		<i>alatj-bi-ny</i>
PIRR		<i>iyung-ma-rri</i>	
PI		<i>iyung-ma-rri</i>	
PR			<i>alatj-ba-m</i>
FU	<i>ingang-mi</i>		
EV	<i>ingang-mi</i>		
	to finish	to get	to look after
PP	<i>ilk-bi-ny</i>		<i>anbalk-bi-ny</i>
PIRR	<i>ilk-ba-rri</i>		
PI		<i>jiyuk-ba-rri</i>	<i>anbalk-ba-rri</i>
PR	<i>ilk-ba-m</i>	<i>jiyuk-ba-m</i>	<i>anbalk-ba-m</i>
FU	<i>ilk-bi</i>		<i>anbalk-bi</i>
EV	<i>ilk-bi</i>		<i>anbalk-bi</i>

The third reason for dividing off auxiliaries is that some consistent verbal classificatory meaning can be associated with certain final segments common to a number of verbs. For example, all verbs of piercing, spearing, striking might end in *la* with an attendant common paradigm of tense suffixes. Again, this is not the case for any potential auxiliary in Limilngan. The fourth motivation for a compound analysis is illustrated below.

story *imitj*

to tell: PP *mitjba-gi*, PIRR *matjba-ngi*, PI *mitjba-ngi*, PR *mitjba-ngan*, FU *matjbu-k*

It seems likely that the first syllable of the verb root ‘to tell’ is related to the noun *imitj* ‘story’, and therefore the second syllable is historically a verbalising auxiliary. However, any synchronic relationship would necessarily involve lexicalised vowel deletion and ablaut. Further, there are no other forms which would provide support for this analysis synchronically.

A larger database might provide sufficient motivation for the establishment of an auxiliary system. If for example, there were 300 verbs of the pattern set out in Table 4.1, then sheer weight of numbers would support an auxiliary analysis.

4.2.1 Verb root ablaut

Many verb roots in Limilngan show vowel ablaut. Many examples of ablaut appear to derive from historical shifts **a > i*, and **u > i*. These changes are discussed in 2.8.2. Another important source of ablaut appears to have been a pressure for the perfect parsing of stress domains.

	to cook	to get up
PP	<i>ni-gi</i>	<i>ima-gi</i>
PIRR	<i>ni-ngi</i>	<i>ima-ngi</i>
PI		<i>ima-ngi</i>
PR	<i>ni-ngan</i>	<i>ima-ngan</i>
FU	<i>ni-yuk</i>	<i>imu-k</i>
EV	<i>ni-yuk</i>	<i>imu-k</i>

A comparison of these two paradigms suggests that the original FU/EV form of 'to get up' was **ima-yuk*, but this has been reduced. This reduction is common to a number of FU/EV forms involving the tense suffix *-k*. This reduction generally makes the verb a perfect trochaic foot.

There are, however, a number of cases of ablaut which are without evident historical source. The paradigm of 'to play' provides an example of such ablaut.

to play: PIRR *iyulkga-rri* [iulkkári], PI *iyulkga-rri* [iulkkári], PR *iyulkga-m* [iulkkam], FU *biyalkgi* [biálkki]

The variation in the final root vowel between /a/ in non-final position, and /i/ in final position is found in many paradigms, and is an exemplar of the general shift **a > i* (2.8.2). However, the variation in the second vowel between /a/ in the FU, when stressed, and /u/ elsewhere, when unstressed, does not have any obvious historical motivation.

4.3 The prefix complex

Limilngan shows a considerable array of prefix complex forms. They may be grouped into three tense-based paradigms. The Realis paradigm is found in the Past Perfective, Past Imperfective and Present. The Irrealis paradigm is found in the Past Irrealis and Evitative. The Future paradigm is found in the Future tense. Table 4.2 sets out the paradigms found with intransitive verbs. Table 4.3 sets out the paradigms for transitive verbs with a 3rd person Object. Table 4.4 sets out the paradigms for transitive verbs with a 3rd person Subject.

It did not prove possible to elicit coherent prefix complex paradigms for interactions between 1st and 2nd person. The only such form which was elicited with some consistency is listed in (4-4).

- (4-4) a. *n-a-n-mi* b. *n-a-n-bi* c. *n-a-ni*
 2M<1-FU-give 2M<1-FU-hit 2M<1-FU-see
 'I will give it to you.' 'I will hit you.' 'I will see you.'

Table 4.2: Intransitive prefix paradigms

	Realis	Irrealis	Future
1M	<i>nga-</i>	<i>ngu-w- ~ ng-a-</i>	<i>nga-n-</i>
2M	<i>nginy-</i>	<i>nginy-bi-</i>	<i>n-in-</i>
1+2M	<i>mi-</i>	<i>mu-w- ~ m-a-</i>	<i>m-in-</i>
I	<i>w- ~ i-</i>	<i>u-w- ~ i-y-a-</i>	<i>w-in-</i>
II	<i>il-</i>	<i>il-w- ~ il-a-</i>	<i>l-in-</i>
III	<i>mi-</i>	<i>mu-w- ~ m-a-</i>	<i>m-in-</i>
IV	\emptyset - ~ <i>i-</i>	\emptyset -w- ~ \emptyset -a-	\emptyset -in-
1A	<i>nga-rr/j/y-</i>	<i>nga-rr-w- ~ nga-y-a-</i>	<i>nga-y-in-</i>
2A	<i>a-rr/j/y-</i>	<i>a-rr-w-</i>	<i>a-y-in-</i>
1+2A	<i>ga-rr/j/y-</i>	<i>ga-rr-w-</i>	<i>ga-y-in-</i>
3A	<i>i-rr/j/y-</i>	<i>i-rr-w- ~ i-y-a-</i>	<i>i-y-in-</i>

Table 4.3: Transitive prefix paradigms with a 3rd person object

REALIS	Object			
Subject	I & 3A	II	III	IV
1M	<i>w-a-</i>	<i>l-a-</i>	<i>m-a-</i>	\emptyset -nga
2M	<i>w-iny-</i>	<i>l-iny-</i>	<i>m-iny-</i>	\emptyset -nginy-
1+2M	<i>w-umu-</i>	<i>l-umu-</i>	<i>m-umu-</i>	\emptyset -umu-
	<i>w-imi-</i>	<i>l-imi-</i>	<i>m-imi-</i>	\emptyset -imi-
3min	<i>i-rr/j/y-</i>	<i>i-lw-</i>	<i>m-i-</i>	<i>u-w-</i>
1A	<i>w-a-rr/j/y-</i>	<i>l-a-rr/j/y-</i>	<i>m-a-rr/j/y-</i>	\emptyset -nga-rr/j/y-
2A	<i>w-anga-rr/j/y-</i>	<i>l-anga-rr/j/y-</i>	<i>m-anga-rr/j/y-</i>	\emptyset -anga-rr/j/y-
1+2A	<i>w-aga-rr/j/y-</i>	<i>l-aga-rr/j/y-</i>	<i>m-aga-rr/j/y-</i>	\emptyset -aga-rr/j/y-
3A	\emptyset -i-rr/j/y-	<i>l-i-rr/j/y-</i>	<i>b-i-rr/j/y-</i>	\emptyset -i-rr/j/y-

IRREALIS	Object			
Subject	I & 3A	II	III	IV
1M	<i>w-a-w- ~ w-a-</i>	<i>l-a-w- ~ l-a-</i>	<i>m-a-w- ~ m-a-</i>	\emptyset -ngu-w-
2M	<i>w-iny-b-</i>	<i>l-iny-b-</i>	<i>m-iny-b-</i>	\emptyset -nginy-b-
1+2M	<i>w-umu-w-</i>	<i>l-umu-w-</i>	<i>m-umu-w-</i>	\emptyset -umu-w-
3min	<i>i-rr-w- ~ i-y-a-</i>	<i>i-l-w- ~ i-l-a-</i>	<i>m-i-w-</i>	\emptyset -u-w-
1A		<i>l-a-rr-w-</i>	<i>m-a-rr-w-</i>	\emptyset -nga-rr-w-
	<i>w-a-y-a-</i>	<i>l-a-y-a-</i>	<i>m-a-y-a-</i>	
2A	<i>w-anga-rr-w-</i>	<i>l-anga-rr-w-</i>	<i>m-anga-rr-w-</i>	\emptyset -anga-rr-w-
		<i>l-anga-y-</i>		
1+2A	<i>w-aga-rr-w-</i>	<i>l-aga-rr-w-</i>	<i>m-aga-rr-w-</i>	\emptyset -aga-rr-w-
3A	\emptyset -i-rr-w-	<i>l-i-rr-w-</i>	<i>b-i-rr-w-</i>	\emptyset -i-rr-w-
	\emptyset -i-y-a-	<i>l-i-y-a-</i>	<i>b-i-y-a-</i>	

FUTURE	Object			
Subject	I & 3A	II	III	IV
1M	<i>w-a-n-</i>	<i>l-a-n-</i>	<i>m-a-n-</i>	<i>Ø-nga-n-</i>
2M	<i>w-iny-in-</i>	<i>l-iny-in-</i>	<i>m-iny-in-</i>	<i>Ø-nginy-in-</i>
1+2M	<i>w-um-in-</i>	<i>l-um-in-</i>	<i>m-um-in-</i>	<i>Ø-um-in-</i>
	<i>w-im-in-</i>	<i>l-im-in-</i>	<i>m-im-in-</i>	<i>Ø-im-in-</i>
3min	<i>i-y-in-</i>	<i>l-uw-an-</i>	<i>m-i-n-</i>	<i>u-w-an-</i>
1A	<i>w-a-y-in-</i>	<i>l-a-y-in-</i>	<i>m-a-y-in-</i>	<i>Ø-nga-y-in-</i>
2A	<i>w-anga-y-in-</i>	<i>l-anga-y-in-</i>	<i>m-anga-y-in-</i>	<i>Ø-anga-y-in-</i>
1+2A	<i>w-aga-y-in-</i>	<i>l-aga-y-in-</i>	<i>m-aga-y-in-</i>	<i>Ø-aga-y-in-</i>
3A	<i>Ø-i-y-in-</i>	<i>l-i-y-in-</i>	<i>b-i-y-in-</i>	<i>Ø-i-y-in-</i>

Table 4.4: Transitive prefix paradigms with a 3rd person subject

Object	Realis	Irrealis	Future
1M	<i>du-Ø-</i>	<i>du-Ø-w- ~ d-Ø-a-</i>	<i>d-Ø-in-</i>
2M	<i>bi-rr/j/y-</i>	<i>bi-rr-w- ~ bi-rr-a-</i>	<i>bi-y-in-</i>
1+2M	<i>m-ini-</i>	<i>m-ini-</i>	<i>m-in-in-</i>
1A	<i>nga-rr/j/y-</i>	<i>nga-rr-w- ~ nga-rr-a-</i>	<i>nga-y-in-</i>
2A	<i>a-rr/j/y-</i>	<i>a-rr-w-</i>	<i>a-y-in-</i>
1+2A	<i>ga-rr/j/y-</i>	<i>ga-rr-w- ~ ga-rr-a-</i>	<i>ga-y-in-</i>

A transitive future tense prefix complex *n-a-n-* '2M<1-FU-' is consistent with the patterning of the Limilngan prefix paradigms. In the intransitive future paradigm, the 2M shows a special form *n-*. The form *n-a-n-* parallels the structure and ordering of the other future transitive prefix forms with a 1M Subject.

The analysis of prefix complex forms and their separation from the verb was among the most problematic areas in the analysis of verbal structures. Approximately half the prefix complex forms end in a vowel, and the majority of verbs commence with a vowel. As Limilngan does not permit hiatus, these vowel combinations are always shortened. Frequently, the resulting short vowel is unstressed, and consequently determining its quality and morphological assignment was often an area of uncertainty.

As a general principle, it appears that the first of two vowels in sequence is deleted. The one consistent exception to this principle was the 1st person prefix form *nga-*, which usually maintains its vowel. Consonant sequences show the reverse pattern. There are a number of situations within the transitive paradigms where an Object prefix, consisting solely of a consonant, is added to a consonant-initial Subject prefix. In this case, the first consonant of the Subject prefix is always deleted.

Vowel harmony is a source of variation within the prefix paradigms. The irrealis allomorph *w-* causes a preceding vowel to harmonise to /u/. The 1+2M Subject shows a related variation between *imi-* and *umu-*, with the *umu-* forms apparently resulting from harmony through, or triggered by, the labial nasal /m/. Stress patterns also contribute to variation. Some prefixes show an /a/ vowel when stressed, and /i/ otherwise.

Haplology is a significant source of variation. There are a considerable number of verbal complex forms, which show its effects (see Appendix D). One example of haplology is illustrated in below.

to lie-PR	Actual form	Predicted form
II	<i>il-ija-yam</i>	* <i>il-ilija-yam</i>

Prosodic structures are another important source of variation. In the example below, there are two cases where the actual forms do not match the predicted forms, the difference appears to result from parsing. All the actual forms may be parsed into two perfect trochaic feet.

to cook-FU	Actual form	Predicted form
II<1	<i>l-a-y-i-ni-yuk</i>	<i>l-a-y-i-ni-yuk</i>
II<2A	<i>l-anga-ni-yuk</i>	* <i>l-anga-y-i-ni-yuk</i>
II<1+2A	<i>l-aga-ni-yuk</i>	* <i>l-aga-y-i-ni-yuk</i>
II<3	<i>l-i-y-i-ni-yuk</i>	<i>l-i-y-i-ni-yuk</i>

The non-matching predicted forms involve imperfect trochaic parsing. Felix Holmes gave a number of paradigms of this nature which suggest that perfect trochaic parsing is an important target. However, he was not entirely consistent, and its full significance cannot be properly assessed.

The structure and ordering of the prefix complex generally was discussed in 4.1. The prefix positions and their ordering are repeated below for convenience.

Pronominal prefix 1 + pronominal prefix 2 + subject number prefix + imperfective reduplicative/future/irrealis prefix

The prefix complex conveys two types of information: about the person, number and function of subcategorised arguments, and about tense. Some prefix forms have more than one possible function. There are forms which may have cross-referencing functions, or alternatively, either a subject number or an irrealis function. An understanding of their cross-referencing functions is dependent on an understanding of their subject number or irrealis functions. Consequently, analysis of the prefix complex begins with a consideration of the subject number prefix position and the tense prefix position.

4.3.1 The subject number prefix

Tables 4.2–4.4 indicate that this prefix has three allomorphs. Strictly speaking, it has only two allomorphs. It has an allomorph *yi-* when the following morpheme commences with an apical or a vowel. Given that vowel-initial morphemes are much commoner than apical-initial morphemes, and allowing for hiatus shortening, this allomorph usually appears as *y-*. The other allomorph of the augmented subject prefix is *rr-*, which appears before labials, and irregularly in the paradigms of the verb ‘to go’ and ‘to go back’. There are also some verbs whose initial segment varies between /i ~ y ~ j/. One such paradigm, that of ‘to swim’, is presented below.

to swim	Minimal subject	Augmented subject
PP	<i>igu-gi</i>	<i>jigu-gi</i>
PIRR	<i>w-igu-ngi</i>	<i>w-igu-ngi</i>
PI	<i>jigi-jigu-ngi</i>	<i>jigi-jigu-ngi</i>
PR	<i>igu-ngan, igi-jigu-ngan</i>	<i>jigi-jigu-ngan</i>
FU	<i>in-yugu-k</i>	<i>in-yugu-k</i>
EV	<i>w-igu-k</i>	
IMP	<i>juguk</i>	

Historically, the initial segment of this stem was presumably uniformly *j, with the other forms resulting from lenition. In the PP and the PR, there is a distinction in stem-forms between the minimal, which commences with the vowel /i/, and the augmented, which commences with /j/. This variation is illustrated by the PP paradigm of 'to swim' below.

	Minimal subject	Augmented subject
1	<i>ng-igu-gi</i>	<i>nga-jigu-gi</i>
2	<i>nginy-igu-gi</i>	<i>a-jigu-gi</i>
1+2	<i>m-igu-gi</i>	
3I	<i>w-igu-gi</i>	<i>i-jigu-gi</i>
3II	<i>il-yigu-gi</i>	
3III	<i>m-igu-gi</i>	
3IV	<i>Ø-igu-gi</i>	

In these tenses, the variation in the initial segment of the stem functions as the equivalent of the subject number prefix. This stem variation and the subject number prefix both indicate augmented number for the Subject.

4.3.2 The irrealis prefix

The irrealis prefix has a variety of forms. The two most common allomorphs are listed below.

- w- : before vowel-initial verb stems
- a- : before consonant-initial verb stems

In the available materials, the attested initial consonants are /m, w, n, l/. Following the 2M prefix *nginy-*, the irrealis prefix takes the form *b-* preceding a vowel and *ba-* preceding a consonant.

- (4-5) *w-iny-ba-na-ni*
 3I<2M-IRR-see-P
 'You did not see him.'

There are three evitative tense forms where the irrealis prefix appears as *ba-* following *nginy-* and *wa-* elsewhere.

- | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------|--------------|----------|--------------|--------|
| <i>wa-wi</i> | hit-EV | <i>wa-li</i> | spear-EV | <i>wa-ni</i> | see-EV |
|--------------|--------|--------------|----------|--------------|--------|

In these three forms, the prefix bears primary word stress. The variant forms shown in the other examples above derive historically from an irrealis prefix form **ba-*. Reflexes of this irrealis proto-prefix are attested in other non-Pama-Nyungan languages.

- (4-6) *goeloe b-a-wa-na*
 not 3I<1-IRR-see
 'I did not see him.' [Larrakia]

- (4-7) a. *yi-ny-bi-nama-nyi* b. *yi-rri-wi-nama-nyi*
 1A-DL-IRR-kick-P 1A-PL-IRR-kick-P
 ‘We two did not kick it.’ ‘We lot did not kick it.’ [Jaminjung]

Apart from the variations in the form of the irrealis prefix, there is also the verb ‘to fall’, which irregularly appears to lack any substantive irrealis prefix.

	Attested irrealis	Predicted irrealis
to fall	<i>aldagi</i>	* <i>w-aldagi</i>

4.3.3 The future prefix

The future prefix is subject to much less variation than the irrealis prefix. It shows the following principal allomorphs.

- i-* : before stems with an initial apical (/n, l/ in the data)
in- : elsewhere.

Like the irrealis prefix, the vowel of the future prefix appears as /a/ in some paradigms where the future prefix bears primary stress. Given the general historical phonology of Limilngan, this prefix may be reconstructed as **an-*.

There are a few paradigms which appear irregularly to lack the future prefix. While the future prefix itself shows comparatively minor variation, the verb root forms found in the future often show significant variation. Stems which are otherwise vowel-initial appear in the future with an initial consonant, commonly a plosive consonant. Universally, the post-nasal position is the position par excellence where plosives resist lenition. Historically, it would seem likely that the future prefix being nasal-final has preserved earlier forms of many verb roots.

4.3.4 The imperfective reduplicative prefix

The imperfective reduplicative prefix is found in the Past Imperfective and Present tenses of a number of verbal paradigms. This prefix is now lexicalised in Limilngan, and it cannot be assigned any distinct synchronic function. It does not occur in some paradigms, is obligatory in others, and optional in yet others. In those paradigms where it is optional, there was no clear difference between the forms with and without the prefix. A comparison of some examples suggests that the prefix marked durative/iterative meanings. The use of reduplicative forms to mark these kinds of imperfective meanings is very common.

- (4-8) *b-alkgan w-igi-jigu-ngan*
 3I-small 3I-IMPV-bathe-PR
 ‘The kid always bathes (there).’

- (4-9) *imirri Ø-igu-ngan*
 sun IV-sink-PR
 ‘The sun is sinking/setting.’

4.3.5 Cross-reference

This section is concerned with the internal morphological analysis and patterning of the prefixes with cross-reference functions. The details of the particular argument categories cross-referenced are examined in 5.2. The pronominal prefix paradigms do not show a consistent categorial patterning, either in terms of traditional notions such as Subject and Object, or in terms of any other categorial labellings. The groupings found with the 1st, 2nd and 1+2 persons are listed below.

	Intransitive subject	Transitive subject	Object
1M	<i>nga-</i>	<i>nga-</i>	<i>du-</i>
2M-future	<i>n-</i>	<i>nginy-</i>	<i>bi-</i>
2M (other)	<i>nginy-</i>	<i>nginy-</i>	<i>bi-</i>
1+2M	<i>mi-</i>	<i>imi- ~ umu-</i>	<i>mi-</i>
1A	<i>nga-</i>	<i>nga-</i>	<i>nga-</i>
2A	<i>a-</i>	<i>anga-</i>	<i>a-</i>
1+2A	<i>ga-</i>	<i>aga-</i>	<i>ga-</i>

The 1M shows a nominative vs accusative grouping, as does the 2M in tenses other than the Future. In the Future, the 2M shows a three way split. The 1+2M, 2A, and 1+2A all show an absolutive vs ergative grouping. The 1A does not show any categorial distinction in prefix forms. Distinctions within the 1A are indicated by the position of the 1A in relation to other pronominal prefixes. When it is in initial position in a transitive prefix complex, it cross-references the Object. When it is in second position in a transitive prefix complex, it cross-references the Subject.

The 3rd person shows much greater complexity and irregularity. There are two prefix forms which appear historically to have been 3rd person cross-reference markers.

- i-*: Transitive Subject for all verbs, Intransitive Subject for 3 Augmented, Intransitive Subject for 3I Minimal and 3IV Minimal when the following morpheme is consonant-initial. This prefix usually harmonises to *u-* if the following consonant is [labial].
- w-*: Object for 3I Minimal and 3 Augmented with all verbs, Intransitive Subject for 3I Minimal when the following morpheme is vowel-initial.

There are, however, a number of departures from these general patterns. Some 3rd person intransitive prefix complexes and some transitive prefix complexes for 3rd person acting on 3rd person do not show the expected forms. The actual and predicted forms are compared below.

	Actual	Predicted
II-	<i>il-</i>	* <i>l-</i>
IV- (C initial verb)	<i>i-</i>	* <i>Ø-</i>
3I<3- (Realis)	<i>i-rr/j/y-</i>	* <i>w-i-</i>
II<3- (Realis)	<i>i-lw-</i>	* <i>l-i-</i>
IV<3- (Realis)	<i>u-w-</i>	* <i>Ø-i-</i>
3I<3-Irrealis-	<i>i-rr-w-</i>	* <i>w-u-w-</i>
II<3-Irrealis-	<i>i-l-w-</i>	* <i>l-u-w-</i>
3I<3-AS-Irrealis-	<i>Ø-i-rr-w-</i>	* <i>w-i-rr-w-</i>
3I<3-Future-	<i>i-y-in-</i>	* <i>w-i-n-</i>

	Actual	Predicted
II<3-Future-	<i>l-uw-an-</i>	* <i>l-i-n-</i>
IV<3-Future-	<i>u-w-an-</i>	* \emptyset - <i>i-n-</i>
3I<3-AS-Future-	\emptyset - <i>i-y-in-</i>	* <i>w-i-y-in-</i>

The two actual intransitive forms involve importation of the *i-* marker into the non-human classes. The actual transitive forms listed above involve the re-analysis of either the Augmented Subject prefix or the Irrealis prefix as a prefix cross-referencing the 3rd person. The same pattern is also evident in Table 4.4 which lists transitive forms for 3rd person acting on 1st and/or 2nd person. In the cases of prefix complexes with 2M, 1A, 2A, and 1+2A Objects, the 3rd person transitive Subject prefix is evidently historically the Augmented Subject prefix. In the case of prefix complexes with a 1+2M Object, the 3rd person transitive Subject marker may relate to the future prefix form. Prefix complexes with a 1M Object lack a substantive prefix for the 3rd person transitive Subject. The zero prefix is generally the marker of the 3IV class, the class lowest on the animacy hierarchy (3.2). However, as we can see from Table 3.6, which sets out the demonstrative paradigms, there are other examples of a zero affix being used to mark Class I.

These kinds of patterns—the importation of number and tense markers to act as 3rd person cross-reference markers, and the merger of the marking of the most and least animate classes—are found in the prefixal paradigms of other northern languages.

Given that there is no consistent relationship between pronominal prefix forms and categories favouring the use of some other terminology, this grammar uses the traditional terms “Subject” and “Object” in discussions of the cross-referencing functions of these prefixes. In transitive prefix complexes, the direction of transitivity is indicated by the < and > symbols.

Pronominal prefix 1 < Pronominal prefix 2	=	Object-Subject
Pronominal prefix 1 > Pronominal prefix 2	=	Subject-Object

4.3.6 Number marking and agreement

In Limilngan, as in many Australian languages with obligatory cross-reference, it is only for human referents that a number distinction is consistently maintained. Non-human referents generally do not show verbal agreement for augmented number. There are a few examples where animate referents show agreement for augmented number.

- (4-10) *ngiliyi da-n-iga buliki l-i-y-ilula-rri*
 dog DEF-II-PL cattle II<3-AS-chase-PI
 ‘Those dogs were chasing cattle.’

- (4-11) *da-n-iga ngiliyi aykgurr ja-n-iga il-a-yung*
 DEF-II-PL dog two DEF-II-PL II-go-PP
 ‘Those two dogs went by.’

However, as a comparison of (4-10) with (4-11) shows, augmented number marking is not predictable purely from animacy. In (4-10), ‘the dogs’ as transitive Subject show augmented number agreement. In (4-11), ‘the dogs’ as intransitive Subject, show minimal number agreement. The same variation is found with other referents.

- (4-12) a. *girralpbung d-amban i-y-a-ng-iji*
 green ant II-lots 3-AS-go-PR-here
 'Lots of green ants are coming here.'
- b. *dakgigak girralpbung l-in-a-yi*
 maybe green ant II-FU-go-FU
 'Maybe the green ants will go away.'

In (4-11), the demonstrative appears in a plural form, even though the verb shows agreement for minimal number. There appears to be a general pattern, whereby nominal modifiers can register plural/augmented number, even though the verb shows only minimal agreement.

- (4-13) *da-ma-k mamulk birrinyan² aykgurr da-m-iga m-annuga-yam*
 DEF-III-DIST red apple two DEF-III-PL III-stand-PR
 'There are two red apple trees there.'

- (4-14) *marnitj bi-j-amban m-a-ng-iji*
 boat 3A-AS-lots III-go-PR-here
 'All the boats are coming in.'

In both (4-13) and (4-14), the verb shows concord for minimal number, but in (4-13) the plural demonstrative form *da-m-iga* 'those' appears, and in (4-14) the augmented adjective form *bi-j-amban* 'lots' appears. Plural demonstratives appear in verbless predications with non-human referents.

- (4-15) *luwutjgi d-amban ja-n-iga*
 leaf II-lots DEF-II-PL
 'There are lots of leaves.'
- (4-16) *magangurl da-m-iga aykgurr*
 plum DEF-III-PL two
 'There are two green plum trees there.'

There is one example where non-human referents appear to be personified for the purposes of number marking.

- (4-17) *j-Ø-iga bungal minyayan aykgurr murnikgay i-y-itjga-gi*
 DEF-I-PL wallaby two other side 3-AS-cross-PP
 'Those two wallabies crossed over to the other side.'

The lexeme *bungal minyayan* 'wallaby' is Class II, and consequently the predicted demonstrative form is a Class II form *ja-n-iga*. The actual demonstrative form is a Class I form and the verb shows concord for augmented number.

² The term *mamulk birrinyan* is mistakenly given in this example. The correct term is *mamun birritj ~ mamun burrnginy*.

4.4 Tense, aspect and mood categories

The following tense, aspect and mood categories are marked in the verbal complex.

Past realis perfective	PP
Past irrealis	PIRR
Past realis imperfective	PI
Present	PR
Future	FU
Evitative	EV
Positive imperative	IMP

An example of the standard pattern for the realisation of the tenses is given below which lists the relevant forms of the verb 'to get up' with a 3A Subject.

PP	<i>i-y-ima-gi</i>	They got up.
PIRR	<i>i-rr-w-ima-ngi</i>	They were going to get up.
PI	<i>i-y-ima-ngi</i>	They were getting up.
PR	<i>i-y-ima-ngan</i>	They are getting up.
FU	<i>i-y-in-imu-k</i>	They will get up.
EV	<i>i-rr-w-imu-k</i>	They might get up.
IMP	<i>jumu-k</i>	Get up!

The distribution of prefixal paradigms is invariant across all verbs. The distribution of suffixal paradigms follows that shown above, with the exception of a few of the commoner verbs such as 'to go'. The Past Perfective and Present have distinctive suffix forms. The Past Irrealis and Past Imperfective have a common suffix form, as do the Future, Evitative and Imperative. An examination of the suffixal paradigms of Limilngan verbs reveals that any attempt to delimit conjugations is not a profitable exercise.

Many verb paradigms are only incompletely attested (Appendix D). In most cases it is likely that the gaps in the paradigms are simply accidental. However, it does appear that some verbs have defective paradigms.

4.4.1 The past perfective and the past imperfective

These two tenses are best examined together as they are in an immediate binary opposition in functional terms. Comrie (1976:16) provides the following definitions of perfectivity and imperfectivity: "... perfectivity indicates the view of the situation as a whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up the situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation." This summation appears to capture the nature of the difference between these two tenses in Limilngan in an adequate manner.

- (4-18) *da-wi-k* *ngaykgi* *di-Ø-na-gi*
 DEF-I-DIST 1M 1M<3-see-PP
 'That bloke saw me.' (Past Perfective)

- (4-19) *milijan* *bu-murlkgiji* *du-Ø-li-liwi-rri*
 yesterday 3I-person 1M<3-IMPF-see-PI
 'Yesterday, the Aborigine was watching me.' (Past Imperfective)

The Past Perfective has essentially only the interpretation illustrated in (4-18). The Past Imperfect has a variety of interpretations, in addition to the past progressive interpretation illustrated in (4-19). It may be used to convey past habitual meanings (see also 4.6.2).

- (4-20) *dak dinngagi m-annugi-rri*
 house before III-stand-PI
 'A house used to stand (there) before.'

In some cases, the use of a Past Imperfective form implies multiplicity of the object. This implication follows from a classic durative/repetitive interpretation of Imperfective aspect.

- (4-21) *arnikgan l-i-jiyukba-rri dirringangan*
 old woman II<3-get-PI mangrove worm
 'The old woman got (lots of) mangrove worms.'

This interpretation would presumably extend to intransitive subjects with Imperfective verb forms, though no examples are available in the data. The choice between Perfective and Imperfective verb forms is not however controlled by these factors, though past habitual meanings are nearly always conveyed by imperfective verbs forms (4.6.2). They are generally options available to the speaker for the presentation of the situation.

- (4-22) *dilimin langan aykgurr b-i-y-im-ambuldingma-rri*
 palm two III<3-AS-IMPF-cut-PI
 'They cut down two palm trees.'

The unmarked choice for presenting (4-22) would be a perfective verb form, but an imperfective may be used. It is not certain that this choice is available with all verbs. For a number of verbal paradigms, either the Past Perfective or the Past Imperfective is not attested.

4.4.2 The present

The Present is the other realis tense. It is used to describe situations which are in train at the present moment.

- (4-23) *inyi-gak=bungan da-ma-k motdikga m-anga-ma-malaga-m*
 int-IV=OBL DEF-III-DIST car III<2A-IMPF-push-PR
 'Why are you lot pushing that car?'

- (4-24) *da-wi-k w-a-ngal-alitjba-m*
 DEF-I-DIST 3I<1-IMPF-fear-PR
 'I am scared of that bloke.'

As illustrated, this holds of stative verbs such as 'to fear' as well as of active verbs such as 'to push'. It is also used to convey present habitual meanings.

- (4-25) *bulikgi lumanyuk lakgarni il-yiringa-n*
 cattle creek LOC II-go down-PR
 'The cattle always go down to the creek.'

While the Present is distinguished from the two realis past tenses by its temporal reference, it is inherently connected to the Past Imperfective by virtue of the fact that most present tense forms are imperfective in aspect. This connection via imperfective aspect is marked in two ways in Limilngan. Firstly, as discussed in 4.3.4, the Present and Past Imperfective are the two tenses in which the imperfective reduplicative prefix occurs. Secondly, if a verbal paradigm shows root suppletion, then the suppletive root will appear in the Present and Past Imperfective (Appendix C).

4.4.3 The irrealis tenses

The semantically irrealis tenses are the Future, the Evitative, the Positive Imperative and the Past Irrealis. These four tenses divide irrealis meanings in a somewhat complicated fashion. Future time declarative meanings are conveyed by the Future tense and the Evitative tense.

- (4-26) *w-in-a-yi*
 3I-FU-go-FU
 'He will/should/must go.' (Future)
- (4-27) *j-Ø-iga bi-y-alkgikgan m-imiliny wulun b-i-y-an-yi*
 DEF-I-PL 3A-AS-small.PL III-different other III<3-AS-FU-eat
 'Those kids want to eat a different (kind of tucker).' (Future)
- (4-28) *ngiliyi da-na-k bi-rr-a-wa-yi*
 dog DEF-II-DIST 2M<3-IRR-bite-EV
 'That dog might bite you.' (Evitative)

The distinction between the two tenses appears to be the familiar one of modality. The Future tense conveys definite intention, obligation and desire. The Evitative tense conveys possibility. The Future tense conveys hortative meanings.

- (4-29) *anbayk Ø-um-in-mildinyu-k*
 wind IV<1+2M-FU-leave-FU
 'Let us leave the wind.'
- (4-30) *ja-wi-k b-alkgan mimilung m-an-yi*
 DEF-I-DIST 3I-small tucker III-FU-eat
 'Let that kid eat the tucker!'
- (4-31) *ngaykgi=nijani Ø-nga-n-mimi-ya da-ga-n*
 1M=alone IV<1-FU-sit-FU DEF-IV-PROX
 'Let me sit here (quietly) by myself!'

The Future tense also conveys imperative meanings with a plural subject.

- (4-32) *wunguyi uginy Ø-anga-lakbi*
 2A woman IV-2AE-sit.FU
 'You women sit down!'
- (4-33) *mimilung j-Ø-iga b-alkgan mimilung w-anga-y-an-mi*
 tucker DEF-I-PL 3I-small tucker 3I<2A-AS-FU-give
 'You mob give those kids some tucker!'

Imperative meanings with a singular subject are conveyed by the Positive Imperative.

- (4-34) *langan ni-yuk ngaykgi l-a-n-yi langan*
 meat cook-IMP 1M II<1-FU-eat meat
 'Cook some meat! I want to eat meat.'
- (4-35) *nginyi gurdumardi l-iny-i-ni-yuk*
 2M catfish II<2M-FU-cook-FU
 'Are you going to cook catfish?'

As a comparison of (4-34) and (4-35) shows, the Positive Imperative verb form is generally the same as the Future verb form. The two tenses are differentiated by the fact that the Positive Imperative does not have a prefix complex. In addition to the regular imperative form illustrated in (4-34), a number of verbal paradigms have imperative forms which, though based on the verb root, do not correspond to the Future tense form.

- (4-36) *ngaykgi giji na-gi b-alkgan nga-n-yugu-k*
 1M mother see-IMP 3I-small 1-FU-swim-FU
 'Mummie, look at me! I, the kid, am going to swimming.'

With the verb 'to see', the imperative is identical to the Past Perfective. It may be observed that there is no cross-reference for the 1st person Object with the imperative in (4-36). There are a couple of imperatives whose irregularities extend beyond simply morphological form.

- (4-37) *j-Ø-iga bi-y-alkgikgan langan wu-gi*
 DEF-I-PL 3A-AS-small meat give-IMP
 'Give those kids some meat!'
- (4-38) *i giji mimilung nganmayiji aykgurnitjjin ulang*
 okay mother tucker give me hungry SOU
 'Mummie, give me tucker! I am hungry.'

With a 3rd person Object, the verb 'to give' has the same type of imperative as 'to see' (based on the Past Perfective). However, with a 1st person Object, it has a suppletive imperative *nganmayiji*. This form has been borrowed from the paradigm of the verb 'to come back', where it is a Future tense form meaning 'I will come back'. The motion verbs 'to go' and 'to come' have suppletive imperatives.

<i>barrungan</i>	you go!
<i>warrayi</i>	you lot go!
<i>guwiyina</i>	Come!
<i>warray-iji</i>	you lot come!

As shown above, 'to go' and 'to come' are unique in having an imperative form for a plural subject. The imperatives listed above also function as exclamations 'Go away!' and 'Come here!', and it seems probable that the unusual facts about them relate to this.

In addition to appearing as a simple verb form, the Future also appears in a phrasal construction involving forms of the verb 'to do'.

- (4-39) *i dak lambangi nga-n-a-yi nga-nami-ny*
 yes town I-FU-go-FU I-do-PP
 'I wanted to go to town.'

- (4-40) *ngaykgi di-Ø-na-gi d-Ø-in-ba-yi il-ami-ny*
 IM IM<3-see-PP IM<3-FU-bite-FU II-do-PP
 'The dog saw me and wanted to bite me.'

- (4-41) *irarr du-makgayan langan l-a-n-yi nga-nami-ny irarr du-makgayan*
 tooth IV-bad meat II<I-FU-eat I-do-PP tooth IV-bad
 'My teeth are no good. I tried to eat the beef, but my teeth are no good.'

This construction has past time reference, and conveys the irrealis meanings of failed desire and attempt. The use of future forms in this construction presumably relates to their modal interpretations, rather than their future temporal reference. Thus (4-39) is probably most literally to be translated as something like 'Yes, town I want to go, I did.' with the verb 'to do' functioning essentially as an auxiliary. In the available examples, 'to do' appears in the Past Perfective. It always immediately follows the future tense verb form. As such, it appears that this construction is a phrasal verb construction (5.5).

Simple Past Irrealis verb forms may also be used to convey meaning of past attempt and desire.

- (4-42) *i dak lambangi nga-rr-w-a-ngi atjban mutdikga mu-makgayay*
 yes town I-AS-IRR-go-P morning car III-bad
 'We wanted to go to town in the morning, but the car was no good.'

However, Felix preferred to use the phrasal construction in (4-39)-(4-41) to convey past attempt or desire. The more common function of a simple Past Irrealis verb form is to convey meanings of past obligation.

- (4-43) *i da-wi-k wulun i-rr-a-wi-rri*
 yes DEF-I-DIST other 3>I-IRR-hit-P
 'He should have hit that other bloke.'

4.5 Verbal negation

Negatives involve the negator *gija* 'not' and Past Irrealis verbal forms with past time reference, and Future or Evitative verbal forms with non-past time reference.

- (4-44) *da-wi-k gija marnalk u-w-igi-rri=mirl*
 DEF-I-DIST not corroborree 3I-IRR-sing-P=DEL
 'That bloke did not sing corroborree.'

The negator always precedes the verb form, and usually immediately precedes it. However, as (4-44) shows, immediate adjacency is not obligatory. The available materials do not, however, suggest that any word or sequence of words may be placed between *gija* and the verb. These words refer to object arguments as in (4-44) or locational arguments.

- (4-45) *gija ayal il-w-a-yung*
 not road II-IRR-go-EV
 '(The dog) can't walk on the road.'

Case marked nominals may occur between the negator and the verb.

- (4-46) *gija bangi lakgarni m-a-w-itjbikgu-k gija m-a-w-itjbikgu-k*
 not tree LOC III<I-IRR-climb-EV not III<I-IRR-climb-EV
 'No, I will not climb in the tree.'
- (4-47) *gija belyuen=bungan i-rr-w-a-ng-iji*
 not Belyuen=OBL 3-AS-IRR-go-P-here
 'They have not come from Belyuen.'

The class of words which can appear between *gija* and the verb form appears to be similar to the class of nouns which may be incorporated in languages which have noun incorporation structures (see also 5.5). In the non-past, Evitative verb forms are the unmarked choice for constructing negatives.

- (4-48) *j-Ø-iga aykgurr gija ngu-w-aliga-yi*
 DEF-I-PL two not I-IRR-hear-EV
 'I cannot hear those two.'
- (4-49) *nginyi gija nginy-b-aligi-yi*
 2M not 2M-IRR-hear-EV
 'You are not listening.'
- (4-50) *ngaykgi. gija ngu-w-arnu-k=birl*
 1M not 1-IRR-cry-EV=DEL
 'Me, I will not cry.'
- (4-51) *gija m-iny-ba-yi mimilung da-ma-k*
 not III<2M-IRR-eat.EV tucker DEF-III-DIST
 'Don't eat that tucker!'

As illustrated in (4-48)-(4-51), Evitative forms may be used to convey all kinds of non-past negative meanings. Negative constructions involving the future tense convey only intentional negation.

- (4-52) *inyi-gak=bungan gija mimilung m-anga-y-an-yi*
 int-IV=OBL not tucker III<2A-AS-FU-eat
 'Why won't you mob eat your tucker?'

- (4-53) *inyi-gak=bungan gija nga-y-in-buluga-yi*
 int-IV=OBL not 1-AS-FU-fall-FU
 'What for! We will not fall down.'

Most examples of negatives involve active verbs. Statives appear to show a different tense patterning, with present negative meanings being conveyed by Past Irrealis verb forms.

- (4-54) *nginyi gija bi-rr-w-akbi-rri*
 2M not 2M<3-IRR-know-P
 'He does not know you.'

4.6 Verbal suffixation

Apart from the tense/aspect/mood suffixes, there are three verbal suffixes in Limilngan. They are *-iji* 'Here', which is a root-level suffix (2.6.1), and *=wany* 'Durative' and *=mirl* 'Delimited', which are word-level suffixes (2.6.2).

4.6.1 Here -iji

The *-iji* 'here' suffix indicates motion towards the location of the speaker. It is most commonly found with the following verbs.

bring	=	get+ <i>iji</i>	bring back	=	unknown verb+ <i>iji</i>
come	=	go+ <i>iji</i>	come back	=	go back+ <i>iji</i>

The productivity of this suffix is uncertain. The only productive verbal structure in Limilngan is the phrasal compounding structure (5.5). The verbal suffixing system, to which *-iji* belongs, is lexicalised and unproductive. However, within this general constraint on suffixal productivity, it appears that *-iji* may be attached to any semantically plausible verb.

- (4-55) *ildiga-y-iji*
 go out-IMP-here
 'Come out!'
- (4-56) *bangi ambildirrang-iji*
 tree jump.IMP-here
 'Jump down here from that tree!'

4.6.2 Durative =wany

The Durative suffix =wany is most commonly attested with a past habitual meaning, and conversely, nearly all examples of past habitual meaning involve this suffix.

- (4-57) *dinngagi ngugun Ø-u-mukbinya-ngi=wany*
 before booze IV<3-drink-PI=DUR
 'He always used to drink booze in the old days.'
- (4-58) *da-wi-k umal gija bangbang Ø-a-nama-yi=wany=mirl*
 DEF-I-DIST smoke not smoke 3I-IRR-do-P=DUR=DEL
 'That bloke never used to smoke.'

The only propositions, with a past habitual meaning, which do not involve this suffix, are existential propositions.

- (4-59) *bangi m-alkgan m-ajan m-annugi-rri*
 tree III-small III-nothing III-stand-PI
 'A big tree used to stand/be there.'
- (4-60) *da-wi-k dinngagi w-annugi-rri=wany*
 DEF-I-DIST old days 3I-stand-PI=DUR
 'That bloke used to stand up (over there) in the old days.'

In (4-59), where the 'stand' verb has an existential role (5.7), the Durative suffix is absent (see also (4-20)). However, in (4-60), where the verb does not have an existential role, the Durative suffix appears when a past habitual meaning is intended.

There is one example, of =wany attaching to a Past Perfective verb form when a positive past habitual meaning is conveyed.

- (4-61) *ngaykgi atjban ng-ima-gi=wany*
 1M morning 1-get up-PP=DUR
 'I always used to get up early.'

While =wany is most commonly found with a past habitual meaning, it is not restricted to this meaning. There are examples where it does not have a habitual interpretation.

- (4-62) *j-Ø-iga bi-jamban i-julukgulpbi-rri=wany wiwinbirrali*
 DEF-I-PL 3A-lot 3A-talk-PI=DUR midnight
 'They were talking and talking through the night.'
- (4-63) *i nguyl aykgurr j-Ø-iga nga-rr-mildiya-ny=wany nginyi lakgarni*
 yes 1A two DEF-I-PL 1-AS-run-PP=DUR 2M LOC
 'Yes, we two ran and ran up to you.'

- (4-64) *langan gija l-a-w-ingma-rri=wany*
 meat not II<I-IRR-cut-P=DUR
 'I cannot cut the meat.' (= 'I have not been able to cut the meat, though I have been trying and trying.')

The precise contribution of =*wany* in these examples is not certain. The best hypothesis is that there is a linkage to its appearance in constructions conveying past habitual meanings. The most obvious linkage is durative meaning. The probable durative contribution of =*wany* is easily translatable in the positive constructions, (4-62) and (4-63), by an iterative translation. Its contribution to the negative construction in (4-64) is less easily translated. However, again, an iterative translation appears to convey the most likely contribution.

As thus far exemplified, the Durative suffix generally appears in constructions with past time reference. There is, however, one construction where it appears with present time reference.

- (4-65) *nguyi Katherine Katherine nga-rr-mima-n nga-rr-mima=wany*
 1A Katherine Katherine I-AS-sit-PR I-AS-sit=DUR
 'We live in Katherine.'

It appears optionally with Present tense forms of the verb *mima* 'to sit', when a present habitual meaning is being conveyed. It is not recorded with any other verb in the Present tense. Present habitual meanings are otherwise conveyed by simple Present tense verb forms (4.4.2). This construction, therefore, appears to be lexicalised. As illustrated in (4-65), when =*wany* is attached in this construction, the *-n* Present tense suffix does not appear. This may be an irregularity, further signalling the status of this construction as lexicalised. However, nasal+approximant clusters are not otherwise attested in Limilngan, and they have a highly marked status among Australian languages (Hamilton 1996:180). Consequently, the non-appearance of the *-n* suffix might simply reflect markedness considerations.

4.6.3 Delimited =*mirl*

The precise meaning of the Delimited suffix =*mirl* is uncertain. It is attested with all the tenses, however, its addition to the meaning of the tenses is not always evident. It seems likely that its semantic contribution may vary according to tense. Comparison across its range suggests that there is a degree of semantic commonality. The suffix appears to signal the speaker's assessment that the situation is delimited to the proposition presented, as against other more general or more specific potentialities.

As a somewhat rough translation, it appears to convey a comment meaning like 'and that is all/what there is to say about the situation'. The precise interpretation of this comment meaning varies with factors such as tense and negation. The suffix is most commonly attested with negative forms and with present tense forms.

- (4-66) *nginyi d-ajan nginyi gija m-iny-b-arlarla-rri=mirl*
 2M IV-nothing 2M not III<2M-IRR-make-P=DEL
 'Not you, you never made (the canoe).'
 (lit. 'Not you, you did not make the canoe, and that's all there is to say.')

- (4-67) *da-wi-k b-alkgan manngulan Ø-i-mima-n=mirl*
 DEF-I-DIST 3I-small camp IV<3-sit-PR=DEL
 'That kid sits in camp all the time.'
 (lit. 'That kid sits in camp and that's all there is to say about him.')

With past negatives such as (4-66), =*mirl* is often associated with 'never' interpretations as opposed to 'not' interpretations. With present tense forms, it is often associated with habitual interpretations. The literal translations indicate how these interpretations appear to arise from the basic meaning of the Delimited suffix. However, neither of these interpretations is obligatory, and the interpretation of the delimitation is very much dependent on context.

- (4-68) *i umal di-ya-k di-nginyi Ø-nginy-mima-n=mirl*
 yes smoke DEF-IV-DIST IV-2M IV<2M-sit-PR=DEL
 'Yes, your tobacco is there (next to where) you are sitting.'
 (lit. 'Yes, your tobacco is there (next to where) you are sitting, and not anywhere else.')

- (4-69) *gija ng-aldaga-yi=mirl gija ngu-w-ambirriyi=mirl*
 not 1-fall-EV=DEL not 1-IRR-break.EV=DEL
 'No, I will not fall and break (my leg)'.
 (lit. 'No, I will not fall and break (my leg). There is no possibility of that.')

- (4-70) *gija u-malaju-k=birl*
 not 3I-lie-EV=DEL
 'He cannot camp (there).'
 (lit. 'He cannot camp there. There is no possibility of that.')

As illustrated in (4-70), the suffix has a stop-initial allomorph following a stop. Examples of the suffix with forms other than negatives and presents are provided in (4-71) and (4-72).

- (4-71) *i ngaykgi marnitj m-a-nurlkgurla-ng=mirl*
 yes 1M canoe III<1-paddle-PP=DEL
 'Yes, I have paddled a canoe.' (= 'I can paddle a canoe.')
 (lit. 'Yes, I have paddled a canoe, and that's that.')

- (4-72) *uwurnitj l-a-na-gi gija=jiyak d-Ø-in-ba-yi=mirl dakgigak*
 hornet II<1-see-PP later=CONT 1M<3-FU-bite-FU=DEL maybe
 'I saw a hornet. It will bite me later, maybe.'
 (lit. 'I saw a hornet. It will bite me later for sure, maybe.')

The suffix is not attested with Past Imperfective forms, other than the grammaticalised interrogative constructions involving Past Imperfective forms of 'to do' ((3-42) and (3-43)). This is probably an accidental gap.

5 *Syntax*

5.1 Proposition classes and clause types

There is a fundamental distinction in Limilngan between the class of ascriptive, equational, existential or possessive propositions and other classes of propositions. Propositions belonging to the first class may be expressed by either verbal or verbless predications, whereas propositions belonging to other classes are necessarily expressed by verbal predications. Verbless predications obligatorily involve a predicating nominal. Verbal predications involve a verbal complex. Both predication types may involve optional modifiers and nominal arguments.

In this grammar, I use the term 'clause' to describe these predication types, because the terms 'verbless clause' and 'verbal clause' are in standard usage. However, the role of the clause as an analytical concept in Australian languages has been the subject of considerable questioning (Heath 1984, McGregor 1990, Merlan 1994 among others). There is considerable evidence that intonation units and other prosodically organised units of information structure are more appropriate loci of analysis than the traditional notion of the clause. This is certainly true of Limilngan, and while I make use of the term 'clause', I also discuss material from the perspective of information structuring where possible and relevant.

5.2 Cross reference and transitivity

There is a general correspondence between verbal valency and cross-reference in Limilngan. Monovalent verbs generally take only one pronominal prefix, and this prefix cross-references the core Subject argument of the verb.

- | | | | |
|-------|---|---|--|
| (5-1) | a. <i>ng-a-yung</i>
1-go-PP
'I went.' | b. <i>ng-ambuldi-yung</i>
1-tired-PP
'I was tired.' | c. <i>nga-mildiya-ny</i>
1-run-PP
'I ran.' |
|-------|---|---|--|

Bivalent verbs generally take two pronominal prefixes, and the first usually cross-references the Object, and the second the Subject.

- | | | | |
|-------|---|--|--|
| (5-2) | a. <i>m-a-mildingi-ny</i>
III<1-leave-PP
'I left it.' | b. <i>m-a-mala-ng</i>
III<1-push-PP
'I pushed it.' | c. <i>m-a-na-gi</i>
III<1-see-PP
'I saw it.' |
|-------|---|--|--|

The particular groupings of Intransitive Subject, Transitive Subject, and Object, which are united by common prefix forms are discussed in 4.3.5. There are only two trivalent verbs

attested: 'to give' and 'to show'. With both of these, it is the goal argument that is cross-referenced. The patient/theme argument is not cross-referenced.³

- (5-3) *i da-wi-k arnikgan mimilung d-Ø-inymuldi-rri=wany*
 yes DEF-I-DIST old woman tucker 1M<3-give-PI=DUR
 'Yes, that old woman always used to give me tucker.'

- (5-4) *da-wi-k gija iluk w-iny-in-itjgu-k*
 DEF-I-DIST later country 3I<2M-FU-show-FU
 'Are you going to show that (bloke) the country later on?'

In (5-3), the prefix *d-* cross-references the 1M goal argument, and not the Class III patient argument *mimilung* 'tucker'. In (5-4), the prefix *w-* cross-references the Class I goal argument *da-wi-k* 'that (bloke)' and not the Class IV patient argument *iluk* 'country'.

Limilngan does not appear to have any special formal coding system for the sets of arguments which are traditionally described as Indirect Objects.

- (5-5) *i mimilung m-anga-limu-ng j-Ø-iga bi-y-alkgikgan*
 okay tucker III<2A-get-PP DEF-I-PL 3-AS-small.PL
 'Okay, did you mob get tucker for those kids?'

- (5-6) *nginyi barrungan lamay lim-iji ngaykgi*
 2M go.IMP.SG goose get-here 1M
 'You! Go! Bring some goose for me!'

The unmarked goal/benefactive arguments in these examples are classical Indirect Objects. It is not known whether these arguments could alternatively be Oblique marked, though this does seem likely (3.11.1).

The patterns of cross-reference may be used to define formal transitivity classes. Verbs which bear cross-reference for only one argument are intransitive. Verbs which bear cross-reference for two arguments are transitive. It may be noted that there is no reason to establish a formally ditransitive class of verbs. Nearly all the attested bivalent and trivalent verbs are formally transitive. The only exception is a verb meaning 'to lose'. There are two 'lose' verbs attested. One inflects transitively and is semantically bivalent.

- (5-7) *nginyi nginy-malkgan mimilung m-iny-uldija-gi*
 2M 2M-small tucker III<2M-lose-PP
 'You! You kid! Did you lose the tucker?'

The other 'lose' verb inflects intransitively, but nonetheless also appears to be semantically bivalent.

³ However all examples with these verbs involve an inanimate patient/theme. It is possible that a human patient/theme would affect cross-reference: 'They showed the baby to me' and 'They showed me as a baby to the old people' might both show a 1M Object prefix, but the argument cross-referenced would differ.

- (5-8) *gija marrimarri n-in-biritjga-yi*
 later knife 2M-FU-lose-FU
 'You will lose (that) knife later.'

If this verb inflected transitively, then the verb would be *l-iny-in-biritjga-yi*, with the appropriate prefix complex *l-iny-in-* 'II<2M-FU-' for a 2M Subject and a Class II Object (*marrimarri* 'knife' is Class II). Despite its intransitive inflection, this verb does not mean 'to get/become lost', which would seem the most likely meaning for an intransitively inflected 'lose' verb.

The majority of monovalent verbs are formally intransitive. However, there are a couple of apparently monovalent verbs which inflect transitively. There is one monovalent verb which inflects inversely: 'to be full'.

- (5-9) *bi-y-anbinymi-ny*
 2M<3-be full-PP
 'You were full up.'

There are a couple of stance and change of position verbs, which inflect transitively, with the location of the stance or change of position being cross-referenced as an Object. Among verbs with locative Objects of this nature, the semantic clarity of the objects varies somewhat. With the verb 'to climb', the usual Object is the Class III noun *bangi* 'tree'.

- (5-10) a. *nginyi bangi ja-ma-k-gamak gija m-iny-in-itjbikgu-k*
 2M tree DEF-III-DIST-EMPH later III<2M-FU-climb-FU
 'Are you going to climb that tree later?'
 b. *gija bangi lakgarni m-a-w-itjbikgu-k gija m-a-w-itjbikgu-k*
 not tree LOC III<I-IRR-climb-EV not III<I-IRR-climb-EV
 'No, I will not climb in the tree.'

As illustrated in (5-10), the locative argument takes cross-reference whether it is case-marked or not. The verb 'to climb' also occurs with a Class II Object.

- (5-11) a. *nginyi atjbungaji nandu l-iny-in-itjbikgu-k*
 2M tomorrow horse II<2M-FU-climb-FU
 'Are you going to ride a horse tomorrow?'
 b. *i ngaykgi gija d-Ø-in-biminymu-k*
 yes 1M later 1M<3-FU-carry-FU
 'Yes, I will ride a horse later.'

There are two ways of expressing the concept of riding a horse. The verb 'to climb' may be used with a Class II prefix cross-referencing *nandu* 'horse'. Alternatively, the verb 'to carry' may be used in an inverse construction. The other verbs which consistently take cross-reference for, apparently locative, Objects are the verbs 'to sit (down), to stop', 'to sit, to stay'. These verbs inflect for a Class IV Object.

- (5-12) *atjbungaji Ø-nginy-i-lakbi*
 tomorrow IV<2M-FU-sit
 'You will sit down tomorrow.'
- (5-13) *uginy inyi-gak=bungan Ø-anga-rr-mima-n*
 woman what-IV=OBL IV<2A-AS-sit-PR
 'Why are you women sitting down?'

If these verbs inflected intransitively, then the appropriate forms would be *n-i-lakbi* in (5-12), and *a-rr-mima-n* in (5-13). Unlike 'to climb', however, the referent of this Class IV Object prefixing is unclear. It is most probably the Class IV noun *iluk* 'ground', but this noun does not appear regularly in propositions involving these two verbs.

The paradigm of the verb 'to lie' generally inflects intransitively. However, a few 2A and 1+2A forms inflect transitively for a Class IV Object (see Appendix D).

- (5-14) *aykgurr gay-gak Ø-anga-rr-malija-gi*
 two where-IV IV<2A-AS-lie-PP
 'Where did you two camp?'

The appropriate intransitive form would be *a-rr-malija-gi*. Again, it is most probable that the Class IV noun *iluk* 'ground' is the intended Object. The Object cross-referencing, found consistently with the two 'sit' verbs, and sporadically with the 'lie' verb, resembles cross-referencing of cognate Objects. However, classical cognate Objects are not cross-referenced in Limilngan.

- (5-15) *da-wi-k gija marnalk w-in-yuga-yi*
 DEF-I-DIST later corroboree 3I-FU-sing-FU
 'That bloke will sing corroboree later.'

The verb 'to sing' is a classical cognate Object verb, and in (5-15) the cognate Object is specified as *marnalk* 'corroboree', a Class III noun. Nonetheless, it inflects intransitively, cross-referencing only the Subject. The appropriate transitive inflection to cross-reference this Class III Object would be *m-i-n-yuga-yi*.

5.3 Part-whole relations

The coding of part-whole relations depends on whether they are reflexive or non-reflexive. Non-reflexive relations are coded by possessor ascension constructions, where the part is not itself cross-referenced. Rather, the prefix complex cross-references the whole.

- (5-16) *ngaykgi iyirr ngu-wulitjbi-yan*
 1M hand 1-ache-PR
 'My hand is aching.'

- (5-17) *nginyi nginy-mimay bi-rr-i-m*
 2M 2M-shoulder 2M<3-hit-PP
 'Did he hit you on the shoulder?'

The possessor ascension construction is found both with nouns that belong to the formal class of body part nouns and those that do not. Indeed, its usage extends to nouns which are not physical body parts, but are components of social identity.

- (5-18) *uwulk gija w-a-w-ukbi-rr-i*
 name not 3I<1-IRR-know-P
 'I do not know his name.'

In reflexive part-whole relations, the part is cross-referenced as an Object and the whole is cross-referenced as a Subject.

- (5-19) *ijalk ngaykgi=nijani Ø-ng-ambuldingmi-ny*
 tongue 1M=alone IV<1-cut-PP
 'I cut my tongue.'

- (5-20) *nginyi nginy-malkgan lulikbi l-iny-ba-m*
 2M 2M-small head II<2M-hit-PP
 'You! Kid! Did you hit your head?'

There is one example of reflexive part-whole relations being cross-referenced by an inverse construction.

- (5-21) *gija mimilung m-a-wa-yi mu-makgayay*
 not tucker III<1-IRR-eat.EV III-bad
 'I cannot eat the tucker. It is bad.'
- ngaykgi gija uwarrkbi ng-uwum du-Ø-w-arnikgiju-k*
 1M later vomit 1M-belly 1M<3-IRR-turn-EV
 'I might vomit later, and my belly might twist on me.'

The inverse construction, *ng-uwum du-Ø-w-arnikgiju-k*, has a non-referential Subject prefix. It seems likely that the inverse construction is restricted to malefactive meanings, as inverse constructions generally appear to be.

5.4 Detransitivisation

Detransitivisation was one of those areas where Felix's command of Limilngan was uncertain. There do not appear to be any detransitivisation processes applying uniformly across the transitive verbal lexicon, such as the various reflexive or reciprocal suffixes that are found in most Australian languages. This is a reflection of the highly lexicalised nature of Limilngan verbal morphology generally. The lack of uniform formal detransitivising mechanisms was undoubtedly a significant contributing factor to Felix's uncertainties in this area. I have

encountered the same uncertainties with speakers of Gaagudju and Larrakia, which both show very similar lexicalised encodings of detransitive meanings.

The scope for detransitivisation in Limilngan is comparatively limited, given that reflexive part-whole relations are coded by formally transitive constructions ((5-19) and (5-20)). Apart from part-whole reflexive meanings, the only detransitive meanings which were elicited with some consistency were reflexive and reciprocal meanings of 'to see' and 'to hit'. With 'to see', reflexive and reciprocal meanings were conveyed by an independent intransitive paradigm.

	to see (tr.)	to see (intr.)
PP	<i>na-gi</i>	<i>liwi-ny</i>
PIRR	<i>a-na-ni</i>	
PI	<i>li-liwi-rri</i>	<i>liwi-rri</i>
PR	<i>li-liwi-yan</i>	<i>liwi-yan</i>
FU	<i>a-ni</i>	<i>liwi-yi</i>
EV	<i>wa-ni</i>	

The suppletive Past Imperfective and Present tense forms of 'to see (tr.)' evidently derive from the paradigm of 'to see (intr.)'. However, this is not a systematic connection, and the two paradigms are essentially independent in formal terms, as are other transitive-intransitive pairs in Limilngan. The 'to see (intr.)' paradigm is not attested with other than reflexive or reciprocal meanings.

- (5-22) *ngaykgi ngugun lakarni iminybikbuk nga-liwi-ny*
 1M water LOC shadow 1M-see-PP
 'I saw myself, as a shadow, in the water.'

Propositions with indefinite Object meaning; 'anything, nothing, something' are conveyed by the 'to see (tr.)' verb, with Class IV Object prefixing.

- (5-23) *da-w-ik mumaralk d-ajan gija Ø-u-wa-ni*
 DEF-I-DIST eye IV-nothing not IV<3-IRR-see
 'That bloke is blind. He cannot see anything.'

In many Australian languages, the reciprocal form of 'to hit' conveys the meaning 'to fight'. In Limilngan, the meaning 'to fight' is conveyed by an independent paradigm (see Appendix D). In responding to elicitation bases involving reflexive meanings of 'to hit', Felix usually requested that a part Object be specified. There are a few examples where no part Object is specified.

- (5-24) *ngaykgi Ø-nga-m*
 1M IV<1-hit.PP
 'I hit myself somewhere.'

These examples have prefixing for a Class IV Object. Given that Class IV conveys indefinite Object meanings, it seems likely that these constructions should be interpreted as transitives with an indefinite Object, rather than as plain reflexive 'I hit myself' constructions. Larrakia shows a similar use of Class IV prefixing to convey indefinite Object meanings.

There are also a couple of examples of the verb 'to talk' with a reflexive interpretation.

- (5-25) *j-Ø-iga inyi-tdak i-julukgulpba-yam w-iyi=nijani*
 DEF-I-PL int-II 3A-talk-PR 3-A=alone
 'Why are those two talking to themselves?'

These constructions involve the =*nijani* 'alone, self' pronoun paradigm. This paradigm does not have a reflexive anaphoric function (3.4). Rather, the reflexive meaning is one possible interpretation of (5-25). It could also be interpreted to mean 'Why are those two talking alone?', 'Why are those two talking to each other?'.

5.5 Phrasal verbs, inchoatives, and causatives

There are three classes of phrasal compounds in Limilngan. One class, discussed in 3.3 and 3.11 consists of noun/adjective + noun/adjective combinations. This class of phrasal compounds derives nominal lexemes, and is central to the case marking system of Limilngan. The second class derives irrealis verbal meanings by compounding future tense verb forms with the verb 'to do' as an auxiliary (4.4.3). The third class consists of noun/adjective + verb combinations, as illustrated in (5-26).

- (5-26) *ja-wi-k ambili d-amban ambili Ø-i-mitjba-ngan*
 DEF-I-DIST lie IV-lots lie IV<3-tell-PR
 'That bloke (tells) lots of lies. He is always telling lies.'

The noun *ambili* 'lie' may occur independently, as in the first intonation unit *jawik ambili damban* in (5-26). However, more commonly it is immediately followed by a verb, in this case 'to tell', as in the second intonation unit *ambili imitjbanan*. It appears that *ambili* and the verb are strictly ordered, with *ambili* always immediately preceding the verb if the two occur in the same intonation unit.

- (5-27) a. *inyi-gak=bungan ambili Ø-nginy-mila-gi*
 int-IV=OBL lie IV<2M-AUX-PP
 'Why did you lie to me?'
 b. *dakgigak gija ambili Ø-nga-matjba-ngi*
 maybe not lie IV<I-IRR-tell-P
 'Whatever. I did not tell lies.'

As illustrated in (5-27), *ambili* also occurs with a verb which is not attested other than in this construction. This verb therefore functions as an auxiliary, and *ambili* effectively conveys the verbal lexical meaning of 'to deceive, to lie'. As also illustrated in (5-27), *ambili* intervenes between the negator *gija* and the verb. There appear, therefore, to be two criteria for phrasal verbs: invariant ordering of noun + verb, and immediate adjacency. Adjacency may be tested under negation.

There are only four other nouns which behave like *ambili* in effectively conveyed verbal meanings in combination with an "auxiliary" verb: *arli* 'laughter ~ to laugh', *uwarrkbi* 'vomitus ~ to vomit', and *bangbang* 'tobacco ~ to smoke'.

- (5-28) *j-Ø-iga aykgurr arli inyi-gak=bungan arli i-y-inmanbiyi-ng*
 DEF-I-PL two laughter what-IV=OBL laugh 3-AS-die-PP
 'Why are those two (kids) laughing?'
- (5-29) *ngaykgi uwarrkbi du-Ø-limu-ng*
 1M vomit 1M<3-get-PP
 'I vomited.'
- (5-30) *da-wi-k dinngagi gija umal bangbang Ø-a-nama-yi=wany*
 DEF-I-DIST before not smoke smoke 3I-IRR-do-P=DUR
 'That bloke never used to smoke before.'

The construction for 'to vomit' is an inverse construction. In (5-30) there is an Object noun *umal* 'smoke [from fire], tobacco' as well as the predicating noun *bangbang* 'tobacco ~ to smoke' intervening between *gija* 'not' and the verb. It may be noted that the predicating noun is immediately adjacent to the verb. In all of these constructions, the verb effectively functions as an auxiliary.

In addition to these four predicating nouns, there is also the noun *atjbulan* 'work', which shows some similarity in its distribution. In most propositions, this word has a standard nominal function.

- (5-31) *atjbulan w-iny-an-mi*
 work 3I<2M-FU-give
 'You will give him work.'
- (5-32) *atjbulan Ø-uw-i-limi*
 work IV<3M-FU-get
 'He will get work.'

However, it also appears with the verb 'to work, to walk about', in constructions where its contribution to meaning is not evident.

- (5-33) *atjbulan m-in-itjbatjbula-yi*
 work 1+2M-FU-work-FU
 'We will work.'

The verb *m-in-itjbatjbula-yi* can independently convey the meaning 'We will work', so it is not an auxiliary parallel to the auxiliaries in (5-27)-(5-30) preceding. Nonetheless, the combination in (5-33) appears parallel to the predicating noun + auxiliary constructions in these examples.

Constructions involving the verb 'to die/to suffer', and inverse constructions involving 'to get', are also used in Limilngan to convey ascriptive meanings of negative affect.

- (5-34) *nginyi nginyi ngugun nginy-ambuldi-yung*
 2M 2M water 2M-die-PP
 'Are you dying for water?'

- (5-35) *limiji ngaykgi limiji nga-nmanbiya-m limiji du-makgayan*
 cold 1M cold 1-suffer-PR cold IV-bad
 'I am suffering a bad cold.'

- (5-36) *gija limiji d-Ø-a-limi*
 later cold 1M<3-FU-get
 'I will get a cold later.'

- (5-37) *aykgurnitjjin du-Ø-limu-ng*
 hunger 1M<3-get-PP
 'I am hungry.'

These constructions appear to be phrasal verbs. The nouns always immediately precede the verbs. However, there are no negative examples to fully test the phrasal analysis. If they are phrasal verbs, then they differ from the preceding phrasal verbs. The range of nouns which may serve as predicators is wider. The range of nominals which may appear in these negative affect constructions is unknown.

The range of nominals which may appear in inchoatives, which are phrasal verbs, is also uncertain. Inchoatives usually take the verb 'to become' and are attested with adjectives and with human age grade status nouns.

- (5-38) *marnanggurr umal d-alkgan d-ajan di-ya-k=ulang*
 sky smoke IV-small IV-nothing DEF-IV-DIST=SOU
Ø-imiliny wulun i-wi-ny
 IV-different other IV-become-PP
 'There is lots of smoke in the sky. That is why the sky looks different.'

- (5-39) *da-wi-k w-adlangan i-wi-ny*
 DEF-I-DIST 3I-old male 3I-become-PP
 'That bloke has become an old man.'

- (5-40) *bangi ja-ma-k gija m-alkgan m-ajan m-i-wi-rri*
 tree DEF-III-DIST not III-small III-nothing III-IRR-become-P
mu-wurnitjgan
 III-same
 'That tree has not become big. It (is still the) same.'

Both (5-38) and (5-40) involve a compound nominal which has in turn been compounded with 'to become'. In (5-38), it is *-imiliny wulun* 'different' and in (5-40) *-alkgan -ajan* 'big'. There is one example of an inchoative being formed with the 'do' verb, which comes from Text 4 Line 7.

- (5-41) *magarritjbamirl mi-nami-ny*
 star III-become-PP
 '(The old man) became a (shooting) star.'

The difference between inchoatives formed with the 'become' verb, as opposed to the 'do' verb is not clear. It may relate to the nature of the endpoint in the process of change. The transformation into a shooting star does not appear to be the sole ending point for the dreamtime old man, who is the subject of (5-41). It appears that he has ultimate manifestations in a number of places, some of them as an old man. This may be compared with the description of the transformation of some dreamtime figures who have an ultimate manifestation in only one place.

- (5-42) a. *di-ya=lakgarni, aykgurr amikgan=arnikgan i-y-inmanbiyi-ng*
 DEF-IV=LOC two PL=old woman 3-AS-die-PP
 'Then, two old women died.'
- b. *darlirli il-wi-ny i-y-innuga-yam*
 stone II-become-PP 3-AS-stand-PR
 'They became stones. They are standing (there).'

In (5-42), the transformation to stone is described with the 'become' verb. The role of the 'do' verb is also unclear in existential propositions (5.7).

Causatives appear to be phrasal compounds involving the verb 'to make'.

- (5-43) *bangi ambat-daygwan lala*
 stick short-SG make.IMP
 'Shorten that stick!'

The final class of phrasal verbs is that involving borrowings from English/Kriol.

- (5-44) *startim i-y-ami-ny bombim i-y-ami-ny darwin*
 start 3-AS-do-PP bomb 3-AS-do-PP Darwin
 '(The Japanese) started to bomb Darwin.'

As is common in Australian languages, verbal lexemes are borrowed in a nominalised form and take the verb 'to do' as their auxiliary.

In addition to the standard phrasal construction of nominal + verb, there is one example of a phrasal verb which consists of two verbs. The verbal meaning 'to take' is expressed by a phrasal compound consisting of the 'get' verb followed by the 'go' verb.

- (5-45) *marnitj m-a-limu-ng nga-rr-a-yung*
 canoe III<I-get-PP I-AS-go-PP
 'We took a canoe.'

When conveying the 'take' meaning, these two verbs always occur in the order 'get' + 'go', and adjacent to one another. The 'taken' entity is cross-referenced as the Object of the 'get' verb, and the 'taking' entity is cross-referenced as the Subject of both verbs.

5.6 The noun phrase

Limilngan is like the majority of Australian languages in that there is little evidence for a formally definable noun phrase structure. Groups of nominals with a common referent do not show any formally determinable ordering or adjacency constraints.

- (5-46) *ngaykgi aykgurr l-a-na-gi dimarrkginyan*
 1M two II<1-see-PP dingo
 'I saw two dingoes.'

Nevertheless, there are certain evident tendencies in ordering and adjacency. Firstly, groups of more than two nominal lexemes with a common referent are uncommon. Most groups consist of two adjacent nominal lexemes, which belong to a single intonation unit. If nominal lexemes with a common referent are discontinuous, as in (5-46), then they usually belong to different intonation units and it is not clear that such discontinuous constructions are directly comparable to adjacent lexemes within a single intonation unit.

Secondly, the groups of adjacent lexemes normally consist of a head lexeme, which refers to the entity in question, and a modifying lexeme: an adjective, a numeral, a possessive pronoun, or a demonstrative. Modifiers, other than demonstratives, usually follow the head. Demonstratives also appear to most commonly follow the head, but they also precede it with considerable frequency. These tendencies may be accounted for under McGregor's (1990:253–276) model of the Noun Phrase as a sequence of functions.

(Deictic) + Entity + (Qualifier)

The deictic element relates the phrase to its (extra-)linguistic context. The entity designates the referent, and the qualifier narrows down the potential reference set of the entity. Particular formal classes of nominals may fulfil more than one functional role.

- (5-47) a. *inyi-gak=bungan b-alkgan da-wi-k-gwi w-anga-lula-yan*
 what-IV=OBL 3I-small DEF-I-DIST-EMPH 3I<2A-chase-PR
 'Why are you lot chasing that there kid?'
 b. *da-wi-k b-alkgan bu-mayan*
 DEF-I-DIST 3I-small 3I-cheeky
 'That kid is cheeky.'

In the first sentence in (5-47), the demonstrative *dawikgwi* has a qualifier function. It points directly to a particular referent. The 'that there' translation attempts to convey this pointing function. In the second sentence, the demonstrative *dawik* has a deictic function which relates the overall NP *dawik balkgan* to its context.

There is evidence from case marking that the Entity + Qualifier sequence may constitute a formally definable grouping.

- (5-48) *ngiliyi Ø-i-mima-n bangi m-alkgan lakgarni*
 dog IV<3-sit-PR tree III-small LOC
 'The dog is sitting under the small tree.'

The positioning of case markers appears to be strictly ordered following the nominal they modify (3.11). This suggests that the sequence *bangi m-alkgan* 'small tree' constitutes a unit. However, this is the only example of a case marked nominal sequence. Other examples would be required before any conclusions could be drawn.

While the functional analysis accounts for the general patterning of NP constructions, there are issues which would require a fuller database to properly account for. In probably the majority of Australian languages, demonstratives usually precede the head lexeme. This pattern follows from the fact that the deictic function precedes the entity function, and demonstratives most commonly have a deictic function. In the languages to the south and west of Limilngan however, demonstratives normally follow the head. In these languages the deictic function presumably follows the entity function. Limilngan appears to be halfway between these two patterns in its ordering of demonstratives. The implications of this for a functional analysis of the NP remain to be resolved.

5.7 Ascriptive, equational, existential and possessive propositions

It appears that the unmarked way of coding this class of propositions in the present tense is with verbless clauses.

(5-49) *ngaykgi aykgurnitjjin*
 1M hunger
 'I am hungry.' (ascriptive)

(5-50) *da-wi-k garli bi-nginyi*
 DEF-I-DIST O.brother 3I-2M
 'That bloke is your older brother.' (equational)

(5-51) *minbulungbulung ajunini da-ma-k bangi angul*
 bird sp. one DEF-III-DIST tree high
 'There is one minbulungbulung bird high in that tree.' (existential)

(5-52) *ngaykgi bambarl m-alkgan m-ajan*
 1M club III-small III-nothing
 'I have a big club.' (possessive)

The stance verbs and the verb 'to have' are also used to convey this class of meanings. The use of the stance verbs does not correlate directly with their stance meanings, as it usually does in Australian languages. Instead, their usage appears to depend on animacy distinctions. The verb 'to sit' is used with human referents, the verb 'to lie' is used with water, and 'to stand' is used with other referents.

(5-53) *i bun-bulngan Ø-i-mima-n*
 yes 3I-alive IV<3-sit-PR
 'Yes, he is alive.'

- (5-54) *dakgigak gija Ø-w-ayurni ulik Ø-alija-yam*
 maybe not IV-IRR-go back still IV-lie-PR
 'Maybe (the saltwater) has not gone out. It is still there.'
- (5-55) *mimilung m-ajan ngaykgi Ø-ngi-mima-n*
 tucker III-nothing IM IV<I-sit-PR
 'I have no tucker.'
- (5-56) *marakbitj m-alkgan m-ajan m-annuga-yam*
 ceremonial ground III-small III-nothing III-stand-PR
 'There is a big ceremonial ground there.'
- (5-57) *imirmarr d-amban imirmarr ji-ya-k Ø-annuga-yam*
 cloud IV-lots cloud DEF-IV-DIST IV-stand-PR
 'There are lots of clouds there.'
- (5-58) *mumuningi ji-ya-k m-annuga-yam*
 plain DEF-IV-DIST III-stand-PR
 'There is a plain there.'
- (5-59) *i da-wi-k-gwi darlirli d-amban i-lw-ang-anga-n*
 yes DEF-I-DIST-EMPH money II-lots 3>II-IMPF-have-PR
 'Yes, that bloke has lots of money.'

These clauses were most commonly used when the proposition was not in accord with expectations. In some cases, such as (5-53) and (5-54), the facts were contrary to expectations. In other cases, such as (5-55)–(5-59), the facts were above or below expectations. The use of a present tense verb form presumably reinforces the assertion that the proposition holds of the present, despite other expectations. In some cases ascriptive meanings of negative affect may also be coded by phrasal verb constructions ((5-34)–(5-37)).

There are a number of ways of coding this class of propositions with past or future reference.

- (5-60) *i j-Ø-iga bi-y-alkgikgan atjban i-y-inmanbiyi-ng*
 yes DEF-I-PL 3-AS-small.PL morning 3-AS-tired-PP
 'Yes, those kids were tired this morning.'
- (5-61) *i d-ajan du-linan i-rr-mimi-yayi*
 okay IV-nothing IV-good 3-AS-sit-PI
 'Okay, no, they were fine.'
- (5-62) *bangi m-alkgan m-ajan m-annugi-rri*
 tree III-small III-nothing III-stand-PI
 'A big tree used to stand (there).'

However, these still appear to involve a 'not in accord with expectations' component of meaning. The verb 'to become, to do, to say' also appears in past tense propositions from this class.

- (5-63) *j-Ø-iga aykgurr i-y-ima-yi=mirl*
 DEF-I-PL two 3-AS-do-PI=DEL
 'Those two look the same.'
 (lit. 'Those two have come to be the same.')

The difference between the propositions involving 'to do' and those involving the stance verbs is not certain. However, it appears that the 'do' verb simply conveys tense information, whereas those with the stance verbs also convey the 'expectations' component.

If non-present reference can be established from context, then verbless clauses may be used to convey non-present propositions.

- (5-64) *ngaykgi walykga=mb-aykgi aykgurr ajunini w-ambuldi-yung*
 1M younger sibling=3I-1M two one 3I-die-PP
 'I had two younger sisters, but one died.'

- (5-65) *da-wi-k dinngagi=jiyak ladli d-amban aykgirmani*
 DEF-I-DIST before=CONT fat II-lots now
d-ajan gay-gak=i-nami-ny
 IV-nothing where-IV=3I-become-PP
 'That bloke was fat before, but not now. I don't know what has happened to him.'

5.8 Interclausal relations

As is common among northern languages, Limilngan does not mark verbs to indicate interclausal relations. Temporal sequencing between clauses may be indicated by using demonstratives in Oblique or Source case.

- (5-66) *ngaykgi bangi lakgarni m-adlingi da-ya-k=ulang*
 1M tree LOC III-small of back DEF-IV-DIST=SOU
dak lambangi ng-a-yung
 town I-go-PP
 'I sat at the roots of the tree and then I went to town.'

- (5-67) *ngaykgi mimilung mu-lynyayan m-a-mukbinya-ngi*
 1M tucker III-bitter III<1-eat-PI
di-ya-k=ulang ngu-wum ngu-wulitjbi-rrri
 DEF-IV-DIST=SOU 1-belly 1-ache-PI
 'I ate bad tucker and so my belly was aching.'

(5-68) *i ngiliyi du-mayan*
 okay dog II-savage
 'Okay, the dog is savage.'

(5-69) *i ji-ya-k=bungan l-a-rr-i-m*
 yes DEF-IV-DIST=OBL II<I-AS-hit-PP
 'Yes, that is why we hit him.'

As shown in (5-67) and (5-68), the use of these case-marked demonstratives is most common when there is a causal relationship. Other kinds of clausal relationships appear simply to be inferred from context.

(5-70) *da-wi-k milijan w-a-yi-na-gi da-ga-n w-a-ng-iji*
 DEF-I-DIST yesterday 3I<I-AS-see-PP DEF-IV-PROX 3I-go-PR-here
 'That bloke we saw yesterday is coming up.'

(5-71) *da-ya-k gija nginy-b-a-yung=mirl da-na-k*
 DEF-IV-DIST not 2M-IRR-go-EV=DEL DEF-II-DIST
ngiliyi bi-rr-a-wa-yi
 dog 2M<3-IRR-bite-EV
 'Don't go there lest that dog bite you.'

Relative clauses (5-70) and conditional sentences (5-71) are not commonly attested. It is possible that a fuller range of material would provide some formal means of marking these meanings.

5.9 Grammatical relations

Grammatical relation constructs do not appear to be of central import in the structuring of Limilngan. Cross-linguistically, grammatical relations are determined by consideration of patterns of interclausal control relations, and intraclausal argument marking. Limilngan, like most northern languages, does not have any formal system of interclausal control marking. The patterns of intraclausal argument marking do not present a consistent pattern. It is possible that fuller information on detransitivisation might provide reason to propose a particular system of grammatical relations.

Appendix A: Texts

During 1983–84, Felix Holmes recounted a number of stories to Frances Morphy. These stories may be divided into two groups. One group concerns the travels and actions of certain creative beings, focussing on the three mermaid sisters, Baligijarr, Manabirrina, and Manbarra, and an old man Wanyjuwanyjuwa, who is presented as their father. The other group of stories are autobiographical, concerning Felix's experiences in World War II, his working life, and his retirement.

These texts were originally transcribed and annotated by Frances Morphy in 1983–84. However, these transcriptions were necessarily limited in nature, as there had been only very limited linguistic research on Limilngan at that time. I re-transcribed the texts after completing my fieldwork on Limilngan, but there remained many areas of uncertainty, both as to particular word forms, and as to the appropriateness of translations. Then in January 2000, I checked through the texts with Lena Henry. Her contribution was central to the ensuing presentation of the texts. Lena identified a number of word forms which I had not encountered in my fieldwork with Felix. More importantly, because of their common life history, she was able to identify the participants in the texts and provide extensive contextual information. This contextual information was central to the transcription and translation of many portions of the texts. There remain some areas of uncertainty, but these are comparatively limited.

Copies of the texts and transcriptions are held by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in Canberra, and by the Aboriginal Areas Protection Authority in Darwin.

Texts on the activities and journeys of creative beings

Felix recounted four texts on the activities and journeys of creative beings. The principal participants in these texts are an old man, sometimes named as Wanyjuwanyjuwa, and three mermaid sisters: Baligijarr (oldest), Manabirrina (middle), and Manbarra (youngest). In the texts, these participants travel from east to west, through the country between Oenpelli and Darwin. Felix was living at Durduga (Tree Point) when these stories were recounted. This is near Darwin, and there are many shifts of deictic centre in the narratives.

A creative being, described as 'the old man', is associated with a number of sites between Oenpelli and Darwin, and indeed in areas extending beyond this geographical range. The particular name, Wanyjuwanyjuwa, used by Felix, has other versions: Inyjawanyjaw in Giimbiyu and Inyjavaanyjava in Gaagudju. The site Inyjawanyjaw is in country associated with the Erre variety of the overall Giimbiyu language, close to the East Alligator river. Felix appears to present Wanyjuwanyjuwa as the father of the mermaid sisters in Text 1, though this is not entirely clear. He also presents Wanyjuwanyjuwa as turning into a malevolent shooting star being, who entombs people in a cave and cooks them at a site called Balkgarnimi. Balkgarnimi is on the western side of the South Alligator river, and a considerable distance from the site Inyjawanyjaw. Other accounts of the events at Balkgarnimi do not use the name

Wanyjuwanyjuwa, or the other variants of this name, for the old man/shooting star figure at Balkgamimi.

Text 1: Old man Wanyjuwanyjuwa and his children

Felix recounted this as text and translation in close sequence. Consequently, there are no long sequences of Limilngan. I have presented Felix's translations as part of the text.

1. Place called Nguwulk,⁴ Mikkinj valley *lakgarni*, close up Mikkinj valley,
close
There is a place called Nguwulk. It is close up to Mikkinj Valley.⁵
2. *marakbitj* *m-annuga-yam*, that's aboriginal playground, still,
ceremonial ground III-stand-PR
There is a ceremonial ground there, still.
3. *Wanyjuwanyjuwa*, *l-adlangan bu-murkigiji*,
II-old male 3I-real
Wanyjuwanyjuwa, the true, proper old man
4. *marakbitj* *m-i-rlarla-ng*
ceremonial ground III<3-make-PP
He made (that) ceremonial ground.
5. *that old man been makim aboriginal playground*,
6. *warlun* *ajunini*, *oneside leg*,
leg one
He was one-legged.
7. *jirrpungi lamuk* *Ø-i-mima=wany*, *im sit down inside in the cave*,
inside cave IV<3-stay=DUR
He lives in a cave.
8. *Wanyjuwanyjuwa*, *di-ya-k=ulang*, *w-a-yung-iji* *lalakgili*,
DEF-IV-DIST=SOU 3I-go-PP-here lalakgili
Wanyjuwanyjuwa, from there, he came to Lalakgili
9. *d-iwi-yi-nija* *bi-jurnu* *i-rr-a-yung-iji*,
II-3-M-GEN 3A-child 3-AS-go-PP-here
His children came.⁶

⁴ I am not certain whether this name is Nguwulk, with an alveolar lateral, or Nguwurk with a retroflex lateral. The pronunciation was not clear enough to determine.

⁵ Mikkinj valley is just to the south of Oenpelli.

⁶ It is unclear whether these children include the mermaid sisters or not.

10. *them children belong to him been travelling, come this way, they been bringim that
aboriginal custom, from old man wanyjuwanyjuwa, they been,*
11. *i-rr-a-yung-iji Lalakgili, marakbitj b-i-rlarla-ng,*
3-AS-go-PP-here Lalakgili ceremonial ground III<3A-make-PP
They came to Lalakgili. They made a ceremonial ground.
12. *mean come to Lalakgili and makim aboriginal ceremony,*
13. *w-adlangan di-ya-k ??*
3i-old male DEF-IV-DIST ??
The old man, [text unclear]
14. *bi-jumu i-rr-a-yung-iji, di-ya-k=ulang i-y-ima-gi,*
3A-child 3-AS-go-PP-here DEF-IV-DIST=SOU 3-AS-get up-PP
The children came [to Lalakgili], they got up from there [Lalakgili],
15. *Lamugatjgiji marakbitj b-i-rlarla-ng,*
ceremonial ground III<3A-make-PP
[and went] to Lamugatjgiji. They made a ceremonial ground.
16. *mean shiftim come to Lamugatjgiji, imin makim nother playground, they all, all the young
boys, and all the children belong to him, from there,*
17. *i-rr-a-yung, Dalamanamaning, di-ya=lakgarni, gay-gak=i-y-ami-ny,*
3-AS-go-PP Dalamanamaning DEF-IV=LOC where-IV=3-AS-do-PP
They went to Dalamanamaning. Then, what did they do?
18. *ngugun lakgarni i-jigu-gi, imimi,*
water LOC 3-AS-dive-PP saltwater
They dived into the water, the saltwater.
19. *they been come right up to dalamanamaning, them people, I don't know what they been do,
they been jump down the sea, they been go back, this way dalamanamaning, he got that
rock, standing, that big, big man, got a feather,*
20. *lumulkban inyan*
feather COM
with a feather.

Text 2: The mermaid sisters (version a)

1. *iluk Narrukbirl,⁷ Ø-i-rr-mildingi-ny, i-rr-a-yung-iji marung,*
place Narrukbirl IV<3-AS-leave-PP 3-AS-go-PP-here mermaid
(That) place Narrukbirl, they left it. They came, the mermaids.
2. *they been leave from Narrukbirl, they been come, make a camp longa marung,*
3. *j-Ø-iga marung i-nami-ny, this mob people callim marung people,*
DEF-I-PL mermaid 3-say-PP
These (people) were called mermaids,
4. *ji-ya=lakgarni i-y-ima-gi, Balkgarnirni Ø-i-lakbu-ng,*
DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-get up-PP Balkgarnimi IV<3-stop-PP
Then, they got up (and went and) stopped at Balkgarnimi.
5. *they been shiftim come to Balkgarnirni,*
6. *di-ya-k=ulang, Miyingal b-i-rr-mukbinya-ngi,*
DEF-IV-DIST=SOU plant sp. III<3-AS-eat-PI
Then they ate Miyingal (unidentified plant species).
7. *iluk du-linan dinngagi, ground been good level country before,*
ground IV-good before
The ground was good before.
8. *when they been stop there, only them kid, been cry, for lily, eye lily, and he got, that old man wanyjuwanyjuwa been burnim allabout, sort of a falling star, hit and imin makim sharp hill, three hill, going one two three, imin hittim,*
9. *di-ya-k=ulang i-y-ima-gi, Garryilyi Ø-i-lakbu-ng,*
DEF-IV-DIST=SOU 3-AS-get up-PP Garryilyi IV<3-stop-PP
They got up from there (Balkgarnirni). They (went and) stopped at Garryilyi.
10. *manngulan b-i-rlarla-ng, they been come stop longa Garryilyi,*
camp III<3A-make-PP
They made a camp.
11. *two woman been pass away, and imin turn into the rock, and two hill, they standing up like that, two big stone,*
12. *di-ya=lakgarni i-y-ima-gi,*
DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-get up-PP
Then they got up there.

⁷ I am not certain whether this name is Narrukbirl, with a final retroflex lateral, or Narrukbirr with a final tap. The pronunciation was not clear enough to determine.

13. *milanyarl m-aga-rlarla i-y-ami-ny,*
raft III<1+2A-make.FU 3-AS-say-PP
'We will make a paperbark raft' they said.
14. *imin makim paperbark canoe,*
15. *m-aga-n-urlkgali i-y-ami-ny murnikgay,*
III<1+2A-FU-paddle 3-AS-say-PP other side
'We will paddle' they said, 'to the other side'.
16. *they been paddlim cross nother side, where the stone callim milanyarl,*
17. *di-ya=lakgarni gay-gak ga-y-in-a-yi i-y-ami-ny,*
DEF-IV=LOC where-IV 1+2A-AS-FU-go-FU 3-AS-say-PP
Then 'Where will we go?' they said.
18. *ga-y-in-a-yi Malwayi, they been come to Malwayi,*
1+2A-AS -FU-go-FU Malwayi
'We will go to Malwayi.'
19. *da-ga-n Ø-aga-lakbi lulayi l-aga-y-an-yi,*
DEF-IV-PROX IV<1+2A-stop.FU animal II<1+2A-AS-FU-eat
'We will stop here and eat some game.'
20. *we stop here, we eatim some turtle, and fish,*
21. *di-ya=lakgarni i-y-ima-gi,*
DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-get up-PP
Then they got up.
22. *i-rr-a-yung-iji da-ga-n East Arm corner, Ø-i-lakbu-ng,*
3-AS-go-PP-here DEF-IV-PRO IV<3-stop-PP
They came here to East Arm Corner. They stopped (there).
23. *they been come, stop longa East Arm corner,*
24. *di-ya=lakgarni ja-nga-n=di ga-y-in-mayi,*
DEF-IV=LOC DEF-IV-PROX=PRM 1+2A-AS-FU-go back
Then 'We will go back this way
25. *imimi=lakgarni, i-y-ami-ny, i-rr-a-yung-iji,*
saltwater=LOC 3-AS-say-PP 3-AS-go-PP-here
to the saltwater' they said. They came.
26. *they been shiftim camp from there, they been come back this way,*

27. *i-y-iji-yung, Manaburr Ø-i-rr-mimi-yayi,*
3A-AS-arrive-PP Manaburr IV<3-AS-stay-PI
They arrived at Manaburr. They stayed there.
28. *nguyi=ji itjbagini nga-y-a-ngi manngulan,*
1A=PRM forever 1-AS-go-PP camp
'We are going to our home forever.'
29. *we go back now, we home, you and me country,*
30. *Baligijarr i-nami-ny, wangulwa w-igu-gi,*
Baligijarr 3-say-PP first 3I-dive-PP
said Baligijarr. She dived in first.
31. *Baligijarr first one been jump down the sea,*
32. *ngaykgi w-a-n-mamungi i-nami-ny,*
1M 3I<1-FU-follow 3-say-PP
'I will follow her.' said (Manabirrira).
33. *me I followim im, Manabirrira imin talk,*
34. *i ngil-angil=pb-aykgi,*
yes FEM-O.sister=3I-1M
'Yes, my older sisters
35. *ngil-angil=pb-aykgi aykgurr i-rr-pbuli-ny*
FEM-O.sister=3I-1M two 3-AS-clear off-PP
my two older sisters have cleared off
36. *ngaykgi inyan w-a-n-mamungi i-nami-ny Manbarra,*
1M too 3I<1-FU-follow 3-say-PP Manbarra
me too, I will follow them.' said Manbarra.
37. *been jump in the sea, them three girl been all disappeared in the sea*

Text 3: The mermaid sisters (version b)

1. *w-ima-gi Narrukbirl, i-rr-a-yung-iji marung*
3I-get up-PP Narrukbirl 3-AS-go-PP-here mermaid
She arose at Narrukbirl. The mermaid (sisters) came.
2. *di-ya=lakgarni i-rr-a-yung-iji, Milanyarl,*
DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-go-PP-here Milanyarl
Then they came to Milanyarl.

3. *b-i-rlarla-ng i-rr-a-yung-iji, nganyi, Malwayi*
 III<3-make-PP 3-AS-go-PP-here whatsitsname Malwayi
 They made (a camp). They came, to whatsitsname, to Malwayi.

4. *di-ya=lakgarni i-y-ima-gi, ja-ga-n i-y-iji-yung,*
 DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-get up-PP DEF-IV-PROX 3-AS-arrive-PP
 Then they got up. They arrived here.

5. *w-adlangan u-mukbinymarr, di-ya-k=ulang,*
 3I-old male 3I-knees up DEF-IV-DIST=SOU
 At the place where the old man lies knees up. Then,

6. *murnikgay i-y-itjga-gi, i-y-inanni-ng i-rr-a-yung,*
 other side 3-AS-cross-PP 3-AS-mount-PP 3-AS-go-PP
 they crossed to the other side of the river. They mounted (the bank), and they went.

7. *i-rr-a-yung-iji, ulik i-y-itjbatjbuli-rr i-rr-a-yung,*
 3-AS-go-PP-here still 3-AS-walk around-PI 3-AS-go-PP
 They came. They were still walking around as they went.

8. *Linnguli Ø-i-rr-muginyba-gi, i-rr-a-yung miman,*
 Linnguli IV<3-AS-pass-PP 3-AS-go-PP high ground
 They passed by Linnguli. They went along the high ground.

9. *da-ga-n dak wulun dak i-y-ami-ny,*
 DEF-IV-PROX house other house 3-AS-do-PP
 'This place is a different place' they said.

10. *ga-y-in-yirrangi, imimi lakgarni, i-rr-ayurn-iji,*
 1+2A-AS-FU-go down sea LOC 3-AS-go back-PP-here
 'Let us go down, to the sea'. They came back.

11. *i-rr-a-yung-iji j-Ø-iga, Berrimah, East Arm*
 3-AS-go-PP-here DEF-I-PL Berrimah East Arm
 They came, that lot, to Berrimah, to East Arm.

12. *manngulan b-i-rlarla-ng, di-ya=lakgarni*
 camp III<3-make-PP DEF-IV=LOC
 Then they made a camp. Then,

13. *ngugun du-linyayan now gay-gak=nga-y-i-nami i-y-ami-ny*
 water IV-salty now where-IV=1-AS-FU-do 3-AS-say-PP
 'This is saltwater. What will we do now?' they said.

14. *j-Ø-iga-ni ga-y-in-a-yi Murrmujuk i-y-ami-ny*
 DEF-I-PL-? 1+2A-AS-FU-go-FU Murrmujuk 3-AS-say-PP
 'Let's go to Murrmujuk' they said.

15. *di-ya-k=ulang* *Ø-i-rr-mamunga-rri*
 DEF-IV-DIST=SOU IV<3-AS-follow-PI
 From there, they were following along.
16. *bimalk* *b-i-limu-ng* *i-rr-a-yung-iji*,
 scrub III<3-get-PP 3-AS-go-PP-here
 They took the scrub country way.
17. *i-rr-ayurn-iji* *da-ga-n* *ulang*, *i-rr-ayurn-iji*
 3-AS-go back.PP-here DEF-IV-PROX SOU 3-AS-go back.PP-here
 They came back from here. They came back.
18. *ja-ga-n*, *manngulan* *b-i-rlarla-ng*, *Blirrarrk*,
 DEF-IV-PROX camp III<3-make-PP Blirrarrk
 Here. They made a camp, at Blirrarrk.
19. *manngulan* *du-murkigi* *b-i-rlarla-ng*,
 camp IV-real III<3-make-PP
 They made a real camp
20. *lulayi=bungan* *i-y-ikgaykgiji-rri=wany*, *Lirrkarrk*,
 game=OBL 3-AS-do always-PP=DUR Lirrkarrk
 They always used to go (hunting) for game, at Lirrkarrk,
21. *lulungan*, *lulayi* *b-i-rr-mukbinya-ngi=wany*,
 lulungan game III<3-AS-eat-PI=DUR
 at Lulungan. They used to eat game.
22. ??, *di-ya=lakgarni* *i-rr-a-yung-iji*,
 ?? DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-go-PP-here
 [Text unclear] Then they came (here).
23. *da-ga-n* *dak* *ga-y-in-a-yi* *i-y-ami-ny* *inan*
 DEF-IV-PROX place 1+2A-AS-FU-go-FU 3-AS-say-PP nose
 'Let us go here to the point' they said.
24. *Murrmujuk*, *i-rr-a-yung* *inan* *du-murkigi*,
 Murrmujuk 3-AS-go-PP nose IV-real
 To Murrmujuk, the proper point, they went.
25. *they* *been* *di-ya=lakgarni*, *Manaburr* *Ø-i-lakbu-ng*,
 they been DEF-IV=LOC Manaburr IV<3-stop-PP
 They were. Then they stopped at Manaburr.
26. *Baligijarr*, *ngaykigi* *wangulwa*, *nga-n-a-yi* *i-nami-ny*,
 Baligijarr IM first 1-FU-go-FU 3I-say-PP
 Baligijarr 'Me, I will go first' she said.

27. *di-ya-k=ulang*,
DEF-IV-DIST=SOU
Then,
28. *ngaykgi w-a-n-mamungi ngil-angil=pb-aykgi w-a-yung*,
1M 3I<1-FU-follow FEM-O.sister=3I-1M 3I-go-PP
'Me, I will follow where my older sister has gone.'
29. *Manabirrira, di-ya-k=ulang Manbarra, Ø-i-rr-mamunga-rri*,
Manabirrira DEF-IV-DIST=SOU Manbarra 3I<3-AS-follow-PI
(said) Manabirrira. Then Manbarra, she followed them.
30. *i-jigu-gi, imimi, i-rr-ayurni i-rr-a-yung, gay-gak*
3-bathe-PP sea 3-AS-go back.PP 3-AS-go-PP where-IV
They swam, into the sea. They went back. Where (to)?

Text 4: The mermaid sisters (version c)

1. *marung i-rr-a-yung-iji, Milawilambijirli Ø-i-lakbu-ng*,
mermaid 3-AS-go-PP-here Milawilambijirli IV<3-stop-PP
The mermaid (women) came. They stopped at Milawilambijirli.
2. *arluk imiliny wulun, Ngunbugarla i-y-ami-ny*,
language different Ngunbugarla 3-AS-say-PP
A different language, Ngunbugarla (Umbugarla) they talked.
3. *di-ya=lakgarni ga-y-in-a-yi i-y-ami-ny, gay-gak*,
DEF-IV=LOC 1+2A-AS-FU-go-FU 3-AS-say-PP where-IV
Then, 'Where will we go?' they said.
4. *di-ya=lakgarni mannngulan b-i-rlarla-ng*,
DEF-IV=LOC camp III<3A-make-PP
Then, they made a camp.
5. *Iyalkbangmirl, Ø-i-lakbu-ng*,
Iyalkbangmirl IV<3-stop-PP
Iyalkbangmirl was where they stopped
6. *di-ya=lakgarni, w-adlangan, w-ima-gi, Wanyjuwanyjuwa*,
DEF-IV=LOC 3I-old male 3I-get up-PP Wanyjuwanyjuwa
Then the old man rose up, Wanyjuwanyjuwa.
7. *magarritjbamirl mi-nami-ny, i-yi-ni-gi*,
star III-become-PP 3>3I-cook-PP
He became a (shooting) star and cooked (all the people)

8. *iluk Ø-ima-gi*,
ground IV-get up-PP
The ground rose up (and entombed them).
9. *di-ya=lakgarni, i-jinangan dakgigak*,
DEF-IV=LOC 3A-foreign maybe
Then, maybe they were a different lot (and they did not understand the appropriate behaviours).
10. *Ø-i-lakbu-ng, i-y-ima-gi, Lalakgili*,
IV<3-stop-PP 3-AS-get up-PP Lalakgili
The mermaid sisters stopped there and then got up (and went to) Lalakgili.
11. *manngulan b-i-rlarla-ng*,
camp III<3A-make-PP
They made a camp.
12. *di-ya=lakgarni marakbitj b-i-y-iwi-gi*,
DEF-IV=LOC ceremonial ground III<3-AS-erect-PP
Then, they constructed a ceremonial ground.
13. *Ø-i-rr-mimi-yayi, gay-gak ga-y-in-a-yi i-y-ami-ny*,
IV<3-AS-stay-PI where-IV 1+2A-AS-FU-go-FU 3-AS-say-PP
They stayed. 'Where will we go?' they said.
14. *i-rr-ayurn-iji mirnan, Ø-i-lakbu-ng, Iminy bajan*,
3-AS-go back-here high country IV<3-stop-PP Iminy bajan
They came back along the high country. They stopped at Iminy Bajan
15. *darn damban b-i-rlarla-ng, di-ya=lakgarni Ø-i-rr-mimi-yayi*,
yam sp III<3A-make-PP DEF-IV=LOC IV<3-AS-stay-PP
They prepared for the darn damban yam ceremony. Then, they stayed.
16. *i-y-ima-gi, Garryilyi Ø-i-lakbu-ng*,
3-AS-get up-PP Garryilyi IV<3-stop-PP
They got up (and went). They stopped at Garryilyi.
17. *di-ya=lakgarni, aykgurr amikgan=arnikgan, i-y-inmanbiyi-ng*,
DEF-IV=LOC two PL-old woman 3-AS-die-PP
Then, two old women died.
18. *darlirli il-wi-ny, i-y-innuga-yam*,
stone II-become-PP 3-AS-stand-PR
They became stones. They are standing (there).
19. *di-ya=lakgarni milanyarl m-aga-rlarla i-y-ami-ny*,
DEF-IV=LOC raft III<1+2A-make.FU 3-AS-say-PP
Then, 'We will make a paperbark raft' they said.

20. *ga-y-in-a-yi* *i-y-ami-ny*, *murnikgay* *ga-y-in-itjgu-k*,
 1+2A-AS-FU-go-FU 3-AS-say-PP other side 1+2A-AS-FU-cross-FU
 ‘(Where) will we go?’ they said. ‘We will cross to the other side’.

21. *i-rr-a-yung-iji*, *Buluwurrk*, *inan*,
 3-AS-go-PP-here Buluwurrk nose
 They came to Buluwurrk, to the point.

22. *milanyarl da-ga-n* *m-aga-n-mildinyu-k* *i-y-ami-ny*,
 raft DEF-IV-PROX III<1+2A-FU-leave-FU 3-AS-say-PP
 ‘We will leave the raft here’ they said.

23. *di-ya=lakgarni*
 DEF-IV=LOC
 Then,

There was a break in the text at this point.

24. *da-ga-n* *Ø-aga-rr-mimi-yayi*,
 DEF-IV-PROX IV<1+2A-AS-stay-PI
 ‘This is where we were staying’.

25. *ga-y-in-a-yi* *i-y-ami-ny*, *gay-gak*,
 1+2A-AS-FU-go-FU 3-AS-say-PP where-IV
 ‘Where will we go?’ they said.

26. *Atjbarnarr*, *ji-ya-k* *Ø-i-rr-mimi-yayi*,
 Atjbarnarr DEF-IV-DIST IV<3-AS-stay-PI
 (They went) to Atjbarnarr. They stayed then.

27. *arluk imiliny wulun*, *i-rr-u-gi*, *duwarnngan-ini*,
 language different 3-AS-give-PP north-wards⁸
 They gave a different language (Limilngan, to Atjbarnarr and the country) northwards.

28. *di-ya=lakgarni i-rr-a-yung-iji*, *Malwayi* *Ø-i-rr-mimi-yayi*,
 DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-go-PP-here Malwayi IV<3-AS-stay-PI
 They came to that place (Malwayi). They stayed at Malwayi.

29. *ga-y-in-mayi* *i-y-ami-ny*, *imi*
 1+2A-AS-FU-go back 3-AS-say-PP
 ‘We will go back’ they said.

30. *imimi* *Ø-aga-y-a-ni* *i-y-ami-ny*,
 saltware IV<1+2A-AS-FU-see 3-AS-say-PP
 ‘We will (go and) see the saltwater’ they said.

⁸ Atjbarnarr is in the south of country associated with the Limilngan language.

31. *i-rr-ayurn-iji, Ø-i-lakbu-ng, W-adlangan U-mukbinymarr,*
 3-AS-go back-here IV<3-stop-PP 3I-old male 3I-knees up
 They came back. They stopped at Wadlangan Umukbinymarr.

32. *di-ya=lakgarni lamay d-amban, i-jigi-jigu-ngan,*
 DEF-IV=LOC goose II-lots 3-IMPF-swim-PP
 Then 'There are lots of geese swimming about.

33. *Miyingal m-u-mukbinya-ngan i-y-ami-ny,*
 plant sp. III<3-eat-PR 3-AS-say-PP
 They are eating Miyingal' they said.

34. *w-adlangan nginyi, nga-y-in-ilimi nga-y-in-ijikba-yi,*
 3I-old male 2M I-AS-FU-get I-AS-FU-throw-FU
 'Old man, you, we will get you and throw you (into the river)'.

35. *di-ya=lakgarni i-y-ijikba-ny arlanmi, il-yigu-gi,*
 DEF-IV=LOC 3>3-throw-PP tunnel II-swim-PP
 Then they threw him into the tunnel. He went into (the water).

36. *di-ya-k=gi W-adlangan U-mukbinymarr nga-y-ami-ny,*
 DEF-IV-DIST=PRM 3I-old male 3I-knees up I-AS-say-PP
 There, that is Wadlangan Umukbinymarr, we call it.

37. *uwulk,*
 name
 (That's its) name.

38. *di-ya=lakgarni, nga-y-in-imu-k i-y-ami-ny,*
 DEF-IV=LOC I-AS-FU-get up-FU 3-AS-say-PP
 Then, 'We will get up' they said.

39. *lagurl Ø-i-lakbu-ng, Blanket Jungle,*
 jungle IV<3-stop-PP Blanket Jungle
 They (went and) stopped at the spring, in Blanket Jungle.

40. *marakbitj b-i-rlarla-ng,*
 ceremonial ground III<3A-make-PP
 They made a ceremonial ground.

41. *ga-y-in-imu-k i-y-ami-ny,*
 I+2A-AS-FU-get up-FU 3-AS-say-PP
 'We will get up' they said.

42. *ji-ya-k=ulang i-rr-a-yung, mumuningi i-y-ildiga-ny,*
 DEF-IV-DIST=SOU 3-AS-go-PP plain 3-AS-go out-PP
 They went from that place. They went out onto the plains.

43. *i-rr-a-yung, Lamugatjigiji Ø-i-lakbu-ng,*
 3-AS-go-PP Lamugatjigiji IV<3-stop-PP
 They went. They stopped at Lamugatjigiji.
44. *da-ga-n Ø-aga-lakbi i-y-ami-ny, Ø-i-lakbu-ng,*
 DEF-IV-PROX IV-1+2A-stop.FU 3-AS-say-PP IV<3-stop-PP
 'We will stop here' they said. They stopped.
45. *marakbitj b-i-rlarla-ng, di-ya=lakgarni i-y-ima-gi,*
 ceremonial ground III<3A-make-PP DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-get up-PP
 They made a ceremonial ground. They got up then.
46. *wunguyi a-jinangan, mirnan warrayi,*
 2A 2A-different high country go.A.IMP
 'You lot are different.⁹ Go via the high country!'
47. *uwitjbi, Ø-anga-limi a-y-in-a-yi i-y-ami-ny,*
 red ochre IV<2A-get.FU 2A-AS-FU-go-FU 3-AS-say-PP
 'You lot take red ochre!' they said.
48. *nguyi=ji nga-y-in-a-yi, iluk nga-rr-mungi-ny*
 1A=PRM 1-AS-FU-go-FU country 1-AS-think about-PP
 'Us mob, we will go. We have been thinking about the country
49. *du-guyi, nguyi,¹⁰ nga-y-in-a-yi i-y-ami-ny,*
 IV-1+2A 1A 1-AS-FU-go-FU 3-AS-say-PP
 all of ours, us but not yours, We will go' they said.
50. *di-ya=lakgarni i-rr-a-yung-iji, Wardima Ø-i-lakbu-ng,*
 DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-go-PP-here Wardima IV<3-stop-PP
 Then they came. They stopped at Wardima.
51. *da-ga-n Ø-aga-lakbi i-y-ami-ny, Ø-i-rr-mimi-yayi,*
 DEF-IV-PROX IV<1+2A-stop.FU 3-AS-say-PP IV<3-AS-stay-PI
 'We will stop here' they said. They stayed (there).
52. *ga-y-in-a-yi i-y-ami-ny, Knuckey Lagoon Ø-i-lakbu-ng,*
 1+2-AS-FU-go-FU 3-AS-say-PP Knuckey Lagoon IV<3-stop-PP
 'We will go' they said. They stopped at Knuckey's Lagoon.
53. *di-ya=lakgarni i-rr-a-yung, miyimil lakgarni Ø-i-lakbu-ng,*
 DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-go-PP dense forest LOC IV<3-stop-PP
 Then they went. They stopped by the dense (mangrove) forest.

⁹ The identity of this 'different lot' is not given in the text.

¹⁰ The 1+2 inclusive possessive form *du-guyi* is a mistake. The context is clearly exclusive, and the following base pronoun is a correction establishing this.

54. *wunguyi anga-nyamban, gay-gak=a-y-i-nami i-y-ami-ny,*
 2A 2A-lots where-IV=2A-AS-FU-do 3-AS-say-PP
 'You lot, what will you do?' they said.
55. *murnikgay nga-y-in-a-yi i-y-ami-ny, Belyuwun,*
 other side 1-AS-FU-go-FU 3-AS-say-PP Belyuwun
 'We will go to the other side' they said, 'to Belyuwun'.
56. *i-rr-a-yung murnikgay Belyuwun Ø-i-lakbu-ng,*
 3-AS-go-PP other side Belyuwun IV<3-stop-PP
 They went to the other side. They stopped at Belyuwun.
57. *w-adlalingan, bi-jurnu i-yi-limu-ng i-rr-a-yung,*
 3I-old males 3A-child 3>3-get-PP 3A-AS-go-PP
 They took the old people and the children.
58. *Dalamanamaning Ø-i-lakbu-ng, di-ya=lakgarni i-rr-ayurn-iji,*
 Dalamamananing IV<3-stop-PP DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-go back-here
 They stopped at Dalamamananing. They came back to that place.
59. *Ø-i-lakbu-ng, di-ya=lakgarni, wulun Ø-i-rr-mitjba-ngi=wany, imitj,*
 IV<3-stop-PP DEF-IV=LOC other IV-3-AS-tell-PI=DUR story
 They stopped, then. They used to talk another language.¹¹
60. *da-ga-n=di Limilngan d-ajan,*
 DEF-IV-PROX=PRM Limilngan IV-non existent
 It was not Limilngan here.
61. *Larrikgiya=ji Ø-i-rr-mitjba-ngi=wany,*
 Larrikgiya=PRM IV<3-AS-tell-PI=DUR
 They used to talk Larrakia.
62. *di-ya=lakgarni i-rr-ayurn-iji,*
 DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-go back-here
 They came back to that place.
63. *Winyangarr Ø-i-lakbu-ng, Winyangarr ulang, i-y-ima-gi,*
 Winyangarr IV<3-stop-PP Winyangarr SOU 3-AS-get up-PP
 They stopped at Winyangarr. From Winyangarr, they got up.
64. *Miyawarr=ji Ø-i-lakbu-ng, di-ya=lakgarni i-y-ima-gi,*
 Miyawarr=PRM IV<3-stop-PP DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-get up-PP
 They stopped at Miyawarr. Then they got up.

¹¹ The literal translation is 'They used to tell another story.' but the more appropriate translation is the one given.

65. *Muwangil Ø-i-lakbu-ng, di-ya=lakgarni i-y-ima-gi,*
 Muwangil IV<3-stop-PP DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-get up-PP
 They stopped at Muwangil. Then they got up.
66. *Dimirn-Dilarrk inan Ø-i-lakbu-ng, di-ya=lakgarni i-y-ima-gi,*
 Dimirn-Dilarrk nose IV<3-stop-PP DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-get up-PP
 They stopped at Dimirn-Dilarrk, the point. Then they got up.
67. *Lirrk Garrk Ø-i-lakbu-ng, di-ya=lakgarni i-y-ima-gi,*
 Lirrk Garrk IV<3-stop-PP DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-get up-PP
 They stopped at Lirrk Garrk. Then they got up.
68. *Lulungan Ø-i-lakbu-ng, di-ya=lakgarni i-y-ima-gi,*
 Lulungan IV<3-stop-PP DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-get up-PP
 They stopped at Lulungan. Then they got up.
69. *Blirrarrk Ø-i-lakbu-ng, di-ya-k=ulang i-y-ima-gi,*
 Blirrarrk IV<3-stop-PP DEF-IV-DIST=SOU 3-AS-get up-PP
 They stopped at Blirrarrk. They got up from that place.
70. *Durduga Ø-i-lakbu-ng, di-ya=lakgarni i-y-ima-gi,*
 Durduga IV<3-stop-PP DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-get up-PP
 They stopped at Durduga. Then they got up.
71. *Murrmujuk Ø-i-lakbu-ng, di-ya=lakgarni i-y-ima-gi,*
 Murrmujuk IV<3-stop-PP DEF-IV=LOC 3-AS-get up-PP
 They stopped at Murrmujuk. Then they got up.
72. *Manaburr Ø-i-lakbu-ng, di-ya=lakgarni w-a-yung,*
 Manaburr IV<3-stop-PP DEF-IV=LOC 3I-go-PP
 They stopped at Manaburr. Then she went.
73. *ngil-angil=pb-iwi-yi wangulwa w-a-yung,*
 FEM-O.sister=3I-3-M first 3I-go-PP
 The oldest sister (Baligijarr) went first.
74. *di-ya=lakgarni walykga=mb-iwi-yi i-rr-mamunga-rri,*
 DEF-IV=LOC Y.sibling=3I-3-M 3>3-follow-PI
 Then, the younger sisters followed her.
75. *di-ya=lakgarni ngil-angil=pb-aykgi aykgurr i-rr-a-yung,*
 DEF-IV=LOC FEM-O.sister=3I-1M two 3-AS-go-PP
 Then, (the youngest sister said) 'My two older sisters have gone'.
76. *ngaykgi w-a-n-mamungi i-nami-ny, i-rr-a-yung,*
 1M 3I<1-FU-follow 3-say-PP 3-AS-go-PP
 'Me, I will follow them' she said. They went.

77. *Baligijarr wangulwa, Manbarra, Manabirrina atj, i-rr-mamunga-rri,*
 Baligijarr first Manbarra Manabirrina 3>3-follow-PI
 Baligijarr first, Manbarra,¹² Manabirrina, she followed her.
78. *Manbarra, alkgiji-ngan,*
 Manbarra behind-CHAR
 Then Manbarra, the last one.
79. *di-ya-k=ulang arluk imiliny wulun Ø-i-rr-mildingi-ny,*
 DEF-IV-DIST=SOU language different IV-3-AS-leave-PP
 From that place, they left that different language,
80. *Larrikgiya,*
 Larrikgiya
 Larrakia.
81. *j-Ø-iga-jiga ambuk=bungan i-y-ima-g-iji,*
 DEF-I-PL-EMPH far=OBL 3-AS-get up-PP-here
 That lot, they arrived here from far away.
82. *i-y-iji-yung ja-ga-n iluk here,*
 3-AS-arrive-PP DEF-IV-PROX place here
 They arrived this place here.
83. *imimi lakgarni i-rr-ayurni, marung*
 saltwater LOC 3-AS-go back.PP mermaid
 They went back into the saltwater, the mermaid (women).

Autobiographical texts

In these texts, Felix describes his experience of the bombing of Darwin, his working life, and the later period of his retirement. The texts are presented in temporal order, as far as this can be ascertained. Texts 5 and 6 apparently relate to the period either preceding World War II, or early in World War II. These two texts mention Mrs Herbert as living at Koolpinyah station. Text 7, concerning the bombing of Darwin, states that Mrs Herbert was evacuated to Adelaide in the War and did not return. Text 8 appears to relate to a period after the War, apparently in the late 1940s or early 1950s.

Text 5: Working on Koolpinyah (account a)

1. *ji-wi-n imalngarr, w-a-yung-iji, darnmiga,*
 DEF-I-PROX Tiwi 3I-go-PP-here follow me
 This Tiwi fellow came. 'Follow me

¹² The identification of Manbarra, the youngest sister, at this point is incorrect. Felix immediately corrects himself with Manabirrina, the middle sister.

2. *walykga m-in-a-yi, atjbulan, m-in-itjbatjbula-yi,*
Y.sibling 1+2M-FU-go-FU work 1+2M-FU-work-FU
younger brother! We will go and work.'

3. *gay-gak nga-nami-ny, Kulpbinyarr, Kulpbinyarr*
where-IV 1-say-PP Koolpinyah Koolpinyah
'Where?' I said. 'Koolpinyah. Koolpinyah.'

4. *ji-ya-ngun=bungan, da-ga-n=di=ji,*
DEF-IV-?=OBL DEF-IV-PROX=PRM=PRM
from that way, on this side'.¹³

5. *Mangul, ja-ma-k Ø-nga-rr-mima-n,*
Mangul DEF-III-DIST IV<1A-AS-stay-PR
'Mangul. We are staying, there,

6. *nguyi=ji ngugun du-linyayan, imalngarr,*
1A=PRM water IV-salt Tiwi
us mob, from the saltwater, the Tiwi.'

7. *di-ya-k=ulang nga-rr-a-yung-iji,*
DEF-IV-DIST=SOU 1-AS-go-PP-here
Then, we came.

8. *Manganjirrimirrk nga-rr-malija-gi,*
Manganjirrimirrk 1-AS-lie-PP
We camped at Manganjirrimirrk.

9. *di-ya=lakgarni nga-rr-a-yung-iji, Durduga,*
DEF-IV=LOC 1-AS-go-PP-here Durduga
Then we came to Durduga.

10. *marnitj m-a-limu-ng, nga-rr-a-yung, Mangul nga-y-iji-yung,*
canoe III<1-get-PP 1-AS-go-PP Mangul 1-AS-arrive-PP
We took a canoe. We arrived at Mangul.

11. *di-ya=lakgarni, Mrs Herbert, i-nami-ny*
DEF-IV=LOC Mrs Herbert 3-say-PP
Then, he said (to) Mrs Herbert

12. *walykga=mb-aykgi Darwin w-aji-yung,*
Y.sibling=3I-1M Darwin 3I-come from-PP
'My younger brother has come from Darwin.'

¹³ The meaning of this line of text is unclear.

13. *Sam inyan i-rr-a-yung-iji*,
Sam too 3-AS-go-PP-here
'Sam too, they have come here.'
14. *Mr Holmes, atjbulan w-iny-an-mi i-nami-ny*,
Mr Holmes work 3I<2-FU-give 3-say-PP
'You will give Mr Holmes work' he said (to Mrs Herbert).
15. *i walykga ja-ga-n i-w-i-lakbi, i-nami-ny*,
yes Y.sibling DEF-IV-PROX 3>IV-FU-stop 3I-say-PP
'Yes, my younger brother will stop here' he said.
16. *di-ya=lakgarni, ngiyija 20 mile, nga-y-in-ikgaykgija-yi*,
DEF-IV=LOC ?? 20 mile 1-AS-FU-do always-FU
Then, ?? to the 20 mile, 'We are always going to be doing it.'
17. *mail Ø-nginy-i-limi i-nami-ny*,
mail IV<2M-FU-get 3-say-PP
'You will get the mail' she said.
18. *di-ya=lakgarni Ø-ngi-mimi-yayi, Ø-nga-rr-mimi-yayi*,
DEF-IV=LOC IV<1-stay-PI IV<1-AS-stay-PR
Then, I stayed (there). We stayed (there).
19. *nga-ykgaykgija-ngi=wany, mail Ø-nginy-iyukbi-rri=wany*,
I-take always-PI=DUR mail IV<2M-get-PI=DUR
I always used to take it. You used to get the mail.
20. *Wednesday, train, di-ya=lakgarni mirnan Ø-a-ngi=wany*,
Wednesday train DEF-IV=LOC upcountry IV-go-PI=DUR
on Wednesdays, (from the) train. Then, it used to go upcountry.
21. *wulun=di Friday, Port Darwin=bungan, ??*
other=PRM Friday Port Darwin=OBL ??
The other one, on Fridays, from Port Darwin [text unclear].
22. *ji-ya=lakgarni, da-ga-n=di*
DEF-IV=LOC DEF-IV-PROX=PRM
Then, here (at Mangul)
23. *second stockman Ø-nginy-in-mimi-ya il-ami-ny*
second stockman IV-2M-FU-stay-FU II-say-PP
'You can be the second stockman' he said,
24. *l-adlangan Oscar, Herbert Brother i-y-ami-ny, Evan Herbert*,
II-old male Oscar Herbert Brother 3-AS-say-PP Evan Herbert
the old man Oscar. The Herbert Brothers said, (him and) Evan Herbert.

25. *ji-ya=lakgarni Ø-ngi-mimi-yayi second stockman,*
DEF-IV=LOC IV<I-stay-PI second stockman
I stayed there as second stockman then.
26. *di-ya=lakgarni all right, ilyarr aykgurr Ø-nginy-imu-ng,*
DEF-IV=LOC all right year two IV<2M-get-PP
Then, (one of the Herbert brothers said) 'All right, you have got two years'.
27. *Ø-ngi-mimi-yayi ja-ga-n=di*
IV<I-stay-PI DEF-IV-PROX=PRM
I had been staying here.
28. *n-in-a-yi holiday i-nami-ny*
2M-FU-go-FU holiday 3I-say-PP
'You can go for a holiday' he said.

Text 6: Working at Koolpinyah (account b)

1. *di-ya=lakgarni, ngil-angil=pb-aykgi, n-iminy=b-aykgi*
DEF-IV=LOC FEM-O.sister=3I-1M MASC-brother-in-law=3I-1M
Then, my older sister and my brother-in-law,
2. *i-y-ami-ny, i-rr-a-yung-iji,*
3-AS-say-PP 3-AS-go-PP-here
they said, they came.
3. *nga-ni-limi ga-y-in-a-yi i-y-ami-ny,*
1-FU-get 1+2A-AS-FU-go-FU 3-AS-say-PP
'We will take you' they said.
4. *di-wi-n ajunini, ngugun du-linyayan,*
DEF-I-PROX one water IV-salt
'Here is one fellow, from the saltwater (a Tiwi).'
5. *Sam, uwulk=gi Mangul*
Sam name=PRM Mangul
Sam, his (Aboriginal) name was Mangul.
6. *m-in-a-yi, ga-y-in-itjbulayi ja-ya-ng,*
1+2M-FU-go-FU 1+2A-AS-FU-work-FU DEF-IV-DIST
'Let's go. We will all work there (at Koolpinyah).'
7. *ngaykgi lakgarni i-y-ami-ny, da-ya=lakgarni ng-a-yung,*
1M LOC 3-A-say-PP DEF-IV=LOC 1-go-PP
They said to me. Then I went.

8. *nga-rr-a-yung-iji, da-ga-n Durduga nga-rr-malija-gi,*
 1-AS-go-PP-here DEF-IV-PROX Durduga 1-AS-lie-PP
 We came. Here at Durduga, we camped.
9. *marnitj nga-rr-a-yung-iji, nga-y-ijga-gi, nga-rr-malija-gi,*
 canoe 1-AS-go-PP-here 1-AS-cross-PP 1-AS-lie-PP
 We came by canoe. We crossed over. We camped.
10. *ja-ya-k=ulang nga-rr-a-yung, Lirrkarrk nga-y-inanni-ng,*
 DEF-IV-DIST=SOU 1-AS-go-PP Lirrkarrk 1-AS-mount-PP
 Then, we went and mounted (the bank) at Lirrkarrk
11. *nga-rr-a-yung Gurrubam, Mangul nga-y-ilaldaga-ny,*
 1-AS-go-PP Gurrubam Mangul 1-AS-go out-PP
 We went to Gurrubam. We came out at Mangul.
12. *walykga=mb-aykgi ja-ga-n w-a-limu-ng-iji i-nami-ny,*
 Y.sibling=3I-1M DEF-IV-DIST 3I<1-get-PP-here 3-say-PP
 'We have brought my younger brother here' he said.
13. *Mrs Herbert di-Ø-mitjba-gi, i ja-ga-n Ø-iw-i-lakbi,*
 Mrs Herbert 1<3-tell-PP yes DEF-IV-PROX IV<3-FU-stop
 Mrs Herbert told me.¹⁴ 'Yes, he can stop here.'
14. *gija atjbulan w-a-y-an-mi i-y-ami-ny, Evan and Oscar,*
 later work 3I<1-AS-FU-give 3-AS-say-PP Evan and Oscar
 'We will give him work later' they said, Evan and Oscar (Herbert).
15. *di-ya=lakgarni nandu d-Ø-u-gi,*
 DEF-IV=LOC horse 1M<3-give-PP
 Then, they gave me a horse.
16. *mail nga-y-ikgaykgija-ngi=wany, 22 mile,*
 mail 1-AS-take always-PI=DUR 22 mile
 We always used to take the mail, to the 22 mile.
17. *di-ya=lakgarni nga-rr-ayurn-iji, nga-y-ikgaykgiji-rri=wany,*
 DEF-IV=LOC 1-AS-go back-here 1-AS-do always-PI=DUR
 Then, we used to come back. We always used to do that.
18. *nga-yi-nama-yi, slaughter yard Ø-aga-rlarla,*
 1-AS-do-PI slaughter yard IV<1+2A-FU-make
 We used to do that. 'We will put up a slaughter yard.'

¹⁴ Felix does not provide any information as to what Mrs Herbert said to him. The next utterance 'Yes, he can stop here' is from the Herbert Brothers and not from Mrs Herbert.

19. *Winyangarr Ø-aga-lakbi i-y-ami-ny,*
Winyangarr IV<1+2A-stop.FU 3-AS-say-PP
 'We will stop at Winyangarr' they said.

20. *ji-ya=lakgarni nga-rr-a-yung, nga-ny-amban nga-rr-a-yung,*
DEF-IV=LOC 1-AS-go-PP 1-A-lots 1-AS-go-PP
 Then we went, a whole lot of us, we went.

21. *ngaykgi, Duncan, Peter, Jimmy, Jack, Wandi,*
1M Duncan Peter Jimmy Jack Wandi
 Me, Duncan, Peter, Jimmy, Jack Wandi.

22. *j-Ø-iga ?? nga-y-itjbatjbuli-rri,*
DEF-1-PL ?? 1-AS-work-PI
 That lot [text unclear] we were working (there).

23. *da-ya-k=gi Slaughter Yard Ø-ng-arlarla-ng,*
DEF-IV-DIST=PRM Slaughter Yard IV<1-make-PP
 We made a yard there at Slaughter Yard.

24. *buliki l-i-y-im-ambijiwi-rri=wany, Winyangarr,*
cattle II<3-AS-ITER-hit-PI=DUR Winyangarr
 They used to slaughter cattle (there) at Winyangarr.

25. *nga-y-itjbatjbuli-rri=wany ja-ya-k=gi,*
1-AS-work-PI=DUR DEF-IV-DIST=PRM
 We were always working there.

26. *gija nga-rr-w-ùjbuli-rri=wany,*
not 1-AS-IRR-work-P=DUR
 We never used to not work.¹⁵

27. *holiday d-ajan Ø-nga-rr-mima=wany,*
holiday IV-nothing IV<1-AS-stay=DUR
 We had no holidays.

28. *through the year nga-y-itjbatjbuli-rri=wany,*
through the year 1-AS-work-PI=DUR
 We used to work through the year.

29. *Peter Marndany, Johnnie Nginyimung, Bullock Taylor Ø-i-rr-mima=wany,*
Peter Marndany, Johnnie Nginyimung, Bullock Taylor IV<3-AS-stay=DUR
Peter Marndany, Johnnie Nginyimung, Bullock Taylor, they all were staying there.

¹⁵ The phrase *gija nga-rr-w-ùjbuli-rri=wany* is directly translatable as 'we never used to work' but in context it appears to have the double negative meaning given: 'we never used to not work'. There does not appear to be any other way of conveying this double negative meaning in Limilngan.

30. *atjban atjban leader l-a-y-ildaga-rri=wany*
 morning morning leader II<1-AS-out-PI=DUR
 Every morning, we used to lead the cattle out.
31. *marniyi b-i-rr-mukbinya-ngi=wany,*
 grass III<3-AS-eat-PI=DUR
 Every morning, (the cattle) used to eat grass.
32. *miliji, l-a-jirlirli-rri=wany nguyi l-a-y-im-ambijiwi-rri=wany,*
 afternoon II<1A-put in-PI=DUR 1A II<1-AS-ITER-hit-PI=DUR
 In the afternoon, we used to put them in the yard. We used to slaughter (the cattle).
33. *l-a-y-ikgaykgumi-rri=wany*
 II<1-AS-wrestle-PI=DUR
 We used to wrestle them down.
34. *theybeen quarterim nga-y-ima-yi=wany,*
 they been quarterim 1-AS-do-PI=DUR
 They quartered (the cattle). We used to do that.
35. *Bill Ahcorn, big truck, fancy driver Ø-i-mima=wany,*
 Bill Ahcorn, big truck, fancy driver IV<3I-sit=DUR
 Bill Ahcorn used to sit on the big truck as a fancy driver.
36. *i-l-ikgaykgija-ngi=wany, Koolpinyah butcher's shop, Darwin,*
 3>II-take always-PI=DUR
 He always used to take the cattle to Koolpinyah butcher's shop in Darwin.

Text 7: The bombing of Darwin

1. *ji-ya=lakgarni, il-ami-ny, m-in-mayi,*
 DEF-IV=LOC II-say-PP 1+2M-FU-go back
 Then, (Oscar Herbert) said 'We will go back
2. *dak lakgarni il-ami-ny l-adlangan ulang Oscar,*
 house LOC II-say-PP II-old male SOU Oscar
 to the station' the old man Oscar said.
3. *di-ya=lakgarni, nga-rr-ayurni, nga-rr-a-yung dak*
 DEF-IV=LOC 1-AS-go back 1-AS-go-PP house
 So, we went back and went to the station.
4. *war=ji Ø-a-ng-iji=mirl, Japanese i-y-ami-ny*
 war=PRM IV-go-PR-here=DEL Japanese 3-AS-say-PP
 'The war is coming, the Japanese' they said.

5. *bulikgi nga-y-i-limi nga-y-in-a-yi*
cattle 1-AS-FU-get 1-AS-FU-go-FU
'We will take the cattle (to the Koolpinyah butcher shop in Darwin).'
6. *nga-rr-a-yung-iji, ngaykgi, Sam, Jimmy, Buckley, Alec Nanmurang,*
1-AS-go-PP-here 1M Sam Jimmy Buckley Alec Nanmurang
We came, me, Sam, Jimmy, Buckley, Alec Nanmurang,
7. *five man nga-rr-a-yung-iji, bulikgi l-a-limu-ng-iji,*
five man 1-AS-go-PP-here cattle II<1-get-PP-here
five men, we came. We brought the cattle.
8. *nga-rr-a-yung-iji, da-ga-n Ø-aga-lakbi, nga-nami-ny,*
1-AS-go-PP-here DEF-IV-PROX IV<1+2A-stop.FU 1-say-PP
We came. 'Let's stop here!' I said.
9. *dinner Ø-aga-y-an-yi, nga-nami-ny,*
dinner IV<1+2A-AS-FU-eat 1-say-PP
'We will eat dinner' I said.
10. *uwagi nga-y-i-ni-yuk nga-nami-ny, only, alijiyi, ulik,*
fire 1-AS-FU-burn-FU 1-say-PP only don't want to wait
'Let's light a fire' I said. Only 'we can't be bothered, wait,
11. *nginyi barrungan ni-yuk i-y-ami-ny,*
2M go.M.IMP burn-IMP 3-AS-say-PP
you go and light (a fire)' they said.
12. *ng-a-yung, uwagi ngi-nigi-ny,*
1-go-PP fire 1-burn-PP
I went and lit a fire.
13. *aeroplane ?? d-amban nga-nami-ny,*
aeroplane ?? II-lots 1-say-PP
'There are lots of planes [text unclear]' I said.
14. *j-Ø-iga iyil=bungan, now*
DEF-I-PL trouble=OBL
Those (planes were coming) for a fight.
15. *gay-gak ga-y-in-mayi ga-j-arluk i-y-ami-ny,*
where-IV 1+2A-AS-FU-go back 1+2A-AS-countryman 3-AS-say-PP
'Where will we go back to?' 'To our countrymen' they said.
16. *j-Ø-iga ijinangan i-rr-a-yung-iji*
DEF-I-PL different 3-AS-go-PP-here
A different lot (the army) came up [because of the fire]

17. *nine more, nine more i-y-a-ng-iji,*
nine more nine more 3-AS-go-PR-here
'Nine more planes are coming.'
18. *di-ya=lakgarni, Southport il-iji-yung*
DEF-IV=LOC Southport II-come from-PP
And then, they come up from Southport.
19. *start i-y-ami-ny, bombim i-y-ami-ny Darwin,*
start 3-AS-do-PP bomb 3-AS-do-PP Darwin
They started to bomb Darwin.
20. *oil tank, Darwin, Ø-i-rr-i-m,*
oil tank Darwin IV<3-AS-hit-PP
They hit the oil tanks in Darwin,
21. *di-ya=lakgarni umal d-alkgan d-ajan Ø-nga-na-gi,*
DEF-IV=LOC smoke IV-small IV-nothing IV<1-see-PP
and then, I saw a big smoke.
22. *nga-yi-jukgula-yan nga-y-ami-ny,*
1A<3-shoot-PR 1-AS-say-PP
'They are shooting at us' we said.
23. *nga-y-ingangiji-rri nandu l-a-yi-jiyukbi-rri,*
1-AS-run around-PI horse II<1-AS-get-PI
We were running around, getting the horses.
24. *nga-rr-a-yung, di-ya=lakgarni i-y-iwi-g-iji*
1-AS-go-PP DEF-IV=LOC 3>3I-send-PP-here
We went. Then they sent them (back to Koolpinyah),
25. *Sergeant Woppa, and Corporal James army=ji i-rr-a-yung-iji,*
Sergeant Woppa and Corporal James army=PRM 3-AS-go-PP-here
Sergeant Woppa and Corporal James. The army came.
26. *ji-wi-n ?? gay-wik i-y-ami-ny, ja-wi-n,*
DEF-I-PROX ?? where-I 3-AS-say-PP DEF-I-PROX
This is X.' 'Where is X?' they said. 'S/he is here.'
27. *w-a-y-i-limi nga-y-in-a-yi, Mrs Edward to Darwin,*
3I<1-AS-FU-get 1-AS-FU-go-FU
'We will take Mrs Edwards to Darwin.' [from the 10 mile] to Darwin
28. *i-rr-mildingi-ny, Roy Edward Newcastle Waters w-a-yung i-y-ami-ny,*
3>3-leave-PP Roy Edward Newcastle Waters 3I-go-PP 3-AS-do-PP
They left her there. 'Roy Edwards has gone to Newcastle Waters' they said.

29. *di-ya=lakgarni buliki, alkgiji l-uw-a-lim-iji nga-nami-ny*
DEF-IV=LOC cattle behind II<3M-FU-get-here I-say-PP
Then, 'He will bring behind the cattle' I said.
30. *two hundred bullock, l-i-limu-ng-iji Winymangarr*
two hundred bullock II<3-get-PP-here Winymangarr
They brought two hundred bullocks to Winymangarr.
31. *di-ya=lakgarni motika nga-y-inanni-ng*
DEF-IV=LOC vehicle I-AS-mount-PP
Then, we climbed up onto the vehicle.
32. *nga-rr-a-yung Winymangarr,*
I-AS-go-PP Winymangarr
We went to Winymangarr.
33. *gija nginy-b-a-yung, i-y-in-may-iji=mirl three o'clock,*
not 2M-IRR-go-EV 3-AS-FU-go back-here=DEL
'You can't go (now). They will come back at the three o'clock.'
34. *Captain Gray-in il-ami-ny, ulik,*
Captain Gray II-say-PP wait
Captain Gray said. 'Wait!'
35. ?? *nandu l-iny-i-limi n-in-a-yi two horse,*
?? horse II<2M-FU-get 2M-FU-go-FU
[text unclear]. 'You take those two horses.'
36. *bla yarrikgarn nandu l-a-limu-ng*
bla saddle horse II<1-get-PP
I got those two horses to saddle,
37. *ajun lead ??*
one lead ??
one in the lead [text unclear].
38. *ng-ikbi-rri 4 Mile, di-ya=lakgarni l-a-mildingi-ny,*
I-walk-PI 4 Mile DEF-IV=LOC II<1-leave-PP
I walked to the 4 Mile, and then I left the horses.
39. *miyimil lakgarni l-a-mildingi-ny nandu=jin,*
dense cover LOC II<1-leave-PP horse=PRM
I left the horses in the dense cover.
40. *ng-ikbi-rri Mrs Edward lakgarni Ø-i-mimi-yayi Darwin,*
I-walk-PI Mrs Edwards LOC IV<3-stay-PI
I walked to where Mrs Edwards was staying in Darwin.

41. *ng-aji-yung* ?? *i-jukgula-rri=wany*
 I-arrive-PP ?? 3A-shoot-PI=DUR
 I arrived and [text unclear] (the planes) were firing their guns.
42. *Ø-ayurn-iji* *i-yi-jukgula-rri* *ulik* *i-y-im-ambijiwi-rri*,
 IV-go back-here 3<3A-shoot-PI still 3<3A-IMPF-hit-PI
 (The planes) had come back. They were shooting. They were still fighting.
43. *ng-a-yung* *ja-ya-k* *m-a-ngula-rri* *arnikgan* *il-aldaga-ny*,
 I-go-PP DEF-IV-DIST III<I-knock-PI old woman II-go out-PP
 I went there and knocked (on the door). The old lady came out,
44. *Mrs Edwards*, *m-in-a-yi* *il-ami-ny*
 Mrs Edwards I+2-FU-go-FU II-say-PP
 Mrs Edwards, 'You and me will go' she said
45. *ji-ya-k* *idla-gi* *nga-nami-ny*, *barrikgut* *bi-jamban*,
 DEF-IV-DIST off-IMP I-say-PP European 3A-lots
 'Take (those women's clothes) off!' I said. 'There are lots of whitemen about.'
46. *n-ani=mb-iwi-yi*, *anngay* *ja-ya-k* *nga-nami-ny* *i*
 MASC-husband=3I-3-M cloth DEF-IV-DIST I-say-PP yes
 Her husband's (clothes). 'Those clothes' I said. 'Yes' (she said).
47. *ji-ya-k=gi* *ngimi*, *and hat, hat* *l-i-limu-ng*,
 DEF-IV-DIST=PRM wear.IMP and hat hat II<3-get-PP
 'Wear those ones' (I said), and she got a hat.
48. *m-in-a-yi* *nga-nami-ny*, *i*, *il-a-yung* *anngay* *il-aldaga-ny*,
 I+2M-FU-go-FU I-say-PP yes II-go-PP clothes II-go out-PP
 'We will go' I said. 'Yes' (she said). She went and got out of her women's clothing.
49. *wulun* *il-ngimi-rri*, *murlugan=di* *il-ngimi-rri*
 other II-wear-PI male=PRM II-wear-PI
 She wore other clothes, men's clothes.
50. *di-ya=lakgarni* *nga-rr-a-yung*,
 DEF-IV=LOC I-AS-go-PP
 Then we went.
51. *nga-dikbi-rri* ?? *nga-y-iji-yung* 4 Mile,
 I A-walk-PI ?? I A-AS-arrive-PP 4 Mile
 We walked [text unclear]. We arrived at the 4 Mile.
52. *nandu* *l-a-na-gi*, *nandu* *w-annuga-yam* *i-nami-ny*,
 horse II<I-see-PP horse 3I-stand-PR 3-say-PP
 We saw the horses. 'There's a horse standing (there.)' Mrs Edwards said.

53. *saddlimup nga-y-ami-ny,*
saddle 1-AS-do-PP
We saddled the horses.
54. *di-ya=lakgarni linyangitj nga-rr-a-yung now nga-dikbi-rri*
DEF-IV=LOC night 1-AS-go-PP now 1A-walk-PI
Then, we went walking by night.
55. *nga-rr-ayurn-iji Winymangarr, nga-dikbi-rri, nga-dikbi-rri,*
1-AS-go back-here Winymangarr 1A-walk-PI 1A-walk-PI
We came back to Winymangarr. We walked and we walked.
56. *wiwinbirrali=ji nga-y-iji-yung, nga-y-iji-yung,*
midnight=PRM 1-AS-arrive-PP 1-AS-arrive-PP
We arrived in the middle of the night.
57. *nga-rr-a-yung m-a-ngula-rri, Sergeant Woppa,*
1-AS-go-PP III<1-knock-PI
We went and knocked [on the door]. Sergeant Woppa (said)
58. *ah ja-ga-n nginy-iji-yung, i,*
ah DEF-IV-PROX 2M-arrive-PP yes
'Ah you have arrived here.' 'Yes'.
59. *ja-wi-k amikgan w-iny-imu-ng-iji*
DEF-I-DIST old woman 3I<2M-get-PP-here
'You have brought that old woman?'
60. *ja-wi-n nga-nami-ny, gu,*
DEF-I-PROX 1-say-PP okay
'She is here' I said. 'Okay' (said Sergeant Woppa).
61. *di-ya=lakgarni, aykgurr ?? corporal,*
DEF-IV=LOC two ??
Then two [text unclear]. Corporal
62. *dakgigak inyi-wik wulun gija Ø-ng-a-na-ni linyangitj*
maybe who-I different not IV<1-IRR-see-P night
I don't know who it was, maybe a different lot. I couldn't see by night.
63. *i-rr-a-yung Koolpinyah, i-yi-limu-ng-iji,*
3-AS-go-PP Koolpinyah 3>3I-get-PP-here
They went to Koolpinyah. They brought them,
64. *l-adlangan Oscar, Mrs Herbert=ji i-yi-limu-ng-iji,*
II-old male Oscar Mrs Herbert=PRM 3>3I-get-PP-here
old man Oscar, and Mrs Herbert, they brought them.

65. *atjban i-y-iji-yung,*
morning 3-AS-arrive-PP
They arrived in the morning.
66. *di-ya=lakgarni marni-marni i-rr-a-yung, Batchelor,*
DEF-IV=LOC one group 3-AS-go-PP Batchelor
Then they went in one group to Batchelor
67. *di-ya=lakgarni d-alkgan d-ajan l-i-limu-ng*
DEF-IV=LOC II-small II-nothing II<3-get-PP
Then, they got a big (truck).
68. *di-ya=lakgarni Adelaide i-rr-a-yung,*
DEF-IV=LOC Adelaide 3-AS-go-PP
Then they went to Adelaide.
69. *Mrs Herbert di-ya=lakgarni itjbagani w-a-yung,*
Mrs Herbert DEF-IV=LOC for good 3I-go-PP
Mrs Herbert went for good, then.
70. *Pauline i-y-ami-ny, giyi=mb-iwi-yi*
Pauline 3-AS-say-PP mother=3I-3-M
To Pauline's, they said. (Mrs Herbert) was Pauline's mother.

Text 8: Working at Linnguli (Humpty Doo Station)

In this text, Felix describes the period he and a mate Johnny Baird worked for Georgie Goodman at Linnguli (Humpty Doo Station)

1. *di-ya=lakgarni, nga-yi-limu-ng nga-rr-a-yung,*
DEF-IV=LOC 1A<3-get-PP 1-AS-go-PP
Then, (Georgie Goodman) took us.
2. *ngaykgi, l-adlangan, l-adlangan d-ajan, Georgie,*
1M II-old male II-old male II-nothing Georgie
Me, old man, not old man, Georgie (Goodman).
3. *nga-yi-limu-ng nga-rr-a-yung, aykgurr, ngaykgi, Johnny Baird,*
1A<3-get-PP 1-AS-go-PP two 1M
He took us, the two (of us), me, and Johnny Baird.
4. *nga-rr-a-yung, Lijirri, dinner m-a-rr-mukbinya-ngi,*
1-AS-go-PP Lijirri dinner III<1-AS-eat-PI
We went, to Lijirri. We ate dinner.

5. *da-ya-k=ulang nga-y-ima-gi,*
DEF-IV-DIST=SOU 1A-AS-get up-PP
From there we got up.
6. *Linnguli, the station nga-y-iji-yung,*
Linnguli, the station 1A-AS-arrive-PP
At Linnguli, the station, we arrived.
7. *Ø-nga-rr-mima-yayi=wany, nga-y-itjbatjbuli-rri=wany,*
IV<3-AS-stay-PI=DUR 1A-AS-work-PI=DUR
We used to stay (there), working.
8. *bulikgi l-a-y-ilula-rri=wany,*
cattle II<1-AS-chase-PI=DUR
We used to chase cattle.
9. *di-ya=lakgarni brandim nga-y-ima-yi=wany,*
DEF-IV=LOC brandim 1-AS-do-PI=DUR
Then, we used to brand them.
10. *Ø-nga-rr-mimi-yayi, ilyarr aykgurrajun Ø-a-yung,*
IV<1-AS-stay-PI year three IV-go-PP
We stopped (there). Three years went by.
11. *gay-gak=m-i-nami, il-ami-ny*
where-IV=1+2M-FU-do II-say-PP
'What will we do?' (Johnny Baird) said.
12. *ngaykgi=ji nga-n-mayi gagi=mb-aykgi w-a-ni il-ami-ny*
1M=PRM 1-FU-go back father=3I-1M 3I<1-see.FU II-say-PP
'I will go back and see my father.' (Johnny Baird) said
13. *i ngaykgi=ji nga-n-mayi,*
yes 1M=PRM 1-FU-go back
'Yes, me I will go back.
14. *giyi=mb-aykgi w-a-ni nga-nami-ny,*
mother=3I-1M 3I<1-see.FU 1-say-PP
'I will see my mother.' I said.
15. *di-ya=lakgarni i-jinangan i-y-iji-yung,*
DEF-IV=LOC 3A-different 3-AS-arrive-PP
Then another mob arrived.
16. *w-a-y-i-limi i-y-ami-ny, ngaykgi w-ayi=nijani,*
1A<3-FU-get 3-AS-do-PP 1M 3I-M=alone
They wanted to grab us, me, and him,

17. *johnny baird, j-Ø-iga bi-rr-mamurlkgiji w-a-y-ilatjbi-ny,*
 Johnny Baird DEF-I-PL 3-AS-native.PL 3I<1-AS-fear-PP
 Johnny Baird. We were scared of those Aboriginal people.
18. *itjbagini nga-rr-a-yung, dak lambangi Ø-nga-rr-mima-yayi=wany*
 for good 1-AS-go-PP town IV<1-AS-stay-PI=DUR
 We went for good. We stayed in town.

Text 9: Working in Kununurra and Darwin

1. *di-ya=lakgarni, wulun atjbulan, Ø-nga-limu-ng,*
 DEF-IV=LOC other work IV<1-get-PP
 Then, I got another job.
2. *Dave, nga-yi-limu-ng nga-rr-a-yung, Mr Milliken i-y-ami-ny,*
 Dave 1A<3-get-PP 1-AS-go-PP Mr Milliken 3-AS-say-PP
 Dave took us. Mr Milliken (had authorised our new jobs), they said.
3. *Mick president, welfare Ø-i-mimi-yayi,*
 Mick president, welfare IV<3-stay-PI
 Mick was the president of welfare.
4. *Forty eight ngan-mamurlkgiji, nga-rr-a-yung, atjbulan,*
 Forty eight 1M-person.PL 1-AS-go-PP work
 Forty eight of us men went to work in Kununurra.
5. *Kununurra nga-y-iji-yung,*
 Kununurra 1-AS-arrive-PP
 We arrived in Kununurra.

There is a break in the text at this point, and Felix does not resume from the same point. Rather he first discusses a job that he had had in Darwin, previous to arriving in Kununurra, and then returns to his discussion of working in Kununurra.

6. *start nga-y-ami-ny, atjbulan nga-y-itjbatjbuli-rr,*
 start 1-AS-do-PP work 1-AS-work-PI
 We started. We were working.
7. *nga-y-itjbuli-rr=wany, Saturday, nga-dikbi-rr=wany shopping Darwin,*
 1-AS-work-PI=DUR Saturday 1A-walk-PI=DUR shopping Darwin
 We were working. On Saturdays, we used to walk into Darwin to go shopping.
8. *town lakgarni, nguyl ?? Ø-nga-rr-mima=wany jirrpbungi,*
 town LOC 1A ?? IV<1-AS-stay=DUR inside
 in town. We were camping inside [text unclear]

9. *nga-y-ildiji-rri=wany, atjbulan ??, ja-ya-k*
1-AS-lie-PI=DUR work ?? DEF-IV-DIST
We were camping, working [text unclear] there.

10. *nga-y-itjbatjbuli-rri=wany, ??*
1-AS-work-PI=DUR ??
We were working [text unclear]

11. *mimilung m-ajan, bulikgi l-a-y-im-ambijiwi-rri=wany,*
tucker III-nothing cattle II<1-AS-IMPF-hit-PI=DUR
There was no tucker. We used to kill cattle.

12. *l-a-rr-mukbinya-ngi=wany,*
II<1-AS-eat-PI=DUR
We used to eat them.

13. *di-ya-k ulang limiji damban l-a-y-im-ambiji-rri=wany,*
DEF-IV-DIST SOU goanna II<1-AS-IMPF-hit-PI=DUR
We used to kill goannas.

14. *lulikbi dinyayan=bungan l-a-ldijuldi ja-ngi=wany,*
possum=OBL II<1-look for-PI=DUR
We used to look for possums.

15. *lulikbi dinyayan d-ajan, pussycat l-i-rr-mukbinya-ngi=wany,*
possum IV-nothing pussycat II<3-AS-eat-PI=DUR
There were no possums. They used to eat pussycat.

16. *ja-ya-k ??*
DEF-IV-DIST ??
There [text unclear].

17. *Kununurra, di-ya=lakgarni, Ø-nga-rr-mima=wany,*
Kununurra DEF-IV=LOC IV<1-AS-stay=DUR
In Kununurra. We stayed there.

18. *nga-y-itjbatjbuli-rri=wany, six month i-wi-ny,*
1-AS-work-PI=DUR six month IV-become-PP
We were working. Six months went by.

19. *di-ya=lakgarni, nga-y-in-mayi i-y-ami-ny,*
DEF-IV=LOC 1-AS-FU-go back 3-AS-say-PP
Then, 'We will go back' they said.

20. *gija a-rr-w-ayi, aeroplane d-ajan i-y-ami-ny,*
not 2A-AS-IRR-go back aeroplane IV-nothing 3-AS-say-PP
'You cannot go back. There are no planes.' they said.

21. *transport m-a-y-i-limi nga-y-ami-ny,*
 truck III<1-AS-FU-get 1-AS-say-PP
 'We will take a truck.' we said.
22. *d-ajan, transport d-ajan,*
 IV-nothing truck IV-nothing
 'There are no trucks.
23. *Timber Creek ngugun d-alkgan d-ajan,*
 Timber Creek water IV-small IV-nothing
 There is a flood at Timber Creek.
24. *motika gija Darwin ?? ga-yi-limi,*
 car not Darwin ?? 1+2A<3-get.FU
 'The cars cannot take us [text unclear] to Darwin.'
25. *ayal ??, wear out i-nami-ny*
 road ?? wear out IV-do-PP
 'The road [text unclear] has worn out,
26. *umurnitj ulang, i-y-ami-ny,*
 rain SOU 3-AS-say-PP
 from rain' they said.
27. *Ø-nga-rr-mimi-yayi, one month, Ø-nga-rr-mimi-yayi,*
 IV<1-AS-stay-PI one month IV<1-AS-stay-PI
 We stayed one month,
28. *atjbulan d-ajan,*
 work IV-nothing
 without work.
29. *di-ya=lakgarni, aeroplane Ø-i-y-iwi-g-iji,*
 DEF-IV=LOC aeroplane IV<3-AS-send-PP-here
 Then, they sent a plane,
30. *Queensland ulang, d-alkgan d-ajan Con Air, nga-yi-limu-ng,*
 Queensland SOU IV-small IV-nothing Con Air 1A<3-get-PP
 from Queensland, a big one, Con Air. It got us.
31. *nga-rr-ayurn-iji Darwin, nga-jirrang,*
 1-AS-go back-here Darwin 1A-go down.PP
 We came back to Darwin and got off.
32. *di-ya=lakgarni, all right, warray-iji pay office i-nami-ny*
 DEF-IV=LOC all right go.A.IMP-here pay office 3-say-PP
 Then, 'All right, you lot come to the pay office' he said,

33. *Queensland ulang di-ya=lakgarni ng-a-yung,*
 Queensland SOU DEF-IV=LOC 1-go-PP
 the Queenslander. Then, I went (to the pay office).
34. *Mr Milliken, di-ya-k=ulang payoff i-nami-ny,*
 Mr Milliken DEF-IV-DIST=SOU payoff 3-do-PP
 Mr Milliken paid us off from there.

Text 10: The 1960s–1983

1. *di-ya=lakgarni ng-aji-yung,*
 DEF-IV=LOC 1-arrive-PP
 Then I had arrived (in Darwin).
2. *Ewen lakgarni Ø-ngi-mimi-yayi,*
 Ewen LOC IV<1-stay-PI
 I was staying at Ewen's.
3. *garli=mb-aykgi inyan, Darwin w-atjbatjbuli-rri, Bill Nayijji,*
 O.brother=3I-1M too Darwin 3I-work-PI Bill Nayijji
 My older brother, too, Bill Nayijji was working in Darwin.
4. *di-ya-k Ø-ngi-mimi-yayi,*
 DEF-IV-DIST IV<1-stay-PI
 I was staying there (in Darwin).
5. *l-adlangan Terry Baldwin il-iji-yung,*
 II Terry Baldwin II-arrive-PP
 Old man, Terry Baldwin arrived.
6. *Felix Holmes gay-wik i-nami-ny, Darwin il-ami-ny,*
 Felix Holmes where-I 3I-say-PP Darwin II-say-PP
 'Where is Felix Holmes?' he said. 'He is in Darwin' he said.
7. *all right, atjbulan Ø-uw-i-limi,*
 all right work IV<3-FU-get
 'All right, he will get work.
8. *job w-a-n-mi, Annaburoo Station i-nami-ny*
 job 3I<1-FU-give Annaburoo Station 3-say-PP
 I will give him a job at Annaburoo Station.' he said.
9. *di-ya-k=ulang ilyarr, aykgurrajun Ø-ngu-lakbu-ng,*
 DEF-IV-DIST=SOU year three IV<1-stop-PP
 I stopped there for three years.

10. Ø-i-y-in-mildinyu-k nga-nami-ny,
IV<3-AS-FU-leave-FU I-say-PP
'They will leave (here)' I said.
11. arluk m-i-ngiwi-gi,¹⁶ l-adlangan Terry Baldwin,
language III<1-erect-PP II-old male
'I will give you an answer (as to when you can go' said) the old man, Terry Baldwin.
12. di-ya=lakgarni ng-a-yung, Forestry, Murganella, nga-tjbatjbuli-rri,
DEF-IV=LOC I-go-PP Forestry Murganella I-work-PI
Then, I went to the Forestry at Murganella, and worked (there).
13. ilyarr ajunini Ø-a-yung,
year one IV-go-PP
One year went by.
14. di-ya=lakgarni manbayk Ø-itjbi-ny,
DEF-IV=LOC heart IV-burst-PP
Then, his heart burst.
15. upstairs il-uluga-ny, Evan Herbert, sister Montgomery,
upstairs II-fall-PP
Evan Herbert fell down the stairs. Sister Montgomery
16. Jartdarr¹⁷ i-l-yiwi-g-iji, Evan Herbert w-ambuli-yung,
ambulance 3>II-send-PP-here Evan Herbert 3I-die-PP
(The hospital) sent an ambulance, (but) Evan Herbert died.
17. Felix Holmes w-in-may-iji, w-a-y-i-ni-yuk i-y-ami-ny,
Felix Holmes 3I-FU-go back-here 3I-I-AS-FU-put-FU 3-AS-say-PP
'Felix Holmes will come back. We will bury him' they said.
18. di-ya=lakgarni ng-ayurn-iji ja-ga-n,
DEF-IV=LOC I-go back-here DEF-IV-PROX
Then, I came back here.
19. Mangul lakgarni w-a-y-i-gi, front gate,
Mangul LOC 3I<1-AS-put-PP
We buried him at Mangul, by the front gate.

¹⁶ The combination *arluk m-i-ngiwi-gi* appears to be a lexicalised phrasal compound. Lena Henry translated it as 'He will give him an answer'. Its more exact meaning is unknown.

¹⁷ Lena Henry translated the word *jartdarr* as 'ambulance'. It appears to be an Aboriginal word, presumably Limilngan, and presumably its primary meaning is something other than 'ambulance'. Its primary meaning is unknown.

20. *house lakgarni Ø-ngi-mimi-yayi, Bagot Ø-ngi-mimi-yayi,*
house LOC IV<1-stay-PI Bagot IV<1-stay-PI
I stayed at the station house. (Then) I stayed at Bagot.
21. *l-adlangan ild-iji-yung, Oscar Herbert,*
II-old male II-arrive-PP
(Then) the old man, Oscar Herbert arrived
22. *hospital, i-nami-ny, sister holdim Bagot,*
hospital 3-say-PP
'For hospital' he said. The Bagot (nursing) sister was keeping him.
23. *nga-n-a-yi l-a-ni nga-nami-ny, ng-ayurni ng-a-yung, hospital,*
I-FU-go-FU II<1-see.FU I-say-PP I-go back-PP I-go-PP
'I want to see him' I said. I went back and went to the hospital.
24. *w-a-na-gi, oh nginyi ja-ga-n nginy-iji-yung il-ami-ny,*
3I<1-see-PP oh 2M DEF-IV-PROX 2M-arrive-PP II-say-PP
I saw him. 'Oh, you have come up here' he said.
25. *i nga-nami-ny, gay-gak=nginy-ami-ny, ngu-wulitjbi-yan*
yes I-say-PP where-IV=2M-do-PP I-ache-PR
'Yes' I said. 'How have you been doing?' (I said). 'I am aching' (he said).
26. *i ja-ga-n n-a-n-yirrilawi nga-nami-ny,*
yes DEF-IV-PROX 2<1-FU-wait I-say-PP
'Yes, I will wait around with you' I said.
27. *w-adlangan i-y-irrilwi-rri=wany nga-ykgaykgiji-rri=wany every day,*
3I-old male 3>3-wait-PI=DUR I-do always-PI=DUR
They used to wait for the old man. I used to do that every day.
28. *w-a-liliwi-rri=wany, nga-nama-yi lanbayk il-ya-rri,*
3I<1-see-PI=DUR I-do-PI heart II-finish-PI
I used to see him. I did that. (Then his) heart gave out.
29. *di-ya=lakgarni l-a-y-ikgija-gi,*
DEF-IV=LOC 3I<1-AS-take back-PP
Then we took him back.
30. *nga-rr-a-yung Mangul, l-a-y-i-gi,*
I-AS-go-PP Mangul II<1-AS-put-PP
We went to Mangul and buried him (there).
31. *di-ya-k=ulang ng-ayurn-iji Bagot Ø-ngi-mimi-yayi,*
DEF-IV-DIST=SOU I-go back-here Bagot IV<1-stay-PI
From there, I went back and stayed at Bagot.

32. *di-ya=lakgarni, Agnes n-ani=mb-iwi-yi,*
DEF-IV=LOC Agnes MASC-husband=3I-3-M
Then Agnes' husband (died).
33. *lanbayk il-ya-rri,*
heart II-finish-PI
His heart gave out.
34. *ulik Ø-ngi-mimi-yayi ja-ga-n Bagot,*
still IV<1-stay-PI DEF-IV-PROX Bagot
I was still living here at Bagot.
35. *Agnes i-y-ami-ny, Margaret ?? Ø-i-rr-mima-n*
Agnes 3-AS-say-PP Margaret ?? IV<3-AS-stay-PR
'Agnes' they said. 'Margaret (and Agnes) are [text unclear]'
36. *il-ami-ny, l-adlangan Johnny ulang,*
II-say-PP II-old male Johnny SOU
said old man Johnny
37. *way-iji, Ø-nginy-i-lakbi, da-ga-n,*
go back.IMP-here IV<2M-FU-stop DEF-IV-PROX
'Come back and live here,
38. *ngaykgi lakgarni, Tree Point il-ami-ny,*
1M LOC Tree Point II-say-PP
near me, at Tree Point!' he said.
39. *nga-rr-ayurni ng-a-yung, Ø-nga-rr-mimi-yayi,*
1-AS-go back.PP 1-go-PP IV<1-AS-stay-PI
We went back (to Tree Point). I went (from Bagot). We stayed (at Tree Point).
40. *di-ya=lakgarni, Ah Toy imin sack i-rr-u-gi,*
DEF-IV=LOC Ah Toy imin sack 3>3I-give-PP
Then Ah Toy gave them the sack (the station workforce from Koolpinyah).
41. *Ø-nga-rr-mimi-yayi, anbayk Ø-a-yung-iji, Cyclone Tracy,*
IV<1-AS-stay-PI wind IV-go-PP-here
We stayed. The cyclone came, Cyclone Tracy.
42. *da-ga-n dak Ø-u-m-ambuldingma-rri,*
DEF-IV-PROX house IV<3-IMPF-knock down-PI
It knocked over this house.
43. *di-ya=lakgarni, ngaykgi ja-ga-n d-Ø-i-m,*
DEF-IV=LOC 1M DEF-IV-PROX 1M<3-hit-PP
I was hit here (on the arm) then.

44. *Christmas, nganyi nga-nami-ny ja-ga-n=di, Darwin,*
Christmas whereabouts I-say-PP DEF-IV-PROX=PRM
'Whereabouts (will I go for) Christmas, here? Darwin?' I said.
45. *gija ngu-w-ayi-rrri dak lambangi,*
not I-IRR-go back-P Darwin
I could not go back to town.
46. *gay-gak=nga-nami nga-nami-ny, anbayk Ø-aji-yung,*
where-IV=I-do.FU I-say-PP wind IV-arrive-PP
'What will I do' I said. The cyclone arrived.
47. *ja-ga-n ng-arnung d-Ø-i-m ngaykgi=ji,*
DEF-IV-PROX I-arm IM<3-hit-PP IM=PRM
My arm was hit here.
48. *ng-arnung d-Ø-i-m,*
I-arm IM<3-hit-PP
My arm was hit.
49. *Adelaide barrungan i-y-ami-ny, hospital,*
Adelaide go.M.IMP 3-AS-say-PP hospital
'Go to Adelaide' they said 'to hospital'.
50. *gija ngu-w-a-yung nga-nami-ny,*
not I-IRR-go-EV I-say-PP
'I cannot go' I said.
51. *Bathurst Island di-ya-k nga-n-a-yi nga-nami-ny,*
Bathurst Island DEF-IV-DIST I-FU-go-FU I-say-PP
'I will go there, to Bathurst Island' I said.
52. *i ji-ya-k Ø-i-rr-mima-n du-linan i-yami-ny,*
yes DEF-IV-DIST IV<3-AS-stay-PR IV-good 3-AS-say-PP
'Yes, they are okay' they said.
53. *ji-ya-k Ø-nga-lakbi nga-nami-ny,*
DEF-IV-DIST IV<1-stop.FU I-say-PP
'I will stop there' I said.
54. *da-ya-k ng-a-yung, Ø-ngi-mimi-yayi plaster leave now,*
DEF-IV-DIST I-go-PP IV<1-stay-PI
I went there. I stayed there with the plaster,
55. *ng-arnung lakgarni, di-ya=lakgarni ng-ayurn-iji,*
I-arm LOC DEF-IV=LOC I-go back-here
on my arm. Then I came back.

56. *da-ga-n ng-irrang Darwin, dak lambangi,*
DEF-IV-PROX I-go down.PP Darwin town
I got off here in Darwin, in town.
57. *barrikgut du-Ø-limu-ng ng-a-yung, Ø-nga-lakbu-ng,*
white man IM<3-get-PP I-go-PP IV<1-stop-PP
A white man took me (to Darwin). I stopped (there).
58. *ngaykgi pensioner Ø-nga-mima-n il-ami-ny,*
IM pensioner IV<1-stay-PR II-say-PP
'I am a pensioner' said (Johnny Baird).
59. *Ø-im-in-mimi-ya, nga-nami-ny Ø-nga-rr-mima-n,*
IV<1+2M-FU-stay-FU I-say-PP IV<1-AS-stay-PR
'We will stay (at Durduga)' I said. We are staying (here at Durduga now).
60. *itjbagini Ø-nga-rr-mima-n, Johnny Baird nga-y-aminy,*
for good IV-I-AS-stay-PR Johnny Baird I-AS-together
We are staying (here) for good, (me and) Johnny Baird together,
61. *old woman gimbi i-y-aminy*
old woman gimbi 3-AS-together
together with old woman Gimbi.

Appendix B: Vocabulary

Limilngan-English nominals

This section is divided up according to word class. The forms from the closed classes; adjectives, body part nouns, demonstratives, and pronouns, are first listed in that order. The forms from the open class of nouns are listed following the forms from the closed classes. There are a number of nominals which may be semantically characterised as ‘adjectives’ or ‘body part nouns’, which do not inflect as members of the formal class of adjectives or body part nouns. These nominals are formally nouns, and they are listed as nouns.

ADJECTIVES

-agiyan : black

1M nga-n-bigagan [ɲànbɨgáɡan], 2M nginy-bigagan [ɲinbɨgáɡan], 1+2M min-bigagan [mɨnbɨgáɡan] ~ min-biwigagan [mɨnbɨwɨgáɡan], 3I b-agiyan [bágian], 3II d-agiyan [dágian], 3III m-agiyan [mágian], 1A nga-yin-biwigagan [ɲàinbɨwɨgáɡan], 2A a-yin-biwigagan [àinbɨwɨgáɡan], 3A bi-y-agigan [biágɨɡan]

-ajan : non-existent, nothing

3I b-ajan [báján], 3II d-ajan [dáján], 3III m-ajan [máján], 3A bi-jajan [bíjajan]

-alirngan : lightweight

3II d-alirngan [dalírɲan], 3III m-alirngan [malírɲan]

-alkgan : small

1M nga-n-malkgan [ɲanmálkkan], 2M nginy-malkgan [ɲinmálkkan], 1+2M mu-malkgan [mumálkkan], 3I b-alkgan [bálkkan], 3II d-alkgan [dálkkan], 3III m-alkgan [málkkan], 1A nga-rr-malkgikgan [ɲarmálkkɨkkan], nga-yin-malkgikgan [ɲàinmálkkɨkkan], 2A a-rr-malkgikgan [armálkkɨkkan], a-y-alkgikgan [aiálkkɨkkan], a-yin-malkgikgan [àinmálkkɨkkan], 1+2A, ga-rr-malkgikgan [garmálkkɨkkan], 3A bi-y-alkgikgan [biálkkɨkkan]

-alkgan-ajan : big

3I b-alkgan b-ajan [bálkkan báján], 3II d-alkgan d-ajan [dálkkan dáján], 3III m-alkgan m-ajan [málkkan máján], 3A bi-y-alkgan bi-jajan [biálkkan bíjajan]

-amban : lots

1+2M ma-nyamban [máɲamban], 3II d-amban [dámaban], 3III m-amban [mámaban], 1A nga-nyamban [ɲájɲamban], 2A anga-nyamban [aɲájɲamban], 1+2A ga-nyamban [gáɲamban], 3A bi-jamban [bíjamban]

-aminy : together

1+2M min-aminy [mínamiɲ], 1A nga-y-aminy [ɲáiamiɲ], 2A a-y-aminy [áiamiɲ], 1+2A ga-y-aminy [gáiamiɲ], 3A i-y-aminy [iamiɲ]

-bulngan : alive

1M nga-n-bulngan [ɲanbúlɲan], 2M nin-bulngan [nɨnbúlɲan], 3I bun-bulngan [bunbúlɲan]

-idlungminan : strong

3I b-idlungminan [bɪdlʊŋmɪnan], 3II d-idlungminan [dɪdlʊŋmɪnan], 3III m-idlungminan [mɪdlʊŋmɪnan], 1A nga-dlungmirri [ŋadlʊŋmɪri], 3A b-idlungminan [bɪdlʊŋmɪnan]

-ildigan : fast, quickly

1M nga-n-bildigan [ŋanbɪlɪŋan], 2M nginy-bildigan [ŋɪnbɪlɪŋan], 1+2M min-bildigan [mɪnbɪlɪŋan], 3I bin-bildigan [bɪnbɪlɪŋan], 3II d-ildigan [dɪlɪŋan], 3III m-ildigan [mɪlɪŋan], 1A nga-y-ildigagan [ŋaɪlɪŋágagan], 2A a-y-ildigagan [aɪlɪŋágagan], 3A bi-y-ildigagan [bɪlɪŋágagan]

-imiliny wulun : different

Note: This compound adjective form involves *wulun* '(an)other'. The root *imiliny* is not independently attested. 3I imiliny wulun [ɪmɪlɪŋ wʊlʊn], 3II d-imiliny wulun [dɪmɪlɪŋ wʊlʊn], 3III m-imiliny wulun [mɪmɪlɪŋ wʊlʊn]

-imirrinan : cold

3III d-imirrinan [dɪmɪrɪnan]

-inangan : different

1A nga-jinangan [ŋəjɪnánan], 2A a-jinangan [əjɪnánan], 3A bi-jinangan [bɪjɪnánan]

-inmuynagan : heavy

2M n-inmuynagan [nɪnmúɪŋan], 3II d-inmuynagan [dɪnmúɪŋan], 3III m-inmuynagan [mɪnmúɪŋan]

-inyayan : deep

3I b-inyayan [bɪnaian], 3II d-inyayan [dɪnaian], 3III m-inyayan [mɪnaian], 2A ang-inyayan [aŋɪnaian]

-irrinyan : long, tall

3I b-irrinyan [bɪrɪŋan], 3II d-irrinyan [dɪrɪŋan], d-irrinyngangan [dɪrɪŋŋánan], 3III b-irrinyan [bɪrɪŋan], 1A nga-yin-birrinngangan [ŋəɪɪnbɪrɪŋŋánan], 2A a-y-irrinyngangan [əɪɪnbɪrɪŋŋánan], anga-rrinyngangan [əŋarɪŋŋánan], 3A bi-y-irrinyngangan [bɪrɪŋŋánan]

-iyan : dangerous, troublesome

3I b-iyen [bɪan], 3II d-iyen [dɪan], 3A bi-iyen [bɪjan]

-linan : good

1M nga-linan [ŋəlɪnan], 2M ngi-linan [ŋɪlɪnan], 1+2M mu-linan [mʊlɪnan], 3I bu-linan [bʊlɪnan], 3II du-linan [dʊlɪnan], 3III mu-linan [mʊlɪnan], 1A nga-linan [ŋəlɪnan], 1+2A ga-linan [gəlɪnan], 3A bi-linan [bɪlɪnan]

-linyayan : bitter, salty, sour

3II du-linyayan [dʊlɪɲáian], 3III mu-linyayan [mʊlɪɲáian]

-majuk : wrong

1M ngu-majuk [ŋumájuk]

-makgayan : bad

1M nga-n-makgayan [ŋanmákkaian], 3I bu-makgayan [bumákkaian], 3II du-makgayan [dumákkaian], 3III mu-makgayan [mumákkaian], 3A bi-rr-makgayan bi-rr-mikgiyan [bɪrmíkkian]

-makgayay : bad

1M ngu-makgayay [ŋumákkaiai], nga-n-makgayay [ŋumákkaiai], 2M nginy-makgayay [ŋɪnmákkaiai], 1+2M mu-makgayay [mumákkaiai], 3I bu-makgayay [bumákkaiai], 3II du-makgayay [dumákkaiai], 3III mu-makgayay [mumákkaiai], 1A nga-rr-mikgiyayi [ŋarmíkkiai.i], 2A a-rr-mikgiyayi [armíkkiai.i], 1+2A ga-rr-makgayay [garmákkaiai], ga-rr-mikgiyayi [garmíkkiai.i], 3A i-rr-makgayay [ɪrmákkaiai], i-rr-mikgiyayi [ɪrmíkkiai.i]

-mangmung : clever

1M nga-n-mangmung [ŋanmámŋmun], 2M nginy-mangmung [ŋɪnmámŋmun], 1+2M min-mangmung [mɪnmámŋmun], 3I bu-mangmung [bumámŋmun], 3II du-mangmung

- [dumáŋmun], 1A nga-rr-mangmung [ŋarmáŋmun], 2A a-rr-mangmung [armáŋmun], 1+2A ga-rr-mangmung [garmáŋmun], 3A bi-rr-mangmung [birmáŋmun]
- mayan** : cheeky
2M nginy-mayan [ŋimáian], 3I bu-mayan [bumáian], 3II du-mayan [dumáian], 2A a-rr-mayan [armáian], 3A bi-rr-mayan [birmáian]
- muligan** : hard, tough
3II du-muligan [dumúŋgan], 3III mu-muligan [mumúŋgan]
- murlkgiji** : person, really
1M nga-n-murlkgiji [ŋanmú[kkíji], 2M nginy-murlkgiji [ŋimú[kkíji], 1+2M min-mamurlkgiji [minmàmú[kkíji], 3I bu-murlkgiji [bumú[kkíji], 3II du-murlkgiji [dumú[kkíji], 1A nga-rr-mamurlkgiji [ŋarmàmú[kkíji], 2A a-rr-mamurlkgiji [armàmú[kkíji], 1+2A ga-rr-ma-murlkgiji [garmàmú[kkíji], 3A bi-rr-mamurlkgiji [birmàmú[kkíji]
- nugikgan** : soft
3II du-nugikgan [dùnugíkan]
- urnitjgan** : same
3III mu-wurnitjgan [mùsŋíkan]
- urnu** : children
2A anga-nyumu [aŋáŋu], 3A bi-jumu [bíŋu]
- walikgan** : hot
IV du-walikgan
- wunung** skinny
1 nga-wunung [háwunŋ], 2 nginyu-wunung [ŋìŋwúnŋ]

BODY PART NOUNS

- adlingi** : small of back
1M ng-adlingi [ŋádlŋi], 3I w-adlingi [wádlŋi], 3III m-adlingi [mádlŋi]
- alinyman** : forehead
1M ng-alinyman [ŋafŋman], 2M nginy-alinyman [ŋìŋafŋman], 3II l-alinyman [lafŋman]
- ambirriwirlurl** : bone
1M ng-ambirriwirlurl [ŋambirwíŋl], 2M nginy-ambirriwirlurl [ŋìŋambirwíŋl], 3I w-ambirriwirlurl [wambirwíŋl]
- arluk** : language country man (Class IV) (body part noun?)
1A nga-jarluk [ŋaŋáŋuk], 1+2A ga-jarluk [gaŋáŋuk]
- arlurl** : ear
1M ng-arlurl [ŋáŋl], 2 M nginy-arlurl [ŋìŋáŋl]
- arnung** : arm
1M ng-amung [ŋáŋŋ], 2M nginy-amung [ŋìŋáŋŋ], 3Iw-amung [wáŋŋ], 3II l-amung [láŋŋ], 3A i-y-amung [iáŋŋ]
- arrangul** : shoulder blade
1M ng-arrangul [ŋáŋaŋŋl], 2M nginy-arrangul [ŋìŋáŋaŋŋl]
- imilngalngay** : skin
1M ng-imilngalngay [ŋimŋŋáŋŋai], 2 M nginy-imilngalngay [ŋìŋimŋŋáŋŋai]
- inan** : nose
1M ng-inan [ŋíŋan], 2M nginy-inan [ŋìŋíŋan], 3I w-inan [wíŋan], 3II l-inan [líŋan], 1A nga-y-inan [ŋáíŋan], nga-jinan [ŋáŋŋan], 2A a-y-inan [ŋáíŋan], 3A bi-jinan [bíŋŋan]

-mil : face

1M ngi-mil [ŋímɪl], 2M nginy-mil [ŋijnɪl], 3II li-mil [límɪl]

-mirnay : shoulder

1M ngi-mirnay [ŋímɪnai], 2M nginy-mirnay [ŋijnmɪnai]

-mirrmarr : chest

1M nga-mirrmarr [ŋamírmar], 2M nginy-mirrmarr [ŋijnmírmar], 3A i-rr-mirrmarr [ɪmírmar]

-muk : bum

2M nginy-muk [ŋijnmuk]

-umuditjbal : thigh bone

1M ng-umuditjbal [ŋùmudɪcpal]

-urlkgurk : back

1M ng-urlkgurk [ŋú[kkɪk], 2M nginy-urlkgurk [ŋijnú[kkɪk], 3I u-wurkgurk [uú[kkɪk], 3II l-urlkgurk [lú[kkɪk], 1A nga-y-urlkgurk [ŋajú[kkɪk], 2A a-y-urlkgurk [aiú[kkɪk]

-uykga : mouth

1M ng-uykga [ŋúkkal], 2M nginy-uykga [ŋijnúkkal], 3II l-uykga [lúkkal], 2A a-y-uykga [aiúkkal], 3A i-y-uykga [iúkkal]

-wum : belly (Class II)

1M ngu-wum [ŋúum], 2M nginyu-wum [ŋijnúum], 1+2M mu-wum [ŋúum], 3I u-wum [úum], 3A bi-rr-wum [bírúum]

-wungal : knee

1M ngu-wungal [ŋuúŋal], 2M nginyu-wungal [ŋijnúŋal], 1+2M mu-wungal [muúŋal], 3I u-wungal [uúŋal], 3II lu-wungal [luúŋal], 1A nga-rr-wungal [ŋarwúŋal], 2A a-rr-wungal [arwúŋal], 3A bi-rr-wungal [bírúŋal]

DEMONSTRATIVES

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
that, there	<i>dʒa-wi-k</i> [dʒáwɪk]	<i>dʒa-na-k</i> [dʒának]	<i>dʒa-ma-k</i> [dʒámak]	<i>dʒi-ya-k</i> [dʒiák]
this, here	<i>dʒa-wi-n</i> [dʒáwɪn]	<i>dʒa-na-n</i> [dʒánan]	<i>dʒa-ma-n</i> [dʒáman]	<i>dʒa-ga-n</i> [dʒágan]
those, these	<i>j-Ø-iga</i> [jiga]	<i>dʒa-n-iga</i> [dʒániga]	<i>dʒa-m-iga</i> [dʒámiga]	
who, what	<i>inyi-wik</i> [ɪɲɪwɪk]	<i>inyi-tdak</i> [ɪɲɪttak]	<i>inyi-mak</i> [ɪɲɪmak]	<i>inyi-gak</i> [ɪɲɪgak]
how many	<i>iny-Ø-igani</i> [ɪɲɪgáni]	<i>inyi-td-igani</i> [ɪɲɪttigáni]	<i>inyi-m-igani</i> [ɪɲɪmígáni]	<i>inyi-g-igani</i> [ɪɲɪgígáni]
where	<i>gay-wik</i> [gáiwɪk]	<i>gay-tdak</i> [gáittak]	<i>gay-mak</i> [gáimak]	<i>gay-gak</i> [gáigak]
where-aug				<i>gay-g-iga</i> [gáigiga]

PRONOUNS

Base pronouns

	1		2		1+2	
Minimal	<i>ngaykgi</i>	[ŋáikki]	<i>nginyi</i>	[ŋíni]	<i>ngami</i>	[ŋámi]
Augmented	<i>nguyi</i>	[ŋúji]	<i>wunguyi</i>	[wúŋuji]	<i>guyi</i>	[gúji]

=*nijani* 'alone, self' pronouns

	Minimal		Augmented	
1	<i>ngaykgi=nijani</i>	[ŋáikkɪnɪjàni]	<i>nguyi=nijani</i>	[ŋújɪnɪjàni]
2	<i>nginyi=nijani</i>	[ŋíɲɪnɪjàni]	<i>wunguyi=nijani</i>	[wúŋuɲɪnɪjàni]
1+2	<i>ngami=nijani</i>	[ŋámɪnɪjàni]		
3I	<i>w-ayi=nijani</i>	[wáɪɪnɪjàni]	<i>wiyi=nijani</i>	[wíɪnɪjàni]
3II	<i>l-ayi=nijani</i>	[láɪɪnɪjàni]		
3III	<i>m-ayi=nijani</i>	[máɪɪnɪjàni]		
3IV	<i>Ø-ayi=nijani</i>	[áɪɪnɪjàni]		

Possessive pronouns

	Class I		Class II/IV		Class III	
1M	<i>mb-aykgi</i>	[mbàikki]	<i>d-aykgi</i>	[dáikki]	<i>m-aykgi</i>	[máikki]
2M	<i>bi-nginyi</i>	[bɪŋíni]	<i>di-nginyi</i>	[dɪŋíni]	<i>mi-nginyi</i>	[mɪŋíni]
1+2M	<i>b-ami</i>	[bámi]	<i>d-ami</i>	[dámɪ]	<i>m-ami</i>	[mámi]
3M	<i>mb-iwi-yi</i>	[mbɪwíi]	<i>d-iwi-yi</i>	[dɪwíi]	<i>m-iwi-yi</i>	[mɪwíi]
1A			<i>d-uyi</i>	[dúji]	<i>m-uyi</i>	[múji]
2A	<i>mb-unguyi</i>	[mbùŋuɲi]	<i>d-unguyi</i>	[dùŋuɲi]	<i>m-unguyi</i>	[mùŋuɲi]
1+2A	<i>mbu-guyi</i>	[mbùguɲi]	<i>du-guyi</i>	[dùguɲi]	<i>mu-guyi</i>	[mùguɲi]
3A			<i>d-iwi-rri</i>	[dɪwíri]	<i>m-iwi-rri</i>	[mɪwíri]

Predicative possessive pronouns

	Minimal		Augmented	
Class I	<i>b-iwi-yi-nija</i>	[bɪwíɪnɪja]	<i>b-iwi-rri-nija</i>	[bɪwírɪnɪja]
Class II/IV	<i>d-iwi-yi-nija</i>	[dɪwíɪnɪja]	<i>d-iwi-rri-nija</i>	[dɪwírɪnɪja]
Class III	<i>m-iwi-yi-nija</i>	[mɪwíɪnɪja]	<i>m-iwi-rri-nija</i>	[mɪwírɪnɪja]

NOUNS

A

agal : paperbark (Class III) [ágal]
agi-agi : tea tree, [*Leptospermum longifolium*] (Class III) [àgiági]
ajun : one [ájun] ~ **ajunini** [àjuníni]
alijiyi : I don't want it!, Leave it! [àlɪji]
alinyman dinyayan : king brown snake (Class II) [alɪnman díɲaɪan] Note: This name means 'deep forehead'. It

presumably refers to the distinctively large head of the king brown snake.

alkgiɲi : behind [alkkíɲi]

ambat-daygwan : short singular [àmbattáigwan]

ambat-dikbugan : short plural [àmbattíkpuɲan]

ambili : lie, to lie, to deceive, to trick [àmbɪli]

ambuk : far [ámbuk]

anbayk : wind (Class IV) [ánbaik]

angalk: charcoal (Class IV) [áŋalk]
angul: high, top [áŋul]
angul-diyān: high country, topside [áŋuldian] Note: This compound consists of *angul* 'high top' + *d-iyān*, the Class II form of the adjective *-iyān* 'dangerous, troublesome'.
anmat dumuligan: dugong (Class II) [ánmat dumúligan] Note: This name means 'hard *anmat*'. The word *anmat* is not independently attested.
anmat dumuligan: kangaroo (Class II) [ánmat dumúligan]
anngay: clothes (Class IV) [ánŋai]
anyān: wet [áŋan]
arli: shark (Class II) [áli]
arli: laughter, to laugh (Class IV) [áli]
arnikgan: old woman (Class I) [ánŋikan]
arnikgan=arnikgan: old women [ánŋikkanánŋikan]
arningan: uninitiated boy (Class I) [ánŋŋan]
arrk: tail (Class IV) [árk]
atjban: morning [áicpan]
atjban-ini: the other morning [áicpaníni]
atjbulan: work (Class IV) [áicpulan]
atjbungaji: tomorrow [aicpúŋaji]
atjbungaj-ini: the day after tomorrow [aicpúŋajíni]
ayal: road (Class IV) [áial]
ayi: high country thicket (Class IV) [ái.i]
ayirri: anthill (Class IV) [áiri]
aykgirnani: now, nowadays, today [áikkŋáni]
aykgurrajun: three [aikúrájun]
aykgurnitjjin: hunger, hungry [áikkurŋiccin]
aykgurr: two [áikkur]

B

babu: vagina [bábu]
badambip: two-lined dragon, [*Diporiphora* sp.] (Class II) [bádambip]
bagartbagart: frog sp. (Class II) [bàgarpágaŋ]
bakgarl: crab's eye vine, [*Abrus precatorius*] [bákkaŋ]

bambarl: nullanulla, flat club (Class III) [bámbarŋ]
bangbang: tobacco (Class IV) [bánbarŋ]
bangi: tree (Class III) [báŋŋi]
banyān: ceremonial leader (Class I) [báŋan]
barragut: white man (Class I) [báragut]
barram: knife grass [*Schleria* sp.] [báram]
barrapbarrap: masked lapwing, [*Vanellus miles*] (Class II) [bàrappárap]
bawitj: bush potato, [*Brachystelma glabriflora*] [báwic]
bibarrk: black-tailed native hen, [*Gallinula ventralis*] (Class II) [bíbark]
bilarrkbilarrk: galah, [*Cacatua roseicapilla*] (Class II) [bílarkpílark]
birnalk: scrub country (Class III) [bíŋalk]
birnirriny: goanna sp., mangrove goanna (Class II) [bíŋirŋŋi]
bitjurnurnu: file snake, [*Acrochordus arafurae*] (Class II) [bíccurŋurŋu]
biyan: policeman [bían] Note: This is the Class I form of the adjective *-iyān* 'dangerous, troublesome'.
bijiyān: policemen [bíŋian] Note: This is the 3A form of the adjective *-iyān* 'dangerous, troublesome'.
biyal: Cyperacea sp. [bíaŋ]
bulikgi: cattle (Class II) [búŋŋŋi]
bungal: pregnant [búŋal]
bungal minyān: wallaby, [*Macropus agilis*] (Class II) [búŋal míŋaian] Note: This name means 'deep *bungal*'. It seems unlikely that *bungal* 'pregnant' is the same form.

D

dak: house (Class III) [dáak]
dak lambangi: town (Class IV) [dáak lámbarŋi] Note: This name means 'fully grown house'. It refers principally to Darwin.
dan: pubic hair [dāan]
danyarnngi: wandering whistling duck, [*Dendrocygna arcuata*] (Class II) [dapánŋŋi]

dararr : swag (Class IV) [dáʔar]
darlarl : outside [dála]
darlirli : stone, money (Class II) [dáli]
darn damban : water yam, [*Dioscorea bulbifera*] [dáan damban]. Note: This name means 'lots of *darn*'. The word *darn* is not independently attested.
darnman : ant species (Class II) [dánman]
darnmayngi : moon (Class II) [danmáinji]
darnmiga : Follow me! [dánmiga]
darnmigan : quiet [dánmigan]
darrin : spear type (Class III) [dárin]
dilimin langan : palm tree, [*Livistona humilis & inermis*] (Class II) [dílɪmɪn lánʒan] Note: This name means 'dilimin meat'. The word *dilimin* is not independently attested.
dimarrkginyan : dingo (Class II) [dɪmárkkɪnʌn]
dinnagagi : already, before [dɪnnági]
dirdatj : native cat (Class II) [díɖaɪɪ] (synonym gitjbi damban)
dirrikgirruk : between, middle [dɪrɪkkírʉk]
dirrinyngangan : mangrove worm (Class II) [dɪrɪnʒánʒan] Note: This name is the Class II form of the adjective 'long, tall'. It presumably means 'the long animal'.
ditjgan : half-caste [dɪkʌn]
ditjgan : white [dɪkʌn]
ditjgan : white cockatoo (Class II) [dɪkʌn]
diyan : grog, poison (Class IV) [dían]
diyan diminyan : barramundi (Class II) [dian dɪmɪnʌn] Note: This name appears to mean 'trouble *diminyan*'. The word *diminyan* is not independently attested.
dumugarnyi : bustard (Class II) [dʉmʉgárɲi]
duwarnggan : north [duánʒan]

G

gagi : father [gági]
galpbangarruk : shellfish sp. [galppánʒarʉk]
 Note: This refers to a species living on mangrove roots.
garli : older brother; grandfather, FaFa [gáli]
gija : not [gíʒa]

giji : mother (address) [gíʒi]
girralpbung : green ant (Class II) [gɪrálppʉn]
girriluk : curlew, [*Burhinus magnirostris*] (Class II) [gírɪlʉk] (synonym limiluk)
gitjbi damban : native cat (Class II) (synonym dirdatj) [gɪɕpi damban] Note: This name appears to mean 'lots of *gitjbi*'. The word *gitjbi* is not independently attested.
giyi : mother (reference) [gi.i]
guluduk : bar-shouldered dove, peaceful dove, [*Geopelia* sp.] (Class II) [gúlʉdʉk]
gumitgumitgan : tawny frogmouth, mopoke, [*Podargus strigoides*] (Class II) [gʉmɪtkʉmɪtkʌn]
gurdumardi : catfish (Class II) [gʉdʉmáɖi]
gurlawirtwirt : red-capped plover, [*Charadrius ruficapillus*] [gʉlʌwɪɾwɪɾ]
gurnumburr : kidney (Class II) [gʉnʉmbʉr]

I

i : yes [ii]
ijalk : tongue (Class IV) [ɪʒalk]
ilidamban : green plum, [*Buchanania obovata*] (Class III) [ɪlɪdamban] Note: This name appears to mean 'lots of *ili*'. The word *ili* is not independently attested.
iluk : ground (Class IV) [ɪlʉk]
ilyarr : year (Class IV) [ɪlʌr]
ilyiwin : urine (Class IV) [ɪliwɪn]
ilyiwin muluman : mullet (Class II) [ɪliwɪn mʉlʉman] Note: This name appears to mean 'urine *muluman*'. The word *muluman* is not independently attested.
imal : foot (Class IV) [ɪmal]
Imalngarr : Tiwi (Class I) [ɪmálʒar]
imarr : hair (Class IV) [ɪmar]
imbinyman : white-bellied sea eagle, [*Haliaeetus leucogaster*] (Class II) [ɪmbɪnʌn]
imiligarnmi : wild peanut tree, [*Sterculia quadrifida*] (Class III) [ɪmɪlɪgárɲmi]

imilung dajan : eel (Class II) [ímɪluŋ dáʃan]

Note: This name appears to mean 'No *imilung*'. The word *imilung* is not independently attested.

imimi : saltwater (Class IV) [ímimi]

iminbayk : rope (Class IV) [ímɪnbəɪk]

imin mirlarl : skink (Class II) [ímɪn mɪlɹɹ]

imingatj : hole (Class IV) [ímɪŋaɪc]

iminy : darter, [*Anhinga melanogaster*] (Class II) [ímɪŋ]

iminybikbuk : dream [ímɪnbɪkɸuk]

iminybikbuk : shadow [ímɪnbɪkɸuk]

iminybikbuk : whirlwind (Class IV) [ímɪnbɪkɸuk]

imirri : sun (Class IV) [ímɪrɹi]

imirrini : cold [ímɪrɹɪni]

imirrmarr : cloud (Class IV) [ímɪrɹmar]

imitj : story (Class IV) [ímɪc]

inan jimbirlan : nosepeg [ínan ʃɪnbɪlɹan]

inyan : also, too [ínan]

irarr : tooth Class II [íɹar]

irritjbul : mucus (Class IV) [íricɸul]

irrun : white ochre (Class IV) [írun]

irrun damban : carpet snake, [*Spilotes variegatus*] (Class II) [írun dámban]
Note: This name means 'lots of white ochre'.

itbilinyngan : short-eared rock wallaby. [*Petrogale brachyotis*] (Class II) [ítɸɪlɪŋŋan]

itjbagini : forever [ícɸagɪni]

iwan : fish (Class II) [íwan]

wirarr : river (Class IV) [íwɹar]

iwarnitj : long time [íwanɪc]

iwi : greasy [íwi]

iwirli : black wattle, [*Acacia auriculoformis*] (Class III) [íwɪlɹ]

iwirli : digging stick (Class IV) [íwɪlɹ]

iwirli : black-headed python, [*Aspidites melanocephalus*] (Class II) [íwɪlɹ]

iwitjbi : nearly [íwɪcɸɪ]

iyaturu : western brown snake [iáttuɹu]

iyin : dust (Class IV) [íɹɪn]

iyin : trouble (Class IV) [íɹɪn]

iyinbayk : ghost (Class I) [íɹɪnbəɪk]

iyirr : hand (Class IV) [íɹɹ]

iyirr murnikgay : five [íɹɹ mɹɹɪkɹai] Note: This compound literally means 'hand + other side'.

J

jakgigak : maybe [ʃákkɹɹgɹk]

jigirritj-jigirritj : willy wagtail (Class II) [ʃɹɹɪccɪɹɹɪc]

jilalarr : magpie (Class II) [ʃɹɹɹɹ]

jimbirlang : stone spear (Class II) [ʃɹɹbɪlɹɹ]

jirrpungi : inside [ʃɹɹɸɸɹɹɹɹ]

jitbulkbulk : spotted parlardotte (Class II) [ʃɹɹɸɹɹɹɹɹɹ]

jiwarnitj : Jesus, sky spirit [ʃɹɹwɹɹɹɹɹ]

jubuk : clapstick (Class IV) [ʃúbuk]

jukjuk ilamirl : garfish (Class II) [ʃúkɹuk ílamɹɹ]

L

l-adlangan : old man [ládɹɹɹɹɹ]

ladli : fat (Class II) [ládɹɹ]

lagun : golden tree snake, [*Dendralaphis punctulatus*] (Class II) [láɹun]

lagurl : jungle, monsoon forest (Class II) [láɹul]

lagurr : bush onion, [*Crinum angustifolium*] [láɹur]

lagurr : crow (Class II) [láɹur]

lakgarni : close, near [lákkɹɹɹɹ]

lalagan : scrub (Class II) [láɹɹɹɹ]

lalawan : pubic cover [láɹɹɹɹ]

laliny : pig tucker tree (Class III) [láɹɹɹ]

laliny : pygmy goose, [*Nettapus pulchellus*] (Class II) [láɹɹɹ]

lalk : marchfly (Class II) [láɹk]

lalkgalk : tendon (Class II) [láɹkɹk]

lalkgi : torresian imperial pigeon, [*Ducula spilorrhoa*] (Class II) [láɹkɹɹ]

lalykgi : fly (Class II) [láɹkɹɹ]

lalykgi damban : white apple, [*Syzgium armstrongii*] (Class III) [láɹkɹɹ dámban]

Note: This name means 'lots of flies'.

lam : frill-necked lizard (Class II) [láam]

lamay : goose (Class II) [lámai]

lambangi : mature. Minimal lambangi [lámbaŋi], Augmented lamambangi [lamámbaŋi], 1+2A ganyambangi [gàŋambáŋi]

lambirli : slaty grey snake, [*Stegnotus cucullatus*] (Class II) [lámbɪli]

lambugay : water snake, [*Bothrochilus fuscus*] (Class II) [lámbugai]

laminy dagiyan : Burtons' legless lizard, [*Lialis burtonis*] (Class II) [lámiŋ dágian]
Note: This name means 'black laminy'. The word *laminy* is not independently attested.

laminyanbarr : plumed whistling duck, [*Dendrocygna eytoni*] (Class II) [làmiŋánbar]

lamitj : phragmites (Class II) [lámic]

lamugarn : white-throated grass wren, [*Amytornis woodwardi*] (Class II) [lámuŋan]

lamuk : cave (Class II) [lámuŋ]

lamuk dikbugan : short-necked turtle (Class II) [lámuŋ díkpuŋan] Note: This name means 'short arse'.

lamuk gatjgiji : short-necked turtle (Class II) [lámuŋ gáicŋiŋi] Note: This name appears to mean 'gatjgiji arse'. The word *gatjgiji* is not independently attested.

lamurr : black whip snake, [*Demansia atra*] (Class II) [lámur]

lanay : lizard sp. (Class III) [lánai]

lanbayk : heart (Class II) [lánbaik]

lanbayk : mosquito (Class II) [lánbaik]

lana : saltwater mud [láŋa]

lana : beef (Class II) [láŋan]

langinyngan : banana tree, [*Marsdenia viridiflora*] (Class III) [láŋiŋŋan]

langinyngan : manta ray (Class II) [láŋiŋŋan]

langinyngan : woomera (Class II) [láŋiŋŋan]

langitj : emu (Class II) [láŋic]

langitj : pandanus nut (Class II) [láŋic]

larl : testicles [láal]

larliny dajan : rainbow (Class II) [láliŋ dáján]

larnmingi dinyayan : orange-footed jungle fowl, [*Megapodius reinwardi*] (Class II)

[láŋmɪŋi díŋaian] Note: This name appears to mean 'deep larnmingi'. The word *larnmingi* is not independently attested.

larnung : wing (Class II) [láŋuŋ]

larnung dirriŋnyngan : tern (Class II)

[láŋuŋ díriŋŋan] Note: This name means 'long wing'. (synonym liwirarr dinyayan)

larral : spider (Class II) [láral]

larrng : lightning (Class II) [láŋŋ]

larryal : jabiru (Class II) [láŋjal]

latdinyayan : crocodile (Class II) [làttiŋáian]

latjji : tree sp, [*Persoonia falcata*] (Class II) [lácci]

lawa : damper (Class III) [láwa]

layi : Macleays' water snake, [*Enhydriis polylepis*] (Class II) [lá.i]

layi : stone axe (Class II) [lá.i]

layi : billy goat plum, [*Terminalia ferdinandiana*] [lá.i]

ligi : quail, [*Coturnix* sp.] (Class II) [lígi]

lilkgany : prawn (Class II) [lílkaiŋ]

limarrambi : whistling kite, [*Haliastur sphenurus*] (Class II) [límarámbi]

limbi : long yam, [*Dioscorea transversa*] (Class III) [límbi]

limbi : louse, flea (Class II) [límbi]

limiji : cold, cough [límiŋi]

limiji damban : goanna, [*Varanus gouldii*] (Class II) [límiŋi dámban]

limil : language name [lími]

limilirriŋy : navel [lími líriŋ]

limilngan : language name [límiŋŋan]

limiluk : curlew, [*Burhinus magnirostris*] (Class II) [límiŋluk] (synonym girriluk)

liminalk : lizard sp, [*Lophognathus temporalis*] (Class II) [límiŋnalk]

limin balyi : white gum, [*Eucalyptus papuana*] (Class III) [límin báli]

limin binal : black kite, [*Milvus migrans*] (Class II) [límin bínal]

limin biyal : keelback or freshwater snake, [*Tropidonophis mairii*] (Class II) [límin bíal]

liminyi : sea (Class II) [límiŋi]

limiyuk : grub [límiuk]
linan dirrinngan : freshwater crocodile (Class II) [línan dírinŋan]
linngulitj : spear [línŋulic]
linngulitj : stringybark, [*Eucalyptus tetradonta*] (Class II) [línŋulic]
linyagitj : night (Class IV) [línŋajic]
lirrgi : kookaburra, [*Dacelo leachii*] (Class II) [lirgi]
lirrul : snail (Class II) [lírul]
liwíjul : dragon fly (Class II) [líwíjul]
liwirarr dinyayan : tern (Class II) [líwíŋar díŋaiaŋ] (synonym lamung dirrinngan)
liwirnal : white cedar, [*Canarium australianum*] (Class II) [líwíŋal]
liwitjbut : australian magpie lark, [*Grallina cyanoleuca*] (Class II) [líwicput]
liyarr : pandanus spiralis (Class III) [fiar]
liyil : mouse (Class II) [fiil]
liyinmungi : mussel (Class II) [liinmúrŋi]
liyiny : Comb-crested Jacana, [*Irediparra gallinacea*] [fi.ŋ]
lugi : leech (Class II) [lúgi]
lulayi : animal (Class II) [lúlai.i]
lulayk : long-necked turtle (Class II) [lúlaik]
lulikbi : head (Class II) [lúlikpi]
lulikbi dinyayan : possum (Class II) [lúlikpi díŋaiaŋ] Note: This name means 'deep head'.
lumanyuk : creek (Class II) [lumáŋuk]
lumarninyan : dilly bag (Class II) [lumáŋŋan]
lumarninyan damban : little red flying fox, [*Pteropus scapulatus*] (Class II) [lumáŋŋan dámban] Note: This name means 'many dilly bags.'
lumbangmam : oyster (Class II) [lumbáŋmam]
lumulkban : feather [lumúlkan]
lumuwat dumuligan : olive python, rock snake, [*Bothrochilus olivaceus*] (Class II) [lúmuat dumúlŋan] Note: This name appears to mean 'hard lumuwat'. The word *lumuwat* is not independently attested.

lumuwalkbarl : large cormorant species (Class II) [lúmuúlkpał]
lunyvim : rock wallaby (Class II) [lúŋbim]
lunyvim lamuk : black wallaroo, [*Macropus bernadus*] (Class II) [lúŋbim lámuk] Note: This name appears to mean 'cave lunyvim'.
luralkgalk : bullant (Class II) [lu.álkkalk]
lurliny : egret species [lúlin]
lurliny : rice (Class II) [lúlin]
lurluk : centipede (Class II) [lúluk]
lurngun : scorpion (Class II) [lúŋŋun]
lurrilmal : black cockatoo (Class II) [lurilmal]
lurrilyarr : brolga (Class II) [luríAar]
luwarli : tree rat (Class II) [luáli]
luwitjbarl : black bream (Class II) [lúicpał]
luwunbun : blowfly (Class II) [lúunbun]
luwutjbil : firestick (Class II) [lúucpıl]
luwutjgi : leaf (Class II) [lúucki]
luwutjgi : little fly (Class II) [lúucki]
luwutjgi : bird sp. (Class II) [lúucki]

M

madlingi : root (Class III) [mádlirŋi] Note: This is the Class III form of the body part noun *adlingi* 'small of back'.
madlingi minyayan : old man kangaroo (Class II) [mádlirŋi míŋaiaŋ] Note: This name means 'deep root'.
magangurl : tree species, [*Grewia retusifolia*] (Class III) [mágaŋul]
magarr : yellow ochre (Class IV) [mágar]
magarritjbamirl : star (Class III) [màgaricpámıł]
magun : faeces (Class III) [mágun]
makbangi : blood (Class III) [mákaŋi]
makbangi dinyayan : crab (Class II) [mákaŋi díŋaiaŋ] Note: This name means 'deep blood'.
makbangi majan : crab, small female crab (Class II) [mákaŋi májan] Note: This name means 'without blood'.
malam : belly (Class III) [málam]
malarr : rainbow bee eater, [*Merops ornatus*] (Class II) [málar]

malinyngan : wasp (Class II) [málinŋan]

malngi : seaweed [máŋŋi]

malungan : wedge-tailed eagle, [*Aquila audax*] (Class II) [máluŋan]

mamal : beard, body hair (Class III) [mámal]

mambarr birrinyan : pheasant coucal, [*Centropus phasaianinus*] (Class II) [mámbar bírɪŋan] Note: This name means 'long *mambarr*'. The word *mambarr* is not independently attested.

mambirram : tree sp, firestick tree, [*Banksia dentata*] [mámɪrɪram]

mambirri : butterfly (Class II) [mámɪrɪ]

maminybal : nail (Class II) [mámɪŋbal]

mamulk birrinyan : cheeky [mámulk bírɪŋan] Note: This term means 'long *mamulk*'. The word *mamulk* is not independently attested.

mamun birritj (mamun burrnginy) : red apple, [*Syzgium suborbiculare*] [mámun bíric] ~ [mámun búrɪŋɪŋ]

manbayk : lung (Class III) [mánbaɪk]

manbiral : round fighting stick (Class III) [mánbɪɾal]

mangalk : cicatrices (Class II) [máŋalk]

mangi : grandmother, FaMo [máŋi]

manguk : black currant tree, [*Antidesma ghaesembilla*] [máŋuk]

manngulan : camp (Class III) [mánɪŋulan]

manum birrinyan : flea (Class II) [mánum bírɪŋan]. Note: This name means 'long/tall *manum*'. The word *manum* is not independently attested.

manyal : flower of [*Nymphaea violacea*] (Class III) [máŋal]

manybal : armpit [máɪŋbal]

manybirwarli : back of neck (Class III, Class II) [máɪŋbɪɾwáɪɪ]

marakbitj : ceremony ground (Class III) [máɪakɪɪ]

marlam : didgeridoo (Class III) [málam]

marlam dinyayan : hollow [málam díŋaɪan] Note: This term means 'deep didgeridoo'.

marluk : throat (Class III) [máɪuk]

marluman : bamboo man (Class I) [máɪuman]

marnalk : front of neck (Class III) [máŋalk]

marnalk : song (Class III) [máŋalk]

marnalk lamuk : collarbone [máŋalk lámuk]

Note: This term means 'throat cave'.

marnanggurr : sky (Class III) [máŋaŋgur]

marnijurrkgurrk : sugar glider, [*Petaurus breviceps*] (Class II) [máŋɪɹúrkurk]

marni-marni : all together, in one group [máŋɪmáŋɪ]

marninyi mambirri : pelican (Class II) [máŋɪɪni mámɪrɪ]

marnitj : canoe (Class III) [máŋɪɪ]

marnitjjiŋgi : stomach (Class III) [máŋɪɪɪŋɪ]

marniyi : grass (Class III) [máŋɪɪ]

marniyilkkan : singing man (Class I) [máŋɪɪɪlkan]

marral : ironwood (Class III) [máral]

marrimarri : knife (Class II) [máɪmáɪɪ]

marung : mermaid (Class I) [máɪur]

matjbulinan : boomerang (Class III) [maɪɪpúɪɪnɪn] Note: This term appear historically to be a compound of *matj* (unknown) and *bu-linan*, the Class I form of the adjective *-linan* 'good'.

mawitjbitj : long-tailed finch, [*Peophila acuticauda*] (Class III, Class II) [máwɪɪɪɪɪɪ]

maykgurnikgun : rib (Class II) [maɪkkúɪɪkkun]

maywilal : ground, mud (Class III) [máɪwɪɪɪɪ]

maywilalngan : dirty, muddy [máɪwɪɪɪɪɪŋan]

milalkgal : ashes (Class III) [mɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ]

milanyarl : paperbark raft (Class III) [mɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ]

milijan : yesterday [mɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ]

milijan-ini : the day before yesterday [mɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ]

miliɪi : afternoon [mɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ]

milingbi : turtle leg (Class II) [mɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ]

milingigi : shoulderblade (Class II) [mɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ]

milingigi : Southern Cross (Class III) [mɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ]

mimilanitj : sandfly (Class III, Class II) [mɪɪmɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ]

mimalkgalk : boil (Class III) [mímáلكالك]
mimilngan : flower (Class III) [mímılŋan]
mimilugutj : milkwood, [*Alstonia actinophylla*] (Class III) [mímılúguc]
mimiluk minyayan : blue tongue lizard (Class II) [mímıluk mįpaian] Note: This name means 'deep *mimiluk*'. The word *mimiluk* is not independently attested.
mimilung : tucker (Class III) [mímılunŋ]
miminikgitj : black plum, [*Vitex glabrata*] (Class II) [mímıníkıkic]
minarriny : sky spirit [mínarınŋ]
minayuk : bulb of [*Nymphaea violacea*] [mínaiuk]
minbulungbulung : butcherbird, [*Cracticus* sp.] (Class II) [mınbúlunŋbúlunŋ]
minukban : banyon, [*Ficus virens*] (Class III) [mínukpan]
mingililuk : tuber of [*Nymphaea violacea*] [mınŋılıluk]
mingilngan : head of the sugarbag (Class II) [mınŋılŋan]
minyim binyayan : lizard species (Class II) [mínım bįpaian] Note: This name means 'deep *minyim*'. The word *minyim* is not independently attested.
minumbirr : grass lily, [*Nymphoides*] (Class II) [mínumbır]
minyulkgulk : spit (Class III) [mınúلككulk]
mirnalitj : bamboo (Class III) [mínalic]
mirnan : high country, upcountry, topside [mínan]
mirnngayal : round yam (Class III) [mínŋaial]
mirtbinalk : tick (Class III) [mítpınalk]
mirtbinalk mamban : goanna species, [*Varanus acanthurus*] (Class II) [mítpınalk mámban] Note: This name means 'many ticks'.
mirtbinalk minyayan : goanna species, [*Varanus acanthurus*] [mítpınalk mįpaian] Note: This name means 'deep ticks'.
miylarrk : red-winged parrot, [*Aprosmictus erythropterus*] (Class II) [mítlark]
miyimbi : louse egg (Class II) [mítmbi]

miyimil : dense tree cover (Class III) [mítmıl]
miyingal : unidentified plant species (Class III) [mítŋal]
mudikga : car (Class III) [múđıkka]
mukmuk ilamirl : barking owl, [*Ninox connivens*] (Class II) [múkuk ílamıl]
mulpbay : palm sp, [*Livistona benthamii*] [múlpai]
mumajul : dew (Class III) [múmajul]
mumalay : shade (Class III) [múmalai]
mumalingan : black flying fox, [*Pteropus alecto*] (Class II) [mumáılŋan]
mumaralk : eye (Class III) [múmałalk]
mumburarr : stingray (Class II) [múmbułar]
mumburarr : kurrajong tree, [*Brachychiton diversifolius*] [múmbułar]
mumuligan : spear (Class III) [mumúılŋan] Note: This is the Class III form of the adjective *-muligan* 'hard, tough'
mumuligan mamban : echidna (Class II) [mumúılŋan mámban] Note: This name means 'many spears'.
mumuningi : plain (Class III) [mùmunıŋi]
murarri : sand (Class III) [múıari]
murirri : cheek (Class II) [múııri]
murlugan : man, male [múıugan]
murluk : penis (Class III) [múıuk]
murnikgay : other side [múnıkkai]
muwurn ditjgan : woollybutt, [*Eucalyptus miniata*] (Class III) [múun đıckan] Note: This name means 'white *muwurn*'. The word *muwurn* is not independently attested.

N

nabararr : initiated man [nábaıar]
nalarr : net (Class II) [nálar]
n-ambiny : son, mSo; nephew, wBrSo [námbınŋ]
nandu : horse (Class II) [nándu]
n-anganyi : nephew, mSiSo [náŋapi]
n-angil : woman's son-in-law; grandfather, FaFa, MoMoBr [náŋıl]

n-ani : husband, WiBr; grandson, wSoSo
[náni]
nawarral : bittern, nankeen night heron
(Class II) [náwaral]
n-awi : uncle [náwi]
n-ayi : son, wSo [ná.i]
nidirr : fishing line (Class II) [níðr]
n-iminy : brother-in-law; grandfather,
MoFa, FaMoBr [nímɪn]
n-iyu : grandson, wDaSo
nuwikgay : other way [nútkkai]

NG

ngalmugan : female ritual leader
[ɲálmugan]
ngil-a : grandmother, MoMo, FaFaSi; man's
mother-in-law [ɲíla]
ngil-ambiny : daughter, mDa; niece, wBrDa
[ɲíɭambɪn]
ngil-angil : older sister [ɲíɭáɲɪɭ]
ngil-ani : granddaughter, wSoDa [ɲíɭani]
ngil-ayi : daughter, wDa [ɲíɭai.i]
ngil-inginyi : niece, mSiDa [ɲíɭɪɲɪɲɪ]
ngiliyi : dog (Class II) [ɲíɭi.i]
ngil-iyu : granddaughter, wDaDa
ngil-iyugalk : wife [ɲíɭiúgalk]
ngil-ngany : aunt [ɲíɭɲaiɲ]
ngugun : water (Class IV) [ɲúgun]
ngugun dagiyan : water goanna, [*Varanus*
mertensi & *mitchelli*] (Class II)
[ɲúgun dáɲian] Note: This name means
'black water'.
nguwuk : ironwood wax (Class II) [ɲúuk]

U

uginy : woman [úɲɪn]
ulik : still, yet [úɪk]
ulikbily : kneecap [úɪkpiɪɪ]
ulikbilylily : stem of [*Nymphaea violacea*]
[úɪkpiɪɪ]
ulikbily : mangrove oyster (Class II)
[úɪkpiɪɪ]
ulungaruk : billabong (Class IV) [ulúɲaɲuk]
umal : smoke (Class IV) [úmal]

umalikgan : snake species (Class II)
[umáɪɪkkan]
umarlikgan : young woman [umáɪɪkkan]
umarnung : liver (Class II) [umáɲɪɲɪ]
umbugarlɪny : flat [umbugáɪɲɪ]
umugarnbarl : hip [umugáɲbal]
umunngayan : egg (Class II) [umunɲáian]
umurningi : eldest child [umunɲɪɲɪ]
umurnitj : rain (Class IV) [umunɪc]
ungan : sweat [úɲan]
urlanginy : lower arm [uláɲɪɲɪ]
urlirlɪny : sick [úɪɪɪɲɪ]
urugalitjbagi : bandicoot (Class II)
[úɪugáɪɪcpáɲɪ]
uwagi : fire (Class IV) [uáɲɪ]
uwannginy : [*Grevillea pteridifolia*] [uáɲɲɪɲɪ]
uwarrkbi : brain (Class II/IV) [uáɲkpi]
uwarrkbi : cycad, [*Cycas armstrongii*] (Class
III) [uáɲkpi]
uwarrkbi : to vomit, vomitus [uáɲkpi]
uwitjbi : red ochre (Class IV) [úɪcpi]
uwukgi : red lily, [*Nelumbo nucifera*] (Class
II) [úukki]
uwulk : name (Class II) [úulɪ]
uwurnitj : homet (Class II) [úunɪc]
uyung : breast, milk (Class IV) [úɲɪɲɪ]

W

w-adlangan : old man [wáɪɲɲan]
w-adlalingan : old men [wáɪɲɲɲan]
walyimba : axe (Class II)
walykga : younger sibling, grandchild, mSC
[wáɪkka]
wambarr : by foot [wáɲbar]
wamun : hill (Class II) [wáɲmun]
wangulwa : front [wáɲɲulwa]
wannginy : sugarbag (Class IV) [wáɲɲɪɲɪ]
warlun : leg, thigh (Class I) [wáɲɲɪɲɪ]
wijit : flycatcher, [*Myiagra* sp.] [wíɲɪɲɪ]
wilwil ilam : [*Haemodorum coccineum*]
[wíɲwíɲ ilam]
wingiwigi : child [wíɲɲwíɲɪ]
wirditj : steady persistent rain [wíɲɪc]
wiwinbirrali : middle night [wíɲwíɲɲɪɲɪ]
wugul-wugul : longbam [wúɲɲulwúɲɲul]
wulun : other [wúɲɲɪɲɪ]

ENGLISH-LIMILNGAN NOMINALS BY SEMANTIC FIELDS

A: Body parts

arm: *-arnung*
 armpit: *manybal*
 back: *-urlkgurlk*
 back of neck: *manybirwarli*
 beard: *mamal*
 belly: *-uwum*
 belly: *malam*
 blood: *makbangi*
 boil: *mimalkgalk*
 bone: *-ambirriwirlurl*
 brain: *uwarrkbi*
 breast: *uyung*
 bum: *-muk*
 cheek: *murirri*
 chest: *-mirrmarr*
 cicatrices: *mangalk*
 collarbone: *marnalk lamuk*
 cough: *limiji*
 ear: *-arlurl*
 eye: *-milk*
 eye: *mumaralk*
 face: *-mil*
 faeces: *magun*
 foot: *imal*
 forehead: *-alinyman*
 front of neck: *marnalk*
 hair: *imarr*
 hand: *iyirr*
 head: *lulikbi*
 heart: *lanbayk*
 hip: *umugarnbarl*
 kidney: *gurnumburr*
 knee: *-wungal*
 kneecap: *ulikbily*
 leg: *warlun*
 liver: *umarnung*
 lower arm: *urlanginy*
 lung: *manbayk*
 mouth: *-uykgal*
 mucus: *irritjbul*
 nail: *maminybal*
 navel: *limilirriny*
 nose: *-inan*

penis: *murluk*
 pubic hair: *dan*
 rib: *maykgurnikgun*
 shadow: *iminybikbuk*
 shoulder: *-mimay*
 shoulder blade: *-arrangul*
 shoulderblade: *milingigi*
 skin: *-imilngalngay*
 small of back: *-adlingi*
 spit: *minyulkgulk*
 stomach: *marnitjgingi*
 sweat: *ungan*
 tail: *arrk*
 tendon: *lalkgalk*
 testicles: *larl*
 thigh bone: *-umuditjbal*
 throat: *marluk*
 tongue: *ijalk*
 tooth: *irarr*
 urine: *ilyiwin*
 vagina: *babu*
 vomitus: *uwarrkbi*

B: Human classification

boy: *arningan*
 ceremonial leader: *banyan*
 child: *wingiwigi*
 children: *-urnu*
 eldest child: *umurningi*
 ghost: *iyinbayk*
 half-caste: *ditjgan*
 initiated man: *nabararr*
 man: *murlugan*
 married couple: *ngulugalkbiyi*
 old man: *wadlangan*
 old woman: *arnikgan*
 older brother: *garli*
 person: *-murlkgiji*
 policeman: *biyan*
 white man: *barragut*
 woman: *uginy*
 young woman: *umarlikgan*

C: Kinship

aunt: *ngil-ngany*
 brother: *garli, walykga*
 brother-in-law: *n-iminy*
 daughter: *ngil-ambiny, ngil-ayi*
 father: *gagi*
 father-in-law: *n-awi*
 granddaughter: *ngil-ani, ngil-iyu, walykga*
 grandfather: *garli, n-angil, n-iminy*
 grandmother: *mangi, ngil-a*
 grandson: *n-ani, n-iyu, walykga*
 husband: *n-ani*
 mother: *giji*
 mother : *giyi*
 mother-in-law: *ngil-a*
 nephew: *n-ambiny, n-anganyi*
 niece: *ngil-ambiny, ngil-inginyi*
 sister: *ngil-angil, walykga*
 son: *n-ambiny, n-ayi*
 son-in-law: *n-angil*
 uncle: *n-awi*
 wife: *ngil-iyugalk*

D: Mammals

animal: *lulayi*
 bandicoot: *urugalitjbagi*
 cattle: *bulikgi*
 dingo: *dimarrkginyan*
 dog: *ngiliyi*
 dugong: *anmat dumuligan*
 echidna: *mumuligan mamban*
 flying fox (black): *mumalingan*
 flying fox (red): *lumarninyan damban*
 horse: *nandu*
 kangaroo: *anmat dumuligan*
 mouse: *liyil*
 native cat: *dirdatj*
 native cat: *gitjbi damban*
 old man kangaroo: *madlingi minyayan*
 possum: *lulikbi dinyayan*
 sugar glider: *marnijurrkgurrk*
 tree rat: *luwarli*
 wallaby (agile): *bungal minyayan*
 wallaby (short-eared rock): *itbilinyngan*
 wallaroo (black): *lunyibim*

E: Reptiles

black-headed python: *iwirli*
 black whip snake: *lamurr*
 blue tongue lizard: *mimiluk minyayan*
 Burton's legless lizard: *laminy dagiyan*
 carpet snake: *irrun damban*
 crocodile: *latdinyayan*
 death adder: *iyatdururr*
 file snake: *bitjjurnurnu*
 freshwater crocodile: *linan dirrinyan*
 frill-necked lizard: *lam*
 goanna sp: *mirtbinalk mamban*
 goanna sp: *birmirriny*
 goanna : *limiji damban*
 golden tree snake: *lagun*
 keelback snake: *limin biyal*
 king brown: *alinyman dinyayan*
 lizard sp.: *badambip*
 lizard sp.: *lanay*
 lizard sp.: *liminalk*
 lizard sp.: *minyim binyayan*
 long-necked turtle: *lulayk*
 Macleay's water snake: *layi*
 olive python: *lumuwat dumuligan*
 short-necked turtle: *lamuk dikbugan*
 skink: *imin mirlarli*
 slaty grey snake: *lambirli*
 turtle leg : *milinigi*
 water goanna: *ngugun dagiyan*
 water snake: *lambugay*
 western brown snake: *iyaturu*

F: Birds

bird sp.: *jitbulkbulk*
 bird sp.: *luwutjgi*
 bittern: *nawarral*
 black cockatoo: *lurrilmal*
 black kite: *limin binal*
 brolga: *lurrilyarr*
 bustard: *dumugarnyi*
 butcherbird: *minbulungbulung*
 comb-crested Jacana: *liyiny*
 cormorant (large species): *lumuwalkbarl*
 crow: *lagurr*
 curlew: *girriluk ~ limiluk*

darter: *iminy*
 dove: *guluduk*
 eagle (white-bellied sea): *imbinyman*
 eagle (wedge-tailed): *malungan*
 egg: *umunngayan*
 egret: *lurliny*
 emu: *langitj*
 feather: *lumulkban*
 flycatcher: *wijit*
 galah: *bilarrkbilarrk*
 goose: *lamay*
 jabiru: *larryal*
 jungle fowl: *larnmingi dinyayan*
 kookaburra: *lirrgi*
 long-tailed finch: *mawitjbitj*
 magpie: *jilalarr*
 magpie-lark: *liwitjbut*
 masked lapwing: *barrapbarrap*
 mopoke: *gumitgumitgan*
 native hen: *bibarrk*
 owl: *mukmuk ilamirl*
 parrot (red-winged): *miyilarrk*
 pelican: *marninyi mambirri*
 pheasant: *mambarr birrinyan*
 pigeon (Torresian imperial): *lalkgi*
 plover: *gurlawirtwirt*
 pygmy goose: *laliny*
 quail: *ligi*
 rainbow bee eater: *malarr*
 tern: *larnung dirrinyngan ~ liwirarr dinyayan*
 whistling duck (plumed): *laminyanbarr*
 whistling duck (wandering): *danyarnngi*
 whistling kite: *limarrambi*
 white cockatoo: *ditjgan*
 white-throated grass wren: *lamugarn*
 willy wagtail: *jigirritj-jigirritj*
 wing: *larnung*

G: Fishes, water creatures

barramundi: *diyan diminyan*
 black bream: *luwitjbarl*
 catfish: *gurdumardi*
 crab: *makbangi dinyayan*
 crab: *makbangi majan*
 eel: *imilung dajan*

fish: *iwana*
 frog sp: *bagartbagart*
 garfish: *jukjuk ilamirl*
 longbam: *wugul-wugul*
 mangrove oyster: *ulikbily*
 manta ray: *langinyngan*
 mermaid: *marung*
 mullet: *ilyiwin muluman*
 mussel: *liyinmungi*
 oyster: *lumbangmam*
 prawn: *lilkgany*
 sea snake: *umalikgan*
 shark: *arli*
 shellfish sp: *galpbangarruk*
 stingray: *mumburarr*

H: Insects etc.

ant sp: *darnman*
 anthill: *ayirri*
 blowfly: *luwunbun*
 bullant: *luralkgalk*
 butterfly: *mambirri*
 centipede: *lurluk*
 dragon fly: *liwijul*
 flea: *manum birrinyan*
 fly: *lalykgi*
 green ant: *girralpbung*
 grub: *limiyuk*
 hornet: *uwurnitj*
 leech: *lugi*
 little fly: *luwutjgi*
 louse: *limbi*
 louse egg: *miyimbi*
 mangrove worm: *dirrinyngangan*
 marchfly: *lalk*
 mosquito: *lanbayk*
 sandfly: *mimilanitj*
 scorpion: *lurngun*
 snail: *lirrul*
 tick: *mirtbinalk*
 wasp: *malinyngan*

I: Language and ceremony

bamboo man: *marluman*
 ceremony ground: *marakbitj*

clapstick: *jubuk*
 dream: *iminybikbuk*
 female ritual leader: *ngalmugan*
 Jesus: *jiwarnitj*
 language: *arluk*
 language name: *limilngan*
 name: *uwulk*
 nosepeg: *inan jinbirlan*
 pubic cover: *lalawan*
 red ochre: *ochre*
 singing man: *marniyilkgan*
 sky spirit: *minarriny*
 song: *mamalk*
 story: *imitj*
 white ochre: *irrun*
 yellow ochre: *magarr*

J: Artefacts

axe: *walyimba*
 boomerang: *matjbulinan*
 canoe: *marnitj*
 car: *mudikga*
 clothes: *anngay*
 didgeridoo: *marlam*
 digging stick: *iwirli*
 dilly bag: *lumarninyan*
 fishing line: *nidirr*
 house: *dak*
 knife: *marrimarri*
 net: *nalarr*
 nullanulla: *bambarl*
 paperbark raft: *milanyarl*
 rope: *iminbayk*
 round fighting stick: *manbiral*
 spear: *linngulitj*
 spear: *mumuligan*
 spear type: *darrin*
 stone axe: *layi*
 stone spear: *jimbirlang*
 swag: *dararr*
 town: *dak lambangi*
 woomera: *langinyngan*

K: Fire, food, water

ashes: *milalkgal*
 beef: *langan*
 charcoal: *angalk*
 damper: *lawa*
 fire: *uwagi*
 firestick: *luwutjbil*
 grog: *diyan*
 head of the sugarbag: *mingilngan*
 rice: *lurliny*
 smoke: *umal*
 sugarbag: *wannginy*
 tobacco: *bangbang*
 tucker: *mimilung*
 water: *ngugun*

L: Celestial, weather

afternoon: *miliji*
 cloud: *imirrmarr*
 dew: *mumajul*
 lightning: *larrng*
 middle night: *wiwinbirrali*
 moon: *darnmayngi*
 morning: *atjban*
 night: *linyangitj*
 rain: *umurnitj*
 rainbow: *larliny dajan*
 shade: *mumalay*
 sky: *marnanggurr*
 Southern Cross: *milingigi*
 star: *magarritjbamirl*
 steady persistent rain: *wirditj*
 sun: *imirri*
 today: *aykgirnani*
 tomorrow: *atjbungaji*
 whirlwind: *iminybikbuk*
 wind: *anbayk*
 year: *ilyarr*
 yesterday: *milijan*

M: Geography

behind: *alkgiji*
 billabong: *ulungaruk*
 camp: *manngulan*

cave: *lamuk*
 creek: *lumanyuk*
 dense tree cover: *miyimil*
 dirt: *maywilal*
 dust: *iyin*
 front: *wangulwa*
 ground: *iluk*
 high country: *angul-diyen*
 high country thicket: *ayi*
 high country, upcountry, topside: *mirnan*
 hill: *wamun*
 hole: *imingatj*
 jungle, monsoon forest: *lagurl*
 north: *duwarnngan*
 other side: *murnikgay*
 other way: *nuwikgay*
 plain: *mumuningi*
 river: *iwirarr*
 road: *ayal*
 saltwater: *imimi*
 saltwater mud: *langa*
 sand: *murarri*
 scrub country: *birnalk*
 sea: *liminyi*
 stone: *darlirli*

N: Plants

bamboo: *mimalitj*
 Banksia dentata: *mambirram*
 banyon: *minukban*
 billy goat plum: *layi*
 black currant tree: *manguk*
 black plum: *miminikgitj*
 black wattle: *iwirli*
 bush onion: *lagurr*
 bush potato: *bawitj*
 crab's eye vine: *bakgarl*
 cycad: *uwarrkbi*
 flower: *mimilngan*
 grass: *marniyi*
 grass (knife): *barram*
 green plum: *ilidamban*
 Grewia retusifolia: *magangurl*
 Haemodorum coccineum: *wilwil ilam*
 ironwood: *marral*
 ironwood wax: *nguwuk*

leaf: *luwutjgi*
 lily (grass): *minumbirr*
 lily (red): *uwukgi damban*
 lily bulb (white): *minayuk*
 lily flower (white): *manyal*
 lily stem (white): *ulikbily*
 lily tuber (white): *mingililuk*
 dense tree cover: *miyimil*
 milkwood: *mimilugutj*
 palm species: *dilimin langan*
 palm species: *mulpbay*
 pandanus nut: *langitj*
 pandanus spiralis: *liyarr*
 paperbark: *agal*
 Persoonia falcata: *latjji*
 phragmites: *lamitj*
 pig tucker tree: *laliny*
 red apple: *mamun birritj ~ mamun burmginy*
 root: *madlingi*
 scrub: *lalaman*
 seaweed: *malngi*
 stringybark: *linngulitj*
 tea tree: *agi-agi*
 tree: *bangi*
 unidentified plant species: *miyingal*
 white apple: *lalykgi damban*
 white cedar: *liwimal*
 white gum: *limin balyi*
 wild banana: *langinyngan*
 wild peanut tree: *imiligarnmi*
 woollybutt: *muwum ditjgan*
 yam (long): *limbi*
 yam (round): *mirngayal*
 yam (water): *darndamban*

O: Adjectives

all together, in one group: *marni-marni*
 alive: *-bulngan*
 bad: *-makgayan*
 bad: *-makgayay*
 between: *dirrikgirruk*
 big: *-alkgan -ajan*
 bitter: *-linyayan*
 black: *-agiyan*
 by foot: *wambarr*

Appendix C: Verb paradigms

This section lists the paradigms of verb forms, that is the portion of the verbal complex not including the prefix complex (4.3). There are complicated interactions between these verb forms and prefix complex forms, particularly in patterns of vowel reduction and stress placement. Readers are advised to consult the following section, which lists attested verbal complex forms, for a complete picture of verbal phonology and morphology.

	to ache	to ask	to bark
PP			
PIRR	<i>w-ulitjbi-rrri</i>	<i>w-ikgi-rrri</i>	<i>marl-marlmija-ngi</i>
PI	<i>wulitjbi-rrri</i>		<i>marl-marlmija-ngan</i>
PR	<i>wulitjbi-yan</i>	<i>(j)ikgi-jikga-yam</i>	
FU	<i>in-bulitjbi</i>	<i>in-yikga-yi</i>	
EV		<i>w-ikga-yi</i>	
IMP			

	to be full	to become	to bite
PP	<i>anbinymi-ny</i>	<i>wi-ny, N-bi-ny</i>	<i>wa-yung</i>
PIRR	<i>w-anbinyma-rrri</i>	<i>wi-rrri</i>	<i>a-wa-rrri</i>
PI	<i>anm-anbinyma-rrri</i>	<i>wi-rrri</i>	<i>alw-alwa-rrri</i>
PR	<i>anm-anbinyma-m</i>		<i>alw-alwa-m</i>
FU	<i>in-manbinymi</i>	<i>in-bi-yi</i>	<i>in-ba-yi</i>
EV	<i>w-anbinymi</i>		<i>a-wa-yi</i>
IMP			

	to break (intr)	to break (tr)	to bring back
PP	<i>(N-m)ambirri-yung</i>	<i>ambuldingmi-ny</i>	<i>ikgija-g-iji</i>
PIRR	<i>w-ambirri-rrri</i>	<i>w-ambuldingma-rrri</i>	
PI	<i>am-ambirri-rrri</i>	<i>(am)-ambuldingma-rrri</i>	
PR	<i>am-ambirri-yam</i>	<i>am-ambuldingma-m</i>	
FU	<i>in-mambirri-yi</i>	<i>in-ambuldingmi</i>	<i>in-ikgiju-g-iji</i>
EV	<i>w-ambirri-yi</i>	<i>w-ambuldingmi</i>	
IMP		<i>ambuldingmi</i>	

	to burn	to carry	to chase
PP	<i>nigi-ny</i>	<i>iminyma-gi</i>	
PIRR	<i>a-nigi-rrri</i>		<i>a-lula-rrri</i>
PI			<i>(N-b)ilula-rrri</i>
PR			<i>(N-b)ilula-yan</i>
FU	<i>i-nigi-yi</i>	<i>in-biminymu-k</i>	<i>in-bilula</i>

EV IMP	<i>a-nigi-yi</i>		<i>a-lula</i>
	to chase off	to climb	to come
PP	<i>mila-ng</i>	<i>ngatjbikga-gi ~</i> <i>itjbikga-gi</i>	<i>a-yung-iji</i>
PIRR	<i>a-mila-rri</i>	<i>w-itjbikga-ngi</i>	<i>w-a-ng-iji</i>
PI	<i>mila-rri</i>	<i>itjbikga-ngi</i>	<i>a-ng-iji</i>
PR	<i>mi-mila-yan</i>	<i>itjbikga-ngan</i>	<i>(l-y)a-ng-iji</i>
FU	<i>in-mila</i>	<i>in-itjbikgu-k</i>	<i>in-a-y-iji</i>
EV		<i>w-itjbikgu-k</i>	<i>w-a-yung-iji</i>
IMP		<i>itjbikgu-k</i>	<i>guwiyina (Min Subj)</i> <i>warray-iji (Aug Subj)</i>
	to come back	to come from	to cook
PP	<i>ayurn-iji</i>	<i>aji-yung</i>	<i>ni-gi</i>
PIRR	<i>w-ay(irr)-iji</i>		<i>a-ni-ngi</i>
PI		<i>aja-ngi</i>	
PR			<i>ni-ngan</i>
FU	<i>in-may-iji</i>		<i>i-ni-yuk</i>
EV	<i>w-ay-iji</i>		<i>a-ni-yuk</i>
IMP	<i>way-iji</i>		<i>ni-yuk</i>
	to cover	to crawl	to cross
PP		<i>mugurra-ny,</i> <i>l-pbugurra-ny</i>	<i>itjga-gi</i>
PIRR	<i>w-anyinguwa-rri</i>		<i>w-itjga-ngi</i>
PI	<i>anyinguwa-rri</i>	<i>mugu-mugurra-rri,</i> <i>l-pbu-mugurra-rri</i>	
PR	<i>any-nguwi-nguwa-yan</i>	<i>(mugu-)mugurra-yan,</i> <i>l-pbu-mugurra-yan</i>	
FU	<i>in-bingawi</i>	<i>in-mugurra-yi</i>	<i>in-itjgu-k</i>
EV			
IMP			
	to cry	to cry/yell out	to cut
PP		<i>ikgurdaykga-gi</i>	<i>(ng)ingmi-ny</i>
PIRR	<i>w-arna-ngi</i>	<i>w-ikgurdaykga-rri</i> <i>w-urdaykg-urdaykga-rri</i>	<i>w-ingma-rri</i>
PI	<i>urna-ngi</i>	<i>ikgurdaykga-rri</i>	<i>(ingm-)ingma-rri</i>
PR	<i>urna-ngan</i>	<i>ikgurdaykga-m</i> <i>urdaykg-urdaykga-m</i>	<i>ingm-ingma-m</i>
FU	<i>in-nguwarnu-k</i>	<i>in-ikgurdaykgi</i>	<i>in-ingmi</i>
EV			<i>w-ingmi</i>
IMP			<i>jingmi</i>

	to dance	to defecate	to die (Min Subj)
PP		<i>inya-gi</i>	<i>(N-m)ambuldi-yung</i>
PIRR	<i>w-iyuldarri</i>	<i>w-anya-ngi</i>	<i>w-ambuldi-rri</i>
PI	<i>iyuldarri</i>	<i>iny-anya-ngi</i>	
PR	<i>iyularra-yan</i>	<i>iny-anya-ngan</i>	<i>(N-m)an-manbiya-m</i>
FU	<i>in-uldarri</i>	<i>in-inyu-k</i>	<i>in-mambuldi-yi</i>
EV	<i>w-uldarri</i>		<i>w-ambuldi-yi</i>
IMP			

	to die (Aug Subj)	to dig	to do
PP	<i>in-manbiyi-ng</i>	<i>(i)warra-ny</i>	<i>nami-yi</i>
PIRR	<i>w-an-manbiya-rri</i>	<i>w-arri-rri</i>	<i>a-nama-yi</i>
PI		<i>aw-awarri-rri</i>	<i>nama-yi</i>
PR	<i>an-manbiya-m</i>	<i>aw-awarra-yan</i>	<i>may-ima-yi</i>
FU	<i>in-manbiyi</i>	<i>in-ngawarra-yi</i>	<i>nam</i>
EV	<i>w-anmanbiyi</i>		<i>i-nami</i>
IMP			<i>wi-nami</i>

	to do all the time	to eat	to erect
PP	<i>aykgaykgija-gi</i>	<i>(ng/f)a-rr-i</i>	<i>(ng)iwi-gi</i>
PIRR		<i>w-a-rri</i>	
PI	<i>aykgaykgiji-rri</i>	<i>mukbinya-ngi</i>	<i>(ng)iwi-ngi</i>
PR	<i>aykgaykgiji-yam</i>	<i>mukbinya-ngan</i>	<i>(ng)iwi-ngan</i>
FU		<i>an-yi</i>	<i>in-iwa-yuk</i>
EV		<i>w-a-yi</i>	<i>w-iwa-yuk</i>
IMP		<i>jii</i>	

	to fall	to fear	to fight
PP	<i>(N-b)uluga-ny</i>	<i>(ng)alatjbi-ny ~</i>	
PIRR	<i>aldagi-rri</i>	<i>N-milatjbi-ny</i>	
PI		<i>a-litjba-rri</i>	<i>w-inyungmi-rri</i>
PR	<i>buluga-yam</i>	<i>al-alitjba-m</i>	<i>minyungmi-rri</i>
FU	<i>in-buluga-yi</i>	<i>N-mil-alitjba-m</i>	<i>minyung-</i>
EV	<i>aldaga-yi</i>	<i>a-latjbi</i>	<i>minyungmi-yam</i>
IMP			

	to find	to finish	to follow
PP	<i>ingangmi-ny</i>	<i>(ng)ilkbi-ny</i>	
PIRR	<i>w-angangma-rri</i>	<i>N-milkbi-ny</i>	
PI		<i>w-ilkba-rri</i>	<i>w-amunga-rri</i>
PR		<i>(N-mil-m)ilkba-m</i>	<i>mamunga-rri</i>
FU	<i>in-ingangmi</i>	<i>in-milkbi</i>	<i>mamunga-yan</i>
EV	<i>w-angangmi</i>	<i>w-ilkbi</i>	<i>in-mamungi</i>
			<i>w-amungi</i>

IMP		<i>milkbi</i>	
	to get	to get up	to get water
PP	<i>limu-ng</i>	<i>ima-gi</i>	<i>lukba-gi</i>
PIRR	<i>a-limi-rri</i>	<i>w-ima-ngi</i>	<i>a-lukba-ngi</i>
PI	<i>jiyukba-rri</i>	<i>ima-ngi</i>	
PR	<i>jiyukba-m</i>	<i>ima-ngan</i>	
FU	<i>i-limi</i>	<i>in-imu-k</i>	<i>i-likbu-k</i>
EV	<i>a-limi</i>	<i>w-imu-k</i>	<i>a-likbu-k</i>
IMP	<i>limi</i>	<i>jumu-k</i>	
	to give	to go	to go back
PP	<i>(N-m)u-gi</i>	<i>a-yung</i>	<i>(N-m)ayurni</i>
PIRR	<i>w-i-rri</i>	<i>w-a-ngi</i>	<i>w-ayi-rri</i>
PI	<i>inymuldi-rri</i>	<i>a-ngi</i>	
PR	<i>inymuldi-yan</i>	<i>(l-y)a-ngi</i>	<i>ayurni</i>
FU	<i>an-mi</i>	<i>in-a-yi</i>	<i>in-mayi</i>
EV	<i>w-a</i>	<i>w-a-yung</i>	<i>w-ayi</i>
IMP	<i>wu-gi</i> (3Obj) <i>nganmayiji</i> (1Obj)	<i>barrungan</i> (Min Subj) <i>warrayi</i> (Aug Subj)	
	to go down	to go in	to go out
PP	<i>(j)irang</i>	<i>ngimu-ng</i>	<i>aldaga-ny</i>
PIRR	<i>w-iringa-rri</i>	<i>w-ami-rri</i>	<i>w-aldaga-rri</i>
PI		<i>ngimi-rri</i>	
PR	<i>(l-y)iringa-n, jiringa-n</i>	<i>ngimi-yam</i>	<i>al-aldaga-yam</i>
FU	<i>in-yirangi</i>	<i>in-ngimi</i>	<i>in-ildiga-yi</i>
EV	<i>w-irangi</i>	<i>w-ami</i>	<i>w-aldaga-yi</i>
IMP	<i>jirangi</i>	<i>ngimi</i>	<i>ildiga-yi</i>
	to grow up	to have	to hear
PP	<i>(in)inyu-ng</i>		<i>ulugi-ny</i>
PIRR	<i>w-ininya-rri</i>		<i>w-aldagi-rri</i>
PI	<i>ininya-rri</i>	<i>(ang-)anga-rri</i>	<i>al-aldagi-rri</i>
PR		<i>ang-anga-n</i>	<i>al-aldagi-yam</i>
FU	<i>in-inyu-k</i>		<i>in-ulugu-yi</i>
EV			<i>w-aligi-yi</i>
IMP			<i>uluguyi</i>
	to hide (intr)	to hide (tr)	to hit
PP	<i>(N-b)unguldaga-ny</i>	<i>(N-b)ungula-ng</i>	<i>i-m, N-ba-m</i>
PIRR		<i>w-unguldaga-rri</i>	<i>w-i-rri</i>
PI			<i>am-ambijiwi-rri</i>
PR	<i>(N-b)unguldaga-yam</i>		<i>am-ambijiwi-yan</i>
FU	<i>in-bunguldaga-yi</i>	<i>in-bunguldaga-yi</i>	<i>an-bi</i>
EV			<i>wa-wi</i>
IMP			

	to jump	to know	to leave
PP	<i>ambildirang</i>	<i>ukbu-ng</i>	<i>mildingi-ny</i>
PIRR	<i>ambildiranga-rri</i>	<i>w-akbi-rri</i>	<i>a-mildinga-rri</i>
PI			<i>mildinga-rri</i>
PR			<i>mildinga-n</i>
FU	<i>in-imbildirangi</i>		<i>in-mildinyu-k</i>
EV	<i>w-ambildirangi</i>	<i>w-akbi</i>	<i>a-mildinyu-k</i>
IMP			<i>mildinyu-k</i>
	to lie	to look after	to look for
PP	<i>malija-gi</i>	<i>anbalkbi-ny</i>	
PIRR	<i>a-malija-ngi</i>		<i>w-aldijuldiya-ngi</i>
PI	<i>aldiji-rri</i>		<i>uldijuldiya-ngi</i>
PR	<i>alija-yam</i>	<i>(an-)anbalkba-m</i>	<i>uldijuldiya-ngan</i>
FU	<i>malaju-k</i>	<i>in-anbalkbi</i>	<i>in-ujulaju-k</i>
EV	<i>a-malaju-k</i>	<i>w-anbalkbi</i>	<i>a-lijulaju-k</i>
IMP	<i>malaju-k</i>		
	to lose (intr)	to lose (tr)	to make
PP	<i>(N-b)iritjga-ny</i>	<i>ulija-gi</i>	<i>arlarla-ng</i>
PIRR	<i>w-iritjgi-rri</i>		<i>w-arlarla-rri</i>
PI			
PR			<i>arlarla-yan</i>
FU	<i>in-biritjga-yi</i>		<i>a-rlarla</i>
EV	<i>w-iritjga-yi</i>		<i>a-rlarla</i>
IMP			<i>larla</i>
	to paddle	to pass	to pick up
PP	<i>url-urlkgurla-ng</i>	<i>muginyba-gi</i>	
PIRR	<i>w-urlkgurla-rri</i>		
PI	<i>url-urlkgurla-rri</i>		
PR	<i>url-urlkgurla-yan</i>		
FU	<i>in-urlkgarli</i>	<i>in-muginyba-yuk</i>	<i>in-mildiyu-k</i>
EV	<i>w-urlkgarli</i>		
IMP			
	to play	to pull/take out	to push
PP		<i>ngadla-ng, idla-ng</i>	<i>mala-ng</i>
PIRR	<i>w-iyulkga-rri</i>	<i>w-aldaga-rri</i>	<i>a-malaga-rri</i>
PI	<i>(N-b)iyulkga-rri</i>		<i>ma-malaga-rri</i>
PR	<i>(N-b)iyulkga-m</i>		<i>ma-malaga-m</i>
FU	<i>in-biyalkgi</i>	<i>in-idlagi</i>	<i>in-malagi</i>
EV			<i>a-malagi</i>
IMP		<i>idlagi</i>	<i>malagi</i>
	to put	to put in	to run

PP	(ng)i-gi	(ng)irlirli-ny	mildiya-ny
PIRR		w-irlirla-rri	
PI	(ng)iwi-ngi		mildiya-yingi
PR	(ng)iwi-ngan		
FU	in-i-yuk	in-yirlirli	in-milayi
EV			
IMP	ji-yuk		
	to run around	to scratch	to see
PP		ambirrwunga-ny	na-gi
PIRR		w-ambirrwunga-rri	a-na-ni
PI	ayangiji-rri (Min S)	am-ambirrwunga-rri	li-liwi-rri
	ingangiji-rri (Aug S)		
PR	ayangiji-yam (Min S)	am-ambirrwunga-yan	li-liwi-yan
	ingangiji-yam (Aug S)		
FU	in-angangaju-k	in-imbirrwunga-yi	a-ni
EV			wa-ni
IMP			na-gi
	to see (detr)	to show	to sing
PP	liwi-ny	atjga-gi	(j)uga-ny
PIRR		w-atjga-ngi	w-igi-rri
PI	liwi-rri	atjg-atjga-ngi	ij-ijugi-rri
PR	liwi-yan	atjg-atjga-ngan	(ji-j)uga-yam
FU	liwi-yi	in-itjgu-k	in-yuga-yi
EV		w-itjgu-k	w-iga-yi
IMP			
	to sit	to sit	to smell
PP		lakbu-ng	inyukbi-ny
PIRR	mimi-rri	a-lukbi-rri	w-anyukba-rri
PI	mimi-yayi		
PR	mima-n		iny-inyukba-m
FU	in-mimi-ya	lakbi	in-inyukbi
EV		a-lakbi	
IMP		lakbi	
	to spear	to spill	to stand
PP	(wi)la-m	mugula-gi	
PIRR	wi-la-rri		w-annugi-rri
PI	ilkgula-rri		annugi-rri
			N-binnugi-rri
PR	ilkgula-yan		annuga-yam
			N-binnuga-yam
FU	a-li	in-mugali	in-binnuga-yi
EV	wa-li		w-annuga-yi
IMP			jangi

	to stretch	to stretch leg	to strike
PP	<i>(N-b)irritjba-ny</i>	<i>mulungbinyma-ny</i>	<i>(N-b)ungula-ng</i>
PIRR	<i>w-irritjbi-rri</i>		<i>(N-b)ungula-rri</i>
PI			<i>(ung-)ungula-rri</i>
PR			<i>(ung-)ungula-yam</i>
FU	<i>in-birritjba-yi</i>		<i>in-bunguli</i>
EV			
IMP			

	to swim	to swim	to talk
PP	<i>(j)igu-gi</i>		<i>(j)ulukgulpba-gi</i>
PIRR	<i>w-igu-ngi</i>		<i>w-ilukgulpbi-rri</i>
PI	<i>jigi-jigu-ngi</i>	<i>jiy-ijiyungma-rri</i>	<i>(j)ulukgulpbi-rri</i>
PR	<i>(jigi-j)igu-ngan</i>		<i>(j)ulukgulpba-yam</i>
FU	<i>in-yugu-k</i>		<i>in-yulukgulpba-yi</i>
EV	<i>w-igu-k</i>		
IMP	<i>jumu-k</i>		

	to talk	to tell	to throw
PP		<i>mitjba-gi</i>	<i>ijikba-ny</i>
PIRR	<i>w-inyu-ngi</i>	<i>a-mitjba-ngi</i>	<i>w-ajikbi-rri</i>
PI		<i>mitjba-ngi</i>	
PR		<i>mitjba-ngan</i>	<i>ij-ajikba-yam</i>
FU	<i>in-inyu-k</i>	<i>in-matjbu-k</i>	<i>in-ijikba-yi</i>
EV	<i>w-inyu-k</i>		<i>w-ajikba-yi</i>
IMP		<i>matjbu-k</i>	<i>gijikba-yi</i>

	to turn (intr)	to turn (tr)	to wait
PP	<i>urnikgija-ny</i>	<i>urnikgija-gi</i>	<i>w-irriliwi-rri</i>
PIRR		<i>w-urnikgija-ngi</i>	<i>(j)irri-jirriliwi-rri</i>
PI			<i>(j)irri-jirriliwi-yan</i>
PR	<i>urn-urnikgija-yan</i>	<i>urn-urnikgija-ngan</i>	<i>in-yirriliwi</i>
FU	<i>in-urnikgija-yi</i>	<i>in-urnikgiju-k</i>	
EV			
IMP			

	to walk around, to work
PP	
PIRR	<i>w-atjbatjbuli-rri</i>
PI	<i>atjbatjbuli-rri</i>
PR	<i>atjbatjbula-yam</i>
FU	<i>in-itjbatjbula-yi</i>
EV	
IMP	

Appendix D: Verbal complex paradigms

This section lists all attested, and reasonably supported verbal complex forms.

to ache

PIRR 1 ngu-wulitjbi-rrri [ŋùʊfɪcpɪri]

PI 1 ngu-wulitjbi-rrri [ŋùʊfɪcpɪri], 1+2M mu-wulitjbi-rrri [mùʊfɪcpɪri]

PR 1 ngu-wulitjbi-yan [ŋùʊfɪcpian], 1+2M mu-wulitjbi-yan [mùʊfɪcpian], 3I u-wulitjbi-yan [ùʊfɪcpian]

FU 2M n-in-bulitjbi [nìnʊfɪcpɪ], 3I w-in-bulitjbi [wìnʊfɪcpɪ]

to arrive, to appear (at), to come from

PP 1 ng-aji-yung [ŋájɪʊŋ], 2M nginy-iji-yung [ŋɪnɪjɪʊŋ], 3I w-aji-yung [wájɪʊŋ], II il-iji-yung [ɪlɪjɪʊŋ], 1A nga-y-iji-yung [ŋáɪjɪʊŋ], 2A a-y-iji-yung [aɪjɪʊŋ], 3A i-y-iji-yung [iɪjɪʊŋ]

PI IV Ø-aja-ngi [ájɪŋɪ]

to ask

PP 1 ng-ikga-ny [ŋɪkkaiŋ], 2M nginy-ikga-ny [ŋɪnɪkkaiŋ], 3I w-ikga-ny [wɪkkaiŋ], 1A nga-jikga-ny [ŋájɪkkaiŋ], 2A a-jikga-ny [ájɪkkaiŋ], 3A i-jikga-ny [iɪkkaiŋ]

PIRR 3I u-w-ikgi-rrri [ùwɪkkíri], 1A nga-rr-w-ikgi-rrri [ŋàrwɪkkíri], 2A a-rr-w-ikgi-rrri [àrwɪkkíri], 3A i-rr-w-ikgi-rrri [ɪrwɪkkíri]

PR 2M nginy-ikgi-jikga-yam [ŋɪnɪkkɪjɪkkáɪam], 3I w-ijikgi-jikga-yam [wɪjɪkkɪjɪkkáɪam], 1A nga-jikgi-jikga-yam [ŋájɪkkɪjɪkkáɪam], 2A a-jikgi-jikga-yam [ájɪkkɪjɪkkáɪam], 3A i-jikgi-jikga-yam [iɪjɪkkɪjɪkkáɪam]

FU 1 nga-n-yikga-yi [ŋànjɪkkáɪ.i], 2M n-in-yikga-yi [nɪnjɪkkáɪ.i], 2A a-y-in-yikga-yi [àɪnjɪkkáɪ.i]

EV 1 ngu-w-ikga-yi [ŋùwɪkkáɪ.i], 3A i-rr-w-ikga-yi [ɪrwɪkkáɪ.i]

to bark

PP II marlmija-gi [màlmɪjáɣi]

PI II marl-marlmija-ngi [màlməlmɪjáŋɪ]

PR II marl-marlmija-ngan [màlməlmɪjáŋan]

to be full (inversely inflecting intransitive - see 5.2)

PP 1M<3 d-Ø-anbinyimi-ny [dánbɪŋmɪn], 2M<3 bi-y-anbinyimi-ny [biánbɪŋmɪn], 1+2M m-anbinyimi-ny [mánbɪŋmɪn], 3I w-anbinyimi-ny [wánbɪŋmɪn], 2A a-y-anbinyimi-ny [áiánbɪŋmɪn], 3A i-y-anbinyimi-ny [iánbɪŋmɪn]

PIRR 1M<3 du-Ø-w-anbinyama-rrì [duwànbìnmári], 3I u-w-anbinyama-rrì [uwànbìnmári], 3A i-rr-w-anbinyama-rrì [ìrwànbìnmári]

PI 1M<3 d-Ø-anm-anbinyama-rrì [dànmánbìnmári], 1A nga-y-anm-anbinyama-rrì [ṅàimánbìnmári], 3I i-y-anm-anbinyama-rrì [iànmánbìnmári]

PR 2M<3 bi-y-anm-anbinyama-m [biànmánbìnmam], 3I w-anm-anbinyama-m [wànmánbìnmam], II i-l-anm-anbinyama-m [ìlànmanbìnmam], 2A a-y-anm-anbinyama-m [aiànmanbìnmam], 3A i-y-anm-anbinyama-m [iànmanbìnmam]

FU 2M<3 bi-y-in-manbinyami [bìnmánbìnmi], 1A nga-y-in-manbinyami [ṅàimánbìnmi], 2A a-y-in-manbinyami [àimánbìnmi], 3A i-y-in-manbinyami [inmánbìnmi]

EV 1M<3 du-w-anbinyami [duànbìnmi]

to become

PP 1 ngi-wi-ny [ṅiwiṇ], 2M nginy-bi-ny [ṅiṇbiṇ], 3I i-wi-ny [iwiṇ], II il-wi-ny [ìlwiṇ], III mi-wi-ny [míwiṇ], IV i-wi-ny [iwiṇ]

PIRR III mi-wi-rrì [miwíri], 1A nga-rr-wi-rrì [ṅarwíri], 3A i-rr-wi-rrì [ìrwíri]

PI 1+2M mi-wi-rrì [miwíri], 2A a-rr-wi-rrì [arwíri], 3A i-rr-wi-rrì [ìrwíri]

FU 1 nga-n-bi-yi [ṅanbí.i], 2M n-in-bi-yi [nínbí.i], 3I w-in-bi-yi [wínbí.i], III m-in-bi-yi [mínbí.i], 2A a-y-in-bi-yi [àinbí.i]

to bite

PP 1M<3 du-Ø-wa-yung [duwáiuṇ], 2M<3 bi-rr-wa-yung [bìrwáiuṇ], 1+2M<3 m-inu-wa-yung [mìnuwáiuṇ], 1A<3 nga-rr-wa-yung [ṅarwáiuṇ], 2A<3 a-rr-wa-yung [arwáiuṇ], III<2M m-iny-a-yung [mínáiuṇ], 3>3I i-rr-wa-yung [ìrwáiuṇ], 3M>II i-l-wa-yung [ìlwáiuṇ], III<2A m-anga-rr-wa-yung [màṅarwáiuṇ]

PIRR 1M<3 d-Ø-a-wa-rrì [dawári], 2M<3 bi-rr-a-wa-rrì [bìrawári], 1+2M<3 m-in-a-wa-rrì [mìnawári], 1A<3 nga-rr-a-wa-rrì [ṅàrawári], 3>3I i-rr-a-wa-rrì [ìrawári], 3M>II i-l-a-wa-rrì [ìlawári]

PI 1M<3 d-Ø-alw-alwa-rrì [dàlwalwári], 1+2A<3 ga-y-alw-alwa-rrì [gaiàlwalwári], 3>3I i-lw-alwa-rrì [ìlwalwári]

PR 1M<3 d-Ø-alw-alwa-m [dálwalwam], 1+2A<3 ga-y-alw-alwa-m [gaiàlwalwam], 3>3I i-y-alw-alwa-m [iàlwalwam]

FU 1M<3 d-Ø-in-ba-yi [dínbái.i], 2M<3 bi-y-in-ba-yi [bìnbái.i], 1+2M<3 m-in-in-ba-yi [mìnnbái.i], 3I<1 w-a-n-ba-yi [wanbái.i], II<1 l-a-n-ba-yi [lanbái.i], 3>3I i-y-in-ba-yi [inbái.i]

EV 1M<3 du-Ø-wa-yi [duwái.i], 2M<3 bi-rr-a-wa-yi [bìrawái.i], 1+2M<3 m-in-a-wa-yi [mìnawái.i], ga-rr-a-wa-yi [gàrawái.i]

to break (intr)

PP 1 nga-mbirri-yung [ṅambíriuṇ], 2M nginy-mambirri-yung [ṅiṇmambíriuṇ], 3I w-ambirri-yung [wambíriuṇ], III m-ambirri-yung [mambíriuṇ], 2A a-y-imbirri-yung [àimbíriuṇ], 3A i-y-imbirri-yung [iimbíriuṇ]

PIRR 1 ngu-w-ambirri-rrì [ṅuambíriri], 3I u-w-ambirri-rrì [ùambíriri]

PI 3I w-am-ambirri-rrì [wàmambíriri]

PR 1 nga-m-ambirri-yam [ṅàmambíriam], 2M nginy-im-ambirri-yam [ṅiṇmambíriam], 3I w-am-ambirri-yam [wàmambíriam]

FU 2M n-in-mambirri-yi [nìnmambíri.i], 1+2M m-in-mambirri-yi [mìnmambíri.i], 3I w-in-mambirri-yi [wìnmambíri.i], 2A a-y-in-mambirri-yi [àinmambíri.i]

EV ngu-w-ambirri-yi [ɲùambíri.i], 1+2M mu-w-ambirri-yi [mùambíri.i], 3I u-w-ambirri-yi [ùambíri.i], 1A nga-rr-w-ambirri-yi [ɲàrwambíri.i]

to break (tr)

PP II<I l-ambulingmi-ny [lambúldɪŋmɪn], III<I m-ambulingmi-ny [mambúldɪŋmɪn], IV<I Ø-nga-mbulingmi-ny [ɲambúldɪŋmɪn], II<2M l-iny-imbulingmi-ny [lɪnɪmbúldɪŋmɪn], III<2M m-iny-imbulingmi-ny [mɪnɪmbúldɪŋmɪn], IV<2M Ø-nginy-imbulingmi-ny [ɲɪnɪmbúldɪŋmɪn], III<1+2M m-im-imbulingmi-ny [mɪmɪmbúldɪŋmɪn], II<1A l-a-y-imbulingmi-ny [làiɪmbúldɪŋmɪn], III<1A m-a-y-imbulingmi-ny [màiɪmbúldɪŋmɪn], IV<2A

Ø-anga-y-imbulingmi-ny [àŋaɪɪmbúldɪŋmɪn], 3AN>3I i-y-imbuling-mi-ny [iɪmbúldɪŋmɪn], III<3A b-i-y-imbulingmi-ny [biɪmbúldɪŋmɪn], IV<3A Ø-i-y-imbulingmi-ny [iɪmbúldɪŋmɪn]

PIRR IV<I Ø-ng-u-w-ambulingma-rrɪ [ɲùambùldɪŋmári], III<2M m-iny-imbulingma-rrɪ [mɪnɪmbùldɪŋmári], II<1A l-a-y-imbulingma-rrɪ [làiɪmbùldɪŋmári], II<2A

l-anga-y-imbulingma-rrɪ [làŋaɪɪmbùldɪŋmári], IV<3 Ø-u-w-ambulingma-rrɪ [ùambùldɪŋmári], 3AN>3I i-rr-w-ambulingma-rrɪ [iɪrwambùldɪŋmári]

PI 3I<I w-ambulingma-rrɪ [wambùldɪŋmári], II<2M l-iny-im-ambulingma-rrɪ [lɪnɪmambùldɪŋmári], III<2M m-iny-im-ambulingma-rrɪ [mɪnɪmambùldɪŋmári], IV<3

Ø-u-m-ambulingma-rrɪ [ùmambùldɪŋmári], III<2A m-anga-y-imbulingma-rrɪ [màŋaɪɪmbùldɪŋmári], III<1+2A m-aga-y-imbulingma-rrɪ [màgaɪɪmbùldɪŋmári], III<3A

b-i-y-imbulingma-rrɪ [biɪmbùldɪŋmári]

PR III<I m-a-m-ambulingma-m [màmambúldɪŋmam], III<2M m-iny-im-ambulingma-m [mɪnɪmambùldɪŋmam], III<3 b-i-m-ambulingma-m [bìmambùldɪŋmam], II<1A

l-a-y-im-ambulingma-m [làiɪmambùldɪŋmam], III<3A b-i-y-im-ambulingma-m [biɪmambùldɪŋmam]

FU II<I l-a-n-imbulingmi [lànɪmbúldɪŋmi], III<I m-a-n-imbulingmi [mànɪmbúldɪŋmi], III<2M m-iny-in-imbulingmi [mɪnɪnɪmbúldɪŋmi], III<3 m-i-n-imbulingmi [mɪnɪmbúldɪŋmi], III<2A m-anga-n-imbulingmi [màŋanɪmbúldɪŋmi], III<1+2A m-aga-n-imbulingmi [màganɪmbúldɪŋmi], III<3A b-i-y-in-imbulingmi [biɪnɪmbúldɪŋmi]

EV II<3A l-i-rr-w-ambulingmi [iɪrwambùldɪŋmi]

IMP ambulingmi [ambúldɪŋmi]

to bring

PP 3I<I w-a-limu-ng-iji [wàlɪmúŋɪji], II<I l-a-limu-ng-iji [làlɪmúŋɪji], IV<I Ø-nga-limu-ng-iji [ɲàlɪmúŋɪji], 3I<2M w-iny-imu-ng-iji [wɪnɪmúŋɪji], III<2M m-iny-imu-ng-iji [mɪnɪmúŋɪji], 3I<1A w-a-limu-ng-iji [wàlɪmúŋɪji], III<1A m-a-limu-ng-iji [màlɪmúŋɪji], III<2A m-anga-limu-ng-iji [màŋalɪmúŋɪji], 3<3A i-yi-limu-ng-iji [iɪlɪmúŋɪji], II<3A l-i-limu-ng-iji [lɪlɪmúŋɪji], III<3A b-i-limu-ng-iji [biɪlɪmúŋɪji]

FU III<2M m-iny-i-lim-iji [mɪnɪlɪmɪji], II<3M l-uw-a-lim-iji [lùalɪmɪji], III<1A m-a-lim-iji [malɪmɪji], III<2A m-anga-lim-iji [màŋalɪmɪji]

IMP lim-iji [lɪmɪji]

to bring back

PP III<I m-a-yikgija-g-iji [mai.ɪkkɪjágɪji], III<2M m-iny-ikgija-g-iji [mɪnɪkkɪjágɪji], III<3 m-i-yikgija-g-iji [mi.ɪkkɪjágɪji], III<2A m-anga-y-ikgija-g-iji [màŋai.ɪkkɪjágɪji]

FU III<I m-a-n-ikgiju-g-iji [manɪkkɪjúɠɪji], III<2M m-iny-in-ikgiju-g-iji [mɪnɪnɪkkɪjúɠɪji], III<3 b-i-n-ikgiju-g-iji [bɪnɪkkɪjúɠɪji], III<1A m-a-y-in-ikgiju-g-iji [màiɪnɪkkɪjúɠɪji], 3I<2A

w-anga-n-ikgi ju-g-iji [wàŋanìkkɪjúgɪji], III<2A m-anga-n-ikgi ju-g-iji [màŋanìkkɪjúgɪji], III<1+2A m-aga-n-ikgi ju-g-iji [màganiìkkɪjúgɪji]

to burn

PP 1 ngi-nigi-ny [ŋínigɪn], 2M nginy-igi-ny [ŋínigɪn], 1+2M mi-nigi-ny [mínigɪn], 3I i-nigi-ny [ínigɪn], II ild-igi-ny [íldigɪn], III mi-nigi-ny [mínigɪn], IV i-nigi-ny [ínigɪn], 2A a-yi-nigi-ny [aínigɪn],

PIRR 1 ng-a-nigi-rrɪ [ŋànígíri], III m-a-nigi-rrɪ [mànígíri], II il-a-nigi-rrɪ [ɪlànígíri]

FU 1 nga-nigi-yi [ŋànígí.i], 2M n-i-nigi-yi [nìnígí.i], 1A nga-y-i-nigi-yi [ŋaínígí.i], 2A a-y-i-nigi-yi [aínígí.i], 3A i-y-i-nigi-yi [iínígí.i]

EV 1 nga-nigi-yi [ŋànígí.i], 2M nginy-bi-nigi-yi [ŋɪnbìnígí.i], 1A nga-y-i-nigi-yi [ŋaínígí.i]

to carry

PP 2M<3 bi-y-iminyma-gi [bìmɪnmági]

FU 1M<3 d-Ø-in-biminymu-k [dɪnbìmɪnmuk]

to chase

PIRR 3>3I i-y-a-lula-rrɪ [ɪalúlari]

PI 1M<3 du-Ø-lula-rrɪ [dulúlari], 2M<3 bi-y-ilula-rrɪ [bìlúlari], 3I<1 w-a-lula-rrɪ [walúlari], 3I<2M w-iny-bilula-rrɪ [wɪnbìlúlari], 3>3I i-y-ilula-rrɪ [ɪlúlari], 3M>II i-l-ula-rrɪ [ɪlúlari], II<1A l-a-y-ilula-rrɪ [làiɪlúlari], II<1A l-i-y-ilula-rrɪ [lɪɪlúlari]

PR 1M<3 du-Ø-lula-yan [dulúlaian], 3I<1 w-a-lula-yan [walúlaian], 3I<2M w-iny-bilula-yan [wɪnbìlúlaian], II<3 l-i-lula-yan [lɪlúlaian], 3I<2A w-anga-lula-yan [wàŋalúlaian]

FU 1M<3 d-Ø-in-bilula [dɪnbìlúla], 2M<3 bi-yi-n-bilula [bìnbìlúla], 3I<1 w-a-n-bilula [wànbìlúla], 3I<2M w-iny-in-bilula [wɪnɪnbìlúla], 3I<1+2M w-im-in-bilula [wìmɪnbìlúla], 3>3I i-y-in-bilula [ɪnbìlúla]

EV 1M<3 d-Ø-a-lula [dálula]

to chase after/off

PP 3I<1 w-a-mila-ng [wamílan], 3I<2M w-iny-mila-ng [wɪnmílan], 3>3I i-rr-mila-ng [ɪrmílan]

PIRR 1M<3 d-Ø-a-mila-rrɪ [damílarɪ]

PI IV<2M Ø-nginy-mila-rrɪ [ŋɪnmílarɪ]

PR 1M<3 du-Ø-mi-mila-yan [dùmɪmílaian]

FU 3I<1 w-a-n-mila [wanmíla], 3I<2M w-iny-in-mila [wɪnɪnmíla]

to climb

PP II<1 l-a-ngatjbikga-gi [lɪŋàɪçpɪkkági], III<1 m-a-tjbikga-gi [màɪçpɪkkági], II<2M

l-iny-itjbikga-gi [lɪnɪçpɪkkági], III<2M m-iny-itjbikga-gi [mɪnɪçpɪkkági], III<1+2M m-im-itjbikga-gi [mɪmɪçpɪkkági], 3M>II i-lw-atjbikga-gi [ɪlwaɪçpɪkkági], III<3 b-i-yitjbikga-gi [bɪɪçpɪkkági], III<2A m-anga-y-itjbikga-gi [màŋai:çpɪkkági], III<1+2A m-aga-y-itjbikga-gi [màgai:çpɪkkági], III<3A b-i-y-itjbikga-gi [bɪɪçpɪkkági]

PIRR III<1 m-a-w-itjbikga-ngi [mawɪçpɪkkáŋi], III<1A m-a-rr-w-itjbikga-ngi [marwɪçpɪkkáŋi]

PI III<1 m-a-yitjbikga-ngi [mai:çpɪkkáŋi]

PR III<1 m-a-yitjbikga-ngan [mai:çpɪkkáŋan]

FU III<1 m-a-n-itjbikgu-k [maɪnɪçpɪkkuk], II<2M l-iny-itjbikgu-k [lɪnɪçpɪkkuk], III<2M m-iny-itjbikgu-k [mɪnɪçpɪkkuk], III<1+2M m-im-in-itjbikgu-k [mɪmɪnɪçpɪkkuk], III<3 b-i-n-itjbikgu-k [bɪnɪçpɪkkuk], II<1A l-a-y-in-itjbikgu-k [làiɪnɪçpɪkkuk], III<2A

m-anga-n-itjbikgu-k [màŋaŋiɲɪkɪkɪk], III<I+2A m-aga-n-itjbikgu-k [màgaŋiɲɪkɪkɪk], III<3A
b-i-n-itjbikgu-k [biɲɪkɪkɪkɪk]
EV III<I m-a-w-itjbikgu-k [mawɪkɪkɪkɪk]
IMP itjbikgu-k [ɪkɪkɪkɪk]

to come

PP I ng-a-yung-iji [ŋàìuŋɪɪ], 2M nginy-a-yung-iji [ŋɪŋàìuŋɪɪ], I+2M m-a-yung-iji [màìuŋɪɪ], 3I
w-a-yung-iji [wàìuŋɪɪ], II il-a-yung-iji [ɪlàiŋɪɪ], IV Ø-a-yung-iji [àiŋɪɪ], I A nga-rr-a-yung-iji
[ŋaràiŋɪɪ], I+2A ga-rr-a-yung-iji [garàiŋɪɪ], 3A i-rr-a-yung-iji [ɪràiŋɪɪ]

PIRR I ngu-w-a-ng-iji [ŋuáŋɪɪ], 3I u-w-a-ng-iji [uáŋɪɪ], I A nga-rr-w-a-ng-iji [ŋarwáŋɪɪ], 3A
i-rr-w-a-ng-iji [ɪrwáŋɪɪ]

PI IV Ø-a-ng-iji [áŋɪɪ]

PR 3I w-a-ng-iji [wáŋɪɪ], II il-ya-ng-iji [ɪljàŋɪɪ], III m-a-ng-iji [màŋɪɪ], IV Ø-a-ng-iji [áŋɪɪ], 3A
i-y-a-ng-iji [iàŋɪɪ]

FU 2M n-in-a-y-iji [nɪnáiŋɪɪ], I+2M m-in-a-y-iji [mɪnáiŋɪɪ], 3I w-in-a-y-iji [wɪnáiŋɪɪ], IV
Ø-in-a-y-iji [ɪnáiŋɪɪ]

EV I A nga-rr-w-a-yung-iji [ŋarwàìuŋɪɪ]

IMP Minimal guwiyina [gùíŋa], Augmented warray-iji [wàràíŋɪɪ]

to come back

PP I ng-ayum-iji [ŋàìuŋɪɪ], 2M nginy-ayum-iji [ŋɪŋàìuŋɪɪ], 3I w-ayumi [wàìuŋɪɪ], II il-ayum-iji
[ɪlàiŋɪɪ], I A nga-rr-ayum-iji [ŋaràiŋɪɪ], 2A a-rr-ayum-iji [aràiŋɪɪ], 3A i-rr-ayum-iji [ɪràiŋɪɪ]

PIRR I ngu-w-ayi-rr-iji [ŋuwàìrɪɪ], 3I w-ayi-rr-iji [wàìrɪɪ], I A nga-rr-w-ay-iji [ŋarwàìrɪɪ], 3A
i-rr-w-ay-iji [ɪrwàìrɪɪ]

FU I nga-n-may-iji [ŋanmáiŋɪɪ], 2M n-in-may-iji [nɪnmáiŋɪɪ], 3I w-in-may-iji [wɪnmáiŋɪɪ], IV
Ø-in-may-iji [ɪnmáiŋɪɪ], I A nga-y-in-may-iji [ŋàìɪnmáiŋɪɪ], 2A a-y-in-may-iji [àìɪnmáiŋɪɪ], 13A
i-y-in-may-iji [iɪnmáiŋɪɪ]

EV I ngu-w-ay-iji [ŋuáŋɪɪ], 3I w-ay-iji [wáŋɪɪ], I A nga-rr-w-ay-iji [ŋarwáŋɪɪ]

IMP way-iji [wáŋɪɪ]

to cook

PP II<I l-a-ni-gi [lanígɪ], III<I m-a-ni-gi [manígɪ], IV<I Ø-nga-ni-gi [ŋanígɪ], II<2M l-iny-i-gi
[ɪnígɪ], III<2M m-iny-i-gi [mɪnígɪ], IV<2M Ø-nginy-i-gi [ŋɪnígɪ], III<I+2M m-im-i-ni-gi
[mɪmɪnígɪ], II<3 l-i-ni-gi [ɪnígɪ], III<3 m-i-ni-gi [mɪnígɪ], II<I A l-a-ni-gi [lanígɪ], II<2A
l-anga-ni-gi [làŋanígɪ], III<2A m-anga-ni-gi [màŋanígɪ], 3A>3 i-yi-ni-gi [iɪnígɪ], II<3A l-i-ni-gi
[ɪnígɪ]

PIRR II<I l-a-ni-ngi [lanínɪ], III<I m-a-ni-ngi [manínɪ], IV<I Ø-ng-a-ni-ngi [ŋanínɪ]

PR III<3 m-i-ni-ngan [mɪnínɪŋan], II<3A l-i-ni-ngan [ɪnínɪŋan]

FU I M<3 d-Ø-i-ni-yuk [dɪnɪuk], 2M<3 bi-y-i-ni-yuk [bɪnɪuk], I+2A<3 ga-y-i-ni-yuk [gàìnɪuk],
II<I l-a-ni-yuk [lanɪuk], III<I m-a-ni-yuk [manɪuk], 3I<2M w-iny-i-ni-yuk [wɪnɪnɪuk], II<2M
l-iny-i-ni-yuk [ɪnɪnɪuk], III<2M m-iny-i-ni-yuk [mɪnɪnɪuk], II<I+2M l-im-i-ni-yuk [ɪmɪnɪuk],
III<I+2M m-im-i-ni-yuk [mɪmɪnɪuk], II<3 l-iw-i-ni-yuk [ɪwɪnɪuk], III<3 m-i-ni-yuk [mɪnɪuk],
II<I A l-a-y-i-ni-yuk [làìɪnɪuk], III<I A m-a-y-i-ni-yuk [màìɪnɪuk], IV<I A Ø-nga-y-i-ni-yuk
[ŋàìɪnɪuk], II<2A l-anga-ni-yuk [làŋanɪuk], III<2A m-anga-ni-yuk [màŋanɪuk], II<I+2A
l-aga-ni-yuk [làganɪuk], III<I+2A m-aga-ni-yuk [màganɪuk], III<3A b-i-y-i-ni-yuk [bɪnɪuk], II<
3A l-i-y-i-ni-yuk [ɪnɪnɪuk]

EV II<I l-a-ni-yuk [lanɪuk], III<I m-a-ni-yuk [manɪuk]

IMP ni-yuk [niuk]

to cover

PIRR 1M<3 du-Ø-w-anynguwa-rrì [duàinnguári], 3>3I Ø-u-w-anynguwa-rrì [uàinnguári], 3I<1A w-a-y-anynguwa-rrì [wai.àinnguári]**PI** 1M<3 d-Ø-anynguwa-rrì [dàinnguári], 2M<3 bi-y-inynguwa-rrì [bi.ìnnguári], 3I<1 w-a-nynguwa-rrì [wàinnguári], 3I<2M w-iny-inynguwa-rrì [wɪnɪnnguári], 3>3I i-y-inynguwa-rrì [i.ìnnguári], 3I<1A w-a-y-inynguwa-rrì [wai.ìnnguári], 3I<2A w-anga-y-inynguwa-rrì [wàŋai.ìnnguári]**PR** 1M<3 d-Ø-any-nguwi-nguwa-yan [daiŋnùŋuáian], 2M<3 bi-y-iny-nguwi-nguwa-yan [bi.ìŋnùŋuáian]**FU** 1M<3 d-Ø-in-bingawi [dɪnbɪŋáwi], 2M<3 bi-y-in-bingawi [bɪnbɪŋáwi], 3I<1 w-a-n-bingawi [wànbɪŋáwi], 3I<2M w-iny-in-bingawi [wɪnbɪŋáwi], 3I<1+2M w-im-in-bingawi [wɪmbɪnbɪŋáwi], 3>3I i-y-in-bingawi [iɪnbɪŋáwi]

to crawl

PP 3I u-mugurra-ny [umúgurain], ɪl il-pbugurra-ny [ɪlppúgurain]**PI** 3I u-mugu-mugurra-rrì [ùmugùmugúrari], ɪl il-pbu-mugurra-rrì [ɪlppùmugúrari]**PR** 1 nga-mugurra-yan [ŋàmugúraian], 3I u-(mugu-)mugurra-yan [ùmugùmugúraian], ɪl il-pbu-mugurra-yan, [ɪlppùmugúraian], 2A a-rr-mugurra-yan [àrmugúraian]**FU** 3I w-in-mugurra-yi [wɪnmùgurái.i], 2A a-y-in-mugurra-yi [àɪnmùgurái.i]

to cross

PP 2M nginy-itjga-gi [ŋɪnɪckagi], 3I w-itjga-gi [wɪckagi], 1A nga-y-itjga-gi [ŋai.ɪckagi], 2A a-y-itjga-gi [ai.ɪckagi], 3A i-y-itjga-gi [i.ɪckagi]**PIRR** 3I u-w-itjga-ngi [úickarŋi]**FU** 3I w-in-itjgu-k [wɪnɪckuk], 1+2A ga-y-in-itjgu-k [gàɪnɪckuk]

to cry

PIRR 1 ngu-w-arna-ngi [ŋùanánji], 3I u-w-arna-ngi [ùanánji], 3A i-rr-w-arna-ngi [ɪrwanánji]**PI** 2M nginy-uma-ngi [ŋɪnɪuánji], 1+2M mu-wuma-ngi [mùuánji], 3IE u-wuma-ngi [ùuánji], 1A nga-y-uma-ngi [ŋàɪuánji], 2A a(nga)-y-uma-ngi [àɪuánji] ~ [anàɪuánji], 1+2A ga-y-uma-ngi [gàɪuánji], 3A i-y-uma-ngi [ɪuánji]**PR** 2M nginy-uma-ngan [ŋɪnɪuánjan], 3I u-wama-ngan [ùuánjan], 1A nga-y-uma-ngan [ŋàɪuánjan], 2A anga-y-uma-ngan [anàɪuánjan], 3A i-y-uma-ngan [ɪuánjan]**FU** 2M n-in-nguwamu-k [nɪnŋúanuk], 3I w-in-nguwamu-k [wɪnŋúanuk], 1A nga-y-in-nguwamu-k [ŋàɪnŋúanuk], 2A a-y-in-nguwamu-k [àɪnŋúanuk], 3A i-y-in-nguwamu-k [ɪnŋúanuk]

to cry/yell out

PP ɪl il-ikgurdaykga-gi [ɪlɪkkùdaikkági]**PIRR** 3I u-w-urdaykg-urdaykga-rrì [uùdaikkùdaikkári], 3A i-rr-w-ikgurdaykga-rrì [ɪrwɪkkùdaikkári]**PI** 1 nga-ykgurdaykga-rrì [ŋaikkùdaikkári], 2M nginy-urdaykg-urdaykga-rrì [ŋɪnùdaikkùdaikkári], 3I wa-ykgurdaykga-rrì [waikkùdaikkári], ɪl il-ikgurdaykga-rrì [ɪlɪkkùdaikkári], 1+2A ga-rr-ikgurdaykga-rrì [gàɪkkùdaikkári], 3A i-rr-ikgurdaykga-rrì [ɪrɪkkùdaikkári]**PR** 1 nga-ykgurdaykga-m [ŋaikkùdaikkam], 2M nginy-ikgurdaykga-m [ŋɪnɪkkùdaikkam] ~ nginy-urdaykg-urdaykga-m [ŋɪnùdaikkùdaikkam], 3A i-rr-ikgurdaykga-m [ɪrɪkkùdaikkam]**FU** 2M n-in-ikgurdaykgi [nɪnɪkkùdaikki], ɪl l-in-ikurdaykgi [lɪnɪkkùdaikki]

to cut

PP II<1 l-i-ningmi-ny [lɪŋɪŋmɪn], III<1 m-i-ningmi-ny [mɪŋɪŋmɪn], II<2M l-iny-ingmi-ny [lɪŋɪŋmɪn], III<2M m-iny-ingmi-ny [mɪŋɪŋmɪn], II<1+2M l-im-i-yingmi-ny [lɪmɪŋɪŋmɪn], 3M>II i-lw-iy-ingmi-ny [ɪlwɪŋɪŋmɪn], III<3 m-i-yingmi-ny [mɪŋɪŋmɪn], II<2A l-anga-y-ingmi-ny [lɔŋaɪŋɪŋmɪn], III<2A m-anga-y-ingmi-ny [mɔŋaɪŋɪŋmɪn], II<1+2A l-aga-y-ingmi-ny [lɔgaɪŋɪŋmɪn], II<3A l-i-y-ingmi-ny [liŋɪŋmɪn], III<3A b-i-y-ingmi-ny [biŋɪŋmɪn], IV<3A Ø-i-y-ing-miny [iŋɪŋmɪn]
PIRR III<1A m-a-rr-w-ingma-rrɪ [marwɪŋmari], II<2A l-anga-rr-w-ingma-rrɪ [lɔŋarwɪŋmari]
PI II<1 l-a-y-ingm-ingma-rrɪ [lɔaɪŋmɪŋmari], III<1 m-i-ningma-rrɪ [mɪŋɪŋmari]
PR III<3 m-i-yingm-ingma-m [mɪŋmɪŋmɪm], II<2A l-anga-y-ingm-ingma-m [lɔŋaɪŋmɪŋmɪm]
FU II<1 l-a-n-ingmi [lanɪŋmi], II<2M l-iny-in-ingmi [lɪŋɪŋɪŋmi], III<2M m-iny-in-ingmi [mɪŋɪŋɪŋmi], II<1+2M l-im-in-ingmi [lɪmɪŋɪŋmi], II<3 l-iw-in-ingmi [liwɪŋɪŋmi] ~ l-uw-an-ingmi [lɔanɪŋmi], II<1A l-a-y-in-ingmi [lɔaɪŋɪŋmi], II<2A l-anga-n-ingmi [lɔŋanɪŋmi], III<2A m-anga-n-ingmi [mɔŋanɪŋmi], II<1+2A l-aga-n-ingmi [lɔganɪŋmi], III<3A b-i-y-in-ingmi [biŋɪŋmi], II<3A l-i-y-in-ingmi [liŋɪŋmi]
EV 2M<3 bi-rr-w-ingmi [birwɪŋmi], II<1 l-a-w-ingmi [lawɪŋmi], III<1 m-a-w-ingmi [mawɪŋmi], II<2M l-iny-b-ingmi [lɪnbɪŋmi], III<2M m-iny-b-ingmi [mɪnbɪŋmi], II<3 l-u-wa-y-ingmi [lɔaɪŋmi]
IMP jing-mi [jɪŋmi]

to dance

PIRR I ngu-w-iyuldarri [ŋuɪuldári], 3I u-w-iyuldarri [uɪuldári], 1A nga-rr-w-iyuldarri [ŋarwɪuldári], 3A i-rr-w-iyuldarri [ɪrwɪuldári]
PI 2M nginy-iyuldarri [ŋɪŋɪuldári], 3I w-iyuldarri [wɪuldári], 2A a-y-iyuldarri [aɪɪuldári], 3A i-y-iyuldarri [iɪuldári]
PR 2M nginy-iyuldarra-yan [ŋɪŋɪuldáran], 3I w-iyuldarra-yan [wɪuldáran]
FU 1 nga-n-uldarri [ŋànuldári], 2M n-in-uldarri [nɪnuldári], 3I w-in-uldarri [wɪnuldári], 1A nga-y-in-uldarri [ŋàɪnuldári], 2A a-y-in-uldarri [àɪnuldári], 3A i-y-in-uldarri [ɪnuldári]
EV 1 ngu-w-uldarri [ŋuɪuldári], 3A i-rr-w-uldarri [ɪrwuldári]

to defecate

PP 3I w-anya-gi [wáŋagi], II il-inya-gi [ɪlɪnági], 3A i-y-inya-gi [iɪnági]
PIRR 1 ngu-w-anya-ngi [ŋuàŋáŋi], II il-w-anya-ngi [ɪlwáŋáŋi]
PI 2M nginy-iny-anya-ngi [ŋɪŋɪŋáŋi], II il-iny-anya-ngi [ɪlɪŋáŋi]
PR II il-iny-anya-ngan [ɪlɪŋáŋan]
FU II l-in-inyu-k [lɪŋɪŋuk]

to die, to suffer

PP 1 nga-mbuldi-yung [ŋambúldiɪŋ], 2M nginy-mambuldi-yung [ŋɪŋmambúldiɪŋ], 1+2M m-ambuldi-yung [mambúldiɪŋ], 3I w-ambuldi-yung [wambúldiɪŋ], II il-ambuldi-yung [ɪlambúldiɪŋ], III m-ambuldi-yung [mambúldiɪŋ], 1A nga-y-in-manbiyi-ng [ŋàɪnmánbiɪŋ], 2A a-y-in-manbiyi-ng [àɪnmánbiɪŋ], 3A i-y-in-manbiyi-ng [iɪnmánbiɪŋ]
PIRR 1 ngu-w-ambuldi-rrɪ [ŋuàmbúldɪrɪ], 2M nginy-mambuldi-rrɪ [ŋɪŋmambúldɪrɪ], II il-w-ambuldi-rrɪ [ɪlwambúldɪrɪ], III mu-w-ambuldi-rrɪ [mùambúldɪrɪ], 3A i-rr-w-anmanbiya-rrɪ [ɪrwanmánbiári]
PR 1 nga-n-manbiya-m [ŋanmánbiam], 2M nginy-man-manbiya-m [ŋɪŋmanmánbiam], 3I w-an-manbiya-m [wanmánbiam], 1A nga-y-in-manbiya-m [ŋàɪnmánbiam], 3A i-y-in-manbiya-m [iɪnmánbiam]

FU 1 nga-n-mambuldi-yi [nànmambúldi.i], 2M n-in-mambuldi-yi [nìnmambúldi.i], 1+2M m-in-mambuldi-yi [mìnmambúldi.i], II l-in-mambuldi-yi [lìnmambúldi.i], III m-in-mambuldi-yi [mìnmambúldi.i], 1A nga-y-in-manbiyi [nàinmámbi.i], 2A a-y-in-manbiyi [àinmámbi.i], 3A i-y-in-manbiyi [iìnmámbi.i]

EV II il-w-ambuldi-yi [ilwambúldi.i], III mu-w-ambuldi-yi [mùambúldi.i], 3A i-rr-w-anmanbiyi [irwanmámbi.i]

to dig

PP 1 nga-warra-ny [nàwarain], 2M nginy-iwarra-ny [nìniwarain], 3I u-warra-ny [úwarain], 1A nga-rr-warra-ny [nàrwarain], 3A i-rr-warra-ny [irwarain]

PIRR 1 ngu-warri-ri [nùwaríri], 3I u-warri-ri [úwaríri]

PI 1A nga-y-iw-awarri-ri [nàiwàwaríri], ga-y-iwarri-ri [gàiwaríri], 3A i-y-iw-awarri-ri [iirwàwaríri]

PR 3I w-aw-awarra-yan [wàwawáaian]

FU 1 nga-n-ngawarra-yi [nànnàwarái.i], 2M n-in-ngawarra-yi [nìnnàwarái.i], 1+2M m-in-ngawarra-yi [mìnnàwarái.i], 3I w-in-ngawarra-yi [wìnnàwarái.i], 1A nga-y-in-ngawarra-yi [nàinnàwarái.i], 2A a-y-in-ngawarra-yi [àinnàwarái.i]

EV 1 ngu-w-arra-yi [nùarái.i], 3A i-y-a-warra-yi [iàwarái.i]

to do

PP 1 nga-nami-ny [nánamiŋ], 2M nginy-ami-ny [nìnamin], 3I i-nami-ny [ínamin], II il-ami-ny [ilamin], III mi-nami-ny [mínamin], IV i-nami-ny [ínamin], 1A nga-y-ami-ny [náiamin], 2A a-y-ami-ny [áiamin], 3A i-y-ami-ny [iamin]

PIRR 1 nga-nama-yi [nànamái.i], 3I a-nama-yi [ànámái.i], 1A nga-y-i-nama-yi [nàinamái.i]

PI 2M nginy-ima-yi [nìnnimái.i], 3I i-nama-yi [ínamái.i], 1A nga-y-ima-yi [nàitimái.i], 3A i-y-ama-yi [iamái.i]

PR 3I i-nam [ínam]

FU 1 nga-nami [nánami], 2M n-i-nami [nínami], 1+2M m-i-nami [mínami], 3I w-i-nami [wínami], II l-i-nami [línami], III m-i-nami [mínami], 1A nga-y-i-nami [nàinámí], 2A a-y-i-nami [àinámí], 3A i-y-i-nami [iinnámí]

EV 2M nginy-bi-nami [nìnnbínámí]

to do all the time

PP 3A i-y-ikgaykgija-gi [iikkàikkɪjági]

PI 1+2M m-aykgaykgiji-ri [maikkàikkɪjɪri], 3I w-aykaykgiji-ri [waikkàikkɪjɪri], 1A nga-y-ikgaykgiji-ri [nàikkàikkɪjɪri], 2A a-y-ikgaykgiji-ri [àikkàikkɪjɪri], 3A i-y-ikgaykgiji-ri [iikkàikkɪjɪri]

PR 1 nga-ykgaykgiji-yam [nàikkàikkɪjɪam], 2M nginy-ikgaykgiji-yam [nìnnikkàikkɪjɪam], 3I w-aykgaykgiji-yam [waikkàikkɪjɪam], 3A i-y-ikgaykgiji-yam [iikkàikkɪjɪam]

to eat

PP II<I l-a-nga-ri [lanjári], III<I m-a-nga-ri [manjári], IV<I Ø-nga-nga-ri [nanjári], II<2M l-iny-a-ri [linjári], III<2M m-iny-a-ri [minjári], IV<2M Ø-nginy-a-ri [ninjári], II<I+2M l-um-a-ri [lumári], III<I+2M m-um-a-ri [mumári] ~ m-uma-ja-ri [mùmajári], IV<I+2M Ø-uma-ja-ri [ùmajári], 3M>II i-lw-a-ri [ilwári], III<3 m-a-ri [mári], 3M>IV u-w-a-ri [uári], II<IA l-a-ja-ri [lanjári], III<IA m-a-ja-ri [majári], IV<2A Ø-nga-ja-ri [najári], II<2A l-anga-ja-ri [lanjáári], III<2A m-anga-ja-ri [manjáári], IV<2A Ø-anga-ja-ri [ànajári], II<I+2A

l-aga-ja-rr-i [làgajári], III<1+2A m-aga-ja-rr-i [màgajári], IV<1+2A Ø-aga-ja-rr-i [àgajári], II<3A l-i-ja-rr-i [lɪjári], III<3A b-i-ja-rr-i [bɪjári], IV<3A Ø-i-ja-rr-i [ɪjári]

PIRR II<1 l-a-w-a-rr-i [lawári], III<1 m-a-w-a-rr-i [mawári], IV<1 Ø-ngu-w-a-rr-i [ɲuári], II<2M l-iny-b-a-rr-i [lɪnbári], III<2M m-iny-b-a-rr-i [mɪnbári], IV<2M Ø-nginy-b-a-rr-i [ɲɪnbári], II<1+2M l-umu-w-a-rr-i [lumuári], III<1+2M m-umu-w-a-rr-i [mumuári], IV<1+2M Ø-umu-w-a-rr-i [umuári], 3M>II il-w-a-rr-i [ɪlwári], 3M>IV Ø-u-w-a-rr-i [uári], II<1A l-a-rr-w-a-rr-i [larwári], III<1A m-a-rr-w-a-rr-i [marwári], IV<1A Ø-nga-rr-w-a-rr-i [ɲarwári], II<2A l-anga-rr-w-a-rr-i [lɛnarwári], III<2A m-anga-rr-w-a-rr-i [mɛnarwári], IV<2A Ø-anga-rr-w-a-rr-i [ɛnarwári], II<1+2A l-aga-rr-w-a-rr-i [làgarwári], III<1+2A m-aga-rr-w-a-rr-i [màgarwári], IV<1+2A Ø-aga-rr-w-a-rr-i [àgarwári], II<3A l-i-rr-w-a-rr-i [ɪrwári], III<3A b-i-rr-w-a-rr-i [bɪrwári], IV<3A Ø-i-rr-w-a-rr-i [ɪrwári]

PI II<1 l-a-mukbinya-ngi [lámukpɪɲanji], III<1 m-a-mukbinya-ngi [mámukpɪɲanji], II<2M l-iny-mukbinya-ngi [lɪɲmukpɪɲanji], IV<2M Ø-nginy-mukbinya-ngi [ɲɪɲmukpɪɲanji], 3M>II i-l-mukbinya-ngi [ɪlmukpɪɲanji], 3M>IV Ø-u-mukbinya-ngi [úmukpɪɲanji], II<1A l-a-rr-mukbinya-ngi [lɛrmukpɪɲanji], III<1A m-a-rr-mukbinya-ngi [mɛrmukpɪɲanji], IV<2A Ø-anga-rr-mukbinya-ngi [ɛrɛarmukpɪɲanji], II<3A l-i-rr-mukbinya-ngi [ɪrmukpɪɲanji], III<3A b-i-rr-mukbinya-ngi [bɪrmukpɪɲanji], IV<3A Ø-i-rr-mukbinya-ngi [ɪrmukpɪɲanji]

PR II<1 l-a-mukbinya-ngan [lámukpɪɲanjan], III<2M m-iny-mukbinya-ngan [mɪɲmukpɪɲanjan], 3M>II i-l-mukbinya-ngan [ɪlmukpɪɲanjan], III<3 m-u-mukbinya-ngan [mùmukpɪɲanjan], II<1A m-a-rr-mukbinya-ngan [mɛrmukpɪɲanjan], IV<1A Ø-nga-rr-mukbinya-ngan [ɲɛarmukpɪɲanjan], II<2A l-anga-rr-mukbinya-ngan [lɛrɛarmukpɪɲanjan], IV<2A Ø-anga-rr-mukbinya-ngan [ɛrɛarmukpɪɲanjan], IV<1+2A Ø-aga-rr-mukbinya-ngan [àgarɛmukpɪɲanjan], III<3A b-i-rr-mukbinya-ngan [bɪrmukpɪɲanjan]

FU II<1 l-a-n-yi [lánji], III<1 m-a-n-yi [mánji], IV<1 Ø-nga-n-yi [ɲánji], II<2M l-iny-an-yi [lɪɲánji], III<2M m-iny-an-yi [mɪɲánji], IV<2M Ø-nginy-an-yi [ɲɪɲánji], II<1+2M l-um-an-yi [lumánji], III<1+2M m-um-an-yi [mumánji], IV<1+2M Ø-um-an-yi [umánji], II<3 l-uw-an-yi [luánji], III<3 m-an-yi [mánji], 3M>IV u-w-an-yi [uánji], II<1A l-a-y-an-yi [laianji], III<1A m-a-y-an-yi [maianji], IV<1A Ø-nga-y-an-yi [ɲaianji], II<2A l-anga-y-an-yi [lɛaianji], III<2A m-anga-y-an-yi [mɛaianji], IV<2A Ø-anga-y-an-yi [ɛraianji], II<1+2A l-aga-y-an-yi [làgaianji], III<1+2A m-aga-y-an-yi [màgaianji], II<3A l-i-y-an-yi [liánji], III<3A b-i-y-an-yi [biánji], IV<3A Ø-i-y-an-yi [ianji]

EV II<1 l-a-w-a-yi [lawái.i], III<1 m-a-w-a-yi [mawái.i], II<2M l-iny-b-a-yi [lɪnbái.i], III<2M m-iny-b-a-yi [mɪnbái.i], III<1+2M m-umu-w-a-yi [mumuái.i], III<3 m-i-w-a-yi [mɪwái.i], III<2A m-anga-rr-w-a-yi [mɛnarwái.i], III<1+2A m-aga-rr-w-a-yi [màgarwái.i], IV<1+2A aga-rr-w-a-yi [àgarwái.i], III<3A b-i-rr-w-a-yi [bɪrwái.i], IV<3A i-rr-w-a-yi [ɪrwái.i]

IMP jiyi [ji.i]

to erect

PP III<1 m-i-ngiwi-gi [mɪɲɪwígí], 3I<2M w-iny-iwi-gi [wɪɲɪwígí], III<2M m-iny-iwi-gi [mɪɲɪwígí], 3>3I i-y-iwi-gi [ɪwígí], III<3 m-i-wi-gi [mɪwígí], III<1A m-a-y-iwi-gi [mɛɪwígí], III<2A m-anga-y-iwi-gi [mɛɛɪwígí], III<3A b-i-y-iwi-gi [bɪwígí]

PI 3I<1 w-a-w-i-ngi [wawínji], III<1 m-a-w-i-ngi [mawínji], III<3 m-i-w-i-ngi [mɪwínji]

PR III<3 m-i-wi-ngan [mɪwínjan]

FU 3I<1 w-a-n-iwa-yuk [wɛnɪwáíuk], III<1 m-a-n-iwa-yuk [mɛnɪwáíuk], 3I<2M w-iny-in-iwa-yuk [wɪɲɪnɪwáíuk], III<2M m-iny-in-iwa-yuk [mɪɲɪnɪwáíuk], III<3 m-i-n-iwa-yuk [mɪnɪwáíuk], III<2A m-anga-n-iwa-yuk [mɛɛnɪnɪwáíuk], III<3A b-i-y-in-iwa-yuk [bɪnɪwáíuk]

EV III<3 m-i-w-iwa-yuk [mɪwɪwáíuk]

to fall [The Irrealis prefix does not appear in the Past Irrealis and Evitative tenses of this verb]
PP 1 nga-luga-ny [ɲálugain], 2M nginy-buluga-ny [ɲjnbúlugain], 1+2M m-uluga-ny [múlugain],
 3I w-aluga-ny [wáldugain], II il-uluga-ny [ɪlúlugain], III m-uluga-ny [múlugain], IV Ø-uluga-ny
 [úlugain], 2A a-y-uluga-ny [aiúlugain], 1+2A ga-y-uluga-ny [gaiúlugain], 3A i-y-uluga-ny
 [iúlugain]

PIRR 1 ng-aldagi-rrì [ɲàldagíri], II il-aldagi-rrì [ɪlaldagíri], III m-aldagi-rrì [màldagíri], IV
 Ø-aldagi-rrì [àldagíri], 3A i-y-aldagi-rrì [iàldagíri]

PR 2M nginy-buluga-yam [ɲjnbúlugáiam], 3I u-buluga-yam [ubúlugáiam], 3A i-y-ubuluga-yam
 [iubúlugáiam]

FU 1 nga-n-buluga-yi [ɲanbúlugái.i], 2M n-in-buluga-yi [nɪnbúlugái.i], 1+2M m-in-buluga-yi
 [mɪnbúlugái.i], 3I w-in-buluga-yi [wɪnbúlugái.i], II l-in-buluga-yi [lɪnbúlugái.i], III m-in-buluga-yi
 [mɪnbúlugái.i], IV Ø-in-buluga-yi [ɪnbúlugái.i], 1A nga-y-in-buluga-yi [ɲàɪnɪnbúlugái.i], 2A
 a-y-in-buluga-yi [àɪnɪnbúlugái.i], 3A i-y-in-buluga-yi [iɪnbúlugái.i]

EV 1 ng-alaga-yi [ɲàlagái.i], 1+2M m-alaga-yi [màlagái.i], 3I Ø-alaga-yi [àlagái.i], II il-alaga-yi
 [ɪlàlagái.i], III b-alaga-yi [bàlagái.i], IV Ø-alaga-yi [àlagái.i], 3A i-y-alaga-yi [iàlagái.i]

to fear

PP 1M<3 d-Ø-alatjbi-ny [dálaicpin], 3I<1 w-a-ngalatjbi-ny [wanjálaicpin], II<1 l-a-ngalatjbi-ny
 [lanjálaicpin], 2MN> 3I w-iny-milatjbi-ny [wɪnmílaicpin], 3I<1A w-a-y-alatjbi-ny [waiálaicpin],
 3I<2A w-anga-y-alatjbi-ny [wàŋaíalaicpin]

PIRR 3I<1A w-a-y-a-litjba-rrì [waiàlìcpári]

PR 2M<3 bi-y-al-alitjba-m [biàlaficpam], 3I<1 w-a-ngal-alitjba-m [wanjàlaficpam], 3I<2M
 w-iny-mil-alitjba-m [wɪnmílaficpam], 3>3I i-y-al-alitjba-m [iàlaficpam], 3I<1A w-a-ngal-alitjba-m
 [wanjàlaficpam]

EV w-a-y-a-latjbi [wàiálaicpi]

to fight

PIRR 1A nga-rr-w-inyungmi-rrì [ɲarwɪɲuŋmíri]

PI 2A a-rr-minyungmi-rrì [armɪɲuŋmíri]

PR 2A a-rr-minyung-minyungmi-yam [armɪɲuŋmɪɲuŋmíam], 3A i-rr-minyung-minyungmi-yam
 [ɪrmɪɲuŋmɪɲuŋmíam]

to find

PP 1M<3 d-Ø-angangmi-ny [daŋáŋmɪn], 2M<3 bi-y-ingangmi-ny [biɪŋáŋmɪn], 1+2A<3
 ga-y-ingangmi-ny [gàɪŋáŋmɪn], II<1 l-a-ngangmi-ny [laŋáŋmɪn], 3I<2M w-iny-ingangmi-ny
 [wɪɲɪŋáŋmɪn], II<2M l-iny-ingangmi-ny [lɪɲɪŋáŋmɪn], 3I<1+2M w-im-ingangmi-ny
 [wɪmɪŋáŋmɪn], 3M>II i-lw-angangmi-ny [ɪlwanáŋmɪn], III<3 m-i-ngangmi-ny [mɪɲáŋmɪn], 3I<1A
 w-a-y-ingangmi-ny [wàɪŋáŋmɪn], II<1A l-a-y-ingangmi-ny [làɪŋáŋmɪn], II<2A
 l-anga-y-ingangmi-ny [làŋaɪŋáŋmɪn], III<2A m-anga-y-ingangmi-ny [màŋaɪŋáŋmɪn], 3AN>3I
 i-y-ingangmi-ny [iɲáŋmɪn], III<3A b-i-y-ingangmi-ny [biɪŋáŋmɪn]

PIRR II<1 l-a-w-angang-ma-rrì [làwanáŋmari], 3M>II i-l-w-angang-ma-rrì [ɪlwanáŋmari], II<1A
 l-a-rr-w-angang-ma-rrì [làrwanáŋmari], III<1A m-a-rr-w-angang-ma-rrì [màrwanáŋmari], 3I<3A
 Ø-i-rr-w-angang-ma-rrì [ɪrwanáŋmari], III<3A b-i-rr-w-angang-ma-rrì [bɪrwanáŋmari],

FU 2M<1 n-a-n-ingangmi [nàɲɪŋáŋmi], 1M<3 d-Ø-angangmi [daŋáŋmi], 1+2A<3 ga-y-ingangmi
 [gàɪŋáŋmi], IMN>3I w-a-n-ingangmi [wàɲɪŋáŋmi], 3I<2M w-iny-in-ingangmi [wɪɲɪɲɪŋáŋmi],
 III<2M m-iny-in-ingangmi [mɪɲɪɲɪŋáŋmi], II<1A l-a-y-in-ingang-mi [làɪɲɪŋáŋmi]

EV 1M<3 du-Ø-w-angangmi [dàŋáŋmi]

to finish

PP II<1 l-i-ngilkbi-ny [lɪŋɪlkpɪn], III<1 m-i-ngilkbi-ny [mɪŋɪlkpɪn], II<2M l-iny-milkbi-ny [lɪnmɪlkpɪn], III<2M m-iny-(m)ilkbi-ny [mɪnmɪlkpɪn], II<1+2M l-im-ilkbi-ny [ɪmɪlkpɪn], III<3 m-i-yilkbi-ny [mɪɪlkpɪn], IV<1A Ø-nga-y-ilkbi-ny [ŋajɪlkpɪn], II<2A l-anga-y-ilkbi-ny [lɔŋajɪlkpɪn], IV<2A Ø-anga-y-ilkbi-ny [ɔŋajɪlkpɪn], II<3A l-i-y-ilkbi-ny [liɪlkpɪn], III<3A b-i-y-ilkbi-ny [biɪlkpɪn]

PIRR II<1 l-a-w-ilkba-ɾɾi [lawɪlkpari], II<1+2M l-imi-w-ilkba-ɾɾi [limɪwɪlkpari], III<3 m-i-w-ilkba-ɾɾi [miwɪlkpari], IV<3A Ø-i-ɾɾ-w-ilkba-ɾɾi [ɪrwɪlkpari]

PR II<2M l-iny-mil-milkba-m [lɪnmɪlmɪlkpam], III<3 b-i-l-wilkbam [bɪlwɪlkpam], III<2A m-anga-y-ilkba-m [mɔŋajɪlkpam], III<3A b-i-yi-wil-wilkbam [biɪwɪlwɪlkpam]

FU II<1A l-a-y-in-milkbi [lɔɪnmɪlkpi], III<1A m-a-y-in-milkbi [mɔɪnmɪlkpi], II<2A l-anga-n-milkbi [lɔŋanmɪlkpi], III<2A m-anga-n-milkbi [lɔŋanmɪlkpi], III<3A b-i-y-in-milkbi [biɪnmɪlkpi]

EV II<1 l-a-w-ilkbi [lawɪlkpi]

IMP milkbi [mɪlkpi]

to follow

PIRR 1+2A<3 ga-ɾɾ-w-amunga-ɾɾi [garwàmɔŋári], 3I<1 w-a-w-amunga-ɾɾi [wawàmɔŋári]

PI 1M<3 du-Ø-mamunga-ɾɾi [dumàmɔŋári], 2M<3 bi-ɾɾ-mamunga-ɾɾi [bɪrmàmɔŋári], 1+2A<3 ga-ɾɾ-mamunga-ɾɾi [garmàmɔŋári], 3I<1 w-a-mamunga-ɾɾi [wamàmɔŋári], 3I<2M w-iny-mamunga-ɾɾi [wɪnmàmɔŋári], 3>3I i-ɾɾ-mamunga-ɾɾi [ɪrmàmɔŋári], IV<3 Ø-i-mamunga-ɾɾi [ɪmàmɔŋári], 3I<1A w-a-ɾɾ-mamunga-ɾɾi [warmàmɔŋári], 3I<2A w-anga-ɾɾ-mamunga-ɾɾi [wàŋarmàmɔŋári], IV<3A Ø-i-ɾɾ-mamunga-ɾɾi [ɪrmàmɔŋári],

PR 1M<3 du-Ø-mamunga-yan [dumàmɔŋáian], 2M<3 bi-ɾɾ-mamunga-yan [bɪrmàmɔŋáian], 3I<1 w-a-mamunga-yan [wamàmɔŋáian], 3I<2M w-iny-mamunga-yan [wɪnmàmɔŋáian], 3>3I i-ɾɾ-mamunga-yan [ɪrmàmɔŋáian]

FU 1M<3 d-Ø-in-mamungi [dɪnmámɔŋɪ], 2M<3 bi-y-in-mamungi [biɪnmámɔŋɪ], 3I<1 w-a-n-mamungi [wanmámɔŋɪ], 3I<2M w-iny-in-mamungi [wɪɪnmámɔŋɪ], 3I<2A w-anga-n-mamungi [wàŋanmámɔŋɪ]

EV 3I<1 w-a-w-amungi [wawámɔŋɪ]

to get

PP 1M<3 du-Ø-limu-ng [dúɫɪmɔŋ], 2M<3 bi-yi-limu-ng [biɪɫɪmɔŋ], 1A<3 nga-yi-limu-ng [ŋajɪɫɪmɔŋ], 3I<1 w-a-limu-ng [wáɫɪmɔŋ], II<1 l-a-limu-ng [láɫɪmɔŋ], III<1 m-a-limu-ng [máɫɪmɔŋ], IV<1 Ø-nga-limu-ng [ŋáɫɪmɔŋ], 3I<2M w-inyi-limu-ng [wɪɪɫɪmɔŋ], II<2M l-inyi-limu-ng [ɪɪɫɪmɔŋ], III<2M m-inyi-limu-ng [mɪɪɫɪmɔŋ], IV<2M Ø-nginyi-limu-ng [ŋɪɪɫɪmɔŋ], II<1+2M l-umu-limu-ng [lùmɔɫɪmɔŋ], IV<1+2M Ø-umu-limu-ng [ùmɔɫɪmɔŋ], II<3 l-i-limu-ng [ɪɪɫɪmɔŋ], III<3 b-i-limu-ng [bɪɫɪmɔŋ], 3M>IV Ø-i-limu-ng [ɪɫɪmɔŋ], II<1A l-a-limu-ng [láɫɪmɔŋ], IV<1A Ø-nga-limu-ng [ŋáɫɪmɔŋ], 3I<2A w-anga-limu-ng [wàŋáɫɪmɔŋ], II<2A l-anga-limu-ng [lɔŋáɫɪmɔŋ], III<2A m-anga-limu-ng [mɔŋáɫɪmɔŋ], IV<2A Ø-anga-limu-ng [ɔŋáɫɪmɔŋ], 3I<1+2A w-aga-limu-ng [wagáɫɪmɔŋ], II<3A l-i-limu-ng [ɪɪɫɪmɔŋ], III<3A b-i-limu-ng [bɪɫɪmɔŋ], IV<3A Ø-i-limu-ng [ɪɫɪmɔŋ]

PIRR II<1 l-a-limi-ɾɾi [lɔɫɪmɪɾi], IV<1 Ø-ng-a-limi-ɾɾi [ŋàɫɪmɪɾi], IV<1+2M Ø-um-a-limi-ɾɾi [umàɫɪmɪɾi], II<3 l-i-limi-ɾɾi [ɪɫɪmɪɾi], III<1A m-a-limi-ɾɾi [màɫɪmɪɾi], IV<1A Ø-nga-limi-ɾɾi [ŋàɫɪmɪɾi], II<3A l-i-y-a-limi-ɾɾi [liàɫɪmɪɾi], IV<3A Ø-i-limi-ɾɾi [ɪɫɪmɪɾi]

PI III<1 m-a-jiyukba-ri [majjukpári], IV<1 Ø-nga-jiyukba-ri [ɲajjukpári], II<2M l-iny-iyukba-ri [lɪɲjukpári], IV<2M Ø-nginy-iyukba-ri [ɲɪɲjukpári], III<3 m-i-jiyukba-ri [mɪɲjukpári], II<1A l-a-yi-jiyukba-ri [lâɪɲjukpári], II<3A l-i-yi-jiyukba-ri [lɪɲjukpári]

PR III<2M m-iny-iyukba-m [mɪɲjukpam], II<1A l-a-yi-jiyukba-m [lâɪɲjukpam], IV<2A Ø-a-yi-jiyukba-m [âɪɲjukpam]

FU 1M<3 d-a-Ø-limi [dalími], 1+2M<3 m-in-i-limi [mɪnɪlími], 1A<3 nga-y-i-limi [ɲâɪlími], 1+2A<3 ga-y-i-limi [gâɪlími], 3I<1 w-a-limi [walími], II<1 l-a-limi [lalími], III<1 m-a-limi [malími], IV<1 Ø-nga-limi [ɲalími], 3I<2M w-iny-i-limi [wɪɲlími], II<2M l-iny-i-limi [lɪɲlími], III<2M m-iny-i-limi [mɪɲlími], IV<2M Ø-nginy-i-limi [ɲɪɲlími], II<1+2M l-im-i-limi [lɪmɪlími], IV<1+2M Ø-im-i-limi [ɪmɪlími], III<3 m-i-limi [mɪlími], IV<3M Ø-uw-i-limi [ɪlími], 3I<1A w-a-y-i-limi [wâɪlími], II<1A l-a-y-i-limi [lâɪlími], III<1A m-a-y-i-limi [mâɪlími], IV<1A Ø-nga-y-i-limi [ɲâɪlími], II<2A l-anga-limi [lâɲalími], III<2A m-anga-limi [mâɲalími], III<1+2A m-aga-limi [mâgalími], II<3A l-i-y-i-limi [lɪɪlími]

EV II<1 l-a-limi [lálími], III<1A m-a-y-a-limi [maiálími], II<3A l-i-y-a-limi [liálími]

IMP limi [lími]

to get up

PP 1 ng-ima-gi [ɲímagi], 2M nginy-ima-gi [ɲɪɲmági], 1+2M m-ima-gi [mímagi], 3I w-ima-gi [wímagi], II il-yima-gi [ɪlɪmági], III m-ima-gi [mímagi], IV Ø-ima-gi [ímagi], 2A a-y-ima-gi [âɪmági], 1+2A ga-y-ima-gi [gâɪmági], 3A i-y-ima-gi [iɪmági]

PIRR 1 ngu-w-ima-ngi [ɲúɪmáɲi], 1+2M mu-w-ima-ngi [mùɪmáɲi], 3I u-w-ima-ngi [ùɪmáɲi], III mu-w-ima-ngi [mùɪmáɲi], 3A i-rr-w-ima-ngi [ɪrwɪmáɲi]

PI 3I w-ima-ngi [wímaɲi], 3A i-y-ima-ngi [iɪmáɲi]

PR 1 ng-ima-ngan [ɲímaɲan], 2M nginy-ima-ngan [ɲɪɲmáɲan], 3A i-y-ima-ngan [iɪmáɲan]

FU 1 nga-n-imu-k [ɲáɲɪmuk], 2M n-in-imu-k [nɪɲɪmuk], 1+2M m-in-imu-k [mɪɲɪmuk], 3I w-in-imu-k [wɪɲɪmuk], II l-in-imu-k [lɪɲɪmuk], III m-in-imu-k [mɪɲɪmuk], 2A a-y-in-imu-k [âɪɲɪmuk], 1+2A ga-y-in-imu-k [gâɪɲɪmuk], 3A i-y-in-imu-k [iɪɲɪmuk]

EV 1 ngu-w-imu-k [ɲúɪmuk], II il-w-imu-k [ɪlwɪmuk], 1A nga-rr-w-imu-k [ɲárwɪmuk]

IMP jumuk [ɟúmuk]

to get water

PP IV<1 Ø-ngu-lukba-gi [ɲulúkpagi], IV<2M Ø-nginy-ukba-gi [ɲɪɲúkpagi], IV<3 Ø-i-lukba-gi [ɪlúkpagi], IV<3A Ø-i-lukba-gi [ɪlúkpagi]

PIRR IV<1A Ø-nga-y-i-lukba-ngi [ɲâɪlúkpaɲi]

FU 3M>IV i-w-i-likbu-k [ɪwɪlíkpuk], IV<2A Ø-anga-likbu-k [âɲalíkpuk]

EV 3M>IV Ø-i-w-i-likbu-k [ɪwɪlíkpuk]

to give

PP 1M<3 d-Ø-u-gi [dúgi], 2M<3 bi-rr-u-gi [bɪrúgi], 1+2M<3 m-in-u-gi [mɪnúgi], 1A<3 nga-rr-u-gi [ɲarúgi], 2A<3 a-rr-ugi [arúgi], 1+2A<3 ga-rr-u-gi [garúgi], 3I<1 w-u-gi [wúgi], 3I<2M w-iny-mu-gi [wɪɲmúgi], 3I<1+2M w-um-u-gi [wumúgi], 3>3I i-rr-u-gi [ɪrúgi], 3M>II i-l-u-gi [ɪlúgi], 3I<1A w-a-rr-u-gi [warúgi], II<1A l-a-rr-u-gi [larúgi], 3I<2A w-anga-rr-u-gi [wâɲarúgi], II<2A l-anga-rr-u-gi [lâɲarúgi], 3AN>3I i-rr-u-gi [ɪrúgi]

PIRR 1M<3 du-Ø-w-i-ri [duwíri], 2M<3 bi-rr-w-i-ri [bɪrwíri], 1+2M<3 mi-ni-w-i-ri [mɪɲɪwíri], 2A<3 a-rr-w-i-ri [arwíri], 1+2A<3 ga-rr-w-i-ri [garwíri], 3>3I i-rr-w-i-ri, [ɪrwíri] 3M>II i-l-w-i-ri [ɪlwíri]

PI 1M<3 d-Ø-inymuldi-ri [dɪɲmúldɪri], 2M<3 bi-y-inymuldi-ri [bɪ.ɪɲmúldɪri]

PR 1M<3 d-Ø-inymuldi-yan [dijnmúldian], 3I<1 w-a-nymuli-yan [wajnmúldian], 3I<2M w-iny-bimuli-yan [wijnbmúldian], 3I<2A w-anga-y-inymuldi-yan [wàngai.ijnmúldian]
FU 2M<1 n-a-n-mi [nánmi], 1M<3 d-Ø-an-mi [dánmi], 2M<3 bi-y-an-mi [biánmi], 1+2M<3 m-in-an-mi [mínánmi], 1A<3 nga-y-an-mi [naiánmi], 2A<3 a-y-an-mi [aiánmi], 1+2A<3 ga-y-an-mi [gaiánmi], 3I<1 w-an-mi [wánmi], 3I<2M w-iny-an-mi [wijnánmi], 3I<1+2M w-um-an-mi [wumánmi], 3>3I i-y-an-mi [iánmi], II<3 l-uw-an-mi [luánmi], 3I<1A w-a-y-an-mi [waiánmi], 3I<2A w-anga-y-an-mi [wàngaiánmi], 3I<1+2A w-aga-y-an-mi [wàgaiánmi], 3<3 i-y-an-mi [iánmi], II< 3A l-i-y-an-mi [liánmi]
EV 1M<3 du-Ø-wa [dúwa], 3I<1 w-a-w-a [wáwa], II<1 l-a-w-a [láwa], 3I<2M w-iny-b-a [wijnba], 3I<1+2M w-umu-w-a [wúmua], 3>3I i-rr-w-a [irwa], 3I<2A w-anga-rr-w-a [wàgarwa], 3I<1+2A w-aga-rr-w-a [wágarwa], 3AN>3I i-rr-w-a [irwa]
IMP 1M<2 nganmayiji [ɲanmáɪji], 3<2 wugi [wúgi]

to go

PP 1 ng-a-yung [ɲáiɲ], 2M nginy-a-yung [ɲijnáiɲ], 1+2M m-a-yung [máiɲ], 3I w-a-yung [wáiɲ], II il-a-yung [ɪláiɲ], IV Ø-a-yung [áiɲ], 1A nga-rr-a-yung [ɲaráiɲ], 2A a-rr-a-yung [aráiɲ], 1+2A ga-rr-a-yung [garáiɲ], 3A i-rr-a-yung [iráiɲ]
PI IV Ø-a-ngi [áni]
PIRR 1 ngu-w-a-ngi [ɲuáni], 2M nginy-b-a-ngi [ɲijnbáni], 1+2M mu-w-a-ngi [muáni], 3I u-w-a-ngi [uáni], II il-w-a-ngi [ɪlwáni], 1A nga-rr-w-a-ngi [ɲarwáni], 2A a-rr-w-a-ngi [arwáni], 1+2A ga-rr-w-a-ngi [garwáni], 3A i-rr-w-a-ngi [irwáni]
PR 1 ng-a-ngi [ɲáni], 3I w-a-ngi [wáni], II il-ya-ngi [ɪljáni], III m-a-ngi [máni], IV Ø-a-ngi [áni], 1A nga-y-a-ngi [ɲaiáni], 3A i-y-a-ngi [iáni]
FU 1 nga-n-a-yi [ɲaná.i], 2M n-in-a-yi [nínái.i], 1+2M m-in-a-yi [mínái.i], 3I w-in-a-yi [wínái.i], II l-in-a-yi [línái.i], 1A nga-y-in-a-yi [ɲàinái.i], 2A a-y-in-a-yi [àinái.i], 1+2A ga-y-in-a-yi [gàinái.i], 3A i-y-in-a-yi [iinái.i]
EV 1 ngu-w-a-yung [ɲuáiɲ], 2M nginy-b-a-yung [ɲijnbáiɲ], 1+2M mu-w-a-yung [muáiɲ], 3I Ø-w-a-yung [wáiɲ], II il-w-a-yung [ɪlwáiɲ], IV Ø-w-a-yung [wáiɲ], 1A nga-rr-w-a-yung [ɲarwáiɲ], 2A a-rr-w-a-yung [arwáiɲ], 1+2A ga-rr-w-a-yung [garwáiɲ], 3A i-rr-w-a-yung [irwáiɲ]
IMP barrungan [bárɯŋan] (Minimal), warrayi [wárai.i] (Augmented)

to go back

PP 1 ng-ayurni [ɲáiɲni], 2M nginy-mayurni [ɲijnmáiɲni], 3I w-ayurni [wáiɲni], II il-ayurni [ɪláiɲni], IV Ø-ayurni [áiɲni], 1A nga-rr-ayurni [ɲaráiɲni], 2A a-rr-ayurni [aráiɲni], 3A i-rr-ayurni [iráiɲni]
PIRR 1 ngu-w-ayi-rr-i [ɲuáirri], II il-w-ayi-rr-i [ɪlwáirri], 1A nga-rr-w-ayi-rr-i [ɲarwáirri], 3A i-rr-w-ayi-rr-i [irwáirri]
FU 1 nga-n-mayi [ɲanmái.i], 2M n-in-mayi [nínmái.i], 1+2M m-in-mayi [mínmái.i], 3I w-in-mayi [wínmái.i], IV Ø-in-mayi [ínmái.i], 1A nga-y-in-mayi [ɲàinmái.i], 2A a-y-in-mayi [àinmái.i], 1+2A ga-y-in-mayi [gàinmái.i], 3A i-y-in-mayi [iinmái.i]
EV 1 ngu-w-ayi [ɲuái.i], 1A nga-rr-w-ayi [ɲarwái.i], 2A a-rr-w-ayi [arwái.i]

to go down

PP ng-irrang [ŋíran], 2M nginy-irrang [ŋíníran], 3I w-irrang [wíran], II il-yirrang [ílíran], IV Ø-irrang [íran], 1A nga-jirrang [ŋáɣíran], 2A a-jirrang [áɣíran], 1+2A ga-jirrang [gáɣíran], 3A i-jirrang [íɣíran]

PIRR 1 ngu-w-irringa-ri [ŋùíringári], 3I u-w-irringa-ri [ùíringári], IV Ø-w-irringa-ri [wíringári], 1A nga-rr-w-irringa-ri [ŋarwíringári]

PR II il-yirringa-n [ílíringan], 3A i-jirringa-n [íɣíringan]

FU 1 nga-n-yirrangi [ŋànjíránj], 2M n-in-yirrangi [nènjíránj], 3I w-in-yirrangi [wínjíránj], IV Ø-i-n-yirrangi [ínjíránj], 2A a-y-in-yirrangi [àinjíránj], 1+2A ga-y-in-yirrangi [gàinjíránj], 3A i-y-in-yirrangi [ìnjíránj]

EV IV u-w-irrangi [ùíránj]

IMP jirrangi [jíránj]

to go in

PP 1 ngi-ngimu-ng [ŋíngímun], 2M nginy-imu-ng [ŋíníngímun], 3I i-ngimu-ng [íníngímun], II il-ngimu-ng [ílíngímun], 3A i-rr-ngimu-ng [íríngímun]

PIRR 1 ngu-w-ami-ri [ŋùámíri], II il-w-ami-ri [ílwámíri], 3A i-rr-w-ami-ri [írwámíri]

PI II il-ngimi-ri [ílíngímíri]

PR 1 ngi-ngimi-yam [ŋíngímíam], 3 i-ngimi-yam [íníngímíam], 3A i-ngimi-yam [íníngímíam]

FU 1 nga-n-ngimi [ŋanngími], 1+2 m-in-ngimi [mínngími], 3I w-in-ngimi [wínngími], 1A nga-y-in-ngimi [ŋàinnngími], 2A a-y-in-ngimi [àinnngími], 3A i-y-in-ngimi [ìnnngími]

EV 2M nginy-b-ami [ŋínjbamí], 3A i-rr-w-ami [írwamí]

IMP ngimi [ngími]

to go out

PP 3I w-aldaga-ny [wáldagáin], 1A nga-y-il-aldaga-ny [ŋàí.íldádagáin], 3A i-y-ildaga-ny [ííldagáin]

PIRR 2A a-rr-w-aldaga-ri [arwáldagári]

PR 3I w-al-aldaga-yam [waláldagáiam], 3A i-y-il-aldaga-yam [ííldádagáiam]

FU 1 nga-n-ildiga-yi [ŋaníldagái.i], 2M n-in-ildiga-yi [níníldagái.i], 3I w-in-ildiga-yi [wíníldagái.i], II l-in-ildiga-yi [líníldagái.i], 1A nga-y-in-ildiga-yi [ŋàinníldagái.i], 2A a-y-in-ildiga-yi [àinníldagái.i], 3A i-y-in-ildiga-yi [ìnníldagái.i]

EV 2 nginy-b-aldaga-yi [ŋínbáldagái.i], 3I u-w-aldaga-yi [uáldagái.i], 3A i-rr-w-aldaga-yi [írwáldagái.i]

IMP ilaga-yi [íldagái.i]

to grow up

PP 1 ng-ininyu-ng [ŋínínun], 2M nginy-inyu-ng [ŋínínun], 3I w-ininyu-ng [wínínun]

PIRR 3I u-w-ininya-ri [ùínínári]

PI nga-y-ininya-ri [ŋàínínári], 2A a-y-ininya-ri [àínínári], 3A i-y-ininya-ri [ìínínári]

FU 3I w-in-inyu-k [wínínuk], III m-in-inyu-k [mínínuk]

to have

PI 3I<1 w-anga-ri [wáŋari], II<1 l-a-ng-anga-ri [làŋanári]

PR 3M>II i-lw-ang-anga-n [ílwánánan]

to hear

PP 1 nga-ldugi-ny [ɲáldugɪn], 2M nginy-ulugi-ny [ɲìɲulúgɪn], 3I w-aldugi-ny [wáldugɪn], 1A nga-y-ulugi-ny [ɲàɪulúgɪn], 2A a-y-ulugi-ny [àɪulúgɪn], 3A i-y-ulugi-ny [ɪulúgɪn]

PIRR 1 ngu-w-aldagi-rrɪ [ɲuàldagíri], 3I u-w-aldagi-rrɪ [uàldagíri], 1A nga-rr-w-aldagi-rrɪ [ɲarwàldagíri], 2A a-rr-w-aldagi-rrɪ [arwàldagíri], 3A i-rr-w-aldagi-rrɪ [ɪrwàldagíri]

PI 3I w-al-aldagi-rrɪ [walàldagíri], 1A nga-y-il-aldagi-rrɪ [ɲàɪlaldagíri], 2A a-y-il-aldagi-rrɪ [àɪlaldagíri]

PR 1 nga-l-aldagi-yam [ɲalàldagíam], 2M nginy-il-aldagi-yam [ɲìɲɪlaldagíam], 1+2M m-al-aldagi-yam [malàldagíam], 3I w-al-aldagi-yam [walàldagíam], ɪɪ i-l-aldagi-yam [ɪlaldagíam], 1A nga-y-il-aldagi-yam [ɲàɪlaldagíam], 2A a-y-il-aldagi-yam [àɪlaldagíam], 3A i-y-il-aldagi-yam [ɪlaldagíam]

FU 1 nga-n-ulugu-yi [ɲànulúguji], 2M n-in-ulugu-yi [nìɲulúguji], 1+2M m-in-ulugu-yi [mìɲulúguji], 1A nga-y-in-ulugu-yi [ɲàɪɲulúguji], 2A a-y-in-ulugu-yi [àɪɲulúguji], 1+2A ga-y-in-ulugu-yi [gàɪɲulúguji], 3A i-y-in-ulugu-yi [ɪɲulúguji]

EV 1 ngu-w-aldagi-yi [ɲuàldagí.i], 2M nginy-b-aldagi-yi [ɲɪɲbàldagí.i], 1+2M mu-w-aldagi-yi [muàldagí.i], 3I u-w-aldagi-yi [uàldagí.i], 1A nga-rr-w-aldagi-yi [ɲarwàldagí.i], 1+2A ga-rr-w-aldagi-yi [garwàldagí.i], 3A i-rr-w-aldagi-yi [ɪrwàldagí.i]

IMP ulugu-yi [ulúguji]

to hide (intr)

PP 1 ngu-wunguldaga-ny [ɲùɲùldagáɪn], 2M nginy-bunguldaga-ny [ɲɪɲbɲùldagáɪn], 1+2M mu-wunguldaga-ny [mùɲùldagáɪn], 3I u-wunguldaga-ny [ùɲùldagáɪn], 3A i-y-unguldaga-ny [ɪɲùldagáɪn]

PR 1 ngu-wunguldaga-yam [ɲùɲùldagáɪam], 2M nginy-bunguldaga-yam [ɲɪɲbɲùldagáɪam]

FU 1 nga-n-bunguldaga-yi [ɲàɲbɲùldagáɪ.i], 2M n-in-bunguldaga-yi [nìɲbɲùldagáɪ.i]

to hide (tr)

PP ɪɪ<1 l-a-ngula-ng [láɲulaɲ], ɪɪɪ<1 m-a-ngula-ng [máɲulaɲ], ɪɪ<2M l-iny-bungula-ng [lɪɲbúɲulaɲ], ɪɪɪ<2M m-iny-bungula-ng [mɪɲbúɲulaɲ], ɪɪɪ<1A m-a-y-ingula-ng [maɪɲulaɲ], ɪɪ<2A l-anga-y-ingula-ng [láɲaɪɲulaɲ], ɪɪɪ<2A m-anga-y-ingula-ng [màɲaɪɲulaɲ], ɪɪɪ<3A b-i-y-ingula-ng [bíɲulaɲ]

PIRR ɪɪɪ<1 m-a-w-ungulduga-rrɪ [màwɲùldagáɪri], ɪɪ<2M l-iny-b-ungulduga-rrɪ [lɪɲbɲùldagáɪri]

FU ɪɪ<1 l-a-n-bungulduga-yi [làɲbɲùldagáɪ.i], ɪɪɪ<1 m-a-n-bungulduga-yi [màɲbɲùldagáɪ.i],

ɪɪɪ<2M m-iny-in-bungulduga-yi [mɪɲɪɲbɲùldagáɪ.i]

to hit

PP 1M<3 d-Ø-i-m [dɪɪm], 2M<3 bi-rr-i-m [bíɪm], 1+2A<3 ga-rr-i-m [gáɪm], 3I<1 w-a-m [wáam], ɪɪ<1 l-a-m [láam], 3I<2M w-iny-ba-m [wɪɲbam], ɪɪ<2M l-iny-ba-m [lɪɲbam], 3>3I i-rr-i-m [íɪm], ɪɪ<3 l-i-m [líɪm], 3I<1A w-a-rr-i-m [wáɪm], ɪɪ<1A l-a-rr-i-m [láɪm], 3I<2A w-anga-rr-i-m [wáɲarɪm], ɪɪ<2A l-anga-rr-i-m [láɲarɪm], ɪɪ<1+2A l-aga-rr-im [lágarɪm], 3AN>3I i-rr-i-m [íɪm], ɪɪ<3A l-i-rr-i-m [líɪm]

PIRR 1M<3 du-Ø-w-i-rrɪ [duwíri], 3I<1 w-a-w-i-rrɪ [wawíri], ɪɪ<1 l-a-w-i-rrɪ [lawíri], 3>3I i-rr-a-w-i-rrɪ [ɪrawíri], 3M>ɪɪ i-l-a-w-i-rrɪ [ɪlawíri], ɪɪ<1A l-a-rr-w-i-rrɪ [larwíri]

PI 1M<3 d-Ø-am-ambijiwi-rrɪ [dàmambɪɟwíri], ɪɪ<1 l-a-m-ambijiwi-rrɪ [làmambɪɟwíri], ɪɪ<1+2M l-im-im-ambijiwi-rrɪ [lìmɪmambɪɟwíri], 3M>ɪɪ i-l-im-ambijiwi-rrɪ [ɪlɪmambɪɟwíri], ɪɪ<1A l-a-y-im-ambijiwi-rrɪ [làɪmambɪɟwíri], 3<3A i-y-im-ambijiwi-rrɪ [ɪmambɪɟwíri], ɪɪ<3A l-i-y-im-ambijiwi-rrɪ [lɪmambɪɟwíri]

PR 1M<3 d-Ø-am-ambijjiwi-yan [dàmambijjwían], 3I<1 w-a-m-ambijjiwi-yan [wàmambijjwían], 3I<2M w-iny-im-ambijjiwi-yan [wìnjimambijjwían], 3M>II i-l-im-ambijjiwi-yan [ìlmambijjwían]
FU 2M<1 n-a-n-bi [nánbi], 1M<3 d-Ø-an-bi [dánbi], 3I<1 w-an-bi [wánbi], II<1 l-an-bi [lánbi], 3I<2M w-iny-an-bi [wìnjánbi], II<2M l-iny-an-bi [lìnjánbi], II<1+2M l-im-an-bi [lìmánbi], 3>3I i-y-an-bi [iánbi], II<3 l-uw-an-bi [luánbi], II<2A l-anga-y-an-bi [làŋaiánbi], II<1+2A l-aga-y-an-bi [làgaiánbi], II<3A l-i-y-an-bi [liánbi]
EV 1M<3 du-Ø-wa-wi [duáwi], 2M<3 bi-rr-wa-wi [birwáwi], 1+2A<3 ga-rr-wa-wi [garwáwi], 3I<2M w-iny-ba-wi [wìnbáwi], 3>3I i-rr-wa-wi [irwáwi]

to jump

PP 1 ng-ambildirrang [ŋambıldırraŋ], 2M nginy-imbildirrang [ŋìnjimbıldırraŋ], 3I w-ambildirrang [wambıldırraŋ], II il-imbildirrang [ìlmbıldırraŋ], 2A a-y-imbildirrang [àiymbıldırraŋ]
PIRR 1 ngu-w-ambildirranga-rrı [ŋuambıldırraŋári], 3I u-w-ambildirranga-rrı [ùambıldırraŋári], 3A i-rr-w-ambildirranga-rrı [ırwambıldırraŋári]
FU 1 nga-n-imbildirrangi [ŋànımbıldırráŋı], 2M n-in-imbildirrangi [nìnımbıldırráŋı], 2A a-y-in-imbildirrangi [àıınımbıldırráŋı]
EV 1 ngu-w-ambildirrangi [ŋuambıldırráŋı], 1A nga-rr-w-ambildirrangi [ŋàrwambıldırráŋı]

to know

PP 1M<3 d-Ø-ukbu-ng [dúkpuŋ], 2M<3 bi-y-ukbu-ng [biúkpuŋ], 1+2M<3 m-in-ukbu-ng [mınúkpuŋ], 1+2A<3 ga-y-ukbu-ng [gaiúkpuŋ], 3I<1 w-a-wukbu-ng [wawúkpuŋ], III<1 m-a-wukbu-ng [mawúkpuŋ], IV<1 Ø-ngu-wukbu-ng [ŋuúkpuŋ], 3I<2M w-iny-ukbu-ng [wìnjúkpuŋ], III<2M m-iny-ukbu-ng [mìnjúkpuŋ], IV<2M Ø-nginy-ukbu-ng [ŋìnjúkpuŋ], 3I<1+2M w-um-ukbu-ng [wumúkpuŋ], 3>3I i-y-ukbu-ng [iúkpuŋ], III<1A m-a-y-ukbu-ng [maiúkpuŋ], IV<1A Ø-nga-y-ukbu-ng [ŋaiúkpuŋ], 3I<2A w-anga-y-ukbu-ng [wàŋaiúkpuŋ], 3A>3I i-y-ukbu-ng [iúkpuŋ], III<3A b-i-y-ukbu-ng [biúkpuŋ]
PIRR 1M<3 du-Ø-w-akbi-rrı [duákprı], 2M<3 bi-rr-w-akbi-rrı [birwákprı], 1+2A<3 ga-y-akbi-rrı [gaiákprı], 3I<1 w-a-w-akbi-rrı [wawákprı], III<1 m-a-w-akbi-rrı [mawákprı], IV<1 Ø-ngu-w-akbi-rrı [ŋuákprı], 3I<2M w-iny-b-akbi-rrı [wìnbákprı], III<2M m-iny-b-akbi-rrı [mìnbákprı], 3>3I i-rr-w-akbi-rrı [irwákprı], 3M>II i-l-w-akbi-rrı [ìlwákprı], 3I<1A w-a-rr-w-akbi-rrı [warwákprı], III<1A m-a-rr-w-akbi-rrı [marwákprı], 3I<1+2A w-aga-rr-w-akbi-rrı [wàgarwákprı], 3AN>3I i-rr-w-akbi-rrı [irwákprı]
EV IV<1 Ø-ngu-w-akbi [ŋuákpi], II<1+2A l-aga-rr-w-akbi [làgarwákpi]

to leave

PP 1M<3 du-Ø-mildingı-ny [dumıldıŋı], 2M<3 bi-rr-mildingı-ny [bırmıldıŋı], 1+2A<3 ga-rr-mildingı-ny [garıldıŋı], 3I<1 w-a-mildingı-ny [wamıldıŋı], II<1 l-a-mildingı-ny [lamıldıŋı], III<1 m-a-mildingı-ny [mamıldıŋı], 3I<2M w-iny-mildingı-ny [wìnjmıldıŋı], III<2M m-iny-mildingı-ny [mìnjmıldıŋı], II<1+2M l-imı-mildingı-ny [lìmmıldıŋı], 3>3I i-rr-mildingı-ny [ırmıldıŋı], 3M>II i-l-pbilingı-ny [ìlpbıldıŋı], III<3 m-i-mildingı-ny [mırmıldıŋı], II<1A l-a-rr-mildingı-ny [larıldıŋı], 3I<2A w-anga-rr-mildingı-ny [wàŋarıldıŋı], II<2A l-anga-rr-mildingı-ny [làŋarıldıŋı], III<2A m-anga-rr-mildingı-ny [màŋarıldıŋı], III<1+2A m-aga-rr-mildingı-ny [màgarıldıŋı], 3A>3 i-rr-mildingı-ny [ırmıldıŋı], II<3A l-i-rr-mildingı-ny [lırmıldıŋı], III<3A b-i-rr-mildingı-ny [bırmıldıŋı], IV<3A Ø-i-rr-mildingı-ny [ırmıldıŋı]
PIRR 3I<1 w-a-milinga-rrı [wamıldıŋári], 3>3I i-y-a-milinga-rrı [iamıldıŋári], 3M>II i-l-a-milinga-rrı [ìlamıldıŋári], III<1A m-a-y-a-milinga-rrı [màiamıldıŋári], II<1A

l-a-y-a-mildinga-rrí [làiámìldɪŋári], 3AN>3I i-y-a-mildinga-rrí [iamìldɪŋári], II<3A
 l-i-y-a-mildinga-rrí [liámìldɪŋári], III<3A b-i-y-a-mildinga-rrí [biámìldɪŋári]
PI 1M<3 di-Ø-mildinga-rrí [dɪmìldɪŋári]
PR 3I<2M w-iny-mildinga-n [wɪnmìldɪŋan], 3>3I i-rr-mildinga-n [ɪrmìldɪŋan], III<3
 m-i-mildinga-n [mɪmìldɪŋan], 3M>II i-l-mildinga-n [ɪlmìldɪŋan]
FU 3I<1 w-a-n-mildinyu-k [wanmìldɪŋuk], III<1 m-a-n-mildinyu-k [manmìldɪŋuk], 3I<2M
 w-iny-in-mildinyu-k [wɪnɪnmìldɪŋuk], II<2M l-iny-in-mildinyu-k [lɪnɪnmìldɪŋuk], III<2M
 m-iny-in-mildinyu-k [mɪnɪnmìldɪŋuk], III<3 m-i-n-mildinyu-k [mɪnmìldɪŋuk], III<1 A
 m-a-y-in-mildinyu-k [màiŋnmìldɪŋuk], 3I<2A w-anga-n-mildinyu-k [wàŋanmìldɪŋuk], III<1+2A
 m-aga-n-mildinyu-k [màŋanmìldɪŋuk], 3<3A i-y-in-mildinyu-k [iɪnmìldɪŋuk], III<3A
 b-i-y-in-mildinyu-k [biɪnmìldɪŋuk]
EV II<1 l-a-mildinyu-k [lamìldɪŋuk], 3I<1A w-a-y-a-mildinyu-k [wàiámìldɪŋuk]
IMP mildinyu-k [mìldɪŋuk]

to lie (mixed transitive and intransitive inflections - 5.2)

PP 1 ngu-maliŋa-gi [ŋumàlɪŋáŋgi], 2M nginy-maliŋa-gi [ŋɪnmàlɪŋáŋgi], 1+2M mu-maliŋa-gi
 [mumàlɪŋáŋgi], 3M>IV Ø-u-maliŋa-gi [umàlɪŋáŋgi], 1A nga-rr-maliŋa-gi [ŋarmàlɪŋáŋgi], IV<2A
 Ø-anga-rr-maliŋa-gi [àŋarmàlɪŋáŋgi], IV<1+2A Ø-aga-rr-maliŋa-gi [àŋarmàlɪŋáŋgi], 3A i-rr-maliŋa-gi
 [ɪrmàlɪŋáŋgi]
PIRR 1 ng-a-maliŋa-ngi [ŋamàlɪŋáŋgi], 1+2M m-a-maliŋa-ngi [mamàlɪŋáŋgi], 3I i-y-a-maliŋa-ngi
 [iamàlɪŋáŋgi], IV Ø-a-maliŋa-ngi [amàlɪŋáŋgi]
PI 3I w-aldiji-rrí [wàldɪŋíŋí], II ild-iji-rrí [ɪldɪŋíŋí], IV Ø-aldiji-rrí [àldɪŋíŋí], 1A nga-y-ildiji-rrí
 [ŋaiɪldɪŋíŋí], 2A a-y-ildiji-rrí [aɪldɪŋíŋí], 3A i-y-ildiji-rrí [iɪldɪŋíŋí]
PR 1 ng-aliŋa-yam [ŋàlɪŋáŋiam], 2M nginy-milija-yam [ŋɪnmɪlɪŋáŋiam], 1+2M m-aliŋa-yam
 [màlɪŋáŋiam], 3I w-aliŋa-yam [wàlɪŋáŋiam], II il-ija-yam [ɪlɪŋáŋiam], III m-aliŋa-yam [màlɪŋáŋiam], IV
 Ø-aliŋa-yam [àlɪŋáŋiam], 1A nga-y-ilija-yam [ŋaiɪlɪŋáŋiam], 2A a-y-ilija-yam [aɪlɪŋáŋiam], 3A
 i-y-ilija-yam [iɪlɪŋáŋiam]
FU 1 nga-n-malaju-k [ŋanmálajuk], 2M n-in-malaju-k [nɪnmálajuk], 1+2M m-in-malaju-k
 [mɪnmálajuk], 3I w-in-malaju-k [wɪnmálajuk], 1A nga-y-in-malaju-k [ŋaiɪnmálajuk], IV<2A
 Ø-anga-n-malaju-k [àŋanmálajuk], IV<1+2A Ø-aga-n-malaju-k [àŋanmálajuk], 3A
 i-y-in-malaju-k [iɪnmálajuk]
EV 1 ng-a-malaju-k [ŋamálajuk], 1+2M m-a-malaju-k [mamálajuk], 3I w-a-malaju-k
 [wamálajuk], 1A nga-y-a-malaju-k [ŋaiámálajuk], 1+2A ga-y-a-malaju-k [gàiámálajuk]
IMP malaju-k [málajuk]

to look after

PP 3I<2M w-iny-in-anbalkbi-ny [wɪnɪnɪnbáلكpiŋ], 3I<2A w-anga-y-inbalkbi-ny [wàŋaiɪnbáلكpiŋ]
PR 3I<1 w-a-n-anbalkba-m [wànanbáلكpam], 3I<2M w-iny-in-inbalkba-m [wɪnɪnɪnbáلكpam],
 3I<A w-a-y-inbalkba-m [wàiɪnbáلكpam], 3I<2A w-anga-y-inbalkba-m [wàŋaiɪnbáلكpam]
FU 2M<3 bi-y-in-inbalkbi [biɪnɪnbáلكpi], 3I<2M w-iny-in-inbalkbi [wɪnɪnɪnbáلكpi], II<2M
 l-iny-in-inbalkbi [lɪnɪnɪnbáلكpi], 3>3I i-y-in-inbalkbi [iɪnɪnbáلكpi], 3I<1A w-a-y-inbalkbi
 [wàiɪnbáلكpi], 3I<2A w-anga-y-in-inbalkbi [wàŋaiɪnɪnbáلكpi], II<2A l-anga-y-inbalkbi
 [làŋaiɪnbáلكpi]
EV 3I<1A w-a-rr-w-anbalkbi [wàrwánbáلكpi]

to look for

PIRR 1M<3 du-Ø-wa-ldijuldija-ngi [duàldɪjùldɪjǎŋi], 3I<1 w-a-ldijuldija-ngi [wàldɪjùldɪjǎŋi], II<1 l-a-ldijuldija-ngi [làldɪjùldɪjǎŋi], III<1 m-a-ldijuldija-ngi [màldɪjùldɪjǎŋi], 3I<2M w-iny-b-uldijuldija-ngi [wɪnbùldɪjùldɪjǎŋi]

PI 21M<3 d-Ø-uldijuldija-ngi [dùldɪjùldɪjǎŋi], 2M<3 b-i-y-uldijuldija-ngi [biùldɪjùldɪjǎŋi], 3I<1 w-a-ldijuldija-ngi [wàldɪjùldɪjǎŋi], III<1 m-a-ldijuldija-ngi [màldɪjùldɪjǎŋi], 3I<2M w-iny-uldijuldija-ngi [wɪɲùldɪjùldɪjǎŋi], III<2M m-iny-uldijuldija-ngi [mɪɲùldɪjùldɪjǎŋi], 3>3I i-y-uldijuldija-ngi [iùldɪjùldɪjǎŋi], III<3 m-i-y-uldijuldija-ngi [miùldɪjùldɪjǎŋi], IV<3 Ø-uldijuldija-ngi [ùldɪjùldɪjǎŋi], II<1A l-a-ldijuldija-ngi [làldɪjùldɪjǎŋi], II<2A l-anga-ldijuldija-ngi [laŋàldɪjùldɪjǎŋi]

PR 1M<3 du-Ø-ldijuldija-ngan [dùldɪjùldɪjǎŋan], 2M<3 bi-y-uldijuldija-ngan [biùldɪjùldɪjǎŋan], 3I<1 w-a-ldijuldija-ngan [wàldɪjùldɪjǎŋan], IV<2M Ø-nginy-uldijuldija-ngan [ŋɪɲùldɪjùldɪjǎŋan], 3>3I i-y-uldijuldija-ngan [iùldɪjùldɪjǎŋan], III<3 m-i-yuldijuldija-ngan [miùldɪjùldɪjǎŋan], 3>IV i-y-uldijuldija-ngan [iùldɪjùldɪjǎŋan], II<1A l-a-ldijuldija-ngan [làldɪjùldɪjǎŋan], III<1A m-a-ldijuldija-ngan [màldɪjùldɪjǎŋan], II<2A l-anga-ldijuldija-ngan [laŋàldɪjùldɪjǎŋan], III<2A m-anga-ldijuldija-ngan [maŋàldɪjùldɪjǎŋan], II<3A l-i-ldijuldija-ngan [lɪldɪjùldɪjǎŋan]

FU 2M<1 n-a-n-ujulaju-k [nànɯjúlajuk], 1M<3 du-Ø-n-ujulaju-k [dùnɯjúlajuk], 2M<3 bi-yi-n-ujulaju-k [biɲɯjúlajuk], 3I<1 w-a-n-ujulaju-k [wànɯjúlajuk], II<1 l-a-n-ujulaju-k [làɲɯjúlajuk], 3I<2M w-iny-in-ujulaju-k [wɪɲɪɲɯjúlajuk], II<2M l-iny-in-ujulaju-k [lɪɲɪɲɯjúlajuk], III<2M m-iny-in-ujulaju-k [mɪɲɪɲɯjúlajuk], III<1+2M m-im-in-ujulaju-k [mɪmɪɲɯjúlajuk], 3I<1A w-a-n-ujulaju-k [wànɯjúlajuk], II<1A l-a-yi-n-ujulaju-k [làɪɲɯjúlajuk], III<1A m-a-n-ujulaju-k [mànɯjúlajuk], IV<1A Ø-nga-yi-n-ujulaju-k [ŋàɪɲɯjúlajuk], 3I<2A w-anga-n-ujulaju-k [wàŋanɯjúlajuk], II<2A l-anga-n-ujulaju-k [làŋanɯjúlajuk], III<2A m-anga-n-ujulaju-k [màŋanɯjúlajuk], III<3A b-i-y-in-ujulaju-k [biɲɯjúlajuk]

EV d-Ø-a-lijulaju-k [dàlɪjúlajuk]

to lose (intr)

PP 1 ng-iritjga-ny [ŋɪɾɪckaiɲ], 2M nginy-biritjga-ny [ŋɪɲbɪɾɪckaiɲ], 3I w-iritjga-ny [wɪɾɪckaiɲ], 2A a-y-iritjga-ny [aɪɾɪckaiɲ]

PIRR 1 ngu-w-iritjgi-rri [ŋuɪɾɪckáɪɪ]

FU 2M n-in-biritjga-yi [nɪɲbɪɾɪckáɪ.i], 3I w-in-biritjga-yi [wɪɲbɪɾɪckáɪ.i]

EV 1 ngu-w-iritjga-yi [ŋuɪɾɪckáɪ.i]

to lose (tr)

PP III<1 m-a-lija-gi [màlɪjági], IV<1 Ø-ng-ulija-gi [ŋùlɪjági], III<2M m-iny-ulija-gi [mɪɲùlɪjági], 3M>II ulija-gi [ùlɪjági], III<2A m-anga-lija-gi [maŋàlɪjági]

to make

PP 3I<1 w-a-rlarla-ng [wáa|aŋ], II<1 l-a-rlarla-ng [láa|aŋ], III<1 m-a-rlarla-ng [máa|aŋ], 3I<2M w-iny-arlarla-ng [wɪɲáa|aŋ], II<2M l-iny-arlarla-ng [lɪɲáa|aŋ], III<2M m-iny-arlarla-ng [mɪɲáa|aŋ], II<3 l-i-rlarla-ng [lɪa|aŋ], III<3 b-i-rlarla-ng [bɪa|aŋ], 3I<1A w-a-rlarla-ng [wáa|aŋ], III<1A m-a-rlarla-ng [máa|aŋ], IV<1A Ø-nga-rlarla-ng [ŋáa|aŋ], III<2A m-anga-rlarla-ng [maŋáa|aŋ], III<3A b-i-rlarla-ng [bɪa|aŋ], IV<3A Ø-i-rlarla-ng [ɪa|aŋ]

PIRR 1M<3 d-Ø-a-rlarla-rri [dàa|ári], 3I<1 w-a-rlarla-rri [wàa|ári], III<1 m-a-rlarla-rri [màa|ári], II<2M m-iny-ba-rlarla-rri [mɪɲbàa|ári], III<1A m-a-y-a-rlarla-rri [maiàa|ári], III<2A m-anga-y-a-rlarla-rri [màŋaiàa|ári]

PR 1M<3 du-Ø-rlarla-yan [dù(a)áian], III<2M m-iny-arlarla-yan [mɪɲà(a)áian], III<3 b-i-rlarla-yan [bì(a)áian], III<1A m-a-rlarla-yan [mà(a)áian], III<1+2A m-aga-rlarla-yan [magà(a)áian], III<3A b-i-rlarla-yan [bì(a)áian]

FU II<1 l-a-rlarla [lá(a)a], III<1 m-a-rlarla [má(a)a], III<2M m-iny-a-rlarla [mɪɲá(a)a], IV<2M Ø-nginy-a-rlarla [ɲɪɲá(a)a], III<1+2M m-im-a-rlarla [mimá(a)a], III<3 m-i-rlarla [mì(a)a], 3M>IV i-w-a-rlarla [iwá(a)a], 3I<1A w-a-rlarla [wá(a)a], III<1A m-a-rlarla [má(a)a], III<2A m-ang-a-rlarla [maɲá(a)a], III<1+2A m-ag-a-rlarla [magá(a)a], IV<1+2A Ø-ag-a-rlarla [agá(a)a]
EV III<2M m-iny-ba-rlarla [mɪɲbá(a)a], III<3A b-i-y-a-rlarla [biá(a)a]
IMP larla [la(a)]

to mount

PP 1A nga-y-innani-ng [ɲàìnnánnɪŋ], 3A i-y-innani-ng [iinnánnɪŋ]

to paddle

PP III<1 m-a-rl-urlkgula-ng [ma(ù)kkuláŋ], III<2M m-iny-irl-urlkgula-ng [mɪɲɪ(ù)kkuláŋ], III<1+2M m-im-irl-urlkgula-ng [mìɪmɪ(ù)kkuláŋ], III<3 b-i-rl-irlkgula-ng [bì(ù)kkuláŋ], III<1A m-a-rl-urlkgula-ng [ma(ù)kkuláŋ], III<2A m-anga-rl-urlkgula-ng [màɲa(ù)kkuláŋ], III<1+2A m-aga-rl-urlkgula-ng [màga(ù)kkuláŋ], III<3A b-i-y-irl-urlkgula-ng [biɪ(ù)kkuláŋ]

PIRR III<1 m-a-w-urlkgula-rrì [mawù(kkulári)], III<3 b-i-w-urlkgula-rrì [biwù(kkulári)]

PI III<3 b-i-rl-urlkgula-rrì [bì(ù)kkulári]

PR III<2M m-iny-irl-urlkgula-yan [mɪɲɪ(ù)kkuláian], III<1A m-a-y-irl-urlkgula-yan [màɪɪ(ù)kkuláian], III<2A m-anga-rl-urlkgula-yan [màɲa(ù)kkuláian]

FU III<1 m-a-n-urlkgali [manù(kkali)], III<2M m-iny-in-urlkgali [mɪɲɪnù(kkali)], III<1+2M m-im-in-urlkgali [mìɪmɪnù(kkali)], III<3 m-i-n-urlkgali [mɪnù(kkali)], III<1A m-a-y-in-urlkgali [màɪɪnù(kkali)], III<2A m-anga-n-urlkgali [màɲanù(kkali)], III<3A b-i-y-i-nurlkgali [biɪnù(kkali)]

EV III<1 m-a-w-urlkgali [mawù(kkali)], III<3 m-i-w-urlkgali [mɪwù(kkali)], III<2A m-anga-rr-w-urlkgali [màɲarwù(kkali)]

to pass

PP 1M<3 du-Ø-muginyba-gi [dumùgɪɲbági], 2M<3 bi-rr-muginyba-gi [bɪrmùgɪɲbági], III<1 m-a-muginyba-gi [mamùgɪɲbági], IV<1 Ø-nga-muginyba-gi [ɲamùgɪɲbági], 3>3I i-rr-muginyba-gi [ɪrmùgɪɲbági], IV<3 Ø-i-rr-muginyba-gi [ɪrmùgɪɲbági]

FU 3>3I i-y-in-muginyba-yuk [iɪnmùgɪɲbáɪuk]

to pick up

FU 1M<3 d-Ø-in-mildiyu-k [dɪnmíldiuk], 3I<1 w-a-n-mildiyu-k [wanmíldiuk], 3I<2M w-iny-in-mildiyu-k [wɪɲɪnmíldiuk]

to play

PIRR 1 ngu-w-iyulkga-rrì [ɲùɪulkkári], 2M nginy-b-iyulkga-rrì [ɲɪɲbiulkkári], 3I u-w-iyulkga-rrì [ùɪulkkári], 1A nga-y-iyulkga-rrì [ɲaiɪulkkári], 1+2A ga-y-iyulkga-rrì [gaiɪulkkári], 3A i-y-iyulkga-rrì [iɪulkkári]

PI 1 ng-iyulkga-rrì [ɲiulkkári], 2M nginy-biyulkga-rrì [ɲɪɲbiulkkári], 1+2M m-iyulkga-rrì [mɪiulkkári], 3I w-iyulkga-rrì [wɪiulkkári], 1A nga-y-iyulkga-rrì [ɲaiɪiulkkári], 2A a-y-iyulkga-rrì [aiiulkkári], 3A i-y-iyulkga-rrì [iɪiulkkári]

PR 1 ng-iyulkga-m [ɲiulkkam], 2M nginy-biyulkga-m [ɲɪɲbiulkkam], 3I w-iyulkga-m [wɪiulkkam], 1A nga-y-iyulkga-m [ɲaiɪulkkam], 2A a-y-iyulkga-m [aiiulkkam], 3A i-y-iyulkga-m [iɪiulkkam]

FU 1 nga-n-biyalkgi [nànbialkki], 2M n-in-biyalkgi [nìnbialkki], 1+2M m-in-biyalkgi [mìnbialkki], 3I w-in-biyalkgi [wìnbialkki], 1A nga-y-in-biyalkgi [njàinbialkki], 2A a-y-in-biyalkgi [àinbialkki], 1+2A ga-y-in-biyalkgi [gàinbialkki], 3A i-y-in-biyalkgi [iìnbialkki]

to pull/take out

PP 2M<3 bi-y-idla-ng [biídlaŋ], 3ME>2A a-y-idla-ng [aiídlaŋ], II<1 l-a-ngadla-ng [laŋádlaŋ], III<1 m-a-ngadla-ng [maŋádlaŋ], II<2M l-iny-idla-ng [lɪɲídlaŋ], III<2M m-iny-idla-ng [mɪɲídlaŋ], 3M>IV u-w-adla-ng [uádlaŋ], 3I<1A w-a-y-idla-ng [waiídlaŋ], II<1A l-a-y-idla-ng [laiídlaŋ], III<1A m-a-y-idla-ng [maiídlaŋ], II<2A l-anga-y-idla-ng [lànjaíídlaŋ], III<2A m-anga-y-idla-ng [mànjaíídlaŋ], III<1+2A m-aga-y-idla-ng [màgaíídlaŋ], II<3A l-i-y-idla-ng [liídlaŋ]

PIRR II<1 l-a-w-aldaga-rrì [lawàldagári], II<2M l-iny-b-aldaga-rrì [lɪɲbàldagári], II<1A l-a-rr-w-aldaga-rrì [larwàldagári], IV<1A Ø-nga-rr-w-aldaga-rrì [ŋarwàldagári], II<3A l-i-rr-w-aldaga-rrì [lɪrrwàldagári]

FU II<1 l-a-n-idlagi [lànrídlági], II<2M l-iny-in-idlagi [lɪɲɪnrídlági], III<2M m-iny-in-idlagi [mɪɲɪnrídlági], II<3 l-iw-in-idlagi [lɪwɪnrídlági], II<1A l-a-y-in-idlagi [làinrídlági], II<2A l-anga-n-idlagi [làŋanrídlági], IV<1+2A Ø-aga-n-idlagi [àŋanrídlági], II<3A l-i-y-in-idlagi [lɪinrídlági]

IMP idlagi [ídlági]

to push

PP 1M<3 du-Ø-mala-ng [dumálan], 2M<3 bi-rr-mala-ng [birmálan], III<1 m-a-mala-ng [mamálan] 3I<2M w-iny-mala-ng [wɪɲmálan], III<2M m-iny-mala-ng [mɪɲmálan], III<3 b-i-mala-ng [bimálan], III<1A m-a-rr-mala-ng [marmálan], III<2A m-anga-rr-mala-ng [mànŋarmálan], III<3A b-i-rr-mala-ng [birmálan]

PIRR 1M<3 d-Ø-a-malaga-rrì [damàlagári], III<1 m-a-malaga-rrì [mamàlagári], III<2M m-iny-ba-malaga-rrì [mɪɲbamàlagári], III<1A m-a-y-a-malaga-rrì [màiamàlagári]

PI 1M<3 du-Ø-ma-malaga-rrì [dùmamàlagári], 2M<3 bi-rr-ma-malaga-rrì [birmamàlagári], III<3 b-i-ma-malaga-rrì [bimamàlagári]

PR 1M<3 du-Ø-ma-malaga-yan [dùmamàlagáian], 2M<3 bi-rr-ma-malaga-yan [birmamàlagáian], III<3 m-i-ma-malaga-yan [mìmamàlagáian]

FU 1M<3 d-Ø-in-malagi [dɪnmálagi], 2M<3 bi-y-in-malagi [bìnmálagi], 3I<1 w-a-n-malagi [wanmálagi], III<1 m-a-n-malagi [manmálagi], 3I<2M w-iny-in-malagi [wɪɲɪnmálagi], III<2M m-iny-in-malagi [mɪɲɪnmálagi], III<3 b-i-n-malagi [bɪnmálagi], III<1A m-a-y-in-malagi [màinmálagi], III<2A m-anga-n-malagi [mànŋanmálagi]

EV III<1 m-a-malagi [mamálagi], III<1A m-a-y-a-malagi [màiamálagi]

IMP malagi [málagi]

to put

PP III<1 li-ng-i-gi [lɪŋígí], IV<1 Ø-ng-i-gi [ŋígí], II<2M l-iny-i-gi [lɪɲígí], III<2M m-iny-i-gi [mɪɲígí], IV<2M Ø-nginy-i-gi [ŋɪɲígí], 3M>II i-lw-i-gi [lɪwígí], III<3 m-i-wi-gi [mɪwígí], 3I<1A w-a-y-i-gi [waiígí], II<1A l-a-y-i-gi [laiígí], IV<1A Ø-nga-y-i-gi [ŋaiígí], II<2A l-anga-y-i-gi [lànjaíígí], III<2A m-anga-y-i-gi [mànjaíígí], IV<2A Ø-anga-y-i-gi [ànjaíígí], III<3A b-i-y-i-gi [biígí], IV<3A Ø-i-y-i-gi [iígí]

PI III<1 m-a-ngiwi-ngi [mànŋwínj]

PR III<1 m-a-ngiwi-ngan [mànŋwínŋan]

FU III<I m-a-n-i-yu-k [manîuk], III<2M m-iny-in-i-yu-k [mîɲɪnîuk], III<3 m-i-n-i-yu-k [mîɲîuk],
 III<3A b-i-y-in-i-yu-k [biɲîuk]
IMP jiyuk [jiuk]

to put in

PP II<I l-i-ngirlirli-ny [lɪŋɪɫɪɲ], III<I m-i-ngirlirli-ny [mɪŋɪɫɪɲ], IV<I Ø-ŋi-ngirlirli-ny
 [ŋɪŋɪɫɪɲ], II<2M l-iny-irlirli-ny [lɪɲɪɫɪɲ], III<2M m-iny-irlirli-ny [mɪɲɪɫɪɲ], 3M>II i-lw-irlirli-ny
 [ɪlwɪɫɪɲ], III<3 b-i-rlirli-ny [biɫɪɲ], IV<3A Ø-i-y-irlirli-ny [iɪɫɪɲ]
PIRR 3M>II il-w-irlirli-ri [ɪlwɪɫɪɾi]
FU m-a-n-yirlirli [mànɪɫɪɪ], II<I l-a-n-yirlirli [mànɪɫɪɪ], III<2A m-anga-n-yirlirli [màɲanɪɫɪɪ]

to run

PP 1 nga-mildiya-ny [ŋamɪɫdiaɲ], 2M nginy-mildiya-ny [ŋɪɲmɪɫdiaɲ], 3I i-mildiya-ny [ɪmɪɫdiaɲ],
 1A nga-rr-mildiya-ny [ŋarmɪɫdiaɲ], 2A a-rr-mildiya-ny [armɪɫdiaɲ]
PI 1 nga-mildiya-yingi [ŋamɪɫdiáɲɪ], 2M nginy-mildiya-yingi [ŋɪɲmɪɫdiáɲɪ]
FU 1A nga-y-in-milayi [ŋàɪɲmɪlai.i], 3A i-y-in-milayi [ɪɲmɪlai.i]

to run around

PI 3I w-ayangiji-ri [waiàŋɪɟɪɾi], 1A nga-y-ingangiji-ri [ŋàɪɲàŋɪɟɪɾi], 3A i-y-ingangiji-ri
 [ɪɲàŋɪɟɪɾi]
PR 3I w-ayangiji-yam [waiàŋɪɟɪam], 2A a-y-ingangiji-yam [àɪɲàŋɪɟɪam], 3A i-y-ingangiji-yam
 [ɪɲàŋɪɟɪam]
FU 2A a-y-in-angangaju-k [àɪɲanàŋaɟuk], 3A i-y-in-angangaju-k [ɪɲanàŋaɟuk]

to scratch

PP 1 ng-ambirrunga-ny [ŋambɪrwɔŋaɲ], 2M nginy-ambirrunga-ny [ŋɪɲambɪrwɔŋaɲ], 1+2M
 m-ambirrunga-ny [mambɪrwɔŋaɲ], II il-ambirrunga-ny [ɪɫambɪrwɔŋaɲ]
PIRR 3I u-w-ambirrunga-ri [ùambɪrwɔŋáɾi], II il-w-ambirrunga-ri [ɪɫwambɪrwɔŋáɾi], 3A
 i-rr-w-ambirrunga-ri [ɪrwambɪrwɔŋáɾi]
PI 3I w-am-ambirrunga-ri [wàmambɪrwɔŋáɾi], 1A nga-y-im-ambirrunga-ri
 [ɲàɪɲambɪrwɔŋáɾi], 2A a-y-im-ambirrunga-ri [àɪɲambɪrwɔŋáɾi], 3A i-y-im-ambirrunga-ri
 [ɪɲambɪrwɔŋáɾi]
PR 1 nga-m-ambirrunga-yan [ŋàmambɪrwɔŋáɪan], 2M nginy-im-ambirrunga-yan
 [ŋɪɲɲàmambɪrwɔŋáɪan], 3I w-am-ambirrunga-yan [wàmambɪrwɔŋáɪan], 2A
 a-y-im-ambirrunga-yan [àɪɲàmambɪrwɔŋáɪan]
FU 1 nga-n-imbirrunga-yi [ɲànimbɪrwɔŋáɪ.i], 3I w-in-imbirrunga-yi [wɪɲimbɪrwɔŋáɪ.i], 1A
 nga-y-in-imbirrunga-yi [ɲàɪɲimbɪrwɔŋáɪ.i]

to see

PP IM<3 di-Ø-na-gi [dɪnági], 2M<3 bi-yi-na-gi [biɲnági], 1+2M<3 m-i-na-gi [mɪɲnági], 1A<3
 nga-yi-na-gi [ŋàɪɲnági], 2A<3 a-yi-na-gi [àɪɲnági], 1+2A<3 ga-yi-na-gi [gàɪɲnági], 3I<1 w-a-na-gi
 [wanági], II<1 l-a-na-gi [lanági], III<1 m-a-na-gi [manági], IV<1 Ø-nga-na-gi [ŋanági], 3I<2M
 w-iny-a-gi [wɪɲnági], II<2M l-iny-a-gi [lɪɲnági], III<2M m-iny-a-gi [mɪɲnági], IV<2M Ø-nginy-a-gi
 [ŋɪɲnági], 3I<1+2M w-im-i-na-gi [wɪmɪɲnági], II<1+2M l-im-i-na-gi [ɪmɪɲnági], III<1+2M
 m-im-i-na-gi [mɪmɪɲnági], 3>3I i-yi-na-gi [iɲnági], II<3 l-i-na-gi [lɪnági], III<3 b-i-na-gi [biɲnági],
 3M>IV Ø-i-yi-na-gi [iɲnági], 3I<1A w-a-na-gi [wanági], 3I<1A w-a-yi-n-agi [wàɪɲnági], II<1A
 l-a-yi-na-gi [làɪɲnági], 3I<2A w-anga-na-gi [wàɲanági], II<2A l-anga-na-gi [làɲanági], III<2A

m-anga-na-gi [màŋanági], IV<2A Ø-anga-na-gi [àŋanági], 3I<1+2A w-aga-na-gi [wàŋanági], II<1+2A l-aga-na-gi [làŋanági], III<1+2A m-aga-na-gi [màŋanági], 3AN>3I i-yi-na-gi [iŋnági], II<3A l-i-yi-na-gi [liŋnági], III<3A b-i-yi-na-gi [biŋnági]

PIRR 1M<3 d-Ø-a-na-ni [danáni], 2M<3 bi-y-a-na-ni [bianáni], 2A<3 a-y-a-na-ni [aianáni], 1+2A<3 ga-y-a-na-ni [gàianáni], 3I<1 w-a-na-ni [wanáni], II<1 l-a-na-ni [lanáni], III<1 m-a-na-ni [manáni], IV<1 Ø-nga-na-ni [ŋanáni], 3I<2M w-iny-ba-na-ni [wɪŋbanáni], II<2M l-iny-ba-na-ni [liŋbanáni], III<2M m-iny-ba-na-ni [mɪŋbanáni], 3I<1+2M w-im-a-na-ni [wìmanáni], II<1+2M l-im-a-na-ni [lɪmanáni], III<1+2M m-im-a-na-ni [mìmanáni], 3>3I i-y-a-na-ni [ianáni], 3M>II i-l-a-na-ni [ilanáni], III<3 m-i-na-ni [mɪnáni], II<1A l-a-y-a-na-ni [làianáni], 3I<2A w-anga-y-a-na-ni [wàŋaianáni], III<2A m-anga-y-a-na-ni [màŋaianáni], 3I<1+2A w-aga-y-a-na-ni [wàŋaianáni], II<1+2A l-aga-y-a-na-ni [làŋaianáni], II<3A l-i-y-a-na-ni [lianáni]

PI 1M<3 du-Ø-li-liwi-ri [dùlɪlɪwɪri], 3I<1 w-a-liliwi-ri [wàlɪlɪwɪri]

PR 1M<3 du-Ø-li-liwi-yan [dùlɪlɪwɪyan], 2M<3 bi-yi-li-liwi-yan [biɪlɪlɪwɪyan], 1+2M<3 m-ini-li-liwi-yan [mɪnɪlɪlɪwɪyan], 1+2A<3 ga-yi-li-liwi-yan [gàɪlɪlɪwɪyan], 3I<1 w-a-li-liwi-yan [wàlɪlɪwɪyan], II<1 l-a-li-liwi-yan [làlɪlɪwɪyan], 3I<2M wi-nyi-li-liwi-yan [wɪɲɪlɪlɪwɪyan], 3>3I i-yi-li-liwi-yan [iɪlɪlɪwɪyan]

FU 2M<1 n-a-n-i [náni], 1M<3 d-Ø-a-ni [dáni], 2M<3 bi-y-a-ni [biáni], 1+2M<3 m-in-a-ni [mɪnáni], 1A<3 nga-y-a-ni [ŋaiáni], 2A<3 a-y-a-ni [aiáni], 3I<1 w-a-ni [wáni], II<1 l-a-ni [láni], III<1 m-a-ni [máni], 3I<2M w-iny-a-ni [wɪɲáni], III<2M m-iny-a-ni [mɪɲáni], 3I<1+2M w-um-a-ni [wumáni], II<1+2M l-im-a-ni [lɪmáni], 3>3I i-y-a-ni [iáni], 3I<1A w-a-y-a-ni [waiáni], Ø-aga-ya-ni [àŋaiáni]

EV 1M<3 du-Ø-wa-ni [duáni], 3I<1 w-a-wa-ni [wawáni], 3I<2M w-iny-ba-ni [wɪɲbáni], IV<2M Ø-nginy-ba-ni [ŋɪɲbáni], II<1+2M l-imu-wa-ni [lɪmuáni], 3M>IV Ø-u-wa-ni [uáni], 3I<1A w-a-y-a-ni [waiáni]

IMP na-gi [nági]

to see (detr)

PP 1 nga-liwi-ny [ŋalɪwɪɲ], 3I i-liwi-ny [ɪlɪwɪɲ], 3A i-yi-liwi-ny [iɪlɪwɪɲ]

PI 2A a-yi-liwi-ri [àɪlɪwɪri], 1+2A ga-yi-liwi-ri [gàɪlɪwɪri]

PR 1+2M mi-liwi-yan [mɪlɪwɪyan], 3I i-liwi-yan [ɪlɪwɪyan], 2A a-yi-liwi-yan [àɪlɪwɪyan], 3A i-yi-liwi-yan [iɪlɪwɪyan]

FU 1 nga-liwi-yi [ŋalɪwi.i], 2M n-i-liwi-yi [nɪlɪwi.i], 3I w-i-liwi-yi [wɪlɪwi.i], 2A a-y-i-liwi-yi [àɪlɪwi.i], 1+2A ga-y-i-liwi-yi [gàɪlɪwi.i], 3A i-y-i-liwi-yi [iɪlɪwi.i]

to send

PP 3M>II i-l-yiwi-g-iji [ɪlɪwɪgɪji], 3<3 i-y-iwi-g-iji [iɪwɪgɪji]

to show

PP 1M<3 d-Ø-atjga-gi [dáickagi], 2M<3 bi-y-atjga-gi [biáickagi], 3I<1 w-a-ngatjga-gi [wàŋáickagi], 3I<2M w-iny-atjga-gi [wɪɲáickagi], 3>3I i-y-atjga-gi [iáickagi], 3I<2A w-anga-y-atjga-gi [wàŋaiáickagi]

PIRR 3>3I u-w-atjga-ngi [uáickanɪ], 3I<1 w-a-w-atjga-ngi [wawáickanɪ], 3I<2M w-iny-b-atjga-ngi [wɪɲbáickanɪ], 3I<1A w-a-y-atjga-ngi [waiáickanɪ]

PI 1M<3 d-Ø-atjg-atjga-ngi [dàickaickánɪ]

PR 3>3I i-y-atjg-atjga-ngan [iàickaickánan]

FU 1M<3 d-Ø-in-itjgu-k [dɪnɪckuk], 2M<3 bi-y-in-itjgu-k [bɪnɪckuk], 3I<1 w-a-n-itjgu-k [wɪnɪckuk], 3I<2M w-iny-in-itjgu-k [wɪnɪnɪckuk], 3I<1+2M wi-m-in-itjgu-k [wɪmɪnɪckuk], 3I<2A w-anga-n-itjgu-k [wɪŋanɪckuk]
EV 1M<3 du-Ø-w-itjgu-k [dɪckuk]

to sing

PP 1 ng-iga-ny [ŋɪgɪn], 2M nginy-iga-ny [ŋɪnɪgɪn], 3I w-iga-ny [wɪgɪn], 2A a-juga-ny [aʃɪgɪn], 3A i-juga-ny [iʃɪgɪn]

PIRR 1 ngu-w-igi-rrɪ [ŋùɪgɪrɪ], 3I u-w-igi-rrɪ [ùɪgɪrɪ], 3A i-rr-w-igi-rrɪ [ɪrɪwɪgɪrɪ]

PI 3I w-i-j-ijugi-rrɪ [wɪʃɪjɪgɪrɪ]

PR 2M nginy-uga-yam [ŋɪnɪgɪám], 2A a-j-ijuga-yam [aʃɪjɪgɪám], 3A i-j-ijuga-yam [iʃɪjɪgɪám]

FU 1 nga-n-yuga-yi [ŋànjugái.i], 2M n-in-yuga-yi [nɪnjugái.i], 1+2M m-in-yuga-yi [mɪnjugái.i], 3I w-in-yuga-yi [wɪnjugái.i], 2A a-y-in-yuga-yi [àɪnjugái.i], 3A i-y-in-yuga-yi [ɪnjugái.i]

EV 1A nga-rr-w-iga-yi [ŋàrɪwɪgái.i]

to sit, to stay

PIRR IV<1 Ø-ngi-mimi-rrɪ [ŋɪmɪmɪrɪ]

PI IV<1 Ø-ngi-mimi-yayi [ŋɪmɪmɪái.i], IV<2M Ø-nginy-mimi-yayi [ŋɪnɪmɪmɪái.i], IV<1+2M Ø-imi-mimi-yayi [ɪmɪmɪmɪái.i], IV<3I Ø-i-mimi-yayi [ɪmɪmɪái.i], IV<1A Ø-nga-rr-mimi-yayi [ŋarmɪmɪái.i], IV<2A Ø-anga-rr-mimi-yayi [àŋarmɪmɪái.i], IV<1+2A Ø-aga-rr-mimi-yayi [àgarmɪmɪái.i], IV<3A Ø-i-rr-mimi-yayi [ɪrmɪmɪái.i]

PR IV<1 Ø-ngi-mima-n [ŋɪmɪman], IV<2M Ø-nginy-mima-n [ŋɪnɪmɪman], IV<1+2M Ø-imi-mima-n [ɪmɪmɪman], IV<3I Ø-i-mima-n [ɪmɪman], IV<1A Ø-nga-rr-mima-n [ŋarmɪman], IV<2A Ø-anga-rr-mima-n [àŋarmɪman], IV<1+2A Ø-aga-rr-mima-n [àgarmɪman], IV<3A Ø-i-rr-mima-n [ɪrmɪman]

FU IV<1M Ø-nga-n-mimi-ya [ŋanmímia], IV<2M Ø-nginy-in-mimi-ya [ŋɪnɪnmímia], IV<1+2M Ø-im-in-mimi-ya [ɪmɪnmímia], IV<1+2A Ø-aga-n-mimi-ya [àganmímia]

to sit (down), to stop

PP IV<1M Ø-ngu-lakbu-ng [ŋulákpuŋ], IV<2M Ø-nginy-akbu-ng [ŋɪnákpuŋ], IV<1+2M Ø-imi-lakbu-ng [ɪmɪlákpuŋ], IV<3I Ø-i-lakbu-ng [ɪlákpuŋ], IV<II Ø-i-lakbu-ng [ɪlákpuŋ], IV<2A Ø-anga-lakbu-ng [àŋalákpuŋ], IV<1+2A Ø-aga-lakbu-ng [àgalákpuŋ], IV<3A Ø-i-lakbu-ng [ɪlákpuŋ]

PIRR IV<1M Ø-ngu-wa-lukbi-rrɪ [ŋùalúkprɪ], IV<2M Ø-nginy-ba-lukbi-rrɪ [ŋɪnbálúkprɪ], 1+2M>IV Ø-im-a-lukbi-rrɪ [ɪmalúkprɪ], IV<3I Ø-a-lukbi-rrɪ [alúkprɪ], IV<1A Ø-nga-y-a-lukbi-rrɪ [ŋàalúkprɪ], IV<2A Ø-anga-lukbi-rrɪ [àŋalúkprɪ], IV<1+2A Ø-aga-y-a-lukbi-rrɪ [àgalúkprɪ], IV<3A Ø-i-y-a-lukbi-rrɪ [ɪalúkprɪ]

PI IV<2A Ø-anga-lukbi-rrɪ [àŋalúkprɪ]

FU IV<1M Ø-nga-lakbi [ŋalákpi], IV<2M Ø-nginy-i-lakbi [ŋɪnɪlákpi], IV<1+2M Ø-im-i-lakbi [ɪmɪlákpi], 3M>IV i-w-a-lakbi [ɪwalákpi], IV<1A Ø-nga-y-i-lakbi [ŋàɪlákpi], IV<2A Ø-anga-lakbi [àŋalákpi], IV<1+2A Ø-aga-lakbi [àgalákpi], IV<3A Ø-i-y-i-lakbi [ɪlákpi]

EV IV<2M Ø-nginy-ba-lakbi [ŋɪnbálákpi], IV<3I Ø-i-wa-lakbi [ɪwalákpi], IV<2A Ø-anga-y-a-lakbi [àŋaɪalákpi], IV<1+2A Ø-aga-y-a-lakbi [àgaɪalákpi], IV<3A Ø-i-y-a-lakbi [ɪalákpi]

IMP lakbi [lákpi]

to smell

PP II<1 l-a-nyukbi-ny [lájukpiɲ], III<1 m-a-nyukbi-ny [májukpiɲ], II<2M l-iny-ukbi-ny [lájukpiɲ], III<2M m-iny-ukbi-ny [májukpiɲ], 3M>II i-l-inyukbi-ny [lájukpiɲ]

PIRR 3M>II i-l-w-anyukba-rrɪ [ɪlwájukpári]

PR 3M>II i-l-iny-inyukba-m [ɪlɪájukpam]

FU II<1 l-a-n-inyukbi [lanájukpi]

to spear

PP II<1 l-a-la-m [lálam], II<2M l-ily-a-m [lílam], II<1+2M l-imi-wila-m [límɪwílam], 3M>II i-l-wila-m [ɪlwílam], II<1 A l-a-rr-wila-m [larwílam], II<2A l-anga-wila-m [làŋawílam], II< 3A l-i-rr-wila-m [lɪrwílam]

PIRR II<3 i-l-w-ila-rrɪ [ɪlwílarɪ], II<3A l-i-rr-w-ila-rrɪ [lɪrwílarɪ]

PI 3M>II i-lw-ikgula-rrɪ [ɪlwíkkuláɪɪ], II<1A l-a-y-ikgula-rrɪ [laíkkuláɪɪ], 3<3A i-yi-ukgula-rrɪ [ɪjɪkkuláɪɪ]

PR 1A<3 nga-yi-jukgula-yan [ŋàɪjɪkkuláɪan], II<2M l-iny-ikgula-yan [lɪɲɪkkuláɪan], 3M>II i-lw-ikgula-yan [ɪlwíkkuláɪan]

FU 3I<1 w-a-li [wáli], II<1 l-a-li [láli], 3I<2M w-iny-a-li [wɪɲáli], II<3 l-uw-a-li [luáli], II<1A l-a-y-a-li [laíáli], II<2A l-anga-y-a-li [làŋaíáli], II< 3A l-i-y-a-li [líáli]

EV II<3 l-u-wa-li [luáli], II< 3A l-i-rr-wa-li [lɪrwáli]

to spill (intr)

PP IV u-muguli-ny [umúguliɲ]

to spill (tr)

PP IV<2M Ø-nginy-mugula-gi [ŋɪɲmùgúláɪɪ], 3M>IV Ø-u-mugula-gi [umùgúláɪɪ]

FU IV<2A Ø-anga-n-mugali [àŋanmùgáli]

to stand

PIRR 1 ngu-w-annugi-rrɪ [ŋuànnugíɪɪ], 1+2M mu-w-annugi-rrɪ [muànnugíɪɪ], 3A i-rr-w-annugi-rrɪ [ɪrwànnugíɪɪ]

PI 1 nga-nnugi-rrɪ [ŋànnugíɪɪ], 2M nginy-binnugi-rrɪ [ŋɪɲbìnnugíɪɪ], 1+2M m-annugi-rrɪ [mànnugíɪɪ], 3I w-annugi-rrɪ [wànnugíɪɪ], III m-annugi-rrɪ [mànnugíɪɪ], 1A nga-y-innugi-rrɪ [ŋaínnugíɪɪ], 1+2A ga-y-innugi-rrɪ [gaínnugíɪɪ], 3A i-y-innugi-rrɪ [ìnnugíɪɪ]

PR 1 nga-nnuga-yam [ŋànnugáɪam], 2M nginy-binnuga-yam [ŋɪɲbìnnugáɪam], 1+2M m-annuga-yam [mànnugáɪam], 3I w-annuga-yam [wànnugáɪam], II il-innuga-yam [ɪlìnnugáɪam], III m-annuga-yam [mànnugáɪam], IV Ø-annuga-yam [ànnugáɪam], 1A nga-y-innuga-yam [ŋaínnugáɪam], 1+2A ga-y-innuga-yam [gaínnugáɪam], 3A i-y-innuga-yam [ìnnugáɪam]

FU 1 nga-n-binnuga-yi [ŋanbìnnugáɪ.i], 2M n-in-binnuga-yi [nɪnbìnnugáɪ.i], 1+2M m-in-binnuga-yi [mɪnbìnnugáɪ.i], III m-in-binnuga-yi [mɪnbìnnugáɪ.i], 1A nga-y-in-binnuga-yi [ŋaínbìnnugáɪ.i], 3A i-y-in-binnuga-yi [ìnbìnnugáɪ.i]

EV 1+2M mu-w-annuga-yi [muànnugáɪ.i], 3A i-rr-w-annuga-yi [ɪrwànnugáɪ.i]

IMP jangi [janɪ]

to stretch

PP 1 ng-irritjba-ny [ŋíricpaiɲ], 2M nginy-birritjba-ny [ŋɪɲbíricpaiɲ], 3I w-irritjba-ny [wíricpaiɲ]

PIRR 1 ngu-w-irritjbi-rrɪ [ŋuìricpári]

FU 1 nga-n-birritjba-yi [ŋanbíricpái.i], 2M n-in-birritjba-yi [nɪnbíricpái.i]

to stretch leg

PP ngu-mulungbinyma-ny [ɲumʉlʉŋbɪŋmaɪŋ]

to strike

PP 1M<3 d-Ø-ungula-ng [dʉŋʉlɑŋ], 2M<3 bi-y-ungula-ng [biʉŋʉlɑŋ], III<1 m-a-ngila-ng [mɑŋʉlɑŋ], 3I<2M w-iny-bungula-ng [wɪŋbʉŋʉlɑŋ], III<2M m-iny-bungula-ng [wɪŋbʉŋʉlɑŋ], 3>3I i-y-ungula-ng [iʉŋʉlɑŋ], 3M>II i-l-ungula-ng [ɪlʉŋʉlɑŋ], III<3 b-i-yungula-ng [biʉŋʉlɑŋ]

PIRR 1M<3 d-Ø-ungula-rrɪ [dʉŋʉlɑɾɪ], 3I<2M w-iny-b-ungula-rrɪ [wɪŋbʉŋʉlɑɾɪ], II<1 A l-a-y-ungula-rrɪ [laiʉŋʉlɑɾɪ], III<1 A m-a-y-ungula-rrɪ [maiʉŋʉlɑɾɪ]

PI III<1 m-a-ngula-rrɪ [mɑŋʉlɑɾɪ], III<3 b-i-yungula-rrɪ [biʉŋʉlɑɾɪ], III<2A m-anga-y-ungula-rrɪ [mɑŋaiʉŋʉlɑɾɪ], 3I<3 i-y-ung-ungula-rrɪ [iʉŋʉŋʉlɑɾɪ], III<3A b-i-y-ungula-rrɪ [biʉŋʉlɑɾɪ]

PR 1M<3 d-Ø-ung-ungula-yan [dʉŋʉŋʉlɑiaŋ], 2M<3 bi-y-ung-ungula-yan [biʉŋʉŋʉlɑiaŋ], 1+2A<3 ga-y-ungula-yan [gɑiʉŋʉlɑiaŋ], 3A>3I i-y-ung-ungula-yan [iʉŋʉŋʉlɑiaŋ], III<3 b-i-yungula-yan [biʉŋʉŋʉlɑiaŋ]

FU 1M<3 d-Ø-in-bunguli [dɪŋbʉŋʉli], 3I<1 w-a-n-bunguli [wanbʉŋʉli], III<1 m-a-n-bunguli [manbʉŋʉli], 3I<2M w-iny-in-bunguli [wɪŋɪŋbʉŋʉli], III<2M m-iny-in-bunguli [mɪŋɪŋbʉŋʉli], III<1+2M m-im-in-bunguli [mɪmɪŋbʉŋʉli], III<3 b-i-n-bunguli [bɪŋbʉŋʉli], III<2A m-anga-n-bunguli [mɑŋanbʉŋʉli], III<3A b-i-y-in-bunguli [biŋbʉŋʉli]

to swim

PP 1 ng-igu-gi [ŋɪgʉgi], 2M nginy-igu-gi [ŋɪŋɪgʉgi], 1+2M m-igu-gi [mɪgʉgi], 3I w-igu-gi [wɪgʉgi], II il-yigu-gi [ɪɪgʉgi], III m-igu-gi [mɪgʉgi], IV Ø-igu-gi [ɪgʉgi], I A nga-jigu-gi [ŋɑŋɪgʉgi], 2A a-jigu-gi [ɑŋɪgʉgi], 3A i-jigu-gi [ɪŋɪgʉgi]

PIRR 1 ngu-w-igu-ngi [ŋʉwɪgʉŋɪ], 2M nginy-b-igu-ngi [ŋɪŋbɪgʉŋɪ], I A nga-rr-w-igu-ngi [ŋɑŋwɪgʉŋɪ]

PI 1 nga-jigi-jigu-ngi [ŋɑŋɪgɪŋɪgʉŋɪ], 2A a-jigi-jigu-ngi [ɑŋɪgɪŋɪgʉŋɪ], 3A i-jigi-jigu-ngi [ɪŋɪgɪŋɪgʉŋɪ]

PR 2M nginy-igi-jigu-ngan [ŋɪŋɪgɪŋɪgʉŋɑŋ], 3I w-igi-jigu-ngan [wɪgɪŋɪgʉŋɑŋ], IV Ø-igu-ngan [ɪgʉŋɑŋ], I A nga-jigi-jigu-ngan [ŋɑŋɪgɪŋɪgʉŋɑŋ], 2A a-jigu-ngan [ɑŋɪgʉŋɑŋ], 3A i-jigi-jigu-ngan [ɪŋɪgɪŋɪgʉŋɪ]

FU 1 nga-n-yugu-k [ŋánjugʉk], 2M n-in-yugu-k [nínjugʉk], 1+2M m-in-yugu-k [mínjugʉk], 3I w-in-yugu-k [wínjugʉk], I A nga-y-in-yugu-k [ŋàɪnjugʉk], 2A a-y-in-yugu-k [àɪnjugʉk], 1+2A ga-y-in-yugu-k [gàɪnjugʉk], 3A i-y-in-yugu-k [ɪnjugʉk]

EV 1 ngu-w-igu-k [ŋɪwɪgʉk], 2M nginy-b-igu-k [ŋɪŋbɪgʉk]

IMP jugʉk [jugʉk]

to swim

PI 2M nginy-ijiyungma-rrɪ [ŋɪŋɪjɪjʉŋmaɾɪ], 3A i-jiy-ijiyungma-rrɪ [ɪjɪjɪjʉŋmaɾɪ]

to take all the time

PI 3M>II i-l-ikgaykgija-ngi [ɪlɪkkɑikɪjɑŋɪ], IV<1 A Ø-nga-y-ikgaykgija-ngi [ŋàɪlɪkkɑikɪjɑŋɪ]

to talk

PP 1+2A ga-julukgʉlpba-gi [gaʉʉlʉkkʉlppagi]

PIRR 1 A nga-rr-w-ulukgʉlpbi-rrɪ [ŋarwʉʉlʉkkʉlppɪɾɪ]

PI 1 nga-lukgʉlpbi-rrɪ [ŋàlʉkkʉlppɪɾɪ], 2M nginy-ilukgʉlpbi-rrɪ [ŋɪŋɪlʉkkʉlppɪɾɪ], 1+2M m-ulukgʉlpbi-rrɪ [mʉʉlʉkkʉlppɪɾɪ], I A nga-julukgʉlpbi-rrɪ [ŋaʉʉlʉkkʉlppɪɾɪ], 2A a-julukgʉlpbi-rrɪ [aʉʉlʉkkʉlppɪɾɪ], 3A i-julukgʉlpbi-rrɪ [ɪʉʉlʉkkʉlppɪɾɪ]

PR 1 nga-lukgulpba-yam [ɲàlukkúlppaiam], 2M nginy-ilukgulpba-yam [ɲɪɲlukkúlppaiam], 1+2M m-ulukgulpba-yam [mùlukkúlppaiam], III w-ulukgulpba-yam [wùlukkúlppaiam], 1 A nga-julukgulpba-yam [ɲaʝùlukkúlppaiam], 2A a-julukgulpba-yam [aʝùlukkúlppaiam], 3A i-julukgulpba-yam [ɪʝùlukkúlppaiam]

FU 2M n-in-yulukgulpba-yi [nɪɲjùlukkúlppai.i], III w-in-yulukgulpba-yi [wɪɲjùlukkúlppai.i], 1 A nga-y-in-yulukgulpba-yi [ɲàɪɲjùlukkúlppai.i], 2A a-y-in-yulukgulpba-yi [àɪɲjùlukkúlppai.i], 1+2A ga-y-in-yulukgulpba-yi [gàɪɲjùlukkúlppai.i]

to talk

PIRR 3A i-rr-w-inyu-ngi [ɪrwɪɲúŋi]

FU 1+2M m-in-inyu-k [mɪɲɪɲuk], 3A i-y-in-inyu-k [ɪɲɪɲuk]

EV 3I u-w-inyu-k [úɲuk], 3A i-rr-w-inyu-k [ɪrwɪɲuk]

to tell

PP 1M<3 di-Ø-mitjba-gi [dɪmícpagi], 1+2A<3 ga-rr-mitjba-gi [garmícpagi], 3I<2M w-iny-mitjba-gi [wɪɲmícpagi], IV<2M Ø-nginy-mitjba-gi [ɲɪɲmícpagi], IV<1A Ø-nga-rr-mitjba-gi [ɲarmícpagi]

PIRR 1M<3 d-Ø-a-mitjba-ngi [damícpani], IV<1 Ø-ng-a-mitjba-ngi [ɲamícpani]

PI 1M<3 di-Ø-mitjba-ngi [dɪmícpani], IV<3A Ø-i-rr-mitjba-ngi [ɪrmícpani]

PR IV<2M Ø-nginy-mitjba-ngan [ɲɪɲmícpanan], IV<3 Ø-i-mitjba-ngan [ɪmícpanan], IV<1A Ø-nga-rr-mitjba-ngan [ɲarmícpanan], IV<3A Ø-i-rr-mitjba-ngan [ɪrmícpanan]

FU 2M<3 bi-yi-n-matjbu-k [bɪɲmáicpuk], 3I<1 w-a-n-matjbu-k [wanmáicpuk], IV<1+2M Ø-im-in-matjbu-k [ɪmɪɲmáicpuk], IV<1A Ø-nga-y-in-matjbu-k [ɲàɪɲmáicpuk], IV<1+2A Ø-aga-n-matjbu-k [àɲanmáicpuk]

IMP matjbu-k [máicpuk]

to think about

PP 1A nga-rr-mungi-ny [ɲarmúɲɪɲ]

to throw

PP III<1 m-a-jikba-ny [máɲkpaɪɲ], II<2M l-iny-ijikba-ny [ɪɲɪɲkpaɪɲ], III<2M m-iny-ijikba-ny [mɪɲɪɲkpaɪɲ], IV<2M Ø-nginy-ijikba-ny [ɲɪɲɪɲkpaɪɲ], 3I<3 i-y-ijikba-ny [íɲkpaɪɲ], II<3M i-l-ijikba-ny [ɪɪɲkpaɪɲ], III<3 m-i-jikba-ny, [mɪɲkpaɪɲ]

PIRR IV<1 Ø-ngu-w-ajikbi-rrɪ [ɲuàɲkɪpíɪɪ], III<2M m-iny-b-ajikbi-rrɪ [mɪɲbàɲkɪpíɪɪ]

PR 3M>II i-l-ij-ajikba-yam [ɪɪɲàɲkɪpáɪam]

FU 2A<3 a-y-in-ijikba-yi [àɪɲɪɲkɪpáɪ.i], II<1 l-a-n-ijikba-yi [ɪanɪɲkɪpáɪ.i], III<1 m-a-n-ijikba-yi [manɪɲkɪpáɪ.i], II<2M l-iny-in-ijikba-yi [mɪɲɪɲɪɲkɪpáɪ.i], 3AN>3I i-y-in-ijikba-yi [ɪɪɲɪɲkɪpáɪ.i]

EV IV<1 Ø-ngu-w-ajikba-yi [ɲuàɲkɪpáɪ.i], III<2M m-iny-b-ajikba-yi [mɪɲbàɲkɪpáɪ.i]

IMP gɪɲkba-yi [gɪɲkɪpáɪ.i]

to turn (intr)

PP 1 nga-mikgija-ny [ɲaɲɪkkɪɲɪɲ], 3I w-urnikgija-ny [wɪɲɪkkɪɲɪɲ], 3A i-y-urnikgija-ny [ɪɲɪkkɪɲɪɲ]

PR 2M nginy-urn-urnikgija-yan [ɲɪɲuɲuɲɪkkɪɲáɪan]

FU 1 nga-n-urnikgija-yi [ɲànɪuɲɪkkɪɲáɪ.i], 2M n-in-urnikgija-yi [nɪɲuɲɪkkɪɲáɪ.i]

to turn (tr)

PP 3I<1 w-a-mikgi-ja-gi [waŋikkɪjági], III<1 m-a-mikgi-ja-gi [maŋikkɪjági], II<2M l-iny-urnikgi-ja-gi [lɪŋuŋikkɪjági], III<2M m-iny-urnikgi-ja-gi [mɪŋuŋikkɪjági], III<1A m-a-y-urnikgi-ja-gi [màiuŋikkɪjági], III<2A m-anga-mikgi-ja-gi [màŋaŋikkɪjági]

PIRR II<1 l-a-w-urnikgi-ja-ngi [làwuŋikkɪjági]

PR II<2M l-iny-um-urnikgi-ja-ngan [lɪŋuŋuŋikkɪjangan]

FU II<1 l-a-mikgi-ju-k [laŋikkɪjuk], III<1 m-a-mikgi-ju-k [maŋikkɪjuk], III<2M m-iny-i-mikgi-ju-k [mɪŋuŋikkɪjuk], III<1A m-a-y-i-mikgi-ju-k [màiuŋikkɪjuk], III<2A m-anga-mikgi-ju-k [màŋaŋikkɪjuk]

to wait

PIRR 3I<1 w-a-w-irriiliwi-ri [wawɪrɪlɪwɪri]

PI 1M<3 d-Ø-irri-jirriiliwi-ri [dɪrɪjɪrɪlɪwɪri], 1+2M<3 m-in-irri-jirriiliwi-ri [mɪnɪrɪjɪrɪlɪwɪri], 3I<1 w-a-jirri-jirriiliwi-ri [wajɪrɪjɪrɪlɪwɪri], 3I<1+2M w-im-irri-jirriiliwi-ri [wɪmɪrɪjɪrɪlɪwɪri], 3A>3I i-y-irri-jirriiliwi-ri [ɪrɪjɪrɪlɪwɪri] ~ i-y-irriiliwi-ri [ɪrɪlɪwɪri]

PR 1M<3 d-Ø-irri-jirriiliwi-yan [dɪrɪjɪrɪlɪwɪan], 1A<3 nga-y-irri-jirriiliwi-yan [ŋaɪrɪjɪrɪlɪwɪan], 2A<3 a-y-irri-jirriiliwi-yan [aɪrɪjɪrɪlɪwɪan]

FU 2M<1 n-a-n-yirrilawi [nanjɪrláwi], 1M<3 d-Ø-in-yirrilawi [dɪnɪrláwi], 2M<3 bi-y-in-yirrilawi [bɪnɪrláwi], 3I<1 w-a-n-yirrilawi [wanjɪrláwi], 3I<1+2M w-um-in-yirrilawi [wùmɪnɪrláwi], 3I<2A w-anga-n-yirrilawi [wàŋanɪrláwi], 3I<1+2A w-aga-n-yirrilawi [wàgɪnɪrláwi]

to walk

PI 1 ng-ikbi-ri [ŋɪkɪpɪri], 1A nga-dikbi-ri [ŋadɪkɪpɪri]

to walk about, to work

PIRR 1 ngu-w-atjbatjbuli-ri [ŋuàicpaicpúlɪri], 3I u-w-atjbatjbuli-ri [uàicpaicpúlɪri], 1A nga-rr-w-itjbatjbuli-ri [ŋarwɪcpaicpúlɪri]

PI 1 ng-atjbatjbuli-ri [ŋàicpaicpúlɪri], 2M nginy-itjbatjbuli-ri [ŋɪnɪcpaicpúlɪri], 1+2M m-atjbatjbuli-ri [màicpaicpúlɪri], 3I w-atjbatjbuli-ri [wàicpaicpúlɪri], 1A nga-y-itjbatjbuli-ri [ŋaiɪcpaicpúlɪri], 2A a-y-itjbatjbuli-ri [aiɪcpaicpúlɪri], 1+2A ga-y-itjbatjbuli-ri [gaiɪcpaicpúlɪri], 3A i-y-itjbatjbuli-ri [iɪcpaicpúlɪri]

PR 3I w-atjbatjbula-yam [wàicpaicpúlaiam], 1A nga-y-itjbatjbula-yam [ŋaiɪcpaicpúlaiam], 2A a-y-itjbatjbula-yam [aiɪcpaicpúlaiam], 3A i-y-itjbatjbula-yam [iɪcpaicpúlaiam]

FU 1 nga-n-itjbatjbula-yi [ŋanɪcpaicpúlai.i], 2M n-in-itjbatjbula-yi [nɪnɪcpaicpúlai.i], 1+2M m-in-itjbatjbula-yi [mɪnɪcpaicpúlai.i], 3I w-in-itjbatjbula-yi [wɪnɪcpaicpúlai.i], 2A a-y-in-itjbatjbula-yi [àinɪcpaicpúlai.i], 1+2A ga-y-in-itjbatjbula-yi [gàinɪcpaicpúlai.i], 3A i-y-in-itjbatjbula-yi [iɪnɪcpaicpúlai.i]

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