The grammar of Yalarnnga
A language of western Queensland
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The grammar of Yalarnnga
A language of western Queensland

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Introduction to the vocabulary

Yalarnnga–English vocabulary

List of bound morphemes

English–Yalarnnga vocabulary

References
Abbreviations and conventions

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

Language informants:
MH Maudie Hayden
LM Lardie Moonlight
MM Mick Moonlight

Language names:
KI Kalkutungu
PP Pitta-Pitta
WI Warluwarra

Grammatical and phonetic terminology:

| 1 | first person | LOC | locative |
| 2 | second person | NF | non-future |
| 3 | third person | NOM | nominaliser |
| ALL | allative | OBL | oblique |
| AP | antipassive | PART | participial |
| APPL | applicative | PAST | past tense |
| AVERS | aversive | pl, PLUR | plural |
| C | any consonant | POSS | possessor (of kin) |
| CAUS | causative | POT | potential |
| DAT | dative | PRES | present tense |
| du, DUAL | dual | PROP | proprietive |
| FUT | future | PURP | purposive |
| HAB | habitual | RE | reflexive/reciprocal |
| IMP | imperative | sg | singular |
| IMPERF | imperfective | TLOC | time-locative |
| INTR | intransitive verb formative | TR | transitive verb formative |
| IRR | irrealis | V | any vowel |
| LESS | privative | VOC | vocative |
| LIG | possessor ligative | ~ | prosodic suffix |
Abbreviations used only in Chapter 5:

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

Some grammatical suffixes have an upper-case gloss which is not abbreviated: BECOME, HENCE, HITHER, LIKE, OTHER, YOUR.

English translations of example sentences are given in single quotes except when they are as given by the informant, when they are in double quotes. Sometimes this applies to only part of a translation.
Yalarnnga and neighbouring languages
1

The language and its speakers

1.1 Linguistic type

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

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

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

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

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

1.3 Territory and neighbours

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

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

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

With Kalkutungu the raw figures were 34.6% overall and 22.6% with verbs. (See Chapter 5 for a comparison of these two languages based on a much bigger lexicon and, more importantly, on sound changes and grammar comparison and with consideration of possible shared innovations.) Since Kalkutungu has undergone substantial phonological change while Yalarnnga is phonologically conservative (see Blake 1971b), it seems to be a reasonable assumption that words with the same form in both were items that had been borrowed, by one or the other, or by both from a third language. (There are just a handful of words in Kalkutungu that Yalarnnga probably would be less likely to borrow because they had undergone sound changes that made them no longer fit its phonology; it does seem to have borrowed its only \( l \)-initial words but none with initial consonant clusters.) Removing such words from the counts reduced the overall number by 42 (of which only
two were verbs). The resulting cognate percentages were 17.8% overall and 17.7% for verbs. The pruning was perhaps unduly severe, but the lower percentages may be a better indicator of the actual closeness of the languages than the raw figures.

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

1.4 Ethnological information

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

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

1.5 Present situation

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

Blake, while a post-graduate student working on Kalkutungu in 1967, found that his main informants, Mick and Lardie Moonlight, of Boulia, knew some Yalarnnga, and took the opportunity to do some recording and publish some very preliminary material (see Blake 1971a, b). Breen first contacted the other speaker, Maudie Hayden, in 1967, but she did not then feel able to help. However, she was recorded in 1971, 1973 and 1974. She died in 1977 or 1978. She had been born at Linda Downs (perhaps in Warluwarra country, or Antekerrepnh) of a Yalarnnga mother and a Kalkutungu father (information from her; Lardie Moonlight said that both parents were Yalarnnga). It appears that her maiden name may have been Thorpe (to judge from a cryptic reference to ‘Maudie Thorpe (Hayden)’ in a 1971 fieldnote). Mick Moonlight also had had a Yalarnnga
mother. He died in 1970. Blake recorded Lardie Moonlight again in 1975, and Breen recorded her in 1971–72–73–75–76–77–78–79, some of this fieldwork being planned in conjunction with Blake. Elicitation was mainly through English, but Kalkutungu was used at times, especially by Blake.

One other partial speaker, Willie Sullivan, was recorded briefly; he too knew Kalkutungu better and had forgotten most of his Yalarnnga.

All informants were, of course, quite old, Maudie Hayden especially so. She was quite frail and very hard of hearing, and so a particularly difficult person to work with. A substantial part of the work done with Lardie Moonlight involved interpretation and discussion of material recorded from Maudie Hayden. All are to be thanked for their willingness to do this work, which was difficult for them too, using, as they had to, an imperfectly known and long disused language.

1.6 Past investigations

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

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

- **wamerla** ‘young man’
- **neer** ‘wife’
- **Mitcheri** ‘possum’
- **koobenroo** ‘pelican’
- **kooperboo** ‘wood duck’
- **booragloo** ‘native companion’
- **yungerli** ‘white cockatoo’
- **koondagi** ‘crayfish’
- **karemimgo** ‘woomera’
- **ringaba** ‘plenty’
- **kooler-nerilin** ‘hungry’
- **kooler-leyerlin** ‘thirsty’
- **ninermo** ‘light’
- **noomerloo** ‘sleep’
- **mameroo** ‘walk’
- **nowerli** ‘yesterday’
- **neer moolonabanalli** ‘I don’t know’

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- **neer moolonabanalli** ‘I don’t know’

- **kali**; **neer** would be ngiya ‘I’
Eglinton’s wordlist is relevant to two lexical puzzles.

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

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

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

- Buckingham Downs Wol-ul-ta (our Walarla)
- Chatsworth Mo-a (probably Muwa or Mawa)
- Fort William Tou-er-el-la.
2

Phonology

2.1 Phonemes and their realisations

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Peripheral Bilabial</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Laminal Interdental</th>
<th>Alveo-palatal</th>
<th>Apical Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>tj</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>rt</td>
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<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>nh</td>
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<td>y</td>
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<td>r</td>
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<td>vowel</td>
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<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In phonetic notation the laminal alveo-palatal stop, nasal and lateral are written with raised j: [tʰ] or dʰ, nʰ, lʰ] respectively.

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

The orthography is simplified by writing n instead of both nh and ny and l instead of lh and ly in homorganic clusters; thus, for example, nth for nhth, ltj for lytj. Likewise, we write t instead of rt in homorganic clusters; thus rnt not rrnt. These simplifications probably do not obscure any possible distinctions except in the case of the alveo-palatals. In some languages to the west, such as Arrernte, there is a distinction, albeit with a very low functional load, between clusters of alveolar nasal or lateral and alveo-palatal stop, on the one hand, and homorganic alveo-palatal nasal-stop or lateral-stop clusters on the other.
The distinction is not written in Arrernte, but it is in the Western Desert language. We must accept that there could have been such a distinction in Yalarnnga, obscured by the poor quality of the data.

2.1.1 Consonants

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

Laminal series:

- ngathi ‘to cook’ / ngatji ‘for me’
- katha ‘to wait’ / katjapi ‘hawk’
- tharra ‘to carve’ / tjarralku ‘frog’
- thipathiparri ‘firestick’ / tjipa ‘moon’
- thurlu ‘ground’ / tjurlu ‘hidden’
- manhi ‘vegetable food’ / manyimpa ‘of one’s own accord’
- nhina ‘to sit’ / nyilki ‘fat’

Apical series:

- wata ‘to get down’ / warta ‘dark’
- ngarrkati ‘kidney’ or ‘liver’ / nhakarti ‘bad’
- thani ‘mouth’ / karni ‘shoulder’
- ngarrkunu ‘wallaroo’ / pukurnu ‘still’
- kala ‘to creep’ / karla ‘neck’
- ngali ‘we two’ / ngarlingarli ‘rock wallaby’

Rhotics:

- paru ‘light’ / parruparru ‘yellow’ (likely to be from parru ‘yellow ochre’, attested in neighbouring languages)
- mari ‘to get’ / marri ‘to rub’
- mararri ‘goanna’ / marra ‘now’, also ‘to spear’
- ngururu ‘one’ / kurrurr ‘blood’
- karawara ‘shallow’ / kikawarra ‘sand’
- warri ‘meat’ / waripa ‘soakage’

There is a neutralisation of the two apical series when there is a sequence of apical-vowel-apical. In these cases the second apical consonant is always retroflexed (and so the language name could have been written without ambiguity as Yalannga). This clearly does not apply when the second consonant is /rr/, perhaps because /r/ differs from /rr/ in manner as well as place of articulation. Compare Henderson (1998:171–182) on a similar situation in Arrernte. Examples involving bound morphemes which have alveolar consonants in a ‘neutral’ environment, include:
with -li imperative, kanyili [kan'ili] ‘fetch (it)!’ / manili [manili] ‘get (it)!’;

with -lu ergative, kangulu [kaŋulu] ‘cousin (did it)’ / karulu [kaulu] ‘father (did it)’;

with -ta purposive, ngatjita [ŋat'ida] ‘for me’ / yimatata [i, madaŋa] ‘for fish’;

(and note also the allomorph -nhati as in ngananhati [ŋanaŋadi] ‘is coming’ and
the hither imperative -lati as in kanyilati [kan'ilaŋa] ‘fetch (it) here’;

with -nti causative/applicative, nhintimu [ŋhindi] ‘had’ (nhinti from nhinda ‘sit, be’ + -nti) / watharrantili [waŋat, raŋdi]i] ‘wake (him) up’;

with -na non-future, tatjana [tadjana] ‘bite’ / kulunguntina [kulu, nguŋa] ‘lift’;

with -ti optative, tupati [tubadi] ‘you can play’ / ngunati [ŋunaŋa] ‘let it lie’.

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

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

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

Nasals are generally unexceptional in their pronunciation: voiced nasal stops occur at the same point of articulation as the corresponding oral stops. When intervocalic /n/ follows a stressed vowel it tends to be lengthened, or even geminated: [ŋanna] ngana ‘going’, [tan'i] thani ‘mouth’, [ŋan'imuŋadi] nganimunhati ‘came’. Occasional
examples of /ng/ being pronounced very lightly may be attributable to the speaker’s age and infirmity.

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

The alveolar tap /rr/ in fact ranges from an occasional trill through a tap and a continuant with some friction to a frictionless continuant: [parımamu] parrumamu ‘missed’, [ṭarkuru] tharrkurru ‘man’, [piirimuŋu] pirrimuku ‘goanna’, [ŋauwuŋi] nhanguwarri ‘whatsanam’. In a cluster the last realization is more common, as in [ŋaukunu] ngarrkunu ‘wallaroo’, but all others have been heard and the tap is quite common.

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

2.1.2 Vowels

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

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

/i/ is raised towards cardinal [i] when stressed and following /y/ and sometimes other palatals, as in [ikływ] yikwa ‘mob’, [tlipj] tpjpa ‘moon’, or when preceding /y/ as in [pijir] piyarri ‘long’, [wtelij] wajalija ‘first’. Initial /yi/ may be realised as a lengthened vowel [i] as in [i1ly1] yilarli ‘today, now’, [i1m1d1] yimirti ‘father’s sister’.

/u/ can become a rounded release from an initial /k/ as noted above with reference to kuyirri ‘boy’. Before /y/, when unstressed, it can be fronted (and has even been heard as [y]): [kelpuryja] kalpurra ‘at Boulia’, [puyyama] puyyama ‘is dry’. Similarly, it has been heard with a palatal on-glide to a following palatal consonant: [ku1t1a] kutja ‘rotten’. Word-final /u/ has been heard occasionally as [o]. Before /w/, /u/ may be raised to [w]: [muwuŋu] muwanu ‘tomahawk’.

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

The secondary stress on it lends weight to this solution.

Vowels in general are occasionally centralised when unstressed, for example ['bɪ́bɪ́pɛ] pirlapirla ‘child’, ['ŋʊ́n¹d¹ʊ̣,gʊ́mpɛ] nguntjukura ‘arm, elbow’, ['pɛ̣rɛ̣mɛ̣mʊ̣] parramamu ‘missed’. The nature of final vowels was especially hard to detect at times. Stressed vowels may be lengthened if the following consonant is not, and in these cases they are closer to the cardinal vowel represented by their orthographic spelling: [ˈmɪ́lɪ́] mili ‘eye’, [ˈbábɪ́bɪ́] papipi ‘father’s mother’, [ˈkɑ́rt¹mbɛ́,ɡɛ́t¹mbɛ́] katjimpa katjimpa ‘four’.

2.2 Phonotactics

Phonotactically, Yalarnnga is quite simple. The minimal word (excluding a couple of function words of the form CVV) is disyllabic, of the form CVC(C)V. Of the 700-odd entries in the vocabulary, which comprise a majority of roots, a handful of irregular inflected forms, and some compounds, about 35% are of this form and about a third of these have a consonant cluster. Another 35% are trisyllabic, of the form CVC(C)VC(C)V; of these about 80% have no cluster, 13% have a CVC initial syllable, 6% have a CVC second syllable, and just one word has a consonant cluster in both positions. Apart from the two CVV words mentioned above (lāa ‘now’, perhaps a loan from Kalkutungu, and a doubtful item, ngaa ‘yes’1), there are two words that seem to have /aa/, kunakaatja ‘type of goanna’ and tjītaama ‘to look after’, and possibly three more: a doubtful form thamur ‘a person’s dreaming or totem’, a placename djiyada ‘Dajarra’ stressed in such a way as to suggest that it may actually be djīyaada, and thīnaa, an alternative to thinawa ‘to send’ and presumably the result of deletion of /w/. All of these words except the last occur also in Kalkutungu.

Another source of long vowels in the speech of MH was her frequent reduction of reflexive-reciprocal -nyama ~ -yama to -nyaa ~ -yaa.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3 Stress

Primary stress, heard as greater loudness, fell regularly on the first vowel of a word and a secondary stress was irregularly heard on the third syllable of a four-syllable word or the first syllable of a disyllabic bound morpheme. Further secondary stresses may be heard later in a long word, two or more syllables after the previous stress and not on the final syllable. Some examples, with morpheme boundaries shown by hyphens and stresses by acute (primary) and grave (secondary) accents, are: yirri ‘man’, mànargurru ‘dog’, pirlapirola ‘child’, ngálánga-ma ‘speaks’, yalarnga-ya ‘in Yalaringga’, wàmarr-yyu ‘snake (ergative)’, píinka-yàma-ma ‘scratching oneself’, wántha-ma-nhàti ‘(rain) falling this way’, yünkunhi-mu-nhàti ‘came back’.

There are a number of seemingly random exceptions which could be attributed to the age of the speakers and their lack of practice with the language. One probably genuine exception is the reduction in stress on a pronoun, as in nhína-ma ngíya ‘I’m sitting’. An alternative to this is transfer of the (reduced) stress from a pronoun (and perhaps other function words) to the final syllable of the preceding word; examples are wàrrkà-níyi-kà nhàwa ‘you might fall’ and nhànguvali-mà nhàwa ‘what are you doing?’.

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

..., ngíya nganímu; purrutja ngathu ngurlma-mu, thingkamu ngathu purrutja, ...
..., I went, sugarbag I ? chopped I sugarbag, ...
syllable, as in [ḭm̪̪a̰d̪̪a̰] yimata-ta ‘for fish’ ([ḭm̪̪a̰d̪̪a̰] also heard). The determination of the correct form of the verb ‘to cry’ posed a problem for some time; for example, the present tense form yiyarlima was heard as [y̰a̰j̰ḭmṵ] because of stress shift and coalescence of the first syllable /yi/ and the following glide /y/ to form a long semi-vowel.
3 Morphology

3.1 Parts of speech

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

3.1.1 Nominals

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

3.1.2 Verbs

Verbs inflect for tense, aspect and mood.

3.1.3 Uninflected words and particles

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

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

#### 3.2.1 Case inflection

#### 3.2.1.1 Nouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Disyllabic</th>
<th>Longer</th>
<th>Kinship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ergative</td>
<td>-ngku</td>
<td>-yu</td>
<td>-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>-ngka</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>-nguta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative</td>
<td>-wu</td>
<td>-wu</td>
<td>-wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aversive</td>
<td>-ngkungu</td>
<td>-yungu</td>
<td>-ngutu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>-ngkangu</td>
<td>-yangu</td>
<td>-ngutangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allative</td>
<td>-wampa</td>
<td>-mpa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative II</td>
<td>-ngila(mpa)</td>
<td>-ngila(mpa)</td>
<td>-ngila(mpa)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are some deviations from the paradigms in Table 3.1:

- There are some instances of -yungu for -lungu: waputhu-yungu ‘of a man’s mother-in-law’, kanamu-yungu ‘of a younger sibling’.
- There is an instance of -la for -ya in the ablative: mutu-ngarra-langu ‘from the other camp’.
- There is an instance of -ya for -nguta in the ablative: kanamu-yangu ‘from the younger sibling’.
- There are some instances of locative -nguta with non-kinship nouns: mirnmirri-ngutangu ‘from the woman’, matjumpa-ngutangu ‘from the kangaroo’, wamarri-nguta ‘on the snake’.
- There are some instances of a locative -ngu with stems consisting of a kinship noun plus a suffix for ‘third person possessor’: yimirt-antja-ngu ‘with his/her father’s sister’, thithi-yantja-ngu ‘with her niece/nephew’.
• There are some instances of an ablative -nguwangu: kuyirri-nguwangu ‘from the boy’, karlu-nguwangu ‘from father’, mangurru-nguwangu ‘from the dog’ and mirnmirri-nguwangu ‘from the woman’. The suffix -nguwangu occurs regularly with demonstratives.

• There are some instances of an ablative -ngangu with disyllabic stems: murla-ngangu ‘from the head’, yitji-ngangu ‘from the nose’, and aversive -ngungu: kunhu-ngungu ‘[because it] might rain’ as well as regular kunhu-ngkungu.

-ngku dissimilates to -ku with mintji ‘back’ (possibly Kalkutungu) and kunji ‘tail’, but this is not consistent. It may be a carryover from Kalkutungu where -ngku loses its nasal where there is a nasal-stop cluster in the stem. However, a similar type of dissimilation also occurs with the purposive -ntjata (to -yata), the habitual suffix -nyangu (to -yangu) and the reflexive/reciprocal suffix -nyama (to -yama). We have no data to show whether this also applies to the nominaliser -ntjirri.

3.2.1.2 Irregular nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>yirri ‘man’</th>
<th>warri ‘meat’</th>
<th>yuka ‘creek’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ergative</td>
<td>yirrinthu</td>
<td>warrinthu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aversive</td>
<td>yirrinthungu, yirrilungu</td>
<td>warrinthungu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>yirringuta</td>
<td>warringka</td>
<td>yukarla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>yirrintha*</td>
<td>warrinha*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>yirringutangu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative II</td>
<td>yirringilampa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Given for locative and purposive. There is one token of warrita for purposive (see (3-46) below).

3.2.1.3 Vocative

There are two tokens of an apparent vocative kanama for kanamu ‘younger sibling’, one of thirrirra for thirrirri ‘elder sister’, and one of mirnmirra for mirnmirri ‘woman’. The suffix would then be -a, replacing the stem-final vowel.

(3-1) Yunmali-ma nhuwu-wu thirrirr(i)-a.
look.for-PRES 2sg-DAT elder.sister-VOC
‘Sister, I’ve been looking for you.’

3.2.1.4 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns distinguish singular, dual and plural. Ngali and ngawa can be inclusive or exclusive. Specifically inclusive forms can be formed by adding a second person form, e.g. ngali nhawa (we-two you) ‘you and I’.

The third person form laya is little used. The third person singular is usually expressed by a demonstrative, with the ‘near’ series being the unmarked choice. See Table 3.2. Where the third person singular is a subject or object, it is often left unexpressed.

A handful of the personal pronoun forms were elicited only by using leading questions.
### Table 3.2: Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First person</th>
<th>Second person</th>
<th>Third person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>ngiya</td>
<td>nhawa**</td>
<td>laya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ergative</td>
<td>ngathu</td>
<td>nhurlu</td>
<td>lartu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>ngatjinguta</td>
<td>nhuvunguta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative</td>
<td>ngatji(wu)*</td>
<td>nhuwuwu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>ngatjita</td>
<td>nhuwuta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aversive</td>
<td>ngathartungu</td>
<td>nhurlungu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ngatjingutangu</td>
<td>nhuvungutangu</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>allative</td>
<td>ngatjiwampa</td>
<td>nhuwuwampa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>locative II</td>
<td>ngatjingila(mpa)</td>
<td>nhuvungila(mpa)</td>
<td>layangila(mpa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>nhumpala</td>
<td>pula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ngarlu, ngalilu, ngalulu</td>
<td>nhumpalalu</td>
<td>pulalu</td>
</tr>
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<td>locative</td>
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<td>nhumpalanguta</td>
<td>pulalungu</td>
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<tr>
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<td>nhumpalawu</td>
<td>pulawuta</td>
</tr>
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<td>purposive</td>
<td>ngarlawuta</td>
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<td>pulangutanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ngalingutangu</td>
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<td>ngarluwampa</td>
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</tr>
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<td>locative II</td>
<td>ngalingila(mpa)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>ngawa</td>
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<td>thana</td>
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<td>ergative</td>
<td>ngawalu</td>
<td>nhalalu</td>
<td>thanalu</td>
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<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>ngawanguta</td>
<td>nhalanguta</td>
<td>thananguta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative</td>
<td>ngawawu, ngawuwu</td>
<td>nhalawu</td>
<td>thanawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>ngawuta</td>
<td>nhalalungu</td>
<td>thanawuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aversive</td>
<td>ngawalungu</td>
<td>nhalalungu</td>
<td>thanalungu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>ngawangutangu</td>
<td>nhalangutangu</td>
<td>thanangutangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allative</td>
<td>nga(wa)wampa</td>
<td>nhalawampa</td>
<td>thanawampa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative II</td>
<td>ngawangilampa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* ngatji is the most common adnominal form.
** nhawa is sometimes abbreviated to nha.

#### 3.2.1.5 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstratives exhibit a three-way distinction between near to the speaker, mid-distant from the speaker and far from the speaker. The ‘middle’ forms are always used to refer to the place (camp, house) where the speaker is living.
### Table 3.3: Demonstrative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Near</th>
<th>Middle/Neutral</th>
<th>Far</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>tjala</td>
<td>yita</td>
<td>waya, wathi(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ergative</td>
<td>tjarrurtu</td>
<td>yitartu</td>
<td>wayurtu, wayirlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>tjarrunguta</td>
<td>yitanguta</td>
<td>wayunguta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative</td>
<td>tjarruwu</td>
<td>yitawu</td>
<td>wayuwu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>tjarruta</td>
<td>yitata</td>
<td>wayuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aversive</td>
<td>tjarrurtungu, (tjarrurlungu)</td>
<td>yitartungu</td>
<td>wayurtungu, wayurlungu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>tjarrungutangu</td>
<td>yitangutangu</td>
<td>wayungutangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allative</td>
<td>tjarruwampa</td>
<td>yitawampa</td>
<td>wayuwampa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative II</td>
<td>tjalangila(mpa)</td>
<td>yitangila(mpa)</td>
<td>wayangila(mpa)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                  |                       |                        |                      |
| **Dual**         |                       |                        |                      |
| nominative      | tjarruwula            | yitawula               | wayuwula             |
| ergative        | tjarruwulalu          | yitawulalu             | wayuwulalu           |
| locative        | tjarruwulanguta       | yitawulanguta          | wayuwulanguta        |
| dative          | tjarruwulawu          | yitawulawu             | wayuwulawu           |
| purposive       | tjarruwulalungu       | yitawulalungu          | wayuwulalungu        |
| aversive        | tjarruwula(ngota)ngu  | yitawulangutangu       | wayuwula(ngota)ngu   |
| ablative        | tjarruwulampa         | yitawulampa            | wayuwulampa          |
| allative        | tjarruwulanipa        | yitawulangu(mpa)       | wayuwulangu(mpa)     |

|                  |                       |                        |                      |
| **Plural**       |                       |                        |                      |
| nominative      | tjarringali           | yitangali              | wayingali            |
| ergative        | tjarringaliyu         | yitangaliyu            | wayingaliyu          |
| locative        | tjarringalu, tjarringartu | yitangartu            |                      |
| dative          | tjarringalinguta      | yitangalinguta         | wayingalinguta       |
| purposive       | tjarringaliwu, tjarringaliwu | yitangaliwu          | wayingaliwu          |
| aversive        | tjarringalingutangu   | yitangaliyungu         | wayingaliyungu       |
| ablative        | tjarringalingutampa   | yitangalingutampa      | wayingalingutampa    |
| allative        | tjarringaliwampa      | yitangaliwampa         | wayingali(wa)mpa     |
| locative II     | tjarringalingila(mpa) | yitangalingila(mpa)    | wayingalingila(mpa)  |

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

There are two examples ((3-181), (3-212)) of a possible demonstrative *wathi*. There are also a few examples of forms *wathunguta*, *wathuwampa* and *wathyu*, which could be inflected forms of such a demonstrative. The first is clearly locative (although there is no convincing example) and the second allative, but the third also has the appearance of being allative.

(3-2) *Ngiya ngana wathuyu yukala-mpa.*
1sg go:NF creek-ALL
‘I’m going to the creek.’
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(3-3)  
\[ \text{Ngiya wathuyu ngani-mu nanyi-li-ntjata kurrittiru-wu.} \]
\[ \text{1sg go-PAST see-AP-PURP mother's.brother-DAT} \]

‘I went and saw my uncle.’

In Breen’s discussion with LM of this sentence (elicited from MH) she said, in part: ‘… wathuyu ngiya ngana; he might be way down on nother place; wathuyu ngiya ngana, kurrittiru-pa.’

Backing up this mention of ‘another place’ as a possible meaning for \text{wathi}, \text{wathuwampa} is attested on two occasions with reference to going to another named place. However, the two examples of \text{wathi} itself do not support this.

3.2.1.6 Interrogative pronouns

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

Table 3.4: Interrogative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Purposive</th>
<th>Aversive</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
<th>Allative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>nhanku</td>
<td>nhantu</td>
<td>nhankunguta</td>
<td>nhankuwu</td>
<td>nhankuta*</td>
<td>nhantungu*</td>
<td>nhankungutangu</td>
<td>nhankuwampa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>nhangu</td>
<td>nhanguyu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>nhanguwu</td>
<td>nhanguta</td>
<td>nhanguyungu</td>
<td>nhankuwampa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* One occurrence of \text{nhankuwa}.

3.2.2 Functions of the cases

3.2.2.1 Prefatory notes

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

As in Kalkutungu there is a high frequency enclitic -ka, which makes no contribution to the propositional meaning. It may appear with a word of any class and occasionally it appears on more than one word in a clause as in (3-4) below. It has been glossed as -\[.\]

There are also a few examples of enclitics -pa and -wa, which are glossed the same. See §4.4.12.

The nominative has been left without any gloss.
3.2.2.2 Nominative: -Ø

The nominative case is unmarked and is used for the following:\(^1\)

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

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

3.2.2.3 Ergative: -ngku, -yu, -lu

The ergative has the following functions:

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

(3-4) Ngururu ngiya-ka Yalarnga-ka nhina-ma.
one 1sg-Ø Yalarnga-Ø remain-PRES\(^2\)
‘I am the sole remaining Yalarnga.’

(3-5) Yalarnga ngiya ngalanga-ma.
Yalarnga 1sg speak-PRES
‘I speak Yalarnga.’

(3-6) Mangurru-lu tjala tatja-mu kaya-ka.
dog-ERG this bite-PAST child-Ø
‘The/a dog bit the/this child.’

(3-7) Tjarru-rtu nhawa mukulu ngunyi-mu.
this-ERG 2sg money give-PAST
‘He gave you money.’

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

(3-9) Kunhu-ngku ngiya wantha-niyi, murni-ngka wirrka-ntjata.
water-ERG 1sg wet-POT inside-LOC enter-PURP
‘The rain might wet me, (I’m) going to go inside.’

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

---

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

\(^2\) This verb has a lexical meaning ‘sit/stop/stay’ and can also be used grammatically like the verb ‘to be’.
and it has been included here to provide a contrast with the ergative (thunpulthu-yu) in (3-12).

(3-10) *Nhangu-ta nhawa nguna-ma-ka ritjurru-yu-ka?*
    what-PURP 2sg lie-PRES-ERG stomach-ERG-
    ‘Why are you lying on your stomach?’

    pick.up-IMP this baby-LOC 2sg:ERG hold-PURP
    ‘Pick up the baby and “putim long your lap”.’

(3-12) *Kuntu tjala nhin(a)-atiyi, nhanguwarri-yu-ka, thunpulthu-yu-ka.*
    not this sit-IRR whatsit-ERG buttocks-ERG-
    ‘He can’t sit on his whatsaname, his backside.’

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

3.2.2.4 Locative: -ngka, -ya, -nguta

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

(3-13) *Purluwarra wayu-nguta mirmirri-ya-ka mintji-ngka-ka.*
    white that-LOC woman-LOC-ERG back-LOC-ERG
    ‘[There is some] white [stuff] on that woman’s back.’

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

(3-15) *Tharntu-ngka ninyi ngathu ngathi-mu warri-ka.*
    hole-LOC here 1sg:ERG cook-PAST meat-ERG
    ‘I cooked the meat in the hole.’

(3-16) *Ninyi warri watjani-ya ngathu ngarra-na.*
    here meat fire-LOC 1sg:ERG put-NF
    ‘I put the meat into the fire.’

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

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

(3-19) *Ngana waya karlu-nguta.*
    go:NF that father-LOC
    ‘That one’s going with (his) father.’

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

(3-20) *Mirlakuma-ya ngiya nguna-mu, wamarri-yu tatja-mu.*
sleep-LOC 1sg lie-PAST snake-ERG bite-PAST
‘When I was asleep, a snake bit me.’
(Another version with *mirlakuma-rri* ‘sleep-having’ also exists; for -rri see §3.2.3.5.1.)

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

(3-22) *Mukulu ngathu ngatha-rtungu wulamanti-mu manhi-ngka.*
money 1sg:ERG 1sg-AVERS consume-PAST food-LOC
‘I spent all my money on food.’

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

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

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

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

(3-25) *Nhina-mu ngiya longa Tjiyaata katjimpa-ya mungata-ya.*
sit-PAST 1sg Dajarra two-LOC day-LOC
‘I stopped “longa” Dajarra for two days.’

There are three examples of placenames with a suffix -yanu, apparently locative (but reminiscent of the Pitta-Pitta allative -inu).

(3-26) *Payimarra-yanu wulanga-mu, waya kupakupa-ka.*
Cloncurry-LOC die-PAST that old.man-
‘He died at Cloncurry, that old man.’

3.2.2.5 Dative, purposive and aversive

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>dative</th>
<th>purposive</th>
<th>aversive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>purpose</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belong to</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 3

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

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

3.2.2.6 Dative: -wu

The principal functions of the dative are to mark:

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

The following predicates have been observed with dative complements: *wayirra nguna* (lit. ‘heart\(^3\) lie’) ‘to like’, ‘want, desire’, *yiyarli* ‘to cry for’, *tupa* ‘play with’ or ‘play/dance corroboree’, *yulkaniwatharra* ‘get angry with’, *yarnpamu* ‘(be) good (to)’ and *yingka* ‘to laugh at’.

(3-27) *Kuntu ngiya wayirra nguna-ma tjarru-wu-ka rijurrru-wu.*
not 1sg heart lie-PRES this-DAT-\(\sim\) viscera-DAT
‘I don’t want that inside part.’

(3-28) *Mimi-wu kaya tjala yiyarli-ma, yarika-ya-ma.*
breast-DAT child this cry-PRES hunger-INTR-PRES
‘The baby is crying to be breast-fed. He’s hungry.’

(3-29) *Tupa-njata ngawa malkarri-wu.*
dance-PURP 1pl malkarri-DAT
‘We are going to dance malkarri (corroboree).’

(3-30) *Tjala ngurungarra-ka yulkani-watharra-mu ngatji-wu.*\(^4\)
this one-\(\sim\) sulky-BECOME-PAST 1sg:DAT-DAT
‘This one got wild with me.’

\(^3\) Strictly *wayirra* is ‘breath’, but we have taken it to be analogous to ‘heart’ in forming this idiom.

\(^4\) *Ngurungarra* is literally ‘one other’ and can be translated ‘one’ or ‘another’ according to context. Where it is used on its own, as here, a contrast with another is implied.
(3-31) Ninyi-ka malkamarru-ka⁵ ngawa-wu yarpamu.
  here-ŋ policeman-ŋ 1pl-DAT good
  ‘The policeman’s good to us.’

(3-32) Ngiya yingka-nya tjarra-wu yirri-wu.
  1sg laugh-PART this-DAT man-DAT
  ‘I laugh at him.’
  (also occurs with purposive complement)

(3-33) Pampara-wu ngali ngalanga-mu.
  speech-DAT 1du talk-PAST
  “Me’n her talking word.”

The dative also expresses purpose.

(3-34) Kunhu-wu ngiya ngana.
  water-DAT 1sg go: NF
  ‘I’m going for (to get) water.’

In the following examples the dative expresses the notion of possessor. It can be used attributively as in (3-35) or predicatively as in (3-36). In the majority of Australian languages there is no case indicating a possessor with parts of wholes (man’s foot, bank of the river) (see Blake 1987:94–98). The word for the whole and the word for the part take the same case, whatever is appropriate for the function of the noun expressing the whole. This holds true for Yalarnga (see (4-26) and (4-27)). However, although we have no examples of the dative expressing the possessor of a part of a whole, there are several of the aversive (3-36).

  snake-ERG bite-NF 1sg:DAT dog
  ‘The snake is biting my dog.’

(3-36) Ngatji tjala manhi-ka.
  1sg:DAT this food-ŋ
  ‘This food’s mine.’

(3-37) Nhawa ngawinhti kuntu yita-wu mutu-wu.
  2sg stranger not this-DAT camp-DAT
  ‘You’re a stranger, “you not belong to this country”.’

(3-38) Karrpilintjirri-wu tjala-ka yijipiyrri.
  policeman-DAT this-ŋ horse
  ‘The horse is the policeman’s.’

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

⁵ Malkamarru is a word from Pitta-Pitta or a related tongue.
achieving an object, and where there is no object at all. The use of the antipassive in subordinate clauses is described in §4.2.

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

    what-DAT 2sg eat-eat-AP-PRES
    ‘What are you eating?’

b. *Warri ninyi ngathu ngarri-na.*
    meat here 1sg:ERG eat-NF
    ‘I’m eating the meat.’

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

(3-40) *Kupi-wu ngawa tatja-li-ma*
    fish-DAT 1pl bite-AP-PRES
    ‘We eat fish.’

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

(3-41) *Nhawa-ka kuntu ngalanga-ma yarnpamu-wu-ka.*
    2sg- not talk-PRES good-DAT
    ‘You’re not talking right (=correctly).’

(3-42) *Kuntu nhumpala nguna-ma-ka mirlakuma-wu-ka.*
    not 2du lie-PRES sleep-DAT
    ‘You’re not asleep.’

(3-43) *Yarnka-ma ngiya yita-wu pinarri-wu.*
    ail-PRES 1sg this-DAT ear-DAT
    ‘My ear is aching.’

3.2.2.7 Purposive: `-ta`

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

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

(3-44) *Kuntu waya mirnmirri wayirra nguna-ma wayu-ta yirri-ntha.*
    not that woman heart lie-PRES that-PURP man-PURP
    ‘That woman didn’t want that man.’

(3-45) *Tharti ngatji-ta nhina.*
    later 1sg:DAT-PURP remain:IMP
    ‘You wait for me.’
In the following example there are two tokens of -ta. The first is ‘purpose-like’ (compare (3-48)) and the second marks the complement of a two-place intransitive verb.

- **(3-47)** Nhangu-ta tjala yingka-ma ngatji-ta?
  - what-PURP this laugh-PRES 1sg:DAT-PURP
  - ‘What is this (woman) laughing at me for?’

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

- **(3-48)** Ngani-ntjata ngawa yimata-ta.
  - go-PURP 1pl fish-PURP
  - ‘We lot are going for fish.’

- **(3-49)** Thikuthiku nhala ngana-ka wutja yulkani-ta.
  - often 2pl go:NF- just fight-PURP
  - “You only come up all the time for fight.”

The purposive also marks a beneficiary:

- **(3-50)** Wapirri waya yarnta-mu karlu-yantja-ta.
  - humpy that build-PAST father-POSS-PURP
  - ‘He built that humpy for his father.’

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

- **(3-51)** Mapira tjala tjarru-ta wamarri-ta.
  - skin this this-PURP snake-PURP
  - ‘This is the snake’s skin.’

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

- **(3-52)** Yunma-li-ma ngiya thirrirri-ta.
  - seek-AP-PRES 1sg older.sister-PURP
  - ‘I’m looking for my sister.’
  - (also with dative complement)

3.2.2.8 Aversive: -ngkungu, -yungu, -rtungu

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

  - not this 2sg:AVERS other-DAT this¬
  - ‘This isn’t yours. It belongs to someone else.’
Yitjipiyarri kampukampu-yungu. (compare (3-34))

horse white.man-AVERS
‘The white man’s horse.’

Nhantungu ninyi mangurru? Ngatha-rtungu.

who:AVERS here dog 1sg-AVERS
‘Who’s dog is this?’  ‘Mine.’

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

Wirrka-mpi-li tjala marli nhurlungu.

enter-TR-IMP this tongue 2sg:AVERS
‘Pull your tongue in (to someone who is poking it out).’

In the following examples the sense is something like ‘because of’.

Wulanga-mu waya kungkurru-yungu.

die-PAST that flu-AVERS
‘He died of the flu.’


what-AVERS 3du hit-RE-PRES woman-AVERS
‘What are they fighting over?’  ‘Over a woman.’

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

Ngantawa-li tjala warri, yumunthurru-yungu.

cover-IMP this meat fly-AVERS
‘Cover the meat up from the flies.’

Kintja tjala karrrpi-li, yita-rtungu mangurru-yungu, kurlayangu ninyi.

female this tie-IMP this-AVERS dog-AVERS male here
‘Tie up the bitch (to keep her away) from the dog, the male one here.’

Warluwa-wampa(sic) ngiya ngana nguna-ntjata wanhaka-yungu.

shade-ALL 1sg go:NF lie-PURP sunshine-AVERS
‘I’m going into the shade to lie down out of (i.e. to avoid) the sun.’

Makamaka-yungu ngiya-ka ngathi-li-ntjata warri-wu.

hot-AVERS 1sg-\(\text{\textcircled{p}}\) cook-AP-PURP meat-DAT
‘I’m going to cook the meat before it (the weather) gets hot.’

Kuyirri-lungu ngiya kanta-ma.

boy-AVERS 1sg fear-PRES
‘I’m frightened of the boy.’

The following example should probably be included here. It was given in response to ‘jealous’ but the sense is doubtful. Yitjithana is literally ‘nose stand up’ and may mean ‘to be snooty’, or ‘cock one’s nose’ in local English. An expression meaning literally ‘nose get up’ appears with the translation ‘be jealous’ in Kukatj (Breen, unpublished vocabulary) but
as ‘be sulky’ in Kuk-Narr (Breen, unpublished vocabulary). An idiom involving ‘eye’ (as in Wik-Mungkan, Kilham et al. 1986:111) rather than ‘nose’ would seem more appropriate for jealousy.

(3-64) Yitjithana-ma tjarru-rtungu yirri-n[th]ungu. 
jealous-PRES this-AVERS man-AVERS
‘He is jealous of this man.’

In some instances ‘motion away from’ is involved. This is the case with (3-65). Where the notion is purely local, the ablative seems to be used (see §3.2.2.8). The use of the averse indicates the added sense of ‘in order to avoid’.

(3-65) Thangani-mu laya-ka, pirlapirla-ka, marnu-yantja-lungu. 
run-PAST 3sg-[child-]mother-POSS-AVERS
‘He ran away, (that) kid, from his mother.’

There is no hint of avoidance in the following example:

(3-66) Kurrirti-wulampa nhina-ma yarrka ngatha-rtungu-ka. 
uncle-DUAL remain-PRES far 1sg-AVERS-
‘[My] two uncles live a long way from here’

3.2.2.9 Allative: -wampa, -mpa

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

(3-67) Ngiya watjaliya ngani-mu yita-wampa mutu-wampa ngatha-langki-mpa. 
1sg first go-PAST this-ALL camp-ALL 1sg-LIG-ALL
‘I was the first to come to this camp, my (camp).’

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

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

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

(3-70) Kuntu nhawa ngathu mangka-mu, yarrka nhawa ngalanga-mu not 2sg 1sg:ERG hear-PAST far 2sg talk-PAST ngatji-wampa. 
1sg:DAT-ALL
‘I didn’t hear you. You were talking to me (from too) far away.’
3.2.2.10 Ablative: -ngkangu, -yangu, -ngutangu

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

(3-71)  Ngurrki ninyi ngartali-ma ngatji-ngutangu yitji-ngangu.
      blood here flow-pres 1sg:DAT-ABL nose-ABL
      ‘My nose is bleeding.’

(3-72)  Kukapi-yangu ngathu miya-mu kakuna.
      grass-ABL 1sg:ERG get-PAST egg
      ‘I got the egg from the grass.’

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nguna(ru)</th>
<th>Katjimpapa</th>
<th>Nguna(ru)Ngila(mpa)</th>
<th>Katjimpangila</th>
<th>Ngura(ru)Ngila(mp)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>nguna(ru)</td>
<td>katjimpapa</td>
<td>once</td>
<td>nguna(ru)ngila(mp)</td>
<td>once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>katjimpapa</td>
<td>ngura(ru)ngila(mp)</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>ngura(ru)ngila(mp)</td>
<td>ngura(ru)ngila(mp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>kurrpayana</td>
<td>yikata</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>yikatangilampa</td>
<td>many times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>many</td>
<td>yarnpamu</td>
<td>nhakarti</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>yarnpamungila</td>
<td>well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>nhakarti</td>
<td>yikata</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>yikatangilampa</td>
<td>many times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad</td>
<td>yarnpamu</td>
<td>tjurlu</td>
<td>hidden</td>
<td>tjurlungila(ri)</td>
<td>in a sneaky way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Yalarnnga</td>
<td>Yalarnnga</td>
<td>Yalarnngalingila</td>
<td>Yalarnnga</td>
<td>Yalarnngalingila</td>
<td>Yalarnnga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3-73)  Wamarri-ngila ngiya ngana.
      snake-LOCII 1sg go:NF
      ‘I went up to the snake.’

(3-74)  Nanyi-li-ma tjala ngatji-ngila.
      see-AP-PRES this 1sg:DAT-LOCII
      ‘He’s looking towards me.’

(3-75)  Kala-mu tjala-ka walayu tjipulyu-ngilampa.
      creep-PAST this along duck-LOCII
      ‘He crept up on the ducks.’

---

6 One instance of ngurungilaya ‘once’ recorded.
(3-76) Wampa waya ngana yirri-ngilampa.
girl that go:NF man-LOCII
‘That girl walked towards the man.’

(3-77) Tjala kaya thana-ma tjarrri-ngilampa wamarri-ngila.?
the child stand-PRES this-LOCII snake-LOCII
‘The kid is standing near the snake.’

(3-78) Wamarri-ngilampa nhina-ma waya-ka ngurkuthu-pa.
snake-LOCII remain-PRES that-hawk.species-LOCII
‘That hawk is near the snake.’

(3-79) Nhawa nguna-ma thulkuparra-ngila. (compare (3-7))
2sg lie-PRES back-LOCII
‘You are lying on your back.’

(3-80) Yarrka nhina-ka, kuntu ngatji-ngilarli-ka.
far sit.IMP-not 1sg:DAT-LOCII
‘Stop over there, not near me.’

(3-81) Nhanguwarri-yu tjala ngathu wala-mi ngatji-ngilarli thangani-mu-nhati.
whatsit-ERG this 1sg:ERG kill-PAST 1sg:DAT-LOCII run-PAST-HITHER
‘I killed him with a whatsaname as he ran past me (?)’

(3-82) Yarnpamu-ngila yita-rtu ngawa nhinti-na
good-LOCII that-ERG 1pl hold-NF
‘He looked after us well.’

3.2.2.12 Reason for aggression: -milaya

A suffix -milaya occurs in the example:

(3-83) Nhangu-ta nhurlu ngiya wa-na-ka, nhangu-milaya.
what-PURP 2sg:ERG 1sg hit-PAST what-OVER
‘What did you hit me for?’

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

3.2.3 Pre-case suffixes

3.2.3.1 Possessor ligative: -langki

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

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

1sg  ngatha-langki-
2sg  nhurlu-langki-  (one example of nhuwu-nguta-wu ‘you-loc-dat’)

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

(3-84)  Tharrapatha, mutu-ngarra-la, marnu-langki-ya.
        Tharabatha  camp-OTHER-LOC mother-LIG-LOC
        ‘Tharabatha, in another country (territory), (my) mother’s (country).’

(3-85)  Ngathu  waya wala-mu ngatji-langki-yu payarla-yu.
        1sg:ERG that kill-PAST 1sg:DAT-LIG-ERG boomerang-ERG
        ‘I killed it with my boomerang.’

(3-86)  Nhangu-ta nhawa nhina-ma tjarru-nguta ngatha-langki-ya mutu-ngka.
        what-PURP 2sg remain-PRES this-LOC 1sg-LIG-LOC camp-LOC
        ‘Why are you in my camp?’

(3-87)  Nhawa wayu-rtungu kanta-ma, nhurlu-langki-lungu mirnmirri-lungu-ka.
        2sg that-AVERS fear-PRES 2sg:ERG-LIG-AVERS woman-AVERS-
        ‘You’re frightened of that one, your woman.’

(3-88)  Nangi-mu ngiya yunkunhi-mu mutu-wampa ngatha-langki-mpa.
        see-PAST 1sg return-PAST camp-ALL 1sg-LIG-ALL
        ‘I saw it when I was coming back to my camp.’

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

        food-DAT this self-LIG-DAT eat-AP-PRES child-
        ‘The child is eating his/her own tucker.’

3.2.3.2  Possessor suffixes

3.2.3.2.1  his, her:  -yantja, -warra

-yantja is used to indicate that a kinship noun is possessed by a third person. With -i stems, the -i of the stem and the y- of the suffix are usually elided: thawirti + -yantja = thawirtantja ‘his/her elder brother’. There are a couple of tokens of -warra with apparently the same function. This form is found in Pitta-Pitta and related tongues and may be an intrusion. There is also papuwuntji ‘father’s mother’ and waputhuwuntji ‘man’s mother-in-law’ (alongside regular waputhuyantja). -wuntji seems to be a Kalkutungu form.

In the following example -yantja is used for both of the kin that form the relationship, the mother marnu and her children ngatharti.
Yarnpam-ngila tjala marnu-yantja-ka nhinti-li-ma tjarru-wu, 
good-LOCII this mother-POSS look.after-AP-PRES this-DAT
ngartharti-yantja-wu.
child-POSS-DAT
‘Mother is looking after her child.’ [lit. ‘Herj motherj is looking after herj child,’]

Wapirri waya yarnta-mu karlu-yantja-ta.
humpy that build-PAST father-POSS-PURP
‘He built that humpy for his father.’

Thangani-mu laya-ka pirlapirla-ka marnu-yantja-lungu.
run.away-PAST 3sg-baby mother-POSS-AVERS
‘The little kid ran away from his/her mother.’

Ngiya mutju-yantja-ka.
1sg father’s.father-POSS
‘I’m his grandfather.’

3.2.3.2.2 your: -mala

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

Piyaka-mala-mpa ngap(a)-anthu-wa.
son.in.law-ALL go-HENCE
‘Go over to your son-in-law.’

Wanta ini-ya tjarru-nguta kunhu-ngka marnu-mala-yu nangi-yi nhawa.
don’t stop-IMP this-LOC water-LOC mother-YOUR-ERG see-POT 2sg
‘Don’t stay in the water. Your mother might see you (when she comes back).’
(the second word, iniya, is Kalkutungu)

MM Marnu ngatji-ka.
mother 1sg:DAT
‘My mother.’

LM Ngaa, nhurlungu marnu-ka, marnu-mala-ka.
yes 2sg-AVERS mother mother-YOUR
‘Yes, your mother, your mother.’

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

3.2.3.3 Other: -ngarra

‘(An)other’ can be expressed by a free form ngurungarra (nguru < ngururu ‘one’ +
ngarra ‘other’) or by a pre-case suffix -ngarra.
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(3-97) Ngani-ma-nhati mutu-ngarra-langu.
go-PRES-HITHER camp-OTHER-ABL
‘[He’s] coming here from another camp.’

(3-98) Pirlapirla tjarru-rtu thingka-niyi ngurungarra.
baby this-ERG hit-POT other
‘He might hit that other little kid.’ (thingka means ‘hit with a missile’)

(3-99) Tjala ngurungarra-ka ngana thanga-na wayu-wu ngurungarra-wu
this another-go:NF run-NF that-DAT another-DAT
wala-li-ntjata.
hit-AP-PURP
‘This one ran to hit that other one.’

(3-100) Tjipa-ngarra-rla ngiya yunkunhi-mi-nhati.
8
moon-OTHER-LOC 1sg return-FUT-HITHER
‘I’ll come back in a month’s time.’
“I come back one moon.”

3.2.3.4 Number

3.2.3.4.1 dual: -wulampa

The dual (indicating ‘two’) of demonstratives is formed with -wula (see Table 3.3) and the dual of nouns with -wulampa. (See §3.2.2.9 on the various meanings of -mpa.)

mirmirri-wulampa ‘two women’
yirri-wulampa ‘two men’
kaya-wulampa ‘two children’
mili-wulampa ‘two eyes’
punkula-wulampa ‘two thighs’

(3-101) Thawirti-wulampa tjarru-wula ngarri-li-ma manhi-wu.
elder.brother-DUAL this-DUAL eat-AP-PRES food-DAT
‘These two brothers are eating.’

(3-102) Mangurru-wulampa tatji-nyaa-ma.
dog-DUAL bite-RE-PRES
‘The two dogs are biting one another.’

(3-103) Kuyirri-wulampa-yu ngiya wala-mu.
boy-DUAL-ERG 1sg hit-PAST
‘The two boys hit me.’

(3-104) Nhawa-ka thanga-na pantjarra-ka, wawi-mu yita-wula-ka
2sg-run-NF very-sing-PAST this-DUAL-
thinkali-wulampa-ka.
knee-DUAL-
‘You’re a fast runner, “they bin sing your knee”.’

---

8 Tjipa ‘moon’ is Pitta-Pitta.
   little-⇨ eat-AP-PRES big-DUAL-LOC
   ‘The little one is having a feed with his “two big (brothers)”.’

3.2.3.4.2 plural: -larrampa, -wala, -ngali

The suffix -ngali marks the plural of demonstratives (Table 3.3). With nouns two plural forms have been recorded: -larrampa and -wala. Most examples involve kinship terms and none involve non-human nouns.

yimirri-mpa ‘all my aunties’  thawiri-wala ‘older brothers’
ngatharti-wala ‘woman’s children’  thiti-wala ‘man’s children’

(3-106)  Mirnmirri-wala tjarr-ngali ngana-nhati.
   woman-PLUR this-PLUR go:NF-HITHER
   ‘The women are coming.’

(3-107)  Yimirri-larrampa yita-ngali wala-nyama, yimirri-wala.
   father’s.sister-PLUR this-PLUR hit-RE:PRES father’s.sister-PLUR
   “They all my auntie fighting.”

(3-108)  Kurriti-wala wala-nyama-ma yimirri-larrampa-nguta.
   uncle-PLUR hit-RE-PRES father’s.sister-PLUR-LOC
   “All my uncle fighting over all my hauntie.”

(3-109)  Yampu-larrampa nga ngana kalpurru-yangu nga nga yampu-wala
   banji-PLUR go:NF Boulia-ABL go:NF banji-PLUR
   ngana tangkarri.
   go:PRES west
   ‘All my banji are leaving Boulia, “all my banji going sundown way”.’

(3-110)  Yikata-mpa ngiya ngana kuyirri-larrampa-ka.
   mob-ALL 1sg go:NF boy-PLUR:ALL⇨
   ‘I walked up to the boys.’
   (Note: -larrampa for -larrampa-mpa.)

3.2.3.5 Nominal-forming suffixes

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

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9 The word ‘banji’ or ‘benjiman’ is common in the English of Aboriginal people of the area. It refers to husband or brother-in-law. According to Roth (1897:2), it is derived from English fancyman.
Chapter 3

3.2.3.5.1 *proprietive:* -rri

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

-rrri

mangu  ‘nasal mucus’ (?)
mirlakuma  ‘sleep’
mangarni  ‘death bone’ (PP)

mangurri  ‘having a cold’
mirlakumarrri  ‘sleeping’
mangarnirri  ‘doctor’ (the one who has the bone for ‘pointing the bone’)

(3-111)  Kuntu ninyi nyilkirri-ka warri-ka.
not here fat-PROP meat-PROP
‘The meat’s got no fat.’

(3-112)  Yimata-ta ngiya ngana, kartapi-rrri, miya-li-ntjata.
fish-PURP 1sg go:NF fishing.line-PROP get-AP-PURP
‘I’m going for fish, with a line, to get some (fish).’

(3-113)  Wamarri-yu ngiya tatja-mu, nguna-mu, mirlakuma-rrri.
snake-ERG 1sg bite-PAST lie-PAST sleep-PROP
‘The snake bit me while I was asleep.’

(3-114)  Ngiya kuntu-pa kulapurrri-rrri, kulapurr-nhiya ngiya nguna-ma.
1sg not-PROP blanket-PROP blanket-LESS 1sg lie-PRES
‘I haven’t got a blanket. I’m lying without a blanket.’

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

3.2.3.5.2 *privative:* -nhiya

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

dog-DAT this hit-AP-PRES man-shame-LESS
“He got no shame hitting that dog.”

(3-117)  Kuntu tjala ngatha-rrtuungu, thawirti-lungu mangurr-ka.
not this 1sg:AVERS elder.brother-ERG dog-PROP
not-PROP 1sg:AVERS dog-LESS
‘It’s not mine, it’s my brother’s dog. Don’t tell me. I don’t have a dog.’

3.2.3.5.3 -yangu

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

purrpu  ‘hair’
watjali  ‘first’
purrpuyangu  ‘long haired, hairy’
watjaliyangu  ‘first’
Morphology

thinangkali ‘behind’
thinangkaliyangu ‘following, second’

ngankarri ?
ngankarriyangu ‘policeman’

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

The word warluwayangu (cf. warluwa ‘shade’) was used to describe the kangaroo and glossed as warluwa-ya nhina-ntjiiri (‘shade-LOC remain-ACTOR’ lit. ‘shade-in dweller’) and translated by the phrase ‘a bugger for shade’.

(3-118) Ngiya watjali-yangu, nhawa-ka thinangkali-yangu.
1sg first-YANGU 2sg-_behind-YANGU
‘I’m older, you “second young”.’

3.3 Verb forming suffixes

3.3.1 intransitive forming: -ya

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thurrkali</td>
<td>‘hard’</td>
<td>thurrkaliya</td>
<td>‘to grow hard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhakarti</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
<td>nhakartiya</td>
<td>‘to deteriorate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yirratji</td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td>yirratjiya</td>
<td>‘to become a woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mili</td>
<td>‘eyes’</td>
<td>miliya</td>
<td>‘to be born’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarnpamu</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>yarnpumuya</td>
<td>‘to get better’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marnu</td>
<td>‘tired, weak’</td>
<td>marnuya</td>
<td>‘to grow tired, weak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puyu</td>
<td>‘dry’</td>
<td>puyuya</td>
<td>‘to dry’ (intrans.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warta</td>
<td>‘dark’</td>
<td>wartaya</td>
<td>‘to grow dark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanhaka</td>
<td>‘sun’ (Kal.)</td>
<td>wanhakaya</td>
<td>‘to get hot’ (of weather)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyakiya</td>
<td>‘itchy’</td>
<td>kiyakiyaya</td>
<td>‘to be itchy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngamatjarri</td>
<td>‘hungry’</td>
<td>ngamatjarriya</td>
<td>‘to be(come) hungry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapalarri</td>
<td>‘thirsty’</td>
<td>kapalarriya</td>
<td>‘to be(come) thirsty’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

kukuya ‘to cook’
wakaya ‘to work’

(3-119) Thurrkali-ya-mu ninyi parta-ka.
hard-INTR-PAST here mud-INTR-PAST
‘The mud became hard here.’

(3-120) Laa tjala yirri-ka wulanga-ma, laa kankati-ya-ma
now this man-INTR-PRES die-PRES now on.top-INTR-PRES
Chapter 3

yita-nguta, manamama-ya.
that-LOC sky-LOC
‘Now this man dies, now he is “up on top” in the sky.’

(3-121) Ninyi-ka yirri-ka laa yarmpamu-ya-ma, kuntu yarntka-ma-ka.
here-REP man-REP now good-INTR-PRES not ail-PRES-REP
‘The man here is recovering now. He’s not ill.’

later 2sg big-INTR-PURP big-INTR-FUT 2sg later
‘You’re going to be big one day. You’ll be big one day.’

3.3.2 transitive forming: -ma

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

- kilyikilyi ‘armpit’
- kilyikilyima ‘to tickle’
- parla ‘loose’
- parlama ‘to loosen, untie’
- yarmpamu ‘good’
- yarmpamuma ‘to teach(?)’
- thina ‘footmark’
- thinama ‘to track’
- yilarrra ‘awake’
- yilarrama ‘to keep awake’

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

3.4 Verb morphology

Verb suffixes fall into three broad classes.

(a) In the first class there are the valency-changing suffixes:
- causative/applicative -nti
- antipassive -li
- reflexive -nyama, -npi, -yama

(b) Then there are the tense/aspect/modality/mood suffixes:
- present -ma
- past -mu, -lu
- non-future -na
- imperfective -mayi, -nayi
- future -mi
- potential ‘lest’ -miyi, -niyi
- habitual -nyangu, -yangu
- non-future participial -nyana
- purposive -ntjata, -yata
- optative -nati, -ati
- irrealis -natiyi, -attiyi
- imperative -li
- non-singular (imperative) -nhu
(c) The final group consists of the directionals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hither</td>
<td>-nhatl, -nharrayi, -nyanharrirta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hence</td>
<td>-anthu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A note on insubordination and the formative -yi**

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

Two other suffixes listed — -nyangu ‘habitual’ and -nyana ‘participial’ — probably arise by this mechanism.

Some verb forms have a formative -yi following suffixes of the tense class.\(^\text{10}\) These are:

- *miyi* potential ‘lest’ (cf. future -mi)
- *ntyi* potential ‘lest’ (-ni not recorded separately, but the analogy with -mi-yi is suggestive)
- *natiyi* ‘irrealis’ (compare optative -nati)
- *mayi* ‘imperfective’ (cf. -ma present)
- *nayi* ‘imperfective’ (cf. -na non-future)

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

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

\(^\text{10}\) In Chapter 5 we suggest that -yi is probably cognate with Kalkutungu locative -thi.
Table 3.5: Irregular verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>see</th>
<th>give</th>
<th>go</th>
<th>hit</th>
<th>run</th>
<th>carry, take</th>
<th>leave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>nanyi</td>
<td>ngunyi</td>
<td>ngana*</td>
<td>wana</td>
<td>thangana*</td>
<td>kanyi</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>walama</td>
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<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>nangi</td>
<td>ngungi</td>
<td>ngani</td>
<td>wani</td>
<td>kangi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ngunyimi</td>
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<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>nanku</td>
<td>ngunku</td>
<td>nganku</td>
<td>thanganku</td>
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<td></td>
<td>nangimu</td>
<td></td>
<td>nganimu</td>
<td>walamu</td>
<td></td>
<td>kanyimu</td>
<td>tanyimu</td>
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<td></td>
<td>nanga</td>
<td>ngunga</td>
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<td>thanga**</td>
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<td>kanga</td>
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<td>walu</td>
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<td>purposive</td>
<td>nantjata</td>
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<td>nganintjata</td>
<td>thantjata</td>
<td></td>
<td>kantjata</td>
<td>tantjata</td>
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<tr>
<td>potential</td>
<td>nangiyi</td>
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<td>walati***</td>
<td>kanginati</td>
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<tr>
<td>optative</td>
<td>nanyili</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>ngapa</td>
<td>wali, wala</td>
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<td></td>
<td>nanyinpa-</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngunyinpa-</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

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

*** wan(y)atyi is irrealis of wa-. It is not based on the optative.


The stance verbs nhina ‘to sit’, thana ‘to stand’ and nguna ‘to lie’ lose their second syllable when -nti causative/applicative is added: nhinti ‘to keep’, ‘to mind’, thanti ‘to wear’ and ngunti ‘to lie on’.

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

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

3.4.1 Tense, aspect, modality and mood

3.4.1.1 present: -ma

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

(3-123) Yita-ngalangi yirri, kuntu wayirra nguna-ma ngiya nhina-ntjata
this-PL man not heart lie-PRES 1sg live-PURP
nhuwu-nguta.
2sg-LOC
‘These men, they don’t want me to live with you.’
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(3-124)  
\textit{Tjala mikara wuku-ngka nhuwu-nguta nhina-ma tatja-li-ma.}  
\begin{center}this mosquito cheek-LOC 2sg-LOC sit-PRES bite-AP-PRES\end{center}  
‘The mosquito is on your cheek, biting.’

3.4.1.2 past: -\textit{mu}, -\textit{lu}

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

(3-125)  
\textit{Miya-mu tjarru-rtu warri nhanguwarri-yangu, pungkuwarri-yangu,}  
pick.up-PAST this-ERG meat whatsit-ABL bag-ABL  
\textit{nhitha-mu. Nhitha-mu tjarru-rtu warri parnayi-mu tjurlu-ngila.}  
steal-PAST steal-PAST this-ERG meat take.away-PAST hidden-LOCII  
‘This [fellow] took the meat out of the whatsaname, the bag, he stole it.  
This [fellow] stole the meat, he took it away surreptitiously.’

(3-126)  
\textit{Mirmirri-nhanka tjala ngathu mangka-lu.}  
woman-LIKE this 1sg:ERG think-PAST  
‘I thought you were a woman.’

(3-127)  
\textit{Nhangu-ta nhawa yiyarli-ma-ka? Kuntu nhurlu miya-lu thuka-ka wala-nti-yata-ka?}  
what-PURP 2sg cry-PRES not 2sg:ERG get-PAST stick-APPL-PURP  
‘Why are you crying? Didn’t you pick up a stick and hit him with it?’

3.4.1.3 non-future: -\textit{na}

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

(3-128)  
\textit{Ngathu karta-na tjala tharrkurru-wa.}  
1sg:ERG know-NF this man\textsuperscript{a}  
‘I know this man.’

(3-129)  
\textit{Ngaa, tharti ngathu mangka-yata. Kuntu ngiya karta-na.}  
yes later 1sg:ERG hear-PURP not 1sg know-NF  
‘Yes, I’ll find out later. I don’t know.’

(3-130)  
\textit{Nhangu-wu nhawa ngarri-ngarri-li-ma-ka? Warri ninyi ngathu ngarri-na.}  
what-DAT 2sg eat-eat-AP-PRES meat here 1sg:ERG eat-NF  
‘What are you eating?’  
‘I’m eating the meat.’

(3-131)  
\textit{Kilka-ngku tjala ngathu warrka-nti-na.}  
arm-ERG this 1sg:ERG fall-CAUS-NF  
‘I knocked it over with my arm.’
3.4.1.4 imperfective: -yi

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

dog-ERG that take-NF bone that eat-eat-NF-IMPERF
‘That dog took the bone. (Now) he’s eating it.’

(3-133) Tjala nhina-nhina-ma-yi yimirtantja-ngu.
this sit-sit-PRES-IMPERF auntie:POSS-LOC
‘She’s sitting with her auntie.’

(3-134) Kaya tjala wanti-ma-yi kankati thuka-ya tjarru-nguta,
child this climb-PRES-IMPERF aloft branch-LOC this-LOC
warrka-niyi tjala.
fall-POT this
‘The kid’s climbing up on the branch. He might fall.’

(3-135) Wanpi-na-yi ngiya ngani-ngani-mu yarrka watjani-ta.
pant-NF-IMPERF 1sg go-go-PAST far wood-PURP
‘I’m out of breath (from) having walked a long way for firewood.’

get-IMP this child cry-PRES-IMPERF
‘Pick up this kid (who’s) crying.’

(3-137) Kuthaparra miya-li nhanguwarri waya nguna-nguna-ma-yi.
stick pick.up-IMP whatsit that lie-lie-PRES-IMPERF
‘Pick up the stick, that whatatchacallit lying there.’

that sit-sit-PRES-IMPERF 1sg-AVERS- that child-
The one sitting over there is my kid.’

3.4.1.5 future: -mi

The notion of ‘future’ can also be expressed by the form we have designated purposive. While it is true that the latter normally implies a sense of purpose or intention, the same applies to most -mi examples; one clear exception is (3-122).

(3-139) Ngiya watharra-mi tharti.
1sg get.up-FUT later
“By m’by I’ll get up.”

(3-140) Nhalangu nhala yunkunhi-mi-nhati?
when 2pl return-FUT-HITHER
‘When are you coming back again?’

11 Expected form is -nguta. -ngu is Kalkutungu.
3.4.1.6 habitual: -nyangu, -yangu

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

(3-141) \textit{Nhangu nhurlu ninyi ngapa-nyangu-ka?}  
what 2sg:ERG this call-HAB-P \[‘What do you call this?’\]

(3-142) \textit{Ngawa ngani-nyangu manguwatji warri-ta wala-li-ntjata.}  
1pl go-HAB before meat-PURP kill-AP-PURP  
‘Once we used to go and kill game.’

(3-143) \textit{Kuntu tjala ngalangka-yangu, manyimpa tjala nhina-nyangu.}  
not this talk-HAB oneself this remain-HAB  
‘He doesn’t talk. He lives on his own.’

3.4.1.7 non-future participial: -nyana

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

(3-144)a. \textit{Mukulu ninyi warrka-nyana yita-nguta wamarri-ya.}  
rock here fall-PART this-LOC snake-LOC  
‘The rock fell on the snake.’

\hspace{1em}b. \textit{Mukulu ninyi warrka-nyana, wa-lu ninyi nhanguwarri}  
rock here fall-PART hit-PAST here whatsis 
\hspace{1em}wamarri-ka wulangka-yata.  
\hspace{1em}snake-P \hspace{1em}die-PURP 
‘The rock fell and hit the whatsisname, snake, and killed it.’

(3-145) \textit{Ngiya wurrka-nyana tjarru-nguta kulti-ngka yumu-ngka nhina-ntjata.}  
1sg enter-PART this-LOC house-LOC dry-LOC remain-PURP kunhu-ngkungu. Wantha-na ninyi kunhu-ka.  
water-AVERS fall-NF here water-P \[‘I came into this dry house to get out of the rain. The rain’s pouring.’\]

(3-146) \textit{Ngathu tjala nanyi-mu manguwatji ngani-nyana ngatji-wampa.}  
1sg:ERG this see-PAST before go-PART 1sg:DAT-ALL  
\textit{Ngathu tjala karta-na.}  
1sg:ERG this know-NF  
‘I saw him coming towards me earlier. I know him.’
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(3-147) *Ngiya yunkunhi-nyana tawunu-yangu nhanku ngathu waya pitjurtu.*
1sg return-PART town-ABL see:PAST 1sg:ERG that plane
‘As I was coming back from town, I saw that aeroplane.’

1sg shame-PROP-INTR-PART whatsit-DAT see-AP-PAST tie-NOM-DAT
‘I “bin shame”, when I saw the whatsisname, policeman.’ (usual form for policeman *karrpi-li-ntjirri*)

camp-LOC this 1sg-AVERS
‘I been there long time, when I was young.’
Presumably, ‘This is the camp where I lived when I became a mother’.
Sentence asked for was ‘This is my old camp’.

3.4.1.8 purposive: -ntjata, -yata

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

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

(3-151) *Kuntu nhawa ngathu wala-ntjata, ngurungarra ngathu wala-ntjata.*
not 2sg 1sg:ERG hit-PURP another 1sg:ERG hit-PURP
‘I didn’t mean to hit you, “I been want to hitim nother one”.’

(3-152) *Kunhu-wu tjala-ka kaya-ka tuka-li-ntjata.*
water-DAT this-Æ child-Æ drink-AP-PURP
‘This child wants a drink of water.’

(3-153) *Tharti nhawa yamu-ya-ntjata.*
later 2sg big-INTR-PURP
‘You’ll be big one day.’
(3-154) **Ngapa-mu ngathu ngani-ntjata.**
    tell-PAST 1sg:ERG go-PURP
    ‘I told him to go.’

(3-155) **Ngathu ngapa-mu waya pirlapirla ngani-ntjata pultjurru-wu**
    1sg:ERG tell-PAST that child go-PURP chip-DAT
    miya-li-ntjata.
    gather-AP-PURP
    ‘I told that child to go and pick up chips.’

(3-156) **Kunhu-wu ngiya wayirra nguna-ma tuka-li-ntjata.**
    water-DAT 1sg heart lie-PRES drink-AP-PURP
    ‘I want to have a drink of water.’

3.4.1.9 potential ‘lest’: -miyi, -niyi

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

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

(3-157) **Watjani-ya nhawa wali-miyi.**
    fire-LOC 2sg burn-POT
    ‘You might get burnt.’

(3-158) **Wala-nyama-miyi ngathu ngapa-ntjata.**
    hit-RE-POT 1sg:ERG tell-PURP
    ‘I’m going to speak (to them) in case they start fighting.’

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

(3-159) **Thurrkali tjala pantjarra karrpa-li putha-nyama-miyi.**
    tight this very tie-IMP break-RE-POT
    ‘Tie it real tight or it’ll break.’

(3-160) **Ngaa, ngiya-ka nanyi-li-ma wamarri-wu, tatja-niyi, wamarri-yu.**
    yes 1sg-see-AP-PRES snake-DAT bite-POT snake-ERG
    ‘Yes, I’m looking for the snake. It might bite, the snake.’

Note in the following example, -niyi is used in the first clause and -miyi in the second. The example follows a sentence, in Kalkutungu, that means, ‘Don’t go in there’.

(3-161) **Warrka-niyi nhawa, karlaa putha-miyi.**
    fall-POT 2sg neck break-POT
    ‘You might fall and break your neck.’ *(karlaa is Kalkutungu)*

(3-162) **Kuntu ngiya ngani-ntjata mangurr-yu ngiya tatja-niyi.**
    not 1sg go-PURP dog-ERG 1sg bite-POT
    ‘I’m not going to go, the dog might bite me.’
3.4.1.10 optative: -nati, -ati

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

(3-163) Kuntu watharra-nti-li ngun(a)-ati.
not get.up-CAUS-IMP lie-OPT
‘Don’t wake him up. Let him sleep.’

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

3.4.1.11 irrealis: -natiyi, -atiyi

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

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

(3-166) Tjarru-rtu ngiya wamarri-yu-ka yita-nguta tatja-natiyi, tjarru-rtu-yu12
this-ERG lsg snake-ERG-ERG this-LOC bite-IRR this-ERG-ERG
ngurungrarra-yu nangku tjala ngatji-ngilarli ngani-mu-nhati, tjarru-rtu
other-ERG see:PAST this lsg:DAT-LOCII go-PAST-HITHER this-ERG
wala-lu.
kill-PAST
‘This snake here would have bitten me, but this other (fellow) saw it coming towards me and he killed it.’

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

(3-168) Yanu tjala-ka kuntu wirrka-natiyi, tjarru-nguta murningka-ka.
big this-ERG not enter-IRR this-LOC inside-ERG
‘This is big. It won’t go inside here.’

12 We assume the extra ergative marker is a slip.
Morphology

3.4.1.12 imperative: -li

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

(3-171) Yarrka nhina-ka, thina-ngka nhawa ngatji-nguta nhina-ma.
    far stay:IMP-foot-LOC 2sg 1sg:DAT-LOC stay-PRES
    ‘Get away! You’re on my foot.’

(3-172) Kuntu watharra-nti-li.
    not get.up-CAUS-IMP
    ‘Don’t wake him up.’

(3-173) Ngap(a)-anthu wurrkayu.
    go.IMP-HENCE away
    ‘Go away!’

(3-174) Nhurlu kanyi-l(i)-anthu-wa.
    2sg:ERG take-IMP-HENCE-aways
    ‘Take it back.’ (‘Take back the gift.’)

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

3.4.1.13 non-singular (imperative): -nhu

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

(3-175) Nhumpala-lu tjala mantha ngarri-li-nhu.
    2du-ERG this food eat-IMP-PL
    ‘You two eat up this tucker.’

(3-176) Nhala yikata, kunhu tjala tuka-li-nhu.
    2pl mob water this drink-IMP-PL
    ‘You mob, drink this water.’

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

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

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

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

3.4.2.1 Hither: -(nh)ati

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

(3-178)  
\[
\text{Thang(a)-ati ngatji-wampa.} \\
\text{run:IMP-HITHER 1sg:DAT-ALL} \\
\text{‘Run to me.’}
\]

(3-179)  
\[
\text{Nhangu-ta nhawa ngana-nhati thikuthiku?} \\
\text{what-PURP 2sg go.NF-HITHER often} \\
\text{‘Why do you keep coming here?’}
\]

(3-180)  
\[
\text{Kaya tjala kanyi-l(i)-ati ngatji-wampa} \\
\text{child this bring-IMP-HITHER 1sg:DAT-ALL} \\
\text{‘Bring the kid over to me.’}
\]

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

3.4.2.2 Hence: -anthu

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

(3-181)  
\[
\text{Manpanhi-ma, wathi manpanhi-m(a)-anthu matjumpa-wa.} \\
\text{hop-PRES 1sg:DAT-HENCE kangaroo-} \\
\text{‘He’s hopping, the kangaroo’s hopping away.’}
\]

(3-182)  
\[
\text{Thang(a)-anthu miya-li-ntjata kunhu-wu longa river.} \\
\text{run:IMP-HENCE get-AP-PURP water-DAT} \\
\text{‘Run and fetch some water from the river.’}
\]

(3-183)  
\[
\text{Nhurlu kanyi-l(i)-anthu-wa.} \\
\text{2sg:ERG take-IMP-HENCE} \\
\text{‘You take it back.’}
\]

(3-184)  
\[
\text{Kanthi-l(i)-anthu.} \\
\text{chase-IMP-HENCE} \\
\text{‘Hunt him (the dog) away.’}
\]
3.4.2.3 Hither: -nharrayi, -nyanharrirta

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

(3-185) *Pitjurtu kankati ngana-nharrayi.*
plane on.top go:NF-HITHER
‘The aeroplane is “coming in the top”.’

(3-186) *Karrpi-li-ntjirri-ka tjala ngana-ma-nharrayi wakana nhina*
tie-AP-NOM-go: this go:NF-PRES-HITHER quiet remain:IMP
nhawa. (repeated with ngana-nharrayi; the -ma may be a mistake)
2sg
‘The policeman’s coming. You keep quiet.’

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

(3-187) *Kunhu wantha-yanharrirta.*
water fall-HITHER
‘The rain’s going to come.’

(3-188) *Nhangu-ta kampaya ngani-yanharrirta, ngiya ngani-ntjata.*
what-PURP go:HITHER 1sg go-PURP
‘Why he want to come now, I going to go.”

(3-189) *Thangani-ma kunhu-ta miya-li-nyanharrirta.*
run.away-PRES water-PURP get-AP-HITHER
‘He is going to fetch water.’

3.4.3 Valency-changing suffixes

3.4.3.1 Causative/applicative: -nti

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yunkunhi</th>
<th>‘to go back, return’</th>
<th>yunkunhinti</th>
<th>‘to send/take back’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>warrka</td>
<td>‘to fall’</td>
<td>warrkanti</td>
<td>‘to drop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watharra</td>
<td>‘to emerge, to wake up’</td>
<td>watharranti</td>
<td>‘to rouse, wake someone up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kala</td>
<td>‘to crawl, to creep’</td>
<td>kalanti</td>
<td>‘to drag, pull’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhina</td>
<td>‘to remain’</td>
<td>nhinti</td>
<td>‘to keep, to mind, to maintain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupa</td>
<td>‘to play’</td>
<td>tupanti</td>
<td>‘to play with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguna</td>
<td>‘to lie (down)’</td>
<td>ngunti</td>
<td>‘to lie on’ (e.g. a blanket)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note also the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tjurlu-ya</th>
<th>‘to hide’ (intrans.)</th>
<th>tjurluwinti</th>
<th>‘to hide’ (tr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. yayawinti</td>
<td>‘to have a baby’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 3

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

- *wilka* ‘to enter’  
  *wilkampi* ‘to insert, to hide’ (tr.)  
- *wanti* ‘to climb’  
  *wantima* ‘to carry, to lift’  
- *nhaka* ‘to run’  
  *nhakama* ‘to pour’

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

- *wula* ‘to disappear, to be absent’  
  *wulamanti* ‘to use up, to eat all’  
  ‘to be used up, to die’

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

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

get.up-CAUS-PAST 1sg this-ERG baby-ERG cry-PAST-ERG  
‘The crying baby woke me up.’

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

this dog lie-PRES blanket-LOC  
‘The dog is lying on the blanket.’

b. *Mangurru-yu tjala ngu-nti-ma tjala kulapurr.*  
dog-ERG this lie-APPL-PRES this blanket  
‘The dog is lying on the blanket.’

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

(3-192)a. *Ngathu mangurru thuka-ngku wala-ntjata.*  
1sg:ERG dog stick-ERG hit-PURP  
‘I’m going to hit the dog with the stick.’

b. *Ngathu mangurru-ta thuka wala-nti-yata.*  
1sg:ERG dog-PURP stick hit-APPL-PURP  
‘I’m going to hit the dog with the stick.’
c. Nhangu-ta nhawa yiyarli-ma-ka? Kuntu nhurlu miya-lu
what-LOC 2sg cry-PRES not 2sg:ERG get-PAST
thuka-ka wala-nti-yata-ka.
stick-PRES hit-APPL-PURP
‘Why are you crying? Didn’t you pick up a stick and hit him with it?’

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

(3-193) Tjarrili laya tjurtu-ka kunhu-ta ngathu pinpa-nti-yata.
where 3sg coolamon water-PURP 1sg:ERG fetch-APPL-PURP
‘Where’s the coolamon? I want to get water in it.’

fire this make-IMP this-LOC food-PURP cook-APPL-PURP
‘Make a fire here to cook this food on.’

3.4.3.2 antipassive: -li

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

(3-195) Yalpungu-wu waya ngarri-ngarri-li-ma wamakurtu-ka.
conkerberry-DAT that eat-eat-AP-PRES emu-PRES
‘That emu is eating conkerberries.’

here see-AP-PRES dark-LOC
“(Possums) can see in the dark.”

(3-197) Mangurru tjala wuna-wu tha-li-mu tjarru-nguta mutu-ngka.
dog this faeces-DAT excrete-AP-PAST this-LOC camp-LOC
‘The dog defecated in the house.’

3.4.3.3 reflexive/reciprocal: -nyama, -npa

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

The suffix -nyama and its alternants mark the reflexive and reciprocal senses, the former applying with singular subjects and the latter being typical with plural subjects. In all the tokens to hand the stem is a transitive verb and the -nyama derivative intransitive. With the following verbs -nyama marks a derived intransitive, but there is no reflexive or reciprocal sense in puthanyama and there isn’t always a reflexive/reciprocal sense with ngapanyama.
putha ‘to break’ (tr.)  putha-nyama ‘to break’ (intr.)  
ngapa ‘to tell, to inform, to order’  ngapa-nyama ‘to tell, etc.’ (intr.)

(3-198) Kiyakiya-ya-ma ngiya-ka ... pinka-yama-yata.
itchy-INTR-PRES 1sg-scratch-RE-PURP
‘I’m itchy ... (I’ll) have to scratch myself.’

(3-199) Kunhu-ngka ngiya nanyi-npa-ma.
water-LOC 1sg see-RE-PRES
‘I look at myself in the water.’

(3-200) Tjarru-wula laa ngapa-nyama-ma yulkani-yu wala-nyama-yata.
this-DUAL now tell-RE-PRES sulky-ERG hit-RE-PURP
‘These two are “having words” and (look as if they are) going to have a fight.’

(3-201) Nhanguwali-ma nhumpala ngunyi-npa-ma ngiya-nhiya nhumpala-lu
do.what-PRES 2du give-RE-PRES 1sg-LESS 2du-ERG
tgap(a)-atiyi.
tell-IRR
‘What are you two doing, giving things away without (consulting) me?
You should have said.’

(3-202) Pinarrri ninyi ngiya mangka-yama-ma.
ear here 1sg hear-RE-PRES
‘My ear is aching.’

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

(3-203)a. Parnayi-mu tjarru-rtu ngatha-rtungu nhurra.
take-PAST this-ERG 1sg-AVERS food
‘This fella stole my food.’

b. Manhi tjarru-rtu ngiya parnayi-nyama-mu.
food this-ERG 1sg take-RE-PAST
‘This (fella) robbed me of (my) food.’

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

3.5 Agent-noun-forming suffix: -ntjirri

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

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Hear-reflexive = ‘feel, have a feeling’ in Arrernte (Henderson & Dobson 1994:334). There is a similar construction in Warluwarra (Breen forthcoming).
of whether this suffix dissimilates when the verb stem has a nasal-stop cluster (as does the purposive, -ntjata, for example).

(3-204)  *karrpi-li-ntjirri*

tie-AP-NOM
‘policeman’

(3-205)  *munuwa-ngarri-li-ntjirri*

?-eat-AP-NOM
‘eaglehawk’

(3-206)  *kumayi-rtatja-li-ntjirri*

raw-bite-AP-NOM
‘eaglehawk’

(3-207)  *warri-wu  wala-li-ntjirri-ka*

meat-DAT  kill-AP-NOM-
‘butcher’

(3-208)  *warluwa-ya nhina-ntjirri*

shade-LOC  sit-NOM
‘shade dweller’ (This phrase was given as a description of the kangaroo and is equivalent to *warluwa-yangu*, see end of §3.2.3.5.)

(3-209)  *yulka-ntjirri*

sulky-NOM
‘aggressive (person or creature)’ cf. *yulkani* ‘be aggressive’

### 3.6 Reduplication

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

There are, of course, examples of a root occurring only in reduplicated form, as with *puwapuwa* ‘conversation, yarn’ in (3-213).
The word *kuyikuyirri*, a plural derived from *kuyirri* ‘boy’, would seem to suggest that reduplication marks plurality. However, there are a number of languages of western Queensland that have a pluraliser that applies to just a handful of words like ‘child’, ‘woman’, but not to other semantic fields. Bidjara has a suffix that pluralises just ‘child’: *gandu > gandunu*, and another that pluralises just the four section names. Kuk-Narr has a reduplicative pluraliser just for the word for ‘child’: *kungak > kungakungak*. Kukatj has a reduplicative plural for just ‘woman’, ‘young man’, ‘white person’ (= ‘devil’) and ‘dog’, while reduplication of other nominals has the attenuative/spreading function (as it has also in Bidjara).

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

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

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

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

(3-212) *Kupangurru wathi nhina-nhina-ma ngarri-ngarri-li-ma mantha-wu,*
*warri-wu.*
meat-DAT
‘The old man is sitting down having a feed.’

(3-213) *Ngali-ka puwapuwa ngala-ngalanga-mu ngani-ngani-mu.*
1du yarn talk-talk-PAST go-go-PAST
‘We were walking along talking.’ (For *wathi* see p.17–18)

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

little this hole big dig-IMP big-big
‘The hole is little; “make it bit big”.’

(3-216) *Ngiya ngana yita-ngali-wu kuyikuyirri-wu nanyi-li-ntjata.*
1sg go:NF this-PLUR-DAT boy:boy-DAT see-AP-PURP
‘I’m going to see these boys.’
(3-217) Thartitharti ngani-ntjata ngawa kunhu-ta-ya yunma-li-ntjata.
later go-PURP 1pl water-PURP-? seek-AP-PURP
‘We’ll go and look for water later.’

3.7 Compounding

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

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

- yulkani-watharra angry-arise/emerge ‘to get wild’
- mili-waki eyes-turn ‘to be intoxicated’
- yitji-thana nose-stand ‘be jealous’

There are also ‘phrase compounds’ where the component words are pronounced as separate words but where the meaning is idiomatic:

- wayirra nguna breath/heart lie ‘to want, desire’
- wayirra nhakarti-ya breath/heart bad-INTR ‘to be sad’

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

14 Note kw pwal- ‘to be jealous’ in Kukatj (west of Normanton, Queensland) and kw-yak- ‘to be sulky’ in Kuk-Narr (southwest Cape York Peninsula), both literally ‘nose to get up’.
4 Syntax

4.1 Basic structure and order

4.1.1 The simple sentence

The two most notable features of Yalarnnga syntax are ones shared with many other Australian languages. Firstly, word order is very variable and is probably motivated by discourse-pragmatic factors rather than grammatical rules. The focus is frequently put first. This is evident in the placing of interrogatives and negatives first in the clause, and in examples like (4-1).

(4-1)  *Kulapurru ngiya ngunyi-l(i)-ati.*

    blanket 1sg give-IMP-HITHER

    ‘Give me a blanket.’

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

(4-2)  *Tjala ngatha-langki-ya nhina-ma mutu-ngka-ka.*

    this 1sg-LIG-LOC remain-PRES camp-LOC-

    ‘He’s stopping at my place (camp).’

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

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

Usually there is only one verb in a clause, but there are quite a number of examples of two verbs in parallel, i.e. two verbs bearing the same tense etc. inflection. Some examples could be interpreted as two clauses, the second being elliptical, consisting just of the verb, but this cannot apply to all of them. (4-3) is a clear example of a single-clause sentence with two verbs, one with an adverbial function modifying the other. In (4-4) the situation is not so clear; the second verb could be a more informative correction of the other. Example (3-125) seems to have, in its second sentence, an example of serial verbs. Many examples in Chapter 3 show two-clause sentences; (3-211) and (3-212) are two similar sentences, one of which has a comma between the clauses indicating that there is intonational evidence for their being separated while the other does not. However, the degree of
hesitancy in the informants’ normal sentence production was such that no significance can be attached to such differences.

(4-3) \( \textit{Ngani-mu ngiya miliwaki-mu.} \)
\( \text{go-PAST 1sg go.wrong-PAST} \)
‘I went the wrong way.’

(4-4) \( \textit{Ngartarli-ma ngiya laa yunkunhi-ma.} \)
\( \text{go.away-PRES 1sg now return-PRES} \)
‘I’m going back.’

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

### 4.1.2 Interrogatives

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

- **who**: \( \textit{nhanku} \) (see Table 3.4)
- **what**: \( \textit{nhangu} \) (see Table 3.4)
- **where**: \( \textit{tharrunguta} \), \( \textit{tharrili} \)
- **where to**: \( \textit{tharrimpala, tharrawampa} \)
- **where from**: \( \textit{tharrungutangu, tharrulungu/tharrulungu/tharrulungu, tharrirwalangu, tharrungu} \)
- **when**: \( \textit{nhalangu} \)
- **how many**: \( \textit{nhamingu} \) (also found in Kalkutungu)
- **why**: \( \textit{nhanguta, nhanguwu, nhanguyungu} \)
- **do what**: \( \textit{nhanguwali} \) (also ‘to do whatsaname’ and ‘what to happen?’)

(4-5) \( \textit{Nhanku tjala ngani-mu-nhati?} \)
who that go-PAST-HITHER
‘Who that bin come here.’

(4-6) \( \textit{Nhangu-wu nhawa ngarri-ngarri-li-ma-ka?} \)
what-DAT 2sg eat-eat-AP-PRES-tō
‘What are you eating?’

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1 The identity of the second (unstressed) vowel is not certain.
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(4-7) Tharra-nguta nhawa ngalanga-ma?
where-LOC 2sg talk-PRES
‘Where are you calling out? (I can hear you, but I can’t see you.)’

(4-8) Tharra-wampa nhawa ngana?
where-ALL 2sg go: NF
‘Where are you going?’

(4-9) Tharra-lungu nhurlu tjala mani-mu-ka mantha-ka?
where-ABL 2sg: ERG this get-PAST food-
‘Where’d you get the food?’

(4-10) Wayu-ngutangu tjala ngathu kuyirri-ngutangu mani-mu.
that-ABL this 1sg: ERG boy-ABL get-PAST
‘I got it from that boy over there.’

(4-11) Nhangu-yungu nhawa kuntu ngunga? Kali.
what-AVERS 2sg not give: PAST I.don’t.know
‘Why didn’t [they] give [it] to you?’ ‘I don’t know.’

(4-12) Nhangu-wu nhawa mintjiya-mu.
what-DAT 2sg mess.about-PAST
‘What are you messing about there for?’

(4-13) Nhalangu nhawa ngani?
when 2sg go:FUT
‘When will you go?’

(4-14) Nhamingu nhurlu wala-mu-ka? Pulari.
how.many 2sg: ERG hit-PAST two
‘How many [galahs] did you kill?’ ‘Two.’

(4-15) Nhanguvali-ma nhumpala kaya?
do.what-PRES 2du child
‘What are you two kids doing?’

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

(4-16) Nhangu tjala? Nhangu tjala, ngiya kuntu karta-na tjarru-wu.
what that what that 1sg not know-NF that-DAT
‘What’s that?’ ‘I don’t know what that is. [LM: “He wouldn’t know either.”] I don’t know that.’

(4-17) Tharri-mpala laya ngani-mu-ka.
where-ALL 3sg go-PAST-
“I don’t know which way he been go.”
Wantja-na ngathu nhantu ngathi-na warri.
smell-NP 1sg:ERG who:ERG cook-NF meat
Sentence asked for: ‘I can smell something cooking’; actual translation seems to be ‘I can smell someone cooking meat’ (or: ‘I can smell meat being cooked by someone’).

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

4.1.3 Negatives

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

Kuntu ngiya yita-nguta-ka nguna-nyangu yikata-ya-ka.
not 1sg this-LOC lie-HAB mob-LOC ‘I don’t live with this lot.’

The negative imperative is expressed by kawarla.

Kawarla watharra-nti-ka.
don’t wake.up-CAUS ‘Don’t wake him up.’

4.1.4 The noun phrase

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

Tjarru-rtu mangurru-yu ngiya tatja-mu warri-ntha.
this-ERG dog-ERG 1sg bite-PAST meat-LOC
‘The dog bit me “over the meat”.’

Ngatji thirrirri yangkata-wu wayirra nguna-ma pintjawa-li-ntjata.
1sg:DAT elder.sister yam-DAT heart lie-PRES dig-AP-PURP
‘My elder sister wants to dig yams.’

Kawa ngali thangani-ntjata yuku-wampa kunhu-wu kako ngalu-
come.on 1du run.off-PURP creek-ALL water-DAT
mani-li-ntjata yita-wula-lu katjimpa-yu pilikani-yu.
get-AP-PURP this-DUAL-ERG two-ERG billycan-ERG
‘Come on, let’s run to the creek to get water in these two billycans.’
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There are some examples of a noun phrase consisting of a third person pronoun plus noun as in *laya tharrkurru* (he man) ‘the man’. This is a regular feature of some Australian languages, such as Arrernte (see Henderson and Dobson (1994) re entry, meaning 2a), and can be contrasted with the situation in some neighbouring languages, such as Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979b:193), where the third person pronouns are the demonstratives, with deictic clitics, and Warluwarra (Breen forthcoming);, where the third person singular pronoun is one of the demonstratives.

4.1.4.1 Inclusive construction

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

(4-24) *Karlu ngali ngani-mu manguwatji warri-ta wala-li-ntjata.*
father 1du go-PAST before meat-PURP kill-AP-PURP
‘Once my father and I used to go hunting (lit. to kill meat).’

4.1.4.2 Generic-specific expression

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

(4-25) *Warri-ta ngiya ngana matjumpa-ta.*
meat-PURP 1sg go: NF kangaroo-PURP
‘I went for kangaroo.’

4.1.4.3 Whole-part expression

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

(4-26) *Yumunthurru-yu ngiya tatja-mu mili.*
fly-ERG 1sg bite-PAST eye
‘A fly bit me in the eye.’

(4-27) *Murla-ngka kurrurru nhaka-ma nhuwu-nguta.*
head-LOC blood flow-PRES 2sg-LOC
‘There’s blood running on your head.’

4.2 Subordinate clauses

There are basically three types of subordinate clause in our corpus:
(a) -ntjata clauses

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

(b) -nyana clauses

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

(c) case-marked clauses

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

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

4.2.1 -ntjata clauses

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

(4-28) Ngani-mi ngiya manhi-wu miya-li-ntjata.
   go-FUT 1sg food-DAT get-AP-PURP
   ‘I’ll go and get food.’

(4-29) Nhawa wayirra nguna-ma mangurru-ta wala-li-ntjata.
   2sg heart lie-PRES dog-PURP hit-AP-PURP
   ‘You want to hit the dog.’

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

(4-30) Laa ngiya ngana karri-nyama-yata yarna-wu.
   now 1sg go:NF wash-RE-PURP face-DAT
   ‘Now I’m going to wash my face.’

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

(4-31) Tjuluw tjala ngathu ngapa-mu, watjani-wu pinpa-li-ntjata,
   boy this 1sg:ERG tell-PAST wood-DAT gather-AP-PURP
   ngatha-langki-wu. Ngathu ngapa-mu tjala, miya-li-ntjata
   me-LIG-DAT 1sg:ERG tell-PAST this get-AP-PURP
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wood-DAT this not go-PART get-PURP
‘I told this “young fella” to gather some firewood, for me (lit. mine-DAT).
I told him to get some firewood. He didn’t go and get any.’

The following example provides a nice contrast with the preceding. Here there is coreference between S and P and there is no antipassive. The word tjaa is Kalkutungu for ‘this/here’ and -nha the verb inflection on the first verb is the Kalkutungu past tense suffix.

(4-32) Ngathu tjaa ngapa-nha ngani-ntjata marnu-yantja-mpa karri-ntjata.
1sg:ERG this tell-PAST go-PURP mother-POSS-ALL wash-PURP
‘I told him to go to his mother and get washed.’

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

(4-33) Ngathu tjala ngunyi-mu warri ngathi-ntjata.
1sg:ERG this give-PAST meat cook-PURP
‘I gave him meat to cook.’

(4-34) Nhanguwarri ngiya ngunyi-mu, merrithin, ngarri-ntjata.
whatsit 1sg give-PAST medicine eat-PURP
‘He gave me what sits, medicine, to take.’

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

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

Ngu-ntjata ngathu nhawa.
give-PURP 1sg:ERG 2sg
‘I am going to get some fish and bring it back here. I’ll give it to you.’

(4-36) Ngarlu yunkunhi-nti-yata mutu-wampa ngathi-ntjata.
1du:ERG return-CAUS-PURP camp-ALL cook-PURP
‘We will take it back to the camp and cook it.’

here 1sg:ERG rock-LOC hit-PAST break-PURP here firewood-PURP
‘I hit it on the rock here to break it up for firewood.’

(4-38) Kulapurrungiya ngunyi-l(i)-ati yita-ta mangurrut-a nga-nti-yata.
blanket 1sg give-IMP-HITHER this-PURP dog-PURP lie-APPL-PURP
‘Give me a blanket for the dog to lie on.’

2 A reviewer raised the question of whether ngathi and ngarri are ambitransitive. They are not. They are transitive.
4.2.2  \textit{-nyana} clauses

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

(4-39) \textit{Wamarri tjala ngathu nanku mukulu-ya wilka-nyana ngatha-rtungu.}
\hspace{1cm} snake this 1sg:ERG see:PAST rock-LOC enter-PART 1sg-AVER
\hspace{1cm} ‘I saw the snake go under the rock (to get away) from me.’

4.2.3  Case-marked clauses

In these subordinate clauses case marking indicating the function of the clause is added to tense marking.

(4-40) \textit{Ngija tjarri-ngali-wu nanyi-li-mu tupa-mu-wu kaya-wu.}
\hspace{1cm} 1sg this-PLUR-DAT see-AP-PAST play-PAST-DAT child-DAT
\hspace{1cm} ‘I’ve been watching the kids playing.’

Here the antipassive verb, \textit{nanyili}, takes a dative complement \textit{tjarri-ngali-wu}...\textit{kaya-wu}. This complement is modified by \textit{tupa-mu-wu} where the verb \textit{tupa} takes the past tense inflection followed by the dative in concord with \textit{kaya-wu}.

The tense suffix in this context should probably not be taken at face value. It looks as if \textit{-mu} ‘past’ has become specialised as a suffix that facilitates the marking of case on verbs. This has happened in Pitta-Pitta where \textit{-ka} ‘past’ has become a marker for subordinate verbs. However, there are a couple of examples like (4-41) with the present tense marker.

(4-41) \textit{Mantha nhurlu ngarri-mu yikata ngamatja-ya-ma-yu.}
\hspace{1cm} food 2sg:ERG eat-PAST plenty hungry-INTR-PRES-ERG
\hspace{1cm} ‘You ate a lot of food, being hungry.’

In the following two examples the antipassive is used in the subordinate clause where it is A that is co-referent with a participant in the governing clause. The object of the main clause is third person singular and represented by zero. The principle is probably similar to what is found in Kalkutungu and a number of other languages where only S or an object can be the pivot of the subordinate clause. Where A is the potential pivot, the antipassive is used to convert A to S.

(4-42) \textit{Nanyi-mu ngathu pintjawa-li-mu tharntu-wu.}
\hspace{1cm} see-PAST 1sg:ERG dig-AP-PAST hole-DAT
\hspace{1cm} ‘I saw him digging a hole.’

(4-43) \textit{Tjarru-rtu, watjani-wu thingka-li-ma-yu, mani-mu.}
\hspace{1cm} this-ERG firewood-DAT chop-AP-PRES-ERG get-PAST
\hspace{1cm} ‘This (fella) who’s chopping the wood took it.’

(4-44) \textit{Mangurru-yu ngiya yilarrama-mu, mutha-mutha-li-mu-yu.}
\hspace{1cm} dog-ERG 1sg keep.awake-PAST bark-bark-AP-PAST-ERG
\hspace{1cm} ‘The dog kept me awake barking.’
Tharti nhawa ngathu ngungi, ngani-mu-yu-mpa.
later 2sg 1sg:ERG give:FUT go-PAST-ERG-LOC
‘I’ll give it to you later when I’m going.’

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

Tjala ngathu nanya nhina-ma-yi kankati thuku-ya tjarru-nguta.
this 1sg:ERG see:PAST sit-PRES-IMPERF up branch-LOC this-LOC
‘I saw [the bird] sitting on the branch.’

4.3 Time, location and direction

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

Data on Yalarnnga in these fields is quite incomplete. Nouns which show no evidence of irregularity (but little evidence either of regularity) include murni ‘interior’ (usually as murningka ‘inside’), thinangkali (with ablative -yangu) ‘after, behind, last’ and kawana ‘middle’ (with locative -ya). Others, like wartangampa ‘tomorrow’ and watjangarra ‘other side’, have never been heard in a context in which they might be inflected.

Words that seem to be nominals with irregular inflection include yarrka ‘far’, with ablative -ngu, and the interrogative tharrV- ‘where’; see §4.1.2 for details:

Yarrka nhina-ka kuntu wanngarra-ka.
far sit:IMP-IMP not near-IMP
‘Sit down a long way off, not nearby.’

Matjurri-na ngiya yarrka-ngu ngani-mu.
be.tired-NF 1sg far-ABL go-PA
‘I’m tired from walking a long way.’

It seems that yarrka (and wanngarra) has zero locative, and so ablative, being locative + -ngu, is just -ngu.

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

Ngiya-ka thinangkali ngani, nhawa-ka watjaliya ngap(a)-anthu.
1sg-IMP behind go:FUT 2sg-IMP in.front go:IMP-HENCE
‘I’ll come behind; you go on ahead.’

Ngiya-ka watjaliya-ngu, nhawa-ka thinangkali-yangu.
1sg-IMP first-ABL 2sg-IMP after-ABL
‘I’m older and you’re younger.’
The only inflected compass-point terms that have been heard are *karruwaliyangu* and *tangkarriyangumpaka*, both with ablative. (The latter also has what seems to have the time-locative ending; see below.) This is hardly informative, as ablative is the inflection most likely to combine with these terms, and could even be the only one that does. Words for ‘on the left’ and ‘on the right’, respectively *tharriwangu* and *puyumpangi*, have the appearance of location nouns (like *yarrka*) with -*ngu* ablative suffix.

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

(4-51) *Kankati tjala nhina-ma thuka-ya tjarru-nguta.*

on.top that sit-PRES tree-LOC that-LOC

‘It’s on top of the tree.’

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

(4-52) *Pukurnu laya-ka wula-ma.*

still 3sg-absent-PRES

‘He’s still away.’

(4-53) *Yita-nguta nhina-ka pukurnu; ngya-ka laa ngana.*

there-LOC sit:IMP-still 1sg-now go:NF

‘You stay here; I’m going now.’

(4-54) *Kuntu ngya kurlukurlu ngani-ntjata, yunma-li-ntjata-ka.*

not 1sg-again go-PURP look.for-AP-PURP-

*Ngiya laa yunkuni-ma mutu-wampa.*

1sg now return-PRES camp-ALL

‘I’m not going to go and look [for yams] any more; I’m going back home.’

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

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

(4-55) *Laa-marra yalarnnga-ka wula-ma; kuntu yita-nguta nhina-ma now-now Yalarnnga-be.all.gone-PRES not there-LOC sit-PRES*

*yalarnnga-ka. Ngaruru ngya-ka yalarnnga-ka nhina-ma.*

Yalarnnga-be-one 1sg-yalarnnga sit-PRES

‘Now the Yalarnnga are all gone; there are no Yalarnnga. I’m the only Yalarnnga living.’
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4.4 Other function forms

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

4.4.1 manyimpa: oneself, one’s own

(4-57) Ngathu tjala miya-mu warri-ka, ngatha-rtungu, manyimpa.

1sg:ERG this get-PAST meat- lsg-AVERS self

‘I got this meat. (It’s) mine. (My) own.’

(4-58) Tjala-ka kupangurru-ka manyimpa nhina-ma-yi.

this-old.man-self remain-PRES-IMPERF

‘The old man is living alone.’

(4-59) Nhuwu-ta tjala thukani-ka manyimpa.

2sg-PURP this spear-self

‘This spear is yours, your own.’

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

(4-60) ngiya mararri-wu ngathi-li-mu, ngiya-kanu ngarri-li-mu-ka ngururu

1sg goanna-DAT cook-AP-PAST lsg-too eat-AP-PAST one

ngiya-mpa, ngathu walamu.

1sg-? 1sg:ERG hit-PAST

‘I cooked the goanna and ate it. I killed it myself.’

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

4.4.2 munthi: self, one’s own

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

(4-61) thana-lungu, munthi

3pl-AVERS self

‘theirs, their own’

(4-62) Wala-nyama-ma tjarru-wula munthi-wulampa.

hit-RE-PRES this-DUAL self-DUAL

‘They are fighting with one another.’

4.4.3 lamu: might

lamu could be described as an irrealis particle. It translates as ‘may’ or ‘might’ and indicates uncertainty or unfulfilment. It also occurs in Kalkutungu. MM is the only source.
(4-63) **Yunkunhi-mi laya lamu yilarli.**
return-FUT 3sg might today
‘He might come back today.’

(4-64) **Wulanga-mu lamu laya.**
die-PAST might 3sg
‘He might have died perhaps he’s dead.’

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

### 4.4.4 **nguntjimpa: nearly**

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

(4-66) **Nguntjimpa ngiya warrka-mu; nguntjimpa ngiya thinkali-ka**
nearly 1sg fall-PAST nearly 1sg knee-

hurt-im-RE-PAST
‘I nearly fell over; I nearly hurt my knee.’

### 4.4.5 **pula: if**

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

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

(4-68) **Ngani-mu pula-ka laya, lartu-ka kangi-natiyi mukulu-ka.**
go-PAST if-ERG 3sg 3sg:ERG bring-IRR money-
‘If he had come, he would have brought money.’

### 4.4.6 **marra: now, then**

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

(4-69) **Ngani-mu-mar(r?)a ngiya-ka parluru-ka ...**
go-PAST-then(?) 1sg small-
‘I used to go [hunting] when I was young …’
(4-70) *Nhangu-ta nhurlu tjala putha-na-ka warluwa-rri-ka?*

what-PURP 2sg:ERG this break-NF shade-PROP

Tjarru-wu-marra ngawa nhina-ma-ka.
here-DAT now 1pl sit-PRES

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

4.4.7 *kanu*: again, too

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

(4-71) *Yirri-nthu tjarru-tu wana tjala wamarri. Wala-kanu.*

man-ERG this-ERG hit:PAST that snake hit:IMP-again

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

(4-72) *Ngiiyka laa yunkunhi-ma-kanu.*

1sg now return-PRES-again

‘I’m going back home.’

(4-73) *Ngiiy laa-kanu ngana, wayi-ngali-mpa nhina-ntjata.*

1sg now-again go:NF that-PL-ALL sit-PURP

‘I’m going now too, to be with those others.’

4.4.8 *ngururu, nguru*: one, alone

(4-74) *Ngiiy ngani-mu-nhati, ngiiy ngururu.*

1sg go-PAST-HITHER 1sg one

‘I came on my own.’

(4-75) *Kanta-ma ngiiy nguru nguna-nguna-ma yita-nguta mutu-ngka.*

fear-PRES 1sg one lie-lie-PRES this-LOC camp-LOC

‘I’m afraid sleeping alone in the camp.’

(4-76) *Ngiiy nguru nhina-nyangu ngatha-langki-ya mutu-ngka.*

1sg one remain-HABIT 1sg-LIG-LOC camp-LOC

“I stop longa my own place.”

4.4.9 *copula: nhina*

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

(4-77) *Thawirti-nhiya ngiiy nhina-ma.*

elder.brother-LESS 1sg be-PRES

‘I have no elder brother.’
(4-78) Kuyirri nhina-mu, ngiya ngani-mu.
boy be-PAST 1sg go-PAST
‘When I was a boy, I went.’

(4-79) Nhawa mantawitha nhina-mu, ngiya ngani-mu nhuwu-wampa.
2sg single be-PAST 1sg go-PAST 2sg-ALL
“You bin sit down single man, you had no wife, so I come longa you.”

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

4.4.10 resembling: -nhanga

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

(4-81) Nhangu-ta nhawa nhina-ma-ka thurli-ngka-ka tharrkurru-nhangka?
what-PURP 2sg sit-PRES Loc ground-LOC- LIKE Aboriginal.man-LIKE
‘Why are you sitting on the ground like a black man?’

(4-82) Ngathu-ka nhawa yamu-nhangka mangka-mu, parlurlu nhawa-ka.
1sg:ERG 2sg big-LIKE think-PAST little 2sg-LIKE
‘I thought you were big, (but) you’re little.’

(4-83) Ngathu nhawa ngathi-li-mu-nhangka mangka-lu, nhawa yita-nguta
1sg:ERG 2sg cook-AP-PAST-LIKE think-PAST 2sg this-LOC

nhina-ma.
remain-PRES
‘I thought you were cooking, (but) you’re still here.’

4.4.11 time-locative: -mpa

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

(4-84) Parlurlu-mpa wala-nyaa-mu.
little-TLOC hit-RE-PAST
‘They have been fighting since they were little.’

(4-85) ... tatja-mu-mpa yiyarli-nyana.
bite-PAST-TLOC cry-PART
‘[He] cried when it bit him.’
4.4.12 prosodic suffix: -ka (also -pa, -wa)

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

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

(4-90) LM Marnu-mala-ka mangka-mu. Ngalanga-mu-ka yita-wu-ka mother-YOUR hear-PAST speak-PAST this-DAT

Yalarnnga-wu-ka.

Yalarnnga-DAT

‘Your mother understood it. She spoke this Yalarnnga.’

MM Marnu ngatji-ka.

mother 1sg:DAT

‘My mother.’


yes 2sg:AVERS mother mother-YOUR

Ngathu mangka-mu.

1sg:ERG hear-PAST

‘Yes, your mother, your mother. I heard her.’

MM [mutter something]

LM Yeah, ngathu mangka-mu, ngalanga-mu-ka.

1sg:ERG hear-PAST speak-PAST

‘Yeah, I understood it, I spoke it.’
MM Ngiya-ka Yalarnnga.
1sg-  Yalarnnga
‘I’m Yalarnnga.’

(4-91) Ngani-mu-nhati-pa.
go-PAST-HITHER-
‘He came.’

(4-92) kuntu-pa warri
not-  meat
‘no meat’

(4-93) Manpanhi-m(a)-anthu matjumpa-wa.
hop-PRES-HENCE kangaroo-
‘The kangaroo is hopping away.’

4.5 Co-ordination

4.5.1  -ya ‘and(?)’

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

(4-94) Mantha ngathu ngathi-mu, ngarri-li-mu-ya.
food I:ERG cook-PAST eat-AP-PAST-?
‘I cooked some food and ate it.’

(4-95) ... and he putha-mu bridle-ka, he thangani-nyana, he
break-PAST bridle-  run.away-PART

   yunkunhi-nyana-ya yita-wampa this-ALLATIVE
   again
‘... and he (the horse) broke the bridle. He ran away and then he came back here again.’
5.1 Lexicon

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

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

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

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

2. B and C are relatively close genetically with respect to D, but they do not share an exclusive innovation and therefore do not form a subgroup.2

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

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

The overall figure of 41% is based on a figure of 193.5/473 words including 23/52 of words that do not fit into any of the above groups. These figures are highest in the categories of fauna and flora and culture where borrowing is likely and lowest in categories where borrowing is least likely. The figure of 25% for adjectives and verbs is still higher than the overall scores for Kalkutungu or Yalarnnga with any other language. Dixon claims that ‘few grammatical forms are similar’ (2002:679), but a count based on bound forms for grammatical categories represented in both languages, and counting as separate those allomorphs that do not relate transparently to a single basic form (e.g. locative -ngka and -ya), and counting the pronouns, we get a figure of 59% (28.5/48).4

5.2 Sound changes

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

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

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

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

4. If one counts as plus those instances where a Yalarnnga allomorph matches a minor fossilised allomorph in Kalkutungu the figure rises to 68% (32.5/48). These figures are based on the forms appearing in the tables of this paper.
(5-1) a consonant is lost between identical vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yalarnnga</th>
<th>Kalkutungu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kunhu</td>
<td>kuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mantha</td>
<td>maa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutu</td>
<td>muu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjala</td>
<td>tjaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yangkata</td>
<td>ngkaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5-2) loss of initial C or CV⁸

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yalarnnga</th>
<th>Kalkutungu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kanthi</td>
<td>nthiyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuna</td>
<td>unu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguna</td>
<td>nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhina</td>
<td>ini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhumpala</td>
<td>mpaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thana</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharntu</td>
<td>ntuu⁴⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharri</td>
<td>arra-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wantja</td>
<td>ntja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warri</td>
<td>ati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yangkata</td>
<td>ngkaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarnka</td>
<td>arnka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5-3) 1 → y/V__V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yalarnnga</th>
<th>Kalkutungu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pula</td>
<td>puyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pula</td>
<td>puyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhumpala</td>
<td>mpaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhalangu</td>
<td>nhiyangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-li</td>
<td>-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngila</td>
<td>-ngiyi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁵ Alternatively kuu could derive from the widespread nguku via rule (5.2).
⁶ See Table 5.2.
⁷ Yal yangkata, Kal ngkaa ‘yam’ might continue pPNy *yangkara (shin, calf). Compare Yir-Yoront yaqar ‘shin’, a constituent of may-yaqar ‘long yam (Dioscorea transversa)’, which is transparently named for its form (B. Alpher pers. comm.).
⁸ A reviewer raises the question of whether these words that reflect initial dropping have been borrowed from another language. This would seem unlikely in light of the large number of them. All words beginning with a and all words beginning with consonant clusters are candidates.
⁹ The meanings are not identical, so the cognacy is uncertain.
¹⁰ Note that the distinction between retroflex and alveolar apicals is neutralised in initial position. This word could have been written rntuu.
¹¹ Alternatively from *warri ‘where’ reflected in various Cape York languages including Yir-Yoront warr and Ogunyjan arri-n (B. Alpher pers. comm.).
(5-4) loss of final vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yalarnnga</th>
<th>Kalkutungu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>watjani</td>
<td>utjan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ntjirri</td>
<td>-ntjirr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarrkunu</td>
<td>ngarrkun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pipinyi</td>
<td>pipiny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nyana</td>
<td>-nyin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

agent-noun marker
‘wallaroo’
‘type of fruit’
participle

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yalarnnga</th>
<th>Kalkutungu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pula</td>
<td>puyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunu</td>
<td>unu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngila</td>
<td>-ngiyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhurra</td>
<td>nhatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nukami</td>
<td>nuku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘they two’
‘faeces’
‘near’
‘you (pl)’
‘ankle’ (cf. Tjapukay nukal ‘ankle’)

(5-6) (C)aCa → (C)iCa where one of the consonants is laminal.\(^{12}\) The imperative of ma-verbs is -miya (<ma-ya)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yalarnnga</th>
<th>Kalkutungu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thana</td>
<td>thina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatja</td>
<td>itja(^{13})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhalangu</td>
<td>nhiyangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nyana</td>
<td>-nyin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘they’
‘to bite’
‘when’
participle

(5-7) some instances of rr → t in Kalkutungu\(^{14}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yalarnnga</th>
<th>Kalkutungu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>warri</td>
<td>ati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purru</td>
<td>putu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulura(^{15})</td>
<td>kuluta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-*tjarri</td>
<td>-thati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-*tjarri</td>
<td>-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nhurra</td>
<td>nhatu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘meat’
‘stomach’ (Mayi ngapurra)
‘corella’
‘to become’
reflexive
‘you (pl)’

5.3 Morphology

5.3.1 Nominal inflection

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

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

\(^{13}\) Alternatively itja could derive from the widespread patja.

\(^{14}\) Possibly also Yolngu ngarra ‘I’ and Kalkutungu ngata ‘we’ (M. Laughren pers. comm.).

\(^{15}\) R represents a rhotic in the old sources where no distinction is made between rr and r.
allomorphs do not match, a non-productive allomorph in Kalkutungu does sometimes 
match the productive form in Yalarnnga.

Consider first the case markers:

Table 5.1: Simple cases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proto</th>
<th>Yalarnnga</th>
<th>Kalkutungu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Irregular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ergative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disyllabic V-stems</td>
<td>*-ngku</td>
<td>-(ng)ku</td>
<td>-(ng)ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longer V-stems</td>
<td>*-thu</td>
<td>-yu</td>
<td>-thu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin and pronouns</td>
<td>*-lu</td>
<td>-lu</td>
<td>-yi, Kunkuyu-rlu ‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg demonstrative</td>
<td>-rtu</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du demonstrative</td>
<td>-lu</td>
<td>-rlu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl demonstrative</td>
<td>-yu</td>
<td>-rlu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>locative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disyllabic V-stems</td>
<td>*-ngka</td>
<td>-(ng)ka</td>
<td>-piya(^{16}) Kuu-ngka ‘water’, Mpuu-ka ‘rotten’, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longer V-stems</td>
<td>*-tha</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>-thi, Nga-tji-wa-tha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin and pronouns</td>
<td>*-ngu</td>
<td>-nguta</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-final stems</td>
<td>*-ku</td>
<td>-wu</td>
<td>-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-final stems</td>
<td></td>
<td>harmonic V</td>
<td>Nga-tji-wa-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(me-DAT-LIG-DAT) ‘for my’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>purposive</strong></td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td></td>
<td>Utjan-ta ‘in fire’, Ingka-tjin-ta ‘on coming’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\(^{16}\) The form *-piya may be old, but new as a locative. It is interesting to compare the following Yolngu forms and Kalkutungu forms on the assumption that rule (5-3) operates and rule (5-6) operates generally, e.g. Ritharrngu (Heath 1980): bala ‘directional’, piya ‘locative’, gala ‘locative increment’, kiya ‘in this way’, mala ‘group’, miya ‘plural’ (cf. maltha ‘mob’. Kalkutungu seems to have added a syllable of the form *-thV in a number of words: milthi ‘eye’ (widespread mil), paltha ‘fork’ (Wanyi pala), ngultha ‘thigh’ (Wanyi nguly-)). The Mayi languages have an allative *-pirr, which may be related to *-piya.
Yalarnnga and Kalkutungu both have ergative -ngku for disyllabic vowel stems (in Yalarnnga all stems are vowel-final). Yalarnnga has locative -ngka for disyllabic vowel stems. Kalkutungu has -piya with disyllabic vowel stems and consonant stems. Significantly it has -ngka with a few irregular nouns such as kuu-ngka ‘in the water’ and mpuuka ‘in the rotten stuff’, the latter showing dissimilation of the nasal-stop cluster in the suffix following a nasal-stop cluster in the stem. This is also a widespread rule. Both these are ‘old’ words, kuu having lost a medial consonant (see (5-1) above) and mpuu having lost a first syllable (inferred from the presence of the initial cluster; cf. the forms in (5-2) above). It looks as if -piya is an innovation in Kalkutungu and -ngka is the earlier locative marker for disyllabic vowel stems matching -ngka in Yalarnnga.

With longer vowel stems Yalarnnga has ergative -yu and locative -ya while Kalkutungu has ergative -thu and locative -thi. However, Kalkutungu has locative -tha with words bearing dative case plus a ligative, stems which of necessity have more than two syllables: kupangurru-wu-ya-tha (old.man-DAT-LIG-LOC) ‘on the old man’s’, nga-tji-wa-tha (me-DAT-LIG-LOC) ‘on my’, etc. and there are parallel ergatives: kupangurru-wu-wa-thu, nga-tji-wa-thu, etc. It is likely that -thi is an innovation and -tha the older form. The ergative -yu and locative -ya in Yalarnnga would appear to reflect lenition of th to y between vowels since where a consonant precedes no lenition occurs. This is illustrated in Table 5.2 with warri/ati ‘meat’, where the th follows n. The ergative forms are parallel warrinthu/atinthu, but Yalarnnga appears to have introduced a regular locative and the expected locative shows up as a dative warrintha matching Kalkutungu atintha. Mantha/maa has also been included in Table 5.2 since, although it has been regularized in Yalarnnga, it exhibits ergative -thu and locative -tha in Kalkutungu. The nasal-stop cluster in the stem appears to have induced dissimilation of the nasal-stop cluster in the suffix before being lost (see (5-1) above).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yalarnnga</th>
<th>Kalkutungu</th>
<th>Yalarnnga</th>
<th>Kalkutungu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>nominative</strong></td>
<td>warri</td>
<td>ati</td>
<td>mantha</td>
<td>maa *mantha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ergative</strong></td>
<td>warrinthu</td>
<td>atinthu</td>
<td>manthaku (?)</td>
<td>maathu *manthantha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>locative</strong></td>
<td>warringka</td>
<td>atintha</td>
<td>manthaka (?)</td>
<td>maatha *manthantha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dative</strong></td>
<td>warrintha</td>
<td>atintji</td>
<td>manthawu</td>
<td>maa-tji *manthanthi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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17 We lack the evidence to determine whether th>y was regular in Yalarnnga.
requirement to express accompaniment with pronouns and the like; ‘with you’, ‘with the women’, just as there is a frequent requirement to express pure location at the lower end of the hierarchy ‘in the water’, ‘up the tree’, etc. Since abstract functions generally derive from concrete ones, particularly local ones, it is likely that the locative sense found in Yalarnnga and Kalkutungu is earlier than the widespread genitive function.\textsuperscript{18} The form -\textit{ngu} is also widespread as a formative of various ablative markers.

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

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

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
 & Yalarnnga & Kalkutungu \\
\hline
aversive & ERG + -\textit{ngu} & ERG + -\textit{ngu} \\
ablative & LOC + -\textit{ngu} & LOC + -\textit{ngu} \\
allative & -\textit{wampa} (2-syll stems) & -DAT + -\textit{nha} \\
 & -\textit{mpa} (long stems) & \\
locative II ‘near’ & -\textit{ngila(mpa)} & -\textit{ngiyi} \\
allative II ‘towards’ & & -\textit{ngiyi-nha} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Compound cases}
\end{table}

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Yurru} has an irregular ergative \textit{itiyi} and the aversive is built on this \textit{itiyingu}.
The relationship between Yalarnnga and Kalkutungu
dative. Even allowing that -wa is not a variant of the dative, the way the allative and
allative II are built up in the two languages is clearly parallel. Parallel formations of this
type are a classic instance of a pattern being diffused, and the pattern is particularly
significant in that it has not been recorded in any other language. The parallel build up of
the aversive and ablative is probably another example of calquing. However, it could be
that the formations were made during a period of common development since it is not only
the formation that is parallel but the actual forms: *ngku-ngu, *thu-ngu, etc. Since
Kalkutungu forms the aversive of pronouns by adding -wa, which has no parallel in
Yalarnnga, the calquing is more likely.

Table 5.4: Other suffixes on nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yalarnnga</th>
<th>Kalkutungu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd possessor</td>
<td>*yantja(?)</td>
<td>-yantja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-yantja</td>
<td>-intji, -antji, -untji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd possessor</td>
<td>-mala (= Pitta-Pitta)</td>
<td>-mala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>*-ngarra</td>
<td>-ngarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>-wulampa (&lt;*pula)</td>
<td>-wati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>-larrampa, -wala,</td>
<td>-miya (&lt;*mala cf. mal-tha ‘mob’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20-ngali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proprietive</td>
<td>-rri</td>
<td>-yan (V stems), -aan (C stems)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>privative</td>
<td>possibly *nhirra</td>
<td>-nhiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-forming</td>
<td>*yangu</td>
<td>-yangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DAT + LIG + - ngu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forms V intrans</td>
<td>*-thati</td>
<td>-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-thati (V stems)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forms V trans</td>
<td>*-ma</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ma (non-productive with N &amp; V)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forms V trans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-puni (productive with N)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- The third-person possessor forms, which are used with kinship nouns (‘her
  father’, ‘his mother’, etc.), appear to be cognate, though the processes that have
  led to the differences between them remain obscure.

- The second-person possessor form -mala in Yalarnnga is also found in Pitta-Pitta.
  Given that these two languages are very distinct and that the few forms they have
  in common are identical, as in this case, it is likely that there has been borrowing
  in one direction or another.

- The form -ngarra ‘other’ is a clear match. It is perhaps worth noting that the
correspondence involves rr/rr not rr/t as in warri/ati etc. (see (5-7) above). This
indicates that the sharing does not belong to the oldest stratum and may reflect
borrowing.

- The privative forms would appear to be unrelated, but consider the fact that
Nhanda (WA) has -nyida, a language which shows hardening of an intervocalic
tap to a stop, and Jiwarli and Tharrkari have -yirra (Blevins 2001:64). The
Kalkutungu form -iti would derive from -yirra by independently attested
processes ((5-5) and (5-7) above). The Nhanda nyida suggests *nyirra may be the
original form, and that this is reflected in Yalarnnga - nhiya. Warluwarra and Bularnu have - nharrangu and Wakaya has - nhawerr(u). Some of the Yolngu languages have similar forms including - nharrangu in Yan-nhangu.

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

- The Kalkatungu form for forming intransitive verbs from nouns, often with an inchoative sense, clearly reflects the widespread root *- tharri, with a hardening of the tap (see (5-7) above). The corresponding form in Yalarnnga, - ya, is likely to be cognate reflecting the th > y lenition as in the ergative and locative allomorphs.

- The form - ma used to form transitive verbs in both these languages reflects a very widespread root.

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

### 5.3.2 Verb inflection

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

**Table 5.5: Verb inflection**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yalarnnga</th>
<th>Kalkutungu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>*-ma</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-future</td>
<td></td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>*-mi</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>*-li, *-la</td>
<td>-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfective</td>
<td></td>
<td>-mpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>*-thi</td>
<td>-ma-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potential ‘lest’</td>
<td></td>
<td>-na-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>optative ‘let’</td>
<td></td>
<td>-mi-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irrealis ‘would’ve’</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ni-yi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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21 The present tense in Watjarri consists of -(n)ma + nha. This same formation may lie behind the Kalkutungu - minha, imperfective, since there are other instances of aCa → iCa where a neighbouring consonant is laminal (see (5-6) above).
The relationship between Yalarnnga and Kalkutungu

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

The imperative forms may be related. Since there are instances of intervocalic $l>y$ in Kalkutungu (see (5-3) above), -*ya may reflect -*la. The fact that -*la occurs on a few verbs adds to the plausibility. These verbs include:

(5-8) mayi mayila ‘rub (it)!’ Yal. marri
tjiya tjiyila ‘take (it) out!’ Yal. tjiirra

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

(5-9) Kuthaparra miya-li nhanguwarri waya nguna-nguna-ma-yi.
stick pick.up-IMP whatsit that lie-lie-PRES-IMPERF
‘Pick up the stick, that whatchacallit lying there.’

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

(5-10) Kunja ngulurrmi-ya minhangarra nhaa ranti-manthi.
stick grab-IMP whatsit that lie-IMPERF
‘Grab the stick, that whatchacallit lying there.’

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

### Table 5.6: Irregular verb inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘to see’</th>
<th>‘to give’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yalarnnga</td>
<td>Kalkutungu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>nanyi</td>
<td>nanyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>nanga (also nangimu and nanku)</td>
<td>nanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>nangji</td>
<td>nangi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(5-11) Watjarri (past) nyanya inya
Djaru (potential) nyangji yungi
Warumungu (past punctual) nyanyi nyunyu
Both languages also have a series of verb markers that involve nominalisation in at least one of the two languages. These are subject to dissimilation where a nasal-stop cluster occurs in the stem. The dissimilated allomorphic is shown second in each example in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: verb inflection based on nominalisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yalarnnga</th>
<th>Kalkutungu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>*-ntja + dative</td>
<td>-ntjata, -tjata, -yata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agent-noun</td>
<td>*-ntja-rrri</td>
<td>-ntjirri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuing</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ntjaani, -tjaani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative applicative</td>
<td>*ntja-ma</td>
<td>-nyama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habitual</td>
<td>*ntja-ngu</td>
<td>-nyangu, -yangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participial</td>
<td>*ntja-na</td>
<td>-nyana, -yana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reflexive</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nyama, -yama</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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22 Compare Garwa -tiina, same subject marker (Furby & Furby 1977:88ff.).
23 The ‘having’ suffix in Kalkutungu is -aan following consonants and -yan following vowels. On the basis of this irregular allomorphy it is safe to say the form is unlikely to be a recent innovation.
24 Data from Breen and Blake field notes. A summary of forms from Breen and Blake appears in Blake (1979b:224ff.).
not clear where -nya- comes from. Analogous comments apply to the applicative forms where the second formative may be the widespread grammatical verb ma- (see Table 5).

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

Table 5.8: Other verbal morphology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yalarnnga</th>
<th>Kalkutungu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hither</td>
<td>-nhati(^{26})</td>
<td>-wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hence</td>
<td>*-nthu</td>
<td>-anthu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causative/applicative</td>
<td>*-nti</td>
<td>-nti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antipassive</td>
<td>*-li</td>
<td>-li</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The causative/applicative -nti is found not only in these two languages, but in Bandjalang (Crowley 1978), and in the following reported in Holmer (1983): Dharumbal, languages of the Waka-Gabi group (Waka-Waka, Goreng-Goreng and Manandjali) and Gunggari (Mari group). Holmer also records -ri in Bidjara and Gangulu (Holmer 1983:208, 288), and -rr is reported from Djabugay (Patz 1991:283).\(^{27}\) Either or both of these may be cognate. The form -nti is possibly to be identified with the instrument-forming -nti in Yulparitja *karrpilpinti* ‘string’, which is based on the widespread Pama-Nyungan root *karrpi* ‘to tie’ (O’Grady et al. 1966:154). The Yalarnnga equivalent would be *karrpi-nti-tjirri*, which is not recorded, but the Kalkutungu equivalent has been and it is *kanima-nti-tjirr*.

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

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\(^{25}\) It may be significant, as Patrick McConvell has pointed out (pers. comm.), that -ny, as opposed to the ‘expected’ -nja, occurs where the following syllable begins with a nasal.

\(^{26}\) Warlmanpa has -rti ‘hither’ on imperatives and -rni on non-imperatives (David Nash pers. comm.).

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

\(^{28}\) Holmer (1983) reports -li ‘reflexive’ in Gunggarri (187), Bidjara (208), Manandjali (416), Gangulu (273), Wirri (288) and Biri (304).
5.3.3 Pronouns

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

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

(5-12) Nyin-ti a-ngi lha? Nhakaakuwa nyin-ti ngayi lhami?

‘Are you going to hit me? Why are you going to hit me?’

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

Table 5.9: Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Proto</th>
<th>Yalarnnga</th>
<th>Kalkutungu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>*ngayi</td>
<td>ngiya</td>
<td>ngayi</td>
<td>-ngi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngathu (ERG)</td>
<td>ngathu (ERG)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngatji (DAT)</td>
<td>ngatji (DAT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>nhawa</td>
<td>nyinti (&lt;*ngini)</td>
<td>*-n(i), -nha</td>
<td>-kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nhurlu (ERG)</td>
<td>nyinti (ERG)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nhuwu (OBL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>*nhulu</td>
<td>laya</td>
<td>laa, ala (OBL)</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>*ngali</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngalhi</td>
<td>-l, -lhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*nhumpala</td>
<td>nhumpala</td>
<td>mpaya</td>
<td>-nhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>*pula</td>
<td>pula</td>
<td>puyu</td>
<td>-yu,- ilu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>ngawa</td>
<td>ngata (&lt;*ngarra?)</td>
<td>*-rr, -ti</td>
<td>-rr, -ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>nhala</td>
<td>nhutu (&lt;*nhurra)</td>
<td>-nhurr</td>
<td>-nhurr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>*thana</td>
<td>thana</td>
<td>thina</td>
<td>-na, -ina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We will comment first on the dual pronouns, since there the relationship is straightforward. The dual pronouns match, allowing for the operation of the rules given in (5-1) to (5-7) above, and are all widespread forms. Kalkutungu exhibits an unexpected dental in ngalhi, but note that the unimpeded operation of the rule turning intervocalic l into y (see (5-3) above) would have produced homophony with the first person singular.

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

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

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

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

5.4 Summary and conclusions

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

About two thirds of the shared grammatical material (21/32) is widespread or at least found in a few non-contiguous languages, and must be old material from a remote proto-language or languages. Yalarnnga and Kalkutungu are similar in terms of grammatical forms partly because they share more than the average of old forms, and partly through diffusion. There is no clear evidence that Yalarnnga and Kalkutungu share innovations. Some of the exclusively shared forms such as -ngarra ‘other’ and -(a)nthu ‘hence’ could be shared innovations or innovations in one language diffused to the other. The form -ngarra is unlikely to belong to an old stratum since the correspondence is VrrV-VrrV with
no hardening of the flap as in (5-7). The form -(a)nthu belongs to a category easily borrowed.

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

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

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

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

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

A few words are written with a hyphen at the end. These never occur without some ending. A hyphen at the beginning of something, such as -wu, means that it is an ending, and never occurs except on the end of some word. Where a word is written partly in brackets, such as tjalsoogila(mpa), the part in brackets is sometimes left out and this does not seem to affect the meaning. Some additional words could be guessed, and the guess
would probably be right — for example, *pulawu* ‘for them two’ — but are not included simply because they have not been heard by the compilers. Some pronominal forms are included with a question mark (in brackets) because they were given in agreement with a suggestion by the linguist. An English gloss may be question-marked if it is doubtful. Other Yalarnnga words have a question mark simply because they could not be heard properly.
Yalarnnga–English vocabulary

*ka-* ‘to take, to bring’, ‘to carry’ (H), ‘to wear’ (M) (PRES *kanyi*, PAST *kanga*, PURP *kantjata*); see also *mangkima, mani, miya*

*kakurna* ‘egg’; see *pampu*

*kala* ‘sore’, only in *kalayangana* ‘(has) got sore’; see *wuthi*

*kala* ‘to creep’, ‘to sneak’

*kalanti* ‘to drag’

*kalathurra* ‘turkey’ (HnaL) =PP

*kalatja* ‘coolibah’; ‘bark that you peel off to cook tobacco’ (L); see *makarri*

*kali* ‘I don’t know’

*kaliya* ‘bitter’ (L), ‘beer’ (L) =Kl; see also *karukaru*

*kalpakalpa* ‘chest’ (HnaL); see *ngalinyirri, putu*

*Kalpurrru* ‘Boulia’ (not in Yalarnnga country)

*kama* ‘to catch, to hold’, ‘to feel (with hand)’ (H)

*kampukampu* ‘white man’; also *wuthani*

*kanamu* ‘younger sister’, ‘younger brother’

*kanga* ‘beer’ (L), ‘rum’ (L) =Kl,Wl,PP (also ‘poison’)

*kanga* see *ka-

*Kangilangu* ‘skin’ (= section) name, marries *Thumpuyungu* (L) =Kl

*kangkuyu* ‘plain potato’ (grow on the plain, like a parsnip) (L) = *murlakarla*

*kangu* ‘cousin’ (probably cross-cousin, mother’s brother’s child and father’s sister’s child), ‘man’s daughter’s child’ (L)

*kankari* ‘knife’ (L) =Kl,PP,Mayi

*kankati* ‘high’, ‘on top’

*kankatiya* ‘to go up high’

*kanpa* ‘to put foot on’

*kanta* ‘to be afraid’

*kantha* ‘nest’ (H)

*kanthi* ‘to hunt away’, ‘to chase’

*kantjata* see *ka-

*kanu* ‘again, too’ (L)

*kanvi* see *ka-

*kapalarriya* ‘to be thirsty’ (HaL); cf. *puyuya*

*kapani* ‘to hunt’ (M) =Kl, see *kawani*

*kapara* ‘edible grub’, ‘witchetty grub’ (probably from turpentine bush), = Kl, PP

*karawara* ‘shallow’ (H)

*karla* ‘throat’ (HnaL), ‘nape’ (L), ‘neck’ (L) Kl karlaa ‘neck’; see *tjilkirri*

*karli* ‘to get stuck, get bogged’ (H); see also *purraka(r)li*

*karlu* ‘father’

*karni* ‘shoulder’, ‘limb of tree’ (H); see *ngulthu, warrku*

*karntku* ‘boy’ =Kl

*karri* ‘to wash, to wipe, to clean’ =Kl

*karrinyama* ‘to wash self’ (L)

*karrkuru* ‘perch (fish)’

*karrpi* ‘to tie’

*karrpilintjirri* ‘policeman’ (M,L); also *ngankarriyangu*
karruwali ‘south’
karta ‘to know’ (L); kuntu ngiya kartana tjarrruvu ‘I don’t know that thing’; also wangama, yika
kartapi ‘hook’ (L) = Kl; see wartuku
kartarli ‘to leak’? (L) (translated “leaking”, used of blood)
kartingarrarra “talking too much” N? (L)
karukaru ‘bitter’ (H), ‘cheeky’ (aL); see also kaliya
katha ‘to wait, to wait about’; kathati ngatjiwampa ‘wait for me’
kathi, kathinha ‘to tell lies’ (Ha?L)
kathi see ngathi
katjapi ‘kitehawk, black kite’ (L,M), ‘aeroplane’ (L,M) = Kl; see also ngurukurtu, pitjurtu
katjarra ‘crippled’ (L) = Kl ‘pox’
katjimpa ‘two’; also pulari
katjimpa katjimpa ‘four’ (H)
katjimpa ngururu ‘three’ (L); see also kurrapayi, kurtni
katju ‘clothes’ (M,L)
kawa ‘come on!’ = PP; kawa ngali ‘let’s (you and me) go’
kawana ‘middle’ (H)
kawani ‘to hunt’ (H) see kapani
kawarla ‘don’t’ (L)
kawanu ‘dress’ (L) < Eng ‘gown’
kaza ‘baby, child’ (L,M) (= pirlapi M)
kikawarra ‘sand’ (L) = Kl; see yuka(la)
kilawurru ‘galah’ = Kl
kilkika ‘arm’ = PP; once said ‘forearm’ in contrast to yunthu ‘upper arm’ (L)
kilawurrpa ‘back of neck’ (HnaL)
kupalinta ‘to tease’? (H), ‘to tickle’ (aL) see also kitjitiwala
kitjimpa ‘armpit’ (L) = Kl, see kilyikilyi
kitjimpa ‘to pick on, to pick a fight’ (H) see also kitjikitiwala
kilyikilyi, (H), kiyakiyaya (aL) ‘to be itchy’
kukalirrirni ‘back of neck’ (HnaL)
kup ‘grass’
kukithirri ‘claypan’ (L) = Kl
kukuya ‘to cook’ (M) < Eng? see ngathi
kullapurr ‘blanket’ (L) = Kl
kulakarra ‘bark on tree’
kulp ‘carbeen (= ghost gum)’
kullapurr ‘shame’ (L) = Kl; also walangu
kulungunti ‘to lift’ (H); see also wantima
kulupatji ‘crested pigeon’ (L) = Kl
kumay ‘raw’ (H)
kumayi ‘raw’ (H)
kumayirri ‘back of neck’ (HnaL)
kunjikaja ‘plain goanna’ (L) = Kl; see pirrimuku
kunmutja ‘a cold’ (H), ‘flu’ (H), said by L to be Kl, but Blake (1979:170) gives the Kl word as ngunkurr
kunhu ‘water’, ‘rain’
kunhukunhu ‘rainy’ or ‘wet’ (H)
kunkuyu ‘man’s child, brother’s child’ (L) = Kl; cf piyaka, thithi
kunti ‘house’ (widespread)
kunj ‘tail’ (L), cf. Kl kunj; also yararri
kuntu ‘no, nothing’ = Kl
kupakupa ‘old man’ = Kl
kupangurru ‘old’, ‘old man’
kup ‘spider’ (L) = PP, = Kl
kurarri ‘bright’ (M) = Kl
kurayi ‘dogwood’ (H)
kurlayangu ‘male’ (L) = Kl, cf. Kl kurla ‘father’
kurliyititji ‘peewee’ (L) “mate belong to wuringa”; sometimes said to be Kl, but cf. Kl kurrjittji; see wiringara
kurlukuru ‘still’, ‘more’, ‘again’, ‘keep on (doing)’ (all L) = Kl; cf. pukurnu
kurrrpatu ‘magpie’ (M) = Kl
kurrawula ‘to shut up, to stop talking’ (HnaL) see wakawula
kurrikurri ‘red’ = Kl, PP
kurritji ‘uncle, mother’s brother’, ‘father-in-law’ (L)
kurrkira ‘cave’ (L) = Kl
kurrpawu ‘hot’ (as water) (H), ‘hot weather’ (H)
kurrpayi ‘three’ (M) = Kl, Mayi; probably, as in many Australian languages, the correct meaning is ‘a few’; see also katjimpa ngururu, kurtarni
kururruru ‘blood’, see also ngurrrki
kurrtarni ‘three’ (H); see katjimpa ngururu, kurrpaya
kurru ‘shield’ (M); see kutjakutja
kurtturru ‘crooked’ (aL) = Kl; kurtturruya ‘to become ingrown (toenail)’ (L)
kuta ‘to swim’ (HnaL); also wilangun(h)ama, wulawunta
kuta ‘to dirty, to make smelly’
kutha (?) ‘to gather’ (M)
kuthaparra ‘stick’ (M), ‘big stick’ (L); see pintha, thuka, thukani
kuthu ‘smoke’; also ngaru
kutja ‘rotten’
kutjakutja ‘shield, hielamon’ see kurtu
kurttjurru ‘pup’ (L) = Kl
kuuyirri ‘boy’ (M, L), ‘little boy’ (L) = Kl; kuuyikuyirri ‘boys’ (L)
lau ‘now’ (L) = Kl, see also marra, yilarli
lamu ‘might’ (M) = Kl
lartu ‘he, she, it (transitive subject)’
laya ‘he, she, it (intransitive subject)’, ‘him, her, it (object)’
layangila(mpa) ‘near him/her/it, towards him/her/it’ makamaka ‘hot’ = PP
makapu ‘to cook’ (M), ‘to burn’ (aL); see ngathi, wali
makarri ‘coolibah’ (M) = Kl, see kalatja
makathi ‘hand’ (M) = Kl; see also, mampila, mampunu, mara, wanyi
makurtu ‘husband’ (HnaL) = Kl
malkarra ‘sweet’ (L)
malkarri ‘corroboree’ (L), = Kl; see nguntja
maltja ‘plain’, ‘ground’ (M); cf. mutu, thurla
mampila ‘hand’ (L) = Mayi; see makathi, mampunu, mara, wanyi
mampunu ‘hand’ (L, M); see makathi, mampila, mara, wanyi
manamana ‘sky’ (H), ‘heaven’ (L) = Kl ‘sky’; see also manumanu, tjirrka
mangarnirri ‘doctor’ (H) = Kl, PP
mangka ‘to hear’, ‘to listen’, ‘to think’, ‘to “see”’ (= ‘consider’ or ‘find out’) (all L); also mungka
mangkayama ‘to feel (pain)’ (L)
mangkima ‘to take’ (M); also ka-, mani, miya
mangkimangki ‘sheep’ (MaH); “white man’s word” (M); cf. purtapurpa
mangkura ‘big’ (L)
mangu ‘snot, nasal mucus’ (L) = Kl
mangurri ‘having a cold’ (L)
mangurru ‘dog’
manguwatji ‘a long time ago’, ‘before’; ‘for a good while’ (H)
manhi ‘(vegetable) food, tucker’ (L, M; occasionally); see mantha, rantharru
mani ‘to get’, ‘to take’ (H) = Kl; also ka-, mangkima, miya
manngayana ‘girl’ (L); see wampa
manpanhi ‘to jump’, ‘to hop (kangaroo)’ (HnaL)
mantawitha ‘single (man?)’ (M) = Kl
mantha ‘(vegetable) food, tucker’ (M,H,naL) = Mayi; see manhi, rantharru
manthakumpa(langu) ‘urine’ or ‘urinate’ (L), later said to be Kl (L) but cf. Blake (1979:170, 190)
mantiyirri ‘father-in-law of man’ (L); cf. Wakaya mentirru
manumanu ‘star’ (H); see manamana, purturungu, tjirrka
manumpili ‘middle one’ (L)
manungkurnu ‘north’ (HaL)
manuwa ‘to cough’ (HnaL); also ngaka
manyimpa ‘of one’s own accord’, ‘oneself’, “myself” in Aboriginal English; ‘one’s own’ (L); see munthi
mapira ‘skin’, ‘paper’, ‘paper money’
mapirarrampa ‘(cook) in its skin’ (H)
mara ‘hand’ (M) = PP and many other languages; see makathi, mampila, mampunu, wanyi
maramarawirri(ya) ‘to feel about with the hand’ (L)
mararri ‘(river) goanna’ = Kl
mari ‘to (go and) get’ (M,L) = PP?
Marinangu ‘skin’ (= section) name: child of Thunpuyungu man and Kangilangu woman (L)
marli ‘tongue’ = Kl
marlinhiya ‘quick’
marlikarra ‘mud’ (H); see also parta, pirlki
marnu ‘tired’ (heard only in marnuyama ‘am/is/are tired’); see matjurri
marnu ‘mother’, ‘mother’s sister’ (L) = Kl
marnuyana ‘to become a mother’
marra ‘to spear’ (M,L)
marra ‘now’; see also laa, yilarli
marri ‘to rub’ (H)
Marrinta ‘Marion Downs’ (M) (?) probably from the English name; see Tjarrimangu
marrinyama ‘to paint up, to paint oneself’ ~ Kl
marti ‘cautiously, watchfully’ (M)
mata ‘cold’ (heard as matarri with PROP and matarni/a/u with unknown ending)
matja ‘pitchery’ (L) = Wl (seems to refer to a native tobacco, Nicotiana sp., growing in caves, not to the pitchery of s.w. Qld, Duboisia hopwoodii. This word is also spelt pituri, a spelling that tends to lead to gross mispronunciation)
matjumpa ‘kangaroo’ = Kl
matjurri ‘to be tired’ (M,L); = Kl; see marnu
mayapungu ‘corella’ (HaL); see murrumari
mika ‘woman’s genitals’ (HaL) PP miku
mikara(?) ‘mosquito’ (M) = Kl; see murruka
mila ‘red ochre’ (H)
mili ‘eye’
miliwaki ‘to go the wrong way’ (H); ‘to be drunk’ (L) lit. ‘eye-go round’
miliya ‘to be born’ (L) = Kl
milyinyi(?)na ‘eyebrow’ (HnaL); see mingankarri
mimi ‘milk, breast’ (M) = Kl; see ngama
mingankarri ‘eyebrow’ (L) = Kl; see milyinyi(?)na
minpini ‘lower back’, ‘ribs’ (both HnaL)
imintimintima ‘to look after’ (H); see also nhinti, tjitaama
mintji ‘back’, ‘bank (of river)’ (M) = Kl
mintjiya ‘to “mess about”’ (H)
mirlakuma ‘sleep, sleepy’; ngunama mirlakumawu ‘lying asleep’; see wamila
mirlakumangarra ‘yesterday’ (M); also miyangarra, mukampangarra
mirlakumarri ‘asleep’ (L)
mirmirri ‘woman’
mirrampa ‘possum’ (M) = Kl; see thakurru
mitamita ‘claypan’ (H)
mitapamitapa ‘claypan’ (aL)
miwaru, miyawaru ‘dark, nighttime’ (L) =? Kl; see mukampa, warta (the expected form is miyawaru, cf. miya ‘light’, but it was almost always heard as miwaru)
miya ‘quiet’ (= ‘tame’) (M) = Kl; see yikapuyu
miya ‘sun’, ‘light’ (M)
miya ‘to get’, ‘to catch’ (L), ‘to fetch’ (H), ‘to pick up’ (M,L), ‘to take’ (L), ‘to touch’ (L); see also ka-, mangkima, mani, miya, pinpa
miya thana- ‘daytime’ (H) lit. ‘sun to stand’
miyangarra ‘yesterday’ (H), also mirlakumangarra, mukampangarra, miyangarrala ‘another time’ (M)
mukampa ‘black’, ‘nighttime’ (H), ‘dark’, ‘(last) night’ (H); see also miyawaru, warta
mukampangarra ‘yesterday’ (M); also mirlakumangarra, miyangarra
mukulu ‘stone, hill, mountain’, ‘money’ (M)
mukuru ‘charcoal’ (H)
muma ‘to take off/away’ (L) = Kl; Kawarla mumalika, tatjaniyi nhawa! ‘Don’t take it [from the dog], he might bite!’
munaru ‘skirt (made of wallaby hair)’ (L) = Kl
mungatha ‘day’ (H) (as in katjimpaya mungathaya ‘for two days’)
mungka ‘to hear’, ‘to listen’ (H); see mangka
mungkani ‘fish sp.’ (“black” H; “stripey” L and another)
mungkata ‘bereft of a parent’ (H)
mungkunga ‘to think wrongly’ (H); cf. mungka
muntha ‘to bathe, bogey, be in the water’ (L); also thampa
munthi ‘one’s own’ (H) = Kl; munthiwulampa “two together, friend” (H, translation by L); see manyimpa
munthupa ‘to boil (tea)’ trans. (L)
muntjaanyi meaning not clear; connected with a person’s relationship to a place: muntjaanyi tjala yuka ‘belongs to that creek’? (HnkL)
munuwangarrilintjirri ‘eaglehawk’ (ngarilintjirri ‘eater’, munuwa unknown); also kumayirtajalintjirri
mura (murra?) ‘bad’? (L, heard only in the phrase wayirra mur(r)ayama “broken-hearted”, which was repeated as wayirra nhakartiyama “getting no good longa heart”)
murla ‘head’
murlakarla ‘plain potato’ (grow on the plain, like a parsnip), also kangkuyi (L)
murlakawarra ‘to hit on head’ (L)
murni ‘inside, interior’ (L); murningka ‘inside, in amongst’ (L)
murntu ‘blunt’ (H) = Kl
murra see mura
murkuthatha ‘tree sp.’ (H given for ‘snappy gum’ but id. doubtful; aL as ‘gidgea’, then ‘coolibah’); ‘throwing stick made from that tree’ (used to kill wallabies — H, thrown like a boomerang — L); see also purtapurta
murruka ‘mosquito’ (H); see mikara
murrumarri ‘corella’ (M,L) = Kl; see mayapungu
mutha ‘to bark’ (HaL)
mutirri ‘crab’ (HaL)
mutju, mutjutju ‘granny, mother’s mother’, ‘father’s father’ (L), ‘woman’s daughter’s child’ (L), ‘man’s son’s child’ (L)
mutu ‘camp’, ‘country’ (L), ‘place’, ‘ground’ (M,L), ‘home’ (L), ‘house’ (L); cf. thurlu, malija
muwanu ‘tomahawk’ (L) = Kl; see warramparta
muwaparri ‘grey hair’ (M) = Kl
muwaya ‘to be short (of wind)’ (L)
muyutju ‘old woman’ (H) = PP
na- ‘to see, to look’ (PRES nanyi, PAST nanku, nanya, nanga, FUT nangi, PURP nantjata, IMP nanyili) = Kl
narra ‘to put on’ (L)
nga- ‘to walk, to go’ (NF ngana, PAST nganku, nganimu, FUT ngani, PURP nganintjata, IMP ngana, POT nganiyi)
ngaa ‘yes’? (L) = Kl; see also yaya, yuwu
ngaka ‘to cough’ (L) = Kl; also manuwa
ngakupulu ‘yellowbelly, golden perch’ (L); see ngantukala
ngalanga, ngalangka ‘to talk’
(ngalanga with -mu PRES and -ma PAST; ngalangka (L) with -yata PURP, -ti OPT, -tiyi IRR); see ngapa
ngalayi see ngurrki, thana
ngalhu ‘daughter (of woman)’ (L) = Kl
ngali ‘we (two, intransitive subject )’, ‘us (two)’
ngali ‘us (two, as the base for certain suffixes)’ ngaliwu ‘for us’, ngalinguta ‘with us’, ngalingutangu ‘from us’, ngalingilampa ‘near us, towards us’
ngalihu ‘we (two, transitive subject )’
ngalinyirri ‘chest’ (L); see kalpakalpa, putu
ngalu ‘us (two, as the base for certain suffixes)’ ngaluwu ‘for us’, ngalulungu ‘because of us’
ngalulu ‘we (two, transitive subject )’
ngama ‘breast’; see mimi
ngamatjarriya ‘to be hungry’ (ngamatja + -ri ‘having’ + -ya ‘become’) (M also ngamatjaya)
ngamayanti(?) ‘spinifex’ (H)
ngartarli ‘to go away’ (L), ‘(fluid) to run’ (L); see also thinangku
ngaru ‘smoke’ (H); also kuthu
ngatharti ‘woman’s child’, ‘sister’s child’, ‘man’s daughter-in-law’ (L)
ngathartungu ‘my, because of me’; cf. ngatji
ngathi ‘to cook’; (M also kathi, makapu)
ngathu ‘I (transitive subject)’ =Kl
ngatji ‘me (as the base for certain suffixes)’ ngatjiwu, ngatjita both ‘for me’, ngatjinguta ‘with me, on me’, ngatjingutangu ‘from me’, ngatjiwampa ‘to me’, ngatjingila(mpa) ‘near me, towards me’
ngatji ‘my’ =Kl; also ngathartungu
ngawa ‘we (more than two, intransitive subject)’, ‘us (more than two)’
ngawu ‘us (more than two, as the base for certain suffixes)’ ngawawu ‘for us’, ngawawuta ‘with us’, ngawalungu ‘because of us’, ngawangutangu ‘from us’, ngawawampa ‘to us’, ngawangilampa ‘near us, towards us’
ngawalu ‘we (more than two, transitive subject)’
ngawarri ‘heavy’, cf. Kl ngawa
ngawawu ‘our (more than two)’
ngawinhi ‘stranger’ (H), ‘foreigner’ (L)
ngawu ‘us (more than two, as the base for certain suffixes)’ ngawawu, ngawuta both ‘for us’
ngawuta ‘our (more than two)’
ngayimala ‘heart’ (L) = ‘stomach’ in Wangkumara, Kungkari
ngiya ‘I (intransitive subject)’
ngiya ‘me’
ngu- ‘to give’ (PRES ngunyi, PAST ngunku, ngunyimu, ngunga, FUT ngungi, ngunyimi, PURP nguntjata)
nguli ‘always’ (M) =Kl
ngulthu ‘branch’ (M) =Kl; see karni
ngumunthirri see yumunthirri
nguna ‘to lie, to sleep’, ‘to camp’ (M), ‘to be (of a mark)’ (M)
ngunga, ngungi see ngu-
ngunka, ngunkanha ‘without looking at, unable to see’ (L) =Kl ngunkangu
ngunti ‘to lie on’ (L)
ngunti ‘mixture of tobacco and ash, for chewing’ (L) =Wl
nguntja ‘song, corroboree’; see malkarri
nguntjata see ngu-
nguntjimpa ‘nearly’ (HnknL)
nguntjukura ‘arm, elbow’ (HnaL)
ngunyi, ngunyimi, ngunyimu see ngu-
ngunyinpa ‘to get married’ (L) (lit. ‘give one another’)
ngurangura ‘now’? (H); see also laa, marra, yilarli
nguritji ‘whitewood’ (H)
ngurimia ‘?’ trans verb, object is sugarbag (M) [see last paragraphs of §2.2]
ngurrki ‘blood’ (L); ngurrki ngalayi refers to bleeding, but it is not clear exactly what ngalayi means or even if it is a free form; see kurrurru, thana
nguru see ngururu
ngurukurtu ‘hawk’ (M,L) = katjapi (L); see also pitjurtu
ngurungarra ‘other, another’ (M,L)
ngurungila ‘once’ (L)
ngururu, nguru ‘one’, ‘alone’ (L)
(ngurungka seems to be preferred to ngururuya as the locative)
khaka ‘to flow’ (L), e.g. nose to run, blood to flow
nhakama ‘to put in, to pour’ (H)
nhakarti ‘bad’, ‘no good’
nhala ‘you (more than two, intransitive subject)’, ‘you (more than two, object)’
nhala ‘you (more than two, as the base for certain suffixes)’ nhalawu ‘for you’, nhalanguta ‘with you’, nhalalunghu ‘because of you’, nhalangutangu ‘from you’, nhalawampa ‘to you’
nhalalu ‘you (more than two, transitive subject)’

nhalalungu(?) nhalawu ‘your (more than two)’

nhamingu ‘how many?’ (L)

nhamurtu ‘something’ (L), ‘whatsaname’ (L); see also nhanguwarri

nhangu ‘what? (intransitive subject, or object, and base for endings -wu ‘for’, -ta ‘for’, -yungu ‘because of’)’

nhanguwali ‘to do what?’, ‘what to happen?’, ‘to do what’saname’

nhanguwarri ‘whatsaname’ (L); see also nhamurtu

nhanguyu ‘what? (transitive subject)’

nhanku ‘who? (intransitive subject, or object, and base for certain endings: -wu ‘for’, -ta ‘for’, -nguta ‘in, on, at’, -ngutangu ‘from’, -wampa ‘to’)’

nhantu ‘who? (transitive subject)’

nhantungu ‘because of whom?’

nhawa ‘you (one, intransitive subject), ‘you (one, object)’

nhina ‘to sit’, ‘to be’, ‘to stay’

nhinti ‘to have’ (M,L), ‘to look after’ (L), ‘to keep (back)’ (L), ‘to nurse’ (L), ‘to treat’ (L); see also minkimintima, tjitama

nhitha ‘to steal’ =PP

nhumpala ‘you (two, intransitive subject), ‘you (two, object)’, ‘you (two, as the base for certain suffixes)’

nhumpalawu ‘for you’, nhumpalanguta ‘with you’, nhumpalayungu ‘because of you’, nhumpalangutungu ‘from you’, nhumpalawampa ‘to you’, nhumpalangilapa(mpa) ‘near you, towards you’

nhumpalalu ‘you (two, transitive subject)’

nhumpalawu ‘your (two)?’

nhurlu ‘you (one, transitive subject)’

nhurlungu ‘your (one)’

nhurrungu ‘tea tree bark, used for blankets/mattress’ (L,M) =Kl

nhuwu ‘you (one, as the base for certain suffixes)’

nhuwunguta ‘with or on you’,

nhuwuta ‘for you’, nhuwungutungu ‘from you’, nhuwuwampa ‘to you’, nhuwungila(mpa) ‘near you, towards you’

nhuwuta ‘your (one)’

ninyi ‘here’

nyiku ‘navel’ (aL); cf. Kl tjiku

nyiliki ‘fat’

nyilikiyanu ‘fat (quality)’ (H); lit. ‘fat-big’

nyunmu ‘to lay (egg)’ (H)

palka ‘to split’ (L) =PP

palkili ‘rock’ (L)

pampara ‘speech, word’ (L)

pampu ‘egg’ (L) =PP, see kakurna

panhangarra ‘other side (as of river)’ (HnaL); see pintjangula, watjanganarra

panka ‘firewood’ (M,L) =Kl; cf. watjani

pankakamanti ‘to cook’? (M); see makapu, ngathi

pantjarrra ‘hard, tight’ = thurrkali(?)

(l), ‘hard (hitting, blowing)’, ‘fast (running)’ (L); ‘very’ (e.g. very sick) (M,L) =PP ‘very’, note also Kl pantja ‘very’ and see yanu

papipi ‘father’s mother’, ‘grandson (probably woman’s son’s son, also likely to be woman’s son’s daughter)’ (L) =Kl; also papu, pawiri

papu ‘father’s mother’ (L), ‘woman’s son’s child’ (L)

parla ‘loose’ (L)

parlama, parlawar ‘to undo, loosen, take off’ (M); see also tjiirra

parlaya ‘to come loose, loosen’ (L) ≈Kl

parlpa(wa/?ya?/nga?) ‘to light (fire), to make (fire)’ (final syllable unclear or absent); see ngarra

parlurlu ‘little’
parnayi ‘to take away’; ‘to bring’ (with HITH) (L)
parravangku ‘stupid’ (H) =PP; also nganingani
parrkamu ‘turkey’ (M) =KL; see thurrkuna, kalathurra
parruku ‘little baby’ (L)
parruma ‘to miss (with spear)’ (H), ‘to spear but fail to kill’
parruparru ‘yellow’ (M) =PP, KL; see also yiltharra
parta ‘mud’ (L) =KL; see also marlkarra, pirlki
paru ‘a light’ (as a torch) (H)
Pathingu ‘skin’ (= section) name, LM, marries Marinangu (L)
patjayama ‘to want to do, to be ready to do’ (L); patjayamama nganintjata ‘wants to go’
pawiri ‘granny, father’s mother’ (L); see papipi, papu
payarla ‘boomerang’
payarrpayarri ‘light (weight)’ (HaL)
payiki ‘bag’ (L) <Eng; see pungkuwarri
piku ‘fingernails, toenails’ = KL
pilkani ‘billycan’ (M)
pilpangayirri ‘forehead’ (H), ‘giddy’ (aL), ‘headache’ (aL); cf. PP pilpa ‘forehead’, the meaning ‘forehead’ seems unlikely
pimara ‘supplejack (tree)’ (H)
pinarrri ‘ear’
pinka ‘to scratch’, ‘to pinch’
pinpa ‘to fetch, pick up’ (e.g. wood, water, eggs); pinpanti ‘get (water) in’ (L); see also miya
pinpirri ‘gum tree, river redgum’ =KL
pintha ‘stick’ (H); see kuthaparra
pinthatha ‘short’
poitjangula ‘side, direction’ (H); poitjangulangarra ‘other side’, see panhangarra, watjangarra
poitjawu ‘to dig’

pijiri ‘to cut’ (L); also watji
pintjiwuniwaki ‘to be giddy’ (H); cf. waki ‘to turn around’
ippinyi ‘fruit sp.’ (M) = KL pippiny
pirakarra ‘white paint, copi’ (L) = KL; see malyurru
pirlapirla ‘baby’, ‘child’ = KL (naL once, but used by her); see also kaya
pirlki ‘opening (as a door)’ (L), ‘hole’ (L)
‘big hole in a tent, anything like that’
pirlki ‘mud’? (H); see also parta, marlkarra
pirrimu ‘plain goanna’; also kunakaatja
pirkipirri ‘bloodwood’ (HnaL) = KL
pirrirri ‘munyeroo, wild onion’ (L)
pitjurtu ‘kitehawk, black kite’, ‘aeroplane’ (L) = KL; see also katjapi, ngurukurtu
piyaka ‘man’s son (or child?)’, brother’s son (or child?)’ (M, L), ‘woman’s daughter’s husband’ (L), uncle (M); see kunkuyu, thithi
piyangirri ‘carney, bearded dragon’ (L)
piyangu ‘bindieye’ (H)
piyarri ‘long, tall’; ‘long (time)’ (H)
puka ‘to pull’
pukurru ‘still’ (as in ‘still here’); cf. kurlukurlu
pula ‘if’ (M)
pula ‘they (two, intransitive subject)’, ‘them (two, object)’
pula ‘them (two, as the base for certain suffixes) pulawuta ‘for them’, pulanguta ‘with them’, pulalangu ‘because of them’, pulangutangu ‘from them’, pulawampa ‘to them’
pulalu ‘they (two, transitive subject)’
pulari ‘two’ (L), ‘twice’ (L) = Yanda; also katjimpa
pulalangu ‘their (two)’
pularru ‘two’ (M)
pulithi ‘bullock’, ‘cattle’
pultjurru ‘chips’ (L)
pulumpulu ‘root’ (H); also thurrithurri
puluwarra ‘white’, ‘flour’ (L); prob. from Eng, but cf. Kl pula-pula ‘white’
pumpa ‘ashes’ (H)
pungka ‘to cover, to bury’ (L); see ngarntawa
pungkuwarri ‘bag, dillybag’ = Kl; also payiki
punkirra ‘face’ (H); also yarna
punkulu ‘ash, ash’ (L)
punta ‘to pull out, pluck’ (L,M)
puntju ‘body hair’ (M), ‘dog’s hair’ (L)
= Kl
purturu ‘march fly’ (Ha?L); see wunungwu
pupi ‘father-in-law of woman’ (L)
purraka(r)li ‘to get stuck, to get bogged’; = purraka + li(?); see also karli, and cf. Kl purralta ‘bog’
purrpu ‘hair’ (Ha?L)
purru ‘grey’ (L)
puru, purrupuru ‘knee’ = Kl
purutja ‘honey’, ‘sugarbag’
purtapurta ‘mountain gum; sheep, goat’ (M) = Kl ‘mountain gum’; see also murkuthatha, mangkimangki
purturungu ‘star’ (M) = Kl, WY; see tjirrka, manumanu
putha ‘to break, break off’, ‘to hurt’ (L)
puthanyama ‘to break’ (L)
putu ‘stomach (outside)’ (M) = Kl; also ‘chest’ (L), ‘chin’ (H); see kalpakalpa, ngalinyirri
puwapuwa ‘a yarn’ (H); puwapuwa (ngalangangumu ‘having a conversation’ (perhaps also puwapuwa thinaamuk)
puyu ‘dry’ (HaL); cf. Kl puyurr ‘warm, hot’
puyumpangu ‘on the right’ (H)
puyuya ‘to get dry, be dry, to be thirsty’ (L,M), also kapalarriya
ranthurru ‘tucker, vegetable food’ (HnaL); cf. PP yantharru; also mantha, manhi
rantju ‘slow’ = Kl
riki ‘hot stone for cooking, put inside carcass’ (L), ‘cooking hole’ (L) = wathi
ritjurru ‘stomach, belly, guts’
rungka ‘lightning’ (H) = Kl; see also tjala, tuku
rungula (M), runguma (L) ‘to thunder’
ta- ‘to leave behind, leave alone’ (M,L), ‘to throw’ (M), ‘to die (euphemistic?)’ (M) (PAST tanyimu, PURP tanyitata, IMP tanyili); see also thinawa, wula
tampaya ‘damper’? (H) from Eng
tampiya ‘hole (e.g. of goanna, bird’s nesting hole), cave’ (HnaL); ‘hollow log’ (aL)
tampiyarri ‘hollow’ (L)
tangkarri ‘west’ (MaL)
tanjata, tanjili, tanjimu see ta-taja ‘to bite’
tatjaliyirri ‘savage (dog)’ (M); also yulkantjirri
tatjanyama ‘to fight (as dogs)’ (H)
tawunu ‘town’ (M,L) < Eng
tha- ‘to excrete’ (L) e.g. wunata ngiya
ngana thalintjata “He [actually I] going to the toilet” (but the similarity to ta- is suspicious)
thaka see tharrka
thakunawatharra ‘to get wild’ (L); cf. watharra ‘to get up’; see also yulkaniwatharra
thakurru ‘possom’ (HknL); cf. Kl thakamuntha; see mirrampa
thakuthaku ‘full’ (H)
thakuya ‘to get full’
thalimpirri ‘nulla-nulla’ (H) = Kl, Yanda
thalpirri ‘beard’
thalpurru ‘needlebush’ (vowels not clear) (H)
thalu ‘pigweed’ (H) = Kl
thampa  ‘to bogey, bathe’ (aL); also
muntha
thamparri  ‘somebody’? (H) from Eng
thamu (thaamu?)  ‘a person’s dreaming or
totem’ (L) =Kl; seems to be inalienably
possessed, like a body part
thana  ‘to stand’, thanathana  ‘to be
standing’, ‘to be covered with’ (?
Ngurrkingalayi tjala thanathanama
seems to mean ‘He’s covered in blood’)
thaya  ‘they (more than two, intransitive
subject)’, ‘them (more than two,
object)’
thana  ‘them (more than two, as the
base for certain suffixes) thanawu(ta)
‘for them’, thananguta  ‘with them’,
thanalungu  ‘because of them’,
thanganutangu  ‘from them’,
thanawampa  ‘to them’
thanalu  ‘they (more than two, transitive
subject)’
thanalungu, thanawu(?)  ‘their (more
than two)’
thanga-  ‘to run, run away’ (including of
water — M), ‘to blow (hard?) (wind)’,
‘to go (for water)’, ‘to hop along
(kangaroo)’ (L) (NF thangana,
PAST thanganimu, thanganku, HAB
thanganinjirri)
thani  ‘mouth’
thanku  ‘wet’ (e.g. ground) =Kl
thanti  ‘to wear’ (L); also ka-,
ngarntawanyama, wilkampi
thantili  ‘to bark’ (may be transitive verb,
thanti) (L)
tharli  ‘to put up, to make (humpy,
windbreak)’; see yarnta
tharntu  ‘hole’ (as for a grave — H) =Kl
tharra  ‘to carve, to chisel’ (H)
Tharrapatha  placename, not in
Yalarnnga country, given as ‘Mt Isa’
and ‘a place on the Cloncurry River, the
other side of Cloncurry’, (L) =Kl
‘Leichhardt River’

tharriwangu  ‘on the left’ (H)
tharrrka  ‘coolamon’ (H), also thaka
(and note Kl thaka  ‘bark’); see tjurtu
tharrrka  ‘to look up, to hold the head
high’ (L); cf. PP ‘to stand’
tharrkurru  ‘man’; also yirri
tharrpali  ‘gully’ (H)
tharti  ‘just a minute’, ‘by and by’, ‘wait
on’ (also heard as thartitharti (H)
thathama  ‘to mix’ (H)
thawirti  ‘elder brother’
thayirri  ‘sharp’ (H)
thikuthiku  ‘every day, all the time’ (HaL);
see also yikatangilampa
thilimarri  ‘gidgea’ (H) =Kl
thiliyarra  ‘feather’ (L,M) =Kl and PP
‘emu feather’
thina  ‘foot’, ‘track’ (M)
thinaa (H) see thinawa; also puwapuwa
thinama  ‘to follow (track)’ (M); ‘to talk
about’ (L)
thinangkali  ‘after’ (L,M), ‘behind’ (L,M),
‘last’ (L); see watjaliya
thinangkaliyangu  ‘younger’ (L)
thinangku ngartarli  ‘to walk’ (L)
thinarta  ‘dinner’ (L) <Eng
thinawa, thinaa, thinaya  ‘to send’ (L);
‘to let go’ (H), ‘to throw’ (L); ‘to follow (track)’ (M — possibly in error,
see thinama); see also ta-
thingka  ‘to chop, to chop out’ watjani
thingka  ‘to chop wood’, purrutja
thingka  ‘to chop out sugarbag (bees’
nest) from a tree’; ‘to hit’ (L,M);
‘to hit with missile’ (M)
thinkali  ‘knee’

thipathiparri  ‘firestick’ (H) (may include
PROP -rri)
thirrirri  ‘elder sister’
thirriwa  ‘east’ =Kl,PP
thithi  ‘man’s child, brother’s child’ (L),
‘daughter-in-law of woman’ (L) =PP
‘elder brother’; see kunkuyu, piyaka
thuka ‘tree’, ‘stick’, ‘log’ (L); ‘bone’ (L,M)
thukani ‘bone’ (M)
thukani ‘spear’ (L,M), ‘stick’ (L), ‘yamstick’ (H)
thulinganintjirri ‘lily’ (H)
thumpararra ‘blue-tongue lizard’ (L) =Kl; see thupa
thunpulhu ‘backside, buttocks’ (L) =Kl
Thunpuyungu skin name, child of Marinangu man and Pathingu woman (L)
thupa ‘blue-tongue lizard’ (HnaL); see thumpararra
thurli ‘ground’ (H); cf. mutu, maltja
thurliyanu ‘dirty’ (H); also pulumpulu
thurkali ‘tight, hard’ (L); ‘soft’ (H); L’s meaning is tentatively accepted because heard more than once; see pantjarra
thurkaliya ‘to get hard’ (L)
thurrkali ‘narrow’ (L) =Kl
thurrkuna ‘turkey’ (L); also kalathurra, parrkamu
thurrurru ‘pad (of wallaroo or wallaby)’ (H)
thutha ‘poison’ (M)
thuthu ‘bird’ (H) =Wl; see also waya
thuthu ‘mark’ (e.g. birthmark, something written) (M)
tikarra ‘talking all night’? (L)
Titjarra ‘Dajarra’ (M); perhaps from Eng version of Tjiyata
tjala ‘thunder’ (M); see rungka, tuku
tjala ‘this (intransitive subject, or object)’
tjalangila(mpa) ‘near this, towards this’
tjalkili ‘narrow’ (L) =Kl
tjanpara ‘walking stick’ =Kl
tjarralku ‘frog’ (M) =Kl,PP,Wl; see also wutupa
Tjarrimangu ‘Marion Downs’ (?) (L); see Marrinta
tjarringali ‘these (more than two, as intransitive subject or as the base for endings as occur on nouns)’
tjarringalilu ‘these (more than two, transitive subject)’
tjarru- ‘this (as the base for certain endings, -wu ‘for’, -ta ‘for’, -nguta ‘at, in, on’, -rtungu ‘because of’, -ngutangu ‘from’, -wampa ‘to’)’
tjarrurtu ‘this (transitive subject)’
tjarruwula ‘these (two, as intransitive subject or as the base for endings as occur on nouns)’
tjarruwulalu ‘these (two, transitive subject)’
tjatjitji ‘husband’ (H), ‘mother’s father’ =Kl
Tjatjwuti ‘Chatsworth’ (M); from Eng; see §1.6
tjikirtitjikirtima ‘to mess (it) up’ (L)
tjilkirri ‘throat’ (L); see karla
tjintirritjintirri ‘willy wagtail’ (H)
tjipa ‘moon, month’ (tjipangarra ‘next month’ M)
tjipulyu ‘duck’ (M) =Kl ‘whistler duck’ but widespread
tjirra ‘to take out, to take off’; cf. parlama
tjirrka ‘star’ (M) =Kl, ‘sky’ (H); see manamana, manumanu, purturungu
titaama ‘to look after’ (H), ‘to be careful’ (M) =Kl; see also mintimintima, nhinti
Tjiyata ‘Dajarra’ (H); also Titjarra
tjurlu ‘hidden, invisible’ (not heard as free form) =Kl
tjurlumpa ‘without being seen’ (H)
tjurlungila ‘sneakily’ (L), ‘without telling’ (L)
tjurluwinti ‘to hide (trans.), ‘to “plant”’ (L) ≈Kl; also wilkampi
tjurluya ‘to hide’ (intrans.) (H) ≈Kl
tjurru ‘coolamon’ (L) =Kl; also tharrka
tjutaka ‘staring’ (H)

*tjuwa* ‘boy’ (H), ‘young fellow, young man’ (al)? E “choora” ‘children’

tuka ‘to drink’

*tuku* ‘lightning, thunder’ (H); see rungka, tjala

*tukuwalantjirri* ‘lightning’ (L); see rungka, rungula, runguma, tuku

*tupa* ‘to dance, to play’ (L,M)

*wa-* ‘to hit, to kill’ (PRES walamu, NF wana, PAST walamu, walu, FUT wani, walami, POT waniyi, IMP wali, wala, OPT wanati), to specify ‘kill’ rather than just ‘hit’ (‘kill dead’ in Aboriginal English), wulangkayada ‘for (it) to die’ or wurruru ‘for good’ is added.

*walanya(ma)* ‘to fight’

waka ‘noise, sound’, heard only in wakanhya (with -nhiya LESS) (L) and wakan(h)a (L), both ‘silent, without talking or making a sound’, and wakanaya (H) and wakawula (L) ‘to keep quiet, shut up’; see also words based on waka in Kl

wakan(h)a see kurrawula, waka

wakarla ‘crow’

wakarri ‘fish’ (M) =Kl,Yanda; also yimata

wakawula see waka

wakaya ‘work’ (L) intrans. verb, from Eng

waki ‘to go around, turn around, fly around’; also warrki (L)

wakinta ‘to be afraid’? (L); cf. Kl wakunti ‘shy’

waku ‘mussel’ (H); = Kl ‘skin’

wala “not taking notice”? (L)

wala ‘to poke out (tongue)’ (M)

wala, walam, walamu see wa-
walangku ‘shame’ (L); also kulpuru

walanya(ma) ‘to fight’; cf. wa-

Walarla ‘Buckingham’

walayu ‘that way’, ‘along’, ‘away’; see also wurruwuru

walu ‘to pick up’? (M)

wali ‘to burn’ (trans and intrans); see also makapu

wali see wa-

walipirri ‘humpy’ (M) =Kl; see wapirri

walkirriparrri ‘pelican’ (M) =Kl

Walpi ‘Noranside’ (L)

walu see wa-

wama meaning not clear; as used once by H wamangka seems to mean ‘(camping) along the road (to somewhere)’ while as used by L it seems to mean ‘(camping) in one’s own place’

wamakurta ‘emu’ (H)

wamakurtu ‘emu’

wamarrri ‘snake’

wamila ‘sleep’ (M) =Kl; see mirlakuma

wampa ‘girl’, ‘little girl’ =Kl; see manngayana

wamparla ‘heedless, careless, not worrying about others’; wamparlaka nhinama ‘sitting on his own not taking any notice of anybody’; =Kl wamarlanha

wamparlampa ‘anyway’, ‘carelessly’ (L)

wamparlampaya ‘to be friends’? (L)

wana ‘threw’ (L), given for ‘is throwing’ (M), and, more reliably, ‘threw’ (H,L), cf wa-

wana, wanati see wa-
wangama ‘to know’ (H) =PP; see karta, yika

wanhaka ‘heat, sunshine’ (L) =Kl ‘sun’

wani see wa-

wanika ‘rope, chain’ (L) =Kl

waniyi see wa-

wamngarra ‘close, near’ (M,L)

wanpi ‘to be/get short of breath’, ‘to pant’; see wayirra
wantha ‘to fall (rain), ‘(rain) to fall on, to wet’ (L); kunhu wanthamunhati ‘it’s raining’
wanthinti ‘to follow’ (L) = Kl
wanti ‘to climb’
wantima ‘to carry, to lift’ (L), ‘to carry in coolamon’ (H); see also kulungunti
wantja ‘to smell’ (H); transitivity not clear
wanyi ‘hand’, ‘elbow’ (L) = Kl ‘elbow’; see also makathi, mampunu, mampila, mara
wanyimpa ‘empty-handed’ (Ha,L)
wapirri ‘humpy’ (H); cf. walipirri
waputhu ‘mother-in-law of man’ (L), ‘son-in-law of woman’ (L) = Kl
waripa ‘soak, soakage’ (H)
warluwa ‘shade’ = Kl
warluwarri ‘shady’
warluwayangu ‘kangaroo’ (M,L)
warramparta ‘axe, tomahawk’
= Kl, Yanda, PP; see muwanu
warri ‘meat’, ‘edible animal’; nhangu kankati warri? ‘what’s that, meat (an edible bird) up there?, uu wakarla ninyika ‘oh, it’s only a crow’
warrika ‘to fall’; ‘to be born’ (L)
warrkanti ‘to drop’ (L), ‘to knock down’ (L)
warrkanya(ma) ‘to spill’ (L)
warrki ‘to turn around’ (L); see also waki
warrkima ‘to turn something’ (L)
warrku ‘shoulder’ = Kl; see karni
warrpanthurru ‘hair on head’ = Kl; also warupu
warta ‘dark’, ‘night’ (L) = Kl; also miyawaru, mukampa
wartampa ‘dark’ (M)
wartangampa ‘tomorrow’
wartatji ‘wild orange’ (M) = Kl; see yinipikurtu
wartaya ‘to get dark’ (L)
wartuku ‘hook’ (M) = Kl; see kartapi
warupu ‘hair’ (L) = Kl; cf. warrpanthurru
waruwaru ‘Milky Way’ (L) = Kl
wata ‘to get down’ (H)
watharra ‘to wake up, to get up, to go out, to rise (sun), to grow (plant)’ = Kl
watharranti ‘to wake (somebody) up’, ‘sit (somebody) up’ (H) = Kl
wathi ‘hot stone for cooking, put inside carcase’ (L), ‘cooking hole’ (L) = riki
wathi ‘that’ (?)
wathunguta ‘at or in or on that’ (?)
wathuwampa ‘to that’ (?)
wathuyu ‘to that’ (?)
watjaliya ‘first’ (L,M), ‘in front’ (L) ≈ Kl; see thinangkali
watjaliyangu ‘older, eldest’ (L)
watjangarra ‘other side’ (L,M); watjangarrampa ‘behind’ (L); see panhangarra, pintjangula
watjani ‘fire, firewood’; cf. panka
watji ‘to cut up’, ‘to cut off’ (L), ‘to cut’ (L); see also pintji
wawi ‘to sing’ (trans., including singing to affect someone or something, e.g. wawimu thinkaliwulampa ‘sang his knees (to make him a fast runner)’, yilakirriwu wawilima ‘singing to charm a woman’) waya ‘bird’? (M) see thuthu
waya ‘that (far, intransitive subject, or object)’
waya ‘that (far, as the base for certain endings, -wu ‘for’, -ta ‘for’, -nguta ‘at, in, on’, -rtungu ‘because of’, -ngutangu ‘from’, -wampa ‘to’, -ngila(mpa) ‘near, towards’)’
wayapa ‘to ask’ cf. Wl wiyapa ‘to call out, to shout’
wayartu ‘that (far, transitive subject)’
wayilarti ‘this way’ (L), ‘to here’ (L)
wayingali ‘those (far, more than two, as intransitive subject or as the base for endings as occur on nouns)’
wayingalilu ‘those (far, more than two, transitive subject)’

wayirra ‘breath’ (L) = Kl (also sometimes translated as ‘heart’, in the sense ‘seat of feeling or emotion’); see wanpi

wayirra mur(?)?aya ‘to be broken-hearted’ (?L), ‘to get short of breath’ (?L)

wayirra nguna ‘to like, to want’ (M, L)

wayirra nhakartiya ‘to be sad’ (L)

wayirra wanpi ‘to breathe’ (H), ‘to breathe heavily, to pant’ (aL)

wayuwula ‘those (two, as intransitive subject or as the base for endings as occur on nouns)’

wayuwulalu ‘those (two, transitive subject)’

wilangun(h)ama ‘to swim’ (H) see wulawunta, kuta

wilka ‘to go in, enter’ (L); cf. wulka

wilkampi ‘to hide (sth)’ (L), ‘to put in’ (L), ‘to wear’ (L); cf. tjurluwinti, ngarra, nhakama

wiltha ‘sweat’ (HnaL); ‘dew’ (L) = Kl

wiringara ‘peewee’ (HnaL; L interpreted it as wiringa ‘quarrion’); see kurliyitjitji, wiringa

wuku ‘cheek’ (M) = Kl

wula ‘to disappear, be absent, be away’ (M, L), ‘to be used up, all gone’ (H); ‘to die’ (MaL); cf. Kl ildi, Mari wula, similar words over a wide area

wulamanti ‘to use up, to eat all’ (L)

wulanga, wulangka ‘to die’; ‘to dry up, to disappear (water)’ (H) (wulanga with -mu PRES, -ma PAST, -mi FUT; wulangka (L) with -yata PURP)

wulawunta ‘to swim’, ‘to fly’ (H); see also wilangun(h)ama, kuta

wulka ‘to go in’ (H); cf. wilka

wulku ‘long time’ (L); cf. Kl ulkwurri

wumarra ‘woomera’? (M); may be from Eng; E gives “karemingo”

wuna ‘shit, faeces’ (L); cf. kuna

wunungka ‘wind, cold wind’ (L)

wunungkati ‘wind’

wunungwunungu ‘march fly’ (L); cf. Kl ‘blowfly’; see punturlu

wuparintji ‘young initiated man’ = Kl

wurawura ‘spit’ (H), ‘dribble’ (aL) (wura wa- possibly ‘to spit’ (H))

wuringa ‘quarrion’ (L); cf. Kl wuringa, purringa; see wiringara

wurrara ‘animal hair, fur’ (HaL) also heard wurranga (L)

wurrkayu ‘away (from here)’; see also walayu

wurrurruru ‘for good’, ‘all the time’, ‘dead’ (in phrase with wa- ‘to hit, kill’) (L)

wurtima ‘to do all, to finish, to consume’ (M) = Kl

wuruma ‘baby near birth or newborn’ (L) = Kl

wuthani ‘devil, dead man’ (H), ‘ghost’ (E), ‘white man’; see kampukampu

Wutharru moiety name, Pathingu + Kangilangu (aL) (the other moiety name may be Malvarra, but this could not be confirmed)

wuthi ‘sore’ (L); see also kala

wutja ‘lies, gammon’ (L); = Kl

wutjari ‘net’ (H); cf. Kl utjurla, utjurra

wutupa ‘frog’ = Kl; see also tjarralku

yaka exclamation of surprise (L) Yaka, yarpamnu ninyi mutu, “that means he get shock, ‘Oh, it’s lovely place’”

yakana ‘to sing out’ (H), ‘to squeal’ (aL)

yakuranhiya “got no sense, talk too much” (L), includes -nhiya LESS

Yalarnnga language name

yalpungu ‘conkerberry’ = Kl

yampangu ‘flood’ (H)

yampi ‘bank’ (M) = Kl

yampu ‘brother-in-law, benjy’ (M)

yangkata ‘yam’

yankama or yarkama ‘sick’ (M, L)

yanpamu see yarpamnu
yanu ‘big’, ‘very’ (L); see pantjarra
yanuya ‘to grow, get big’ (H)
yaparla ‘leg, shin’
yapintitji ‘snake species, possibly mulga snake’ (second vowel not clear) = Kl
yara ‘pouch’ (M, L) = Kl
yarárrri ‘tail’ (L) = Kl; also kuntji
yarakuali ‘to be hungry’ (M, L) = Kl
yarna ‘face’, ‘forehead’ (L); see also punkirra
yarnkama see yankama
yarnpama ‘to make’ (H); see ngarra
yarnpamu or yanyanpamu ‘good’
yarnpamuma ‘to make good, to cure’ (L), ‘to teach’? (L)
yarnta ‘to make (humpy), to build’ (H); see tharli
yarntu ‘windbreak’ (L) = Kl
yarramana ‘horse’ (H); widespread; also yitjipiyarri
yarrka ‘far, long way’ (L, M) = Kl
yarta ‘brother-in-law’ (L), ‘sister-in-law’? (L)
yathayathawartarta ‘to lie belly up’ (HaL)
yawirra ‘white cockatoo’ (MaL)
yaya or yiya ‘yes’ (H); also yuvu, ngaa
yayawinti ‘to have (a baby)’ (L)
yika ‘to know’ (M) = Kl; see karta, wangama
yika(? ) ‘hey!, look out!’? cf. widespread yakai
yikapuyu ‘quiet’; see also miya
yikata ‘mob’
yikatangilampa ‘every day’ (M); see also thikuthiku
yilakirri ‘song to get a woman’ (M, also referred to as “bad song”) = Kl
yilarrli ‘today, now, just now’; see also laa, marra
yilarrama ‘to keep (somebody) awake’ (H)
yilawarri ‘greedy’
yiltharra ‘yellow, green’ (H); see also parruparru
yimata ‘fish’; also wakarri
yimirti ‘auntie, father’s sister’, ‘mother-in-law of woman’ (L), ‘sister of father-in-law of woman’ (L)
yingka ‘to laugh’
yinpikutu ‘wild orange’ = Kl; see wartajti
yirrali ‘teeth’ (M); see yiya
yirratji ‘young woman’ (H), ‘initiated young woman’ (L) = Kl
yirratjiya ‘(young woman) to be initiated’ ‘She a woman now, she can do what she like and get married’ (L)
yirri ‘man’; also tharrkurru
yita ‘that (intransitive subject, or object)’
yita ‘that (as the base for certain endings, -wu ‘for’, -ta ‘for’, -nguta ‘at, in, on’, -rtungu ‘because of’, -ngutangu ‘from’, -wampa ‘to’, -ngila(mpa) ‘near, towards’)’
yitangali ‘those (more than two, as intransitive subject or as the base for endings as occur on nouns)’
yitangalilu ‘those (more than two, transitive subject)’
yitartu ‘that (transitive subject)’
yitawula ‘those (two, as intransitive subject or as the base for endings as occur on nouns)’
yitawulalu ‘those (two, transitive subject)’
yithintha ‘to hang up’ (H)
yitji ‘nose’
yitjingkul(h) a ‘to drown’ (HknL)? (L interpreted this as yitjingkaya ‘nose-LOC-INTR’)‘
yitjipiyarri ‘horse’ (lit. ‘long nose’); also yarramana
yijithana ‘jealous’ (HaL) (see notes on this word in §3.2.2, after (3-63))
yiya ‘teeth’ (E,H,naL); see yirrali
yinya see yaya
yiyarli, yiyayiyarli ‘to cry’
yii question marker (L)? cf. Kl wiyi
yuka ‘creek, river, sand’
yukala ‘sand, creek’ (L); see kikawarra
yulkani ‘sulky’ (M,L), ‘angry’ (aL)
yulkaniwatharra ‘to get wild’ (L); also thakunawatharra
yulkantjirri ‘angry one’ (L), ‘savage (dog)’ (M); also tatjalintjirri
yumu ‘warm’ (L) (actual translations given were ‘dry place’ and ‘warm place’) yumu ngunantjata ‘to sleep warm’, yumungka ngunantjata ‘to sleep in a warm place’; =Kl
yumunthirri ‘fly’ (M) =Kl (also heard as ngumunthirri)
yumunthurru ‘fly’ (H) =Kl
yungku ‘to poke’, heard only in yungkuyama ‘to poke self’ (H)
yunkunhi ‘to return’, ‘to go back’
yunkunhinti ‘to bring back, take home, take back’ (L)
yunma ‘to look for’
yunthu ‘arm, upper arm’ (L) =Kl, see also kilka
yurlanyirri ‘storm’ (L)
yurruma ‘cloud’ (Ha?L) =Kl
yurtuyurtu ‘crocodile’ (L) =Kl
yururta ‘heart’ (HnaL)
yuthuthu ‘ant’ (also once yithithu M)
yuthuwarra ‘alive’
yuwu ‘yes’ (L); see also yaya, ngaa
## List of bound morphemes

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<td>3.4, 3.4.1.7, 4.2.2</td>
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<td>-nyangu</td>
<td>habitual</td>
<td>3.4, 3.4.1.6</td>
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<td>-pa</td>
<td>clitic, function obscure</td>
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<td>-rri</td>
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<td>-ta</td>
<td>purposive (nominal)</td>
<td>3.2, 3.2.2.7</td>
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<td>-wa</td>
<td>clitic, function obscure</td>
<td>4.4.12</td>
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<td>plural</td>
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<td>-(wa)mpa</td>
<td>allative</td>
<td>3.2, 3.2.2.9</td>
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<td>-warra</td>
<td>his/her (kin)</td>
<td>3.2.3.2.1</td>
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<td>-wu</td>
<td>dative</td>
<td>3.2, 3.2.2.6</td>
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<td>-wulampa</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>3.2.3.4.1</td>
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<td>-ya</td>
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<td>-ya</td>
<td>intransitive verb formative</td>
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<td>-ya</td>
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<td>3.2, 3.2.2.3</td>
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<td>habitual</td>
<td>3.4, 3.4.1.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>-yantja</td>
<td>his/her (kin)</td>
<td>3.2.3.2.1</td>
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<td>-yata</td>
<td>purposive (verb)</td>
<td>3.4, 3.4.1.8, 4.2.1</td>
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<td>-yu</td>
<td>ergative</td>
<td>3.2, 3.2.2.1</td>
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<td>-yungu</td>
<td>aversive</td>
<td>3.2, 3.2.2.8</td>
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English–Yalarnnga vocabulary

be absent  wula
adze  kumpatha
aeroplane  katjapi, pitjurtu
to be afraid  kanta, wakinta(?)
after  thinangkali
again  kurlukurlu
alive  yuthuwarra
all the time  thikuthiku, wurruru
to be all gone  wula
alone  ngururu
along  walayu
always  nguli
in amongst  murningka
angry one  yulkantjirri
angry  yulkani
edible animal  warri
another  ngurungarra
ant  yuthuthu
anyway  wamparlampa
to argue  ngapanyama
arm  nguntjukura, yunthu, kilka
upper arm  yunthu
arpit  kilyikilyi, kitjipurlu
ashes  pumpa
to ask  wayapa
asleep  mirlakumarrri
auntie  yimirti
away  walayu, wurkayu
to be away  wula
axe  warramparta, muwanu
baby  kaya, pirlapirla

little baby  parruku
baby near birth or newborn  wuruma
back of neck  kukalirriri
back  mintji
backside  thunpulthu
bad  nhakarti
bag  payiki, pungkuwarri
bank (of river)  mintji, yampi
bark on tree  kulkaparra
bark that you peel off to cook tobacco  kalatja
to bark  mutha, thantili
to bathe  muntha, thampa
to be  nhina
beard  thalpirri
bearded dragon  piyangirri
beer  kanga, kaliya
before  manguwatji
behind  thinangkali, watjangarrampa
belly  ritjurru
(to lie) belly up  yathayathawartarta
benjy (= brother-in-law)  yampu
bereft of a parent  mungkata
big  mangkura, yanu
billycan  pilkani
bindieye  piyangu
bird  thuthu, waya(?)
to bite  tatja
bitter  kaliya, karukaru
black  mukampa
blanket  kulapurru, nhurrungu
blood kurruru, ngurrki
careless wampa, wampa
bloodwood pirkipirrki
carney piyangirri
to blow (hard?) (wind) thanga-
to carry ka-, wantima
blue-tongue lizard thumpararra, thupa
to carve tharra
to get bogged karli, purrakali

to catch kama, miya
to boil (tea) munthupa
to chase kanthi
bone thuka, thukani
Chatsworth Tjatjuwuti
boomerang payarla
cheek wuku
Boulia Kalpurru
cheeky karukaru
boy karnku, kuyirri, tjuwa
chest kalpakalpa, ngalinyi
branch ngulthu
child kaya, piyaka, thithi

to break off putha
cave kurrkira, tampi

to break putha, puthanyama
to chase kanthi
	
to be born miliya, warrka
man’s child kunkuyu, piyaka, thithi
bossy ngapalintjirri
woman’s child nganthi

Boulia Kalpurru
woman’s daughter’s child mutju,

boy karnku, kuyirri, tjuwa
man’s husband yarta, yampu

branch ngulthu
a cold kungkurra, mangurri

to break off putha

to break putha, puthanyama

to be broken-hearted wayirra mur(aya)

elder brother thawirti

younger brother kanamu

child kaya, piyaka, thithi

brother’s child kunkuyu, piyaka, thithi

brother-in-law yarta, yampu

Buckingham Walarla

to build ngarra, yarnta

bullock pulithi

to burn makapu, wali

a cold kungkurra, mangurri
to bury ngamntawa, pungka

cold mata

butocks thanpulthu

cold wind wunungka
by and by tharti

a conversation puwapuwa
to call (by kinship term) ngapa

to come loose parlaya
to call (sth sth) ngapa

come on! kawa
to camp mutu

to come ngaparti

camp mutu

to consider mangka

carbeen (= ghost gum) kulpi
to cook kukuya, makapu, ngathi,
careful tjitaama

to be careful tjitaama

chips puljirru
to chisel tharra
to come loose parlaya

to come ngaparti

cold wind wunungka

a conversation puwapuwa

to come on! kawa

to be careful tjitaama
(cook) in its skin mapirarrampa
cooking hole riki
coolamon tjurtu, tharrka
coolibah kalatja, makarrri
copi pirakarra
corella mayapungu, murrumarri
corroborree malkarri, nguntja, nguntjangu
to cough ngaka, manuwa
country mutu
cousin kangu
to cover ngartawa, pungka
covered with(?) ngalayi
crab mutirri
creek yuka, yukala
to creep kala
crested pigeon kulupatji
crippled katjarra
crocodile yurtuyurtu
crooked kurtukurtu
crow wakarla
to cry yiyarli, yiyayiarli
to cry yiyarli, yiyayiarli
to cut pintji, watji
to cut off, to cut up watji
Dajarra Titjarra, Tjiyata
damper tampaya
to dance tupi
dark miwaru, mukampa, warta, wartampa
to get dark wartaya
daughter of woman ngalhu
daughter-in-law of woman thithi
woman’s daughter’s husband piyaka
day mungatha
daytime miya thana-
dead man wuthani
dead wurruru
deep yarawali
death wuthani
dew wilha
to die wula, wulanga, ta-
to dig pintjawa
dillybag pungkuwarri
dinner thinarta
direction pintjangula
dirty thurliyamu
to dirty kuta
to disappear wula, wulanga, wulangka
to do all wurtima
to do whatsaname nhanguwali
doctor mangarnirri, ngankarri
dog mangurru
dog’s hair puntju
dogwood kurayi
don’t kawarla
door piriki
to get down wata
to drag kalanti
to dream ngarra (milakumaya)
a person’s dreaming or totem thamu
dress kawunu
dribble wurawura
to drink tuka
to drop warrkanti
to drown yitjingkul(h)a
to be drunk miliwaki
dry puyu
to get dry, to be dry puyuya
to dry up wulanga
duck tjipulyu
eaglehawk kumayirtatjalintjirri, munuwangarrilintjirri
ear pinarri
east thirriwa
to eat ngarrri
to eat all wulamanti
edible animal warri
edible grub kapara
egg kakurna, pampu
to lay (egg) nyumma
elbow nguntjukura, wanyi
elder brother thawirti
elder sister thirrirri
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<th>Yalarnnga</th>
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<td>eldest</td>
<td>watjaliyangu</td>
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<tr>
<td>empty-handed</td>
<td>wanyimpa</td>
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<tr>
<td>emu</td>
<td>wamakurta, wamakurtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to enter</td>
<td>wilka, wulka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>every day</td>
<td>thikuthiku, yikatangilampa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exclamation of surprise</td>
<td>yaka</td>
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<tr>
<td>to excrete</td>
<td>thali</td>
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<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>mili</td>
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<tr>
<td>eyebrow</td>
<td>milyinyi(?)na, mingankarri</td>
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<tr>
<td>face</td>
<td>punkirra, yarna</td>
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<td>faeces</td>
<td>kuna, wuna</td>
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<tr>
<td>to fall</td>
<td>warrka</td>
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<tr>
<td>to fall on (rain)</td>
<td>wantha</td>
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<tr>
<td>far</td>
<td>yarrka</td>
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<tr>
<td>fast (running)</td>
<td>pantjarra</td>
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<tr>
<td>fat</td>
<td>nyilki</td>
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<tr>
<td>fat (quality)</td>
<td>nyilkiyanu</td>
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<td>father</td>
<td>karlu</td>
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<td>father’s father</td>
<td>mutju, mutjutju</td>
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<tr>
<td>father’s mother</td>
<td>papipi, papu, pawiri</td>
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<tr>
<td>father’s sister</td>
<td>yimirti</td>
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<tr>
<td>father-in-law</td>
<td>kurrirti, mantiyirri, pupi</td>
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<tr>
<td>feather</td>
<td>thiliyarra</td>
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<tr>
<td>to feel (pain)</td>
<td>mangkayama</td>
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<td>to feel (with hand)</td>
<td>kama</td>
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<tr>
<td>to feel about with the hand</td>
<td>maramarawirri</td>
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<td>female</td>
<td>kintja</td>
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<td>to fetch</td>
<td>miya, pinpa</td>
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<td>a few(?)</td>
<td>kurrapayi</td>
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<td>to fight</td>
<td>walanya(ma)</td>
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<tr>
<td>to fight (as dogs)</td>
<td>tatjanyama</td>
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<tr>
<td>to find out</td>
<td>mangka</td>
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<tr>
<td>to find(?)</td>
<td>nganthama</td>
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<td>fingernails</td>
<td>piku</td>
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<td>to finish</td>
<td>wurtima</td>
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<td>fire</td>
<td>watjani</td>
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<td>firestick</td>
<td>thipathiparri</td>
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<td>firewood</td>
<td>panka, watjani</td>
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<td>first</td>
<td>watjaliya</td>
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<td>fish</td>
<td>wakarri, yimata</td>
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<td>fish sp.</td>
<td>mungkani</td>
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<td>flood</td>
<td>yampangu</td>
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<td>flour</td>
<td>puluwarra</td>
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<td>to flow</td>
<td>nhaka</td>
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<td>flu</td>
<td>kungkurrpa</td>
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<td>(fluid) to run</td>
<td>ngartarli</td>
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<td>fly</td>
<td>yumunthirri, yumunthurru</td>
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<tr>
<td>to fly</td>
<td>wulawunta</td>
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<tr>
<td>to follow</td>
<td>wanthindi</td>
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<tr>
<td>to follow (track)</td>
<td>thinama</td>
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<td>foot</td>
<td>thina</td>
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<tr>
<td>to put foot on</td>
<td>kanpa</td>
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<td>forehead</td>
<td>yarna</td>
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<td>foreigner</td>
<td>ngawinthi</td>
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<td>four</td>
<td>katjimpa katjimpa</td>
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<td>to be friends(?)</td>
<td>wamparlampaya</td>
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<td>frog</td>
<td>tjarralku, wuruta</td>
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<td>in front</td>
<td>watjaliya</td>
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<td>fruit sp.</td>
<td>pipinyi</td>
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<td>full</td>
<td>thakuthaku</td>
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<tr>
<td>to get full</td>
<td>thakuya</td>
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<tr>
<td>fur</td>
<td>wurrawa</td>
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<td>galah</td>
<td>kilawurru</td>
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<tr>
<td>gammon</td>
<td>wutja</td>
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<tr>
<td>to gather</td>
<td>kutha(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman’s genitals</td>
<td>mika</td>
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<tr>
<td>to get (water) in</td>
<td>pinpanti</td>
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<tr>
<td>to get</td>
<td>mani, miya</td>
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<tr>
<td>ghost</td>
<td>wuthani</td>
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<tr>
<td>ghost gum</td>
<td>kulpi</td>
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<td>giddy</td>
<td>pilpangayirri</td>
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<tr>
<td>to be giddy</td>
<td>pintjiwuniwaki</td>
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<td>gidgea</td>
<td>thilimarri</td>
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<td>girl</td>
<td>manngayana, wampa</td>
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<td>to give</td>
<td>ngu-</td>
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<td>to go</td>
<td>nga-</td>
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<tr>
<td>to go (for water)</td>
<td>thanga-</td>
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<tr>
<td>to (go and) get</td>
<td>mari</td>
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<td>to go around</td>
<td>waki</td>
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<td>to go away</td>
<td>ngapa, ngartarli</td>
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<td>to go back</td>
<td>yunkunhi</td>
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<td>to go hunting</td>
<td>kapani, kawani</td>
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<tr>
<td>to go in</td>
<td>wilka, wulka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
to go out *watharra*

to go up high *kankatiya*

to go the wrong way *miliwaki*

plain goanna *kunakaatja, pirrimiku*  
(river) goanna *mararri*

goat *purpatupta*

golden perch *ngakupulu, ngantukala*  
to be all gone *wula*

good *yarnpamu* or *yanpamu*

to go *ngapa*

grandchild *papu, papipi, pawiri, mutju,*  
*mutjutju, tjatjitji*

grandfather *mutju, mutjutju, tjatjitji*

granny, grandmother *mutju, mutjutju,*  
*papu, papipi, pawiri*

grass *kukapi*

greedy *yilawarri*

green *yiitharra*

grey *purru*

grey hair *muwaparri*

ground *maltja, mutu, thurli*

to grow *yanuya*

to grow (plant) *watharra*

edible grub *kapara*

gully *tharrpali*

gum tree *pinpirri*

ghost gum *kulpi*

mountain gum *purpatupta*

guts *ritjurru*

hair *purru, warrupu*

hair on head *warrpanthurru*

body hair *puntju*

animal hair *wurrawa*

hand *wanyi, makathi, mampunu,*  
*mampila, mara*

hang up *yithintha*

hard *pantjarra, thurrkali*

to get hard *thurrkaliya*

to have *nhinti*

to have (a baby) *yayawinti, ngarra(?)*

hawk *katjapi, ngurukurtu, pitjurtu*

he (intrans subject) *laya*

he (trans subject) *lartu*

head *murla*

headache *pilpangayirri*

to hear *mangka, mungka*

heart *ngayimala, yururta*

heart (figurative sense) *wayirra*

heat *wanhaka*

heaven *manamana*

heavy *ngawarri*

heedless *wamparla*

her (object) *laya*

near her, toward her *layangila(mpa)*

here *ninyi*

to here *wayilarti*

hey! *yika(?)*

hidden *tjurlu*

to hide *tjurlaya*

to hide (sth) *wilkampi, tjurlawinti*

hielamon *kutjakutja, kurtu*

high *kankati*

hill *mukulu*

him (object) *laya*

near him, towards him *layangila(mpa)*

to hit *wa-*

to hit on head *murlakawarra*

to hit with missile *thingka*

to hold *kama*

hole *pirki, tamiya, tharntu*

hollow *tamiyarri*

hollow log *tamiya*

home *mutu*

honey *purrutja*

hook *kartapi, wartuku*

to hop along (kangaroo) *thanga-
horse yarramana, yitjipiyarri*

hot stone for cooking *riki*

hot *makamaka*

hot (as water, weather) *kurrpakurrpa*

house *kunti, mutu*

how many *nhamingu*

humpy *walipirri, wapirri*

to be hungry *ngamatjarriya, yarikarriya*
to hunt away  kanthi
hunt  kawani, kapani
to hurt  putha
husband  makurtu, tjatjitji
woman’s daughter’s husband  piyaka
I (intrans subject)  ngiya
I (trans subject)  ngathu
I don’t know  kali
if  pula
in amongst  murningka
in front  watjaliya
to become ingrown (toenail)  kurtukurtuya
initiated young man  wuparintji
initiated young woman  yirratji
(young woman) to be initiated  yirratjiya
inside  murningka
interior  murni
invisible  tjurlu
it (intrans subject, or object)  laya
it (trans subject)  lartu
to be itchy  kiyakiyawi, kiyakiyaya
jealous  yitjithana
jump  manpanhi
just a minute  tharti
kangaroo  matjumpa, warluwayangu
to keep (back)  nhinti
to keep (sby) awake  yilarrama
keep on (doing)  kurlukurlu
kidney  ngarrkati
to kill  wa-
call (by kinship term)  ngapa
kitehawk, black kite  pitjurtu, katjapi
knee  purru, purrupurru, thinkali
knife  kankari
to knock down  warrkanti
to know  karta, wangama, yika
lap  punkulu
last  thinangkali
(last) night  mukampa
to laugh  yingka
to lay (egg)  nyunma
to leak(?)  kartarli
to leave  ngarra
to leave alone  ta-
leaves  kintjarla
on the left  tharriwangu
leg  yaparla
to let go  thinawa, thinaa
to lie  nguna
to lie on  ngunti
(to lie) belly up  yathayathawartarta
lies, gammon  wutja
to lift  kulungunti, wantima
light  miya
light (weight)  payarrpayarri
to light (fire)  ngarra,
parlpa(wa?/ya?/nga?)
lightning  rungka, tukuvalantjirri, tuku
to like  wayirra nguna
lily  thulinganintjirri
limb of tree  karni
to listen  mangka, mungka
little  parlurlu
little baby  parruku
little boy  kuyirri
little girl  wampa
liver  ngarrkati
blue-tongue lizard  thumpararra, thupa
log  thuka
long time  wulku
long ago, for a long time  manguwatji
long way  yarrka
long  piyarri
to look  na-
to look after  mintimintima, nhinti,
tjitaama
to look for  yunma
look out!  yika(?)
to look up  tharrka
loose  parla
to loosen  parlama, parlama, parlaya
lower back  minpini
magpie  kurrartapu
<table>
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<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yarlinnga</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to make</td>
<td>ngarra, yarpama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to make (fire)</td>
<td>parlpawa/?ya/nga?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to make (humpy)</td>
<td>kurlayangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>tharrkurru, yirri</td>
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<td>young fellow</td>
<td>tjuwa</td>
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<td>young man</td>
<td>wuparintji</td>
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<td>man’s child</td>
<td>kunkuyu, pia?ka, th?thi</td>
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<td>man’s daughter-in-law</td>
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<td>man’s son’s child</td>
<td>mutju, mutjutju</td>
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<td>march fly</td>
<td>punturlu, wununguwunungu</td>
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<td>Marion Downs</td>
<td>Tjarriyangu, Marrinta</td>
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<td>mark</td>
<td>thuthu</td>
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<td>to get married</td>
<td>ngunyinpa</td>
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<td>mattress</td>
<td>nhurrungu</td>
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<td>me</td>
<td>ngiya</td>
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<td>me (as base for certain suffixes)</td>
<td>ngatji</td>
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<tr>
<td>meat</td>
<td>warri</td>
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<tr>
<td>to mess (it) up</td>
<td>tjiiritjikitima</td>
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<td>to ‘mess about’</td>
<td>mintjiya</td>
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<td>middle one</td>
<td>manumpili</td>
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<td>middle</td>
<td>kawana</td>
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<td>might</td>
<td>lamu</td>
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<td>milk</td>
<td>mimi</td>
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<td>Milky Way</td>
<td>waruwaru</td>
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<td>to miss (with spear)</td>
<td>parruma</td>
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<td>to mix</td>
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<td>mob</td>
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<td>moiety name</td>
<td>Wutharru</td>
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<td>money</td>
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<td>next month</td>
<td>tjipangarra</td>
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<td>more</td>
<td>kurlukurlu</td>
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<td>mosquito</td>
<td>mikara(?), murraka</td>
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<td>mother</td>
<td>marnu</td>
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<td>to become a mother</td>
<td>marnuya</td>
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<td>mother’s brother</td>
<td>kurritji</td>
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<td>mother’s father</td>
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<td>mother-in-law of man</td>
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<td>mountain</td>
<td>mukulu</td>
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<td>mountain gum</td>
<td>purtapatra</td>
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<td>mouth</td>
<td>thani</td>
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<td>mud</td>
<td>marrikarra, parta, pirlki(?)</td>
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<td>snake species, mulga snake(?)</td>
<td>yapintiti</td>
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<td>waku</td>
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<td>my</td>
<td>ngatji, ngathartungu</td>
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<td>neck</td>
<td>karla</td>
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<td>back of neck</td>
<td>kuka?irrirni</td>
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<td>needlebush</td>
<td>thalpurru</td>
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<td>nest</td>
<td>kantha</td>
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<td>net</td>
<td>wu?jari</td>
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<td>next day</td>
<td>miyangarrala</td>
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<td>night, nighttime</td>
<td>warta, miwaru, mukampa</td>
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<td>kunu</td>
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<td>manungkurnu</td>
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<td>‘not taking notice’(?)</td>
<td>wala</td>
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<td>not worrying about others</td>
<td>wamparla</td>
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<td>nothing</td>
<td>kunu</td>
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<td>now</td>
<td>laa, marra, yilarli, ngurangura(?)</td>
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<td>thalimpirri</td>
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<td>to nurse</td>
<td>nhinti</td>
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<td>kupanguuru</td>
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<td>old man</td>
<td>kupakupa, kupanguru</td>
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<td>muyutju</td>
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<td>once</td>
<td>ngurungila</td>
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<td>one</td>
<td>ngururu</td>
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<td>one’s own</td>
<td>manyimpa, munthi</td>
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<td>oneself</td>
<td>manyimpa</td>
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</table>
wild onion *pirrkirri*
opening *pirli*
wild orange *wartatji, yinpikurtu*
other side (as of river) *panhangarra*
other side *watjangarra*
other *ngurungarra*
our (two) *ngarlungu*
our (more than two) *ngawuta*
of one’s own accord *manyimpa*
pad (of wallaroo or wallaby) *thurrurrri*
to paint up, to paint oneself *marrinyama*
to pant *wanpi*
paper, paper money *mapira*
peewee *kurliyitji, wiringara*
pelican *walkirriparrri*
perch (fish) *karrkuru, ngakupulu, ngantukala*
permanently *wurrurrri*
to pick on, to pick a fight *kitjiwala*
to pick up *miya, pinpa, wali(?)*
crested pigeon *kulupatji*
pigweed *thalu*
to pinch *pinka*
pitchery, pituri *matja*
place *mutu*
placenames *Marrinta, Payimarra, Tharrapatha, Titjarra, Tjarrimangu, Tjatjuvuti, Tjiyata, Walarla, Walpi*
plain goanna *kunakaatja, pirrimuku*
plain *maltja*
to ‘plant’ *tjurluwintji*
to play *tupa*
to pluck *punta*
poison *thutha*
to poke *yungku*
to poke out (tongue) *wala*
police station *ngankarri*
policeman *karrrpilintjiirri, ngankarriyangu*
possum *mirrampa, thakurru*
plain potato *kangkuyi, murlakarla*
pouch *yara*
to pour *nhakama*
pox *katjarra*
to pull *puka*
to pull out *punta*
pup *kutjiukutju*
to put, to put down *ngarra*
to put foot on *kanpa*
to put in *ngarra, wilkampi, nhakama*
to put on *narra*
to put up (humpy, windbreak) *tharli*
quarrion *wuringa*
question marker(?) *yiyi*
quick *marlinhiya*
quiet *miya, yikapuyu*
rain *kunhu*
rainy(?) *kunhukunhu*
raw *kumayi*
to be ready to do *patjayama*
red *kurrikurri*
red ochre *mila*
river redgum *pinpirri*
to return *yunkunhi*
ribs *minpini*
on the right *puyumpangu*
to rise (sun) *watharra*
river *yuka*
rock *palkili*
rock wallaby *ngarlingarli*
root *pulumpu, thurrithurri*
rope *wanika*
rotten *kutja*
to rub *marri*
rum *kanga*
to run, to run away *(fluid)* to run *ngartarli*
to run away with(?) *ngar(r)ingar(r)i*
to be sad *wayirra nhakartiya*
sand *kikawarra, yuka(la)*
savage (dog) *tajalintjiirri, yulkantjiirri*
to scratch *pinka*
section names *Kangilangu, Marinangu, Pathingu, Thunpuyungu*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yalarnnga</th>
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<td>see $na-$</td>
<td>newline</td>
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<td>unable to see</td>
<td>ngunka</td>
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<td>without being seen</td>
<td>tjurlumpa</td>
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<td>to send</td>
<td>thinawa, thinaa</td>
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<td>shade</td>
<td>warluwa</td>
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<td>warluwarri</td>
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<td>karawara</td>
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<td>shame</td>
<td>walangu, kulppurra</td>
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<td>thayirri</td>
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<td>laya</td>
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<td>shit</td>
<td>kuna, wuna</td>
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<td>pintathha</td>
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<td>to be short (of wind)</td>
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<td>shoulder</td>
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<td>to shut up</td>
<td>kurrawula</td>
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<td>yankama or yarkama</td>
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<td>side</td>
<td>pintjangula</td>
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<td>wawi</td>
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<td>elder sister</td>
<td>thirrirri</td>
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<td>sister-in-law(?</td>
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<td>to sit</td>
<td>nhina</td>
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<td>to sit (sby) up</td>
<td>watharranti</td>
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<td>skin names</td>
<td>Kangilangu, Marinangu, Pathingu, Thunpuyungu</td>
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<td>skin</td>
<td>mapira</td>
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<td>ngantji</td>
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<td>skirt (made of wallaby hair)</td>
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<td>to make smelly</td>
<td>kuta</td>
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<td>smoke</td>
<td>kuthu, ngaru</td>
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<td>snake species, mulga snake (?)</td>
<td>yapintitji</td>
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<td>tjurlungila</td>
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<td>snot</td>
<td>mangu</td>
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<td>soak, soakage</td>
<td>waripa</td>
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<td>soft (?)</td>
<td>thurrkali</td>
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<td>somebody (?)</td>
<td>thamparri</td>
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<td>something</td>
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<td>to spill</td>
<td>warrkanya(ma)</td>
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<td>wura wa-(?)</td>
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<td>to squeal</td>
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<td>star</td>
<td>manamumani, purturungu, tjirrka</td>
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<td>to steal</td>
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<td>stick</td>
<td>kuthaparra, pintha, thuka, thukani</td>
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<td>still</td>
<td>kurlukurlu, pukurnu</td>
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<td>stomach</td>
<td>rippuru</td>
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<td>stomach (outside)</td>
<td>putu</td>
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<td>stone</td>
<td>muku</td>
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<td>to stop talking</td>
<td>kurrawula</td>
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<td>storm</td>
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<td>ngawinithi</td>
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<td>to get stuck</td>
<td>karli, purraka(r)li</td>
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<td>nganingani, parrawangku</td>
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<td>sugarbag</td>
<td>purrutja</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
sulky *yulkani*

sun *miya*

sunshine *wanhaka*

supplejack (tree) *pimara*

sweat *wiltha*

sweet *malkarra*

to swim *kuta, wilangun(h)ama, wulawunta*

tail *kuntji, yararrri*

to take *ka-, mangkima, mani, miya*

to take (medicine) *ngarri*

to take away *parnayi*

to take back, to take home *yunkunhinti*

to take off/away *muma*

to take off *parlama, parlawa, tjirra*

to talk *ngalanga, ngalangka, ngapa*

to talk about *thinama*

to talk to *ngapa*

tall *piyarri*

tame *miya*

tea tree bark *nhurrungu*

to teach *yarnpamuma*

teeth *yirrali, yiya*

to tell *ngapa*

to tell lies *kathi, kathinma*

without telling *tjurungila*

that (intrans subject, or object) *yita, waya, wathi (?)*

that (trans subject) *yitartu, wayartu*

that (as base for certain endings) *yita, waya, wathu- (?)*

that way *walayu*

their (two) *pulalungu*

their (more than two) *thanalungu, thanawu*

them (two) *pula*

them (more than two) *thana*

these (two) *tjarruwulalu*

these (two, trans subject) *tjarruwulalilu*

these (more than two) *tjarringali*

these (more than two, trans subject) *tjurringalilu*

they (two) *pula*

they (two, trans subject) *pulalu*

they (more than two) *thana*

they (more than two, trans subject) *thanalu*

thigh *punkulu*

to think *mangka*

to think wrongly *mungkungka*

to be thirsty *kapalarriya, puyuya*

this (intrans subject, or object) *tjala*

this (trans subject) *tjarrurtu*

this (as base for certain endings) *tjarrur-

near this, towards this *tjalangila(mpa)*

this way *wayilarti*

those (two) *yitawula, wayuwula*

those (two, trans subject) *yitawulalu, wayuwulalu*

those (more than two) *yitangali, wayingali*

those (more than two, trans subject) *yitangalilu, wayingalilu*

three *katjimpa ngururu, kurrrpayi, kurrtarni*

throat *karla, tjilkirri*

to throw *ta-, thinawa, thinaa*

throwing stick *murrkuthatha*

thunder *tjala, tuku*

to thunder *rungula, runguma*

to tickle *kitjikitjiwala*

to tie *karrpi*

tight *pantjarra, thurrkali*

long time *wulku*

long ago, for a long time *manguwatji*

tired *marnu, matjurri*

native tobacco *matja*

tobacco-ash mixture, for chewing *ngunti*

today *yilarli*

toenails *piku*

tomahawk *muwanu, warramparta*

tomorrow *wartangampa*
tongue *marli*
to wash *karri*
on top *kankati*
to wash self *karrinyama*
a person’s dreaming or totem *thamu*
watchfully *marti*
to touch *miya*
water *kunhu*
town *tawunu*
to be in the water *muntha*
track *thina*
we (two, intrans subject) *ngali*
to follow (track) *thinama*
we (two, trans subject) *ngarlu, ngalilu, ngalulu*
to treat *nhinti*
we (more than two, intrans subject) *ngawa*
tree *thuka*
we (more than two, trans subject) *ngawarlu*
type of tree *murrkuthatha*
to wear *ka-, thanti, wilkampi, ngarntawanyama*
tucker *ranthurru, manhi, mantha*
 wedge-tailed eagle *kumayirtajalintjirri, munuwangarrilintjirri*
to turn around *waki, warrki*
turkey *parrkamu, thurrkuna, kalathurra*
west *tangkarri*
to turn sth *warrkima*
(rain) to wet *wantha*
turpentine bush *kapara*
what *nhangu*
twice *pulari*
what (trans subject) *nhanguyu*
two *katjimpa, pulari, pularru*
whatsaname *nhamurtu, nhanguwarri*
unable to see *ngunka*
whistler duck *tjipulyu*
uncle *kurrirti, piyaka*
white *puluwarra*
to undo *parlama, parlawa*
white cockatoo *yawirra*
upper arm *yunthu*
white man *kampukampu, wuthani*
to get up *watharra*
white paint *pirakarra*
urine/urinate *manthakumpa(langu)*
whitewood *nguritji*
us (two) *ngali*
who *nhanku*
us (two, as base for suffixes) *ngali, ngarlu*
who (trans subject) *nhantu*
us (more than two) *ngawa*
because of whom *nhantungu*
to use up *wulamanti*
to get wild *thakunawatharra, yulkaniwatharra*
to be used up *wula*
willy wagtail *tjintirritjintirri*
vegetable food *ranthurru, manhi, mantha*
wind *wunungka, wunungkati*
very *yanu, pantjarra*
to be short (of wind) *muwaya*
wait on! *tharti*
windbreak *yarntu*
to wait *katha*
willy wagtail *tjintirritjintirri*
to wake up *watharra*
wind *wunungka, wunungkati*
to wake (sby) up *watharranti*
to be short (of wind) *muwaya*
to walk *nga-, thinangku ngartarli*
windbreak *yarntu*
walking stick *tjanpara*
willy wagtail *tjintirritjintirri*
rock wallaby *ngarlingarli*
to be short (of wind) *muwaya*
wallaroo *ngarrkunu*
willy wagtail *tjintirritjintirri*
to want to do *patjayama*
without being seen *tjurlumpa*
to want *wayirra nguna*
without looking at *ngunka*
warm *yumu*
without telling *tjurlungila*
woman *mirnmirri*
woman’s child *ngatharti*
woman’s daughter’s child *mutju, mutjutju*
woman’s daughter’s husband *piyaka*
woman’s genitals *mika*
woman’s son’s child *papu*
woomera *wumar(r)a*
word *pampara*
work *wakaya*
not worrying about others *wamparla*
yam *yangkata*
yamstick *thukani*
a yarn *puwapuwa*
yellow *parruparru, yilharra*
yellowbelly *ngakupulu, ngantukala*
yes *yaya* or *yiya, yuwu, ngaaf(?)*
yesterday *mirlakumangarra, miyangarra, mukampangarra*
you (one) *nhawa*
you (one, trans subject) *nhurlu*
for you (one) *nhuwu*
you (as base for certain suffixes) *nhuwu*
you (two) *nhumpala*
you (two, trans subject) *nhumpalalu*
you (more than two) *nhala*
you (more than two, trans subject) *nhalalu*
young fellow, young man *tjuwa*
young initiated man *wuparintji*
young woman *yirratji*
(young woman) to be initiated *yirratjiya*
younger brother, younger sister *kanamu*
younger *thinangkaliyangu*
your (one) *nhurlungu, nhuwuwu, nhuwuta*
your (two) *nhumpalawu*
your (more than two) *nhalalungu(?)*
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