Jingulu Grammar, Dictionary, and Texts

by

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University of Western Australia, 1992

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND PHILOSOPHY IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
AT THE
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

JUNE 1997

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Robert J. Pensalfini

Submitted to the Department of Linguistics and Philosophy
on May 12, 1997 in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is primarily intended as a thorough description of the Jingulu language of North-Central Australia. The first part describes Jingulu's phonological, morphological and syntactic structure, illustrating with numerous examples collected by the author in the field in 1995 and 1996, and with a secondary focus on what Jingulu can contribute to an understanding of language from a theoretical perspective. Chapter 1 focuses on the socio-historical context in which the language is spoken, with a lengthy excursus on the state of endangerment of the majority of the world's languages. Chapter 2 is devoted to Jingulu phonology, with in-depth theoretical discussions of Australian stress systems and of Jingulu's regressive vowel harmony. Chapter 3 outlines the architecture of the language faculty and the theory of morphology that underlie the description and analyses of the following chapters. Chapter 4 discusses Jingulu syntax, focusing on the question of nonconfigurationality, and includes a syntactic typology of the various types of nonconfigurationality found among the world's languages. Chapters 5 and 6 are expositions of the morphology of Jingulu nominal and verbal words respectively. The theory outlined in chapter 3 is applied in detail to the complex and apparently bizarre morphological systems of Jingulu, and this complexity is seen to follow from a small number of principles governing how formal features can be spelled out on the surface. Chapter 7 contains 34 glossed and translated texts collected by the author. Throughout the dissertation I have preferred to provide more texts and sentence examples rather than fewer, so that future researchers can test my generalisations, examine the data to find their own, and refute or affirm my analyses.

Part II of the dissertation is a Jingulu to English dictionary with an English to Jingulu word finder. Each Jingulu entry in the dictionary is accompanied by grammatical, morphological and cultural information in addition to an English translation. Most Jingulu entries also include examples of the word used in a sentence. The dictionary is the latest stage in a collaboration that has involved many people over several decades.

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Title: Ferrarri P. Ward Professor of Modern Languages and Linguistics

Acknowledgments

My first and foremost acknowledgments, love, and heartfelt thanks to those who taught me of the Jingili people and the Jingulu language: my main teachers Dakamajbi Pompey Raymond Jalyirringinja, Nabijinnginju Ulamari, Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja, and my *kirda* Kijilikarri Jumbo Collins Jamirringinja; other teachers Clancy Bostock Jangalinginja, Makanjangiwarra Lady Dixon Namirringinju, Dilkbarri Pharlap Dixon Jalyirringinja, Miminyngali Eileen Peterson-Cooper Nangalinginju, Kurrurrukungunji Bruce Godilla, Willy Kingston Jangalinginja, Powder O'Keefe and Bobby Cooper. In addition to the people already mentioned, the following taught me much about the culture and the people of the area and welcomed me into their homes: Harold Ulamari, Tina Ulamari, Joe Davey, Rex Collins, Heather Collins, Renita Ulamari, Philip Ulamari and all their families. Special thanks also to Everyone at Gurungu Council, the CDEP, and the Elliott Community Education Centre for offering and providing invaluable advice and assistance on many aspects of the project Gurungu and Anthony camps, and in particular among these to Ian Hopwood of the Elliott Community Education Centre for his friendship, help, and support in a variety of different ways from introducing me to the Elliott community to lending me his car so I could visit Jingulu speakers in surrounding communities. To the people of Elliott, the township and both Gurungu and Anthony camps, and to the people of Warranganku (Beetaloo) and Marlinja, thanks for welcoming me so openly into your town and communities, and thanks for the excellent times. Cheers to Rachel, Claudine, Shannon, Gary, Beth, Adam, Gus, Charlie, and Bernie, wherever you are now.

Excellent Australian linguists galore helped out with matters practical, descriptive, and analytical: Robert Hoogenraad and Gavan Breen at the Institute for Aboriginal Development in Alice Springs, Mary Laughren and David Wilkins who were in Alice Springs at the same time I was, David Nash and Jane Simpson, whose flights across the world intersected with my path on numerous occasions, Rebecca Green, Denise Angelo, Ian Green, Patrick McConvell, Michael Walsh, and Hugh Belfrage in the Northern Territory, and my good friend whom I've never actually met in person Rachel Nordlinger. Thanks to Dave Albrecht of the Herbarium of the Conservation Commission of the Northern Territory in Alice Springs who identified the plant specimens I collected in 1995. Neil Chadwick, whose work on Jingulu underlies all of mine, and whose description of the Jingulu language was instrumental in my understanding Jingulu morphosyntax, deserves acknowledgement not only for the significance of his work on Jingulu, but for his advice and support.

The University of Western Australia supported the first three years of my graduate studies through a Hackett Studentship, and the Department of Linguistics and Philosophy provided a fellowship which allowed me to complete my studies in my fourth year.

Each of my teachers and fellow students at the University of Western Australia and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is in part responsible for having sparked and fuelled my interest in all issues around Australian languages, and provided a lot of

helpful advice on matters ranging from linguistics to life. Among these Alan Dench, Shelley Harrison, Juliette Blevins, Jim Blevins, John Henderson, and Allison Kohn from the Centre for Linguistics at UWA, and Ken Hale, Alec Marantz, Michael Kenstowicz, Cheryl Zoll, Morris Halle, David Pesetsky and all of my course-mates at MIT. Brigit Cosgrove unfailingly provided help and support on every front in Elliott, Perth, and Cambridge. Deserving of special thanks among my teachers are Alan Dench, whose teaching got me into this mess in the first place, Ken Hale, whose incredible knowledge of and enthusiasm for language never failed to create a great sense of and fun in meetings and instilled in me a joy and excitement in thinking about the intricacies of Jingulu from a variety of viewpoints, and Morris Halle, whose insistence on rigour was only matched by his kindness and the depth of his support for my work. Alec Marantz, Mike Kenstowicz and Cheryl Zoll were always available to discuss analyses and to provide detailed comments on drafts of chapters or papers. Thanks also to my classmates and friends in the department who were always ready to discuss yet another harebrained idea about Jingulu, especially Norvin Richards and Jonathan Bobaljik who commented on many aspects of the analyses in this work, and also to Orin Percus, Luciana Storto, Danny Fox, Martha McGinnis, Paul Hagstrom, Uli Sauerland, Susi Wurmbrandt, and last but not least my fellow minstrel Ingvar Løfstedt. All excellent friends and lots of fun to be with as well as being talented linguists. Other Australianists from all over the place contributed to this work in terms of advice and discussions, moral support, and making sure I had fun, among them Caroline Jones, Brett Baker, and Joseph Blythe deserve special mention. Comments from audience members at numerous conferences and presentations around the world also shaped this work.

Linguistics is not life, and for ensuring that I continued to have a healthy, rich and productive life outside of linguistics throughout my time at MIT I have to thank all of my wonderful friends in Perth and Boston. From Perth, Burnsie, Helen, Shon, Mike, Mark, Fleur, Welli, Angie, Kiera, Adam, Ley, Jackie and all the crew who made life possible, and in Boston Scott, Jason, Jen, Brian, Dave, Dmitri, Valarie, Rose, Tom, and Cliff and who made life more than work. Crank on!

Special thanks and good wishes go to the wonderful folk of the Shakespeare Ensemble, particularly Portia, Fernando, Jenny, Orin, Liz, Ann, and Young E. To the various directors who worked with the Ensemble, particularly Kermit, Kim, Scott, Tina, Andrew, Craig, and Dennis, and to my acting teachers Michael and Janet, special thanks for keeping my art alive and honest. To the Ensemble as individuals and a group, I have to thank you for some mighty special times, and know the magic will continue throughout your lives: just be huge. The residents of First West at the MIT East Campus dormitory, who invited me to live among them as a graduate resident tutor for the past three years, made home a very comfortable and enjoyable place, and were always grateful for whatever little things I did for them. To Portia Vescio, whose unfailing love and trust in my abilities picked me up when I was further down that I ever thought to be, my eternal thanks and heartfelt love.

A very special place in these acknowledgments, and in my life, goes to Brigit Cosgrove, for loving, trusting, and believing in me, even when I did not measure up to those

expectations, for showing me what kindness, openness, and love really meant, for having more patience than anyone could ask for, and for supporting me through some very difficult transitions. My companion and best friend for years, you were my partner on this enterprise in many ways. You smiled light into my life and I miss you.

This work owes much to all of these wonderful people, but none of the errors remaining in it can be traced to any of them (these I must take the blame for alone). Except where otherwise noted, the description and analyses are all my own, but ownership and proprietary rights over the language and stories contained in this dissertation remain always with the Jingili people and their descendants. May you always be strong.

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Abbreviations

The following is a list of the abbreviations used in glosses throughout the dissertation.

1dlExc.....first person dual exclusive
1dlInc .....first person dual inclusive
1O .....first person object
1Obj .....first person object
1plExc.....first person plural exclusive
1plInc .....first person plural inclusive
1plS.....first person plural subject
1S .....first person subject
1sg.....first person singular
2dl .....second person dual
2O .....second person object
2Obj .....second person object
2pl .....second person plural
2S .....second person subject
2sg.....second person singular
3dl .....third person dual
3pl .....third person plural
3S .....third person subject
3sg.....third person singular
ABL.....Ablative adposition
ACC.....Accusative case
Adj .....adjective
Adv.....adverb
ADV .....adverbialiser/intensifier
Agr.....agreement marker
AgrO .....object agreement
AgrS .....subject agreement
ALL.....Allative adposition
ANAPH .....anaphoric
anim .....animate
AP .....adjectival phrase
AUX.....auxiliary (Warlpiri)
BEN .....benefactive (Diyari)
came .....past, centifugal
came(dist) .....distant past, centifugal
C.....consonant
CATAPH .....cataphoric
CAUS .....causative
CHAR.....characteristic (Diyari)
co-V .....co-verbal root
COM.....comitative (Dyirbal)
COMP .....complementizer
come .....present, centifugal
DAT .....Dative case/adposition
DEM .....demonstrative
DEN.....denizen (of) (Warlpiri)
did .....past, motion neutral
did(dist) .....distant past, motion neutral
dl .....dual
do .....present, motion neutral
e.g. .....for example (Warlpiri)
ELAT .....elative adposition (Warlpiri)
EMPH.....emphatic
ERG .....Ergative case
f .....feminine gender
fDAT.....feminine dative form
fem.....feminine gender
fERG .....feminine ergative form
FOC .....contrastive focus
FUT.....future, motion neutral
GEN.....genitive (pronouns only)
go .....present, centipetal
goIMPV.....Imperative mood of 'go'
HAB.....habitual
HAVING .....comitative
hi .....high (vocalic place feature)
IDENT .....identified info. (Diyari)
INDEF .....indefinite
INF.....infinitival (Warlpiri)
INST .....Instrumental adposition
INV .....inverse marker
IRR.....Irrealis mood
LEST .....lest, 'so as not to...'
LOC .....Locative adposition
m .....masculine gender

masc .....masculine gender
n .....neuter gender
N .....noun, nominal
NEG.....negation particle
NEGIMPV ....negative imperative
neut.....neuter gender
NOM .....Nominative case
NOML.....nominaliser
NP.....nominal phrase
NPST .....non-past (Warlpiri)
OBJCOMP object complementizer (Warlpiri)
OPT .....optative mood (Diyari)
P .....adposition
P/P .....past participle (Dyirbal)
PART .....participial (Diyari)
PAST .....past tense (Warlpiri)
pl .....plural
POSS.....possessive (Warlpiri)
pre-V .....pre-verbal adverbial
PRES .....present tense (Warlpiri)
PRES/PART.present participle (Dyirbal)
PRIV .....privative
PRON .....pronominal (Dyirbal)
PROP .....proprietive (Diyari)
PROX.....proximal, near speaker
PSTHAB.....past habitual
PURP .....purpose complementizer
Q .....question particle
rd .....round (vocalic manner)
RECIP.....reciprocal (Diyari)
RED .....reduplication
REFL.....reflexive
REL .....NP-relative complementizer
REL.CL.....relative marker (Dyirbal)
RRA .....centripetal, additional argument
sg.....singular
STILL.....still, yet (Warlpiri)
TC .....T-relative complementizer
through .....adverbialiser, intensifier
time.....temporal adverbialiser
v .....vegetable gender
V.....verb, core verb, verbal root
V.....vowel
V2.....pre-verbal adverbial
veg .....vegetable gender
VOC.....vocative form
VP .....ver phrase
went.....past, centripetal
went(dist) .....distant past, centripetal
will_come .....future, centifugal
will_go .....future, centripetal

Part I

Jingulu grammar and texts

Chapter 1
The Language and its Speakers

1. History and Current Status

1.1 Territory, genealogy and surrounding languages

The Jingulu language is the traditional language of the Jingili people, whose territory historically centred around the location of the modern township of Elliott. According to Chadwick (1975) and the accounts of most of the Jingili people with whom I worked, Jingili territory extended from the area of Daly Waters in the North to just south of Powell Creek in the South, from West of Lake Woods to almost as far East as Anthony's Lagoon station and the source of Newcastle Creek. The maps in Figure 1-Figure 3 show this territory: Figure 1 marks the location of the Barkly tableland, which is given in greater detail in Figure 2, with language groups marked in. More detail of Jingili territory is given in Figure 3. English names of townships and geographic locations are given in italics, Jingulu names in plain type, and language names in capitals.

Figure 1: Australia

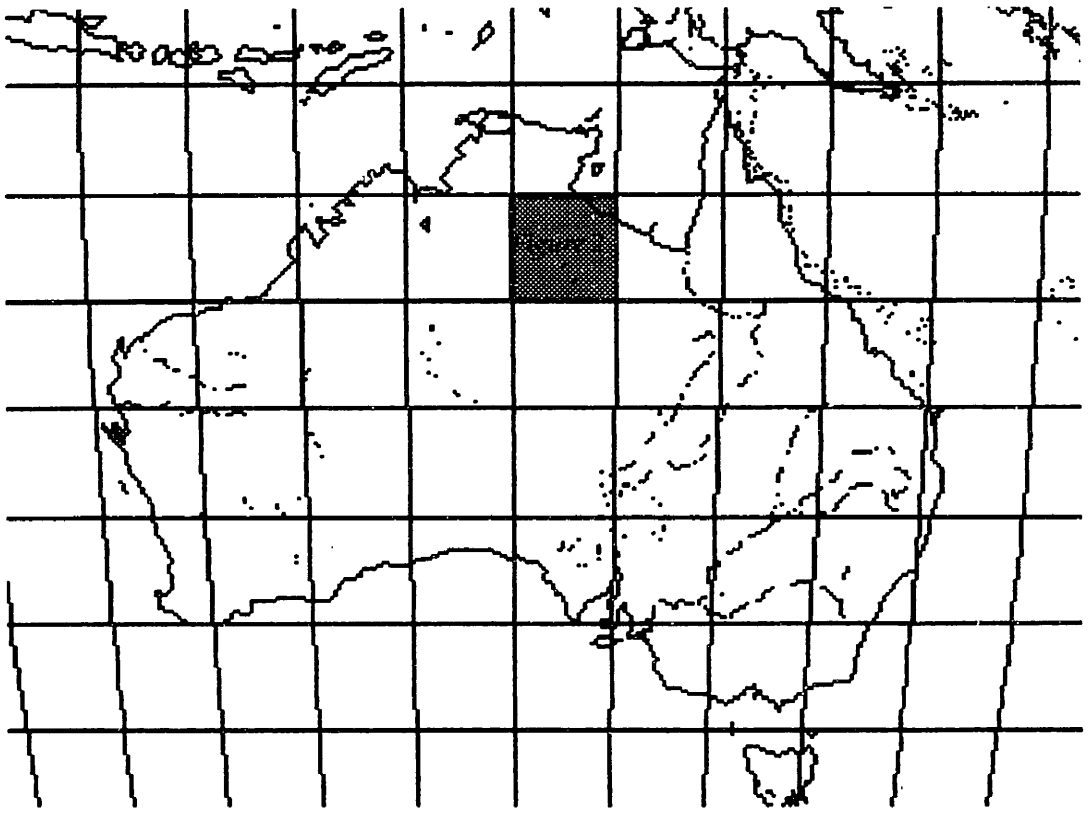


Figure 2: Barkly Tableland

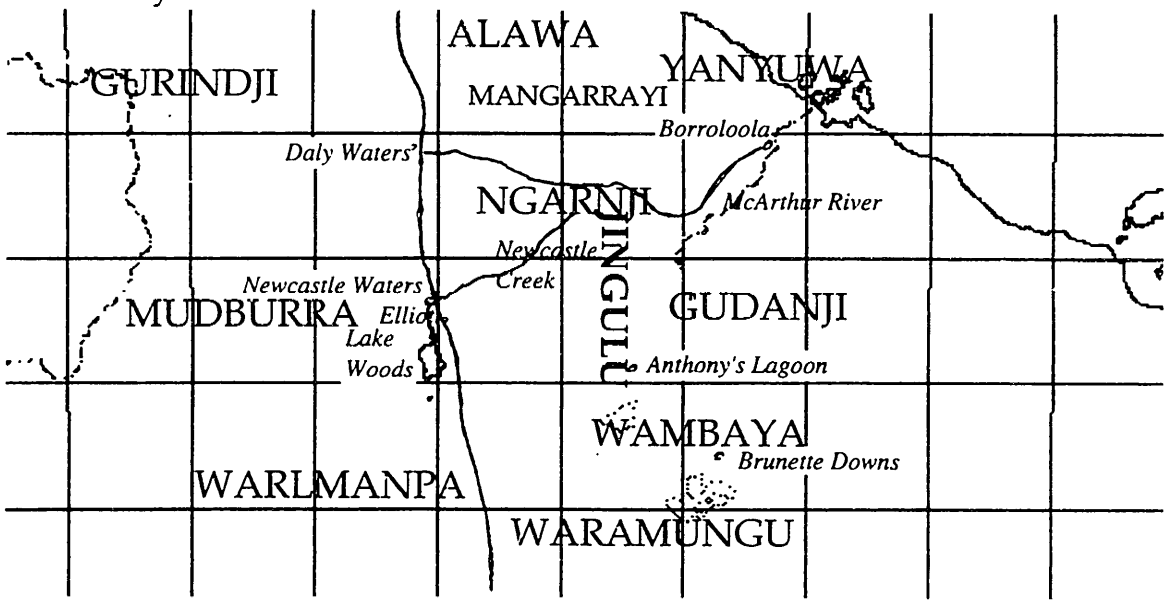
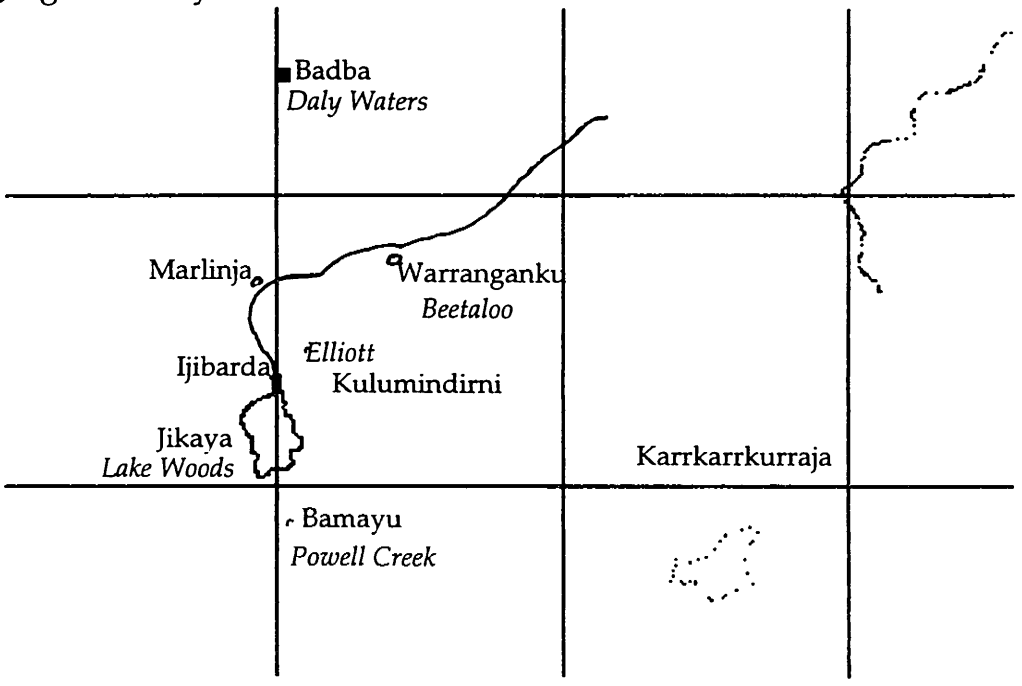


Figure 3: Jingili country



There is often some confusion, when dealing with this language between the uses of the terms 'Jingili', 'Jingila', 'Jingulu', and 'Jingilu'. The people are referred to collectively as 'Jingili', but individually a Jingili male is a 'Jingila' (a Jingili woman is referred to as 'Jingilirni', the feminine form of 'Jingila'). 'Jingulu' is the name of the language traditionally spoken by the Jingili, and, as best I can determine, 'Jingilu' is an alternate pronunciation of 'Jingulu', the language name.

Jingulu is the Westernmost of the Jingili-Wambayic language family (also called the West Barkly group), which consists of Jingulu, Wambaya, Gudanji, Binbinka and Ngarnka (also called Ngarnji). According to Nordlinger (in press), Wambaya, Gudanji and Binbinka can be considered dialects of a single language, while Ngarnka and Jingulu are separate languages, with Jingulu being the least similar to the others. Chadwick's (1978) lexicostatistical results, based on a 100 item word list, are given below:

Table 1

	Jingulu	Ngarnka	Wambaya	Gudanji
Binbinka	21%	61%	69%	88%
Gudanji	21%	62%	78%	
Wambaya	29%	60%		
Ngarnka	28%			

The Djingili-Wambayic languages are most closely related to the Jaminjungan languages, together with which they form the Mindi sub-group. This sub-group, proposed by Chadwick (1984), also constitutes the only non-contiguous sub-group on the continent. These languages are non-Pama-Nyungan, and the West Barkly languages are surrounded, and indeed mixed with, Pama-Nyungan languages to the West (Ngumpin languages including Mudburra and Gurindji) and South (Waramungu, Wagaya) and unrelated non-Pama-Nyungan languages to the East (Garrwa, Waanyi) and North (Alawa, Wardaman), as shown in Figure 2.

Of the Jingili-Wambayic languages, all of them severely endangered, Wambaya and Jingulu have the greatest number of speakers (Nordlinger 1993 suggests there are some 15 to 20 competent speakers of Wambaya, and my own investigations suggest some 12 to 15 competent speakers of Jingulu, see section 2.1). Nordlinger estimates about half a dozen speakers of Gudanji, and no speakers of Binbinka, and I have personally met and worked with what would appear to be the last two speakers of Ngarnka.

1.2 Previous descriptions

The first collections of Jingulu material that I am aware of are Mathews (1901) word list and some ten minutes on audio tape and twenty pages of handwritten notes collected by Ken Hale in 1960, during his 1959-60 survey project. Neil Chadwick collected a good deal of data on Jingulu in 1966 and 1967, which were analysed in Chadwick 1975, which represents the first and, until this project, only in-depth study of Jingulu. Hale referred to the language as 'Tjingilu' and Chadwick as 'Djingili', both of them using a digraph for the palatal stop.

Chadwick's (1975) grammar is an excellent exposition of the morphological complexity of Jingulu, with accurate descriptions of the phonology and the function of most of the

morphemes. The description of the phonology and morphology presented in this dissertation do not vary greatly from Chadwick's own, except where usage has changed (for instance the regularisation of Ergative case morphology discussed in section 3.3.1.1 of chapter 5 and the rise of focus-marking discussed in section 3.3.3.1 of chapter 5). However, this dissertation differs greatly from Chadwick's work in terms of analysis of the morphology, and in including detailed description and analysis of the syntax of Jingulu, including complex sentences. This dissertation was based on a much larger body of texts and sentences than was Chadwick's.

According to the Ethnologue (Grimes 1992), names/spellings for Jingulu include: Chingalee, Chungaloo, Djingila, Djingili, Jingali, Jingulu, Lee, Tchingalee, Tjingilu. The name in use currently, used by linguists and community alike for almost two decades, is 'Jingulu', following the orthography of Ulamari and Chadwick (1979).

1.3 Jingili, Mudburra, Kuwarrangu, and Kuwirrinji

During the early years of European occupation of the territory, or possibly just before it, the Jingili intermarried with Mudburra people to the West. Mudburra is a Ngumpin language (and thus of the Pama-Nyungan family) and not related to Jingulu at all. There is no hard evidence to support this but my own suspicions (echoed in part by Robert Hoogenraad, personal communication) are that the activities of Europeans in the desert regions to the West and South, including the establishment and construction of the overland telegraph, forced desert peoples to move into surrounding areas including Jingili territory, so that the initial phases of this cultural fusion may have taken place prior to the actual invasion of the area by European people but as a result of their settlement of other areas.

The resulting mixing of Mudburra and Jingili people produced a cultural group who are referred to (by themselves in many cases, and by older Jingili) as 'Kuwarrangu', distinct from either Jingili or Mudburra. Kuwarrangu households, until recently, would have been places where Mudburra and Jingulu were spoken alongside one another, and there was a great deal of lexical borrowing between languages in these households, with the result that it is possible to identify Kuwarrangu dialects of both Mudburra and Jingulu. Essentially, Kuwarrangu Jingulu is that Jingulu spoken in the camps at Elliott and Marlinja (Newcastle Waters), and Kuwarrangu Mudburra is spoken in households of mixed Jingili-Mudburra descent (many to most of the households in the Elliott camps and Marlinja). In contrast to Kuwarrangu, Elliott/Marlinja Mudburra people identify the Mudburra spoken in Top Springs and surrounds as 'Kuwirrinji' (Gurindji), while the Jingulu spoken at Beetaloo station, Jingaloo station and other areas away from Elliott and Marlinja is recognised as 'Jingulu' or 'proper Jingulu', which I shall refer to as the Warranganku (Beetaloo) dialect.

Aside from borrowings of Mudburra words into Jingulu (which are either 'Jingilised' by

addition of appropriate gender suffixes or borrowed wholesale), which are identified in the dictionary by a '(Kuw.)' after the entry, there are a couple of minor differences between Kuwarrangu Jingulu and Beetaloo ('proper') Jingulu. One difference is concerned with choice of part of speech for certain stage-level predicates. As argued in chapter 3, roots appear to lack categories altogether, so that a root only becomes a word once it combines with a category head. With stage-level predicates, such as 'sleepy', illustrated in (1), the Warranganku dialect prefers the verbal option (in (1a)), while the Kuwarrangu dialect prefers the nominal (adjectival) option (in (1b)).

(1) a. Bininja ngindarniki **kululukarra-ju**.
man this(m) be_sleepy-do
'This man is sleepy.'

b. **Kululukirri-ni** nginarniki nayurni.
sleepy(f) this(f) woman
'This woman is sleepy.'

Stress patterns differ to a small degree between the Kuwarrangu and Warranganku dialects. As discussed in section 3 of chapter 2, Jingulu typically stresses the penultimate syllable, while Pama-Nyungan languages stress the initial. Some three syllable words which Warranganku speakers stress on the second syllable (eg: /damángka/ ('head')) are stressed on the first syllable by Kuwarrangu speakers (/dámangka/).

Another major dialect difference relates to the use of posessive (Genitive) pronouns. As discussed in section 2.3 of chapter 5, the possessor can either appear in a gender-unspecified (unaffixed) form, or else it appears with a suffix which agrees in gender with the possessed item. In this regard, the Kuwarrangu dialect prefers gender-unspecified pronouns (as in (2a)), while the Warranganku dialect prefers agreeing forms (as in (2b)). Very rarely, speakers of the Kuwarrangu dialect will give a Nominative pronoun with the Dative marker suffixed to it in the place of a Genitive pronoun (2c).

(2) a. Ngarri-nini bibirni marliya-ju.
1sgGEN-f o_sibling(f) sick-do
also ngarrinini marliyaju bibirni
marliyaju ngarrinini bibirni
'My sister is sick.'

b. Ngarru bibirni marliya-ju.
1sgGEN o_sibling(f) sick-do
also ngarru marliyaju bibirni
marliyaju ngarru bibirni
'My sister is sick.'

c. ngaya-rna-ni kirda-ni
1sgNOM-DAT-FOC father-FOC
'my father'

Where some Kuwarrangu words have initial /ng/, Warranganku Jingulu has initial /w/ (which can be dropped, as can all word-initial glides):

(3) a. Kuw.: ngankurrkbi Warr.: (w)arnburrkbi
b. Kuw.: ngamburrijini Warr.: (w)arnburrjinimi

These words are probably borrowed, given that /ng/ --> /w/ is a fairly common change, while /w/ --> /ng/ is not.

Finally, the Kuwarrangu dialect contains the emphatic particle /ma/ (discussed in section 3.3.3.2 of chapter 5), which can be suffixed to any word or stand alone:

(4) a. Jamaniki-ma kijikijibajkala langa-jija.
this(m)-EMPH naughty(m) ear-PRIV
'He's a twerp, naughty to anyone.'

b. Lalija ilma-nga-yi-ma ngunya-ana-mi!
tea put-1sg-FUT EMPH give-1Obj-IRR
'Give me my tea!'

c. Ma! Bibi! Nganga ngaba-mi!
EMPH son(VOC) meat hold-IRR
'Hey! Son! Take this meat!'

This emphatic was recognised but not used by Warranganku speakers, and is not all that common in the Kuwarrangu dialect, being saved for heavy emphasis. The same particle is found as a topic marker in Mudburra and Gurindji (Patrick McConvell, personal communication).

2. Jingulu as an Endangered language

2.1 Number and age of speakers

As mentioned in section 1.1, there are probably some 12 to 15 fully fluent speakers of Jingulu, the youngest of which is in her fifties. Less than half of these would be speakers of Jingulu as a first language, the rest of them would have learned Jingulu as children, as a result of moving to Jingili communities or as a result of working and living in close proximity with Jingulu speakers. About half of the fluent speakers live within traditional Jingili territory, at Jingaloo, Beetaloo, Marlinja, or Ucharonidge stations, or in one of the camps flanking the Elliott township. The rest live in camps, homes for the elderly, or with family members in Tennant Creek, Katherine, Anthony's Lagoon, or Darwin. In addition to these fully fluent speakers, there are about 20 people, all over the age of 40, who can speak Jingulu with some competence, but these people do not have full control of the morphology, particularly verbal agreement, and Mudburra words and phrases are extremely common in their spoken Jingulu. There are probably another 20 people aged thirty and above who can recognise, and to varying degrees understand, spoken Jingulu.

These figures are all significantly lower than the estimates provided by Robert Hoogenraad (personal communication, based on his 1991 survey of the Barkly), which was also noted by Rachel Nordlinger (1993) with regard to Hoogenraad's estimates of Wambaya speakers. This situation arises because it is often assumed (by those providing Hoogenraad with information) that affiliation and ability to speak the language go hand in hand, so that if a person is a Jingila, he will of necessity speak Jingulu. Those people who are Jingili will often also claim to speak Jingulu when they can not, fearing that their inability to speak the language will diminish their claim to being Jingili people. I worked with one Jingila, for instance, who Hoogenraad's survey listed as a fluent speaker of Jingulu, but who could not remember the Jingulu words for any body part other than 'hand' (not 'nose', nor 'mouth', nor even 'head').

It must be pointed out that while there are some thirty or so people who can speak passable Jingulu, in varying degrees of fluency, the number of people who do speak Jingulu is zero. The Jingulu language is not spoken at all anymore, except in linguistic fieldwork situations (though some Jingulu words are used in the Kuwarrangu dialect of Mudburra). The major reason for this is that all of the speakers of Jingulu as a first language live with people who do not speak Jingulu, being married to Mudburra speakers, or in communities or homes in larger towns where speakers of many languages live together and use Kriol or English as a lingua franca. The languages of daily communication in traditional Jingili territory are now Kriol, English, and Mudburra.

2.2 Endangered languages and the maintenance of linguistic diversity[1]

Jingulu is properly classified as a moribund language, in the final stages of its life. People exist who can speak the language, but they do not, and therefore children do not hear the language and have no opportunity to learn it at all. However, it must be stated that there are Jingili people who are committed to the revival and maintenance of the Jingili language, and who are prepared to teach it to Jingili children. In order to do so, two things, it seems, are minimal essential requirements. The first requirement is resources to train community members who will serve as teachers, working with both the last fluent first-language speakers and the children who will learn. Works such as the dictionary in Part II of this dissertation and the picture book compiled by Pensalfini and Cosgrove (1996) are a start, and the grammatical descriptions of Chadwick (1975) and in the first part of this dissertation may serve as essential references in the preparation of further texts. However, time is very short. The second requirement is a need for the language. Jingulu currently has no functional load, so an hour of instruction per day, even two hours per day, in the Jingulu language is not going to make Jingili children speak the language, nor will it make them learn the language. Perhaps if older Jingili in communities made a conscious effort to speak Jingulu in the presence of younger members, if cultural learning/training took part in the traditional language, then there would be a perceived need, a use, among the younger members to learn to speak Jingulu.

At this point readers may be asking why community members want to bother with the maintenance of the language at all, which brings us to broader issues surrounding language endangerment and maintenance. The rest of this section focuses on these broader issues, which are quite charged politically, socially, and in many cases personally. However, there seems to be a common ground to all situations of language loss on almost every scale: languages are endangered only when the speakers themselves are subject to extensive pressure to assimilate or conform to a dominant socio-linguistic community. In many instances, pressure to assimilate comes from within the dominated community, yet even such internal pressure has its ultimate roots in an imbalance in power and control structures among cultures in contact. Language endangerment is a product of cultural colonialism, subtle or overt. It is not the endangerment or disappearance of a language which should itself be of primary concern, but rather the fact that perhaps 90% of the world's languages are endangered or threatened, which points to denial of cultural freedoms on a horrifying scale throughout the world. Language maintenance can not be undertaken without some acknowledgment of the need for social change and economic reform. This is argued at some length in section 2.2.4.3.[2]

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[1] This section is based on the introduction to Bobaljik, Pensalfini and Storto (1996), co-written by Jonathan Bobaljik and Rob Pensalfini. Some passages have been removed and others added, but by and large most passages remain unchanged from that co-authored piece.

2.2.1 What is a language?

The familiar expression—"The pen is mightier than the sword"—highlights the power of language in our lives. Indeed, languages are often used as metonyms for culture. Inter-cultural tensions are often portrayed in terms of perceived linguistic differences,[3] and the choice of one language over another, as much as the choice of words, can be a political statement in and of itself. In many parts of the world today, legislation restricts access to services to speakers of a specific language. Speakers of something that is identified as a distinct language are often advantaged when it comes to receiving attention and funding for services and programs in their language. Speakers of what is considered a dialect of another language, on the other hand, are often forced to assimilate linguistically.

In spite of the clear importance of language-identification in society, there remains no clear definition of a language, nor of the distinction between language and dialect. "A language is a dialect with an army and a navy" is a saying which, though intended somewhat irreverently, often comes closer to explaining the difference between 'language' and 'dialect' than many putatively technical notions.

Defining a language, and establishing the difference between a language and a dialect is not an idle philosophical question, especially when it comes to developing strategies and programs for language maintenance and revival. For instance, in situations of a dialect continuum—where a set of closely related dialects are spoken among a given linguistic community—the development of educational materials requires making choices of what dialect or sub-dialect to represent as "the standard." Representing all dialects equally, though an admirable goal, may for a variety of reasons not be feasible. Nonetheless, choices involved in standardization can result in alienation and divisiveness among already small communities in need of solidarity and cooperation. As argued below, standardization is one of the major contributing factors in the actual decline of linguistic diversity, setting the last 500 years apart from all previous eras in world history.

Any useful definition of 'language' is heavily dependent upon context. In particular, a language (or a dialect) is seen to be for the most part a cultural construct—a label used to distinguish one group from another, mainly to reinforce notions of cultural identity

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[2] Thieberger 1990 offers a detailed argument for essentially the same conclusion. Thieberger evaluates many of the different reasons which have been put forth as motivations for language maintenance work, and concludes that "it is ultimately by appeal to morality and social justice that we find justification for Aboriginal language maintenance." (p.333).

[3] A May 1996 issue of the New York Times featured an article about the differences between 'Serbian', 'Croatian' and 'Bosnian'. The article focused on a handful of local lexical differences, overlooking the superficiality and low frequency of these differences and the overwhelming similarity of the so-called languages. More is said on this issue later.

and often, unfortunately, superiority or inferiority. Expanding upon the points just mentioned and adducing a number of examples from the realm of endangered languages and maintenance policies, we can see the importance of being sensitive to the cultural aspects inherent in the labeling process when developing an approach to language maintenance.

On the psychological definition of language, propounded by Chomsky (among others), the only scientifically meaningful notion of 'language' is properties of an individual's cognitive capacities, Chomsky's *I-language* (e.g., Chomsky 1986:21ff). Clearly this is not the definition of language that we are concerned with when discussing endangered languages, otherwise the death of each individual would represent a case of language loss of the same proportions. There must be some more intuitive, though less rigorous, notion of "language" that serves us in this endeavour.

A common working definition of a 'language' or 'dialect' invokes the notion of mutual intelligibility. If what the group of speakers A speaks is mutually intelligible with the speech of group B, then A and B are dialects of the same language. But what of group C, whose speech is mutually intelligible with the speech of group B but not with that of group A? Is C a dialect of B, and if so is it not therefore also a dialect of A? Distinctions based on number of cognate word forms run into the same problems plus more: certain historical/political situations have led to extensive lexical borrowing into some languages without loss of syntactic or morphological distinctness. O'Grady, Dobrovolsky, and Aronoff (1989:205) present one example. Of the 1000 most frequent words of English, 83% are of (Old) English origin, transmitted from generation to generation regularly. However, of the next 4000 most frequent words of English, 46% are of French origin; for the most part their presence in English does not represent any genetic relationship between the two languages, but rather reflects a historical accident—the Norman (French) invasion in 1066.

The language/dialect distinction becomes very important when laws require primary education in certain traditions. Haitian Creole children were taught in French for many years because Haitian (a Creole based primarily on French and Niger-Congo—especially Kwa—languages) wasn't thought to be a language.[4] The status of Creoles is particularly interesting and relevant for language maintenance and programmes for linguistic minorities.[5] Though the name "creole" is often used outside of linguistic circles with a certain pejorative flavour, it is becoming understood that Creoles are, from a linguistic

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[4] Although Michel DeGraff points out (personal communication) that the vast majority of monolingual Hatian Creole speakers (some 80% of the population) were not being formally educated in either language, in a sadly ironic way reducing the impact of the French-only education policy.

[5] This is not to imply that all creoles are endangered and/or spoken by minorities, though undoubtedly some are spoken in situations of socio-political imbalances. On the status of one Creole (Gullah) as endangered, see, for instance Jones-Jackson (1984), but for an opposing view see, e.g., Mufwene (1991).

standpoint, full languages in their own right. They are spoken natively by large communities around the world, and have grammars (syntax, phonology, lexicon, etc...) as complex as any other language. Moreover, as Michel DeGraff points out (personal communication), the linguistic processes involved in Creole formation appear to be the same as those involved in language change more generally (though this view is somewhat controversial). Creoles are but one possible outcome of situations of language contact; other possibilities are bi- or multi-lingualism, 'language shift,' and/or the death of one of the languages. The key factor in determining the outcome in any given contact situation appears to be the socio-political forces of power and domination (see the papers and references in DeGraff, to appear, for discussion).

Socio-political aspects of creolization, and until recently a lack of understanding of the nature of creole languages, have led to the view that a creole is simply a "degenerate dialect" of one of the languages from which it developed historically. The view, for instance, that creoles are "merely" dialects of the colonising language, reinforced by some degree of intelligibility among speakers of the creole and the colonising language, has led to creoles being overlooked in education policies.

The Australian government has recently recognised that Kriol is a separate language, not 'just' a dialect of English (Kriol is the creole spoken as a first language by many aboriginal people in Northern Australia, and is the most widely spoken of any Australian aboriginal language).[6] The upshot of this decision is that speakers of Kriol enter the school system as speakers of a language other than English, they are entitled to be taught English as a second language. It also opens up the possibility of bilingual education in English and Kriol. This recognition of Kriol helps Kriol-speaking children overcome some of the problems associated with cultural denigration, such as low self-esteem.

A similar case is currently being made in some school districts in the United States with respect to African-American Vernacular English (AAVE), now commonly being called 'Ebonics'. The 'Ebonics' case has attracted a great deal of recent media attention and hysteria, but the issue is not new. In the late 1970s, a group of African-American parents in Ann Arbor wanted to sue the Ann Arbor school system for discriminating against their children. Since there are no laws against discrimination on the basis of (low) income, but there are laws against discriminating on the basis of a person's language, the Ann Arbor parents tried to argue that AAVE was a separate language and therefore that the children were protected under the Bilingual Education Act. So there was a long court case in Ann Arbor over the question of whether AAVE was a language or merely a dialect. The decision that came down was that it was merely a dialect, and that therefore the children were not protected under the Bilingual Education Law, although recognition of AAVE as a distinct dialect was intended to ensure that AAVE-speaking children would not be automatically classified as linguistically or cognitively deficient (see among others Perry 1982 and the papers in Smitherman 1981 for discussion of the

[6] This decision was originally pointed out to me by Brigit Cosgrove (personal communication).

Ann Arbor case and its broader implications). The Oakland school board's intention in recognising AAVE as a language in its own right was to recognise AAVE as the first language of many of their students. These students could then receive appropriate instruction in learning a standard dialect as second language learners. The decision has, however, largely through manipulation by certain sectors of the news media, generated the misconception that certain school boards want to teach classes in AAVE and neglect the teaching of a standard. Under this misconceived interpretation, the school board's decision has raised the ire of many African American people who perceive that it is merely a means of ensuring that African American children are denied the possibility of attaining good jobs and careers through lack of mastery of the language of socio-economic power.

A dialect is perceived as an inferior variant of some superior standard language, and the people who speak 'dialect' as culturally and intellectually inferior. In short, the blame is placed on the speaker for not being able to speak 'proper English (or French, Italian etc)'. The recognition of these variants as languages in their own right puts them on a par with the standard language of the cultural elite. The education system thus becomes responsible for teaching the standard language as a second language to 'dialect' speakers, much as it would to new immigrants.

A third notion of "language," put forth by the American linguist Leonard Bloomfield and others, is that a language is the set of idiolects shared by a speech community. However, as has often been noted since Bloomfield's time, when it comes down to it, a 'speech community' has to be defined in political and cultural terms, and is often equated with an ethnicity and/or geography. The reduction of language to a cultural notion of "speech community" is, from a linguistic perspective, clearly unsatisfactory. The Serbs and the Croats of the Balkans, for instance, are separate communities, distinct ethnic groups, and yet they speak the same language by any reasonable linguistic criterion, to the point where even identifying different dialects on ethnic lines is dubious at best. If there is any notion of "dialect" defined on linguistic criteria, then the national languages of Serbia and Croatia are dialects of a single language (see, e.g., Grimes, ed. 1992). Similarly the Tutsis and Hutus of Central Africa are separate caste-based communities speaking the same language.

Nevertheless, this socio-politically-based definition may be the most practical in discussing "endangered languages" and approaches to countering a perceived problem. If language endangerment is a sort of thermometer for cultural endangerment, then the object of preservation is not (perhaps cannot be) the language as some scientific-linguistic entity, but is rather the rights and freedoms of particular socio-political, that is "cultural" or "ethnic", groups, and ultimately the rights and freedoms of every individual.

In this respect, the notion of 'a language' is useful as a sort of shorthand. In theoretical work, we are aware that any precise notion of 'a language' is of limited theoretical validity. However, the notion "a language" takes on much broader dimensions when

we move to areas of inquiry in which language and culture cannot be divorced, such as language endangerment. In particular, we as linguists should be aware then, that when we classify something as a language or a dialect we are making a claim that has little basis in scientific fact, but which has far reaching social and political implications.
For instance, there are several major dialects of the Western Desert language spoken in the southern part of Australia's Western Desert, including Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara. From the point of view of most linguists, these are clearly dialects of the same language, differing in a few constructions, intonation contours and a few lexical items (the Yankunytjatjara, for instance, have the word /yankunytja/ for 'coming' where the Pitjantjatjara have /pitjantja/ - the suffix /-tjara/ means 'having' or 'controlling'). One dictionary suffices to store the basic vocabulary of both dialects, and one grammatical description accounts for the basic facts and variations. In fact, until some fifteen years ago Yankunytjatjara was regarded as a dialect of Pitjantjatjara. It would probably be fair to say that in the eyes of most people outside of Western Desert communities, Pitjantjatjara was regarded as a language while Yankunytjatjara and other Western Desert dialects were perceived as dialectal variants of Pitjantjatjara. This is now changing, due in no small measure to the descriptive work of Cliff Goddard on Yankunytjatjara. Some Yankunytjatjara people (quite reasonably) did not want to be considered 'Pitjantjatjara' and their language a variant of the Pitjantjatjara language; they wanted it to be known that the language was spoken differently by them and they associated with their speech variety distinctly, placing the languages and the groups on a par.

Often the arbitrary distinction between a language and its dialects plays itself out in language planning and maintenance policies. The recognition of a speech variety as a language by official institutions often brings with it not only prestige but funding and support for the teaching of that language. The classification of a variety as a dialect, on the other hand, brings either scorn, neglect, or overt attempts to stamp the variety out altogether. We see this happening across linguistic communities, and hence it is possible to speak of endangered "dialects" of languages.

In Italy, for example, there are many, many regional speech varieties. The nationalist Fascist policies of the '20s and '30s held that these 'dialects' were not appropriate means of communication and worked to suppress them and replace them across the country with Standard Italian (the literary Florentine of earlier centuries). Schools were not allowed to teach in the local tongue. Government, public administration, and public services were required to carry out their business in Standard Italian. Even now, many Italians who are native speakers of a dialect speak degradingly of their own tongue, and see it as somehow inferior to Standard Italian. They have come to view the dialect as a degenerate form of Standard Italian, which therefore serves no purpose. Yet these varieties are not descended from standard Italian. They share a common ancestor, much as French, Portuguese and Spanish share a common ancestor, though none is considered a dialect of another. These dialects preserve and innovate grammatical features that standard Italian does not (such as subject clitics in some Northern dialects). Dialectologists

identify six distinct languages, or dialect groups, on the Italian peninsula. It is only through the rise of Standard Italian as a lingua franca and the political drive for cultural homogeneity that these so-called dialects have become less prestigious than they once were. During this time a whole generation grew up with only passive knowledge of the local languages, and a great wealth of oral tradition has been lost. Recently, however, there has been a surge in support for regional autonomy and a focus on regional differences. As a result of these political movements, people are once again writing in the local languages, preserving whatever of the rich folklore has not been lost. The local languages are once again being taught in schools, not as the primary language of instruction, but as a valid part of the region's cultural inheritance. The Italian languages have been lucky in this regard because only one generation grew up not speaking a local language, and most of them gained passive knowledge of their local language from their grandparents' generation.
Clearly, there are differences between the situations in Italy and in Australia's Western Desert. In Italy, the languages/dialects are all very closely related to each other and to the enforced standard language. While many of the local varieties may be said to be threatened, the larger group of languages is surely not. In the Western Desert, the entire group is threatened with disappearance, and no closely related language will be left when these few are no longer spoken. These issues are discussed in more detail in Section 2.2.2.

The language-dialect distinction is also highly relevant to the language worker preparing resources on a language, particularly resources that are intended to be used within the speech community. In a community where there is some chance of implementing a program—such as designing a writing system and education materials—decisions must be made regarding standardisation. In these cases what can happen is that one dialect is chosen as the standard, and speakers of other dialects feel alienated from the entire process of preparing the resources, and feel cheated by the end result. They disagree with the dictionary-maker ("These aren't the words we use for this, we use different words"), with the orthography ("You can't write that sound 'sh', you gotta write it 'sc'"), and even with the texts ("That's not how the story of Little Red Riding Hood ends"), and the results split groups that are already small in number.

2.2.2 What is an 'endangered language'?

"[T]he coming century will see either the death or the doom of 90% of mankind's languages," according to Michael Krauss of the Alaska Native Language Center (Krauss 1992:7). The proportions are staggering. The *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1992) lists 6, 528 languages as "living," that is, spoken in the world in 1992. Krauss estimates that, by the year 2100, this number could shrink to perhaps 600. These calculations, even with a large margin of error, suggest convincingly that the majority of the world's languages are "endangered." But what exactly does this mean?

A rough guideline, that almost everybody seems to accept some version of, is that an endangered language is a language that within a few generations will have no speakers left. Clearly, though, the issue is more complex than a dichotomy between "endangered" and "non-endangered" languages. It is more accurate to consider endangerment as a sort of continuum, or sliding scale, with "safe" languages at one end, and extinction looming at the other.

At the end of the scale closest to extinction, a number of finer divisions have been made. For instance, one could argue that a language is only extinct when no-one alive is capable of speaking it, while others may argue that it is extinct if it is no longer spoken. As mentioned earlier, Jingulu falls into the latter category of languages which are not spoken although there are native speakers of it living. Within one generation there will be no-one alive who *can* speak it fluently. As Krauss has pointed out, though, questions of this sort are largely academic. To quote Krauss: "What difference does it make in human history if a language became extinct in 1999 instead of 1989?" (1992:4).

It does make a difference, one could argue, if one's goal is to record language for linguistic-scientific investigation, for instance for historical linguists concerned with a broad data base, or theorists attempting to describe the range of possibilities in language variation (see Section 2.2.4). If documentation is the primary concern for linguists, then priority must perhaps be given to recording languages that have few speakers left, in that the opportunity to collect the data will shortly be lost irretrievably.

If, however, one's goals lie in preserving the language as a medium of communication, then there is almost no hope of revitalisation at this end of the scale ('almost' because, given the right socio-economic and political environment, a moribund language can be adapted and revived, as modern Hebrew attests). It's a little like noticing that there are only thirty Siberian tigers left and hoping to save the species. At this end of the endangerment scale often little can be done except to preserve the language in tapes, texts, dictionaries and grammars for posterity. There are, however, some promising projects involving very small groups, for example the Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program in California discussed in Part V of Hinton 1994. Unfortunately, such situations are by far more often the exception than the rule.

A language need not be moribund to be endangered, by any means. Any decline in the transmission of the language to children in the community can be viewed as a sign of endangerment. The moribund languages are the clear-cut cases. One could make the argument (as has been made in the context of French in Québec, for example) that languages must be protected at a much earlier stage, prior to becoming moribund, if they are to have any real chance at viability into the future. In this context, Dorian (1981) has talked of a 'tip' and slide effect in language endangerment; a language's situation may start to decline slowly at first, but eventually 'tip' over some threshold and start a rapid decline towards extinction.[7]

The question, then, is what factors enter into consideration when determining whether or not a language is moving towards endangerment? There are many variables to consider.

One variable is the number of living speakers (or the number of children learning the language). Though the world has perhaps more than 5,500,000,000 inhabitants,[8] there are less than 300 languages that are spoken by more than a million people, according to Krauss (1992) and Harmon (1995). The vast majority of the world's languages are spoken by only a few thousand people. Moreover, while a million would seem to be a significant number, Krauss notes that Breton had "perhaps a million speakers in living memory but now [has] very few children speakers." Thus, sheer weight of numbers is not alone enough to keep a language alive.

Another variable in the definition of an endangered language is geography, and here we recall the discussion of a language versus a dialect in the first section. If, for whatever reason, English were in danger of becoming extinct in Singapore (but not in the US or England), then one would obviously not want to claim that English is an endangered language, but could one say that Singaporean English is endangered and therefore worthy of whatever initiatives are available to help maintain endangered languages? People certainly differ on this question. Verma (1996) argues that Indian languages in England fall into the category of endangered immigrant languages. There are many dimensions to the question of immigrant languages, which could be endangered in one region of the world, though thriving in other parts of the world. In many cases, the social pressures which are at work in making a language endangered often apply similarly in immigrant communities and in indigenous communities under the yoke of a post-colonial power.

One thing is quite clear, however, which makes defining an 'endangered language' somewhat easier than defining a 'language'. In each and every case, language endangerment is preceded by a drop in the social and economic status of the speakers. It is accompanied by ongoing oppression of speakers and/or economic disparity between speakers of the endangered language and speakers of the 'colonising' language. Speakers of endangered languages find themselves having to demonstrate fluency in the colonising language in order to obtain basic needs and freedoms, thus associating their native tongue with socio-economic inferiority.

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[7] In terms of possible routes towards language death it would seem that a language which has been demographically highly stable for several centuries may experience a sudden "tip" after which the demographic tide flows strongly in favour of some other language.' (Dorian 1981:51).

[8] The World Resources Institute (New York) gives the figure 5,295 million for 1990, and estimates 5,759 million for 1995 (World Resources Institute 1994:268). Moreover, they estimate that the population will grow to 8,472 million by 2025. Since growth rates are not equal across the world, it should be possible to take the WRI population figures and the Ethnologue speakers-by-country figures and come up with a rough estimate of which language groups should show the largest growth and decline in their share of the world population.

2.2.3 What makes a language become endangered?

There are basically two ways in which a language can become endangered, which we will illustrate with an example from North-western Australia, informed by the work of Alan Dench (personal communication). Martuthunira was spoken on the Pilbara coast and Panyjima was spoken about 50 miles inland. They are closely related and structurally very similar languages. Martuthunira's story is a classic example of the first way a language may become extinct - almost all of its speakers die in a relatively short time. In the nineteenth century, the pearling industry basically took everyone between the ages of 18 and 35, the reproductive core of the community, and made them dive for pearls until they drowned or physically collapsed, then left them on an island. Many of the coastal people, the first to be exposed to Europeans and their diseases to which they had little immunity, died of syphilis, influenza, and other diseases that were not known in the area before. So, the coastal groups which came into contact very early were basically slaughtered.

Panyjima is undergoing the other, slower but potentially reversible, kind of loss: the speakers have stopped using the language. Religious missions operated with the attitude that groups of aboriginal people were somehow the same as one another, similar enough at any rate to be herded together into missions. Land taken for pastoral and other purposes similarly forced different peoples, people who belong to different groups and speak different languages, into the same area. Being herded together into missions and lock hospitals, they were forced to start using English as a lingua franca to communicate with one another.

As use of the language diminishes, as the functional load of the language is reduced, the language decreases in complexity and richness. Songs and stories are forgotten, words are lost, morphological and grammatical properties disappear. One generation may be monolingual and fully fluent, the next generation bilingual, and then each successive generation, still bilingual, uses English more and more, Panyjima less and less. Eventually, one generation can understand a bit of Panyjima but never speaks it, and then, for the next generation, it is like they never knew the language existed.

There is a distinction to be made between endangerment on the one hand, and natural change and adaptation on the other. Let us examine two common, though we would argue misguided, views. One is the opinion held by linguistic purists, or as Steve Pinker calls them 'language mavens' (1994:373), who believe that "Proper English is dying out." Purists include organizations like the Académie Française, who want to see any kind of language change, even the borrowing of words, stopped. The integrity of the French language is supposedly threatened by the use of borrowings like "Le weekend". However, borrowing is a natural part of language contact. Loan-words are often assimilated, maybe other words that we used before die out, but the language itself is in

no danger of falling into disuse or extinction. English is filled with borrowings from languages around the world, yet it is arguably the most economically important and dominant language in the world today. The purists view language as some Platonic entity that exists independently of the people who speak it, and presupposes that there is some storehouse of 'Proper English' or 'Français Standard' that only the purists themselves have access to. When asked for the key, it can never be found. It also assumes that at some point in the past everyone spoke 'Proper English' or 'Français Standard', but when asked to identify that point in time, it too can never be found. Purists can accept that English had a right to change between Shakespeare's time and Queen Victoria's, but can not accept that it has the same right between Queen Victoria's time and ours. What makes 'wanna' or 'to't' (Shakespeare for 'to it') such unacceptable contractions in modern English, while 'I'm' and 'don't' are perfectly acceptable? In large part, this prescriptivism ultimately reinforces a socio-political hierarchy in which the speech variety of one class is upheld as inherently superior.

The other view is that language loss is an inevitable part of the processes of evolution and change. A parallel is drawn with biological evolution, and the survival of the fittest. The parallel to biology is apt. However, as with the endangerment of species, what is disturbing is not the disappearance of languages per se, but rather the concomitant facts. Languages, like species, are not now evolving into new languages, but are being displaced by a small number of languages (see the discussion of diversification in section 2.2.4).

So language change and language endangerment are very different things. To illustrate with another biological metaphor, when homo erectus evolved into homo sapiens, homo erectus became extinct but their line lived on. Homo erectus evolved into homo sapiens. Yet if we eradicate all large predators by replacing them in their niche with humans, tigers have not evolved into humans. Large predators are endangered precisely because there is no chance of them adapting to the rate and extent of human usurpation of their niche and destruction of their habitat.

A language becomes endangered because it belongs to an oppressed group. The language itself is used less and less, and it is not just a matter of borrowing words. The speakers stop using the language in certain environments, for instance trade and official administrative affairs, for which colonising languages are invariably used. Once this division between the domains of use of the two languages is established, and as dependence on the colonising culture increases, the domain of the colonising language encompasses more and more of everyday life. The number of domains (the functional load) of the other language decreases and the language eventually disappears.

There are some very interesting borderline cases where it is difficult to say whether a language is changing or endangered, whether it is coloniser or colonised. One such case is the (well-known) central Australian language Warlpiri,. In one sense it is an endangered language due to the pressures of English. Its functional load is decreasing, with English

being used by many younger Warlpiri in a variety of situations. On the other hand, Warlpiri is in a sense sub-colonising the area, replacing many of the other indigenous languages. Smaller community groups, unable to withstand the onslaught of the dominant Anglo culture and language alone, are now using Warlpiri instead of their own indigenous languages, a situation repeated all over the world.

The structure of modern Warlpiri is also interesting. It has a tendency to borrow words and phonologically alter them. In addition to this, some speakers' Warlpiri lacks many traditional morphosyntactic intricacies, such as inclusive versus exclusive pronoun distinctions. Whether this is natural 'healthy' adaptational change or whether it represents the kind of structural simplifications that are characteristic of language loss is difficult to determine.

Not all situations of language contact result in language loss however. In the mountainous regions of Pakistan, villagers all speak three, four, or five languages. Most people speak Urdu, which is the unifying language, the country's official language (though it is the native language of only about 10% of the population), and they additionally speak various distinct local languages. There is a lot of lexical borrowing among languages, and older speakers will often criticise the speech of younger people, but it seems to be a natural process of give and take and multilingualism flourishes.

Where languages do not have such a healthy prognosis, where they do not change naturally, where they do not seem to adapt, is when one language is the colonial language, the language of the administrators, the language of all the economically privileged, the language of the schooling, the language of TV, the unique language of mainstream popular culture, et cetera. When this occurs, what seems to happen is that change is not just a little bit of give and take, it is all take.

2.2.4 Why should anyone care?

Extinction of some species is an inevitable consequence of natural selection in a world of limited resources. Species became extinct long before we humans began destroying them. Similar logic might suggest that the death of some languages is an inevitable fact about the world—as people move and there is cross-cultural contact, there will be a shift in people's linguistic behaviour and some languages will be lost. We have no idea why Tocharian (an Indo-European language spoken 2000 years ago in what is now western China) and countless other languages have died out without descendants, many undoubtedly having left no trace of their existence.

Similarly, languages change over time, gradually splitting into dialects and diversifying to the point where mutual intelligibility is lost, and new languages emerge. Much as this may be dismaying to the Académie Française, the stereotypical English teacher, or assorted newspaper columnists, this seems to be an inevitable fact about languages. The

varieties of English spoken at the time of Chaucer sound quite foreign to native speakers of 20th century dialects. While different descendants of a common ancestor language may be more conservative or innovative than others with respect to certain, specific aspects of the grammar, no language is immune to the process of change and thus no language is an exact copy of its ancestor.

As people are split into groups defined by geography or by social convention, dialect differences emerge naturally. Over time, these differences are compounded and the degree of mutual intelligibility among various dialects or registers lowers. Eventually, given the right socio-political conditions, we will speak of mutually unintelligible descendants of a language L no longer as "dialects of L", but rather as "related languages." In this way, what were once undoubtedly dialects of Latin have given birth to languages from Romanche to Roumanian. Going back further still, it is fairly uncontroversial that most European languages, along with many Indic languages, such as Farsi-Persian and Hindi, all share a common ancestral tongue.

Looking at things in this way, it is clear that there is no language spoken today which survives in the form in which it was spoken a mere millennium ago. Latin is no longer spoken, nor is Proto-Indo-European or Proto-Pama-Nyungan. This being the case, one might pose the question: is not the death of a language as inevitable as the death of every living creature? If this is the case, then in what way can we talk about language endangerment and preservation?

Take two Indo-European languages, say Latin and Tocharian. Neither is spoken by anyone today as a native language, nor have they been for hundreds or thousands of years. But there is a clear and crucial difference between these two cases. Latin has evolved. Though Latin is not spoken, a large number of people today speak one of a number of languages which are direct descendants of Latin: French, Québecois, Romanche, Occitan, Provençal, Tuscan, Catalàn, Spanish, Portuguese, Roumanian, etc... None of these are identical to the ancestor, though all have evolved quite naturally from it. Tocharian, by contrast, has become extinct; there are no languages which are descended from Tocharian. It is this latter case which we see replicated in the alarming figures from Krauss's article. We do not fear that the English spoken today may not be spoken a few generations from now, since undoubtedly some naturally evolved descendant of this language will still be spoken. The thousands of languages mentioned by Krauss will leave no descendants, and in some cases even no trace.

What is unique about the current state of the world, both in the biological domain and regarding the linguistic situation, is the nature and rate of extinction. Ken Hale, in the introduction to a collection of papers in *Language*, suggests that:

> [T]he process of language loss throughout most of human history, i.e., the period prior to the development of large states and empires, has been attended by a period of grammatical merger in situations of multilingualism,

> in geographically confined areas, and among quite small communities [...]. By contrast, language loss in the modern period is of a different character, in its extent and implications. It is part of a much larger process of loss of cultural and intellectual diversity in which politically dominant languages and cultures simply overwhelm indigenous local languages and cultures, placing them in a condition which can only be described as embattled. (Hale 1992:1, his emphasis)

These thoughts were echoed by Michael Krauss in a presentation at Dartmouth College in February 1995. Language loss and convergence has been a continuous process throughout history. The lines splitting distinct dialects are quite murky, both regionally and among different social groups. While there is regular contact among the speakers of various dialects, complex sociological and political conditions interact to keep the dialect distinctions in a state of flux. Though dialects are constantly diverging from a common source, other factors lead to dialect convergence and coalescence. The process is ongoing: different dialects may converge, only to undergo subsequent rediversification. Moreover, as Hale notes, the process of convergence in history, both among dialects and among distinct languages, appears to have led often to grammatical merger. To take a well-documented example, the invasion of England by the Norman French in 1066 led not to the extinction of English, but rather to an English with extensive French influence throughout the language.

In the modern era, the process of rediversification has slowed incredibly, and suppletion rather than merger seems to be the norm in cases of contact.

Within a given language, rediversification along social and geographic lines has slowed considerably in the modern period. In a large part, this is undoubtedly a result of processes of standardization—the rise of common prescriptive norms, written languages, centralised education and the like. Another factor of importance in many contexts is the increased social and geographic mobility in places where rediversification of a common language is on the wane. As people move more freely between different regions with a common language, the role of regional dialect variation decreases. Global communications (radio and television in particular) play a large role in maintaining the homogeneity of languages like English, French and Spanish wherever they are spoken around the world. This, coupled with the teaching of a standard dialect in schools can only lead to a slowing of the process of rediversification. Rediversification is often ignored in discussions of endangered languages. Creolization and rediversification are the only processes by which new languages are born. If these processes are halted, then we move closer and closer to a world of one language. This is not taken to be an argument against standardization, since standardization is useful for communication, though there are many models besides forcing everyone to talk the same. For instance bilingualism and multilingualism, as discussed earlier in the context of Pakistan.

In addition to the slowing of rediversification, there has been a significant change in the

result of language contact since the beginning of the colonial period. Instead of merger in contact, the norm in the modern era is suppletion—the extinction of indigenous languages. As English spreads across North America or Australia, as Russian spreads across northern Asia, the indigenous languages spoken there contribute little or nothing to the colonising language; more often than not they simply disappear under the steamroller of the invading language. This process seems to be increasing in the speed and spread of its devastation.

It is clear, then, that the situation is different now than it has been throughout the whole of human history. Moreover, it is clear that the loss of diversity is a relatively new phenomenon, and that this alone should cause us to evaluate the situation.

Beyond this, there is no unique set of reasons why widespread language endangerment should be of concern. There are a lot of reasons, which will differ depending on circumstances and on priorities. We will consider, in the following subsections, three different kinds of reason for concern over the current crisis in linguistic diversity.

There are those who would argue that there is no reason for concern, that loss of linguistic diversity is a good thing. Their first rationale is the myth of the global community: in order to get along, we must all speak the same language. This is simply not true. If you take a survey of the worst trouble spots in the world today, the correlation between shared language and violent dissent is striking. We have already mentioned the Balkans and Central Africa (Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire) where the ethnic groups in conflict share a language. Chechnya and Ethiopia perhaps stand out as exceptions. At the very least, there is no clear correlation to be drawn between language and propensity for conflict. Indeed, many of the more peaceful countries in the world have many languages spoken within their borders. Switzerland is a prime example.

Thus, there is no compelling reason to believe that linguistic differences engender conflict. In fact, *Iatiku*, the Newsletter of the Foundation for Endangered Languages, is named for the '...mother goddess of the Acoma... of New Mexico, who caused people to speak different languages so that it would not be so easy for them to quarrel' (*Iatiku* 1:1). To many, perhaps, a more satisfying explanation of the roots of linguistic diversity than that the Old Testament's tower of Babel.

The global community myth also rests on the assumption that if there is a common language of communication, it should be everyone's first language. There is a notion that if you speak a couple of languages you cannot learn a third, or cannot get a good command of a lingua franca. However, throughout the world where communities are based on the village or small group rather than on the polis or state, multilingualism is the norm. There are some very old indigenous Australians, for instance, who speak seven or eight indigenous languages plus English, all quite fluently, and they can remember people of their grandparents' generation who were fluent in twelve languages or more (I met one such old man when working on Jingulu, and he is one of the last two

speakers of Ngarnka). Even traveling in mainland Europe one often meets children, particularly from Scandinavia, Switzerland or the lowlands, some of whom are not yet old enough to read, who can speak three or four languages fluently. All the experimental evidence indicates that the more languages one speaks the easier it is to learn another language, and there is some evidence linking bilingualism to increased cognitive performance generally (see Skutnabb-Kangas 1981 for an overview).[9] Monolingualism therefore seems to be an unnatural state for human beings. This notion was seized upon by an association of language teachers in Australia who produced a bumper sticker proclaiming "Monolingualism is curable!"

2.2.4.1 The museum view

A museum, like a zoo or a library, is a place where specimens are displayed and stored. It is also a place of education. Zoos, for instance, are a great tool for increasing public awareness of ecology and problems of human interaction with nature. Species are 'preserved' in zoos long after they have ceased to occupy an ecological niche in the natural environment. A language museum could well be a tool in public education about the intellectual role of linguistic diversit and a place for the celebration of it.

The few hundred languages that, by current estimates, will still be thriving at the end of the next century do not show a huge amount of typological or genetic variation from one another.[10] Many entire families of languages will have died out. Many currently endangered languages manifest linguistic properties that are not found in the safe languages at all. Typological diversity among languages is essential to understanding universals of grammar and the possible range of language variation. To the extent that language is a cognitive system, diversity reflects cognitive flexibility while universals represent a common core of cognition. If we had only the three hundred or so safe languages, we would likely never have known of numerous linguistic properties,

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[9] Much of this evidence is controversial, unsurprisingly. In particular, many studies which attempt to correlate bilingualism with increased (or decreased) "cognitive development" fail to control for socio-economic context of bilingualism. As Thieberger (1990:347) implies, the fact that French/English bilingual school children in Montréal, or Hebrew-English bilinguals in New York, perform better on certain types of tests than monolingual control groups may well reflect the socio-economic status of the bilinguals, and the fact that both languages are generally prestige languages in the respective communities.

[10] For example, Harmon (1995:7) points out that "The sheer number of languages ... is a proxy measure of the world's linguistic diversity, but the term "diversity" ultimately refers to how different individual languages are from one another." Harmon, a biologist, explores connections between biological and linguistic diversities, and the implications of the loss of both. Biologists see biodiversity as a necessary part of a functioning ecosystem, which can function only if various distinct and diverse roles are filled. As Michael Krauss points out, little thought seems to have been devoted to whether or not linguistic diversity supports a similar complex system of interaction vital to the survival of the world, an important question in the debate of the pros and cons of linguistic diversity.

including ingressive stops (the clicks of the Kalahari languages and the Lardil auxiliary language Damin), noun incorporation, the nonconfigurationality of many Australian languages, and auxiliary languages (see Section 2.2.4.2).

The museum view suggests that, with limited resources, linguists should focus on urgent documentation of languages nearest to extinction (those with but a handful of speakers left). The museum view alone does not really provide an argument for language maintenance and language education programmes.

Since 1995, the Linguistic Society of America conference has included sessions on endangered languages. A common topic at these meetings is the role of the outsider, particularly the linguist, in the documentation and preservation of endangered languages. Do we have a right as linguists, as scientists, to prioritise and distribute resources on purely 'scientific' grounds, such as whether the language in question has a unique or peculiar grammatical property, or whether it belongs to a well-documented language family. The museum view alone leads us to answer in the affirmative. But is this position tenable? In particular, do we have a right to impose our scientific priorities in order to document a language even against the wishes of most of its speakers? As Ladefoged 1992 points out, speakers of many endangered languages themselves hold negative attitudes towards their language, in many cases because of the socio-economic inferiority associated with speaking the language (see Ladefoged 1992).

2.2.4.2 The relativity view

Linguistic diversity is often identified with cultural diversity and this is often taken as support for a radically determinist version of the Whorfian hypothesis. Benjamin Whorf claimed that "We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages" (quoted in Pinker 1994:59). The idea is that our language shapes the way we perceive the world, that speakers of Navajo have a fundamentally different perception of the world and everything in it than do speakers of Scots Gaelic, and the reason for this fundamental difference is neither environmental (including diet and climate), nor directly nor even purely cultural, but linguistic. This is an extremely strong claim, but the evidence for it is extremely weak.[11]

Pinker (1994:66f) discusses an example of linguistic relativism which could have had clear implications for educational policy, if it had been correct. Alfred Bloom, now president of Swarthmore College, argued in his 1981 book *The linguistic shaping of thought: A study in the impact of language on thinking in China and the West,* that structural aspects

[11] To be fair to Whorf, this extreme view—though it is often attributed to Whorf—was not the view that Whorf himself maintained. For instance: "I should be the last to pretend that there is anything so definite as "a correlation" between culture and language..." (Carroll 1956:138f), and in an accompanying footnote: "We have plenty of evidence that this is not the case."

of languages determine patterns of thought in their speakers. He believed that because Chinese lacks a simple counter-factual construction (e.g., "Bier could not read Chinese, but if he had been able to read Chinese, he would have..." (Bloom 1981:27)), native speakers of Chinese would not be able to conceive of counter-factual situations. He presented native speakers of Chinese with stories in Chinese that described counterfactual situations. Similar stories were presented to English-speakers, in English. The English-speaking subjects performed significantly better than the Chinese speakers in comprehension tests that required distinguishing counterfactuals. Bloom took this as proof that one's native language determines one's cognitive capacities. Subsequently, Bloom's findings have been discredited (see references in Pinker 1994: 66-67fn). The methodology has been called sloppy and the Chinese stories apparently contained subtle ambiguities. When the experiment was repeated with better translations, the differences between the two groups vanished. It should be clear, though, that opinions such as those held by Bloom, could easily lead to discriminatory policies in education and language use generally.

To deny that our language shapes the way we think is not to deny the connection between language and culture. Culture and language are inextricably connected in a number of ways. Language is the primary means of transfer of information within a community, and it is precisely transfer of information that lies at the heart of every human culture. Languages therefore reflect the cultures of their speakers, and develop in ways that accommodate the expression of culturally important information.

In Australia, for instance, there are some very complex kinship systems, which are very important culturally. These complex kinship systems are accompanied by a rich and fascinating set of kinship terms. The Jingulu kinship system and its version of the Aluritja subsection system system is discussed in Section 3. Many Australian kinship systems involve complex dual and group kinterms, which make our often incomprehensible "third cousin twice removed" pale into simplicity. Jingulu, for instance has the terms *larlukulinji* and *maranjulinji* meaning 'a man and one of his children' and 'a person and one of their grandchildren' respectively, and the terms *larlukula* and *maranymi* meaning 'a man and (more than one of) his children' and 'a person and (more than one of) their grandchildren' respectively. Panyjima (Dench 1982), shows even greater complexity with triangular kinterms (which make reference to the speaker as well as two other people) in addition to dual and group terms. One such triangular term is *jartuntarra,* which refers to two people who are each other's cousins, but who are two generations removed from the speaker (the generation of the speaker's grandparents or grandchildren).

In many Australian cultures, one's mother-in-law should not be spoken to, or even about, if at all avoidable.[12] If however it is essential to speak with or about her, some

[12] Mother-in-law is the canonical example, but this often extends to other relationships, such as that of a man to his circumciser.

cultures mandate the use of an auxiliary language. The auxiliary language is very vague, often consisting of only a few hundred words, and traditionally learned in the space of just a few days (around initiation). As a result it is hard to say anything precise in this auxiliary language, and thus, like the story of Iatiku mentioned earlier, avoiding confrontation is very easy. As the functional load of cultural traditions decreases, auxiliary languages are among the first things lost. There are many communities where the core of the language is still spoken to some limited extent, but the auxiliary language is all but entirely forgotten, and along with it the traditional means of mediating this apparently universally uncomfortable relationship.

Translating a song or poem into another language, even a closely related one, while trying to preserve the sense of the lyrics, is difficult. In traditional aboriginal Australia, as in all societies, songs serve many functions: social, ritual, and deeper cultural-pragmatic functions. Among the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of central Australia, it has been argued, songs about the travels and antics of pre-human ancestors serve as a kind of map. In their travels these ancestors stopped off at various locations and performed various acts. Learning these songs, one learns not only the history of the land but also the traditional nomadic routes. For people who travel hundreds of miles without written maps this is an important method of transferring essential knowledge. The ingenuity of the nomad's song is that it expresses essential information in a form that is easily and enjoyably passed on. Where the local languages are most severely endangered, these songs, and the cultural and local knowledge encoded in them, have been lost, and literacy generally has not come to take their place. The music has been lost, the poetry has been lost, and the flow of vital knowledge from one generation to the next has been stopped. Aspects of the culture have been eradicated and denied to future generations.

In some ways then, the decline of a language may result in the loss of some means of cultural expression. Generally speaking though, cultural destruction precedes or causes the linguistic decline. A culture's health or vitality is hard to measure, particularly from outside that culture. The vitality or health of a language, on the other hand, while still hard to measure, is significantly easier to determine. How often is the language used? Are children learning it as a first or second language? And so forth. Language loss, and language endangerment, can thus be used as indicators of cultural endangerment, cultural thermometers.

But why maintain cultural diversity? In the biological world, diversity is essential to the ecosystem's survival. There have been many cataclysmic extinctions of species throughout evolutionary history. If Robert Bakker (1986) is right, these are the result of too small a number of species overtaking ecological niches, particularly the ones at the top of the food chain. This results in greater susceptibility of the ecosystem to collapse by disease or natural disaster. This much we know about the need for species diversity.

Human beings need an intellectual and spiritual life. This is, according to some philosophers, the root of all our problems, the fact that we can not sit still in a room with nothing to do. Even if provided with food and water, light and shade, a person can not be satisfied. People are driven by a need to thrive and flourish intellectually and

emotionally - this much we also know.

Is it unreasonable, then, to assume that the same sort of diversity that is needed among species to assure a stable ecosystem is not also required among human groups in order to foster a sane human existence? This diversity is expressed on increasing scales and levels of complexity by individuals, peer groups, and entire cultures or ethnicities. Linguistic diversity reflects and perhaps even enhances the intellectual diversity that helps individuals and societies flourish.

2.2.4.3 The emancipation view

This view shares many elements of the diversity view, but takes the rights of individuals to equal treatment and opportunity, irrespective of ethnic affiliation, as the central issue in the preservation of endangered languages. As noted previously, language endangerment is a result of political oppression or socio-economic disadvantage. It is no surprise that the language is not being passed on when people, quite reasonably seeking to escape poverty and lack of opportunity, assimilate to a dominant culture and language. The culture declines as the knowledge, via the language, is not transferred to younger generations. In order to pursue economic opportunity or even a decent standard of health, comfort and nourishment, then, a person must reject their ethnicity and surrender to the colonising culture, which is embodied in the language of education, of mass communication, of government, of the medical and financial sectors, of the law, of the police and the armed forces, indeed of every manifestation of power that exists in the land today.[13] This denies a person the right to pursue stability, health and dignity *irrespective of their ethnicity.*

To the extent that language loss is a result of cultural attrition, language maintenance programmes which do not take into account cultural contexts of language use address a symptom and not the cause.

Prestige and confidence are essential to cultural survival. Government recognition and support are important to maintaining prestige and confidence. Allowing linguistic diversity requires allowing cultural diversity. Ultimately, access to basic housing, utilities, and health care should be provided for all citizens irrespective of ethnic affiliation or practices. Minority language maintenance programs should be funded and set up, and

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[13] The arrival of western economics and industry smashed pre-existing economies so that they could no longer function. The exploitation of natural resources to the economic advantage of the technology-bearing colonisers involved the displacement of indigenous peoples from resource-laden lands with insufficient or no compensation. Law and government for many years refused to recognise the existence of indigenous people and their cultures and refused them access to all manner of institutions. Colonisation brought more misery and indignity in the form of massacres, displacements and diseases than can be undone, even at ten generations' distance, by blissful ignorance and paltry handouts.

translation services provided for monolingual speakers of local languages. Where feasible and appropriate, local languages should be made official languages in conjunction with current official languages, as has been done in Paraguay. Children reaching school age with only knowledge of a local language should be provided with education in the national language(s) as second languages, and the use of their native language should not be discouraged.

3. Kinship and subsection system

This is a study of the Jingulu language, not of jingili culture. However, some aspects of the culture are essential to an understanding of the language, particularly as it is used in texts. The most central of these is the structure of the kinship and subsection system. Skins are important to language and communication because skin and kinship terms are used as terms of address (use of proper names in address, and to a lesser extent, in referring to a third party, is considered impolite and inappropriate). Skin names often also occur in texts in reference to various birds, who are associated with particular skins (subsections) by way of traditional law (dreaming).

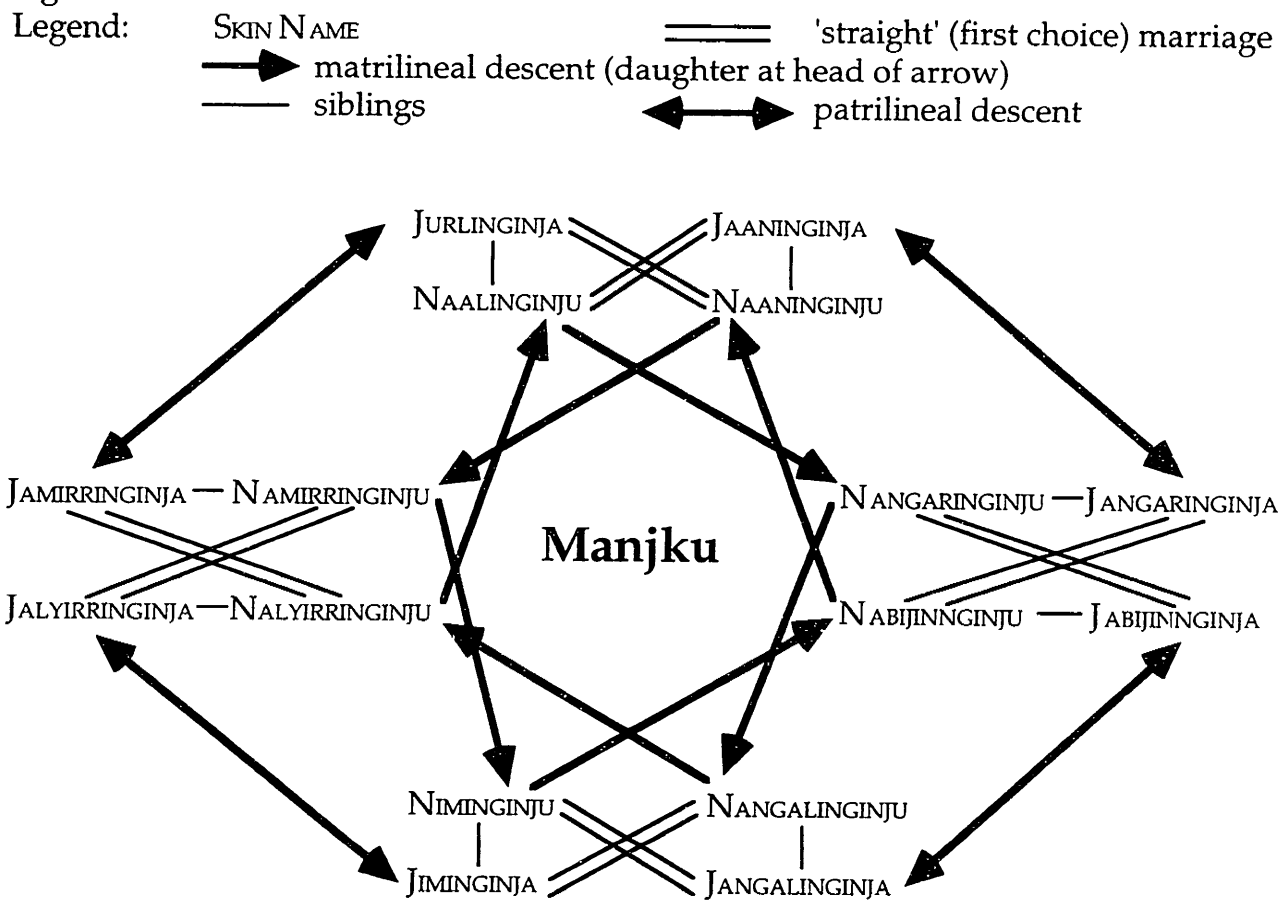
Every member of the society (extending to every human that ever interacts with a person from the community) has a 'skin' (everyone belongs to a subsection), which is determined usually by the skins of one's parents (though the skin of an outsider who is brought into the group by marriage is determined by the skin of their spouse, etc.). One's skin determines which subsection one's preferred marriage partner should come from, which subsection one can not marry into, and how one is related to, and therefore should interact with, each other member of the community.

The schematisation of Jingulu skin and kinship presented in Figure 4 is based on a schema for the eight subsection system drawn by Robert Hoogenraad at the Institute for Aboriginal Development in Alice Springs. A legend is given below, but note that patrilineal descent occurs in four groups of two, so that a man's son's son is the same skin as he is, while matrilineal descent occurs as two groups of four, so that a woman's daughter's daughter is not the same skin as her, but that granddaughter's daughter's daughter will be the same skin as the first woman we considered.

'Straight' (first choice) marriage is not the only marriage allowed, and the kinship system in practice becomes quite complex, with many marriages other than straight ones taking place. There are also people who have more than one skin name (usually as a result of non-straight marriages).

Note that skin names for men begin with 'J' and end in 'a'; skin names for women begin in 'N' and end in 'u'. The J/N and a/u alternation is usually (but not always) the only difference between a woman's skin name and her brother's. 'Nginja' is a masculine nominal meaning 'seed'. The Jingulu skin names ('manjku') are very similar to the Mudburra names, in many cases differing only in the appearance of /-nginja/ (masculine) or /-nginju/ (feminine) on the Jingulu terms.

Figure 4



Here follows an example showing how people of each skin could be related to each member of a married couple. The married couple in question consists of a Jurlinginja and a Naaninginju. I chose this couple because my own skin is Jurlinginja and it was therefore the easiest in terms of eliciting the data regarding the relationships in question.

Skin	Relationship to Jurlinginja	Relationship to Naaninginju
Jurlinginja	baba, bardarda [brother]	ngambiya [husband, brother-in-law]
	kangkuya [father's father]	ngabuja [grandpa-in-law]
Naalinginju	bibirni, birdirdini [sister]	ngambiyirni [sister-in-law]
Jaaninginja	ngambiya [brother-in-law]	baba, bardarda [brother]
Naaninginju	kabirni [wife]	bibirni, birdirdini [sister]
	ngambiyirni [sister-in-law]	
Jangaringinja	lambarra [father-in-law]	lala, kirda [father]
Nangaringinju	jakardini lambarra [aunt-in-law]	lilirni [father's sister]
Jabijinnginja	jawurla [uncle-in-law]	kanya [mother's brother]
Nabijinnginju	jiyirni [mother-in-law]	jakardini [mother]
Jiminginja	ankila [cousin]	kuka [grandma's brother]
	kaminjarra [daughter's son]	kaminjarra [daughter's son]
	jaminja [mother's father]	
Niminginju	ankilirni [cousin]	kukurni [mother's mother]
	kaminjirrini [granddaughter]	kaminjirrini [granddaughter]
	jaminjirni [grandpa's sister]	
Jangalinginja	kuka, jaju [grandma's brother]	ankila [cousin]
		jaminja [mother's father]
Nangalinginju	kukurni [mother's mother]	anikilirni [cousin]
		jaminjirni [grandpa's sister]
Jamirringinja	lala, kirda [father]	lambarra [father-in-law]
	biba [son]	biba [son]
Namirringinju	lilirni [father's sister]	jakardini lambarra [aunt-in-law]
	bibirni [daughter]	bibirni [daughter]
Jalyirringinja	kanya [mother's brother]	jawurla [cousin-in-law]
Nalyirringinju	jakardini [mother]	jiyirni [mother-in-law]

The relationships jiyirni [mother-in-law] and jawurla [cousin-in-law, mother-in-law's brother] demand an avoidance style of interaction. Traditionally, interactions with these relatives are avoided, though if essential communication may take place through an intermediary, ideally from a distance. Nowadays these restrictions are considerably laxer, and even some of the older speakers do not follow them at all, although they are well aware of them.

Traditionally, siblings-in-law (ngambiya, ngambiyirni) do not touch, give to or receive from one another with one hand only. it must be done with both hands or with one hand touching the other hand or arm (usually at the elbow).

Kinship terms (mother, sister, etc.) are classificatory, which means they refer to a relationship by skin and not specifically a blood or genetic relationship. Therefore a Jurlinginja will call all other Jurlinginjas 'baba', 'bardarda', or 'kangkuya' (the choice depending on age difference), irrespective of genetic relatedness.

Because of the circular/cyclic design of the kinship system (as opposed to the European linear design) a person may be addressed in more than one way. A man may address his son's wife as 'limbirrini' (daughter-in-law) or as 'jakardini' (mother). The choice often comes down to the tone sought by the speaker for that particular interaction.

Conversely, a single kinship term may have a variety of translations into English. The term 'baba', for instance, may be translated as 'older brother' or as 'older (male) parallel cousin'. An examination of Figure 4 reveals the reason for this: a person's brother will always be of the same skin as that same person's father's brother's son or their mother's sister's son. Below is a list of the most commonly heard Jingulu kinship terms, along with their primary translations and what the classification includes. The classificatory inclusion sometimes differs depending on whether the speaker/ego is male or female, and this is also indicated.

baba = brother (elder)
classification includes older male parallel cousin

bibirni = daughter, elder sister
classification includes older female parallel cousin
classification includes brother's daughter, wife's sister's daughter (ego: male)
classification includes older brother's son's daughter, husband's niece, father-in-law's sister's daughter, mother-in-law's father's sister's daughter (ego: female)

bardarda = brother (younger)
classification includes younger male parallel cousin

biba = son
classification includes also brother's son, wife's sister's son, wife's paternal grandfather's sister's son (ego: male)
classification includes brother's son's son, husband's nephew, father-in-law's sister's son, mother-in-law's father's sister's son (ego: female)

birdirdini = sister (younger)
classification includes younger female parallel cousin
classification includes wife's brother's wife (ego: male)
classification includes maternal aunt's daughter (ego: female)

jaju = grandmother's (maternal) brother (ego: male or female)
classification includes wife's brother's daughter's son, mother-in-law's father and his brothers, mother-in-law's father's brother's son (ego: male)

jakardini = mother (ego: son or daughter)
classification includes mother's sisters

jaminja = grandfather (mother's father)
classification includes mother's father's brothers, daughter's son, also wife's sister's daughter's son (ego: male)
classification includes mother's father's brothers, mother-in-law's mother's brother (ego: female)

jaminjirni = grandfather's (maternal) sister, daughter's daughter
classification includes wife's sister's daughter's daughter (ego: male)
classification includes mother-in-law's mother and her sisters (ego: female)

jaya = mother-in-law's brother
classification includes father-in-law's mother's brothers
classification includes son's wife's brothers (ego: female)

jiyirni = mother-in-law
classification includes father-in-law's mother and mother-in-law's sisters
classification includes son's wife (ego: female)

kabirni = wife
classification includes brother's wife, wife's sister (ego: male)

kaminjarra = daughter's son
classification includes sister's grandson, father-in-law's nephews, mother-in-law's brother's son (ego: male)
classification includes niece's son, paternal grandfather's nephews, husband's niece's son, mother-in-law's brother's son, mother-in-law's mother's brother's son (ego: female)

kaminjirrirni = daughter's daughter
classification includes sister's granddaughter, father-in-law's nieces, mother-in-law's brother's daughter, mother-in-law's father's brother's daughter (ego: male)
classification includes niece's daughter, paternal grandfather's nieces, husband's niece's daughter, mother-in-law's brother's daughter, mother-in-law's mother's brother's daughter (ego: female)

kangkuya = paternal grandfather (ego: male)
classification includes paternal grandfather's brothers, son's son, brother's grandson, wife's sister's son's son (ego: male)
classification includes sister's son's son, father-in-law's mother's brother (ego: female)

kangkuyirni = paternal grandfather's sister (ego: male)
sister's son's daughter (ego: female)
classification includes son's daughter, brother's granddaughter, wife's sister's son's daughter (ego: male)
classification includes father-in-law's mother and her sisters (ego: female)

kanya = uncle (either parent's brother if ego is female, mother's brother only if ego is male)
classification includes either parent's sister's husband, mother's male cousins, mother-in-law's maternal male cousins (ego: male)
classification includes maternal grandparent's brother's son, maternal grandmother's sister's son (ego: female)

kirda = father
classification includes father's brother, spouse's paternal grandfather's sister's son
classification includes paternal grandfather's brother's son, paternal grandmother's sister's son (ego: male)
classification includes mother's sister's husband (ego: female)

kuka = grandmother's (maternal) brother
classification includes wife's brother's daughter's son, mother-in-law's father and his brothers, mother-in-law's father's brother's son (ego: male)

kukurni = grandmother (maternal)
classification includes maternal grandmother's sisters
classification includes wife's brother's daughter's daughter, mother-in-law's father's sister and mother-in-law's father's brother's daughter (ego: male)

kula = nephew (sister's son) (ego: male)
son, nephew (sister's son) (ego: female)
classification includes paternal grandfather's sister's son, paternal grandmother's brother's son, father-in-law (and his brothers) and his father's brother's son (ego: male)
classification includes father-in-law's brother's son, father-in-law's mother's nephew, mother-in-law's sister's husband (ego: female)

kulirni = niece (sister's daughter) (ego: male)
daughter, niece (sister's daughter) (ego: female)
classification includes paternal grandfather's sister's daughter, paternal grandmother's brother's daughter, wife's brother's daughter, father-in-law's sister or his brother's wife or [illegible]ther's brother's daughter (ego: male)
classification inc[illegible]es mother-in-law's father's brother's daughter, father-in-law's brother's daughter, father-in-law's mother's nieces (ego: female)

lala = father
classification includes father's brother, spouse's paternal grandfather's sister's son
classification includes paternal grandfather's brother's son, paternal grandmother's sister's son (ego: male)
classification includes mother's sister's husband (ego: female)

lilirni = father's sister
classification includes paternal grandfather's brother's daughter, paternal grandmother's sister's daughter, maternal uncle's wife, father-in-law's sister's daughter (ego: male)
classification includes parent's brother's wife, maternal grandfather's sister, father-in-law's father's sister's daughter (ego: female)

lambarra = father-in-law, son-in-law
daughter-in-law
father-in-law's sister (ego: male)

limbirrirni = daughter-in-law

ngabuja = grandmother's (paternal) brother
classification includes wife's paternal grandfather and his brothers (ego: male)
classification includes son's son, paternal grandfather and his brothers, husband's paternal grandfather's brother, mother-in-law's sister's son (ego: female)

ngabujirni = grandmother (paternal), son's daughter (ego: female)
classification includes paternal grandmother's sisters, spouse's paternal grandfather's sisters (ego: male or female)
classification includes mother-in-law's sister's daughter, husband's paternal grandfather's sister (ego: female)

ngambiya = brother-in-law, husband
classification includes mother-in-law's sister's son and her father's sister's son, father-in-law's mother's nephew (ego: male)
classification includes father-in-law's father's brother's son (ego: female)

ngambiyirni = wife, sister-in-law
classification includes brother-in-law's son's daughter, mother-in-law's sister's daughter and her father's sister's daughter, father-in-law's mother's nieces (ego: male)
classification includes father-in-law's father's brother's daughter (ego: female)

ngunyarra = paternal grandfather's mother's brother (father's paternal grandmother's brother)
classification includes wife's maternal grandmother's brother (ego: male)

ngunyirrini = grandmother-in-law (paternal grandfather's mother, father's paternal grandmother)
classification includes wife's maternal grandmother's brother (ego: male)

(w)ankila = cross cousin (male)
classification includes mother-in-law's mother's brother (ego: male)
classification includes father's nephews, maternal grandfather's sister's son (ego: female)

(w)ankilirni = cross cousin (female)

classification includes mother-in-law's mother and her sisters (ego: male)

classification includes father's nieces, maternal grandfather's sister's daughter (ego: female)

Chapter 2
Phonology

Jingulu phonology is, for the most part, unremarkable by comparison to the phonology of other languages of the West Barkly and of central Australia more generally. It has three vowels with a length distinction, stops and nasals in five places of articulation, three glides, a lateral and a rhotic flap. Complex onsets and codas are disallowed with some exceptions. Like many inflecting languages there is a great deal of variation at morpheme boundaries, expressed in this description in terms of thematic suffixes or vowels.

What sets Jingulu phonology apart from the phonological systems of other Australian languages is its regressive vowel harmony (suffixes determine harmony in the roots), which is pervasive and can be used as a diagnostic for syntactic structure and morphological processes. Jingulu vowel harmony is discussed in section 4.

1. Phoneme inventory

1.1 Vowels

Jingulu has three vowel phonemes, /a/, /i/, and /u/. Height distinguishes /i/ and /u/ (both [+high]) from /a/. In terms of phonetic realisation, /i/ is [-back, -round] while /u/ is [+back, +round], but since Jingulu does not have any phonemes with the combination of features [αback, -αround] there is a question as to whether the phonemic distinction is between /u/ and /i/ is in terms of roundness or backness. Since vowel harmony (see section 4) regularly changes /a/ to /i/, I assume /a/ to be unspecified for a backness value (a fairly standard assumption) and that the distinction between /i/ and /u/ is one of roundness, with backness features being filled in at a later stage by the phonetic component. In the discussion of harmony in section 4 it is also argued that while /a/ surfaces as [+low], it is underlyingly unspecified for height features. In the phonetic component, if a vocalic segment has not had a height feature specified by some means (either underlying specification or harmonic spreading) it will be given the default specification [-high]. In terms of Halle's (1992, 1995) feature geometry, the Jingulu vowel system can be represented as:

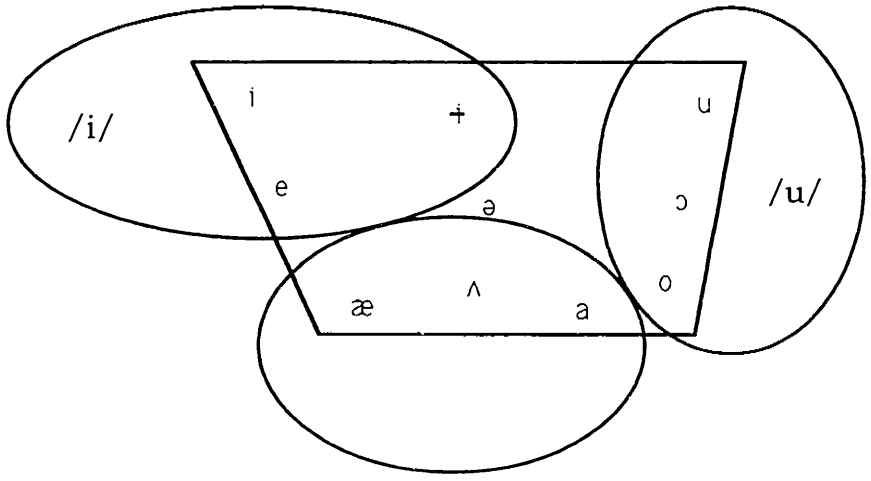
(1)	[-consonantal, [DORSAL: +high, +round]]	=	/u/
	[-consonantal, [DORSAL: +high, -round]]	=	/i/
	[-consonantal, [DORSAL: -round]]	usually surfaces as	/a/

The lexical underspecification of [±back] for [+high] vowels and of height features for /a/, with later (phonetic) insertion of these features is in accordance with the theory of

contrastive underspecification (as explained in Kenstowicz 1994 and references therein). Vocabulary entries specify only the non-predictable phonological features of vocabulary items, with all predictable features filled in by phonological operations (such as spreading and harmony, see sections 4 and 5) and default feature specifications in the phonetic component.

There is greater variation in the pronunciation of vowels in Jingulu than in a language with a greater number of distinctive vowel phonemes. Vowels assimilate to surrounding phonemes to a greater degree. Thus /a/ can be realised phonetically as [a], [ʌ], [æ], or even [ə] word-finally; /i/ can vary from [ɨ] to [i] to [e]; /u/ is occasionally realised as [o] or [ɔ], but is more commonly [u]. Phonological features, as in (1), are discrete, but phonetic realisations of these features, indicated in Figure 1, are not.

Figure 1
Approximate division of the vowel space into phonemes in Jingulu:



Vowel length is contrastive in Jingulu, as illustrated by the minimal (and near-minimal) pairs in (2). I follow the Jingulu orthography developed by Chadwick and Ulamari (1979) in writing long high vowels as two syllable nuclei separated by a homorganic glide (/iyi/, /uwu/) rather than two-vowel nuclei ([ii], [uu]), though both pronunciations (with and without intervening glide phonetically) can be heard quite commonly and are interchangeable (and accepted as such by speakers).

(2)	a.	jurdini 'tawny frogmouth (owl)'	*versus*	jurdiyini 'louse'
	b.	langa-bija-la 'deaf, earless (plural)'	*versus*	langa biyijala 'big ears, donkey'

c.	ngurru 'eye'	*versus*	nguwuru 'far place'
d.	baj- 'track, follow'	*versus*	baaj 'arrive, get in'

Long low vowels are written /aa/ by orthographic convention. While this introduces an inconsistency into the orthography, I feel it would be inappropriate to alter the orthography without consulting the community. There is no bisyllabic variant of /aa/, unlike the other long vowels. Occasionally words containing the sequence /ara/ are heard with [aa] (such as [karaangbi] for /kararangbi/ 'bad-tempered'), but this is highly unusual, and a glide (/r/, /w/, or /y/) can not be inserted in the underlying sequence /aa/ (e.g. /madkaaku/ 'path' is never pronounced [madkaraku], [madkawaku], or [madkayaku]).

Diphthongs will be written as two syllables with an intervening glide.

(3)				
	jangayi 'yawn'	warlmayi 'woomera'	kawula 'night heron'	jawularrı 'youth'
	biyawuja 'grindstone'	ngambiya 'brother-in-law'	niyu 'intercourse'	biyuka 'rain stone'
	minduwa 'let's go (dual)!'	wajuwa 'which way?'	junjunjuwi 'sundown'	jalakduwi 'awake'

The principles underlying the choice of intervocalic glide can be characterised as follows: if either of the vowels is /a/, which is unspecified for backness, the glide agrees in backness with the other ([+high]) vowel. If both vowels are [+high], and therefore each bears a different backness specification, the glide agrees in roundness (and backness) with the leftmost of the two vowels. This is further illustrated by the two acceptable variants of the word for 'sun': [uliyijirni] and [uluwijirni]: if the vowels to be separated by a glide are both /i/, then the glide will be the [-back, -round] glide /y/, but if the first vowel is /u/ and the second /i/, the glide is the [+back, +round] glide /w/. This suggests that Jingulu does not allow the insertion of epenthetic place features in order to break up a hiatus between vowels. Place features are spread from an adjacent high vowel. If both adjacent vowels are high, the feature is spread from the left. If both adjacent vowels are underspecified for place features (i.e. /a/), then no glide can be inserted.

In speech, final [+high] vowels are sometimes not prounounced, particularly phrase-finally. One speaker actually gave clearly pronounced but completely devoiced vowels in this environment, including [ŋunu̥] for ngunu ('that one') and [jamanikiɲi̥] for

jamanikirni (Ergative form of 'this fellow'). As this does not affect stress or any other aspect of the grammar I will treat it as an optional stylistic device.

1.2 Consonants and glides

Jingulu has five distinct places of articulation, with the relevant articulators being lips, tongue tip, tongue blade and tongue body. There is a distinction between tongue tip in an anterior (alveopalatal) position and a non-anterior (retroflex) position, but no series of inter-dentals as there is in many other Australian languages. Each of these places of articulation has a corresponding stop (labial /b/, apical anterior /d/, apical retroflex /rd/, palatal /j/ and velar /k/) and nasal (labial /m/, apical anterior /n/, apical retroflex /rn/, palatal /ny/ and velar /ng/) phoneme.

In addition, there is a laminal consonant for each of the coronal points of articulation (apical anterior /l/, apical retroflex /rl/ and palatal /ly/), an apical flapped or trilled rhotic /rr/, and a rhotic continuant /r/. Consonants are never geminated in Jingulu.

This is a fairly common consonant inventory for Australian languages. Jingulu lacks the series of interdental (+anterior, +distributed) stops and nasals that many Australian languages have.

Figure 2 gives the consonants of Jingulu in the traditional place and manner exposition common in Australian descriptive linguistics, while Figure 3 expresses the contrasts in terms of the feature geometry of Halle (1992, 1995). As is common for Australian languages, Jingulu lacks fricatives and sibilants.

Figure 2

		PLACE				
		peripheral		coronal		
		labial	velar	alveolar	retroflex	palatal
MANNER	stop	/b/	/k/	/d/	/rd/	/j/
	nasal	/m/	/ng/	/n/	/rn/	/ny/
	lateral			/l/	/rl/	/ly/
	rhotic			/rr/	/r/	
	glide	/w/	/w/			/y/

The fundamental insight of feature geometry is that features occur in clusters, and may be dependent on one another. All consonants select a place articulator (vowels are all DORSAL). Thus, a velar consonant does not require a specification for [±anterior] because [±anterior] is a feature that is dependent on CORONAL place, and a velar consonant has DORSAL as its place feature.

Figure 3

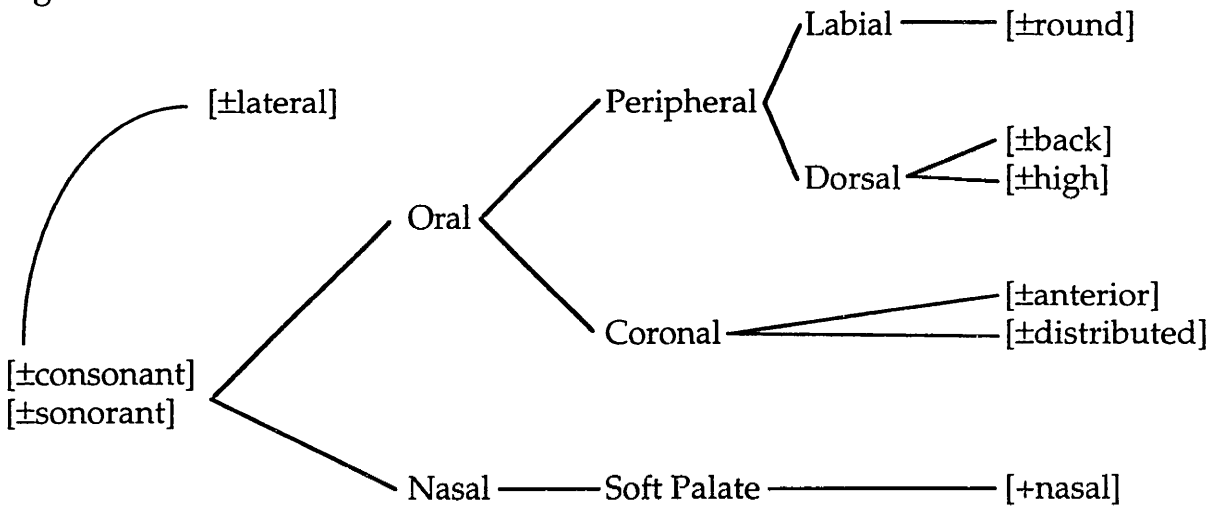
Root		Stricture	Cavity					
consonantal	sonorant	lateral	Oral				Nasal	
			Peripheral		Coronal		soft palate	
			Labial	Dorsal	anterior	distributed		
+	-	-	+				-	/b/
+	-	-		+			-	/k/
+	-	-			+	-	-	/d/
+	-	-			-	-	-	/rd/
+	-	-			-	+	-	/j/
+	+	-	+				+	/m/
+	+	-		+			+	/ng/
+	+	-			+	-	+	/n/
+	+	-			-	-	+	/rn/
+	+	-			-	+	+	/ny/
+	+	+			+	-	-	/l/
+	+	+			+	-	-	/rl/
+	+	+			+	-	-	/ly/
+	+	-			+	-	-	/rr/
-	+	-	(+)	(+)			-	/w/*
-	+	-			-	-	-	/r/
-	+	-			-	+	-	/y/

* /w/ can be either labial or dorsal, made with a rounding of the lips, a raising of the back of the tongue toward the roof of the mouth, or both.

While Jingulu has no phonemes that are [+anterior, +distributed], Coronal features are organised in such a way that [±distributed] and [±anterior] are independent, just as in languages that have phonemically distinct interdentals ([+anterior, -distributed]). This is required by the phonotactic constraints discussed in section 2, as is the organisation

the non-coronal oral places together into a node (the 'peripheral' of Australianist descriptions). The resultant organisation of features resembles the graph in Figure 4:

Figure 4



Root Stricture Cavity Articulator terminal features

The absence of distinctive [+anterior, +distributed] phonemes is the result of a markedness constraint on this exact combination of features. I will not speculate here on the reasons for this markedness, except to note that Australian languages which have a distinct series of interdentals ([+anterior, -distributed]), also have the three Coronal series ([+anterior, -distributed], [-anterior, -distributed], [-anterior, +distributed]) that Jingulu does.

1.2.1 Retroflex consonants

It is difficult to find evidence that retroflexion ([±anterior]) is contrastive in Jingulu. Certainly Chadwick (1975) describes it as such. Many suffixes show allomorphy where a retroflexed element contrasts with a non-retroflexed element depending on the place of the preceding coronal (e.g. the Ergative suffix /-rni/, see section 5.2.1), but this might be simple allophony. It seems that speakers of modern Jingulu are quite lax about whether a consonant is retroflexed or not, with many words being acceptable equivalents either way, as alternative forms in the dictionary (Part II) attest. However, I was able to find some minimal pairs, such as those in (4) which suggest that the phonemic distinction is still very much present, if somewhat blurred by lexical and affixal allomorphy.

(4) a. dirnd- *versus* dind-
'shoot' 'grind'

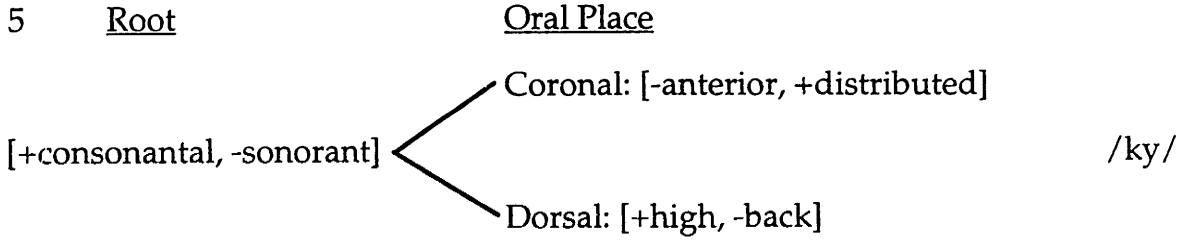
b.	mininmi *'Acacia victoriae'*	*versus*	mirnirnmi 'fire-drill'
c.	walu 'forehead'	*versus*	warlu 'burn scar'

There is never any contrast between retroflex and anterior consonants in word-initial position. Occasionally an initial coronal is pronounced retroflexed, but it is more common to hear the [+anterior] coronal in initial position, even when the consonant is underlyingly [-anterior, -distributed]. This is demonstrated by the word for 'axe', /dawurdawu/, which presumably comes historically from a reduplication of the form */rdawu/. This absence of this particular contrast in word-initial position is common in Australian languages, but by no means universal.

1.2.2 The palato-velar stop: phoneme or cluster?

Chadwick (1975) and Chadwick and Ulamari (1979) claim the existence of another phoneme in addition to the ones presented above: a palato-velar stop phoneme /ky/, with no corresponding nasal. According to Chadwick (1975:4), /ky/ involves 'onset by contact with back of tongue with front of velum with palatal release'. Within an articulatory theory of phonology, this description of the articulation of /ky/ is incomplete. Chadwick tells us that the place of the onset is velar, but the release is palatal, but does not say which articulator is involved in the release. From my own field tapes and observations, I conclude that the release involves a different articulator, the tongue tip. The alleged phoneme /ky/ thus manifests itself as a doubly articulated stop, with the following feature geometry:

Figure 5



There are a variety of reasons for supposing that /ky/ is not a phonemic segment with a split place node, but rather the phonetic simplification of a /j/+/k/ or /k/+/j/ cluster (as suggested by Breen (1998 to appear) for Garrwa and Yanyuwa). The first is one of sheer phonetic realisation. In my own investigations, I found that the element which Chadwick calls the palato-velar stop /ky/ was indeed often pronounced exactly as Chadwick described.

In many instances (often of the same words), it was realised as a geminated /j/ ([jj]), on

occasion as the plain distributed coronal stop [j], and rarely as the velar stop [k]. In careful speech this was often rendered [jk]. While each speaker had a preferred pronunciation (which might vary with speed or delivery), each speaker also produced several variants of the stop and regularly accepted a variety of pronunciations. In (5) are examples of the alternate pronunciations heard of a variety of words containing what I believe to be the cluster /jk/ or, in some cases /kj/. Except where otherwise noted, if Chadwick (1975) cited these words the sounds in question were spelled 'ky'. The fact that Chadwick's representation of these sounds was not consistent suggests that on occasion, he too heard them as clusters. The digraph 'ky' in my phonetic transcriptions (to the right of the arrows in (5)) represents the surface doubly-articulated stop as set out in Figure 5.

(5) /aburrmajkala/ ('noisy')[1] → [aburrmajala]/[aburrmardkala]
/barangarnajku/ ('narrow gap/clearing')
→ [barangarnakyu]/[barangarnaju]
/bajkajka/ ('story, tale') → [bajkajja]/[bakyajja]
/bujajkalimi/ ('prickly') → [bujakyalimi]/[bujajakalimi]
/bujkuw-/ ('smell') → [bukjuw-]/[bujuw-]/[bukyuw-]
/dajkanu/ ('it banged') → [dakyanu]
/dangbarrajkala/ ('lazy')[2] → [dangbarrajala]/[dangbarrajkala]
/dibijkanajku/ ('scrub') → [dibijkanajku]/[dibijanaju]/[dibijyanajyu]/[dibikyanakyu]
/ durrb kujajkala/ ('sting') → [durrb kujajjala]/[durrb kujajkyala]
/jajk-/ ('request') → [jajk-]/[jaky-]/[jajy-]/[jaj-]
/jakulakji/[3] ('possum') → [jakulaykyi]/[jakulakji]/[jakulaji]
/kabijajkala/ ('funny') → [kabijakyala]/[kabijajkala]/[kabijajala]
/kujkarrana/ ('two') → [kujarrana]/[kukyarrana]/[kujkarrana][4]
/kulukarrajkala/ ('nod off') → [kulukarrajkala]/[kulukarrakyala]/[kulukarrajyala]
/kunjkuw-/ ('swallow') → [kunyjkuw-]/[kunykyuw-]/[kunykuw-]/[kunyjuw-]
/lajkanu/ ('it banged') → [lajkanu]

---

[1] Chadwick spells this word "aburrmayikala".

[2] This spelling, with "jk", is used by Chadwick (1975).

[3] This spelling, with "kj", is used by Chadwick (1975).

[4] In eliciting a related word, I heard [kukyarrani], repeated it as [kujarrani], and the speaker corrected me, speaking clearly, with [kujkarrani].

/larranjku/ ('limb') → [larranyku]
/liyijku/ ('name') → [liyijku]/[liyikyu]/[liyiku]
/manjku/ ('skin name') → [manyjku]/[manykyu]/[manyju]
/marrinjku/ ('language') → [marrinyku]
/mayayajkala/ ('cruel') → [mayayajala]/[mayayaykala]/[mayayajkala]
/mujkiy-/ ('forget')[5] → [mudkiy]/[mujjiy]/[mujiy]
/ngananjku/ ('woodchip') → [ngananju]/[ngananykyu]
/ngardajkalu/ ('huge') → [ngardajkalu]
/ngijkinmi/ ('tail') → [ngijinmi]
/warrijki/ ('spirit')[6] → [warrijki]/[warriji]/[warrijji]
/wirrinykum-/ ('change') → [wirrinykyum-]/[wirrinyjum-]
/wurrajk-/ ('drag') → [urrajk-]/[urraj-]
/wurrajkala/ ('head cold')[7] → [wurrajkala]/[wurrakyala]/[wurrajjala]
/wurrjk-/ ('shave') → [urrj-]/[urrjy-]
/yajka/ ('away') → [yayja]/[yajja]/[yakya]/[yaja]
/yidajku/ ('yesterday') → [idaykyu]
/yidayidajku/ ('afternoon') → [yidayidaju]/[yidayidaykyu]
/yirrinjkumangayi/ ('I'll get changed')
→ [irrinyjkumangayi]/[irrinykyumangayi][8]

Chadwick's /ky/ only occurs between vowels or in intervocalic clusters following the palatal nasal /ny/. It never occurs word-initially or word-finally. If it represented a single phonemic segment, it would be unique among Jingulu phonemes in the restrictiveness of its distribution. Stop+stop clusters, on the other hand, are never allowed word-peripherally, and two stops may be preceded in a word-internal cluster by a sonorant (see section 2), which suggests that the source of /ky/ may be a stop+stop cluster.

Perhaps most damaging to the analysis of [ky] as a single segment is its occurrence at morpheme boundaries. In examples such as those below, the root ends in /j/ and the suffix begins in /k/. The result of this coming together of stops is a reduction of the cluster by mutual assimilation to the doubly-articulated /ky/.

---

[5] This spelling, with "jk", is used by Chadwick (1975).

[6] This spelling, with "jk", is used by Chadwick (1975).

[7] Chadwick (1975) spells a variant of this word "wurrajkyalu".

[8] These variants were uttered by the same speaker within minutes of one another.

(6)	a.	ngardaj 'get_big'	+	-kalu NOML(n)	→	[ngardakyalu] 'big'
	b.	wurraj 'cold'	+	-kalu NOML(n)	→	[wurrakyalu] 'cold weather'
	c.	dibij 'out, away'	+	-kanajku	→	[dibikyanakyu] 'open country among scrub'

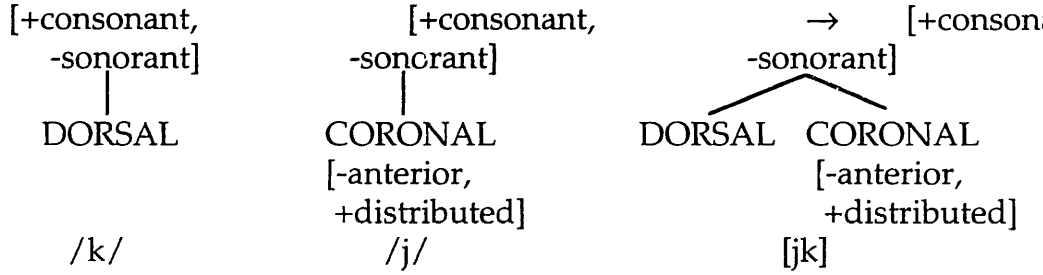
Chadwick and Ulamari (1979) accept that /ky/ developed historically from clusters of palatal consonant plus /k/, but the evidence in (6), in addition to the other evidence discussed above, suggests that it should be analysed synchronically as a cluster as well. I will write occurrences of this sound as either /jk/ (Chadwick and Ulamari's /ky/) or, following palatal nasals simply /k/ (/nyk/ for Chadwick and Ulamari's /nky/), thus reducing Chadwick's (1975) and Chadwick and Ulamari's (1979) phoneme inventory by one phoneme.

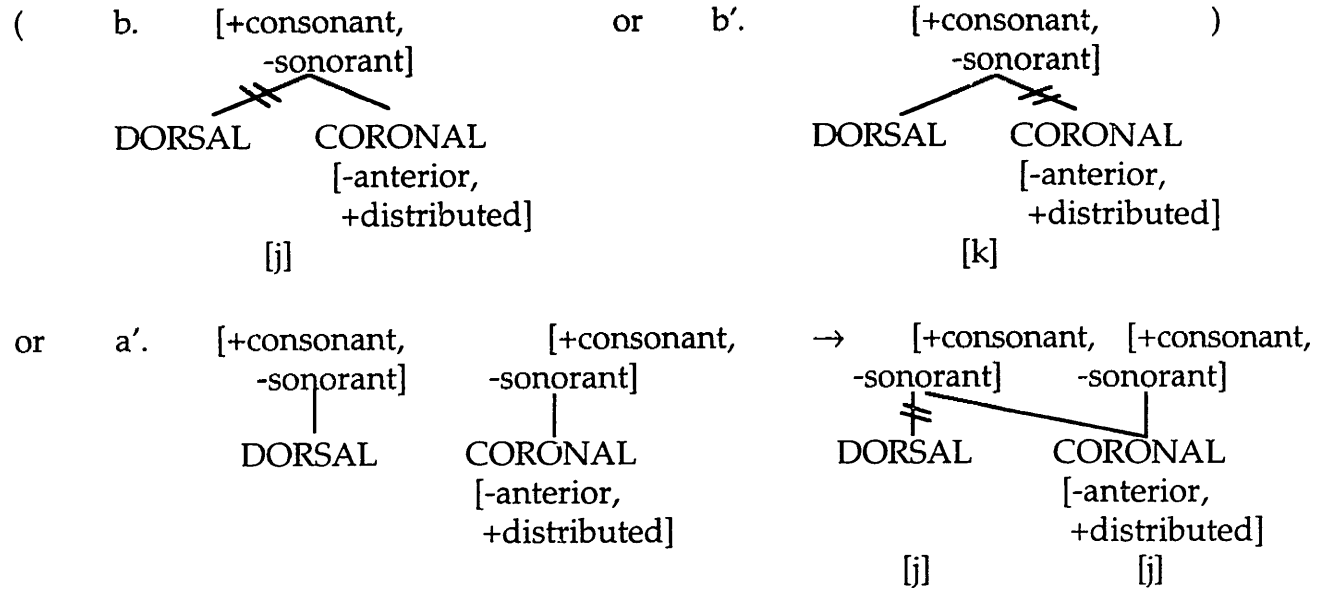
The phonetic reduction of the phoneme sequence /jk/ or /kj/ to the doubly-articulated [ky] does not occur across word boundaries, as illustrated in (7).

(7) Dibij kaju ngurruju, wawurrungkamirni
out through 1plInc-do scrub-ABL-FOC
'We're out of the scrub now.'
= [dibij#kaju...], not *[dibikyaju...], *[dibijaju...], *[dibikaju...], or *[dibijjaju...]

The reduction of these clusters to [ky] is therefore assumed to be an optional word-level phonetic rule that merges the root nodes of the adjacent segments, giving rise to a doubly articulated stop. When [k] and [j] result from an underlying /jk/ or /kj/ sequence, one of the place nodes has been deleted in addition to the merger of root nodes. The existence of the geminate [jj] in some cases is the result of Coronal place features spreading from one segment to another with no merger of root nodes. These rules are represented in (8) (order of root nodes is not relevant, phonological adjacency is). All of the rules and subrules of (8) are optional.

(8) a.





1.2.3 Neutralisation of [±lateral] in clusters

When the non-nasal sonorants /rr/ and /l/ occur as the first element of clusters, the [±lateral] distinction is neutralised. Thus, the word for 'open ground, open space' is found as either /walkbaku/ or /warrkbaku/ (or the metathesized variant /warrbkaku/), and the word for 'ironwood (tree)' can be either /marndarrngarra/ or /marndalngarra/.

1.2.4 Initial glides and the special status of /ng/

Word-initial glides can be dropped regularly, and every vowel-initial word has a glide-initial variant.[9] The most commonly dropped glides are those homorganic with the following vowel (/y/ before /i/, /w/ before /a/ or /u/, /ng/ before /u/), but other glides are regularly dropped in casual speech too (see (9)).

It is easy to demonstrate that the glides are underlyingly present and optionally deleted word initially rather than inserted into the initial position of an underlyingly vowel-intial base. Glides in initial positions are not predictable from the following vowel.

(9) a. /wanikiy-/ ('do what') → [wanikiy-]/[anikiy-]

b. /widij-/ ('tie') → [widij-]/[idij-]

[9] Speakers rejected glide-initial variants of many /a/-initial words, but produced them in casual speech. For instance, one speaker rejected my /wambayangaju/ for /ambayangaju/ ("I speak"), but minutes later clearly produced the form /wambayangaju/ in a sentence. I have heard this pronunciation of this word both clause-medially and clause-initially.

c. /wukuk bil-/ ('cover') → [wukuk bil-]/[ukuk bil-]

d. /yardalakbi/ ('warm') → [yardalakbi]/[ardalakbi]

e. /yidaangka/ ('in a few days') → [yidaangka]/[idaangka]

f. /yurdurruk-/ ('shelter') → [yurdurruk-]/[urdurruk-]

The velar nasal /ng/ has special status in many languages. In many European languages, for instance, it is the only nasal that is not found word-initially. In Jingulu, there is some evidence that /ng/ is glide-like in initial position. This is not to say that /ng/ should be considered a glide, as /ng/ is never found between vowels that might otherwise be written as long vowels (ie: [ungu] and [uu] are not interchangeable while [uwu] and [uu] are), and /ng/ is occasionally found word-finally, while /y/ and /w/ are not. Like the glides /w/ and /y/, however, /ng/ is often omitted from word-initial position:

(10) a. /ngandayi/ ('shade') → [ngandayi]/[andayi]/[wandayi]
b. /ngini/ ('this (n)') → [ngini]/[ini]
c. /ngirrm-/ ('make') → [ngirrm]/[irrm]/[yirrm]
d. /nguny-/ ('give') → [nguny]/[uny]/[wuny]

e. Wunya-nga-ju ngabulu wawa kurlukurla jalyamingka, jumurrdku
give-1sg-do breast child small(m) baby(m) milk
ngunya-nga-ju.
give-1sg-do
'I'm giving breast milk to the little baby.'

While this dropping of initial /ng/is relatively unusual when compared to the dropping of other initial glides, it is quite productive. These examples also illustrate the phenomenon of default glide insertion. A word which has had initial /ng/ dropped, thus rendering it vowel-initial, is sometimes pronounced with initial /ng/ replaced by a glide homorganic with the first vowel in the word. Hence [yirrm] for /ngirrm-/ and [wandayi] for /ngandayi/. In (10e) the same verb root, /nguny-/ ('give') appears twice, once surfacing with the underlying initial /ng/, and once with initial /w/.

Halle's (1992, 1995) feature geometry provides a possible explanation for /ng/'s aberrant behaviour. Halle notes that all vowels have [Dorsal] as their place feature. Among the nasals, /ng/ has the place feature [Dorsal], while /m/ is [Labial] and /n/, /rn/, and /ny/ are [Coronal]. Nasals, unlike stops, but like vowels, are [+sonorant]. Thus, the

only difference between /ng/ and a glide is the specification [+consonantal] in the root node, making /ng/ the most glide-like of the consonants. In Jingulu, it appears that word-initial /ng/ can in fact be treated as though it were [-consonantal], a glide. One possibility is that /ng/, underlyingly [+consonantal], becomes [-consonantal] in word-initial position. This process might explain the general avoidance of word-initial /ng/ in a wide variety of languages.

2. Phonotactics - clusters and syllabification

The basic syllable shape in Jingulu is CV, with CVC and CVLC permitted ('C' is a consonant, 'V' a vowel, and 'L' a [+sonorant, -nasal] consonant). The evidence for this syllable structure comes from phonotactics, with cluster structure and consonant distribution foremost.

All consonant phonemes except /rr/ and /ly/ are permitted word-initially (/r/ is rare, but permitted).[10] Morris Halle (personal communication) suggests the possibility that /rr/ and /ly/, like /ky/ are actually bi-segmental, which would explain their absence from word-initial positions. However, the fact that they occur as the L of LC codas (see (11)) suggests that they are not bi-segmental, as only three-segment codas are disallowed in the language. As noted in section 1.2.1, there is no distinction between retroflexed and non-retroflexed apicals in word-initial position.

Word-finally, vowels are the most common phonemes, and almost every phrase is vowel final, given that almost all consonant-final words are adverbial elements which tend to precede verb words. All phonemes are also found in word-final (phrase-medial) position except for the ([-consonantal]) glides /w/, /y/, and /r/.

In order to determine the permissibility of complex onsets and codas it is necessary to examine the clusters that occur. Clusters are maximally of three consonants and triconsonantal clusters only ever occur word-internally, never at word boundaries, suggesting that only one of onset or coda could be complex. The triconsonantal clusters that occur all involve a [+sonorant, -nasal] consonant, followed by a stop or nasal, followed by a stop. Examples are given in (11), with periods marking proposed syllable boundaries.

(11)

mulk.bul.ku 'small swamp'	yarrb.ka.rra 'to each one'	jinj.ku 'wood-chip'	yal.kurrng.ku.di 'brolga'
irr.burrk.bu 'egg yolk'	minj.kuj.ku 'egg white'	wirrk.burrk.bu 'white'	lirrb.ju 'throw down'
ji.rir.mung.ku.lyi 'lancewood'	waar.ki.ni 'curlew'	jaly.kan.da.rru 'bucket shovel'	jaly.ka.ji 'spear thrower'

Since [-nasal] sonorants are higher in sonority than stops or [+nasal] sonorants, and assuming syllable nuclei are peaks of sonorance while syllable edges are sonorance troughs, the first two segments of tri-consonantal clusters form the coda of one syllable while the third segment is the onset to the next syllable. This would lead us to expect

[10] In this regard, /ly/ appears to be a marked segment cross-linguistically. Romance languages also have the distributed laminal in their phoneme inventories but do not allow it in word-initial position.

that the only clusters allowed in word-final positions consist of a [-nasal] sonorant followed by a nasal or stop. In fact the only word-final clusters found in Jingulu are all sequences of a [-nasal] sonorant followed by a (peripheral) stop:

(12)	burrb	warrb	jurrk (baj-)	bijarrk (baj-)
	'finished'	'all together'	'rip'	'squeeze'
	walk	dalk	dulk	jambilk
	'open'	'up, straight'	'up, straight'	'dented'

For the most part these words are either adverbs or else pre-verbal manner adverbs which only appear with a specific verb or class of verbs following them. Therefore they are almost never found clause finally. In elicitation, however, the word is pronounced with the final cluster and without epenthesis of any vowel following.

All remaining clusters are therefore analysed as coda plus onset sequences. the attested clusters are set out in Table 1, with the columns representing the first consonant in the cluster (the coda) and the rows representing the second consonant (the onset).

Table 1

	C1																
C2	/b/	/d/	/rd/	/j/	/k/	/m/	/n/	/rn/	/ny/	/ng/	/l/	/rl/	/ly/	/rr/	/r/	/w/	/y/
/b/	x	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	x	x	√	x	x	x
/d/	x	x	x	x	√	x	√	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
/rd/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	√	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
/j/	√	√	√	x	√	x	x	x	√	√	x	x	x	√	√	x	x
/k/	√	√	√	√	x	x	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	x	x
/m/	x	x	x	√	x	x	√	√	√	√	√	√	x	√	√	x	x
/n/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
/rn/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
/ny/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	√	x	x	x
/ng/	x	x	x	x	x	x	√	√	√	x	√	x	x	√	x	x	x
/l/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
/rl/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
/ly/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
/rr/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
/r/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
/w/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	√	√	x	√	x	x	x
/y/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

As expected, neither of the consonants disallowed word-initially (/rr/ and /ly/) can appear as the second consonant in a cluster (because they are illegitimate onsets), and neither of the glides /w/ and /y/, which are barred from word-final position, can begin a cluster (being ruled out in coda position). This leads to the conclusion that all sequences of /VrrV/ or /VlyV/ (V is any vowel) are syllabified as /Vrr.V/ and /Vly.V/ respectively. The liquids ([+sonorant, -nasal] consonants) are in fact generally banned from appearing as the second element of a cluster, though most of them are found

word-initially. This discrepancy can be explained by by the following constraint on sonority across syllable boundaries: a coda should be at least as sonorous as the subsequent onset.[11] Thus in a sequence $C_1.C_2$ (where the period represents a syllable boundary), C_1 may in general not be less sonorous than C_2. The sonority scale, as described by Kenstowicz (1994), is given in (13).

(13) stops <<< nasals <<< liquids <<< glides <<< vowels
least sonorous most sonorous

Liquids are the most sonorous consonants after glides, and therefore can not occur as the second consonant in a coda cluster (glides being independently barred from codas). Most of the gaps in the paradigm in Table 1 can be explained in terms of these sonority constraints plus a few independent restrictions on feature contours.

Like other [-consonantal] sonorants (glides), /r/ is barred word finally, but it can begin a cluster when followed by a stop or nasal. I conclude from this that /r/ is only permitted in complex codas, where it is followed by a tautosyllabic stop or nasal, as in the triconsonantal clusters in (11). This means that all occurrences of /r/+C (where C is any consonant) represent complex codas, so that any sequence rCV (where V is a vowel) syllabifies as rC.V.

The sonority hierarchy alone predicts the fact that stops may only be followed in clusters by other stops (the sequence /jm/ is a problematic exception, but it occurs in only three words: /nyuriminji/ ('golden whistler'), /dirndijmana/ ('fruit bat') which many of the speakers I worked with did not recognise as a Jingulu word, and /warrijmajka/ ('killer') which derives from /warrij+majka/). It also predicts that nasals may only be followed by other nasals and stops.

Sonority alone would also predict that liquids should make excellent codas, but in clusters they generally only precede labial and dorsal (peripheral) stops and nasals. The generalisation from Table 1 is that, within a cluster (i.e. where no vowel intervenes), a transition from [-distributed] to [+distributed] is permitted, but no transition from [+distributed] to [-distributed] is allowed. Changes from [-anterior] to [+anterior] are also ruled out, and changes from [+anterior] to [-anterior] are only allowed if they are effected by the tongue blade, in other words if the second element in the sequence is [+distributed]. The constraint can be thought of as one against subsequent movements of the same organs (tongue blade or tip, considered separately) without an intervening vowel. This also applies to changes in stricture, ruling out sequences of [+lateral] followed by [-lateral] (the opposite ordering being ruled out by sonority principles). Rhotics may precede palatal stops as this involves a change from [-lateral, -distributed] (a 'tongue tip' sound) to [-lateral, +distributed] (a 'tongue blade' sound). This provides an argument

[11] I claim that this holds in Jingulu, and am not making claims about the universality of this constraint, though it has been noted as a strong cross-linguistic tendency (e.g. in Kenstowicz 1994).

for considering [±distributed] to be independent of [±anterior], despite the fact that no Jingulu phoneme is [+anterior, + distributed], because the specification [-distributed] is required on non-retroflexed apicals in order to rule out sequences of palatal + non-retroflexed apical. In this model these sequences are ruled out because they involve progression from [+distributed] to [-distributed], which involves movement of the tongue blade without an intervening vowel.

Homorganic nasal stop clusters are allowed, since these do not involve movement of the coronal articulator, only of the soft palate. Sequences of alveolar+retroflex or retroflex+alveolar are ruled out by the constraint against coronal movement. Such sequences would involve movement of the tongue tip from [αanterior] to [-αanterior], maintaining [-distributed], without an intervening vowel. Note that sequences of retroflexes are represented orthographically with a single preceding 'r' taking scope over both the following consonants, so /rn/+/rd/ is written 'rnd'. It could also be argued that, just as retroflex and alveolar consonants can not be distinguished in word-initial position, neither can they be distinguished post-consonantally (in onset position), so no sequence of non-retroflex consonant plus retroflex consonant is expected in any case.

The absence of [-distributed] nasal+ [+distributed] stop/nasal clusters is interesting, given that [-distributed] stop+ [+distributed] stop is allowed. When a [-distributed] nasal (/n/ or /rn/) is placed next to a [+distributed] stop within a word, the nasal becomes [-anterior, +distributed] (/ny/). For instance, the word for *'Acacia holoserica'* is pronounced [mirrinmirrinyji], deriving (historically) from reduplication of a root */mirrin/ plus gender suffix /-ji/. The /n/ preceding the /j/ becomes [+distributed]. Since there are no examples of /n/+/j/ or (/rn/+/j/) as distinct from /ny/+/j/, palatal nasal+stop sequences are written 'nj' by convention, so the word for *'Acacia holoserica'* is written 'mirrinmirrinji'.

Any nasal can be followed by any bilabial, but only the [-distributed] coronal nasals (/n/ and /rn/) can be followed by both coronal and velar stops while the velar nasal /ng/ can be followed by palatal and velar stops but not [-distributed] coronal stops (the behaviour of the palatal nasal /ny/ was explained in the preceding paragraph). We can generalise across these cases by stating that a nasal which is not [Coronal, -distributed] can not be followed by a consonant which is [Coronal, -distributed]. This generalisation seems quite stipulative and is peculiar to Jingulu.

A couple of phenomena remain unexplained. The bilabial nasal /m/ shows some exceptional properties, occurring after /j/ (recall that stop+nasal clusters should not be allowed). The absence of the cluster /bd/ still remains unexplained, and I assume that this is an accidental gap in the vocabulary.

3. Stress

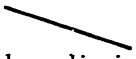
In Jingulu, all and only vowels count as stress bearing units (SBUs). Thus long vowels (/iyi/, /uwu/ and /aa/) and diphthongs (/awu/, /ayi/ etc) contain two SBUs. Consonantal codas do not affect stress however, so that syllables with codas do not behave any differently from syllables without codas with respect to stress.

3.1 Word Stress

Words of two SBUs are stressed on the initial SBU. Words of three SBUs are generally stressed on the second SBU. Thus there is a general pattern of penultimate stress.

(14)	ngáwu	lála	ngíni
	'camp'	'father'	'that (one)'
	kandírri	dankúrra	jarrárda
	'bread, damper'	'yellow'	'song'

Those three-SBU words that have penultimate stress sound (to English-speaking ears, at least) as though there is a slight stress on the initial SBU as well. This is because the pitch contour of all three SBU words falls from the start of a word to the end. Therefore the initial SBU has higher pitch than the second, although the second has greater stress (slightly longer duration and greater amplitude). This is somewhat like the phenomenon described as pitch-accent, except that it is never contrastive. The difference between pitch and stress are indicated below:

(15) pitch: 
melody: kandirri
stress: - ´ -

Among three-SBU words there are a large number of lexical exceptions which bear main stress on the initial SBU. This pattern is common to the Pama-Nyungan languages spoken in and to the South and West of Jingili country, and it seems, by comparison of Chadwick's (1975) observations with my own, that this pattern is becoming more common, such that this pattern with final dactyls is not so much an exception but a major lexical class.

(16)	kújika	bárdarda	bákuri	bírriyi
	'initiation, song'	'younger brother'	'headband'	'shivering'

Some of these words are borrowings from Pama-Nyungan languages, such as /wárlaku/ ('dog'), which exists alongside /kùnyárrba/ ('dog'). Aside from its use in the local Pama-Nyungan language Mudburra, it is clear that /wárlaku/ is borrowed because it is

a masculine nominal yet does not bear the final /a/ typical of masculine nominals. The word /kújika/ is in common usage throughout a large part of the Northern Territory, in many languages. In addition to borrowings, speakers of the Kuwarrangu dialect often pronounce words with the Pama-Nyungan initial stress pattern which speakers of the Warranganku dialect pronounce with penultimate stress (see chapter 1 section 1.3).

Words of three SBUs in the dictionary (Part II) can be assumed to bear penultimate main stress unless otherwise indicated.

Four-SBU words generally have main stress on the penultimate SBU and secondary stress on the first:

(17)	wàankúrra	jàlurrúka	mìjuwúlu	kàngkaála
	'sugar bag'	'tea'	'salt'	'cattle bush'

Some four-SBU words have a single antepenultimate stress:

(18)	kirángkuju	kunájuru	jinjáraku	munúngkumi
	melon species	*Acacia coriacea*	*Lophostemon* species	'string, wire'

Most of these words are botanical names (though not all four-SBU botanical names show this stress pattern), and will be marked in the dictionary (Part II) as bearing unusual stress. All other four-SBU words show the standard stress pattern indicated in (17).

Five-SBU words always bear secondary stress on the initial SBU, but are almost evenly divided between words that show have stress on the penultimate SBU (initial dactyl words) and words that have main stress on the antepenultimate SBU (final dactyl words:

(19)	ngàjalakúrru	kùlabajárra	bàkungunjíni
	'mouth'	'hat'	'small black ant'
	kùrdijálaka	mùndubárlimi	làmurrángkurdi
	'mussel'	'wild onion'	'stinking turtle'

Stress patterns are given for all five-SBU words in the dictionary (Part II).

The preferred stress pattern for six-SBU words (the words without inflection) involves two dactyls, with main stress falling on the antepenultimate SBU and secondary stress on the initial. Six-SBU words in the dictionary (Part II) can be assumed to have this stress pattern unless otherwise indicated. Other patterns are unusual but also illustrated below:

(20)

màrnkulukúlidi 'ear wax'	dànkurranybínyaku 'yellow'	màrlangkabírrirni 'centipede'
kuwàrndanbínyaka 'cormorant'	jàwulùngbulúngku 'moustache'	ngàbarlìkinyáka 'half-brother'

In summary, main stress always falls near the end of a word, but not on the final SBU, which must be a trough. If possible, the initial SBU does not bear main stress (this is impossible in two-SBU words or words which are lexically marked as having initial main stress such as Pama-Nyungan loans). Within these constraints there is some freedom, and indeed some words vary (not only from speaker to speaker, but also from utterance to utterance by a given speaker) in their stress placement:

(21) nìkilyìkilyími *or* nìkilyikílyimi
creek name

3.2 Stress and suffixes

The interaction of stress with suffixation suggests that stress is assigned to whole words (stems plus suffixes) but paying attention to morpheme boundaries. Suffixes containing only one SBU generally do not affect stress:

(22)

ngáwu-ngka camp-ALL	(/ngáwu/)	dárra-mi eat-IRR	(/dárra/)
wáya-ngka wire-ALL	(/wáya/)	líli-rni 'paternal aunt' (father-fem)	(/lála/)

As (22) shows, this applies to feminine nominals derived from masculine nominals, so that /lílirni/ ('paternal aunt') is treated as being derived from /lala/+feminine and is not an irregularly (initial) stressed word. In this, derived feminine words differ from feminine words that have no masculine equivalent, wherein the feminine ending /-rni/ is considered part of the root for the purposes of calculating stress:

(23)

dilkúrni 'white-breasted hawk'	kunymírni 'ibis'

A suffix containing only one SBU can affect stress, however, if attaching the suffix and not altering the stress pattern would result in three consecutive unstressed SBUs. In these cases, main stress occurs on the final SBU of the stem and the initial SBU gets secondary stress (stress patterns of unsuffixed words, or in the case of verbal roots in other paradigmatic forms, are given in parentheses):

(24) bàrdardá-rni (/bárdarda/) àmbayá-ju ((w)ámbay-)
y.brother-ERG speak-do

wàlanjá-rna (/wálanja/) jàd bilá-mi (jád bil-)
goanna-DAT switch_off-IRR

Poly-SBU suffixes (25a), sequences of two single SBU suffixes (25b), or sequences of a one-SBU and a two-SBU suffix (in either order, (25c)) bear stress on their initial SBU. The examples in (25d) show a combination of suffix sequences. The rightmost stressed element in a phonological word always bears primary stress:

(25) a. jìkaya-mbíli àmbaya-yírri
lake-LOC (/jíkaya/) talk-goIMPV (/(w)ámbay-/)

kùrlukùrla-árndi Ngìbi-wùnyu-wárdu.
small-INST (/kùrlukúrla/) have-3dl-go (/ngáb-/)
'Those two are taking it.'

Kùnyu-rrúku. Ngàja-rrúku.
2dl-went (no stem) see-went (/ngáj-/)
'You two went.' 'He went looking.'

wùngkarra-jíyimi ngìbi-wùnyi-jíyimi
whistle-come (wúngkarra) have-3dl-come (/ngáb-/)
'She's coming up whistling.' 'Those two are bringing it.'

b. Wàrdiyìdba-ní-nku-ju. Nàrnangàja-ngá-ju.
spin-INV-REFL-do (/wàrdiyídb-/) mind-1sg-do (/nàrnangáj-/)
'It spun.' 'I'm looking after it.'

Nàngka-ngá-yi. Dìlma-nyá-yi.
chop-1sg-FUT (/nángk-/) cut-2sg-FUT (/dîlm-/)
'I will chop it.' 'You'll cut it.'

c. bùnbaku-mbíli-ni ngàwu-ngkámi-rni
fight-LOC-FOC (/búnbaku/) camp-ABL-FOC (/ngáwu/)

yùkulyàrri-nà-ngkamí-rni ngìnda-bíla-rni
goat-DAT-ABL-FOC (/yùkulyárri/) that(m)-dl-ERG (/ngínda/)

Míndu-wa. Làdaji-wúnyu-ju.
1dlInc-will_go (no stem) dry_out-3dl-do (/ládaj-/)
'You and I will go.' 'Those two are drying out.'

	Dùla-ngá-rruku.	nìngki-míndu-nu
	seek-1sg-went (/dúl-/)	chop-1dlInc-did (/nángk-/)
	'I went looking for him.'	'You and I chopped them.'
	Dùnji-ngínyu-nu.	Màya-ána-nu.
	kiss-1plS3Obj-did (/dúnj-/)	hit-1Obj-did (/máy-/)
	'We kissed them.'	'He hit me.'
d.	ngàba-ngà-na-rríki.	Dìrrk bìji-kùnya-ána-nu.
	have-2sg-1Obj-went (/ngába/)	pull-2dl-1Obj-did (/dìrrk báj-/)
	'You took me there.'	'You two pulled me out.'
	Yà-jiyími.	Ngá-rruku.
	3sg-come (no stem)	1sg-went (no stem)
	'Here he comes.'	'I went.'

As exceptions to the above generalisations, two words were found in which a disyllabic suffix caused main stress to appear on the SBU preceding the suffix:

(26)	bìninjá-ngkuji	(bíninja)	ngùjaná-jkala	(ngújan-)
	man-HAVING		be_greedy-NOML	
	'married (woman)'		'greedy'	

As these two words are truly exceptions, I can only assume that these words have become lexicalised as unsuffixed stems and are treated as five-SBU words.

3.3 Formal analyses of Jingulu stress, with extensions to other Australian languages

The Jingulu stress system appears to require two levels or strata of representation: the minimal word or stem level, where stress is calculated over the minimal element in the word that is able to stand alone as a prosodic word, and the maximal or suffixed word level. The generalisation is that suffixes only bear stress if they are followed by other SBUs, and suffixes do not affect minimal word stress unless stressing of the final syllable of the minimal word is necessary to avoid a sequence of three unstressed syllables.

3.3.1 An Optimality Theoretic approach

The generalisations relating to Jingulu stress find a simple formalisation in the mechanics of Optimality Theory (henceforth OT), where a series of violable constraints are ranked with respect to how important it is to adhere to them, with lower ranked constraints able to be violated in order to adhere to higher ones. The basic approach and notational systems of OT are thoroughly explained in Prince and Smolensky (1993) and McCarthy

and Prince (1993). In Jingulu, the constraints that are never violated are FTBIN (a foot must contain two SBUs) and *LAPSE (two unstressed syllables must be separated by a foot boundary, proposed by Green and Kenstowicz (1995)). The observation of these constraints is more important in Jingulu than adherence to UNIEXP(BASE) (after Kenstowicz (1995)). UNIEXP(BASE) is an output-output correspondence constraint along the lines of those suggested by Benua (1995), requiring the base in the suffixed output form to be uniformly exponent with (correspond to) the base in other forms in its paradigm.[12] The ranking *LAPSE>>UNIEXP(BASE) means that correspondence in parsing between a minimal prosodic word and a suffixed word can be violated in order to avoid a sequence of three unstressed SBUs. Ranked below UNIEXP(BASE) is PARSE, which constrains the footing to parse as many SBUs as possible into feet, leaving as few stray (unparsed) SBUs as possible. Below are constraint tableaux for several of the forms in (24) and (25):

(27) a. bàrdardá-rni

/bardarda-rni/	Bin	*Lapse	UniExp (base)	Parse	NonFin	Align(Stem, R, Ft, R)
☞(bàrda)(rdá-rni)	✔	✔	*	✔	*	*
(bárda)rda-rni	✔	*!	✔	**	✔	*
ba(rdárda)-rni	✔	✔	*	**!	*	✔

[12] It is difficult to see how such constraints differ from a derivational system in which there are separate strata or levels for the minimal word and the suffix-bearing word. In order for the UNIEXP(BASE) constraint to evaluate the correspondence between the suffixed output form and other forms in the paradigm, it must have access to other forms in the paradigm. While there is only one specifically posited level of representation, this level of representation requires access to other forms in the paradigm. Assuming that regularly inflected forms are not stored in the vocabulary individually, the evaluation of constraints could only be making reference to the ouputs of other evaluations. I prefer UNIEXP(BASE) over Kenstowicz's (1995) BASE-ID in these cases because of the existence of the related constraint UNIEXP(SUFFIX), which becomes particularly important in the discussions of the other languages in this section.

b. wùngkarra-jíyimi

/wungkarra-jiyimi/	Bin	*Lapse	UniExp (base)	Parse	NonFin	Align(Stem, R, Ft, R)
☞(wùngka)rra(jíyimi)	✔	✔	✔	*	✔	*
(wùngka)(rràji)(yímí)	✔	✔	*!	✔	*	*

c. yà-jiyímí

/ya-jiyimi/	Bin	*Lapse	Parse	Align(Stem, R, Ft, R)	Align(Ft, L, PWd, L)
☞ (yà-ji)(yímí)	✔	✔	✔	-	0, 2
(yá-)(jíyi)mi	*!	✔	*	-	0, 1
ya-(jíyi)mi	✔	✔	**!	-	1

d. ngá-rruku

/nga-rruku/	Bin	*Lapse	Parse	Align(Stem, R, Ft, R)	Align(Ft, L, PWd, L)
☞ (ngà-rru)ku	✔	✔	*	-	0
(ngà-)(rrúku)	*!	✔	✔	-	0, 1
nga-(rrúku)	✔	✔	*	-	1!

e. yùkulyàrri-nà-ngkamí-rni

/yukulyarri-na-ngkami-rni/	Bin	*Lapse	UniExp (base)	Parse	UniExp (suffix)	Align(Stem, R, Ft, R)
☞ (yùkul)(yàrri-) (nì-ngka) (mí-rni)	✔	✔	✔	✔	*	✔
(yùkul)(yàrri-)ni- (ngkámi)-rni	✔	✔	✔	* * !	✔	✔
(yùkul)(yàrri-)(nì-) (ngkàmi)(-rní)	* * !	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
(yùkul)(yárri-) ni-ngkami-rni	✔	* * * !	✔	* * * *	✔	✔

The roots in (27a-b) are among those which are lexically marked for NONFIN >> ALIGN(STEM, R, FT, R). These two minimal word constraints and UNIEXP(BASE) are not relevant to (27d-e) because there is no stem in these words, subject agreement and the core verb each being dependent on the other. The correct candidate in (27d) is chosen by the low-ranked constraint ALIGN(FT, L, PWD, L) (the left edge of a prosodic word coincides with the left edge of a foot). This constraint is ranked below all others considered here, but is ranked more highly in Warlpiri, which is considered below.

With the addition of one more constraint, UNIEXP(SUFFIX), the above system can account for the Australian languages that Kager (1995) does without direct recourse a language-specific parameter deciding whether suffixes form their own prosodic words. Like UNIEXP(BASE), UNIEXP(SUFFIX) is a constraint which seeks to have suffixes be uniformly exponent across all cases in which they occur. It is effectively a constraint against foot boundaries falling in the middle of suffixes (like Crowhurst's (1994) TAUTO-F), or against three syllable suffixes which are usually stress-initial having stress on their second or third syllables. In a similar fashion to UNIEXP(BASE), UNIEXP(SUFFIX) compares each suffix in a given candidate to occurrences of that suffix in other words, particularly to the suffix as it occurs as the only suffix on a variety of stems. Which candidates UNIEXP(SUFFIX) will rule out will therefore vary from language to language (as is true of all output-output constraints). UNIEXP(SUFFIX) appears in the tableau (27e), but in Jingulu, which allows feet to span morpheme boundaries, UNIEXP(SUFFIX) is ranked below the other constraints considered here which govern the interaction between stress and suffixation.

A major difference between Jingulu and Pama-Nyungan languages is in the stress of minimal prosodic words. Jingulu generally stresses the penultimate SBU (ALIGN (STEM,

R, FT, R) ranked higher than ALIGN (FT, L, PWD, L)), with a class of lexical exceptions, the stress-initial three-SBU stems and the '12"345 pattern five-SBU stems which have ALIGN (STEM, R, FT, R) dominated by NON-FIN (the final SBU of a stem is not parsed). Jingulu also differs from the Pama-Nyungan languages by making the final stress of the word heaviest rather than the first (accounted for in an OT approach by aligning the prominent foot with the right edge of the word as opposed to the left). All of the languages considered in this section have FTBIN as an undominated constraint.

Let us now consider how re-ranking of these constraints can give rise to a variety of attested Australian stress systems. Firstly, in Diyari, a Pama-Nyungan language of South Australia, primary stress falls on the first syllable of a root. Secondary stress falls on the third syllable of a four-syllable morpheme and on the first syllable of a polysyllabic suffix. Lapses of three or more unstressed syllables are permitted (Austin 1981a):

(28)	kána	kána-ni	ˈkána-wàra
	man	man-LOC	man-pl
	pínadu	pínadu-wàra	púluru-ngi
	old_man	old_man-pl	mud-LOC
	wílapìna	táyi-yàtimàyi	máda-la-ntu
	old_woman	to eat-OPT	hill-CHAR-PROP
	kána-ni-màta	kána-wàra-ngùndu	yákalka-yìrpa-màli-na
	man-LOC-IDENT	man-pl-ABL	to ask-BEN-RECIP-PART

Diyari shows the typical pattern in stems of stressing the initial syllable (ALIGN (FT, L, PWD, L)). The behaviour of stress with respect to suffixes is determined by ranking the constraints UNIEXP(SUFFIX), UNIEXP(BASE) >> PARSE >> *LAPSE, as in the tableaux in (29).

(29) a. púluru-ngi

/puluru-ngi/	Bin	UniExp (base)	UniExp (suffix)	Parse	*Lapse	Align(Ft, L, PWd, L)
☞ (púlu)ru-ngi	✔	✔	✔	* *	*	0
(púlu)(rù-ngi)	✔	*!	✔	✔	✔	0, 2
(púlu)ru-(ngì)	*!	✔	✔	*	✔	0, 3
pu(lúru)-ngi	✔	*!	✔	* *	✔	1

b. pínadu-wàra

/pinadu-wara/	Bin	UniExp (base)	UniExp (suffix)	Parse	*Lapse	Align(Ft, L, PWd, L)
☞(pína)du-(wàra)	✔	✔	✔	*	✔	0, 3
(pína)(dù-wa)ra	✔	*!	*	*	✔	0, 2
pi(nádu)-(wàra)	✔	*!	✔	*	✔	1, 3

c. kána-ni-màta

/kana-ni-mata/	Bin	UniExp (base)	UniExp (suffix)	Parse	*Lapse	Align(Ft, L, PWd, L)
☞(kána-)ni-(màta)	✔	✔	✔	*	✔	0, 3
(kána-)(nì-ma)ta	✔	✔	*!	*	✔	0, 2

Dyirbal, on the other hand, which respects the stress pattern of the unsuffixed base as highly as Diyari, displays an alternating stress pattern among sequences of suffixes, starting on the first syllable of a sequence of suffixes (Dixon 1972). Morpheme boundaries between suffixes can be spanned by feet, while the stem-suffix boundary, can not:

(30) wáynydyi-ngu
motion uphill-REL.CL

wáynydyi-ngù-gu
motion uphill-REL.CL-DAT

búrgurrum-bu
jumping ant-ERG

dyángga-nà-mbila
eat-PRON-with

bánagay-ŋá-mbila
return-PRON-with

nyínay-mà-riy-ma-n
sit-COM-REFL-COM-P/P

bánagay-mbà-ri-nyu
return-COM-REFL-PRES/PAST

This result is achieved within the OT system being proposed here by ranking UNIEXP(BASE) above PARSE and PARSE and LAPSE above UNIEXP(SUFFIX):

(31) a. wáynydyi-ngù-gu

/waynydyi-ngu-nu/	Bin	UniExp (base)	Parse	*Lapse	UniExp (suffix)	Align(Ft, L, PWd, L)
☞(wáynydyi-)(ngù-nu)	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	0, 2
(wáynydyi-)ngu-nu	✔	✔	* * !	* *	✔	0
(wáynydyi-)(ngù)-(nù)	* !	✔	✔	✔	✔	0, 2, 3

b. búrgurrum-bu

/burgurrum-bu/	Bin	UniExp (base)	Parse	*Lapse	UniExp (suffix)	Align(Ft, L, PWd, L)
☞ (búrgu)rrum-bu	✔	✔	*	*	✔	0
(búrgu)(rrùm-bu)	✔	*!	✔	✔	✔	0, 2
(búrgu)rrum-(bù)	*!	✔	*	✔	✔	0, 3

c. bánagay-ná-mbila

/banagay-na-mbila/	Bin	UniExp (base)	Parse	*Lapse	UniExp (suffix)	Align(Ft, L, PWd, L)
☞(bána)gay-(nà-mbi)la	✔	✔	* *	✔	*	0, 3
(bána)gay-(nà-)(mbìla)	*!	✔	*	✔	✔	0, 3, 4
(bána)(gày-na-)(mbìla)	✔	*!	✔	✔	✔	0, 2, 4
(bána)gay-na-(mbìla)	✔	✔	* *	*!	✔	0, 4

In Warlpiri, secondary stresses fall on the initial syllable of polysyllabic suffixes and on the third syllable of four syllable morphemes, in sequences of suffixes every odd-numbered syllable (counting from the stem) is stressed, but never the final syllable in a word (Nash 1980). Some of the Warlpiri stress examples in (32) are taken from Nash 1980, while others were provided by Ken Hale (personal communication). Warlpiri's behaviour with respect to suffixes is similar to Jingulu, except that disyllabic suffixes always bear stress.

(32)

wáti	wátiya	mánangkàrra
man	tree	spinifex plain
wáti-ngka	ngáti-nyànu	yárla-kàrlangu
man-LOC	mother-POSS	yam species-digger

yíri-mà-ni
sharp-CAUS-NPast

páka-rnì-nja-kùrra
hit-NPast-INF-OBJCOMP

wátiyà-rla
tree-LOC

yáparla-ngùrlu
grandmother-ELAT

yápa-rlàngu-rlu
person-e.g.-ERG

wátiya-rlà-rlu
tree-LOC-ERG

wírnpirli-jà-lpa-jàna
whistle-PAST-AUX-them

wátiya-rlà-rlu-ju
tree-LOC-ERG-TOP

wátiyà-rla-jùku
tree-LOC-STILL

wárnirri-ngàwurrpa
rockhole-DEN

ngápa-ngàwurrpà-rlu
water-DEN-ERG

The Warlpiri system is therefore derived by the same constraint rankings as the Jingulu system with two exceptions. First of all (ALIGN (FT, L, PWD, L)) is highly ranked and (ALIGN (STEM, R, FT, R)) is ranked well below all the other stress constraints, opposite to the Jingulu case, in order to get initial stress in trisyllabic stems. Secondly, UNIEXP(SUFFIX) is ranked above UNIEXP(BASE), to ensure that disyllabic morphemes are always parsed as a foot. This is demonstrated by the tableaux in (33). Note that this ranking of suffix faithfulness above stem faithfulness is contrary to the claims made by McCarthy and Prince (1994), that stem faithfulness outranks affix faithfulness universally. However, the Warlpiri stress facts, as well as the existence of regressive harmony (e.g. in Jingulu) and tone sandhi (in a number of tonal languages around the world) clearly demonstrate that faithfulness to affixes can sometimes be more important than faithfulness to stems. Finally, *LAPSE must be ranked above UNIEXP(SUFFIX) in order to have stress on the third syllable of tri-syllabic suffixes which are followed by monosyllabic suffixes, as in (33f).

(33) a. yíri-mà-ni

/yiri-ma-ni/	Bin	*Lapse	UniExp (suffix)	UniExp (base)	Parse	Align(Ft, L, PWd, L)	Align(Stem, R, Ft, R)
☞ (yíri-)(mà-ni)	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	0, 2	✔
(yíri-)(mà-)(nì)	* * !	✔	✔	✔	✔	0, 2, 3	✔
(yíri-)ma-ni	✔	* !	✔	✔	* *	0	✔

b. wátiyà-rla

/watiya-rla/	Bin	*Lapse	UniExp (suffix)	UniExp (base)	Parse	Align(Ft, L, PWd, L)	Align(Stem, R, Ft, R)
☞ (wáti)(yà-rla)	✔	✔	✔	*	✔	0, 2	*
(wáti)ya-rla	✔	*!	✔	✔	**	0	*
(wáti)ya-(rlà)	*!	✔	✔	✔	*	0, 3	*
wa(tíya)-rla	✔	✔	✔	*	**!	1	✔

c. wírnpirlì-jà-lpa-jàna

/wirnpirli-ja-lpa-jana/	Bin	*Lapse	UniExp (suffix)	UniExp (base)	Parse	Align(Ft, L, PWd, L)	Align(Stem, R, Ft, R)
☞ (wírnpi)rli-(jà-lpa-)(jàna)	✔	✔	✔	✔	*	0, 3, 5	*
(wírnpi)(rlì-ja)-(lpà-ja)na	✔	✔	*!	*	*	0, 2, 4	*
(wírnpi)rli-ja-lpa- (jàna)	✔	**!	✔	✔	***	0, 5	*
wirn(pírli)-(já-lpa-) (jána)	✔	✔	✔	*!	*	1, 3, 5	✔

d. wátiya-rlà-rlu-ju

/watiya-rla-rlu -ju/	Bin	*Lapse	UniExp (suffix)	UniExp (base)	Parse	Align(Ft, L, PWd, L)	Align(Stem, R, Ft, R)
☞ (wáti)ya-(rlà-rlu-)ju	✔	✔	✔	✔	* *	0, 3	*
(wáti)(yà-rla-)(rlù-ju)	✔	✔	✔	*!	✔	0, 2, 4	*
(wáti)ya-rla-(rlù-ju)	✔	*!	✔	✔	* *	0, 4	*
wa(tíya)-(rlà-rlu)-ju	✔	✔	✔	*!	* *	1, 3	✔

e. wátiyà-rla-jùku

/watiya-rla-juku/	Bin	*Lapse	UniExp (suffix)	UniExp (base)	Parse	Align(Ft, L, PWd, L)	Align(Stem, R, Ft, R)
☞(wáti)(yà-rla-)(júku)	✔	✔	✔	*	* * *	0, 2, 4	*
(wáti)ya-rla-(júku)	✔	*!	✔	✔	*	0, 4	*
(wáti)ya-(rlà-ju) ku	✔	✔	*!	✔	*	0, 3	*

f. ngápa-ngàwurrpà-rlu

/ngapa-ngawurrpa-rlu/	Bin	*Lapse	UniExp (suffix)	UniExp (base)	Parse	Align(Ft, L, PWd, L)	Align(Stem, R, Ft, R)
☞ (ngápa-)(ngà wurr)(pà-rlu)	✔	✔	*	✔	✔	0, 2, 4	✔
(ngápa-)(ngà wurr)pa-rlu	✔	*!	✔	✔	**	0, 2	✔
(ngápa-)nga (wùrrpa)-rlu	✔	✔	*	✔	**!	0, 3	✔

This system can also account for other Australian patterns such as that of the Western Desert language Pintupi. In Pintupi main stress is always initial with secondary stresses on every odd numbered syllable, except that the final syllable is never stressed. Stress is not sensitive to the presence of any morpheme boundaries. In the system developed here, this means that Pintupi ranks BIN highest, with PARSE, LAPSE and ALIGN(FT, L, PWD, L) above all other constraints. Tableaux are given in (34) for data from Kenstowicz 1994.

(34) a. púl̲i-ngkà-la-tju ('we (sat) on the hill')

/pul̲i-ngka-la-tju/	Bin	Parse	*Lapse	Align(Ft, L, PWd, L)	UniExp (base)
☞ (púl̲i-)(ngkà-la-)tju	✔	*	✔	0, 2	✔
(púl̲i-)ngka-(là-tju)	✔	*	✔	0, 3!	✔
(púl̲i-)(ngkà-la-)(tjù)	*!	✔	✔	0, 2, 4	✔
(púl̲i-)(ngkà-)(là-)(tjù)	***!	✔	✔	0, 2, 3, 4	✔
(púl̲i-)ngka-la-tju	✔	***!	**	0	✔

b. tjámulì-mpatjù-ngku ('our relation')

/tjamuli-mpatju-ngku/	Bin	Parse	*Lapse	Align(Ft, L, PWd, L)	UniExp (base)
☞ (tjámu)(lì-mpa)(tjù-ngku)	✔	✔	✔	0, 2, 4	*
(tjámu)li-(mpàtju-)ngku	✔	* * !	✔	0, 3	✔
(tjámu)(lì)-(mpàtju-)(ngkù)	* * !	✔	✔	0, 2, 3, 5	*

3.3.2 Bracketed metrical grids

One main conventional alternative to OT approaches to stress phenomena is the system of derivational metrical bracketed grids, based on work by Idsardi (1992). In these systems each SBU projects a mark onto a representational grid and the marks are parsed into metrical units by a narrow set of operations. The method that I use in this section was developed by Morris Halle in class lectures and notes in 1993, and is based on Halle and Idsardi (1995). In this system each SBU projects a mark onto Line 0 of the grid. Five operations are possible at each line: Edge marking, Heavy syllable marking, Iterative Constituent Construction, and projection of heads.

Edge marking inserts a right or left bracket to either the right or the left of the rightmost or leftmost SBU. This gives 8 possible edge-markings:

(35)

LLL:	(x x x x x	LRL:	x(x x x x
RLL:	)x x x x x	RRL:	x) x x x x
LLR:	x x x x (x	LRR:	x x x x x(
RLR:	x x x x)x	RRR:	x x x x x)

The brackets create constituents which are represented by the underline in (35). Note that RLL and LRR fail to create constituents. These are not ruled out however, because sometimes bracketing applies to a prosodic constituent of a word, which is later affixed to another constituent of a word (as we will see later in this section), and the apparently mis-directed brackets can play a role in these cases.

Heavy syllable marking does not play a role in any of the languages considered here, but in many langauges, heavy syllables attract stress. This is achieved by placing a left or right bracket to the left or to the right (directions specified in the grammar of the language) of any SBU associated with a heavy syllable. For instance, if a lanaguage had

a form /ba.bam.ba/ and the heavy syllable marking rule "Hvy: RR" (place a right bracket to the right of SBUs associated with heavy syllables, the representation on line 0 would be as in (36a). If the rule were "Hvy: LL", the representation would be as in (36b).

(36) a. x x) x Line 0
babamba

b. x (x x Line 0
babamba

Iterative Constituent Construction (ICC) rules insert brackets (either left or right) iteratively, proceeding either from left to right or from right to left across a line. The most common form of ICC rule creates binary feet, by being subject to one of the conditions *BxP or *PxB, where x represents a grid mark, B represents the bracket being inserted by the ICC rule, and P represents any bracket or a grid boundary (* means 'avoid the configuration'). These conditions are constrained by having the ICC rule only able to 'look' behind in the direction it has come from, not ahead in the direction it is proceeding, in order to avoid violations. This means that the only condition available for rightward ICC is *BxP, and the only condition available on leftward ICC is *PxB. Some examples of how ICC could apply to some unmarked grids are given in (37).

(37) a. ICC:) L→R, * Bx) x x) x x) x
b. ICC: (L→R, *Bx(x x(x x (x
c. ICC:) R→L, *)xB x) x x)x x
d. ICC: (R→L, *(xB x (x x (x x

Underlining in (37) represents the constituents created by ICC. Using (37a) as an example we can see how the condition on ICC works to create binary feet. ICC can not insert a bracket after the first grid mark, as this would result in the configuration Edge+x+), and since Edges are manifestations of B, this would violate the condition. A bracket may be placed after the second mark. A bracket can not now be placed after the third mark as well, since this would create the configuration)x), again violating the condition since brackets are manifestations of B. A bracket is now placed after the fourth mark. This creates the configuration)xB (the right edge of the grid is B in this case), but this is not ruled out by the condition. In order to rule out such a configuration, the ICC rule would have to be able to look ahead in order to determine 'approaching' brackets and boundaries.

The third operation allowed on a line is Clash reduction, which allows for the dismantling of unary feet. Clash Reduction rules can take any of the forms in (38).

(38) a.) → Ø / Bx__
b.) → Ø / __x)
c. (→ Ø / (xB
d. (→ Ø / __x(

These might apply in a case such as (39), where a combination of Edge marking and ICC have created the unary constituent underlined. If option (38a) applied, the result would be that there would be two binary feet to the left of an unparsed mark. If (38b) applied instead, the result would be a binary foot followed by a ternary, with no unparsed SBUs.

(39) x x) x x) x)
after (38a): x x) x x) x
after (38b): x x) x x x)

The final operation is projection of heads to the next line. Heads may be either the rightmost mark or the leftmost mark in a constituent defined by brackets and boundaries. In (40) are some examples of how heads are projected onto a higher line.

(40) a. Heads: L

Line n+1	x x	x	x x	x x
Line n	x (x x) x x)	(x x x x x	(x x (x x x)	x (x x) x x)

b. Heads: R

Line n+1	x x	x	x x	x x
Line n	x (x x) x x)	(x x x x x	(x x (x x x)	x (x x) x x)

On this new line any or all of the processes can apply again, with new settings for each of the parameters involved in the four operations. There is, in principle, no limit to the number of lines that can occur in a grid. In practice there are almost always only 2 or 3 lines (i.e. no higher than line 2). Primary stress is asssigned to the SBUs that project marks to the highest line, and secondary stress is assigned to other SBUs that project marks beyond line 0 and to a certain line. In all of the languages discussed in this section, primary stress is associated with a mark on line 2 and secondary stress with a mark on line 1.

The simplest of the languages discussed in the previous section for a bracketed grid analysis to account for is Pintupi. Trochaic feet are created by inserting right brackets after every second syllable from left to right and projecting the leftmost element in each bracketed group to the next line. Main stress is assigned by projecting the leftmost stressed element onto yet another level. This is formalised and exemplified in (41).

(41) Line 0: ICC:) L→R, * Bx) Heads: L
Line 1: Edge: LLL (or RRR) Heads: L

a.
```
x                    Line 2
( x     x            Line 1
 x x)   x x)  x       Line 0
puli-ngka-la-tju
```

b.
```
x                    Line 2
( x     x     x      Line 1
 x   x)x   x) x   x)  Line 0
tjampuli-mpatju-ngku
```

Dyirbal differs from Pintupi in that ICC can not create feet that span the stem-suffix boundary. This suggests that stress assignment in Dyirbal is cyclic, which is to say that stress is calculated first over the stem or minimal word, and then the suffixes are added and stress-bearing elements are projected from the suffix domain alone in this level. As illustrated in (42), the cycle applies to the stem first, and then to the all the suffixes as a group.

(42) MinWd Line 0: Edge: LLL ICC:) L→R, * Bx) Heads: L
Line 1: Edge: LLL (or RRR) Heads: L

PrWd Line 0: ICC:) L→R, * Bx) Heads: L

a.
```
MinWd:    x          Line 2
          (x         Line 1
          (x   x) x  Line 0
          burrgurum
PrWd:          x     Line 0
          búrrgurum + bu
```

b.
```
MinWd:    x          Line 2
          (x         Line 1
          (x x) x        Line 0
          banagay
PrWd:          x     Line 1
               x  x)x Line 0
          bánagay + na-mbila
```

The Diyari stress system, under this analysis, results from treating each morpheme as its own stress domain. Stress is first calculated for the stem, as for Dyirbal, following which the first suffix is added, and stress calculated for it, and then each subsequent

suffix is in turn added and passed through the metrical construction. Each suffix initiates its own cycle:

(43) MinWd Line 0: Edge: LLL ICC:) L→R, * Bx) Heads: L
Line 1: Edge: LLL (or RRR) Heads: L

each suffix: Line 0: ICC:) L→R, * Bx) Heads: L

a. MinWd: x Line 2
(x Line 1
(x x) x Line 0
pinadu
suffix1: x Line 1
x x) Line 0
pínadu + wara

b. MinWd: x Line 2
(x Line 1
(x x) Line 0
kana
suffix1: x Line 0
kána + ni
suffix 2 x Line 1
x x) Line 0
kána-ni + mata

This system differs slightly from that proposed for Diyari by Halle and Idsardi (1994), in that the above system allows for different specifications in each cycle, while the Halle and Idsardi system has the same parameter settings for each cycle, but makes use of a clash reduction rule. Clash reduction rules are needed in the system in any case, as the Warlpiri and Jingulu systems show, but these languages also show that cycles sometimes demand different parameter settings.

The Warlpiri and Jingulu systems resemble the Dyirbal system, except that line 0 bracketing in the domain of suffixes is determined prior to addition of the stem. Stress is not calcluated at this point, but the bracketing from this suffix level is carried over into the Prosodic Word. A rule of clash reduction, avoiding unary feet, is required (e.g. (44a, c, d), (45c, f)). This rule may well be present in the other systems considered above, but its environment would never be created by the particular rules which derive stress in those systems. The Warlpiri system, outlined in (44), treats all disyllabic suffixes as feet, and feet may also be formed from sequences of monosyllabic suffixes. In order to capture this, it must be assumed that disyllabic suffixes enter the metrical system with a left bracket to their left. Formally, each individual suffix goes through an initial level of

bracketing in which polysyllabic suffixes are bracketed in such a way as to ensure they receive and retain initial stress. These brackets are given as square brackets in (44). Following this, all the suffixes are concatenated and fed into a further level of assigning brackets to the sequence as a whole. Finally the bracketed suffixes are added to the stem, and this sequence is put through the Prosodic Word level of bracketing and stress assignment.

(44) each suffix: Line 0: ICC:) L→R, * Bx)
ICC: (R→L, * (xB
(→ Ø / __x) (clash reduction)

suffix string: Line 0: ICC:) L→R, * Bx)

PrWd: Line 0 Edge: LLL ICC: (R→L, * (xB
) → Ø /)x__ (clash reduction)
Heads: L
Line 1: Edge: LLL (or RRR) Heads: L

a. PrWd: x Line 2
(x Line 1
(x x x clash reduction
(x (x x Line 0
watiya

b. suffix1: x Line 0
-rla
suffixes: x Line 0
-rla
PrWd: x Line 2
(x x Line 1
(x x(x x Line 0
watiya-rla

c.	suffix1:	x	Line 0
		-ja	
	suffix2:	x	Line 0
		-lpa	
	suffix3:	[x x]	Line 0
		-jana	
	suffixes:	x x)[x x]	Line 0
		-ja-lpa-jana	
	PrWd:	x	Line 2
		(x x x	Line 1
		(x x x (x x)[x x]	(clash reduction)
		(x (x x (x x)[x x]	Line 0
		wimpirli-ja-lpa-jana	
d.	suffix1:	x	Line 0
		-rla	
	suffix2:	x	Line 0
		-rlu	
	suffix3:	x	Line 0
		-ju	
	suffixes:	x x) x	Line 0
		-rla-rlu-ju	
	PrWd:	x	Line 2
		(x x	Line 1
		(x x x (x x) x	(clash reduction)
		(x(x x (x x) x	Line 0
		watiya-rla-rlu-ju	
e.	suffix1:	x	Line 0
		-rla	
	suffix2:	[x x]	Line 0
		-juku	
	suffixes:	x [x x]	Line 0
		-rla-juku	
	PrWd:	x	Line 2
		(x x x	Line 1
		(x x(x x [x x]	Line 0
		watiya-rla-juku	

f. suffix 1: x x] x (clash reduction)
x [x] x Line 0
-ngawurrpa

suffix 2: x Line 0
-rlu

sufixes: x x] x x) Line 0
-ngawurrpa-rlu

PrWd: x Line 2
(x x x Line 1
(x x (x x] (x x) Line 0
ngapa-ngawurrpa-rlu

Jingulu differs from Warlpiri by the lack of two procedures, and a different parameter for main stress assignment. Main stress is assigned by a rule that projects the rightmost stressed element from Line 1 onto Line 2. The phase that assigns brackets to individual morphemes in Warlpiri is absent in Jingulu, where the suffixes are concatenated and then enter the bracketing process for the first time. Edge marking at Line 0 of the word phase depends on the lexical stem: the default has no edge marking at Line 0, though some stems specify insertion of a left bracket at the left edge as well, and these lexically introduced brackets are marked in the Jingulu derivations in (45) by a square bracket.

(45) suffixes: Line 0: ICC:) L→R, *Bx)

PWd: Line 0: Edge: LLL if lexically marked ICC: (R→L, * (xB
) → Ø /)x_ (clash reduction)
Heads: L
Line 1: Edge: LLL (or RRR) Heads: R

a. PWd: x Line 2
(x Line 1
(x x Line 0
ngawu

b. PWd: x Line 2
(x Line 1
x (x x Line 0
dankurra

c.

PWd: x	Line 2
(x	Line 1
[x x x	(clash reduction)
[x (x x	Line 0
bardarda	

d.

PWd: x	Line 2
(x x	Line 1
(x x (x x	Line 0
mijuwulyi	

e.

suffix: x	Line 0
-rni	
PrWd: x	Line 2
(x x	Line 1
[x x (x x	Line 0
bardarda-ni	

f.

suffix: x x) x	Line 0
-jiyimi	
PrWd: x	Line 2
(x x x	Line 1
[x x x (x x) x	(clash reduction)
[x (x x (x x) x	Line 0
wungkarra-jiyimi	

g.

suffix: x x) x x)	Line 0
ya-jiyimi	
PrWd: x	Line 2
(x x	Line 1
x x) x x)	Line 0
ya-jiyimi	

h.

suffix: x x) x	Line 0
nga-rruku	
PrWd: x	Line 2
(x	Line 1
x x) x	Line 0
nga-rruku	

i.

suffix:	x x) x x)	Line 0
	-na-ngkami-rni	
PrWd:	x	Line 2
	(x x x x	Line 1
	(x x (x x (x x) x x)	Line 0
	yukulyarri-na-ngkami-rni	

Note that in (45g-h) the entire word is consdered to be in the suffix domain, because both elements are usually phonologically bound.

Both the Warlpiri and Jingulu systems require ICC to proceed in different directions on different levels (cycles). In both cases ICC proceeds rightward across the suffixes but leftward across the prosodic word.

It is difficult to say which of the formal approaches outlined in this section (OT or grids) accounts for the stress facts of Australian languages most efficiently. The grid systems utilise a number of different parameters (optionality of edge-marking, different directions for the ICC, brackets, clash reduction in some systems etc.) to account for the variation, which the OT approach does by re-ranking the same set of constraints. However, re-ranking of constraints means that some constraints which are instrumental in selecting among candidates in some languages are effectively inactive in others. The grid approach is essentially equivalent to Kager's (1995) OT approach, where suffixes are treated as words unto themselves. This is not true of the OT approach outlined in section 3.3.1, which, on the surface of it, appears not to require cyclicity. Rather, this approach uses output-output correspondence to separate the stem and suffixes as domains. The question is how other ouput forms are available to the evaluation. It seems that output-output constraints are ultimately equivalent to levels and cycles.

The grid analysis requires two levels of representation to account for most of the languages considered, and three levels to account for Warlpiri. While the OT analysis requires only one tableau, the existence of output-output constraints such as UNIEXP(BASE) effectively assumes another level of representation. The grid analysis presents the stress systems of some languages as being more complex than others, by having more levels of representation or rules. The OT analysis, on the other hand, presents each language as being equally complex, with the same constraints ranked in different orders. However, the varying degrees of complexity in the derivational system correspond to varying number of constraints involved in selecting the optimal form in the constraint-based system. In the Pintupi system, for instance, the optimal candidate is selected by the two highest ranked constraints among those considered here, while in the Warlpiri or Jingulu system the optimal candidate is often not selected until the fourth or fifth of these constraints has evaluated competitors.

4. Vowel harmony[13]

Jingulu displays regressive vowel height harmony (suffixes can trigger harmony in the roots to which they attach) in both nominal and verbal words. In order to trigger harmony, a suffix must not only contain a high vowel and be adjacent to the root, but must also belong to a specific morphosyntactic paradigm.

At first glance the Jingulu harmony facts would seem to support a templatic view of morphology, where morphemes occupy 'slots', and only the slot adjacent to the root slot is able to trigger harmony. In modern theoretical terms, this is akin to saying that the phonological component requires access not only to syntactic boundaries, but also to the actual hierarchical syntactic structure of inflection. However, if viewed as a result of merger of roots with adjacent syntactic heads, Jingulu harmony provides an argument for considering categorial status of words to be a result of category-less roots combining with category-deriving morphemes, as argued for by Marantz (1996).

4.1 Jingulu harmony as feature-spreading

Vowel harmony across morpheme boundaries within words is a common phenomenon in central Australia. In a typical case, one or more vowels of a suffix are determined by the final vowel of the stem, as exemplified by the Warlpiri Allative marker:

(46) a. Wati ka ngurra-kurra yani
man PRES camp-ALL go(NPST)
'The man is going to the camp.'

b. Puluku ka yuwurrku-kurra yukami
bullock PRES scrub-ALL enter-NPST
'The bullock is going into the scrub.'

c. Kurdu ka wati-kirra yani.
child PRES man-ALL go(NPST)
'The child is going to the man.'

(Instititute forAboriginal Development 1990)

As the sentences in (46) show, the first vowel of the Allative suffix is dependent on the final vowel of the stem to which it attaches. If the final vowel of the stem is the [+high, -back] vowel /i/, the first vowel of the suffix will also be [+high, -back], otherwise it will surface as the [+high, +back] vowel /u/.

Jingulu vowel harmony differs from this typical kind in a number of ways. First of all

[13] A version of this section appears in MITWPL 30 as Pensalfini (1997b).

Jingulu harmony is regressive, so that it is certain suffixes which trigger vowel changes in the root, rather than roots conditioning harmony in certain affixes. With the reversed direction of harmony comes a reversed relationship between trigger and target too, so that while in Warlpiri all stems trigger harmony in certain affixes, in Jingulu only some suffixes trigger harmony, but it applies to all roots. In both languages it is all stems/roots and only some affixes which enter into harmony, but the roles of trigger and target are reversed (progressive harmony, where stems/roots trigger harmony in the affixes, versus regressive harmony, where the affixes trigger harmony in stems/roots).

In Jingulu, nominals (free nouns and adjectives) and verb roots both exhibit harmony, but each under different morphosyntactic conditions. Common to both is the phonological process. The presence of a [+ high] vowel (/i/ or /u/) in an affix of a particular class (to be defined) causes adjacent low vowels in the root to become [+high]:

(47)	a.	warlaku dog	+	/-rni/ fem	→	warlakurni 'bitch'
	b.	ngamurla big	+	/-rni/ fem	→	ngamurlini 'big (fem)'
	c.	ankila cross cousin	+	/-rni/ fem	→	ankilirni 'female cross cousin'
	d.	kunyarrba dog	+	/-rni/ fem	→	kunyirrbirni 'bitch'
	e.	bardarda younger brother	+	/-rni/ fem	→	birdirdini 'younger sister'
	f.	ngaja see	+	/-mindi-yi/ 1dlInc-FUT	→	ngijimindiyi 'we will see'
	g.	ngarrabaj tell	+	/-wurru-nu/ 3pl-did	→	ngirribijiwurrunu 'they told (it to him)'

In (47a) the final vowel of the root is already [+high], so there is no change. If the final vowel of the the root is the non-high vowel (/a/), it becomes [+high] (/i/), as in (47b-f). Adjacent non-high vowels in the root are also changed to [+high], as demonstrated in (47d-f). In (47d) the last two vowels in the root both change from /a/ to /i/, and in (47e-f) all of the vowels in the root change from /a/ to /i/. If the root contains a [+high] vowel, however, non-high vowels preceding it (to its left) never change to [+high], so in (47c) the first vowel does not change to /i/ because an underlyingly [+high] vowel

(/i/) intervenes between it and the suffix triggering harmony.

Jingulu harmony can thus be viewed as the spreading of the feature [+high] from a suffix vowel into the root. Spreading continues until a [+high] vowel (/i/ or /u/) is encountered in the root, and no further. Recall from (1) that the vowel system of Jingulu consists of the following feature bundles (phonemes):

(1)	[-consonantal, [DORSAL: +high, +round]]	=	/u/
	[-consonantal, [DORSAL: +high, -round]]	=	/i/
	[-consonantal, [DORSAL: -round]]	usually surfaces as	/a/

Harmony spreads the [+high] from a triggering position to the left until it encounters a previously specified [+high], which it does not cross. The phonetic component fills in [-high] as the height value for all vowels which are not phonologically specified as [+high]. The vowel that surfaces as /a/ is underlyingly unspecified for height.

The forms in (47) are derived thus:

(48) a. warlaku + /-rni/ → warlaku-rni
[+hi] [+hi] [+hi] [+hi]

b. ngamurla + /-rni/ → ngamurli-ni
[+hi] [+hi] [+hi] [+hi]

c. ankila + /-rni/ → ankili-rni
[+hi] [+hi] [+hi] [+hi]

d. kunyarrba + /-rni/ → kunyirrbi-rni
[+hi] [+hi] [+hi] [+hi]

e. bardarda + /-rni/ → birdirdi-ni
[+hi] [+hi]

f. ngaja + /-mindi- yi/ → ngiji mindi yi
[+hi][+hi][+hi] [+hi][+hi][+hi]

g. ngarrabaj + /-wurru-nu/ → ngirribiji wurrunu
[+hi][+hi][+hi] [+hi][+hi][+hi]

4.2 Putting a finger on the trigger

In the previous section, we have seen what changes are triggered in the root when harmony occurs. In this section, we will attempt to characterise the class or classes of suffix that act as triggers for harmony.

4.2.1 Nominals

In nominals, it is the gender affixes which contain /i/ that trigger harmony. Jingʷalu has four genders, each of which has a characteristic ending (set out in (49)). Suffixes corresponding to the characteristic endings are used to change the gender of a nominal (deriving feminine from masculine nouns and in adjectival concord, see Chadwick 1975 and chapter 5 (section 3.1) of this dissertation for details).

(49)

gender	characteristic ending
masculine	[a]
feminine	[irni]
neuter	[u]/Ø
vegetable	[imi]

When the feminine or vegetable endings are added to a nominal, harmony is induced in the root according to the principles set out in section 4.1. Examples can be found in (47) as well as in (50) below.

(50)

a.	walanja	+	/-rni/	→	wilinji-rni
	goanna (male)		fem		'goanna (female)'
b.	mamabiyaka	+	/-mi/	→	mamabiyikimi
	soft (masc)		veg		'soft (veg)'

One immediate question that arises is why the neuter ending /-u/ does not induce harmony (especially given that subject agreement morphemes containing /u/ do induce harmony, see section 4.2.2). The only possibility which suggests itself is that the neuter form of nominals is the unmarked underlying form, and therefore that there is no suffixation involved in forming a neuter nominal, while the three other genders are formed by deletion of final [u] and suffixation of the characteristic ending (see chapter 5 (section 3.1) for more extensive discussion on this point).

Gender endings are the only suffixes which induce harmony in nominal roots. Number markers and case markers containing high /i/ do not induce harmony even if there is no material between them and the root:

(51)	a.	bardarda-ni younger brother-ERG	(vs (	birdirdini 'younger sister'	))
	b.	jikaya-mbili lake-LOC			
	c.	wawa-bila child-dl(anim)	(vs (	wiwirni 'girl'	))
	d.	mamambiyaka-bila soft-dl	(vs (	mamambiyikimi 'soft (veg)'	))

It can be argued that number and case suffixes are always suffixed to gender suffixes, and this is quite clear for gender-changing nominals such as agreeing adjectives and nouns for higher animates. In section 3.1 of chapter 5 I argue that free nominals also always bear gender suffixes, with the gender suffix being the nominalising element (see also the discussion in section 4.3.4 of this chapter).

4.2.2 Verbs

As discussed at length in chapters 3, 4, and 6, verb words consist of an optional root followed by agreement markers and a light verb which bears tense and aspect features. Harmony in verb roots is triggered by adjacent non-singular subject agreement morphemes, and also by the Imperative of motion /-yirri/ and the negative Imperative /-ji/. These triggers all contain [+high] vowels (/i/ or /u/) in their first syllable.

(52) a. Ngangarra **ngaja**-nga-ju.
wild_rice see-1sg-do
'I can see wild rice.'

a'. Ngangarra **ngiji**-ngurru-ju.
wild_rice see-1plInc-do
'We can see wild rice.'

a''. **Ngiji**-kunyi-ju ngangarra?
see-2dl-do wild_rice
'Can you two see the wild rice?'

b. **Mankiya**-ju ambaya-ju.
sit-do talk-do
'He's sitting down talking.'

b'. Nyami-rni ngaya **mankiyi**-mindi-ju, marrinkyu
2sgNOM-FOC 1sgNOM sit-1dlInc-do language
imbiyi-mindu-ju.
talk-1dlInc-do
'You and I are sitting, talking language.'

c. Nginirniki dika **maja**-nga-yi kurlukurlu.
this(n) fat get-1sg-FUT small(n)
'I'll get a little bit of this fat.'

c'. Ngunu buba **miji**-yirri!
DEM(n) fire get-goIMPV
'Go get some firewood!'

d. **Ngarrabaja**-mi jamaniki-rni marliyi-ngirri-ji!
tell-goIMPV this(m)-FOC sick-1plExc-do
'Tell that person that we're sick.'

d'. **Ngirribiji**-ji ngininiki-rna.
tell-NEGIMPV this(n)-FOC
'Don't go spreading this around!'

In (52a) the root /ngaj-/ appears in its unharmonised form, [ngaja], as the subject marker contains the non-high vowel /a/. The forms in (52a'-a") show the same root appearing with a subject marker which contains a [+high] vowel. The roots in (52b) shows no harmony as the subject is third person singular (null agreement), while in (52b') the same roots appear with a subject marker containing a [+high] vowel, and so harmony is induced. Note once again that the first /a/ of the root /mankiy-/ is unaffected because the underlying [+high] vowel in the root blocks the spread of the suffix's [+high] beyond it. In (52c') harmony is induced by the Imperative of motion /-yirri/, while the same root is shown in its unharmonised form in (52c). The unharmonised form of the root /ngarrabaj-/ in (52d) is contrasted with the form in (52d'), where harmony is triggered by the negative Imperative /-ji/.

Other verb suffixes containing [+high] vowels, such as second person object agreement /nyu/, the Irrealis marker /mi/ (usually used as an imperative), and the inverse marker /ni/, do not trigger harmony, even when immediately adjacent to the root:

(53) a. Wawa-rni **ngaja**-nyu-nu.
child-ERG see-2Obj-did
'The child saw you.'

b. Kuka **maja**-mi!
grandpfather get-IRR
'Get Grandpa.'

c. Ngangarra **ngaja**-mi!
wild rice see-IRR
'Look at the wild rice.'

d. Kijurlurlu-ngkami **ngaja**-ni-ngurru-ju.
stone-ABL see-INV-1plInc-do
'He sees us from the rock.'

In summary, all of the suffixes that trigger harmony in verbs contain [+high] vowels, but not all suffixes that contain [+high] vowels are able to trigger harmony, even if they occur immediately adjacent to the root.

The difference between the two sets of morphemes is that the morphemes which trigger harmony when adjacent to the root (subject agreement, /-yirri/ and /-ji/) always appear adjacent to the root, and are never preceded by other material. As demonstrated in (54a-b), /-yirri/ and /-ji/ can not co-occur with subject agreement, while object marking (54c) and the Irrealis/Imperative marker /-mi/ (54d-e) can both be preceded by overt subject marking.

(54) a. *Miji-kurri-**yirri**!
get-2pl-goIMPV
'Go and get it!'

b. *Ngirribiji-kunyi-**ji**!
tell-2dl-NEGIMPV
'Don't you two tell anyone!'

c. Ngiji-ngirri-**nyu**-nu kunyaku.
see-1plExc-2Obj-did 2dlACC
'We saw you two.'

d. Arduwa-nama kunyila langalanga-nya-**mi**.
slow-time 2dlNOM think-2sg-IRR
'Just think about it first.'

e. Ngunya-na-**mi** kungka.
give-1Obj-IRR another(n)
'Give me another one!'

The resulting generalisation is that, for both nominals and verbs, the suffixes which trigger harmony are those suffixes which contain [+high] vowels and which can not be proceeded in the word by any material other than the root. Other suffixes containing [+high] vowels do not trigger harmony, even when no material intervenes between them and the root.

The effect of vowel harmony in Jingulu is striking, with the distinction between two of its three vowels collapsing wherever harmony takes place. Some lexical distinctions can be lost as a result. For instance, the masculine kinship terms *baba* and *biba,* meaning 'older brother' and 'son' respectively, both have the feminine form *bibirni,* which means both 'older sister' and 'daughter'. It is important to note that the language only ever displays harmony in the marked forms of words. The feminine can be considered marked because masculine agreement and forms are always allowed (even with feminine referents), so that *baba* can mean 'older sibling' generally. Similarly masculine or neuter agreement can occur with vegetable gender nominals. Masculine referents can only ever be represented by masculine nominal forms. With verbs, non-singular subject agreement is similarly optional, so that singular subject agreement can indicate non-singular subjects. Singular subjects can not be represented by non-singular agreement forms. The negative imperative morpheme /-ji/ is not the only way to indicate a negative imperative: the irrealis form of the verb in conjunction with the negation *angkula* can also create a negative imperative. Jingulu gender and number hierarchies are explained in detail in chapter 5 sections 3.1 and 3.2, the point here is that harmony only ever occurs in the marked forms of words, never the unmarked or default forms.

4.3 Explaining Jingulu harmony

In this section we consider a number of possible alternative theoretical analyses of the phenomena sketched out in the preceding sections. An analysis in terms of re-bracketing of heads under adjacency in order to create a domain for harmony turns out to be the most restrictive and also to make the most accurate predictions.

4.3.1 Templates

Template morphology, also called position class morphology or slot-filler morphology, was the standard means of describing complex words, particularly verbs with complex agreement and tense-marking patterns, in the structuralist tradition prevalent in the 1950s and 1960s (e.g. Hockett 1958, Bloomfield 1962, Grimes 1964). Each position or slot in the template is able to be occupied by one of a number of morphemes, and the

presence of a particular morpheme in a given slot blocks the appearance of other morphemes that might otherwise occupy that slot.

In recent decades, this approach has fallen out of favour with morphologists seeking to explain ordering and co-occurrence restrictions on morphemes through means other than stipulation of which morphemes may occupy which positions (e.g. Muysken 1986, Speas 1990, Rice 1993, Halle and Marantz 1993). However, templates have not been discarded entirely by morphologists, with recent works by Simpson and Withgott (1986), Stump (1991), Anderson (1992), and Inkelas (1993) all arguing in favour of this approach.

Let us now attempt to construct a templatic approach to Jingulu morphology and harmony. Under such a view, the template for Jingulu nominals is as given in (55a), while verbs have the template in (55b) (setting aside constructions such as nominalisations and adverbialisations, which render the verbal root unable to host either agreement or harmony). The morphemes in boldface are those able to induce harmony.

(55) a.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Nominals:	root	**gender**	number	focus	case	deictic final V

b.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Verbs[14]:	root	**subject**	object	finalV	focus	switch reference
		Inverse	reflexive			
		Imperative of Negation_____				
		Imperative of Motion_____				

The Imperatives of negation and motion occupy the first three slots after the verbal root, preventing subject or object agreement from co-occuring with them. The occupation of more than one slot by a morpheme is commonly appealed to in template morphology (see Inkelas 1993 for a recent example).

Only elements in the highlighted positions, those occupying the slot nearest the root, can induce harmony. It makes no difference whether these slots are filled or empty, no other element can ever induce harmony. One might assume that the ability to trigger harmony is a property inherent in position 1 of both nominal and verbal templates. The first problem with this approach is that the Inverse marker /-ni/, which contains a [+high] vowel, is not a trigger for vowel harmony, yet is demonstrably an occupant of position 1. The inverse morpheme never co-occurs with subject marking or Imperatives of negation or motion, and commonly co-occurs with reflexive or object marking (occupants of position 2) and the occupants of positions 3 onward.

[14] Positions 2 and 3 are occasionally (rarely) found with their orders reversed, but under these circumstances a reflexive morpheme may not appear.

4.3.2 Floating features

Another explanation for the Jingulu harmony facts makes use of the notion, presented in section 4.1, that harmony involves the spreading of a feature from a suffix onto a root. In section 4.1 it was assumed that harmony involved the spreading of the feature [+high]. Another possibility is that there is a distinct harmony feature (call it [+H]) associated with the suffix, and it is the spreading of this feature which gives rise to the harmony facts. At the phonetic level the spelling out of [+H] is identical to the spelling out of [+high].

Floating feature analyses have been used with considerable success to explain phenomena such as melodic dissimilation in Ainu (Itô 1985) and stem rounding in Mafa (Waller 1996). However, they do not seem appropriate to the Jingulu case for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is unclear why this feature should occur in all and only non-singular subject markers and feminine and vegetable gender endings. To suggest that a distinctive phonological feature occurs only in a narrow subset of morphemes is contrary to the well-established notion that sound and meaning are independent properties of morphemes.[15] Furthermore, it is not even the case that all non-singular subject markers induce harmony. While the most common forms of all these morphemes do indeed contain [+high] vowels, there is a rare allomorph of the 2nd person dual subject marker, [-(w)anyu], that contains the low vowel /a/ in its first syllable and which does not trigger harmony:

(56) a. Yabanju maja-**wanyu**-mi dunjuwa-kaju wanyu-mi!
small(n) get-2dl-IRR burn-through 2dl-IRR
'You two get a little fire going.'

b. Kunyiyirrini dalk baja-**anyu**-mi!
2dlERG pull-2dl-IRR
'You two pull this.'

Supporters of the [+H] feature analysis might then propose that the feature [+H] is linked not to the morphemes themselves, but rather to the [+high] vowel in these morphemes. This essentially claims that Jingulu contains two phonemes realised as [i] and two phonemes realised as [u]: one of each pair ($/i_H/$ and $/u_H/$) bears the feature [+H], which induces vowel harmony, while the other (/i/ and /u/) does not. The diacritic which occurs on the phonemes $/i_H/$ and $/u_H/$ represents a feature which distinguishes them from their allophones /i/ and /u/. The allophones bearing the diacritic just happen to occur only in subject agreement and the feminine and gender

[15] This is not an argument against a morphosyntactic class always being represented by the same phonological feature(s). For instance, the English plural almost always involves affixation of a sibilant. What is argued to be impossible however, is a language in which the features that distinguish sibilants only occur in the language in order to mark the plural.

suffixes. While this has the advantage of allowing for the neutral gender ending [u] to be considered a suffix (being plain /u/ and not /u_H/), there is no reason why these phonemes should only occur in subject agreement and gender suffixes. Occurrence of /i_H/ and /u_H/ in other morphemes can only be ruled out by stipulation, and this clearly misses the generalisation of section 4.2 which is captured so neatly in section 4.3.1.

Furthermore, if the feature which triggers harmony is a property of the morpheme or of a phoneme appearing in the morpheme, we would expect to see harmony triggered by these morphemes even if they are separated from their root by other material. Jingulu has two constructions where morphemes usually associated with subject agreement are used as object agreement markers: the inverse and morpheme switching (57). In these cases the morpheme in question is separated from the root by another morpheme and harmony is blocked.[16]

(57) a. Jaminika ngamurla-rni kijikijib-arda-wurra jam-baja-ni
this(m) big(m)-ERG tease-go-3pl that-pl-FOC
yabanja-la wawa-la.
young(m)-pl child-pl
'That big guy's annoying the little kids.'

b. Ngaba-wa-minda marlarluka-rni-ni kujika-rna.
have-will_go-1dlInc old_men-ERG-FOC initiation-DAT
'The old men will take us to be initiated.'

If the ability to trigger harmony were inherent in the morpheme /wurra/ (=3pl), because it contained a feature [+H], we would expect it to spread at least to the verbal element /-arda/ (i.e. the preceding morpheme). Similarly, the [+H] in /minda/ (57b) is expected to spread at least to the verbal /-wa/. This is not possible:

(58) a. *Kijikijib-irdi-wurra.
tease-go-3pl
('He is teasing them.')

b. *Ngibi-wi-minda. *Ngaba-wi-minda.
have-will_go-1dlInc have-will_go-1dlInc
('They will take us.')

4.3.3 Null morphemes block spreading

An alternative proposal might involve allowing null morphemes occupying positions adjacent to the root (third person subject markers) to block the spreading of [+high]

[16] The inverse is demonstrated in (52d).

across them. There are several problems with this proposal, the first of which is that it states that while consonants can not block the spread of vowel features, empty material can. Phonologically, there is nothing present on the vowel tier in either case, so empty morphemes should be treated as being on a par with consonants.

There is also the additional problem of why vowel harmony is not triggered on (and beyond) an overt singular subject marker by an object or tense/aspect marker containing a high vowel:

(59) a. ngaja + nga + nyu + nu → ngaja-nga-nyu-ju
see 1sg 2Obj did (*ngiji-ngi-nyu-nu)

b. mankiya + nga + ju → mankiya-nga-ju
sit 1sg do (*mankiyi-ngi-ju)

One might try to save this approach by appealing to the notion of morphophonological cycles. Note that there is no harmony internal to roots (unlike Turkish, for instance[17]); roots containing a mixture of high vowels and low vowels are commonplace. Instead the harmony takes place across a morpheme boundary. In chapter 4 a syntactic argument is made for considering the verbal morphology (agreement and verbal final) as the core clause (the domain containing the verb and its arguments), rather than as inflectional suffixes on a verbal root. Hereafter in this section I will refer to the complex of argument markers and tense/aspect/mood/direction markers as 'the core clause' and the root which undergoes harmony as 'the root'. Under such an approach, root formation, of which the building of the core clause is a special sort, is not subject to vowel harmony. Vowel harmony then applies after affixation of the core clause to the root and only across this morpheme boundary:

(60) a. [nga] + [mi] → [nga-mi] (core formation)
[+hi] [+hi] (no harmony)
1sg IRR

[ngaja-] + [ngami] → [ngaja-ngami] (affixation)
[+hi] [+hi] (no trigger)
see 1sg-IRR

[17] Turkish admits non-harmonising stems too, though these seem to be restricted to loan words (e.g. /pilot/)

b. [ngurru] + [ju] → [ngurru-ju] (core formation)

[+hi][+hi] [+hi] [+hi][+hi][+hi] (no harmony)

1plInc do

[ngaja-] + [ngurruju] → [ngiji-ngurru-ju] (affixation)

[+hi][+hi][+hi] [+hi][+hi][+hi] (harmony)

see 1plInc-do

However, this approach still predicts that the leftmost element within the core clause should be able to trigger harmony as long as it contains a [+high] vowel. As shown in (53), repeated below, this is the wrong prediction.

(53) a. Wawa-rni ngaja-**nyu**-nu.
child-ERG see-2Obj-did
'The child saw you.'

b. Kuka maja-**mi**!
grandpfather get-IRR
'Get Grandpa.'

c. Ngangarra ngaja-**mi**!
wild rice see-IRR
'Look at the wild rice.'

4.3.4 Merger of roots with syntactic heads

If the syntactic structure for the core clause proposed in chapter 4 is correct, the problem posed by Jingulu vowel harmony reduces to a case of apparent mismatches between structures in the phonology and the syntax at the right edge of roots. This is illustrated for verbal roots in (61). Harmony takes place within the first bracketed constituent of the phonological structure (the constituent which contains the root).

(61)

constituency	
syntactic	phonological
[[root][AgrS-AgrO-V]]	[[root-AgrS][AgrO-V]]
[[root][IMPV]]	[root-IMPV]

As discussed extensively in chapter 4 (section 1), co-verbal roots in Jingulu are not able to appear by themselves, but must always be accompanied by a light verb:

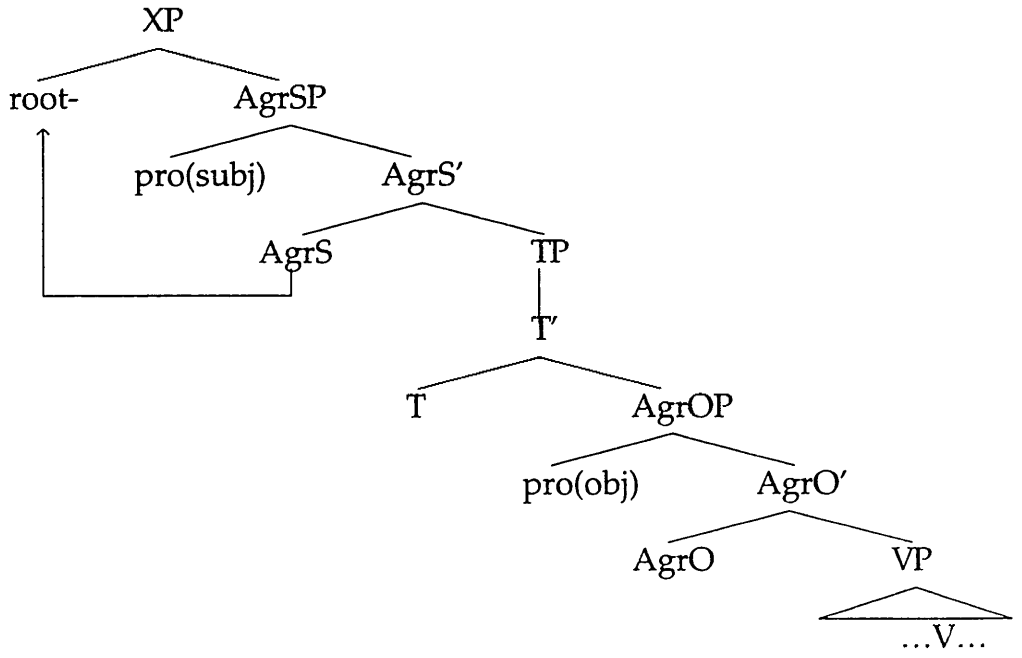
(62) a. Ngangarra ngaja-nga-ju.
wild_rice see-1sg-do
'I can see wild rice.'

b. * Ngaja ngangarra nga-ju.
see wild_rice 1sg-do

c. Nga-rruku ngirriki.
1sg-went hunting
'I went hunting.'

The co-verbal root /ngaja/ can not stand alone as a word (62b), but must appear adjacent to a complex which includes a light verb (62a). Light verbs, accompanied by subject agreement markers, can stand alone as words (62c). As discussed in chapter 3, this is because roots in Jingulu are syntactically deficient, bearing no categorial features. Roots must merge with a syntactic head in order to be recognised by the computational system as having a syntactic category. Verbal words therefore have a structure like that in (19), and to satisfy the root's need for syntactic category features, the nearest syntactic head must raise and merge with the root.

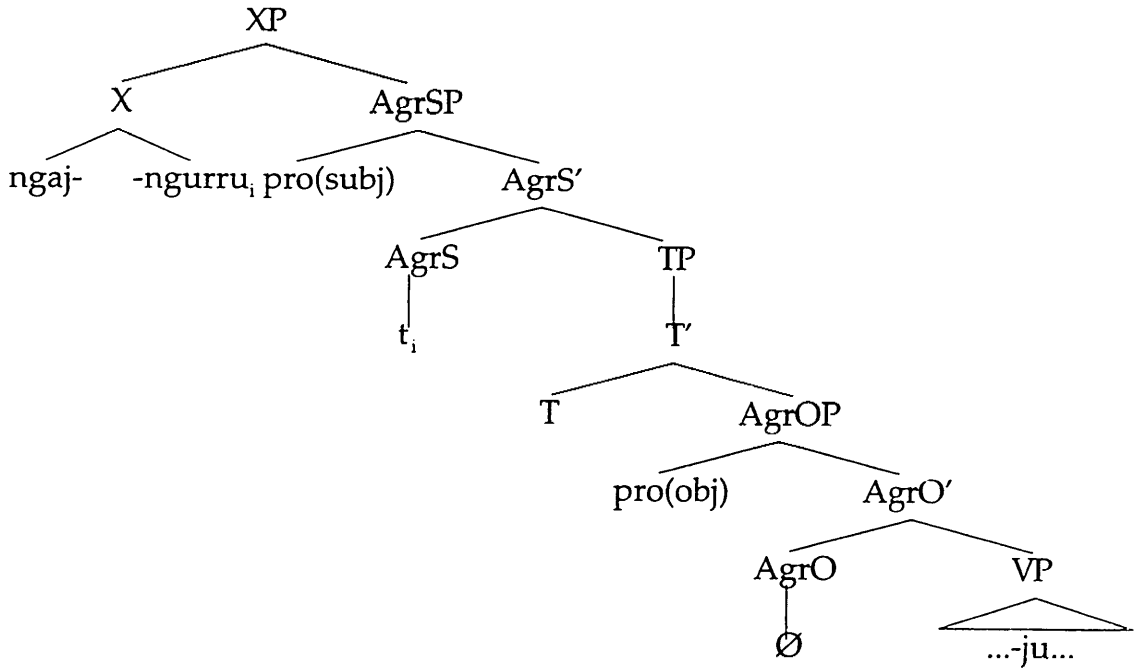
(63)



In (63), AgrS is the closest head to the co-verbal root, and rises to merge with the root. The V in imperatives of motion and negation does not project Agr or T heads (recall that

these Vs never occur with agreement), and so the adjacent head is the V itself. The structures indicated in the second column of (17) are a result of the root attracting and merging with the nearest head. The harmony domain can thus be defined as that node which contains the root following this merger. Some examples from (52) are explained in these terms in (64).

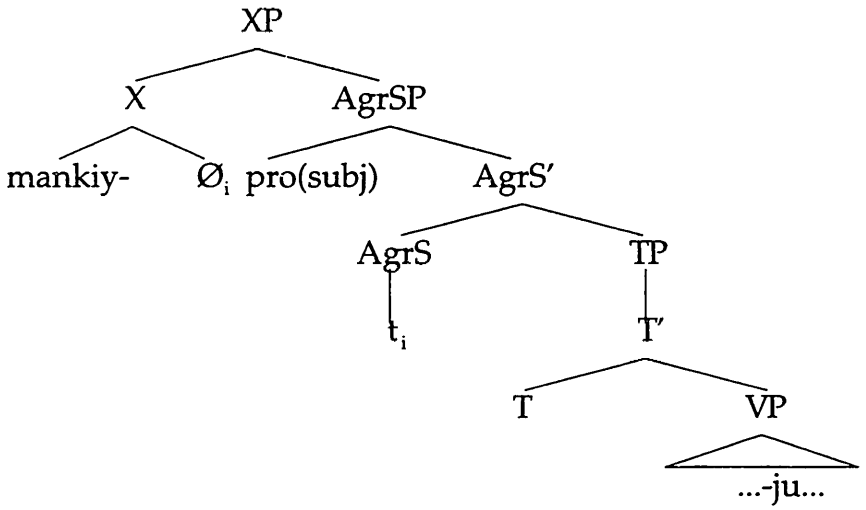
(64) a. (from (52b))



= [ngaja-ngurru$_i$][t_i-Ø-ju]

→ [ngijingurru][ju] (harmony within root domain)

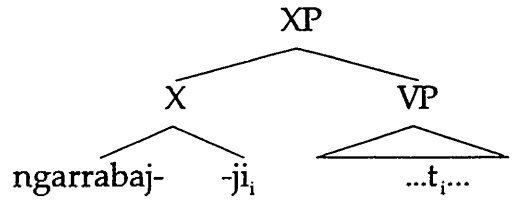
b. (from (52d))



= [mankiya-Ø$_i$][t$_i$-ju]

→ [mankiya][ju] (no harmony within root domain)

c. (from (52i))

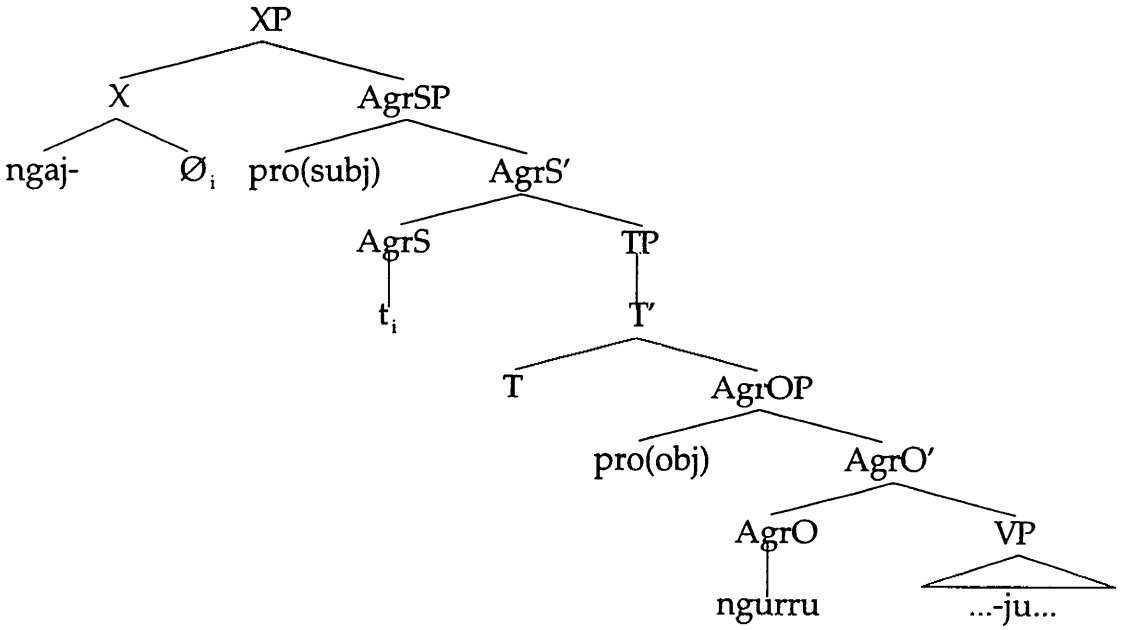


= [ngarrabaja-ji$_i$][t$_i$]

→ [ngirribijiji] (harmony within root domain)

The Inverse construction, illustrated by (53d) does not induce harmony because, as argued in section 1.3.3 of chapter 6, the Inverse marker does not occupy the subject node, but rather is a morpheme which is inserted to host object agreement and verbs under certain circumstances (namely when there is a third person subject and a non-third person object):

(21) (from (53d))



= [ngaja-Ø$_i$][t$_i$-ngurru-ju]

→ [ngaja-Ø$_i$][ni][t$_i$-ngurru-ju] (insertion of inverse marker)

→ [ngaja][ni][ngurruju] (no harmony within root domain)

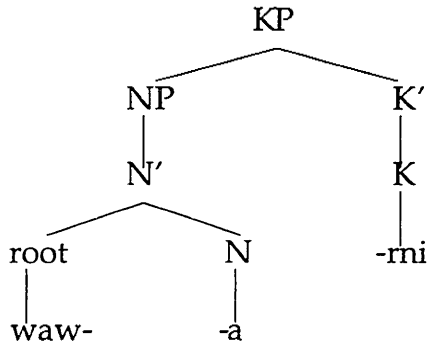
Turning our attention now to nominal harmony, we see that there is always adjacency between a nominal root and the gender marker. Let us pay some attention to the similarities between verbal and nominal harmony. In both cases, harmony occurs in a root and is triggered by the first in a series of morphosyntactic suffixes that can attach to that root. According to the analysis of the structure of verbal words presented in chapters 3 and 4, the root is a category-less morpheme containing only encyclopedic knowledge, and must appear attached to a complex which includes a syntactic verb (an element which contains all the formal features associated with verb-hood). Nominal roots share two very important properties with verbal roots that suggest a similar analysis may be appropriate. First of all, nominal roots always appear bearing a gender affix, usually taking the form of the characteristic ending for the gender of the nominal in question (see (49)). In this regard the gender suffixes resemble the theme vowels of Romance languages (see e.g. Harris 1991a,b, 1996)). Secondly, both verbal and nominal roots do not show any suppletion. All the suppletive morphology in verbs is found in the final (syntactic or core) verb that follows the agreement markers, and all suppletion in nominals is found in pronominals, and among the gender markers.[18] This suggests an analysis

[18] The is a sub-class of nominal stems that forms its plural by internal reduplication of a VC(C) sequence, but this forms a semantically coherent class, and could not be described as suppletion. Examples are given below, but further details can be found in Pensalfini 1997b:

marluka	marlarluka	imikirni	imimikirni
old man	old men/people	old woman	old women

under which all roots, verbal or nominal, are basically storehouses of encyclopedic knowledge, which must appear in constructions with syntactic elements which provide them with formal features. A final core verb provides a root with accompanying formal verbal features, while a gender suffix provides a root with formal nominal features. A nominal like [wawarni] ('boy-ERG') therefore has a structure like that in (65). Unlike core verbs, gender suffixes (core nominals) are phonetically suffixes and can not appear independently of roots.

(65)



No head movement is required for nominals since the nominal root and the N head enter the computation as sisters. The domain of harmony is within the N' headed by the gender affix.

The above analysis predicts that if a nominal, for whatever, reason, does not appear with a gender head, it should not be able to participate in clausal syntax, since it lacks intepretable formal features. Remarkably, Jingulu personal names seem to fall into exactly this category. Personal names do not display the same behaviour as other nominals with respect to gender inflection. As mentioned in section 4.1, each gender has a characteristic ending, which in this section has been analysed as a nominal head. It is not the case that all masculine nominals end in /-a/ and all neuter nominals end in /-u/ (though almost all feminine nominals end in /-rni/ and almost all vegetable nominals end in /-mi/). While these are the most common forms, each gender has a restricted set of forms which the ending can take (like gender endings in Romance languages, and, also like gender endings in Romance languages, these sets can overlap). The details of the gender system are given in section 3.1 of chapter 5. Personal names show no such regularity across gender lines. Personal names, which it would be culturally inappropriate to cite, do not show the morphophonological regularity of other nominals in terms of gender. While most personal names end in a vowel, there is no correlation between final vowel and gender for names. This differs from the irregularity of gender endings sometimes found with nominals. For example, feminine nominals never end in [a], while some women's names do.

Personal names can therefore be considered category-less words which are not able to be affixed to nominal heads (gender endings). As a result, they are not able to form syntactic nominals, and are never found with gender endings or with any other suffixes

such as case and focus markers. Speakers never produced sentences with personal names in them, and rejected sentences with personal names in them. The only ways in which personal names can be used in Jingulu is either as vocatives (though this is considered extremely impolite and only used when chastising someone) or as dislocated elements, separated from clauses by a very significant intonation break (greater than the usual dislocation structure). Within clauses, kinship terms and skin names (see section 3 of chapter 1) are used to refer to people.

The analysis outlined in this section describes a system wherein a root that is a target for harmony forms a phonological domain with the nearest syntactic head. The trigger and the target must both be within that domain in order for harmony to occur. It appears that in Jingulu, the domain thus formed is only relevant to feature spreading (harmony and the spreading of rounding to linking vowels, discussed in section 5.1), not other phonological processes such as stress assignment.

The rule for Jingulu harmony can be stated as: [+hi] in the rightmost element of the domain containing the root (root and its sister head) spreads left; avoid crossing association lines.

4.4 Predictions of the merger analysis

The analysis of harmony outlined in the previous section involves merger of the target with the nearest available syntactic head, forming a domain which includes both the root and the head with which it merges. The head nearest the root in the syntax becomes the right edge of a phonological domain, and this prominent position at the edge of a domain allows it to function as a trigger for harmony, according to the general approach of Beckman's (1997a, 1997b to appear) positional faithfulness analysis. This allows us to predict what kinds of harmony should and should not be possible.

Beckman's proposal, within Optimality Theory (eg: Prince and Smolensky 1993, McCarthy and Prince 1993, 1994), is that faithfulness to the underlying featural content of certain privileged positions is paramount. The more theory-neutral corollary of this is that only these prominent positions can serve as triggers of apparent spreading processes such as harmony. Different languages and indeed even different phenomena within a language may differ on what the prominent positions are, but crucial to Beckman's hypothesis is that they may only be of certain kinds, including stressed syllables, roots, or domain edges, but never including specific affixes or non-initial unstressed syllables.[19]

This predicts that only the following kinds of harmony types should be possible (illustrating using examples based on the Jingulu verbal harmony facts, none of the examples in (67-68) represent real words in any language):

A. Jingulu type
The affix corresponding to the head immediately adjacent to a root can induce harmony, because after rebracketing it occupies the edge of the domain which contains the target:

(66) [[root][AgrS-AgrO-V]] → [[root-AgrS][t_i-AgrO-V]]
↑
privileged position

Harmony occurs over the morpheme boundary within the domain containing the root.

B. No-raising regressive harmony
Only the final syllable could induce harmony, leftward across the other suffixes, as in (67a), or possibly even into the root, as in (67b). The difference between these two patterns depends on whether the core IP (67a) or the phonological word (67b) is the domain of harmony.

(67) a. [$_{word}$[root][AgrS-AgrO-V]] (the rightmost element, V, is the trigger)
ngaja+[nga+ju] → ngajangiju
see 1sg do 'I see her.'

b. [[root][$_{IP}$AgrS-AgrO-V]] (the rightmost element, V, is the trigger)
ngaja+nga+ju → ngijingiju
see 1sg do 'I see her.'

The word-final position is privileged by way of being at the edge of the word.

C. Raising, but harmony in non-root domain
Such a system might involve raising to satisfy requirement of the root, as in Jingulu, but the harmony domain created is the second domain (the one which does not include the root):

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[19] Beckman (1997a) would actually rule out the Jingulu type altogether, since her analysis denies the possibility of (word- or domain-) final position as privileged, only allowing root-inital or stressed positions to be privileged. In order to account for Jingulu at all we must modify this proposal to allow the edges of domains to be privileged. Phenomena explained by edge alignment (right or left) and the existence of edge-sensitive stress systems suggest that prosodic/phonological domain edges are prominent in some such sense (as discussed by Zoll (1996, to appear and references therein)).

(68) [[root][AgrS-AgrO-V]] → [[root-AgrS][t_i-AgrO-V]]
↑
privileged position

privileged position
↓
[ngaja+$Ø_i$][t_i-ana + ju] → ngajayiniju
see 3sg 1Obj do 'She's looking at me.'

In the system sketched in (68), the harmony domain is defined as the core clause (AgrSP constituent), with the trigger position at the right edge. Harmony extends leftward from this privileged position to the left edge of the domain.

An additional possibility involving re-bracketing is that two spreading domains could be created, with a harmony calculated in each domain.[20] In terms of the hypothetical types considered here, this would be a compounding of the Jingulu type with Type C. One form this might conceivably take is outlined, with resultant forms, in (69).

(69) [[root][AgrS-AgrO-V]] → [[root-$AgrS_i$][t_i-AgrO-V]]
↑ ↑
privileged positions

The feature [+hi] in AgrS spreads left across the root domain, [+hi] in V spreads left across the AgrSP domain.

eg: [ngaja+$Ø_i$][t_i-ana +ju] → ngajayiniju
see 3sg 1Obj do 'She's looking at me.'

[ngaja+kurru$_i$][t_i-Ø+ju] → ngijikurruju
see 2pl 3Obj do 'You mob are looking at them.'

[ngaja+kurru][ana-ju] → ngijikurruyiniju
see 2pl 1Obj do 'You all are looking at us.'

There are several types of harmony which are predicted to be impossible under this system. One is for the first overt affix to be a trigger of harmony in the root, irrespective of its morphosyntactic status. This is ruled out because 'first affix' is not a privileged

[20] Such a system seems bizarre at first glance, but mixed harmony systems do occur. Maasai ATR harmony, discussed by Archangeli and Pulleyblank (1994), involves two separate spreading procedures, in different directions, with differing domains.

phonological position. Another system that is predicted to be impossible would involve the object agreement marker in a language like Jingulu triggering harmony in the subject marker and root:

(70) ngaja+nga+nyu+ju → *ngijinginyuju
see 1sg 2Obj do 'I can see you.'

This is because there is no possible rebracketing under which a harmony domain is created that includes the root and agreement markers and in which the object marker occurs at the edge. The creation of such a domain would require both AgrS and AgrO heads to raise to merge with the root:

(71) [[root][AgrS-AgrO-V]] → [[root-$AgrS_i$][t_i-AgrO-V]]
↑ (AgrS raises)
privileged position

→ [[root-$AgrS_i$-$AgrO_j$][t_i-t_j-V]]
↑ (AgrO raises)
privileged position

This is ruled out because there is no motivation for both heads to raise to the root. The inadmissibility of the system in (71) predicts that the forms in (72) would also be impossible.

(72) a. [ngaja+Ø+nyu] ju → ngijinyuju
see 3sg 2Obj do 'He sees you.'

b. [ngaja+nga+nyu] ju → ngijinginyuju
see 1sg 2Obj do 'I can see you.'

The accuracy of these predictions, and thus of the analytical model involving both rebracketing and some version of Beckman's restrictions on harmony-triggering positions, is left for future research to determine. There is currently no adequate survey of regressive harmony to allow us to determine whether or not these predications are borne out, and such a survey is well beyond the scope of this dissertation. What remains firm is the need for a model which allows for phonological domains that derive from, but do not match up with, syntactic domains, in order to capture the facts of Jingulu vowel harmony.

5. Morphophonology

Phonology interacts with morphology in a number of interesting ways, from phonologically conditioned allomorphy to the elaborate regressive harmony discussed in the previous section. The morphological theory which is adopted throughout this analysis of Jingulu is explained in detail in the next chapter. In this section we consider cases of phonologically conditioned and free allomorphy.

5.1 Linking vowels

In the dictionary (Part II) verbal roots are commonly given in a form which ends in a consonant plus a hyphen (eg: /ngaj-/ 'see'). A vowel is generally found between this form of the root and the core clause (the agreement+light verb complex), or the end of the word if there is no core clause attached. The form of this vowel can not be described in terms of harmony alone (ie: a simple /a/~/i/ alternation dependent on the form of the subject agreement marker), but rather depends on the combination of root and following morpheme, and there is a high degree of free variation. These vowels fulfil no function other than to provide a phonological link between the root and material which follows it.

If there is no morpheme following the vowel is always the same as the final underlying vowel of the root:

(73) a. Walanja lakurd bili!
goanna bury
'Bury the goanna!'

b. Ngaba ngarru kijurlurlu ngarlarli!
have 1sgACC stone hither
'Bring that stone here!'

When a suffix follows the root the linking vowel is generally /a/ (as in (74a-c)), unless the following suffix is a harmony inducing suffix, in which case the theme vowel is usually /i/ (74d-e), but may optionally be /u/ if the harmony-inducing suffix contains /u/ (74f). This choice is quite free, and speakers will often give both variants within the same short stretch of text, as in (74g).

(74) a. Warrkija-nga-nku-ju.
scratch-1sg-REFL-do
'I rub myself.'

b. Aji-ni ngaj**a**-nu?
who-ERG see-did
'Who was looking?'

c. Warrk baj**a**-mi ngindi-rni ngaj**a**-yi!
open-IRR DEM(m)-FOC see-FUT
'Open it up so she can have a look!'

d. Mindiyila ilk bil**i**-mindi-yi nginirniki-ni
1dlIncNOM paint-1dlInc-FUT this(n)-FOC
'We'll both paint this.'

e. Ngij**i**-wunyu-nku-ju jama-bila-rni-nu bayiny-bila-rni
see-3dl-REFL-do that-dl-ERG-did person-dl-FOC
'Those two are facing one another.'

f. Nginda nayurni ngij**u**-kurru-nu kurrarra-rni
DEM(m) woman see-2pl-did 2plNOM-FOC
'You mob saw those women.'

g. Mij**i**-ngurri-yi mulurnmu-rna ngurru-wa mulurnma-rna laju
get-1plInc-FUT turpentine-DAT 1plInc-will_go turpentine-DAT grub
mij**u**-ngurri-yi.
get-1plInc-FUT
'We'll get them from the turpentine, we'll go get grubs from the turpentine tree.'

The second vowel of disyllabic agreement suffixes shows a great deal of variation, and this variation is not as predictable as the post-root linking vowel variation discussed in the preceding section. Some of these variations are illustrated in (75).

(75) a. Burraala dajba-ni-kurr**u** murrkunbala, ngaya kiwirra.
2plNOM bite-INV-2pl three_people 1sgNOM none
'It's bitten you three, not me.'

b. Karrijba-mbili, ngirrika-nu ibirrja ngaju-ngurr**u** jalyangkuni.
road-LOC hunt-did water see-1plInc today
'We saw water along the road today while we were hunting.'

c. Kurraala-ma ngiji-nginyi-ju-kurr**a** karriyaku kurr**u**-ju.
2plNOM-EMPH see-1dlExc-do-2pl bad(n) 2pl-do
'You lot look to us like you don't feel so good.'

d. Nginda-baji miyi-wurr**u**-na-nu ngurraku.
DEM(n)-pl hit-3pl-1Obj-did 1plIncACC
'Everyone hit us.'

e. Imbiyi-kunyi-yi ngirringi jimini marrinju-nu.
talk-2dl straight this word-did
'Are you two gonna talk straight?'

f. Kuyanganama mirrirdimi-kurr**a**-na-yi mujiya-nga-marri.
previously teach-2pl-1Obj-FUT forget-1sg-went(dist)
'I've forgotten, you must teach me again.'

g. Kulyunk uny**u**-nu junma ngibi-wuny**i**-jiyimi kulyunk uny**u**-nu.
kill 3dl-did wallaby have-3dl-come kill 3dl-did
'Those two are coming back with the big wallaby they killed.'

h. Nyima-rni maami nyurrudji-mind**i**-yi.
DEM(v)-FOC food grind-1dlInc-FUT
'We'll grind these ingredients.'

i. Kunyiila-kaji ngiji-nku-kuny**u**-ju jangin-bila.
2dlNOM-through see-REFL-2dl-do just-dl
'You and him saw only yourselves.'

j. Dardu-wala warrb ngurr**u**-ju.
mob all_together 1plInc-do
'The lot of us are all together.'

k. Ningki-mind**u**-wa darrangku dardu.
chop-1dlInc-will_go tree many
'You and me will cut lots of logs.'

l. Ngibi-ngurr**a**-yi wurraku nginda-baja-rni.
have-1plInc-FUT 3plACC that(m)-pl-FOC
'We'll take them.'

When these suffixes are word-final, the final vowel is most commonly identical with the preceding vowel, as in (75a-b), though sometimes it is /a/ (75c). When another suffix follows these agreement markers, the second or linking vowel appears to be freely chosen from among the three vowels. While there is a preference for using the same vowel as the preceding (as in ((75d)) or more commonly following (as in ((75e-f)) vowel, other options are also allowed (75k-l). When the preceding and following vowels are the same, the linking vowel is always identical to these (75g-j).

The facts presented in this section demand a different explanation than the harmony facts presented in section 4. There is a great degree of variability and optionality involved in the realisation of linking vowels, absent from the harmony facts. To account for this, we can assume that while the vowels that undergo harmony are underlyingly [-consonantal, -round], linking vowels are only specified as [-consonantal], and must obtain all of their other place and manner features from elsewhere. When a root occurs alone, as in (73), the features are copied from the nearest vowel in the root. This is illustrated with (73a), repeated here:

(73) a. bil-V → bil-i
[+hi, -rd] [+hi, -rd]

When there are suffixes, as illustrated in (74), rebracketing along the lines illustrated in section 4.3.4 occurs. The linking vowel gets a [+high] feature through the harmony process described in section 4, and optionally gets rounding features from the element to its right within the harmony domain. This is not the same process as harmony, being optional and not extending beyond the linking vowel, though it does occur within the same re-bracketed domain. This is evidence for the existence of the domain that is created by re-bracketing, a domain specifically for the spreading of vowel features. Insertion of default values for features which remain unspecified ([-high], [-round]) result in the linking vowel surfacing as [a]. This is illustrated below for (74a, b ,e, f).

(74) a. warrkij-V-nga-nku-ju → [warrkij-V-nga]-nku-ju (rebracketing)
→ [warrkij-a-nga]-nku-ju (by default)

b. ngaj-V-nu → [ngaj-V]-nu (rebracketing)
→ [ngaj-a]-nu (by default)

e. ngij-V-wunyu-nku-ju → [ngaj-V-wunyV]-ngku-ju (rebraketing)
→ [ngij-$V_{[+hi]}$-wunyV]-ngku-ju (harmony)
rounding option not exercised
→ [ngij-i-wunyV]-ngku-ju (by default)

f. ngij-V-kurru-nu → [ngaj-V-kurrV]-nu (rebraketing)
→ [ngij-$V_{[+hi]}$-kurrV]-nu (harmony)
→ [ngij-u-kurrV]-nu
[+rd] (rounding)

Linking vowels at the end of disyllabic agreement markers show different effects (see (75)). When no suffix follows, features can be copied from the nearest vowel or not (if

not, the default [a] surfaces). If suffixes follow, insertion of any of the three vowel phonemes is allowed. As noted earlier, if the same vowel occurs to either side of the linking vowel, this vowel is used as the linking vowel as well. This would follow from a general principle of minimal articulator movement along the vowel tier. Note that the behaviour of this linking vowel is much freer than that of the linking vowel after the root, and does not appear to result from spreading. This is taken to be evidence for the existence of a spreading domain creating in the mapping from syntactic to morphological form, as illustrated in section 4.3.4. Monosyllabic affixes do not alternate.

5.2 Lexical alternations

5.2.1 Retroflex versus anterior coronals

All suffixes which have realisations containing [-anterior] (retroflexed) coronal nasals (such as Ergative/ Focus/femine /-rni/ and Dative /-rna/) also have realisations with [+anterior] coronal nasals. The generalisation is that the non-retroflexed form follows syllables containing apical (anterior and retroflexed, for instance, but not palatal) stops and nasals (whether retroflexed or not), while the retroflexed form follows any other consonant. Some examples are given in (76). Full lists of morphemes and their allomorphs can be found in chapters 5 and 6).

(76) a. Kakuwi darra-**rdi** jami-**rni-ni** dabarrangi-**rni**.
fish eat-HAB that(m)-ERG-FOC pelican-ERG
'The pelican eats fish.'

b. Kirangkuju-nu darra-ardi buliki-**rni** dimana-**ni**.
melon_sp.-did eat-HAB cow-ERG horse-ERG
'Cows and horses eat this melon.'

c. Balika-nga-ju bundurru-**rna**.
hungry-1sg-do food-DAT
'I'm hungry for some food.'

d. Ngima ngaba-rriyi karnarrinymi ngindi-**na** nganu.
that(v) have-will_go spear that(m)-DAT 3sgGEN
'He's going hunting with that (other) guy's spear.'

In (76a) the Ergative markers are realised as /-rni/. By contrast, the Ergative suffix on 'horse' in (76b) is realised as /-ni/, because it follows the coronal nasal /n/ (but the Ergative suffix on 'cow' in the same sentence surfaces as /-rni/). The Dative marker in (76c) follows a coronal, but this coronal is neither a stop nor a nasal and so Dative marking surfaces as /-rna/, but in (76d) the Dative is realised as /-na/ since it follows a homorganic coronal nasal+stop cluster. The correlation between choice of [+anterior] or

[-anterior] nasal and preceding consonant is stronger for the Ergative suffix than for the Dative, where /-rna/ and /-na/ are often found in free variation. Since [±anterior] is a contrastive feature in Jingulu phonology (see section 1.2.1 for discussion), texts and sentence examples are given without collapsing this distinction for these allomorphs; the form that is heard is written.

This distribution of retroflex versus anterior coronals can not be seen as dissimilation, since the coronal which precedes the suffix need not be retroflexed in order to cause non-retroflexion of the coronal in the suffix. Formally in terms of the feature geometry outlined in section 1, the generalisation can be stated as follows:

(77)

$$[\text{-anterior}] \rightarrow [\text{+anterior}] / \begin{bmatrix} \text{+consonant} \\ \text{-continuant} \\ \text{Coronal:} \\ \text{-distributed} \end{bmatrix} + [\text{-consonant}] + \begin{bmatrix} \text{+consonant} \\ \\ \text{Coronal:} \\ \text{-distributed, ____} \end{bmatrix}$$

The above rule appears somewhat ad hoc in terms of feature geometry, and can not be classified in terms of either spreading or dissimilation across the vowel. The pattern is somewhat reminiscent of the constraints on coronal+coronal clusters discussed in section 2, however. In that section it was shown that the permitted coronal+coronal clusters could be distinguished form those that were not permitted by appealing to a principle of avoiding movement of the the coronal muscles without an intervening vowel. The suffix alternations discussed here suggest that in Jingulu, a [-distributed] coronal can only be followed by another [-distributed] coronal across a morpheme boundary if that second coronal is [+anterior]. The fact that this restriction on movement of the articulator holds despite the occurrence of an intervening vowel, argues in favour of a separate tier for at least consonants and vowels.

A similar but opposite behaviour is observed in Kaititj (Ken Hale, personal communication): if the final consonant of a root is apical (whether retroflexed or not), the apical consonant of the LOC/ERG suffix and the morpheme linking verbal roots to auxiliaries will be retroflexed, otherwise this consonant surfaces as the non-retroflexed [-anterior] apical. In Kaititj, the rule would be:

(78)

$$[\text{+anterior}] \rightarrow [\text{-anterior}] / \begin{bmatrix} \text{+consonant} \\ \text{Coronal:} \\ \text{-distributed} \end{bmatrix} + [\text{-consonant}] + \begin{bmatrix} \text{+consonant} \\ \text{Coronal:} \\ \text{-distributed, ____} \end{bmatrix}$$

The generalisation regarding the consonant tier in Kaititj is that, across morpheme boundaries, a consonant made using the tongue tip ([-distributed]) can only be followed by another [-distributed] coronal if it is retroflexed ([-anterior]).

5.2.2 Masculine suffixes

The final /a/ of masculine words (the gender suffix) becomes /i/ when many suffixes are added, including number and case/focus. This is optional except in the case of the masculine suffix /-na/ which occurs on possessive pronouns, which always changes to [-ni] before other suffixes.

(79) a. Jama-rni Jangalinginja ngandayi nyami-nga Nangalinginju-nga.
that(m)-FOC *skin_name* shade DEM-fDAT *skin_name*-fDAT
'Jangainginja is the other side of Nangalinginju.'

b. Jangalinginj**i**-rni nangka-ju barrku.
skin_name-ERG cut-do nulla-nulla
'Jangalinginja's cutting a nulla-nulla.'

c. Kirda ngarri-n**a** wanyma-marri nginimbili.
father 1sgGEN-m walk-did(dist) here
'My father walked around here long ago.'

d. ngarri-n**i**-bila bardardi-yila.
1sgGEN-m-dl(anim) younger_brother-dl
'my two younger brothers'

e. Kanyi-rni ngarri-n**i**-ni ngaba-ju ngarri-nini wiwirni-ni
uncle-ERG 1sgGEN-m-ERG have-do 1sgGEN-f girl-FOC
'My uncle has my daughter.'

f. Karnarrinymi ngarnu ngarri-ni-na kany**i**-rna.
spear 3sgGEN 1sgGEN-m-DAT uncle-DAT
'That spear is my uncle's.'

While the masculine skin name in (79a) occurs with the characteristic final [a], in (79b) it changes to [i] because of the following Ergative suffix. Similarly the masculine agreement marker on the Genitive (possessive) pronoun in (79c) is /-na/, but in (79d-f) it surfaces as [-ni] because it is followed by another suffix. Note also the form [kanyi-] in (79f) as opposed to the citation form /kanya/.

5.3 Reduplication

Unlike many Australian languages, Jingulu does not have productive reduplication. Some words look as though they are derived historically from a reduplicated root, for example *dardawu* ('axe'), *irrinmirrinji* (*'Acacia holoserica'*), *diyardiya* ('feather'), and *jurdumajurduma* ('(Gouldian) finch'), but the roots from which they appear to be derived

are not otherwise used in Jingulu. In addition, there is a class of nominals, whose membership is restricted to nominals marking age or infirmity in humans, which forms plurals by internal reduplication, not by suffixation of /-darra/, the common marker of plurality. These are illustrated in (80a-d), while (80d) illustrate the same kind of reduplication being used to derive nouns from adjectives. Neither of these is productive.

(80)	a.	marluka	(old man)	→	marlarluka	(*marlukadarra)
	b.	imikirni	(old woman)	→	imimikirni	(*imikirnidarra)
	c.	mardilyi	(lame)	→	mardardilyi	(*mardilyidarra)
	d.	jangkiyi	('high')	→	jangkangkiyi ('summit')	

In addition to the above, there are some unusual but productive reduplications. The first, illustrated in (81), involves the complete reduplication of a name for a particular kind of geographic feature (natural or artificial), to produce a word meaning that kind of landscape.

(81) a. Kibilimi biyijilimi duw-ardi langa **warlumbu-warlumbu**.
yam_sp long(v) rise-HAB in bullwaddy-RED
'Kibilimi is a long one that grows in bullwaddy country.'

b. Dardungkija-nama jukula-nga-rriyi **karrijba-karrijba** duwa-nga-yi.
many_days-time stay-1sg-will_go road-RED rise-1sg-FUT
'That's many days journey.'

The other productive reduplication can be described as intensifying. If applied to adverbs or nominals, as in (82a-d), it has the meaning 'very', while applied to verbs (82e-f) it implies the action continues repeatedly. This is very uncommon, though it appears to be reasonably productive. While the type of reduplication illustrated in (81) and (83b) involves reduplication of an entire word, the reduplication illustrated in (80), (82) and (83a) involves reduplication of only part of the root.

(82) a. Ngina-rni birringbalirni **ngamamuli**-rni, darra-nga-yi.
that(f)-FOC fowl big-RED-f eat-1sg-FUT (cf:ngamula)
'That bush fowl's big, I'll eat it.'

b. Jujuja-rni nginda-rni-ni dardu ngirribiji-ngurru-wardi jujuja nyambala
ant-FOC that(m)-ERG-FOC many tell-1plInc-HAB ant DEM
bilaya **ngardardajkala**, jujuja-ni yabanja.
termite huge-RED(m) ant-FOC small(m) (cf: ngardajkala)
'We call lots of kinds of ant *jujuja*, from huge termites down to really little ants.'

c. **Akakiyabardu** larnku mulyamulya, wardjuwa-nga-yi.
bad(RED)(n) things rags throw-1sg-FUT (cf: akiyabardu)
'These clothes are just rags, I'm going to throw them out.'

d. Kuyumarlingki-rni dabila-nya-ardi **jukukuli**-nya, **jukukuli**-nya ya-ardi.
magpie_goose hold-2sg-HAB stop-RED-2sg stop-RED-2sg 3sg-HAB
'You can grab hold of magpie geese if you hang around for a while, just wait there where they are.' (cf: jukul-)

e. Kalyurrunga-rni-mbili **kalyalyarruma**-nga-rriyi.
water-FOC-LOC swim-RED-1sg-will_go (cf: kalyarrum-)
'I'll swim along in the water.'

The second type of reduplication was once found with the function of the first, and there is also one instance of the first type in the function of the second. In (83a) partial reduplication applies to the word for 'cave' in order to produce a nominal meaning 'cave country, caves'. In (83b), on the other hand, total reduplication applies to the word for 'fast' to mean 'really quickly'.

(83) a. Kinyakbanji-rni ya-marri buji-mbili marlarluka-rni-mbili-rni
flying_fox-ERG 3sg-did(dist) bush-LOC old_men-FOC-LOC-FOC
ngindi-yi **nankankuna**-mbili.
that(m)-FUT cave-RED-LOC (cf: nankuna)
'The flying fox was found in the bush around here in the old days, when it lived around the caves.'
/nankuna/ = 'cave'

b. Jalyangkunama burrbaja-yi **kunumburrakunumburra** ngirrma-nga-yi.
immediately finish-FUT fast-RED make-1sg-FUT
'I'm making these right now; I'll finish really soon.'

The latter kind of reduplication is quite interesting, as the reduplicated portion of the base does not appear to correspond to a prosodic constituent in the base such as a syllable. Under one possible analysis, the reduplicant consists of a VC (vowel+consonant) sequence. The first vowel of the base and all consonants which follow it (up to but not including the next vowel) are copied, and the reduplicant is infixed after the first underlying consonant of the base (periods represent syllable boundaries, and are included to show that reduplication pays no heed to syllable boundaries under this analysis):

(80) a. m**a.rl**u.ka = m+**arl**uka → m+arl+arluka
→ marlarluka

	d.	**jang.**kiyi	=	j+**ang**kiyi	→	j+angk+angkiyi
					→	jangkangkiyi
(82)	c.	w**a.k**i.ya	=	w+**ak**iya	→	w+ak+akiya
					→	(w)akakiya
	e.	k**a.ly**a.rru.ma	=	k+**aly**arruma	→	k+aly+alyarruma
					→	kalyalyarruma
(83)	a	n**an.k**u.na	=	n+**ank**una	→	n+ank+ankuna
					→	nankankuna

The copying of a vowel and all following consonants is reminiscent of the Arrernte reduplicaion patterns discussed by Breen and Pensalfini (forthcoming). In Arrernte, however, this kind of reduplication pattern shows up in a range of productive morphology, and is believed to be a result of the lack of onsets in Arrernte, resulting in all consonants being syllabified as codas, and thus all sequences of a vowel and all following consonants constitute syllables. In fact, Breen and Pensalfini use this reduplication type as evidence for the onsetlessness of Arrernte syllables, but they also give a variety of other morphophonological and phonological reasons for this conclusion. Jingulu, on the other hand, quite clearly prefers CV and CVC syllables. The sequence VC has no status in Jingulu. The targeted elements can not be defined as rimes, because in many cases the reduplicated portion of the word is not a rime but a nucleus and a following onset (e.g. (80a-c)), or a rime and a following onset (e.g. (80d, 83a)).

Another possible analysis is given by Jones (1997), in discussing the same reduplication pattern in Mangarrayi (the 'jimgimgan' type reduplication). Mangarrayi is also a typical Australian language in terms of preferring to syllabify consonants as onsets when possible. Jones, analysing the phenomenon within the terms of Correspondence Theory (McCarthy and Prince 1995), suggests that this type of reduplication is reduplication of the initial syllable (underlined in the examples below), but with a twist: segments spanning a syllable boundary in the input must also span a syllable boundary in the output. Thus the highlighted segments below are the segments that are adjacent in the input whose output adjacency will be interrupted by simple reduplication of the first syllable. In order to preserve this adjacency, the first syllable is copied, except for the first segment of this syllable, which is copied from the base so as so preserve the input-output correspondence of adjacency of segments at syllable junctures.

(80)	a.	m**a.rl**u.ka	→	*m**a**.m**a**.rlu.ka
			→	m**a**.r**l**a.rlu.ka

	d.	ja**ng**.kiyi	→	*jang.jang.kiyi
			→	ja**ng**.kang.kiyi
(81)	a.	na**n**.ku.na	→	*na**n**.nan.ku.na
			→	na**n**.kan.ku.na
(82)	c.	wa.**k**i.ya	→	*wa.wa.ki.ya
			→	wa.**k**a.ki.ya
	f.	ka.**ly**a.rru.ma	→	*ka.ka.lya.rru.ma
			→	ka.**ly**a.lya.rru.ma

Jones' analysis is preferred for Jingulu on the grounds that it proposed some relationship between the reduplicated element and the prosodic structure of the base. However, if the relationship between adjacent elements across prosodic boundaries is more important than the relationship between adjacent tautosyllabic elements in some languages, as this analysis would suggests, one wonders what the role of syllabification in the language actually is. Donca Steriade, in unpublished recent work, has suggested that the notion of syllable might well be superfluous, and that the notion of transitions between elements is of more use. Jones' analysis for the 'jimgimgan' type reduplication might then be evidence that transitions between vowels and consonant clusters is more significant in these cases than are transitions between consonants and vowels, and being more significant are therefore preserved in reduplications.

Chapter 3
Parts of Speech and Derivation

This chapter outlines the theory of morphology which underlies the description and analysis of the forthcoming chapters, and goes on to explain how the various parts of speech are derived from roots by way of productive morphological processes. As the morphological component feeds the phonological component, the various properties of Jingulu described in the previous chapter can not be fully understood without reference to the morphological structure of words. This was presented in the last chapter in limited detail where necessary, but this chapter should motivate some of the analytical choices that were made.

1. Theory of morphology

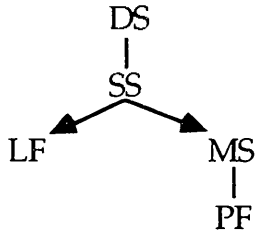
In section 4 of chapter 2 we saw that Jingulu vowel harmony demands a theory of morphology which maps hierarchical syntactic structure onto some linear morphological structure. There exist many established morphological theories in the morphological literature, but these basically fall into two broad categories: one assumes that linear morphological output bears little or no relation to syntactic structure (templatic morphology, A-morphous Morphology (Anderson 1992), and to a lesser extent Chomsky's (1995) Minimalism), while the other is characterised by mapping of syntactic structure directly onto linear morphological structure (e.g. Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993)). The basic framework of Distributed Morphology is adopted in this dissertation, because it best accounts for the various Jingulu facts, from the behaviour of roots (including gender and harmony properties) to the curious agreement systems described in chapters 5 and 6.

The version of Distributed Morphology (henceforth DM) adopted here is essentially that of Halle and Marantz (1993), and this section merely serves as an overview. For greater detail in the explication of DM, readers are referred to Halle and Marantz (1993) and Marantz (1996) for the consequences of late insertion.

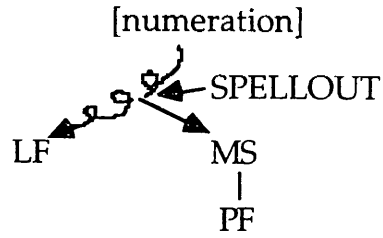
The main insight behind DM is that surface morphemes generally correspond to bundles of features which are the occupants of head positions in syntactic representations. Following the Principles and Parameters approach, DM recognises that the syntax operates on sets of feature bundles to form words and phrases. Within the Government and Binding (henceforth GB) approach of Chomsky 1981 these sets are the terminal nodes at 'DS'; within a Minimalist approach (like that of Chomsky 1993, 1995) these sets are 'Numerations'. Syntactic computation, operating on the Numeration/DS, is carried through to the conceptual-intensional interface level, called LF. At some point on the journey, 'SS' under a GB approach, 'SPELLOUT' in Minimalist approaches, the structure created by the computation up to that point is 'shipped off' for translation into a string

of sounds. This translation is effected by the morphophonological component, consisting of MS (morphological structure, where the hierarchical arrangement of feature bundles is translated into linear bundles and then vocabulary insertion is effected) and PF (phonological form, which includes morphophonological readjustments such as phonologically conditioned allomorphy, stress assignment, tone sandhii, phrasal phonology and other strictly phonological processes). The schema in (1a) represents this architecture of the grammar in terms of GB, while (1b) represents it in more Minimalist terms.

(1) a.



b.



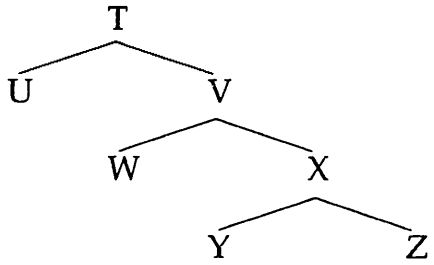
Where DM diverges from Chomsky's Minimalism is that DM assumes that the only features present in the computation from Numeration to LF are those features that are essential to this computation. As a general assumption in many theories a word or morpheme bears three kinds of features: phonological features, formal (syntactic and semantic-interpretive features), and encyclopedic or real-world semantic features. DM holds that only bundles of formal features enter the computation at the initial stage (numeration). Both phonological and encyclopedic features are properties of vocabulary items, which are inserted in MS by rules of vocabulary insertion. This property of DM makes it a 'late insertion' theory, distinct from Chomsky's (1995) vision of Minimalist syntax wherein the numeration consists of fully inflected words and null feature-rich functional heads. The ramifications of late insertion are discussed below.

Words are formed in a number of ways: by the operations of the syntactic computation, through the usual means of head movement and adjunction, or in MS by merger of adjacent feature bundles. The output of the syntax at SPELLOUT is a hierarchically structured set of feature bundles in terminal nodes. In MS a number of operations may be performed on these nodes prior to insertion of vocabulary items into the nodes. These operations are essentially the following, illustrated with Jingulu examples:

A. Fusion of adjacent nodes

When two nodes merge syntactically and become sisters under a single node, their features may fuse into a single morpheme. If the tree in (2) represents a syntactic output, then Fusion could affect Y and Z. If U and W were both heads, and W were to merge with U by head movement, then the features of U and W could also fuse into a single morpheme. However, Y and U could not fuse excluding W, because there is no head-movement that would merge U and Y under a single node without Y first merging with W.

(2)



An example of fusion in Jingulu is the fusion of feminine gender marking and Ergative or Dative case on nominals. As discussed in section 3.3.1 of chapter 5, when a feminine nominal is in either of these cases, neither the feminine marker /-rni/ (plus associated harmony) nor the Ergative /-rni/ or Dative /-rna/ surface, but the morpheme /-nga/ replaces both gender and case. The fusion of the two nodes might be represented by the rule in (3).

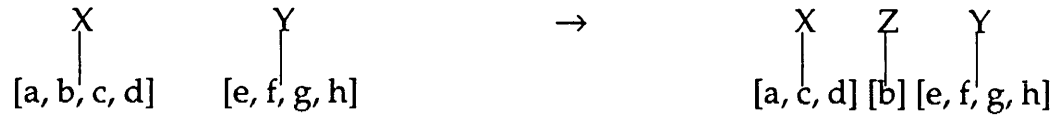
(3) [gender, feminine] [case, ERG/DAT] → [gender, feminine, case, ERG/DAT]

This is made possible because the nominal word which bears the gender head has merged with the case node in order to check the nominal's case features (as in Chomsky 1993, 1995). Gender and case are therefore sisters under a single node.

B. Fission of features from a node

Fission occurs when a feature (or features) that enter the morphology as part of some larger bundle of features is associated with its own morpheme. The process of fission removes the feature (or features) in question from its original bundle and creates a new node adjacent to the node in which they originated. Schematically, this can be represented as in (4), where upper case letters represent terminal nodes and lower case letters represent features.

(4)



In (4), the new morpheme Z has been created from features in the terminal node X. There are two main constraints on fission. The first is that the fissioned features can not be explicitly associated with the vocabulary item that is to be inserted into the original node which the features occupied prior to fission; they must be unused features of that node. For example, if the vocabulary items for insertion into the terminal X in (4) all specify the presence of the feature [b] in that node, then [b] can not be fissioned off, as there would then be no possible vocabulary item to fill the node X and the derivation would crash at PF. Secondly, there needs to be some constraint on where features can be fissioned to. The most restrictive view of fission would say that the site of fissioned features must be linearly adjacent to the terminal element from which they were fissioned

off. This view is sufficient for all the cases of fission in Jingulu. If this adjacency requirement for fissioned features holds, then an output such as [$_X$ a, c, d] [$_Y$ e, f, g, h] [$_Z$ b] from (4) should not be possible, because the feature [b] would have to be fissioned off from the node X and moved across the node Y to form the node Z. The node Z, containing features which entered the morphological component as occupants of the terminal node X, must occur immediately linearly adjacent to X (either to the left or the right).

An example of fission in Jingulu is the optional marking of dual and plural number on nominals. Assuming that number does not constitute its own syntactic head and therefore does not result in a terminal node bearing only number features but that number features are part of the bundle of nominal features formed by the merger of the root and the nominal head, there is an optional fission rule in Jingulu which allows 'children' to be expressed as /wawa-ala/ (child-plural):

(5) [N, gender, number, animacy] → [N, gender] + [number, animacy]

C. Impoverishment

Impoverishment is the process by which features are deleted, so that vocabulary insertion proceeds as though they were never present in the representation of the node in question. Jingulu is very rich in impoverishment rules, and these are discussed in detail in chapters 5 and 6. One example of impoverishment comes from the acceptability of plural morphology to refer to dual referents, despite the existence of dual morphology. This is easily explained if the features for plurality are [number: +pl] and those for duality as [number: +pl, +dl]. An optional impoverishment rule deleting [+dl] will thus account for the availability of plural morphology with dual referents.

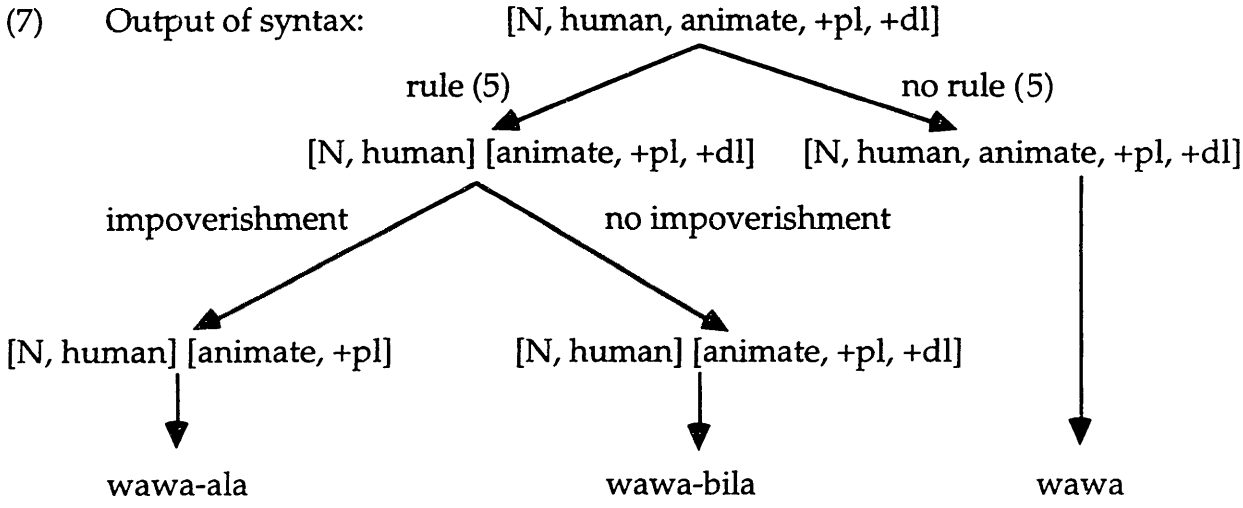
Once these rules have taken effect, vocabulary items are inserted. Vocabulary insertion takes place according to ordered lists where nodes are mapped onto vocabulary items by a subset principle. Each vocabulary item is specified for certain feature values, and in order for any vocabulary item to be inserted into a node, its specified feature values must form a subset of the feature values of the node into which they will be inserted. Vocabulary items compete for insertion into a single morphosyntactic node, and the competing items are assessed in decreasing order of specification. The most highly specified vocabulary item is compared with the target node first: if the vocabulary item's specifications form a subset of the feature values in the node, then that item is inserted, otherwise the next most highly specified item is assessed, and so forth until the node has a vocabulary item inserted into it. Thus are formal features translated into sound.

For ease of presentation, lists are always given with the most highly specified vocabulary item at the top of the least and the least specified, or default, at the bottom. To illustrate, I give the vocabulary list for the nominal number morpheme:

(6)	NUMBER:	[+pl, , +dl, +animate]	↔	/-ila/
		[+pl, +dl]	↔	/-ulu/
		[+pl, +animate]	↔	/-ala/
		[+pl]	↔	/-darra/
		number	↔	Ø

The list in (6) becomes relevant only once (and if) the rule in (5) has applied, separating number and animacy features from other features of the noun so that these features form their own node. A singular nominal will always be realised without any number marking, as it will never bear the feature [+pl]. The number marker on dual nominals depends on whether the feature [+dl] has been deleted by the impoverishment rule discussed above or not. If it has not, either /-ila/ or /-ulu/ will be inserted, depending on the animacy of the referent. If the feature has been deleted, neither of these vocabulary items will be allowed, since the feature values that they are specified for do not form a subset of the feature specifications for these items, but either of /-ala/ or /-darra/, the plural markers, can be inserted. The chart below shows the derivation of the three possible forms for a word referring to "two children":

(7)



The exact phonological form of a given vocabulary item is determined by morphophonological adjustment rules (regular morphologically conditioned allomorphy) and phonological rules (e.g. the kinds of feature spreading described in chapter 2) after vocabulary insertion.

The Encyclopedia is the locus of real world semantic knowledge, wherein strings of sound within structures are associated with special meanings. This means that encyclopedic knowledge does not enter the computational system at the point of numeration, and thus is not a property of 'words'. The existence of a seemingly limitless number of phrasal idioms requiring specific phonetic forms (e.g. "You get my goat"

means 'you annoy me', but "You get my sheep" can only mean 'you acquire my ovine property') and structures ("My goat was gotten by you" can only mean 'you came into possession of my hirsine property') shows that phrases are often the domain of encyclopedic knowledge. DM's claim is that the domain of encyclopedic knowledge is always the phrase (the root in a specific context), and that 'word' is merely one of many phonological domains (others including various intonational domains and domains created for specific phenomena such as the spreading domains argued for in chapter 2). I will argue in section 2, as Marantz (1996) argues, that even 'words' which carry encyclopedic meaning are in fact phrasal.

The insertion of the root is therefore a result of vocabulary insertion of the sort described above. Recall that the only features present up to the point of vocabulary insertion are those features which are relevant to the computation. I have assumed that these features include such things as animacy and humanness, but not enough semantic distinctions to discern between, say, 'boy' and 'lad' or 'run' and 'sprint'. The absence of encyclopedic information at the point of lexical insertion has serious ramifications, which are treated in Marantz' (1996) '"Cat" as a Phrasal Idiom'. The strongest prediction of the system is that suppletion should not apply to vocabulary items that differ from other vocabulary items only in terms of their encyclopedic features. Suppletion is reserved for items which can be distinguished from other items in terms of formal features alone, which includes (but is not restricted to) all closed class items such as adpositions, particles and auxiliaries. Open classes such as noun and verb, contain closed subclasses within which suppletion might be found. Thus, while words meaning 'person' or generic 'animal' might be expected to show suppletive forms (being distinguished from other vocabulary items by the features [animate, ±human, generic]) the word for 'cat' should not (since it is indistinguishable on the grounds of formal features alone from words for 'dog', 'guinea pig' etc., all of these being [animate, -human, domestic]) There are two reasons for this, one internal to the mechanics of DM, the other more conceptual.

Imagine a language that had the words 'cat', 'dog' and 'guinea pig' to describe three different household animals, and which formed regular plurals by adding a suffix /-s/ to nominals. DM predicts that such a language could not form the plural of one of these three terms by suppletion while forming regular plurals of the other two (eg: 'spangg' as the plural of 'cat'). This is because the computational system makes no distinction between 'cat', 'dog' and 'guinea pig', and returns simply one item, perhaps [N, animate, non-human, domestic, specific, singular], for which any of the vocabulary items 'cat', 'dog, or 'guinea pig' could be inserted. In the case of the plural, there is no feature avaialable at the point of vocabulary entry to distinguish between kinds of domesticated animals. and so the most highly specified vocabulary entry, the most marked 'spangg' will always be inserted as the plural of any noun referring to a domesticated animal.

The conceptual argument harkens back to Saussurean semiotics, the idea being that signs that signify real-world (encyclopedic) knowledge are recognised by their arbitrary phonological shape, much as the octagonal stop sign is recognised by its arbitrary shape

(in those countries that conform to this particular convention). A morpheme that signifies purely syntactic knowledge (such as a tense marker or a pronoun) is not a sign in the Saussurean sense, it is recognised not only by its form but also by its occurrence in a particular syntactic configuration or context. A child learning a language can learn that /-ed/ and /-en/ are suppletive allomorphs of a tense marker because of the distribution of that marker (because the appearance of one blocks the appearance of the other), but how are they to learn that 'spangg' and 'cat' refer to the same entity in the world. These words can never be recognised as variants of the same sign because a sign is recognised precisely by its form. If a stop sign were octagonal except when it was found on a road that ended before a cliff, when it was pentagonal (and neither had the word 'stop' written on it), we would assume that the octagonal sign meant 'stop' while the pentagon meant 'beware the cliff'.

DM predictions about suppletion are borne out by the Jingulu facts, as we shall see in chapter 4. Some languages seem to show full suppletion where DM predicts they should not. The Northern Paman language Linngithigh has tense suppletion for a number of verbs including 'eat/drink' (PRES: /njay/, FUT: /cim/, PST: /iyan/, IRR: /i'a/) and some forms of the verb 'sit' (Ken Hale, personal communication). These are among the less specific verbs of the language, however, with 'sit' being a common posture verb, used as a copula in many Australian languages, and 'eat/drink', again as in many Australian languages, being ambiguous between methods of ingestion. It is conceivable that an articulation of what features are considered 'syntactically' or 'computationally' relevant cross-linguistically might reveal that certain basic bodily processes or states are indeed defined by formal as well as encyclopedic features. This awaits a clearer definition of what classifies as an encyclopedic feature or a formal semantic feature cross-linguistically. Suppletion for number in Hopi verbs seems to provide a greater problem, with suppletion affecting not only arguably syntactically defined verbs such as 'enter', 'exit', 'stand', 'put', and 'transport' (perhaps even 'laugh' and 'cry' might be considered formally distinct on the grounds of being general body process verbs), but also a seemingly arbitrary group of verbs that are clearly distinguished by encyclopedic properties alone, such as 'dance', 'flee', and 'shelve' (Hale, Jeanne and Pranka 1991). Aside from the body process verbs, almost all of the verbs listed by Hale, Jeanne and Pranka inherently imply adpositional meaning (eg: 'flee', 'shelve', 'climb', 'fall from a height', 'be inside'), and it can be argued that the adpositions incorporated into these verbs are showing suppletion (adpositions being a closed class), but the same argument could not be made for 'dance'. Suppletion for number of agents is not predicted by any current theory of morphology, since the agent should be too far from the verb (structurally) to control such behaviour. In any case, the late insertion hypothesis is well-supported by Jingulu, and the DM framework will provide a powerful tool for gaining insights into the complexities of Jingulu morphology which are to be laid out in chapters 5 and 6, as well as giving us some understanding of how the syntax of Jingulu and the spectrum of configurationality in the worlds languages may have arisen (chapter 4).

2. Parts of Speech

In Jingulu morphemes basically fall into two categories, those that can stand alone as words and those that can not. Upon inspection, the first category is very small, comprising pronouns, demonstratives, and a class of adverbial elements (free adverbs of manner, place, time, and result). Other words seem to be made up of more than one morpheme. The minimal sentence, for instance, requires a light verb and either an overt subject marker or a co-verbal root. The minimal nominal requires either a nominal or adjectival root and a gender suffix. For the purposes of exposition, I will talk about the parts of speech in three broad categories: nominal, verbal, and adverbial.

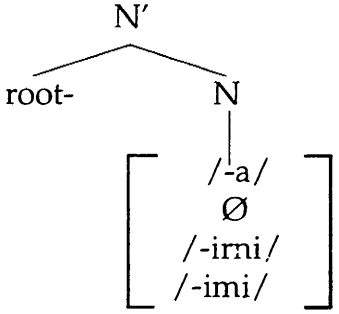
2.1 Nominal

As argued in chapter 4, argument positions in Jingulu are occupied by null elements. Thus overt nominals, with the possible exception of pronouns, are relegated to serving as adjuncts, predicated of argument positions, or else can serve as main clause predicates.

Pronouns consist of stems which encode person and number distinctions (and, for first person non-singular pronouns, inclusive versus exclusive contrast), plus predictable endings for Ergative, Accusative and Genitive case (the Nominative forms are not entirely predictable, but seem to be the unmarked forms upon which the other three forms are based). These can be extended by a focus marker. Full paradigms are given in section 2 of chapter 5.

Referential nominals (including demonstratives) and adjectives behave differently from pronouns. In their Absolutive forms, these words end with one of a restricted set of phonological sequences which appear to vary according to the word's gender. Harris (1991a, 1991b, 1996) argues that characteristic gender endings in Romance languages are to be considered 'word markers' and not inseparable parts of the root. Going one step further, I view characteristic gender endings as being nominalising heads which combine with the syntactically vacuous but encyclopedically rich roots to form nominal words:

(8)



All of the features which the computational system uses are encoded in the N node. This includes features that define the element as describing an entity or a property, and

syntactically relevant information about the class of entities or properties entailed (including gender, number, and animacy). At MS number and animacy features are optionally fissioned off to become their own suffixes (as described in the preceding section), and an appropriate (phonological) host root is selected from the encyclopedia. Appropriateness here includes whether the root in question is compatible with the class of entities or properties entailed by the formal features of N (so that the root meaning 'yellow' or 'orange' but not the root meaning 'dog' or 'child' would be inserted in a position governed by an N head which entails properties of colour). The gender endings /-a/ (masculine), Ø (neuter), /-irni/ (feminine) and /-imi/ (vegetable) and their morphophonological behaviour are detailed in section 3.1.1 of chapter 5.

Nominals can be further extended by case marking and morphological focus marking. Case-marking is either indicative of syntactic case (transitive subject, indirect object) or is adpositional (goal, beneficiary, location, instrument etc.). In these cases the NP is dominated by a K (syntactic case) or P (adpositional) head. These markers are discussed in detail in chapter 5.

As noted by a number of authors (including Dixon 1980, Simpson 1983, Bittner and Hale 1995, and Baker 1996b), Australian languages often do not show any morphosyntactic contrast between nouns and adjectives. This differs from other two-category systems, such as those found in North America, which collapse adjectives and verbs into a single category. Baker (1986) attributes this property of central Australian nonconfigurational languages to the use of both nouns and adjectives as secondary predicates (to which we return in chapter 4). In Jingulu, there are some reasons for considering nouns and adjectives to be at least partially distinct parts of speech.

Let us think of the nouns as being words which refer to entities, while adjectives describe properties of those entities (from a formal semantic perspective this is incorrect, as DPs, not X-level categories, delimit entities, but this traditional 'textbook' grammar perspective serve as a convenient departure point for this discussion). It is true that both nouns and adjectives show the same distributional and inflectional properties. As noted by Chadwick (1975), adjectives show concord with the gender of the referent they modify. So the word for 'good' has the four forms: *bardakurra* (masculine), *bardakurru* (neuter), *bardakurrirni* (feminine), and *bardakurrimi* (vegetable). This is not a strong argument for a distinction between nouns and adjectives, since nouns too can agree with their referent in gender so long as the result is meaningful, so that the masculine nominal *wawa* ('child' or 'boy') has the feminine form *wiwirni*. There is no neuter or vegetable form because this would be meaningless, or more formally the animate human requirement of the root /waw-/ is incompatible with the inanimate features of the neuter and vegetable N heads.

A much stronger argument comes from the use of nominals as main predicates. In this position nominals are not secondary predications, and while nouns and adjectives show the same set of inflections as one another, the case marking on their arguments differ:

(9) a. Winyiki-rni nayurni ngarrirnini
foreign-f woman 1sgGEN(f)
'My wife is a foreigner.'

b. Miringmi bardakurru-mi.
gum good-v
'Gum is good.'

c. Jama-rni-ni jawularri-nama.
that-ERG-FOC young_man-time
'He's still a young uninitated man.'

d. Babi-ila ngarri-ni-bila jam-bili-rni-ni.
older_brother-dl1sgGEN-m-dl(anim) DEM-dl(anim)-ERG-FOC
'Those two are my brothers.'

Nominals predicated of adjectives (as in (9a-b)) appear in the Absolutive (unmarked) case, while nominals predicated of nouns (as in (9c-d)) appear in the Ergative. Nominal predication is discussed at length in chapter 4 (section 1.2).

2.2 Verbal

As mentioned earlier, the minimal verbal word, and indeed the minimal sentence, consists of a light verb and either an overt subject marker (10a) or a co-verbal root (10b).

(10) a. Ngurru-wa.
1plInc-will_go
'Let's go.'

b. Nguka-ju
cry-do
'It's crying.'

The light verb is the final element in the verbal word, which Chadwick (1975) calls the 'tense-aspect' marker. However, this element encodes not only tense and aspect, but also mood and directionality (motion towards or away from the speaker). In fact, the only way to talk about 'coming' and 'going' in Jingulu is to use root-less verb phrases such as the one in (10a). So while Chadwick considers the root to be the verb and the final element to be inflection, I consider this final element to be the core (syntactic) verb, bearing all and only computationally relevant features, and the root to be a category-less element which is the domain of encyclopedic variation. In this sense Jingulu verbs are all light verb constructions akin to English "take a look, take a leak, have a go, give (it) a

smell, give (it) a push" etc, where the role of the semantically bleached light verb "take" or "give" in English is played by the final element in the Jingulu verb word, and the role of the nominalised verb object in the English constructions is played by the syntactically deficient root in Jingulu.[1]

This analysis has several significant ramifications. The first is that, being syntactically deficient (category-less), the co-verbal root is always dependent on some other element for its syntactic category. In fact, co-verbal roots only ever occur prefixed to either light verbs (or agreement+light verb complexes), or to suffixes which turn them into nominals (see section 3.2), unless they occur in some kinds of subordinate clauses in which the lower verb gan be gapped and the lower clause is interpreted with the identical verbal features of the verb in the matrix clause (see chapter 4 section 2.2).

The analysis of the final element as the true syntactic verb of a clause also has ramifications for the typological classification of Jingulu. Previous classifications (e.g. Hale 1966) have described Jingulu as a suffixing, noun-classifying non-Pama-Nyungan language. The curiosity of this is that all the other noun-classifying Pama-Nyungan languages are prefixing, with agreement markers preceding the element to which they affix. The classification of Jingulu as suffixing is based on the assumption of the root as the verb, with agreement suffixed to that, but under the analysis proposed here, Jingulu is a prefixing language, with agreement prefixed to the (core or light) verb, like other non-Pama-Nyungan languages.[2]

This analysis of co-verbal roots makes them parallel to the nominal roots discussed in the previous subsection. Both are category-less roots which are laden with encyclopedic information but devoid of formal features. Interestingly, it is both and only nominal and verbal roots which are targets of vowel harmony. This suggests that these really collapse into only one part of speech: category-less roots. This might lead us to expect that a co-verbal root bearing a gender-marking N-head can form a nominal, or that a nominal root bearing a light verb can form a clause. In actual fact, this turns out to be true only with those categories that form adjectival nominals (11a-d).

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[1] Ken Hale (personal communication) suggests the category-less co-verbal root may occupy the Complementiser position immediately dominating the clause headed by the light verb with which it forms a phonological word. However, as the roots do not themselves have categorial content, they can not be said to be Complementizers. Following Minimalist assumptions that a node's syntactic features are determined by the categorial features of its daughter, I do not call the node occupied by these elements the Complementizer node.

[2] Wambaya prefixes its agreement markers to a light verb that is phonologically independent from the encyclopedically heavy verbal root. The analysis of Jingulu advanced here makes Jingulu and Wambaya look more similar, with both of them prefixing agreement markers to light verbs. The difference between these languages being that Jingulu lacks the means by which Wambaya verbal roots become independent verbal words, instead prefixing them to agreement+light verb complexes.

(11) a. Jamarniki marliya.[3]
this(m) sick(m)
'He's sick.'

b. Marliya-ju.
sick-do
'He's sick.'

c. Bardakurra nyami ngarru.
good(m) 2sgNOM 1sgACC
'You're good to me.'

d. Ngaja-nga-nki-yi bardakurriya-nga-yi.
see-1sg-REFL-FUT good-1sg-FUT
'I feel like I'll get better.'

e. Nganya-ju.
sing-do
'He's singing.'

f. *nganya/*nganyu/*nginyi-rni/*nginyi-mi
sing(m)/sing(n)/sing-f/sing-v
('song/singer....')

g. *Wawa-ju.
child-do
('He is/has a child.')

h. wawa/wiwi-rni
child(m)/child-f
'boy/girl'

A verbal root can not be turned into a noun by simple addition of an N head (11e-f), nor can a noun root be turned into a verb by addition of a light verb (11g-h). This is not, however, an argument against analysing all roots as belonging to the same part of speech. The reason for the facts in (11) depends upon the encyclopedic definitions of the root. An adjectival root such as /marliy-/ is defined in terms of a state like "suffering from illness", which is compatible with both nominal and verbal heads, while a verbal root like /ngany-/ has a definition in terms of an activity like "engage in the act of singing" which is entirely incompatible with nominal heads, and nominal roots like /waw-/ have definitions in terms of entities like "human between birth and the age of

[3] The adjectival use of the root /marliy-/ is extremely rare, though permitted. Interestingly, the feminine form, *marliyirni*, while it may mean 'sick', is usually used to mean 'female (animals only)'.

approximately ten", which is incompatible with verbal heads. Co-verbal roots can be used to make nouns and adjectives, and nominals roots can be used to make verbs in some cases, but this requires the presence of a morpheme which mitigates this incompatibility. These are the so called 'derivational' morphemes which are discussed in section 3.

Morphemes found between the co-verbal root and the core verb include agreement markers (object markers are, on rare occasion, found following the core verb, as discussed in section 1.3.3 of chapter 6), reflexive/reciprocal markers (see section 1.4 of chapter 6) and inverse markers (seciton 1.3.3 of chapter 6). Discourse clitics and switch reference markers follow the core verb (sections 3.3.3 and 3.3.4 of chapter 5, respectively).

2.3 Adverbial

Adverbs are words which are independent of both N and V heads (gender endings and core verbs) which contain information regarding manner, place, time, or resultant state. An analysis of adverbs, including their ordering within clauses relative to other elements, is given in chapter 4.

Adverbs never bear any suffixes except for discourse markers such as the morphological focus marker or emphatic. Most of the consonant-final words of Jingulu are adverbs. Adverbs often combine with co-verbal roots to form new roots.

(12) a. **Kardarrukuji** biba-marri.
all_night storm-went(dist)
'There was a storm all night.'

b. **Kawul** wawurru-mbili ngurru-wa.
straight scrub-LOC 1plInc-will_go
'Let's go straight into the bush.'

c. Bambamburru ngininiki-rni ngurru-wa **lurrbu**.
holey_country this(n)-FOC 1plInc-will_go return
'This is holey country, let's go back.'

d. Wawa **jungkali** ngindaniki ya-ju.
child afar this(m) 3sg-do
'The boy is far away.'

e. Durd maya-nga-yi **lurrurnmi**.
kick-1sg-FUT testicles
'I'll kick him in the balls.'

f. **Yurru** bardka-nga-yi jama-rna ya-jiyima bardka-nga-yi arduku.
hide_down-1sg-FUT that(m)-DAT 3sg-come drop-1sg-FUT careful
'I'm going to duck down and hide from that one coming.'

g. Jirrbu wardka-ngarri-yi kalyirr **yurru** duwa-rdu.
dive-1sg-will_go swim down_flat swim-go
'I'm going to dive into the water swim along.'

h. Ngarri-na kunyarrba **dang** maya-nga-nu.
1sgGEN-m dog kill-1sg-did
'I killed my dog.'

In addition to free adverbs (the boldfaced words in (12a-d)), there are some adverbial elements which only ever occur immediately preceding co-verbal roots. I call these pre-verbs and, as illustrated in (12e-h), they can occur before a variety of co-verbs. These elements are classified as "pre-V" in the dictionary (Part II). Some co-verbal roots, such as /bil-/ ('cause to have property indicated by pre-verb'), illustrated in (13), are extremely rarely, if ever, found without a pre-verb in front of them. These roots are listed in the dictionary (Part II) as being "V-roots" rather than "Vs".

(13) a. Ngirri-ni darrangku **dij bila**-nga-nu.
DEM(n)-FOC branch snap-1sg-did
'I snapped this branch.'

b. Nyinda-ni kurrubardu **barany bila**-nga-yi.
DEM(m)-FOC boomerang smooth-1sg-FUT
'I'll make this boomerang smooth.'

c. Karnarinymi **jird bila**-nga-ju.
spear stand-1sg-do
'I'm standing the spear up.'

d. **Lurdba** nga-rriyi nganku.
close 1sg-will_go 2sgACC
'I'll go up close to you.'

but * Ngarriyi **lurdba** nganku.
* Nganku **lurdba** ngarriyi.

The distinction between a compound co-verbal root and a pre-verb + co-verb construction can be made on two grounds. First of all, a pre-verb + co-verb construction consists of two elements which are independently found elsewhere. The pre-verb part can either be found in combination with other co-verbal roots or else as a free adverbial (compare

(14e) to (14f)), and the co-verbal root can be used as a root either with or without other pre-verbal adverbials (see (12e-h), (13a-c), and (14c-f)) . By contrast a compound co-verbal root contains an element that bears no meaning on its own and is not found in combination with other roots. The root /narnangaj-/ ('mind, look after')in (14a-b) is composed of the root /ngaj-/ ('see') plus the element [narna] which is not found anywhere else. By contrast the verb 'to inspect' in (14c-d) consists of the same root plus the adverb *lurdba* ('close').

(14) a. Ngangarra **narnangaja**-nga-ju.
wild rice mind-1sg-do
'I'm looking after the wild rice.'

b. Ngangarra **nirningiji**-mindi-ju.
wild rice mind-1dlincl-do
'We're looking after the wild rice.'

c. Ngangarra **lurdba ngaja**-nga-ju.
wild rice inspect-1sg-do
'I'm inspecting the wild rice.'

d. Ngangarra **lurdba ngiji**-mindi-ju.
wild rice inspect-1dlincl-do
'You and me are inspecting the wild rice.'

As (14) shows, another difference between compound co-verbal roots and adverb+ co-verbal root sequences is with respect to the way that vowel harmony affects them. Recall from section 4 of chapter 2 that when a root appears with a subject marker containing a high vowel, harmony is induced in a domain containing the root. As comparison of (14b) to (14d) shows, the harmony domain contains all of a compound root, but does not include the adverbial part of an adverb+ co-verbal root sequence. The difference between compound co-verbal roots and adverb+ co-verbal root sequences is encoded orthographically by the presence of a space separating the elements in the latter case.

In addition to pre-verbs, there are adverbs which are almost always found preceding core clauses (the core clause is the complex formed by the agreement marker(s) and the core verb). These are true adverbs because they can be separated from the core verb, and are not co-verbal roots because they do not have linking vowels or participate in harmony. In the dictionary (Part II) these elements are listed as "V2" or class 2 verbs. These adverbs are boldfaced in the following examples:

(15) a. Jama-baja-ni dardu **manyan** wurru-ju.
that-pl-FOC many lie 3pl-do
'They're all lying down.'

b. Jama-baja-ni wawa **barl** wurru-ju.
that-pl-FOC boy lie_belly_down 3pl-do
'The children are lying belly down.'

c. **Lurdba** ya-jiyimi.
close 3sg-come
'It's approaching.'

d. Jurrku-mbili **bulubulubi** ya-ju.
middle-LOC floating 3sg-do
'It's floating along out in the middle.'

e. Ngaja-nga-nu walanja **jalak** duwa-nu.
see-1sg-did goanna pop_up-did
'I saw a goanna pop up out of the ground.'

f. Ngaja-nga-nu walanja duwa-nu **jalak**.
see-1sg-did goanna pop_up-did
'I saw a goanna pop up out of the ground.'

Class 2 verbal roots are technically adverbs as they never display harmony, and are generally able to be classified as verbs of posture, manner, or temporary qualities such as 'pregnant' or 'hurt'. Third person singular agreement is always overt with these elements, and not null as with true (bound, harmonising) verbal roots. Class 2 verbs are also represented orthographically with a space between them and the agreement plus light verb complex.

Most adverbial roots of class V2 can also be used independently as adverbs. Compare (16a) to (16b) (adverbs/V2s boldfaced).

(16) a. **Lilingbi** nga-ju.
hurt 1sg-do
'I'm in pain.'

b. Jama-bili nana-rnu, miyi-wunya-na-rnu **lilingbi**.
that-dl(anim) 3S1sgO-did hit-3dl-1Obj-did hurt
'Those two hit me and hurt me.'

3. Derivation

Jingulu appears to have several productive derivational morphemes. Within the DM framework used here some of these morphemes can be considered syntactic category heads and others semantic category changing morphemes. A syntactic category head, like a characteristic gender ending, merges with a category-less root to form an X-level category. A semantic category changing morpheme, on the other hand, merges with a category-less root to form another category-less root, but alters the meaning of the original root so that the derived root is able to combine with category heads of different categories than the original root could have. Both kinds are examined in the following sub-sections.

3.1 Nominalisation

There are two nominalising suffixes in Jingulu, which are clearly related to one another but have quite different functions. The first of these, /-ajka/, is considered an N head which creates, from a root meaning 'X', a noun which means 'the thing that is X-ed'. All the examples I have found involve a transitive (or ambitransitive) root and the nominalisation thus derived represents the internal argument (patient) of the action. This nominalising element is glossed as NOML(P) (for patient nominaliser):

(17) a. Jarumi-warnda-ni ngaba-ju nyambala **dabil-ajka**-rni, ngayi biyardu.
shield-INST-FOC have-do DEM(n) hold-NOML(P)-FOC 3sgNOM handle
'Shields have a bit that you hold, that's the handle.'

b. Bulungkurri-mbili duw-ardi, buliki-rna ngarnu **darr-ajka**.
bluebush-LOC rise-HAB cow 3sgACC eat-NOML(P)
'Where the bluebush grows is grazing country for cattle.'

Thus in (17a) addition of the morpheme to the root meaning 'the action of holding' derives the noun meaning 'that which is he patient of the action of holding', while in (17b) the root meaning 'the action of eating' becomes the noun 'that which is the patient of the action of eating'. These nominalisations are always neuter in gender (as originally observed by Chadwick 1975). It is to be expected that all nominals derived this way would be of the same gender, as gender is a property of the N head which attached to the category-less root.

The second kind of nominaliser, /-jkal-/ is not an N head, but a syntactic category-less head attaching to roots to derive augmented roots with agentive or adjectival meaning (this morpheme is glossed as NOML(A). These new roots require affixation to one of the usual syntactic (gender) heads in order to function as words, and unlike nominals derived by /-jka/ are able to take on any of the four genders by combining with the appropriate N head. This nominaliser enables a co-verbal root to affix to a nominal head

by modifying the encyclopedic meaning in fairly (though not always entirely) predictable ways.

(18) a. Jama-rna ngibi-wurri-jiyimi bininja ngibi-wurri-jiyimi jama-rna
that(m)-DAT have-3pl-come man have-3pl-come that(m)-DAT
ngirrm-ajkal-a murdika-rna.
fix-NOML-m car-DAT
'They're bringing that mechanic.'

b. **Ngany-ajkal-irni** nyamirna-ni nayu-urli-ni.
sing-NOML(A)-f that(f)-ERG woman-pl-ERG
'Those women are singers.'

c. Ngurndungurndulbi marliya-ju **ngany-ajkal-a**.
throat sick-do sing-NOML(A)-m
'The singer has a sore throat.'

d. Baja-nga-ardi ngarnu bardakurru marrinjku-nu **kabij-ajkal-a**-nu.
tell-1sg-HAB 3sgACC good(n) story-did laugh-NOML(A)-m-did
'I tell those funny stories.'

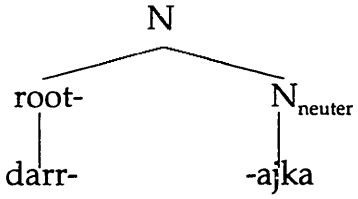
e. **Durrk buj-ajkal-imi** nyambala burrurrumi!
prick-NOML(A)-v DEM(n) grass_sp
'That burrurrumi grass can prick you!'

f. Ngini-rni murdika angkurla jarrkaja-ju kiwirra angkurla **jarrkaja-jkal-u**.
DEM(n)-FOC car NEG run-do none NEG run-NOML(A)-n
'That car doesn't run at all.'

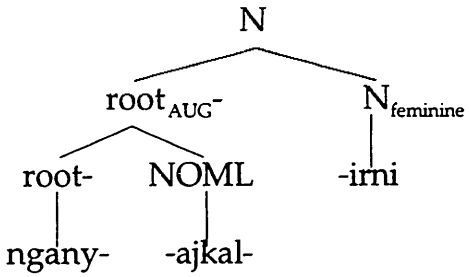
In (18a-c) the derived nominal is agentive (though not necessarily animate), representing someone or something who/which performs the action denoted by the root. The same derived root with different N heads (for different genders) appears in (18b) and (18c). The derived nominals in (18d) has the meaning 'that which causes laughter' rather than 'that which laughs', and is the word for 'funny'. In (18e) the derived nominal is instrumental rather than agentive, and in (18f) it is in a sense agentive ('runner'), except that the car is not animate.

The different structures of words derived by NOML(P) and NOML(A) are as follows:

(19) a. NOML(P)-derived



b. NOML(A)-derived



The structure in (19b) explains why there is no harmony in a case like (18b). Recall from section 4.3.4 of chapter 2 that harmony occurs within the domain defined by the lexical root and the adjacent head. The N head, which bears the high features required to trigger harmony, falls outside of this domain in nominalisations, since the NOML morpheme occurs as a sister to the root. The augmented root ($root_{AUG}$-) must be distinguished from the lexical root for these purposes, otherwise the N head could form a spreading domain with the augmented root, which does not happen.

3.2 Adverbialisation

Jingulu has two suffixes which derive adverbials or adverbial phrases from other words. They do not always derive adverbial words, but often convey a particular kind of emphasis which is translated into English by the use of adverbs. Thus they are 'adverbialisers' in the sense that they modify the word in terms of manner, which is the role that adverbs play with respect to predicates.

3.2.1 /-kaji/

The first of these. /-kaji/, is usually translated with the meaning 'right...', 'completely...' or 'really...', and emphasises that a state or activity is instantiated to the greatest extent or with fullest intent possible. This suffix might rightly be considered an emphatic, except that it actually affects the syntactic behaviour of elements, particularly co-verbal roots, when it attaches to them, as in (20). The suffix /-kaji/ is glossed as "through" because of its semantic function.

(20) a. Mamambiyaku diyinu maja-mi **ila-kaji** mandarra-ngka.
soft bloodwood_gum get-IRR put-through sore-ALL
'The soft bloodwood gum is gotten to put directly onto sores.'

b. Nyamini-rna ngaliminymini ngina-niki **diyim-kaji** ya-ju ngini-rni jangki.
DEM(f)-FOC bat this(f) fly-through 3sg-do DEM(n)-FOC high
'The bat is flying all around above us.'

c. Nyinuwa jarrkaja-nga-rruku **durdurdbi-kaji** nga-nu jingirdi-rni.
this_way run-1sg-went beat-through 1sg-did heart-FOC
'I went for a run and now my heart is thumping.'

d. Kurrubardu ngirrma-nga-yi **mujiya-kaji** nga-ka.
boomerang make-1sg-FUT forget-through 1sg-went
'I want to make a boomerang but I've completely forgotten how.'

A root bearing /-kaji/ behaves as an independent adverbial element, not requiring a light verb to provide it with categorial features (20a). Such a root demands overt marking of third person singular subjects (20b), like a "V2" adverbial (see section 2.3), rather than null marking of third person singular subjects as co-verbal roots do. The sentences in (20c-d) display the intensifying properties of /-kaji/.

Other parts of speech can also appear with /-kaji/, including adverbs (21), nominals (22) and demonstratives (23).

(21) a. Mankiya-nu **dibij-kaji** ya-rruku.
sit-3sg-did outside-through 3sg-went
'She sat here and he went right outside.'

(22) a. Nyamina-rni-nu **bardakurri-rni-kaji** ya-ju.
DEM(f)-FOC-did good-f-through 3sg-do
'She's really well now.'

b. Jama-ni-rni yaba, **yaba-kaji** jama-ni-ma.
that-ERG-FOC youth youth-through that-ERG-EMPH
'That's a youth, a properly young man.'

c. Ambaya-nga-ju **Jingulu-kaji**.
speak-1sg-do Jingulu-through
'OK, I'll talk Jingulu, we'll talk Jingulu. I'll talk Jingulu right through.'

d. Jiyi-rni **lajki-lajku-ngka-kaji** ya-ardimi jiyi-rni burrjunu
CAT-FOC lake-RED-ALL-through 3sg-goHAB CAT-FOC march_fly-did
dajb-ajka-kaji.
bite-NOML-through
'Right down to the lake come many viciously biting March flies.'

(23) a. **Nyamba-mbili-kaji** mankiyi-mindi-ju?
what-LOC-through sit-1dlInc-do
'Where exactly are we sitting?'

b. Ngiji-wunyu-nu ngiji-warna-nu ngirrak ngaya **ngunu-mbili-kaji**.
see-3dl-did see-3sgS1Obj-did 1plExcACC 1sgNOM DEM(n)-LOC-through
'Those two saw me and him right over there.'

c. Ngunu buba miji-yirri! **Nyambana-kaji**?
DEM fire take-goIMPV why-through
'Get some firewood? Why, precisely?'

d. **Nyamba-arndi-kaji** nya-rriyi-ni?
what-INST-through 2sg-will_go-FOC
'How exactly will you go?'

On adverbs and nominals (including , as in the above three sets of examples, /-kaji/ can not be seen as deriving adverbials, although its sense is translated into English by use of adverbial modifiers like 'exactly', 'right', 'really' and a variety of /-ly/ adverbs.

3.2.2 /-nama/

The second 'adverbialising' suffix, /-nama/ translates with a variety of English terms such as 'still' (24a), 'already' (24b-c), 'this time' (24d), 'first of all' (24e) or 'last of all' (24f), 'in the time of...' (24g), and even sometimes 'during'and 'while' (24h). This element is glossed "time" because it draws attention to the event or state depicted by its host as unfolding or occurring over time (as in (24i-m), which are not readily translatable in any of the foregoing terms).

(24) a. Jama-ni-ni **jawularri-nama**.
that-ERG-FOC young_man-time
'He's still a young uninitated man.'

b. **Jaburra-nama** nga-rruku.
before-time 1sg-went
'I already went.'

c. **Kuyu-ngka-nama** ya-rruku lurrbu.
DEM(anaph)-ALL-time 3sg-went return
'He went back to where he'd already been.'

d. Darrangku irrbilajbunku **amba-nama** ngini-ni kungka irrbilajbunku.
tree painting snappy_gum-time DEM(n)-FOC another(n) painting
'There's another painting, this time of a snappy gum.'

e. **Jaburra-nama** wurru-ku kibirdki, ngirriki-kaji wurru-ku.
first-time 3pl-went swim hunting-through 3pl-went
'First off they went swimming, then off hunting.'

f. Jibijba-nga-yi **arduku-nama** kandirri ngirrma-nga-yi duja-kaji-nga-yi.
mix_in-1sg-FUT slow-time damper make-1sg-FUT roll-through-1sg-FUT
'Finally I mix this into the damper dough and roll it.'

g. **Ngurrarru-nama** ngurru-walurrbu ngurrarungku nyambala uluwijini
early_morning 1plInc-will_go return tomorrow DEM(n) sun
jangki-nama darra-ngka-ju mindi-yi bundurru.
high-time eat-ALL(DS)-do 1dlInc-will_go food
'We'll go hunting early, then when we return at noon you and I will have a feed.'

h. Ayinji mankiya-mi maja-nga-rri, ayinji jaja-mi nga-rri
little_while sit-IRR get-1sg-will_go little_while wait-IRR 1sg-will_go
ngini-mbili-nama.
DEM(n)-LOC-time
'Wait here a little while I go and get it.'

i. **Ajajika-nama** mindu-wa?
how_far-time 1dlInc-will_go
'How long are we going for?'

j. **Dardungkija-nama** nga-ardi-ni!
many_times-time 1sg-HAB-FOC
'I do it every single day!'

k. **Dardungkija-nama** jukula-nga-rri karrijba-karrijba duwa-ŋga-yi.
many_times-time stay-1sg-will_go road-RED rise-1sg-FUT
'That's many days journey.'

l. Julurrkbii-wunyu-ju **kujarrirnarni-nama**.
be_pregnant-3dl-do DEMdl-time
'Those two women are now pregnant.'

m. Ngirruwu-ku buliki jama-na bard biji-ngiirri-bardi **dardungkija-nama**.
1plExc-went cow that-FOC miss-1plExc-HAB many_times-time
'We missed the cow over and over.'

Chapter 4
Syntax

This chapter considers how the various parts of speech discussed in chapter 3 are put together to form sentences. An initial discussion of nonconfigurationality (section 1.1), or how to determine the underlying structure of a language that appears to defy all of the usual tests for structural constituency, will provide numerous examples of simple clauses in Jingulu demonstrating the principles of clause formation. Following this lengthy discussion, which will focus on Jingulu but also take us into a discussion of the typology of nonconfigurationality in general with particular attention to Australian nonconfigurational languages, we turn to the nature and structure of nominal predications (section 1.2), adverb placement (section 1.3), questions (section 1.4), negation (section 1.5) and multiple object verbs (section 1.6), and finally discuss conjoined and complex sentences in section 2.

1. Simple clauses

There are very few word order restrictions in Jingulu, and few restrictions on what words may and may not be present in a sentence. Adverbs and question words show some strong ordering preferences (see sections 1.3 and 1.4), and there is generally only one light verb allowed per clause. Beyond this, practically any string of well-formed words (see chapters 5 and 6 for what constitutes a well-formed word) can form a simple clause (see the sentences in (5) and (12) for examples). This makes Jingulu a highly nonconfigurational language in the sense of Hale (1980).

1.1 Nonconfigurationality[1]

The issue of nonconfigurational languages has vexed linguistic theory at least since Hale's (1980) exposition of Warlpiri, a central Australian language which displays free word order, multiple non-adjacent co-referent nominal elements (so-called 'discontinuous NPs'), dropping of overt arguments and lack of co-reference constraints on nominal elements in a clause. Since 1980, languages from all over the world, from a wide variety of language families and geographic regions, have been labeled 'nonconfigurational' for one reason or another (e.g.: Marácz and Muysken 1989). For the purposes of this section, it will be essential to exclude 'scrambling' languages from the mantle of nonconfigurationality. A scrambling language is one like Japanese or German which exhibits a high degree of freedom of word order within the clause, and even some apparent discontinuity of NPs, but for which an analysis involving movement from an underlyingly configurational base is most successfully argued for. Scrambling languages

[1] Most of the ideas and analyses presented in section 1.1 originally appeared in Pensalfini 1997a.

tend to lack the complete freedom of constituent order demonstrated by truly nonconfigurational languages, their freedom being restricted by the types of movement that elements are allowed to undergo from a unique base position (see, for example Saito 1989 or Webelhuth 1989).

1.1.1 Kinds of nonconfigurationality

Setting aside 'scrambling' languages, there appear to be two extreme kinds of truly nonconfigurational language, as identified by Baker (1996b, but hinted at in Baker 1996a). The first kind is what Jelinek (1984) called the 'pronominal argument type', characterised by head-marking: morphemes within the clausal predicate-word encode properties of the clausal arguments (person, number, possibly gender, animacy etc.). Mohawk is a particularly clear example of the pronominal argument type:

(1) a. Shako-núhwe'-s (ne owirá'a). (Baker 1996a: 21)
MSS/3PO-like-HAB NE baby
'He likes them (babies).'
b. (Owirá'a) Shako-núhwe'-s.
c. *Owirá'a shako-núhwe'-s ne owirá'a.

The optionality of noun phrases and the freedom of word order is demonstrated by (1a-b). Note the appearance of argument marking in the predicate word. The ungrammaticality of (1c) shows that nouns referring to arguments can not be doubled, and only a maximum of one NP per argument position is allowed.

It is this type of language that Baker's (1996a: 17) Morphological Visibility Criterion (henceforth MVC) is designed to account for:

(2) *The Morphological Visibility Criterion* [2]
A phrase X is visible for θ-role assignment from a head Y only if it is co-indexed with a morpheme in the word containing Y via:
(i) an agreement relationship, or
(ii) a movement relationship

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[2] In the MVC Baker conflates polysynthesis with non-configurationality. The upshot of his analysis of free constitutent order in Mohawk is that languages which are polysynthetic (observing the MVC) should have no barriers to being non-configurational in the sense of having free constituent order and extensive pro-drop. However, there is evidence to suggest that polysynthesis and non-configurationality do not go hand in hand. Hopi (see Gronemeyer 1997) would seem to fulfil the MVC and yet displays a wide array of configurational properties including fairly rigid head-final order. It would also appear that Baker predicts the MVC to able to be satisfied by either of agreement or movement in any language which selects it. Jingulu, however, does not show any evidence of MVC satisfaction via movement, mandating agreement in all (main) clauses.

In a Mohawk sentence like (1), then, the agreement morpheme(s) in the verbal word appear in order to satisfy the MVC, and in appearing, according to Baker, absorb the case features which would otherwise be assigned to overt NP arguments (in much the same way as passive morphology absorbs accusative case features, according to Baker, Johnson, and Roberts 1989). The argument positions in the clause must therefore be occupied by null elements at the surface/interface level, since overt NPs are ruled out by the Case Filter (which Baker interprets as a surface or interface-level constraint against *overt* NPs without case in argument positions). There are in principle two ways of satisfying the Case Filter here: the argument position may be filled by *pro*, or else an overt NP may be generated in the argument position and moved to a clause boundary by wh-movement leaving a trace in the argument position. Dislocated NPs may be construed with *pro* in argument positions so long as these NPs are referential (and therefore able to enter into such relations with pronominals). Dislocation gives rise to free constituent order, since arguments can be either left- or right-dislocated, and can appear in any order with respect to one another. All apparent NP discontinuities in Mohawk, it turns out, can be explained in terms of floating off of D(eterminer)-like elements, and so there is no need to posit the generation of more than one NP for any given argument position.

At the other extreme of nonconfigurationality is the dependent-marking nonconfigurational language, typified by Jiwarli (Austin in press, Austin and Bresnan 1996)[3]. Jiwarli lacks the morphological representation of arguments within the predicate-word, but like pronominal argument languages displays the highest imaginable degree of word order variation and extensive dropping of arguments. Overt nominals bear case affixes indicating their relationship to one another and to the clausal predicate. Unlike Mohawk, discontinuities in Jiwarli do not always involve the separation of D-like elements from other co-referent items, instead it appears that any number of fully NP-like elements (such as the boldfaced elements in (3)) may be linked to a single argument position.

(3) a. Juru-ngku **ngatha-nha** kulypa-jipa-rninyja **parna**.
sun-ERG 1sg-ACC be_sore-TRANS-PST head(ACC)
'The sun made my head sore.'

b. **Kutharra-rru ngunha** ngurnta-inha **jiluru**.
two(NOM)-now that(NOM) lie-PRES egg(NOM)
'Now those two eggs are lying there.'

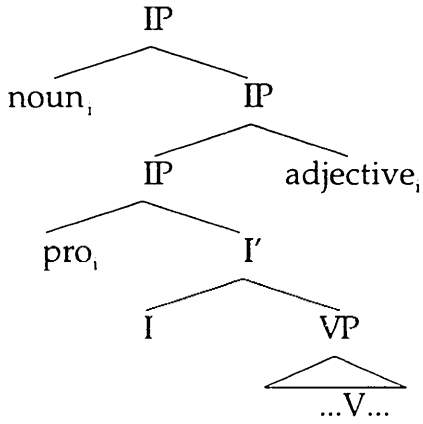
c. **Karla** wantha-nma-rni **jarnpa juma**.
fire(ACC) give-IRR-hence light(ACC) small(ACC)
'Give me a small fire light.' (Austin in press)

[3] The distinction 'head-marking' versus 'dependent-marking', used throughout this chapter, is due to Nichols (1986).

These languages clearly can not be subject to the MVC, as θ-assigners do not appear in words that contain morphemes able to be co-indexed with argument positions. Baker (1996b) suggests that Jiwarli-type languages represent a non-polysynthetic type of nonconfigurational language, one which does not conform to the MVC and in which overt NPs are linked to argument positions via secondary predication rather than dislocation. Argument positions in these languages are always occupied by *pro*, which is licensed by the same mechanism that licenses *pro* in configurational pro-drop languages (whatever that may be). In Jiwarli-type languages, unlike configurational pro-drop languages, the appearance of *pro* is mandated because the θ-assigner is unable to assign (or check) case, and so an overt NP in an argument position would violate the Case Filter. Because overt NPs are licensed by secondary predication on *pro* in argument position, not only are they free to occur in any order with respect to one another, but there is also no limit on the number of overt NPs which may be predicated on a given *pro*, hence the appearance of apparently discontinuous NPs.[4] According to Baker, the overt case-marking found on these NPs serves to indicate the argument position upon which the NP is predicated.

A note is in order here about the nature of the relationship existing between overt nominal adjuncts and *pro* in argument positions. While Baker (1996b) characterises this relationship as secondary predication, it is clearly different from the predication relationship discussed by Williams (1980) and generally understood by the term 'predication'. Williams noted that a predicate must be c-commanded by and c-subjacent to its (NP) subject, while in the structure proposed by Baker, characterised in (4), there is mutual c-command between the overt nominal 'predicate' and the *pro* that it is predicated of (the elements bearing the subscript 'i' in (4)).

(4)



In addition, the relation between overt nominals and *pro* in argument positions does

[4] Approaches to Jiwarli-type languages, such as that of Austin and Bresnan (1995), which hold that one of the overt NPs is actually the argument that other coreferent NPs are somehow linked to seem to lack any means of distinguishing the argument NP from secondary NPs. Add to this the fact that in Jingulu many non-adjacent demonstratives may be linked to a single argument position, and Baker's secondary predication analysis begins to look attractive.

not display any of the restrictions on secondary predication observed in English. However, like the kind of predication that Williams discusses, more than one predicate is permitted on a single 'subject'. I will continue to use the term 'secondary predication' to refer to this relationship in this dissertation, because it expresses the idea that overt nominals are predicated of *pro* in addition to the V or VP being predicated of *pro,* but it should be understood that I am not claiming that the relationship is like secondary predication in English (depictive or resultative) in any other respect.

Viewing the appearance of overt nominals as instances of predication of some type does provide some insight into the behaviour of Jiwarli-type nonconfigurational languages, however. Baker (1996b) notes that these languages are unusual in collapsing the categories of adjective and noun into a single distributional and morphological class of nominals, case bearing elements which appear freely ordered with respect to one another and the verb. By contrast, other languages which do not make a three way category distinction between verbs, nouns, and adjectives (as English does) generally class adjectives along with verbs, as predicates. Polysynthetic languages, for instance, generally have adjectives which are sentential heads, inflecting in accordance with the MVC. The behaviour of adjectives in Jiwarli-type languages follows from the fact that in these languages, both nouns and adjectives are predicates of a specific sort, and not arguments. In Jingulu, as discussed in section 1.1.2, nouns and adjectives show some syntactic differences when they are used as sentential heads, with nouns taking Ergative subjects and adjectives taking Absolutive subjects. Thus, there is a syntactic difference between nouns and adjectives when used as matrix predicates, but this distinction is collapsed when they are used as secondary predicates linked to *pro* arguments.

The second insight that Baker's proposal provides relates to the nature of case marking in central Australian nonconfigurational languages. All languages of this type are morphologically Ergative-Absolutive, in that common nouns inflect when they are coindexed with subjects of transitive clauses and appear in an unmarked form when they are coindexed with other arguments.[5] However, if Ergative marking in these languages is simply marking of core grammatical relations, we would expect to find languages with exactly the same properties that mark free nominals in a Nominative-Accusative pattern, and these do not exist (the Accusative languages of Australia are all configurational to a much greater degree). I propose that we view case-marking on overt nominals as morphological signposting of which *pro* argument the nominal is predicated of (along the lines suggested in Jelinek 1984). Ergative marking only becomes

[5] There is a high degree of variation among these languages with respect to pronominal case, however. Pronominal agreement on the head word, in those languages that have it, is always NOM-ACC. Free pronouns are NOM-ACC in some languages, ERG-ABS in others, and show a three-way ERG-NOM-ACC distinction in some languages (such as Jingulu). The treatment of proper nouns and terms for humans differs from language to language too. The generalisation is that if there is a split between ERG-marking and ACC-marking, the more highly animate nominals will show ACC-marking and the inanimates will show ERG-marking, with languages differing in where the boundary lies. This is essentially the approach elucidated in Silverstein 1976.

relevant once there is more than one argument of the clausal head, in which case nominals predicated of the lowest argument, that which first combines with the verb to form a constituent, are unmarked (Absolutive), while nominals predicated of the higher argument are marked with a suffix in order to distinguish them from nominals predicated of the lower argument (this is essentially Marantz' (1991) proposal for Ergativity). Thus case suffixes on free nominals do not represent syntactic properties of the argument directly, but rather result from the predication operation and a marking algorithm that allows subjects of secondary predicates to be unambiguously identified when more than one possible subject is available.

1.1.2 Jingulu nonconfigurationality

Baker's analyses suggest a very clear-cut linguistic typology. Languages are either polysynthetic, observing the MVC, or they are not. Among those that are non-polysynthetic, there are languages in which θ-assigners (or functional projections associated with them) are able to assign/check case (configurational languages, including scrambling languages) and there are languages in which θ-assigners can do no such thing (nonconfigurational languages of the Jiwarli type). The designation 'nonconfigurational', as hitherto used, actually cuts across both polysynthetic and non-polysynthetic languages.

Jingulu, however, displays a combination of polysynthetic and Jiwarli-type nonconfigurational properties, yet is even more extreme in allowing even verbs to be dropped freely. Like both Mohawk and Jiwarli, Jingulu displays free constituent order. The sentences in (5) were generated by me but accepted as perfectly good Jingulu equivalents for one another by native speakers, while the sentences in (6) were produced by Jingulu speakers.

(5) a. Uliyija-nga ngunja-(Ø-)ju karalu. [SVO]
sun-fERG burn-(3sg-)do ground
'The sun is burning the ground.'

b. Uliyijanga karalu ngunjaju. [SOV]
c. Ngunjaju uliyijanga karalu. [VSO]
d. Ngunjaju karalu uliyijanga. [VOS]
e. Karalu uliyinanga ngunjaju. [OSV]
f. Karalu ngunjaju uliyijanga. [OVS]

(6) a. Ngayirni binjama-nga-(Ø-)ju babirdimi. [SVO]
1sgERG grow-1sg-(3Obj-)do yam
'I grow potatoes.'

b. Jama-baja-ni yarrulan-darra murrkun-bala nayuna [SOV]
that(m)-pl-ERG young_man-pl three-pl(ANIM) woman
durli-wurru-(Ø-)ju.
seek-3pl-(3Obj-)do
'Those three young men are looking for women.'

c. Nganya-(Ø-)(Ø-)marriyimi marlarluka-rni kujika-ni. [VSO]
sing-(3sg-)(3Obj-)went(dist) old_man(pl)-ERG song-FOC
'The old men used to go singing initiation songs.'

d. Darra-(Ø-)(Ø-)ju kardakarda warlaku-ni. [VOS]
eat-(3sg-)(3Obj-)do bone dog-ERG
'The dog's chewing a bone.'

e. Kurrubardu marlarluku-ni nangka-(Ø-)(Ø-)marri. [OSV]
boomerang old_man-ERG chop-(3sg-)(3Obj-)did(dist)
'The old folk would make boomerangs.'

f. Kijurlurlu wiki-wurru-(Ø-)ju wawa-la-rni. [OVS]
stone gather-3pl-(3Obj-)do child-pl-ERG
'The children are picking up stones.'

The presence of subject and object agreement markers following the verbal root is obligatory (note that agreement with third person singular subjects and all third person objects is null), which might lead us to conclude that Jingulu is a language that obeys the MVC. However, contrary to the predictions of the MVC, free word order is also found with nominal predications, where there are no morphemes in the clause which can be linked to arguments of the predicate. The sentences in (7) were checked with native speakers and found to be acceptable equivalents, and equivalent orders are found in texts.

(7) a. Ngarri-na kirda ngunbuluka.
1sgGEN-m father doctor
'My father is a doctor.'

b. Ngarrina ngunḅuluka kirda.
c. Ngunbuluka ngarrina kirda.
d. Ngunbuluka kirda ngarrina.
e. Kirda ngarrina ngunbuluka.
f. Kirda ngunbuluka ngarrina.

A functional approach to free word order has been proposed, for example by Mithun (1987) and Blake (1983), wherein alternative word orders represent ordering of elements in accordance to pragmatic prominence. However, Jingulu has a morphological marker

of contrastive focus whose appearance on an element is completely insensitive to that element's position within the sentence (see section 3.3.3.1 of chapter 5), as well as a *bona fide* dislocated topic construction (discussed below), so ordering of nominals along pragmatic lines seems an unlikely explanation for word order in Jingulu.

As in both Mohawk and Jiwarli, Jingulu permits 'dropping' of any or all arguments, in the sense that argument positions need not be associated with overt nominal words:

(8) a. Jama-ni warlaku-rni dajba-nana-nu.
that(m)-FOC dog-ERG bite-3sgS1Obj-did
'That dog bit me.'

b. Banybila-nga-nu ibilka karrinbiyi
find-1sg-did water tree_water
'I found tree water.'

c. Kird baja-nga-nu.
break-1sg-(3Obj-)did
'I broke it.'

d. Umbuma-ngana-nu.
sting-3S1Obj-did
'It stung me.'

In (8a) there is no overt nominal corresponding to the object, while in (8b) it is the subject that is not represented overtly. Both subject and object are left unexpressed (by overt nominals) in (8c-d).

Nordlinger (1993, 1997) notes that in Wambaya, there are certain cases in which the object can not be dropped. Dative-marked objects of semi-transitive verbs such as 'wait for' and 'seek' can not be omitted in Wambaya. In Jingulu, equivalent verbs are found with objects that are Dative only if they are non-pronominal and Accusative if pronominal. As with other Accusative objects, null anaphora is permitted with these verbs in Jingulu (compare (9a) to (9b)).

(9) a. Jaja-mi ngarru!
wait-IRR 1sgACC
'Wait for me!'

b. Wami, nga-rriyi, ngini-mbili jaja-mi!
stop(IMPV) 1sg-will_go this(n)-LOC wait-IRR
'Stop, I'll go, wait for me here!'

Nordlinger also notes that non-singular object NPs may not be dropped in Wambaya.

Like Jingulu, Wambaya agreement does not distinguish number for objects, and unless an overt NP object is present and in a non-singular form, the object is always interpreted as singular. However, in Jingulu an object may be singular, dual, or plural when there is no overt NP object, despite the lack of distinction in the agreement forms. The translations of the Jingulu sentences in (10) were the only ones available given the context of the utterances.

(10) a. Nginda ngina nayurni ngiju-kurru-nya-nu kurrarrarni
DEM(m) DEM(f) woman see-2pl-2Obj-did 2plERG
'You mob saw you two women.'

b. Jam-bilarna-rlu wirlingki-wunya-rna-nu jama-bilina-rlu
that-dl(ANIM)-ERG scold-3dl-1Obj-did that-dl(anim)-ERG
marluka-yarla yukulyarri-ni-ngkami.
old_man-dl goat-FOC-ABL
'Those two old people told us off for chasing goats.'

Both with objects of semi-transitives and non-singular objects, it is common for an overt NP object to appear in Jingulu, and the sentences in (10) represent a small minority of the clauses collected in which non-singular objects are implicated, but their existence suggests that overt non-singular objects are not obligatory. The difference between Wambaya and Jingulu may relate to the presence of an Inverse construction in Jingulu, absent in Wambaya, which allows the number of a first or second person object to be expressed by agreement (as in (11)).

(11) a. Dajba-ni-ngirru-nu (murrkunbala) karruji-ni.
bite-INV-1plExc-did three_people spider-ERG
'The spider bit the three of us (not you).'

b. Dunja-ni-ngurru-nu.
kiss-INV-1plInc-did
'They kissed us (you included).'

The inverse marker is followed by the morpheme normally used for subject agreement, which in this case represents the object. For more on the inverse construction, see section 1.3.3 of chapter 6.

If the facts presented by Nordlinger regarding obligatory objects do in fact represent grammatical requirements, and not simply preferences enlisted for the purposes of disambiguation as they are in Jingulu, Wambaya appears to be a serious counter-example to the general approach to nonconfigurational languages pursued by Jelinek and Baker. In section 1.1.3.4, and later in this section, I consider the possibility that pronouns are to be treated differently from other overt nominals, at least in Wambaya if not in general.

Jingulu permits apparent discontinuous NPs (multiple non-adjacent co-referent nominals, appearing in boldface in the sentences in (12)) quite freely, which is predicted of the secondary predication languages like Jiwarli (see (3)), but not of polysynthetic languages observing the MVC:

(12) a. **Mardilyi** karrila **jamarnikirni**!
sickly(m) leave_it(IMPV) this(m)-FOC
'Leave this old sickly fellow alone!'

b. **Ngamurlu** ngayirni **jurrkulurna** ambayangayi.
big(n) 1sgNOM-FOC creek-DAT speak-1sg-FUT
'I'm telling you about the big creeks.'

c. **Ngunu** maja-mi ngarru **darrangku**.
DEM(n) get-IRR 1sgACC stick
'Get me that stick.'

d. **Murrkulyi** miyi-ngirru-nu **karruji**.
three kill-1plExc-did spider
'We killed three spiders.'

e. **Dardu-wala-rni** maja-ni-ngurru-ju **wajbala-rni**.
many_people-ERG get-INV-1plInc-do whitefella-ERG
'Lots of white people took photos of us.'

f. **Jiminika bikirra nyambala** kurdarlyurru-ka-ju **bikirra-rni**.
this grass DEM(n) green(n)-3sg-do grass-FOC
'The grass is green.'

see also (7b) and (7f).

The most natural analysis for these constructions is one which involves multiple predications on *pro* arguments, as Baker (1996b) argues for Jiwarli, rather than generating the nominals within a single NP. More than one demonstrative referring to a single argument is not only permissible, but in fact an extremely common strategy (see (10b), (12f) and (13)). It is also common to find a pronoun co-referent with an overt nominal (13f) or a nominal repeated in a clause (12f). This makes it unlikely that these words were generated together within a single NP and somehow split up at a later stage in the derivation (such as by scrambling).

(13) a. **Jama**-ni **nginininiki**-ni bulurukuji.
that(m)-ERG this(n)-ERG bee_bush[6]
'This is a bee bush.'

b. **Jamaniki**-ni ibilka-rdi **nyambala** kurranjiyaji.
this (m)-FOC water-HAB DEM(n) shallow
'This water is shallow.'

c. **Jimi**-na **nyambala** warrka-nu balarrjuwa-nu.
that(m) DEM(n) fall-did smash-did
'It fell and smashed.'

d. Dakani **jimininiki**-ni larrba **nyambala**.
leave_it(IMPV) this(n)-FOC old DEM(n)
'That one's old, leave it!'

e. **Nyinda**-rni kurrnyu **nyambala** ilykinya-ngu-rri.
DEM(m)-FOC skin DEM(n) cut-1sg-will_go
'I must skin this one.'

f. Nyami-nga nayu-nga ngaba-ju **kunyaku kujkarrabilarni**
DEM(f)-ERG woman-ERG have-do 2dlACC two(m)
bayiny-bila.
man-dl(anim)
'That woman has you two men.'

This behaviour is more typical of a Jiwarli type (secondary predication) language. However, the presence of pronominal-like agreement elements within the word containing the θ-assigner is not the only similarity between Jingulu and Mohawk-type polysynthetic languages. While free nominals most commonly bear overt case markers (as in Jiwarli), Jingulu optionally allows nominals in clause peripheral positions to appear in default case (NOM for pronominals, ABS or unmarked for other nominals), irrespective of the argument they represent (as in (14)). This nominal is usually set off from the rest of the clause by an intonation break.

(14) a. **Dilkurni nginaniki**, kakuwi darra-ardi.
kite this(f) fish eat-HAB
'The white-breasted kite eats fish.'

b. Lamurrangkurdi darra-ardi, **ngindi barnibukarri**.
stinking_turtle eat-HAB that(m) hawk
'The hawk eats stinking turtles.'

c. **Jama-bili-na**, birri-wunya-na-miki marluka-yili-rni.
that-dl(ANIM)-FOC visit-3dl-1Obj-came old_man-dl-ERG
'Those two old people came to see me yesterday.'

d. **Kunyuurlu**, nyambala-nayi miyi-wurru-nyu-ju kunyaku.
2dlNOM DEM(n)-INDEF hit-3pl-2Obj-do 2dlACC
'You two, they hit you two as well.'

e. **Nginyila**, nginda-rni wawa miyi-wurru-na-ju nginyaku
1dlExcNOM DEM(m)-FOC boy hit-3pl-1Obj-do 1dlExcACC
'They hit me and the boy.'

f. **Kurraala**, dajba-ni-kurru-nu murrkunbala.
2plNOM bite-INV-2pl-did three_people
'It's bitten you three.'

g. **Nginda**, duku-nga-rri ibijinku-ngka
DEM(m) sit-1sg-will_go shade-ALL
'I'm going to sit in that shade.'

h. Lilingbingaju nginirnikirni linkumbili, **mangarli**.
hurt-1sg-do this(n)-FOC chest-LOC chest
'My chest hurts here.'

i. Kalyurrungarnimbili kibardkangarriyi, **kalyurrunga**.
water-FOC-LOC swim-1sg-will_go water
'I'll have a swim in the water.'

The boldfaced nominals in (14a-c) are expected to appear with ERG suffixes, referring as they do to animate subjects of transitive predicates, but instead appear in the unmarked ABS form. The pronominals in (14d-f) all refer to objects of transitive verbs and therefore are expected to appear in the Accusative, but instead appear in the Nominative (note that the objects in (14d-e) are also referred to by pronouns in Accusative forms). In (14g-i) the unmarked nominals co-refer with elements that are in non-core (semantic) cases. In each of these cases the appearance of the nominal in an 'unexpected' case is dependent on its being clause-peripheral.

These facts suggest that dislocation of NPs, such as Baker has proposed for Mohawk, is also an option in Jingulu. The appearance of the dislocated nominals in default case (NOM for pronouns, ABS for other nominals in Jingulu) is exactly as for dislocation structures in English:

[6] Masculine demonstratives are permitted with nominals of all genders (see chapter 5, section 3.1.3).

(15) a. **Him**, I think he's the one who sang last night, Pavarotti.
b. Who's there? - **Me**!
c. [You and **them**] can all go together.

A dislocated pronoun in English (15a) bears Accusative case. This is the default case in English, as can be seen from single word utterances and coordinate NPs like (15b-c). In Jingulu, as in most other languages, the default case is Nominative; the case of a single word utterance is always NOM (except for Vocatives).

Dislocated nominals appear at clause boundaries, outside the positions occupied by secondary predicates, most likely in [Spec, CP] given that dislocation and wh-questions seem to be mutually exclusive (see section 1.4 for a discussion of wh-questions). Dislocation is assumed to involve an operator-variable relationship between the dislocated nominal in clause-peripheral position and *pro* in the argument position. A *pro* that enters into such a relationship with a dislocated nominal can have further nominals predicated of it, and the sentences in (14c-f) give examples of both a dislocated nominal and additional nominals predicated of the *pro* with which the dislocated nominal is construed.

It would appear, then, that Jingulu uses a combination of dislocation and secondary predication structures in order to express overt nominals construed with null arguments. The choice of strategy can therefore not follow directly from a difference between case properties of θ-assigners or adherence to the MVC, as Baker has suggested, since these are properties of languages and Jingulu is an example of a single language with both strategies.

Let us commence our analysis of Jingulu nonconfigurationality by considering the structure of the Jingulu verb word. In chapter 3 I argued that the verb word should be thought of as consisting of a category-less root followed by a verb with inflectional prefixes, not as a verb followed by inflectional suffixes. One major argument for this comes from the phenomenon of 'verb-drop' in Jingulu. The overt lexical root, the element preceding agreement marking in the verbal word, is the element which expresses the information that we in English would recognise as a verbal head (Chadwick 1975's 'stem'). This root, however, is entirely optional, with the only compulsory elements of a verbal clause being the agreement markers and the final element of the verbal word which encodes tense, aspect, mood, and directionality (Chadwick 1975's 'final').

Compare the clauses which contain roots in (16) to those without roots in (17) (elicited). The sentences in (18) are examples of spontaneously generated root-less clauses.

(16) a. Jirrkiji-mindu-wa.
run-1dlInc-will_go
'You and me will run (off).'

b. Ngaja-nya-ana-ju.
see-2sg-1Obj-do
'You can see me.'

c. Anikiya-nya-ju.
do_what-2sg-do
'What are you doing?'

(17)a. Mindu-wa.
1dlInc-will_go
'You and me will go.'

b. Nya-ana-ju.
2sg-1Obj-do
'You do (it) to me.'

Root-less clauses are primarily used to express coming and going (18a-b), or in tandem with other words to create clauses with predictable meanings (18c-e), but they can also be used when the root meaning is understood, in 'root ellipsis' constructions (18f-g).

(18) a. **Ya-ardu** kardarda **ya-jiyimi**.
3sg-go always 3sg-come
'He's always coming and going.'

b. **Ya-angku**.
3sg-will_come
'He will come.'

c. Kara-mbili **nga-ju**.
fog-LOC 1sg-do
'I'm in the fog.'

d. Jangu **wurru-ju**.
nothing 3pl-do
'They're doing nothing.'

e. Nam **wunyu-ju**.
stuck 3dl-do
'They're stuck together.'

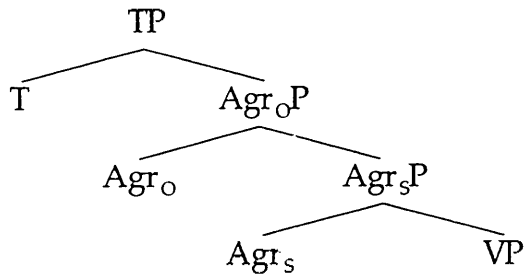
f. Ajuwara manyan nya-nu?
where sleep 2sg-did
'Where did you sleep?'

- Ngindi-mbili **nga-nu**.
DEM-LOC 1sg-did
'I did it there.'

g. **Mindi-mi** nyamirni ngirrma-mi ngayirni ngini-rni ngirrma-nya-mi-rni
1dlInc-IRR 2sgERG make-IRR 1sgERG that(n)-FOC make-2sg-IRR-FOC
jimirniki-rni bambu.
this(n)-FOC didgeridoo
'You'll do it and I will make it, you'll make it too, this didgeridoo.'

Baker (1996a) notes that in morphologically rich languages, particularly those of the polysynthetic sort, the configurational structure apparently lacking in the structure of the clause is found (reflected) in the morphological structure of the head word. This is basically a revision of the observations that led to the formulation of the Mirror Principle (Baker 1985).[7] Under the traditional analysis of the Jingulu verb-word as stem+subject_marker+object_marker+Tense/Aspect (Chadwick 1975), Jingulu appears to be contrary to these observations. The Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984, from which the Mirror Principle effect derives) drives us to an underlying structure like that in (19), wherein the subject (external argument) is closer to the verb than the object (internal argument) is, violating a supposed universal principle of grammar.

(19)



The structure in (19) is motivated by the need to ensure that subject agreement is closer to the verb than object agreement in structural terms, so as to derive the morphological ordering of Jingulu which has subject agreement closer to the stem than object agreement. However, it is generally regarded as universal that verbs and objects form a constituent which excludes the subject, which means that within VP the subject is higher than the object. For the structure in (19) to be accurate, the paths of the subject raising to [Spec, AgrS] would be longer than and surround the path of the object raising to [Spec, AgrO], resulting in a violation of economy constraints such as the Shortest Move principle (see Chomsky 1993, 1995).

The following alternative analysis of the morphosyntax of Jingulu utilises Marantz'

[7] This observation, and Baker's work following from it, is in a sense an attempt to formalise the long-standing observation that some languages are morphologically driven while others are syntactically driven. Within LFG, this idea has been formalised by saying that in some languages, argument information comes from the morphology while in others it comes from the syntax, and two distinct formal levels are proposed (see, for example, Nordlinger 1997, Nordlinger and Bresnan 1996). The two formal approaches differ in that Baker's general approach, by positing just one level of morphosyntactic representation, seeks tc explain Mirror Effects by saying that the order of morphemes in a word derives from the relative positioning of syntactic heads and general principles of syntactic movement and incorporation.

(1996) insights into the structure of the lexicon and vocabulary. This approach preserves the Head Movement Constraint, a restricted base structure for all languages, and Baker's insights into the mechanics of Polysynthetic languages, as well as suggesting a possible source for variation in surface clause types cross-linguistically.

The element traditionally glossed as a tense/aspect marker (T/A) in Jingulu encodes not only inflectional properties such as tense, mood, and aspect, but also distinctly verbal notions such as direction of motion or activity. These elements fall into three broad classes, corresponding to the English verbs 'come' (20), 'go' (21) and 'do/be' (22). As can be seen from (20)-(22), these forms are fully suppletive, there is no way to predict a form of these elements given the rest of the paradigm. For the full paradigms see chapter 6, section 2.1.

(20) a. Ya-**jiyimi** bininja.
3sg-come man
'The man is coming.'

b. Ya-**ngku** ngurrarrungka.
3sg-will_come tomorrow
'He'll come tomorrow.'

c. Ya-**miki** murdika-mbili.
3sg-came car-LOC
'He came in a car.'

d. Larrba ngirri-**mardiyimi**.
previously 3plExc-came(dist)
'We came here long ago.'

(21) a. Nga-**ardu**.
1sg-go
'I'm on my way.'

b. Nga-**rriyi**.
1sg-will_go
'I'll go.'

c. Nga-**rruku** idajku.
1sg-went yesterday
'I went (there) yesterday.'

d. Wunyu-**marriyimi** ngirriki.
3pl-went(dist) hunting
'They used to go hunting.'

(22) a. Wayabij nya-**ju**.
tired 2sg-do
'You are tired.'

b. Ngindi-mbili nga-**nu**.
here-LOC 1sg-did
'I did it here.'

c. Wurraka-na ya-**yi**.
3plGEN-m 3sg-FUT
'He'll do it for them.'

d. Yukulurrubi ya-**marri** nginimbili.
grass_species 3sg-did(dist) here
'*Yukulurrubi* used to be here.'

Equivalents of other English verbs in Jingulu are constructed by combining a root with one of these final elements to form a verbal word which includes the agreement markers (as can be seen from any sentence which contains a root in the verb-word). Different combinations of root and final element can yield different English verbs in translation, as illustrated in (23).

(23) a. Ngaba-nga-ju karnarinymi.
have-1sg-do spear
'I have a spear.'

b. Ngaba-nga-rriyi karnarinymi.
have-1sg-will_go spear
'I'll take a spear.'

c. Ngaba-jiyimi karnarinymi.
have-come spear
'He's bringing a spear.'

d. Ngaruk baka-nga-rriyi.
dive-1sg-will_go
'I'll dive down.'

e. Ngaruk baka-nga-yi arduku.
dive-1sg-FUT something
'I'll submerge something.'

Some sense can be made of the apparently bizarre verbal system of Jingulu by appealing to the notion of encyclopedic knowledge advanced by Marantz (1996), and outlined briefly and adopted in chapter 3. Recall that there are three distinct kinds of linguistic features: phonological, formal, and (real-world) semantic or encyclopedic. Jingulu provides an extreme example of the separation of formal from encyclopedic features in its verbal system (as discussed in chapter 3, the verbal root, or initial element in the verbal word, contains all and only the encyclopedic features of the predicate, while the formal features (tense, aspect, mood, direction of motion, argument structure) are found within the final element in the verbal word). While the root is what we as English speakers might translate using a verb, it is really a category-less element modifying the light verb, the final tense-bearing element which the computational system recognises as the true syntactic verb. This split is motivated by a complete ban on encyclopedic features within the core IP (the verbal predicate, its arguments, and other material within the VP), such that the predicate position can only ever be filled by the three encyclopedically blanched syntactic verbs 'come', 'go', and 'do/be' (inflected for tense, mood and other grammatical properties) and argument positions can only be filled by encyclopedically vacuous *pro*. Overt nominals, laden as they are with encyclopedic features, must occur outside of the core IP in adjoined or dislocated positions.

There is a question regarding free pronominals. It might be argued that pronouns represent bundles of features which are devoid of encyclopedic content, and so should be allowed to occupy argument positions. In support of such a view, bound agreement markers in Australian languages have forms which are clearly related to the free pronouns, and in split-ergative languages, pronominals generally follow bound agreement forms in having NOM and ACC forms (though some languages, like Jingulu, have a three-way case distinction, NOM, ERG, ACC, for free pronouns, while free nominals occur in unmarked (ABS) versus ERG forms). If pronouns do in fact occupy argument positions, we would expect them to turn up adjacent to the verb, rather than freely ordered with respect to other nominals (which are adjoined to the core IP). A survey of the Jingulu corpora that I collected shows that Accusative pronouns do in fact show an overwhelming preference for immediate post-verbal position (154 times out of a total 174 occurrences of unambiguously Accusative pronouns, or 88%, with the remaining 20 occurrences evenly split between immediatley preceding the verb word and elsewhere in the sentence). Ergative pronouns, however, do not show such an overwhelming tendency to be close to the verb, though 78% of Ergative pronouns were found immediately adjacent to the verb word (18 tokens in immediate post-verbal position, 31 occurring immediately preceding the verb word, and 14 elsewhere in the clause). Nominative pronouns were not counted because it was impossible to distinguish Nominative function from default NOM case resulting from dislocation. These results show that overt pronouns are far more likely to occur adjacent to the verb than other overt nominals, but the results are

not striking enough to conclude that overt pronouns occupy argument positions in Jingulu. It is possible that they are permitted but not required to occupy argument positions, which would in turn explain the disparity between pronouns and other overt nominals with respect to ordering preferences, but then we would expect a difference in case marking on pronouns occupying argument and adjunct positions (this proposal resembles the Austin and Bresnan (1995) proposal critiqued in footnote 3, and suffers from the same drawbacks). We return to the possibility of pronouns occupying argument positions in the discussion of Wambaya in section 1.1.3.4.

Further evidence that the verbal word should not be analysed as verb stem + agreement + tense/aspect/etc inflection comes from the appearance of a few extremely rare cases (two sentences out of a corpus of some three and a half thousand) when a fully inflected word intervenes between the co-verbal root and the core clause (agreement + light verb, boldfaced in (24)):

(24) a. **Kibardki** ibilka-rni **nya-yi** ngardajkala-rni, nginda bunungkurru-mbili
bathe water-FOC 2sg-FUT big(m)-FOC that(m) billabong-LOC
miji-ngurri-nu kurdijalaka
get-1plExc-did mussel
'Wherever there's enough water for you to bathe, we would have gotten mussels in that billabong.'

b. **Ambaya** ngaya **nga-nu** Warranganku-mbili.
speak 1sgNOM 1sg-did Beetaloo-LOC
'I spoke about Beetaloo.'

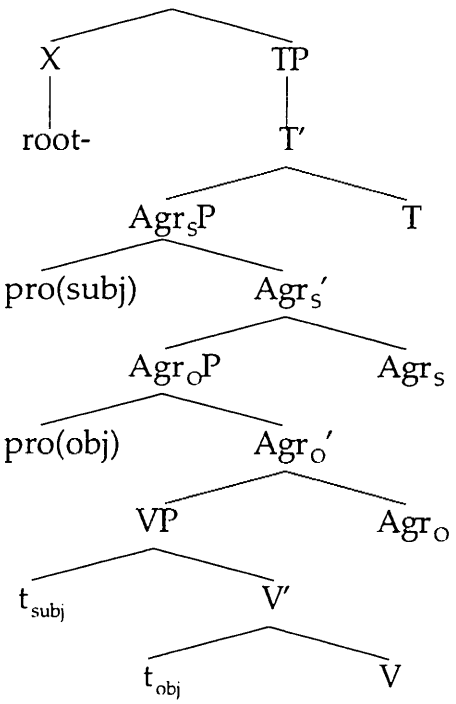
A further prediction of the DM system outlined in chapter 3 is borne out by the Jingulu facts. Recall that suppletion should only ever be found in purely syntactic positions (those positions in which only formal features are allowed). Both nominal and verbal roots in Jingulu only ever vary predictably, while both agreement markers and final verbal elements are highly suppletive (see section 1 of chapter 6 for details of the agreement system).[8]

The co-verbal root (or semantic predicate) in Jingulu is therefore syntactically deficient, containing encyclopedic knowledge but no grammatical features. In order to appear in a sentence it must be construed with (and normally phonologically prefixed to) a syntactic clause, which contains the true verb and the agreement markers. Syntactically, the category-less root merges with a clause to create a verbal clause (as in (25), which uses the universal clause architecture of Harley and Carnie 1997, building on Chomsky 1993). Being devoid of syntactic verbal features, a root which fails to merge with an IP

[8] Verbal roots exhibit entirely predictable harmony in non-singular persons. Among nominals there is a semantically coherent class of nominals which forms its plural by internal reduplication, but these do not in any way represent suppletion. Both of these facts are discussed in chapter 2 (sections 4 and 5.3 respectively).

complement will not meet LF interface conditions and a derivation containing such an unmerged root will crash. The core V raises to AgrO, creating a complex head [AgrO-V], then this new head adjoins to AgrS, creating the sequence [AgrS-AgrO-V]. Finally the complex head raises and adjoins to T (and any other functional heads which may be required such as Aspect and Mood heads) creating an inflected verb. This merges into a phonological word with the adjacent category-less root. The verbal, tense, aspectual and mood features are spelled out on the suppletive core verbs, while the agreement features on the head are spelled out by the agreement markers. Tense and aspect nodes are able to cause allomorphy in the core V because they govern it within the inflectional complex (as required by Halle and Marantz 1993).[9] The relative ordering of sister nodes is unimportant, and the choices made in this regard in (25) are purely for ease of graphic exposition.

(25)



If the combination of a particular clause with a particular root yields an uninterpretable result, the sentence crashes at the interpretive interface (LF), not due to syntactic ill-formedness. In practice, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, there are very few such uninterpretable sentences. The sentences in (26) demonstrate that Accusative objects are possible even with predicates that would translate as intransitive in English as long as there is an interpretation available. Where there is no feasible interpretation, as in (26c), the sentence is rejected by speakers as 'making no sense'.

[9] Harley and Carnie's (1997) structure, which I adopt, has T dominating both Agr phrases. The argument still goes through if T is between the two Agr phrases. The important point is that AgrO is always lower than AgrS in any proposed model for an exploded INFL.

(26) a. Dardu-nama ya-jiyimi ngarru.
many-time 3sg-come 1sgACC
'They all came to me.'

b. Ya-marriyimi, marlarluka-rni wanyma-marriyimi ngarnu,
3sg-went(dist) old_men-ERG walk-went(dist) 3sgACC
dunjuwa-kaji ya-marri, warriji-rni.
burn-through 3sg-did(dist)
'The people would take that one and cremate him.'

c. */# Bininja manyan ka-ju ngarru.
man sleep 3sg-do 1sgACC
'The man is sleeping (at) me.'

That even root-less clauses display a variety of argument structures (compare (26a) to (20)) suggests that Jingulu verbs are vague with respect to case assigning properties, rather than that roots somehow affect the argument/case properties of verbs. That is to say that each core verb has a variety of possible case/argument frames, including intransitive (NOM), transitive (ERG/ABS(ACC if pronominal)), and di-transitive (ERG/ABS(ACC if pronominal)/DAT(ACC if pronominal)).

Clause-based approaches to nonconfigurationality, such as that posed in this section as well as the approaches of Baker (1996a, b) and Jelinek (1984) predict that while word order within each clause should be as free as the choice of linking strategy allows, there should be no mixing of words between separate clauses. Problems for these approaches are posed by sentences such as those in (27), where a word is apparently scrambled beyond its clause boundary.

(27) a. Ngarri-na bardarda wardka-nga-ju ngarnu birrimilyi, ya-jiyimi.
1sgGEN-m my_sibling(m) fall-1sg-do 3sgACC shoulder 3sg-come
'My younger brother must be coming because my shoulder is
twitching.'

b. Ngaja-nga-nu yurnukurdukurdu walanja, nginuwara ya-rruku.
see-1sg-do track goanna this_way 3sg-went
walanja, jalyamungku.
goanna new
'I saw goanna tracks, the goanna went this way, fresh tracks.'

c. Wawa ngunya-nga-yi balika nguka-ju.
boy give-1sg-FUT hungry(m) cry
'I'll give it to the hungry boy who's crying.'

d. Ngindarniki-rni nginarniki-rni kuliya ngaba-nya-ju jula-nga ngarda-marri nganku kidba, malibanya-mbili.
this(m)-FOC this(f)-ERG louse_egg have-2sg-do louse-fERG give_birth-did(dist) 2sgACC egg hair-LOC
'You have louse eggs that some lice must have layed in your hair.'

These sentences are problematic at first glance because the explanation for nonconfigurationality that has been proposed here involves adjunction to the IP containing the null arguments, or dislocation with elements in [Spec, CP] of the same clause, and so we would not expect nominals to show up beyond the outer boundary of the CP which contains the null argument with which they are construed. The explanation which is usually given for such long-distance scrambling in configurational languages (such as Japanese) involves A'-movement (e.g.: Saito 1989). Such an explanation seems entirely feasible for the sentences in (27): in (27a) the NP 'my younger brother' has been moved across the clause 'my shoulder is twitching' ('My younger brother, my shoulder is twitching so he must be coming.'); in (27b) 'fresh (ones)' has been moved to the right across 'the goanna went this way'; in (27c) we have a sentence like 'I'll give it to the boy, the hungry one who's crying.') which could be explained either as movement or as two base-generated phrases, 'the boy' and 'the hungry one who's crying', both predicated of *pro* in the matrix object position; in (27d) the Ergative-marked feminine demonstrative construed with the *pro* subject of 'give birth' has been moved across 'you have a louse egg'. A possible structure for (27a) involving cyclic wh-movement is given in (28).

(28) $[_{CP}\,[_{NP}$ my brother$]_i\,[_{IP}$ my shoulder is twitching $[_{CP}\,t_i\,[_{IP}\,t_i$ is coming$]]]]$

Unlike dislocation, A'-movement preserves case (as we see from (27d)). This can also be seen from the discussion of wh-questions in section 1.4.1.

1.1.3 A typology of nonconfigurationality

Nonconfigurational languages bar computationally irrelevant material (encyclopedic information) from certain core positions. The ban on encyclopedic information in argument positions is distinct and independent from the ban on encyclopedic information in predicate positions, which predicts there should be at least four kinds of nonconfigurational language. This is separate from the question of whether a language allows incorporation and obeys the MVC, and it does not dictate a strategy for linking adjoined nominals to phonologically empty argument positions. Nonconfigurational languages differ as to how overt NPs are related to argument positions (as per Baker 1996b) and as to how predicates are represented in the structure. Languages which allow incorporation of material from outside the core (e.g.: Mohawk) may force incorporation of a verbal predicate in order for verbal features (tense/aspect) to be

realised because they lack vocabulary items corresponding to purely formal feature bundles, while languages like Jingulu keep separate domains for the syntactic and semantic properties of what we call 'verbs' in English.

(29) A typology of configurationality:

Encyclopedic features in argument positions in IP?	Encyclopedic features in predicate-head of IP?	
	Yes	No
Yes	English, Hopi, Japanese	Kalam
No	Mohawk, Jiwarli, Mayali, Warlpiri, Wambaya	Jingulu

Note that languages strictly obeying the MVC are found among fully configurational (Hopi) as well as nonconfigurational (Mohawk, Mayali) languages, and languages of all types are free to choose whether they employ head-marking (Hopi, Mohawk, Mayali), dependent-marking (Japanese, Jiwarli), or some combination of these strategies (Jingulu, Warlpiri). The morphological strategy employed to identify referents filling argument positions is independent of the syntactic restrictions on what kind of features may occur in core positions.

The typology above does not disallow, in principle, a language which is nonconfigurational, but neither head- nor dependent-marking, with no agreement on verbs and no case-marking on nominals. Such a language could, in theory, exist, but extra-linguistic demands on the speakers (need or desire to use language to communicate complex ideas) would ensure that such a language would never actually surface in reality. Such a language would have free word order, but neither case marking nor agreement to distinguish subject from object (though the context of utterance would disambiguate in most cases). One might speculate that the need to be able to immediately distinguish 'the lion is sneaking up on you' from 'you are sneaking up on the lion' during a hunting expedition is an important extra-linguistic demand.

In the following subsections the languages in (29) are discussed to show how their properties follow from a combination of choice of which positions can bear encyclopedic information and morphological strategy for linking encyclopedic information to core positions. Following this I propose a possible typological continuum between the nonconfigurational languages of Australia.

1.1.3.1 English, Japanese and Hopi

Both English and Hopi are configurational languages, with fairly fixed constituent order and highly restricted splitting of constituents (see Jeanne 1978 for Hopi). The differences between them are that Hopi is a MVC-obeying language (all arguments are represented in the clausal head, either by agreement or incorporation) while English is not. In English, arguments must be overtly present in every clause as separate constituents (cases involving controlled PRO excepted, and these are restricted by configuration), whereas in Hopi arguments can be incorporated into the head word with great productivity (Gronemeyer 1997, based on work by Hill et al. (in press)), and argument dropping is not free but depends on syntactic processes (such as incorporation) and configuration. Japanese differs from both English and Hopi in that it is a pro-drop language. Like English, but unlike Hopi, Japanese is not an MVC language.

1.1.3.2 Jiwarli

As discussed in section 1.1.1, Jiwarli makes use of dependent marking alone (marking of secondary predicates) to link overt nominals to *pro* in argument positions. Encyclopedic information is barred from argument positions, but permitted in core verbal positions, so that the encyclopedic and syntactic features of predicates surface in the same word, which corresponds to a verb in traditional Indo-European descriptions.

1.1.3.3 Warlpiri

Warlpiri is basically a V-2 'nonconfigurational' language, with the second position AUX complex in matrix clauses created by obligatory I to C movement (along the lines proposed by Bittner and Hale 1996). Agreement markers are suffixed to the auxiliary element. Encyclopedic features of predicates are allowed in the core verb position, and the auxiliary particle is a Complementizer linked to the core V (see Bittner and Hale 1996). When this C is phonologically null or a suffix, some element within the clause is required to undergo A'-movement to clause-initial position in order to provide a phonological host for the complex in C (Hale 1980, Simpson 1983, illustrated in (30)). Because verb stems host both formal and encyclopedic features of the predicate, the stem can not be dropped as it is in Jingulu (30f). As in Jingulu, wh-words regularly front to [Spec, CP] (pre-AUX position in Warlpiri).

(30) a. Nyuntulu-rlu ka-npa-ju ngaju nya-nyi.
2sg-ERG PRES-2sgNOM-1sgACC 1sg(ABS) see-NPST
'You see me.' (IAD: 1990)

b. Nya-nyi ka-npa-ju.
see PRES-2sgNOM-1sgACC
'You see me.'

c. Nyuntulu-rlu kulaka-npa-ju nya-nyi.
2sg-ERG NEG-2sgNOM-1sgACC see
'You don't see me.'

d. * Ka-npa-ju nya-nyi.

e. Kulaka-npa-ju nya-nyi.

f. * Kulaka-npa-ju.
('You don't do it to me.')

Encyclopedic information is not permitted in argument positions within the clause, however, with the result that only *pro* can occupy these positions. Overt nominals are linked to argument positions by secondary predication. Pronominals are treated on a par with other nominals, being freely ordered with respect to other words in the clause. Under the analysis for nonconfigurationality proposed here, it is not immediately apparent why pronominals should not qualify as purely syntactic, and we have seen from section 1.1.2 and will see in section 1.1.3.4 that pronouns seem to occupy argument positions some of the time. The classification of pronouns in this regard appears to be a language specific property, and Warlpiri treats them as encyclopedia entries.

1.1.3.4 Wambaya

Wambaya is also a V-2 nonconfigurational language in the same regard as Warlpiri, except that in Wambaya agreement markers are prefixed to the auxiliary element, and the resulting complex is always a suffix phonologically, so that A'-movement of some word in the clause to [Spec, CP] is always mandated (see (31)). While the auxiliary elements in the second position (C) cluster can encode directionality, these elements are not syntactic verbs as they are in Jingulu. Nordlinger (1993) reports that coming and going are always represented by an independent lexical verb, and that use of the directional particles in the second position complex is not obligatory even with these senses. Wambaya differs from Jingulu in these respects.

As mentioned earlier, non-singular pronominal objects can not be dropped (31a-c), nor can Dative arguments (31d-e). Assuming again that Wambaya differs in this respect from Jingulu, where there is a strong preference for including the pronoun but it may be dropped (see (10)), I propose that in these constructions the argument positions are actually filled by overt pronouns, which are composed of formal and phonological features alone, and thus are not encyclopedia entries in Wambaya. Supporting this

view, these obligatory objects always seem to occur in immediate post-verbal position (unless the verb or object is the word that has been moved to [Spec, CP] in order to host the AUX complex) when they are pronouns. As in Jingulu, there is a case split between pronouns and other overt nominals, with pronouns having Nominative and Accusative forms (for the most part) and overt nominals taking ERG suffixes when they are predicated of transitive subjects. Dislocation is an available strategy, as in Jingulu, and causes the nominal in question to appear in default (ABS) case, without any marker of secondary predication such as the ERG suffix (31f).

(31) a. Yardi gini-ng-aji ngirra magi-nmanji.
put(NFUT) 3sgMA-1Obj-PSTHAB 1plExcACC camp-ALL
'They dropped us off at camp.'

b. Yardi gini-ng-aji magi-nmanji.
put(NFUT) 3sgMA-1Obj-PSTHAB camp-ALL
'They dropped me off at camp.'
'They dropped us off at camp.'

c. Daguma wurlu-ng-a alag-uli-ji.
hit(NFUT) 3dlA-1Obj child-dl-ERG
'Those two boys hit me.'
'Those two boys hit us.'

d. Bungmaji g-a yandu nganga.
old_man 3sgS-PST wait(NFUT) 2sgDAT
'The old man waited for you.'

e. * Bungmaji g-a yandu.

f. Bungmaji iniyaga, bajijurndu gini-ng-a ngawurniji.
old_man that(m) bring_up(NFUT) 3sgMA-1Obj-PST 1sgACC
'That old man brought me up.' (Nordlinger, 1992, p.c.)

1.1.3.5 Jingulu

Jingulu syntax is discussed at length throughout this chapter. The relevant properties are discussed in detail in section 1.1.2.

1.1.3.6 Mayali and Mohawk

Mayali, spoken Northern Australia's Arnhem Land, is a Mohawk-type language (discussed in section 1.1.1), with overt referential nominals construed with arguments

permitted only in dislocation constructions, restricted discontinuity explicable in terms of syntactic movement, and pro-drop. There is an Ergative case marker, but it is quite optional and Evans (1994) claims it is probably a calque from neighbouring Dalabon. In these languages the verb is allowed to express both encyclopedic and formal features, but argument positions are not. Lexical incorporation is permitted (Mayali examples in (32c-d)). These languages differ from Warlpiri, Wambaya, and Jiwarli in that they utilise a different morphological strategy to link overt nominals to null arguments and obey the MVC.

(32) a. Bakki gan-wo!
tobacco 2sg/1sg-give(IMPV)
'Give me some tobacco.'

b. Al-wanjdjuk al-bininjgobeng ga-ma-ng na-buyiga bininj al-wanjdjuk.
II-emu II-spouse 3/3NP-marry-NPST I-other man II-emu
'The emu wife marries another male emu.'

c. (An-barndadja) ngarri-mim-bo-wo-ni.
III-owenia_vernicosa 1A-fruit-water-put-PI
'We used to put the fruit (of *Owenia vernicosa*) in the water.'

d. An-barndadja (an-mim) ngarri-bo-wo-ni.
III-owenia_vernicosa III-fruit 1A-water-put-PI
'We used to put *Owenia vernicosa* (fruit) in the water.'

e. *An-barndadja gu-wukku ngarri-mim-wo-ni
III-owenia_vernicosa LOC-water 1A-fruit-put-PI (Mayali, Evans 1994)

Lexical incorporation in Mayali follows a strict argument hierarchy. Where a verb has both a direct and indirect object (such as 'put' in (32c-e)), both objects may be incorporated(32c), or else just the indirect object may be incorporated (32d). It is not possible to incorporate the direct object alone (32e). This is akin to the Mirror Effects noted by Baker (1985), in that the indirect object position is closer to the verb than the direct object position, and therefore incorporation of the latter requires previous incorporation of the former. This is another argument for syntactic configurations between arguments holding in nonconfigurational languages of this type.

1.1.3.7 Kalam

The typology presented in (29) leads us to expect that some languages will allow encyclopedic information to occupy argument positions but not core verbal positions. What might such a language look like? First of all it would appear to be 'configurational' by many of the standard tests: (relatively) fixed constituent order and restricted discontinuity of nominal expressions (pro-drop is not a relevant consideration, since

many clearly configurational languages such as Japanese and Chinese allow null arguments). However, we expect to see the position of the verb in verbal clauses restricted to a small set of elements which express formal, computationally-relevant features, with encyclopedic predicates expressed by using lexical material in conjunction with these syntactic verbs to create encyclopedic predicates (as in Jingulu). In such a language, as in Jingulu, every verbal clause would be a light verb construction.

The Papuan language Kalam provides an excellent example of this type, with a set of syntactic verbs so restricted that Pawley (1980) was quite rightly moved to observe that the traditional notions of 'verb' and 'word' were simply not adequate to describe the language. There are apparently some ninety-five 'generic verbs', but only about twenty-five are used commonly, with meanings such as 'do', 'control', 'transfer control', 'destabilise', 'impinge on a surface', 'perceive', 'exist' and '(make) sound'.

(33) a. Balws mnm ag-e-k nng-b-yn.
plane noise it_sounded I_perceived
'I heard the plane roar.'

b. Nad agl ñag tk yok-an!
you arrow shoot severe you_displace
'Shoot the arrow clear!'

c.

mnm ag- speech sound- 'speak'	kmap ag- song sound- 'sing'	sy ag- weeping sound- 'weep'
mnm jwj ag- speech basis sound- 'explain'	swk ag- laughter sound- 'laugh'	esek ag- deception sound- 'lie'

d.

ñb nng- consume perceive- 'taste'	d nng- hold perceive- 'touch'	ag nng- sound perceive- 'ask, request'
d ap- hold come- 'bring'	d am- hold go- 'take'	am d ap- go hold come- 'fetch'

(Pawley 1980)

The Kalam constructions in (33c-d) are similar to Jingulu constructions involving concatenation of roots or root+light verb complexes (in fact Jingulu expresses 'bring' and 'take' by combining the pre-verbal root 'have/hold' with the syntactic core verbs 'come' and 'go', just as Kalam does). Kalam has a greater inventory of generic or syntactic (light) verbs than Jingulu's three. Jingulu light verbs therefore do not distinguish all of

the computationally relevant features that can be distinguished, leaving this for the encyclopedia entries to do, while Kalam encodes more formal distinctions in its vocabulary entries. The subset principle of DM vocabulary insertion (see chapter 3) makes such differences between languages entirely plausible. Kalam has separate vocabulary entries for syntactic verbs corresponding to [centripetal], [centrifugal], [perceive] and [sound] while Jingulu only has [centripetal], [centrifugal] and (default) [V], so that any collection of verbal features that do not correspond to centripetal (motion away) and centrifugal (motion towards) are spelled out in Jingulu as the motion-neutral 'do' series.

1.1.3.8 A Typological Continuum for Australian nonconfigurationality

The analysis of nonconfigurationality set out in this section suggests that the Yaba Pama-Nyungan languages (such as Warlpiri) may be not too dissimilar structurally from the non-Pama-Nyungan prefixing languages of Northern Australia, with Jingulu representing a plausible typological (if not genetic) missing link.

This section proposes a typological continuum from dependent-marking to head-marking, using the above-mentioned languages of Northern and Central Australia as examples. This should not be taken as arguing for an actual historical shift from one type to the other, though this is a possibility (and remains to be rejected or verified by careful comparative work). This exercise is merely an attempt to show how minor changes could theoretically transform one type into another.

Beginning with Jiwarli, an example of a pure dependent-marking (secondary predication) language, the first step would be to create clitics out of free pronouns by truncation. Pitjantjatjara and other Western Desert languages have a set of second position clitics, used in only certain kinds of clauses (e.g.: enclitic to conjunctions), resembling the free pronouns of the language. The next step would be a language like Warlpiri, which has expanded the clitics to a full Auxiliary agreement system by introducing a system of compulsory cliticisation to a complementizer, and the clitics become agreement markers. Other grammatical aspects of the Jiwarli type are retained entirely. Thus is the 'V2' nonconfigurational type born.

Wambaya differs from Warlpiri not only in prefixing rather than suffixing its agreement markers, but also in demanding that certain kinds of objects be represented overtly by pronouns when agreement marking in the AUX complex alone does not provide the necessary information. Note that neither Jiwarli nor Warlpiri seem to show any concern with the amount of syntactic information that can be gleaned from the clause (in Jiwarli, for example, a verb inflected solely for tense could be understood to have arguments of any person and number). I believe that this difference between Wambaya and Warlpiri shows that the agreement markers are becoming grammaticalised in the Wambaya state, representing the beginning of a shift from dependent-marking (secondary predication) toward head-marking (MVC) as the choice of morphological strategy for

linking overt nominals to arguments in a nonconfigurational system. Wambaya also allows dislocations wherein the topicalised elements appear in default case.

Jingulu represents a further step along the road to head marking, with extensive use of dislocations in default case. Jingulu represents a stage in which case suffixes are obligatory in certain positions, but extensive use of a dislocation construction suppresses the use of case suffixes in many environments. The diminished dependence on case-marking for linking overt nominals to null arguments may have made possible the recent development of grammatical case markers to express contrastive focus in addition to case (see section 3.3.3.1 of chapter 5).

In (34) are some Jingulu examples where the boldfaced nominal appears in the Nominative case and this can not be attributed to dislocation, as the elements in question do not appear at clause boundaries, but rather within case-marked secondary predicate NPs. There are only about five clear examples of this type among some three and a half thousand sentences, and so I assume these represent movement towards the loss of grammatical case distinctions altogether.

(34) a. Arrkuja-narna-nu **ngaya** kardayi-rni.
scratch-3sgS1Obj-did 1sgNOM cat-ERG
'The cat scratched me.'

b. Wurrjiyarnanayi **ngaya** jamarnikirni.
shave-3S1O-FUT 1sgNOM this(m)-ERG
'He will shave me.'

All examples of this type involve the first person singular pronoun in its Nominative form, /ngaya/. While Jingulu has and generally utilises Ergative and Accusative forms of this pronoun, Wambaya makes no distinction among cases for the first and second person singular pronouns (Nordlinger 1993).

Mayali takes the shift even further, with grammatical case marking almost entirely absent (and optional when present). The strategy has shifted entirely to head-marking and dislocation, with the result that discontinuous nominal expressions (a result of the predication and case-marking strategy) are also absent. Mohawk represents the purest form of an MVC-obedient head-marking nonconfigurational language.

Ken Hale (personal communication) notes that in Yanyuwa and the Kunwinykuan languages (of which Mayali is one), prefixing languages of Northern Australia, there are pre-agreement elements which appear to be cognate with Warlpiri AUX. Consider Yanyuwa *Ka-rna-wingka* ('I go') versus Warlpiri *Ya-ni ka-rna* ('I go'): in both cases the element /ka/ precedes the first person singular subject marker. Hale's suspicion is that the AUX+Agr complexes became prefixed to the verb in these languages at some stage.

There are additional similarities between the structure of verbal inventories between Jingulu and the Yapa-Ngumpin languages (which include Warlpiri, Mudburra and Gurindji). The use of encyclopedically rich co-verbal category-less elements in conjunction with syntactic verbs is common to all of these languages. Jingulu represents an extreme, with only three sets of syntactic verbs and many hundreds of co-verbal roots (Kalam, as we have seen in section 1.1.3.7, is almost as extreme, with some 25 commonly used syntactic verbs). Gurindji has probably only about 100 syntactic verbs while Warlpiri has some 200, with other encyclopedic distinctions between predicates being made by using co-verbal elements in conjunction with syntactic verbs, as in Jingulu (Ken Hale, personal communication). Warlpiri, in fact, often places the AUX+Agr complex between the co-V and the core V, with the co-V in clause-initial [Spec, CP] position. If such a practice became grammaticalised, so that the language became strictly V-initial, the sequence co-V+Agr+V would become, as in Jingulu, a phonological word.

1.1.4 The problem of semiconfigurational languages

A problem for the essentially configurational approach to nonconfigurationality presented herein, and for all existing theoretical approaches to nonconfigurationality in general, is posed by languages which do not exhibit all of the predicted properties of their apparent type. In Pensalfini 1992, I showed, based on a variety of descriptions of Pama-Nyungan languages, that the nonconfigurational properties of pro-drop, free constituent order and multiple non-adjacent co-referent nominal expressions were independent of one another. The analysis presented here, based on Baker's (1996a, 1996b) work, argues that this is because free constituent order can arise from one of two morphological strategies under a prohibition of encyclopedic information from argument positions: secondary predication, which allows for multiple non-adjacent co-referent nominals, and dislocation, which does not (see section 1.1.1). The syntactic nature of predication versus dislocation then leads us to expect that predication structures will have overt case-marking on nominals while dislocation structures will not. 'Pro-drop', or 'null anaphora', as discussed earlier, is a property of many fully configurational languages as well as non-configurational languages.

Kayardild, one of the languages considered in Pensalfini 1992, apparently defies these predictions, having overt case marking (Nominative-Accusative) and free constituent order, but not allowing multiple non-adjacent co-referent nominals. The predication analysis does not seem appropriate, since only one contiguous and structured NP is allowed to correspond to each argument position, while the dislocation analysis predicts that there should not be any overt case distinction between NPs representing subjects and NPs representing objects.

I wish to make a case here for considering Kayardild to be a fully configurational language with apparent freedom of constituent order resulting from movement for pragmatic reasons (a 'discourse configurational language' in the sense of Kiss 1995).

Evans (1996) notes that Kayardild syntax is sensitive to NP topics as well as NP subjects, so it would not be surprising to find that Kayardild has structural positions associated with discourse properties such as topic and focus, and thus ordering of NPs with respect to one another and to the verb is determined by such discourse factors (whereas Jingulu employs a Focus marker and ordering is independent of discourse pragmatics, as discussed in section 3.3.3.1 of chapter 5). There is a slightly higher statistical tendency to SV order in Kayardild than in the nonconfigurational central Australian languages.

Two other pieces of word order evidence support a configurational analysis for Kayardild. the first is that obliques, by which I mean NPs marked with overt postpositions (case markers other than NOM/ACC) that are not arguments of the matrix verb, are not freely ordered with respect to other words, but almost always occur clause peripherally (from a scan of sentences and texts in Evans 1996). The second relates to the few instances of split (discontinuous) NPs that are allowed in Kayardild. Evans (1996) notes that such splitting is, as in Mohawk and Mayali, highly restricted and rule-governed, and notes further that split NPs always straddle the verb. This straddling would not be expected if NPs are generated in any order, but is perfectly consistent with free constituent order being a result of movement. Kayardild's restricted NP splitting can be seen as floating of part of an NP to a position associated with restrictiveness or emphasis, adjacent to the verb. If NPs are generated in any order, we would expect to find sentences with material other than the verb intervening between the two parts of the NP, as schematised in the hypothetical object-splitting cases in (35).

(35) a. $[_{Subj}$Head] Verb $[_{Obj}$Demonstrative Head]
$\rightarrow$ $[_{Obj}$Demonstrative] $[_{Subj}$Head] Verb $[_{Obj}$Head]

b. Verb $[_{Subj}$Head] $[_{Obj}$Demonstrative Head]
$\rightarrow$ $[_{Obj}$Demonstrative] Verb $[_{Subj}$Head] $[_{Obj}$Head]

These orders are not found in Kayardild, suggesting that object splitting involves moving one part of an NP from a configurationally-defined position to another.

1.2 Nominal predication

A nominal predication consists of two overtly expressed nominals and no (overt) verbal element. Such a clause asserts that the referent of one nominal (the subject) is a member of the set of individuals that share a particular property (the predicate). The order is usually subject-predicate, though predicate-subject is found. Multiple nominals referring to the subject are also possible, but extremely rare, with one of the nominals being an afterthought separated from the rest of the clause by an audible intonation break.

1.2.1 Adjectives and nouns as predicates

As discussed in chapter 3 (section 2.1), nouns and adjectives behave differently when used as predicates, with nouns taking Ergative subjects and Adjectives taking Absolutive (unmarked) subjects. The sentences in (36) repeat (9) from chapter 3.

(36) a. Winyiki-rni nayurni ngarrirnini
foreign-f woman 1sgGEN(f)
'My wife is a foreigner.'

b. Miringmi bardakurru-mi.
gum good-v
'Gum is good.'

c. Jama-**rni**-ni jawularri-nama.
that-ERG-FOC young_man-time
'He's still a young uninitated man.'

d. Babi-ila ngarri-ni-bila jam-bili-**rni**-ni.
older_brother-dl1sgGEN-m-dl(anim) DEM-dl(anim)-ERG-FOC
'Those two are my brothers.'

This distinction is often hard to perceive, because of the extensive use of the focus marker /-rni/ homophonous with the Ergative, on subjects of adjectival predications (this homophony is discussed at length in sections 3.3.3.1 and 3.6 of chapter 5). However, the ability of /-rni/ to appear twice on subjects of noun predicates (once as Ergative marking, once as focus) but only once on subjects of adjectival predicates (as focus marking), shows that there is a difference between noun and adjective predicates. This difference is further obscured by the fact that subjects of either kind of nominal predicate can be dislocated and show up Absolutive (unmarked) as a result.

The sentences in (37) show typical responses to specific elicitations of adjectival predication, while (38) shows adjectival predications from sentences and elicitations of other material.

(37) a. Miringmi bardakurrumi.
gum good(v)
'Gum (in general) is good.'

b. Miringmi-rni bardakurrumi.
gum-FOC good(v)
'(some particular) Gum is good.'

c. Nyima babirdimi kiyalyiyanu.
that(v) yam stinky(n)
'That yam is rotten.'

d. Kijurlurlu ngardajkalu.
rock big(n)
'The rock is big.'

Note that the subject of the agreeing adjective is unmarked. In (37b) the subject bears a focus marker, and is contrasted in form and meaning with (37a).

(38) a. Nyini-niki ingalka bardakurru.
DEM(n)-NIKI juice good(n)
'This juice is sweet.'

b. Ngarri-rnini nayurni wirniyikirni.
1sgGEN-f woman foreign(f)
My wife is foreign.

c. Jimi-ni junkurlu-rnu arranganbala.
this-FOC river-did wide(n)
'This river is wide.'

d. Nyama-ni munmulyi.
2sgNOM-FOC ignorant
'You're ignorant.'

In (38c-d) the subject bears a focus marker, whereas in (38a-b) it does not. If the appearance of /-rni/ in (38c-d) were ERG marking and (38a-b) the result of dislocation, we would expect to find as many cases of right-dislocation as of left-dislocation. In fact, the occurrence of subjects to the right of adjectival predicates is quite unusual.

By contrast, subjects of nouns have Ergative marking, unless they are dislocated, in which case they must appear at one of the clause edges. Unlike subjects of adjectival predicates, the Ergative argument appears to be quite freely ordered with respect to its

noun predicate, as shown in (39).

(39) a. Babi-yila ngarri-ni-bila jam-bili-rni-ni.
older_brother-dl 1sgGEN-m-dl(anim) DEM-dl(anim)-ERG-FOC
'Those two are my brothers.'

b. Jama-rni-ni jawularri-nama.
that-ERG-FOC young_man-time
'He's a young uninitated man.'

c. Jimi-rni ngawu Murlububumi.
this-ERG home 2_snakes (dreamtime creatures)
'That's where the Murlububumi live.'

d. Nyamina-ni wamalagardirni.
DEM(f)-ERG virgin
'She's a virgin.'

e. Urdila ngarri-nini nyami-rni-ni.
axe 1sgGEN-f DEM-f-ERG
'That's my axe.'

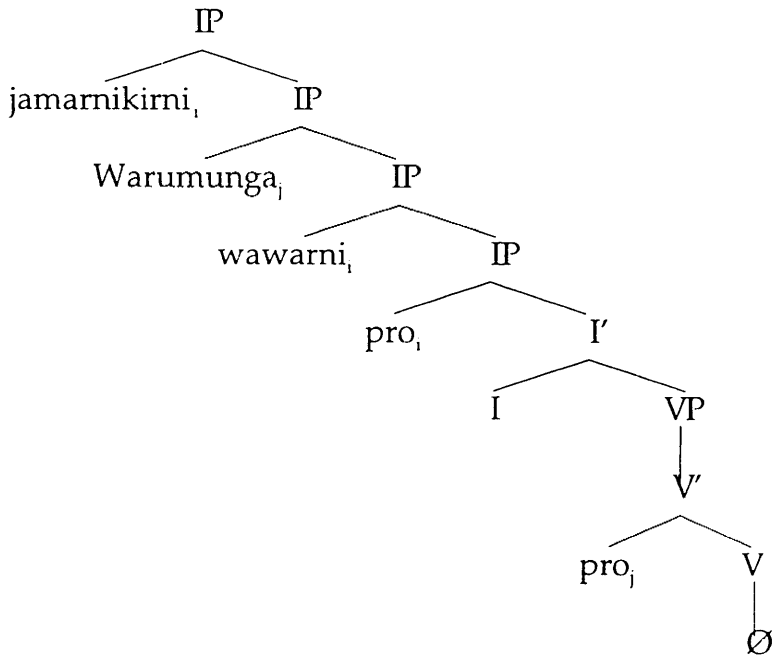
f. Jamarniki-rni Warumunga wawa-rni.
this(m)-ERG Waramungu_person child-ERG
'This boy is a Waramungu person.'

The sentences in (39a-b) show that there is an Ergative involved, given the appearance of /-rni/ twice. Note that in (39a) the subject appears to the right of the noun and in (39b) it appears to the left. The predicate can consist of more than one word, as in (39a) (*babiyila ngarrinibila*), (39c) (*ngawu Murlububumi*), and (39e) (*urdila ngarrinini*). furthermore, the words of the predicate need not even be adjacent, as (39f) shows.

I propose that the difference between adjectives and nouns in the above regard is that adjectives, but not nouns, are allowed to occupy primary predicate positions. An adjectival predication therefore consists of a nominal (small) clause with the adjective in the predicate position and an argument predicated of it. Both predicate and argument occupy the syntactic positions, thus explaining the configurationality of adjectival predications (order is fairly fixed). This does not contradict the claims made in section 1 regarding Jingulu non-configurationality arising from the banning of encyclopedic information in core positions, because this ban only applies to verbal heads and arguments in IPs (tensed clauses). Following work in the LFG tradition (Nordlinger and Bresnan 1996) and proposals for the structure of small clause predication in English (Stowell 1981, Chomsky 1981, Safir 1983), I assume that an adjectival predication does not contain I or projections thereof.

Nouns, on the other hand, behave differently. Their subjects, unlike the subjects of adjectival predications, do not display a preference for initial position, and can be discontinuous in the same way that ERG subjects of verbal predications can be. The fact that subjects of nouns appear with ERG marking is curious, given that in many theories of morphological Ergativity, including the one adopted in section 1, the appearance of Ergative marking is dependent on the presence of another structural argument. I propose that noun-noun predications, such as those in (39), are actually verbal predications of a null verb, with the noun that appears to be the (nominalised) predicate construed with the internal (object) argument of the null verb, and thus appearing in the Absolutive (unmarked) form, and the Ergative object construed with the higher or subject argument of the null verb. The sentence in (39f) would have the structure:

(40)



This analysis is supported by the behaviour of nouns with objects. As discussed in chapter 3 (section 3), Nominalising suffixes form nouns from co-verbal roots. These nouns sometimes appear with other nominals that appear to represent objects of the nominalised co-verbal root. These object nominals do not appear in the usual case for the object of the co-verbal form of the root however, which would be Absolutive (unmarked), but rather in the Dative (Accusative if pronominal), which is the same case used for indirect or beneficiary objects of double object verbs (see section 1.6). Compare the boldfaced objects of the nominalisations in (41a) to their equivalents with overt verbs in (41b). Sometimes underived nouns are used with objects, as in (41c).

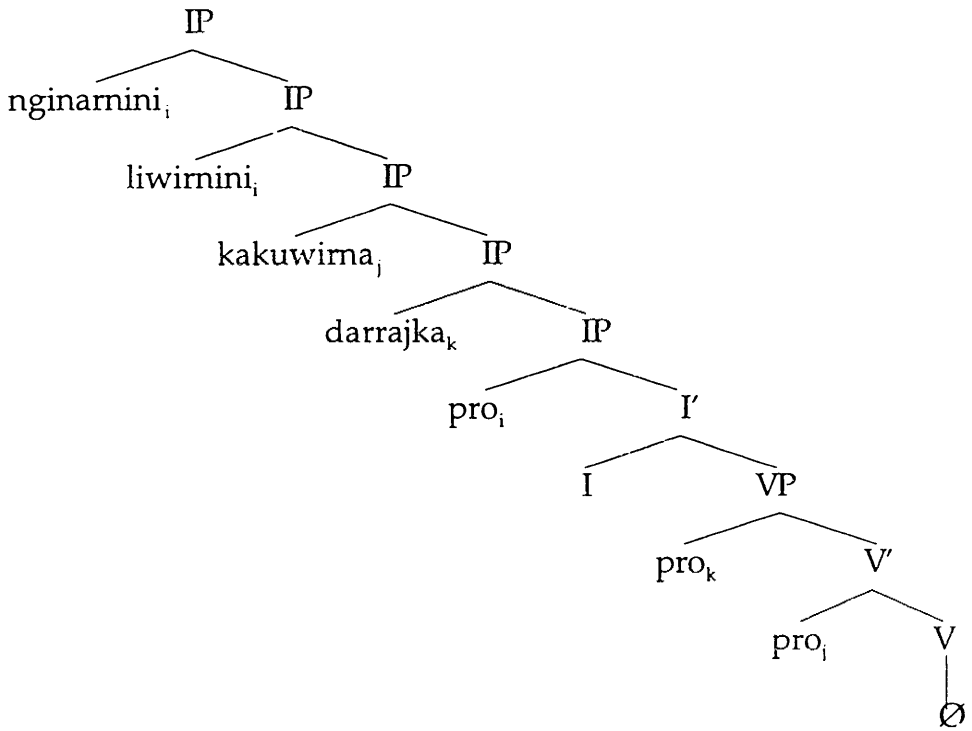
(41) a. Diyim ka-ardi jungkardi, ngina-rni-ni liwirni-ni **kakuwi-rna** darr-ajka.
fly 3sg-HAB high that(f)-ERG-FOC crane-ERG fish-DAT eat-NOML
'The crane flies high in the sky and is a fish-eater.'

b. **Ibilka** darra-nga-nu.
water eat-2sg-did
'I had a drink.'

c. Ngindarniki bunumurra, kiwarlija, dalyi, ngirdingirda, walujabirni -
this(m) brown_snake king_brown whip_snake olive_python carpet_snake
mikinji-rni **ngurraku**
snake-ERG 1plIncACC
'Brown snakes, king browns, whip snakes, olive pythons, carpet snakes -
they're all snakes to us.'

The fact that nominalised transitive co-verbs mark their objects the same way that three-place verbs do supports the idea that there are three arguments involved, one of which is construed with with the nominalised root. The structure of the relevant clause of (41a) would be something along the lines of (42), with the four overt words linked to three *pro* arguments of a null verb.

(42)



1.2.2 Possession as predication

Possession in Jingulu is marked in a number of ways, depending on the nature of the possessor-possessed relationship and on the morphosyntactic category of the word corresponding to the possessor. The first uses a set of pronouns (GEN pronouns, see

section 2.3 of chapter 5), based on Accusative pronouns, indicating the possessor, but inflecting for the gender in agreement with the possessed object. In this regard they resemble the Romance possessive pronouns. The relationship of possessor to possessed is considered to be predication within a NP. In Jingulu, however, possessive pronouns seem to be free nominals like any other, agreeing in gender with their referents, able to be separated from other co-referent nominals (43a-b), appear without any other overt co-referent nominal (43c), and manifest their own case-marking (43d-f). These elements are to be considered free nominals meaning 'mine', 'theirs', 'my one', 'your one' and so forth rather than 'my', 'his', 'their' and such. Possession is thus not a relationship between the GEN pronoun and some other overt or dropped nominal, but between the GEN pronoun and *pro*, a secondary predication in the sense of section 1.1. GEN and DAT of possession are therefore to be considered semantic rather than structural cases.

(43) a. Angkurla **nyambala** ya-nu **ngarru**, kiwirra.
NEG DEM(n) 3sg-did 1sgGEN none
'I didn't have any of mine left, none.'

b. **Nyinda-rni jalurruka** ngaba-nga-yi **ngarri-na**.
DEM(m)-FOC tea have-1sg-FUT 1sgGEN-m
'I'd like my tea.'

c. **Ngarru-nu** ngaba-nga-rriyi, duwangaba-nga-rriyi
1sgGEN-n have-1sg-will_go take_away-1sg-will_go
'I'll take mine, get rid of it myself.'

d. Kanya ngarri-na ya-rriyi **niyirni-mi-warndi karnarrinymi-warndi**
uncle 1sgGEN-m 3sg-will_go 3sgGEN-v-INST spear-INST
'My uncle will go (hunting) with his spear.'

e. Angkula ngaja-nga-ju, bikirra ya-ju **murlurlu-mbili ngarru-nu-mbili**.
NEG see-1sg-do grass 3sg-do pupil-LOC 1sgGEN-n-LOC
'I can't see, there's grass in my pupil.'

f. Ya-jiyimi ngarru, **ngawu-ngka ngarru-nu-ngka**.
3sg-come 1sgACC house-ALL 1sgGEN-n-ALL
'He's coming to me, to my house.'

Possessors represented by overt nominals other than pronominals bear Dative case-marking. Dative nominals in this function can cooccur in a clause with co-referent Genitive pronouns (44c). The DAT marker is discussed in section 3.3.1.2 of chapter 5.

(44) a. Jayirrma-nga-ju **abaaba-rni wawa-rna**.
dress-1sg-do clothes-FOC child-DAT
'I'm changing that kid's clothes.'

b. Jama-rni Jurlinginja-rni **jami-rna Jamirringinji-rna** biwurla.
that(m)-ERG skin-ERG that(m)-DAT skin-DAT son
'Jurlinginja is Jamirringinja's son.'

c. **warlaku-rna ngarnu marru**
dog-DAT 3sgGEN house
'the dog's house'

d. **Marru** ngunja-ju **baba-nga ngarrini-nga**.
house burn-do o_sibling-fDAT 1sgGEN(f)-fDAT
'My sister's house is on fire.'

As (44d) shows, marking of possession can be stacked, with DAT marking appearing on GEN pronouns or nominals already marked DAT.

As the distribution of GEN pronouns and DAT on possessor nominals is identical, the difference between pronouns and nouns is considered to be a spelling out of possessor features on one class of word as opposed to another. The possessive pronoun is not called a DAT pronoun because the overt DAT case-marker /-rna/ is also used on indirect objects (see section 1.6), while pronominal indirect objects appear in the ACC form. Possessive (GEN) pronouns involve extension of the ACC pronouns by gender agreement (in the Warranganku dialect at least, see section 2.3 of chapter 5), and are therefore distinct from ACC pronouns with indirect object function.

If possessor and possessed are in a part-whole relationship (such as body part possession), the part and the whole are treated on a par, with neither bearing special marking. Overt words representing the part and the whole can be adjacent (45a) or not (45b-c). Dative marking on the possessor is not possible (45d).

(45) a. Bij bila-nga-nu **langa warridirli**.
break-1sg-did ear number_7_boomerang
'I broke the hook on my number seven boomerang.'

b. Nginda-rni **warlaku** lakarr nga-nu **jarrumulu**.
that(m)-FOC dog broken 1sg-did thigh
'I broke that dog's leg.'

c. **Jamarniki jarrumulu** lakarr miji-mindu-nu.
this(m) thigh broken get-1dlInc-did
'You and I broke its leg.'

d. * Nginda-rni warlaku-rna lakarr nga-nu jarrumulu.

Words representing a possessor and a possessed item can stand alone as a sentence:

(46) a. Kunyaku ngawu-nu.
2dlACC house-n
'This is your house here.'

b. Ngaanki-na ngaanku wawa.
2sgGEN-m 2sgACC child
'He's your son.'

c. Babirdimi ngarri-rnimi nyamarniki.
yam 1sgGEN-v this(v)
'This is my yam.'

I assume that (46a-b) are instances of NPs, used depictively, standing alone as utterances ('your house', 'your son'). Sentences like (46c) and (44b), on the other hand, are instances of nominal predication. Note that (46a-b) are in the Marlinja dialect, where ACC pronouns are optionally used with GEN function, either instead of or as well as, GEN pronouns. The difference between them, presented in section 2.3 of chapter 5, is that GEN pronouns are based on ACC pronouns but are extended by gender markers agreeing with the gender of the possessed item.

1.2.3 Adpositional predication

Some sentences consist of two nominals, one of which is made into an adpositional predicate by one of a number of adpositional (semantic case) morphemes:

(47) a. Ngunu janbara-ya jimi-na **darrangku-mbili**.
DEM(n) nest-FUT that(n)-FOC tree-LOC
'There's a nest in that tree.'

b. Jama-ni **nyanyalu-ngkuju**, darrangku kirdilyaku
that(m)-FOC leaf-HAVING tree bent(n)
'That one's leafy, the bent tree.'

c. Lawunja **minanga-nkuji**.
coolamon line-HAVING
'The coolamon is striped.'

d. Jama-rni bininja **kijurlurlu-jija**.
that(m)-FOC man money-PRIV
'That man is poor.'

e. Ngina-rni nayurni **wawa-jiji-rni**.
that(f)-FOC woman child-PRIV-f
'That woman is barren, she has no children.'

Such structures are also assumed to be small clauses with PP predicates. Each of the adpositional suffixes in described in detail in section 3.3.2 of chapter 5.

1.3 Adverb Placement

Adverbs are, like other phonological words, freely ordered with respect to other words in the clause. The sentences in (48) are permutations of sentences produced by speakers, which were verified and repeated by the speaker.

(48) a. **Birrik** wawurru-mbili ngurru-wa.
straight bush-LOC 1plInc-will_go
or **Birrik** ngurruwa wawurrumbili.
or Ngurruwa wawurrumbili **birrik**.
'Let's go straight into the bush.'

b. Bambu ngirrma-nga-nu **kaala kaala**.
didgeridoo make-1sg-did quickly
or Bambu **kaala kaala** ngirrmanganu.
or **Kaala kaala** ngirrmanganu bambu.
or **Kaala kaala** ngayirni bambu ngirrmanganu.
or Ngayirni **kaala kaala** bambu ngirrmanganu.
'I made the didgeridoo quickly.'

c. **Dardu** ngaba-nga-ju kijurlurlu.
much have-1sg-do stone/money
Kijurlurlu **dardu** ngabangaju.
Ngabangaju kijurlurlu **dardu**.
'I am quite wealthy.'

While they are freely ordered, adverbs do display strong *preferences* for certain positions with respect to the verb word or to clause boundaries, depending on the kind of adverb. Adverbs can be divided into four broad categories on semantic grounds: adverbs of time (49), place (50), manner (including frequency) (51), and result (52).

(49) a. **Ngurrarunama** ngaja-nga-ju kijurlurlu.
early_morning see-1sg-do hill
'I can see the hills early in the morning.'

b. **Kardarrukuji** biba-marri.
all_night storm-went(dist)
'There was a storm all night.'

c. **Binyamaku** yurriyi-wurru-nu bayin-bala
late (in day)play-3pl-did person-pl
'They were playing late.'

d. Yurriyi-ngurri-yi **jalyangkunu**.
play-1plInc-FUT today
'Let's play today.'

e. Jukurla-nga-rdi nankuna-mbili **larrba**.
stay-1sg-HAB cave-LOC previously
'I used to sleep in a cave.'

f. **Ngurrayijbi** angkula ngaja-nga-nu bardangkarra.
night NEG see-1sg-did moon
'Last night I never saw the moon.'

g. **Larrba** marlarluka-rni imimikini marriyimi, kiwirra.
previously old_man(pl)-FOC old_woman(pl) went(dist) none
'Old people used to do it, but no longer.'

h. Ilu-wurr-marrimi **larrba-rni** janbara-ngka.
put-3pl-went(dist)previously-FOC nest-ALL
'They used to put dead people in trees.'

Adverbs of time have a preferred sentence-initial position (49a-c, f-g), but may also occur sentence-finally (49d-e). Nominals and other adverbials or negation may intervene between the verb and time adverbials. Oblique nominals may occur between time adverbials and clause boundaries (49h), though this is unusual.

(50) a. **Ngarlarli** wangku!
hither come(IMPVsg)
'Come over here!'

b. **Jayili** ya-rdu marru-ngka, jayili urdurru-ka-rdu marru-ngka.
under 3sg-go house-ALL under inside-3sg-go house-ALL
'It's gone under the house, right underneath the house.'

c. Ngarri-ni-rni jakardirni **jungkali**.
1sgGEN-f-ERG mother far
'My mother lives far away.'

d. **Barrbarda** warlumbu ngardajalu wajan-ka-ju.
far_side bullwaddy huge(n) stand-3sg-do
'There's a bullwaddy tree standing over on the far side.'

e. **Nijiniji** ila-nga-yi nginda.
corner put-1sg-FUT DEM(m)
'I'll put it over in the corner.'

f. Durd maya-nga-yi **lurrurnmi**.
kick-1sg-FUT testicles
'I'll kick him in the balls.'

g. **Ngirrinyinmi** walkinda-ngurri-yi wawa.
ceremonial_ring sweep-1plInc-FUT boy
We'll take the boys to the ceremony place.

h. Nyinda-bila **balkij** unyu-ju.
DEM(m)-dl beside 3dl-do
'Those two are sitting close together.'

Adverbs of place, like adverbs of time, have preferred positions at clause boundaries, though (50h) shows that other positions are possible, particularly when the adverb is used in tandem with a root-less verb. Nominals used as adverbs of place (as in (50f-g), and possibly (50d-e)) differ from oblique NPs in that they are not marked with a locational case (LOC, ALL, or ABL), though this could be a result of dislocation applying to a nominal which would normally appear with case (see section 1.1.2).

(51) a. **Jandak** mindu-wa.
permanently 1dlInc-will_go
'We're going for good.'

b. **Dardungkija-nama** nga-ardi-ni.
every_day-time 1sg-go-FOC
'I do it every day.'

c. **Marriya** ila-mi!
quiet put-IRR
'Turn it down!'

d. Dardu-wala **warrb** wurru-ju.
mob all_together 3pl-do
'They're all going together.'

e. Jarrkaja-ju imbila-nga-yi **kunumburra**.
run-do chase-1sg-FUT quickly
'I'm going to try to get it.'

Manner adverbials seem to prefer positions that are immediately adjacent to the verbal word. The most common position for them is immediately preceding the verb word (51a-d). Material may intervene between manner adverbials and the verb word, as shown in (48b), but this is unusual. As discussed in chapter 3 (section 2.3), the so-called class 2 verb stems are in fact a combination of manner adverbial plus stemless clitic cluster.

(52) a. Ambaya-nga-ju **lurrbu**.
talk-1sg-do return
'I send him/her back.' [I talked him/her back]

b. **Barlurlyi** ila-nga-yi abaaba.
dry(n) put-1sg-FUT clothes
'I'm drying my clothes.' [I'm putting my clothes dry]

c. Ulukaja-nga-yi **kilalijayili**.
rub-1sg-FUT clean
'I'll go clean it.' [I'll rub it clean]

d. **Jamurri** ila-nga-yi arduku.
cool put-1sg-FUT careful
'I'm cooling it down carefully.' [I'm putting it cool carefully]

All instances of result adverbs that I could find are like the examples in (52) in that the adverbs are both adjacent to the verb and clause-peripheral, so it is difficult to say whether the preference is for clause-peripheral position or adjacency to the verb word. Note that (52d) involves both a result adverb and a manner adverb.

The ordering preferences for adverbials of all types can be explained by a pragmatic or stylistic preference for adverbial elements, which do not inflect for gender, number, or case, to occur at the edge of the element they modify. Adverbs of place and time (and result) generally modify the entire clause, while adverbs of manner modify the predicate. Therefore we expect adverbs of place and time to occur at edges of the clause, while adverbs of manner should be next to the verb word.

The comparative adverb *(w)ambanama,* etymologically the purpose marker /wamba/ (see section 2.2.2) with the adverbialising suffix /-nama/ (see section 3.2.2 of chapter 3), is the only adverb used alone as a predicate, and means 'similar to' or 'like' (53a-c). The notion 'different from' is expressed by the adjective *karriyaka* with the suffix /-nama/ (53d) or by negating a clause with *ambanama* (53e), while comparatives of degree ('more

than', 'less than') are creating by juxtaposing clauses (53b, f).

(53) a. Jarlkandarru lawunja **amba-nama**, ibilkanga.
bucket_shovel coolamon PURP-time water-fDAT
'A bucket shovel is like a coolamon, only for water.'

b. Jimirniki-rni birnmurru-nu **amba-nama** barrku, *but* kurlukurlu-kaji
this(n)-FOC stick-did PURP-time nullanulla but small(n)-through
jimirniki-rni
this(n)-FOC
'This here birnmurru is like a nulla-nulla only smaller.'

c. Marlarluka-rni ila-nga-yi bijilirla **amba-nama** ya-marriyimi nyambala
old_men-ERG put-1sg-FUT paper PURP-time 3sg-went(dist) DEM(n)
bijilirla darrangku kamarra
paperbark tree bark
'We old guys used to call paper bijilirla because it resembled the bark of the paperbark tree.'

d. Jinjaraku-nu jimininiki-rni **kaıriyaku-nama** nyambanama bularraku,
shitwood-did this(n)-FOC different-time DEM-time smoke_tree
jinjaraku-nu nyanyarlu-nu kurlungkurlu-kaji.
shitwood-did leaf-did small(n)-through
'The desert mangrove here differs from the smoke tree in that the desert mangrove's leaves here are smaller.'

e. Angkula kurrkabardi-ni **amba-nama** karninyinji.
NEG turkey-FOC PURP-time emu
'Bush turkeys are not like emus.'

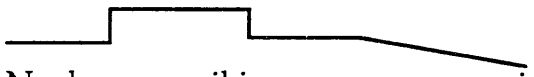
f. Nyamarniki miringmi akiyibirdimi, jamarniki-rni miringmi bardakurrumi.
this gum bad(v) this(m)-FOC gum good
'This gum is better than this (other) gum.'

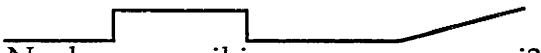
Clauses with *ambanama* can be considered adjectival small clauses as in the case of adjectival predication (section 1.2.1)with *ambanama* and a noun 'X' creating an adjectival predicate with meaning roughly corresponding to 'X-ish'.

1.4 Questions

1.4.1 Simple questions

Yes-No questions can be formed by intonation alone (differing from assertions or declarations only in having a rising intonation at the end of the sentence, as displayed in (54a-b)) or by using the Yes-No interrogative *jani* (54c-d). Other questions involve a clause-peripheral interrogative (wh-word) (54e-i). The forms of the interrogative words are discussed in detail in section 1.4 of chapter 5. Wh-words are usually found in clause-initial position (54e-h), and extremely rarely in sentence-final position (54i), when they are usually separated from the rest of the clause by a slight break.

(54) a.  ← Pitch
Ngaba-nya-miki ngarru nganga-rni.
have-2sg-came 1sgACC meat-FOC
'You brought me meat.'

b.  ← Pitch
Ngaba-nya-miki ngarru nganga-rni?
have-2sg-came 1sgACC meat-FOC
'Did you bring me meat?'

c. **Jani** ngaba-nya-miki nganga ngarru?
Q have-2sg-came meat 1sgACC
'Did you bring me meat?'

d. **Jani** madayi-rni ngaja-nya-ju?
Q cloud-FOC see-2sg-do
'Can you see the cloud?'

e. **Ajuwa-ngkami** wurra-miki?
where-ABL 3pl-came
'Where did they come from?'

f. **Anuku** wurra-miki-rni?
how 3pl-came-FOC
'How did they get here?'

g. **Aji-rni** ngaja-rnini-nu nganku?
who-ERG see-3S2O-did 2sgACC
'Who saw you?'

h. **Waji-rni** nganki-nini kabinjkulirni?
who-ERG 2sgGEN-f wife
'Who is your wife?'

i. Jungkarru-ngkami wurra-miki, **ajuwa-ngkami**?
far-ABL 3pl-came where-ABL
'Which distant place did they come from?'
[literally: 'They came from afar, where?']

Speakers accepted questions with wh-words in positions other than clause-peripherally, but did not ever produce them. Clause-peripherality of interrogative words is predicted by Baker's (1996a, 1996b) approach to nonconfigurationality, with wh-words generated in argument positions and undergoing obligatory movement to [Spec, CP]. The movement of these elements out of argument position is obligatory, since they would violate the case filter if they were still there at the interface. Wh-words must be generated in argument positions and not in predication or dislocation relations with *pro* in argument positions because they are non-referential and therefore can not enter into relations with the inherently pronominal *pro.* Dislocations never seem to co-occur with interrogatives in Jingulu, which suggests that both involve an overt phrase in [Spec, CP]. Wh-words, like the cases of long-distance movement in (27), display the same core case-marking as referential NPs construed with that argument position would, so that if the subject of a transitive clause is questioned, the interrogative appears with an Ergative suffix (54g-h).

The interrogative *anikarrkarru* ('what sort') forms an NP with the noun it modifies, and this entire NP is moved to [Spec, CP] (55a). The modified noun need not be overtly present (55b).

(55) a. Kijurlurlu anikarrkarru maja-nya-nu?
stone what_sort(n) get-2sg-did
'What kind of stone did you get?'

b. Anikirrkidbi ngimanikirni?
what_sort(v) this(v)-ERG
'What kind (of vegetable) is this?'

1.4.2 Multiple interrogatives

When more than one aspect of an event or situation is to be questioned, Jingulu speakers generally use more than one question clause:

(56) a. Wajuwara ngaja-nya-ju? Nyambala ngaja-nya-ju?
where see-2sg-do what see-2sg-do
'Where do you see it? What do you see?'
or 'What do you see where?'

b. Ajuwa ngaja-rnina-ka ngaanku? Aja nina-ka ngaanku?
where see-3S2O-PSTHAB 2sgACC who 3S2O-PSTHAB 2sgACC
'Where were you being seen? Who was seeing you?'.
or 'Who was seeing you where?'

Jingulu speakers generally resisted clauses with more than one wh-interrogative in them, but would accept them and on rare occasion could be enticed into producing them, though none ever occurred in conversation or texts. The questions in (57) are all of the examples of multiple interrogatives in a single clause from all the sentences I collected.

(57) a. Nyamba-rna waji-rni maya-rnini-nu?
what-DAT who-FOC hit-3S2O-did
'Who hit you why?'

b. Wajuwaru-ngkami waji-rni maya-rninu-ngku?
where-ABL who-FOC hit-3S2O-will come
'Who will attack you from where?'

c. Aja-rni nyamba ngaba-miki jamarniki-rni?
who-FOC what have-came this(m)-FOC
'Who among these people brought what?'

d. Waju aji-rni bundurru-nu nginirniki ngaba-miki?
who/what who/what-FOC food-did this(n) have-come
'Who brought what of this food?'

As the examples in (57) show, when there is more than one interrogative word in a clause, all of them appear at the beginning of the clause. Interrogatives representing adjuncts precede those representing arguments (57a-c). Since the words for 'who' and 'what' are the same, the relative ordering of interrogatives corresponding to subjects and objects could not be unambiguously determined (57d).

1.5 Negation and Quantification

Jingulu, as predicted of the nonconfigurational languages of both Mohawk and Jiwarli types (see section 1.1.1), lacks existential and universal quantifiers. This is because inherently non-referential quantifiers can not enter into relationships with the inherently

pronominal (referential) arguments of the clausal head. Quantification is bound up in the system of adverbials and of negation.

1.5.1 Negation

There are three ways of forming a negative in Jingulu. The all purpose negative adverbial *angkurla* is used to negate either clauses (in which case it is usually clause-initial, as in (58a-c)) or particular properties (when it generally precedes the property in question, as in (58d-e)).

(58) a. **Angkula** langkaj-nya-ju ngarru.
NEG hear-2sg-do 1sgACC
'You're not listening to me.'

b. **Angkurla** jama-niki-rnu ngulyaj-bija.
NEG that-NIKI-did lie-PRIV
'He is not honest.' [literally: 'It's not that he's unlying.']

c. **Angkula** marndaj lankaj bili-nginyu-ju-nga ambaya-nga-ju,
NEG OK hear-2sgS1Obj-do-FOC talk-1sg-do
angkula jankijba-nga-ju nganku.
NEG understand-1sg-do 2sgACC
'I'm not listening to you don't hear or talk your talk, I don't undertand you.'

d. Ngini-rni murdika **angkurla** jarrkaja-ju kiwirra **angkurla** jarrkaja-jkal-u.
DEM(n)-FOC car NEG run-do none NEG run-NOML-n
'That car doesn't run at all.'

e. Ngujana-jkal-a **angkurla** kalyirdji jama-niki-ni
be_greedy-NOML-m NEG kind this(m)-FOC
'That person's greedy, unkind.'

In (58d) the negative interjection *kiwirra* ('none') occurs. This interjection is not used to form negatives, nor can it be used as a nominal. As discussed in the next subsection, it is occasionally used as a negative quantifier of sorts, though this is unusual.

Another way of negating a nominal property is to use the Privative suffix /-jij-/, which added to nominal gives the meaning 'lacking...' or 'without...':

(59) a. Ngininiki-rni kalirnimi-rni **nginduwa-jij-a** ya-ju duwa-ardi.
this(n)-FOC tree_species-FOC this_way-PRIV-m 3sg-do rise-HAB
'The *kalirnimi* tree doesn't grow around these parts.'

b. Jamaniki wurrjiya-ni-ngku-ju kilalija jaarndama-jij-a.
this(m) shave-INV-REFL-do clean(m) whiskers-PRIV-m
'He shaves himself clean, has no whiskers.'

As mentioned in section 3.3.2.4 of chapter 5, the Privative suffix extends a root X to give a root meaning 'entity lacking X'. Nominals heads follow the extended root.

The final means of negation in Jingulu is the Negative Imperative core verb /-ji/. Appearing on co-verbal roots without any agreement marking, it is always interpreted as a negative imperative (see (60)). As discussed in section 4 of chapter 2, /-ji/ induces vowel harmony on the root to which it is attached. The Negative Imperative is discussed in section 2.2 of chapter 6.

(60) a. **Bijarrk biji-ji** jamarniki-rni, ukuliji-rni!
squeeze-NEGIMPV this(m)-FOC boil-FOC
'Don't squeeze your boil!'

b. Kararlu-ni nuya-rni **wajuwi-ji**!
ground-FOC red_sand-FOC throw-NEGIMPV
'Don't throw that red sand!'

1.5.2 Quantification

As mentioned earlier, Jingulu lacks quantifier words with the meaning like 'every', 'everyone', and 'everything'. The word *dardu* ('many', 'much') is used in cases where this is intended, as in (61a). This lack of specific universal quantifiers has been noted for most nonconfigurational languages (Baker 1996b). Another way of expressing universal quantification of the type 'all Xs (are) Y' is to state the proposition simply as 'Xs (are) Y' (61b-d).

(61) a. **Dardu**-darra dunju-wanyu-nu
many-pl kiss-2dl-did
'You two kissed everyone.'

b. Darrangkunu windurru-ngkujku-darra.
tree-did root-HAVING-pl
'All trees have roots.'

c. Jama-baji-rni-ni ngirribiji-wurri-nyi-yi nganku.
that(m)-pl(anim)-ERG-FOC chat-3pl-2Obj-FUT 2sgACC
'Everyone will talk to you.'

d. Nginda-baja-rni laringmi-ngurru-ju.
that(m)-pl(anim)-FOC remember-1plInc-do
'We know everyone.'

The use of the word meaning 'many' as a universal quantifier is common in central Australia. Bittner and Hale (1995) argue that this involves a type-shift from nominal to quantifier, but this alternation can be affected without recourse to type-shifting. If the word *dardu* is actually a nominal which translates to 'big mob', as speakers often translate it, rather than an adverbial meaning 'many', then, given that nominals in Jingulu are ambiguous between definite and indefinite readings, the apparent use of *dardu* as a universal quantifier is simply the definite reading ('the big mob').

The English negative quantifiers 'no one' and 'nothing' are translated in Jingulu with the general marker of negation *angkula* plus an appropriate interrogative (62a-b), by simple negation of an affirmative (62c-d), or on rare occasion by *kiwirra* or *kuwarrku* (62e-f), which are usually only used as interjections meaning 'nothing'. As with plain interrogative expressions, negated interrogatives appear at the beginning of the clause they belong to and without case marking, but *kiwirra/kuwarrku* can appear anywhere in the clause as if it were a nominal word.

(62) a. Ngujana-jkal-a nya-nu bundurru-rna-ni jama-rni, **angkula aja**
be_greedy-NOML-m 2sg-did food-DAT-FOC that(m)-FOC NEG what
ngunya-nya-ardi
give-2sg-HAB
'You were greedy with that food, never giving any to anyone.'

b. Bininja nginda-rni mankiya-ardi, **angkula waja** ambaya-rdi ngarnu,
barnki-jija ngindarniki
man that(m)-FOC sit-HAB NEG who speak-HAB 3sgACC
friend-PRIV this(m)-FOC
'That man's sitting there with no one to talk to, he's got no mates.'

c. Angkula ngaba-nya-miki ngarru.
NEG have-2sg-came 1sgACC
'You brought me nothing.'

d. Angkula jangkijbi-nga-ju wurraku.
NEG know-1sg-do 3plACC
'I don't know any of them.'

e. **Kiwirra** ngangi-rna jimirniki marru-na.
nothing meat-DAT this(n) town-FOC
'There's nothing by way of meat in this town.'

f. Ngaba-nga-ju **kuwarrku** (angkula).
have-1sg-do none (NEG)
'I don't have anything.'

Another way of saying 'nothing' is to use the negative marker *angkula* in conjunction with the negative polarity demonstrative *nyambakini,* constructed by suffixing /-kini/ (glossed as NEGINDEF for 'negative indefinite') to the interrogative/demonstrative *nyamba.* Younger and less fluent speakers did not recognise this construction.

(63) a. **Angkula** ngaba-nya-jiyimi ngarru **nyamba-kini**.
NEG have-2sg-come 1sgACC what-NEGINDEF
'You didn't bring me anything.'

b. **Angkula** ngaba-miki ngarru **nyamba-niki** kiwirra.
NEG have-came 1sgACC what-NEGINDEF none
'No one brought me anything.'

Existential quantification, as in English 'some...' is indicated in Jingulu by one of a few regular nominals meaning 'a few', such as *naraja* or *larrinjku (marndamarnda)* (64a-b). The words 'something' and 'someone' are translated in Jingulu by using a Demonstrative or interrogative plus the Indefinite marker /-nayi/ (64c-e). Demonstratives and interrogatives are discussed in section 1 of chapter 5 and the Indefinite marker is discussed in section 3.4 of the same chapter.

(64) a. Ya-jiyimi **larranjku marndamarnda**.
3sg-come one_side hand
'A few [half a handful of] people are approaching.'

b. Nyambala ya-ju kijurlu-darra **naraja**.
DEM(n) 3sg-do stone-pl few
'There's a few rocks there.'

c. **Jama-nayi** ya-miki nganku.
that(m)-INDEF 3sg-came 2sgACC
'Someone will come to (help) you.'

d. **Aji-ni-nayi** ngunya-ni-ngurru-nu.
Who-ERG-INDEF give-INV-1plInc-did
'Someone gave it to us.'

e. **Aja-nayi** nayu-nga maya-nu.
who-INDEF woman-fERG hit-did
'The woman hit someone.'

1.6 'Double object' and beneficiary constructions

There are a very small number of double object predicates in Jingulu, including /nguny-/ ('give', 'send'), /bajk-/ ('tell'), and /ngab-/+COME/GO ('bring/take'). Sentences containing these roots can be identified as 'double object' constructions on the basis of the case-marking on nominals construed with clausal arguments. While the goal of movement is usually marked Allative, nominals representing goals (beneficiaries, indirect objects) in double object constructions appear marked either Dative (65a-b) or in the unmarked Absolutive form (65c-e). If pronominal, they appear in the Accusative form (65a-b, f-i).

(65) a. Ngunya-nga-nu **wurraku** ngima-rni babirdimi-rni
give-1sg-did 3plACC that(v)-FOC yam-FOC
nginda-baja-rna wawa-la-rna.
that(m)-pl(anim)-DAT child-pl-DAT
'I gave this yam to the children.'

b. Ngini-rni bundurru ngaba-nga-rruku **ngarna ngindi-rna marluka-rna**.
that(n)-FOC food have-1sg-went 3sgACC that(m)-DAT old_man-DAT
'I took some food to that old man.'

c. Nayuni ngunya-yi nyinda **bininja**.
woman give-FUT DEM(m) man
'That woman's promised to that man.'

d. Wunya-nga-ju ngabulu **wawa kurlukurla jalyamingka**,
give-1sg-do breast child small(m) baby(m)
jumurrdku ngunya-nga-ju.
milk give-1sg-do
'I'm giving breast milk to the little baby.'

e. Wunya-nga-yi nginda-rni **marluka balika** ya-ju jabarrka ngunya-nga-yi.
give-1sg-FUT that(m)-FOC old_man hungry(m) 3sg-do liver give-1sg-FUT
'I'll give the liver to that hungry old man.'

f. Ngaba-nga-rri **ngarnu** ngini-ni bundurru ngunya-nga-rriyi nyinda.
have-1sg-will_go 3sgACC DEM(n)-FOC food give-1sg-will_go DEM(m)
'I'm going to give that fellow some food.'

g. Umangku bajka-mi **ngarru**.
story tell-IRR 1sgACC
'Tell me a story.'

h. Dungumi-nginyi-ju ngarnu, nganku ngunya-nga-ju **ngarnu**.
pay_back-1S2O-do 3sgACC 2sg-ACC give-1sg-do 3sgACC
'I'm paying you back for this, giving you this one.'

i. Ngibu-kurra-miki kurrubardi-ni **ngirraku**?
have-2pl-came boomerang-FOC 1plExcACC
'Did you mob bring us any boomerangs?'

j. Ngunyi-nginyi-nyi-ju **kunyaku**.
give-1dlExc-2Obj-do 2dlACC
'We'll give them to the pair of you.'

k. Ngunya-ana-mi ngamarniki-rni milakurrmi-rni, ngunya-ana-mi!
give-1Obj-IRR this(v)-FOC yam-FOC give-1Obj-IRR
'Give me these yams, give them to me!'

Assuming that DAT in these constructions marks referential nominals construed with argument positions that contrast with the lowest (Absolutive) argument and also with the highest (Ergative) argument, it appears that indirect objects can either be hierarchically superior to direct objects (DAT) or else effectively level with them (ABS). Note that object agreement is optionally with either the direct (65h-i) or the indirect (65j-k) object. In the terms of Marantz (1991), both ERG and objective DAT are cases which are dependent on the presence of another argument (the associated nominals of which surface in ABS (unmarked) forms). One argument in a clause will always have unmarked (ABS) nominals construed with it. ERG is the dependent case assigned to referential nominals which are construed with the highest of any other argument positions, while DAT is the dependent case assigned to referential nominals construed with a lower remaining argument position.

No special marking on the verb or of free nominals is required when direct and indirect objects are co-referent:

(66) Ngunyu-ngurri-yi wunyaku.
give-1plInc-FUT 3plACC
'We'll give them to one another.'

The root /burdb-/ ('send') does not participate in double object constructions, with the indirect object receiving Allative marking and the direct object Ergative (67). The marking of the direct object as Ergative is licensed by the verbal suffix /-rra/, which is discussed in section 3 of chapter 6.

(67) a. Nginda-bila-rni marluka-yil-a burdba-nga-yi-rra
that(m)-dl(anim)-ERG old_man-dl(anim)-m send-1sg-FUT-RA
marlumarlu-yil-a **ngunbuluka-rni-ngka**.
sick-dl(anim)-m doctor-FOC-ALL
'I'll send those two sick old men to the doctor.'

b. Nginda-baja-rni burdba-nga-nu-rra **nginda-baji-rni-ngka**.
that(m)-pl(anim)-ERG send-1sg-did-RA that(m)-dl(anim)-FOC-ALL
'I sent that mob over to that other mob.'

The fact that object agreement is optionally with either the direct (65h-i) or the indirect (65j-k) object is curious, and is further evidence that the two objects can occur with either hierarchically superior to the other, agreement being associated with only one of these positions. In all of these cases, however, the direct object is in the third person, and therefore would not have overt agreement. When I attempted to elicit first and second person objects of 'give', speakers gave only forms with the root /burdb-/ ('send'), which, as demonstrated in (67), is not a double object verb.

The beneficiary of an action undertaken by someone may be encoded as an indirect object in some cases, appearing overtly as either an ACC pronoun (68a-e) or as a DAT-marked nominal (68e-g). The absolutive (unmarked) option is not available for free nominals construed with beneficiaries (unless the nominal is dislocated).

(68) a. Jama-ni lalija kunjuwa-mi **ngarru** kurlukurlu-ngka.
that-FOC tea throw-IRR 1sgACC small(n)-ALL
'Put some tea into the little cup for me.'

b. Ngunu maja-mi **ngarru** darrangku.
DEM(n) get-IRR 1sgACC stick
'Get me that stick.'

c. Nganya-mi **ngarru** kujika.
sing-IRR 1sgACC song
'Sing me a song!'

d. Ngibu-kurra-miki kurrubardi-ni **ngirraku**?
have-2pl-came boomerang-FOC 1plExcACC
'Did you mob bring us any boomerangs?'

e. **Marluka-rna** biji-kurru-wa **nganu**.
old_man-DAT converse-2pl-will_go 3sgACC
'Why don't you go talk to that old man?'

f. Ngibu-kurru-ngku ngarnu kurrubardi **ngarri-ni-na kirda-na**?
have-2pl-will_come 3sgACC boomerang 1sgGEN-m-DAT father-DAT
'Did you mob bring my father a boomerang?'

g. Nginirniki ngirrma-nga-nu nganu ngarri-ni-ni **wawa-rna**.
this(n) make-1sg-did 3sgACC 1sgGEN-m-FOC child-DAT
'I made this one for my son.'

As mentioned in section 1.2.2, these facts, combined with the marking of possessors argue for a distinction between uses of the DAT marker. When marking indirect objects and beneficiaries, DAT's pronominal equivalent is ACC, but when used to indicate possession, DAT's pronominal equivalent is the paradigm of GEN pronouns (which are based on ACC pronouns but extended by gender agreement).

2. Complex sentences

The most common kind of complex sentence in Jingulu involves placing two clauses adjacent to one another. Whether these complex sentences are to be viewed as coordinate or subordinate depends on the relationship between the core verbs in each clause. In a coordinate structure the tense of each clause is absolute, which means the event depicted by each clause is located in time with respect to the time of utterance. In subordinate structures, either tense is relative, the event depicted in the subordinate clause being located in time relative to the event time depicted in the other clause, or else there is no syntactic verb (bearing tense) at all in the subordinate clause. In some kinds of subordinate clause, a morpheme usually reserved for nominal case marking appears on the verbal complex, indicating some relationship between the marked clause and the matrix. Let us now examine each of these possibilities in turn.

2.1 Coordinate structures

Coordinate structures are employed if two actions or states arose independently (there is no deliberate causal relation or contingency between the clauses), whether one occurred before the other or the two were simultaneous (69). Arguments may freely co-refer between conjoined clauses, and the clitic cluster in each clause contains a core verb whose tense element is independent of the other clause and takes the time of utterance as its frame of reference.

(69) a. Mankiya-nu dibij-kajya-rruku.
sit-did outside-through-went
'She sat here and he went outside.'

b. Mankiya-nga-ju mungku ngirrma-nga-yi, nyamani ngirrikii-rriyi.
sit-1sg-do earth_oven make-1sg-FUT 2sgERG hunt-will_go
'I'll build an earth oven while you hunt.'

c. Nyamirni ngaya mankiyi-mindi-ju, marrinjku imbiyi-mindu-ju.
2sgERG 1sgNOM sit-1dlInc-do language talk-1dlInc-do
'You and I are sitting, talking language.'

d. Yurru bardka-nga-yi jamana ya-jima abardka-nga-yi arduku.
hide_down-1sg-FUT that 3sg-come duck-1sg-FUT careful
'I'm going to duck down and hide from that one coming.'

e. Nginda-rni ya-jiyimi ungkarra-jiyimi.
DEM(m)-FOC 3sg-come whistle-come
'Here comes someone whistling.'

f. Duwa-rnu ngarru durjudurjurra-nu bunbaku-na
rise-did 1sgACC prepare_to_fight-did fight-DAT
'He got up and prepared for a fight with me.'

g. Jangka-nama nga-ardu ngirriki-nama lurrbu nga-angku.
another-time 1sg-go hunting-time return 1sg-will_come
'I'm going hunting and then coming back.'

h. Jaburra-nama wurru-ku kibirdki, ngirriki-kaji wurru-ku
first-time 3pl-went swim hunting-through 3pl-went
'First they went swimming, then hunting.'

i. Kurrubardu ngirrma-nga-yi mujiya-kaji-nga-ka.
boomerang make-1sg-FUT forget-through-1sg-went
'I want to make a boomerang but I've forgotten how.'

j. Burdbaa-nga-rru mijuulmi ngaya-rni angkurla nga-rriyi.
send-1sg-went tobacco 1sgNOM-FOC NEG 1sg-will_go
'I sent you tobacco, but I'm staying here.'

k. Ngiininiki mirrinmirrinji maja-nga-nu karnayingmi-na,
this(n) soap_tree get-1sg-did spear-DAT
karnayingmi ngilma-nga-yi
spear make-1sg-FUT
'I got this soap tree for a spear, I'll make a spear.'

l. Jama-bila-rna mirrngiji-wunyu-ngku-ju, ngayirni ngirrakba-nga-nu.
that-dl-DAT blame-3dl-REFL-do 1sgERG steal-1sg-did
'Those two blame each other, but I stole it.'

Sentences (69a-f) show conjoined clauses with simultaneous action, while (69g-l) have sequential action in the clauses. The order of the clauses need not reflect the order of the actions, as (69i, l) show.

Conjoined clauses are used in Jingulu in many cases which would require subordinate clauses in English. A causal relation may be implied if the result is not an intentional outcome of the cause or if the cause is non-volitional:

(70) a. Naya-nga-nu budunarrimi *langa,* nungka-ngana-nu.
step_on-1sg-did bindii P(Kriol) pierce-3sgS1Obj-did
'I stepped on a bindii and it pricked me.'

b. Nyinuwa jarrkaja-nga-rruku, durdurdbi-kaja-nga-nu jingirdi-rni.
this_way run-1sg-went beat-through-1sg-did heart-ERG
'I went for a run and my heart was thumping.'

c. Angkurla ardjuwa-nga-yi kurrubardu, *nogudbala* nyambala lilinbi-nga-ju.
NEG throw-1sg-go boomerang no good DEM(n) hurt-1sg-do
'I can't throw that boomerang, that one (my shoulder) is no good.'

d. Jimi-na nyambala warrka-nu, balarrjuwa-nu.
this(n)-FOC DEM(n) fall-did smash-did
'It fell and smashed.'

e. Ngaya-rni ngamulu marliya-nga-nu bayin-bala-kaji wurra-miki.
1sgNOM-FOC big sick-1sg-did person-pl-through 3pl-came
bundurru ngunyu-karra-rna-nu
food give-3pl-1Obj-did
'When I was sick lots of people brought me food.'

f. Wardjuwa-nga-nu angkurla maya-nga-nu.
throw-1sg-did NEG hit-1sg-did
'I threw but missed.'

g. Jukula-nga-nu kumungku marliya-nga-ju.
bend_over-1sg-did back sick-1sg-do
'I bent over and now my back hurts.'

h. Manyan nga-yi wayabi nga-ju, manyan nga-yi ayinji.
sleep 1sg-FUT tired 1sg-do sleep 1sg-FUT little_while
'I'm exhausted so I'll sleep a little while.'

The conjunct depicting the cause usually precedes the conjunct depicting the effect, but the reverse order is sometimes found (as in (70c, h)).

Occasionally even purpose clauses or conditionals are found as coordinated clauses, which is not the usual pattern:

(71) a. Mangulkbi dilma-nga-ju, darra-nga-yi umbuma-nga-yi
large_intestine cut-1sg-do eat-1sg-FUT cook-1sg-FUT
'I'm cutting up the large intestines, which I'll cook and eat.'
or 'I'm cutting up the large intestines to cook and eat.'

b. Dimilyi-rni maja-nga-yi, wukurni ngilma-nga-yi.
lancewood_bark-FOC get-1sg-FUT humpy make-1sg-FUT
'If I get some lancewood bark, I can make a humpy.'

Both of these kinds of clause are usually marked by subordination.

2.2 Subordinate structures

A subordinate structure in Jingulu is characterised by one clause's dependence on the tense features of another clause for the interpretation of its own tense features. The clause that is dependent is called the subordinate clause and the clause whose tense features it is dependent on is the matrix. There are several ways of marking subordinate clauses. One is to omit the core verb from the subordinate clause altogether, in which case all of the core verbal features are to be interpreted as identical to those of the matrix clause. The second kind of subordinate clause contains a core verb, but the tense features of that verb are to be interpreted with respect to the event time of the matrix clause, not with respect to the time of utterance. Finally, there is a very rarely used switch reference construction, involving nominal case markers appearing as suffixes to core verbs in the subordinate clause. Some kinds of subordinate clause are introduced by a complementiser which has lexical content, such as the Purposive *ngamba*, the Antipurposive (LEST) complementizer *karningka*, or interrogatives used to introduce relative clauses. The existence of overt complementizers allows us to test the dislocation hypothesis for case-less clause-peripheral nominals. If dislocation is really a relationship between an argument position and an element in [Spec, CP], then dislocated elements are expected to precede overt complementizers (in the case of left dislocation). Conversely, the only elements in a clause which should be allowed to precede overt complementizers are left-dislocated elements, which will never show overt syntactic case marking, even if they are construed with subjects of transitive clauses. These predictions are borne out by the Jingulu data in (72), though there are few cases of words preceding overt complementizers at all, due to the fact that subordinate clauses tend to have fewer overt nominals associated with them than do matrix clauses. No cases of the subject of an embedded transitive clause preceding an overt complementizer were found.

(72) a. **Jalyamingka** amba dabili-wurru-nu ngurrarru ngunungku.
young PURP hold-3pl-did morning this_way
'So that the youngsters would go on until morning.'

b. **Dakarni** karningka mard bajangayi mindimi.
there LEST trap-1sg-FUT 1dlInc-IRR
'If we go into there [log] we might get trapped.'

In (72a) the nominal preceding the complementizer is construed with the subject of an intransitive clause, and would appear in the absolutive whether licensed by dislocation or secondary predication. In (72b), however, the nominal preceding the complementizer would appear with a Locative or Allative adposition if it were not dislocated.

In the following sections, different functions of subordinate clause are discussed, and we see that the choice of morphosyntactic strategy for expressing subordination is fairly free with respect to function of the clause. There is no co-reference or disjoint reference requirements on subjects between subordinate and matrix clauses.

2.2.1 Cause-Effect

As was shown in section 2.1, cause-effect relationships, particularly those where the effect is not a volitional result of the cause, are often represented by coordinating clauses. However, these relationships can also be expressed using subordinate constructions, with the subordinate clause (in boldface in (73)) expressing the effect:

(73) a. **Burdbu-ngurri-yi jama-niki-rni ngunbuluka-rni-ngka burdbu-ngurri-yi**
send-1plInc-FUT this(m)-FOC doctor-FOC-ALL send-1plInc
lakarr maja-ni-nku-nu jarrumulu.
break-INV-REFL-did thigh
'We had to send him to the doctor because he broke his leg.'

b. Kunjkuwa-nu nyamba-nayi lungkarru **ngibi-ngurru-wa**
swallow-did something poison have-1plInc-will_go
ngunbuluka-rni-ngka.
doctor-FOC-ALL
'He swallowed some poison so we took him to the hospital.'

c. Jama-baja-nu yurriyi-wurru-ju wawa-rla-rni karlingka
that(m)-pl-did play-3pl-do boy-pl-ERG boy
lakarr miji-wurru-nku-mi kardawurra.
break-3pl-REFL-IRR lower_arm
'If these boys don't stop mucking around they'll break their arms.'

d. Wardka-nga-nu darrangku-ngkami **lakarr maja-nga-nku ngalirrilirrirdi.**
fall-1sg-did tree-ABL break-1sg-REFL collarbone
'I fell out of a tree and broke my collarbone.'

e. Wardka-kaji nga-nu **dil damangka-rni, ibijibiji-rni dil.**
fall-through 1sg-did cut head-FOC brow-FOC cut
'I fell right over and cut my head, cut my brow open.'

In (73a-b) the verb in the subordinate clause is a future-tense form, even though the events described took place in the past. This is because the tense in the subordinate clause is relative to that of the matrix, and the events described in the subordinate clause happened after those depicted in the matrix. With respect to the time of the cause, the effect was located in the future. When the effect did not or has not yet

actually happened, the Irrealis marker /-mi/ may be used on the subordinate clause, as in (73c). Another strategy altogether is employed in (73d-e), with the subordinate clauses not containing core verbs at all. In these cases the verb features of the matrix are understood to apply to the subordinate clause, and the tense features of the verb are then interpreted in the subordinate clause with respect to the time of utterance. This strategy is normally used for simultaneous or almost simultaneous cause-effect. So, in (73e), the cutting is to be understood as having happened in the past (features supplied by the past tense verb in the matrix) with respect to the time of utterance, not with respect to the time of falling. The falling and the cutting happened simultaneously to all intents and purposes. These constructions are to be understood as verb gapping (following Ross 1970), where the gapped verb is understood as being identical to the matrix verb. This is demonstrated by (73d), where agreement markers, normally only able to occur prefixed to core verbs, surface without an overt core verb (the verb having been gapped).

2.2.2 Purpose

Purpose clauses, where the subordinate clause expresses the reason for which the action depicted by the matrix is undertaken, make use of both the subordination options, either bearing core verbs whose tense features are to be interpreted relative to the matrix clause (clear cases in (74a-f)) or lacking core verbs altogether, in which case the verbal features are supplied by the matrix verb (74g-i). The purposive complementizer *ngamba* (meaning 'in order to') can introduce a purposive subordinate clause (74e-f, j-n).

(74) a. Jinjku maja-mi **jiminiki buba ngirrmi-mindi-yi, jalurruka**
woodchip get-IRR this(n) fire make-1dlInc-FUT, tea
umbumi-mindi-yi!
cook-1dlInc-FUT
'Get some woodchips so we can build this fire and make some tea!'

b. *Mindubala* Jurlinginja nginyi-rruku, **miji-nginyi-wirri**
1dlExcNOM(Kr) skin 1dlExc-went get-1dlExc-will_go
ngindarniki Jiminginja.
this(m) skin
'Me and Jurlinginja went to collect this Jiminginja here.'

c. Nginda wurru-rruku kuna bularraku-ngka **ningki-wurru-wardu**
that(m) 3pl-went ANAPH(n) smoke_tree-ALL chop-3pl-go
wangkurra.
sugarbag
'They went to that smoke tree to cut a sugarbag.'

d. Nyamina-rni nyinawurdirni-rni ya-rruku ngarnu jami-na **darra-yi**
DEM(f)-ERG echidna-ERG 3sg-went 3sgACC that(m)-DAT eat-FUT
jama-ni bakumunjini.
that(m)-FOC ant
'That echidna went for those things, to get ants to eat.'

e. Banybila-minda-ku ngananjku, **ngamba wumbumi-mindi-yi jalurruka**.
find-1dlInc-went woodchip PURP cook-1dlInc-FUT tea
'We went and found some woodchips so we could make some tea.'

f. Nyamirni bujbu kalyarri-mi, buba ngilma-mi, **ngamba nganga**
2sgERG earth_oven dig-IRR fire make-IRR PURP meat
lakud bila-nga-yi.
bury-1sg-FUT
'Dig an earth oven and build a fire so I can cook meat in it!'

g. Buba miji-nginyi-wardi ngimaniki-rni likinima-nu, **dunjuwi buba**,
fire get-1dlExc-HAB this(v)-FOC shellbush-did burn fire
kurlungkurla ngirriminjulu.
small(m) kindling
'We two get shellbush for kindling for fires.'

h. Jangan juwa-nginyi-yi **jardurri juwi**.
push-1sgS2O-FUT down push
'I'll push you back to push you down.'

i. Mamambiyaku diyinu maja-mi **ila-kaji mandarra-ngka**.
soft(n) gum get-IRR put-through sore-ALL
'The bloodwood gum is softened to put on sores.'

j. Burdalu-kaji maja-nga-yi jama burdalyikaji nganga
cooked(n)-through get-1sg-FUT that(m) cooked(m)-through meat
ngamba darra-nga-yi.
PURP eat-1sg-FUT
'I'll get that meat out once it's properly cooked so I can eat it.'

k. Jama-rni ya-jiyimi ngarru ngarri-na-rni Jingila,
that(m)-FOC 3sg-come 1sgACC 1sgGEN-m-FOC Jingili_person
amba imbiyi-nginyi-yi.
PURP speak-1dlExc-FUT
'That Jingili fellow, countryman of mine, must be approaching so that he and I can have a talk.'

l. Kurlungkurlu maja-nga-yi darrangku, ngiininiki jingi-rni maja-nya-yi
small(n) get-1sg-FUT tree this(n) bauhinea-FOC get-1sg-FUT
ngamba-yi ird bila-nga-yi.
PURP-FUT paint-1sg-FUT
'I'll get a little bauhinea branch so I can paint.'

m. Wulukaja-nga-yi **ngamba ya-yi ngarru kilarliju**.
wash-1sg-FUT PURP 3sg-FUT 1sgGEN clean(n)
'I'll do the washing so that my stuff is clean.'

n. Yalyalyaku jimi-rni darrangku maja-mi, kilyilyi-ngkuju jimi-rni maja-mi,
fork that(n)-FOC tree get-IRR fork-HAVING that(n)-FOC get-IRR
ngamba nginda-rni dabila-nga-yi mikinji.
PURP that(m)-FOC hold-1sg-FUT snake
'Get that forked stick, get the forked one so I can hold snakes with it.'

The Purposive marker *ngamba* is best viewed as a complementizer because of its fixed position at the beginning of the purpose clause it introduces (though, as discussed in the introduction to this section, it can be preceded by a left-dislocated element). In (74k) *ngamba* bears a core verb which is identical to the verb in the clause which it introduces. It appears that the use of *ngamba* is optional, but restricted to those clauses in which tense is interpreted relative to the matrix tense, as no examples of *ngamba* with core verb gapping have been found, nor could they be elicited (but core verb gapping was always rejected by informants if produced, despite the fact that it appeared in texts as a common strategy on subordinate clauses). The suggestion is, then, that the tenses of the verbs in the purposes clauses in (74i-m) are interpreted relative to the tense in the matrix clause. This can not be verified or denied, since the tense in both clauses is future, so the tense of the subordinate clause is both in the future with respect to the action of the matrix and with respect to the utterance time.

2.2.3 Evitative

The Evitative complementizer *karningka* (glossed 'LEST' because of its English equivalent) introduces a clause which indicates a state or action that will arise as a result of the truth conditions of the matrix clause not being met:

(75) a. Buba jimi-rni ila-mi jungkali marrungka-mbili **karningka buba-arndi**
firewood that(n)-FOC put-IRR far house-ALL-LOC LEST fire-INST
ngunji-jiyimi marru.
burn-come house
'Put the firewood down far from the house lest the fire burn the house down.'

b. Ngaba-nga-rri dardu larnku **karningka nyinda-rnu wawa**
have-1sg-will_go many clothes LEST DEM(m)-did child
wurrajkalu-jiyimi.
cold-come
'I'll take lots of clothes so that the boy doesn't get cold.'

c. Warlaku marliya-ju, kawul dakarni, **karningka daj baji-ni-ngurru-mi**!
dog sick-do straight leave_it(IMPV) LEST bight-INV-1plInc-IRR
'The dog is sick, leave it alone or it might bite us!'

The tense features of the core verb in the LEST clause are interpreted as relative to the matrix tense. In (75b), for example, the present tense of the subordinate clause is to be understood as contemporaenous (or practically so) with respect to the matrix event of going somewhere taking clothes along. This matrix event is located in the future with respect to the time of utterance and so the event of the boy getting cold, although expressed in the present, is to be understood as potentially occurring in the future with respect to utterance time.

2.2.4 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Jingulu are all adjuncts to the matrix clause (see Hale 1976 on the adjoined relative clause in Australian languages) and can generally be, in the terms of Austin (1981) and Dench and Evans (1988), either T-relative or NP-relative. Relative clauses, in short, can be relativisations on the temporal structure of the matrix clause or on one of the participants represented by a (typically nominal) argument or adjunct. T-relative clauses, in bold in (76), describe situations located with respect to the time structure of the matrix, and are translated in English using relative complementizers like 'when', 'as', or 'while'. The T-relative pronouns *kurna* or *kurra* (glossed TC for 'T-relative Complementizer') are used to mark a relative clause which temporally preceded but is a contingency for the event described in the matrix clause (76a-c). Conditional clauses can also be introduced by *kurna* +FOC (or *kurna* +FUT+FOC), as demonstrated in (76d-e).

(76) a. Jakardini ya-angku, **kurna ya-angku jakardini** mankiya-yi, wayabi ya-yi.
mother 3sg-will_come TC 3sg-will_come mother sit-FUT tired 3sg-FUT
'My mother's coming, when she gets here she'll sit down because she will be tired.'

b. **Kurna ya-angku ngarri-na angkila ya-angku**, ngirrma-kaji
TC 3sg-will_come 1sgGEN-m cousin 3sg-will_come make-through
ngurri-yi.
1plInc-FUT
'When my cousin comes, we all will build it.'

c. **Kurra ibilkirni wardka-yi**, banybila-nga-yi nginaniki-rni
TC raindrop fall-FUT find-1sg-FUT this(f)-FOC
lamurrangkurli-ni, dardu-ni ya-ardi.
stinking_turtle-FOC many-FOC 3sg-HAB
'When it rains you can find lots of these stinking turtles there.'

d. **Kurra-ni angkula ardbala burrub nga-yi**, ngaja-nga-yi
TC when-FOC NEG slowly heal-1sg-FUT see-1sg-FUT
milanykuji karriba.
doctor white_person
'If I don't get better eventually, I'll have to go see a whitefella doctor.'

e. **Kurna-yi-rni ngaja-nga-nki-yi bardakurriya-nga-yi**, angkurla marru
TC-FUT-FOC see-1sg-REFL-FUT get_well-1sg-FUT NEG town
nga-rriyi mankiya-nga-yi.
1sg-will_come sit-1sg-FUT
'If I start to get better, I won't go and stop in town.'

f. Dirndi-ngurru-nu jurliji kijurlurlu-warndi, **uluwijirni junybaka-ju**.
shoot-1plInc-did bird stone-INST sun set-do
'We tried to hit birds with stones as the sun was setting.'

g. **Jalalarrka duwa-ardi** miji-nginyu-wardi.
mushroom rise-HAB get-1dlExc-HAB
'When mushrooms grow, we get them.'

h. Karijba-mbili nga-rruku mudika, **mudika-ngkami ngaja-nga-ju**
road-LOC 1sg-went car car-ABL see-1sg-do
mardardaju.
bump
'Driving along the road, out of the car I saw many bumps.'

i. Mankiya-nga-nu ngawu-mbili **kurrubardu ngirrma-nga-bardi,**
sit-1sg-did camp-LOC boomerang make-1sg-PRES
kujarrarni.
two
'I was sitting in camp making boomerangs, two of them.'

j. **Ningki-nginyu-ju darrangku karnawunji**, kunyurlu mankiya-nu-ma
cut-1dlExc-do tree lancewood 2dl(f)NOM sit-did-EMPH
wandayi-mbili.
shade-LOC
'We cut the lancewoods while you two sat in the shade.'

The tense features of a T-relative clause are always expressed overtly and always relative to the event time of the matrix clause.

By contrast with T-relative clauses, NP-relative clauses are not always contiguous clauses. Since overt nominals are really adjuncts coindexed with *pro*, NP-relative clauses surface as clauses in adjunct positions predicated of *pro*. Entire clauses adjoined in this manner are often introduced by a demonstrative (often an anaphoric demonstrative (77a), though other demonstratives (77b-c) or interrogatives (77d) will serve the purpose or by an apparent relativiser *juna* ((77e), found in only three sentences, but always with NP-relative clauses).

(77) a. Nginda wurru-wardu kuna bunungkurru-ngka **kuna wamba nyambala**
that(m) 3pl-go ANAPH(n) billabong-ALL ANAPH(n) snappy_gum DEM(n)
lurnkurru ngaba-ju.
middle have-do
'They're going to that lake that has the snappy gum in the middle of it.'

b. Nyamirna-na ngibi-wurri-jiyimi imikirni **nyambala mirrirda-mi wurraku**
DEM(f)-DAT have-3pl-come old_woman DEM(n) teach-INF 3plACC
ngini-rni darrangku.
that(n)-FOC tree
'They're bringing that old woman who knows all about plants.'

c. Wilijird ngaja-nga-nu **jama juwarra-rnana-jiyimi.**
look_back-1sg-did that(m) follow-3S1O-come
'I looked back at the guy who was following me.'

d. Jama-rni **aja ngarri-na-ni kangkuya-rni,** ngarri-ni-rna
that(m)-FOC who 1sgGEN-m-FOC grandpa-FOC 1sgGEN-m-DAT
ngarru kirda-na.
1sgGEN father-DAT
'That's who is my kangkuya is, from my Dad's side.'

e. Nginda ngiji-wurru-wardu nyamarni imikirni **juna warlaku nyambala**
that(m) see-3pl-go DEM(f) old_woman REL dog DEM(n)
murrkulu nyambala jarrumurlu.
three DEM(n) leg
'They're going to see the old woman with the three-legged dog'

f. Darra-kaji ngirri-ju wangkurra, **banybili-ngirru-nu.**
eat-through 1plExc-do sugarbag(m) find-1plExc-did
'We ate that sugarbag up, the one we found.'

g. Jama-na ngibi-wurri-jiyimi bininja ngibi-wurri-jiyimi jama-na
that(m)-DAT have-3pl-come man have-3pl-come that(m)-DAT
irrkbulajbu-ngku ngaba-jiyimi jimi-rni murdika-rni.
paint-will_come have-come that(n)-FOC car-FOC
'They're bringing that guy who'll paint this car.'

h. **Kibardki ibilka-rni nya-yi ngardajkala-rni**, nginda bunungkurru-mbili
bathe water-FOC 2sg-FUT big(m)-FOC that(m) billabong-LOC
miji-ngurri-nu kurdijalaka.
get-1plExc-did mussel
'Wherever there's enough water in a billabong for you to bathe, we would get mussels there.'

i. Kujkarrabilarni kurrkabadi-yila ngaja-nga-nu mangkuru-mbili,
two turkey-dl see-1sg-did plain-LOC
dirri-wunyu-bardi waniyi.
eat-3dl-HAB grasshopper
'I saw two turkeys on the plain that were eating grasshoppers.'

j. Jama-rni bininja-rni ngaja-nu, **kulabajarra-rni irrkburrkbu ngaba-nu**,
that(m)-ERG man-ERG see-did hat-ERG white have-did
jarrumulu lakarr ngaja-nu **walanja.**
thigh broken see-did goanna
'That man with the white hat saw the goanna with the broken leg.'

As (77j) shows, clauses occupying adjunct positions that are coindexed with *pro* may bear the same overt case marking as nominals in this position, with /-rni/ appearing on the word for hat possibly being an ERG suffix (although it could also be the focus marker /-rni/ discussed in section 3.3.3.1 of chapter 5). The tense of the adjoined clause is interpretedrelative to the matrix tense (illustrated most clearly by (77c, i)).

2.2.5 Causatives

There are two ways of expressing causativisation in Jingulu. The first method, illustrated in (78), makes use of the root /ngirrm-/ ('make', also 'mend'), with the causing agent as the subject of the /-ngirrm-/ clause and the caused event in the place of the object. This is effectively equivalent to the English 'make' causative and unlike the Causative in most Australian languages, and so may well be a structure that has entered Jingulu by way of English.

(78) a. Ngindarniki-rni kulirndirnda, kulirndirnda-ni dirri-ngirru-wardi,
this(m)-FOC wasp_gall wasp_gall-FOC eat-1plExc-HAB
darra-marri **ngirrmi-marri** wawarla-rla-ni-ni.

eat-did(dist) make-did(dist) child-pl-ERG-FOC
'This is wasp gall, we eat wasp gall, and we used to make the young kids eat it too.'

b. Jama-rni **ngirrma-ku** wawa ngina ngarrabaja-yi manyan bila-ku.
that(m)-ERG make-PSTHAB child that(f) tell-FUT sleep-PSTHAB
'He used to make that girl go to sleep by telling her to.'

c. **Ngirrma-nga-yi** nyama ngurruwa kibardka-ju-ngka.
make-1sg-FUT 2sgNOM this_way swim-do-ALL
'I'll make you go swimming over there.'

Note that such a construction can have two positions associated with overt Ergative nominals, the causer (underlined in (78b)) and the subject of the clause depicting the caused event or state if that clause is transitive (underlined in (78a)).

The second form of causative appears to involve a suffix, which one speaker gave as /-layi/ and another as /-yili/. This is illustrated in (79). Unfortunately I was unable to collect more examples of these suffixes and further questioning caused the speaker to use /ngirrm-/ causatives.

(79) a. **Wardka-layi** ila-nga-nu jalalang bila-nga-nu jimirniki-rni nginja-rdarra-ni.
fall-CAUS put-1sg-did spill-1sg-did this(n)-FOC seed-pl-FOC
'I tipped these seeds and made them fall.'

b. Jimi-rni murdika-rni akiyabardu, ngirrma-nga-yi **jarrkaja-yili**.
that(n)-FOC car-FOC bad(n) mend-1sg-FUT run-CAUS
'That car's no good, I'll fix it so it goes.'

In clauses using a causative suffix, there is no overt marking of tense on the subordinate clause, but the event in the subordinate clause is always interpreted as being a direct consequence of the event in the matrix clause. This resembles the Warlpiri Translative /-karda/ (Simpson 1983), which appears on nominals to express an intended result of an action or event. In Jingulu the suffix in question forms a result clause in combination with a category-less root (verbal in the two instances collected), and therefore must contain grammatical category features itself.

2.2.6 Switch Reference

Switch reference in Australian languages is an areal phenomenon which has a boundary at Jingulu. If Jingulu has a switch reference system, it is the northernmost Australian language to have one. Australian switch reference, described in detail by Austin (1981), involves marking particular kinds of subordinate clauses with a morpheme, most

commonly homophonous with or containing an element homophonous with a case marker, which indicates whether the subject of the subordinate clause is co-referent with or disjoint in reference from the subject (in most cases) of the matrix clause. It is difficult to say for sure whether Jingulu has a switch-reference system. It was certainly not possible to elicit switch reference marking, and speakers generally rejected sentences with putative switch reference marking, whether generated by themselves or other Jingulu speakers. However, Austin (1981), discussing Hale's (1960) material, notes that there may some evidence for switch reference marking in Jingulu, and I have collected some cases of nominal case marking on verbal words which resemble switch reference marking.

If these rare constructions are in fact switch reference marking, they follow a pattern familiar among Australian languages which have switch reference.[10] The clitic cluster in the subordinate clause has a marker, homophonous with a nominal case marker, suffixed to it: LOC if the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are co-referent (80a), ALL if they are not (80b-e).

(80) a. Nga-ju **ngarnu kabijka-ju-mbili**.
1sg-do 3sgACC laugh-do-LOC
'I am (sitting) laughing at him.' (from Hale 1960, via Austin 1981)

b. Ngaja-nga-ju **mankiya-ju-ngka**.
see-1sg-do sit-do-ALL
'I see him sitting.' (from Hale 1960, via Austin 1981)

c. Jurlinginja ngarrabaja-nga-yi **maja-yi-ngka ngarru larnku**.
skin tell-1sg-FUT get-FUT-ALL 1sgGEN clothes
'I'll tell Jurlinginja to bring my stuff here.'

d. Mangkuru-mbili banybili-ngirri-wardi budukirrirni-ni, **wanyma-ju-ngka** -
plain-LOC find-1plExc-HAB goanna-FOC walk-do-ALL
jalyangkunu ngaba-ju kidba.
now have-do egg
'We could find a female plains goanna walking along on the plain - they have their eggs at this time.'

e. Ngirrma-nga-yi nyama ngurruwa **kibardka-ju-ngka**.
make-1sg-FUT 2sgNOM this_way swim-do-ALL
'I'll make you go swimming over there.'

There is only one example of the use of Locative marking on verb words in relative

[10] For descriptions of Australian switch reference systems, see Austin (1981). For analyses see Pensalfini (1995) and particularly references therein.

clauses to indicate co-reference of the subordinate clause subject with the matrix subject, and that is the form collected by Hale and given in (80a). Even in Hale's notes, the use of (different subject) ALL is far more common than the use of (same subject) LOC. Sentences (80b-e) involve relative clauses (which all translate into English as clausal complements, but see section 2.3 on why all apparent clausal complements are actually relative clauses) with Allative marking on the verb and disjoint reference between the subjects of the matrix and subordinate clauses. If the sentences in (80) do actually represent either the remnants or the beginnings of a switch reference system, this system resembles the switch reference system for relative clauses in Garrwa and Wanyi, which are the only other non-Pama-Nyungan languages with switch reference systems. In these languages, LOC marking is used to represent co-reference of subjects between clauses, and ALL for disjoint reference. This differs from similar systems in Pama-Nyungan languages where subject co-reference is often indicated by Ergative marking (in many of these languages Ergative and Locative marking are homophonous, but in some where they are distinct, ERG is used for subject co-reference and LOC for disjoint reference). Pensalfini (1995) suggests, following obeservations and ideas by Austin (1981) and Dench and Evans (1988) that ERG is used for subject co-reference because the subordinate clause is predicated of the external argument, while a locational case (LOC or ALL) is used for different subjects because in the canonical case of a relative clause with a different subject to the matrix, the subordinate clause is contemporaneous with the action of the matrix clause and is therefore a T-relative clause. Locational cases mark location in time as well as in space, and are therefore ideal markers of T-relative clauses.

Assuming that switch reference originated among Pama-Nyungan languages and later spread to Garrwa and Jingulu, the homophony of ERG and LOC in many Pama-Nyungan languages (including the Arandic languages) allowed for languages that had distinct ERG and LOC marking, such as Jingulu, to use the Locative in same subject switch reference function.

The rareness of switch-reference constructions in Jingulu suggests that they may not actually be part of the core of Jingulu grammar, but instead may be claques from Mudburra, which is more widely spoken in the community and which is spoken fluently by the majority of the Jingulu speakers with whom I worked.

2.3 Clausal arguments

The analysis of Jingulu syntax proposed in this dissertation, particularly section 1 of this chapter, requires all syntactic arguments of verbs to be null. Under this approach, we do not expect clausal arguments. This is predicted by the analysis in chapter 3 and in section 1 of this chapter which argues that the source of this restriction to *pro* in argument positions follows from a ban on encyclopedic material in argument positions (see also Baker 1996b). However, Jingulu allows a clause to be construed with null objects when those clauses can be interpreted as referential (a thing, a noise, a fact), as

demonstrated in (81). Such clauses always appears sentence-peripherally, which suggests that they are involved in dislocation structures (see sections 1.1.1 and 1.1.2 for the analysis of nominal dislocation). Clauses of this type can not be secondary predicates because they are IPs, and only NP (including AP in Jingulu), VP, PP and AdvP can be predicates.

(81) a. Ngarrabaja-mi jama-niki-ni **marliyi-ngirri-ju**.
tell-IRR that-NIKI-FOC sick-1plExc-do
'Tell that person that we're sick.'

b. Jam-bila-na langkaj-nga-ardi wunyaku **bunbaku imbil-unyu-wardi**.
that-dl-FOC hear-1sg-go 3dlACC fight argue-3dl-PRES
'I hear them arguing.'

c. Nyinda-baja dardu-nu lankaj wurru-ju-minda **mindiyili-rni**
DEM(m)-pl many-did hear 3pl-do-1dlInc 1dlInc-ERG
imbiyi-mindu-ju-ma.
talk-1sgdlInc-do-EMPH
'All those people are listening to you and me talk now.'

d. Langkaj bila-nga-ju **bangkurlini ngiyarra-ju**.
hear-1sg-do mosquito buzz-do
'I hear a mosquito buzzing.'

e. Ngaja-nga-ju wurraku **murrkun-bala wijin-wurru-ju marlyaku**.
see-1sg-do 3plACC three-pl(anim) stand-3pl-do other_side
'I can see three people standing on the other side.'

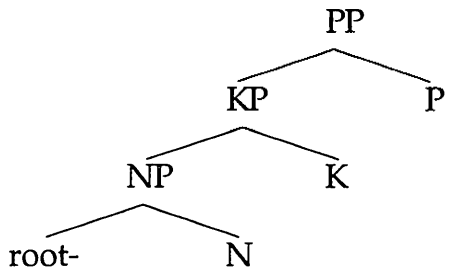
f. Bujkuwa-nga-ju **kandirri ngunja-ju**.
smell-1sg-do damper burn-do
'I smell the damper burning.'

All of the roots used with clausal objects in (81) are also found with nominal objects or intransitively (eg: /ngaj-/ 'look' and 'see', /langkaj bil-/ 'hear' and 'listen (to)'). The appearance of an Accusative pronominal object in conjunction with a clause in (81) suggests a similar analysis to the NP-relative clauses presented in section 2.2.4, where the clauses were analysed as adjoined to the matrix and construed with null elements in argument positions. Apparent clausal complements are therefore adjoined relative clauses in the sense of Hale (1976), and behave like any other relative clause in the language.

Chapter 5
Nominal Morphology

The next two chapters are a detailed discussion of morphological variation in those parts of speech which display it. This chapter concentrates on the morphology of nominal words, including demonstratives (section 1), pronouns (section 2), marking of nominal features by suffixes (section 3) and nominal indefiniteness (section 4). Paradigms are given where appropriate, and morphology is analysed in accordance with the principles of Distributed Morphology (DM) as set out in chapter 3. The DM framework will provide valuable insights into some of the apparently unusual phenomena of Jingulu morphology, such as gender and number 'disagreement' (see sections 3.1 and 3.2 of this chapter and section 1.5 of chapter 6). The structure of nominal phrases in (1) arises from the discussions in this chapter.

(1)



The N node is occupied by the nominal heads which contain syntactic information relating to the noun and manifest suppletion for syntactic gender. The K node is the locus of syntactic case, while P is occupied by adpositions or semantic case markers. The Dative morpheme appears to be able to occupy either K or P. The array of terminals provided by the syntactic structure in (1) can optionally be supplemented by fissioning off of number and animacy features from N.

1. Demonstratives

Under this heading are discussed demonstratives of location and direction as well as anaphoric and referential demonstratives and interrogative words.

1.1 This, that, and the other thing.

Referential demonstratives ('this', 'that', 'those' etc.) in Jingulu, as in most Australian languages, can be translated as either 'this/that' or 'this/that one'. A referential demonstrative can form a NP of itself, and need not modify another nominal. Demonstratives are extremely common in speech, occurring in over half of all sentences collected. Jingulu has three lexical sets of demonstratives.

The first, illustrated in (2), is the *jama/jimi* set. These are distal demonstratives (meaning 'that' or 'that one'), but can be made proximal ('this', 'this one') by the addition of the proximal suffix /-niki/ (as in (2e-h)). The suffix /-niki/ (sometimes but not regularly [-rniki]) strongly implies visibility ((2i) versus (2j)).

(2) a. **Jimi**-ni jurruma-mi burrbuji-kaji!
this-FOC wipe_out-IRR finish-through
'Get rid of all that!'

b. **Jami**-ni maya-nu **jama**.
that-ERG hit-did that
'One hit the other.'

c. Ardu-ma-jarri **jama** ngunbuluka **jami**-na ngunbuluka-rni
go-EMPH-will_go that doctor that-DAT doctor-ERG
wunjyuma-nurna-nu.
cure-3sgS1sgO-did
'We'll get the doctor for him. The doctor cured me.'

d. **Jama**-baji-ni buyu-wurru-ju.
that-pl-FOC smoke-3pl-do
'Those people are smoking.'

e. Bulajbunji **jama-rniki**-rni.
speared(m) this(m)-FOC
'This guy has been speared.'

f. **Jama-niki**-rni naya ajanka-ju biya-ngka kumungku-mbili.
that-NIKI-FOC stand stand-3sg-do behind back-LOC
'There's someone standing behind you.'

g. **Jimi-niki**-ni karriyaku imbiy-urru-ju marrinju.
this(n)-FOC different speak-3pl-do language
'This is a different language they speak (here).'

h. Warnu **jimi-niki** buyi-mindi-yi.
tobacco this(n) smoke-1dlInc-FUT
'Let's smoke this tobacco.'

i. Ngaja-nga-yi nginda-rniki bininja.
see-1sg-FUT this(m) man
'I'll be seeing this man.'

j. *? Ankula ngaja-nga-yi nginda-rniki bininja.
NEG see-1sg-FUT this(m) man
'I won't be seeing this man.'

As (2c) demonstrates, demonstratives are often used in Jingulu where English would use third person pronouns. In fact, Jingulu lacks third person singular nominative pronouns altogether (see section 2), using only demonstratives in this function. As demonstrated in several of the sentences in (2), demonstratives can inflect for number and case like any other nominal.

Jama is masculine in gender and *jimi* is neuter. In elicitation sessions, speakers rejected *jama* used co-referentially with feminine or neuter nominals, and similarly rejected *jimi* with vegetable nominals. However, in accordance with the principles of gender neutralisation set out in section 3.1.3, *jama* is often found in discourse co-referent with nominals of any gender, and *jimi* with neuter or vegetable gender nominals:

(3) a. **Jama-niki**-rni **kurrinbirnmi**-rni angkurla nginim-bili binjiy-ardi
this(m)-FOC green_plum(v)-FOC NEG here-LOC grow-HAB
'The green plum doesn't grow around here.'

b. **Jama** warda-ju ngarnu wawa-rna.
that(m) yell-do 3sgACC child-DAT
'She's yelling at the children.' ['she' from context]

c. **Jimi-niki** irrk bilajburdi **kulungkukbi**.
this(n) painted(v) didgeridoo (v)
'This didgeridoo is painted.'

The second and third sets of demonstrative stems are like *jama* and *jimi* in having different stem forms for different genders, but these have distinct forms for each of the four genders (with the exception of /nyam-/ which uses the same form for both neuter and vegetable genders):

Table 1

Demonstratives varying according to gender				
stem	masc.	fem.	neut.	veg.
/nyam-/	nyama	nyamarni	nyambala	nyambala
/ngin-/ /nyin-/	nginda nyinda	ngina nyina	ngini nyini	ngima nyima

The demonstratives in Table 1 are illustrated in (4). Like the *jama/jimi* demonstratives, these are all distal but can be made proximal by the addition of /-niki/ (4d, g, j, m, p). The /nyam-/ series has only one proximal form, *nyamarniki,* with /-niki/ not suffixing to *nyambala* or *nyamarni,* but the /ngin-/nyin-/ series has a proximal form for each gender. Sentence (4n) suggests that proximal marking is optional, since this demonstrative appears without proximal marking although the referent is clearly close to the speaker. As indicated by (2i-j), however, when /-niki/ does appear the demonstrative is always interpreted as proximal.

(4) a. **Nyama** ngaba-ju wangkurra-ngkujku ngima-ni-rni yurrku-nu,
that(m) have-do honey-HAVING that(v)-ERG-FOC flower-did
bukumarra.
corkwood
'The corkwood has honey-bearing flowers.'

b. Kirnbilirdi **nyamarni**-nu *arndil*-juji-nu, angkula ngaba-ju darrangku -
stone_axe DEM(f)-did handle(Eng)-PRIV-did NEG have-do tree
marndamarnda-mbili dabila-nga-ju kirnbilirdi.
hand-LOC hold-1sg-do stone_axe
'These stone axes have no handles - you hold them in your hand.'

c. **Nyambala** abaaba wulukaja-nga-yi, *kliin*-bala yili
that(n) clothes wash-1sg-FUT clean(Kr)-one put
'I have to wash my clothes, make them clean.'

d. Warridirli **nyama-rniki** kurlukurlu jimirniki, nyambala ukurndurru
number_7 this(m) small(n) this(n) have-do DEM(n) elbow
'The little part of the hook boomerang, that's the elbow.'

e. Nyama, **nginda** ngaja-nya-ju nya-ku.
2sgNOM that(m) see-2sg-do 2sg-went
'You can see yourself and him.'

f. Nyama ngaya mindi-wa dabili-mindi-yi **nyinda** baya.
2sgNOM 1sgNOM 1dlInc-will_go hold-1dlInc-FUT that(m) young_man
'You and I must hug that young man to make him well.'

g. Yabarni **nginda-rniki**-rni yurrba kalyurra.
youth-FOC this(m)-FOC troublesome no_good
'This young fellow is a troublemaker.'

h. Kunyaku dunji-wunya-na **ngina**.
2dlACC kiss-3dl-did DEM(f)
Those two came and kissed you two (women).

i. Wanyik-urlu **nyina**-bulu ladaji-wunyu-ju arduku
girl-dl DEM(f)-dl dry-3dl-do slow
'The two girls are slowly drying out.'

j. Ibilka-rni **ngina-rniki**-rni biringbiyikirni
water-FOC this(f)-FOC shiny(f)
'This water is shining.'

k. Nga-rriyi **ngini** buji-ngka jukula nga-rriyi murrkulijka.
1sg-will_go that(n) bush-ALL stay 1sg-will_go three_days
'I'm going to the bush for three days.'

l. Dunjuwa-nga-yi **nyini**-rni namarlu.
burn-1sg-FUT that(n)-FOC hole
'I'm burning a hole.'

m. Irriminjulu **ngini-rniki** buba ngirrma-nga-yi bardakurra.
kindling this(n) fire make-1sg-FUT good(m)
'This kindling will make a good fire.'

n. Kulyukulyumi darra-nga-ju **ngima**-rni.
conkerberry eat-1sg-do that(v)-FOC
'I'm eating those conkerberries.'

o. **Nyima**-rni maami nyurrudji-mindi-yi.
DEM(v)-FOC food grind-1dlInc-FUT
'We'll grind these ingredients.'

p. Julyumirra-nya-ju mami-rni **ngima-rniki**-rni ngamba darra-nya-yi.
squeeze vegetable-FOC this(v)-FOC PURP eat-2sg-FUT
'You're squeezing that fruit so you can drink it.'

Masculine demonstratives are found co-referent with nominals of all genders, in accordance with the principles of gender neutralisation discussed in section 3.1.3:

(5) a. **Nyama**-ni **bundurru** nam baka-nu.
that(m)-FOC food(n) thaw-did
'The food thawed out.'

b. Jirrkiji-mindu-wa **nginda darrangku**-ngka.
run-1dlInc-will_go that(m) tree(n)-ALL
'Let's run over to that tree.'

Finally, the neuter demonstrative *ngunu,* which never bears the suffix /-niki/, is demonstrated in (6). In accordance with the principles of gender neutralisation in section 3.1.3, *ngunu* can only ever co-refer with neuter or vegetable gender nominals.

(6) a. **Ngunu** dij bila-mi **nyanyalu**!
DEM(n) break-IRR branch
'Break that branch!'

b. **Ngunu janbarra**-yi jimi-na darrangku-mbili.
DEM(n) nest-FUT this-FOC tree-LOC
'There's a nest in that tree.'

c. **Ngunu** maja-mi ngarru **darrangku**.
DEM(n) get-IRR 1sgACC stick
'Get me that stick!'

d. **Ngunu murdika** jangan juwa-nya-yi.
DEM(n) car push-2sg-FUT
'You push the car.'

e. **Ngunu-baju wamba-rdarra** nangka-nga-yi *Saturday-* rni.
DEM(n)-pl snappy_gum-pl chop-1sg-FUT Saturday-FOC
'I'll cut those snappy gums on Saturday.'

f. Wawa-rni jangkangki **ngunu janbarra**, jaangki ngaja-nu.
child-ERG high_up DEM(n) nest high see-did
'The child saw that nest high up [in the tree].'

The demonstrative *ngunungku,* apparently composed of *ngunu* plus the core verb /-ngku/ ('will come'), translates as 'this way' and indicates either location (7a-d) or manner (7e-h).

(7) a. Bardawurri-mi kararlu ngirribiji-ngirri-wardi **ngunungku**-nu,
good-v ground tell-1plExc-HAB this_way-did
Jarrimanu-nu.
Jarrimanu-did
'We say that it's good ground over there, over Jarrimanu way.'

b. Jangku wardka-ngarri-yi **ngunungku** kalirrungu-ngka.
climb_up-1sg-will_go this_way hill-ALL
'I will climb the mountain this way.'

c. Jukaya ngarru-nu ngarru **ngunungku**.
chest 1sgGEN-n 1sgGEN this_way
'Here's my chest now.' [pointing]

d. Nga-ardu-kaji karnjanjarru-ngka nga-ardu-kaji **ngunungku**.
1sg-go-through scrubby_ridge-ALL 1sg-go-through this_way
'I'm crossing into some scrubby ridge country.'

e. Jalanma-mi ngarru ngunungku-mi nyamarniki.
untie-IRR 1sgACC this_way-IRR this(m)
'Untie this package for me like this, would you?'

f. Jungarri-warndi dirndi-ngirri-wardi, **ngunungku** dirndi-ngirri-wardi
small_grindstone-INST grind-1plExc-HAB this_way grind-1plExc-HAB
ngangarra.
wild_rice
'With the little grindstone we grind up wild rice like this.'

g. **Ngunungku** ya-ju dilmi-ngirri-wardi jilibi.
this_way 3sg-do cut-1plExc-HAB umbilical_cord
'We need to cut its umbilical cord like this.'

h. **Ngunungku** ila-mi!
this_way put-IRR
'Do [paint] it like this!'

More than one referential demonstrative referring to a single participant in a single role is extremely common:

(8) a. Jalanma-nga-yi **ngini-niki nyinda** ila-nga-yi *waya-* ngka ladaji-ya-yi.
loosen-1sg-FUT this(n) that(m) put-1sg-FUT wire-ALL dry-3sg-FUT
'I'll take these out and put them on the line to dry.'

b. **Ngunu** ngaja-mi mayamba-kaja-mi **nginda**.
DEM(n) see-IRR whirlwind-through-IRR that(m)
'Look, there's a whirlwind.'

c. **Nginda ngina** nayurni ngiju-kurru-nu-nya kurrarra-rni.
DEM(m) DEM(n) woman see-2pl-did-2sg 2plNOM-f
'You mob saw you two women.'

d. **Ngini-niki-ni nyambala** darrangku-nu nayajalu
this(n)-FOC that(n) tree-did heavy(n)
'This branch here is too heavy to pick up.'

As (8a-c) show, more than one demonstrative can be construed with a single referent, and these demonstratives need not agree with one another in gender. This is because gender neutralisation may affect one demonstrative but not another co-referent demonstrative (see section 3.1.3).

1.2 The aforementioned and the newly introduced

Anaphoric or discourse demonstratives are used to refer to entities already present in the discourse. These are rare, and referential demonstratives are often used where anaphoric demonstratives could be. Jingulu has two such discourse demonstratives, *kuna* (masculine gender) and *kuyu* (neuter gender). As they are not referential, anaphoric demonstratives can not bear the proximal suffix /-niki/, but can bear other nominal morphology.

(9) a. Nginda wurruku **kuna-ngka** biningkurrungka.
that(m) 3pl-went ANAPH-ALL billabong-ALL
'They went to that lake [you know the one].'

b. Nginda wurrurruku **kuna** bularrakungka ningkiwurruwardu wangkurra.
that(m) 3pl-went ANAPH smoke_tree-ALL chop-3pl-go sugarbag
'They went to that smoke tree to cut a sugarbag.'

c. Nginuwa wurrurruku **kuna** darrangku janbarangkuju.
this_way 3pl-went ANAPH tree nest-HAVING
'They went to that tree with the nest in it.'

d. **Kuyu-ngka-nama** ya-rruku lurrbu.
ANAPH(n)-ALL-time 3sg-went return
'He went back there.'

e. **Kuyu-mbili-rni** mankiya-nga-yi.
DEM(anaph)-LOC-FOC sit-1sg-FUT
'I'll go sit in that place.'

f. **Kuyu-ngkami** duwi-yirri!
DEM(anaph)-ABL rise-goIMPV
'Get up and leave that place!'

g. Ngarla maja-mi **kuyu-nu**.
hey get-IRR DEM(anaph)-did
'Hey you, go get it.'

h. Arduku ngarriya-nga-nu nyinda nyinda-arlu nga-rruku-rni
careful tell-1sg-did that(m) that(m)-pl 1sg-went-FOC
indal ngaba-nga-nu ngunu **kuyu-warlu** marrinjku.
tell_straight-1sg-did DEM(n) ANAPH-pl word
'I tell you straight, tell you these words right.'

The foregrounding or 'cataphoric' demonstrative *jiyi* (all genders) is used to indicate a participant which is new to the discourse or event, or to foreground a previously backgrounded (and possibly forgotten about) participant. The referent of *jiyi* is usually not referred to by other overt nominals in the same clause. *Jiyi* is often used to introduce a new discourse topic.

(10) a. Ngajaja-nga-ju ngarnu banybila-nga-yi ajuwa-nayi
look_round-1sg-do 3sgACC find-1sg-FUT where-INDEF
ya-rruku **jiyi**.
3sg-went CATAPH
'I'm looking around for them to figure out where they went.'

b. Nginda-baja-rni lakud wurru-ju, **jiyi-bᵑᶦa-rni** warrijbala-rni.
that(m)-pl-ERG bury 3pl-do CATAPH-pl-FOC corpse-FOC
'They are burying the dead.'

c. Nyamba-nama nyambala karriyaku-nama kaburrkaburrji **jiyi-rni**
what-time that(n) different(n)-time brown(n) CATAPH-FOC
ijijurnminji-rni.
butcherbird-FOC
'Now there's a different one that is brown, that's the butcher bird called ijijurnminji.'

d. Anyma-marriyi Jingila-rni ngini-ngkami-rni, ya-mamarriyimi
go-went(dist) Jingili-ERG thence-FOC, 3sg-went(dist)
dajka-marriyimi **jiyi-rni** bininja-rni jimi-la-rniki-rni-ni.
bite-went(dist) CATAPH-FOC man-FOC that(n)-pl-PROX-ERG-FOC
'The old jingili would come back from those parts with food from these others.'

e. **Jiyi-rni** bininja-rni Jingila-rni, wardjayi-rna-nu marru-ngka-rni.
CATAPH-FOC man-FOC Jingili-FOC sea_turtle-DAT-did home-ALL-FOC
'Now these Jingili people, they'd go for those sea turtle then come home with them.'

f. Nginda wurru-wardu juna-baja ngiji-wurru-wardu-rra bayinybala,
that(m) 3pl-go REL-pl see-3pl-go-RA mob
kaburrkaburru murdika wurraku ngiji-wurru-wardu
black(n) car 3plACC see-3pl-go
jiyi-baja wurraku.
CATAPH-pl 3plACC
'They're going to see that mob that has the black car.'

g. Kula-kaji ya-marriyimi ngarnu
spear-through 3sg-went(dist) 3sgACC
jiyi-rni-nika-ngkujku-la-rni-ni wardjayi-rna-ni.
CAT-FOC-PROX-HAVING-pl-ERG-FOC sea_turtle-DAT-FOC
'They would spear things like sea turtles with these other people.'

The Jingulu word for 'mother-in-law', *jiyirni,* is probably based on the cataphoric demonstrative plus the characteristic feminine ending /-rni/. This would have arisen as a result of the social taboo on direct reference to one's mother-in-law, with the result that she would be referred to as 'that woman'. The term for 'mother-in-law's brother', *jaya,* would then be a regularisation of *jiyirni* to the pattern of other kinship terms, with the masculine terms being a result of removing the feminine suffix and 'undoing' a perceived harmony, leaving the pair /jaya/ (masculine), /jaya/+/fem/=/jiyi-rni/.

1.3 Hither, thither, and this way

The words corresponding to English 'here', 'there', 'hither' and 'thither' are commonly formed in Jingulu by addition of a locational or directional case suffix (LOC, ALL, or ABL, see 3.3.2.1) to a neuter referential demonstrative, most commonly, though by no means exculsively, to*ngini/nyini.* The proximal suffix /-niki/ is not used in the formation of locative demontratives and so there is no distinction between proximal and distal ('here' and 'there') among these demonstratives.

(11) a. Dardu ya-ju **ngini-mbili-rni** mujaka, darndiyi, dardu ya-ju.
many 3sg-do that(n)-LOC-FOC mouse rat many 3sg-do
'There's lots of mice and rats around here.'

b. Barnmi banybila-nga-nu, waankurra ya-ju **ngini-mbili**.
wax find-1sg-did sugar_bag(m) 3sg-do that(n)-LOC
'I found wax, there's a sugar-bag here.'

c. **Ngunu-mbili** ya-ju.
DEM(n)-LOC 3sg-do
'There he is.'

d. Nyinda-bila **nyini-mbili** mangki-nginyi-wadi.
DEM(m)-dl(anim) that(n)-LOC sit-1dlExc-PRES
'Us two live here.'

e. Ngirriki ngurru-wa arduku-nama **ngini-ngka-kaji**
hunting 1plInc-will_go last(slow-time) that(n)-ALL-through
kibirdki-ngurru-ungku.
swim-1plInc-will_come
'We went hunting then came here for a swim.'

f. Mankiyi arduku ngurri-i **ngini-ngka**.
sit careful 1plInc-will_go that(n)-ALL
'We're all going to go and sit over there.'

g. Ngina-niki-na-mi ya-miki **nginuwa-ngkami** ngaja-nga-nu **ngunu-ngkami**
this(f)-FOC-IRR 3sg-came this_way-ABL see-1sg-did DEM(n)-ABL
ngawu-ngkami.
home-ABL
'I saw them come here from their home over there.'

h. **Jimi-ngkama** ya-miki wumbuma-jkala.
that(n)-ABL 3sg-came sting-do-NOML(m)
'That stinging thing came from there.'

Additionally, Jingulu has some lexical demonstratives of place and motion. The locative *dakani* (also meaning 'leave it!') is used to mean 'right there, in that very place',*ngarlarli* for 'hither' and *nginuwa* is used to indicate a path or direction of motion. The ALL suffix [-ngkami] can be added to *nginuwa* to make word meaning 'thence, from there'. *Nginuwa* is also realised as *nginduwa, nyinduwa* and *nyinuwa,* all four forms being derived from masculine and neuter demonstratives of the /ngin-/nyin-/ series (see Table 1) by way of the tense marker /-wa/ in its deictic use (see section 2.4 of chapter 6).

(12) a. Jimi-niki **dakani** warrkujajkalu, amba-nama warrkuja-ngana-ku ngaya.
this(n) there scratch what-time scratch-3sgS1sgO-went 1sgNOM
'I have a scratch there. What could have scratched me?'

b. **Ngarlarli** warrungku! Nyini-ngka **ngarlarli** warrungku!
hither come(IMPVpl) that(n)-ALL hither come(IMPVsg)
Warrungku **ngarlarli**!
come(IMPVsg) hither
'Come over here! Come over onto this side!'

c. Nayuni ya-jiyimi **ngarlarli**.
woman 3sg-come hither
'A woman is coming over.'

d. **Nginuwa** wirri!
this_way go(IMPVsg)
'Go that way!'

e. **Nyinuwa** jarrkaja-nga-rruku durdurdbi-kaja-nga-nu jingirdi-rni.
this_way run-1sg-went beat-through-1sg-did heart-ERG
'I went for a run over that way and it really made my heart thump.'

f. Mindu-wa banybili **nginduwa** nganga
1dlInc-will_go find this_way meat
'Let's go off and find meat.'

1.4 Interrogatives

The preferred position for interrogatives is at the beginning of the sentence, though they may also occur sentence-finally. For a discussion of the syntax of questions, see section 1.4 of chapter 4. Interrogatives are all based on the three stems discussed in section 1.1.1. Note that indefininte pronouns ('something', 'someone', 'somewhere' etc) are derived from certain interrogatives by means of the suffix /-nayi/ (section 3.4). Indefinite pronouns are not restricted to sentence peripheral positions as interrogatives are, but enjoy the same freedom as other nominals.

1.4.1 Who, what, when, where, why and how?

Interrogative words in Jingulu are all based on the three stems *nyamba* ('what', probably related to the /nyam-/ demonstratives in Table 1), *(w)aja* ('what', 'who', 'which'), and /(w)ani/ (probably the same as *jani*, see section 1.4.2). Interrogative words often appear bearing the suffix /-kaji/ (see section 3.2.1 of chapter 3), which imparts a sense of urgency to the question.

1.4.1.1 *Nyamba* questions

Used alone, *nyamba* asks 'what', as in (13). *Nyamba* is often realised as [amba] or [wamba].

(13) a. **Nyamba** jimi-niki-ni? Jimi-niki-ni darrangku ngaba-nya-ju.
what this-NIKI-FOC this-NIKI-FOC tree have-2sg-do
'What's that? That's a tree you have there.'

b. **Nyamba** jimina marrinju-nu?
what this word-did
'What's that word?'

c. **Nyamba** nyamani manjku?
what 2sgERG skin_name
'What skin are you?'

With a Locative suffix, *nyamba* asks 'where' (14a) or 'by what means' (14b).

(14) a. **Nyamba-mbili-kaji** mankiyi-mindi-ju?
what-LOC-through sit-1dlInc-do
'Where are we sitting?'

b. **Nyamba-mbili-kaji** nya-riyi-ni?
what-LOC-through 2sg-will_go-FOC
'How will you go?'

With either an Ablative (15a) or a Dative (15b-c) suffix, *nyamba* asks 'why', 'for what reason'.

(15) a. Nginda-rni milyamilya-ya-nu. Nyambala maya-nganja-na-ju,
DEM(m)-FOC late-3sg-did DEM(n) hit-2sgS1Obj-1Obj-do
nyamba-ngkami?
what-ABL
'He was late. That's why you hit us?'

b. **Nyamba-na-kaji** ngurru-wa nyindi-ma ngaba-ngka?
what-DAT-through 1plInc-will_go DEM(m)-EMPH have-ALL?
'What are we going over there for?'

c. **Nyamba-na** arrkuja-nga-nki-ju?
what-DAT scratch-1sg-REFL-do
'Why are you scratching?'

With an Instrumental suffix, *nyamba* asks 'how' or 'by what means':

(16) **Nyamba-arndi-kaji** nya-rriyi-ni?
what-INST-through 2sg-will_go-FOC
'How will you go?'

1.4.1.2 *(W)aja* questions

On its own, *(w)aja* is used to ask 'what' (17a), 'who' (17b), or 'which' (17c).

(17) a. **Waja** nyamani liyiku-nu?
what 2sgERG name-did
'What's your name?'

b. **Aji-rni** ngaja-nu?
who-FOC see-did
'Who was looking?'

c. Bibuwalardi **waja-nu**?
son what-did
'Which/who is your son?'

When *(w)aja* bears the suffix /-wa/, probably derived from the core verb 'will go', is asks 'where', 'whither', or 'to where' (also with /-wara/):

(18) a. **Aju-wa** ila-nga-nu ngara bundurru-nu?
where put-1sg-did 1sgGEN food-did
'Where did I put my food?'

b. **Aju-wa** ngurru-wa?
whither 1plInc-will_go
'Where shall we go?'

c. **Aju-wara** kunyu-wardu bunyiilarni
whither-RA 2dl-go 2dlNOM-FOC
'Which way are you two going?'

When *(w)aju-wa(ru)* is further inflected with the Ablative suffix, it asks 'whence' or 'where from':

(19) a. **Ajuwa-ngkami** nyama-ni?
where-ABL 2sg-FOC
'Where are you from?'

b. Bininja-ala, **ajuwaru-ngkami** wurra-miki?
man-pl where-ABL 3pl-came
'The men, where did they come from?'

With both Focus /-rni/ and Locative marking suffixed to it, *(w)aja* means 'who with' or 'what with':

(20) a. **Aji-rni-mbili** ya-miki jama-ni-ma?
what_with 3sg-came that-FOC-EMPH
'Who/what did he bring?'

b. **Waji-rni-mbili** ya-jiyimi jama-niki-rni Jiminginja-rni?
what_with 3sg-come this(m)-FOC skin_name-FOC
'Who is Jiminginja coming up here with?'

The word *(w)ajajika* asks 'how far' (21). The suffix /-jika/ is not productively in Jingulu, and is only found on this word.

(21) a. **Ajajika-nama** mindu-wa?
how_far-time 1dlInc-will_go
'How far are we going?' *or* 'How long are we going for?'

b. **Ajajika** wurra-miki-rni?
how_far 3pl-came-FOC
'How far did they come?'

(W)ajinbaja asks 'when' (22). Once again, while the word is based on *(w)aja,* it is not formed by addition of a productive suffix, but appears to be an idiosyncratic form.

(22) a. **Ajinbaja** wurra-miki-rni?
when 3pl-came-FOC
'When did they leave to come here?'

b. **Ajinbaja** ngirrma-nya-yi, kirda?
when make-2sg-FUT father
'When are you going to make it, Dad?'

c. **Ajinbaja** ngurriyi barungkunu?
when 1plInc-FUT hot_weather-did
'When will we have some of that hot weather?'

1.4.1.3 *(W)ani* questions

There is no interrogative word consisting of *(w)ani* without inflection. However, the interrogative word *jani,* meaning 'how' or 'how much' is probably cognate with the /(w)ani-/ interogatives:

(23) a. **Jani** nya-ju jalyangkunu?
how 2sg-do today
'How are you today?'

b. **Jani** warak ngali nya-rri?
how_much work 2sg-will_go?
'How long will you work?'

Jani is also used, as discussed in section 1.4.2, to form yes/no questions. There are several interrogatives that appear to be build around /(w)an-/, but the elements which suffix to /(w)an-/ are not productive suffixes of Jingulu. *(W)ani* plus the suffix /-ku/, for instance, asks 'how':

(24) a. **Anu-ku** ila-nga-yi jimi-niki?
how put-1sg-FUT this-NIKI
'How shall I do that?'

b. **Anuku** wurra-miki-rni?
how 3pl-came-FOC
'How did they get here?'

c. **Anuku-kaji** nyu-rri nginda Warranganku-ngka-rni?
how-through 2sg-will_go that(m) Beetaloo-ALL-FOC
'How will you get to Beetaloo?'

The interrogative verbal root /(w)anikiy-/ is used to ask 'do what':

(25) a. **Anikiyi-mindi-yi**? Lurrbu mindu-wa ngawu-ngka.
do_what-1dlInc-FUT return 1dlInc-will_go home-ALL
'What are we going to do? Go back home.'

b. **Anikiya-nya-ju** kirda?
do_what-2sg-do father
'What are you doing, Dad?'

c. **Anikiya-nga-ju**? Mujiya-nga-ju!
do what-1sg-do forget-1sg-do
'What am I doing? I've forgotten!'

d. **Anikiya-wurru-ju** nginda-baja-rni, banybala-rni?
do_what-3pl-do that(m)-pl-ERG, mob-FOC
'What is that mob up to?'

(W)aningkiliji asks 'how many' or 'how much':

(26) a. **Aningkiliji** wunya-nga jana-yi?
how_many give-1sg how_much-FUT
'How many of those will you give me?'

b. **Aningkiliji** maja-nya-nu?
how_many get-2sg-did
'How many did you get?'

Finally *(w)anikirrkiji* (masculine, feminine: *(w)anikirrkijirni,* neuter: *(w)anikarrkarru,* vegetable: *(w)anikirrkidbi*) asks 'what sort', 'what kind', 'what type':

(27) a. **Anikirrkiji** nganga-rni jama-niki-ni maya-nya-nu?
what_sort(m) meat this(m)-FOC kill-2sg-did
'What kind of animal did you kill?'

b. Anikirrkijirni nayurni ngina-rni?
what_sort(f) woman that(f)-FOC
'What sort of woman is that?'

c. **Anikarrkarru** jimi-ni darrangku-nu?
what_sort(n)this-FOC tree-did?
'What kind of tree is that?'

d. **Anikirrkidbi** ngima-niki-rni?
what_sort(v) this(v)-FOC
'What kind (of yam) is that?'

1.4.2 A simple 'yes' or 'no' would do.

As explained in section 1.4 of chapter 4, a statement may be turned into a yes/no question by way of the question word *jani:*

(28) a. **Jani** nya-rri ngirriki? Kiwirra mankiya-na-nga-yi?
Q 2sg-go hunting nothing sit-tr?-1sg-FUT
'Do you want to go hunting? No, I'll stay here.'

b. **Jani** lankaj bila-nganja-na-ju?
Q hear-1sg-2sgS1Obj-1Obj-do
'Can you hear me?'

c. Ngini-ni ngurrkuwa-nga-ju, ngunya ngan **jana-yi**?
DEM(n)-FOC want-1sg-do give 3sgACC Q-FUT
'I want that one, can you give it over?'

Jani can also be used to ask 'how', or 'how much' (see 4.1.3 above).

2. Pronouns

Free pronouns are never obligatory but are often used when the verb morphology is ambiguous, for emphasis, or for contrastive focus. Free pronouns appear in about one fifth of the sentences collected. Ergative forms (section 2.2) are generally derived from Nominative forms (section 2.1) by the ERG suffix /-rni/, or optionally /-nga/ if the referent is female, though some suppletive forms also occur. Genitive and Accusative pronouns (section 2.3) derive from the same root, the ACC pronouns all ending in /u/ and the GEN form derived by suffixing a gender marker which agrees in gender with the possessed object.

Jingulu also has some third person pronouns distinct from demonstratives. There appear to be no ERG forms, as noted by Chadwick (1975), and NOM forms are very rare, demonstratives being preferred in these cases if an overt NP is used, but quite common in ACC and GEN functions.

Number features are discussed in detail in section 3.2, but a word should be said here about inclusive/exclusive distinctions in first person pronouns. This distinction is common among Australian languages, and consists of distinct forms for first person non-singular pronouns depending on whether the person or persons addressed is/are included in the reference set of the pronoun. Thus, if the speaker and hearer are involved in an action/event, *mindiyila* is the first person dual nominative pronoun used, but if it is the speaker and one other person (not the hearer), *nginyiyila* is used. The sentence in (29a) shows how a first person singular pronoun and a second person singular pronoun, both linked to subject position, give rise to first person dual inclusive agreement in the verb word, while (29b) shows how a first person singular pronoun and a third person both linked to subject position give rise to first person dual exclusive agreement.

(29) a. Kanbakanba ngirrmi-**mindu**-ju: **nyamirni** ngirrma-nya-ju, **ngayirni**
together make-1dlInc-do 2sgERG make-2sg-do 1sgERG
ngirrma-nga-ju.
make-1sg-do
'We make it together: you make it and I make it.'

b. **Ngarri-na baba ngaya** dirdikirri-**nginyu**-ju wanu kirda-rna.
1sgGEN-m older_brother 1sg wait-1dlExc-do father-DAT
'My older brother and I are waiting for Dad.'

Similarly, if a group of three or more people includes both speaker and hearer, the first person plural inclusive pronoun forms are used, but if the group includes the speaker but not the hearer, the first person plural exclusive forms are used.

2.1 Nominative pronouns

Nominative pronouns are used to represent subjects of intransitive clauses, or any dislocated argument. Nominative is the default case for pronominals, so that a pronoun occurring in a position not associated with overt case, such as in dislocation constructions or in one-word answers (see section 1.1.2 of chapter 4), will be Nominative. The paradigm of NOM pronouns is given in Table 2 and examples of these pronouns in use in (30).

Table 2

NOM pronouns			
	singular	dual	plural
1st inclusive	ngaya	mindiyila	ngurrawala
1st exclusive	-	nginyiyila	ngirriwala ngirriyala
2nd	nyama	kunyiyila kunyuwurlu	kurrawala
3rd	-	wanyikila	-

(30) a. 'Akardarda **ngaya**' Jingulu ambaya-nga-ju.
poor_fellow 1sgNOM Jingulu speak-1sg-do
'I say 'Poor bugger me' in Jingulu.'

b. Milyamilyayi-nya **nyama**.
late-2sg 2sgNOM
'You were late'

c. **Mindiyila** imbiyi-mindi-ju Jingulu.
1dlIncNOM speak-1dlInc-do Jingulu
'We two are speaking Jingulu.'

d. **Ngindarni** jangkarni mankiyi-nyinyu-ju bininja.
1dlExcNOM one sit-1dlExc-do man
'Me and another man are sitting down.'

e. Arduwa-nama **kunyiyila** langalanga-nya-mi.
slow-time 2dlNOM think-2sg-IRR
'Just think about it first.'

f. Jama-bila-rni **wanyikila** kijikijibi-wunyu-ngku-ju.
that-dl(anim)-FOC 3dlNOM tickle-3dl-REFL-do
'Those two kids are tickling each other.'

g. Dardu-wala ngiji-ngurru-nu ngardajkalu, burrbiji **ngurrawala**.
mob see-1plInc-did big(n) finish 1plIncNOM
'We (inclusive) saw all of us (not reflexive; subject a subset of object).'

h. Ngina-rniki-ni kiwirra angkurla dajba-nu, **ngirriyala** dajba-ni-ngirru-nu.
DEM-NIKI-FOC none NEG bite-did 1plExcNOM bite-trINV-1plExc-did
'This one (you) was not bitten, only us.'

i. Ulukaja-ngku **kurruwala**!
wash-will_come 2plNOM
'You three wash yourselves!'

2.2 Ergative pronouns

Ergative pronouns are used to refer to the subject of a transitive clause or a predicate that is a noun (see section 1.2.1 of chapter 4 for discussion of nouns as predicates). Ergative pronouns are essentially Nominative pronouns with the ERG suffix /-rni/, although some of the more marked forms of NOM pronouns, such as the second person dual *kunyuwurlu* are not found with ERG suffixes. There are no third person ERG pronouns, demonstratives being used instead. The paradigm for Ergative pronouns is given in Table 3, with examples in (31).

Table 3

ERG pronouns			
	singular	dual	plural
1st inclusive	ngayarni ngayirni	mindiyilirni	ngurrawalarni ngurraalarni
1st exclusive	-	nginyiyilirni	ngirrikarni ngirriyalarni
2nd	nyamarni nyamirni	kunyiyilirni	kurrawalarni

• /-rni/ can optionally be replaced by /-nga/ for feminine pronouns

(31) a. **Ngayirni** binjama-nga-ju babirdimi.
1sgERG grow-1sg-do yam
'I grow potatoes.'

b. Nganya-nga-nku-ju nganku ngayarni, **nyamirni** nangki-mi kurrubardu.
sing-1sg-REFL-do 2sgACC 1sgERG 2sgERG chop-IRR boomerang
'I'm singing to us while you cut a boomerang.'

c. **Mindiyilirni** ngirrmi-mindi-yi, kanba-kanba ngirrmi-mindi-yi.
1dlIncERG make-1dlInc-FUT together make-1dlInc-FUT
'You and I will make it together.'

d. Miyi-nginyu-nu **nginyiyilirni** wardabanmarra.
kill-1dlExc-did 1dlExcERG male_kangaroo
'We two killed a big red roo.'

e. **Kunyiyilirni** ngirrma-ana-mi buba yabanju.
2dlERG make-1Obj-IRR fire small(n)
'You two make me a little fire.'

f. Ngardajkalu ngiji-ngirru-nu dardu-wala **ngurraalarni** ngiji-ngurru-nu
big(n) see-1plExc-did mob 1plIncERG see-1plInc-did
burrbiji.
finish
'All of us saw you, even you did eventually.'

g. Nyina-niki **ngirriyalarni** Jingila-rni ngirri nyambala marrimarra-darra
this(f) 1plExcERG Jingili-FOC 1plExc DEM(n) cheeky(m)-pl
ngirri-yi Jingila-ala-rni.
1plExc-FUT Jingili-pl-FOC
'We Jingili are proper clever fighters.'

h. Dunji-nginyu-nu-rra, **ngirrakarni-ni** dunji-nginyu-nu-rraku
kiss-1plS3plO-did-RA 1plExcERG-FOC kiss-1plS2plO-did-went
nyinda-bala
that(m)-pl(anim)
'We kissed those people.'

i. Nginda ngina nayurni ngiju-kurru-nu-nya **kurrawalarni**.
that(m) that(f) woman see-2pl-did-2Obj 2plERG
'You mob saw you two women.'

2.3 Accusative and Genitive pronouns

With the exception of the third person singular forms, Accusative and Genitive (possessive) pronouns are built on the same root, which differs from the root upon which Nominative the Ergative pronouns are built. The Accusative/genitive root forms are given in Table 4.

Table 4

ACC/GEN stems			
	singular	dual	plural
1st inclusive	ngarr-	mindak-	ngurrak-
1st exclusive	-	nginyak-	ngirrak-
2nd	ngaank- ngank-	kunyak-	kurrak-
3rd	ACC: ngarn- GEN: niyi-	wunyak-	wurrak- nyurrak-

Accusative pronouns, used to refer to the object of a transitive clause or the beneficiary of an action, are formed by suffixation of /-u/ to the root:

(32) a. Angkula langkaj-nga-ju **ngarru**.
NEG hear-1sg-do 1sgACC
'You're not listening to me.'

b. Angkurla larrinka-nga-ju **nganku**.
NEG understand-1sg-do 2sgACC
'I didn't understand you.'

c. Ibilka biji-yirri **ngarnu**, bibi!
drink follow-goIMPV 3sgACC sonVOC
'Get him a drink, son.'

d. Nginda-bili-rni ngiju-wunya-na-nu **mindaku**.
that(m)-dl(anim)-ERG see-3dl-1Obj-did 1dlIncACC
'Those two saw me and you.'

e. Ama-rnana-nu **nginyaku**, Jangala, ngaya.
rub-3sgS1Obj-did 1dlExcACC skin_name 1sgNOM
'He rubbed Jangala and me.'

f. Ngalarr-nga-ju **kunyaku**.
yell-1sg-do 2dlACC
'I'm yelling out to you two.'

g. Baja-nga-rriyi jama-bila-na bininja-yila **wunyaku** kujarribila-rni.
track-1sg-will_go that(m)-dl(anim)-DAT man-dl 3dlACC two(m)-FOC
'I'll track those two people.'

h. Jama-baja-na wurru-ngku **ngurraku** bajkajka ngirribiji-wurra-na-yi
that(m)-pl-FOC 3pl-will_come 1plIncACC tell tell-3plS1Obj-FUT
ngurraku marrinjku.
1plIncACC story
'Those people are coming to tell us a story.'

i. Ngiji-wunyu-nu ngiji-warna-nu **ngirraku** ngaya ngunu-mbili-kaji.
see-3dl-did see-3sgS1Obj-did 1plExcACC 1sgNOM DEM(n)-LOC-through
'Those two saw me and him over there.'

j. Dunji-nginyu-nu **kurraku**, nyamirni, Jabarda, nginda-baja jangki-baja.
kiss-1plS2plO-did 2plACC 2sg(f)NOM *skin_name* DEM-pl another-pl
'We even kissed you, Jabarda, and that other fellow.'

k. Kajirrima-nga-rri **wurraku** wawa-la.
pick_up-1sg-will_go 3plACC child-pl
'I'll bring the kids home.'

The Kuwarrangu dialect uses ACC pronouns to refer to possessors too (either /ngarnu/

or /niyirnu/ is used for the third person singular possessive), but the Warranganku dialect has a separate set of Genitive pronouns, used to refer to a possessor, formed by adding a gender agreement suffix to the root so that the pronouns agrees in gender with the object possessed. If the possessed object is masculine the Genitive pronoun ends in /-ina/ (33), if feminine /-irnini/ (34), if neuter/-unu/ (35), and if the possessed object is of vegetable gender the Genitive pronoun ends in /-irnimi/ (36) (these are subject to gender neutralisation as any nominals are, see section 3.1.3 for details). The feminine and vegetable Genitive suffixes do not cause harmony (see section 4 of Chapter 2 for a discussion of harmony), probably because the characteristic gender endings are separated from the root by the filler [-rni-], which only occurs with these forms of the Genitive.

(33) a. Jama-ni-ma wawa kurlukurla **ngarri-na** kula.
that(m)-FOC-EMPH child small(m) 1sgGEN-m nephew
'That little boy is my nephew.'

b. Bij bila-nya-ju walu ambaya-ju **ngaanku-na** kuka.
twitch-2sg-do forehead speak-do 2sgGEN-m grandpa
'If your forehead's twitching your grandpa must be thinking of you.'

c. Jama-rni **niyi-na** wawa.
that(m)-ERG 3sgGEN-m child
'That's his boy.'

d. Nginda-rni ya-jiyimi **mindaki-na** barnanga.
that(m)-FOC 3sg-dome 1dlIncGEN-m father
'Here comes our dad.'

e. **Nginyaki-na** kunyarrba nginda-rni.
1dlExcGEN-m dog that(m)-ERG
'That dog belongs to us two (not you).'

f. Walaku **kunyaki-na** jama-rni.
dog 2dlGEN-m that(m)-ERG
'That dog belongs to you two.'

g. **Wunyaku-na** biba ya-jiyimi.
3dlGEN-m son 3sg-come
'Their son is approaching.'

h. **Ngurraki-na** kirda marliya-ju.
1plIncGEN-m father sick-do
'Our father is sick.'

i. Jama-niki-rni **ngirraki-na**.
this(m)-ERG 1plExcGEN-m
'This is ours.'

j. **Kurraki-na** jama-rni wawa-rni.
2plGEN-m that(m)-ERG child-ERG
'That child belongs to you lot.'

k. **Wurraki-na** wawa ngaja-nu.
3plGEN-m child see-did
'He saw their child.'

(34) a. **Ngarri-rnini** nayuni wirniyikirni.
1sgGEN-f woman foreign(f)
'My wife is a foreigner.'

b. Waji-rni **nganki-nini** kabinjkulirni?
who-FOC 2sgGEN-f wife
'Who is your wife?'

c. Ngaja-nga-ju **niyi-rnini** nayurni.
see-1sg-do 3sgGEN-f woman
'I can see his wife.'

d. **Mindaki-rnini** wiwi-rni angkula manyan ya-ju.
1dlIncGEN-f child-f NEG sleep 3sg-do
'Our girl is not asleep.'

e. Ngunyi-nginyi-yi **nginyaki-rnini** bibirni.
give-1dlExc-FUT 1dlExcGEN-f daughter
'We'll give you our daughter (in marriage).'

f. Minjili-rni **kunyaki-rnini** nguka-ju.
baby-f 2dlGEN-f cry-do
'Your baby girl is crying.'

g. Lilirni **wunyaki-rnini** kandirri wumbuma-ka.
aunt 3dlGEN-f bread cook-PSTHAB
'Their aunt used to make bread.'

h. Ngina-rni ankilirni **ngurraki-rnini**.
that(f)-ERG cousin(f) 1plIncGEN-f
'That's our cousin.'

i. **Ngirraki-rnini** anikilirni ngina-rni, angkula nganki-rnini.
1plExcGEN-f cousin(f) that(f)-ERG NEG 2sgGEN-f
'She's our cousin, not yours.'

j. **Kurraki-rnini** kunyirrbirni ngarda-nu.
2plGEN-f dog(f) give_birth-did
'Your dog had puppies.'

k. **Wurraki-rnini** lilirni nganya-ju.
3plGEN-f aunt sing-do
'Their aunt is singing (to them).'

(35) a. **Ngarru-nu** nginya-ku kirda-rna ngawu-nu.
1sgGEN-n 1dlExc-went father-DAT home-did
'This here is my father's country.'

b. Jimi-baju-na **nganku-nu** ka-ju ngawu.
this-pl-FOC 2sgGEN-n 3sg-do home
'These are all for you.'

c. Jimi-rni jawalanya **niyi-nu**.
this-ERG thing 3sgGEN-n
'That's his.'

d. Ngini-niki-rni kirdji ya-nu, murdika-rni **mindaku-nu**.
this(n)-FOC break 3sg-did car-FOC 1dlIncGEN-n
'Our car's broken.'

e. Nyini-baja-rni jawalanya **nginyaku-nu** jami-na.
that(n)-pl-ERG thing 1dlExcGEN-n that-FOC
'Those things are ours.'

f. **Kukyaku-nu** marru ngardajkalu.
2dlGEN-n house big(n)
'Your house is big.'

g. Kujarrarni walanja ngaja-ardu karrila, ngawu **wunyaku-nu**.
two goanna see-go leave(IRR) home 3dlGEN-n
'We saw two goannas, but we left them alone, and we saw their hole.'

h. Marru **ngurraku-nu** angkula irrk bila-ju.
house 1plIncGEN-n NEG paint-do
'Our house is not painted.'

i. Ngandayi-mbili mankiyi-ngurri-wa ngawu-ngka **ngirraku-nu**-ngka.
shade-LOC sit-1plInc-will_go home-ALL 1dlExcGEN-n-ALL
'We'll all go sit in the shade at our place.'

j. Buba-arndi **kurraku-nu** marru umbuma-kaji ya-nu.
fire-INST 2plGEN-n house burn-through 3sg-did
'Your house burned right down.'

k. Ngawu-nu **wurraku-nu** Ijibarda.
home-did 3plGEN-n Longreach
'Longreach is their place.'

(36) a. Ngima-na kandirri-rni ngaba-nga-yi **ngarri-nimi**, angkurla ngunya-nga-yi
that(v)-FOC damper-FOC have-1sg-FUT 1sgGEN-v NEG give-1sg-FUT
kiwirra.
none
'I'm keeping all my damper, not giving any away.'

b. **Ngaanki-rnimi** ngunya-ana-mi babirdimi kurlukurlimi!
2sgGEN-v give-1Obj-IRR yam small(v)
'Give me your little yam!'

c. Kanya ngarri-na ya-rriyi **niyi-rnimi**-warndi karnarrinymi-warndi
uncle 1sgGEN-m 3sg-will_go 3sgGEN-v-INST spear-INST
'My uncle will go hunting with his (own) spear.'

d. Maami wumbumi-mindu-wa **mindaki-rnimi**, dirri-mindi-yi.
vegetable_food cook-1dlInc-will_go 1dlIncGEN-v eat-1dlInc-FUT
'You and I should go and cook our vegetables so we can eat them.'

e. Kandirri **nginyaki-rnimi** dardu ngunya-nginyi-nu.
damper 1dlExcGEN-v much give-1/2-did
'We gave you lots of our damper.'

f. **Kunyaki-rnimi** darra-mi, babirdimi!
2dlGEN-v eat-IRR yam
'Eat your yams!'

g. Karnarinymi **wunyaki-rnimi** ngirriki-wunyi-rruku.
spear 3dlGEN-v hunt-3dl-went
'Those two went hunting with their own spears.'

h. Miji-ngurri-yi **ngurraki-rnimi** maami, ngawu-ngka ngurru-wa.
get-1plInc-FUT 1plIncGEN-v vegetable_food home-ALL 1plInc-will_go
'We'd best get our food and go home.'

i. Dabili-ngirri-ju karnarinymi **ngirraki-rnimi**, arduku winymi-ngirr-ardu.
hold-1plExc-do spear 1plExcGEN-v careful walk-1plExc-go
'Holding onto our spears, we walk about cautiously.'

j. Ngima-rni babidimi **kurraki-rnimi**.
that(v)-ERG yam 2plGEN-v
'That yam belongs to you all.'

k. **Wurraki-rnimi** babirdimi dirri-mindu-nu.
3plGEN-v yam eat-1dlInc-did
'You and me ate their yams.'

Genitive pronouns can be thought of as being nominals and able to form NPs in their own right, rather than modifying heads. As NPs, they have interpretations such as (mine, your one etc.). Like free nominals, Genitive pronouns inflect for nominal characteristics of the possessed item, such as number (37) and case (35i, 36c, 37b).

(37) a. **Ngarri-ni-baju** babawurri-ni.
1sgGEN-f-pl older_siblings-FOC
'They're all my big brothers and sisters.'

b. **Ngarri-ninga** jakardi-nga, ankili-yila **ngarri-ni-bila** jama-bila-rni-ni.
1sgGEN-fDAT mother-DAT cousin-dl 1sgGEN-m-dl that(m)-dl-ERG-FOC
'Those two are my cousins, on my mother's side'

3. Nominal features

This section deals with the marking of syntactic features of gender (section 3.1), number (section 3.2) and case and pragmatic prominence (section 3.3). Gender marking is the overt expression of the nominal head (discussed in chapter 3, particularly section 2.1) on free nominals and is present in all free nominals. Number marking is generally optional, while the presence of case marking depends on syntactic configuration and construal with argument positions (see chapter 4). Where a nominal is marked for both gender and number, gender marking precedes number marking. Case follows gender (and number if present), and pragmatic role markers follow all other suffixes.

3.1 Gender

3.1.1 Genders and gender morphology

Jingulu has four genders, which we shall call masculine (m), feminine (f), neuter (n), and vegetable (v). The names for these genders follow Chadwick (1975) and are named for much the same reason as gender in Romance languages. Masculine is the gender that includes most nouns referring to male animates, feminine includes most nouns referring to female animates, vegetable is a gender consisting largely of words for edible plants, while neuter is the gender that is not any of the other three. Gender is not, however, entirely predictable from the meaning of a noun. For instance, many edible plants are found in the neuter gender, many objects which are clearly not vegetables are found in the vegetable gender, and some of the things that show up in the masculine and feminine genders might be surprising if we expected the gender classifications 'masculine' and 'feminine' to equate to the biological labels 'male' and 'female'. 'Gender', as Pinker (1994) points out, was used to mean 'class' or 'type' long before it took on the meaning of 'sex'. In fact, among sociologists, 'gender' is distinct from 'sex' in that the former is socially constructed while the latter is biologically determined.

Jingulu genders exhibit a few properties of nominal classifying systems and not just gender systems, so that to some extent the gender of a nominal is dependent on its semantic function as well as its phonological form. For example, while words for people and higher animates have different and predictable phonological forms for male and female referents (eg: *kunyarrba* 'dog', *kunyirrbirni* 'bitch'), and words for lower animates have fixed genders irrespective of the sex of their referent (eg: *junma* (masculine) '"left-hand" wallaby'), there are a small number of words which can be either masculine or feminine (as distinguished by the gender of agreeing adjectives and demonstratives) depending on the sex of the referent without changing their phonological form (eg: *nginda jakulakji* 'that male possum', *ngina jakulakji* 'that female possum', similarly *kirninginjirni* 'emu'). Then there is the curious case of the word *damangka,* which is neuter in gender when it means 'head', but of vegetable gender when it refers to a kind of yam. This latter case is reminiscent of nominal classification systems like those of

Murrinhpatha, where the class of a word is dependent on the use or function of the referent in context. In Murrinhpatha, 'cat' can be in different classes depending whether it is treated as an animal *(ku yirrthip),* an object *(nanthi yirrthip),* or a projectile *(thu yirrthip),* while 'flour' can be in different classes depending on whether it is from a packet *(nanthi lawam)* or home-ground *(mi lawam)* (data from Michael Walsh, personal communication). In general, however, Jingulu noun classification most closely resembles the gender of systems of Romance languages than noun classifying systems like those of Murrinhpatha, Japanese, or Vietnamese.

Rather than calling the classes genders, we might say that Jingulu has four morphological types of nominals, and we could call them I, II, III and IV, or A, B, C and D, or any arbitrary choice of four labels. However, as most languages with genders do, Jingulu places words for men in a different gender than words for women, and one of the other genders corresponds to a coherent class of entities for the most part, and therefore the names masculine, feminine, vegetable and neuter provide more information about the gender than any of these other options would. More about this in section 1.3. The easiest class to characterise is the smallest, and apparently most marked, vegetable class. This class is occupied mostly by objects that are long and thin or pointed, or are sharp, which happens to include a lot of vegetables, but also body parts such as colon, penis, tail, neck, umbilical cord and chin; instruments such as spears, didgeridoos, fire-drills, shields, and barbed wire; phenomena such as lightning and rainbows; and features like roads, gullies and trenches. Some plant food that is not of this shape, such as acacia gum and berries, are in this class (though most are neuter), and there are some unusual entries such as the words for war and the ceremonial ring. The next smallest and specialised class is the feminine, which aside from words for female higher animates includes words for axes of all sorts, the sun, most smaller songbirds, and some of the more 'unusual' animals including echidnas, flightless birds, crabs, scorpions, turtles, and catfish. The two remaining classes are the most general, with the masculine being used for most other animates and neuter for inanimates. Exceptions to this are that flat and/or rounded inanimates tend to be masculine, including many trees, the moon, shadows, swamps (with water), grindstones, eggs, rounded spear throwers, boomerangs, coolamons, and things made of glass. Also body parts that are flat, such as liver, brow and vagina, are masculine. The neuter gender includes all words for dwellings, materials, sticks and stones, instruments and body and plant parts that do not fall into other gender classes on the basis of shape properties, and most abstract concepts and entities.

Each gender has a characteristic ending, which means that nominals bearing inherent gender have a tendency to display a particular ending in the nominative case. Some discussion of this is found in section 4.3.4 of chapter 2. For masculine nominals this ending is /-a/, though there is a sizeable class of consonant-final masculine nouns, too (38a). Feminine nominals generally end in /iC$_{[coronal]}$i/ ([-ini], [-irni], [-idi] or [-irdi]), as in (38b). Feminine skin names and the word for female body show a different yet regular feminine morphology, trading the initial /j/ and final /a/ of their masculine couterpart nouns for an initial /n/ and a final /u/ (38b). The characteristic ending for

neuter nominals is /-u/ (38c), and for vegetable nominals /iC$_{[labial]}$i/(realised as [-imi] or [-ibi], as in (38d)).

(38) a. masculine:

yarrilinja 'sand'	kiyinarra 'vagina, vulva'
jamankula 'blanket lizard'	jabarrka 'liver'
jambilija 'body (male)'	Jangalinginja *skin name (male)*
urur 'cousin-in-law'	yarrulan 'youth'

exceptions:

darndiyi 'rat'	wajirrku 'praying mantis'

b. feminine:

lirrikbirni 'cockatoo'	dardawurni 'axe'
kirirni 'catfish'	kirninginjirni 'emu'
jingirdi 'heart'	kularnkurrurdi 'dove'
nambiliju 'body (female)'	Nangalinginju *skin name (female)*

exceptions:

(w)urdila 'axe'	yakakak 'sulphur-crested cockatoo'

c. neuter:

yurrku 'flower, nectar'	karalu 'ground'
ngabarangkurru 'blood'	burrkulyi 'wild potato'

exceptions:

bikirra 'grass'	marnkurlukurlidi 'ear wax'

d.	vegetable:	wardbardbumi 'bush passionfruit'	ngijinmi 'tail'
		kingmi 'rainbow'	ukbi 'lump, swelling'
		mankijbi 'back of neck'	milakurrmi 'wild potato'
	exceptions:	ngurrmana 'string, cotton'	wilyurdku 'narrow path'

The neuter gender in particular contains a large number of nominals that do not end in the characteristic [u]. Exceptional endings are rare in the smaller feminine and vegetable classes. Most feminine nominals are in fact derived from masculine nominals by way of the /-rni/ suffix (see 41 below). In the dictionary (Part II), entries for nominals give gender of nouns and list the gender of the form given for adjectives.

Jingulu gender suffixes mimic the characteristic endings for nominals of the four genders. In section 2.3 we saw how the endings /-ina/ (masculine), /-irnini/ (feminine), /-unu/ (neuter) and /-irnimi/ (vegetable) were used to derive possessive pronouns which agreed with the gender of the possessed item. The gender endings /a/ (masculine), /-irni/ (feminine) and /-imi/ (vegetable) appear in place of the neuter ending (usually /u/) on adjectives in order to make them agree in gender with the gender of their referent (39), with the feminine and vegetable endings triggering harmony as described in section 4 of chapter 2.

(39) a. Lalija darra-nga-ju **jamurriyaka**.
tea eat-1sg-do cooled(m)
'I'm drinking cold tea.'

b. Jama-ni **jangka** ya-jiyimi.
that(m)-FOC another(m) 3sg-come
'Here comes another man.'

c. Nyamina-rni-nu **bardakurrirni**-kaji ya-ju.
DEM(f)-FOC-did good(f)-through 3sg-do
'She's well now.'

d. Wijbirri-ni **jalyamingkirni**.
white_person-f new(f)
'The white girl is new-born.'

e. Nyama ambaya-nya-ju Jingulu **bardakurru** marrinjku.
2sg speak-2sg-do Jingulu good(n) language
'You speak Jingulu well.'

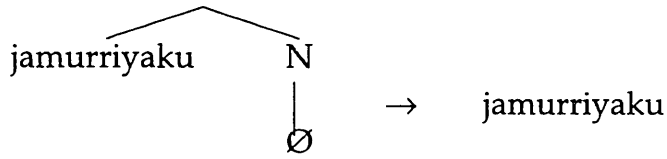
f. Jami-na dimana-rni laja-ardu **ngamulu** lanbu.
that(m)-FOC horse-ERG carry-go big(n) load
'That horse is carrying a big load.'

g. Miringmi-ni darra-nga-yi **bardakurrimi**.
gum-FOC eat-1sg-FUT good(v)
'I'll eat the sweet gum.'

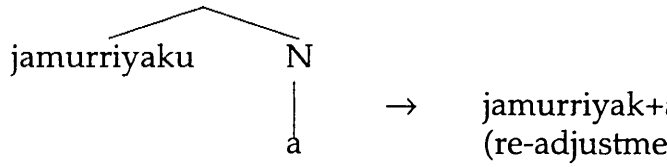
h. Jangunama nga-miji **murrkunmi**.
only 1sg-have three-v
'I only have three [yams].'

As the (39b, h) show, the element being agreed with need not be present overtly in the sentence, and (39d) shows that agreement can take place between an adjective used as a predicate and its subject. In order to explain the harmony facts (feminine and vegetable endings trigger harmony, but the neuter ending does not, despite the fact that it involves a high vowel), the neuter form of the adjective is considered to be the vocabulary item inserted in the root node, with the neuter nominal head being null. This also explains why the neuter class contains the greatest proportion of apparent irregularities (members ending in segments other than /u/). Thus a neuter adjective is constructed as in (40a), a masculine adjective as in (40b), and a feminine adjective as in (40c). If the nominal head is overt, a morphophonological adjustment rule deletes the final vowel of the root.

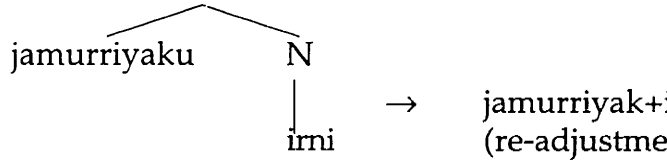
(40) a.



b.



c.



The feminine head /-irni/ can also replace the masculine /a/ on nouns referring to

higher animates to make them specifically feminine (41). This also triggers harmony.

(41) a. dimana 'horse' — diminirni 'mare'

b. wawa 'child' — wiwirni 'girl'

c. wajbala 'white person' — wijbilirni/wijbirrirni 'white woman'

d. Warlaku-rni marliyirni, warlaku karlingka
dog-f female dog male
'Female dog, male dog.'

This may result in a single feminine form corresponding to two distinct masculine forms:

(42)

biba + rni	biba-rni	bibirni
son + f	[+hi] [+hi]	'older sister'
baba + rni	baba-rni	bibirni
older_brother + f	[+hi]	'daughter'

The masculine nominal can be used in place of the feminine, though this is generally not done with singular kinship terms. In (43) the boldfaced words *babiyurri* and *bardarda* are the masculine forms.

(43) a. Ngarri-ni-bala **babi-yurri**-mi.
1sgGEN-f-pl(anim) older_siblings-pl-IRR
'They're my sisters.'

b. Nyina ngaanku lilirni nyamina-na ngarnu ngaanki-ni-na-ni
that(f) 2sgGEN aunt DEM(m)-DAT 3sgGEN 2sgGEN-m-DAT-FOC
kirda-rna-ni **bardarda**.
father-DAT-FOC y.sibling
'That *lilirni* of yours is your father's little sister.'

This is a generalised case of the masculine form being able to occur with referents of any gender, which is discussed in detail in section 3.1.3.

3.1.2 Adjectival agreement

As mentioned in section 2.1 of chapter 3, adjectives are distinguished from nouns by virtue of their ability to take nominal agreement. While nouns have a fixed gender, or in the case of nouns referring to higher animates a choice of masculine or feminine gender, adjectives can be found in all genders. The word *kijurlurlu* ('rock, pebble, money'), for instance, is always neuter, while *kunyarrba* ('dog') is masculine or may appear in the feminine form *kunyirrbirni,* but the word *ngamulu* ('big') may be neuter (*kijurlurlu ngamulu,* 'big stone'), masculine (*kunyarrba ngamula,* 'big dog'), feminine (*ngamulirni kunyirrbirni,* 'big bitch'), or vegetable (*ngimirrikimi ngamulimi,* 'big bush banana').

In Part III, adjectives are given in their masculine form, except where these adjectives were never found in a masculine form, in which case the neuter form is cited. The gender of the form cited is noted in the entry. The reason for giving the masculine rather than the neuter is because masculine forms are always permitted, irrespective of the gender of the referent, as discussed below.

Certain adjectives are invariant in their form, whatever the gender of their referent. For the most part these are consonant-final adjectives. This property is noted in the entry for these adjectives in Part III. Some examples are given here:

(44)

kilkil	nyambarnin	balika	wayabi
'happy'	'old, venerable'	'hungry'	'exhausted'
lakarr	jabarra	wakunya	marlumarlu
'broken'	'sour, bitter'	'left, left-handed'	'lame with illness'

3.1.3 Gender disagreement and the gender feature structure

Adjectives almost always appear overtly bearing the gender of their referent, but demonstratives often do not. In either case, when the gender of the referent disagrees with the the gender that a word overtly bears, there is a strict hierarchy of default agreements that are possible. If the referent is masculine, modifiers will always appear in their masculine form, and no other option is available (45j-l). If the noun is feminine (45a-c) or neuter (45d-e), the modifier may optionally appear in the masculine form. If the noun is vegetable, the modifier may optionally be either neuter (45f) or masculine (45g-h), rather than vegetable.

(45) a. **Nyama**-bili-rna-ni nayu-wurlu kuwirinji-yurlu.
DEM(m)-dl-ERG-FOC woman-dl W.Mudburra(f)-dl
'These are two Western Mudburra women.'

b. Ngamulirni **jalyamungka** binjiya-ju, birnmirrini.
girl(f) young(m) grow-do prepubescent_girl
'That little girl is growing up into a big girl.'

c. **Nginda**-rni wujuwujurni kurlukurli-ni, kurlungkurli-ni ngina-rniki
that(m)-FOC parrot(f) small-f small-f this(f)
wujuwujurni-ni.
parrot(f)-FOC
'The wujuwujurni parrot is small.'

d. **Jama**-rni nyanyalu-ngkuju, darrangku kirdilyaku.
that(m)-FOC leaf-HAVING tree bent(n)
'That bent tree is leafy.'

e. Ngandirdi **ngini-niki**-rni biyijala bikirra-rni.
grass_sp this(n)-FOC tall(m) grass-FOC
'Ngandirdi is this tall grass.'

f. Karrangayimi **nyama-niki** langa ningki-mindi-i, dajbajalmi
yam_species(v) this(m) dig-1dlInc-will_go spicy(v)
nyama-niki marrimarri-mi.
this(m) cheeky-v
'The karrangayimi yam, which I'm going to dig up, will burn you.'

g. Ngima-rniki bilirdbi, **ngini-rniki** bilirdbi, **ngarri-nu** bilirdbi,
this(v) white_paint(v) this(n) white_paint 1sgGEN-n white_paint(v)
ngarri-nimi bilirdbi.
1sgGEN-v white_paint
'This white paint, this white paint, my white paint, my white paint.'

h. ngini-rniki barndumi *or* ngima-rniki barndumi
this(n) lower_back(v) this(v) lower_back(v)

i. **Bilyingbiyaku ngini-rniki**-rni ngurndungurndulbi-rni lilingbi-nga-ju.
red(n) this(n)-FOC throat(v)-FOC hurt-1sg-do
'My throat's red and sore.'

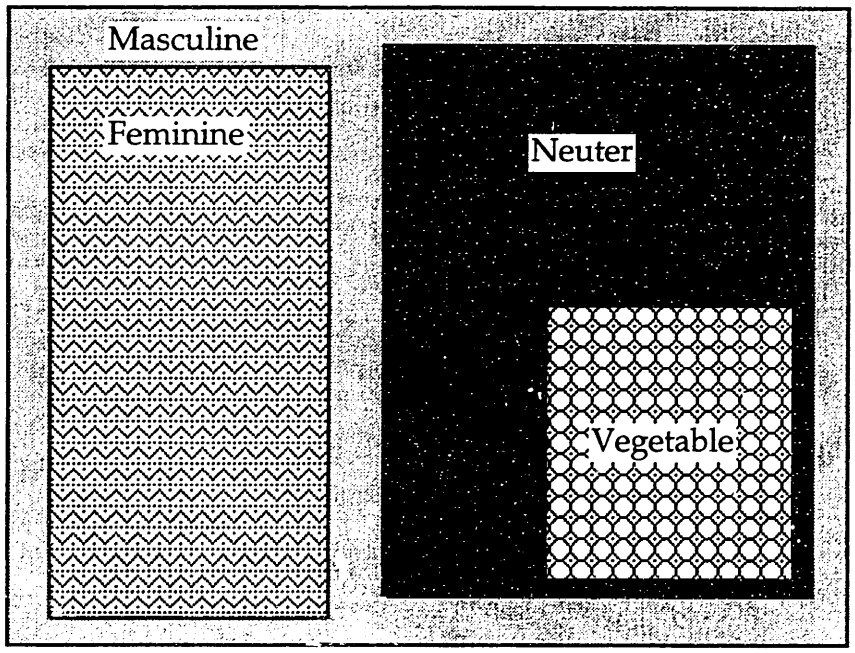
j. *Bambawunjirni ngaja-nga-nu, ngarri-nu.
shadow see-1sg-did 1sgGEN-n
'I saw a shadow, my shadow.'

k. buliki jamarniki *not* *buliki jimirniki
cow this(m) cow this(n)

l. *Dardu-mi bininja ya-jiyimi.
many-v man 3sg-come
'Many men are coming.'

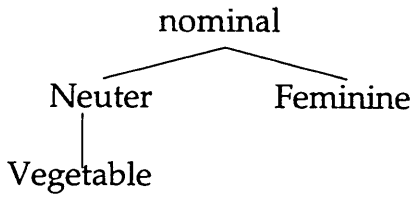
This suggests that nouns are not organised into four discrete genders as one might arrange objects into four boxes, but rather that the genders exist as sub-sets of one another:

Figure 1



That is to say that all words fall into the 'masculine', more properly called 'gender-unspecified' group, and that within this group there are two marked classes, the feminine and the neuter nouns. Within the neuter class there is a further marked class, the vegetable class. The idea of this markedness is supported by the kinds of words that are found in the marked classes. Among birds, for instance, flightless birds, those less typically 'birdlike' for their lack of flight, are feminine rather than masculine. Among sexless objects, it is only those of a particular shape that are classified as vegetable (not even all vegetable foods fall into the vegetable class, as mentioned previously). A terminal node therefore bears the gender feature of its most specific class and, automatically, of all the classes that its class is a sub-class of. If we imagine the features to be arranged as in Figure 2, then we can say a nominal bears the feature of its class and of all the nodes which dominate it.

Figure 2



Gender disagreement involves the erasure of one or more of these features. The only feature that may not be erased is the category feature [nominal]. A vegetable gender word therefore enters the morphological component with the features [nominal, Neuter, Vegetable]; if the feature [Vegetable] is erased the word will appear in its neuter form, if the [Neuter] feature is erased in addition to the [Vegetable] feature (one might suppose that erasing a node in a feature tree like that in Figure 2 erases everything that node dominates, but we have no evidence for whether this is indeed the case) the word will appear in the masculine form. Similarly, feminine nominals are supplied with the gender features [nominal, Feminine], and if the feature [Feminine] is erased the word will appear in the masculine form. Recall from section 2.3 that Genitive pronouns agree with the gender of the possessed item in the Warranganku dialect. As a result of gender impoverishment, a Genitive pronoun referring to the speaker's yam could have one of three realisations:

(46) a. [[possessor, +speaker, -hearer, singular], [gender, Neuter, vegetable]]
→ [possessor, +speaker, -hearer, singular]- [gender, Neuter, vegetable]
→ ngarr-irnimi

b. [[possessor, +speaker, -hearer, singular], [gender, Neuter, vegetable]]
→ [possessor, +speaker, -hearer, singular]- [gender, Neuter, vegetable]
→ [possessor, +speaker, -hearer, singular]- [gender, Neuter, ~~vegetable~~]
→ ngarr-unu

c. [[possessor, +speaker, -hearer, singular], [gender, Neuter, vegetable]]
→ [possessor, +speaker, -hearer, singular]- [gender, Neuter, vegetable]
→ [possessor, +speaker, -hearer, singular]- [gender, ~~Neuter~~, ~~vegetable~~]
→ ngarr-ina

In each of the three cases in (46), the first step involves the fissioning of the gender features from the terminal node representing the possessive pronoun. The absence of this splitting typifies the Kuwarrangu dialect, where all possessors are represented by the same form irrespective of the gender of the possessed item, while splitting is the norm in the Warranganku dialect (see also section 1.3 of chapter 1). The three forms in (46) differ only in terms of which (if any) of the gender features are deleted by impoverishment rules. In (46a) there is no impoverishment and the gender node surfaces

as vegetable agreement. In (46b), where impoverishment has deleted the [Vegetable] feature, leaving the feature [Neuter] behind, gender marking surfaces in the neuter form. Finally, where all gender features except the root [gender] feature are deleted (as in (46c)), the gender node surfaces in the unmarked or 'masculine' form. This deletion of gender features by optional impoverishment is also what allows masculine nouns to refer to female higher animates, as was shown in (43).

Note that because there is no case-marking on part-whole constructions (see section 1.2.2 of chapter 4), and because masculine demonstratives are always allowed to co-refer with nouns of any gender ambiguities may arise, such as that in (47). The context of such an utterance would usually disambiguiate the intention of the phrase.

(47) nginda-rniki nyijinmi
this(m) tail(v)
'this tail' *or* 'its tail'

3.2 Number

3.2.1 Number morphology

Jingulu has three numbers: singular (sg), dual (dl) and plural (pl). Dual and plural number can be realised on nominals, demonstratives, and GEN pronouns in the form of number suffixes (boldfaced in (48)), on free pronouns as suppletive stem forms (boldfaced in (50), but see section 2 for a full discussion of free pronouns), and as different bound agreement markers in the verb (in bold in (51), but see section 1 of chapter 6 for a full discussion of verbal agreement).

(48) a. **Ngarri-ni-bila bardarda-yila** manyan wunyu-ju.
1sgGEN-m-dl(anim) younger_brother-dl(anim) sleep 3dl-do
'My two younger brothers are asleep.'

b. **Jama-bila**-ni **Jingili-yila** wunyi-yi **marluka-yila**.
that(m)-dl(anim)-ERG Jingili_person-dl(anim) 3dl-FUT old_man-dl(anim)
'They will be two old Jingili men.'

c. **Ngini-bulu**-na banybila-nga-nu-na ngaba-nga-ju-na nyinda
DEM(n)-dl-FOC find-1sg-did-FOC have-1sg-did-FOC DEM(m)
banybila-nga-nu-na jikaya-mbili.
find-1sg-did-FOC lake-LOC
'I found these two things at the lake.'

d. **Nginda-baja** ngiji-wurru-wardu **nyinu-bulu nayu-urlu** *garrim* nyambala
that(m)-pl see-3pl-go DEM(f?)-dl? woman(dl) have(Kr) DEM(n)
murrkunbala amanjamanja ngibi-wurru-ju
three(m) children have-3pl-do
'They've gone to visit the two women who have the three kids.'

e. Ngaja-nga-ju murrkunbala **bayin-bala** wijink-urri-ju nyambala
see-1sg-do three(m) people-pl(anim) stand-3pl-do DEM(n)
lurrju-mbili wijink-urru-ju.
sandy_ridge-LOC upright-3pl-do
'I see three men standing on a sandy ridge.'

f. **Jama-baja**-na **yabanja-la** irrk bil-urru-nku-nu.
that(m)-pl(anim)-FOC young_man-pl(anim) paint-3pl-REFL-did
'All the young men have painted themselves up.'

g. Ngaba-jiyimi dardu **ardbulurra-darra** ngaba-jiyimi dardu, wajbala-rni.
have-come many bull-pl have-come many whitefella-FOC
'He's bringing lots of bulls, that white fella.'

h. Dardu-wala **bininja-rdarra Warumunga-rdarra** urri-jiyimi.
many_people man-pl Waramungu-pl 3pl-come
'A big mob of Waramungu men are coming this way.'

i. Miju-wurri-yi **wawa-la**-rni bijardku.
get-3pl-FUT child-pl-ERG sugarleaf
'The children want to get the sugarleaf.'

j. Banybila-nga-nu **nyima-nika-la** nyambala kirangkuju.
find-1sg-did this(v)-pl DEM(n) melon_species
'I found these kirangkuju melons.'

k. **Karlakarlarri-la** ila-mi!
loose-pl put-IRR
'Loosen these!'

As can be seen from the above examples, the dual suffix /-bila/ (realised as [-bila] or [-yila], (48a-b)) and the plural suffix /-bala/ (with allomorphs [-bala] and [-baja], (48d-f)) specify that the referents are animate, while the dual suffix /-bulu/ ((48c-d), allomorphs [-bulu] and [-(w)urlu]) and the plural suffix /-darra/ ([-darra]or [-la]) do not (48f-k).

Choice of allomorph may depend on the morphosyntactic category of the host word. On demonstratives, genitive pronouns and number words dual marking specifying animacy is [-bila]/[-bili], while on other nominals dual is [-yila]. One exception was

found, *bayinbila/bayinbila* (from*baya* 'man'). The choice between /-(w)urlu/and /-burlu/ for marking of the general (unspecified animacy) plural seems to be arbitrary, and is not conditioned by either morphosyntactic features of the host word or phonological environment. The choice between /-bala/ and /-rdarra/ for marking plurality on animates seems to be quite arbitary, with the same speaker giving both *bininjaala* and *bininjardarra* as plurals for *bininja* ('man') on different days. There are some distinct preferences, however, as [-baja] is found almost exclusively with the demonstrative *jama* (as in (48d)), and words for people such as *wawa* 'child' and *bininja* 'man' usually take [-la] as their plural marker.

Like gender, morphological specification of animacy is entirely optional, and the suffixes /-bulu/ and /-darra/ are often used for animate referents, though /-bila/ and /-bala/ are not used with inanimate referents. The word for 'three' has the plural animacy marker as part of its forms for masculine and feminine referents (*murrkunbala, murrkunbilirni*), but as these number words are also used with inanimate referents of masculine and feminine genders, I assume that this is not to be analysed synchronically as plural marking. Animacy marking on nominals is never expressed independently of number marking, so that there is no morpheme that can be attached to a singular noun to show that its referent is animate. As discussed in section 1.1 of chapter 3, there is an optional fission rule applying to free nominals (including demonstratives and GEN pronouns) which separates number and animcacy features into a morpheme of their own:

(49) [N, gender, number, animacy] → [N, gender] + [number, animacy]

An optional impoverishment rule follows which can eliminate the animacy feature from the second (number) node. Vocabulary insertion then follows the list in (57).

Highlighted below are the pronominal forms (free in (50), bound agreement markers in (51)) which encode number as well as person.

(50) a. **Mind**iyila mindi-ju ngandayi-mbili.
1dlIncNOM 1dlInc-do shade-LOC
'We two are sitting in the shade.'

b. **Nginy**ila ngindarni wawa miyiwurrunaju **nginy**aku.
1dlExcNOM DEM(m)-FOC boy hit-3pl-1Obj-do 1dlExcACC
'They hit me and the boy.'

c. Ajuwara kunyu-wardu **kuny**ilarni.
whither 2dl-go 2dlERG
'Which way are you two going?'

d. Jama-ni bininja ngaba-ju **wunya**ku nayu-urlu.
that-FOC man have-do 3dlACC woman-dl
'That man has two women.'

e. Ibilkirni duwa-ju **ngurra**ku yuwubu.
rain rise-do 1plIncACC wet season
'The wet season's coming up on us.'

f. Ngiji-wunyu-nu ngiji-warna-nu **ngirra**ku ngaya ngunu-mbili-kaji.
see-3dl-did see-3sgS1Obj-did 1plExcACC 1sgNOM DEM(n)-LOC-through
'Those two saw me and him right over there.'

g. Ulukajankungku **kurr**uwala!
wash-REFL-will_come 2plNOM
'You three come and wash yourselves!'

h. Wawala ngarrarnmangayi **urra**ku.
child-pl feed-1sg-FUT 3plACC
'I must feed my children.'

(51) a. Wayabi **mindu**-ju, ngandayi-ngka mankiya duki-**mindu**-wa.
tired 1dlInc-do shade-ALL sit stay-1dlInc-will_go
'We're tired, let's sit in the shade.'

b. Ngiji-**nginyu**-nu nganku.
see-1dlExc-did 2sgACC
'Me and him saw you.'

c. Dirrk biji-**kunya**-na-nu nginyaku.
pull-2dl-1Obj-did 1dlExcACC.
'You two picked us two up.'

d. Imbili-**wunyu**-nku-wardi
chase-3dl-REFL-go
'Those two are arguing.'

e. Jama kirlirrwala lujbu-**ngurri**-yi ngarnu kanyarlawurrina.
that(m) grass_sp burn-1plInc-FUT 3sgACC kangaroo-DAT
'We burn that grass when hunting kangaroos.'

f. Jingkarli-kaji **ngirru**-ju
happy-through 1plExc-do
'We're all happy now.'

g. Ngirdi-**kurr**u-ju ngumi?
defecate-2pl-do faeces
'Are you guys having a crap?'

h. Nginda-bila-rni miyi-**wurr**u-ju nyaku Jangala, Nangala
DEM-dl(anim)-FOC hit-3pl-do 3dlACC *skin_name skin_name*
'They hit Jangala and Nangala.'

It is possible to argue, as Chadwick (1975) does, that (with the exception of first person dual inclusive [mind-]) person is encoded in the initial elements of the pronouns (/ng/ for first person, /k/ for second person, and /w/ for third person), and number in the next consonant (/ny/ for dual, /rr/ for plural). This claim almost certainly has historical justification, but Jingulu morphemes are generally at least one mora in length, not just a segment, and the intervening vowel is not predictable. The irregularity of the first person dual inclusive (/mind-/ rather than /ng-/[1]) as well as the absence of several third person forms also suggest that there is no separation of person and number in the synchronic grammar.

3.2.2 Number feature structure

As with gender-marking, there is a great deal of variability in number marking. A nominal or demonstrative with non-singular reference need not be marked for number at all (52), while a dual nominal is often found represented by plural morphology (53). A plural is never represented by dual morphology however.

(52) a. Nyamina-rni nyinawurdirni-rni ya-rruku ngarnu jamina darra-yi jama-ni
DEM(f)-ERG echidna-ERG 3sg-went 3sgACC that-FOC eat-FUT that-FOC
bakungunjirni.
ant
'That echidna went to get ants to eat.'

b. **Nginda**-rni ngaja-mi jurliji-darra diyim ka-rdu!
DEM(m)-FOC see-IRR bird-pl fly 3sg-go
'Look at all the birds flying.'

c. Banybila-nga-nu nginda jurrkulu-mbili dardu **bilirna**.
find-1sg-did DEM(m) creek-LOC many(m/n) redgum
'I found many red gums at the creek.'

[1] The use of /mind-/ for first person singular inclusive is common to Djingili Wambayic languages and Jaminjungan, Ngaliwurru, and Nungali. This form gives its name to the genetic group consisting of these languages, the Mindi group (identified by Chadwick (1984)).

(53) a. **Nyama-baji** imimikin-bili-ni-rni ardalakbi-wurru-ju.
DEM-pl old_woman-dl(anim)-f-ERG hot-3pl-do
'The two old women feel hot.'

b. Jama-bila-ni **bininja-ala** wunyu-ju Kurungu-mbili.
that-dl(anim)-FOC man-pl(anim) 3dl-do Gurungu-LOC
'Those two men live at Gurungu.'

This number impoverishment is quite a common strategy with bound prominal agreement too (54), and uncommon but possible also with free pronouns (55).

(54) a. Kunyirrirni dij bila-**nya**-mi kandirri!
2dlERG divide-2sg-IRR bread
'You two cut up the bread.'

b. Dardu buliki **ya**-ju, nginda ngawu-mbili-rni dardu buliki.
many cow 3sg-do DEM(m) camp-LOC-FOC many cow
'There's a lot of cows over there by the station.'

c. Nyambala nikin **ngurri**-yi bambu ngima-niki.
DEM(n) cut 1plInc-FUT didgeridoo this(v)
'We'll cut this didgeridu.'
[context provided only two possible referents for subject]

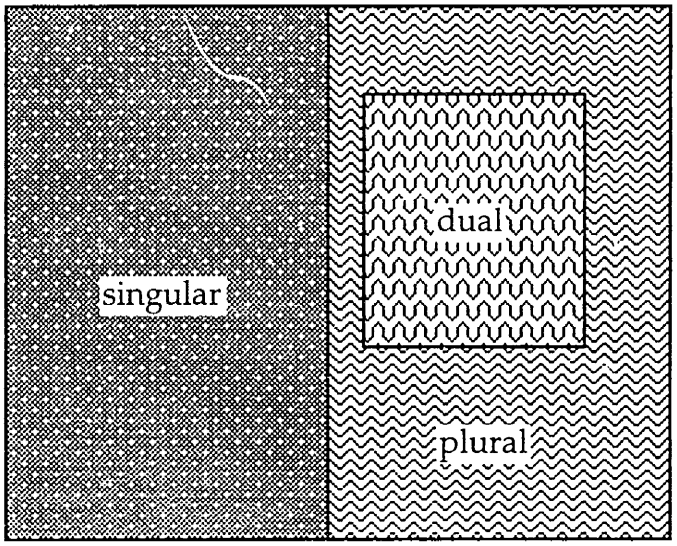
d. Kujarri-bila-rni yurriy-**urru**-nu-ju.
two-dl(person)-FOC play-3pl-did-do
'Those two boys are playing.'

(55) a. Jijki-ngirri-*yuna*-ngku baja-mi **ngarru** umangku.
ask_for-1plExc-*2Obj(Kr)*-will_come follow-IRR 1sgACC story
'We're asking you to come and tell us a story.'

b. Jami-na warlaku-rni imbila-nu bayin-bila **wurraku**.
that(m)-FOC dog-ERG chase-did person-dl(anim) 3plACC
'The dogs chased those two people.'

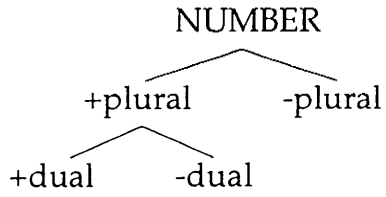
Once again I will suggest a feature structure for number (Figure 4), which can be represented as the set diagram in Figure 3.

Figure 3



Singular and plural are distinct sets, with dual being a marked subset of plural. This structure differs from the gender structure in that there is no class that includes all of the others. While there are rules or vocabulary items that refer specifically to the singular number of a node (e.g. rule (8) in chapter 6), there are no rules or items that refer specifically to masculine gender.

Figure 4



A dual nominal will be specified for the features [number: +plural, +dual]. If the feature [+dual] is erased then the nominal will surface with Plural marking, while if the feature [+plural] (and hence its dependent feature Dual) is erased, the nominal will surface with the default marking for number (which is null, as determined by the vocabulary insertion list in (57)). In formal terms, the fission operation in (49) is optionally followed by an impoverishment rule which deletes a number feature. A terminal node which enters the morphological component with the features [N, gender, [number, Plural, Dual], animate] and then undergoes fission to become the two morphemes [N, gender] and [[number, Plural, Dual], animate], could be impoverished to any of the following options:

(56) a. [N, gender] + [$_{number}$ [+plural, +dual], animate]
b. [N, gender] + [$_{number}$ [+plural, ~~Dual~~], animate]
c. [N, gender] + [$_{number}$ [~~+plural, +dual~~], animate]
d. [N, gender] + [$_{number}$ [+plural, +dual], ~~animate~~]
e. [N, gender] + [$_{number}$ [+plural, ~~+dual~~], ~~animate~~]
f. [N, gender] + [$_{number}$ [~~+plural, +dual~~], ~~animate~~]

Vocabulary insertion for the number/animacy node now proceeds in accordance with the following list:

(57)

NUMBER	[[+plural, +dual], animate]	↔	/-bila/
	[[+plural], animate]	↔	/-bala/
	[+plural, +dual]	↔	/-bulu/
	[+plural]	↔	/-rdarra/, /-la/
	NUMBER	↔	Ø

Thus, a word referring to two dogs might not undergo fission of number and animacy features, surfacing as *kunyarrba*, or it might undergo fission in accordance with rule (49), following which the option of impoverishment produces the six possibilities in (56), which would surface as the corresponding examples in (58).

(58)

a.	kunyarrba-bila	
b.	kunyarrba-bala	(equivalent to 'dogs')
c.	kunyarrba	(equivalent to 'dog')
d.	kunyarrba-bulu	
e.	kunyarrba-rdarra, kunyarrba-la	(equivalent to 'dogs')
f.	kunyarrba	(equivalent to 'dog')

A nominal that enters the vocabulary insertion stage of the derivation specified as animate but neither plural nor dual surfaces without any special marking, since the insertion list in (57) does not include a vocabulary item specified as animate without also specifying dual or plural number. A singular animate (or an animate that has had its number features erased) will therefore surface with the same null marking as a singular inanimate. This null marker is the default or 'elsewhere' entry for the number node, and occurs at the bottom of the list, being the item least specified for featural content. This item also appears on all singular nouns, given that [-plural] has no vocabulary item associated with it, so all nodes specified as [-plural] have the default item inserted into them.

3.3 Case and Role Marking

Nominals in Jingulu can bear a number of suffixes indicating the role or roles which a nominal plays in a clause. Sometimes this marking can be considered purely structural (Ergative marking, Dative marking on indirect objects, or the use of the Instrumental to mark inanimate subjects of transitive clauses), and this is called core case marking. Core case markers, according to the theory of Jingulu clause structure set out in chapter 4, serve to indicate which argument position the nominal is predicated of. Adpositional or semantic case markers, on the other hand, have some inherent content, and depending on the suffix in question indicate location of an event or action, direction of an event or action toward or away from the refernt of the nominal, and a variety of other oblique roles. Finally, morphemes which mark emphasis or discourse prominence (the latter prevalent in both dialects of Jingulu) are considered to be pragmatic role markers.

Adjacent co-referent nominals can be marked for case individually (59a-c) or they can act as a unit with respect to case marking. In this latter case, the suffixes appears on only one of the elements (59d-g). If the suffix does not appear on all adjacent co-referent words, it usually appears on the final word in the sequence (59d-e), though not always (59f-g). The grouping of adjacent co-referent nominals in this respect is the only argument for anything like a multi-word NP in Jingulu. Those words which form groups of adjacent and co-refererent nominals in (59) are grouped with square brackets.

(59) a. Kirangkuju-nu darra-ardi [**buliki-rni dimana-rni**].
melon_species-did eat-HAB cow-ERG horse-ERG
'Cows and horses eat this melon.'

b. [**Ngarri-ni-ni bibi-rni**] maya-nu ngarru ngini-rniki.
1sgGEN-m-ERG son-ERG kill-did 1sgACC this(n)
'My son killed me this one.'

c. Nginda wurru-ku [**kuna-ngka biningkurru-ngka**].
that(m) 3pl-went ANAPH(n)-ALL billabong-ALL
'They went to that lake [you know the one].'

d. [Ngarri-na **bibi-rni**] maya-nu, murdika-arndi.
1sgGEN-m son-ERG kill-did car-INST
'My son killed it with his car.'

e. [Kamamurra **jama-rni marluka-rni**] narnangaja-rriyi.
blind(m) that(m)-ERG old_man-ERG look_around-will_go
'That old blind man will be searching about for his children.'

f. [**Jama-baja-rni** yarrulan-darra murrkun-bala] nayu-nga durli-wurru-ju.
that-pl-ERG young man-pl three-pl(anim) woman-fDAT seek-3pl-do
'Those three young men are looking for women.'

g. Yawulyu, jujurrka-ju, [**ngina-rni** nayuni] ngarnu maja-rriyi.
love_song love_dance-do that(f)-ERG woman 3sgACC get-will_go
'That woman is performing a love song and dance to get him.'

When co-referent free nominals are not adjacent, each continguous set (NP) must bear at least one case marker, as displayed in (60a-c). The only exception is if one of the NPs has been dislocated to a clause margin (see section 1.1.2 of chapter 4 for discussion of dislocation), in which case it appears in the unmarked absolutive form (60d).

(60) a. **Jami-rni-ni** lakarr maja-rna-nu nyambala kangarnda lakarr maja-na-yi
that-ERG-FOC break-1Obj-did DEM(n) jaw break-1Obj-FUT
ya-rnarna **jami-rni-ni**.
3sg-3sgS1sgO that-ERG-FOC
'That guy broke my jaw.'

b. **Dardu-wala-rni** maja-ni-ngurru-ju **wajbala-rni**.
many_people-ERG get-PASS-1plInc-do whitefella-ERG
'Lots of white people took photos of us.'

c. **Walanja-rna** ngaja-rruku **yunku-rna**.
goanna-DAT see-went print-DAT
'They saw a goanna's tracks.'

d. **Jama-bila** birri-wunya-na-miki **marluka-yili-rni**.
that-dl(anim)visit-3dl-1Obj-came old_man-dl-ERG
'Those two old people came to see me yesterday.'

These generalisations about which elements need to be marked applies to the core markers in section 3.3.1 and the adpositional cases in section 3.3.2. Discourse markers are more free in their distribution and prefer to appear on the first, rather than last, element in a contiguous string of co-referent words, as discussed in section 3.3.3.

3.3.1 Core, structural or grammatical case

Under this heading fall markers which express a nominal's construal with an argument in a core syntactic role. According to the syntactic analysis offered in chapter 4, nominals marked with these cases are linked to *pro* in argument positions by a kind of predication.

Unlike pronouns (section 2), which have separate forms for Nominative (subject of an

intransitive clause), Ergative (subject of a transitive clause) and Accusative (clausal object) function, lexical nominals appear in their unmarked form (Absolutive, the citation form) except when they are predicated on subjects of transitive clauses (in which case they bear ERG marking), indirect objects, goals, or possessors (which all usually bear DAT marking).

3.3.1.1 The Ergative suffix /-rni/

The ERG suffix is realised as [-ka] on feminine kinterms, [-nga] on other feminine nominals and [-rni] (or [-ni]) on other nominals referring to animates (inanimate transitive subjects generally take the Instrumental suffix /-arndi/, see section 3.3.2.2). If a feminine nominal bears the characteristic feminine ending /-rni/ in its Absolutive or citation (unmarked) form, then ERG [-ka]/ [-nga] replaces this /-rni/ (as in (61e-g)).

(61) a. Arrkuja-narna-nu ngaya **kardayi-rni**.
scratch-3sgS1sgO-did 1sgNOM cat-ERG
'The cat scratched me.'

b. **Babi-rni** ikiya-rnarna-nu ibilkini.
older_brother-ERG wet-3sgS1sgO-did water
'My brother wet me.'

c. Ngayirni **babi-rni** ngiji-nginyi-nu kujarrarna yaminju-nu, nyu-rruku
1sgERG older_brother-ERG see-1dlExc-did two shooting_star-did 2sg-went
nyinawarra.
this_way
'My brother and I saw two shooting stars when you'd gone.'

d. Miji-wurri **wawa-la-rni** bijardku.
get-3pl child-pl-ERG sugarleaf
'The children want to get the sugarleaf.'

e. Uliyijirni, maja-ngana-ju **uliyija-nga** ngabanju.
sun(NOM) get-3sgS1sgO sun-ERG eye
'The sun, it's getting in my eyes.'

f. Jama-na maya-nga-yi **munju-nga**.
that-FOC hit-1sg-FUT elbow-ERG (citation/ABS = /munjurni/)
'I'll elbow that fellow.'

g. Kunyangula-nama ya-miki ngaja-nga-nu **lala-ka ngarri-ninga**.
other_day-time 3sg-came see-1sg-did father-fERG 1sgGEN-fERG
'The other day my father's sister came to visit me.'

While in elicitation speakers only accepted [-ka] and [-nga] on feminine nominals, the Ergative ending is realised as [-rni] on clearly feminine nominals in speech. In this case the characteristic feminine ending /-rni/ is not dropped:

(62) a. Nyamina-rni **nyinawurdirni-rni** ya-rruku ngarnu jamina darra-yi jama-ni
DEM(f)-ERG echidna-ERG 3sg-went 3sgACC that eat-FUT that-FOC
bakumunjini.
ant
'That echidna went to get ants to eat.'

b. Ngina-rni **jakirrirni-ni** darra-ardi marru.
that(f)-ERG white_ant-ERG eat-HAB house
'White ants eat people's houses.'

3.3.1.2 The Dative suffix /-rna/

The Dative suffix appears as [-ka] on feminine kinterms, [-nga] on other feminine nominals and [-rna] (or [-na]) elsewhere:

(63) a. Ngindarni warlaku Warrakbina, ngaba-nga-ju ngayi-rnika bardarda-ka.
that(m)-FOC dog name have-1sg-do 1sgGEN-fDAT y.sibling-fDAT
'That dog is Warrakabina, I'm looking after it, it's my younger sister's dog.'

b. Jama-rni bininja-rni ijajkala nayu-nga.
that(m)-FOC man-ERG adulterous woman-fDAT
'That man is generally itchy for women.'

c. Bubuji-rna marluka-rna ngaba-nga-rriyi ngarnu bundurru-nu
grey_haired(m)-DAT old_man-DAT have-1sg-will_go 3sgACC food-did
ngunya-nga-rriyi, ngamba-yi manyan kayi bundundurra.
give-1sg-will_go PURP-FUT sleep 3sg-FUT sated(m)
'I'll take this food over and give it to the old white-haired man so that he can have a sleep once he's full up.'

This means that the Dative and the Ergative are indistinct from one another on feminine nominals. I propose that this collapsing of case marking and the disappearance of the feminine head marker /-rni/ are the result of a single morphological process which fuses gender and case nodes when the gender is feminine and the nodes are adjacent:

(64) [N, [gender, Feminine]] + [case] → [N, [gender, Feminine], case]

The vocabulary list for this node is:

(65) [N, kinterm [gender, Feminine]], case] ↔ [-ka]
[N, [gender, Feminine]], case] ↔ [-nga]

The fusion rule in (64) predicts that when number features have been fissioned off (according to rule (49), thus creating an element which intervenes between gender and case, the appearance of the specific feminine case-forms should be blocked. This is in fact the case:

(66) Wiwirni-darra-rni warlaku ngaja-ju.
girl-pl-ERG dog see-do
'The girls see the dog.'

The rule in (64) is apparently not obligatory, given the appearance of /-rni/ and /-rna/ on feminine nouns in texts, but is obligatory according to speakers judgments in elicitation sessions (indicating a prescriptive view of feminine case morphology that is not completely supported by available colloquial evidence).

Dative is the case that appears on indirect object or beneficiary arguments of certain predicates (67), possessor NPs (68), and nominals in a variety of oblique roles (70).

(67) a. Duwi ila-mi ngaba-kurru-nu - bambu ila-mi **murdika-rna** darrangku
rise put-IRR have-2pl-did didgeridu put-IRR car-DAT log
ngini-niki.
this(n)
'Get up and put that dijeridu log in the car.'

b. Ngini-rni bundurru ngaba-nga-rru ngarnu **ngindi-na marluka-rna**.
that(n)-FOC food have-1sg-will_go 3sgACC that(m)-DAT old_man-DAT
'I'll take some food to that old man.'

c. Jama warda-ju ngarnu **wawa-rna**.
that(m) yell-do 3sgACC child-DAT
'She's yelling at the children.'

d. Ardawa-nama ngarri-na baba ngaya dirdikirri-nginyu-ju ngarnu
careful-time 1sgGEN-m older_brother 1sgNOM wait-1dlExc-do 3sgACC
kirda-rna
father-DAT
'My older brother and I are waiting for Dad.'

e. Wurra-nga-nku-ju ngarnu, **jami-rna bininja-rna**.
love-1sg-REFL-do 3sgACC that(m)-DAT man-DAT
'I'm in love with that man.'

f. Jama-bali-na jijki-rri-wunyu-ju **bundurru-rna**.
that-dl(anim)-FOC ask-RRI-3dl-do food-DAT
'Those two are asking for food.'

g. Jama-bila-na-rlu langkaj-nga-ardi wunyaku bunbaku
imbili-wunyu-wardi.
that-dl-DAT-FOC hear-1sg-go 3dlACC fight argue-3dl-PRES
'I'm listening to those two arguing.'

In Wambaya, Dative arguments of verbs like 'wait for' do not allow the object to be dropped. The Jingulu clauses in (67d-g), however, are still grammatical without the Dative NP or an ACC pronoun (with a definite interpretation of the argument in question, or in (67g) also with the predicate meaning 'hear').

Dative marking appears on nouns and adjectives (but not on pronouns, where the GEN form appears) that refer to the possessor of an item:

(68) a. Banybila-nga-nu *wawirri*-**rna** ngarnu nyambala kurlumbu
find-1sg-did kangaroo(Warlp.)-DAT 3sgACC DEM(n) thigh_bone
lakarr mayi-nu.
broken-did
'I found a broken kangaroo's thighbone.'

b. Ngarru-nu nginya-ku **kirda-rna** ngawu-nu.
1sgGEN-n 1dlExc-went father-DAT home-did?
'This is my father's country.'

c. **Nyinda-na** nganga juwirri-mindu-wa yunku.
DEM(m)-DAT meat follow-1dlInc-will_go foot
'We must follow the animal's tracks.'

d. Ngarri-nini ngunyirrini, ngina-rni **ngarri-ninga** ngayi
1sgGEN-f grandma_in_law that(f)-FOC 1sgGEN-fDAT 3sgNOM
nayu-nga kukurlini.
woman-DAT grandma
'My ngunyirrini, that's my wife's grandma.'

e. Ngini-ni-ni ngarnu marrkulu-nu **kurrkabardi-na**.
that(n)-ERG-FOC 3sgGEN egg-did turkey-DAT
'That's a turkey's egg.'

f. Nyama-rni mami **jangki-na** ngarnu.
DEM(v)-ERG vegetable another-DAT 3sgGEN
'That's someone else's food.'

g. Nyina ngaanku lilirni nyamirna-na ngarnu ngaankirni-na-ni
that(f) 2sgGEN aunt DEM(f)-DAT 3sgGEN 2sgGEN-m-DAT-FOC
kirda-rna-ni bardarda
father-DAT-FOC y.sibling
'That *lilirni* of yours is your father's little sister.'

There are rare cases of possessors in alienable (non-part-whole) relationships not being marked DAT, but the only cases involve clause peripheral possessors and the loss of case marking could be due to dislocation:

(69) [**Kanya** ngayarnini ngabangarriyi karnarrinymi ngirriki.
uncle 1sgERG-FOC have-1sg-FUT spear hunting
'I'll take my uncle's spear and go hunting.'
or 'My uncle, I'll take his spear hunting.'

The DAT suffix also marks the beneficiary (70a), cause (70b-d), or purpose (70e-j) of an action or state (not an argument of the clause), or the subject matter of a conversation or story (70k-l):

(70) a. Jarranguna darlukurru ila-mi **wawa-rna**.
coolamon deep(n) put-IRR child-DAT
'Make a deep coolamon to put the child in.'

b. **Jama-rna** ngaja-nga-nu mikinji bijbulaka-nga-nu,
that(m)-DAT see-1sg-did snake jump-1sg-did
'Because I saw that snake I jumped up into the air.'

c. Wawa kurlukurla ngiliwa-ju **ngurrayijbi-na**.
child small(m) fear-do dark-DAT
'Young children are afraid of the dark.'

d. Marliya-nga-ju **ngawu-rni-na ngawu-rna**.
sick-1sg-do home-FOC-DAT home-DAT
'I'm homesick.'

e. Karriyaku jimi-niki darrangku, kurruda-ni. Nyirrba-ju **kurrubardu-na**-ni
bad(n) this(m) tree river_bloodwood-FOC make-do boomerang-DAT-FOC
akiyabardu.
bad(n)
'The wood of the river bloodwood is no good for making boomerangs.'

f. Jimi-rni jawaranya buba-ngka ila-mi, **jalurruka-rna**.
this-FOC billy fire-LOC put-IRR tea-DAT
'Put the billy on the fire, for tea.'

g. Jimi-na kirlirrwala lujbu-ngurri-yi ngarnu **kanyarlawurri-na**.
that(n)-FOC grass_species burn-1plInc-1sg-FUT 3sgACC kangaroo-DAT
'Kirlirrwala grass is burnt when hunting kangaroos.'

h. Duwa-rnu ngarru durjudurjurra-nu **bunbaku-na**.
rise-did 1sgACC prepare_to_fight-did fight-DAT
'He got up to fight me.'

i. Yu, ngaba-rriyi **buna-na warnu-na-warnu-na**, marndaj?
yes have-will_go ash-DAT tobacco-DAT-RED OK
'Yeah, go get that ashtray [lit. 'for tobacco ashes'], OK?'

j. Ngiininiki laangkujbi maja-mi **buba-rna**, buba ngilmi-mindi-yi.
this(n) terminalia_sp get-IRR fire-DAT fire make-1plInc-FUT
'Get some of this terminalia for a fire, so we can make a fire.'

k. **Warranganku-rna** ambaya-nga-nu.
Beetaloo-DAT talk-1sg-did
'I spoke about Beetaloo.'

l. **Nyamba-rna** biji-wunyu-nku-nu? Kangkyi-rna?
what-DAT chat-3dl-REFL-did grandfather-DAT
'What were they chatting about? Grandpa?'

The apparent bivalence of DAT suffixes between syntactic (67)and semantic case marking ((68), (70)) has been noted in many languages, for example by Libert (1992). The ordering of the focus marker /-rni/ with respect to DAT differs according to whether DAT is marking syntactic or semantic case. When DAT is used in its syntactic function, Focus /-rni/ always follows it (as in (67g)), whereas FOC is freely ordered with respect to DAT used in its adpositional function (70d-e). This is because adpositions are attached to the nominal word outside of syntactic case (predication) markers. Focus can be at the word level, attaching outside case, or at the phrasal level, attaching outside of adpositions (see section 3.3.3.1).

3.3.2 Semantic or adpositional case

NPs marked with semantic case are optional and their appearance does not affect sentence structure in any way. The effect of these suffixes on interpretation is akin to various English prepositions such as 'with', 'to(ward)' 'from', 'at', 'on', and 'in', and so I refer to them as adpositional suffixes (I assume that the semantic case markers are actually postpositions, that is heads of category P, though this is not essential). A nominal may bear more than one adpositional suffix (71a-c). Possessors, whether DAT-marked or GEN pronouns, can bear other adpositional suffixes (71d-f) or Ergative marking (if they are construed with a transitive subject, as in (71g-h)).

(71) a. Buba jimi-rni ila-mi jungkali **marru-ngka-mbili** karningka buba-arndi
firewood that(n)-FOC put-IRR far house-ALL-LOC LEST fire-INST
ngunji-jiyimi marru.
burn-come house
'Put the firewood down far from the house lest the fire burn the house down.'

b. Linyarda-mbili umbumi-nga-ardi, darra-nga-ardi **linyarda-ngka-mbili**.
charcoal-LOC cook-1sg-HAB eat-1sg-HAB charcoal-ALL-LOC
'I cook it on the coals then eat what's been put on the coals. It's good.'

c. Ngaba-ardimi jimi-rna ngarnu larnku-darra **ukurdu-nga-mbili**
have-came(dist) that(n)-FOC 3sgACC stuff-pl bag-fDAT-LOC
nyami-nga-mbili-rni.
DEM(f)-fDAT-LOC-FOC
'He brought all his equipment out from in a bag.'

d. **Ngarru-nu-ngka** ngawu-ngka lakarr maja-nu ngarru *duwa*.
1sgGEN-n-ALL house-ALL break-did 1sgGEN door(Eng.)
'Someone came to my house and broke my door.'

e. Waku-waku-ma nga-nu jimi-niki-rni **uliyij-aka-mbili** ila-nya-nu.
bad-RED-EMFH 1sg-did this(n)-FOC sun-DAT-LOC put-2sg-did
'You left it in the sunlight and it spoiled on me.'

f. Nganga-rni darra-nu **jangka-na-rni** warlaku-rni.
meat-FOC eat-did another-DAT-ERG dog-ERG
'Someone else's dog ate the meat.'

g. **Ngarri-rni-ni** babi-rni ngirrma-ju kurrubardi, ngayirni ngirrma-nga-ju
1sgGEN-m-ERG older brother-ERG? make-do boomerang 1sgERG
lawunja, jalyangku-nama.
make-1sg-do coolamon today-time
'My older brother's making a boomerang while I make a coolamon, today.'

h. Kanyi-rni **ngarri-ni-ni** ngaba-ju ngarri-nini wiwirni-ni.
uncle-ERG 1sgGEN-m-ERG have-do 1sgGEN-f girl-FOC
'My uncle has my daughter.'

There are also some cases of stacking of more than one possessor case, when a possessor construction occurs as the possessor of another, as in 'the spear of the uncle of me' in (72).

(72) Karnarrinymi ngarnu **ngarri-rni-na** kanyi-rna.
spear 3sgGEN 1sgGEN-m-DAT uncle-DAT
'That spear is my uncle's.'

Stacking of adpositional suffixes in Jingulu, as stacking of prepositions in the English from 'from in (a bag)', 'to upon (the coals)', 'up on (the hill)' etc., is permitted because heads of category P can have PP complements.

3.3.2.1 The locational suffixes

The locational suffixes are the Locative /-mbili/, denoting location in space or time (73), the Allative /-ngka/, which denotes movement toward a location (74), and the Ablative /-ngkami/, indicating movement away from a location (75).

(73) a. **Barangarnaju-mbili** nyirri-rruku.
narrow_gap-LOC 1plExc-went
'We drove along the narrow gap.'

b. Nyinda **bakara-mbili**, mankiy-una-ju **bakara-mbili**.
DEM(m) clearing-LOC sit-3dl-do clearing-LOC
'Those two are sitting in the clearing.'

c. **Marawunji-mbili** ya-ju jambilijini, karruji jambilijina-ju
web-LOC 3sg-do live spider live-do
marawunji-ni-mbili.
web-FOC-LOC
'The spider lives in a web.'

d. Yurriyi-wurru-ju wawa **kijurlurlu-mbili**.
play-3pl-do child stone-LOC
'The children are playing among the stones.'

e. Kararlu ngaba-nga-ju bilyingbiyaku **marndamarnda-mbili**.
ground have-1sg-do red_sand hand-LOC
'My hands are covered in red dust.'

f. **Dimbu-mbili** madaya-ju.
sky-LOC cloud-do
'The sky is cloudy'

g. Banybila-nga-nu nyikirrurru, nyambala **wubala-mbili** banybila-nga-nu
find-1sg-did bloodwood_nut DEM bloodwood-LOC find-1sg-did
nyikirrurru.
bloodwood_nut
'I found those nuts on the bloodwood tree.'

h. Kuwarrku-kaji angkula ya-ardi kijijimarrini ngini-mbili, ya-marri
none-through NEG 3sg-HAB brahminy here 3sg-did(dist)
marlarluka-rni-mbili.
old_men-FOC-LOC
'There are no brahminy kites here now, though there were in days of old.'

i. **Ibilkini-mbili** yurrayu-ju wawa, nyambala karalu.
rain-LOC play-do child DEM(n) ground
'During the rains the children play in the mud.'

As (73a-g) indicate, LOC usually indicates the location of an entity or event in space, though (73h-i) show LOC being used to locate an event in time.

The Allative suffix is only ever used with spatial reference:

(74) a. Wiwirni wardka-nu **bamburru-ngka**.
girl fall-did hole-ALL
'The girl fell into a hole'

b. Nyinda ila-nga-yi ***waya*-ngka** ladaji ya-yi.
DEM(m) put-1sg-FUT wire-ALL dry 3sg-FUT
'I'll put these [clothes] onto the line to dry.'

c. Nginda duku-nga-rri **ngandayi-ngka**.
DEM(m) sit-1sg-go shade-ALL
'I'm going to go sit in that shade.'

d. Karl nga-rdu **kijurlurlu-ngka**.
up 1sg-go hill-ALL
'I'm climbing up the hill.'

e. Jama-na-ma langkuj bila-mi **kakurra-ngka**!
that(m)-FOC-EMPH bury-IRR ground-ALL
'Bury it in the hot ground [to cook]!'

f. Kunjkuwa-nu nyamba-nayi lungkarru ngibi-ngurru-wa
swallow-did DEM(n)-INDEF poison have-1plInc-will_go
ngunbuluka-rni-ngka.
doctor-FOC-ALL
'He swallowed something poisonous so we took him to the hospital.'

Similarly, the Ablative suffix is only ever used with spatial reference, but can be used in this regard to indicate the origin of something (note (75f, g, i) in particular).

(75) a. **Marlinja-ngkami** ya-miki baba ngarri-na.
Marlinja-ABL 3sg-came older_brother 1sgGEN-m
'My brother came down from Marlinja.'

b. Walanja banybila-nu urr maja-ka-ju nyinda **ngawu-ngkami**.
goanna find-did pull-3sg-do DEM(m) home-ABL
'He started pulling the goanna out of its hole.'

c. **Nginduwu-ngkami** wurra-miki jungkali **karalu-ngkami**.
this_way-ABL 3pl-came far ground-ABL
'The soldiers came from lands far over that way.'

d. Wirri jungkali **ngayini-ngkami**-ni, **nyini-ngkami** wirri jungkali.
go(IMPVsg) far 1sgERG-ABL-FOC DEM(n)-ABL go(IMPVsg) far
'Get away from me! Go far from here!'

e. **Ajuwaru-ngkami** nya-miki?
where-ABL 2sg-came
'Where are you from?'

f. Buna miji-ngurri **irringila-ngkami**.
ash get-1plInc bauhinia-ABL
'We get ashes from the bauhinia tree.'

g. Buja-nga-ju wanjku, nyini-bulu buja-nga-ju **wanjku-ngkami**.
smell-1sg-do armpit, that(n)-dl smell-1sg-do armpit-ABL
'My armpits smell.'

h. **Urdurru-ngkami** jayirli **jayirlu-ngkami** maja-mi ngaba-a ngarru.
inside-ABL inside inside-ABL get-IRR get-will_go1sgACC
'Get that from inside and bring it to me.'

i. Kambulimi dirri-ngirru-wardi ngima-niki-rni **kambuluma-ngkami**.
terminalia_sp eat-1plExc-HAB this(v)-FOC terminalia_sp-ABL
'We eat the gum from this particular gum tree.'

The ABL suffix /-ngkami/ contains the ALL suffix /-ngka/ and this is probably no accident historically. However the suffix /-mi/ is not productive in any way consistent with the relationship between Allative and Ablative (though it is homophonous with the Irrealis marker), so it appears that the ALL and ABL suffixes in Jingulu are synchronically distinct.

The Jingulu word for 'tomorrow' is composed of the word for 'morning' plus the ALL suffix:

(76) a. **Ngurraru-ngka** ngurru-wa, ngurraru-nama ngurru-wa.
tomorrow 1plInc-will_go early_morning 1plInc-will_go
'We'll leave very early tomorrow morning.'

b. Yajya nga-rri **ngurraru-ngka**.
away 1sg-will_go tomorrow
'I'm going away tomorrow.'

3.3.2.2 The Instrumental suffix /-arndi/

This suffix marks instruments used by animate agents (77a-f) as well as inanimate agents of transitive predicates (77g-m). The suffix is occasionally realised as [-marndi], most commonly following /a/, but with no great regularity.

(77) a. **Makirdi-warndi** dinda-nu.
gun-INST shoot-did
'He fired a gun.'

b. Miyi-wunyu-nku **bardku-warndi**.
hit-3dl-REFL nulla-nulla-INST
'They're fighting with nulla-nullas.'

c. Nga-rruku ngirriki **kurrubardu-warndi, karnarrinym-aarndi**.
1sg-went hunting boomerang-INST spear-INST
'I went out hunting with a boomerang and spear.'

d. Kumurru-ngka ila-nga-yi **biyawiya-rndi**
big_grindstone-ALL make-1sg-FUT small_grindstone-INST
ngurraja-nga-yi.
grind-1sg-FUT
'I'm grinding on the big grindstone with the small one.'

e. **Yuunku-warndi** nga-rriyi.
foot-INST 1sg-will_go
'I'll go on foot.'

f. Warramal juwa-nga-yi **marndamarnda-arndi**.
scatter-1sg-FUT hand-INST
'I'll scatter them by hand.'

g. **Wunba-arndi** wajuwa-rnu.
wind-INST scatter-did
'The wind scattered stuff.'

h. Ngarrini-rni lilirni **jujum-arndi** maya-nu
1sgGEN-f aunt lightning-INST hit-did
'My aunt was struck by lightning.'

i. **Yarungkurru-marndi** idija-ju darrangku.
snake_vine-INST tie-do tree
'The tree is being choked by snake-vine.'

j. Nga-rruku idayju-nu mangkurru-ngka ngaja-nga-nu ngunja-lu
ngunja-mardi **buba-arndi**.
1sg-went yesterday plain-ALL see-1sg-did burnt_grass
burn-go fire-INST
'I went out onto the plain yesterday and saw burnt grass, burnt by fire.'

k. **Darrangku-warndi** maya-ngarna-nu.
tree-INST hit-3sgS1sgO-did
'I ran into a tree.' [literally: a tree hit me]

l. Buba jimi-rni ila-mi jungkali marrungka-mbili karningka **buba-arndi**
firewood that(n)-FOC put-IRR far house-ALL-LOC LEST fire-INST
ngunji-jiyimi marru.
burn-come house
'Put the firewood down far from the house lest the fire burn the house down.'

m. **Jarumi-warnda-ni** ngabaju nyambala dabil-ajka-rni, ngayi biyardu.
shield-INST-FOC have-do DEM(n) hold-NOML-FOC 3sgNOM handle
'Shields have a bit that you hold, that's the handle.'

The appearance of INST on nominals construed with inanimate subjects of transitive predicates is not entirely surprising. Minkoff (1994) and Pesetsky (1994), among others, have suggested that syntactic differences follow from whether the subject of a transitive clause is able to exercise volitional control over the event in question. In (77g-m) the subject is causing the state or event depicted by the predicate without being the 'agent' in any sense. This can not, however, follow from lexical properties of the verb (or verb+root combination) in Jingulu , since (78) shows subject positions which have one word construed with them marked INST and another, a demonstrative, marked ERG.

(78) a. Bundurru ngaba-ju **jimi-rni**-ni **kirraya-marndi**-ni, dirri-ngurru-wardi
food have-do that(n)-ERG-FOC peanut-INST-FOC eat-1plInc-HAB
bundurru, nginja.
food seed
'The peanut tree has food, seeds, which we eat.'

b. Wukalu ngilma-ju **nginda-rni**-ni **buba-arndi**.
smoke make-do this(m)-ERG-FOC fire-INST
'This fire is giving off smoke.'

This makes it unlikely that the choice of marking is determined by the syntactic position with which the overt nominal is co-indexed. Instead it seems to be a result of whether the word to which the suffix attaches is specified as animate or not. We have already seen that animacy is a feature that can affect allomorphy (number marking, section 3.2). Animacy features are part of the nominal word that contains the root and the nominal head, and the spelling out of nominals construed with transitive subjects is sensitive to the presence of the feature [-animate]. If this feature is present on the head N, then the case (predication marking) features will be spelled out as /-warndi/, otherwise it will be spelled out as /-rni/. Demonstratives are never specified as [-animate], though, as we have seen from the discussion of number marking in section 3.2, they can be specified as [+animate].

The suffix /-warndi/, like the Dative /-rna/, marks more than one kind of relationship

between a nominal and the clause in which it appears. Each can mark predication on a *pro* argument (/-warndi/ on inanimate transitive subjects, /-rna/ on indirect objects (see section 1.6 of chapter 4)), and each also marks its own class of oblique adpositions (/-warndi/ on instruments, /-rna/ on Dative beneficiaries, possessors, causes and so forth).

3.3.2.3 The Comitative suffix /-ngkujku/

The Comitative suffix, glossed as HAVING attaches to a nominal X when the referent is something or someone possessed of the property or item denoted by X.

(79) a. **Ingalka-ngkujku** ngini-ni-ni wanyarri-ni, **wangkurra-ngkujku**,
nectar-HAVING this(n)-ERG-FOC bauhinea-FOC sugarbag-HAVING
wangkurra ngaba-ju.
sugarbag have-do
'The bauhinea has nectar, and it has sugarbag too'

b. **Jakirra-ngkujku** jimi-rni-ni marru-nu.
white_ant-HAVING that(n)-ERG-FOC house-did
'That house there was eaten by white ants'

c. Nginuwa wurru-rruku kuna darrangku **janbara-ngkujku**.
this_way 3pl-went ANAPH(n) tree nest-HAVING
'They went to that tree with the nest in it'

Nominals that are predicated of other nominals which bear the Comitative suffix sometimes appear marked Ergative (79a-b) and sometimes not (79c), making it unclear whether the nominal which bears /-ngkujku/ is to be treated as a noun or an adjective in terms of structure (see section 1.2.1 of chapter 4 for an analysis of these clause types).

3.3.2.4 The Privative suffix /-jija/

The Privative suffix forms a predicate of the nominal to which it attaches, predicating the absence of the entity or property denoted by the host nominal. The suffix is realised as [-lija] following a syllable containing [y], [-bija] after a stop, and /-jija/ elsewhere.

(80) a. Jimi-naka-rlu nyambala bikirra karriyaku jimi-niki-na, darrangku
this(n)-FOC DEM(n) grass bad(n) this(n)-FOC tree
karriyaku, **bundurru-jija**.
bad(m) food-PRIV
'That kind of grass, that plant, has no food on it.'

b. Angkurla ngaba-jama-nu **burruku-jija**, kiwirra.
NEG have-that(m)?-did pubic_hair-PRIV none
'They have no pubes, nothing.'

c. Mankiya-warru-mi, **jangayi-lija** mankiya-warru-mi!
sit-3pl-IRR yawn-PRIV sit-3pl-IRR
'Sit still, without yawning.'

d. Angkurla jama-niki-nu **ngulyaj-bija**.
NEG this(m)-did lie-PRIV
'He is not honest.'

e. Ngini-niki-ni kalirnimi-rni **nginduwa-jija** ya-ju duwa-ardi.
this(n)-FOC tree_species-FOC this_way-PRIV 3sg-do rise-HAB
'The kalirnimi tree doesn't grow around these parts.'

The privative is the only semantic case marker which ever precedes a syntactic case marker:

(81) Barnki-jija-rni ngajanarna-ju.
friend-PRIV-ERG see-3S1O-do
'That mateless guy is looking at me.'

However, this suffix differs from the adpositions elsewhere in this section, manifesting gender variation (a woman with no friends is *barnkijijirni*). Both morphosyntactically and semantically, /-jij-/ can be seen rather as an extension of the root which produces another noun with meanings such as 'one with no friends', 'one with no beard' etc. Such extensions of the root might be called 'derivational' along with the other morphemes discussed in seciton 3 of chapter 3 because it belongs to the domain of the root, preceding the nominal head. Within a theory such as DM, however, notions such as 'derivational' and 'inflectional' have no theoretical status, and the Privative is included here (as well as briefly being discussed in section 1.5 of Chapter 4 under 'Negation') in order to contrast with the HAVING suffix in the previous subsection.

3.3.3 Pragmatic marking

3.3.3.1 The Focus suffixes

Jingulu exhibits a pattern of Focus marking quite different to similar pragmatic role marking in immediately adjacent languages or other languages of the Jingili-Wambayic family. The suffixes that mark nominals in Ergative case, and to a lesser extent the Dative marker as well, have come to be used as optional indicators of contrastive focus in addition to their original case-marking uses. I believe that 'contrastive focus', or

discourse foregrounding, is the most accurate description for what the appearance of this element indicates, and so have glossed it FOC, though a less ambitious classification might simply say that it marks 'discourse prominence' of some sort. Old information is very rarely marked in this way, unless it is being contrasted with something (foregrounded).

Some other head-marking non-Pama-Nyungan Australian languages (such as Gooniyandi, Rembarrnga and Jaminjungan, the latter of which is a member of the Mindi group, as is the Jingili-Wambaya family) also use case markers to indicate discourse functions, but the Jingulu system differs from these in two important respects: there is evidence that the Jingulu innovation is extremely recent (the last 30-40 years) and the Jingulu system uses all core case markers, not just one particular marker, for the same function. One possible explanation for this innovation in Jingulu, examined in section 3.6, involves re-analysis of the morphological markers of grammatical or core case as a result of the dominant and increasing influence of the English language on the final generations of Jingulu speakers.

A pragmatic ordering principle has been held to account for the choice of permissible orders in free word order nonconfigurational languages. According to both Mithun (1987) and Blake (1983), in these languages it is common for the phonological word which bears contrastive focus to precede other elements of the clause (not the theme(topic)-rheme(comment) structure of Eastern European languages as Austin (in press) notes). Jingulu Focus markers, contrary to the predictions of Mithun and Blake, are almost as likely to occur clause-finally (as in (82a)) as clause-initially (82b), and can commonly be found in other positions in the clause (82c).

(82) a. Kirlikirlika darra-ardi **jimi-na urrbuja-ni**.
galah eat-go that(n)-FOC galah_grass-FOC
'Galahs eat this grass.'

b. **Jama-ni** karriba maya-nga-yi mulyumulyubi.
that-FOC white_person hit-1sg-FUT cripple
'I'm going to smash up that white person there.'

c. Ngindi-nama wumbuma-yi **nganga-rni** wurraka-na ya-yi.
this(m)-time cook-FUT meat-FOC 3plGEN-m 3sg-FUT
'Then he'll cook the meat for these people, he will.'

Morphological Focus marking was found in just under one third of Jingulu sentences collected by the author in 1995 and 1996. Narrative texts had a lower incidence than elicited sentences and single sentence utterances, with just under one fifth of sentences is narratives displaying focus morphology. Morphological marking of focus is quite optional, and an element can be interpreted as focused whether or not it is thus marked:

(83) a. Aja(-rni) ngaba-nya-jiyimi nginirniki(-rni)?
what(-FOC) have-2sg-come this(n)(-FOC)
'What's this you're bringing.'

a. Wawa(-rni) nguka-ju.
child(-FOC) cry-do
'The boy is crying.'

As shown in (82a) and (83a), more than one word can bear morphological focus marking, as long as all the marked words have the same reference. The sentences in (83a) and (84) show that these marked elements need not even be adjacent to one another, as long as they are co-referent. Co-referent and adjacent nominals can form an NP constituent, requiring only one of them to bear FOC marking, usually the demonstrative if there is one, otherwise the final word (82b, 84, 86a).

(84) a. **Ngininiki-rni** ibilka ya-marriyimi **ngawu-mbili-rni**, ngardajkalu.
this(n)-FOC water 3sg-went(dist)home-LOC-FOC big(n)
'There was once water running here at our camp, lots of it.'

b. **Jamarniki-rni** Jiminginja-rna ngarnu jamarniki Jalyirringinja
this(m)-FOC skin-DAT 3sgACC this(m) skin
ngarnu **biwurla-rni**.
3sgACC son-FOC
'Jiminginja's son is Jalyirringinja.'

While focus marking is most commonly found on demonstratives, and very common on other nominals, any word may bear a focus morpheme. These morphemes are occasionally found on verbal roots (85a-c), inflected verbs (85d-e) and adverbs (85f-g).

(85) a. **Ardjuwa-rna** ya-ju.
throw_away-FOC 3sg-do
'He's failing, stuffing it up.'

b. **Banybili-ni** darrangku karnawunji ardbija wirri.
find-FOC tree lancewood mid-distance go(IMPVsg)
'Go find a lancewood over that way.'

c. Walarra-ju jamarniki-rni, **marliya-rna** ya-ju
scream-do this(m)-FOC sick-FOC 3sg-do
'He's screaming in pain, he must be sick.'

d. Ngarriya-nga-nu nyinda nyinda-rlu **nga-rruku-rni** indal ngaba-nga-nu
tell-1sg-did DEM(m) DEM(m)-FOC 1sg-went-FOC tell_straight-1sg-did
ngunu kuyu-warlu marrinju.
DEM(n) DEM(anaph)-pl word
'I tell you straight, tell you these words right.'

e. Nyamba-arndi-kaji **nya-rriyi-ni**.
what-INST-through 2sg-will_go-FOC
'How will you go?'

f. Ilu-wurru-marriyimi **larrba-rni** janbarra-ngka.
put-3pl-went(dist)previously-FOC nest-ALL
'They used to put dead people in trees.'

g. Ngunu-baju wamba-rdarra nangka-nga-yi ***Jadadayi*-rni**.
DEM(n)-pl snappy_gum-pl chop-1sg-FUT Saturday-FOC
'I'll cut those snappy gums on Saturday.'

There seems to be a general restriction that only one referent can be associated with morphologically marked focus. A subject and an object can not both bear focus marking. However, there are some rare instances when a clause is focused, in which case, as in (86), each constituent in that clause bears the focus morpheme.

(86) a. Mindi-mi nyamirni ngirrma-mi ngayirni ngini-rni, **ngirrma-nya-mi-rni**
1dlInc-IRR 2sgERG make-IRR 1sgERG that(n)-FOC **make-2sg-IRR-FOC**
jimirniki-rni bambu.
this(n)-FOC didgeridoo
'You and I will make it, you'll make it too, this didgeridoo.'

b. Jamarniki-rni bunbaku miyu-ngurru-nku-nu bunbaku, **jamarniki-rni**
this(m)-FOC fight hit-1plInc-REFL-did fight this(m)-FOC
mankiyi-rni-kaji ya-ju, bujarriya-ju.
sit-FOC-through 3sg do sulk-do
'This guy was vicious in the fight we all had, but now he's just sitting right down sulking.'

The suffix occasionally surfaces as [-rlu], most commonly on demonstratives, particularly following ERG and DAT case markers (see, for instance, (67g), 80a), and (85d)), but the most common forms of the Focus suffix by far are homophonous with one or other form of ERG or DAT case marking itself (as with the other examples in (82)-(86)). The sentences in (87a-g) show that there really are separate uses of /-rni/ as a marker of contrastive focus and as a marker of Ergative arguments, and (88) shows that Focus-marking /-rna/ is distinct from the Dative marker.

(87) a. **Miringmi-rni** darra-nga-yi bardakurri-mi.
gum-FOC eat-1sg-FUT good-v
'I'll eat the sweet gum.'

b. Bulamanganu **jama-rni junma-rni**.
miss-1sg-did that(m)-FOC wallaby-FOC
'I missed that wallaby.'

c. **Nyamina-rni** nayuni ya-jiyimi.
DEM(f)-FOC woman 3sg-come
'Here comes that woman.'

d. Jama-rni **warlaku-rni-ni** nganya ngaba-ju ngamurlu.
that-FOC dog-FOC-ERG fur have-do big(n)
'That dog has long fur.'

e. Nganya-marri marlaluka-rni **kujika-rni**.
sing-did(dist) old_man(pl)-ERG song-FOC
'The old men sang songs.'

f. Jalykaji ngirrma ya-marri marlarluka-rni **lawa-rni**.
woomera make 3sg-did(dist) old_men-ERG cattlebush-FOC
'Olden day folk made cattle-bush woomeras.'

g. Darra-ardi **jama-rniki-rni mirdimirdi-ni**, wangkulayi-rni, dirdingarnu-ni
eat-HAB this(m)-FOC cricket-FOC crow-ERG, hawk-ERG
darra-ardi - walanja-rni, jurrkubadi-rni darra-ardi.
eat-HAB goanna-ERG goanna-ERG eat-HAB
'The cricket is eaten by crows and hawks - yellow and plains goannas eat it too.'

In (87a-b), the transitive subject is clearly the first person singular, as indicated by agreement within the head-word, and the element bearing /-rni/ is the direct object . In (87c), the element bearing /-rni/ is the subject of an intransitive clause, which does not bear Ergative marking as we saw in chapter 4. In (87d), the word for 'dog', the transitive subject, is marked twice with /-rni/, once for focus and once for ergativity. In (87e-g), both the subject and the object of the transitive predicate are marked with /-rni/.

(88) a. Jamabili-**na** birri-wunya-na-miki marluka-yili-rni.
that-dl(anim)-FOC visit-3dl-1Obj-came old_man-dl-ERG
'Those two old people came to see me yesterday.'

b. Dunja-ni-ngurru-nu murrkunbala-**rna**, dunja-ni-ngurru-nu.
kiss-PASS-1plInc-did three-FOC kiss-PASS-1plInc
'They kissed us three.'

In (88a) the element marked with [-na] is construed with the Ergative subject of the clause, the word bearing [-rna] in (88b) is construed with the object. Neither of these positions are associated with Dative marking.

The homophony between case and focus morphology can result in instances where it is unclear whether a particular morpheme is to be interpreted as marking focus or case. Usually (as in (89a-c)), there is no ambiguity with regard to subjecthood. In sentences like (89d-f) ambiguity can arise, though in context the ambiguity almost always disappears.

(89) a. Nyami-**nga** nayu-**nga** ngaba-ju kunyaku kujkarrabilarni
DEM(f)-fERG/FOC woman-fERG/FOC have-do 2dlACC two(m)
bayiny-bila.
man-dl(anim)
'That woman has two men.'

b. Nyaami-**nga** nayu-**nga** ngaba-nu wunyaku kujkarrani manjala-ala.
DEM(f)-fERG/FOC woman-fERG/FOC have-did 3dlACC two(m) baby-pl
'That woman had twins (two babies).'

c. Ngina-**rni** kijakijirni-**ni** umbuma-nganyi-nu dajba-nganyi-nu
that(f)-ERG/FOC bull_ant-ERG/FOC burn-3S2O-did bite-3S2O-did
nganku.
2sgACC
'That bull ant bit you, made you itch.'

d. Larrba dirri-wurru-marri nyamina-**ni** burrunjawurni-**ni**, larrba
previously eat-3pl-did(dist) DEM(f)-FOC plains_wanderer-FOC previously
marlarluka-ni.
old_man(pl)-ERG
'Long ago people would eat the plains wanderer, in olden times.'

e. Nganya-marri marlaluka-rni kujika-**ni**.
sing-did(dist) old_man(pl)-ERG song-FOC
'The old men sang songs.'

f. Jami-nika ngamurla-rni kijikijiba-rda-wurra jama-baja-**ni** yabanja-la
this(m) big(m)-ERG tease-go-3pl that-pl-FOC young(m)-pl
wawa-la.
child-pl
'That big guy's annoying the little kids.' OR
'The little kids are annoying those big guys.'

In (89a-c), the first two words are co-referent and both are suffixed with allomorphs of /-rni/. In Jingulu, if co-referent words are also adjacent, any or all of these words can bear the appropriate case suffix (though if only one is marked it is almost always the last in sequence). In each of the above sentences, both occurrences of [-nga] might mark Ergative case, or one might be an Ergative marker and the other an indicator of contrastive focus (if the discourse permitted such an interpretation). It is most likely that the first occurrence marks focus and the second marks case, given that case is generally marked on the last element in a sequence of co-referent elements (if not all of them), and that focus-marking is most commonly found on demonstratives (see sentence (82b) for an example of focus-marking on a demonstrative followed by an unmarked co-referent element). They could not both be interpreted as marking contrastive focus, however, as the predicate requires an Ergative subject.

In (89d-e) it is only our knowledge of the world, which tells us that small fowl do not eat, and songs do not sing old men, that gives the correct interpretation. The sentence in (89f), on the other hand, with no context to guide it, could be interpreted with either nominal as the subject, and the other a focused object, giving rise to the two possible translations given (the verb morphology tells us that the object must be plural, but plural nominals need not be marked for plurality). Such truly ambiguous sentences are very rare and only ever ambiguous out of context.

Section 3.6 considers a possible origin for the homophony between syntactic cases and FOC marking.

3.3.3.2 The Emphatic suffix/particle /ma/

Emphatic /ma/, usually a suffix but also used as a particle to attract attention or to hurry the speaker along, occurs in only a very small sample of sentences (30 or so out of 1500), and is only found in the Kuwarrangu dialect:

(90) a. **Jama-niki-ma** kijikijibajkala langa-jija.
that-NIKI-EMPH naughty(m) ear-PRIV
'He's a twerp, naughty to anyone.'

b. **Kurraala-ma** ngiji-nginyi-ju-kurra karriyaku kurru-ju.
2plNOM-EMPH see-1dlExc-do-2pl bad(n) 2pl-do
'You lot look to us like you don't feel so good.'

c. Ngunya-ana-ma **maa** nyama-na babirdimi.
give-1Obj-IRR EMPH DEM-FOC yam
'Give me that yam'

d. Lalija ilma-nga-yi - **ma** ngunya-ana-nku.
tea put-1sg-FUT EMPH give-1Obj-REFL
'Give me my tea! '

Patrick McConvell (personal communication) suggests that the suffix /-ma/ and the exclamation /ma/ are unrelated, with the exclamation being extremely widespread in Australia. The suffix is the common Gurindji and Western Mudburra emphatic/focus marker.

An element may be marked with both sentential focus and the emphatic suffix /-ma/, in which case sentential focus precedes /-ma/:

(91) a. **Jama-ni-ma** jajkalu-nu ngarri-na kula ngamula-kaji.
that-FOC-EMPH teenage_boy-did 1sgGEN-m nephew big(m)-through
'That boy is my nephew, the big one.'

b. Angkurla ngunya-ngana-ju, **jama-ni-ni-ma** nyaba-nya-ju.
NEG give-3sgS1sgO-do that-ERG-FOC-EMPH hold-2sg-do
'He doesn't give to me, he holds back.'

c. Anyma-nga-ardi **ngaya-rna-ma** jangkubarni.
walk-1sg-go 1sgNOM-FOC-EMPH one(m)
'I go walking alone.'

On verbs, the EMPH suffix may either precede or follow inflection (or both). Very rarely it occurs between two inflectional morphemes:

(92) a. **Ardu-ma-jarri** jama ngunbuluka jami-na ngunbuluka-rni
go-EMPH-will_go that doctor that-FOC doctor-ERG
wunjyuma-nurna-nu.
cure-3sgS1sgO-did
'We'll get the doctor. The doctor cured me.'

b. *File* **maji-ma-nga-nu**, *number 7* ilma-nga-yi.
file get-EMPH-1sg-did make-1sg-FUT
'I got a file to make a 'number 7' boomerang.'

c. Nganga **miyi-nga-yi-ma** walanja, nyinawurdini
meat kill-1sg-FUT-EMPH goanna echidna
'I'll get a goanna, or an echidna. '

d. Ngamini nayurni-rni. Imbila-ma-nga-ma-yi bininja. Warranganka
DEM(f) woman-ERG chase-EMPH-1sg-EMPH-FUT man of_Beetaloo(m)
ngini-mbili.
DEM-LOC
'The women would come chasing after us men from Beetaloo.'

3.3.3.3 Vocative forms

While Jingulu does not have a productive Vocative case (the form used when calling to or directly addressing someone or something), there are Vocative forms of some kinship terms.

(93) a. Ibilka biji-yirri nganu, **bibi**!
drink follow-goIMPV 3sgACC son(VOC)
'Go get him a drink, son.'

b. Nyama-rni **ngabarlikinyaka**, dakaangku!
2sgNOM-FOC skin_brother(VOC) come_on
'Come on up here, my brother by skin.'

The only other forms found were *kuli* 'nephew', *babardi* 'older sister'.

3.3.4 Other uses of nominal case suffixes

The only use of nominal case suffixes on non-nominals other than focus marking is the rare appearance of LOC or ERG adpositions on fully inflected verb words. This is extremely unusual, but may consitute a switch reference system, either incipient or vestigial. These constructions are discussed in section 2.2.6 of chapter 4.

3.4 (In)Definiteness

Free nominals are generally ambiguous between definite and indefinite readings. Thus the sentence in (94) has the four possible translations given below (plus a similar array

of translations with dual and plural interpretations for the subject).

(94) Kunyarrba-rni nganga darra-ju.
dog-ERG meat eat-do
'The dog is eating meat.'
'The dog is eating the meat.'
'A dog is eating meat.'
'A dog is eating some meat.'

Demonstratives can also have generic readings. For instance, sentence (95) was uttered in the context of an elicitation session about various birds and what they eat.

(95) Nginda-rniki-rni barnangka-rni angkula darrangku-mbili-rni
this(m)-ERG nightjar-ERG NEG tree-LOC-FOC
langanda-ardi, karalu-mbili manyan ka-ardi.
climb-HAB ground-LOC sleep 3sg-HAB
'The nightjar doesn't live in trees, but sleeps on the ground.'

Pronouns are almost always definite. When an object is not expressed by an overt nominal, the object is interpreted as definite, as in (96), and as Simpson (1983) notes for Warlpiri. Following Baker (1996b), I assume that this arises from the fact that pronouns, including *pro,* are only compatible with the formal semantic feature [+definite], whereas free nominals (nouns, adjectives, and demonstratives) are compatible with either [+definite] or [-definite].

(96) Darra-nu kunyarrba-rni.
eat-did dog-ERG
'The dog ate it.'
'The dog ate (something).'

To express 'The dog ate (something)' in Jingulu, an overt nominal construed with the *pro* object must be present: either an indefinite pronoun (see next paragraph) or the word *bundurru* 'food'. When such an overt nominal is present, specified as [-definite] and linked with the [+definite] *pro,* an indefinite intepretation is available. The most precise translation of such a sentence, with *pro* in both object and subject positions, might thus be as in 'It, the dog, ate it, something' or 'It, the dog, ate it, food'.

There is a suffix, /-nayi/, by which indefinite interpretation can be forced on an overt nominal. When /-nayi/ appears on an interrogative word, an indefinite pronoun is formed. When added to *nyamba* 'what', /-nayi/ forms a word meaning 'something' or 'for some reason':

(97) a. **Nyamba-nayi** banybila-nga-nu.
what-INDEF find-1sg-did
'I found something.'

b. Kunjkuwa-nu **nyamba-nayi** lungkarru ngibi-ngurru-wa
swallow-did what-INDEF poison have-1plInc-will_go
ngunbuluka-rni-ngka.
doctor-FOC-ALL
'He swallowed some poison so we took him to the hospital.'

c. **Nyamba-nayi** darra-ardi, ngurrayijbi banybila-ardi bundurru-nu.
what-INDEF eat-HAB night find-HAB food-did
'I don't know what it eats, it gathers its food at night.'

d. Nginda-rniki-rni bininja-rni bujarriya-ardi, nyamba-nayi
this(m)-FOC man-FOC sulk-HAB what-INDEF
'This fellow's often sulking for some reason or other.'

Another word for 'something', also used for 'someone' is formed by adding /-nayi/ to *(w)aja* 'what, who':

(98) a. Kirda darrangku nyinma-ka-ju nangka-nu murrurr dabija-la,
father tree gather-3sg-do chop-did stripe hold-NOML
ngamba **aja-nayi** karriba maya-yi.
PURP what-INDEF whitefella hit-FUT
'Father gathered the branches and cut some sticks with striped handles,
something for the white guy to clap together.'

b. Kirda, **aja-nayi** nginda marliya-ju.
father what-INDEF DEM(m) sick-do
'Dad has come down with something.'

c. Bidbidarra ngamulu, lujba-kaji wurru-marri **aji-nayi**.
coolibah big(n) burn-through 3pl-did(dist) who-INDEF
'Someone burnt that big coolibah tree.'

'Somewhere' is expressed by adding /-nayi/ to *(w)ajuwa* 'where':

(99) a. Yurru bardka-ku aju-wa-nayi?
hide-went where-INDEF
'You ran off and hid somewhere.'

b. Nginda-rniki wirriwurna ya-jiyimi kuya-ardi ngindi-yi wajuwa-nayi
this(m) cockatiel 3sg-come face-HAB this(m)-FUT where-INDEF
dirri-ngirrik-ardi
eat-hunt-HAB
'Grey parrots come around these parts somewhere feeding.'

The suffix /-nayi/ can also be added to a nominal or emphasise its indefiniteness (100a-c), or to a demonstrative to mean 'something' (100d).

(100) a. Lujbu-ngurri-yi kirnima-nayi bangkula-nga juwangka-yi-li.
burn-1plInc-FUT spinifex-INDEF mosquito-ERG chase_off-FUT-LI
'We'll burn some spinifex (root) to keep the mosquitos away.'

b. Ngardayi wawa-nayi ngurraru-ngka, jaja-ngku.
give_birth-FUT child-INDEF morning-ALL wait-will_come
'She will give birth to a child, most likely tomorrow.'

c. Jakilirra-ni nyanyalu ngaba-ju barungku-kaji-nayi
whitewood-FOC leaf have-do hot_weather-through-INDEF
'The whitewood keeps its leaves throughout the hot weather.'

d. Jama-nayi mujaka juwangka-yi.
that-INDEF mouse chase_off-FUT
'They're chasing mice away.'

In (100c) the effect of /-nayi/ is to create a sense of the event happening at undefined points in time during the season referred to by the nominal.

I found one instance of /-nayi/ attached to a pronoun, which was the first person plural pronoun used to mean 'us' in the sense of 'people in general':

(101) Ngina-rni-ni Wanju-nu ngurraku-nayi ibilki-nga.
that(f)-ERG-FOC rain_ceremony-did 1plIncACC-INDEF rain-fDAT
'The rain song cycle brings us rain.'

The indefinite suffix /-nayi/ is also used on verbal roots or on fully inflected verbs to indicate a possible outcome or event:

(102) a. Wadi **ila-nayi** nga-nki-yi.
maybe put-INDEF 1sg-REFL-FUT
'I might die.'

b. Yayiyu, **maja-nayi** bininja.
dunno get-INDEF man
'I don't know, she might get married.'

c. Jama-bila-rni-ni nyambala **wunyu-nku-ju-nayi** ingiyingi.
that(m)-dl-ERG-FOC DEM 3dl-REFL-do-INDEF fight
'Those two might be about to fight.'

d. Ngurru-wa wawurru-mbili, dibij ngurru-wa ngindi-ka
1plInc-came scrub-LOC out 1plInc-came DEM(m)-PSTHAB
jaju-wa-nayi.
wait-will_go-INDEF
'We came out of the scrub, let's pause for a while before we go on perhaps.'

As expected, /-nayi/ can not attach to nominals which have a unique referent (place names etc.). The sole exception is that it can attach to nominals referring to heavenly bodies (sun, moon, specific stars), in which case the implication is that the referent is not visible at the reference time of the utterance:

(103) **Bardangkarra-nayi** duwa-ju.
moon-INDEF rise-do
'I think the moon might be rising.'
or 'The moon is about to rise.'

Under a DM analysis, the appearance of /-nayi/ overtly might be due to fission of the feature [±definite] out of the syntactic head and onto a morpheme node of its own. This is usually not possible with pronominals, which tend to have definite reference, but if the pronominals refers to a very non-specific group, as in (101), then a [-definite] feature is presumed to be present in the head which can be fissioned off. Another possibility, suggested by Alec Marantz (personal communication), is that /-nayi/ is a [-definite] Determiner (head of category D). There is no single vocabulary item corresponding to the feature [+definite], though definiteness can be expressed on nominals by deictic uses of core verbs. This phenomenon is discussed with the verbal morphology, in section 2.4 of chapter 6.

3.5 Structure of nominals - review

The maximal Jingulu nominal has the linear morpheme order:

(104) root-PRIV-gender-number/animacy-syntactic_case-FOC-adposition-FOC-EMPH

No nominals with all of the above suffixes were actually found, although some very heavily suffixed nominals were indeed found:

(105) a. jimi-la-niki-rni-ni
that(m)-pl-PROX-ERG-FOC
'these ones [subject]'

b. jiyi-rni-nika-ngkujku-la-rni-ni
CAT-FOC-PROX-HAVING-pl-ERG-FOC
'Those who were with these (people) [subject]'

c. nyama-baji-rna-ni-ni
DEM(m)-pl-DAT-ERG-FOC
'their ones [subject]'

As suggested in (104), Focus-marking can either precede or follow adpositions, depending on whether the nominal complement of P or the PP itself bears contrastive focus:

(106) a. Dardu buliki ya-ju, nginda **ngawu-mbili-rni** dardu buliki.
many cow 3sg-do that(m) camp-LOC-FOC many cow
'There's a lot of cows over there by the station.'

b. Mankiya-kaji nga-yi **ngini-mbili-ni**, kardarda mankiya-kaji nga-yi.
sit-through 1sg-FUT that(n)-LOC-FOC always sit-through 1sg-FUT
'I'll stay here, forever I'll stay.'

c. Mankiyi-mindi uku-nga-mbili.
sit-1dlInc humpy-FOC-LOC
'We're sitting in the humpy.'

d. Burdbu-ngurri-yi jama-niki-rni **ngunbuluka-ni-ngka** burdbu-ngurri-yi
send-1plInc that-NIKI-FOC doctor-FOC-ALL send-1plInc
lakarr maja-ni-nku-nu jarrumulu.
break-INV-REFL-did thigh
'We had to take him to the doctor because he broke his leg.'

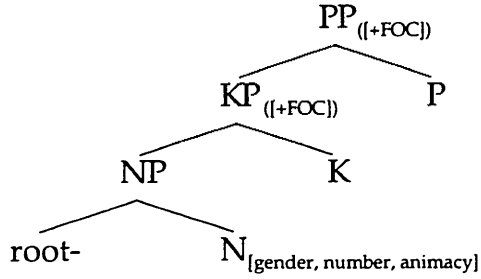
e. Anuku-kaji nyu-rriyi nginda **Warranganku-ngka-ni**?
how-through 2sg-will_go that(m) Beetaloo-ALL-FOC
'How will you get to Beetaloo?'

f Angkurla maja-nga-nu nginda-ni, darndiyi-rni nyambala,
NEG get-1sg-did that(m)-FOC rat-ERG DEM(n)
ngawu-ngkami-rni yabanja nginda-rni darndiya-ngkurla
home-ABL-FOC small(m) that(m)-ERG rat-come(habit)
juwangka-yi
chase_off-FUT
'I couldn't get the rats out of my house. The little blighters kept on coming in and I couldn't scare them off.'

g. Mungkurrja-rni-ngkami miji-ngurru-wa laju.
turpentine-FOC-ABL get-1plInc-will_go grub
'We'll go get witchetty grubs from the turpentine tree.'

Within DM, the ordering of morphemes in (104) follows from the syntactic structure of NPs. Root extensions such as the Privative precede all morphemes with syntactic content. The first of these is the nominal head or gender marker, followed by morphemes which encode number, which are derived from features fissioned off from the nominal head (as described in section 3.2). Case marking follows as KP dominates NP, then adpositions, since PP dominates KP. Contrastive focus can be expressed either at the level of the KP or the PP, while the Emphatic particle /-ma/ is a clitic to nominals and is always found as the final element when it occurs on nominals. The syntactic structure of a nominal phrase can then be represented as:

(107)



The optional focus features of KP or PP are spelled out on the respective heads as a result of a fission rule:

(108) $[_{XP[+FOC]}\ [YP]\ X] \quad \rightarrow \quad [[_{XP}\ YP]\ X] + FOC]$

3.6 The origins of the Focus suffixes

As discussed in section 3.3.3.1, Focus marking surfaces either as /-rlu/ (only on demonstratives), or as one of the allomorphs of ERG (usually /-rni/) or DAT /-rna/. In this section I consider two possible origins for the Focus marking system. The first important point to be made is that morphological focus marking is a recent development in Jingulu. Recall from section 3.3.3.1 that just under one third of sentences were found

to have morphological marking of focused elements in 1995 and 1995 (under one fifth in narratives). However, sentences collected by Hale (1960) do not show even one instance of this use of the Ergative and Dative markers in some 45 pages of notes. Reporting on data collected in the late 1960s, Chadwick (1975), lists /-ni/ and /-na/ among a list of emphatic suffixes (including the suffixes /-kaji/ and /-nama/, which I indentify as adverbialisers in section 3.2 of chapter 3, and /-nu/, which I analyse in section 2.4 of chapter 6 as a deictic use of a syntactic verb on nominals). Chadwick says that /-ni/ is commonly found on nominals in the locative, allative and ablative cases. My reading of the texts in Chadwick 1975 shows that non-ERG /-rni/ also frequently occurs on demonstratives, but not as frequently as in the 1995 and 1996 corpora. It appears, then, that over the last forty years, /-rni/ and /-rna/ have gradually come to be used to mark contrastive focus in addition to case, now occurring commonly on all kinds of nominal and other words besides, as shown in section 3.3.3.1.

3.6.1 Three distinct sources

One possibility is that /-na/, /-ni/ and /-rlu/ have distinct sources as focus markers but equivalent interpretation. There is certainly some evidence from neighbouring languages which would support this. According to McConvell (1983), the Ngumpin languages Gurindji and Mudburra, close neighbours of Jingulu (indeed Jingili and Mudburra people have been living together for several generations, sharing a home and ritual life for at least three generations), have a discourse suffix /-rni/ which translates as 'just, only, exactly, still'. Western Gurindji, not in direct contact with Jingulu, has /-lu/ in the same function, which is a possible source for Jingulu /-rlu/. Finally Jingulu /-rna/ could be an adaptation of Kriol /na/ (from English /now/), an emphatic marker. This hypothesis provides a clear local source for each of the three morphemes used in this function (although there does not seem to have been any direct contact between Western Gurindji and Jingulu), but it does not explain why Focus is expressed not only by /-rni/ and /-rna/, homophonous with ERG and DAT respectively, but also by /-nga/, the feminine allomorph of ERG and DAT in Jingulu:

(109) a. Jajka-mi jama-ni Jamirringinja dardawu-**nga**.
ask_for-IRR that-FOC skin_name axe-FOC
'Ask Jamirringinja for that axe.'

b. Mankiyi-mindi uku-**nga**-mbili.
sit-1dlInc humpy-FOC-LOC
'We're sitting in the humpy.'

c. Kirini junguma-nga-nu warnu, lambarra-**nga** ngarri-rnini.
catfish show-1sg- did 3sgACC daughter_in_law-FOC 1sgGEN-f
'I showed the catfish to my daughter-in-law.'

d. Ngaya ambaya-nga-yi Jingulu-warndi. Ngaya-rna kanya
1sgNOM speak-1sg-FUT Jingulu-INST 1sgNOM-DAT uncle
yaba-**nga** Jingila, ambaya-nga Jingulu ngayarni.
man-FOC Jingili speak-1sg Jingulu 1sgERG
'I'll talk in Jingulu. My uncle (mother's brother) was a Jingili, and that's why I speak Jingulu.'[2]

The use of /-nga/ as a Focus marker suggests that something other than straightforward borrowing has occurred, and that Focus marking is somehow related to syntactic case marking. In the next section we consider an alternate process by which syntactic case markers might come to be used as discourse markers. This still leaves the use of /-rlu/ unexplained, however.

3.6.2 Contact-induced change in an environment of language loss[3]

The hypothesis which I wish to consider in this section is that focus marking has arisen in the speech of the last few generations of Jingulu speakers as a result of the increasing functional role of English and concomitant decrease in Jingulu's functional load among Jingulu speakers. As mentioned in chapter 1, Jingulu is a severely endangered, in fact moribund, language, and all of its speakers use English or Kriol rather than Jingulu on a daily basis for all communicative purposes. Many writers have noted that in such circumstances of obsolescence, language change can be accelerated (Dorian 1981, Schmidt 1985, Maandi 1989, for example). Under this hypothesis the re-analysis described in this section that led to Jingulu case marking was as yet uninstantiated when Hale (1960) did his work on Jingulu, and only beginning when Chadwick (1975) did his.

Recall from chapter 4 that Jingulu, being a typical nonconfigurational language in the sense of Hale (1980), is an aggressively pro-drop language. Discourse topics (the 'given' information) are generally not expressed by free nominals, their existence in the discourse being already established and their presence not required by the grammar. Overt nominals associated with argument positions (particularly demonstratives) are generally only present if they represent new information or if the speaker wishes to draw attention to them or to describe some property associated with them. Dislocation structures, akin to English topicalisation, place overt arguments at clause boundaries with no overt syntactic case marking. Overt nominal arguments bearing syntactic case are therefore generally associated with focus (new information or contrastive emphasis). While morphological case on free nominals is distinguished on an Ergative-Absolutive basis (or a three way

[2] The use of [-nga] on a masculine nominal is surprising. As a marker of ERG or DAT case, [-nga] can only ever appear on feminine nominals, and its appearance as FOC on nominals of other genders is exceedingly rare (this is one of two clear examples in the corpus). This cross-gendered use of [-nga] was not accepted in elicitation, and may be a speech error.

[3] These ideas originally appeared in Pensalfini 1997c.

Ergative-Nominative-Accusative basis for free pronouns), case is distinguished for bound pronominals in the verb-word (which are for the most part obligatory) on a Nominative-Accusative basis.

English, on the other hand, requires argument positions in matrix clauses to be filled with overt lexical material, but does not mark this material for case by means of morphology. It distinguishes case structurally on a Nominative-Accusative basis, like the obligatory bound agreement markers on the Jingulu verb.

Having grown up as bilingual speakers of Kriol/Aboriginal English and Jingulu, with significantly greater exposure to Kriol/Aboriginal English than to Jingulu, it is conceivable that learners mistakenly analysed Jingulu as an entirely Accusative language, based on English and the structure of the Jingulu verb-word. They re-analysed the Ergative (and Dative) marker as indicating contrastive focus. Eventually, the Ergative use of /-rni/ was also learned, but not until /-rni/ as a Focus marker had become established in the grammar. In a thriving linguistic community, such an analytical 'error' on the learner's part might be corrected before the 'error' became 'grammar' (though reanalysis is a common means of language change even in thriving languages), but in a community where the language is rarely spoken, such 'errors' might conceivably lead to linguistic innovations .

Typologically, Jingulu is a hybrid between a head-marking and a dependent-marking language, and may represent a language moving from a system of linking nominals to empty positions by case-marking to a system of dislocation of nominals and verbal agreement (see section 1.1.3 of chapter 4). In functional terms, the increased importance of verbal agreement reduces the load on the case morphology. Once the verbal agreement becomes fully grammaticalised, as in languages which obey Baker's (1996) Morphological Visibility Condition, nominal case morphology becomes redundant. In such cases, vestigial case systems may remain, case marking may be lost altogether, or case markers may be reanalysed and come to be used as markers of other properties such as discourse prominence of various sorts.

The Jingulu situation is not quite as straightforward, because /-rni/ and /-rna/ retain their uses as markers of syntactic case in addition to being markers of contrastive focus. The proposal here is that, in an environment of impoverished input, the analysis of the morphemes on the learners' part as discourse markers and later re-analysis as case markers led to a split in functions of these morphemes, so that they now serve to indicate both contrastive focus and their original syntactic cases.

The use of the less common focus marker /-rlu/ remains unexplained under this analysis. It appears that under any analysis, /-rlu/ must be analysed as a Western Gurindji borrowing.

Chapter 6
The Verb Complex

The Jingulu verb complex is the domain of those elements which are allowed to overtly occupy core positions in the IP. The complex is most commonly found forming a phonological word with a co-verbal root, but can also stand alone as a phonological word. In very general terms, the complex consists on the surface of three morphemes: subject agreement, object agreement, and the core verb - usually in this order. Various of these are omitted in various environments, and other environments will trigger a reordering or fusing of some of these slots.

1. Argument marking

1.1 Subject agreement

Subject agreement varies according to the person and number of the clausal subject. Number agreement may be reduced in accordance with the number hierarchy, as discussed in section 3.2 of chapter 5. Gender is not encoded. Subject agreement forms are given in (1) with examples in (2).

(1)

meaning	gloss	morpheme	allomorphs
I	1sg	/nga-/	[nga-]
me and you	1dlInc	/mind-/	[mindi-], [mindu-], [minda-]
me and that person	1dlExc	/nginy-/	[nginyi-], [nginyu-], [nginya-], [nginji-], [nginju-], [nginja-]
us all (including you)	1plInc	/ngurr-/	[ngurri-], [ngurru-], [ngurra-]
us all (not including you)	1plExc	/ngirr-/	[ngirri-], [ngirru-], [ngirra-], [nyirri-], [nyirru-], [nyirra-]
you (singular)	2sg	/nya-/	[nya-], [nyu-]
you two	2dl	/kunyi-/	[kunyi-], [kunyu-], [kunya-], [(w)anyu-],
you all	2pl	/kurri-/	[kurri-], [kurru-], [kurra-], [kirri-], [kirru-], [kirra-]
him, her, it, that	3sg	Ø	Ø
		/ya-/	[ya-], [ka-]
those two	3dl	/wunyi-/	[(w)unyi-], [(w)unya-], [(w)unyu-]
them all	3pl	/wurri-/	[(w)urri-], [(w)urra-], [(w)urru-]

Each non-singular subject marker has allomorphs ending in each of the three vowels /i/, /u/, and /a/. The choice of allomorph is dependent on the following affix, with the /i/ form most commonly chosen if subject agreement is the last overt affix in the word. For a full description of this alternation see section 5.1 of chapter 2.

The two morphemes encoding third person singular subjects are in complementary distribution, the choice depending on the prosodic status of the verb complex. If the verb complex is an independent phonological word, then the overt third person marker is used (2j-k), but if the verb complex forms a word with a co-verbal root, then third person subjects receive null marking (2i).

(2) a. Kararlu ngaba-**nga**-ju bilyingbiyaku marndamarnda-mbili.
ground have-1sg-do red_sand hand-LOC
'I have red dust on my hands.'

b. Mindiyila imbiyi-**mindi**-ju Jingulu.
1dlIncNOM speak-1dlInc-do Jingulu
'We two are speaking Jingulu.'

c. Nyinda-bila nyini-mbili mangki-**nginyi**-wadi.
that(m)-dl(anim) here sit-1dlExc-HAB
'Us two live here.'

d. Yurriyi-**ngurri**-yi jalyangkunu
play-1plInc-FUT today
'Let's play today.'

e. Ngarrabaja-mi jama-niki-ni marliyi-**ngirri**-ju.
tell-IRR this(m)-FOC sick-1plExc-do
'Tell that person that we're sick.'

f. Anikiya-**nya**-ju kirda?
do_what-2sg-do father
'What are you doing, Dad?'

g. Dirri-**kunyu**-nu bundurru-nu burrbiji.
eat-2dl-did food-did finish
'You two ate up all that food.'

h. Ambaya-nga-nu darni nyambala kurru-ju larringku-**kurru**-nu?
speak-1sg-did just_there DEM(n) 2pl-do understand-2pl-did
'I've finished speaking - did you lot understand?'

i. Mankiya-nu dibij-kajya-rruku.
sit(-3sg)-did outside-through(-3sg)-went
'She sat here and he went outside.'

j. Bukbali **ya**-ju.
blowing 3sg-do
'The wind is blowing.'

k. Jama-niki-ni naya ajan **ka**-ju biyangka kumungku-mbili.
this(m)-FOC stand standing 3sg-do behind back-LOC
'There's someone standing behind you.'

l. Kanba ijinku-**wunyu**-ju.
equal stand-3dl-do
'Those two are of equal size.'

m. Murrkun-bala dinkiyi-**wurru**-nu.
three-pl(anim) lost-3pl-did
'The three of them got lost.'

The choice between [-ya] and [-ka] for overt third person subject marking depends on the preceding segment in the clause. If the preceding segement is a consonant (which usually means that the preceding word is and adverb, since almost all consonant-final words are adverbs), [-ka] is used (as in (2k) and (3a-b)), but if the preceding segment is a vowel, [-ya] is used (as in (2j) and (3a, c)).

(3) a. Nginda-rniki bala **ya**-ardi balyab **ka**-ardi darrangku-mbili kurlungkurla,
this(m) tree_lizard 3sg-HAB alongside 3sg-HAB tree-LOC small(m)
kunanga darra-ardi
fly eat-HAB
'The little tree lizard sits right up alongside small sticks and eats flies.'

b. Jangkiyi diyim **ka**-ju walanybili.
high flying 3sg-do pelican
'The pelican flies high.'

c. Kararlu jimi-nu yalalawura **ya**-ju
ground that(n)-did crack 3sg-do
'The ground here is cracked.'

d. Kiwarlija **ya**-rruk nginiwa
snake 3sg-went this_way
'A snake went this way.'

This alternation is in accordance with the phonotactic constraints set out in section 2 of chapter 2, which suggests that phonotactic constraints on permissible clusters prefer to be observed across word boundaries as well as within words wherever possible. This only becomes relevant after a consonant-final word, and almost all consonant-final words are adverbial elements, occurring either before agreement markers, before stop-initial co-verbal roots (classified as 'V root' in part II) to form Adv+co+V root compounds, or clause finally.

1.2 Object agreement

Object agreement generally follows subject agreement and agrees with the person of the verb's object:

(4)

meaning	gloss	form	allomorphs
me, us	1Obj	/-na-/	[-na-], [-ana-]
you	2Obj	/-nyu-/	[-nyu-], [-nyi-], [-nya-]
him, her, it, that	-	Ø	Ø

As (4) shows, the object agreement markers do not vary for number. This is common to

the agreement paradigms of all the Djingili-Wambayic languages (see Nordlinger 1993, for example). There are two ways of encoding the number of the object in the agreement complex, discussed in section 1.3.3, both of which involve disrupting the contiguity between subject and object markers. Djingili Wambayic's avoidance of two consecutive non-singular agreement markers is reminiscent of the Yaba pattern of avoiding two dual markers (some dialects of Warlpiri) or one dual and one plural marker (Warlmanpa, other dialect of Warlpiri - Ken Hale, personal communication). This property is not found in the clearly head-marking prefixing languages to the North.

It would be wrong to say that third person objects never trigger agreement in Jingulu, as some of the fused forms discussed in section 1.3.2 below involve agreement with a third person object. It is more accurate to say instead that the third person object marker, like one of the allomorphs of the third person subject marker, is null. This is quite usual among Australian languages which have agreement of this sort. All of the examples in (5) involve third person subjects showing null agreement.

(5) a. Nyami-rni ngamula-rni jangan juwa-**rna**-mi.
DEM(m)-ERG big-ERG push-1Obj-IRR
'That big bloke pushed me out of the way.'

b. Kurrala dardu-wala ngaja-**nya**-nu wanku.
2plNOM mob see-2Obj-did 2sgACC
'She saw you mob.'

c. Jimi-na ngilma-rda wukurni.
this-FOC make(-3sg-3Obj)-go humpy
'That one makes a nest on the ground.'

Verbs translating English verbs which subcategorise for two objects (direct and indirect) generally involve at least one object which is in the third person and therefore would only trigger null agreement in any case. In order to determine whether there are two object agreement slots or, if only there is only one object agreement slot, whether it represents the direct or indirect object, we must examine clauses with two objects, both of which are in either first or second person. As discussed in section 1.6 of chapter 4, such constructions are studiously avoided in Jingulu. However, overt agreement with a non-third person indirect object is the norm:

(6) a. Ngunya-**ana**-mi maa nyama-na babirdimi.
give-1Obj-IRR EMPH DEM(m)-FOC yam
'Give me that yam'

b. Jayimili-nginyi-ju nangku, ngurraru-ngka-nayi ngunyi-**nginyi**-yi
promise-1sgS2O-do 2sgACC morning-ALL-INDEF give-1sgS2O-FUT
nganku.
2sgACC
'I promise I'll give it to you tomorrow sometime.'

c. Ngaya-rni ngamulu marliya-nga-nu bayin-bala-kaji wurra-miki bundurru
1sgNOM-FOC big(n) ill-1sg-did person-pl-through 3pl-came food
ngunyi-wurra-**ana**-nu.
give-3pl-1Obj-did
'When I was very sick lots of people gave me food.'

1.3 Combined subject and object agreement

The complete agreement paradigm for subject and object combinations is as given in Table 1. At first glance the paradigm seems confusing, but all the possibilites are derived from a few simple principles which are discussed in the following subsections.

Table 1

Combined subject and object agreement forms			
	1Obj	2Obj	3Obj
1sg	/nga-/	/nginyi-/	/nga-/
1dlInc	/mindi-/	/mindi-nyu-/	/mindi-/
1dlExc	/nginyi-/	/nginyi-nyu-/	/nginyi-/
1plInc	/ngurri-/	/ngurri-nyu-/	/ngurri-/
1plExc	/ngirri-/	/ngirri-nyu-/	/ngirri-/
2sg	/nya-na-/ /nganjanya-/ /nginyi-/	/nya-/	/nya-/
2dl	/kunyi-na-/	/kunyi-/	/kunyi-/
2pl	/kurri-na-/	/kurri-/	/kurri-/
3sg	/ka-na-/ /ya-na-/ /narna-/	/ka-nyu-/ /ya-nyu-/ /nirni-/	Ø /ka-/ /ya-/
3dl	/wunyi-na-/	/wunyi-nyu-/	/wunyi-/
3pl	/wurri-na-/	/wurri-nyu-/	/wurri-/

Plus the strategies discussed in section 1.3.3 (switching morpheme order and the Inverse)

Jingulu has three means for encoding agreement with transitive predicates. The first simply involves filling both subject and object agreement slots (the sentences in (5) arguably involve this method, but there object agreement is null). When the person of the subject and object is the same (but the number is different, so that subject and object are not co-referential) this is not allowed, and object agreement is omitted. The second method is to use suffixes which encode information about both subject and object but which can not be broken down into constituent morphemes. These are available only for some specific person/number combinations. The third method involves switching the order of morphemes or utilising an inverse marker to signify that what would normally be considered a subject agreement morpheme is functioning as object agreement. Each of these strategies is discussed in the following sub-sections. The morphological rules in this section assume the syntax provides the following terminal nodes:

(7) $[_{AgrS}$ person, number...$]+[_{AgrO}$ person, number...$]+[_{V}$ tense, aspect, mood, direction$]$

I assume the agreement nodes also contain other computationally relevant information such as animancy and probably gender, but person and number features are the only features which affect vocabulary insertion into these nodes.

The agreement possibilities are derived by the application of the following ordered readjustment rules (rules in brackets are optional) to the terminals in (7):

(8) a. AgrO → Ø /[$_{AgrS}$ αperson, βnumber...]+[$_{AgrO}$ αperson, γnumber...]

(b. AgrS+AgrO+V → AgrS+V+AgrO)

c. [$_{AgrS}$ [+speaker], [-pl]]+[$_{AgrO}$ [-speaker, +participant] [-pl]]

→ [$_{Agr}$ [$_{AgrS}$ [+speaker], [-pl]][$_{AgrO}$ [-speaker, +participant] [-pl]]]

d. number → Ø /[$_{AgrS}$...]+[$_{AgrO}$ ___...]

(e. [$_{AgrS}$ αperson, [-pl]...]+[$_{AgrO}$ βperson...]

→ [$_{Agr}$ [$_{AgrS}$ αperson, [-pl]...] [$_{AgrO}$ βperson...]] (α≠β))

Rule (8a) erases the object agreement node if subject and object agree in person but not in number. Rule (8b) provides the context for the strategies discussed in section 1.3.3. This rule must follow (8a) because this strategy is not available when subject and object have the same person features, indicating that erasure of AgrO has already taken place. Rule (8c) fuses subject and object agreement nodes when the subject is first person singular and the object second person singular. Rule (8d) neutralises number distinctions for object agreement whenever object agreement follows subject agreement (including null subject agreement). Finally, rule (8e) optionally fuses subject and object agreement in those cases where the subject is singular. This last rule must follow the others because it only applies when the two agreement nodes are both present and adjacent. Rule (8d) must follow (8b-c) because number is only neutralised in object agreement when subject and object agreement are separate and adjacent. Rule (8c) must precede (8d) because (8c) only applies when the object is singular. Rule (8a) destroys the environment for the application of all later rules, and must precede (8d) in particular so that (8a) does not apply to an object marker that has a different number feature to the preceding subject only as a result of the application of (8d). The application of these rules is exemplified in the following sub-sections.

1.3.1 Filling nodes individually

Both subject and object slots can be overtly filled in a single complex. Concatenation of the morpemes described in the previous two sections yields the logical possibilities given in Table 2.

Table 2

Possible combinations of agreement morphemes		
	1Obj	2Obj
1sg	*/nga-na-/*	*/nga-nyu-/*
1dlInc	*/mindi-na-/*	/mindi-nyu-/
1dlExc	*/nginyi-na-/*	/nginyi-nyu-/
1plInc	*/ngurri-na-/*	/ngurri-nyu-/
1plExc	*/ngirri-na-/*	/ngirri-nyu-/
2sg	/nya-na-/	*/nya-nyu-/*
2dl	/kunyi-na-/	*/kunyi-nyu-/*
2pl	/kurri-na-/	*/kurri-nyu-/*
3sg	/ka-na-/ /ya-na-/	/ka-nyu-/ /ya-nyu-/
3dl	/wunyi-na-/	/wunyi-nyu-/
3pl	/wurri-na-/	/wurri-nyu-/

Of the above, not all are found. For a start, (8a) rules out the starred italicised options. Instead of these, Jingulu uses only a subject marker, with overt nominal adjuncts used to make the reference of the object clear if necessary:

(9) a. Nginda, ngaya ngaja-**nga**-ju.
DEM(m) 1sgNOM see-1sg-do
'I see him and me.'

b. Ngaja-**nga**-nu bininja, nyami-ni, ngaya.
see-1sg-did man 2sgNOM-FOC 1sgNOM
'I saw the man and me and you.'

c. Ngindi-rni ngiji-**nginyu**-nu ngaya.
DEM(m)-ERG see-1dlExc-did 1sgNOM
'Me and him saw me.'

d. Murrkun-bala, ngaya nginyi-iia ngiji-**ngirru**-nu.
three-pl(anim) 1sgNOM DEM(m)-dl see-1plExc-did
'Me and those two saw me.'

e. Dardu-wala ngiji-**ngurru**-nu ngardajkalu, burrbiji ngurraala.
mob see-1plInc-did big(n) finish 1plIncNOM
'We (inclusive) saw all of us.' (not reflexive: subject is a subset of object)

f. Dardu-wala ngiji-**ngirru**-nu.
mob see-1plExc-did
'Me and him saw all of us.'

g. Murrkun-bala ngiji-**nginyu**-nu.
three-pl(anim) see-1dlExc-did
'Me and him saw ourselves and someone else.'

h. Ngiji-**nginyu**-nu nyami-ni ngaya.
see-1dlExc-did 2sgNOM-FOC 1sgNOM
'Me and him saw me and you. '

i. Ngiji-**ngurru**-nu murrkun-bala-rni.
see-1plInc-did three-pl(anim)-ERG
'We three saw we two.'

j. Murrkun-bala ngiji-**ngirru**-nu ngurraku.
three-pl(anim) see-1plExc-did 1plIIncACC
'Me and him and someone else saw me and you and him.'

k. Nyama, nginda ngaja-**nya**-ju nya-ku.
2sgNOM DEM(m) see-2sg-do 2sg-went
'You can see yourself and him.'

Rule (8c) rules out the concatenation of first person singular subject agreement with a second person singular object by fusing the two nodes.

The sentences in (10) show that all other combinations of subject and object agreement occupying separate nodes are found.

(10) a. Dirrk biji-**kunya-na**-nu nginyaku, ngaba-kaju-**nya-na**-rriki nginyaku
ngawu-ngka.
home-ALL
pull-2dl-1Obj-did 1dlExcACC have-through-2sg-1Obj-went 1dlExcACC
'You two picked us two up and you took us home.'

b. Kuyanganama mirrirdimi-**kurra-na**-yi mujiya-nga-marri.
previously teach-2pl-1Obj-FUT forget-1sg-went(dist)
'I've forgotten, you must teach me again.'

c. Miyi-**wunya-na**-rnu lilingbi.
hit-3dl-1Obj-did hurt
'Those two hit me and hurt me.'

d. Juwirri-miyi-budujuw-**irra-na**-rruku.
follow-hit-FUT? let_go-3pl-1Obj-went
'They followed me, captured me and then let me go.'

e. Nyamarni ngayarni ngiji-**mindi-nyu**-ju nganku.
2sgERG 1sgERG see-1dlInc-2Obj-do 2sgACC
'You and I can see you [in a photograph].'

f. Ngarluju-kaji miyi-**nginyu-nyu**-ju-rru.
even -through hit-1dlExc-2Obj-do-RRU
'We two hit you as punishment.'

g. Ngiji-**ngirri-nyu**-nu wangku.
see-1plExc-2Obj-did 2sgACC
'Me and him and her saw you.'

h. Jama-bili-rni-ni ngiji-**wunyu-nyu**-ju nganku.
that(m)-dl(anim)-ERG-FOC see-3dl-2Obj-do 2sgACC
'Those two can see you.'

i. Kunyuurlu nyambala-nayi miyi-**wurru-nyu**-ju kunyaku.
2dlNOM DEM(n)-INDEF hit-3pl-2Obj-do 2dlACC
'You and someone else, they hit you two as well.'

In many languages that have both subject and object agreement marking, combinations of first person non-singular inclusive subject and second person object are ruled out (e.g.: Warlpiri and Navajo - Ken Hale, personal communication). These combinations should incur a violation of the binding principles that require an anaphor if subject and object are co-referent, as one of the referents of the subject is the hearer, who in turn is the referent (or one of the referents) of the object. However, as Finer (1984) notes with repsect to switch reference, languages differ from one another in their definitions of co-reference. Some languages (Warlpiri and Navajo would be among these) consider overlapping reference sufficient for co-reference, while other languages, including Jingulu, require complete co-reference.

1.3.2 Fused nodes

Jingulu also has four fused agreement forms, where a single morpheme encodes both subject and object information. The forms are given in (11) with examples of their use in (12). Note that these forms exist alongside the strategies outlined in the previous section, and the choice between filling each slot with an agreement marker or fusing the slots and filling them with a single marker appears to be free, though the fused forms are more common.

(11)

meaning	gloss	morpheme	allomorphs
3rd person subject 1st person object	3sgS1O	/narna-/	[narna-], [rnarna-], [ngana-], [ngarna-], [nuna-]
3rd person subject 2nd person object	3sgS2O	/nirni-/	[nirni-], [-rnini-]
		/nganyi-/	[nganyi-]
2nd person subject 1st person object	2sgS1O	/nganjanya-/	[nganjanya-], [nganjana-]
1st singular subject 2nd person object *and* 2nd singular subject 1st person object	1sgS2O 2sgS1O	/nginyi-/	[nginyi-], [nginyu-][1]

(12) a. Naya-nga-nu budunarrimi langa nungka-**ngana**-nu.
step_on-1sg-did bindii pierce-3sgS1O-did
'I stepped on a bindii and it pricked me.'

b. Biba ngarri-na langa mila-**nana**-ju.
son 1sgGEN-m think-3sgS1O-do
'My son must be thinking of me.'

c. Dul maya-**nurna**-nu burdumi.
kick-3sgS1O-did bottom
'She kicked me in the bum.'

d. Mundarla-nga umbuma-**ngarna**-nu
scorpion-ERG sting-3sgS1O-did
'The scorpion stung me.'

---

[1] Note homophony with 1dlExc subject agreement marker. According to Chadwick (1975), the 1dlInc subject marker /mindi-/ may also be used to represent a combination 1st person singular subject and 2nd person singular object or 2nd person singular subject and 1st person singular object. I found no such examples, and speakers rejected /mindi-/ in such cases if offered.

e. Ngangi-rni kardbaja-**narna**-ju ngangi-rni kanyburru-warndi
meat-FOC choke-3sgS1O-do meat-FOC beef-INST
'I'm choking on beef!'

f. Ngiji-wunyu-nu ngiji-**ngarna**-nu ngirrak ngaya ngunu-mbili-kaji.
see-3dl-did see-3sgS1O-did 1plExcACC 1sgNOM DEM(n)-LOC-through
'Those two saw me and him over there.'

g. Dinja-**nirni**-nu nganku.
kiss-3sgS2O-did 2sgACC
'He kissed you.'

h. Ngaja-**rnini**-ju kurraku.
see-3sgS2O-do 2plACC
'He sees you all.'

i. Ngaaku ngunyi-**nginyi**-yi nganku ngalajku-nu.
later give-1sgS2O-FUT 2sgACC exchange-did
'I'll give you something back for that.'

j. Angkurla langkaj na-ya ngarru, kilirni miyi-**nginyi**-yi nganku.
NEG listen 2sg-FUT 1sgACC nose hit-1sgS2O-FUT 2sgACC
'If you don't listen to me I'll punch you in the nose.'

k. Angkurla winymila-nya-yi kardkumili-**nginyi**-yi.
NEG be_quiet-2sg-FUT choke-1sgS2O-FUT
'If you don't shut up, I'll choke you.'

l. Ngayirni miyi-**nginyi**-nga-nu Nangala darrangku-warndi,
1sgERG hit-1sgS2O-1sg-did *skin_name* stick-INST
'I hit you and Nangala with my stick.'

m. Ngaja-**nganjanya**-ju nyinda,
see-2sgS1O-do DEM(m)
'You can see him and me.'

n. Angkula marndaj lankaj bili-**nginyu**-ju ambaya-nga-ju,
NEG OK hear-2sgS1O-do- talk-1sg-do
angkula jankijba-nga-ju nganku.
NEG understand-1sg-do 2sgACC
'You don't hear me talk, and I don't understand you.'

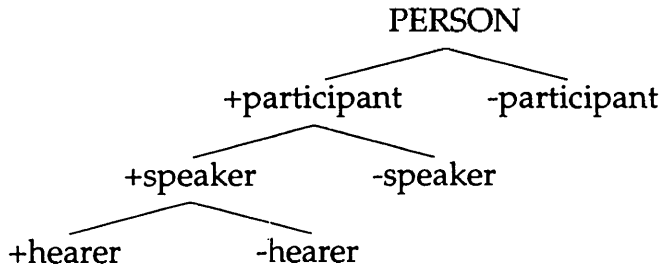
o. Nginda-rni milyamilya-ya-nu. Nyambala maya-**nganjana**-ju,
DEM(m)-FOC late-3sg-did DEM(n) hit-2sgS1O-do
nyamba-ngkami?
DEM-ABL
'He was late. That's why you hit us?'

p. Ngina-rni kijakijirni-ni umbuma-**nganyi**-nu dajba-**nganyi**-nu nganku.
that(f)-FOC bull_ant-ERG burn-3S2O-did bite-3S2O-did 2sgACC
'That bull ant bit you, made you itch.'

Fused agreement nodes containing high vowels trigger harmony for some speakers but not for others. I assume that this reflects a difference in whether the fused morpheme is interpreted as occurring within the spreading domain (like subject agreement) or outside of it (like object agreement). See section 4 of chapter 2 for a full discussion of harmony.

After the rules of (8) have applied, vocabulary items compete for insertion into the agreement nodes according to the list in (14). I am assuming that person features distinguish discourse participants (first and second person) from non-participants (third person), and within participants between groups including the speaker (first person) and groups including the hearer (second person). Thus, first person always involves the features [+participant, +speaker], while second person is [+participant, -speaker] and third person is [-participant]. Within the first person there is a further distinction, which is only relevant with non-singular number, between groups that include the hearer and those that exclude the hearer, encoded in the disctinction [±hearer]. The features [±speaker] and [±hearer] are subsets of [+participant]:

(13)



Person features are only erased by impoverishment in one environment: when a fused node contains a subject and object that are both [+participant], the feature [±speaker] is deleted (this will give rise to the form /nginyi-/). In (14) is the vocabulary insertion list for agreement nodes. Some items (the four most highly specified on the list) specify insertion into fused nodes, while the other entries are not specified for either subject or object agreement. The insight underlying this is that the morphemes normally considered 'subject agreement markers' are used for object agreement so long as there is no immediately preceding subject agreement node. These 'subject agreement markers' are therefore general agreement markers, with rule (8d) creating the environment for insertion of the specific object agreement markers in only those cases where object agreement is

immediatley preceded by subject agreement.

(14) AGREEMENT

[[$_{AgrS}$ +participant, -speaker] [$_{AgrO}$ +participant]]	↔	/nganjanya-/	(2sgS1O)
[[$_{AgrS}$ +participant] [$_{AgrO}$ +participant]]	↔	/nginyi-/	(1sgS2O) (2sgS1O)
[[$_{AgrS}$ -participant] [$_{AgrO}$ +participant, +speaker]]	↔	/narna-/	(3S1O)
[[$_{AgrS}$ -participant] [$_{AgrO}$ +participant]]	↔	/nirni-/, /nganyi-/	(3S2O)
[[+hearer], [number: +plural, +dual]]	↔	/mindi-/	(1dlInc)
[[+speaker], [number: +plural, +dual]]	↔	/nginyi-/	(1dlExc)
[[+hearer], [number: +plural]]	↔	/ngurri-/	(1plInc)
[[-speaker], [number: +plural +dual]]	↔	/kunyi-/	(2dl)
[[+speaker], [number: +plural]]	↔	/ngirri-/	(1plExc)
[[-speaker], [number: +plural]]	↔	/kurri-]	(2pl)
[[+speaker], number]	↔	/nga-/	(1sg)
[[+participant], number]	↔	/nya-/	(2sg)
[number: +plural, +dual]	↔	/wunyi-/	(3dl)
[number: +plural]	↔	/wurri-/	(3pl)
[+speaker]	↔	/-na-/	(1Obj)
[-speaker]	↔	/-nyu-/	(2Obj)
[number]	↔	/ka-/ / Adv ___	(3sg)
	↔	/ya-/ / # ___	(3sg)
AGREEMENT	↔	/-nku/ / Agr$_i$-___$_i$[2] / /-ni-/___	
	↔	Ø	(3sg & 3Obj)

Let us now consider how some of the forms illustrated in (9), (10) and (12) are derived:

(9j)	[$_{AgrS}$ [+participant: +speaker, -hearer] [number: +plural]]+ [$_{Agr\,O}$ [+participant: +speaker, +hearer] [number: +plural]]	(1plExc subject) (1plInc object)
→	[$_{AgrS}$ [+participant: +speaker, -hearer] [number: +plural]]	(by rule (8a))
→	/ngirri-/	(vocabulary insertion)

[2] This item is the Reflexive/Reciprocal marker, described in section 1.4. This item is inserted as object agreement if two adjacent Agreement markers (AgrS and AgrO) share a referent.

(10a) $[_{AgrS}$ [+participant: -speaker] [number: +plural, +dual]]+ (2dl subject)
$[_{Agr\,O}$ [+participant: +speaker, -hearer] [number: +plural, +dual]] (1dlExc object)
→ $[_{AgrS}$ [+participant: -speaker] [number: +plural, +dual]]+
$[_{Agr\,O}$ +participant: +speaker, -hearer] (by rule (8d))
→ /kunyi-/+/-na-/ (vocabulary insertion)

(12j) $[_{AgrS}$ [+participant: +speaker, -hearer] [number: -plural]]+ (1sg subject)
$[_{Agr\,O}$ [+participant: -speaker] [number: -plural]] (2sg object)
→ $[[_{AgrS}$ [+part: +speaker, -hearer] [number: -plural]]
$[_{Agr\,O}$ [+part: -speaker] [number: -plural]] (by rule (8c))
→ /nginyi-/ (vocabulary insertion)

(12m) $[_{AgrS}$ [+participant: -speaker] [number: -plural]]+ (2sg subject)
$[_{Agr\,O}$ [+participant: +speaker, -hearer] [number: +pl, +dual]] (1dlExc object)
→ $[_{AgrS}$ [+participant: -speaker] [number: -plural]]+
$[_{Agr\,O}$ +participant: +speaker, -hearer] (by rule (8d))
→ $[[_{AgrS}$ [+part: -speaker] [number: -plural]] $[_{Agr\,O}$ [+part: +speaker, -hearer]]
(by rule (8e))
→ /nganjanya-/ (vocabulary insertion)

1.3.3 Switching morpheme order and the Inverse construction

In both of the commonly used methods of expressing features of the clausal object discussed above (independent object marking and fused subject-object marking) the number of the object is always indeterminate. For example *mayanganjanu* can be translated as 'you (singular) hit me' or 'you (singular) hit us (dual or plural, inclusive or exclusive)'. Usually this is clarified by either the context or the use of free accusative pronouns, but there also exist two means of specifying the number features of the object in the inflectional complex. This is achieved by the use of what are normally subject agreement markers (given in (1)) to refer to the object. The first of these means, illustrated in (15), involves switching the usual order of object agreement slot and the core verb.

(15) a. Kurraala-ma ngiji-**nginyi-ju-kurra** karriyaku kurru-ju.
2plNOM-EMPH see-1dlExc-do-2pl bad(n) 2pl-do
'You lot look to us like you don't feel so good.'

b. Ngunyi-**rri-nginyi** kujarruna darrangku.
give-will_go-1dlExc two(n) stick
'We were given two sticks.'

c. Jaminika ngamurla-rni kijikijib-**arda-wurra** jam-baja-ni yabanja-la
this(m) big(m)-ERG tease-go-3pl that-pl-FOC young(m)-pl
wawa-la.
child-pl
'That big guy's annoying the little kids.'

d. Nyinda-baja dardu-nu lankaj wurru-**ju-minda**.
that(m)-pl many-did hear 3pl-do-1dlInc
'All those people are listening to you and me talk.'

This strategy makes use of the optional reordering rule in (8b). Once this rule has applied, the impoverishment rule (8d) can not apply to erase the number features of the object because the subject and object morphemes are no longer adjacent. The form in (15d) is derived thus:

(15d) $[_{AgrS}$ -participant [number: +plural, -dual]]+ (3pl subject)
$[_{AgrO}$ [+participant, +speaker, +hearer] [number: +plural, +dual]]+V (1dlInc object)
→ $[_{AgrS}$ -participant [number: +plural, -dual]]+V+
$[_{AgrO}$ [+participant, +speaker, +hearer] [number: +plural, +dual]] (by rule (8b))
→ /wurri-/+V+/mindi/ (vocabulary insertion)

The other means of overtly encoding the object's number features makes use of the inverse morpheme /-ni/, inserted immediately after the co-verbal root, which indicates that the agreement marker which follows it actually refers to the object. No subject marking is posssible in such a construction, and subjects must be third person (any number). This construction is illustrated in (16).

(16) a. Dajba-**ni-ngirru**-nu murrkunbala karruji-ni.
bite-INV-1plExc-did three_people spider-ERG
'The spider bit the three of us (not you).'

b. Dunja-**ni-ngurru**-nu murrkunbala-rna, dunja-**ni-ngurru**-nu.
kiss-INV-1plInc-did three-FOC kiss-INV-1plInc-did
'They kissed us three.'

c. Dunja-**ni-kurru**-nu.
kiss-INV-2pl
'They kissed you lot.'

d. Ngiji-**ni-mindu**-ju bininja-rni mindaku.
see-INV-1dlInc-do man-ERG 1dlIncACC
'The man sees you and me.'

e. Dardu-wala-rni maja-**ni-ngurru**-ju wajbala-rni.
many_people-ERG get-INV-1plExc-do whitefella-ERG
'Lots of white people took photos of us.'

f. Warlaku marrimarra, dajba-**ni-ngurru**-mi.
dog cheeky(m) bite-INV-1plInc-IRR
'That dog's cheeky, it might bite us.'

The variety of ways of saying 'He doesn't like us' illustrated in (17a-e) show that /-ni/ is incompatible with overt subject agreement (17d), as well as being phonologically a suffix and therefore unable to begin a phonological word (17e). Forms with /-ni/ are entirely equivalent to forms which use third person subject agreement and number unspecified object agreement (17a, c). Inverse marking is only permitted when the subject is third person [-participant] and the object is first or second person [-participant] and non-singular (see (17f-g)).

(17) a. Jirdad ngaja-rnana-ju (ngurraku)
dislike see-3S1O-do (1plIncACC)
'He doesn't like us.'

b. Jirdad ngaja-ni-ngurru-ju.
dislike see-INV-1plInc-do
'He doesn't like us.'

c. Jirdad ka-ju (ngurraku)
dislike 3sg-do (1plIncACC)
'He doesn't like us.'

d. *Jirdad ka-ni-ngurru-ju
dislike 3sg-INV-1plInc-do
'He doesn't like us.'

e. *Jirdad ni-ngurru-ju
dislike INV-1plInc-do
'He doesn't like us.'

f. *Maja-ni-wunyu-nu.
hit-INV-3dl-do
'He hit those two.'

g. *Maja-ni-nga-nu.
hit-INV-1sg-did
'He hit me.'

The Inverse morpheme /-ni/ (allomorphs [-ni], [-rni], [-na]) is not a passive morpheme. First of all, as (16a, d, e) show, there is no effect on the case-marking of overt nominals: nominals construed with the agent of a transitive predicated still bear ERG case-marking (INST if inanimate). Secondly, the agent of an inverse construction can still be construed as definite even if not overtly mentioned (as shown in (16b-c) and (17a-c), and contrary to the implied agent in English passives like 'The boy was struck'). Chadwick (1975) calls /-ni/a transitivising suffix, though the morpheme is only found on verbs that can have objects, and thus are already transitive, and does not alter their argument structure at all, and so does not seem to fit the label 'transitiviser' at all.

The morpheme also co-occurs with the reflexive, when the subject is third person singular:

(18) a. Jama-niki wurrjiya-**ni-nku**-ju kilalija jaarndama-jija.
this(m) shave-INV-REFL-do clean(m) whiskers-PRIV
'He's clean shaven.'

b. Jamaniki-ni warlaku-rni lakarr maja-**ni-nku**-nu bardbala.
this(m)-FOC dog-ERG break-INV-REFL-did ankle
'That dog broke its ankle.'

c. Burdbu-ngurri jama-niki-rni ngunbuluka-rni-ngka burdbu-ngurri
send-1plInc this(m)-FOC doctor-FOC-ALL send-1plInc
lakarr maja-**ni-nku**-nu jarrumulu.
break-INV-REFL-did thigh
'We had to take him to the doctor because he broke his leg.'

d. Ila ngaja-mi wardiyidba-**ni-nku**-ju wawa.
watch-IRR spin-INV-REFL-do child
'The children are spinning around.'

e. *Wawa wulukaja-nku-ju. (versus the grammatical /wulukaja-ni-nku-ju/)
child wash-REFL-do wash-INV-REFL-do
'The child is washing herself.'

Sentence (18d) shows that singular number need not be underlying but can result from impoverishment. The subject is understood as plural from the context, but no plural marking occurs in the verb complex or on the nominal construed with the subject. Sentence (18e) shows that the Inverse marker is obligatory with third person singular subjects of reflexives.

The Jingulu Inverse is similar to constructions called 'Inverse' by Jeffrey Heath in Ngandi and Nunggubuyu (Heath 1978, 1984 - the Nunggubuyu inverse marker is, in fact, /-n-/), where morphology that is normally reserved for subject marking is used to mark the clausal object without altering the syntax of the clause. Like the Jingulu inverse marker,

the Inverse morphemes that Heath described are used when the subject is lower on some hierarchy than the object is (where third person is lower than first or second persons). According to the vocabulary insertion list in (14), morphemes that are normally considered 'subject agreement' mark objects in inverse constructions because the number features of the object have not been neutralised. These features have not been neutralised because the impoverishment rule that neutralises them, (8d), has not applied. This fact, in conjunction with its inability to trigger harmony in adjacent co-verbal roots, tells us that /-ni/ is not a subject marker. The appropriate morphosyntactic characterisation of the Inverse marker /-ni/ involves Heath's generalisation about prominence translated into the feature theory of DM. Inverse constructions are used optionally in Jingulu when the subject is [-participant] and the object is [+participant, +plural] and obligatory when the subject is [-participant], either singular or has had its plurality neutralised, and co-referent with the object. This can be expressed in terms of an impoverishment rule that replaces the entire AgrS node with the phonological filler /-ni-/ in these cases (applying obligatorily in one environment and optionally in the other):

(19) $[_{AgrS}$ -participant$]_i$ → Ø / ___+$[_{AgrO}$...[number: (-plural)]...$]_i$
(/ ___+$[_{AgrO}$ ...[+participant] [number: +pl, ±dl]...])

The first environment for rule (19) applies obligatorily if the conditions are met (subject and object are both third person singular[3]). In the second environment, that of a third person subject with a non-singular first or second person object, the application of this rule is optional. This rule precedes the rules in (8) and all of these morphological readjustment rules are followed by the rule in (20) prior to vocabulary insertion:

(20) Ø → /-ni-/ / root+___+AgrO

This means that /-ni-/ is not a vocabulary item in the technical sense because it is not associated with a node. It is, rather a moprhological filler which appears in those environments where the subject agreement node has been eradicated by the impoverishment rule of (19). Below is a derivation of some words form preceding examples:

(16a) root+$[_{AgrS}$ -participant [number: -plural]]+ (3sg subject)
$[_{AgrO}$ [+participant, +speaker, -hearer][number: +plural]] (1dlExc obj.)
→ root+$[_{AgrO}$ [+participant, +speaker, -hearer][number: +plural]] (rule (19))
→ root+/ni/+$[_{AgrO}$ [+participant, +speaker, -hearer][number: +plural]] (rule (20))
→ root+/ni/+/-nginyi/ (vocabulary insertion)

[3] Note that the environments for impoverishment rules do not operate on a subset principle like vocabulary insertion. Thus, the specification in the environment that the object have the feature [number] and optionally [-plural] means that the object must lack the feature [+plural]. This can be satisfied either by having a

(18d) root+[$_{AgrS}$ -participant [number: +plural]]+[$_{AgrO}$ -participant [number: +plural]]
(3pl subject, co-referent 3plObject)
→ root+[$_{AgrS}$ -participant [number]]+[$_{AgrO}$ -participant [number]] (impoverishment)
→ root+[$_{AgrO}$ -participant [number]] (rule (19))
→ root+/ni/+[$_{AgrO}$ -participant [number]] (rule (20))
→ root+/ni/+/-nku/ (vocabulary insertion)

1.4 Reflexive and reciprocal constructions

Both reflexive ('A did X to herself/himself/itself') and reciprocal ('A and B did X to each other) meanings are achieved in Jingulu by inserting the suffix [-nku] (glossed REFL, allomorphs [-nku], [-ngku], [-nki], [-ngki], [-nka]) into the object agreement slot.

(21) a. Jam-baja-rla yabanja-rla irrk bil-urru-**nku**-nu.
that-pl-m young_man-pl paint-3pl-REFL-did
'All the young men are painted up.'

b. Bunka-kaju-wurru-**nku**-rra-ju.
leave-through-3pl-REFL-RA-do
'They went their separate ways.'

c. Barlunma nga-**nku**-ju.
lonely(m) 1sg-REFL-do
'I'm lonely.'

d. Wardka-nga-nu darrangku-ngkami lakarr maja-nga-**nku** ngalirrilirrirdi.
fall-1sg-did tree-ABL break-1sg-REFL collarbone
'I fell out of a tree and broke my collarbone.'

e. Jama-bila-rna warlaku-yila bulurrbu-wunyu-**ngku**-ju.
that-dl(anim)-FOC dog-dl roll-3dl-REFL-do
'Those two dogs are rolling about.'

f. Kibardka-nga-yi ulukaja-nga-**nki**-yi.
bathe-1sg-FUT wash-1sg-REFL-FUT
'I'm going to take a bath.'

g. Ulukaja-nga-**nki**-yi marndamarnda.
wash-1sg-REFL-FUT hand
'I'll wash my hands.'

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singular referent or by impoverishment of number features, as in (18d).

h. Jam-baji-nu wawa-rli-rni ngirrbiju-wurlu-**ngku**-ju ngulyi.
that-pl-did child-pl-ERG tell-3pl-REFL-do lie
'Those kids there are telling each other lies.'

i. Ngiji-wunyu-**ngku**-ju jama-bila-rni-nu bayiny-bila-rni.
see-3dl-REFL-do that-dl-ERG-did person-dl-FOC
'Those two there are facing one another.'

j. Jama-bila-rni kirri-wunyu-**ngku**-ju
that-dl(anim)-FOC swear-3dl-REFL-do
'Those two are swearing at each other.'

k. Miyi-wunyu-**nku**-ju bardku-warndi
hit-3dl-REFL-do nulla-nulla-INST
'They're fighting with nulla-nullas.'

l. Mirnimirni wunyu-**nku**-ju.
hug 3dl-REFL-do
'They're hugging each other.'

The appearance of this morpheme is governed by the vocabulary list in (14), which says that /-nku/ gets inserted into the object agreement node if it is preceded by an agreement marker for a co-referent subject (the subject marker need not be overt). The agreement marking in (21c) is derived thus:

(21c) $[_{AgrS}$ [+participant +speaker, -hearer] [number]]+ (1sg subject)
$[_{AgrO}$ [+participant +speaker, -hearer] [number]] (1sg object)
→ /nga-/+/-nku/ (vocabulary insertion)

The euphemistic way of saying 'die' is to use the verb 'put' in the reflexive:

(22) a. Dimana ila-ni-ngku-ju.
horse put-INV-REFL-do
'The horse is dying.'

b. Ngaya-rni ila-nga-nki-yi!
1sgNOM-FOC put-1sg-REFL-FUT
'I might die!'

The difference between reciprocal and transitive readings is illustrated in (23).

(23) a. Balyab wunyu-ju.
alongside 3dl-do
'Those two are alongside it.'

b. Balyab wunyu-nku-ju.
together 3dl-REFL-do
'Those two are alongside one another.'

In (23a) subject and object are not co-referent, so the second (object) agreement morpheme is null, whereas in (23b) the co-reference of subject and object (distributively A lies next to B and B lies next to A, so collectively A and B are both subjects and objects) means that the second agreement morpheme is filled by /-nku/ (in accordance with (14)).

1.5 Agreement feature neutralisation and absence of object agreement

As discussed in sections 3.1 and 3.2 of chapter 5, disagreement with number and gender features of the referent is permitted on nominals of all sorts. In these cases it was seen that the omission is best regarded as some kind of morphological feature erasure, given that there was a strict hierarchy of 'disagreement': for example nominals with singular reference could only ever appear in the singular, nominals with plural reference could appear in either the plural or singular forms, and nominals with dual reference could appear in dual, plural, or singular forms. Number marking in subject agreement shows exactly the same properties, as evidenced in (24), which is to be expected if number on agreement markers involves the same features as number on nominals.

(24) a. Dirrk biji-kunya-na-nu nginyaku, ngaba-kaju **nya**-na-rriki nginyaku
pull-2dl-1Obj-did 1dlExcACC have-through-2sg-1Obj-went 1dlExcACC
ngawu-ngka.
home-ALL
'You two picked us two up and you took us home.'

b. Dunji-**nginyu**-nu-rra, ngirrakarni-rni dunji-**nginyu**-nu-rraku
kiss-1sgS2O-did-RA 1plExcERG-FOC kiss-1sgS2O-did-went
nyinda-bala.
DEM-pl(anim)
'We kissed you people.'

c. Dunji-**nginyu**-ku-rra dardu-darra burrbiji.
kiss-1sgS2O-went-RA many-pl heal(pl)
'We [from context] kissed everyone and we all felt better.'

d. Jamarniki jungkali ka-ju, mindu-wa nganu kunumburra,
this(m) far 3sg-do 1dlInc-will_go 3sgACC fast
kajub bili-mindu-wa.
catch_up-1dlInc-will_go
'He's way ahead of us, we'd better catch up to him quickly.'

I assume that along with the impoverishment rules in (8), the impoverishment rules for number features on nominals given in section 3.2.2 of chapter 5 optionally apply to agreement markers.

There are some cases of object agreement being left out of the verb complex in Jingulu. This is not common, but occurs often enough that these utterances could not be considered speech errors. It appears that, even in combinations where the concatenation of morphemes would be permitted (see (10)), object agreement may be dropped:

(25) a. Kirra-nga-yi.
insult-1sg-FUT
'I'm telling you off.'

b. Imani ngaba-nga-yi angkurla ngunya-nga-yi.
DEM(v) have-1sg-FUT NEG give-1sg-FUT
'I won't give you what I've got.'

c. Burdba-nga-wa ngangku bundurru, angkurla nga-rriii ngaya-rni
send-1sg-will_go 2sgACC food NEG 1sg-will_go 1sgNOM-FOC
'I'll send you food - I'm not coming.'

d. Kunyaku dunji-wunya-na ngina.
2dlACC kiss-3dl-did DEM(f)
'Those two came and kissed you two women.'

e. Ngaja-ju ngurraku.
see-do 1dlIncACC
'He sees us.'

As (25a-b) show, there need not be an overt element present to encodes the nominals features of the object, but this information can be provided by the context alone. Subject markers are generally not dropped except in Imperatives, where they are obligatorily dropped with /-yirri/ or /-ji/, and optionally with /-mi/ (see section 2.2 on Imperatives).

The question is whether 'agreement-drop' of this sort is best viewed as a sort of radical reduction to third person (null) agreement (reduction of 1st and 2nd person features to 3rd person, accompanied by reduction of non-singular numbers to singular for subjects) or as a complete absence of the agreement node. These are interesting issues theoretically, relating in part to the division of labour between syntax and morphology, but there are also empirical ramifications. If 'agreement-drop' is really reduction by way of morphological feature erasure, and if the erasure of person features is independent of erasure of number features (and there is no reason why it should not be), then we would expect to find cases where person features are reduced while number features

are not. This predicts that it should be possible to use 3rd person non-singular subject agreement with first or second person non-singular subjects. Under the alternate hypothesis, absence of the agreement node, this should not be possible.

This sort of person reduction is, in actual fact, not allowed, suggesting that the optionality of agreement involves the option of actually deleting the node or fusing it with subject agreement.

1.6 Doubling of inflection

As shown in (26), fused agreement markers are sometimes followed by subject or object agreement markers, which always agree with the (unreduced) features of the fused agreement morpheme.

(26) a. Ngaya ngaja-na-ngku mirridimi-**nginyi-na**-ngku.
1sgNOM see-2sg-will_come teach-2sgS1sgO-1Obj-will_come
'You'll show me how to do it.'

b. Wunjumi-**nginyi-nga**-ngku.
cure-1sgS2O-1sg-will_come
'I'll cure you.'

c. Ngayirni miyi-**nginyi-nga**-nu Nangala darrangku-warndi.
1sgERG hit-1sgS2O-1sg-did *skin_name* stick-INST
'I hit you and Nangala with my stick.'

These constructions are rare indeed, but their occurrence demands some kind of explanation. A rarely used operation optionally copies the features of either subject or object from fused nodes and fissions them off onto their own node:

(27) $[[_{AgrS}\ \alpha, \beta,...][_{AgrO}\ \gamma, \delta,...]] \rightarrow [[_{AgrS}\ \alpha, \beta,...][_{AgrO}\ \gamma, \delta,...]]+[_{AgrS}\ \alpha, \beta,...]$
$\rightarrow [[_{AgrS}\ \alpha, \beta,...][_{AgrO}\ \gamma, \delta,...]]+[_{AgrO}\ \gamma, \delta,...]$

The rule in (27) is optional and disjunctive (only one of its two parts may apply), and would have to be ordered between (8a) and (8b).

2. Core Verbs

The core verb, or light verb, as discussed in chapter 3, is the morpheme that generally follows the agreement marker(s) and encodes a combination of tense, aspect, and directionality. There are basically three classes of these markers, each denoting a different direction or type of action, plus a small set of irrealis and imperfective markers. All core verbs are phonologically suffixes and must be preceded by a co-verbal root and/or overt agreement marking.

2.1 The three verbs

As Chadwick (1975) notes, there is a class of markers used with a meaning similar to 'come' (30) and one meaning something like 'go' (28). These can in fact be used as predicates in conjunction with agreement marking in the absence of any verb, with the literal meanings 'come' and 'go'.

(28) 'go':

tense/aspect	gloss	morpheme	allomorphs
present	go	/-ardu/	[-(w)ardu],[-rdu], [-arda] [-warda], [-rda]
past	went	/-rruku/	[-rruku], [-rraku], [-rriki]
distant past	went(dist)	/-marriyimi/	[-marriyimi], [-marrimi]
future	will_go	/-wa/	[-wa], [-rriyi]

The distant past is used in story-telling, and in recounting personal history. The choice between allomorphs of future is dependent on the length of the verb complex preceding it. If the agreement marker(s) constitute only one mora, such as 1sg /nga-/, then the bimoraic variant [-rriyi] appears, otherwise the monomoraic form [-wa] is used. Examples of all of the above forms appear below:

(29) a. Laja-nga-**rdu** kijurlurlu.
carry-1sg-go stone
'I'm carrying a stone.'

b. Jayili ya-**rdu** marru-ngka, jayili urdurru ka-**rdu** marru-ngka.
under 3sg-go house-ALL under inside 3sg-go house-ALL
'It's gone under the house, right underneath the house.'

c. Karl nga-**ardu** kijurlurlu-ngka.
up 1sg-go hill-ALL
'I'm climbing the hill.'

d. Nga-**rruku** ngirriki kurrubardu-warndi, karnarrinym-aarndi.
1sg-went hunting boomerang-INST spear-INST
'I went out hunting with a boomerang and spear.'

e. Mindi-**rruku** jalyangku-ma Warranganku-ngka.
1dlInc-went today-EMPH Beetaloo-ALL
'Today we went to Beetaloo.'

f. Ilu-wurra-**marrimi** larrba-ni janbara-ngka.
put-3pl-went(dist) previously-FOC nest-ALL
'They used to put dead people in trees.'

g. Ya-**marriyimi**, marlarluka-rni wanyma-**marriyimi** ngarnu, dunjuwa-kaji
3sg-went(dist) old_men-ERG walk-went(dist) 3sgACC burn-through
ya-marri, warriji-rni.
3sg-did(dist), deceased-FOC
'The people would take that one and cremate him, the deceased one.'

h. Nyinda-rna nganga juwirri-mindu-**wa** yunku.
DEM(m)-DAT meat follow-1dlInc-will_go foot
'We must follow the animal's tracks.'

i. Burdbaa-nga-rru mijuwulmi ngaya-rni angkurla nga-**rriyi**.
send-1sg-went tobacco 1sgNOM_FOC NEG 1sg-will_go
'I sent you tobacco, but I didn't go myself.'

(30) 'come':

tense/aspect	gloss	morpheme	allomorphs
present	come	/-jiyimi/	[-jiyimi], [-jimi], [jima]
past	came	/-miki/	[-miki], [-mika]
distant past	came(dist)	/-mardimi/	[-mardimi], [-mardiyimi]
future	will_come	/-ngku/	[-ngku], [-nku], [-ngu], [-nki]

The distant past is often expressed with the motion neutral /-marri/ (see (32)) rather than /-mardimi/, even when 'come' is clearly intended.

(31) a. Dikidika wul maja-mi ngarru bunbaku-wurri-**jiyimi** nyinda-baja.
nulla-nulla pull-IRR 1sgGEN fight-3pl-come that(m)-pl
'Let's get our clubs, they've come to fight.'

b. Ngini-rni jundurru duwa-**jiyimi**.
DEM(n)-FOC dust rise-come
'Dust is rising.'

c. Wilinja ya-**jiyimi** jama-niki-rni.
countryman 3sg-come that-NIKI-FOC
'Our countryman is coming.'

d. Jama-bili-na birri-wunya-na-**miki** marluka-yili-rni.
that-dl(anim)-FOC visit-3dl-1Obj-came old_man-dl-ERG
'Those two old people came to see me yesterday.'

e. Nginyu-rruku jungkali, lurrbu-nama nginya-**miki**.
1dlExc-went far return-time 1dlExc-came
'We went afar, and then came back.'

f. Lurrbu ngirri-**mardimi** Marlinja.
return plExc-came(dist) Marlinja
'We came back to Marlinja.'

g. Junmay-**ardiyimi**-kaji dij bilaka jaardi kabilirni, Mirrinmirrirdi,
descend-came(dist)-through divide-PSTHAB night daybreak 7_Sisters
Kamirrinji.
Morning_Star
'They came to divide the night from the dawn, the Seven Sisters and the
Morning Star.'

h. Mindu-wa nginiwa, nya-**angku**.
1dlInc-will_go this_way 2sg-will_come
'We're going for a walk, come along.'

i. Jangka-nama nga-ardu ngirriki-nama lurrbu nga-**angku**.
another-time 1sg-go hunting-time return 1sg-will_come
'I'm going hunting again and then coming back.'

Once the 'go' and 'come' morphemes are accounted for, the remaining core verb morphemes form a class which can be glossed with some form of the English verbs 'do' or 'be' (following Chadwick 1975). These forms, listed in (32), are most commonly found forming words with co-verbal roots, but may also be used with agreement markers in the absence of a root where the action being done is understood from the discourse context. These suffixes do not necessarily imply a lack of motion, but are rather, in Chadwick's (1975) terms, 'motion-neutral' in that they do not specify for motion. Note that this class includes a subset of habitual markers.

(32) 'do':

tense/aspect	gloss	morpheme	allomorphs
present	do	/-ju/	[-ju], -[ja]
past	did	/-nu/	[-nu], [-na], [-rnu], [-rna], [-nyi]
future	FUT	/-yi/	[-yi], [-ya]
distant past	did(dist)	/-marri/	[-marri], [-marra]
habitual	HAB	/-ardi/	[-(w)ardi], [-(w)adi], [-rdi], [-bardi], [-badi]
past habitual	PSTHAB	/-ka/	[-ka], [-ki]

(33) a. Angkula ngaja-nga-**ju**, jundurru ngaba-nga-**ju** ngabanju-mbili.
NEG see-1sg-do dust have-1sg-do eye-LOC
'I can't see, I have dust in my eyes.'

b. Burluburlubi-wurru-**ju** dardu jamana juliji burluburluba-**ju**.
float-3pl-do many that bird float-do
'Many birds are floating.'

c. Kakuyi ya-**ju**, jurruku-mbili kakuyi ya-**ju** dardu.
fish 3sg-do far_from_shore-LOC fish 3sg-do many
'There are fish, there's lots of fish out in the middle.'

d. Kulyi-wunyu-**nu**, kulyunk unyu-**nu** karnarinju.
spear-3dl-did kill 3dl-did spear
'They got it with a spear.'

e. Dibij nga-**nu** jiminika darrangku-ngka.
out 1sg-did this tree-ALL
'I came out right along the trees.'

f. Durd maya-nga-**yi** lurrurnmi.
kick-1sg-FUT testicles
'I'll kick him in the balls.'

g. Ngirrinyinmi walkinda-ngurri-**yi** wawa.
ceremonial_ring sweep-1plInc-FUT boy
'We'll collect the boys and drag them off to the ceremony place.'

h. Ngindi-nama wumbuma-**yi** nganga-rni wurraka-na ya-**yi**.
this(m)-time cook-FUT meat-FOC 3plGEN-m 3sg-FUT
'Then he'll cook the meat for these people, he will.'

i. Ngindarniki jurdumajurduma-rni, jalyangku-nama-kaji angkula
this(m) finch-FOC now-time-through NEG
ngaja-**marri** marlarlukarnini.
see-did(dist) old_men-ERG
'We never see the gouldian finch now as we did in the old days.'

j. Nyamba wawa *boorn-* nga-**marra** Warranganku-mbili.
DEM(m) child born(Kr)-1sg-did(dist) Beetaloo-LOC
'I was born at Beetaloo.'

k. Bidbidarra ngamulu, lujba-kayi wurru-**marra** ajini-nayi.
coolibah? big(n) burn-through-3pl-did(dist) someone
'Someone burnt that big coolibah tree.'

l. Kirangkuju-nu dara-**adi** buliki-rni dimana-rni.
melon_species-did eat-HAB cow-ERG horse-ERG
'Cows and horses eat this melon.'

m. Kibilimi biyijilimi duw-**adi** *langa* warlumbu-warlumbu.
yam_sp. long(v) rise-HAB in bullwaddy-RED
'Kibilimi is a long one that grows in bullwaddy country.'

n. Ngaya-rni manyan ngab-**ardi** nginimbili.
1sgNOM-FOC sleep 1sg-HAB here
'I usually sleep here.'

o. Jama-ni warrikyi ya-**aka** ngini-mbili.
that-FOC spirit 3sg-PSTHAB this-LOC
'The spirit used to be here.'

p. Yalbawurrini jakulaji wunya-miki yurri-**ki**.
bandicoot possum 3dl-came play-PSTHAB
'Bandicoots and possums once came to play.'

Note that the use and interpretation of the Future is somewhat different in Jingulu than in English. In Jingulu, an action that has commenced at or before the time of utterance may be framed in the Future if its conclusion is yet to occur.

2.2 Irrealis and Imperative moods

When a clause expresses an action or state whose likelihood of happening or having happened is low, or is highly conditional, the tense/aspect slot is occupied by the irrealis marker /-mi/ (glossed IRR, allomorphs [-mi], [-ma], [-ba]). As (34d-g) show, the

Irrealis marker can also be used to denote a permanent property, something that is always true.

(34) a. Ajirni ngaba-**mi** jimi-niki-ni?
what have-IRR this-NIKI-FOC
'What did you bring (if anything)?'

b. Jayirlungka-mi wurr maja-nga-nu.
get_out-IRR pull-1sg-did
'I pulled on it to get it out.'

c. Jama-rni wilwili-kaji ya-ju karningka wirrkiyi-**mi**.
that-FOC hang-through 3sg-do possibly fall-IRR
'It's hanging, swinging, might fall.'

d. Ngayarni akunya-nga-**mi**.
1sgERG left_handed-1sg-IRR
'I'm left-handed.'

e. Ngaya-rni nga-**mi** warnayaka.
1sgNOM-FOC 1sg-IRR foreign(m)
'I'm a foreigner.'

f. Bardakurra jama-ni yarraburra, bardakurra-nya-**mi** ngarnu.
good(m) that(m)-FOC helpful good(m)-2sg-IRR 3sgACC
'You're good to me, work with me.'

g. Mamambiyaku diinu maja-**mi** ila-kaji mandarra-ngka.
soft gum get-IRR put-through sore-ALL
'The bloodwood gum is softened and put on sores.'

The irrealis marker /-mi/ is also the most common means of making an imperative:

(35) a. Nyurrun baka-**mi**!
slither-IRR
'Move over!'

b. Kurlukurla wunjuwa-**mi**!
small(m) spill-IRR
'Give me just a little bit!'

c. Ila-**mi** ijalkarru-ngka jalurruka-na jawaranya!
put-IRR fire-ALL tea-DAT billy
'Put the billy on the fire for some tea!'

d. Karlakarlarra-yarra ila-**mi**!
loosen-goIMPV put-IRR
'Loosen this!'

e. Kalarra ngaja-**mi**!
West see-IRR
'Look West!'

f. Narnangaja-nku-**mi**!
close-look-REFL-IRR
'Watch yourself!'

g. Jimi-niki-ni ila-nyu-**mi** ngamulu nayajkalu!
this(n)-FOC put-2sg-IRR big(n) heavy(n)
'Put those down, they're heavy.'

h. Warnu-ngkujbi, warnu ngunya-ana-**mi**!
tobacco-HAVING(m) tobacco give-1Obj-IRR
'You with the tobacco, give me a cigarette!'

i. Kabija-anyu-**mi**!
smile-2dl-IRR
'Smile, you two!'

As (35g-i) show, /-mi/ used as an imperative can co-occur with overt agreement marking. This is not the case with two morphemes that are used specifically and solely with Imperative force: the Imperative of motion /-yirri/ (glossed 'goIMPV', no other allomorphs, examples in 36), and a negative Imperative, /-ji/ (glossed 'NEGIMPV', no other allomorphs, examples in 37). The Imperative of motion is used when the command involves motion away from the site of commanding ('go and do X'), while the Negative Imperative is used in commands to avoid a certain action or state ('do not X'). In these cases Irrealis /-mi/ is not an option. Thus there are three different possible imperatives formed on the root /ngaj-/ 'look': *ngajami!* 'look!', *ngijiyirri* 'go look!', and *ngijiji* 'don't look!'

(36) a. Ngabarnda ngibi-**yirri**!
shoulder have-goIMPV
'Carry him on your shoulders.'

b. Ngunu buba miji-**yirri**!
DEM(n) fire get-goIMPV
'Go get some firewood!'

c. Warnu miji-yirri ngarru... kunumburra miji-**yirri** ngarru!
tobacco get-goIMPV 1sgACC quickly get-goIMPV 1sgACC
'Get me my tobacco... get it for me quickly!'

d. Inymi-**yirri**!
walk-goIMPV
'Walk!'

e. Ngibi-**yirri**!
take-goIMPV
'Take it!'

(37) a. Ngirribiji-**ji** ngiininiki-rna bangaja-nya-nu!
tell-NEGIMPV this(n)-FOC spit_out-2sg-did
'Don't go telling this secret you just told!'

b. Dakarni dunjumi-**ji**, mankiya-mi dunjumi-**ji**!
leave_it(IMPV) poke-NEGIMPV sit-IRR poke-NEGIMPV
'Leave me alone, stop poking me.'

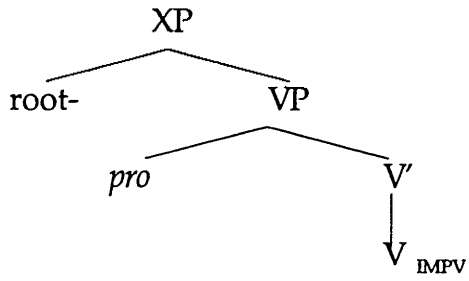
c. Ardu-nga-nama nyambala jajka-rru-mi ijirriyi-**ji**
many-ERG-time DEM(n) request-RRU-IRR rush-NEGIMPV
jangkangkubarni warru-ngku!
one_at_a_time(m) 3pl-will_come
'They're all rushing me. Don't rush, come one at a time!'

d. Warrijmajka jama-rniki-rni juwirri-**ji**!
killer this(m)-FOC follow-NEGIMPV
'He's a killer, don't follow him!'

e. Kunangarru wardka-ju nyamirni jirdirdini, nguku-**ji** wami!
tears fall-do DEM(f) cruel, cry-NEGIMPV stay(IMPV)
'Her tears are falling harshly, stop your crying!'

The inability of /-yirri/ and /-ji/ to co-occur with agreement marking is linked to their ability to trigger harmony in co-verbal roots (see section 4 of chapter 2 for harmony details). Unlike the other core verbs, /-yirri/ and /-ji/ do not occur in structures with agreement heads (AgrS and AgrO). I assume the *pro* object of these imperatives remains in [Spec, VP] and that the core verb is the head syntactically as well as linearly adjacent to the co-verbal root:

(38)



There are other ways of forming imperatives in Jingulu, which are less common than the use of IRR or IMPV marking. One method is to use one of the future tense/aspect markers. In these cases, subject agreement is generally dropped:

(39) a. Kundalnga maya-**rriyi**!
clapstick hit-will_go
'Clap those sticks!'

b. Jandanama ngunya-ana-**ngku**!
more give-1Obj-will_come
'Give me more!'

c. Nginini kurrinyu wilwililii-**rriyi** nginda!
DEM(n) skin hang-will_go DEM(m)
'Go hang this hide up!'

There are also some specifically imperative forms of certain verbs or demonstratives, as demonstrated in (40). These appear in the dictionary in Part II.

(40) a. **Dakarni** jimi-niki-ni banybila-nga-nu!
leave_it(IMPV) this-NIKI-FOC find-1sg-did
'Leave it! I found it.'

b. **Warrungku**, jimi-nika-mbili-rni **warrungku**!
come(IMPVpl) this(n)-LOC-FOC come(IMPVpl)
'Come over here, you lot!'

c. Banybili-ni darrangku karnawunji ardbija **wirri**!
find-FOC tree lancewood mid-distance go(IMPVsg)
'Go find a lancewood over that way.'

2.3 Interpretation of tense

For matrix clauses the interpretation of tense marking is fairly transparent. Labels like 'past', 'present', 'habitual' etc and the glosses of these morphemes adequately connote

their interpretation with respect to utterance time. When two clauses are conjoined, each clause's tense is interpreted independently. The interpretation of tense marking in adjoined clauses, however, is dependent on the tense and aspect of the matrix clause rather than on the utterance time. Some examples are found in the preceding sentences, though a full discussion is found in the treatment of complex sentences in section 2 of chapter 4.

2.4 Verbs suffixed to nominals

It is not uncommon to find suffixes homophonous with certain core verbs on nominal elements. This is not a case of tense agreement as is found in Kayardild (Evans 1996), where tense is distributed to all words within the predicate (including objects), since, as can be seen in (41), the tense marked on the nominal need not agree or even be compatible with that of the matrix verb. Not all possible tense markers are found on nominals, but rather only one of the present, past or future markers, most commonly /-ju/ ('do'), /-nu/ ('did'), /-ka/ ('PSTHAB') or /-yi/ ('FUT'). These morphemes appear to be functioning in these environments as definite deixis markers, with disctinctions according to location with respect to the speaker. The use of past /-nu/ indicates the item is at hand, either visible or recently visible or recently prominent in the discussion (41), and translates as 'this/that X here'. Present tenses indicate proximity to the speaker (42), future morphemes convey a sense of 'up there' or 'up ahead' (43), while the past habitual marker /-ka/ indicates the referent is out of sight, usually 'behind' the speaker in terms of location at a place previously visited by the speaker (44). I have also found a small number of clear example of the Irrealis marker /-mi/ occurring on a nominal (45), which apparently indicates an occurrence of something that is as yet uninstantiated (but usually expected). The motion-neutral markers are usually used unless some movement of the marked item is also implied. This definiteness marking is entirely optional, and follows all nominal marking including case and role.

(41) a. Nyini-**nu** ngarri-nu ngarru-nu ngawu nyini-niki-**nu** bilyingbiyaku karalu.
DEM(n)-did 1sgGEN-n 1sgGEN-n home DEM(n)-NIKI-did red(n) ground
'My home is the red earth here.'

b. Ngayirni babi-rni ngiji-nginya-nu kujarrarna, yaminju-**nu** nyu-rruku
1sgERG older_brother-ERG see-1dlExc-did two shooting_star-did 2sg-went
nyinawarra.
this_way
'My brother and I saw two shooting stars when you'd gone.'

c. Ajuwa ila-nga-nu ngara bundurru-**nu**?
where put-1sg-did 1sgGEN food-did
'Where did I put my food?'

d. Ngini-rni yurlaminku-**nu** ngaja-mi!
DEM(n)-FOC eucalyptus_sp.-did see-IRR
'Look at that Yurlaminku tree there!'

e. Jama-ni-ma jajkalu-**nu** ngarri-na kula ngamula-kaji.
that-FOC-EMPH teenage_boy-did 1sgGEN-m nephew big(m)-through
'That boy is my nephew, the big one.'

f. Nyamina-rni-**nu** bardakurri-rni kaji-ya-ju.
DEM(f)-FOC-did good-f through-3sg-do
'She's well now.'

g. Ngaba-nga-rri dardu larnku karningka nyinda-**nu** wawa wurrajkalu-yimi
have-1sg-will_go many clothes possibly DEM(m)-did child cold-IRR
'I'll take lots of clothes in case the boy gets cold.'

j. Dankaya-rlu-ngurru-ju ankurla banybili-ngurri-yi ngawu-**nu**.
be_lost-ERG?-1plInc-do NEG find-1plInc-FUT camp-did
'We're lost and can't find our way home.'

k. Nyamba-arndi-nayi jama-rniki ila-ni-nku-nu, danmiyila-nu.
DEM-INST-INDEF this(m) put-INV-REFL-did killed(m)-did
'It died of something, something killed it here.'

l. Kirangkuju-**nu** dara-adi buliki-rni dimana-rni.
melon_species-did eat-HAB cow-ERG horse-ERG
'Cows and horses eat this here melon.'

(42) a. Nyanyalu jimi-na dardu ya-ju mamambila-**ju** kararlu.
leaf that(n)-FOC many 3sg-do soft-do ground
'A bed of leaves makes the ground soft.'

b. Dimbu-mbili madaya-**ju**.
sky-LOC cloud-do
'The sky is cloudy'

c. Kujarrarni walanja-**ju** ngaja-rdu karrila, ngawu nyaku wunu.
two goanna-do see-go leave(IRR) home 3dlGEN DEM(n)
'We saw two goannas, but we left them alone, and we saw their hole.'

d. Jama-niki-ni ibilka-**rdi** nyambala kurranjiyaji
that-NIKI-FOC water-HAB DEM(n) shallow
'This water is shallow.'

e. Wuliyija-nga-**rdi** langala ngaja-nga-ju kanjalawurri-darra dardu.
sun-ERG-HAB *PREP* see-1sg-do male_red_kangaroo-pl many
'At sunset one can see many kangaroos.'

f. Nangki-mi karrijbi-**yardu** wijinki-nama. Nangki-mi karrijbi ya-ju-mi
another-v road-go straight-time another-v road 3sg-do-IRR
karlwadaj.
crossed
'One road goes straight. Another crosses it.'

Sentences (42d-e) show the use of the present habitual verb to denote an ongoing presence of the nominal thus marked, while sentence (42f) shows how one of the directional verbs can be used when the definite nominal referent is singled out as moving or going, as does (43c).

(43) a. Ngunu janbara-**ya** jimi-na darrangku-mbili.
DEM(n) nest-FUT this-FOC tree-LOC
'There's a nest up in that tree.'

b. Nguni-**ya** janbara-mbili nyambala marrkulu-darra wurru-ju,
DEM(n)-FUT nest-LOC DEM(n) egg-pl 3pl-do
kujarrarna-kujarrarna.
two-RED
'There are four eggs in that nest.'

c. Jama-baja-**rriyi** malkirrankuj-bala diirdi-wulu-ju ibilka.
that-pl-will_go bachelor-pl(anim) eat-3pl-do water/drink
'Those bachelors up there are going about drinking.'

(44) a. Ngurru-wa ngini-**ka** bardakurru-ngka banybili-ngurri bardakurru
1plInc-will_go this(n)-PSTHAB good(n)-ALL find-1plInc good(n)
kurrindi-ngurri ngawu-rna.
camp-1plInc camp-DAT
'We found a good place (back there) to set up camp.'

b. Kilyirri-ngıni-ju ngarri-ni-nga bardarda-**ka** babirdimi.
dig_up-1dlExc-do 1sgGEN-f-ERG younger_brother-PSTHAB yam
'My little sister back there and I are digging up yams.'

c. Kanjuwa-ma lakarr maja-mi, kunjuwa-ma kararlu-**ka** lakarr maja.
throw-IRR break-IRR throw-IRR ground-PSTHAB break
'Break it, down there on the ground.'

d. Jama-rniki-rni karnanganja-nga baya-**ka** yurnukurdukurdu-warndi.
this(m)-FOC emu-fERG man-PSTHAB foot-INST
'This fellow (back there) got kicked by an emu.'

e. Ngindi-nama wumbuma-yi nganga-rni walanja-rni, wurraka-na-**ka**,
this(m)-time cook-FUT meat-FOC goanna-FOC 3plGEN-m-PSTHAB
ya-yi.
3sg-FUT
'Then he'll cook the goanna meat, for those folks back there, he will.'

(45) a. Ngunu ngaja-mi mayamba-kaja-**mi** nginda.
DEM see-IRR whirlwind-through-IRR DEM(m)
'Look, I think that's really a whirlwind.'

b. Ngini-rniki-rni ngarru-nu kiyala-rni miji-ngurru-nu ngarru
this(n)-FOC 1sgGEN-n nose_bone-FOC get-1plInc-did 1sgGEN
junma-rni-na-**mi**, junma kardakarda.
wallaby-FOC-DAT-IRR wallaby bone
'We got my nose bone here from a wallaby skeleton.'

The appearance of /-mi/ on 'wallaby' in (45b) indicates the wallaby itself was not encountered and slaughtered, and is thus uninstantiated. Rather the bone was found and presumed to have come from a (definite) wallaby.

When words referring to words or languages are marked definite, the past marker /-nu/ is always used:

(46) a. Waja nyama-ni liyijku-**nu**.
what 2sgNOM-FOC name-did
'What's your name?'

b. Arnuku-nya-mi lijku-**nu**.
do_how-2sg-IRR name-did
'What's your name?'

c. Nyamba jimi-na marri[illegible]-**nu**.
what this-FOC word-did
'What's that word?'

d. Nyamba ambaya-nya-ju jimina marrinjku-**nu**? Angkurla larrinka-nga-ju
what speak-2sg-do this word-did NEG understand-1sg-do
nganku.
2sgACC
'What was that word you said? I didn't understand you.'

e. Ayinji-nama dirri-ngurri-yi, waja baka-ngurri-ngki marrinjku-**nu**.
little_while-time eat-1plInc-FUT loosen-1plInc-will_come language-did
'Wait a little while we drink, then we'll talk Jingulu.'

That this use of tense-marking on nominals is deictic and not purely marking definiteness is further suggested by the fact that tense marking may even occur on nominals with unique referents:

(47) a. Ngawu-nu maja-nya-yi-kaji, nyamirni-kaji ngawu-nu maja-nya-yi,
home-did get-2sg-FUT-through 2sgERG-through home-did get-2sg-FUT
Kirnbininku-**nu**.
Kirnbininku-did
'You will come to know this here camp properly now, you'll really get a hold of it, this Kirnbininku.'

b. Bardawurri-mi kararlu ngirribiji-ngirri-wardi ngunungku-nu,
good-v ground tell-1plExc-HAB this_way-did
Jarrimanu-**nu**.
Jarrimanu-did
'We say that it's good ground over there, over Jarrimanu way.'

Tense marking is occasionally used on nominals denoting events in order to locate them in time with respect to other events:

(48) a. Banybili nakalanju ibilkina-**nu**.
find moss rain-did
'Moss is found after the rain.'

b. Langa-jija jama-rniki-rni, angkula langkaj bil-ajka-**nu** langkaj bila-nu
ear-PRIV this(m)-FOC NEG hear-NOML-did hear-did
kiwirra.
none
'He's deaf, unhearing, he heard nothing.'

The use of core verb morphemes as deictic markers on nominals can be explained in terms of the structure of Jingulu clauses. Recall from chapter 4 that overt nominals do not occupy argument positions but are rather phrasal adjuncts to the main clause. These adjunct positions, construed with *pro* in argument positions, can also be occupied by

sentences, as is the case with apparent clausal complements (see section 2.3 of chapter 4). It is conceivable that the use of core verbs as deictic markers on nominals developed from the use of full verbal clauses in adjoined positions. Note from the above examples that the referents of nominals marked with deictic tense are always third person. Words like *ibilkardi* in (42d) might have once been expressed as the clause *ibilka ya-ardi* ('there is (usually) water', *bardardaka* in (44b) from *bardarda yaka* ('my younger sibling was (there)'), and *marrinjkunu* in (46d etc.) from *marrinjku yanu* ('the word did (get said)'). Being adjoined clauses, the tense features of the core verb would be interpreted as relative to the tense features of the matrix (see section 2.2 of chapter 4). Dropping of the third person singular subject marker /ya-/ would have resulted in the core verb (phonologically a suffix) attaching to the free nominal. Such nominals could then have been reanalised as nominals marked with deictic tense.

This same process would be historically responsible for the existence of co-verbal roots ending in /y/ that are equivalent to adjectives, such as /bardakurriy-/ ('be or make good/well') from *bardakurra* ('good/well') by way of *bardakurra ya* +V.

3. Other verbal morphology

The morpheme /-rra/ (allomorphs [-rra] and [-rru], the latter optionally used following /u/) are occasionally found on verbal words. The exact function of these morphemes is unclear, and they could neither be elicited nor explained in such a way so as I could understand the explanation. It appears these could be allomorphs of a single morpheme cognate with Ngumpin-Yaba /-rra/. In Gurindji and Warlpiri this is the centripetal marker, indicating motion away, though in Jingulu, as in Mudburra, it appears in a variety of contexts where this interpretation is not available. In Jingulu these morphemes occur following the verb complex or suffixed to a directional demonstrative, or less commonly attached to a co-verbal root.

(49) a. Jimi-na-rra darrangku wurlu-ju, darrangku wurlu dururd wunyu-ju.
this-DAT-RRA branch 3pl-do branch 3pl poke_out stick_out 3dl-do
'There are branches sticking right out of the water, two branches.'

b. Mindu-wa nginuwa-rra.
1dlInc-will_go this_way-RRA
'We're off this way.'

c. Ngaya-rni nga-rriyi nginuwa-rra kirrawarra.
1sgNOM-FOC 1sg-will_go this_way-RRA North
'I'm heading Northward.'

d. Nginduwa-rra ya-rruku.
this_way-RRA 3sg-went
'There he goes.'

e. Wurrajala-ngku-rru ningki-ngurri-yi barrku, kundalnga-darra.
cold-will_come-RRA chop-1plInc-FUT nulla_nulla clapstick-pl
'When it cools down we'll cut a nulla-nulla and some clapsticks.'

f. Ngarluju-kaji miyi-nginyu-nyu-ju-rru.
even -through hit-1dlExc-2Obj-do-RRA
'We two hit you as punishment.'

g. Darrangku-darra bulubulubi-ya-ju, ibilkini-mbili bulubulubu-rru-ju
tree-pl float-3sg-do water-LOC float-3pl-do
darrangku.
tree
'The logs are floating, floating on the water.'

h. Dunji-nginyu-ku-rra dardu-darra burrbiji.
kiss-1plS3plO-went-RRA many-pl heal(pl)
'We kissed everyone and we all felt better.'

In many of the above sentences (49a-d), an interpretation involving movement away is likely, though in many other cases its function is unclear (49e-h). The centripetal use of /-rra/ may be the source of *(w)ajuwara,* the alternate form to *(w)ajuwa* ('whither'). In (49f-h) one possible explanation is that it indicates a distributive reading, imparting a sense of 'each of' onto the lower arguments in each case ('We hit each of you two', 'each of the logs', and 'we kissed each of them'). All of these sentences would be grammatical and equivalent in meaning without this morpheme. This use of /-rra/ in Jingulu is probalby a calque from Mudburra.

The same morpheme sometimes appears following a co-verbal root within a fully inflected verb word in order to add a syntactic argument to the clause:

(50) a. Marndamarnda maya-rru-ngku-mi!
hand hit-RRA-REFL-IRR
'Clap your hands!'

b. Arduku-nama jaja-rru-mi
last (slow-time) wait-RRA-IRR
'A big mob is waiting for me.'

In this function /-rra/ increases the number of participants in the action. In (50a) 'hand' is added to 'hit yourselves' to give 'hand-hit yourselves', while in (50b) a predicate that is usually intransitive is used transitively. As we saw in section 1 of chapter 4, however, no overt morphology is needed to alter the transitivity or argument structure of Jingulu verbal clauses. The use of /-rra/ here is entirely optional.

Chapter 7
Texts

The texts in this chapter were all collected by me during the dry seasons of 1995 and 1996. A great many of them are recountings of the days activities, as even the most fluent Jingulu speakers were not able to recall or recount stories fluently in Jingulu. Almost of the speakers who contributed material to this dissertation were fluent conversationalists in Jingulu (albeit to varying degrees), and some conversations are included here among the texts. Other texts are explanations of cultural, zoological or botanical materials which I gathered in the course of eliciting vocabulary items or in the course of travelling with Jingulu speakers. There were some words I was not able to make out clearly or get speakers to recognise later. These are marked with question marks in the glosses.

Where English or Kriol words, phrases or sentences are used in a text, these are italicised. Unless noted immediately following the title, the text is in the Warranganku dialect of Jingulu.

1. The people and their land

1.1 Jingilirna Marrinjku *(Story of the Jingili)*

- told by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

Jama-niku-la-wa ya-marri marlarluka-kaji-mbili-rni, Waramunga-rni
this(m)-pl-will_go 3sg-did(dist) old_men-through-LOC-FOC Waramungu-ERG
ngini-mbili-ni.
that(n)-LOC-FOC
'These Waramungu people came right here to where our old folk were.'

Angkurla wajmaman Waramunga-ni ngini-ngka-kaji-rni, Jingila-la ngarnu,
NEG white_man? Waramungu-ERG hither-through-FOC Jingili_person-pl 3sgACC
ngini-niki-rni.
this(n)-FOC
'Not white folks but Waramungu came into this Jingili people's country.'

Jalyangku ya-jiyimi, Warumunga-rni, marlarluka-rna.
today 3sg-come Warumungu-FOC old_men-DAT
'Today they still come, the Waramungu, to the old people's (country).'

Angkurla ya-marlu Warumunga-rni nginimbili-rni.
NEG 3sg-came(did) Warumungu-ERG here-FOC
'The Waramungu didn't come a long time ago.'

Ya-marri nguna-ngka jimi-nama Warumunga junungku
3sg-did(dist) DEM(n)-ALL that(n)-time Warumungu straight_ahead
wajima- marri Barnkubarnku-ngka.
watch(Kr)-did(dist) Banka-Banka-ALL
'Recently the Waramungu came straight up here by Banka-Banka way and the people watched them coming.'

Jungkurrakuru-ngku *wajima-* marri junungku-nama Ngirdbaka.
distant_place-will_come watch(Kr)-did(dist) straight_ahead-time *place*
'From way up that way they watched them coming right through Ngirdbaka.'

Jingila ya-marri ngini-mbili-nama.
Jingili_person 3sg-did(dist) here-time
'jingili people were living all through here then.'

Nungunjayi ya-marri ngini-mbili-nama - *langa* Marlinja, Warranganku-na-ngka
3sg-did(dist) here-time P Marlinja Beetaloo-DAT-ALL
Jingila, *Newcastle* -na ngaji-nga Jingila.
Jingili Newcastle-FOC see-FOC? Jingili
'They lived all over these parts - at Marlinja, right up Beetaloo country was Jingili, Newcastle was also Jingili.'

Ya-marri jijingkuraka, Warranganku-ma jirdbila-ka-nama.
3sg-did(dist) Beetaloo-EMPH stand-PSTHAB-time
'This was the country where all our people lived then.'

Marlarluka ya-marri Kuwirrini bininja anyma-marri nginda-niki.
old_men 3sg-came(dist) W_Mudburra man walk-did(did) this(m)
'A long time ago the old Western Mudburra folk came.'

Jalyalyaku-ngka-nu awarnanani, Kuwarrangu, minduwa-rdi Kuwarrangu-kaji.
today(RED)-ALL-did ??? Kuwarrangu this_way-HAB Kuwarrangu-through
'Nowadays we are all Kuwarrangu (mixed Mudburra and Jingili), now we're really Kuwarrangu.'

Angkula marlarluka-ni-mbili ambaya-marru Kuwarrangu-nu, kuwarrku.
NEG old_men-FOC-LOC speak-did(dist) Kuwarrangu-did none
'Kuwarrangu was never spoken in the old folks' camp, not at all.'

Jingila nyambala ngini-ngki-marriyi, marlarluka-rni.
Jingili_person DEM(n) here-ALL-did(dist) old_men-FOC
'Just Jingili came to these parts.'

Ngini-na ngaji-na-ni, Marlinja-na ngaji-na, Warranganku-na ngaji-na.
that(n)-DAT see-DAT-FOC Marlinja-DAT see-DAT Beetaloo-DAT see-DAT
'All the way from Marlinja to Beetaloo.'

Kuwirrinji wanyma-marri nginduwu-ngkami, anyma-marri ngunya-kaji
W_Mudburra walk-did(dist) this_way-ABL walk-did(dist) give-through
ya-ni-nki-marri lambarra ngaja-marri, lambarra-ni.
3sg-INV-REFL-did(dist) daughter-in-law see-did(dist) daughter-in-law-FOC
'The Western Mudburra came up from over here, came up and the people swapped daughters-in-law (the Mudburra and Jingili men gave one another daughters in law).'

Ngunya-marri.
give-did(dist)
'They gave them (in marriage).'

Nginda amanjamanja milawuki-ni milikini-wa amanjamanja.
that(m) children ??? ??? children
'Then these folk had children.'

Kuwirrini darra-kaji ambay-ardi, Kuwarrangu-kaji.
W_Mudburra eat-through speak-HAB, Kuwarrangu-through
'Now the Western Mudburra live with us (eat and talk with us), we're properly mixed.'

Bininja-ala wurru-mardimi ngini-ngka-ki, Kuwirrinji-darra, wurru-mardimi,
man-pl 3pl-came(dist) this-ALL-DISTHAB W_Mudburra-pl 3pl-came(dist)
Kuwarrangu-bala wurru-mardimi nginda-niki
Kuwarrangu-pl 3pl-came(dist) this(m)
'Western Mudburra men kept on coming, mixing in and making more Kuwarrangu people here.'

Biwurla mindi-ka, ngindi-nu Kuwarrangu-bala-rni.
son that(m)-did Kuwarrangu-pl-FOC
'The children, they were Kuwarrangu.'

Miji-wurru-marda amanjamanja.
get-3pl-came(dist)? children
'They would have children.'

Kuwarranga-kaji ambaya-ardi.
Kuwarrangu-through speak-HAB
'They speak thoroughly mixed Kuwarrangu.'

Waja-ni jima-kaju marrinjku-marri, kungka marrinju, kungka
what-FOC that(n)-through language-did(dist) different(m) language different(m)
marrinju: Jingila, Kuwirrinji, Wilminji.
language Jingili_person W_Mudburra Warlmanpa
'Once around these parts there were separate languages, different tongues: the Jingulu language, Western Mudburra, and Warlmanpa.'

Waja jima-kaji marrinjku-marri, kumarringuwal mayi, imbiyi-mindu-wardi: Jingulu,
what that(n)-through language-did(dist) speak-1dlInc-HAB Jingulu
Kuwarrangu, Warlmanku imbiyi-mindu-wardi-kaji.
Kuwarrangu Warlmanpa speak-1dlInc-HAB-through
'Then they became mixed so now we speak: Jingulu, Kuwarrangu and Warlmanpa we speak now.'

Ambaya-ardi-kaji amanjamanja-kaji, nginda-kina-mbili-kina.
speak-HAB-through children-through that(m)-NEGINDEF-LOC-NEGINDEF
'No children here speak it now.'

Mindiyila biji-mindu-nku-ju marrinjku Jingulu, biji-mindu-nku-ju mindiyila.
1dlIncNOM chat-1dlInc-REFL-do language Jingulu chat-1dlInc-do 1dlIncNOM
'We're chatting in Jingulu now, we are.'

1.2 Warranganku (I) *(Beetaloo)*

- told by Clancy Bostock Jangalinginja

Clancy's Jingulu was a little rusty, and Jumbo Collins fed Clancy words when he could not remember them himself.

Jingila-rdarra mindi-ka-rru Warranganku ya-marri, Jingila-ma-rni nyaniyindi.
Jingili_person-pl 1dlInc-PSTHAB-RRA Beetaloo 3sg-did(dist) Jingili-EMPH-FOC ???
'We are here at Beetaloo where the old Jingili used to come.'

Ini-mbila-li ya-marra marlarluka-rni ngunu-mbili.
DEM-LOC-? 3sg-did(dist) old_man(pl)-FOC DEM-LOC
'There they'd go, the old people. '

Ambaya-marri jurrkulu-mbili amba-ki-rni wurluwa-rri kujika
speak-did(dist) creek-LOC speak-PSTHAB-FOC ???-will_go song
'They'd do business by the creek: sing initiation songs.'

nyinuwa-rri nyirrma-nga-ka jaburra jimi-ni *fire-shed.*
this_Way-RRA make-1sg-PSTHAB before this(n)-FOC fire_shed
'I lived in the fire shed when I started here.'

Wubala nga-rriyi nyirrma-ja amba: karlirrungu-ma-yi kangku-ru
bloodwood 1sg-will_go make-do PURP speak hill-EMPH-FUT grandfather-RRA
kungka-kungka,
another-RED
'While I'm whittling at the bloodwood I'll talk about my grandfather's days on that hill up there.'

kanyburru darra-kaji nyirruwa-li nyindi-nika-lu... dirri-ngirri imbi-nginya-kaju.
beef eat-through this_way-RRA? this(m)-FOC eat-1plExc talk-1plExc-through
'Eating beef and chatting away'

Ngaya kurlukurla (w)urrikji-na, kuku-nga ngarru ngawu Kulaja-ni,
1sgNOM small(m) lead-1Obj grandmother-fERG 1sgACC home Kulaja-FOC
'I was brought here as a child, my grandmother brought from Kulaja.'

kuku ngawu ngirni-niki-ni mangku-nu ngawu kuku ngawu nganku.
grandmother-ERG home this(n)-FOC sit-did home grandmother-ERG home 2sgACC
'My grandma brought me to where you sat down.'

Kuku mindika warrka-rru-marri nganku warrki-nu.
grandmother 1dlIncACC own-RRA-did(dist) 2sgACC own-did own-did
'Kulaja was our nanna's country.'

Nyamba anyma-marrimi yunku-warndi dilu-rra-ngka-mi yini-ngka-ki,
DEM(n) walk-went(dist) foot-INST flame-RRA-ALL-IRR DEM(n)-ALL-PSTHAB
Marlinja-ngkami yini-ngka-ki.
Marlinja-ABL DEM(n)-ALL-PSTHAB
'The old folk came here from Marlinja back there on foot.'

Kurrubardi-rna, kiyirru-rna binymala ningki-marri nyini-nika-la, nyini-nika-mi,
boomerang-DAT knife-DAT stone_blade chop-did(dist) this(n)-IRR
nyini-nika-la.
this(n)-pl
'To make boomerangs and knives, and stone blades too.'

Kuka-ka-la, nyini-ni ka-ju marlarluka-ni, jukurla ngini-mbili
grandfather-PSTHAB-pl DEM(n)-FOC 3sg-do old_man(pl)-FOC stay here
ngawu-mbili mankiya-marri.
home-LOC sit-did(dist)
'My grandfathers there, they all stay here, camp here, then they made this their home.'

Maya-marri ngirrika-marri marlarluka nyindi-baji-mbili,
kill-did(dist) hunt-did(dist) old_man(pl) DEM(m)-pl-LOC
'They would go hunting, those old people,'

Karnawunji-mbili ka-marri ngawu nyinuwa, kalarra anu-marri mankiyi ini-mbili
lancewood-LOC 3sg-did(dist) home this_way West ???-did(dist) sit here
junjunju ina-ngka.
all_day thither
'They would go hunting, into the lancewoods out West, stay a while, they'd be out there all day.'

Kurrubardu marlarluku-ni nangka-marri warridirli nangka-marri,
boomerang old_man-ERG chop-did(dist) Number_7 chop-did(dist)
'Olden time people would make boomerangs and number seven boomerangs,'

ngirrika-marri nangka-marri kurrubardu warridirli nyamba-nyamba maja-marri.
hunt-did(dist) chop-did(dist) boomerang Number_7 DEM(n)-RED get-did(dist)
'then go hunting with the boomerangs they'd made.'

Dindija-marri ankarringka minuwa-ngka kuluwarru-ka-rlu
crawl-did(dist) wallaby this_way-ALL bucket_shovel-PSTHAB-FOC
jiji-ka mayi.
wait_for- PSTHAB vegetable
'They'd wait for wallabies to crawl into their bucket shovels for grass and food.'

1.3 Warranganku (II) *(Beetaloo)*

-told by Kijilikarri Jumbo Collins Jamirringinja (JC) and Clancy Bostock Jangalinginja (CB).

JC: Ambaya-mi! Ambaya-mi! Nyama-rlu, Jangalinginja.
talk-IRR talk-IRR 2sgNOM-FOC *skin*
'Talk! Talk! You, Jangalinginja.'

CB: Nyamba-na-kaji?
what-DAT-through
'What about, then?'

JC: Amba nya-miki karriba-la Jurlinginja-la wunya-miki
PURP2sg-came whitefella-pl *skin-* pl 3dl-came
'About how you white Jurlinginjas came, how those two came.'

CB: Wunyiyirla Jurlinginja *an* Ngamana ya-miki lalija jalyangku, *arlibala..*
3dlNOM *skin* and *skin* 3sg-came tea today early
'Those two, Jurlinginja and Naaninginju brought tea early this morning.'

Ya-miki Marlinja-ngka. Miki-nginyu-nu *yuna* rli Jabarda, Kijirrikawi,
3sg-came Marlinja-ALL came-1dlExc-did 2dl-FOC*skin name*
Jumbo Collins.
name
'They came do Marlinja. We two came too, (me and) Jabarda, Kijirrikawi, Jumbo Collins that is.'

Ngirriki kurru-nu.
hunting 2pl-did
'You mob hunted.'

JC: Ngirrirriki, karninyinji-rna nga-nu.
hunting(RED) bustard-DAT 1sg-did
'We Hunted for turkeys.'

CB: Angkurla-kaju banybili-wurru-nu jangkubarni.
NEG-through find-3pl-did one
'They didn't even find one.'

JC: Kuwarrku, kuwarrku. Jalyangku-rru dirri-ngurru-ju *diyina-* kaji.
none none now-RRA eat-1plInc-do dinner-through
'Nothing, at all. Now we're having lunch.'

Dina- ngkami-rni nyinuwa *alright.*
dinner-ABL-FOC this_way OK
'After lunch we'll go off this way.'

CB: Ajuwa-kaji?
where_to-through
'Where to?'

JC: Warranganku-ngka.
Beetaloo-ALL
'To Beetaloo (homestead).'

Ningki-mindi-yi wangkurra, lurrbu ngurru-rru-ngku, nginuwa-kaji
chop-1dlInc-FUT sugarbag return 1plInc-RRA-will_come this_way-through
ngurru-wa ngirriki.
1plInc-will_go hunting
'We'll cut a sugarbag then come back, then we'll go off hunting this way.'

Marangma-rna. Marndaj?
gum-DAT OK
'For gum. OK?'

Lurrbu-nama ngurru-wa kirrirdi-mbili, ya-marri ili kirrirdi.
return-time 1plInc-will_go Kirrirdi-LOC 3sg-did(dist) put Kirrirdi
'On the way back we'll go to Kirrirdi, like they used to do.'

Lurrbu ngurrurrungku, *kadima*-kaji murdika-arndu.
return tomorrow, got'im-through car-INST
'On the way back through tomorrow we'll get him in the car.'

Ngurru-wa-kaji Marlinja-rra.
1plInc-will_go-through Marlinja-RRA
'W'll go right on up to Marlinja.'

Jalyangkukini *langa* Balardku jama-ni.
today- P Balardku that(m)-FOC
'To Balardku today.'

Lurrbu-kaji nyarri karlarra Marlinja-rra.
return-through 2sg-will_go West Marlinja-RRA
'Then we'll go right on out West to Marlinja.'

Ngayarni nga-rriyi kaakuwi.
1sgERG 1sg-will_go fish
'I'll go fishing.'

Banybila-nga-rriyu kurna ngardajkalu, *kamara.*
find-1sg-will_go REL big(n) camera
'We'll go looking for that big camera too.'

Miyi-ngirri-nu, wardamanmarra.
kill-1plExc-did male_kangaroo
'Where we killed that male red kangaroo.'

CB: Idajku?
yesterday
'Yesterday?'

JC: Yuwayi. Ngamurla jiyi maa.
yes big(m) DEM(anaph) EMPH
'Yeah. It was a big one too.'

Ngini-nika-lu kanyburru dirri-ngurru-ju, jima-rlu nganga.
this(n)-FOC meat eat-1plInc-do meat that(n)-FOC meat
'That's the meat we're eating now, that meat.'

RP[1]: Kulumindini-ngkami ngurri-jiyimi Warranganku-ngka, ngawu nganku-nu.
Elliott-ABL 1plInc-came Beetaloo-ALL home 2sgGEN-n
'We came from Elliott to Beetaloo, your home.'

CB: Ngarru-nu ngawu, marndaj!
1sgGEN-n home OK
'My home, right!'

1.4 Pharlap's Story

- told by Dilkbarri Pharlap Dixon Jalyirringinja

This text is in the Kuwarangu dialect of Jingulu.

Ngaya ambaya-nga-yi Jingulu-warndi. Ngaya-rna kanya yaba-nga Jingila,
1sgNOM speak-1sg-FUT Jingulu-INST 1sgNOM-DAT uncle man-FOC? Jingili
ambaya-nga Jingulu ngayarni.
speak-1sg Jingulu 1sgERG
'I'll talk in Jingulu. My uncle (mother's brother) was a Jingili, and that's why I speak Jingulu.'

Ngaya-rna kanya yaba-nga Jingila ngaba-rna-na marrimi wawa-rni
kurlukurla-rni Warranganku-ngka,
1sgNOM-DAT uncle man-FOC? Jingili have-1Obj-did? went(dist)
boy-ERG small(m)-ERG Beetaloo-ALL
'My uncle, the Jingili man, took me as a young boy to Beetaloo,'

[1] Ngarrandarra Rob Pensalfini Jurlinginja (the author of this dissertation).

binjiya-nga-marri ngayarni Jingila-kaji nga-mi.
grow-1sg-did(dist) 1sgNOM-FOC Jingili_person-through 1sg-IRR
'where I grew up like a Jingili.'

Ngaya-rni nga-rriyi inuwa-rra kirrawarra. Nayurni kirrirni aba-marrimi
1sgNOM-FOC 1sg-will_go this_way-RRA North woman catfish have-went(dist)
yana-marrimi ngirri-nga-ki Marlinja-ka.
???-went(dist) hunt?-1sg-PST(dist)? Marlinja-PSTHAB
'Then we went North to look for women and for fish, to Marlinja back there.'

Jimi-bili bininja Warranganka, Jingulu-kaya ambaya-nga-ju.
this-dl(anim) man of_Beetaloo(m) Jingulu-? speak-1sg-do
'These Beetaloo Jingili, and me speaking Jingulu with them. '

Ambaya-nga-ju Jawlman, Minkirringa.
speak-1sg-do Jawalman Minkirringa
'Then I spoke some Jawalman and Minkirringi.'

Jingulu-kaji buwarr nga-ju ngamirni nayurni-ni.
Jingulu-through noise 1sg-do DEM(f) woman-FOC
'And I spoke jingulu right through with those women.'

Imbila-ma nga-ma-yi bininja, Warranganka ngini-mbili.
chase-EMPH 1sg-EMPH-FUT man of_Beetaloo(m) DEM-LOC
'We would chase them, we men, the men of Beetaloo that were there.'

Ningki-mayi-mi kurrubardu, ngirrma-nga-yi-ma warridirli, nganga
chop-hit-IRR boomerang make-1sg-FUT-EMPH Number_7 meat
miyi-nga-yi-ma walanja, nyinawurdini.
kill-1sg-FUT-EMPH goanna echidna
'We made boomerangs and number sevens, hunted goanna and echidna. '

1.5 Kirnbininku

- told by Miminyngali Eileen Peterson-Cooper Nangalinginju

This text is in the Kuwarrangu dialect of Jingulu.

Wanyma-marri, wanyma-marri ngawu-mbili, wanyma-marri ngarru lilirni, kirda.
walk-did(dist) walk-did(dist) home-LOC walk-dist(dist) 1sgGEN aunt father
'My aunt and father came to this, their home, long ago.'

Wanyma-marri ngindi-kaji lurrbu-kaji ya-rruku marru-ngka.
walk-came(dist) that(m)-through return-through 3sg-went town-ALL
'They'd come here then go right back to town.'

Im bin workin langa Newcastle-mbili-kaju waark-ka-ma, kuki-rni *way*
He PST work P Newcastle-LOC-through work-PSTHAB-EMPH grandpa-FOC way
bundurru wurraku.
food 3plACC
'They worked up at Newcastle, my maternal grandfather's country, for food for themselves.'

Umbu-mi *ɔrbin-* mbili, *damper*, mami, kandirri.
cook-IRR oven-LOC damper vegetables damper
'They'd cook damper and vegetables in the oven.'

Kirda-ni mindi *warkin lang taim 1 year, 2 year, 3 year an imbin bugad ap,*
father-FOC ? workin long time 1 year 2 year 3 year and he_was buggered up
ngaya-rna-ni kirda-ni.
1sgNOM-DAT-FOC father-FOC
'Father worked there for a long time, maybe three years, and it buggered him up, my dad.'

Wen I bin kam na I bin lil gel laik Donna sais. Garrim ngabulu *na.*
When I PST come now I PST girl like Donna size Have breast now
'When I came here I was a little girl, about Donna's size. I'm a woman now (I have breasts now).'

Ngawu-nu maja-nya-yi-kaji, nyamirni-kaji ngawu-nu maja-nya-yi,
home-did get-2sg-FUT-through 2sgERG-through home-did get-2sg-FUT,
Kirnbininku-nu.
Kirnbininku-did
'You will come to know this here camp properly now, you'll really get a hold of it, this Kirnbininku.'

Finish na, mai Dad bin go aslip langa Barnkbili-rni, karalu-mbili-rni
Finish now my father PST go asleep PREP Barnkibili-FOC ground-LOC-FOC
im jes finish.
he just finish
'He'd dead now, my father died at Barnkibili.'

I jes splain dis wawa-la ngarru-nu-darra, wawa-la-darra, baya *an* nayurni.
I just explain this child-pl 1sgGEN-n?-pl child-pl-pl man and woman
'I'm just explaining to these children, these boys and girls.'

I bin tellim na luk- ba-rru ngunungku ngarri-nu-warndi Jingulu-warndi.
I PST tell now look-EMPH-RRA this_way 1sgGEN-n-INST Jingulu-INST
'I'm telling them like this, in my Jingulu language.'

Nayukuku baya ngarru ngarri-na.
woman(pl) man 1sgGEN 1sgGEN-m
'My boys and girls.'

Ngirru-rruku ngawu-ngka Kirnbininku-ka *part of it.*
1plExc-went home-ALL Kirnbininku-PSTHAB part of it
'We went to our home here, Kirnbininku back there, this is part of it.'

Ngini-niki-rni angkurla Kirnbininku karlarra *wibin kamap* kiwirra.
this(n)-FOC NEG Kirnbiniku West we PST come_up none
'This is not Kirnbininku where we came up to the West, no.'

Nginiwara Kirnbininku-nu karlawarra. Kararlu-ni ya-ju *ooooh* jurrkulu-nu
this_way Kirnbininku-did East ground-FOC 3sg-do creek-did
ngardajkalu.
big(n)
'This is Kirnbininku back here, this way to the East. This land where this here big creek is.'

Angkurla *wibin kamap* kiwirra.
NEG we PST come_up none
'Not where we came up, no.'

Ngini-niki-rni *im paat of it* Kirnbininku ngini-niki-rni
this(n)-FOC it part of it Kirnbininku this(n)-FOC
'This is part of Kirnbininku.'

Ngini-niki-rni ngarru ngawu ngarru-nu; garru-nu ngarru ngini-niki-rni.
this(n)-FOC 1sgGEN home 1sgGEN-n 1sgGEN-n 1sgGEN this(n)-FOC
'This is my home; this is mine.'

Ibilka-rni kiwirra-kaji.
water-FOC none-through
'There is no water here (now).'

Ngini-niki-rni ya-nu..... ngardajkalu ibilka.
this(n)-FOC 3sg-did big(n) water
'There was a lot of water here before.'

Ngini-rniki awu-mbili-rni.
this(n) home-LOC-ERG
'My home, this is.'

Ngarri-na ngarru ngawu.
1sgGEN-m 1sgGEN home
'My home.'

Kirda ngarri-na wanyma-marri ngini-mbili.
father 1sgGEN-m walk-did(dist) here
'My father came here long ago.'

Kangkuya ngarru ngarri-na.
grandpa 1sgGEN 1sgGEN-m
'And my grandfather.'

Wiwirni wanyma-nga-marri ngini-mbili-rni, binymirrini.
child-f walk-1sg-came(dist) here-FOC girl
'I came here when I was a little girl, very young.'

1.6 Jurrkurlumbili (At the Creek)

- told by Miminyngali Eileen Peterson-Cooper Nangalinginju

This text is in the Kuwarrangu dialect of Jingulu. It was recorded as we walked around a dry creek bed.

Yunku ngini-niki, ngini-niki jawurr ngini-niki yunku.
footprint this(n) this(n) tail? this(n) foot
'Here's some tracks, this is his tail and this is his foot.'

Nganga bardawurra.
meat good(m)
'Good meat.'

Ngini-niki-rni ibilka ya-marriyimi ngawu-mbili-rni, ngardajkalu.
this(n)-FOC water 3sg-went(dist) home-LOC-FOC big(n)
'There was once water running here at our camp, lots of it.'

Jalyangku-nama-kaji *no* ibilka-kaji *nau, najing*-kaji, kiwirra-kaji.
today-time-through NEG water-through now nothing-through none-through
'Right now there's no water here, nothing at all.'

Kurranjku-kaji... nginiwa ya-rruku.
dry(n)-through this_way 3sg-went
'It's really dry... it (the goanna) went off this way.'

Ngardajkalu marndamarnda ngardarda ngirribiji-ngirri-wardi.
big(n) hand crab tell-1plExc-HAB
'We call it [crab claw] a 'crab's big hand'.'

Karalu maja-nu larlu biji, darra-nu.
ground get-did bail eat-did
'The ground had swallowed up this bottle.'

Ibilka-kaji ila-marru jawaranya-mbili.
water-through put-did(dist) vessel-LOC
'It was full of stagnant water.'

1.7 Wijira Ngarrabanka *(Rough Country Dreaming)*

- told by Miminyngali Eileen Peterson-Cooper Nangalinginju and Bobby Cooper

Eileen (EPC) here speaks in the Kuwarrangu dialect of Jingulu with Kriol mixed in, as does Bobby (BC) most of the time in this text. Bobby occasionally lapses into Mudburra, and uses Mudburra words and constructions in Jingulu. Wijira is a billabong some 12km SSE of Elliott.

EPC: Wijira Ngarrabanka ngurra-miki biyawuya ningki, buna.
Wijira Ngarrabanka 1plInc-came rough_ground chop ash
'We came to Wijira and Ngarrabanka, the rough ground, to cut some (bark for) ashes.'

Kiwirra-kaji ngaja-nga-nu nangka-nga-miki buna.
nothing-through see-1sg-did chop-1sg-came ash
'I had none left so I came to chop some (bark for) ash.'

BC: Ngaba ngamurlu nya-mardu biyawuya-ma, ngamba-rni-ni langa kaaku-rni.
have big(n) 2sg-go rough_ground-EMPH DEM(m)-FOC-ERG P grandpa-FOC
'You had to go over a lot of rough ground to get to Granddad's country.'

Nyama *garra* biyawuya, kujika.
2sgNOM have rough_ground song
'Here you've got the rough ground dreaming, the initiation song.'

EPC: *Fram* Jibarlu *rait thru langa Namba 4 (gavment bore), rait thru ta*
from Number_3 right through P Number_4 government bore right through to
Ibidan. Fram Ibidan, Karrkarrkurraja.
Eva_Downs from Eva_Downs Anthony's_Lagoon
'From Number 3 raight through to number 4, right through to Eva Downs. From Eva Downs, Anthony's Lagoon.'

BC: Amba-nginyu-wa wurru-wardi Kujika. [sings]
speak-1dlExc-will_go 3pl-HAB initiation
'We'll tell you about the initiations they perform.'

I got dat kantri langa Jibarlu *way. Wi kam bak langa* Nalanangarrinjimirli -
I got that country P Jibarlu way we come back P Nalanangarrinjimirli
dat karriba neim Nyilyi, Kunabulu na (big leik).
that white_person name Nyilyi, Kunabulu now big lake
'I have the country around Number 3 bore. We came back by Nalanangarrinjimirli - whose European name is Nyilyi, Kunabulu (the big lake).'

EPC: Jingulu-warndi ambaya-nga-ju kurraku wawala.
Jingulu-INST speak-1sg-do 2plACC child-pl
'I'm speaking Jingulu to you children.'

Ngurra-miki, ngurra-miki ngawu-ngka Wijira-ngka, ningki-ngurru-nu bunu,
1plInc-came 1plInc-came home-ALL Wijira-ALL chop-1plInc-did ash
nayu-urlu binymirrirni-wurlu.
woman-dl girl-dl
'We came, we came to this camp, to Wijira, where we chopped (bark for) ashes, we two women and you two girls.'

Duku-ngurru-ju, imbiyi *langa speaker.*
sit-1plInc-do speak P speaker
'We're sitting, talking into the speaker.'

Wijira-mbili duku-ngurru-ju, imbiyi-kaji buyawuya.
Wijira-LOC sit-1plInc-do speak-through rough_ground
'We're sitting at Wijira talking all about the rough country.'

Ngini-niki-rni ngawu-nu buyawuya, amba nginyi-wurru-wardi Kujika.
this(n)-FOC home-did rough_ground PURP sing-3pl-HAB Initiation
'They come here to this rough country dreaming to sing Initiation songs.'

An dat olman, yuno olman Nuggett [Collins] im faldaun? Dat im nau wen im
And that old man you know old man Nuggett he fall down that him now when he
singin Kujika nganya-ardi, kujika *wen im bin liv.*
sing song sing-HAB song when he PST live
'And that old man, you know that old man Nuggett who died? That's his country there where they sing that initiation song, he sang it when he was alive.'

Ngarri-na kirda, *olman Dick [Kingston]. Dat tubala gat dis end dat* kujika.
1sgGEN-m father old_man Dick Kingston that 2_people got this end that song
All roun ere.
all round here
'My father, that old man Dick. The two of them [Nuggett and Dick] own this end of the Initiation line. All of this area here.'

Nginyi-wurru-marriyi-mi *tubala,* kirda ngaanku ngarri-na ngarru kirda marluka.
sing-3pl-went(dist) 3dlNOM father 2sgGEN 1sgGEN-m 1sgGEN father old_man
'Those two would sing them, your father and mine.'

Ngini-niki-rni ngawu-nu Wijira, duku-ngurru-ni imbiyi-kaji ngurru-nu ngawu-mbili
this(n)-FOC home-did Wijira sit-1plInc-did? speak-through 1plInc-did home-LOC
amba nginyi-wurru-wardi Kujika buyawuya.
PURP sing-3pl-HAB Initiation rough_ground
'Here at Wijira where we are sitting and talked about this place is where they'd sing the rough country Initiation songs.'

Ngini-niki-rni *rait thru langa Anthony's Lagoon.*
this(n)-FOC right through P Anthony's Lagoon
'Here right through to Anthony's Lagoon.'

Jimi-niki-rni angkurla *Anthony's Lagoon,* ngirribiji-ngirri-wardi Jingilu-warndi-ni
this(n)-FOC NEG Anthony's Lagoon, tell-1plExc-HAB Jingulu-INST-FOC
Karrkarrkurraja. [sings]
Anthony's Lagoon
'Not really "Anthony's Lagoon", in Jingulu we call it "Karrkarrurraja".'

Bidbidarra ngini-niki-rni umangku-darra.
coolibah this(n)-FOC dreaming-pl
'The coolibahs here have dreamings associated with them.'

1.8 Karnawuna (Lancewood Dreaming)

- told by Miminyngali Eileen Peterson-Cooper Nangalinginju

This text is in the Kwuarrangu dialect of Jingulu. The area being discussed runs from Marrirni flat to Three-mile bore to Number Eight bore.

Ngini-niki ya-ju karnawuna ngardajkalu *langa* Marrirni-mbili-rni ngunungku
this(n) 3sg-do lancewood big(n) P Marrirni-LOC-FOC this_way
karrawarra.
East
'That big lancewood dreaming runs this way, East, from Marrirni. '

Jirrkilimi ya-ju ngunungku *im ran* ngunungku *rait thru langa dat rabish damp, an*
gully 3sg-do this_way he run this_way right through P that rubbish dump, and
langa dat tri-mail na, ngunungku karlarra *rait thru dere na,*
P that three-mile now this_way West right through there now
mangkuru-ngku-kaji.
plain-ALL-through
'The creek runs this way by the rubbish dump, up to 3-mile bore, and West right through into the plain.'

Lilirni ngarru ngarri-nini wardka-nu Kajarrayin-mbili.
aunt 1sgGEN 1sgGEN-f fall-did Katherine-LOC
'My aunt died at Katherine.'

Wardka-nu ngawu-mbili ungka-mbili karalu-mbili wardka-nu ngarri-nini-ni
fall-did home-LOC another-LOC ground-LOC fall-did 1sgGEN-f-FOC
lilirni-ni, ikirdidi-ni - ungka-mbili karalu-mbili.
aunt-FOC poor-f another-LOC ground-LOC
'My aunt (custodian of the Karnawuna dreaming) died in another place, a foreign home, poor woman.'

Karnawunji amba lilirni wardka-nu karalu-mbili kungka-mbili.
lancewood PURP aunt fall-did ground-LOC another-LOC
'The Lancewood dreaming is for the aunt who died in another country.'

1.9 Imarnnga *(Fly Dreaming, Longreach)*
- told by Miminyngali Eileen Peterson-Cooper Nangalinginju

This text is in the Kuwarrangu dialect of Jingulu.

Imarnnga-mbili *tu sista for dat olman,* Yabandakarri: Karnangkurrungali, Nyililinjini.
fly-LOC two sisters for that old_man Dick_Kingston *name name*
'The fly dreaming belongs to old Dick Kingston's two sisters: Karnangkurrungali and Nyililinjini.'

Lala ngarru, *tu* lilirni ngarru.
father 1sgGEN 2 aunt 1sgGEN
'My father and my two aunts.'

Amba ngawu-nu wurraku Ijibarda - Kuninga ngawu-rni wurraku.
PURP home-did 3plGEN Longreach bee home-LOC 3plGEN
'Because Longreach is their place - the fly's place is theirs.'

Burdbu-ngirri-wardi wawa, wurlarra, jurrku-wardi, *maibi* karlarra *langa* Dakuraku-ngka, *or langa* Yarriliny.
send-1plExc-HAB child South? center-HAB perhaps West P *place*--ALL or P *place* (yellow_sand)
'We send the children South, or into the middle there, perhaps West to Dakura or to the yellow sand country out Wave Hill way.'

Bujbu-ngirri-wardi wawa-rni jalyamingka-rni, dabili-wurru ngurrarru.
send-1plExc-HAB child-FOC young-FOC hold-3pl morning
'We send the young children off there where they stay until morning.'

Nginiwa karlarra, *maibi Tennant Creek maibi* Warranganku.
this_way West maybe Tennant Creek maybe Beetaloo
'Off to the West, possibly to Tennant Creek or perhaps to Beetaloo.'

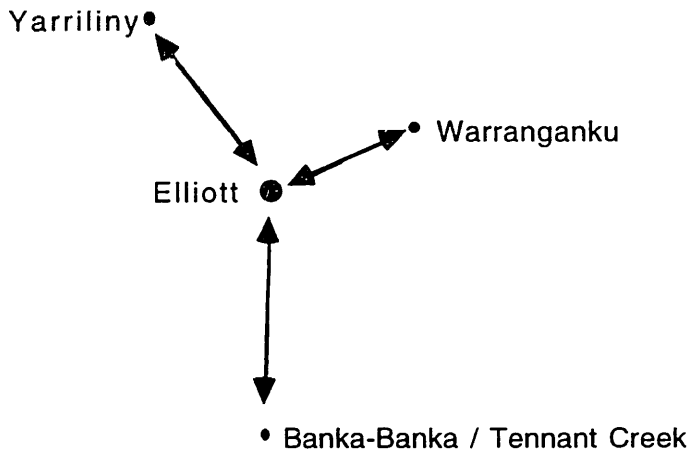
Jalyamingka amba dabili-wurru-nu ngurrarru ngunungku.
young PURP hold-3pl-did morning this_way
'So the youngsters would go on until morning.'

Yuno jurrkuwarri? *Dey mait sendim langa* Warranganku-ngka, *maibi langa* Yarriliny
you_know middle-RRA they might send_him P Beetaloo-ALL maybe P yellow_sand *rait thru, maibi langa* Dakuraku, *maibi langa Tennant Creek.*
right through maybe P Dakuraku maybe P Tennant_Creek
'You know out there in the middle? They might send them to Beetaloo, perhaps to the yellow sand around Wave Hill, perhaps to Dakuraku, or maybe to Tennant Creek.'

Ya-ardi mika lurrbu wawa.
3sg-HAB come return child
'Then they bring the children back.'

Kungka-ngkaji kararlu-ngka ngawu-ngka, ya-ardiyimi kirda-ngka-kaji,
another-HAVING ground-ALL home-ALL 3sg-came(dist) father-ALL-through
jakardi-bini-ngi.
mother-?-fERG
'Then to another (ceremonial) country, where their parents had come before.'

Nginyi-kaji wurru-wardi kujika-rni.
sing-through 3pl-HAB song-FOC
'They sing initiation songs.'



1.10 Ngarrunu Ngawu *(My home)* - told by Powder O'Keefe

Ngarru-nu ngawu Ijibarda, Marrulu.
1sgGEN-n home Longreach Marrulu
'My country is Longreach and Marrulu creek.'

Jalyaku-ka ibilki-rni.
Joan_O'Keefe-DAT? water-FOC
'Joan's watercourse.'

Ambaya-nga-ju jurrkulu ngaya-rni-ma: Ijibarda, Marrulu, jarluku, ambaya-nga-ju
speak-1sg-do creek 1sgNOM-FOC-EMPH: Longreach Marrulu down talk-1sg-do
nganku Jingila-ngkami.
2sgACC Jingili_person-ABL
'I'm telling you about the creeks, I am: Longreach, Marrulu, and on down from there, I'm telling you about where the Jingili are from.'

Jurrkulu-rna ngaji-na, Marrulurna.
creek-DAT see-DAT Marrulu-DAT
'Belonging to Marrulu creek.'

Ngamurlu ngayi-rni jurrkulu-rna ambaya-nga-yi.
big(n) 1sgNOM-FOC creek-DAT speak-1sg-FUT
'I'm telling you about the big creeks.'

Walkbaku-ngka *mayi island*-ku-mbili kungku ngawu, ngini-rni kujkarranu.
clearing-ALL my island-?-LOC another(n) home, this(n)-FOC two(n)
'And the clearing on the island is another part of my country, these two are my country.'

Ngini-rni Warranganku, Marlinja.
this(n)-FOC Beetaloo, Marlinja
'Beetaloo and Marlinja.'

Ambaya-nga-ju Jingulu-warndi.
speak-1sg-do Jingulu-INST
'I'm talking in Jingulu.'

Wankarringka-marri wawa nyama, jurlujurlibili warr ila-marriyi, jurrku-wa-rr
wallaby-did(dist) child DEM(m) pack_up? ? put-went(dist) centre-will_go-RRA?
ila-marri Jingili *Newcastle*-ungka wawa nyama.
put-did(dist) Jingili Marlinja-ALL child DEM(m)
'The wallaby people relocated their children right to the heart of Jingili territory, to Newcastle.'

OT-mbili lurrbu jiwurrungka darra ila-marri.
OT-LOC return right_side eat put-did(dist)
'And went back up the right hand side to OT for food occasionally.'

Jibijiya-wurra-la-marri *Newcastle*-mbili, Binda wurliyi.
mix_in-3pl-RRA?-did(dist) Marlinja-LOC OT ?
'They mixed together those from Newcastle and OT.'

Ngirliki-wurru-marri Jingili, Kuwirrinji.
dance-3pl-did(dist) Jingili Gurindji
'The Jingili and Western Mudburra danced together.'

Mudburra-ni nyinma-nga-marri Kuwirrinji kanba.
Mudburra-FOC make-1sg-did(dist) Gurindji equal
'There we made Gurindji and Mudburra people on level footing.'

Duku-wurri-marri Binda-mbili.
sit-3pl-did(dist) OT-LOC
'Meeting at OT.'

Dirri-ngirri-wurru-marri Binda-mbili.
eat-hunt-3pl-did(dist) OT-LOC
'Hunting food and eating it at OT.'

Yunku duwu-ngirri-marriyi *Newcastle*-ngkami Warranganku, Binda.
foot rise-1plInc-went(did) Marlinja-LOC Beetaloo OT
'We get up and celebrate on our feet (dancing), at Newcastle, Beetaloo, and OT.'

Bardakurru ngini-rni-ma ngawu.
good(n) that(n)-FOC-EMPH home
'That is good country'

1.11 Jirnkiji *(Stars)*

- told by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

Jama-ni Kamirrinji ngardajkala ambak duwa-ardimi idayidaka.
that(m)-FOC Morning_Star rise-came(dist) late
'The morning star rises late in the night.'

Mirrinmirrirli nganu jabura.
7_Sisters 3sgACC first
'The Seven Sisters are first.'

Kamirrinji-rni duwa-ardimi ngayi biyangka.
Morning_Star rise-came(dist) 3sgACC behind
'The Morning Star rises behind them.'

Mirrinmirridirli nganu duw-ardi jaburra, jiyirni ngayi biyangka.
7_Sisters 3sgACC rise-HAB first, mother_in_law 3sgACC? behind
'The Seven Sisters rise first with their mother in law behind.'

Kardaku jak-ajka amba-ka jun maya-rdiyimi-kaji dij bilaka jaardi
? ?-NOML PURP-PSTHAB descend-came(dist) divide-PSTHAB divide night
kabilirni, Mirrinmirrirdi, Kamirrinji.
daybreak 7_Sisters Morning_Star
'A long time ago they came down to divide the night from the dawn, the Seven Sisters and the Morning Star.'

1.12 Jakardini Julardi *(Mother birds)*

- told by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

Jula-rdi kiyilyu-marndi daki-nu kurlungkurla-rni wawa-rni, dak-kaji bila-rdi
bird-ERG fork-INST leave-did small-FOC child-FOC leave-through put-HAB
nyangan jakardi-nga bunga-rni, ambaya-ju nguka-ju wawa-rni
? mother-ERG leave-FOC, say-do cry-do child-FOC
kirdba-mbili-rni.
egg-LOC-FOC
'Birds leave their babies in a nest in a tree fork, the mother leaves them there and the new-born babies cry.'

Kurlungkula-rni wawa-rni jakardirni-nu duwa-ardimi ngirriki, maja-ardimi
small-FOC child-FOC mother-did rise-come(dist) hunt, get-came(dist)
kungmarna, maja-ardimi ngunu kungmarna maja-ardi ngaba-ardi
caterpillar get-come(dist) that(n) catterpillar get-come(dist) have-come(dist)
ngarnu ngunyi *gadda* wawa-rni ngunya-ardi bundundurru-mardi.
3sgACC give *PURP* child-FOC give-HAB sated-HAB
'The mother cared for her children by hunting at dawn, she got caterpillars and so forth and brought them to give to her children for food.'

1.13 Burrmurumura *(Hornets)*

- told by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

Burrmurumura-ni malumalarrku-ni ngilma-rdi marru-mbili darrangku-mbili.
hornet-ERG hive?-FOC make-HAB house-LOC free-LOC
'Hornets build their hives in houses or in trees.'

Marlarluka-rni ngaja-marriyimi burrmurumura 'aah' *ankarni*, 'burrmurumura-ni
old_men-ERG see-went(dist) hornet 'aah' *say(Wrlp? Mud?)* hornet-FOC
dardu, ibilka-rni ya-ju, kilyi-ngurri-yi!'
many water-FOC 3sg-do dig-1plInc-FUT
'When olden time folk would see hornets they'd say 'Aah, there are lots of hornets, there must be water, lets dig!''

1.14 Kakuwi *(Fish)* - told by Powder O'Keefe

Ibija-nga-ardi wajuwi *fishinline*-ma burrbiji, darra-ardi wajuwa-nga-ardi,
tie-1sg-HAB throw fishing_line-EMPH finish-INF eat-HAB throw-1sg-HAB
ngilma-nga-ardi buba, ningki-mi ngirriki buba-ngka, ngina-rni ngunja-yi.
make 1sg-HAB fire chop-IRR hunt fire-ALL that(f)-ERG burn-FUT
'I tie up a fishing line and throw it in the water and eventually eat what is caught on a fire I'll make to cook it.'

Ngibi-wurru-ni darr-ardi kakuwi, darra-nga-ardi.
have-3pl-FOC eat-HAB fish eat-1sg-HAB
'They'll all eat the fish, me too I'll eat it.'

Linyarda-mbili umbumi-nga-ardi, darra-nga-ardi linyarda-ngka-mbili.
charcoal-LOC cook-1sg-HAB eat-1sg-HAB charcoal-All-LOC
Bardakurra.
good(m)
'I cook it on the coals then eat what's been put on the coals. It's good.'

1.15 Environmental Changes

- various short texts by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

This text is compiled from a number of different occasions when Robin told me about changes that had occurred to the flora and fauna of the area. He told me these things while I was eliciting and checking vocabulary entries for the dictionary (Part II).

Marluka-rni yukulurrubirni dirringirrumarriyimi.
old_man-ERG grass_sp-FOC eat-1plExc-went(dist)
'We used to go and eat the yukulurrubi grass,'

Ya-marriyimi marlarluka-rni-ni dirri-ngirri-wardi ya-marri
3sg-went(dist) old_men-ERG-FOC eat-1plExc-HAB 3sg-did(dist)
marlarluka-rniki-rni.
old_men-prox-ERG
'We olden time folk would go and eat it.'

Yukulurrubi-rni ya-marri jama-barra angkula ya-marri ngini-mbili-rni
grass_sp-FOC 3sg-did(dist) that(m)-? NEG 3sg-did(dist) here-FOC
marranybala-rni juju-mbili-rni duwa-marrimi yukulurrubi-rni darra-ardi.
cow-ERG rain-LOC-FOC rise-went(dist) grass_sp-FOC eat-HAB
'The yukulurrubi grass used to grow here but recently the cows ate it when it grew in the wet season.'

Marranybala-kaji ya-ju yuranya-kaji ya-ardi danykuw-kaji marranybala darra-ardu
cow-through 3sg-do many-through 3sg-HAB bump-through cow eat-go
ngurraku ya-marri burrbiji kuwarrku-kaji ngurraku duwa-ardi,
1plIncACC 3sg-did(dist) finish none-through 1plIncACC rise-HAB
kuwarrku-kaji.
none-through
'Huge numbers of cattle came and trampled out grass, now they've come and eaten it all on us and there's nothing left growing here at all.'

Nginda-rniki jurdumajurduma-rni, jalyangku-nama-kaji angkula ngaja-marri marlarlukarni-ni.
this(m) finch-FOC now-time-through NEG see-did(dist) old_men-ERG
'We never see the gouldian finch now as we did in the old days.'

Marlarluka-rni-mbili, *numu* ya-marri, jurdumajurduma angkula ngarnu
old_men-FOC-LOC NEG 3sg-did(dist) finch NEG 3sgACC
ngiji-ngirri-wardi.
see-1plExc-HAB
'In the old days we saw it, but no longer.'

Ngina-niki-rni jurnkurrbilyi-rni ya-marri; ngaliminymini, bilkina dardu
this(f)-FOC ghost_bat-FOC 3sg-did(dist) small_bat flying_fox many
ngiji-ngurru-wardi, angkula ngiji-ngurru-wardi jurnkurrbilyirni.
see-1plInc-HAB NEG see-1plInc-HAB ghost_bat
'The ghost bat was around once; small bats and flying foxes we see plenty of, but not ghost bats.'

Kuwarrku-kaji angkula ya-ardi kijijimarrini ngini-mbili, ya-marri
none-through NEG 3sg-HAB brahminy here 3sg-did(dist)
marlarlukarni-mbili.
old_men-LOC
'There are no brahminy kites here now, though there were in days of old.'

Angkula ya-marrini ngini-mbili-rni-kaji ngiji-ngirri-wardi ngurrujurrukarni,
NEG 3sg-did(dist)-FOC here-FOC-through see-1plExc-HAB hardhead
ya-marri marlarlukarni-mbili
3sg-did(dist) old_men-LOC
'We have not seen the hardhead duck around here for a very long time, not since the old days.'

Kuwarrku-kaji ngarnu jalyangkuya-mi.
none-through 3sgACC now-IRR
'Not at all nowadays'

Angkula ngaja-ngaja-nga-rdi, angkula-kaji ngiji-ngurru-wardi.
NEG see-RED-1sg-HAB NEG-through see-1plInc-HAB
'I never see it, we don't see it at all.'

Marlarlukarni-mbili ya-marri.
old_men-LOC 3sg-did(dist)
'In the olden days they were around.'

2. Implements and Instruments

2.1 Making Implements

- told by Kijilikarri Jumbo Collins Jamirringinja and Clancy Bostock Jangalinginja

Wurrajala-ngku-rru ningki-ngurri-yi barrku, kundalnga-darra *fourbala*
cold-will_come-RRA chop-1plInc-FUT nulla_nulla clapstick-pl four-pl
ningki-ngurri-yi
chop-1plInc-FUT
'When it cools down we'll cut a nulla-nulla and four clapsticks.'

Jalyangku-rru nginiwara ngurra-rruku karnawunji-ngka. Marndaj-na Jurlinginja.
today-RRA this_way 1plInc-went lancewood-ALL OK-*now skin_name*
'We went that way to get the lancewood. Right Jula?[2]'

Nyanyala-ala, ningki-ngurri-wa, kurli darra-ngka-nu-kaju, biyijala.
leaf-pl chop-1plInc-will_go wasp? eat-ALL-did-through tall(m)
'The leaves on the one we'll cut, the tall one, were all eaten by wasps.'

Kirda darrangku nyinma-ka-ju nangka-nu murrurr dabijkala, ngamba.
father tree gather-3sg-do chop-did stripe stripe? hold-NOML(A) DEM(m)
'Father gathered the branches and now he's made these striped ones to hold.'

Ngamba ajanayi karriba maya-yi.
PURP something whitefella hit-FUT
'Something for the white guy to clap together.'

Yo marndaj, ngamba karriba maya-yi. Marndaj
yes OK PURP whitefella hit-FUT OK
'Yeah, that's right, so the white guy here can clap them. Right.'

Ngini-nikarru yirrma-nga-yi ala-naa-ngku nyamba-kuwurlu kundalnga.
this(n)-FOC-RRA make-1sg-FUT dance-1sg-will_come DEM(n)-dl clapstick
'I'll make this stuff and then I'll dance to the clapping of two sticks.'

Ngurru-rruku nangka-nga-nu. *[plays sticks]* Nyami-na nga-wa bibi, marndaj?
1plInc-went cut-1sg-did DEM(m)-FOC 1sg-will_go son(VOC) OK
'We went and I cut clapsticks [plays sticks] I'll do that son, OK? '

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[2] Jumbo is addressing the author of this dissertation using the Mudburra skin-name *Jula* (= Jingulu *Jurlinginja*). Jingulu speakers commonly use the Mudburra skin names when speaking Jingulu. This was probably commonplace before Jingulu speakers stopped using Jingulu as a language of communication, given that the Jingili and (Eastern) Mudburra formed a single people for cultural and ritual purposes.

Jangalinginji-rni nangka-ju barrku. Ilma-ju.
skin_name-ERG cut-do nulla-nulla make-do
'Jangala is making a nulla-nulla. '

Ngayirni ngirrma-nga-ju nyinininiki. Ngaja-nga-yi nganku, karriba. *[sings]*
1sgERG make-1sg-do DEM(n) see-1sg-FUT 2sgACC whitefella
'I'll make these. Look now, whitefella. [sings]'

Ambaya-mi!
speak-IRR
'Talk!'

Ngarlidaka yirrma-nga-nu, ngindayana karnawunji barrku.
spear-thrower make-1sg-did that(m)-?-FOC lancewood nulla-nulla
'I made a spearthrower and that lancewood nulla-nulla'

Ngilma-ju kuka-la-rni, ngarri-na ngambiya. Marndaj?
make-do grandfather-pl-ERG 1sgGEN-m son_in_law OK
Kuka ngaanku.
grandfather 2sgGEN(n?)
'Grandfather is making it, my son-in-law. Right? Your grandfather.'

Ird bija-rru-nga-ju-nga jurrjurrj bila-nga-ju ngarnu.
smoothen-RRA-1sg-do-FOC smoothen-1sg-do 3sgACC
'I'm making it smooth.'

Jurrjurrj bila-nga-ju ngini-ni burduburdu.
smoothen-1sg-do that(n)-FOC rasp
'Smoothing it with the rasp.'

2.2 Kiyindan Ilami Karnarinymangka *(Putting a Blade on a Spear)*

- told by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

Jikala jama-ni kirridji maja-mi, karnarinyma-ngka ila-nya-yi.
wax that(m)-FOC wax get-IRR spear-ALL put-2sg-FUT
'Get that spinifex wax and you put it on the spear (shaft).'

Jimi-ni kijurlurlu-nu buba-ngka ila-mi.
that(n)-FOC stone-did fire-ALL put-IRR
'Take that there stone (blade) and put it in the fire.'

Jama-niki-rni kirridji-ni, buba-ngka ila-mi.
this(m)-FOC wax-FOC fire-ALL put-IRR
'Put the wax on the fire too.'

Jimi-rni kijurlurlu-nu maja-kaji nya-yi kiyindalma.
this(n)-FOC stone-did get-through 2sg-FUT spear_head
'Then you'll get that spear-head out again.'

Kiyindalma maja-nya-yi, ngunja-yi jama-niki-ni kirridji-nu ngunja-ju, irr bila-kaji
spear_head get-2sg-FUT burn-FUT this(m)-FOC wax-did burn-do, paint-through
nya-yi ngarnu.
2sg-FUT 3sgACC
'You'll get that spear head when it's really hot, when that wax there is really hot too, and paint it on it.'

2.3 Making a Didgeridoo

- told by Kijilikarri Jumbo Collins Jamirringinja

Mindi-rruku kiniwarra, mindi-rruku. Nginki-mindu-nu - *no gud.*
1dlInc-went North 1dlInc-went knock-1dlInc-did no good
'We two went North. We knocked on one (tree) - no good.'

Nother one nginki-mindu-nu - *we got a gud wan dijeridu,* ninki-mindu-nu.
another one knock-1dlInc-did we got a good onedidgeridoo chop-1dlInc-did
'We knocked on another one - we got a good one, we cut it down.'

Kilidima-kaji-nga-ju marndaj karriba? Marndaj?
peel-through-1sg-do OK whitefella
'Now I'm skinning it, right whitefella?'

Marndaj kilidima-nga-ju kurrinyu, ya karriba?
OK peel-1sg-do bark yes whitefella
'I'm taking the bark right off, right whitefella?'

Ngaaku mindu-wa kurrubardi nangka-nga-yi.
later 1dlInc-will_go boomerang chop-1sg-FUT
'Later we'll go and I'll cut a boomerang.'

Marndaj ya-nu maja-mi - kilidima-nya-ju bardakurru.
OK-3sg-did get-IRR peel-2sg-do good(n)
'He's doing OK, you're pulling the bark off well.'

Jad bila-mi, karriba, jad bila-mi!
strike-IRR whitefella strike-IRR
'Switch it [tape recorder] off, whitefella, switch it off!'

LATER:

Marndaj kilidima-mi kurrinyu. Marndaj? Bardakurru?
OK peel-IRR bark OK good(n)
'All right, take the bark off. OK? Good?'

Dilma-nga-yi karriba! Marndaj? Ngarr-ili ngaba kijurlurlu.
cut-1sg-FUT whitefella OK 1sgGEN-will_go? have stone
'I'll cut this one, OK whitefella? Here on this stone I have.'

Dilma-nya-yi ngindiwara!
cut-2sg-FUT this_way
'Cut this one straight!'

Dilma-nga-yi nyiniwa-rdi kurlukurla-arndi nginiwara, marndaj? Dilma-nga-ju.
cut-1sg-FUT this_way-HAB small-INST this_way OK cut-1sg-do
'I'll cut the small end straight. I'm cutting it.'

Marndaj bardakurru? Kunjuwa-mi! Jaji-ma-mi.
OK good(n) throw-IRR wait-EMPH-IRR
'OK good now? Drop it down! Hold on!'

ʁaralu-ngkaa-ma kunjuwa-yi! Kunjuwa-mi! Kuwarrku?
ground-ALL-EMPH throw-FUT throw-IRR none
'Right onto the ground!Drop it! Nothing?'

Marndaj bardakurru-kaji, luwaku.
OK good-through hole
'Good, OK, there's a hole right through it.'

3. Hunting, food, and cooking

3.1 Wankurra *(Sugarbag)*

- told by Kijilikarri Jumbo Collins Jamirringinja

Mindi-rruku jalyangku-ma Warranganku-ngka.
1dlInc-went today-EMPH Beetaloo-ALL
'Today we went to Beetaloo.'

Mindu-rruku urra-rda *langa* barrambarra-ngkuju, namangaja-nu, jimi-mbila-rlu
1dlInc-went 3pl-go P clearing-HAVING watch_for-did that(n)-LOC-FOC
wangkurra, bularruku-ngkami bunya-nga-nu.
sugarbag smoke_tree-ABL find-1sg-did
'We came up into an area with many clearings, looking out for a sugarbag that I'd found in a smoke tree.'

Jurlinginja-rda darra-nu, lambarra-nga *too* darra-nu, wangkurra-ni.
skin-ERG eat-did daughter_in_law-ERG too eat-did sugarbag-FOC
'Jurlinginja ate some, and daughter-in-law ate some too, that sugarbag.'

Kurlukurlu-rni ngaba-nga-nu dawurdawurni-ni, angkurla nangka-nga-nu *properly.*
small-f have-1sg-did axe-FOC NEG chop-1sg-did properly
'I only had a small axe, I couldn't cut properly.'

Dawurdawurnu *lright* nangka-marra ngarri-jiyimi, wangkurra-ni.
axe-did alright chop-went(dist) 1plInc?-come sugarbag-FOC
'But eventually, slowly, that axe managed and we cut it out, the sugarbag.'

Marriya ningki-mindu-nu: jaangu-ngku lurnkurrba.
soft chop-1dlInc-did high-will_come halfway
'We cut it gently, from high up there to half-way down.'

Minda-miki aju kurruni-mbili... kirini-mbili.
1dlInc-came what *error* -LOC catfish-LOC
'We came to the whatsit, catfush... catfish.'

Kirini junguma-nga-nu warnu, lambarra-nga ngarri.
catfish show-1sg-did 3sgACC daughter_in_law-FOC 1sgGEN
'I showed the catfish to my daughter-in-law.'

Indi-mbili ka-kaji ini wurru-ju-ku wamba-mbili.
that(m)-LOC 3sg-through that(n) 3pl-do-? snappy_gum-LOC
'Now we've come right up through to this snappy gum here.'

Bundurru-jiyili nginyu-ju.
food-? 1dlExc-do
'We've fed and are full now.'

3.2 Bijardku *(Sugarleaf)*

- told by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

Nyamba-rni-nayi ngirrma-rdi ngini-niki-rni bijardku-nu.
what-ERG-INDEF make-HAB this(n)-FOC sugarleaf-did
'Something makes this sugarleaf (I don't know what).'

Dijbili-nginyi-wardi nyanyalu dijbila-mi jurrbajula.
break-1dlExc-HAB leaf break-IRR
'First we break the leaf up.'

Jimi-ni ngangarra-rra, larlumaya-nya-yi.
that(n)wild_rice-RRA shake-2sg-FUT
'Like wild rice, you have to shake it.'

Larluma-nya-yi nyinma-nya-yi lawunja-rni-ngka-rrini, maja-mi ila-mi
shake-2sg-FUT gather-2sg-FUT coolamon-FOC-ALL-RRA-FOC get-IRR put-IRR
ibilkirni ikiya-mi.
drops wet-IRR
'You'll shake it and gather it up in a coolamon and then sprinkle it with water.'

Duja-kaji nya-yi, ngirrma-mi uliyija-nga-ngka ila-mi warraj bili, uliyija-nga-ngka
roll-through 2sg-FUT make-IRR sun-fDAT-ALL put-IRR dry sun-fDAT-ALL
ngunja-yi.
burn-FUT
'You'll knead and roll it, make a loaf, then put it in the sunshine to dry, let the sunlight cook it.'

Jimi-niki-rni ngangarra-ni dardalyi ngaaki-ngku.
this(n) wild_rice-FOC strong(n) later-will_come
'This wild-rice-like loaf will get hard eventually.'

Bardbalu-kaji, maja-mi ngamba ngandayi-rni jakilirra.
strong(n)-through get-IRR PURP shade-LOC whitewood
'When it's hard go put it under the shade of the whitewood.'

3.3 Nganga Kuwarrku, Miringmi Dardu *(No Meat, Lots of Gum)*

- told by Kijilikarri Jumbo Collins Jamirringinja

Nginyi-rruku jalyangku-ma, jaju yunku-mbili nga-ju, *up at* Warrajkalu ya-ju.
1dlExc-went today-EMPH grandpa foot-LOC 1sg-do up at cold_dreaming 3sg-do
'Today we followed my grandfather's steps up to the cold dreaming place.'

Nga-rruku Kulayi-ngka, ngirriki ngangi-rna.
1sg-went Kulayi-ALL hunting meat-DAT
'We went up to Kulayi to try to find meat.'

Kulayi, *no*. Kangkirrija nga-rruku, lurrbu nginya-miki.
Kulayi no Kangkirrija 1sg-went return 1dlExc-came
'Nothing at Kulayi, so we went to Kangkirrija and then came back.'

Nginya-rruku *langa* Kulayi, ngangi-rna, *but* kuwarrku.
1dlExc-went P Kulayi meat-DAT but none
'We went to Kulayi for meat but there was none.'

Jalyangka-nu nginyu-ju *langa* ngamba wurrajkalu yawulmarri, namba-ala-mbili,
today-did 1dlExc-do P PURP cold_dreaming DEM-pl-LOC
Jandiyijku-mbili.
Jandiyijku-LOC
'Today then we went to the cold dreaming place, all those other places, and Jandiyijku Creek.'

Amba ili ya-ju nyamba kuku-rna, *sandhill.*
speak DEM? 3sg-do DEM grandpa-DAT sandhill
'This sandhill tells me about my grandfather.'

Buyu-mbili nginyu-ju jalyangku-ma.
blow-LOC 1dlExc-do today-EMPH
'We're up at the windy place today.'

Lurrbu-kaji nginyu-wa.
return-through 1dlExc-will_go
'We'll go right back now.'

Ngarri-na biba, Jurlinginja - lurrbu-kaji ngaba-nga-rriyi walyaka nginyu-ju.
1sgGEN-m son, *skin* return-through have-1sg-will_go ? 1dlExc-do
'I'll bring my son Jurlinginja right back now, we'll go.'

Mindu-rruku karlarra Ikirdi-ngka.
1dlInc-went west Ikirdi-ALL
'We went West to Ikirdi.'

Mindu-rruku *right up langa* Warlukambu *(bore).*
1dlInc-went right up to Warlukambu
'We went right up by Warlukambu bore.'

Lurrbu nginya-miki, *no* nganga
return 1dlExc-came no meat
'But we came back without any meat.'

Nginya-rruku Ikirdi - *old* Ikirdi.
1dlExc-went Ikirdi old Ikirdi
'We went to Ikirdi - old Ikirdi.'

Nginyu-rruku barrbarda wangkij-wangkij *langa* Windurrkuji, nginyu-rruku
1dlExc-went distant turn-RED P Windurrkuji, 1dlExc-went
right round.
right round
'We went up a long way and then back again by Windurrkuji, we went right around.'

Ngirra-miki *right up langa Roger's Creek,* ngaba ya-mardiyimi PLACE NAME,
1plExc-went right up P Roger's Creek have 3sg-came(dist) PLACE NAME
nginya-miki Ibiji-ma-ngka.
1dlExc-came Ibiji-EMPH-ALL
'We went right up to Roger's Creek, the one that ran down from PLACE NAME, then we came back to Ibiji.'

Ngirra-miki *right langa* Causeway, miji-nginyu-nu miringmi jalyangku-ma, dardu,
1plExc-came P Causeway get-1dlExc-did gum today-EMPH lots
dajka-nu miringmi-mi.
bite-did gum-FOC
'We came back over the Newcastle Creek Causeway, where we got gum, lots of it, and we ate some of the gum.'

Miringmi-wa miju-wurra-nu bili-lurrbu-na-miki ngani-ngka *right up here langa*
gum-will_go get-3pl-did put-return-1Obj-came DEM?-ALL P
Marlinja.
Marlinja
'They went to get some of that gum up there and brought it back to me. Now we're here at Marlinja.'

3.4 Ngirriki Ngurrayijbi (Hunting at Night)

- told by Kijilikarri Jumbo Collins Jamirringinja

Part I of this recounting of a hunting expedition was told late on the night of the expedition, when Jumbo was tired, suffering from a cold, and had drunk a lot of beer that afternoon and evening. Consequently, this part of the text involves frequent switches into Kriol and English, and occurrences of a number of words that I could neither understand, recognise, nor have Jumbo identify the next day (I have transcribed these as accurately as I can). Part II, recorded the next day, involves less code-switching and was generally easier for me to understand.

I

Mindi-rruku jalyangku-nu, mindi-rruku *langa number six way,* jurrkubardi-na.
1dlInc-went today-did 1dlInc-went P Number_6 way plains_goanna-DAT
'We went off on this day, we went off number six way, looking for goannas.'

Mindi-rruku *One Tree way, langa* Baribari *kantri, we went.*
1dlInc-went One_Tree way P Baribari country we went
'We went off One Tree way, through Baribari country.'

We couldn't get a turkey, kuwarrku. Kiwirra. *Wi bin kam bak, rait bak, numba six,*
We couldn't get a turkeu none none We PST come back right back Number_6
bush dere langa Red William. Numba tu turnoff. Wi bin bush dere.
bush there P Red_William Number_2 turnoff we PST bush there
'We couldn't get a turkey or anything. We came back, right back through Number 6 and that bush there, Red William. At the number two turnoff we went bush.'

Ngurruru-ngku *langa numba tu. Wi bin kip goin,* ngubu.
1plExc-will_come East P Nubmer_6 we PST keep going East
'We were going to come back by Number two, but we kept going East.'

Den- kaji ngurru-nu kirrawarra *now, numba six. I bin lus ma brans, na.*
then-through 1plExc-did North now Number_6 I PST lose my brains now
'Then we went up northward, to Number six. I lost my mind then.'

Ngaba-laja-nu damangka ngayirnirni, ngurrungu *numba six.*
have-carry-did head 1sgERG-FOC ? number_6
'I lost my mind there at Number six.'

Ngarrabaja-rra jaminikorni *innit?*
tell-RRA this(m)-FOC Q
'I said this didn't I?'

'Nginuwa mindu-wa kalarra.'
this_way 1dlInc-will_go West
"We'll go this way, west."

Kalarra-kaji ngurru-rru ngunu-ngku *na, Red William. Right Jurlinginja?*
West-through 1plExc-RRA DEM(n)-ALL? now Red_William right skin_name
Yu memba?
you remember
'We came back West through Red William. Right Jurlinginja? Do you remember that?'

Langkaj bila-nya-ju? Muwum-kaji *tru da fens. I bin do ya*
remember-2sg-do dark-through through the fence I PST do yes
kunu-ngku, *rong wei dat road.*
DEM(ANAPH)-will_come wrong way that road
'Do you remember? We drove through the fence in the dark. I took us that way, that wrong way.'

Karrijbi-ngka ngurra-ku ngunu-ngku, kalarra-*said. Wi bin langa dat fens.*
road-ALL 1plInc-went DEM(n)-will_come West-side we PST P that fence
'We went along that road, followed it up to the West side. We ran up along a fence.'

Ngunu-ngku ngurru-nu kalarra-*said,* karrijbi-*said* Jurlinginja.
DEM(n)-will_come 1plInc-did West-side, road-side *skin*
'We crossed over onto the West side, the highway side, Jurlinginja.'

Karna Marlinja, ngurru-ngku *Elliott-said, Elliott.*
coming_up_to? Marlinja 1plInc-will_come
'We wanted to go to Marlinja, so we needed to come out on the Elliott side.'

Kulumindini-ngku baj bili *wi sidan* nyamba kurru-nu.
Elliott-will_come follow be_located we sit_down DEM 2pl-did
'When we made out way to Elliott we left you two there.'

Luk raun, kuwarrku janga wawalana.
look round none ? child-pl-DAT
'We looked around but none of the children's (parents) were there.'

Bardarda-nga baba ngaanku Rexie, kuwarrku.
y_brother-ERG o_brother 2sgGEN R none
'I thought perhaps your older brother Rex might, but noone was there.'

Hi maita gon home, maibi kamping at George's place.
He might_have gone home maybe camping at George's place
'He might have gone home, or might have been camping at George's place.'

Ngarrabaja-nga-nu nayurni-ni Jurlinginja-rni ngawu-nu nga-yi ngini-mbili.
tell-1sg-did wife-FOC *skin-* FOC home-did 1sg-FUT here
'Now I reckon Jurlinginja and his wife will go to their home there and I'll stay here.'

Bayi-rni maya-narna-yi ngunu-ngku, ngirriki-la kuwarrku.
man-ERG hit-3S1O-FUT DEM(will_come) hunting-pl none
'He might hit me for never bringing anything back from our hunting expeditions.'

Well, Jurlinginja ngarrabija-nga-yi maja-rri-ngka ngarru larnku, lurruba nganku
skin tell-1sg-FUT get-RRA-ALL 1sgGEN clothes return 2sgACC
ngini-mbili mankiya-nga-yi, ngawu-nu nga-yi.
here sit-1sg-FUT home-did 1sg-FUT
'Well, I'll tell Jurlinginja to bring my stuff here and I'll just stay here at home.'

Biba ngarri-na karriba ngaba-nga-ju, ngarri-na mankiya-ju yini duwa-nga-rri
son 1sgGEN-m whitefella have-1sg-do 1sgGEN-m sit-do DEM rise-1sg-will_go
ya-ju. Kuwarrku.
3sg-do none.
'I've got my whitefella son here, he should sit down while I get up and go? No way!'

Buwarlina maya-rnana-ja ngaba-nga-ju jangkubarni.
son? hit-3S1O-do have-1sg-do one
'My son might have to belt me one.'

Ngarri-ni-ni bibi-rni maya-nu ngarru ngini-rniki *langa* Jurruwuji, maya-na ngarru,
1sgGEN-m-ERG son-ERG kill-did 1sgACC this(n) P Jurruwuji kill-did 1sgACC,
ngarri-ni-ni, bibi-rni, maya-nu murdika-warndi.
1sgGEN-m-ERG son-ERG kill-did car-INST
'My son killed me this one, killed it for me he did, my son killed it with his car.'

Ngamurla ngaba-nu nyamba kurru-nu.
big(m) have-did DEM 2pl-did
'You guys got a big one!'

Murdika-arndi maya-nga-nu.
car-INST kill-1sg-did
'We killed it with a car.'

Ngarri-ni bibi-rni maya-nu, murdika-arndi.
1sgGEN-m son-ERG kill-did car-INST
'My son killed it with his car.'

Kuwarrku makidini, kuwarrku. Karriyaku.
none gun none bad(n)
'No gun, nothing. It was brcken.'

Darra-kaji nga-yi wumbuma-nga-yi jalyangku-nu.
eat-through 1sg-FUT cook-1sg-FUT today-did
'I'll have a feed, I'll cook some, this very night.'

Ngarrini-nga lambarra-nga maja-nu ngarra *onion.*
1sgGEN-fERG daughter_in_law-fERG get-did 1sgACC onion
'My daughter in law got me an onion.'

Wumbumu-wa jalyangka-rlu, darra-kaji-nga-yi.
cook-will_go today-FOC eat-through-1sg-FUT
'It'll be cooked tonight now and I'll have a good feed.'

Burrbaja-nga-yi ngarri-na biba, limbirrini.
finish-1sg-FUT 1sgGEN-m son, daughter_in_law(f)
'My son and daughter in law and I, we'll finish it off'

Ngaba wajirri ngarri-na, maja-nga-rri larnku.
have 1sgGEN-m get-1sg-will_go clothes
'I will go get my swag.'

II

Idajku-nu nginyu-rruku ngirriki.
yesterday-did 1dlExc-went hunting
'We went hunting last night.'

Kirrawarra nginyurruku Kulayimbili, lurrbu.
North 1dlExc-went Kulayi-LOC, return
'We went up North to Kulayi, then back again.'

Kirrawarra-kaji nginyu-rruku. Nginya-miki miyi.
North-through 1dlExc-went 1dlExc-came food
'We went directly North, then came back for food.'

Miyi-wunyu-nu wardamanmarra.
kill-3dl-did male_kangaroo
'Those two killed a big red roo.'

Miyi-wunyu-nu murdika-arndi.
kill-3dl-did car-INST
'They killed it with their car.'

Birdbiji-nginyu-nu waji.
miss-1dlExc-did through?
'We missed one.'

Nginyu-rruku wunyu-ku *langa namba tu,* wankij-wanki nginyu-rruku *raitup*
1dlExc-went 3dl-went? P number_2 turn-RED 1dlExc-went right_up
namba six, Jurlujurludi.
number_6 number_6
'We went out by Number 2 bore, then we turned around and went up to Number 6, Jurlujurludi.'

Wankiji ngirra-miki yaji kurunu - *Red William, no - Orange Tree.*
turn 1plExc-came ? Red_William no Orange_Tree
'We came back round to Red William, no - Orange Tree.'

nginyu-wurru-ku kalarra *raitap langa Orange Tree, no - Red William.*
1dlExc-3pl-went West right_up Orange_Tree no Red_ William
'Then West up to Orange Tree, no - Red William.'

Nginyu-rruku-kaji *kamaut langa fens.*
1dlExc-went-through come_out P fence
'We went right through and came out at a fence.'

Nginyu-rruku *raitap lang* Kulumindini.
1dlExc-went right_up P Elliott
'We'd gone right up by Elliott.'

Lurrbu-nama nginya-miki ngini-mbili Manjarrana - Elliott.
return-time 1dlExc-came here
'We came right back here to Manjarrana, then Elliott.'

Ngirra-miki *from* Kulardi *raitap* Baribari ya-ju.
1plExc-came from Kulardi Baribari 3sg-do
'We came from Kulardi right up into Baribari country.'

Ngarri-ninga jakardi-nga imbila-ka, ya-rruku lambarrani.
1sgGEN-fERG mother-fERG 3sg-PSTHAB 3sg-went daughter_in_law-ERG
'My Mummy (daughter in law) was chasing it here.'

Kangkabaja juwarlu ngardaji-yi, wardabanmarra.
another-pl ? grow-FUT male_kangaroo
'A couple of growing male kangaroos'

Miyi-jimi ngirru-nu, Wardirri-mbili.
hit-came 1plInc-did Wardirri-LOC
'We almost managed to hit one, at Wardirri.'

Nginya-miki.... Jurlinginja *draibin langa dat* murdika-rni.
1dlExc-went *skin_name* drive P that car-LOC
'On and on we went, Jurlinginja was driving the car.'

Nginyu-rruku Ubaj-mbili, *langa namba tu, Jurlinginja bin breikim naaaaaam.*
1dlExc-went Ubaji-LOC P number_2 *skin_name* PST break ?
'We came up to Number 2, where Jurlinginja killed it.'

Maya-kaji nginyu-rruku *dat* ngamurla-ni.
kill-through 1dlExc-went that big-FOC
'We really killed that big one.'

Ngirra-miki kunu-ngku-rra One Tree Place
1plExc-came DEM(ANAPH)-will_come-RRA One_Tree_Place
ngirra-rruku-kaji *rait lang* Kurlumindini.
1plExc-came-through right P Elliott
'We came to One Tree Place and came right back up to Elliott.'

Nginya-miki wardka yila-rna-nu Marlinja-mbili. Marndaj!
1dlExc-came throw_down-1Obj-did Marlinja-LOC OK
'We came right back to drop me off at Marlinja. OK!'

Ngamurla ngangku maya-nya-nu darrangku-warndi. Maya-nya-ni-nu.
big(m) 2sgACC? kill-2sg-did stick-INST kill-2sg-?-did
'You hit that big one with a stick. You killed it.'

Wird bilya-kaji nga-nu *karrina* wawa-la, jiyi-ma ngamurla.
lift-through 1sg-did got_him child-pl DEM(CATAPH)-EMPH big(m)
'We lifted it right up, with the children, this big one.'

Ird bilya-kurra-nu waji murdika-ngka.
lift-2pl-did what car-ALL
'You lifted it into the... car.'

Ngaba-miki wurru-ju-kaji nginda bubambili.
have-came 3pl-do-through that(m) fire-LOC
'They already had a fire going here.'

Dilmi-ngurra-nu bardarda jiminika-rlu jimi-ni *dat wan na dat* ngangani.
cut-1plInc-did y_brother this(n)-FOC that(m)-FOC that one that meat-FOC
'We cut this, your sister and I, this meat.'

Jangkubarni-na, dilma-nu *dat* nganga-ni.
one-DAT cut-did that meat-FOC
'For one (me), she cut that meat.'

Finish ohh, kuden manej im dat nganga.
finish ohh couldn't manage 3sg that meat
'In the end, oh, I couldn't manage to eat all that meat.'

Dilma-nu marndaj ila-baji ngirru-nu, *platik bag*-ka.
cut-did OK put-through? 1plExc-did plastic-bag-PSTHAB
'We cut some up and put it in those plastic bags.'

Kurrnyu wajuwa-nu, warlaku-na ngarnu.
skin throw-did dog-DAT 3sgACC
'The skin was thrown away, given to the dogs.'

Wardjuwa-nga-nu damangka, mangulkbi.
throw-1sg-did head, guts.
'I threw away the head and guts.'

Warlaku-rni darta-nu. Wunu-mbili kalarra.
dog-ERG eat-did DEM(n)-LOC West
'The dogs ate it. Off here to the West.'

Kanyburru darra-nga-nu, jarrumulu-ngkami.
flesh eat-1sg-did thigh-ABL
'I ate some meat from the thigh.'

3.5 Jurrkubadi Miyingurrunu *(We Killed a Goanna)*

- told by Kijilikarri Jumbo Collins Jamirringinja

Darra-nga-ju, ankila ambaya-mi!
eat-1sg-do cousin speak-IRR
'I'm eating, you talk cousin!'

Jalyangka-nu nginyi-rruku ngirriki nginiwara, Ngurrulijika, wankij.
today-did 1dlExc-went hunting this_way Ngurrulijika turn
'Just now today we went hunting off this way, Ngurrulijika way, then turned.'

Julijurli-rdi, kurdalyu nginya-nu, karl nga-ju kunu-ngku *namba six*,
bird(RED)-FOC foliage 1dlExc-did straight 1sg-did DEM(ANAPH(m)-will_come
nginda-nama ngubu.
this(m)-time East
'Where the birds are in the foliage, we went straight on Eastward.'

Jamirniki nyu-rruku, *dat bore One Tree*, Ngunukuna.
this(m)-prox 2sg-went that bore One_Tree, Ngunukuna
'You went up to that bore One Tree, or Ngunukuna.'

Nginyirruku ngunungku-kaji amba karrijba-ji *whole lot* janijku ngamba jarra
1dlExc-went like_this-through PURP track-do? whole lot ? PURP horizon
ngaja-ardu.
see-go
'We were going on like this on road after road here going on until we could see the horizon.'

Nganya luwarlu wanybili-nginyi-nu nginda-rniki-rni, jurrkubardini.
sing? holey find-1dlExc-did this(m)-FOC plains_goanna
'We found this plains goanna in the holey country.'

Ngunungku-warlu, karrawarra.
this_way-ward East
'Out this way to the East.'

Jurrkubadi, lurrbu-nama ngirri-rruku, miyi-ngirru-nu.
plains_goanna return-time 1plExc-went kill-1plExc-did
'We killed the goanna on our way back.'

Bijiy-ardi maja-nu, angkula dabila-badi, Jangaringinji-rni
make(property)-HAB get-did NEG hold-HAB *skin_name-* FOC
'In getting it [making it gotten], he doesn't grab hold of it, Jangaringinja.'

Ngirri-rruku-kaji *tru da geit,* kirru-rruku *turnoff.*
1plExc-went-through through the gate 2pl-went turnoff
'We went right back through that gate, you guys took the turnoff.'

Karrijba-kaji-ka ya-jiyimi jani *yugarn?*
road-through-PSTHAB 3sg-come Q 2sg-go
'Who's that coming down that there road you were driving along?'

Larrkaji-kaji ngirru-rruku banybila-nga-nu karriba, dilma-badi karrijbi. *Dat old Frank,*
skiny-through 1plExc-went find-1sg-did whitefella cut-HAB road That old Frank
dat's all.
that's all
'As we went along we encountered that skinny whitefella who grades roads. That old Frank, that's all.'

Ngirra-miki *raitup* Kulumindini, *streit thru.*
1plExc-came ALL Elliott straight through
'We came right up to Elliott and straight through.'

Ngirra-miki *rait thru here,* dirri-ngirru-nu.
1plExc-came P DEM eat-1plExc-did
'We came back here and fed.'

Arduku-nama, irrma-nu bujbu buba, burdba ya-nu.
carefully make-did earth_oven fire send 3sg-did
'He carefully made an earth oven and fire, to put it in.'

Lakud bila-nu, duwa-nga-nu.
bury-did rise-1sg-did
'He buried it, then I dug it up again.'

Kurra-miki lurrba-kaji ya-nu, darra-ardu marra ngurru-ju.
2pl-came return-through 3sg-did eat-go house 1plInc-do
'You cam right back and they came to eat, we are all here at the house.'

Kumungku darra-nya-nu ngijinmi darra-nya-nu, wakunyu jarrumulu.
back eat-2sg-did tail eat-2sg-did left(n) thigh
'You ate some of its back and tail, and its left thigh.'

3.6 Ngirriki *(Hunting)*

- told by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

Bininja ya-ardu ngirriki.
man 3sg-go hunting
'The man is going hunting.'

Ajuwara ya-ardu?
where_to 3sg-go
'Where's he going?'

Ngirrik-ardu walanja-rna.
hunt-go goanna-DAT
'He's going hunting for goannas.'

Ngaaku ya-ngku.
later 3sg-will_come
'He'll come back later.'

Ngindi-nama wumbuma-yi nganga-rni wurraka-na ya-yi.
this(m)-time cook-FUT meat-FOC 3plGEN-m 3sg-FUT
'Then he'll cook the meat for these people, he will.'

Ngindi-nama wumbuma-yi nganga-rni walanja-rni, wurraka-na-ka ya-yi.
this(m)-time cook-FUT meat-FOC goanna-FOC 3pl-GEN-m-PSTHAB 3sg-FUT
'Then he'll cook the goanna meat, for those folks back there he will.'

Ngaaku ya-angku ili-kina-jku.
later 3sg-will_come DEM?-NEGINDEF-?
'He'll come back later some time.'

Warranyangku mayi-ka, burdulyi naba-angku nganga-rni walanja-rni.
wispy_cloud kill-PSTHAB dry have-will_come meat-FOC goanna-FOC
'Goannas were killed in this dry slightly cloudy weather, he'll bring goanna meat.'

Banybila walanja, maya-mi walanja, wumbuma-yi ngijkinmi.
find goanna kill-IRR goanna cook-FUT tail
'Once he's found the goanna and killed the goanna, he'll cook the goanna tail.'

Walanja ngujka-bara warraku-nu ngarru bardakurra, ngangi-majka.
goanna burn-? lancewood-did 1sgACC good(m), meat-ADJ
'I reckon goanna cooked on that lancewood is good, meaty.'

Nganga-rni banybila-arda ka-nu walanja - *dina* banybila-ja ka-nu, jami-rni-ni
meat-FOC find-go 3sg-did goanna dinner find-do 3sg-did this(m)-ERG-FOC
warlaku-ni nirni-nirni.
dog-ERG close-RED
'He's gone to find goanna meat - having found goanna meat the dogs will all hound him.'

Banybila-yi ngindina-mi umbuma-yi nganga-rni burduli-nga barnku.
find-FUT this(m)-INDEF cook-FUT meat-FOC cooked-FOC ?
'He'll find something and cook the meat well.'

Ya-ardu ngirrik-ardu, ya-angku, idajkidajku.
3sg-go hunt-go 3sg-will_come afternoon
'He's gone hunting, he'll return, in the afternoon.'

Ya-angku lurrbu.
3sg-will_come return
'He will return.'

Ngangi-na yaardu ngirrik-ardu walanja-rna.
meat-DAT 3sg-go hunt-go goanna-DAT
'He's gone hunting for goanna meat.'

Ya-angku-kaju lurrbu.
3sg-will_come-through return
'He'll come right on back.'

Ngindi-nama ngarraka-rda-yi, jurrkulu-mbili.
this(m)-time hunt-DAT?-FUT creek-LOC
'He'll be hunting it by the creek.'

Dirri-ngurri-yi walanja.
eat-1plInc-FUT goanna
'We will eat goanna.'

3.7 Translation of a Mudburra Hunting Story[3]

- translated into Jingulu by Nabijinnginju Ulamari

Nginda-bila-niki unyu-rruku ngirriki warlanja-rna.
DEM(m)-dl(anim)-PROX 3dl-went hunting goanna-DAT
'These two went hunting for goannas.'

Ibilka kandirri ngib-unya-rdu bundurru, ngib-unya-rdu walanja-rna ngirriki.
water damper have-3dl-go food have-3dl-go goanna-DAT hunting
'They took food and water when they went hunting for goannas.'

Warlaku ngibu-nyu-wardu walanja maja ngirriki.
dog have-3dl-go goanna get hunt
'These two took a goanna dog hunting.'

Nginda-rni bininja banybila ibilka, walanja-rna ngaja-rruku yunku-na.
DEM-ERG man find water goanna-DAT see-went print-DAT
'The men, finding a water-hole, went looking for goanna tracks.'

Warlaku-rni banybila-nu walanja, duw-ardu yunku, nyinda ngawu-ngka.
dog-ERG find-did goanna rise-go print DEM(m) home-ALL
'The dog found a goanna track leading toward a hole.'

Nyinda-bili-rni banybili-wunyu-nu ngawu-ngka langan baka-ju ngawu
DEM-dl(anirn)-ERG find-3dl-did home-ALL dig-do home
walanja-rna.
goanna-DAT
'The two people found the hole and started digging into the goanna's burrow.'

Walanja banybila-nu urr maja ka-ju nyindi ngawu-ngkami.
goanna find-did pull 3sg-do DEM(m) home-ABL
'They started pulling the goanna out of its hole.'

Walanja banybila-nu kujarrarni urr miji-wunyu-ju nyindi ngawu-ngkami.
goanna find-did two(m) pull-3dl-do DEM home-ABL
'The two of them started pulling it out of its hole.'

Maya-kaju wunyu-ju walanja-rni, warlaku dajba-nu wunyaku, darrangku-warndi
kill-through 3dl-do goanna-FOC dog bite-did 3sgACC stick-INST
miyi-wunyu-ju.
hit-3dl-do
'They started killing the goanna, the dog bit it, they hit it with sticks.'

'Bujbu-kaji ngirrmi-ngurri-yi lakuj bili-ngurru walanja-rna.'
earth_oven-through make-1plInc-FUT bury-1plInc goanna-DAT
"We'll dig an earth-oven to cook the goanna."

3.8 Ngirriki Jungkalungka Marlarlukarnimbili *(Hunting far away in the old days)*

- told by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

Marlarluka wanyma-marriyimi ngirrika-marriyimi wanyma-marriyimi ngarnu
old_men go-went(dist) hunt-went(dist) go-went(dist) 3sgACC
kungka-rri-na bininja-rna.
foreign-RRA-DAT man-DAT
'In the old days people would go hunting over in other peoples' country.'

Anyma-marriyimi ngarnu wanymi-miki ardaku-marriyimi.
go-went(dist) 3sgACC go-came slow-went(dist)
'Off they'd go there, come and go.'

Jiyi-rni bininja-rni Jingila-rni, wardjayi-rna-nu marru-ngka-ni.
CATAPH-FOC man-FOC Jingili-FOC sea_turtle-DAT-did home-ALL-FOC
'Now these Jingili people, they'd go for sea turtle then come home to Jingili territory with it.'

Anyma-marriyi Jingila-rni ngini-ngkami-rni, ya-marriyimi dajka-marriyimi jiyi-rni
go-went(dist) Jingili-ERG thence-FOC, 3sg-went(dist) bite-went(dist) CATAPH-FOC
bininja-rni jimi-la-rniki-rni-ni.
man-FOC DEM(n)-pl-PROX-ERG-FOC
'The old jingili would come back from those parts with food from these others.'

Duwa-kaji wunyu-marriyimi ngirriki.
rise-through 3dl-went(dist) hunting
'That the others had shown them how to catch.'

Kula-kaji ya-marriyimi ngarnu jiyi-rni-nika-ngkujku-la-rni-ni
spear-through 3sg-went(dist) 3sgACC CAT-FOC-PROX-HAVING-pl-ERG-FOC
wardjayi-rna-ni.
sea_turtle-DAT-FOC
'They would spear things like sea turtles with these other people.'

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[3] The Mudburra hunting story was in a file of Jingulu and Mudburra materials, held by the Education Department in Tennant Creek, that had previously been used in the Elliott school as part of a culture and language course.

3.9 Lakud bilami Bundurru *(Cooking in an Earth Oven)*

- told by Miminyngali Eileen Peterson-Cooper Nangalinginju

This text is in the Kuwarrangu dialect of Jingulu.

Miji-ngurru-marrimi walanja, karalu, walanja karalu miji-ku-ma ngayirni-rni
get-1plInc-went(dist) goanna ground goanna ground get-went-EMPH 1sgERG-FOC
kirda-rni maya-marriyimi ngini-mbili ngawu-mbili, ngarru-nu-mbili.
father-ERG kill-went(dist) here home-LOC 1sgGEN-n-LOC
'We would go and get ground goannas, my father and I would kill them here at our camp.'

Lakud bili-ngirri-marriyimi ngini-mbili-walu, ngini-mbili lakud bili-mi
bury-1plExc-went(dist) here-? here bury-IRR
ngirri-marriyimi karalu-mbili, bujbu-mbili.
1plExc-went(dist) ground-LOC, oven-LOC
'We'd bury them here, here in the ground we would bury them, in an earth oven.'

Karalu-mbili ila-nga-ma ngayirni-rni kirda-rni-ni, bardawurri-mi
ground-LOC put-1sg-IRR 1sgERG-FOC father-ERG-FOC good-v
dirri-ngirri-marri.
eat-1plInc-did(dist)
'My father and I would put them (bush bananas) in the ground then we'd come and eat it and it would be good.'

Lakud bili, karalu-ngka-mbili-rni, karalu-mbili-rni ya-nu, dirri-kaji bardawurri-mi,
bury ground-ALL-LOC-FOC, ground-LOC-FOC 3sg-did, eat-through good-v
sweet- bili-mi.
sweet-pl-v
'Bury them in the ground, they'd be in the ground, then eat them up and they'd be good, sweet.'

3.10 Making a Fire and Cooking

- told by Kijilikarri Jumbo Collins Jamirringinja

Buba maja-mi! Ngirrma-nga-nu, ngangi-na buba.
firewood get-IRR make-1sg-did meat-DAT fire
'Get some wood. I've made a fire for meat.'

Nganga umbuma-nga-yi. Marndaj-nayi, ngamurlu buba-rni.
meat cook-1sg-FUT OK-INDEF big(n) firewood-FOC
'I'll cook some meat. OK now, that's plenty of wood'

File maji-ma nga-nu, *number 7* ilma-nga-yi.
get-EMPH 1sg-did number_7_boomerang make-1sg-FUT
'I got a file to make a 'number 7' boomerang.'

Dilmi-mindi-yi nganga.
cut-1dlInc-FUT meat
'We two will cut the meat.'

Ibirrka nyini-mbili darra-nya-yi.
beer here eat-2sg-FUT
'Will you drink beer here?'

Karnawunji-mbili mindi-ju. Karnawunji, warlumbu.
lancewood-LOC 1dlInc-do lancewood bullwaddy
'We're sitting in lancewood scrub. Lancewoods and bullwaddies.'

Ngimbija ningki-rra-wardi, lawunja - *blanga* wawa, warlumbu-wunu.
corkwood chop-RRA-go coolamon *Prep(DAT)* child bullwaddy-3dl?
'The corkwood is cut to make coolamons for children, bullwaddies too. '

Yarrungkurrumi! Ngaba-ju yarrungkurrumi karnawunji-mbili ya-ju.
vine_sp have-do vine_sp lancewood-LOC 3sg-do
'Yarungkurrumi! There's Yarungkurrumi on that lancewood.'

Darrangku yilma-nga-ju ngangi-na, irrinjuma-nga-yi nganga.
stick put-1sg-do meat-DAT turn-1sg-FUT meat
'I'm getting a stick for the meat, so I can turn the meat.'

Arduka-nama dulyulya-yi buba, umbuma-kaju-nga-yi nganga.
last die_down-FUT fire cook-through-1sg-FUT meat
'Once that fire's died down, I'll cook the meat. '

Lalija ilma-nga-yi - ma ngunya-ana-nku.
tea put-1sg-FUT EMPH give-1Obj-REFL
'I'll put the tea in too. Make us some tea.'

Darra-nya-nu nganga-ni, Jurlinginja? Bundurra-kaji-nga-ju.
eat-2sg-did meat-FOC *skin_name* full(m)-through-1sg-do
'Did you eat meat, Jula? '

Nganga darra-nga-nu, lalija-kaji darra-nga-ju.
meat eat-1sg-did tea-through eat(drink)-1sg-do
'I'm full up. I ate meat, now I'm drinking up my tea.'

Umbumu-nga-nu karnawunji-mbili linyarda, nganga umbumu-nga-nu.
cook-1sg-did lancewood-LOC coal meat cook-1sg-did
'I cooked on lancewood coals, I cooked meat.'

Bardakurra-ja nganga darra-nga-nu. Durrb kuji-nga-na-nku-ju durrb kuji,
good(m)-do meat eat-1sg-did poke-1sg-tr-REFL-do poke
ngajalakurru.
tooth
'I ate well of the meat. Now I'm cleaning my teeth (with a toothpick).'

Ila-mi ibirrka murdika-ngka!
put-IRR water car-ALL
'Put the water in the car.'

Mindi-wa kiniwarra, Warranganku ngalarli, nangka-nka-yi warlumbu, kurrubardi.
1dIInc-will_go North Beetaloo hither chop-REFL-FUT bullwaddy boomerang
Marndaj?
OK
'Now we'll go North this way to Beetaloo, where we'll cut ourselves a bullwaddy boomerang. OK?'

3.11 Preparation of Yams

- told by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

Nganyajimi-rni ngima-niki-rni ya-marri marlarluka-rni darra-marriyimi.
yam_sp-FOC this(v)-FOC 3sg-did(dist) old_men-ERG eat-went(dist)
'In olden times people would go eat the nganyajimi yam.'

Kijurlurlu-warndi nangka-marri marlarlukarndi-ni.
stone-INST-FOC chop-did(dist) old_men-ERG
'Olden folk would crush it with a stone'

Kijurlurlu-warndi nangka-marrimi, dika ajuwa-marriyimi.
rock-INST chop-went(dist) fat throw-went(dist)
'Once crushed with a stone they'd mix fat in with it.'

Nangka-marriyimi..... waruma-marriyimi, marrimarra.
chop-went(dist) taste-went(dist) sharp(m)
'Once chopped like that, chopped and chopped, it could be tasted, but it would bite.'

Jalanya dajba-jkalu.
tongue bite-NOML(n)
'It'd burn your tongue.'

3.12 Bunana Ngirriki Ngurruwardi *(Hunting for Ashes)*

- told by Miminyngali Eileen Peterson-Cooper Nangalinginju

This text is in the Kuwarrangu dialect of Jingulu.

Jiminikirni bunani mayanganu, angkurla nyambala yanu ngarru kiwirra.
this(n)-FOC ash-FOC hit-1sg-did NEG DEM(n) 3sg-did 1sgGEN none
'I got this ash because I didn't have any more left.'

Angkurla bardawurra jimi-niki-rni kiwirra.
NEG good(m) this(n)-FOC none
'But this stuff is no good at all.'

I mait go aut an yuno, I mait luk langa road. Gudwan-gudwan, yuno, tri.
I might go out and you_know I might look P road good-RED you_know tree
'I might go out along the road and look for a decent tree.'

Ngininiki-rni ngawu-mbili umangku. Angkurla maya-nga-yi umangku-darra,
this(n)-FOC home-LOC dreaming NEG hit-1sg-FUT dreaming-pl
buna-na.
ash-DAT
'This is dreaming country. I won't go for ashes in dreaming countries.'

Ngini-niki darrangku miji-ngirri-wardi bardardawurru darrangku.
this(n) tree get-1plExc-HAB good-RED(n) tree
'This is the kind of tree we usually get, it's good.'

4. Culture

4.1 Mirrirdimi Kujikarna *(Teaching About Initiations)*

- told by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

Ngibi-ngurra-yi wurraku nginda-baja-rni ngaba-nya-la nginyi-ngurri-yi wurraku
have-1plInc-FUT 3plACC that(m)-pl-FOC have-2sg-? sing-1plInc-FUT 3plACC
mirrirdimu-ngurri-yi wurraku kujika
teach-1plInc-FUT 3plACC initiation
'We'll take them when you get them and sing to them and teach them initiation songs.'

Ngamba ngirdbuwurri-yi-rra langa-mbili.
PURP win-3pl-FUT-RRA ear-LOC
'To put the truth into their ears'

Ngamba langalanga-wurri-ya ngayi kuku-rna kujika-rna, kuyu-rna kujika
PURP think-3pl-FUT 3sgGEN grandfather-DAT initiation-DAT ANAPH-DAT
nginyi-wurri-yi ya-jiyimi jaka ngarna, ngiji-wurri-ya kujika-rna...
sing-3pl-FUT 3sg-come ? 3sgACC sing-3pl-FUT initiation-DAT
'So they can learn to think, from their grandfather's songs, we sing and sing the initiations until...'

...aah marndaj ngaba-nya-ju; ngaba-nya-ju kujika.
OK have-2sg-do have-2sg-do initiation
'...alright, now you have the knowledge of the initiation.'

4.2 Marringilija *(Traditional Poison)*

- told by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

Ngini-rniki-rni marringilija-rni, wunjuwa-marri ngarnu bininja-rni
this(n)-FOC poison-FOC pour-went(dist) 3sgACC man-ERG
kanyburru-ngka-rni wunjuwa-marri ngarnu manyan ka-ju.
flesh-ALL-FOC pour-did(dist) 3sgACC sleep 3sg-do
'This traditional poison, men would pour it on their victims' flesh as they slept.'

Wunjuwa-marri ngarnu damangka-ngka-rni wanyma-kaji ya-marri kulyu-nu,
pour-did(dist) 3sgACC head-ALL-FOC go-through 3sg-did(dist) kill-did
mangirrija-rni, kanyburru-mbili-rni jiyi-rni-mbili bininja-rni-mbili-rni.
poison flesh-LOC-FOC CAT-FOC man-LOC-FOC
'They'd pour it on the head and go off then that would kill that man whose flesh they'd poured it on.'

4.3 Janbarra *(Tree Burials)*

- told by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

Nginda-rniki-rni marlarluka-rni ya-marriyimi janbarra-mbili.
that(m)-FOC old_men-ERG 3sg-went(dist) nest-LOC
'In the old days people would perform tree burials.'

Ya-marriyimi, marlarluka-rni wanyma-marriyimi ngarnu, dunjuwa-kaji ya-marri,
3sg-went(dist) old_men-ERG walk-went(dist) 3sgACC burn-through 3sg-did(dist)
warrijki-rni.
ghost-FOC
'The people would take that one and cremate him.'

Umbumu-ngurru-marriyimi yurrubirdki, marndaj barrambarra bininja-rni, nyamba
burn-1plInc-went(dist) scatter OK clearing man-ERG DEM
maya-nu jama-rniki-rni, lakuj bilu-wurru-marri ngarnu.
kill-did this(m)-ERG, bury-3pl-did(dist) 3sgACC
'We'd burn him then scatter the ashes all about in the clearing, then the person
who killed the deceased would come to the burial site.'

Nginda jani nguka-jiyimi?
that(m) who cry-come
'Who is that weeping?'

'Wardaaaaaa....wardaaaaa!'
"Waaaaa....waaaaa!"

Ya-jiyimi buka-kaji barrka-ju.
3sg-come move-through fall/succumb-do
'He's come to surrender up his spirit.'

5. Kamamurra Marluka *(The Old Blind Man)*

- told by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

Bundurru-nu umbuma-mi ngarnu jami-rna-ni marluka-rna-ni, bundundurru
food-did cook-IRR 3sgACC that(m)-DAT-FOC old_man-DAT-FOC food(RED)
marriya, angkula wumbuma-ardi kamamurra.
soft NEG cook-HAB blind(m)
'Be so kind as to cook that old man some food, he can't cook because he's blind.'

Kamamurra jama-rni marluka-rni narnangaja-rriya, kiyurla-rru-ni, kaminjirru
blind(m) that(m)-ERG old_man-ERG look_around-will_go son-RRA-FOC grandson
kula-rra-ni.
nephew-RRA-FOC
'That old blind man is looking about for his children, perhaps his grandchildren or nephews.'

Kaminjirru kula-ya-rni ngarnu ngaja-na-rriya bundundurru marliya.
grandson nephew-FUT-FOC 3sgACC see-1Obj-will_go food(RED) sick
'Our young people look after our feeding when we are sick'

Ngini-rni bundurru ngaba-nga-rriyi ngarni ngindi-rna marluka-rna.
that(n)-FOC food have-1sg-will_go 3sgGEN? that(m)-DAT old_man-DAT
'I'll take some food to that old man.'

Bubuji-rna marluka-rna ngaba-nga-rriyi ngarnu bundurru-nu
grey_haired(m)-DAT old_man-DAT have-1sg-will_go 3sgACC food-did
ngunya-nga-rriyi, ngamba-ya manyan ka-ya bundundurra.
give-1sg-will_go PURP-FUT sleep 3sg-FUT sated(m)
'I'll take this food over and give it to the old white-haired man so that he can have a sleep once he's full up.'

6. Kriol text - My Home

- told by Dakamajbi Pompey Raymond Jalyirringinja

Part I is text in a light Kriol. Following this telling, I asked Pompey for a version in Jingulu, and got a heavier Kriol with fragments of Jingulu mixed in. This was the first time Pompey had spoken Jingulu in approximately one year. I include the texts as being of relevance to studies of Kriol or of code-switching/mixing. Although Pompey was one of the most fluent speakers of Jingulu I encountered, he did not particularly enjoy telling stories and preferred elicitation sessions and teaching Jingulu.

Part I

Dis my kantri now Jingaloo, where Jingila bin kam akross from Warranganku dey bin here cuttimbat wangkurra [sugarbag] all over langa dis bullwaddy, warlumbu kantri, all over dat said dey had tu kam bek here bekos Jarralaka ova dere yu bin passim dat wan of dem billabong dere langa rood, yuno?
Dat part of Jingaloo. Yu sin dat boundary langa rood dere? Karriba, wajbala bin traiin tu put me way but nudda pleis here, but yu kaan go langa dat pleis - big stone dere. Dat dat wot yuno wot dey call dat ting? - Taipan snake. Dat what im here now. But dat the kantri is Jingaloo, Jingila bin here na all over dis kantri. We singim dat seremoni from nadda pleis wi go rait raun there an hi kam bek there an hi go bek dat wei gain go bek langa Warranganku den. All raun dere, lil ol creek, all ova dere. Where that kirini (catfish stone), thru dere raitap langa Warlamanyba, raitap langa Niyinbaja, raitap lang Murlububumu, dat pleis, Beetaloo. Yeah, Warranganku yeah. Marndaj.

Part II

Dis ngawu blang ta Jingila, my kirda alabat yuno. Winymingirriki here. Wanymangarri miyana ngirriki allova, Juwurrkulinayi mukukirni fram Warranganku. Walanjarna, kurrubardu an miyikimi. Wangkurra, wangkurrini, nyinawardini. Or dem nganga dey bin wanna killim. All raun here. Yuwayi. Nyinabajimbila wankij nginuwara nyambala ngirriki mukukirni. Marnday, dey bin wanna go Warrangankurna, wijmuwurrimarri raitup langa Warranganku. Ngini ngami jard bilami winymi dibij langa Dunmarra. Ngindanamana dey go langa Ulungkarrini kamat rait langa Warrangarku dat said yep. Marndaj.

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Part II

Jingulu - English
English - Jingulu

dictionary

User's Guide

This dictionary consists of two parts: a Jingulu-English dictionary and an English-Jingulu word-finder. The Jingulu-English dictionary is the most detailed part and contains information on over 2100 Jingulu words, including a word's grammatical category, morphological properties and irregularities, examples of the word in use and other relevant information. Entries in this section have the following structure:

Jingulu word *(Part of speech & gender)* (also alternative forms) English translation (comments) Example of the word in a sentence. *"English translation of example sentence."*
`(cf: other words with same, similar, or related meaning)`
(sub-entry...)

•**Jingulu word**: words are listed in alphabetic order of their initial letter as follows:

A, B, D, J, K, L, M, N, R, W, Y

The digraphs /ng/ and /ny/ are treated as sequences of two letters, /n/+/g/ and /n/+/y/. Words that are phonetically /i/-initial are listed as though they were /yi/-initial and words that are phonetically /u/-initial are listed as though they were /wu/-initial. Digraphs representing retroflexes (/rd/, /rl/, /rn/) have had the /r/ neutralised and are listed with their non-retroflexed counterparts (/d/, /l/, and /n/). Long vowel sequences (written /aa/, /iyi/ or /uwu/) have been neutralised to their short vowel counterparts (/a/, /i/ and /u/ respectively). Words that are encountered in speech or texts as /a/-initial may be /a/-initial phonologically, in which case they are listed under A, or they may be phonologically glide-initial with the initial glide dropped, in which case they will be found under /wa/ or /ya/ - all three possibilities should be explored (though dropping of /y/ before /a/ is fairly unusual).

Verb stems are often given as ending in a hyphen. This indicates that the final vowel of the stem is variable and depends on the form of the argument/tense/etc-bearing element suffixed to it (linking vowels, see section 5.1 of chapter 2 in Part I).

When words are encountered in speech or texts which can not be immediately found in the dictionary, they may represent alternative pronunciations of entries in the dictionary. In addition to the above notes on initial glides, retroflexing, and long vowels, try one of the following substitutions and then try looking the word up again:

- /r/ for /rr/ or vice versa
- /ng/ or /nk/ for /ngk/ (or vice versa)
- /jk/ for /j/ or vice versa
- /rrk/ or /rdk/ for /k/ (or vice versa)

- Jingulu has vowel harmony, so feminine and vegetable forms of nouns and adjectives as well as non-singular forms of verbs will have /i/ substituted for many occurrences of /a/ which occur in other forms of the word. Try substituting /a/ for /i/ (or vice versa).

Words that were identified by speakers as belonging specifically to the Kuwarrangu dialect (only about 50 entries in total) have '(Kuw.)' in brackets immediately after the entry or sub-entry.

•*(Part of speech & gender)* : Gender is provided for nominal forms only (N and Adj). Unless otherwise indicated, nominals can be made to appear in genders other than the one given (where appropriate) by the regular means of replacing the characteristic gender ending given with the ending appropriate to the new gender (and applying vowel harmony in the cases of feminine and vegetable genders). Where some gender forms are irregularly derived or where there is no concord (a single form for all genders), this is noted. In general, nominals which refer to humans and higher animates (large and medium-sized mammals, the largest reptiles) can appear in both masculine and feminine forms, while nominals referring to lower animates (including all birds) have a fixed gender.

The following abbreviations for parts of speech and gender are used:

N	noun, nominals used primarily to make reference to an entity or entities
Adj	adjective, nominal used primarily to denote properties or a nominal referent
Dem	demonstrative
Pron	pronoun
Interr	interrogative word or phrase
V	co-verbal root, takes null form of third person singular subject marking and is subject to vowel harmony
V2	adverbial verb-like 'root', takes non-null form(s) of third person singular subject marking, is not subject to vowel harmony
V root	co-verbal root which usually has some general type of meaning and can be preceded by a variety of adverbial words indicating manner or supplying more information about the predicate
trans	transitive (the clause has both a subject and an object)
intrans	intransitive (the clause has no (non-oblique) object)
Imperative	verb form used only in issuing commands
Adv	adverb
Pre-V	essentially a manner adverbial which combines with co-verbal roots to create a semantic predicate
m	masculine, gender unmarked

f	feminine
n	neuter, general neuter
v	vegetable, specific neuter
Vocative	the form used when calling or summoning a person

A full explanation of Jingulu parts of speech can be found in chapter 3 of Part I.

•(alternative forms): alternative pronunciations or variants. Unless otherwise indicated (in parentheses following the alternative), gender and number are the same as for the main form.

•English translation: approximate English translations. Plant names may be followed by their botanical name in italics and in parentheses.

•(comments): comments include irregular stress pattern or unusual use of word as well as cultural information relating to traditional or contemporary use of the object referred to.

•Example & *"translation"* : The Jingulu examples are all taken from elicitation sessions and texts. Because Jingulu words, particularly verbs, can all bear a number of inflection markers (some of which induce vowel harmony in the stem), words in example sentences can vary from the citation form (the head of the entry). The principles governing inflection and harmony can be found in section 4 of chapter 2 in Part I.

•`(cf: other words)`: references to other entries (or sub-entries) in the dictionary with same, similar or related meanings.

•**sub-entry**: entry for words morphologically derived from and semantically related to the main entry. The organisation of information under a sub-entry is identical to that under a main entry.

The English-Jingulu word finder is intended as a guide and companion to the Jingulu-English dictionary and is not a dictionary in itself. This sections lists some 2500 English words and their approximate Jingulu equivalents. Words found using the English-Jingulu finder should always be checked in the Jingulu-English section.

Botanical names are listed in the finder, alphabetised among the English entries.

As in the Jingulu-English section, Jingulu words that speakers identified as belonging specifically to the Kuwarrangu dialect have '(Kuw.)' written immediately after them.

Acknowledgments

The dictionary demands its own acknowledgments in addition to the general acknowledgments for the dissertation, because this dicionary represents the work of many additional people. Information in this dictionary was collected by a number of people over the past three decades. Ken Hale collected about twenty pages of words and short sentences in 1960. Most of the words and definitions in this dictionary were originally collected by Neil Chadwick in the late 1960s and 1970s, much of which was published in Chadwick's (1975) description of the language. To this Jeffrey Heath added a number of flora terms, and Mona Rennie collected some vocabulary items and sentences in 1989. Ellalene Seymour keyboarded Chadwick's research, and the other information was entered and structured in a backslash format by David Nash from 1990 to 1992. Chadwick added corrections to his earlier research in 1992. The remaining entries were collected by Rob Pensalfini in 1995 and 1996. The backslash document from which this draft was prepared (available from AIATSIS) indicates the origins of each entry and piece of information.

All of the words in pre-1995 versions of the database were checked with native speakers by Pensalfini in 1995 and 1996, when the example sentences found in this draft were also collected. The 1996 database (from which this dictionary was prepared) was checked for consistency of presentation and missing information by Brigit Cosgrove in November of 1996. The bulk of the financial support as well as the loan of equipment for the 1995 and 1996 fieldwork on the dictionary came from the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.

This dictionary therefore represents the latest stage in a work that has been carried out by many people over a lengthy period. All these people can claim credit for the collection and organisation of the dictionary. The ownership of the material contained in it rests always with the Jingili people.

Jingulu-English Dictionary

A

ajankirrimi
see *ngajankirrimi*

arla
see *ngarla*

alalaajb- *(V)* look round, look out, scan Alalaajbingaju ngarnu ngarrina baba yajiyimi. *"I'm looking around to see if my older brother is coming."*
(cf: ngajaj-)

am- *(V)* rub, paint Amarnunanu kaji marndaj. *"He rubbed me well."*
(cf: bawulum-, (w)irrk bil-, (w)ulukaj-)

amanjamanja *(N m)* children (singular is *manjala*) Ambayaardikaji amanjamanjakaji, ngindakinambilikina. *"No children here speak it now."*
(cf: manjala)

ambal- *(V)* argue Jambilanarlu langkajngaardi wunyaku bunbaku imbilunyuwardi. *"I heard those two arguing."*
(cf: kijikum-, kunyinkirr-)

ambanama
see *nambanama*

angkurla *(Adv)* (also babukulinji, babakija (dual), babiyuwurra (plural)) not Angkurla ngarri ngayarni jurumanganki yunku. *"I can't go(?), my tracks are covered up."*

anikirrkiji *(Interr Adj m)* (also anikirrkirri, anikarrkarru, anikirrkirrbi *(f, n, v)*) what sort Anikarrkarru jamaniki jurlijirni, anikirrkiji. *"What sort of a bird is that, eh?"* Anikirrkiji jamanikini bininjani. *"What kind of man is that?"*

aningkiliji *(Interr)* (also aningkilijbi) how many Aningkilijbi majanyanu. *"How many did you get?"*

ayinji *(Adv)* little while, short time Ayinji mankiyami majangarri. *"Sit here for a while, I'll fetch it."*
ayinjinama *(Interj)* bit by bit, not yet wait a little Ayinjinama, burrbijingurriyi ngiinikini ngurruwakaji. *"Bit by bit, we'll grind this all."* Ayinjinama dirringurriyi, waja bakangurringki marrinjunu. *"Wait a little while we drink, then we'll talk language."*

B

baba *(N m)* (also babukulinji, babakija (dual), babiyuwurra (plural)) brother (elder) (classification includes older male parallel cousin) Marlinjangkami yamiki baba ngarrina. *"My brothers came down from Marlinja."*

babirdimi *(N v)* (also babidimi) yam, wild potato (generic as well as specific) *(Ipomoea costata et al.)* (semi-prostrate, climbing vine) (distinct from *nganyakuma*) Ngunyaanaba maa nyamana babirdimi. *"Give me that yam!"* (the yam is cooked in ashes and eaten; lots to south (e.g. Warlpiri) few at Newcastle, lots in desert, black soil)

babikurlini
see *bibirni*

babiwurrini
see *bibirni*

babiyuwurra
see *baba*

babukulinji
see *baba*

bard baj- *(V)* (also bardbaj-) dodge miss Ngirruwuku buliki jamana bard bijingirribardi dardungkijanama. *"We missed the cow over and over."*
(cf: bulam-)

bardarda *(N m)* brother (younger) (also bardardiyila (dual) (classification includes younger male parallel cousin, wife's sister's husband (ego: male)) (classification includes maternal aunt's son (ego: female)) (stress: 'bardarda) Ngurruwa ngabangarri bardarda. *"I'll take my little brother with us."*)

badardiyiwulu
see *birdirdini*

bardakurra *(Adj m)* (also bardawurra) good, well happy (generally) Nyaminarninu bardakurrirni kajiyaju. *"She's well now."*
bardakurriya *(Adj m)* haughty, smart (cheeky), proud Bardakurriyakaji yaju nyambanyamba kanyburrunu niyirnunu. *"He's proud of his body and his possessions."*

bardakurram- *(V)* (also bardakurrm-) make something good, improve

bardangkara *(N m)* (also bardangkarra) moon Ngurrayijbi angkula ngajanganu bardangkarra. *"Last night I never saw the moon."*
bardangkarra kurrangjuwaju *(N m)* (also bardangkarra kurrangjuwayi) new moon
bardangkarrarni ngamulakaji *(N m)* full moon Bardangkarra duwajiyimi ngurraku. *"A full moon is rising upon us."*
jangkubarni bardangkarra *(N m)* empty moon
kamuruyaju bardangkarra *(N m)* empty moon

Badba *(N m)* Daly Waters Karribarni nganyaardi *Daly Waters,* bininjarni nginyinginiwardi Badba. *"White people call it "Daly Waters" but we call it "Badba"."*

bardbarla *(N n)* ankle Jamanikini warlakurnu lakarr majaninkunu bardbala. *"That dog broke its ankle."*

badbalu
see *bidbilyi*

bardk- *(V)* drop, go down, move downwards (generally) (almost always used with a pre-verbal element to indicate kind of motion or change) Yurru bardkangayi jamana yajima bardkangayi arduku. *"I'm going to duck down and hide from that one coming."*

bardkula *(N m)* bandicoot, bush rat Ngindarni bardkula darramarri marlarlukarnini. *"In the old days people would eat bandicoots."*
(cf: mulungkarrirni)

barduru *(N n)* tribal scars Waja jamarnikirni bayirni ilaju ngarnu barduru, barduru ilaju mangalimbili. *"Who put the tribal scars on this man, on his chest?"*
(cf: murruru)

baaj *(V2)* arrive, get in Baaj mindamiki. *"You and me arrived."*

baj- *(V, V (root))* track, follow verbal root with meaning do, perform an action on something Bajangarri jambilana bininjayiyila wunyaku kujarribilarni. *"I'll track those two people."*
(cf: juwarr-)

bajk- *(V)* tell Umangku bajkami ngarru. *"Tell me a story."*
(cf: ngarrabaj-)
bajk- + non-sg subject + REFL *(V)* chat, converse Nyamabajinani nayukuku ngandayimbili bijkiwurrunkuju. *"The old women are talking to each other in the shade."*
bajkajka *(N n)* story, tale Bajkajka majami ngarru! *"Tell me a story!"*

bak- *(V (root))* motion, change of state Nyurrun bakami. *"Move over!"*
(cf: juw-)

bakara *(N n)* open space, clearing, outdoors (stress: 'bakara) Mankiyimindiyi nginda bakarambili. *"We two sit in a clearing."*
(cf: barrambarra, dibijkanajku, walkbaku)

bakarranji *(N m)* ground goanna Ngindarni bakarranji lamarlumbili yaju. *"The ground goanna lives in hollow logs."*
(cf: lardaja)

bakiri (Kuw.)
see *bakuri*

bakuly- *(V)* lie horizontal, lie down, lie dead
(cf: manyan)

bakulyi *(Adv)* horizontally
bakulyaju *(Adj n)* horizontal (not used for animates, where *manyan* is used instead)
(cf: manyan)

bakungunjini *(N f)* (also bakuwunjini) ant (small black) (stress: 'bakungun"jini) Nganga bujuwanu bakungunjangarni, ngijingirribardi dardunya wanyubardi ngirriku, bundurruna ngangina kujuwanu nganga. *"The little black ants go for rotten meat, we always see them all over our meat and other food."*
(cf: jujuja)

bakuri (Kuw.) *(N n)* (also bakiri) headband (stress: 'bakuri) Kardarda ngarrinirnini kanyirnini ngabaardi bakuri ngabaardi kardarda. *"My uncle always wears a headband."*
(cf: nawaya)

barl *(V2, Adv)* lie belly down, lying belly down Jamani wawa barl yaju. *"The child is lying belly down."*
barl duk- *(V)* lie flat on the ground
barl (w)ardk- *(V)* drop to the ground (flat) and hide Barl wardkanganu wunyaku ulyurrkungka. *"I dropped down into the bushes and hid from those two fellows."*
(cf: yurru bardk-)

bala *(N m)* tree lizard (small) Ngindarniki bala yaardi balyab kaardi darrangkumbili kurlungkurla, kunanga darraardi. *"The little tree lizard sits right up alongside small sticks and eats flies."*

barlakaka *(Adj m)* (also birlakaka) sweet Ngindarni wangkurra barlakaka. *"That sugarbag is sweet."*

balakujarri *(N m)* kite (black-shouldered) Balakujarrimarni murlkurni ngabaju kaburrkaburru liyimbumbili. *"The kite has black on its shoulder feathers."*

barlakuji *(N m)* swamp Barlakujimbilirni ngalayiminji yaardu ngininikirni. *"Bullfrogs hang out in this swamp."*
(cf: langkana)

barlamarra (Kuw.) *(N m)* boy (crawling)
(cf: dirndijajkala)

balanganjanganja *(N n)* valley (where water can collect), gilgayi "Gilgayi" jiminikini barlanganjangaja ngirribijingirrardi. *"We call gilgayis "barlanganjanganja"."*

balarr juw- *(V)* smash Jimina nyambala warrkanu balarrjuwanu. *"It fell and smashed."*

barlbarl *(Adv)* right past, right through Jamana banybilanganu jimina wajankaju barlbarl ngurruwa. *"I'll go right past that fellow waiting there."*

balika *(Adj no concord)* (also balinyma (Kuw.) *(m)* (third person only)) hungry Balika nyaju? *"Are you hungry?"*
(cf: jamandarra)

balkij *(Adv)* next to, beside Nyindabila balkijunyuju. *"Those two are sitting close together."*

barlulyi *(Adj m)* (also barlurlu *(n)*) dry dead (of plants) lonely Barlulyi ilangayi abaaba. *"I'm drying my clothes."* Nginda barlulyi yaju jangkubarni yaardi. *"He's really lonely and always on his own."*
(cf: kurranja, ladarrku)

barlungbarlungmi *(N v)* wattle species with very thin leaves (commonly 'weeping willow') *(Acacia stenophylla)* Kunarambili barlungbarlungmi duwaju. *"The barlungbarlung wattle grows in the white ground."* (gum soaked in water and eaten; grubs in roots)

balyab *(Adv)* alongside Bula ngininikini, ambakini kujikani bula ngambiyayula yarriyi balyab wawarna ngarnu. *"The men dance their corroborees while the women and children sit by watching."*

balyalya *(N m)* sides (of abdomen) Balyalyambili ngabangaju nyambala marliyangaju. *"I have a pain in my side."*

balyanu *(N n)* tail feathers Ngamamiyikini nginaniki balyanungkudi. *"The coot has tail feathers."*

Bamayu *(N n)* Powell Creek Jimirni ngarnu Wilminjina jimirnikirni Bamayunu, Wilminjina ngarnu. *"Bamayu there is Warlmanpa country."*

bambamburru *(N n)* holey country Bambamburru ngininikini ngurruwa lurrbu. *"This is holey country, let's go back."*
(cf: bamburru)

bambawunji *(N m)* shadow (of a person) Bambawunjirni ngaḷanganu, ngarrina ngandayi. *"I saw a shadow, my shadow."*
(cf: ngambu)

bambu *(N n)* didgeridoo (from English 'bamboo') Nyambala nikin ngurri bambu ngirrmaniki, bambu nikinngurru lungurringi ngiininiki jaajaakani. *"We cut this didgeridoo, and now we must cut the ends off."*
(cf: kulungkukbi)

bamburru *(N n)* hole in ground Wiwirni wardkanu bamburrungka. *"The girl fell into a hole."*
(cf: bambamburru, mandarra)

barnanga *(N m)* father (ego: son) Ngindarni yajiyimi mindakina barnanga. *"Here comes our dad."*
(cf: kirda, lala)
barnangarla *(N m)* (also barninjala) father and son(s) Ngindabajarni wurruwardu barninjala. *"There go a man and his sons."*
(cf: larlukulinji)

barnangka *(N m)* nightjar, brown owl (small) Ngindarnikirni barnangkarni angkula darrangkumbilirni langandaardi, karalumbili manyan kaardi. *"The nightjar doesn't live in trees, but sleeps on the ground."*
(cf: mukmuk)

barndabi *(N v)* bark Ngimarniki barndabi nangkangaju, umbumangaju. *"I'm chopping this bark to burn."*
(cf: kamarra)

bandimi *(N n)* initiation songs (women's) (performed later on same day as *kujika*) Nginirni bandimi nginyingurruju kurraku nayukuwunga, wurruwa lurrbu ngawungka, kujikakaji nginyingurriyi. *"We sing the women's initiation to the women once they [the young men] have returned from singing the men's initiation."*
(cf: kujika)

barndumi *(N v)* lumbar back, back (lower) Jamanikini marlungarni barndumi marliyaju. *"That old man's lower back is crook."*
(cf: nyinjimi)

banga *(N n)* spit Numu kikijaanangku bangaarndirni. *"Don't spit at me."*

bangarra *(N f)* sulphur crested cockatoo Ngarruku yidakyunu nginuwa mukukina ngarruku nginuwa ngajanganu dardurni, bangarra. *"I went for a walk yesterday and found lots of sulphur crested cockies."* (skin: Naalinginju, Namirringinju)
(cf: yakakak)

bangkirrimi *(N v)* knee, kneecap Jaminja, ankilirni ambayaju ngarru, ankilirni bangkirrimimbili. *"My old cousin or maybe my cousin is talking about me, the cousin is in the knee."* (twitching/throbbing in right knee indicates that one's *jaminja* (maternal grandfather) is thinking of one)
(cf: mingkirridbi, mujumi)

bangkulirni *(N f)* (also bangkurlini) mosquito Dajbanganan bangkurlanga, ankujanganku ju. *"A mosquito bit me, so I'm scratching."*
(cf: bangkulya, karnamurrura)

bangkulya *(N m)* mosquito Langkaj bilangaju ngindarniki bangkulya ngiyarraju. *"I hear the mosquito buzzing."*
(cf: bangkulirni, karnamurrura)

barnibukarri *(N m)* hawk Lamurrangkurdi darraardi ngindi barnibukarri. *"Hawks eat stinking turtles."*
(cf: jarndarringka, karrkanya)

barnka *(N m)* friend Ngaya ngarrina nyambala ngarrina barnka mindubala nyambala jungunakungka dard bijkininamiki. *"Me and a mate got caught in the smoke."*

bankaja *(N m)* dream
bankaja ngab- *(V)* dream Nginirniki bankaja ngabanganu. *"I dreamed about this."*

barnkiji *(N m)* bat (large)
(cf: dirndijmana, jurnkurrubilyi, ngaliminymirni)

barnkijija *(Adj m)* lonely, friendless Bininja ngindarni mankiyaardi angkula waja ambayardi ngarnu, barnkijija ngindarniki. *"That man's sitting there with noone to talk to, he's got no mates."*

barnmi *(N n)* sugarbag wax (found on tree, indicates presence of a sugarbag) Barnmi banybilanganu, wangkurra yaju nginimbili. *"I found wax, there's a sugarbag here."* (can be eaten or used for sealing digeridoos or boomerangs)

banybil- *(V)* find Banybilanganu nyikirrurru, nyambala wubalambili banybilanganu nyikirrurru. *"I found those nuts on the bloodwood tree."*
banybil- + reflexive *(V)* meet

barangarnajku *(N n)* long narrow clearing or gap Barangarnajumbili nyirriyuku. *"We drove along the narrow gap."*
(cf: dibijkanajku)

barany bak- *(V)* slip (over), skid Barany bikimindimi. *"You and I might slip over."*
baranybaranyku *(Adj n)* slippery Manalku nginirnikirni baranybaranyku. *"This mud is slippery."*

barany bil- *(V)* (also baranybaranya il-) smoothen, make smooth Nyindarni kurrubardu barany bilangayi. *"I'll make this boomerang smooth."*
(cf: jurruj bil-, (y)irr bij-)

Baribari *(N m)* country and various related sites belonging to Baribari (emu star) dreaming Jamarni Baribarini yaardi angkula nganganu wumbumamarriyimi marlarlukarnini, Baribari jamarnikirni duwamarri. *"People would never cook their meat in Baribari country, because that's where the Baribari star rose from."*

barinym- *(V)* show, display (a thing) Nginirni ngabangaju, barinymangayi nganku. *"I will show you what I've got."*
(cf: durdkaj-, jungum-)

barr- *(V)* visit (person)
barr- + reflexive *(V)* come together, come

barrakaku *(N n)* twilight Barrakakukaji ngurraku, barrakakunama yaju ngunangku, ngajanama ngaju. *"Twilight is falling, it's twilight time now all around, but I can still see at this time."*
(cf: ngarrabarangku)

barraly- *(V)* ejaculate Barralyanu marndaj. *"He's OK now, he's spent (he has ejaculated)."*
(cf: ngard-)

barrambarra *(N m)* clearing Nginirnikirni dirrmiwurrunu barrambarrakaji ngurraku ngajajka. *"They cut this clearing and we went into the clear space where we could see well."*
(cf: bakara)

barrawurda *(N m)* hail Dardu warrkaju barrawurda. *"It's hailing heavily."*

barrbarda *(Adj m)* distant, a long way, far side Bayinirni jakardirni ngindiyaju barrbarda jungkali. *"Mother lives very far from here."*
(cf: jungkali)

barrku *(N n)* club, waddy, nulla-nulla Jalyangkuna ngirrmaju, barrkunu. *"Now he's making a nulla-nulla."*
(cf: birnmurru, dikidika, kuduru)

Barungka *(N n)* 15-mile water hole Nginirna Barungka, kulumarra, barawurda, Kunangaaba, wankij bakaju. *"Barungka is a place filled with clouds and hail, right around to Kunangaaba."*

barungku *(N n)* dry season, hot weather before wet Ajinbaja ngurriyi barungkunu? *"When will we have some of that hot weather?"*

bawulum- *(V)* wipe, pat, stroke, rub Nyindarni warlaku bawurlumangaju. *"I'm patting this dog."*
(cf: am-, (w)ulukaj-)

baya *(N m)* man, Aboriginal full man, person Jamani baya ngunyingurriyi nginarni nayuni. *"That man is looking for a woman."*
bayinbala *(N m)* people, a mob
bayardardu *(N no concord)* people Bayardardu irrijiyimi. *"People are coming up."*
(cf: darduwala, yuranya)

bib- *(V)* be stormy Kardarrukuji bibamarri. *"There was a storm all night."*
bibaju *(N n)* (also bijba) storm Ngunu bijba kajiyimi ibilkirni wardkanarrayi ngurraku. *"A storm is coming and it will rain on us."*

biba *(N m)* (also bibiyila (dual), bibiwurra (plural)) son (classification includes also brother's son, wife's sister's son, wife's paternal grandfather's sister's son (ego: male)) (classification includes brother's son's son, husband's nephew, husband's nephew's son (?), father-in-law's sister's son, mother-in-law's father's sister's son (ego: female)) Ngarrini bibirni mayanu, murdikaarndi. *"My son killed it with his car."*
bibi *(N m)* (vocative) Ibilka bijiyirri nganu, bibi. *"Get him a drink, son."*
bibuwalardi *(N m)* son (ego: third person)
(cf: biwula)

bibikaka *(Adj m)* warm
(cf: ngarrabiyaka)

bibirni *(N f)* (also babikurlini, babakurlini (dual), babiwurrini, babawurrini (plural)) daughter, elder sister (classification includes older female parallel cousin) (classification includes brother's daughter, wife's sister's daughter (ego: male)) (classification includes older brother's son's daughter, husband's niece, husband's nephew's daughter (?), father-in-law's sister's daughter, mother-in-law's father's sister's daughter (ego: female))
(cf: ngabarlanjibirni)
babiyuwurlu *(N f)* two sisters (ego: sibling)
babardi *(N f)* sister (older) (ego: sister) (vocative)

bidbidarra *(N m)* coolibah tree *(Eucalyptus microtheca et al.)* Bidbidarra ngamulu, lujbakayiwurrumarra ajininayi. *"Someone burnt that big coolibah tree."* (witchetty grubs in trunk, leaves chewed to promote salivation, ashes mixed with chewing tobacco, infusion of leaves used to treat colds, some species have wasp gall containing edible grub)

birdbil- *(V)* clap boomerangs together Kurrubardiyila bird bilangaju. *"I'm clapping two boomerangs together."*

bidbilyi *(Adj m)* (also badbalu, bidbirli, bidbilmi *(n, n, v)*) strong (things), hard, heavy

birdbulu *(N n)* cave Birdbulu dardu ngabaju karruji. *"The cave is full of spiders."*
(cf: nankuna)

birdirdini *(N f)* (also bardardiyuwurlu (dual), birdirdiyuwurrini (plural)) sister (younger) (classification includes younger female parallel cousin) (classification includes wife's brother's wife (ego: male)) (classification includes maternal aunt's daughter (ego: female)) Kirdijana jamini birdirdirni. *"He pinched his little sister."*

birdirdiyuwurrini
see *birdirdini*

birdiyinjirrmi *(N v)* cattle bush, bullocky bush *(Heterodendrum oleifolium)* Birdiyinjirrmirni buba ngirrmamarriyi marlarlukarni, marranybalarni darramarriyi. *"Olden days folk used the bullocky bush for firewood, while cows ate it."* (soft wood, used for woomera) (two splints used for broken bones)
(cf: kangkaala, lawa)

birdkijini *(N f)* orange-/red-naped snake (stress: 'birdki"jini) Birdkijini ngambalanu kunara mangkuru. *"The red-naped snake is plain-coloured."*

birdu *(N n)* burl, lump in wood Darrangku ngajanganu nyambalangkuju, ngajalankuju kabilu kiwirrakaji birdungkujukaji. *"This tree has branches, but nothing where there's a burl."*
(cf: kilyilyi, yalyalyaku)

bij bil- *(V)* throb (body part) clap boomerangs Bij bilanyaju walu ambayaju ngaankuna kuka. *"If your forehead's twitching your grandpa must be thinking of you."*
bijbij bilak- *(V)* (also bijbij bilardk-) twitch (body part) Bijbij bilardkangaju ibijibiji. *"My eyebrow is twitching."*

bijardku *(N n)* sugarleaf (on *darralyaka* , *wubala* , *wubungari*) Mijuwuri wawalarni bijardku. *"The children want to get the sugarleaf."*
(cf: wandala)

biyijala *(Adj n)* (also biyijaka, biyijawu, biyijirni, biyijirlirni, biyijimi, biyijirlimi *(m, n, f, f, v, v)*) long, tall Jamina ngabaju biyijaka milinji. *"That person has long nails."*

bijarrk baj- *(V)* squeeze (a boil, sore etc.) Bijarrk bijiji jamarnikirni, ukulijirni! *"Don't squeeze your boil!"*
(cf: julyumirr-)

bijba
see*bibaju* under *bib-*

bijbija *(N m)* martin Darraardi julijirnini bijbijarni darraardi yurrku irringila. *"Martins eat bauhinea flowers."* (skin: Jiminginja)

bijbulak- *(V (intrans))* (also bijbiwurrij-, bijbiwurrijb-) jump, boil Jamarna ngajanganu mikinji bijbulakanganu. *"Because I saw that snake I jumped up into the air."*
bijbijbulak- *(V (intrans))* (also bijbijbiwurrij-, bijbijbiwurrijb-) jump up and down, jump along Wawala bijbijbiwurrijbuwurruju. *"The children are jumping up and down."*

bijilirla *(N n)* (also bijilila) paperbark tree (at OT, Wave Hill) Ngirrmingurri jimina nyambala wangadangada, wangadangada ngilmingurri bijililangkami. *"We make pouches from that, from the paperbark tree."* (bark used as pouch for knife or stone spear) paper, book, paper money (somewhat archaic word) Marlarlukarni ilangayi bijilirla ambanama yamarriyimi nyambala bijilirla darrangku kamarra. *"We old guys used to call paper bijilirla because it resembled the bark of the paperbark tree."*

bijiwa *(N n)* ear (stress: 'bijiwa) Nyambana ngabangaju bijiwambili. *"I've got something in my ear."*
(cf: langa)

bijiwuna *(N n)* (also bijuwuna) salty tree (introduced tree species) *(Tamarix aphylla)* Bijuwuna ngininikirni duwakaji yaju ngurraku, yamardimi. *"The salty tree grows in our part of the world, but was introduced."*
(cf: mijuwulyi)

bikbikaku *(N n)* warm weather Ngininikirni wurruju warrajkalu, lawurangka yaangku bikbikakukaji. *"It's cold now but later in the morning it will warm up."*

bikibiki *(N m)* pig Ngindarnikirni bikibikirni angkula ngajamarri, karribarni. *"They never saw pigs around here until white people came."*

bikirra *(N n)* grass (most types) Jiminika bikirra nyambala kurdarlyurrukaju bikirrarni. *"The grass is green now."*
(cf: kurdalyu, (w)uju)

bil- *(V, V (root))* be located verbal root meaning put, place, cause to have properties or location indicated by pre-verbal word) Ngirrini darrangku dij bilanganu. *"I snapped this branch."*

birlakaka
see *barlakaka*

bilangbilangmi *(N n)* (also bilangbilingmi) soap tree (one kind) *(Acacia difficilis, Acacia colei)* Bilangbilangmi wiyiminginyinkimarrimi nyambala yurrkuwarndi. *"We would go and collect the bilangbilangmi flowers."*
(cf: mirrinmirrinji)

bilangkurrirdi *(N n)* pigeon (small yellow, white and red), dove (lives in stony country) Kurlankurrurdi, bilangkurrirdi ngindabilirni kujkarrinani liyijkunu. *"Kurlankurrurdi and bilangkurrirdi are two names for the same thing."*
(cf: kularnkurrurdi)

bilaya *(N m)* termite, red ant, termitaria (anthill) (stress: 'bilaya (Kuw.), bi'laya (Warr.))
Nangkalangaju manyingila, jangkabaju bilayangkurru dukiyanu, indarni. *"I cut the guttapercha, up high where the termites had not eaten it."*

bilibila *(N n)* small intestines, milk guts Bilibila ngabaju nginirnikirni, mangulkbi ngirribijingirriwardi. *"Here are the small intestines, the guts as we say."*
(cf: jirrikurlukurla)

bilirdbi *(N v)* white stone (used to make body paint) body paint (white) Balardbarna durluk mijingurru bilirdbi, karlurra bilirdbi mijingurri, nayaku nginawurra mijiwurra ngunjungunju. *"All the men go to get white body paint while the women get face makeup."*
(cf: makirra)
balardbarndi *(N n)* makeup Karriba ngilmiwurruwardi balardbarndi; jiyirndimi, ngajalakurru, kilimi, ngabanju, ibijibiji. *"White people use makeup on their cheeks, mouth, nose, eyes and eyebrows."*
(cf: ngunjungunju)

bilimburlu *(N n)* stone type (hard yellow to white stone, found around Beetaloo)
Wanybilangarnu kijurlurlu bilimburlu. *"I found some of that white stone."*

birlimirrirni
see *birnmirrirni*

bilirna *(N n)* river red gum *(Eucalyptus camaldulensis)* Jaminikalu bilirna mijingurri ibingurringki irrkburrkbu jiminikaluna. *"You rub the redgum gum into painful joints."* (used for didgeridoo, bark for coolamon, sugarleaf. Infusion can be rubbed into painful joints and on chest.)
(cf: kunjimarra)

bilirni *(N f)* (also bilayirlu (dual)) mother (ego: son or daughter) Angkurla ngarrinirni bilirni yajiyimi kuna yaangkunu marıkiya ngayi. Kuna angkula yaangkunu ngarriyi ngindi nyumbalangka, nginuwa ngarriyi kungkangka ngawungka. *"If my mother doesn't come, I'll go to town. If she comes then I'll stay here again."*
(cf: bilyurlini, jakardini)

bilirr *(Adv)* shiny Bilirr kaju ibilka. *"The water is shining."*
bilirrk- *(V)* shine (of water or clouds)
(cf: biringb-, lujb-)

bilkina *(N m)* flying fox (large red) Bilkinarni ngindarnikirna ngurrayijbi yurrkuna yajiyimi. *"The large flying fox is attracted by flowers at night-time."*
(cf: kinyakbanji)

bilkurr *(N n)* (also biyilkurru) butcher bird (large) Kaburrkaburrji, irrkbirrkbu bilkurr ngabaju liyimbumbili. *"The butcher bird has black and white on its feathers."*
(cf: kurrbalawuji, ijijurnminji)

bilyingbiyaku *(N, Adj n)* red, light brown Nyininu ngarrinu ngarrunu ngawu nyininikinu bilyingbiyaku karalu. *"My home is the red earth."* red sand Kararlu ngabangaju bilyingbiyaku marndamarndambili. *"My hands are covered in red dust."*
bilyingbiyaka *(N m)* half-caste, person of mixed Aboriginal-European descent

bilyurlirni *(N f)* mother (ego: third person)
(cf: bilirni, jakardini)

bin bil- *(V)* (also bing bil-) separate, split up, sort Bing bilangayi ngarrunu ngarru larnku. *"I'm going to sort my clothes."*

binbinkum- *(V)* roll (as dog rolls) shake (as a dog shakes itself) Binbinkumaninkuju warlaku, ibilka wardkaju ngarnu kumungkungkami. *"The dog is shaking itself out and water is spraying off its back."*
(cf: birriy-)

Binda *(N m)* OT station

bininja *(N m)* man Jamani bininja ngabaju wunyaku nayuwurlu. *"That man has two women."*

bininjangkuji *(Adj f)* married (woman only) (literally: man-HAVING) (stress: 'binin"jangkuji) Nyamina nayurni bininjangkuji, bininja ngabaju. *"That woman's married, she has a man."*

binj- *(V)* (also binjiy-) grow (transitive or intransitive) Jamani kurlukurla wawa binjaju. *"The baby is growing."*

binjam- *(V)* rear (children), adopt, cultivate, plant, sow Wawa binjamangaju. *"I'm raising a child."* Ngayirni binjamangaju babirdimi. *"I grow potatoes."*
(cf: nalangaj-)

binjayinja *(N n)* shell (large shell or the substance shell) Ngirrmiwurruwa jurrumarriyimi nginuwara binjayinjarni. *"They would polish shell to make it shine."*

Binjilirni *(N f)* a swamp near Elliott

binmala
see *binymala*

birnmirrirni *(N f)* (also birlimirrirni) girl at or just before puberty Ngamulirni jalyamungka binjiyaju, birnmirrini. *"That little girl is growing up into a big girl."*
(cf: ngamurlini)

birnmurru *(N n)* stick (shaped), axe handle, nulla-nulla (short), club Jimirnikirni birnmurrunu ambanama barrku, *but* kurlukurlukaji jimirnikirni. *"This birnmurru is like a nulla-nulla only smaller."*
(cf: barrku, dikidika, kuduru)

binyamaku *(N n)* (also binyamadbi) broad daylight, middle of day Binyamaku yurriyurrunu bayinbala. *"They were playing during the middle of the day."*
(cf: (w)uliyijangardi)

binybajbunmi *(N v)* rectum, colon

binymala *(N n)* (also binmala) knife (any), saw spear head (stress: 'binymala) Nginibajirdu binymala majami, dardawu ngininiki. *"Get the saws, and that axe."*
(cf: kiyirru, wanyu)

birimilyi *(N n)* (also birrimilyi) shoulder blade, shoulder joint Ngarrina bardarda wardkangaju ngarnu birrimilyi, yajiyimi. *"My younger brother must be coming because my shoulder is twitching."* (twitching/throbbing in right shoulder signifies that one's *bardarda* or *birdirdirni* (younger sibling) is thinking of one)

biringb- *(V)* shine Uliyijirnini duwangka yajiyimi biringbikaji yajiyimi, jarrani. *"The sun is rising and shining across the country."*
(cf: bilirrk-, lujb-)
biringbiyaku *(Adj n)* bright, shiny, shining Ibilkarni nginarnikirni biringbiyikirni. *"This water is shining."*

birridini *(N f)* (also birrirdini) diver duck (small) Bikirra darraardi nginanikirni birridingarni. *"The small diver duck eats grass."*

birrik *(Adv)* through
birrikbirrik *(Adv)* straight through
(cf: karl, karlwarl)

birrili *(N f)* (also birriyili (stress: bi'rriyili)) cockatoo (white) Kirangkuju angkula darraardini kirngakuju mayi birrilinga bundurrunu. *"White cockatoos don't eat melons for food."* (skin: Naalinginju)
(cf: mirdilyirrini)

birrilibala *(N n)* shrub species, prostrate vine type *(Operculina aequisepala)* (with white flowers and small black seeds) (stress: "birrili'bala) Birrirlibalangkami mijingurriyi nyirrmingurri-yi *nekilit*. *"We make necklaces from birririlibala seeds."* (with hard shell, black seeds used for necklace)

birringbalirni *(N f)* bush fowl (black) (stress: 'birring"balirni) Nginarni birringbalirni ngamamulirni, darrangayi. *"That bush fowl's big, I'll eat it."*

birrinji *(N m)* tree frog

birriy- *(V)* shiver, tremble Jamabilarni bayinybila wunyuju, darrangkumbili murrmurrmbili mankiyunyuju birriyiwunyuju wurrajalu. *"Those two are sitting under the tree shivering because of the cold."*
(cf: binbinkum-)
birriya *(Adv)* shivering Birriya yaju. *"He's shivering."*

biwula *(N m)* son (ego: third person) Biwurla mindika, ngindinu Kuwarrangbalani. *"The children, they were Kuwarrangu."*
(cf: bibuwalardi)

biwulirni *(N f)* daughter (ego: 3rd person) Ngindarni ngaankina lambarrarni, ngabanyaju ngarnu biwurlinirni. *"That's your father-in-law, you have his daughter."*

biyardu *(N n)* coolamon (short flat), plate, basket handle of shield Jimini biyardu wunyanu. *"He give them a plate."* Jarumiwarndani ngabaju nyambala dabilajkarni, ngayi biyardu. *"Shields have a bit that you hold, that's the handle."*
(cf: jarranguna, juka, kurluwarru, lawunja)

biyalu *(N n)* scrub (light) Nginimbilarlu manyan wurriyi bardawurrumbili kararlumbili, biyalumbili. *"You lot sleep here on this good ground, this light scrub."*
(cf: karnjanjarru, (w)ulyurrku)

biyangk- *(V)* lose (race), come last
biyangka *(Adv)* behind, later Biyangkani ngijinginyu jangkibilkaji kujarrani, miyingurrununya. *"Later we saw two more spiders, and we killed them."* later on Jamanikini naya ajankaju biyangka kumungkumbili. *"There's someone standing behind you."*
biyangkaaja *(N m)* (also biyangkayirdi, biyangkaaju *(f, n)*) last thing (in an ordering, last thing done), last one in a line, youngest (in a family) Ardukunama nyambala nganu nginini biyangkaajukaji ngarru. *"This is the last thing I must do."*

biyawiya *(N n)* (also biyawuya, buyawuya) rough country, rough ground (any, including black rock or white clay) Nyama ngindi nyaadi biyawiyambili nyaadi nyamani. *"You live in the rough country."*

biyawuja *(N n)* flat (red) stone, grindstone (small, held in hand) Nginimbilali ngawumbili yaju dardu biyawuja. *"This country is full of flat stones."* Kumurrungka ilangayi biyawuja mijarrangayi. *"I'm grinding on the big grindstone with the small one."*
(cf: jungarri, kumurru, lardaranga)

biyuka *(N n)* rain stone Kijurlurlu biyuka ngabangaju. *"I have a rain stone."*

buwub mali *(V2)* blow (of wind) Ngubangkana buwub mali yaju wunba. *"There's a wind blowing from the East."*
(cf: (w)ambay-)

buba *(N n)* fire firewood Jimini jawaranya bubangka ilami, jalurukarna. *"Put the billy on the fire, for tea."*
(cf: ijardkarru)
buba dunjuw- *(V)* kindle, light

bubuji *(Adj m)* (also buburdi, bubuku *(f, n)*) grey-haired, white Nayurni imikirni damangkarni bubukukaji malibanya bubuku. *"that old woman's head is grey-haired."*

buburlu *(N m)* (also bubulu) tree lizard(large), dull skink, dragon lizard Bubulunu ngidarnikirni yaardi lamalumbili. *"The dragon skink lives in hollows."*

burdak baj- *(V)* gut Burdak bajangaju mangulkbi, maralu majangayi. *"I'll gut it, get its innards out."*
(cf: burrk baj-, ngaakany-)

burdalyi *(Adj m)* (also burdalu *(n)*) cooked, ripe Burdalukaji majangayi jama burdalyikaji nganga ngamba darrangayi. *"I'll get that meat out once it's properly cooked so I can eat it."*

burdb- *(V)* send Ngabajiyimi nginda burdbuwurraku marlarliyingangka. *"He's going to send them [bulls] off to the cows."*

budburr- *(V)* clap hands Budburrimindiyi. *"We two clap hands."*

budburu *(Adj n)* heavy, leaden
budburu mil- *(V)* be weighed down, be unable to bear Budburumilanganu jimirnikirni, ngamurla. *"This is just too heavy for me to lift."* Jamana dirnduwurrunu, budburumilankaju wurruju. *"They hit him, he's just about knocked out."*

burduburda *(Adj m)* (also kurdukurda) rough (texture), spotted plains goanna Ngindarnikirn jurrkubadirni burduburda, nijinmi burduburdumi. *"The plains goanna is rough, its tail is rough."*
(cf: jurrkubadi)
burduburdu *(N n)* (also burduburdumi *(v)*) rasp, file Burduburdumi wunyaanami nginini bikanakayi kurrubardu, bardakurrilangayi. *"I need a rasp to level this boomerang well."*

Burdurdurrini *(N n)* a swamp near Elliott Angkula jungkali yaju ngini Burdurdurrinini, Warranganlkungkamini. *"Burdurdurrini swamp is not far from Beetaloo."*

budujuw- *(V (trans))* let go Budujuwinginjunu. *"We let him go."*

budukurrirni *(N f)* (also budukirrirni, budikirrirni) goanna (plains, small) (female of *jurrkubadi*) Mangkurumbili banybilingirriwardi budukirrirnini, wanymajungka - jalyangkunu ngabaju kidba. *"We could find a female plains goanna walking along on the plain - they have their eggs at this time."*
(cf: burduburda, jurrkubadi)

burdumi *(N v)* bottom, buttocks Dul mayanurnanu burdumi. *"She kicked me in the bum."*
(cf: injilmi)

budunarrimi *(N v)* (also burdunarrimi) vine species, creeping grass, bindii *(Tribulus species)* Nayanganu budunarrimi langa nungkangananu. *"I stepped on a bindii and it pricked me."* (the spiny fruits cause injuries to the feet)
(cf: mawurumi, (w)urlurnmi)

buj- *(V (intrans))* smell Warlaku kiyarlu bujaju, mayami. *"The dog stinks, send it away."*
(cf: kiyali)
bujkuw- *(V (trans))* (also bujuw-) smell Bujuwanganu inilalu bujaju ajuwanayi. *"I can smell something."*

buj baj- *(V)* cut into pieces, cut open Buj bajangayi dimana, maralu burrk bajangayi. *"I'll cut the horse open and gut it."*
(cf: dilm-, dirrm-)

bujarrima *(Adj m)* selfish, sulky Mankiyaardi bujarriyardi kardarda bunbakanama, bujarrima. *"That guy just sits around sulking and is easily provoked, he's selfish."*
bujarriy- *(V)* sulk Ngindarnikirni bininjarni bujarriyaardi, nyambanayi. *"This fellow's often sulking for some reason or other."*

Bujbu *(N n)* creek near Marlinja (Newcastle Waters) Bujbu yaju ngukaju Marlinjambili. *"Bujbu creek trickles at Marlinja."*

bujbu *(N n)* earth oven Bujbukaji ngirrmingurriyi lakuj bilingurru walanjarna. *"We'll dig an earth-oven and cook the goanna."*

buji *(N n)* bush (country) Ngarriyi ngini bujingka jukula ngarri murrkulijka. *"I'm going bush for three days."* (from English 'bush')
(cf: dibijkanajku, jarrajarra)

bujikarda *(N m)* (also bujikard) cat Buwarraju bujikard jamaniku buwarrkajala. *"The cat is miaowing."*
(cf: kardayi)

bujubujub- *(V)* err, be mistaken Bujubujubanganu, bujubujubimindunu. *"I made a mistake, we both made a mistake."*
(cf: (w)aburrm-)

bukbukbini *(N f)* storm petrel Jamarnima marlarlukarnimbili yamarri nyayirnini bukbukbinini, kuwarrkukaji jalyangkunu. *"In the times of the olden folk, there were strom birds here, but now there are none."* (skin: Nabijinnginju, Nangalinginju, Jabijinnginja, Jangalinginja)

bukumarra *(N m)* corkwood tree *(Hakea chordophylla, possibly H. lorea, also Grevillea mimosoides)* Nyama ngabaju wangkurrangkujku ngimanirni yurrkunu, bukumarra. *"The corkwood has honey-bearing flowers."* (used occasionally for boomerangs but considered too soft, boiled bark used to treat scabies and skin sores.)

bul- *(V)* spear Karnarinymarndi bulanganu jamarni, kulanganu. *"I speared him with a spear."*
(cf: kuj-, kul-, langa nungk-)
bulajbunji *(Adj m)* speared Bulajbunji jamarnikirni. *"This guy has been speared."*

bula *(N n)* corroboree (men's, not ceremonial, public) Bula ngirlikiminduwa jalyangka. *"You and I will dance a corroboree today."*
(cf: dika, dulinya)

bulam- *(V)* miss, lose Bulamanganu jamarni junmarni, karnayingmirni kulanganu, bulamakaji nganu. *"I missed that wallaby, I threw a spear at it but missed."*
(cf: bard baj-)

bulangkarrimi
see *bulungkarrimi*

bularraku *(N n)* smoke tree *(Eucalyptus pruinosa)* Bularrakumbili banybilanganu wangkurra. *"I found a sugarbag in the smoke tree."* (used for didgeridoo, boomerang and nulla-nulla. May contain sugarbag. Ashes of bark are mixed with chewing tobacco.)

buliki *(N m)* cow Dardu buliki yaju, nginda ngawumbilirni dardu buliki. *"There's a lot of cows over there by the station."*
(cf: dirdbakanu, marranybala)

bulkunga *(N m)* eldest (in a family) Ngindarniki ngarru ngarrina baba bulkungka. *"This is my eldest brother."*
(cf: jaburrama)

bulubulub- *(V)* (also burluburlub-) float Burluburlubiwurruju dardu jamana juliji burluburlubaju. *"Many birds are floating."*

bulumbulurdi *(N f)* (also bulumburlirdi) spoonbill Marlangayi darraardi bulumbulurdinga. *"Spoonbills eat mussels."*

bulunbulunji *(N m)* grass with soft white flowers *(Gomphrena canescens)* (Elliott, Newcastle Waters) Nyambala nginda nyiburru ngurruwa langa nyamba kararlungka bulunbulunji, warrkayi mijingurri irrk bilaja ngurraku diyadiya. *"We get the white grass and rub it on the ground, then paint feathers on ourselves with it."* (flowers mixed with white paint (*bilirdbi* , *makirra*) and used as body feathers)

bulungkarrimi *(N v)* (also bulangkarrimi) bluebush *(Muehlenbeckia florulenta)* (stress: 'bulung"karrimi) Bulungkarrimi duwaardi jurrkulumbili; bulungkurrimbili duwardi, bulikirna ngarnu darrajka. *"The bluebush grows by creeks; where the bluebush grows is grazing country for cattle."* (branches are tied together to make brooms)

bulurrb- *(V (trans))* roll (over, around or along) Bulurrbami, bulurrbangayi arduku nyininika majanga nyambala. *"Roll it, I roll these on the ground carefully when I get one."* Bulurrbaninkuju. *"It's rolling around."*
(cf: dirrindijkuw-)

bulurukuji *(N n)* pea bush *(Aeschynomene indica)* (stress: 'bulurru"kuji) Darajbi nyabala duwi bulurukuji darajbi duwi. *"The pea bush grows along the edge of the water."*
(cf: jarumajaruma, jirlirla, yukulirrimi)

bulwa *(N m)* pouch (of marsupial) Nginanikirni marliyingarni ngajangananu, wawarni ngababardi bulwambili. *"The kangaroo saw me, the one with the joey in its pouch."*

bulyawulya *(N n)* loincloth

buna *(N n)* ashes (Mudburra, but recently accepted as Jingulu) Yu, ngabaarri bunana warnunawarnuna, marndaj? Murdikambili yami. *"Yeah, go get that ashtray, OK? It's in the car."*
(cf: laya)

burnaringmi *(N v)* (also burnayingmi) wild orange, bush orange *(Capparis umbonata)* Ngajangarruwu ngamba Warrangankungka ngarruku, ngajanganu burnaringmi barlunmi, barlulyakajaka. *"When I went out to Beetaloo I saw a dried out wild orange tree there."* (fruits eaten, skin thrown away; unripe fruits may be roasted and eaten; inner bark boiled, liquid used for medicinal washing or poured on itches and sores, smoke from burning fruits keeps rain away)
(cf: wamarlarra)

Bunarrabanku *(N n)* Renner Springs (stress: Bu'narra"banku) Bunarrabanku jimirnini nganu Wilminjina, Warumunga. *"Renner Springs is half Warlmanpa, half Waramungu."*

bunbaku *(N n)* war, fight Wurrijiyiminayi jalungkunu, bunbakuna(yi) miyurringi. *"A big mob is coming for a fight."*
(cf: ngarimi, ingiyingi)
bunbamajka *(Adj m)* quarrelsome (mood), looking for a fight Nayurni bunbimijkirni. *"The woman's looking for a fight."*

bundirndiyirni *(N f)* wild woman, female spirit Bundirndiyingarni darraardi ngininikirni bundurrunu ngabukulyu. *"Wild women eat the fruit of the ngabukulyu."*
(cf: kirdijilirni)

bundurru *(N n, v)* (can take vegetable agreement if the referent is vegetable matter) food plenty, surfeit Balika nganu, bundurrukajingaju, marndajkajingaju. *"I was hungry, but now I'm full up, I'm all right."*
bundurriyajkalu *(Adj n)* plentiful, filling
bundurra *(Adj m)* (also bundundurra) full up (with food), sated
bundurrujuju *(Adj n)* barren (tree or country)

bundurrunga *(N n)* bundle Nginirniki majangayi idijangayi, idijangaju jarlukurruwarndi, nginirniki bundurrunga ilangaju. *"I'll gather these together and tie them down into a bundle."*
(cf: yuranya)

bungami- *(V)* clear the way, get out of the way Karrijbi bungamingayi, karrijbi bungamingayi kuyu warrkaji nyamini ngayi. *"We'll get out of the way, it's falling."*

bungbungku *(N n)* bone, marrow Nginirniki bungbungku banybilanganu yukarnbili. *"I found this pile of bones in the grass."*

bungk- *(V)* leave, relinquish, waste, cease divorce Bunkakaju wurrunkurraju. *"They went their separate ways."*
(cf: dak-, lunbil-, ngardb-)

bunjuw- *(V)* pour out, spill Kurlukurla wunjuwami. *"Give me just a little bit [of tea]."*
(cf: ngunjuw-)

burnku *(N n)* flour Burnku majangayi ngabangilmangayi ngarru darrajka, bundurru. *"I'm going to get some flour and make myself some food."*
(cf: lawa)

burnumurra *(N m, f)* brown snake Burnumurra jamanarlu jiyirni, dajbajkalani. *"The brown snake is a biter."*

bunungkurru *(N n)* lake, swamp (large) Kardajalu bunungkurru yaju ngarlku ngarrinyi nangana kirdarna. *"This big lake is in my father's country."*
(cf: jikaya, langkana)

bunybuny- *(V)* suck Jambajina wawarlanu bunybunyuwurruju nyambala. *"The children are sucking something."*

bunyurr- *(V)* bend over Bunyurruju majangayi arduku. *"I'm bending over carefully to get it."*
(cf: (w)urlardk-)
bunyurruki *(Adv)* bending over Bunyurruki majangayi arduku. *"I'm bent over, getting it with care."*

burardk- *(V)* be thin Kanyburrunu burardkamarri. *"He was a skinny fellow."*
(cf: larrkaja)

burrb *(V2)* (also burrbaj- *(V)*) finish, finished, that's all Burrubkaji nganu warak ngalirni. *"I've finished working."* heal Burrb unyi, ngabakaju ngurruwanya lurlubjuwi. *"Having healed, we show them the sites."*

burrju *(N m)* (also buja, burriju (stress: 'burriju), burruju (stress: 'burruju)) March fly Jiyirni *lajkilajk* ungkakaji yaardimi jiyirni burrjunu dajbajkakaju. *"Down to the lake come many viciously biting March flies."*

burrk baj- *(V)* gut Buj bajangayi dimana, maralu burrk bajangayi. *"I'll cut the horse open and gut it."*
(cf: burdak baj-, ngaakany-)

burrmurumura *(N m)* hornet (orange and black) (stress: 'burrmu"rumura) Marlarlukarni ngajamarriyimi burrmurumua 'aah' *ankarni*, 'burrmurumurani dardu, ibilkarni yaju, kilyingurriyi!'. *"When olden time folk would see hornets they'd say 'Aah, there are lots of hornets, there must be water, lets dig!'"*
(cf: nurnurnumi)

burruburr- *(V)* itch
burruburru *(N n)* scabies, scratches leprosy Burruburru ngabaju jamarnini. *"He's got scratches."*

burruburrurda *(N m)* (also burruburrirdi) itchy caterpillar, 'greenfire' (stings, lives in trees) Burruburrurdanga dajbangarnanu. *"The greenfire (bug) bit me."*

burruku *(N n)* pubic hair Angkurla wawala ngaba jamanu burrukujija, kiwirra. *"Children have no pubic hair at all."*

burrunjawurni *(N f)* plains wanderer, orange-footed scrubfowl (stress: 'burrun"jawurni) Larrba dirriwurrumarri nyaminani burrunjawurnirni, larrba marlarlukani. *"Long ago people would eat the plains wanderer, in olden times."* (edible)

burrurrumi *(N v)* grass with prickly seeds Durrk bujajkalimi nyambala burrurrumi. *"That burrurrumi grass can prick you!"*

buwadbulyi *(Adj m, n)* new-born (animals or people) woolly (stress: bu'wadbulyi) Yuku'lyarri buwadbulyi. *"Sheep are woolly."*
(cf: yardukkaku)

buwarraj *(Adv)* lying flat
buwarraj bil- *(V (trans))* lay flat Ilangayi darrangkungka, buwarraj bilangayi. *"I'll lay them down flat on a log."*
(cf: liny bil-)

buwarrk- *(V)* snore Buwarrkaju bujikard jamaniku buwarrkajkala. *"The cat down there is snoring, it always snores."*
buwarrkajkala *(N m)* snorer

buy- *(V)* blow (of animates), smoke Jamabajini buyuwurruju. *"Those people are smoking."*

D

dabarrangi (Kuw.) *(N m)* pelican Kakuwi darrardi jamirnini dabarrangirni. *"The pelican eats fish."* (skin: Jiminginja, Jaalyarringinja)
(cf: walanybirri)

dabil- *(V)* hold, touch Dabilanganu warnu ngabanganju. *"I'm hanging on to the tobacco."*
dababil- *(V)* feel (sense) Urrajkalunga jingi ngininiki ngardu dababilangankiyi. *"It's cold, I feel cold."*

dardarl- *(V)* (also dardarlum-, dardalum-, daldal-, darl may-) knock clap (sticks), make rhythmic noise Kundalnga dardalumanyayi. *"You're clapping the sticks."*
(cf: ngank-)
dardarlajka *(N n)* clapping sticks
(cf: kundalnga)

dardalya *(Adj m)* strong (person or thing), tight heavy Angkula wird bakangayi, dardalyu. *"I can't lift it, it's heavy."*

dardawu *(N f)* (also dawurdawu, dardawurni, dawurdawurni) axe (stone or steel) (probably underlyingly rdawu+REDUP) Jajkami jamani Jamirringinja dardawunga. *"Ask Jamirringinja for that axe."*
(cf: kirnbilirdi, mangkurni, (w)urdila)

dardu *(Adv)* many, much, a lot too much Dardumi majanganu. *"I got lots of them."*
(cf: yardbarrku, yuranya)
dardukijka *(Adv)* many days, every day, a lot of the time Ngayani dardungkija warak ngalingaardi dardungkija. *"I work a lot."*
darduwala *(N no concord)* many people, mob Jingilardarra jamabajani darduwala wurruju Kulumindingambili. *"Lots of Jingili people live in Elliott."*
(cf: bayardardu)

dajb- *(V)* bite Burruburrurdanga dajbajarnanu. *"The greenfire (bug) bit me."*
dajbajkala *(N, Adj n)* spicy, acidic (of food) bite, biting (as a dog or snake) Dajbajkala mijuwulyi ngajalakurru dajbajarnanaju. *"It's spicy, it burns my tongue."* Jamarni burrjurdu dajbajkala wurraja kurrayi. *"March flies suck your blood."*
(cf: mijuwulyi)

dajk- *(V (intrans))* bang, thump, burst, break, come away or out from, issue, fire (a gun) Langkaj bilanganu nyambanayi dajkanu. *"I heard something go bang."* Dajkanu ngarru nginuwa ngarruku karribarni, ngunbulukarni maja ngarru *bandage*. *"It [a boil] burst and I went off to see a white doctor who got me a bandage for it."*
(cf: dikirr wardk-)
dajkanu *(N n)* pus

dajkaardi *(N n)* rupture, spring Jimin karalungkama dajkaardi ibilka, kijurlurlungkami dajaardi. *"That water is coming out of the ground, from the rupture in the stone."*
dajkaardi (y)ibilka *(N f)* spring water

dajku mil- *(V (trans))* break, burst (boil, blister etc.) Dajku milami ukurliji! *"Pop that boil!"*

dak- *(V)* leave alone Dakanyayi abardu. *"You should leave it, it's bad."*
(cf: bungk-)
dakani *(Dem, Imperative)* (also dakarni) just there, in that very place leave it! (Imperative, by extension) (singular) Jimininiki dakani warrkujajkalu, ambanama warrkujanganaku ngaya. *"I have a scratch there. What could have scratched me?"* Dakani jamani nganga. *"Leave that meat alone!"*
(cf: karrila, (w)urrumi)

dakaangku *(V (Imperative))* let him/her (distant) come (singular object only, no dual or plural forms)
(cf: wangku)

dakudbari *(N m)* princess parrot (red and white; not common in Jingili country, found around Santa Teresa) Nginarnikirni dakudbarini bilyingbiyaku wirrkburrkbu liyimbunu, bujimbili yaardi. *"The Princess Parrot has red and white feathers and lives in the bush."*

Dalayijini *(N f)* swamp near Beetaloo Dalayijini jurrkulu nyamba ngabaju Jangalinginjirni marru. *"Dalayijini Creek is where Jangalinginja [Clancy Bostock] has his home."*

darliwa *(N m)* black and white crane Kakuwi darraardi jamarnini darliwardini; durrb kujakaji yaardi, darrakaji yaardi. *"The crane eats fish; it spears them and eats them up."* (skin: Jiminginja, Jaalyarringinja)

dalk baj- *(V (trans))* pull straight Kunyiyirrini dalk bajanyumi. *"You two pull this."*
(cf: durrarrkayi il-, durrun mil-, (w)ulyulyu mil-, (w)urr maj-)

dalkurr *(Adv)* (also dalkurru) half
dalkurr nangk- *(V)* cut in half, halve

dalmurranga *(N m)* kookaburra (common around Daly Waters) Dalmurrangarni yaju dardumi junungkuwalu yaju kirrawarraka *rait thru Darwin,* nginda yaju jalalarrka, nginimbilirni kuwarrku. *"There are lots of kookaburras all the way up North right up to Darwin, wherever mushrooms grow, but there aren't any around here."*
(cf: marrinkili)

darlukurra *(Adj m)* deep (bank, slope, or object) Jarranguna darlukurru ilami wawana. *"Make a deep coolamon to put the child in."*
(cf: jirrkanku, jurruku, (w)ardbardbala) worn down Darlukurra nginirnikirni kumurrunu. *"This large grindstone is worn down."*

dalyangkarr *(Adv)* exhausted Dalyangkarr nyaju nyamarni. *"Are you pooped?"*
(cf: (w)ayabi)

dalydaly *(N m)* grasshopper (small, green and red) cricket Dalydaly ngidarnikirni waniyirni. *"This grasshopper [species] is a cricket."*
(cf: dirndijaka, mirdimirdi)

dalyi *(N m)* whip snake Darraardi dalyirni, darrardi walanja, kaburi. *"Whip snakes eat goannas and dragon lizards."*

damangka *(N n)* head Damangka maliyangaju, lilingbingaju damangku. *"I've got a headache, my head hurts."*

damangka *(N v)* yam type (long round yam) (like *kubirdimi* but has rounded leaf) (in black soil, at Beetaloo)

dambaj bak- *(V)* (also dambaj bardk-) fall out, fall off Jamaniki ngajalakurru dambaj bakanganu. *"My tooth fell out."*
(cf: (w)ardk-)

danbiy- *(V)* get stuck Urr majangaju jimirnikirni danbiyaju ngarru. *"I was pulling this along when it got stuck on me."*

darndarn bak- *(V)* enter Darndarn bakangayi marrungka. *"I'm going into the house."*
(cf: (y)urdurruk-)

dandan juw- *(V)* stick in a hole Nginirni nginju dandan juwanganu karalungka. *"I planted that seed in a hole in the ground."*

darndiyi *(N m)* rat (both native and introduced) Dardu yaju nginimbilirni mujaka, darndiyi, dardu yaju. *"There's lots of mice and rats around here."*

dang *(pre-V, Adv)* fall
dang bak- *(V)* fall and break, break down finish, die, pour (of rain only) Ibilkirni dang bardkanu ngamulirni. *"It poured with heavy rain."* Kunyarrba ngarrina dang bakanu. *"My dog fell down dead."*
(cf: dij bil-, duk baj-, karra warrk-, kij bak-, lakarr maj-)
dang may- *(V (trans))* kill dead Ngarrina kunyarrba dang mayanganu. *"I killed my dog."*
(cf: danmiyil-)

dangbarr- *(V)* (also dangbarra *(V2)*) be lazy Ngaya angkula dangbarrangaju. *"I'm not lazy."*
dangbarrajkala *(Adj m)* (also dingbirrikirni, dingbirrikimi *(f, v)*) lazy Bininjiyardarra dangbarrajkala, durdulyi wurruju, dingbirriwurruju. *"The men are lazy, just sitting there with their arms folded being lazy."*

dangunyinji *(N m)* (also dangkunyinji) brightly coloured skink Kurrnyuna ngindarnikirni dangunyinjirni nambanama mikinji. *"The skin of the bright sking is similar to a snake's."*

danjuw- *(V)* weigh down Danjuwangayi nyamirnirni dabilangayi ngijinmi jubajangayi danjuwangayi. *"I held it down - I grabbed it and threw it down and weighed it down."*

dankay- *(V)* be lost, be out bush Ngarrununu ngawunu dankayangaju ngaya ajuwaranayi nganu ngawu ngarrunu. *"I've gone bush and can't find my way home, I must have gone off track somewhere."*

dankurra *(N m)* ochre (yellow) (made from *bilimburlu* stone)
dankurranybinyaku *(Adj n)* yellow, orange (colour) egg yolk Jayirlili ngabaju ngambalanayi irrkburrkbu, danykurranybirni. *"Inside [the egg] there is the white and the yolk."*
(cf: minjkujku)

danmiyil- *(V)* kill Danmiyilangayi. *"I'll kill it dead."*
(cf: dang may-)
danmiyili *(Adv)* to death, dead Danmiyili mayami. *"Kill it dead!"*
danmiyila *(Adj m)* killed Nyambaarndinayi jamarniki ilaninkunu, danmiyilanu. *"It died of something, something killed it."*
(cf: il- + REFL)

danykuw- *(V)* bump Wawa damangka danykuwaningkuju. *"The boy bumps his head."*

daara *(Adv)* with avoidance, (talk) to one side Daara ngayini urraku. *"I talked to one side as they passed."*

darr- *(V)* eat, drink Darranyanu ngangani, Jurlinginja? Bundurrakajingaju. Nganga darranganu, lalijakaji darrangaju. *"Did you eat meat, Jula? I'm full up. I ate meat, now I'm drinking up my tea."*

darraajbi *(N n)* river bank, edge of water, island Darajbi nyambala duwi bulurukuji darajbi duwi. *"The pea bush grows along the edge of the water."*

darralyaka *(N n)* ghost gum *(Eucalyptus papuana)* Darralyaka jamanikali mijingurri amajamardarrana. *"We'll go rub the ghost-gum (for gum)."* (has *wandala* 'sugarleaf', ashes mixed with chewing tobacco, softened gum used to treat skin sores) pale white person Wijbirrirni nginarniki darralyaka, wirrkbirrkbirni. *"This white woman's ghostly, quite white."*

darrangku *(N n)* tree, wood, stick (unshaped), branch letter stick Anikarrkarru jimini darrangkurnu. *"What kind of tree is that?"*
(cf: malangardku)
darrangku barlurlu old tree (dead and dry)
darrangku warrkajbunku fallen tree
darrangku jakalarru, darrangku lamalu, darrangku lamalkuju hollow tree
darrangku yalyalyaku forked stick or branch
darrangku linyarda kunju fire-stick
(cf: kilyilyi)

darum- *(V)* look for, seek Mami darumingurriyi. *"We will look for bush tucker."* Darrumangardu bardakurruma ngawurna. *"I've got to find a good campsite."*
(cf: dul-)

dawurdawu
see *dardawu*

dibij *(Adv)* outside, away, out of the way Dibij ngurruju wawurrungkami biyalungka. *"We're coming out of the scrub into some lighter ground."*
dibij(u)w- *(V2)* come out, away Mankiyanu dibijuwaku. *"She sat here and he went outside."*
dibijkanajku *(N n)* (also dibijanaju, dibijnganajku) open country (among bush) opening (in brush), small clearing Ngininikirni dibij ngirrimiki dibijnganajkungkami. *"We came out of that little gap in the scrub."*
(cf: barangarnajku, buji, jaarra, jarrajarra)

dird baj- *(V)* (also dirribaj-) tie up Nyaminirni dirdbajami ngankunu yunku. *"You should tie your shoes."*

dirdbakanu *(N m)* bullock, cow
(cf: buliki, marranybala)

dirdikarr- (Kuw.) *(V)* worry Dirdikarrangaju jurrkulu, uliyijirni ngajangabardi ngarnu karrijbi. *"I'm worried about him down at the creek, I've been waiting all day on the road for him."*
dirdikarrajkala *(N m)* concerned person, issue of concern
dirdikarrajbija *(N m)* carefree person, trifle Kiwirra jamarnikirna, dirdikarrajbija. *"This is nothing, just a trifle."*

dirdikbi *(N v)* kurrajong *(Brachychiton diversifolium)* (grows near salt deposits) Ngayarni mamirni dirdikbirni, ngimana, majanganu. *"I got kurrajong food from that one."* (string from bark fibres; roots of saplings (*winyindimi*) dug up, cooked very briefly on open fire, scraped with a stone, and eaten, paintbrush (*junji*) from sapling)

dirdila *(N m)* sparrow hawk chicken hawk Dirdilawurli jurliji yabanja nyunyumi, kurlungkurla jurliji. *"The chicken hawk eats small birds like the finch."*
(cf: waruburluburla)

dirdilka *(N m)* corner, hiding spot Bundurru ilangayi, dirdilkangka murnumirri ilangayi bundurru ngunungku. *"I'll stach my food away in the hiding spot, put it away like this."*
dirdilkikimi *(N n)* crack, bend in river Kararlu jiminikirni dirdilkikimi yaju. *"This ground here is cracked."*
(cf: nijiniji, yalalawura, yalyalyaku)

dirdilwarri *(N m)* lump, bump (in the ground) Dirdilwarrimbili ngarruku ngininikirni, murdikaarndi. *"I drove over a bump."*
(cf: mardarduju)

dirdingarnu *(N m)* kite hawk Ijinginyuna karribirdi ngayini karribirdi ijinginyunu dirdingarnu dedfella. *"We two (me and the whitefella) saw the dead hawk."* (skin: Jurlinginja)
(cf: karlarlawurra)

dij bil- *(V)* break, bite cut up, divide, snap Kunyirrirni dij bilanyimi kandirri. *"You two cut up the bread."*
(cf: dang bak-, duk baj-, kij bak-, lakarr maj-, lakarr wardk-)

dijirrini *(N f)* (also dijirrirni) lapwing (white bird with crest and giblets, lives in river country) Nyaminarni dijirrinirni yardi darrajbi ibilkinimbili. *"The lapwing lives alongside the water."* (skin: Naalinginju)

dika *(N n)* corroboree (women's, not ceremonial, public) Nayukuka jijirrkurri dika. *"These women will dance a corroboree."* (name comes from the fact that the participants use fat in their decorations)
(cf: bula)

dika *(N n)* fat marrow Nginirniki dika majangayi kurlukurlu, darrangayi. *"I'll get a little bit of this fat and eat it."*
dikabila *(Adj m)* fat, big (of animals only)
(cf: murrmuyaka, ngardajkala)

dikidika *(N n)* club, waddy, nulla-nulla Dikidika wul majami ngarri bunbakuwurrijiyimi nyindabaja. *"Get your clubs, they've come to fight."*
(cf: barrku, birnmurru, kuduru)

dikirr wardk- *(V)* sprinkle spray, burst open (as a boil etc.) Jamani ibilka dikirr wardkaju karalungka. *"There's water spraying out of the ground."*
(cf: dajk-)

dil nangk- *(V)* split (wood etc.) cut off
(cf: dil may-, laj nangk-, nikin)

dil wardk- *(V)* (also dil wak-) fall and crack, fall and split

dirlirl- *(V)* crouch Mankiyangaju ngayarni dirlirlami. *"I'm crouching down."*

dilkurni *(N f)* kite (white-breasted) Dilkurni nginaniki kakuwi darraardi. *"The white-breasted kite eats fish."*

dilm- *(V (trans))* cut
dil may- *(V (trans))* cut, split (with a tool) Darrangku dardawaarndi dil mayami! *"Cut the tree down with an axe!"*
dil maj- *(V (trans))* break, split (with a finger) Kandirri dil majami marndamarndaarndi! *"Break the bread by hand!"*
(cf: buj baj-, dil nangk-, dirrm-, laj baj-, laj nangk-, nikin)

dilu *(N n)* flame light, daylight Walk bajami jimina ngayi nyambala diluna. *"I'll turn the light on!"*
(cf: jalanya)
dirlu ngunj- *(V)* light Dunjuwami buba dirlu ngunjayi. *"Light this torch!"*

dilyarra *(N m)* tree species (similar to corkwood) *(Hakea species)* Majangayi nginirnikirni dilyarrani, nginuwakaji ilangayi marndamarndambili umbumangaju nganku. *"I'll get some dilyarra bark and put it on your hand where I burnt you."* (boiled bark used to remedy painful joints and muscles)

diyilyi *(N n)* mist, fog Ngaya ngarrina barnka nyambala diyilyingka dard bijkirnanamiki. *"Me and a mate got caught in the smoke."*
(cf: jungunaku)

dilyilyi (Kuw.) *(Adv)* doubled up, folded (fist, crossed arms or legs), crossed Dilyilyi nyaju jarrumulu. *"You're sitting cross-legged."*
(cf: durdukul, durduly, marnburr-)

diyim *(V2)* fly Ngindarna jurlijidarra diyim kardu. *"All the birds are flying."*

dimana *(N m)* horse Dimana lajaju. *"He's riding the horse."*
(cf: yarrarawira)
dimana langa biyijala *(N m)* donkey
(cf: ngardangki)

dimbak *(Adv)* full, filled overflowing Jaminarlu wawarni ngabaju ililarru dimbak. *"That little girl is tearful."*

dimbu *(N n)* sky Dimbumbili madayaju. *"The sky is cloudy."*

dimilyi *(N m)* bark of lancewood Dimilyirni majangayi, wukurni ngilmangayi. *"If I get some lancewood bark, I can make a humpy."* (used to light fires and build humpies)
(cf: karnawunji, manjarna)

dinangkami *(Adv)* lunchtime (noon-1pm) Jangkani nangkangayi jalyangku dinangkami dirringinyuru. *"We'll cut another once we've eaten lunch."*

dind- *(V)* grind Nayunga ngangarra dindaju. *"The woman is grinding wild rice."*
(cf: lurrind-, nyurraj-)

dirnd- *(V)* shoot, fire, throw a missile Wardjuwanganu angkurla dirndanganu. *"I threw but missed."*
dirndajkalu *(N n)* firearm, gun, rifle, pistol Dirndajkalu dirndanganu kurrkabardi. *"I shot a bush turkey with a gun."*
(cf: makirdi)

dirndij- *(V)* crawl creep around Wawa kurlukurla dirndijaka. *"The little boy crawls about."* Jamarniki dirndijaardu ngirrakuwayi bundurru. *"He's creeping about to steal some food."*
dirndiji barr- *(V)* creep up Bininja dirndij barraardu. *"A man is creeping up."*
(cf: ninginingij barr-)
dirndijajkala *(N m)* boy (crawling)
(cf: barlamarra)

dirndijaka *(N m)* young cricket (*dalydaly* or *mirdimirdi* at a younger stage) Ngindarniki dirndijaka kurlungkurla dirndijajki waniyi. *"The younger cricket called dirndijaka is a young crawling grasshopper."*
(cf: dalydaly, mirdimirdi)

dirndijmana *(N m)* fruit bat
(cf: barnkiji, jurnkurrubilyi, ngaliminymirni)

dirnim- *(V)* stick together (by partial melting), fuse Miringmi dirnimangayi. *"I'll stick the gum together in a lump."*

dinjulu *(N m)* eucalypt species *(Eucalyptus chlorophylla)* (stress: 'dinjulu) Ngirriwa banybilanganu yurlaminku majanganu dinjulu. *"Over this way I found a chlorophylla gum and I took some of it."*
(cf: yurlaminku)

diyinu *(N n)* bloodwood gum Mamambiyaku diyinu majami ilakaji mandarrangka. *"The bloodwood gum is softened and put on sores."* (placed on sores)

dirridirriji *(N m)* peewee, black and white plover magpie lark (stress: 'dirridirr"iji) Dirridirrijirni nginyi yaardi nginibaja, janbarra ngilmardi, manalku dilmardi. *"Peewees sing and make nests, out of mud."* (skin: Jurlinginja)
(cf: mirrirribini)

dirrindijkuw- *(V (trans))* roll (over, around or along)
Dirrindijkuwangaardu. *"I'm rolling it along."*
(cf: bulurrb-)

dirriwulyimi *(N v)* (also diwulyimi) small herb with blue flower (stress: 'dirri"wulyimi) Bardakurrumi ngimanikirni dirriwulyumirni, dirringirrimarriyimi. *"This dirriwulyimi herb is good, we used to eat it."* (yellow berries boiled and eaten after the wet season)

dirrk baj- *(V (trans))* tie up, hitch, bandage Arduku dirrk bajangayi yunku manyburrili. *"I'm tying my shoes carefully."*

dirrm- *(V)* cut Malibanya dirrmayi. *"He will cut your hair."*
(cf: nikin, dilm-, buj baj-)

diyardiya *(N m)* (also diyadiya) feather Jamanikyu julijirna ngabaju angkula liyimbungkujija marnikirni jangu diyardiyanama ngabaju. *"That bird has no feathers yet, just down."*
(cf: liyimbu)
diyardiya wirrkburrkbu decorational down (white)

diyaj *(Adv)* away
diyaj bak- *(V)* come away. move
(cf: (w)ulkuj-, (w)urrungarr-)
diyaj bil- *(V (trans))* move put away Diyaj bilangayi nginini. *"I'll put that away."*

diyayaj bil- *(V)* spread around, shift Diyayaj bilangayi majajakukurrurrungku. *"I'll share them out so you can all get some."*

durd may-
see *dul may-*

durda *(N m)* honey sugar, jam, sugarbag, nectar, any sweet thing (child-directed speech) Ngindarnikirni darraardi durda, mararluna ngalyakaardi. *"These [kids] eat sweets, they have a sweet tooth."*
(cf: nyukujburri, wangkurra, ingalka)

durdba *(N m)* bosun bird, tern, gull (large) Ibilkimbili ngini jurrkulumbili darraardi kakuwi, durdbarnini. *"Terns eat fish in the water at that creek."* (skin: Jangaringinja, Jaaninginja)
(cf: kirringkirringma)

durdili *(Adv)* (also durdilaju) cocky, looking for a fight Durdili yaju bunbakurna. *"He's keen for a fight."*
(cf: marrimarra)

durdkaj- *(V)* point, point out Durdkajami ngarri mangkurni kijurlurlu. *"Show me that stone for making axe-heads."*
(cf: barinym-, jungum-)

durdku *(N n)* island Durdkumbili yaju, kurrkabardi. *"There are turkeys on the island."*
(cf: naraja)

durdu *(N n)* men's (adult) ceremonies Marrarrangarri durdu. *"I'll see a ceremony."*
durdungkujbi *(N n)* taboo food (prohibited by ceremonial business) Ngayirni angkula darrangayi jamarnikirni ngangarni, durdungkujbi. *"I can't eat this animal, it's prohibited to me."*

durdurdbi *(Adv, V2)* beating, beat (of heart) Durdurdbi nganu jingirdini ngayarni. *"My heart was beating (strongly)."*
durdurdbikaji *(Adv, V2)* thumping, thump (of heart) Nyinuwa jarrkajangarruku durdurdbikaji nganu jingirdirni. *"I went for a run and now my heart is thumping."*

durdukul *(adv)* folded, crossed (body part) Ngunungka durdukul nyaju marndamarnda. *"You have your fingers crossed like this."*
(cf: dilyilyi, durduly, marnburr-)
durdukul wardk- *(V)* double over Durdukul wardkanyanu. *"You doubled over, you're paralysed."*

durduly *(Adv)* doubled up, folded (fist, crossed arms or legs), bunched into a fist Durduly ngayi marndamarnda. *"I'm making a fist."*
(cf: dilyilyi, durdukul, marnburr-)

duj- *(V)* bake roll (dough) Jibijbangayi ardukunama kandirri ngirrmangayi dujakajingayi. *"I mix this into the damper dough and roll it."*

duk- *(V)* sit, stay Nginda dukungarri ngandayingka. *"I'm going to sit in that shade."*
(cf: mankiy-)

duk baj- *(V)* break, tear Abaaba marndamarndaarndi duk bajaju. *"He's ripping his clothes."*
(cf: dang bak-, dij bil-, jurrk baj-, kij bak-, lakarr maj-)

dul- *(V)* look for, seek Dulangajunga ngarrunurda yunkuna. *"I'm looking for my shoes."*
(cf: darum-)

dul may- *(V)* (also durd may-) kick Dul mayanurnanu burdumi. *"She kicked me in the bum."*
(cf: jangan juw-)

dulinya *(N n)* ceremony (men's, restricted) Ngindarni yaba ngibingurruwa dulinyama ngajayi. *"We only take men out to see the business ceremonies."*
(cf: bula)

dulk baj- *(V (trans))* (also durrk baj-) pull up Ulyurrku dulk bajanganu, umbumanganu ibilkirningka ngunjayi ngarnu. *"I pulled that shrub up and put it in boiling water, now I'm going to boil it for a while."*
(cf: (w)urr maj-)

durlumun *(Adv)* on one side
durlumun bak-, durlumun juw- *(V)* roll onto one side Jimina jangan juwami, durlumun juwirri. *"I gave it a push and it rolled along."*

duwulyani *(N n)* stringy bark
(cf: warnila, yubungu)

dulyurr *(pre-V)* smash
dulyurr may- *(V (trans))* crush, powder, smash Dulyurr mayangaju, dulyurr dulyurr ınayangayi, dirndakaji nyambalakaji ngayi lurrindakaji ngayi, kalnga. *"I'm crushing it, crushing it up, then I'll grind it up really fine to get ochre paint."*
(cf: lulyurr may-, nyurraj-)
dulyurr wardk- *(V (intrans))* smash

dumba *(N n)* whistle stick (big) Marlarlukarnini dumba ngirnmamarri nayunga. *"In the old days men would make whistle sticks to attract women."* (an instrument played by men in order to attract women)
(cf: marna bakurni)

dumuru *(N n)* windbreak (stress: 'dumuru) Nyirrmingirra nukurrumu karnawunuji, dumuru ukuni. *"We make windbreaks and humpies from lancewood."*
(cf: narranjana)

dungum- *(V)* pay back, pay, make square/even Dunguminginyiju ngarnu nganku ngunyangaju ngarnu. *"I'm paying you back for this, giving you this one."*

dunj-
see *dunyk-*

dunjum-
see *dunykum-*

dunjuw- *(V (trans))* burn light (a fire) Yabanju majawanyumi dunjuwakajuwanyumi. *"You two get a little fire going."*
(cf: lujb-, ngunj-)

dunkujku *(Adj, N n)* (also dunkujbi *(v)*) short, spear (short) Dunkujbi wunyanaku. *"Give me the short spear."*
(cf: karnarrinymi, munmurrinji, munmurrinymi)

dunyk- *(V)* (also dunj-) kiss Dunjaningurru murrkunbala. *"They kissed us three."*

dunykum- *(V)* (also dunjum-) poke Ngarringa babaka dunjkumanganaju. *"My sister is poking me."*

durard *(V2, Adv)* poke out, poking out Jiminakarru ngaja ngunuwa darrangku durard kaju. *"There's a branch poking out."*
(cf: jalak duw-)

durjudurjurr- *(V)* react to provocation, prepare to fight Duwarnu ngarru durjudurjurranu bunbakuna. *"He got up to fight me."*

durraj-
see *durruj-*

durrarrkayi *(Adv)* straight Ngimarniki karnarinymi durrarrkayi yaju. *"This spear is straight."*
durrarrkayi il- *(V (trans))* straighten Karnarinymi ngimarniki durrarrkayi ilangayi. *"I will straighten this spear."*
(cf: dalk baj-, durrun mil-, (w)ulyulyu mil-)

durrb *(Adv)* pricking, poking
durrb kaj- *(V)* prick, poke
durrb karrakuji prickly thing
durrb kuj- *(V)* sting Jamarni durrb kujarnananu, lungbarrakaji ngaju. *"That thing stung me, now I'm swelling up."*
durrb kujajkala *(N n)* sting

durrb kuj- *(V)* (also durrk buj-) poke, pierce Jamani durrk bujami. *"Poke a hole in it."*
(cf: kuj-, langa nungk-)

durrk baj-
see *dulk baj-*

durrk buj-
see *durrb kuj-*

Durrkunku *(N n)* place near Marnda (far side of Beetaloo from Elliott) Jimirnikirni Durrkunkunu bidbidarra manyingila duwardi Durrkunkumbili. *"Coolibahs and Guttaperchas grow at Durrkunku."*

durru bay- *(V)* guide, lead, go in front Jamirni durru bayayi ngurraku. *"He will lead us."*
(cf: jabarr-, (w)urrakj-)

durruj- *(V (trans))* (also durraj-) poke around in the ground, poke into the ground Durrajangaju ngarnu walanjarna. *"I'm poking around in the ground for goannas."*

durrun mil- *(V)* straighten, keep straight Durrun milangankiyi. *"I'll stretch myself out straight."*
(cf: dalk baj-, durrarrkayi il-, (w)ulyulyu mil-)

durrundurrunji *(N m)* (also durrundurrunmirni, durrundurrunmini *(f)*) honeyeater Jamarni durrundurrunjirnini darraardi yurrku, walnganji. *"The honeyeater eats flowers (nectar) and flies."*

durrung ngab- *(V)* (also durrungkarra ngab-) break wind, fart Jamani warlakurni durrungkarra ngabaju. *"The dog just farted."*

duw- *(V, V (root))* rise, get up grow (of plants) verbal root meaning move (usually vertically) Duwami. *"Get up!"* Wuju duwaju dardu. *"Lots of grass is growing."*
(cf: jalak duw-, lawu duw-)
duwaju wuliyijirni, duwajiyimi wuliyijirni, duwanu *(N n)* sunrise
(cf: ngubu)

duwa ngab- *(V)* get rid of, discard, take away Ngarrunu ngabangarriyi, duwangabangarriyi. *"I'll take mine, get rid of it myself."*
(cf: kiyanm-)

J

jabara *(Adj no concord)* (also jabarra) bitter, sour rotten Ngimarnikirni milakurrmirni jabarakaji. *"This yam's quite sour."*
(cf: kiyalu, nungulyu)

jabarr- *(V)* (also jaburr-, jabarrang bak-) guide, lead, go in front Arduku jabarrang bakangayi nganu yindirna ngabangarriyi. *"I'm going to lead this person here."*
(cf: durru bay-, (w)urrakj-)

jabarrka *(N m)* liver Wunyangayi ngindarni marluka balika yaju jabarrka ngunyangayi. *"I'll give the liver to that hungry old man."*
(cf: malamba)

Jabinjinnginja *(N m)* male skin name, same subsection as female Nabijinnginju Aja ngarnu Jabijinnginjananu biwulanya aja? *"Who is Jabijinnginja's son?"*

jaburr-
see *jabarr-*

jaburra *(Adv)* before, first, previously Jaburranama wurruku kibirdki, ngirrikikaji wurruku. *"First they went swimming, then hunting."*
(cf: kuyangula)
jaburrama *(N m)* eldest (in a family)
(cf: bulkunga)
jaburrang bak- *(V)* go first, begin, go in front of

jard *(pre-V)* closed
jard bil- *(V)* block up, close, shut Jirrkilimi nyamarnikirni jard bilangayi, karalu ilingurriyi jard bili. *"I want to block this watercourse, let's put earth there to block it."* strike, turn off Jad bilanganu marrk bajakajinganki yunu marndamarnda. *"I jammed my hand."*
(cf: karndanymil-)

Jardbingi *(N n)* Hayfield (station) Banybilanganu nginanikirni Jardbingambili. *"I found this at Hayfield."*

jadukurru *(N n)* (also jardukurru) hair belt Yarranjumili ngilmangayi jardukurru. *"I'm spreading out hair to make a hair belt."*

jardurr *(Adv)* (also jardurri) downward Jardurrangka ngayi. *"I'll go down there."* Jangan juwanginyiyi jardurri juwi. *"I'll push you back down."*
(cf: jaluku)

jaj- *(V)* wait for Ardukunama ami, jajami ngarru. *"Wait for me!"*

jaajaaka *(N m)* top, end (of a branch, limb, creek etc.) Wawalaarla mankiyiwurruju jaajaakami. *"The kids are sitting down at the end of the creek."*
jaajaakambili *(Adv)* above, right atop, at the end of a limb

jajarrkin *(N v)* bush onion (white), onion lily *(Crinum angustifolium)* Jajarrkinwarndi, angkula damangkarni ikiyinginyinkuwardi. *"We avoid putting the [medicinal mashed] bush onion on our heads."* (infusion of mashed tuber is used as an external wash for skin sores, chicken pox, and colds, but should not be used near the head as it is dangerous to the eyes)

jajk- *(V)* ask for Jajkami jamani Jamirringinja dardawunga. *"Ask Jamirringinja for that axe."*

jajkalu *(N m)* boy (pubescent) Jamanima jajkalunu ngarrina kula ngamulakaji. *"That boy is my nephew, the big one."*
jajkalurni *(N f)* girl (pubescent) Nginarni yaardu kurlukurlurni jajkalurni. *"There goes a young teenage girl."*

jaju *(N m)* grandmother's (maternal) brother (ego: male or female) (classification includes wife's brother's daughter's son, mother-in-law's father and his brothers, mother-in-law's father's brother's son (ego: male)) Nginyirruku jalyangkuma, jaju yunkumbili ngaju, Warrajkalungka yaju. *"Today we followed my grandfather's steps up to the cold dreaming place."*
(cf: kuka)

jakardini *(N f)* mother (ego: son or daughter) Ngarrininga jakardinga, ankiliyirla ngarrinibila jamabilarnini. *"Those two are my cousins, on my mother's side."*
(cf: bilirni, bilyurlini)

jakalarru *(Adj, N n)* rotten, eaten by termites hollow log Ngarrinu marru jakalarru, darramarri. *"My house was eaten away by white ants."*

jakirlirra *(N m)* (also jakilirra) whitewood tree *(Atalaya hemiglauca)* (at Elliott) Jakilirrani nyanyalu ngabaju barungkukajinayi. *"The whitewood keeps its leaves throughout the hot weather."* (branches with leaves rubbed in goanna fat, lightly heated in ashes, then applied to itch or sore, gum eaten; grubs in roots)
(cf: wabilungu)

jakinay- *(V)* sit with legs in a 'number 4' position

jakirrirni *(N f)* white ants (stress: ja'kirrirni) Nginarni jakirrirnini darraardi marru. *"White ants eat people's houses."*
jakirringkujku *(Adj n)* eaten by the white ants, old, with many holes (stress: 'jaki"rringkujku) Jakirrangkujku jimirnini marrunu. *"That house was eaten by white ants."*

jakulakji *(N m, f)* possum sugar glider Yalbawurrini jakulakji wunyamiki yurriki nuwararlu. *"Bandicoots and possums played."*
(cf: kalwarri, (w)arlungunja)

jalard- *(V)* carry on hip Lawunjarni jalardardu wawa kurlukurla. *"She's got a little baby in the coolamon."*
(cf: laj-)

jalak baj- *(V)* remove from earth oven Kanyburru dilmanganu, umbumanganu lakud bilanganu, jalak bajakaji ngaju, burdalukaji ngayi. *"I cut the meat, buried and cooked it in the ground, and now I'm taking it out of the earth oven because it's cooked."*

jalak duw- *(V)* stick up, pop up (from ground etc.) Ngajanganu walanja jalak duwanu. *"I saw a goanna pop up from the ground."*
(cf: durard)

jalalang bil- *(V (trans))* tip, spill Wardkalayi ilanganu jalalang bilanganu jimirnikirni nginjardarrani. *"I tipped these seeds and make them fall."*
jalalang kul- *(V (trans))* spill
jalalangkarra *(Adj m)* swinging
jalalangkarra ngab- *(V (trans))* swing, tip Jalalangkarra ngabanyaardu jimirni jawaranya. *"You are walking along swinging that billy can."*
(cf: (w)urrajk-)
jalalangkarra warrk- *(V (trans))* knock over, tip over
jalalangkarra bardk- *(V (intrans))* fall over and spill

jalalarrka *(N v)* fungus, mushroom Jalalarrka duwaardi mijinginyuwardi. *"When mushrooms grow, we get them."*

jalangkarrb- *(V)* belch, burp Darranganu bundurru, ibilka darranganu, jalangkarrbikaji nganu. *"If I have a feed and a drink, I'll be belching."*

jalanm- *(V)* untie, loosen Jalanmami ngarru ngunungkumi nyamarniki. *"Untie this package for me, would you?"*
(cf: (w)alk baj-, (w)ijuk baj-)

Jalanya *(N m)* South Yard Jalanyarni jamarnikirni warlaku, Jurruwuji. *"South Yard is part of the dog dreaming."*

jalanya *(N n)* tongue flame Ilingarna wawarna langa ngajalakurri nginuwa, jalanyangka. *"I'll place it in the child's mouth, on his tongue."*
(cf: dilu)
jalanya akiyabardu, jalanyajija *(Adj no concord)* dumb

jalarrini (Kuw.) *(N f)* centipede Dardu yurnukurndukurdu ngabaju, dardu, jalarrini. *"Centipedes have many many legs."*
(cf: marlangkabirrirni)

jarlkandarru *(N n)* (also jalykandarru) bucket shovel (big) Jarlkandarru lawunja ambanama, ibilkanga. *"A bucket shovel is like a coolamon."* (made from *wamba* tree, for bringing up water)
(cf: juka, kurluwarru) corpse Jarlkandarru lakud bilangarriyi karalungka. *"I must go and bury the dead."*
(cf: kimurdi, warrijbala)

jarluku *(Adv, Adj n)* (also jaluku) steep low, down (stress: 'jaluku) Nyindarni bujikarda jimini jarluku mindaku. *"The cat's way down there."*

jalurruka *(N m)* tea Nyindarni jalurruka ngabanyayi darrami. *"You have your tea, drink it."*
(cf: lalija, nyanyalu)

jaalyakbalyaku *(N n)* lung Narnangajaankumi kanyangka warajalunyiyimi urdirrikimi wangku jaalyakbalyakungka, narnangajaankumi. *"Protect yourself from cold winds or you'll get sick in the lungs, watch yourself."*

jalyamungka *(Adj m)* new, young, new-born Jiminikirni murdikarni jalyamungku. *"That car is new."*

jalyangku *(Adv)* (also jalyangkunu, jalyalyangku) today, now Anikiyanya jalyangkunu. *"What are you doing now?"*
jalyangkunama *(Adv)* immediately Jalyangkunama burrbajayi kunumburrakunumburra ngirrmangayi. *"I'm making these right now; I'll finish really soon."*

Jalyirringinja *(N m)* male skin name, same subsection as female Naalyirringinju Jamarnikirni Jiminginjarna ngarnu jamarniki Jalyirringinja ngarnu biwurlarni. *"Jiminginja's son is Jalyirringinja."*

jalykaj- *(V)* hook up a spear

jalykaji *(N m)* spear thrower (with rounded haft)
(cf: ngarlika, warlmayi)

jalykandarru
see *jarlkandarru*

jalyu *(N n)* bed (of flattened grass or leaves)
jalyum- *(V)* flatten out leaves or grass for a bed Ilangayi nyanyalu jalyumangayi nyanyalu, ngaamba manyan ngayi jalyumbili. *"I'm putting leaves down and flattening them out into a bed so that I can sleep on a leaf bed."*

jalyu (Kuw.) *(N n)* beard Jamaniki wurrjiyaningkuju kilalija jalyujija. *"He's clean shaven."*
(cf: jiyirndimi)

jama *(Dem m)* there (medial), just over there, that, that one Jamini mayanu jama. *"One hit the other."*
jamaniki *(Dem m)* here, this, this one Jamanikirni bayarni ngarrina baba. *"This man is my big brother."*

jamandarra *(Adv)* hungry Nayuwurlu jamandarra wunyuju. *"Those two women are hungry."*
(cf: balika)

jamankula *(N m)* blanket lizard, frill-necked lizard Jamankula balyab kaardi darrangkumbili, karnawunjirnimbili, ubalambili, jama balyab kaardi, darraardi waniyi. *"The blanket lizard likes to rest alongside trees, lancewoods, bloodwoods, things like that it goes alongside, and it eats grasshoppers."* (skin: Jabijinnginja)
(cf: walbingirra)

jambiliji *(N m)* body Jambiliji biladarra. *"There were lots of people there."*
(cf: nambiliju)

jambilijin- *(V)* live, be located, sit (from *jambiliji* (= body)) Imikirni nginarniki marrumbili jambilijinaju. *"This old lady lives in town."*

jambilk baj- *(V)* dent Ngunyinginyimarrangu nyambala bardakurrinjarra ngunyinginyina murdikarni, jambilk bajananu. *"I lent you my car, in good condition, but now it's all dented!"*
(cf: jangan bil-)

jaminja *(N m)* grandfather (mother's father) (classification includes mother's father's brothers, daughter's son, also wife's sister's daughter's son (ego: male)) (classification includes mother's father's brothers, mother-in-law's mother's brother (ego: female)) Larlula ngarriningarni jakardingarni, ngindarni ngarru jaminja. *"My jaminja is my mother's father."*
(cf: miyimi)

jaminjirni *(N f)* grandfather's (maternal) sister, daughter's daughter (classification includes wife's sister's daughter's daughter (ego: male)) (classification includes mother-in-law's mother and her sisters (ego: female)) Nangkaka marlarlukanyu mayaka; jaminjirni kularni, kanya ngarru nyinaku. *"All the old folk would go hunting them; My grandfather's sister, nephew and uncle all went off there."*

Jamirringinja *(N m)* male skin name, same subsection as female Namirringinju Jamarni Jurlinginjarni jamirna Jamirringinjirna biwurla. *"Jurlinginja is Jamirringinja's son."*

jamurri *(Adv)* cold

jamurriyaka *(Adj m)* cold, cooled (only applies to inanimates (places or things)) Lalija darrangaju jamurriyaka. *"I'm drinking cold tea."*
(cf: (w)urrajburrajku, (w)urrajkala)

jamurri il- *(V)* cool (trans) Jamurri ilangayi arduku. *"I'm cooling it down."*

jan maj- *(V)* split up, prevent from fighting Bundurru jimina jan mijingurriyi. *"We'll share this food."* Jan maja wunyaku. *"Stop them from fighting!"*

janba *(N m)* wood swallow, white dollarbird (skin: Jangaringinja)

janbarra *(N n)* (also jangbarra, janybarra) nest burial in tree (traditional funeral) Ngunu janbarrayi jimina darrangkumbili. *"There's a nest in that tree."* Iluwurrmarrimi larrbani janbarrangka. *"They used to put dead people in trees."* (cf: juwuru)

jandak *(Adv)* permanently, for good Jandak ngamiki mankiyangayi. *"I'm staying here forever."*

jandanama *(Adv)* more Jandanama ngunyaanami. *"Give me more!"* (*janda* (obsolete root meaning 'further, longer) + indefinite *nama*)

jarndarringka *(N m)* eagle hawk, wedge tailed eagle Jamarni jarndarringka darraardi jurnma; jurnma mayaardi, wardabanmarra mayaardi, kirninginjirni darrardi jangurnini. *"The eagle eats wallabies; it catches wallabies, it catches kangaroos, and it even eats emus too."* (skin: Jiminginja, Jaalyarringinja) (cf: karrkanya, barnibukarri)

Jarndarringkila *(N m)* two bright stars (pointers?) (part of eagle constellation (*jarndarringka* = eagle))

Jangalinginja *(N m)* male skin name, same subsection as female Nangalinginju Jangalinginja jamarniki nyambala ngambiyikula ngayi jamarniki, ngunyungurriyi wunyaku. *"Jangalinginja can take this one for his wife, we'll give them to one another."*

jangan *(pre-V)* push

jangan juw- *(V)* kick, push Ngunu murdika jangan juwanyayi. *"You push the car."*

jangan bil- *(V)* push, indent Jimini darrangku jangan bilangayi. *"I'm making indentations on this stick."*

(cf: jambilk baj-, dul may-)

jangangkala *(Adv)* atop, on top of Wawa jamaniki mankiyaju jangangkala. *"This child is sitting right up on top."*

Jangaringinja *(N m)* male skin name, same subsection as female Nangaringinju Naaninginjunga jamarni lalularni Jangaringinja. *"Naaninginju's father is Jangaringinja."*

jangayi *(N m)* yawn Mankiyami jangayiliji. *"Sit still, without yawning."*

jangayi il- +REFL *(V)* yawn Wayabingaju, jangayi ilangankuju. *"I must be tired, I keep yawning."*

jangbarra

see *janbarra*

Jangirrulu *(N n)* place on far side of Powell Creek from Elliott Jangirrulun jimirnini ngindaku. *"Jangirrulu is there."*

jangka
see *kungka*

jaangki *(Adv)* (also jangki) over, above, high up Jangki wangkurra banybilangarnu, wangkurrini banybilangarnu windurrumbili. *"You find the male sugarbag at the top and the female one among the roots."*
(cf: jangku)
jangkangki *(Adv)* high up, on top, up Wawarni jangkangki ngunu janbarra, jaangki ngajanu. *"The child saw that nest high up [in the tree]."*
jangkikaji *(Adv)* early morning Jangkikaji yaju ngurraku uliyijirnirni. *"Morning has broken."*

jangkijb- *(V)* understand
(cf: laringk-)
jangkijbaja *(Adv m)* successful, effective Jangkijbajala bunbakumbilini. *"He's good in a fight."*

jangku *(Adv)* straight up
(cf: jaangki)
jangku wardk- *(V)* climb up Jangku wardkangarriyi ngunungku kalirrungungka. *"I will climb the mountain this way."*
jangkurdki *(Adv)* (also jangkurlki) up (directly), high up Jangkurdki ngajangaju kalirrungu. *"I'm looking straight up the hill."*
(cf: jangkangki)

jangkubarni
see *kungkubarnu*

jangkuwuna ngajina *(N m)* God (literally: high one) Jamanima jangkuwurna ngajina. *"It's God (we're talking about)."*
kirda jangkuwuna ngajina *(N m)* missionary, priest (Catholic) (literally: father high one) Angkula ngibingurrumarri jangkuwuna ngajina kirda. *"we haven't had missionaries here for a very long time."*

jangu *(Adv)* a little, a bit Jangu ngabangaju. *"I only have a litle."*
jangunama *(Adv)* just, only, that's all, a little, a bit Jangunama ngabangaju murrkunmi. *"I only have three."*

jani *(Interr)* how, how much how long, what question particle (forming yes/no questions) Jani warak ngaiinyali. *"How long will you work?"* Jani nyarri ngirriki? *"Do you want to go hunting?"*

Jaaninginja *(N m)* male skin name, same subsection as female Naaninginju Jamarni Jaaniginjarni jamirna Jangaringinjirna biwurla. *"Jaaninginja is Jangaringinja's son."*

janjanbi *(Adv)* content, having fun, for fun, restorative, recuperative Ngibiyirri jamani marluka, janjanbi ngabanyarri jimiwura, janjanbiyarriji. *"Take this old man and make him walk around to feel better."*
janjanbiy- *(V)* walk to recuperate
janjanbiyaka *(Adj m)* well, feeling well, happy (mood) Jamarniki marliyanu, janjanbiyakakaji yaju. *"He was sick but now he's well, fully recovered."*
(cf: jingkarli, kilkil)

janybarra
see *janbarra*

janyburra *(N n)* rib, side Nginirniki janyburra dirringurriyi nganga bardawurra. *"The ribs are good eating."*
(cf: karlimiji)

jaarra *(N m)* (also jarra) horizon, open sky, clear country to horizon Karalungaju jaarra, ngajangaju ird bajaju irlarlu. *"I see nothing but clear land all the way to the horizon now the dew has risen."*
(cf: dibijkanajku, nguwuru)

jariyirli
see *jarrirli*

jarrarda *(N n)* love song (men's) Nganyanganku jarrarda, nangkangaju kurrubardurnu. *"I'm singing a song, while I cut a boomerang."*
(cf: yawulyu, ilbinji)

jarrajarra *(N m)* scrubby ridge (round or curved) Nginirnikirni wanymangaardu jarrajarrambili. *"I'm walking around this scrubby ridge."*
(cf: buji, dibijkanajku)

jarranguna *(N n)* coolamon Jarranguna darlukurru ilami wawana. *"Make a deep coolamon to put the child in."*
(cf: biyardu, juka, kurluwarru, lawunja)

jarrawaku *(N n)* fog Dardunama yaju jarrawakumbili dardunama yaju. *"There is lots of fog around."*
(cf: ngilibarnku)

jarrbajarrba *(N n)* holiday(s) Nyaangku ngarru jarrbajarrba ngajangajanangku. *"Come and visit me in the holidays."*

jarridbiji *(N m)* cockroach Yaardi darrangkumbili *or rubbish-*mbili larnkumbili mulyamulyambili yaardi, jarridbiji. *"Cockroaches live in trees or rubbish, clothes or rags."*

jarrirli *(N m)* (also jariyirli, jawirili) bower bird (lives in river country) Ngindana jariyirlinanyi nginimardi, ukunyi nyirrimarda marnuma ukunyi. *"The bower bird builds a humpy."*
(cf: jiwarurru)

Jarrimanu *(N n)* dry sand ridge area West of Jingili country Bardawurrimi kararlu ngirribijingirriwardi ngunungkunu, Jarrimanunu. *"We say that it's good ground over there, over Jarrimanu way."*

jarrkaj- *(V)* run Ngiliwangaju jarrkajangayi. *"I'm scared, I'm running off."*
jarrkaj ngab- *(V)* run away with

jarrumulu *(N n)* thigh Burdbungurri jamanikirni ngunbulukaningka burdbungurri lakarr majaningkunu jarrumulu. *"We had to take him to the doctor because he broke his leg."* (twitching in left thigh indicates that one's *bibirni* (older sister) is thinking of one, twitching in right thigh indicates that one's *baba* (older brother) is thinking of one)

jarumajaruma *(N n)* (also jarrumajarruma) pea bush *(Aeschynomene indica)* (2', with seed pod, at Newcastle Waters) Darrangku jarrumajarruma burluburlubaju. *"Pea bush branches float well."* (used as float in fishing or for making spears)
(cf: bulurukuji, jirlirla, yukulirrimi)

jaarumi *(N v)* shield Jarumi ngilmangayi kajurarningkamini. *"I'll make a shield from that bottle tree."*
(cf: kurdujumi, kuwarrimi)

jawaranya *(N n)* billy can, cup, tin, metal vessel Ilami ijalkarrungka jalurrukana jawaranya. *"Put the billy on the fire for some tea."* Nyinibajana jawalanya nginyaku jamina. *"Those are ours."*

jawirili
see *jarrirli*

Jawurdi *(N n)* water hole between Longreach and 15-mile Lunkurru yaju, lunkurru wunyaku Jawurdi, Jawurdi Barungka Ijibarda, lunkurru Jawurdini. *"It's in the middle, between the two places, between 15-mile and Longreach holes is Jawurdi."*

jawularri *(N m)* youth (uninitiated) Jamanini jawularrinama. *"He's a young uninitated man."*

jawulungbulungku *(N n)* moustache (stress: 'jawu'lungbu"lungku) Jamarni yajiyimi bininja ngabaka jawulungbulungku ngardajkalu. *"Here comes that fellow that used to have a big moustache."*
(cf: majbangkurrangku)

jaya *(Dem m, f)* he, she, that (previously mentioned, anaphoric demonstrative)
(cf: kuyu)

jaya *(N m)* mother-in-law's brother (classification includes father-in-law's mother's brothers) (classification includes son's wife's brothers (ego: female))

jayili *(Adv)* (also jayirli) inside, under Mijiyirri ngarru jayirli. *"Go get me it from inside."*
jayirli il- *(V)* put inside Jayirli ilami ngininiki bundurru! *"Put this food inside!"*
jayirlungka maj- *(V)* get from inside Jayirlungka majami jalurruka! *"Get the tea from inside!"*

jayimil- *(V)* (also jayim bil-) promise, betroth, pledge Jayimilinginyi, ngurrarungkanayi ngunyinginyi nganku. *"I promise, I'll give it to you tomorrow."*

jayirrm- *(V)* dress Jayirrmangaju abaabarni wawarna ngarnu, abaaba kilarliju ilangayi ngarnu. *"I'm changing that kid's clothes, putting clean clothes on him."* Jayirrmangankiju (abaaba). *"I'm getting dressed."*

jiyi *(Dem m, f)* he, she, that (not previously mentioned, cataphoric demonstrative) Jiyi warlaku yungmayaju. *"That dog is growling."* Ngajajangaju ngarnu banybilangayi ajuwanayi yarruku jiyi. *"I'm looking around for them to figure out where they went."*
jiyinama *(Dem m, f)* he, she, that (previously mentioned, anaphoric demonstrative) Jiyinama yajiyimi. *"He's coming."*

jibijb- *(V)* (also jibij-, jibijiy-) extinguish, cover up, put out Jibijbakajuwarrumi. *"They would put it out."* mix in (ingredient) Jibijbangayi ardukunama kandirri ngirrmangayi dujakajingayi. *"I mix this into the damper dough and roll it."*
jibiji *(Adv, V2)* extinguish, die down (fire) Jibiji yaju nginda bubarni. *"That fire is dying down."*

jibil- *(V)* gather, pack up Jamabajarni jibiliwurruju wurraku larnkunu. *"They packed up all their things."*
(cf: jurlujurlum-)

jiyibilaka *(N m)* big crowd, assembly, gathering Jiyibilakarlu wunumarringkarni yiningkala. *"A big mob came there and went on past."*

jird bil- *(V (trans))* stand up Karnarinymi jird bilangaju. *"I'm standing the spear up."*

jid duk- *(V)* kneel Wawa jid dukaju. *"The boy is on his knees."*

jirdad *(Adv, V2)* angry, frustrated, upset, disappointed, fed up, feeling guilty dislike (someone) Jirdad ngajarnanaardi, jirdad kaardi. *"He doesn't like me."*
jirdad bil- *(V)* stare (at someone) Ngajarnanaju, jirdad bilarnanaju jamirnini. *"That guy is staring right at me."*

jirdburdbu *(N n)* bloodwood type with short nut *(Eucalyptus ferruginea)* (identification of Mudburra *jidburrbu* [GMW]) Jidburdbungkami ngirrmangayı kulungkukbi buyajka. *"I'll make a didgeridoo for playing out of the bloodwood."* (hollow stems used to make didgeridoos)

jirdirda *(Adj m)* cruel, rough, naughty, troublesome, miserable (of people) bad, no good (things) Nginarnikirni jirdirdini kalyurrini. *"This woman is a troublemaker."*
(cf: kalyurra, mayayajkala, waarungka, yurrba)

jija *(Adv)* adulterous
jija jarrkaj- *(V)* commit adultery (literally: adulterous run) Jija jirrkijiwunyunu. *"They ran off together."*
jijangkuji *(N m)* adulterer, lecher (literally: adulterous-having) Jijangkuji jarrkajanu yunku. *"The adulterer ran off on foot."*
jijajkala *(Adj m)* (also ijajkala) adulterous (literally: adulterous+NOML) Jamarni bininjarni ijajkala nayunga. *"That man is generally itchy for women."*

jijirrmirni *(N f)* wren Jijirrmirni nginarniki yaju kurlungurlini, angkula ngijibiyardi, bikirrambili yaardi. *"The wren is small, and it doesn't go up into trees but rather stays on the ground."*
(cf: jindiminya)

jika *(N n)* sneeze
jika may- *(V)* sneeze Jika miyiwunyuju. *"Those two sneezed."*

jikala (Kuw.) *(N n)* wax (spinifex or ear wax) Jikala majangaju langambilirni. *"In my ears I get wax."*
(cf: kirridji, marnkulukulidi)

jikaya *(N n)* lake, swamp (large) Lake Woods (stress: 'jikaya) Nginibuluna banybilanganuna ngabangajuna nyinda banybilanganuna jikayambili. *"I found these two things at the lake."*
(cf: bunungkurru)

jikidikidibi *(N v)* back of neck
(cf: mankijbi)

jikimi *(N v)* yam species, wild potato (prostrate plant with long yam, grows in black soil) *(Ipomoea aquatica)* Ngimarni jikimirni duwaardi mangkurumbili, milakurrmi, jikimi. *"That kind of yam grows on the plains, it's called milakurrmi or jikimi."* (cooked in ashes, skin scraped)
(cf: kinyilakbimi, kubirdimi, milakurrmi)

jilibi *(N v)* umbilical cord Ngunungku yaju dilmingirriwardi jilibi. *"We need to cut its umbilical cord like this."*

jilibinji *(N m)* legless lizard Jilibinji ngindarnikirni ngurrayijbinu ambayaardi ibilkirnarndi. *"The legless lizard makes noise at night during the wet."*

jilirdbi- *(V)* be incommunicado, look down or fall asleep during a conversation Jilidbingaju nyamirnirna jiyirni ngarrinirni yajiyimi. *"I'm looking down, away from you, because my mother-in-law is coming."*
jilirdbuw- *(V)* look away Jilirdbuwami, ngijiliji jiminikirni! *"Look away, don't look at this!"*

jirlirla *(N n)* (also jilila) pea bush *(Aeschynomene indica)* Ngiininiki jirlirla majanganju angkurla wayal buna, karnaringmirna. *"The pea bush is not to be burnt for ashes, it's for making spears."* (used for spears; as float in fishing)
(cf: bulurukuji, jarumajaruma, yukulirrimi)

jilingird-
see *jilngird-*

jiyilini *(N f)* water found in hollow tree, brackish water Bardakurru jiyilini ibilka banybilanganu. *"I found good tree water."*
(cf: karrinbiyi)

jilng *(Adv)* leaky, dripping Bardkaju laakunkami ibilka, wardkaju ibilka jilng karra. *"The billy can is leaking, water is dripping from it."*
(cf: lilirrkikimi)
jilng bak- *(V)* (also jilng bardk-) leak, drip Ibilka jilng bardkaju jawaranyangkami. *"Water is dripping out of the bucket."*
jilngkilng bak- *(V)* sprinkle Ngindarni ibilka jilngkilng bakaju. *"It's sprinkled with water."*

jilngird- *(V)* (also jilingird-) sweat Uluwijanga ngunjaju jilingirdayirli. *"It's so hot it makes you sweat."*
jilngirda *(N m)* (also jilingirda) sweat Jilngirdangku bujangaju. *"I smell sweaty."*
jilingkarra *(N m)* (also jilingbakaja) sprinkling rain Kurlukurluni jilingkarra ibilkirni warrkaju. *"It's sprinkling with rain."*

jimbangu *(N n)* short ribs Nginirnikirni dil mayangayi jimbangu majangayi. *"I'll hack away at this [cow carcass] to get the short ribs."*

jimi *(Dem n)* there, that, that one Jimina nyambala yunku ilanganu. *"I've made footprints here."*
jiminiki *(Dem n)* here, this, this one Jiminikirni bunani mayanganu, angkurla nyambala yanu ngarru kiwirra. *"I got this ash because I didn't have any more left."*
jimimbilarlu *(Dem, Interj no concord)* over there now! Mankiyami jimimbilarlu! *"Sit right down over there!"*
jimingka *(Dem no concord)* towards there Jimingka mankiyami! *"Go sit there!"*
jimingkami *(Dem no concord)* from there Jimingkami duwami! *"Get up from there!"*

Jiminginja *(N m)* male skin name, same subsection as female Niminginju Lilirni ngarru nyamirninini, jamarna ngarru kirdarni Jiminginja. *"That's my [paternal] aunt, from my father Jiminginja."*

jimurdku *(N n)* breast, milk, nectar Wunyangaju ngabulu wawa kurlukurla jalyamingka, jumurrdku ngunyangaju. *"I'm giving breast milk to the little baby."*
(cf: ngabulu)
jumurrkujija *(N n)* man's breast (literally: milkless)

jinbinbilyi *(N m)* black dollarbird, sugarbird (brown), wood swallow Jinbinbilyirnini yurrku darraardi. *"The wood swallow eats flowers."* (skin: Jangaringinja)

jirndikirrijbirni *(N f)* (also jindikirrijbini) willy wagtail Nginarni jindikirrijbirnini wanymaardi kimurdi. *"The willy wagtail is a scavenger."* (skin: Nangalinginju)

jiyirndimi *(N v)* beard, chin
(cf: jalyu)
jiyirndimijija *(Adj m)* (also jaarndamajija) clean shaven Jamaniki wurrjiyaningkuju kilalija jaarndamajija. *"He's clean shaven."* (twitching/throbbing of this part indicates one's biba (son) is thinking of one)

jindiminya *(N f)* wren Nginarniki jindiminya kurlungkurluni. *"The wren is small."*
(cf: jijirrmirni)

jindirrirni *(N f)* crab Kararlumbili ngilmardi manalku kalyarrardi jindirrirni. *"The crab digs in the mud."*
(cf: ngardarda)

jingi *(N n)* bauhinea tree *(Lysiphyllum cunninghamii)* Kurlungkurlu majangayi darrangku, ngininiki jingirni majanyayi ngambayi ird bilangayi. *"I'll get a little bauhinea branch so I can paint."* (paintbrushes (*junji*) made from wood of sapling, good shade tree, good firewood, ashes mixed with chewing tobacco, peeled root is soaked in water and the liquid applied to skin sores as a highly potent medicine. Tree may contain sugarbag and te nectar from the flowers and the gum from the tree are both sweet to eat.) (cf: ngabilibili, wanyarri, (w)irringila)

jingirdi *(N f)* heart (stress: 'jingirdi) Nyinuwa jarrkajangarruku durdurdbikajanganu jingirdirni. *"I went for a run and now my heart is thumping."*

Jingili *(N m)* Jingili people (as a whole) Jingili *biniya* marlarlukarni jiya madking mayaju kamumurla ngaji yabunakarri. *"In the olden days the Jingili people would come here at night."*
Jingulu *(N n)* (also Jingilu) Jingulu language Nyama ambayanyaju Jingulu bardakurru marrinkyu. *"You speak Jingulu well."*
Jingila *(N m)* one Jingili male Nyinaniki ngirralarni Jingilarni ngirri nyambala marrimarradarra ngirriyi Jingilaalarni. *"We Jingili are proper clever fighters."*
Jingilirni *(N f)* one Jingili woman Nyamirnini yaardu Jingilirni nayurni nangkubarni. *"There goes one Jingili woman."*
Jingilaala *(N m)* Jingili people (dual) Jamabila Jingilaala wunyijiyimi. *"Here come two Jingili people."*
Jingilardarra *(N m)* Jingili people (plural) Dardulwala Jingilardarra wurrijiyimi. *"Here comes a Jingili mob."*

jingkarli *(Adv)* happy flushed, ecstatic, cocky, confident, proud Jingkarli yaju nganu jaminarru kurrubardurna. *"He's really cocky with that boomerang."* (cf: janjanbiyaka)
jingkarliy- *(V)* flirt

jiyirni *(N f)* mother-in-law (classification includes father-in-law's mother and mother-in-law's sisters) (classification includes son's wife (ego: female)) Jiyirni nganku, jawurlirninga ngankirninga jakardini. *"Your mother in law is your young woman's mother."* (cf: nyibirdi)

jinjaraku *(N n)* desert mangrove shitwood, stringybark tree *(Lophostemon grandiflorus)* (stress: jin'jaraku) Jinjarakunu jiminikirni karriyakunama ngayi nyambanama bularraku, jinjarakunu buwurlu nyanyarlunu kurlungkurlukaji. *"The desert mangrove differs from the smoke tree in that the desert mangrove has smaller leaves."* (used for firewood and carvings)

jinjimirrinmi *(N v)* (also jinjinmilirri) spring (water), soak water, ground water Wardkaju lurrjumbili kararlungka ibilka, jinjinmilirringka. *"Water is coming out of the ground on that sandy ridge, it's spring water."*

jinjinmi *(N n)* caustic vine *(Sarcostemma australe)* Mijingurri nyamana jinjinmi lujbungarri ibilkina. *"We burn the caustic vine to clear rain away and make the sun shine."* (sap is poisonous; said to have been fed by 'wild women' (evil spirits) to their babies to kill them; smoke clears clouds and rain)

jinjku *(N n)* woodchip Jinjku majami jiminiki buba ngirrmimindiyi, jalurruka umbumimindiyi! *"Get some woodchips so we can build this fire and make some tea!"*
(cf: ngananjku,)

jinkarr- *(V)* fight-dance (women's) Nyawubajina jinkirriwurruju. *"Those women are fighting again."*

jirnkiji *(N m)* star Jirnkiji dardu ngijingurriju. *"We can see many stars."*
(cf: kamirrinji)

Jinkurakurru *(N n)* (also Junkurrakurru) Tennant Creek Majanganu ngindarniki ngambiya nganku Jukurrakurrungkami. *"I picked up your brother in law here from Tennant Creek."*

jirrbu juw- *(V)* dip, dunk Jirrbu juwangayi barlurnmi ngimarni kandirri, barlurnmi. *"I'm going to dunk that dry bread, it's dry."*

jirrbu wardk- *(V)* dive Jirrbu wardkangarriyi kalyirr yurru duwardu. *"I'm going to dive into the water swim along."*
(cf: ngarub duw-)

jirrikurlukurla *(N m)* small intestine Jirrikurlukurla ngabaju nginirnikirni, mangulkbi ngirribijingirriwardi. *"Here are the small intestines, the guts as we say."*
(cf: bilibila)

jirirmungkulyi
see *jirrmungkulyi*

jirrkanku *(Adj n)* deep Jurrkulu jirrkanku, wardbardbala. *"The creek is deep, quite deep."*
(cf: darlukurra. jurruku, (w)ardbardbala)

jirrkilimi *(N v)* (also jirrkirrkilinmi) gully, trench, valley cliff Ngininikirni jirrkilimi ardbardbalu kararluni jirrkilimi. *"The ground here falls away into a deep ravine."*

jirrmungkulyi *(N m)* (also jirrimungkulyi (stress: 'jirri"mungkulyi)) lancewood tree *(Acacia shirleyi)* Karnawunji, jirrimingkulyi kungkubarninama marrinjku Jinguluwarndi. *"Karnawunji and jirrimingkulyi are names for the same thing in Jingulu."*
(cf: karnawunji)

jiwarurru *(N m)* bower bird Jamarnini ngilmardi jiwarrurru ngini ngilmaardi kardkardana, nyambanyamba. *"The bower bird builds it [bower] out of bones and so on."*
(cf: jarrirli)

jiwirra
see *jiwurrungka, kiwirra*

jiwirri
see *jiwurru*

jiwurru *(Adj n)* (also jiwirri) right (side) Jiwirri ngabangaju bardakurra marndamarnda. *"My strong hand is on the right side."*
jiwurrungka *(Adj no concord)* (also jiwirra *(m)*) right (body part) Jiwurrungka mayangayi, wardjuwangayi jiwurrungkarra kurrubardi ngirıdi. *"I fight right-handed, and I throw boomerangs right-handed too."*

jubaj- *(V)* grab hold of, find Danjuwangayi nyamirnirni dabilangayi ngijinmi jubajangayi danjuwangayi. *"I held it down - I grabbed it and threw it down and weighed it down."*

juburdu *(N m, f)* spotted rat quoll Juburdu jamanikini. *"That's a spotted rat."*
(cf: kalama, wambana)

jud bardk- *(V)* slip down, come down, get down, descend, get out Jud bardkami jamarnikarni dimanarningkamirni, bundurru darraardu! *"Get off the horse and go have a feed!"*
(cf: jun may-)

judalya *(N m)* cousin-in-law

jurdama *(N m)* kangaroo (black or red) (stress: 'jurdama) Jurdama binyamaku ngijinginyuwardi binyamaku. *"We often see kangaroos during the day."*
(cf: jungwan, kanjarlawurri, ngalijirrirni, wardabanmarra)

Jurdini *(N f)* Ngarrabanka billabong
(cf: Ngarrabanka)

jurdirni *(N f)* (also jurdini) louse Ngindarnikirni nginarnikirni kuliya ngabanyaju jurdanga ngardamarri nganku kidba, malibanyambili. *"You have louse eggs that some lice must have layed in your hair."*

jurdiyini *(N f)* owl, tawny frogmouth Jurdiyirni langandaardi darrangkumbili. *"The tawny frogmouth can be heard in the trees."* (skin: Nangalinginju)
(cf: mukmuk)

jurdumajurduma *(N m)* gouldian finch Ngindarniki jurdumajurdumarni, jalyangkunamakaji angkula ngajamarri marlarlukarnini. *"We never see the gouldian finch now as we did in the old days."*

juju *(N n)* rain Ibilkirningka warrkaju juju. *"It's sprinkling lightly."*
(cf: kalyurrungurni, (y)ibilkirni)

jujuja *(N m)* ant (small or medium sized) Jujujarni ngindarnini dardu ngirribijingurruwardi jujuja nyambala bilaya ngardardajkala, jujunani yabanja. *"We call lots of kinds of ant jujuja, from big termites down to really little ants."*
(cf: bakungunjini)

jujumi *(N v)* thunder, lightning Ngarrinirni lilirni jujumarndi mayanu. *"My aunt was struck by lightning."*
(cf: marrimarrirni)
jujumangkuji *(Adj n)* (also jujumangkurdi) thunderous, stormy (with lightning and thunder)

jujurrk- *(V)* dance (women) (dance accompanying love song (*yawulyu*)) Yawulyu, jujurrkaju, nginarni nayuni ngarnu majarriyi. *"That woman is performing a love song and dance to get him [as a boyfriend]."*

juk baj- *(V)* snatch, grab hold of Juk bajanganu marndamarnda bubangkami. *"I grabbed his hand and pulled it away from the fire."*

juka *(N n)* bucket shovel (small coolamon) Ngabajiyimi ibilka jukaarndi lajajiyimi ibilka. *"Here he comes carrying water in a bucket shovel."*
(cf: biyardu, jarlkandarru, jarranguna, kurluwarru, lawunja)

jukaya *(N n)* chest (stress: 'jukaya) Jukaya ngarrunu ngarru ngunungku. *"Here's my chest now. [pointing]"*
(cf: linku, mangarli)

jukul- *(V)* stay (temporarily) Dardungkijanama jukulangarri karrijbakarrijba duwangayi. *"That's many days journey."*
(cf: kurrind-)

juwurla *(N m)* cousin-in-law

jurliji *(N m)* bird (any) Dardu jamanarlu yaju jurliji yaju nginimbilini dardu. *"Lots of birds live here, lots."*

Jurlinginja *(N m)* male skin name, same subsection as female Naalinginju Jurlinginja ngarrabijangayi majarringka ngarru larnku, lurruba nganku nginimbili mankiyangayi, ngawunu ngayi. *"I'll tell Jurlinginja to bring my stuff here and I'll just stay here at home."*

juwurlini *(N f)* cousin-in-law

jurlu *(N n)* subincision, 'shovel-nose' (initiation rite for trouble-makers)
Ngindiwalu bungkamarri ngawu nyambala jurlunu. *"They've stopped performing those subincisions around these camps."*

jurlujurlum- *(V)* pack up Jurlujurlumangayi ngarrunu larnku, lurrbukaji ngarriyi ngawungka. *"Soon I'll pack up all my things and go back home."*
(cf: jibil-)

jurlurlurra *(N m)* blue tongue lizard (large) Jamarn jurlurlurra ngardajkala, kayarra yaardi. *"The jurlurlurra blue-tongued lizard is large, and it lives in the woods."*
(cf: lungkura)

julurrkbiy- *(V)* be pregnant Julurrkbiyiwunyuju kujarrirnarninama. *"Those two women are pregnant."*
julurrkbiyaka *(Adj m)* fat (m form only), pregnant (f form only)
Julurrkbiyikirni marlumarlurni marliyaju. *"The pregnant woman has morning sickness."*
(cf: maralungkuji)

jurluwardbini *(N f)* hardhead duck Angkula yamarrini nginimbilirnikaji ngijingirriwardi jurluwardbini, yamarri marlarlukarnimbili. *"We have not seen the hardhead duck around here for a very long time, not since the old days."*
(cf: ngawuyaka, ngurrujuruka)

julyumirr- *(V)* squeeze (fruit or an object) Julyumirranyaju mamirni ngimarnikirni ngamba darranyayi. *"You're squeezing that fruit so you can drink it."*
(cf: bijarrk baj-)

jun bak- *(V)* (also juny bak-, jun barrakaj-) set (of sun) Uliyijirni ngajangaju junbakaju uliyijirni. *"I see the sun setting."*
junbakaju *(N n)* (also junybakaju) sunset
(cf: junjunji)

jun may- *(V)* slip down, come down, get down, descend, get out Jun mayami jamarnikarni dimanarningkamirni, bundurru darraardu! *"Get off the horse and go have a feed!"*
(cf: jud bardk-)

junduji *(Adj m)* murky, dirty (of water)

jundurru *(N n)* dust Nginirni jundurru duwajiyimi. *"Dust is rising."*
(cf: mayamba)
jundurrm- *(V)* make dirty or dusty, smudge, stir Jundurrmanyaju wawa, dakarni ngajka ilangayi. *"You're dirtying it kid, leave it alone, you're putting dirt on it."*

jungarri *(N m)* (also jungmarri) small grindstone Jungarriwarndi dirndingirriwardi, ngunungku dirndingirriwardi ngangarra. *"With the little grindstone we grind up wild rice like this."*
(cf: biyawuja)

jungkali *(Adv)* far, distant Ngarrirnirni nayuni jungkali yaju. *"My wife is from afar."*
(cf: barrbarda)
jungkurrakurru *(Dem no concord)* a distant place
jungkalumbili *(Dem no concord)* in or at a distant place
jungkalungka *(Dem no concord)* to a distant place along the way

jungmarri
see *jungarri*

jungulinji *(N, Adj m)* bad (person), killer Ngarrabajangayi jamanikini karriyaka, jungulinji jamanikini karriyaka. *"Don't go near him, he's a bad man."*
(cf: karriyaka, warrijmajka)

jungum- *(V)* show, point out Kirini junguma-nga-nu warnu, lambarra-nga ngarri-rnini. *"I showed the catfish to my daughter-in-law."*
(cf: barinym-, durdkaj-)

jungun- *(V)* (also jungun bil-) raise dust, make smoke Jungunaju wukalu. *"It is giving off smoke."* Karalu wajkuwangaju murdikarndi, jungun bilangaju. *"I'm flinging dirt around as I drive, I'm raising dust."*

jungunaku *(N n)* mist, fog Ngaya ngarrina nyambala ngarrina barnka mindubala nyambala jungunakungka dard bijkininamiki. *"Me and a mate got caught in the smoke."*
(cf: diyilyi)

junguwanu (Kuw.)
see *jungwan*

jungwan (Kuw.) *(N n)* (also junguwanu) kangaroo (red)
(cf: jurdama, kanjarlawurri, ngalijirrirni)

junji *(N m)* brush, end of painting stick Darrangku wunyanaku junji ilmangayi. *"Give me the stick, I'll put a painting end on it."*

junjunji *(Adv)* (also junjunju, junjunjuwi) all day Junjunju ngurruju. *"We're here all day."* Mankiyingurriyi junjunjuwi. *"We'll sit here until the sun goes down."*
(cf: jun bak-)

junkarna *(N m)* fog Junkarna biji yanu jalyangku muruwarunama. *"It was foggy early this morning."*

junkumi *(N v)* penis Nayunga ngabaju kinarra, bininjarni ngabaju junkumi. *"Women have vaginas, men have penises."*

Junkurakurru
see *Jinkurrakurru*

jurnkurrubilyi *(N f)* (also jurnkurrbilyi) ghost bat (stress: 'jurnkurru"bilyi) Nginanikirni jurnkurrbilyirni yamarri; ngaliminymini, bilkina dardi ngijingurruwardi, angkula ngijingurruwardi jurnkurrbilyirni. *"The ghost bat was around once; small bats and flying foxes we see plenty of, but not ghost bats."*
(cf: barnkiji, dirndijmana, ngaliminymirni)

jurnma *(N m)* wallaby ('left-hand' wallaby), wallaroo (black), hill kangaroo (small) Kulyunk unyunu junma ngibiwunyijiyimi kulyunk unyunu. *"Those two are coming back with the big wallaby they killed."*
(cf: kalama, wambana, (w)ankarringka)

junungku *(Adv)* (also junungkunama) straight ahead keep going Karrijala jambajani bayinbala nawurlawuyu wurraku junungkunu, mankiyami nyinimbilinama, marrimarrarla jambajanirni. *"Stay here, don't go with those men and women who went up ahead, sit here, those people are savages."*

juny bak-
see *jun bak-*

jurrk baj- *(V)* cut (a) throat, tear, rip Manjarna jurrk bajangaju. *"I'm tearing bark."*
(cf: duk baj-)

jurrku *(N n)* centre, middle Jurrkumbili bulubulubiyaju. *"It's floating along out in the middle."*

jurrkubadi *(N m)* plains goanna (grey striped, spiny tail) (male of *budukurrirni*) Jamarnini jurrkubadi nginarni marliyini budukirrini. *"Burdukirrini is the female equivalent of jurrkubadi."* (skin: Jurlinginja)
(cf: burduburda, budukirrini)

jurrkurlu *(N n)* creek, river Banybilanganu nginda jurrkulumbili dardu bilirna. *"I found many red gums at that creek."*

jurruj bil- *(V)* (also jurrujurruj bil-) smoothen, make smooth
(cf: barany bil-, (y)irr bij-) Burrbikaji ngarnu jangkukaji jurruj bilangaju, ngimarnikirni. *"I'm just about finished with this one, I'm just smoothing it."*
jurrujurrujbiyaku *(Adj n)* smooth Ird bijarrungajunga jurrujurruj bilangaju nganu. *"I'm making it smooth."*

jurruwuji *(N m)* cuckoo shrike (grey) Jamarnini jamarnikirni jurruwuji yaardi wambayaardi ngurrayijbirni. *"The cuckoo shrike is nocturnal and sings at night."* (skin: Jangalinginja)

jurruku *(Adj n)* far from shore, deep (stress: 'jurruku) Kakuyi yaju, jurrukumbili kakuyi yaju dardu. *"Fish, there's lots of fish out in the middle."*
(cf: darlukurra, jirrkanku, (w)ardbardbala)

juwuru *(N n)* nest burial in tree (traditional funeral) Darrangkumbili ngabaju juwuru. *"There's a nest in that tree."*
(cf: janbarra)

jurum- *(V)* (also jurrum) wipe out, not make, undo rub out, erase, hide tracks Jimini jurrumami burrbujikaji. *"Get rid of all that."* Angkurla ngarri ngayarni jurumanganki yunku. *"I can't go(?), my tracks are covered up."*

juw- *(V (root))* motion Nyamirni ngamularni jangan juwarnami. *"That big guy pushed me out of the way."*
(cf: bak-)

juwangk- *(V)* chase away, chase off Jamanayi mujaka juwangkayi. *"They're chasing mice away."*

juwarr- *(V)* follow Jamabilana juwarrangayi wunyuku. *"I'll follow those two."*
(cf: baj-)

K

kabalyarraka *(Adj m)* old Kibilyirrikirnikaji imikirni. *"That old woman's had it, she's decrepit."*
(cf: nyambarnin)

kabarrima *(Adj m)* greedy
kabarri *(V2)* be greedy, hold back Kardarda kabari nyaardi bundurrurnani. *"You're always so greedy with food."*
(cf: ngujan-)

kabij- *(V)* laugh smile Kabijaanyumi. *"Smile, you two!"*
kabijajkala *(Adj m)* funny (person) Jamaniki nyambala kabijajkala. *"He's funny."*

kabila *(N m)* digging stick, yam stick Kabila nangkangayi jangka bardakurra. *"I'm going to cut another good yam-stick."*
(cf: makalyani)

kabirni *(N f)* wife, also brother's wife, wife's sister (ego: male) Ngabakaji ngaju kabirni ngabangaju nginarniki. *"I have this woman as my wife."*
(cf: kabinjkulirni, karu, nayurni, ngambiyirni)

kabinjkulirni *(N f)* wife (ego: third person) Wajirni ngankinini kabinjkulirni? *"Who is your wife?"*
(cf: kabirni, karu, nayurni, ngambiyirni)

kabu *(N m)* ignorant person (ignorant of ceremonies etc.) Kabu jamarniki munmulyi. *"This fool's real ignorant."*
(cf: munmulyi)

kaburi *(N m)* tree lizard small dragon lizards Darraardi dalyirni, darrardi walanja, kaburi. *"Whip snakes eat goannas and dragon lizards."* (skin: Jabijirnginja)

kaburrkaburru *(Adj n)* (also kaburrkaburrji *(m)*) black, dark brown black/dark brown water mark on corkwood tree black rain cloud iris (of eye) Marndaj kaburrkaburrku, kaburrkaburrji darrangku. *"Good colour, this wood has a good dark colour."* Kaburrkaburru yajiyimi, ibilkirni yangku. *"When black clouds come over, it will rain."* Angkula ngajangaju, kaburrkaburrjimbili ngarrunumbili. *"I can't see, there's something on my iris."*

kaburrjb- *(V)* (also kaburrjbikaj-) darken, blacken Ibilkirni kaburrjbikaji yaju, ngurraku wardkanayi yayi. *"The sky is darkening with rain clouds, it might well rain on us."*
(cf: kakujb-)

kaburrkaburrku *(N n)* (also kaburrkaburrji, kaburrkaburrju, kaburrkaburru) black sand Nginirnikirni dabilanganu kaburrkaburru, mayamayambilirni ngabakaji ngaju kaburrkaburru. *"I touched it and got dirt on it, my hands are covered in black sand."*

kardarda *(Adv)* every day, always Anymangarri kardarda. *"I go every day."*

kardakarda *(N n)* bone, skeleton, wrist Kardakarda jamani lakud bilami. *"Bury those bones!"*

kardarrukuji *(Adv)* all night, until dawn Kardarrukuji nginimilyi nangkala kujina. *"We're going to sing initiation songs all night."*

kardawurra *(N m)* lower arm Kunma jambajanu yurriyurruju wawarlarni karlingka lakarr mijiwurrungunmi kardawurra. *"If these boys don't stop mucking around they'll break their arms."*

kardayi *(N m, f)* cat Arrkujanarnanu ngaya kardayirni. *"The cat scratched me."*
(cf: bujikarda)

kardbaj- *(V)* choke Ngangarni kardbajangananu. *"The meat is choking me."*

kardku mil- *(V)* strangle Kardku milinginyiyi nganku! *"I'll strangle you!"*

kajirrim- *(V)* pick up, get Kajirrimangarri wurraku wawala. *"I'll go pick up the kids."*
(cf: maj-)

kajub *(Adv)* close by, near to Kajub minduwa nginuwarra. *"Let's take the short cut."*
kajub-kajub *(Adv)* late Minduwakaji ngindarniki, kajub-kajub ngurraku. *"We've been out here so long it's gotten late on us."*
kajub wardk- *(V)* (also kajub bil-) catch up with, close in on Jamarniki jungkalikaju, minduwa nganu kunumburra, kajub biliminduwa. *"He's way ahead of us, although we went quickly, we'd better catch up to him."*

kajura *(N m)* tree species (with red seeds), bottle tree? *(Cochlospermum gregorii)* Jarumi ngilmangayi kajurarningkamini. *"I'll make a shield from that bottle tree."* (light wood, may be used to make a coolamon or shield; seeds used to make jewellery)

kakarr- *(V)* vomit Kikirrurruju. *"They all throw up."*
kakarra juw- *(V)* spit out Kakarra juwanganu warnu. *"I spat tobacco out."*
(cf: wardjkuw-)

kakujb- *(V)* darken (with clouds, rain etc.) Ibilkirni kakujbiju ngurraku, wardkanayi yayi. *"The sky is darkening with rain clouds on us, it might well rain."*
(cf: kaburrjb-)

kakuyi *(N m)* (also kakuwi) fish (specifically perch) (stress: 'kakuyi)
Ibilkinimbilirni yaardi ngangarni kakuyi, kirirni. *"Aquatic food includes perch and catfish."*

karl *(Adv, Interj)* (also kawurl) straight (horizontal movement), without hesitation Kawul wiyirri, ibilka mijiyirri. *"Off you go now, get water!"* Kawul ilami. *"Just put it down, no matter what!"*
(cf: birrik)
karlwarl *(Adv)* straight through Nginirnikirni wawurru ngurraku, karlwarl ngurrirda wawurrumbili. *"We went into this scrub and now we're going straight through the scrub."*
(cf: birrik)

kaala kaala *(Adv)* easily, quickly Murdika kaala kaala jarrkaju, jimirni kunumburru. *"That car runs quickly, it's fast."*

kalardayi *(N m)* mollusc (univalve) snail Kalardayini bardakurra umbumangayi, ibilkirnimbili umbumangayi. *"Univalve molluscs are good to eat, I just boil them up in water."*

karlaju *(N n)* burrow (stress: 'karlaju) Karlaju nginirnika yarranu walanjarni. *"A goanna lives in this burrow."*

karlakarlarr- *(V)* be loose, loosen Imarnini nyimani binymal karlakarlarraju. *"This spear head is loose."*
karlakarlarra *(Adv)* loosely
karlakarlarraka *(Adj m)* (also karlakarlarranjku *(n)*) loose
Karlakarlarranjku ngarnu nginirni binymalarni. *"That spear head is loose."*
karlakarlarra il- *(V)* loosen Karlakarlarrakaji ilaju, karlakarlarraju, marndaj. *"He's untying it, OK."*

karlarlanju *(N n)* (also karlarlanjurru) wild rice species, grass species *(Oryza species)* Karlarlanju majamarriyimi marlarlukarni - darramarriyimi. *"People in days gone by would go get the wild rice and eat it."*
(cf: kingkirra, ngangarra)

karlarlawurra *(N m)* kite hawk, goshawk (stress: 'karlarla"wurra) (skin: Jurlinginja)
(cf: dirdingarnu)

kalama *(N m, f)* grass wallaby Kalamarni yaardi bujimbili yaardi, ibilkananamaka dibij kaardi. *"The grass wallaby hangs around in the bush, but would come out to the water every once in a while."*
(cf: juburdu, jurnma, wambana, (w)ankarringka)

kalama
see *kilimi*

kalamangkami *(N v)* snot, mucus (literally: nose+ABL) Karlamangkami larlarlaju ngarru. *"My nose is running."*
(cf: kurdkulyu)

kalanga
see *kalnga*

karlarra (Kuw.) *(Adv)* west Karnawunjimbili kamarri ngawu nyinuwa, kalarra anumarri mankiyiyinimbili. junjunju yinangka. *"They would go into the lancewoods out West, stay a while, they'd be out there all day."*
(cf: karnimbarra)
karlarraka *(Adv)* westward
(cf: karnimbarraka)

kalbanyku *(N n)* bill (of bird)

karlimiji (Kuw.) *(N m)* rib
(cf: janyburra)

karlina *(N m)* night heron Jamanikarlu karlina ngajajala ngurrayijbi ibilkinimbili yardi darrajbi ngiji ngajardi nganu kakuyina. *"The night heron, a nocturnal bird, fishes at night down by the water's edge."* (skin: Jangaringinja)

karlingka *(Adj, N m)* male, boy Kunma jambajanu yurriyurruju wawarlarni karlingka lakarr mijiwurrungunmi kardawurra. *"If these boys don't stop mucking around they'll break their arms."* Warlakurni marliyirni, warlaku karlingka. *"Female dog, male dog."*

kalirnimi *(N n)* river tree species *(Santalum lanceolatum)* (abundant around Renner Springs) Ngininikini kalirnimirni nginduwajija yaju duwaardi. *"The kalirnimi tree doesn't grow around these parts."* (gum eaten, fruits not eaten in this region; wood can be used for boomerangs)

kalirrungu *(N n)* hill, mountain Ngurrarunama ngajangaju kalirrungu. *"I can see the hills early in the morning."*

kalnga *(N n)* (also kalanga (stress: 'kalanga)) ochre (red), red paint Lulyurr mayangayi nginirni kalnga. *"I'm crushing this ochre."*
(cf: kidbu)

karlwadaj *(Adv)* crossed Nangkimi karrijbiyardu wijinkinama. Nangkimi karrijbi yajumi karlwadaj. *"One road goes straight up here. Another crosses it."*
karlwadaj bil- *(V)* cross Karlwadaj bilangkumi jarrumurlu. *"Cross your legs!"*
karlwadajkaju karrijbi *(N v)* crossroads

karlwakarlwa *(N m)* shrub species (poisonous with five-fingered leaves) Karlwakarlwarni majayili wawarlarrani mijiwurruwardi ngilmajka karnaringmima. *"Children get that karlwakarlwa shrub to make toy spears from it."* (near Elliott; grows in wet season, not native to the area)

Karlwarlwaaba *(N m)* Beetaloo Creek, more specifically a tree at Beetaloo Creek Karlwarlwaabarni barlungbarlungmi yaju. *"Karlwarlwaaba is a barlungbarlungmi wattle tree."*

kalwarri *(N m (always))* possum (small), sugar glider Kalwarrini bikirrambili yaardi. *"The little possum lives in the grass."*
(cf: jakulakji, (w)arlungunja)

kalyarr- *(V)* uncover, dig up dig (with hands) Kilyirringiniju ngarrininga bardardaka babirdimi. *"My little sister and I are digging up yams."*
(cf: kuj-, langa nungk-, (w)arnmil-)

kalyarrum- *(V)* (also kalyurrum-) swim Kalyarrumangarriyi malyaku. *"I'll swim over to the other side."*
(cf: kibardk-)
kalyalyarrum- *(V)* swim along Kalyurrungarnimbili kalyalyarrumangarriyi. *"I'll swim along in the water."*

kalyirdji *(Adj m)* (also kalyirdi *(f)*) generous, good Ngujanajala angkurla kalyirdji jamanikini. *"That person's greedy, unkind."*

kalyurra *(Adj m)* quarrelsome (by nature) stupid, no good (person), naughty, miserable Yurrba jamanirni kalyurra. *"That miserable fellow's no good."*
(cf: jirdirdini, kijikijibajkala, waarungka, yurrba)

kalyurrum-
see *kalyarrum-*

kalyurrunga *(N m)* water (any) Ngabangarri jimini kurluwarru kalyurrunga majangayi. *"I'll take that bucket shovel and get water."*
(cf: (y)ibilka)
kalyurrungurni *(N f)* rain Majana wukuni ngirrmangayi, kanjirrunguni yajiyimi. *"I built a bark hut as the rain was coming."*
(cf: (y)ibilkirni, juju)

kamamurri *(Adv)* dark
kamamurri il- +REFL *(V)* close one's eyes Kamamurri ilangankiyi kungkubarnu ngabanju. *"I will wink."*
kamamurra *(Adj m)* blind Uraajangarri kamamurra marluka ngawungka. *"I'm leading the blind old man home."*

kamanji *(N m)* bullwaddy (tree) *(Macropteranthes kekwickii)* Kamanjidarra ngirrmimindiwa kurrubardini bardakurra. *"We'll make some fine boomerangs from bullwaddys."*
(cf: warlumbu)

kamany- *(V)* cart, drag Buba nginda ningkingirrinu kiminymiminduwa. *"Let's you and me cart this firewood that me and them cut."*

kamarra *(N m)* bark Kamarra ngindanikini yubungunkuji kamarra, majanganu mankanyanu yubungunkuji. *"This bark is very stringy."*
(cf: barndabi)

kambulumi *(N v)* (also kambulunmi) tree species *(Terminalia canescens)* Kambulimi dirringirruwardi ngimanikini kambulumangkami. *"We eat the gum from this particular gum tree."* (used for woomeras and boomerangs; gum eaten)

kaminarrinymi *(N v)* (also kaminayingmi) water lily (with yellow flowers) root of water lily (stress: 'kami"narrinymi) Kaminarrinymirni ngimarnini *grow-*marriyimi ibilkirnimbilirni dirringinyumarriyimi, ngambalama dika. *"The kaminarrinymi grows in water and we'd eat it, it was just like butter."* (eaten cooked)

kaminjarra *(N m)* daughter's son (classification includes sister's grandson, father-in-law's nephews, mother-in-law's brother's son (ego: male)) (classification includes niece's son, paternal grandfather's nephews, husband's niece's son, mother-in-law's brother's son, mother-in-law's mother's brother's son (ego: female)) Kaminjarra kulirni ngarnu ngajanarriya bundundurru marliya. *"Our grandchildren and young people look after our feeding when we are sick."*

kaminjirrirni *(N f)* daughter's daughter (classification includes sister's granddaughter, father-in-law's nieces, mother-in-law's brother's daughter, mother-in-law's father's brother's daughter (ego: male)) (classification includes niece's daughter, paternal grandfather's nieces, husband's niece's daughter, mother-in-law's brother's daughter, mother-in-law's mother's brother's daughter (ego: female)) Aja ngarru kaminjirrirni. *"Who is my granddaughter?"*

Kamirrinji *(N m)* Morning Star star (any) (Kuw.) Kamirrinji jimininki yajiyimi ngurraku. *"The Morning Star is rising upon us."*
(cf: jirnkiji)

kamuru *(N n)* darkness, dark Kamurukaji jud bardkaju ngurraku. *"Darkness is falling upon us."*
(cf: muwum, ngurrayijbi)

karnamurrura *(N m)* (also karnamurruwa) mosquito (big) Jamarnikirni ngamamurla kamamurrura, lamarlumbili yaardi. *"The kamamurrura mosquito is big, and it lives in hollow logs."*
(cf: bangkulirni, bangkulya)

Karnanyamana *(N m)* (also Karnanamarna) water hole, just upstream of Marlinja (stress: 'karna"nyamana) Yaardu Wilkuru, Wilkurungkami yaardu Karnanamarna. *"Going from Wilkuru you get to Karnanyamana."*

karnarrinymi *(N v)* (also karnarrinjku) spear Ngankinimi karnarrinymirni nganyinybiyiki jamanikini, nganyidimi karnarrinymi. *"Your spear is very sharp."*
(cf: dunkujku, munmurrinymi)

karnawunji *(N m)* lancewood tree *(Acacia shirleyi)* Karnawunji banybilanganu kurlukurla. *"I saw some young lancewoods."*
(cf: dimilyi, manjarna, jirrmungkulyi)

kanba *(Adj no concord)* equal (quantities or social equals (friend, spouse, age-mate etc.))
Kanba ijinkuwunyuju. *"Those are of equal size."*
(cf: kuyubulu)
kanbakanba *(Adv)* together Mindiyilirni ngirrmimindiyi, kanbakanba ngirrmimindiyi. *"You and I will make it, together."*

karndanymil- *(V)* block, obstruct, break up (a fight) Kardanymilami wunyaku. *"Stop those two (fighting)!"*
(cf: jard bil-)

kandirri *(N v)* bread, damper Kandirri wumbumingurriyi. *"We can cook damper."*

Kandurlarra *(N m)* a (specific) large creek Jurrkulu Kandurlarrani kujkarru larlarlarrini ibilkarni kirrawarraka, nguburdki. *"Kandurlarra creek flows in two directions, north and east."*

kangarnda *(N n)* (also kanganda) cheek, jaw Jaminirni lakarr majarnarnu nyambala kangarnda lakarr majanayi yarnarna jaminirni. *"That guy broke my jaw."*

kangbi *(N m)* gecko Bardakurra jamanikirni, kangbirni bardakurra jamanikirni, angkula dajbajala. *"Geckos are good, they don't bite."*

kangkaala *(N n)* (also kangakawala) bullocky bush, cattle bush *(Heterodendrum oleifolium)* Kijurlurlu bajangaju buyuka ilangayi kangkaalangka nyanyalangka. *"I perform the act of putting the rain stone on the bullocky bush leaves."* (used for firedrills) (branches boiled for medicinal wash, poured on sores and itches. Dry leaved that have been soaked and rotted are used to bring rain.)
(cf: birdiyinjirrmi, lawa)

kangkuya *(N m)* paternal grandfather (ego: male) (classification includes paternal grandfather's brothers, son's son, brother's grandson, wife's sister's son's son (ego: male)) (classification includes sister's son's son, father-in-law's mother's brother (ego: female))
Jamarni aja ngarrinani kangkuyarni, ngarrinirna ngarnu kirdana. *"That's who my kangkuya is, from my Dad's side."*

kangkuyirni *(N f)* paternal grandfather's sister (ego: male) sister's son's daughter (ego: female) (classification includes son's daughter, brother's granddaughter, wife's sister's son's daughter (ego: male)) (classification includes father-in-law's mother and her sisters (ego: female))

karnimbarra *(Adv)* west
(cf: karlarra)
karnimbarraka *(Adv)* westward Minduwa karnimbarraka. *"We'll go westward."*
(cf: karlarraka)

karningka *(Adv, conjunction)* perhaps (negative outcome), lest Jamarni wilwilikajiyaju karningka wirrkiyimi. *"It's hanging, swinging, might fall."*
(cf: karrila, wadi)

karninyinji *(N m)* bush turkey, Australian bustard Ngirriki kurruku, karninyinjina nganu. *"You mob went hunting, hunting for turkeys."* (skin: Jangalinginja, Jabijinnginja)
(cf: kurrkabadi)

kanjarlawurri *(N m)* male red kangaroo Wuliyijangardi langala ngajangaju kanjalawurridarra dardu. *"During the day one can see many kangaroos."*
(cf: jurdama, jungwan, ngalijirrirni, wardabanmarra)

karnjanjarru *(N n)* ridge country (scrubby), lancewood scrub Ngaardukaji karnjanjarrungka ngaardukaji ngunungku. *"I'm crossing into some scrubby ridge country."*
(cf: biyalu, lurrju, mirdirdbi)

kankanbalarra *(N m)* bird species (small yellow bird, bellbird) (stress: 'kankanba"larra) Nginimbilirni banybilanyanyaardi kankanbalarra, kararlumbili ngilmardi ngawunu. *"You can find the kankanbalarra bird here, making its nest on the ground."*

kankankulukbi *(N v)* carrot (wild) *(Portulaca pilosa)*
(cf: nyiyinmi)

karnkarra *(N m)* scar, old mark

karnkurlukurli *(N m)* black dragon lizard (large) Karnkurlukurlini ngindarnini yaardi darrangkumbili, dirringirrikardi bilaya. *"The black dragon lizard lives in trees and seeks out termites to eat."*

kanya *(N m)* uncle (either parent's brother if ego is female, mother's brother only if ego is male) (classification includes either parent's sister's husband, mother's male cousins, mother-in-law's maternal male cousins (ego: male)) (classification includes maternal grandparent's brother's son, maternal grandmother's sister's son (ego: female)) Kanyirni ngarrinini ngabaju ngarrinini wiwirnini. *"My uncle has my daughter."*

kanyburru *(N n)* muscle, flesh, beef Nganirni kardbajanarnaju ngangirni kanyburruwarndi. *"I'm choking on beef!"*

kara *(N m)* fog Karambili ngaju. *"I'm in the fog."*

karalu *(N n)* (also kararlu) earth, ground Karalumbili mankiyangaju; karalunga dubungurrumi; karalunga dubimindi. *"I'm sitting on the ground; we're all sitting on the ground; you and I are sitting on the ground."*

karaangbi
see *kararangbi*

kararangbi *(Adv, V2)* (also karaangbi) bad tempered, bad drunk Ngayarni angkula ngarri jamabilanirni kararangbi wunyuwardi nginuwa ngarri karruma mankiyangayi. *"I wouldn't go near those two, they're bad drunks, cranky, I'll just sit here by myself."*
kararangbiyaka *(Adj m)* (also karaangbiyaka) angry, cranky, bad tempered Kararangbiyaka jamarnikirni yaju nginda. *"He's cranky, that guy."*

Karayu *(N n)* Ferguson's spring (near South Yard)

karra warrk- *(V)* break down
(cf: dang bak-, kij bak-)

karrangayimi *(N v)* (also karrngayimi) round yam type (stress: 'karra"ngayimi) (rare in Jingili country; Daly Waters to Larrimah) Karrangayimi nyamaniki langa ningkimindiyi, dajbajalmi nyamaniki marrimarrimi. *"The karrangayimi yam will burn you."* (must be chopped and soaked before eating, otherwise it burns the mouth)
(cf: nganyajimi)

karrawarra (Kuw.) *(Adv)* east Karrawarra ngajami. *"Look East!"*
(cf: ngubu)
karrawarraka *(Adv)* eastward
(cf: nguburdki)

karriba (Kuw.) *(N m)* European, Caucasian, white person (very mildly offensive) Jad bilami, karriba, jad bilami. *"Switch it off, whitefella, switch it off!"*
(cf: maamaandanya, wajbala)

kaarrijbi *(N v)* (also karrijbi) road, track, path Angkula juwarangana karrijbini, dankayanganu. *"I didn't follow the path, I got lost."* Milky Way Angkurla bardangkara duwaju, karrijbi dimbumbili ngajanyaardi kamurumbili. *"When the moon doesn't rise, you can see the Milky Way in the dark sky."*
(cf: madkaaku, wilyurdku)

karrila *(Imperative)* leave it Mindibubu jiminirna karrila. *"This is men's business, leave it."* lest Kijurlurluwarndi nayangaju nginirni larnku karrila marlinbunguwarndi warramal juwi bunganu. *"I'm weighing these clothes down with a stone so that the winds don't blow them away."*
(cf: dakani, (w)urrumi, karningka, wadi)

karrinbiyi *(N m)* type of water found in hollow tree Banybilanganu ibilka karrinbiyi. *"I found tree water."*
(cf: jiyilini)

karrinji *(N m)* jabiru, stork Jamina kabamarri liyijunu jaburramirni jamina karrinjirni ngabamarri, ngabajukala. *"The jabiru was the first bird to find a skin."* (skin: Jurlinginja)

karriyaka *(Adj m)* bad, wrong, false, ill, different, dangerous clumsy, unable, bad (person), confused, worried Karriyaku bujangaju. *"I smell (bad)."* Karriyaku ngaju. *"I feel ill."* Jiminikini karriyaki imbiyurruju marrinju. *"They talk different languages (here)."*
(cf: jungulinji, warrijmajka)

karrkanya *(N m)* eagle hawk, falcon Ngininiki karrkanyarni darraardi bundurru niyirninama ngangarni darraardi, jurliji mayaardi. *"The falcon hunts meat down, catches birds for tucker."* (skin: Jurlinginja)
(cf: barnibukarri, jarndarringka, kurnbiliny)

Karrkarrkurraja *(N m)* Anthony's Lagoon Jiminikirni angkurla *Anthony's Lagoon,* ngirribijingirriwardi Jingiluwarndini Karrkarrkurraja. [sings]. *"It's not really 'Anthony's Lagoon', in Jingulu we call it 'Karrkarrurraja'."*

karrngayimi
see *karrangayimi*

karrudji *(N m)* (also karruji) spider Dajbaningirrunu murrkunbala karrujini. *"The spider bit the three of us (not you)."*

karu *(N n)* wife-relation (not used to refer to the woman, only to the relationship of having a wife) Ngarrinirni ngarru nayurni nginarnikirni, karu ngabangaardi. *"This is my wife, I'm married to her."*
(cf: kabirni, kabinjkulirni, nayurni, ngambiyirni)
karungkuji *(Adj m)* married (literally: wife-HAVING) Jamarni ngunyawurrunu nayurni, karungkujikaji. *"He was given a wife by them, now he's married."*
(cf: nayungkuji)
karukulinji *(N m)* married couple
karung ardk- *(V)* (also karungka ardk-) marry

karubkarub *(V2)* (also karubkarubi) copulate, engage in sexual intercourse Nyamirnani ngarnu jamarnikirni karubkarub wunyunkuju. *"This woman and man are having sex."*
(cf: niyu, nyiy-)

karuka *(N n)* shrub, plant Jimina bardakurru duwaju karuka jalyamungku. *"There's a nice young shrub growing here."*

kawurdu *(Adv)* courting, loving secretly Kawurdu wunyunkuju. *"They are courting."*

kawurl
see *karl*

kawuyarr- *(V)* be tender or sore (body part) Yumukurdukurdu kawuyarrangaju. *"My feet are sore and tender."*

kayarra *(N n)* forest, woods, timber country Darrangku bardakurrudarra miyingurriyi darrangkudarra kayarrambili. *"We'll get some good trees in the woods."*

kayilyarra il- *(V (trans))* shake Kayilyarra iliji wami ngarru! *"Stop shaking me!"*
(cf: lalum-, (w)urruwurru mil-)

kayirr *(Adv)* sad, sorry (stress: ka'yirr or 'kayirr) Kayirr wurruju jamabajinirni. *"All those people are sad."*

kibardk- *(V)* bathe swim Ngirriki ngurruwa ardukunuma nginingkalakaji kibirdkingurruwungku. *"We went hunting then came here for a swim."*
(cf: kalyarrum-)

kibilimi *(N v)* yam type *(Vigna lanceolata)* (some long, some rounded; in red soil, bullwaddy country, at OT, Nutwood) Kibilimi biyijilimi duwardi langa warlumbuwarlumbu. *"Kibilimi is a long one that grows in bullwaddy country."* (the yam is boiled or cooked in ashes)

kibilyawurni *(N f)* whistle duck Kibilyawurni ngina dindijingurruwa nganga dirringurriyi. *"If we can creep up on that whistle duck then we can have a feed on it."* (skin: Nangalinginju)

kirda *(N m)* father (classification includes father's brother, spouse's paternal grandfather's sister's son) (classification includes paternal grandfather's brother's son, paternal grandmother's sister's son (ego: male)) (classification includes mother's sister's husband (ego: female)) Kirda ngarrina wanymamarri nginimbili. *"My father came here long ago."*
(cf: barnanga, lala)

kidalm- *(V)* peel Nyima ni maami kidalmangayi. *"I'll peel the vegetables."*
(cf: ilbij-)

kirdb-
see *kij bak-*

kidba (Kuw.) *(N m)* egg brain Amb:yaju ngukaju wawarni kirdbambilirni. *"The new born chicks [children in the egg] are crying."*
(cf: marrkulu)

kidbu *(N, Adj n)* ochre (red) Nginirni mijingirrim rri kidbunu. *"We got that ochre ages ago."*
(cf: kalnga)

kirdij- *(V)* pinch (someone) Kirdijanu jamini birdirdirni. *"He pinched his little sister."*

kirdijilirni *(N f)* wild woman, female spirit Jimina ngunyamarrimi, jinjinmi namana(wu) ngunyamarrimi, wawa ngunyamarrimi nyambalanga, kardajalanga. *"Wild women would feed the caustic vine to babies."*
(cf: bundirndiyirni)

kirdikirdimi *(N v)* tail Ngabaju jurlardi, walanjarni, wardabalmarrarni, ngabaju kirdikirdimi. *"Birds, goannas, and kangaroos all have tails."*
(cf: ngijkinmi, nyinjimi)

kirdilyaka *(Adj m)* crooked Kirdilyikirrmi ngarnu karnaringmirni. *"The spear's crooked."*
(cf: warndabulyaka)

kidkilyi *(N m)* (also kirdkilyi) woodland dragon lizard, other medium sized lizards (lives in cracks in the ground) Waniyi darrardi, yaardi karalumbili, kirdkilyini. *"It eats grasshoppers and lives on the ground, the woodland dragon lizard."*

kij bak- *(V, V2)* (also kij baj-, kirdb-) break, break down Murdika kij bakarnu. Ngirrmangayi ngayini. *"My car broke down. I'll fix it. "* Kurrubardirni kird yanu manyingila *"The guttapercha boomerang broke."*
(cf: kij bil-, lakarr maj-, duk baj-, dang bak-, karra warrk-)

kijakijirni *(N f)* bull ant, ant (large black) (stress: 'kija"kijirni) Nginarni kijakijirnini umbumanganyini dajbanganyinu nganku. *"That bull ant bit you, made you itch."*

kijijimarri *(N m)* kite (brahminy) Kuwarrkukaji angkula yaardi kijijimarrini nginimbili, yamarri marlarlukarnimbili. *"There are no brahminy kites here now, though there were in days of old."*

kijikijib- *(V)* tease, annoy, provoke, tickle Jaminika ngamurlarni kijikijibardawura jambajani yabanjala wawala. *"That big guy's annoying the little kids."*
kijikijibajkala *(Adj m)* naughty Jamanikima kijikijibajkala langajija. *"He's a twerp, naughty to anyone."*
(cf: kalyurra)

kijikum- *(V)* argue Kijikumuwunyungkuwardi. *"Those two are arguing."*
(cf: ambal-, kunyinkirr-)

kijurlurlu *(N n)* stone, pebble, money (coins), game of marbles hill Karl ngardu kijurlurlungka. *"I'm climbing the hill."* Jamani ngabaju kijurlurlu dardu. *"He has lots of money."*
kijurlurlungkuji *(Adj m)* rich, official, owning property (literally: money-having) Jamarni bininja kijurlurlungkuji. *"That man is rich."*
kijurlurlujija *(Adj m)* poor (literally: coinless) Jamarni bininja kijurlurlujija. *"That man is poor."*

kilarliju *(Adj n)* clear, clean Ulukajangayi ngamba yayi ngarru kilarliju. *"I'll do the washing so that my stuff is clean."*

kilibi (Kuw.) *(N v)* bush banana (old) *(Leichhardtia australis)* (needs cooking)
(cf: ngamindurrukbi, ngimirrikimi)

kilikilidi *(N f)* (also kilikilirdi) galah Dardurni kilikilidi ngijingirrunu. *"We saw many galahs."* (skin: Nalyarringinju, Niminginju)

kilimi *(N v)* (also kalama) nose (stress: 'kilimi) Angkurla langkaj naya ngarru, kilimi miyinginyi nganku. *"If you don't listen to me I'll punch you in the nose."*

kilirrmi *(N v)* tobacco Kilirrmi ngimarnini ngarrinimi, warnurni darrajka. *"That tobacco is mine, chewing tobacco."*
(cf: mijuwulmi, warnu)

kirlirrwala *(N m)* grass type *(Sorghum species)* Jama kirlirrwala lujbungurringanu kanyarlawurrina. *"That grass is burnt when hunting kangaroos."* (burnt in hunting kangaroos)

kilkil *(Adv)* happy (mood) pleased, grateful Kilkilka yaju ngarnu kurrubardingkujikaji yaju. *"The guy with the boomerang is pretty pleased."*
(cf: janjanybiyaka)
kilkilma (Kuw.) *(Adj m)* grateful pleased, happy
kilkilmajkala *(N m)* happy person, pleased person

kiyilmi *(N v)* nail bush tree, needlebush *(Dicrostachys spicata, Acacia farnesiana, Acacia bidwillii)* Kiyilmirnda langandakungka inima, kiyilmarndi. *"You might get scratched by the nail bush up there."* (timber used to make 'Number 7' boomerangs (*warridirli*), causes scratches)

kilwilwirni *(N f)* crested pigeon Nginanikirni yaardi kilwilwirnini yaardi darrangkumbili. *"The crested pigeon lives in the trees."* (skin: Nangalinginju, Nabijinnginju)

kilyikilyikaka *(N m)* piebald, spotted Juliji ngindarni kilyikilyikaka. *"That bird is piebald."*

kilyilyi *(N m)* forked branch bend in wood fork (including dinner fork)
Ngayirni kaji kilyilyi ilangayi. *"I've made a nice bend in it."*
(cf: birdu, darrangku yalyalyaku, yalyalyaku)

kiyilyirni *(N f)* echidna (spiny ant-eater), "porcupine" Ngangarrakaju nginyiyimarri kiyilyirni miyuwurrumarri, lakuj bilingirrimarri kararlu ngunu bujbungka. *"Where the wild rice grows we killed echidna and cooked it in an earth oven."*
(cf: nyinawurdirni)

kimurdi *(N n)* corpse Nginarni jindikirrijbirnini wanymaardi kimurdi. *"The willy wagtail goes for corpses."*
(cf: jarlkandarru, warrijbala)

kinarra *(N m)* (also kiyinarra) vulva, vagina Nayunga ngabaju kinarra, bininjarni ngabaju junkumi. *"Women have vaginas, men have penises."*

kirnbilirdi *(N f)* stone axe Kirnbilirdi nyamarninu *arndil*-jujinu, angkula ngabaju darrangku - marndamarndambili dabilangaju kirnbilirdi. *"Stone axes have no handles - you hold them in your hand."*
(cf: dardawu, mangkurni, (w)urdila)

kinginymi *(N v)* tree species Kinginymi ngiminikirni bundurru ngabaardi bundurrunu. *"This* kinginymi *tree has food on it, food there."* (small orange berry eaten raw)

kingkirra *(N n)* wild rice *(Oryza species, Eragrostis tenellula)*
Kingkirrani ngininikirnini darramarriyimi marlarlukarnini, bundurru yamarri ngarnu marlarlukarna. *"Wild rice was eaten in the old days, it was food for olden time folk."* (the seeds are ripe just after the end of the wet season, they are removed from the stalks by hand, put into a coolamon and dried in the sun, then ground on a grinding stone and husked; the seeds are mixed with water and baked as a damper. This grass catches fire easily and is used to light fires in wet periods.)
(cf: karlarlanju, ngangarra)

kingmi *(N v)* rainbow Ngamula ngijukurri ibilkirni kingmi jamanikali ajinbumurra warlwarla dayimu ngijingurri ibilkirni. *"When you see the rainbow then we won't have rain anymore."*

kiyini
see *kirini*

kirnima *(N m)* spinifex grass, spinifex wax *(Triodia pungens et al.)*
Lujbungurri kirnimanayi bangkulanga juwangkayili. *"We'll burn some spinifex (root) to keep the mosquitos away."* (a shiny grass from which wax *kirriji* is collected; used in making humpies; stalks are put in hot water - when the liquid is sufficiently dark it is used as a medicinal wash; the wax from roots is burned in an open fire as a mosquito repellent; wax (*kirridji*) obtained from roots)
(cf: wirrimi)

kirninginjirni *(N f)* emu Jamarnikirni karnanganjanga bayaka yurnukurdukurduwarndi. *"This fellow got kicked by an emu."* (skin: Naaninginju)

kiyirnmini *(N f)* water snake (yellow-bellied) (rests in logs, can travel in water) Darraardi kiyirnminini ibilkirnimbili jird buyaardi, uliyijanga warrb ngunjakaji yaardu uliyijanga minduwa. *"The water snake breezes along through the water feeding, but also goes to bask in the sun for warmth."*

kinyakbanji *(N m)* flying fox Kinyakbanjirni yamarri bujimbili marlarlukarnimbilirni ngindiyi nankankunambili. *"The flying fox was found in the bush around here in the old days, when it lived around the caves."*
(cf: bilkina)

kinyilakbimi (Kuw.) *(N v)* potato (wild) *(Ipomoea aquatica)* Majamarriyimi kinyilakbimi, majamarriyimi..... wumbumaka yamarriyimi lakud bilamarriyimi. *"They would get the wild potato and cook it in the ground."*
(cf: jikimi, kubirdimi, milakurrmi)

kinyuwurrumi *(N v)* wild onion small wild onion Kinyuwurrumi darraardi yarlkungkujka. *"The brolga eats the small wild onion."* (eaten by brolgas; tubers may be cooked briefly in ashes and eaten, tastes a bit like a peanut)
(cf: mundubarlimi)

kirangkuju *(N n)* (also kirangkujku) round melon type (stress: ki'rangkuju) (prostrate vine, on plains) (also a bird name [JH]) Kirangkujunu daraadi bulikirni dimanarni. *"Cows and horses eat this here melon."* (bitter-tasting melon, usually avoided; may be sucked to alleviate severe thirst; also eaten by cattle and horses) (Alawa *jabajaba* [JH])

kirirni *(N f)* (also kiyini, kiriyini) catfish Kirirni mijimindiyi. *"We'll go off to get some catfish."*x has a dreaming site near Beetaloo

kirr- *(V)* swear insult Wardkanganu dilmangananu nyinirni, kirrakaju ngayurnirni darrangku nyambana kirranganu. *"I fell and cut myself on a branch and so I started swearing at it."*

kirrawarra *(Adv)* north Nginiwa minduwa kirrawarra. *"We're going North."*
kirrawarraka *(Adv)* northward

kirridji *(N m)* (also kirriji) wax (of plants) Dirnimangayi arduku kirridji. *"I'm sticking wax together."*
(cf: jikala)

kirriyimi (Kuw.) *(N v)* (also kirririmi) peanut tree *(Terminalia volucris)* (at Elliott) Bundurru ngabaju jimirnini kirrayamarndini, dirringurruwardi bundurru, nginja. *"The peanut tree has food, seeds, which we eat."* (peanut-like nut edible; good firewood; gum eaten without preparation)
(cf: laangkujbi)

kirringkirringma *(N m)* seagull (small), any small sea-bird Kirringkirringma ngindarni kakuwi dirringirrikardi, jurrkulumbili. *"The seagull hunts fish in the creek."* (skin: Jangaringinja, Jaaninginja)
(cf: durdba)

kiyirru *(N n)* knife, spear head Kurrubardirna, kiyirrurna binmala ningkimarri. *"They made boomerangs and knives, and stone blades too."*
(cf: binymala, wanyu)

kiwarlija *(N m,f)* king brown snake snake (any) Kiwarlija yarruk nginiwa. *"A king brown snake went this way."*

kiwinji *(N m)* white diver duck, pied cormorant Kakuyi darraardi ngindarnini kiwinjirnini. *"The white diver duck eats fish."*

kiwirra *(Dem, Adj no concord)* (also jiwirra, kuwarrku, kuwardku) nothing, noone, no Ngayirnina dulangarraku bundurrurna; kiwirra. Dulangarruku ngangina; kiwirra. *"I looked for food; nothing. I looked for meat; nothing."*

kiyala *(N n)* nose-bone (usually made from kangaroo, pelican or turkey bone) Nginirnikirni ngarrunu kiyalarni mijingurrunu ngarru junmarninami, junma kardakarda. *"I got my nose bone here from a wallaby skeleton."*

kiyali *(V2 Adv)* stink (not used for people) Bujuwangaju nyambanayi kiyali yaju. *"I can smell something awful."*
(cf: buj-)

kiyalu *(Adj n)* (also kiyilyi, kiyilmi *(v)*) rotten, stinky Angkula darrangayi kiyalu. *"I'm not eating that, it's rotten."*
(cf: jabara, nungulyu)

kiyanm- *(V)* take away Kiyanmangarriyi wawa bundurru. *"I'm going to take the food away from the child."*
(cf: duwa ngab-)

kubirdimi *(N v)* yam species, wild potato (prostrate creeper, in black soil, white flower in wet season) *(Ipomoea aquatica)* (at Beetaloo, Anthony, Brunette) Kubirdimana wal baju nyambalanama kurdalyurru danga ngabaju nyambala irrbi ngabaju yurrkunama. *"The yam vine still has flowers on it."* (yam cooked about 1 hour in oven with wet grass and charcoal covered with dirt, then scraped briefly and eaten)
(cf: jikimi, kinyilakbimi, milakurrmi)

kurdalyu *(N n)* grass, foliage
(cf: bikirra, wuju)
kurdalyurru *(Adj n)* verdant, green (of plants) Bijabanganu, ilanganu, nginja ilanganu; duwakaji yaju ngarnu kurdalyurrunu. *"I sowed some seeds; now it's coming up really green there."*

kurdarru *(Adj n)* raw Angkula darrangayi kurdarru. *"I'm not eating that, it's raw."*

kurdijalaka *(N m)* mussel (stress: 'kurdi"jalaka) Kibardki ibilkarni nyayi ngardajkalarni, nginda bunungkurrumbili mijingurrinu kurdijalaka. *"Wherever there's enough water in a billabong for you to bathe in, we would have got mussels there."*
(cf: marlangayi)

kudingi *(N m)* possum (spotted) (stress: 'kudingi) Kilyikilyikaka ngindaniki kudingi. *"The spotted possum is spotted."*

kurdkulyu *(N n)* snot, mucus, cold (in head), cough, influenza Wurrajkalu ngaju kurdkulyungkuji. *"I feel the cold because I have a cold."*
(cf: kalamangkami, (w)urrajkalu)
kurdkulyu ngajarlakurrungkami *(N n)* phlegm (literally: mucus from the mouth)
kurdkulyu kalamangkami *(N n)* snot (literally: mucus from the nose)
kurdkuly- *(V)* cough Kurdkulyuwunyunu warlakuyila: karlingka, maliyirni. *"The two dogs coughed: the male and the female."*
(cf: (w)ajirrku)

kurdujumi *(N v)* shield
(cf: jaarumi, kuwarrimi)

kurdukurda
see *burduburda*

kuduru *(N n)* nulla-nulla, club (stress: 'kuduru)
(cf: barrku, birnmurru, dikidika)

kurduwakurni *(N f)* barren woman Nyaminarni nayuni kurduwakurni. *"That woman is barren."*
(cf: wawajijirni)

kuj- *(V)* go through, penetrate, dig through pierce, spear Kujangayi kararlu larlubajangayi warrkujuwakajingayi. *"I'm digging through the dirt, scratching at it."*
(cf: bul-, durrb kuj-, kalyarr-, kul-, langa nungk-, (w)arnmil-)

kujarribilarni *(Dem m)* (also kujarrirnarni *(f)*) these two (feminine)
Bajangarri jambilana bininjayiyila wunyaku kujarribilarni. *"I'll track those two people."*
Nayuni yajiyimi; kujarrinarni nayuni; murrkulyi nayuni. *"A woman is coming; these two women; now three women."*
(cf: ngindabila)

kujika *(N n)* first-stage initiation ceremony (men's) initiation songs (men's), song (generally) (stress: 'kujika) (performed earlier on same day as *bandimi*)
Nganyamarri marlalukarni kujikani. *"the old men sang songs"* (performed at same time as circumcision, *murlkindi*)
(cf: bandimi)

kujkarrarni *(Adj m)* (also kujkarrani, kujkarrana *(m)*, kujkarrinarni, kujkarruna *(f, n)*) two Jaminikina ngabaju kujkarruma Jabijinnginja Jangalinginja. *"that one has two skins - Jabijinnginja and Jangalinginja ."*
kujkarrijka *(Adv)* two days (journey)
kujkarrijanama *(Adv)* twice
kujkarruma-kujkarruma *(Adj m)* four Nguniya janbarambili nyambala marrkuludarra wurruju, kujkarruma-kujkarruma. *"There are four eggs in that nest."* (literally: two-two; rejected by some speakers)

kuka *(N m)* grandmother's (maternal) brother (classification includes wife's brother's daughter's son, mother-in-law's father and his brothers, mother-in-law's father's brother's son (ego: male)) Kuka ngarrina jamarnikirni, ngarrirninga ngayi jakardinga kanya. *"My kuka is my mother's maternal uncle."*
(cf: jaju)

kukurni *(N f)* grandmother (maternal) (classification includes maternal grandmother's sisters) (classification includes wife's brother's daughter's daughter, mother-in-law's father's sister and mother-in-law's father's brother's daughter (ego: male)) (stress: 'kukurni)

kul- *(V)* spear (from a distance) Marlumarlu ili kulangayi. *"I'm going to spear him and wound him."*
(cf: bul-, durrb kuj-, kuj-, langa nungk-)

kula *(N m)* nephew (sister's son) (ego: male) son, nephew (sister's son) (ego: female) (classification includes paternal grandfather's sister's son, paternal grandmother's brother's son, father-in-law (and his brothers?) and his father's brother's son (ego: male)) (classification includes father-in-law's brother's son, father-in-law's mother's nephew, mother-in-law's sister's husband (ego: female)) Jamanima jajkalunu ngarrina kula ngamulakaji. *"That boy is my nephew, the big one."*
kuli *(N m)* (vocative) nephew!

kulabajarra *(N n)* hat (stress: 'kulaba"jarra) Kulabajarra ulukaja ngaya angkurla bardakurraju ngarru. *"I'm going to wash my hat, it's not clean enough for me to wear."*
(cf: kumundunga, murrkardi)

Kularda *(N m)* creek, upstream of Newcastle Waters - runs to Beetaloo
Kulardambili kamanji duwaju. *"Bullwaddys grow around Kularda Creek."*

kulajbunji *(Adj m)* (also kulajbuni *(f)*) wounded by spear Abulda
kulajbunji jamina abulda. *"He was speared accidentally."*

kurlarlaajiy- *(V)* not care, not be bothered Kurlarlaajiyangabadi ngayama waambala. *"I don't care what's going on."*

kulamandarrirni *(N f)* turtle (short neck) Kulamandarrini nginarnikirni kalngakirnini. *"The short-necked turtle is from the red ochre country."*
(cf: lamurrangkurdi)

kulanginyirni *(N f)* (also kulanginyini) family bird (black and white)
Kulanginyirni nginarniki janybarra ngilmardi. *"The family bird builds a nest."* (skin: Nabijinnginju)

kulangkurrmana *(N m)* red ant species (About half inch long, of light copper colour. They have long legs and move quickly over long distances; live in holes in red sand country.)

kularnkurrurdi *(N f)* (also kurlankurrurdi, kulankurrirdi) pigeon (small yellow, red, and white), dove (lives in stony country) Kurlankurrurdi nginarniki dirringirrikardi kararlu. *"The dove looks for food on the ground."* (skin: Nabijinnginju, Nangalinginju)
(cf: bilangkurrirdi)

kularra *(Adv)* south Nginiwa ngarri kularra. *"I'm going South."*
(cf: ngarni)
kularraka *(Adv)* southward
(cf: ngarniwirdki)

kularriy- *(V)* hurt, ache, throb Kularriyangaju widurumbili. *"I have a headache."*
(cf: lilingb-)

kulindirnda *(N m)* grub, wasp gall (as on Specimen RP95#11) Bidbidarrambili banybilanganu kulindirnda, darranganu, bardakurra. *"I found some wasp gall on the coolibah and ate it; it was sweet."* (lives in coolibah trees (bidbidarra); the grub lives in the thin outer branches, creating a swelling behind the nut. A white spot in the end of the swelling indicates the grub is alive. The swelling can then be cracked open with a rock and the grub eaten raw. It has a lot of cool sweet fluid and a mealy but refreshing aftertaste.)

kulirni *(N f)* niece (sister's daughter) (ego: male) daughter, niece (sister's daughter) (ego: female) (classification includes paternal grandfather's sister's daughter, paternal grandmother's brother's daughter, wife's brother's daughter, father-in-law's sister or his brother's wife or his father's brother's daughter (ego: male)) (classification includes mother-in-law's father's brother's daughter, father-in-law's brother's daughter, father-in-law's mother's nieces (ego: female)) Kaminjarra kulirni ngarnu ngajanarriya bundundurru marliya. *"Our grandchildren and young people look after our feeding when we are sick."*

kulinyukumi *(N v)* melon species, 'pie melon' Angkula dirringirriwardi kulinyukumi. *"We don't eat pie-melons."*

kuliya *(N m)* louse egg Ngindarnikirni nginarnikirni kuliya ngabanyaju jurdanga ngardarnarri nganku kidba, malibanyambili. *"You have louse eggs that some lice must have layed in your hair."*

kurlukurla *(Adj m)* (also kurlungkurla *(m)*, kurlukurlirni, kurlungkurlirni, kurlukurlu, kurlungkurlu, kurlukurlumi, kurlungkurlimi *(f, f, n, n, v, v)*) small (things) a little (amount) Jamani lalija kunjuwami ngarru kurlukurlungka. *"Put some tea into the little cup for me."*
kurlukurla *(N m)* boy (just walking) Kurlukurla wawa dirndijaju. *"The little boy is crawling."*

kululukarr- *(V)* be sleepy Bininja ngindarniki kululukarraju. *"This man is sleepy."*
(cf: nyinkarr-)
kululukarra (Kuw.) *(Adj m)* sleepy Kululukirrini nginarniki nayurni. *"This woman is sleepy."*
kululukarrajkala *(N m)* nodding off

kulumarra *(N n)* cloud Bardakurru jiminakawu nyamba kulumarra bardakurru. *"That's a pretty cloud."*
(cf: madayi, mambunku, (w)arranyangku)

kurlumbu *(N n)* thigh bone (of mammal) Ngarruku nyinuwa wanymangarruku banybilanganu wawirrirna ngarnu nyambala kurlumbu lakarr ngayinju. *"I found a broken kangaroo's thighbone while I was walking along."*

Kulumindirni *(N f)* Elliott, stock route bore near Elliott Kulumindingambilirni duwardu wanyarri, bidbidarra. *"Coolibahs and bauhineas grow at Elliott."*

kulungkukbi *(N v)* didgeridoo Irrmangayi kulungkukbi, ngirrmangayi nyambala kundalngakini ngirrmangayi. *"I'm going to make a didgeridoo and some clapping sticks."*
(cf: bambu)

kurlunjurru (Kuw.) *(N n)* corkwood tree coolamon tree Nginiwarndi kurlunjurru nginmiminduwardi lawunjarni. *"We make coolamons out of the corkwood tree."* (used for coolamons, water sometimes found in trunk)
(cf: ngimbija)

kurluwarru *(N n)* bucket shovel (small) Ngabangarri jimini kurluwarru kalyurrunga majangayi. *"I'll take that bucket shovel and get water."* (made from *wamba* tree, for bringing up water)
(cf: biyardu, jarlkandarru, jarranguna, juka, lawunja)

kulyukulyumi *(N v)* conkerberry *(Carissa lanceolata (brownii))* Kulyukulyumi darrangaju ngimarni. *"I'm eating conkerberries."* iris (of eye) Ngajami ngarru bikirra kulyukulyumimbili yaju ngarru. *"Look at me, there's grass in the iris of my eye."* (fruits eaten raw at the end of the wet season, thorns used to remove warts, orange wood used to make small 'come-back' boomerangs)
(cf: (y)irriminjulu)

kulyungkulyungbi *(N m)* custodian, policeman (not owner) (land traditionally has both a ceremonial owner and a custodian/policeman) Ngindarnaa ngabangambirni kulyungkulyungbirni ngarrinarni. *"I brought my policeman for this country."*

kumundunga *(N n)* headdress, hat Kumundunga ngilmiwurruju bijirlila. *"They're making head-dresses out of cardboard."*
(cf: kulabajarra, kuwanja, ngurrmana, murrkardi)

kumungku *(N n)* back, back bone, spine Jukulanganu kumungku marliyangaju. *"I bent over and hurt my back."*
kumungkumbili behind Jamanikini naya ajankaju biyangka kumungkumbili. *"There's someone standing behind you."*

kumurru *(N n)* grindstone (large, stationary) Kumurrungka ilangayi biyawiyarndi ngurrajangayi. *"I'm grinding on the big grindstone with the small one."*
(cf: biyawuja, lardaranga)

kuna *(Adv (complemetizer), Pron (Relative))* (also kurna) when, then Kurna yaangku ngarrina angkila yaangku, ngirrmakaju ngurriyi. Angkurla ngarrinirni bilirni yajiyimi kuna yaangkunu mankiyangayi. *"If my mother doesn't come [I'll go to town], then if she comes I'll stay."*

kunajuru *(N n)* tree species *(Acacia coriacea)* (stress: ku'najuru) Nyirrmangurri bardakurra kunajuru darrangku, nyirrmangurri bardakurrarni. *"We make good boomerangs from kunajuru, good ones."* (mulga-like wood makes boomerangs, ashes mixed with chewing tobacco by Waramungu people, but not by Mudburra or Jingili people.)

kunanga
see *kununga*

Kunangaaba *(N m)* water hole upstream of Longreach and Jawurdi
(Kunanga means 'fly' or 'bee') Kunangaabarni jimanarruku, ngardardi Barungkangka. *"Kunangaaba is on this side of where 15 mile starts."*

kunangarru *(N n)* tears Kunangarru wardkaju nyamirni jirdirdini, ngukuji wami! *"Her tears are falling harshly, stop your crying!"*
(cf: ililarru)

kunara *(N m)* white ground Kunarambili barlungbarlungmi duwaju. *"The barlungbarlung wattle grows in the white ground."*

kurnbiliny (Kuw.) *(N m)* sparrow hawk, falcon (skin: Jurlinginja)
(cf: karrkanya)

kundalnga *(N n)* clapping stick Kundalnga dardalangaju. *"I'm playing the sticks."*
(cf: dardarlajka)

kungka *(Adj n)* (also jangka, nangkirni, nangkimi *(m, f, v)*) another
Nyindarni jangkani yajiyimi, wunyijiyimi kujarrabilarnikaji. *"Here comes another man, two are coming."*
kungka marrinju *(N n)* foreign (another language)

kungkubarnu *(Adj n, v)* (also jangkubarni, nangkubarni, nangkimi *(m, f, v)*) one Dindanganu wardkayili jangkubarni. *"I hit one."*
kungkubarninjarra *(Adv)* only once simultaneously Nyamirni nganyanyankuju ngayarni ambayangaju kungkubarninjarra. *"You're singing and I'm talking at the same time."*
kungkungkubarnu (etc.) *(Adv)* one at a time (this adverb agrees in gender with the item it qualifies (the X of 'one X at a time')) Ardunganama nyambala jajkarrumi ijirriyiji jangkangkubarni warrngku. *"They're all rushing me. Don't rush, one at a time!"*

kungkulimi *(N v)* (also kungkulunmi) kerosene tree *(Premna acuminata)* Kungkulunmingkami ngilmingirriwardi mirdiyinjilmi. *"We make fire-drills out of the kerosene tree."* (used for firedrills; lights even when wet) fire-drill, fire-stick Mijingirriwardi kungkulimi dilmakaji ngirrimarriyimi mijingirrimarriyimi bulikirnani ngumi wardiyidbakaji ngirrimarri nginingka marndamarndaarndi. *"We'd get a firestick, cut it, then get some cow dung and twist the drill back and forth in it with our hands."*
(cf: mirnirnmi, mirdiyinjilmi)

kungmarna *(N m)* caterpillar Ngindarni kungmarna yaardi, kalyarrinkuwardi, ijijardinkuwardi marrarni, mankiyardi... marlimarlinikaji ilankayi inkuwardi. *"The caterpillar spins itself into a cocoon, where it stays for a long time, then it turns itself into a butterfly and comes out."*

kungurlurla *(N m)* blowfly (stress: 'kungu"rlurla) Kungurlurlanini mulurani ngardaju minduwa mulura. *"Blowflies lay maggots all over."*

kuninbi *(N n)* (also kuninybi) argument (mild), disagreement Nyambana kuninbi nyaju ngarru? *"Why are you arguing with me?"*

kunjimarra (Kuw.) *(N m)* river red gum *(Eucalyptus camaldulensis)* Ngindarni kunjimarrani binjiyaardi jurrkumbili. *"That red gum grows along creeks."* (cf: bilirna)

kunjkuw- *(V)* (also kunjuw-) swallow Kunjuwangaju ibilka. *"I'm swallowing water."* Karalungka kunjuwayi. *"Drop it on the ground."*

kunkurdurdu *(N n)* dry grass Irrk bilaji majangayi ngarru kunkurdurdu: wanjarri, kalngaarndi, mila kalngangka ilangayi; dika mijarrangayi kalnga ilangayi, kingkirrarndi. *"I'll paint people with dry grass and red ochre; first I'll grind the ochre up with some fat then use the dry grass to put it on."* (rubbed in red ochre (*kalnga , bilyingbiyaku*), then the mixture is used as a body paint in corroborees; rubbed and soaked and weighed down with stones to bring rain)

kunumburra *(Adj m)* (also kurnumburra) fast, quick right now Imbiyiwurrunu ngurraku: kaa kunumburra, idaykidaykyu, angkurla ngurrayijbi! *"They said to us: 'You should be quicker, come back in the afternoon, not at night!'"*

kununga *(N m)* (also kunanga) bee Imarnnga kunanga ngabanjurnu kaj balimi dindirri lungbarrayilyi. *"The flies and bees would bite your eyes and make them swell up."*

kunungkujkuwalu *(Adv)* afternoon (after lunch), the same day today, later today (stress? tape 9607) Kunungkujkuwalu ngurrirda ngirriki. *"We're going hunting later today."*

kunyajbi *(Adv)* (also kunyardbi) not really, in disbelief Miyingurringki, janjanybi kunyardbi. *"We fought for fun - not really."*
kunyajbima *(Adj m)* haughty, disbelieving Jamanikinaba ngarrabajangardi kunyajbima. *"He never believes what I tell him."*

kunyarrba *(N m)* dog Ngangarni banybilaardu kanu walanja - dina banybilaju kanu, jamirnini kunyarrbarni nirninirni. *"He's gone to find goanna meat - having found goanna meat the dogs will all hound him."*
(cf: warlaku)

kunyiyirla *(Pron)* (also kunyuwurlu) you two (NOM) Ngurruwa mankurungka nyinuwa; kunyuwurlu, ngaya, wawa. *"Off we all go toward the plain; you two women, me, and the boy."*
kunyiyirlirni (ERG) Kunyiyilirni ngirrmanyami buba yabanju. *"You two make a little fire."*
kunyak-u (ACC/GEN stem) Ngijingirrinyunu kunyaku. *"We saw you two."*

kunyinkirr- *(V)* argue Angkula kunyinkirriwunyuwanu ngarnu jamarnikirni. *"I don't want them arguing any more."*
(cf: ambal-, kijikum-)

kunymirni *(N f)* ibis Kunymirnini ngina yajiyimi kungmarna darrajiyimi. *"The ibis eats caterpillars."*

kurabuka (Kuw.) *(N n)* bush species (possibly *Acacia torulosa, Grevillia refracta)* Karnaringmarna nginirni kurabukarni majaardi. *"That Acaia species is gotten for spear shafts."* (seed pods soaked half a day then ground on a grinding stone, cooked in ashes half an hour, rinsed and easten like wild rice; grubs in roots; used for spears)
(cf: marndula)

Kurangarra *(N m)* rain song cycle, rain ceremony Imbilingarri kujika Kurangarra. *"We're singing rain songs."*
(cf: Warnju)

kurrakurriji *(N m)* storm bird (stress: 'kurra"kurriji) Wanymamarri nginduwungkami kurrakurriji. *"The storm bird travelled over from there long ago."*

kurranja *(Adj m)* (also kurranyma) thirsty, dry, shallow Jamanikini ibilkardi nyambala kurranju yaju. *"That water just there is shallow."*
(cf: barlulyi, ladarrku, nyinyinykaku)

kurrarramba *(Adv)* (also kurrarrambambili) midnight, full night Ngurrayijbiyu duwurrunu bayinbala nginimbala winymuwurrubardi. Kurrarrambambili duwurrunu ngurrayijbi. *"At night those two were running about while others slept. At midnight they were running amok."*

kurrawala *(Pron)* (NOM) you (plural) Ulukajarrungku kurruwala. *"You three wash yourselves."*
kurrawalarni (ERG) (also kurrawarni)
kurrak-i (ACC/GEN stem) Dunjinginyunu kurraku nyamirni, Jabarda, ngindabaja jangkibaja. *"We even kissed you, Jabarda, and that other fellow."*

kurrbalawuji *(N m)* magpie, butcher bird (pied and grey) Kurrbalawuji darraardi waniyi. *"Magpies eat grasshoppers."* (skin: Jangaringinja, Jaaninginja)
(cf: bilkurr, ijijurnminji)

kurrij bak- *(V)* turn, turn (self) around
kurrij bil- *(V)* change (including clothes) Abaaba ngabangaju nyambala ngayi, kurrij bilangayi. *"I'll have to change these clothes I'm wearing."*
(cf: ngarrij bak-, wankij bak-, (w)irrinjum-)

kurrind- *(V)* stay overnight, camp Ngurruwa nginika bardakurrungka banybilingurri bardakurru kurrindingurri ngawurna. *"We found a good place to set up camp."*
(cf: jukul-)

kurrkabadi (Kuw.) *(N m)* (also kurrkabardi) bush turkey, Australian bustard Kujkarrabilarni kurrkabadiyila ngajanganu mangkurumbili, dirriwunyubardi waniyi. *"I saw two turkeys on the plain; they were eating grasshoppers."* (skin: Jangalinginja, Jabijinnginja)
(cf: karninyinji)

kurrkuji *(N m)* mopoke, owl barking owl Kurrkuji jama jalyunamarnimbili ngabaju ngajanganu. *"I can see what that mopoke has got."* (skin: Jangaringinja)
(cf: mukmuk, ngajakurra)

Kurrngurrmi *(N v)* creek just East of *Wijibarda* (Longreach) Nginirnikirni Nikilyikilyimi, nginirni Kurrungurrmi, wunyuju. *"This is Nikilyikilyimi, that's Kurrungurrmi, there's two of them."*

kurrnyu *(N n)* skin, hide, leather, lips, bark, wooden box Nyindarni kurrnyu nyambala ilykinyangurri. *"I must skin this one."*
kurrnyungkuju buba box of matches
kurrnyum- *(V)* skin Nginirnikirni kurrnyunu majangaju kanjarlawurri, kurrnyumangayi. *"I'm getting this kangaroo's skin, skinning it."*

kurrnyungkuji *(N m)* beetle (literally: skin-having)
(cf: limbungkuji, marramarrangkuji)

kurrubardu *(N m)* boomerang Ngarruku ngirriki kurrubarduwarndi, karnarrinymaarndi. *"I went out hunting with a boomerang and spear."*

kurruda *(N m)* river bloodwood *(Eucalyptus aspera)* Karriyaku jiminika darrangku, kurrudani. Nyirrbaja kurrubardurnarni akiyabardu. Karrila. *"The wood of the river bloodwood is not for boomerangs - no good. Leave it."* (softened gum applied directly to wounds and sores; timber of young trees may sometimes be used to make boomerangs; ashes mixed with chewing tobacco.)

kurrumunmurlu *(N, Adj no concord)* cold, cold weather Jamanikirni kurrumunmurlu yaju bininjarni, buba ngilmami nganu. *"This fellow is cold, make him a fire!"* Kurrumunmurlukaji yajiyimi ngurraku. *"The cold weather is coming."*
(cf: (w)urrajburrajku, (w)urrajkala)

kurrunbulmi *(N v)* (also kurrinbirnmi) tree species, green plum (grows around OT) Jamanikirni kurrinbirnmirni angkurla nginimbili binjiyardi. *"The green plum doesn't grow around here."* (has edible green plum-like fruit)

kurubimi *(N v)* emu bush, tree species (with yellow flowers) *(Erimophila bignoniflora)* (near creek, Newcastle Waters) Nginuwarni ngabardi kuribimarndi ngabardi danykurrajbini yurrkunu. *"The emu bushes over this way have yellow flowers on them."* (used for firedrills; vapour of boiled leaved inhaled; boiled leaves are wrapped around the head to treat headache)

Kurungu *(N n)* red sand country just North of Elliott, part of ceremonial course Kurungu nginirnardu, ibilkirni nginirni wardkamarri, kijurlurlu larlulangarnini. *"Kurungu is that ground from which, when the rain fell, the water flows on the rock."*

kuwardjiy- *(V)* have nothing Angkula ngabangaju nyambanyambarni, kuwardjiyakaji ngaju. *"I don't have any stuff, I have nothing at all."*

kuwarlabirni *(N f)* single girl Nyaminga nayurni kuwarlabirni. *"That woman is single."*

kuwarndanbinyaka *(N m)* large black and white diver duck darter, cormorant (stress: ku'warndan"binyaka) Kakuwi dardu darraardi, kuwarndanbinyaka, dardu majaardi ibilkiningka. *"The cormorant eats a lot of fish which it gets out in the water."* (skin: Jiminginja)

kuwanja *(N n)* crest (of bird) Jamana julija julardi ngabanju milinji, kuwanja. *"That bird has talons and a crest."* head-dress (made from white cockatoo feathers) Bininja yajiyimi kuwanjangkuji. *"Here comes a man with a headdress on."* (cf: kumundunga)

Kuwarrangu *(N m)* Mudburra (person or language) from the Elliott-Newcastle region (the Mudburra people who are 'mixed' with Jingili people) Angkula marlarlukanimbili ambayamarru Kuwarrangunu, kuwarrku, Jingila nyambala nginingkimarriyi, marlarlukarni. *"Kuwarrangu was never spoken in the old folks' camp, not at all, just Jingili folk around these parts."*

kuwarrimi *(N v)* shield (cf: jaarumi, kurdujumi)

kuwarrku
see *kiwirra*

Kuwirinji *(N m)* Western Mudburra, Gurindji (person or language) Nyamabilirnani nayuwurlu kuwirinjiyuwurlu. *"These are two Western Mudburra women."*

kuya *(N n)* face Wunungku ilangayi kuya ngaankinu. *"I'm going to paint your face."*
(cf: nyujujka)

kuyangula *(Adv)* before, previously (on a previous day) Kunyangulanama yamiki ngajanganu lalaka ngarrininga. *"The other day my father's sister came to visit me."*
(cf: jaburra)

kuyu *(Dem n, v)* that previously mentioned item (demonstrative anaphor) Ngarla majami kuyunu. *"Hey you, go get it."*
(cf: jaya)
kuyumbili *(Dem no concord)* (also kuyungkaki) there (in or at that previously mentioned place) Kuyumbilirni mankiyangayi. *"I'll go sit in that place."*
kuyungka *(Dem no concord)* to there (thither) Kuyungkanama yarruku lurrbu. *"He went back to that place."*
kuyungkami *(Dem no concord)* from there (thence) Kuyungkami duwiyirri! *"Get up and leave that place!"*

kuyu *(Interj)* hey!, look out! Kuyu ngajami jimini ngajani jakurrbi kuyu karrijbi bungamingayi, karrijbi bungamingayi kuyu warrkaji nyamini ngayi. *"Look out! Clear the way! It's falling!"*

kuyubarnama *(Adv)* further Ngurruwa kuyubarnama. *"Let's go a little further."*

kuyubulu *(Adv)* (also kuyuburlu, kuyukurlu) alike, similar, equal together Kuyukurlu irrbilajbunkuwurlu. *"Those two painted them together."* Marndaj ngabangaju nyayibiliminama nyambala bundurru ngabangaju kuyukurlunama. *"We've got the same amount of food."*
(cf: kanba, nambanama)

kuyumarlingkirni *(N f)* magpie goose Kuyumarlingkirni dabilanyaardi jukukulinya, jukukulinya yaardi. *"You can grab hold of magpie geese if you hang around for a while, just wait there where they are."*
(cf: nguknguk, warlidaji)

kuyuwa *(N m)* soak (stress: 'kuyuwa) Duwaju ibilkirni kuyuwa. *"Soak water is seeping up."*

L

lardaja *(N m)* (also ladaja) racing lizard (stress: 'lardaja) Kurdukurda jamarnini lardajarni, kurdukurda ngijiyinmirni. *"The racing lizard has a spiny tail."*
(cf: bakarranji)

ladaji *(V2 (trans or intrans))* dry out Wanyikurlu nyinaburru ladaji wunyuju arduku. *"The two girls are slowly drying out."*
(cf: nany-)

lardaranga *(N m)* grindstone (large stationary) Lardaranga ngindarnikirni darlukurru. *"This grindstone is worn down."*
(cf: biyawuja, kumurru)

ladarrku *(Adj n)* dry, barren (country) Manalku yamarri nginimbilirni jalyamungka ladarrkukaji, dirdilka karriyaka kararlu. *"There we but now it's dry, the ground is cracked and barren."*
(cf: barlulyi, kurranju)

laj- *(V)* carry, ride Jamina dimanarni lajaardu ngamulu lanbu. *"That horse is carrying a big load."*
(cf: jalard-)

laj baj- *(V)* split, break (off) by hand
(cf: dil maj-, dil may-, nikin)

laj nangk- *(V)* split (with a tool)
(cf: dil maj-, dil may-, dil nangk-, nikin)

lajk- *(V)* crack Lajkanu nyambanayi, lajkanu ngindarnikirni lawunja. *"Something cracked, oh this coolamon cracked."*

laju (Kuw.) *(N m)* witchetty grub Laju karnawunjinganarra. *"I got witchetty grubs from the lancewood."*
(cf: lurla)

lakarr *(Adv)* broken Ngarruku nyinuwa wanymangarruku banybilanganu wawirrirna ngarnu nyambala kurlumbu lakarr ngayinju. *"I found a broken kangaroo's thighbone while I was walking along."*
lakarr maj- *(V (trans))* (also lakarr baj-) break Kardawurra lakarr majangananu. *"He broke my arm."*
(cf: dij bil-, duk baj-, kij baj-, dang bak-)
lakarrmiji *(Adj m)* (also lakarriyanu *(n)*) broken
lakarr wardk- *(V)* snap Darrangku lakarr wardkanu. *"The stick snapped."*
(cf: dij bil-)

lakud bil- *(V)* (also lakuj bil-) cover, bury put under Walanja lakurd bili. *"Bury the goanna [to cook in the ground]!"*
(cf: (w)ukuk bil-)
lakudbili *(N n)* funeral, burial
lakudukanu *(Adj)* deceased (polite euphemism) Darwinbili, lakurdukaka marlukarni ardukunga ngabujangku, Jurlinginja. Kanya ngarru. *"At Darwin is your deceased great uncle. My uncle."*

lakuj bil-
q see *lakud bil-*

lala *(N m)* father (classification includes father's brother, spouse's paternal grandfather's sister's son) (classification includes paternal grandfather's brother's son, paternal grandmother's sister's son (ego: male)) (classification includes mother's sister's husband (ego: female))
(cf: barnanga, kirda)

lalardi *(N m)* father's sister
(cf: lilirni)

larlarl- *(V)* flow Karlamangkami larlarlaju ngarru. *"My nose is running."*
larlarlaju *(N m)* current (running water, blood, runny nose)

lalija (Kuw.) *(N m)* tea (stress: 'lalija) Lalija ngurrkuwanyaju? *"Would you like tea?"*
(cf: jalurruka, nyanyalu)

larlub *(pre-V)* dig
larlubaj- *(V)* bail (sand or water), dig Kujangayi kararlu larlubajangayi warrkujuwakajingayi. *"I'm digging through the dirt, scratching at it."*
larlub karr- *(V)* dig, shovel, bail Karalu larlub karrarngaju. *"I'm shovelling sand."*
larlub maj- *(V)* dig, bail, shovel Ibilka larlub majanganu. *"I bailed water."*

larlukula *(N m)* father and son(s) Ngayarni jajanganu kunyaku, larlukulurna, Jurlinginjirna, Jamirringinjirna. *"I waited here for you two, for you father and son, for Jurlinginja and for Jamirringinja."*
(cf: yarrikila)

larlukulinji *(N m)* father and one child
(cf: barnangarla)

lalula *(N m)* father (ego: third person) Ngindarni marluka ngarrininga ngayi jakardinga larlula. *"That old man is my mother's father."*

lalum- *(V)* shake something from side to side shoo, keep the flies out of one's eyes Imarnnga larlumami. *"Shoo the flies away!"* Larlumangayi jundurru. *"I'll dust [the bed]."*
(cf: kayilyarra il-, warlkum-, (w)urruwurru mil-)

lamalu *(N, Adj n)* (also namalu) hole, hollow Dunjuwangayi nyinirni namarlu. *"I'm burning a hole."*
(cf: luwaku)

lambarra *(N m)* father-in-law, son-in-law daughter-in-law (Kuw.) father-in-law's sister (ego: male) (Kuw.) Jurlinginjarda darranu, lambarranga *too* darranu, wangkurrani. *"Jurlinginja ate some, and my daughter-in-law ate some too, of that sugarbag."*
lambarra kanya *(N m)* son-in-law (daughter's husband, ego: male)
lambarra kulirni *(N f)* father-in-law's sister (ego: male)

lamurrangkurdi *(N f)* stinking turtle (stress: 'lamu"rrangkurdi) Angkurla ngibingirrimarri lamurrangkurdini nginimbilirni! Ajuwangkamirna yamiki? *"We never had stinking turtles at this place! Where did it come from?"*
(cf: kulamandarrirni)

lang- *(V)* (also langalang-, langa mil-) think Arduwanama kunyila langalanganyami. *"Just think about it first."* Biba ngarrina langa milananaju. *"My son must be thinking of me."*

langa *(N n)* ear Ankurla langkajkaju bijiwa, akiyabardu bijiwa. *"He doesn't hear, has bad ears."*
(cf: bijiwa)
langa biyijaala *(N n)* donkey (literally: long ears)
langajija *(Adj m)* deaf, disagreeable insane, mad (literally: ear-less) Langajija jamarnikirni, angkula langkaj bilajkanu langkabilanu kiwirra. *"He's deaf, unhearing, he heard nothing."*

langa nungk- *(V)* dig (with an instrument) spear, pierce (with an instrument) Kalyarrangaju karalu ngayi milakurrmarna, langa nungkangaju. *"I'm digging in the ground, breaking it up, for yams."*
(cf: bul-, durrb kuj-, kalyarr-, kuj-, kul-, (w)arnmil-)

langan dil- *(V (trans))* hang up (on tree, hook, etc.) Langan dilangaju wabaaba. *"I'm hanging the clothes up."*
(cf: warrak bil-, wilwilil-)

langand- *(V (intrans))* (also langarnd-) climb Langandangarriyi kijurlurlungka jangkangkiyi. *"I'll climb up to the top of the hill."* Darrangkumbili langandangaju. hang *"I'm hanging from a tree."*
langanda *(Adv)* (also langandaku) high Langanda dukaju. *"They are sitting up high [in the tree]."*

langkana *(N m)* swamp, billabong Ngardajalu langkana wunyuji nginuwarani. *"There are two billabongs around here."*
(cf: barlakuji, bunungkurru)

laangkujbi *(N n)* tree species *(Terminalia volucris)* (at Elliott) Ngiininiki laangkujbi majami bubarna, buba ngilmimindiyi. *"Get some of this terminalia for a fire, we'll make a fire."* (gum eaten without preparation; peanut-like nut edible; good firewood)
(cf: kirriyimi)

langm- *(V (trans))* remind, explain, tell off, make (someone) understand Langmanyayi ngindarni. *"You'll explain it to him."*
(cf: mankarr-)

lankaj *(V2)* hear remember, give birth, be in labour Ambayangaju nganku ngirribiji nginina wunkula langaj nanu. *"I'm talking and you haven't been listening."*
lankaj bil- *(V)* (also langkaj bil-) hear, remember, give birth, be in labour Jani lankaj bilanganjanaju. *"Can you hear me?"*
lankajkanajkala *(Adj m)* patient, good listener Ngindarni langajija, angkula lankajkanajkala, langajija. *"He's deaf, not able to listen, deaf."*
lankajkanajbija *(Adj m)* bad tempered, won't listen (literally: listening-less) Ngindarni langajija angkula lankajkanajbija. *"It's not that he won't listen, he's deaf."*

larnku *(N n)* clothes, accessories, load, swag Ngabangarri dardu larnku karningka nyindarnu wawa wurrajkaluyimi. *"I'll take lots of clothes in case the boy gets cold."* Jamina dimanarni lajaardu ngamulu larnku. *"That horse is carrying a big load."*
(cf: (w)abaaba)

laringk- *(V (intrans))* (also larringk-) understand, remember, know (a person or thing) Ambayanganu darni nyambala kurruju larringkukurrunu. *"I've finished speaking - did you lot understand?"*
(cf: jangkijb-)

laarranjku *(N n)* one side Larranjku bardangkarra ngajanganu. *"I saw half a moon."*
larranjku marndamarnda *(Adj no concord (n))* two or three, a few (literally: one side of a hand) Yajiyimi larranjku marndamarnda. *"Two or three people are approaching."*

larranjku *(N n)* limb Larranjkukaji yaju mayamarriyimi, ikirdidirni. *"She lost all her limbs, poor woman."*

larrba *(Adv)* previously Larrba marlarlukarni iminikini marriyimi, kiwirra. *"People in the olden days used to do it, but not nowadays."*

larrkaja *(Adj m)* thin, skinny Angkula ngabangarriyi ngindarnikirni jurrkubadini larrkaja, dikajija. *"I'm not going to take this skinny goanna, it's got no fat on it."*
(cf: burardk-)

lawa *(N n)* cattle bush, bullocky bush *(Heterodendrum oleifolium)*
Jalykaji ngirrma yamarri marlarlukarni lawarni. *"Olden day folk made cattle-bush woomeras."* (soft wood, used for woomera) (two splints used for broken bones)
(cf: birdiyinjirrmi, kangkaala)

lawa *(N n)* flour Majangarriyi ngarru lawa, ngabangilmangayi kandirri, darrajka. *"I've got to go get myself some flour and make some bread to eat."*
(cf: burnku)

lawu *(V2, Adv)* wake up, awake Ngijinginyi jalyangkunama lawu nyaju, duwami! *"I know you're awake now, get up!"*
lawu duw- *(V)* awake, wake up Lawu duwanu karalumbili. *"He woke up on the ground."*
(cf: duw-)

lawunja *(N m)* coolamon Ngarriyirni babirdi ngirrmaju kurrubardi, ngayirni ngirrmangaju lawunja, jalyangkunama. *"My older brother's making a boomerang while I make a coolamon, today."*
(cf: biyardu, jarranguna, juka, kurluwarru)

lawura *(Adv)* late in the morning Ngininikirni wurruju warrajkalu, lawurangka yaangku bikbikakukaji. *"It's cold now but later in the morning it will warm up."*

laya *(N n)* ashes Darralyaka bardakurra nginirnikirni layarni warnuna. *"The ashes of the ghost gum are good for [mixing with] tobacco."*
(cf: buna)

liyiji *(N m)* tall red grass type *(Bothriochloa ewartiana)* (in dry country)
Jimina mijingurri liyiji, nayingirri wulyumi mijingurri ajuwukajingurri nyambala bubangka bujbungka ukuk bilakajimindiyi. *"We weigh that grass down flat, soak it, then put it in the fire and cover it up."* (grass houses made by piling on a wooden frame, smoke from burning grass is wafted around babies to make them strong and to make them smell nice; wrapped around yams for cooking.)

liyijku *(N n)* (also lijku) name Waja liyijku nyama? *"What is your name?"*

likinimi *(N v)* shellbush, (stress: li'kinimi) Buba mijinginyiwardi ngimanikirni likinimanu, dunjuwi buba, kurlungkurla ngirriminjulu. *"We two get shellbush for kindling for fires."*

likirri *(Adv)* crooked, on one side Likirri ilami darrangku. *"Lay that log down on its side."*
(cf: wirliwal manyan)

lilingb- *(V)* (also lilinyb-) hurt, give pain, be in pain Marndamarnda lilingbangaju. *"My hand hurts."*
(cf: kularriy-)

lilirni *(N f)* father's sister (classification includes paternal grandfather's brother's daughter, paternal grandmother's sister's daughter, maternal uncle's wife, father-in-law's sister's daughter (ego: male)) (classification includes parent's brother's wife, maternal grandfather's sister, father-in-law's father's sister's daughter (ego: female)) (stress: 'lilirni) Nyina ngaanku lilirni nyamirnana ngarnu ngaankirninani kirdarnani bardarda. *"That lilirni of yours is your father's little sister."*
(cf: lalardi)

lilirrkikimi *(Adj no concord)* leaky Lilirrkikimi jawaranya ngarrina. *"My billy can is leaky."*
(cf: jilng)

limbirrirni *(N f)* daughter-in-law Burrbajangayi jurrkubadi ngarrina biba, limbirrini. *"We'll finish the goanna off, me and my son and daughter-in-law."*

liyimbu *(N n)* feather, wing Ngininikirni ngabaju wilikbingibi nyambala, liyimbu. *"The white cockatoo has feathers."*
(cf: diyardiya)

liyimbungkuji *(N m)* beetle (literally: wing-having)
(cf: kurrnyungkuji, marramarrangkuji)

limirnmi *(N v)* fishing log Nyamarnikirni ngibingurruwa limirnmini jurrkujiyi Warrangankungka, wurraku kaakuyina. *"We'll take this hollow log up to Beetaloo Creek to get some fish."* (the hollow log is submerged and fish hide in it from predators, then the log is pulled up full of fish.)

linku *(N n)* chest Lilingbingaju nginirnikirni linkumgili, mangarli. *"My chest hurts here."*
(cf: jukaya, mangarli)

liny bil- *(V (trans))* heap up (into a container) lay down Jiminakarlu liny biliwurruku darrangkudarra. *"They lay the sticks down."* Buba yabanju liny bilangayi. *"I'm piling the smaller pieces of firewood into a box."*
(cf: buwarraj bil-)

linyarda *(N n)* charcoal (stress: 'linyarda) Umbumunganu karnawunjimbili linyarda, nganga umbumunganu. *"I cooked on lancewood coals, I cooked meat."*
darrangku linyarda kunju *(N n)* fire-stick pupil (of eye) Angkula ngajangaju, bikirra yaju murlurlumbili ngarrunumbili. *"I can't see, there's grass in my pupil."*

lirralirraka lirrikbirni
see *lirrikbirni*

lirrbju *(V2)* throw down, discard (on the ground) Abaaba lirrbju ngaju. *"I'm throwing my clothes down."*
(cf: wardjkuw-)

lirrikbirni *(N f)* (also lirralirraka) black cockatoo Lirralirraka yaardi lirralirraka yaardimi darraardi nyikurrurru. *"The black cockatoo goes looking for bloodwood nuts to eat."*

liyirru *(N n)* shell (empty) (of egg, snail, etc.) Lakarr majanyarnu liyirru. *"You broke the shell."*

liwirni *(N f)* crane (white) Diyim kaardi jungkardi, nginarnini liwirnini kakuwirna daarajka. *"The crane flies high in the sky and is a fish-eater."*

liyarr- *(V)* rattle, rustle Langkanganu nyambanayi liyarraju. *"I heard something rattling in the grass."*

lurdba *(Adv)* near, nearly Lurdba ngarriyi nganku. *"I'll come up close to you."*
(cf: milarnda)
lurdba + suffix *(V)* go or come, approach
lurdba ngaj- *(V)* inspect, have a close look at
lurdba wangk- *(V)* approach, come near
lurdbalurdba *(Adv)* right up close

lujb- *(V)* shine burn (large fire like a bushfire etc.) Lujbaju nginirnin darrangku. *"These trees are burning."*
(cf: bilirrk-, biringb-, dunjuw-, ngunj-)

lujuba *(N n)* match (from English 'Lucifer') Angkularra jimirnikirni ngabangaju jimirnikirni mirnirnmirni bungkakaji nganu, wajbalarni ngabangaju lujuba. *"I don't keep firedrills anymore, I got rid of them, now that white people have matches."*

lurla *(N m)* witchetty grub (large) (thicker skin than *laju*) Jingiluwarndi ngirribijingirriwardi lurlani, angkula larringkardi Kuwirrinjirnini binijarnini. *"In Jingulu proper we call it lurla, but Top Springs Mudburra people (Gurindji) wouldn't understand that."*
(cf: laju)

lurlubjuw- *(V)* initiate, bring into (done after initiation, once circumcision wound heals.) Burrb unyi, ngabakaju ngurruwanya lurlubjuwi. *"Having healed, we show them the sites."*

lulyurr may- *(V)* smash crush Lulyurr mayangayi nginirni kalnga. *"I'm crushing this ochre."*
(cf: dulyurr may-, nyurraj-)

lunbil- *(V)* put down Ngindarni ibilka lunbilangayi. *"I'm putting the water down."*
(cf: bungk-)

lungbarr- *(V)* swell Jamarni durrb kujarnananu, lungbarrakaji ngaju. *"That thing stung me, now I'm swelling up."*
lungbarraju *(N v)* lump, swelling Jimina nyambana nyambala ngabangaju, lungbarraju ngarru nyambana jiminarlu kanyburrumbili. *"I've got a swelling here in this muscle."*
(cf: (w)ukbi)

lungkarru *(N n)* salt, poison, medicine Jimina bardakurri lajalu, nyambala lungkarrurnu. *"This will make you better, this medicine here."* Kunjkuwaanu nyambanayi lungkarru ngibingurra ngunbulukaningka. *"He swallowed some poison so we took him to the hospital."*
(cf: marringiliija, mijuwulu, yarrindu)

lungkura *(N m)* (also lungkurrirni *(f)*) blue tongue lizard (small)
(cf: jurlurlurra)

lurnkurrba *(Adv)* across, between Warlaku lurnkurrba yamiki ngarru jankajarniki warlaku lurnkurrba. *"The dog ran right across in front of me."*

lurnkurru *(Adv)* (also lunkurru) half way, second, in the middle Idayju mudikarla karra warrkanu ngara lurnkurru arlarli buraba Warranganku. *"Yesterday my car broke down half way to Beetaloo."*
lurnkurru-lurnkurru *(Adv)* half and half
lurnkuji *(N, Adj m)* middle sibling Nginda ngarru baba, bulkunga, ngindarni lurnkuji, ngarru baba. *"He's my brother, the eldest, and that's the middle one, of my older brothers."*

lurrbu *(Adv, V2)* back, again, return (+ suffixes 'come' 'come back'; + suffixes 'go' 'go back') Jangkanama ngaardu ngirrikinama lurrbu ngaangku. *"I'm going hunting and then coming back."*
lurrbu il- *(V (trans))* return, put back
lurrbu nay- *(V)* back track

lurrind- *(V)* grind Lurrindanganu ngangarra. *"I ground the wild rice."*
(cf: dind-, nyurraj-)

lurrju *(N n)* sandy ridge Murrkunbala bayinbala wijinkurriju nyambala lurrjumbili wijinkurruju. *"There are three men standing on that sandy ridge."*
(cf: karnjanjarru, mirdirdbi)

lurrumburra *(N n)* sensitive plant (retracts when touched) Ngunungku dabilangurruwardi lurrumburra mabukaji yaardu, marnburukaju yardi. *"If we grab hold of the sensitive plant like this, it gets shy and closes up."*

lurrurnmi *(N v)* testicles Durd mayangayi lurrurnmi. *"I'll kick him in the balls."*

luwaku *(Adj, N n)* empty hole (in body or plant), orifice, ring, circle, loop Nyininikirni nyikirrurru luwaku. *"This bloodwood nut is empty."* Jimina ngabangaju luwaku kalamambili, maralumbili ngabangaju. *"I have a hole in my nose and also in my belly."*
(cf: lamalu)
luwaku bijiwa *(N n)* earhole, pierce of ear
luwaku kilimi *(N n)* nostril, pierce of septum
luwaku kujku *(N n)* handle of shield
luwarluwaku *(Adj n)* full of holes (RED(Ft)+*/rluwaku/) Karriyaka nginanikirni kurrubardurnu ngabaju luwarluwaku. *"This can't make a boomerang, it's full of holes."*

M

mabid baj- *(V)* wrap Ngayirni nganga mabid bajangaju. *"I'm wrapping the meat."*
(cf: (w)ukuk bil-)

mabu *(Adv)* shame, ashamed, shy Mabu ngajurra nyambajingana nayuku. *"I'm shy around girls."*
(cf: ngirliwi, imarra)
mabuy- *(V)* be ashamed Nginarni nayurni yajiyimi mabuyaju. *"That woman coming up is ashamed."*
(cf: imarr-)

mad baj- *(V)* (also marrk baj-) trap, jam Dakarni karningka mard bajangayi mindimi. *"If we go into that log we might get trapped."*
(cf: madkaaku)

mardarduju *(N n)* lump, bump (in the ground) Karijbambili ngarruku mudika, mudikangkuji ngajangaju mardardaju. *"Driving along the road I saw many bumps from the car."*
(cf: dirdilwarri)

madayi *(N n)* cloud Dardu yajiyimi madayi, nganbala nayinkuju. *"It's getting so cloudy it's dark."*
(cf: kulumarra, mambunku, (w)arranyangku)

mardilyi *(Adj m)* (also mardardilyi (plural)) lame sickly Mardilyi karrila jamarnikirni! *"Leave the old sickly fellow alone!"*

madkaaku *(Adv)* jammed in, jammed together Madkaku nginirnikirni ilangayi arduku ilangayi. *"I'm going to jam this [broom head] on [to its handle]."*
(cf: mad baj-)

madkaaku *(N n)* path
(cf: kaarrijbi, wilyurdku)

mardkarr- *(V)* rear up the head (as frilled lizard) poke up, stick up Manyan kaju jamarnikirni, mardkarraju. *"He's rearing up his head in his sleep."* Ngajangaju darrangku madkarraju. *"I see a stick poking up."*
(cf: (w)urd)

marduju *(Adj n)* stubby, stumpy (round) lump (of fat or some substance) Junungkuwiyirri banybilangungarri marduju. *"Find me that little round one up there."*

maj- *(V (root), V)* take possession of Walanja banybilanu kujarrarni urr mijiwunyuju nyindi ngawungkami. *"The two of them started pulling it out of its hole."* get (also pick up), tear photograph, record Warnu mijiyirri ngarru.. kunumburra mijiyirri ngarru. *"Get me my tobacco.. get it for me quickly!"*
(cf: kajirrim-, mijuward-, (w)uruwum-, wak-)

majbangkurrangku *(N n)* moustache (stress: 'majbangku"rrangku) Jamarni yajiyimi bininja ngabaka majbangkurrangku ngardajkalu. *"Here comes that fellow that used to have a big moustache."*
(cf: jawulungbulungku)

majikayi *(N m)* yabby, marron

majulujulubi *(N v)* navel Jamanikini majululujulubijijakaji. *"He's got a belly button (no umbilical cord)."*
(cf: ngajulujulubi)

makalyani *(N f)* digging stick, yam stick Kalyarrangaju karalu makalyaniwarndi milakurrmarna. *"I'm digging around in the ground for yams with a yam stick."*
(cf: kabila)

makirdi *(N n)* firearm, gun, rifle, pistol Dirndajkalu dirndanganu kurrkabardi. *"I shot a bush turkey with a gun."*
(cf: dirndajkalu)

makirra (Kuw.) *(N m)* white body paint Makirra mijingurruwa nginda, jurrkulungka. *"We'll go and get some white body paint down at the creek."*
(cf: bilirdbi)

malamba *(N m)* liver (stress: 'malamba) Majami jamanikini dirrmami jamani malamba wunyami jamani marluka. *"Get the liver and cut it up for the two old folks."*
(cf: jabarrka)

malangardku *(N n)* branch, limb Ajuwa ngarriyi malangardkumbilirni? *"Where shall I climb onto the branch?"*
(cf: darrangku)

marlangayi *(N m)* mussel Marlangayi darraardi bulumbulurdinga. *"Spoonbills eat mussels."*
(cf: kurdijalaka)

marlangkabirrirni *(N m, f)* (also marlangkabiliini, marlangkabirrini) centipede Marlangkabirrini yaardu, dirringirrikaardi kunanga. *"The centipede goes along looking for flies to eat."*
(cf: jalarrini)

malibanya *(N n)* hair of head Malibanya dirrmayi. *"He/she will cut your hair."*
malibanyajija *(Adj m, n)* bald

marlimarlirni *(N f)* (also malimalini) butterfly, moth Marlimarlirni yaardi nyindi dirringirrikardu nyambanayi. *"The butterfly goes along seeking some food or another."*

marlinbungu *(N n)* cyclonic winds and rain, cyclone-related weather Ibilkirna ngiburru ngardajala langa Darwin, mijungurri marlinbungu. *"When they have bad storms, cyclones, up at Darwin, we get cyclonic winds and rain."*

maliyirni *(Adj f)* (also marliyirni) feminine, female (of animals) (plural *marlarliyirni*) Jakulakji nyamaniki maliyirni. *"That possum is female."*

Marlinja *(N m)* creek on Newcastle Waters station, near town. Also name of a Mudburra-Jingili community there. Mudburra, Jingila yaju ngindarni Marlinjambilirni. *"Mudburra and Jingili people live at Marlinja."*

marliy- *(V)* be sick Marliyangaju ngawurnina ngawurna. *"I'm homesick."*
marliya il- *(V)* make ill, make sick, wound Marliya ilangayi, nganyangayi jamarnikirni. *"I'll sing him sick."*
(cf: marlumarlu il-)

marliyarra *(N m)* circumcised man Jamarnini baya ngamurla, marliyarra. *"That is a real man, a circumcised man."*

malkirra *(N n)* single men's quarters Malkirrardi ngurruwa. *"Let's go to the single men's quarters."*
malkirrangkuji *(N m)* bachelor Jamabajarri malkirrangkujbala dirriyiwurruju ibilka. *"Those bachelors are drinking."*

marluka *(N m)* old man, boss, headman, elder, old (masculine fauna only) (stress: 'marluka) Jamabilina birriwunyanamiki marlukayilirni. *"Those two old people came to see me yesterday."* (plural *marlarluka* , also used to mean old people, people in olden times) Marlarlukarlarni bijuwurrimarri ngirra marrinju larrba. *"The old people used to tell us stories."*

marlumarlu *(Adj, N m, n)* (also marlumarlurni *(f)*) fever, sick, wounded sick with morning sickness (feminine form only) Indarni marlumarlu ird bajangayi. *"I'm lifting the sick person."* Julurrkbiyikirni marlumarlurni marliyaju. *"The pregnant woman has morning sickness."*
marlumarlu il- *(V)* make ill, make sick, wound Marlumarlu ili kulangayi. *"I'll wound him with a spear."*
(cf: marliya il-)

marlungkarru *(N n)* emu plum *(Petalostigma pubescens)*
Karnanganjanga darraardi bundurru ngayi karnanganjanga ngininikirni marlungkarrunu. *"Emus eat the food from this emu plum plant."* (emus eat nuts; nuts used for marbles; wood for boomerangs; sugarbag may be found)

malyaku *(Adv)* the other side (of water etc.) Ngajangaju wurraku murrkunbala wijinwurruju marlyaku. *"I can see three people standing on the other side."*

malyimalyi *(N f)* emu feathers Marlarlukarni malyimalyiwarndi ngirlikiwurrumarriyimi. *"In the old days men danced with emu feathers."*

mamam *(Adv, pre-V)* soft
mamam bil- *(V)* be soft Nyanyalu jimina dardu iyaju mamam bilaju kararlu. *"A bed of leaves makes the ground soft."*
mamambiyaku *(Adj n)* soft, spongy

maamaandanya *(N m)* European, Caucasian, white person (very mildly offensive) Ajuwara yarruku maamaandanya? *"Where did the whitefella go?"*
(cf: karriba, wajbala)

mambunku *(N n)* thin cloud burnt ground Uliyijanga jard bakaju ngayi mambunku. *"The sun is chasing all the clouds away."* Ngirrika ngarruku ngajakaji nganu mambunku bubaarndi ngunjamarri. *"I went hunting and saw burnt ground."*
(cf: kulumarra, madayi, warranyangku)

mami *(N v)* (also maami) food (generally vegetable food) Nyimarni maami kirralmangayi. *"I'll peel the vegetables."*

marna bakurni *(N f)* whistle stick (small) Majamarriyimi marlarlukarni marna bakurni ngirrmamarriyimi ngayi nayunga. *"In the old days men would go get and make whistle sticks in order to attract women."* (an instrument played by men in order to attract women)
(cf: dumba)

manalku *(N n)* wet mud Jamana nyambala mird bardkanu manalkungka. *"He got stuck in the mud."*

marnburr- *(V)* (also marnburrb *(V2)*) close, put legs together, cross fingers Marnburrilangaki yarduku jarrumurlu. *"I put my legs together."*
(cf: dilyilyi, durdukul, durduly)

marndaj *(Interj)* (also marndaj (y)ali, marndaj (y)alu) alright, correct, yes, well Marndaj yanu. *"He's doing it well!"* agree with, speak right (subject of verb represents person who the speaker agrees with)
(cf: yu)

mandalurra *(N m)* snappy gum *(Eucalyptus leucophloia)* (abundant at Borroloola) Wangkurra dirringurri mandalurra. *"We eat the sugarbag from the snappy gum."* (used for bucket 'shovel' (*kurluwarru*) for bringing up water; good firewood; sugarbag may be found)
(cf: (w)amba)

marndamarnda *(N n)* (also mayamaya) hand, arm five Ulukajanganki marndamarnda. *"I'm washing my hands."*

marndarnngarra *(N n)* (also mandarrngarra, mandarlngarra) ironwood *(Eythrophleum chlorostachyum)* Ngindarnini mandarlngarra ardbardbalu. *"That ironwood is hard."* (branches with leaves boiled; the liquid is used as a medicinal wash. The leaves are burnt during the final stages of a funeral. The timber is used to make clapping stickes and boomerangs, while spears are made from younger plants; further North of Jingili country the deceased are covered with the branches and leaves.)

marndara *(N n)* sore (stress: 'marndara) Dardu ngabangaju marndara. *"I've got lots of sores."*

mandarra *(N n)* hole in ground (large), goanna hole, lair (in ground) Jimirni ngawu ngardajkalu mandarra ngarnu ngamulu. *"This is a big lair."*
(cf: bamburru)

Marndiwa *(N n)* dance belonging to initiation (*kujika*)

marndula *(N n)* bush species *(possibly Acacia torulosa, Grevillia refracta?)* (stress: 'marndula) Karnaringmarna nginirni marndularni majaardi. *"That Acaia species is gotten for spear shafts."* (seed pods soaked half a day then ground on a grinding stone, cooked in ashes half an hour, rinsed and easten like wild rice; grubs in roots; used for spears)
(cf: kurabuka)

mangarli *(N n)* (also mangali) chest (stress: 'mangarli) Marliyangaju mangali, bardajalu marliyangaju mangarli. *"I'm sick in the chest, very ill."*
(cf: jukaya, linku)

mangalkbi
see *mangulkbi*

mangirrija
see *marringilija*

mangkurni *(N f)* stone axe water-bug (giant) Durdkajami ngarri mangkurni kijurlurlu. *"Show me that stone for making axe-heads."*
(cf: dardawu, kirnbilirdi, (w)urdila)

mangkuru *(N n)* plain Ngajanganu wurraku, nyambala kanjalawurri ngajanganu mangkurumbili, yidaykyidaykyu ngajanganu wurraku. *"I saw kangaroos on the plain. Late in the afternoon I saw them going along."*

mangurla *(N m)* seed of soap tree (*mirrinmirrinji*) *(Acacia holoserica)* Nginda ngunu mirrinmirrinji, nginda marlarlukarnini darramarriyimi bundurru, mangurla. *"You know the soap tree? Well, in the old days people would go and eat its seeds."*
(cf: mirrinmirrinji)

mangulkbi *(N n)* (also mangalkbi) stomach large intestine Mangulkbi dilmangaju, darrangayi umbumangayi. *"I'm cutting up the large intestines, which I'll cook and eat."*

manjala *(N m)* baby (human) (plural: *amanjamanja*) (irregular plural formed by reduplication) Manjala ngardanu, wiwirni minjilirni majanu. *"The baby boy was born, and the baby girl was born."*
(cf: amanjamanja)

manjarna *(N m)* bark of lancewood house made from lancewood bark Manjarna marlarlukarnini mgilmamarriyi wukurni. *"In the olden days people made humpies from lancewood bark."* (used to light fires and build humpies)
(cf: dimilyi, karnawunji)

manjiwirni *(N f)* single woman young mother Nginarnini manjiwirni bininjakaji majayi. *"That single woman will get a husband."*

manjk- *(V)* try, taste Ngininikala nyambalanyumi, manjkanyumi ngininikala. *"You two? Taste this!"*
(cf: (w)arum-)

manjku *(N n)* skin name, subsection Ngarrunu manjku Jurlinginja. *"My skin is Jurlinginja."*

mankarr- *(V)* teach, make understand, discipline
(cf: langm-)

mankijbi *(N v)* back of neck Marliyangaju mankijbi, lilingbingaju. *"the back of my neck is stiff, sore."*
(cf: jikidikidibi)

mankiy- *(V)* sit, stay Nyambambilikaji mankiyimindiju? *"Where are we sitting?"*
(cf: duk-)
mankiyajka *(N n)* chair, seat Mankiyajka majangayi nginirnikirni. *"I'll get this off the chair."*

marnkulukulidi *(N n)* (also marnkurlukurlidi) ear wax Ngabangaju marnkulukurlidi langambilirni. *"I have wax in my ears."*
(cf: jikala)

marnmajkarr- *(V)* wave (hands) Ngindabaja mirnmijkirriwurruju. *"They're all waving their hands."*

marnmarn- *(V)* caress, hug Wawa mirnmirningirruju. *"We're hugging the child."*

manyan *(V2, Adv)* lie down, lying down, sleep, sleeping unconscious, semi-conscious Ngajina bininja manyan dukanu jayili. *"The old man was asleep inside."*
manyan duk- *(V)* lie down go to sleep Manyan dukangarriyi. *"I'm going to go to sleep."*
(cf: bakuly-)

manyanyi *(N m)* red grass type Nyaminga nayunga majaju manyanyi. *"That woman is collecting manyanyi grass."* (infusion makes a bath for general sickness)

manyburrili *(Adj n)* tight (fist), tied (shoelaces etc.) Dirrk bajangaju yurnukurnukurduni, nginirnikirni manyburrili. *"I'm tying up my shoes, tying them tight."*

manyingila *(N n)* guttapercha *(Excoecaria parvifolia)* Nangkangaju kurrubardu manyingila darrangku. *"I'm cutting a boomerang from guttapercha wood."* (makes souvenir boomerangs, milky inner bark is boiled and applied to skin sores, though care must be taken to avoid the eyes.)
(cf: marrija)

mara *(N n)* lap Wiwirni kurlukurluni, wiwirni jarrumulumbili ngabangaju, marambili mankiyaju ngarru wiwirni. *"I have the little girl on my thighs, my girl is sitting on my lap."* (twitching/throbbing in this part indicates one's *ngambiya* (brother-in-law or son-in-law)is thinking of one)

marababirni *(N f)* (also marrababirni) wood pigeon bronzewing Marababirni yaardi mangkurumbili yaardi darraardi kirangkuju. *"The wood pigeon lives on the plain and eats melons."*
(cf: wandarrkururni)

maralu *(N n)* belly, feeling middle (of body, as opposed to left and right) Jimina ngabangaju luwaku kalamambili, maralumbili ngabangaju. *"I have a hole in my nose and also in my belly."* (throbbing/twitching indicates that one's *kula* (sister's son) is thinking of one)
maralu yaju *(Adj no concord)* (also mararlu yaju) pregnant Maralu burdbangankiju. *"a strong desire to leave"*
maralungkuji *(Adj m)* prescient, psychic, pregnant (feminine form only) (literally: belly-having)
(cf: julurrkbiyaka)

maranga *(N n)* row, line (of things), lined up Maranga duwaju darrangku nginirnikirni. *"These trees are growing in a line."*

maranjulinji *(N m)* grandparent and grandchild

maranymi *(N v)* grandparent and grandchildren Maranymi wurrijiyimi. *"Here comes someone with their grandchildren."*

marawunji *(N n)* web (of spider) Marawuniimbili yaju jambilijini, karruji jambilijinaju marawunjinimbili. *"The spider lives in a web."*

marramarrangkuji *(N m)* beetle (literally: cheeky-having)
(cf: kurrnyungkuji, liyimbungkuji)

marrambanga *(Adj m)* peaceful person, harmless Marrambanga jamarnikirni, angkula marrimarra, bardakurra jamarnikirni. *"He's peaceful, not savage, good."*

marranybala *(N m)* bullock, cow Yukulurrubirni yamarri jamabarra angkula yamarri nginimbilirni marranybalarni jujumbilirni duwamarrimi yukulurrubirni darraardi. *"the yukulurrubi grass used to grow here but recently the cows ate it when it grew in the wet season."*
(cf: buliki, dirdbakanu)

marrar- *(V)* show (an event) Jamanima munmulyi angkula mararamarri. *"He's ignorant, hasn't been through the ceremonies."*

marrija *(N m)* guttapercha *(Excoecaria parvifolia)* Binjiyaka jaarru marrijarlakaja barru mirniniki. *"Big grubs live in guttaperchas that grow in clear areas."* (used for whip handle, barbed spear; souvenir boomerangs (nice colour but soft); sappy inner bark boiled to put on skin sores.)
(cf: manyingila)

marrimarra *(Adj m)* savage cheeky, fierce Marrimarra jamanikirni mayayajkala. *"He's a fierce fighter."*
(cf: durdili)

marrimarrirni *(N v)* thunder Ibilkirni ajiyimi jujumangkurdi, marrimarrirni. *"Here comes rain and lightning, thunder."*
(cf: jujumi)

marrimarru bikirra *(N n)* khaki grass (a sharp grass) Marrimarru bikirra dilma majkalu. *"Khaki grass can cut you."*

marringilija *(N n)* (also mangirrija) poison (traditional) (stress: 'marri"ngilija) Nginirnikirni marringilijarni, wunjuwamarri ngarnu bininjarni kanyburrungarni wunjuwamarri ngarnu manyan kaju. *"This traditional poison, men would pour it on their victims' flesh as they slept."*
(cf: lungkarru, yarrindu)

Marrini *(N f)* (also Marrirni) a treeless clearing southwest of Elliott, a swamp in the wet season, near Elliott rubbish dump Marrirni jimirna wanybaardu kijurlurlu nyambanyambanu, jawaranya, nyambanyamba wanybuwardi, Marrininga wardjuwurruwardi, abaabarna. *"At Marrini you can find things that people have thrown away because they dump stuff there at Marrini."*

marrinju *(N n)* (also marrinjku) story, word, language Nyamirni ngaya mankiyimindiju, marrinjku imbiyiminduju. *"You and I are sitting, talking language."*

marrinkili *(N m)* (also marrinkirli) kingfisher, kookaburra (small) Nyaminana marrinkirli kabijajaju. *"The kookaburra's laughing."*
(cf: dalmurranga)

marriya *(Adv)* quietly, softly, with care Marriya inkarriyingurrumi. *"We'll sit quietly."* Marriya ilami. *"Turn it down!"*

marrk baj-
see *mad baj-*

marrkulu *(N n)* egg brain Manyan kaju ngawumbili marrkulumbili. *"It's lying on an egg in its nest."* Yukulyarri mijingirriwardi, buliki dirringirriwardi damangkarni marrkulurni mijingirriwardi. *"We get sheep and cattle brains to eat."*
(cf: kidba)

marrngaj- *(V)* blame (silently, not 'accuse') Jamabilarna mirrngijiwunyungkuju, ngayirni ngirrakbanganu kulyumu. *"Those two blame each other, but I stole it."*

marru *(N n)* house, town Jimirni maaru ngaankunukaji. *"That house is yours."*

Marrulu *(N n)* creek just East of *Wijibarda* (Longreach) Marrulu jimirnini diyimingarru Ijibardininama wankij narnayi. *"that's Marrulu that is just a hop aorund the bend from Longreach."*
(cf: Nikilyikilyimi)

marumi
see *mawurumi*

mawurumi *(N v)* (also marumi (stress: 'marumi)) sharp grass seed *(Aristida pruinosa)* Ngimaniki mawurumi kujananganu. *"This sharp grass seed pricked me."*
(cf: budunarrimi)

may- *(V)* hit, kill (+ reflexive means fight) Jamani warlaku mayami yunkuwarndi. *"Kick the dog!"*
mayayajkala *(Adj m)* (also mayajkala) cruel, rough (of people) Ngirrabijiningkurnini ngindabajarni marrimarraala mayayjkalarda. *"They'll tell you that those people are cruel vicious fighters."*
(cf: jirdirda)
mayajbija *(Adj m)* peaceful, pacifistic Nyamarri bardakurra, nyama mayajbija, angkula mayanyaardi. *"You've always been good, you're a peaceful person, you never fight."*

mayamaya
see *marndamarnda*

mayamba *(N m)* whirlwind, dust Ngunu ngajami mayambakajami nginda. *"Look, there's a whirlwind."*
(cf: jundurru)

Mayilakurru *(N n)* creek near Marlinja and Bujbu (on Newcastle Waters) Mayilakurrunu ngindarni yaju Marlinjambili. *"Mayilakurru is up at Marlinja."*

mayilibi *(N n)* disagreement (protracted), war ('cold'), snub Miyuwurrungunu idajkunama, nyambalakaju wunyuju mayilibikaji iliwunyungkuju. *"They had a fight yesterday and aren't talking to each other now."*

mayingkirni *(N f)* cutting implement (any)

mird bardk- *(V (intrans))* (also mird bak-) get bogged, get stuck, get muddy, sticky Ngarruku karalu mamambiyaku, mird bakanu ngarru murdika. *"I was going over soft ground when my car got bogged."*

mirdirdbi *(N m)* ridge country (rocky) Ngininikirni banybilanganu karnawurna, darralyaka, ngininikirni dardukaji yaardu mirdirdbimbilirni. *"Here I found lancewoods and smoke trees, heaps of them growing through this rocky ridge country."*
(cf: karnjanjarru, lurrju)

midilyi *(N m)* tick flea Ngindarni warlaku majangayi nganu mirdilyi dajbaju warlaku ngarru. *"I'm taking ticks off the dog and it's biting me."*

mirdilyirrirni *(N f)* white cockatoo (little) Nginarniki mirdilyirrirnini yaardi, ngindi yaardi nankunambili. *"White cockatoos can be found in caves."*
(cf: birrili)

mirdimirdi *(N m)* cricket Darraardi jamarnikirni mirdimirdini, wangkulayirni, dirdingarnuni darraardi - walanjarni, jurrkubadirni darraardi. *"The cricket is eaten by crows and hawks - yellow and plains goannas eat it too."*
(cf: dalydaly, dirndijaka)

mirdiyinjilmi *(N v)* fire-stick, fire-drill Kungkulunmingkami ngilmingirriwardi mirdiyinjilmi. *"We make fire-drills out of the kerosene tree."*
(cf: kungkulunmi)

mijilmijurlu *(Adj n)* dense, thick (scrubby) Karrila jiminikini kiwirra kayi mijilmijurlu, wawurru angkurla ngarriyi nayi dibij kiwirra. *"It's really dense, I can't get through the scrub."* Mijilmijurlu ngabaju malibanya. *"He's got thick scruffy hair."*
(cf: wawurru)

mijuwurd- *(V (trans))* gather up Jambajanga mijuwurduwardu bundurru. *"They're going to get food."*
(cf: maj-, wak-, (w)uruwum-)

mijuku *(N n)* urine (stress: 'mijuku) Mijuku ngarruku. *"I went to take a piss."*
mijukub- *(V)* urinate Mijukubangarriyi. *"I'm going to take a leak."*

mijuku bajkarlini *(N f)* beetle species (possibly earwig) (mijuku = urine; when picked up the earwig releases a liquid) Nginarnini buyarnananu karrudjirni, majangarriyi mijuku bajkarlini, dajku balanangayi mijuku wanymanganki yi. *"When I've been bitten by a spider, I get a hold of an earwig, then I squeeze it until its urine comes out onto my skin."*

mijuwulu *(N n)* salt
(cf: lungkarru)
mijuwulyi *(Adj m)* (also mijuwulu, mijuwulmi *(n, v)*) salty, spicy, pungent Mijuwulmi ngimarnikirni darramarri julardi. *"Birds ate this pungent berry."*
(cf: dajbajkala)
mijuwulyi *(N m)* salty tree *(Tamarix aphylla)*
(cf: bijiwuna)
mijuwulmi *(N v)* (also mijuwunmi) tobacco (archaic word) Mijuwulmi daj bangayi. *"I'm chewing tobacco."*
(cf: kilirrmi, warnu)

mikanykuji *(N m)* (also mikanykurrini *(f)*) doctor (traditional or modern), clever/tricky person Burdbungurri jamanikirni mikanykujiningka burdbungurri lakarr majaningkunu jarrumulu. *"We had to send him to the doctor because he broke his leg."*
(cf: ngunbuluka)

miyikimi *(N n)* (also miyaka (stress: 'miyaka) (Kuw.)) black bean tree
q near Dunmarra in sand Miyikimi darramarriyimi marlarlukarni. *"Olden-time folk ate the black bean."* (used for string; shell cracked with stone to obtain nut which is crushed with a stone, mixed with water and eaten without cooking in October)

mikinji *(N m)* snake (any) Ngindarniki bunumurra, kiwarlija, dalyi, ngidingida, walujabirni - mikinjirni ngurraku. *"Brown snakes, king browns, whip snakes, olive pythons, carpet snakes - they're all snakes to us."*

milakurrmi *(N v)* plains yam, wild potato *(Ipomoea aquatica)* Milakurrmirni majamarriyimi marlarlukarnini mangkurumbili, kalyarramarriyimi. *"Olden day folk would go and dig up the wild potato."*
(cf: jikimi, kinyilakbimi, kubirdimi)

milarnda *(Adv)* alongside Milarndakaji yaju ngindanikirni. *"He's right next to me."*
(cf: lurdba)

milinji *(N m)* fingernail, toenail, bird's claw Jamina ngabaju biyijaka milinji. *"That person has long nails."*
(cf: nungkuru)
milinji yunkumbili *(N m)* (also milinji yunbanka) toenail
milanjija *(Adj m)* (also milanbija) lacking fingernails or toenails

milyaka *(N n)* white of eye Bilyingbiyaju ngabanjunu ngukaju ngirribijingirriwardi, milyaka ngabaju bilyingbiyaju. *"His eyes are red from crying we reckon, the whites of his eyes are red."*

milyamilya *(Adv)* late (relatively), late for something Milyamilya nyaju nyama. *"You're too slow at it."*
(cf: mundumili)

mimbiyilyi *(N f)* wet season, cold wind and rain Mimbiyilyikaji yajiyimi ngurruwa, angkurla mijingurrumardi mimbiyilyilyi. *"Wet season is coming this way, we don't usually get wet seasons."*
(cf: (y)ibilkirni, ibu, yuwubu)

mimi *(Adv)* first, first of all Nginirni ngajami, mimi ngajami yardu. *"Here, first look at this one going along."* Mimi darrangkunu windurrungkujkudarra. *"All trees have roots."*

miyimi *(N m)* grandfather (mother's father) (q stress: 'miyimi) (classification includes mother's father's brothers, daughter's son, also wife's sister's daughter's son (ego: male)) (classification includes mother's father's brothers, mother-in-law's mother's brother (ego: female)) Larlula ngarriningarni jakardingarni, ngindarni ngarru miyimi. *"My miyimi is my mother's father."*
(cf: jaminja)

mimi ngaj- *(V)* inspect, have a close look at Nginirni ngajami, mimi ngajami yardu. *"Here, look at this one going along."*

minanga *(N m)* earthworm, line (drawn) Irrmanu kujarruna minangayilu. *"Put two lines here."*
minanga il- *(V)* mark Nginimbili minanganga ilami. *"Make a mark here."*
minangankuji *(Adj m)* striped Lawunja minangankuji. *"The coolamon is striped."*
(cf: murrurrunkuji)

Minbirrimi *(N v)* place near South Yard Yaardu Minbirrimi, Mayilakurrungkami yaardu Bujbu, Bujbungkami yaardu, Marlinja. *"Going from Minbirrimi, from Mayilakurru creek you can go to Bujbu, then from Bujbu creek you go and you can get to Marlinja."*

mindibubu *(N n)* ceremonial law (male) Mindibubu jiminirna karrila. *"This is men's business, leave it."*

mindiyila *(Pron)* (NOM) we two (inclusive) Mindiyila mindiju ngandayimbili. *"We two are sitting in the shade."*
mindiyilini (ERG) Nyindabaja dardunu lankaj wurrujuminda mindiyilirna imbiyimindujamba. *"All those people are listening to you and me talk."*
mindak-u (ACC/GEN stem) (also mindaj-u Ngindabilirni ngijuwunyananu mindaku. *"Those two saw me and you."*)

mindurru *(N n)* kidney Baya wiwirni ngarru mindurru darrayi. *"My husband and children will eat the kidney."*

minduwa *(V (Imperative))* let's go (dl) Minduwa nginuwarra. *"Let's go this way."*
(1dlInc+will_go)
(cf: ngurruwa)

mingkilawurnumi *(N v)* (also mingkilawurnimi) bush passionfruit, climbing vine around bullwaddy *(Capparis lasiantha)* (stress: 'mingki'lawu"rnumi) Ngininikirni mingkilawurnimi dirringurriyi darrardi wawalardi julardi darrardi. *"We'll eat the passionfruit, children and birds eat it too."* (leaves may be dried briefly to make a mildly narcotic tobacco for chewing or smoking; yellow fruits eaten)
(cf: wardbardbumi)

mingkirridbi *(N n)* knee, kneecap Jaminja, ankilirni ambayaju ngarru, ankilirni mingkirridbimbili. *"My old cousin or maybe my cousin is talking about me, the cousin is in the knee."* (twitching/throbbing in right knee indicates that one's *jaminja* (maternal grandfather) is thinking of one)
(cf: bangkirrimi, mujumi)

miniyilyi (Kuw.)
see *mininmi*

mininmi *(N n)* (also miniyilyi (Kuw.)) acacia bush *(Acacia victoriae)* Mininmi ngima ngurruwa lajurna, laju mijingurriyi. *"We'll go to that cashew bush for grubs, and we'll get grubs."* (grubs in roots)

mirnirnmi *(N v)* fire-drill Angkularra jimirnikirni ngabangaju jimirnikirni mirnirnmirni bungkakaji nganu, wajbalarni ngabangaju lujuba. *"I don't keep firedrills anymore, I got rid of them, now that white people have matches."*
(cf: kungkulimi)

minjkujku *(N n)* (also minjuju, minjirdju) yolk, egg yolk Marrkulu buliki jamana nangkarrbi marrkulu majangayi darramarrimi marlarlukarni. *"In olden times they would eat cows brains."*
(cf: dankurra)

mirnmirn- *(V)* (also minymirr-) hold (someone), embrace Urrajaluyaju wawa, minymirringinyunu bibibili. *"The boy was cold, so we two held him."*

minymirr-
see *mirnmirn-*

mirimi *(N v)* hip, rump Mirimimbili wawa ngabaju. *"She has a baby on her hip."*

miringmi *(N v)* gum (of trees) Miringmini darrangayi bardakurrimi. *"I'll eat the sweet gum."*

mirrardam- *(V)* teach Mirrirdimingurriyi wurraku marrinjkurna kujikarna. *"We will tach them about language and the initiation ceremonies and songs."*

Mirrinmirrirdi *(N f)* Seven Sisters constellation (Pleiades) Kardaku jakajka ambaka junmayardiyimikaji dij bilaka jaardi kabilirni, Mirrinmirrirdi, Kamirrinji. *"A long time ago they came down to divide the night from the dawn, the Seven Sisters and the Morning Star."*

mirrinmirrinji *(N n)* soap tree (one kind) *(Acacia holoserica)* Ngiininiki mirrinmirrinji majanganu karnayingmina, karnayingmi ngilmangayi. *"I got this soap tree for a spear, I'll make a spear."* (used for spear shafts; damper; grubs in roots used as bait for fishing; soap obtained by rubbing leaves with water/spit.)
(cf: bilangbilangmi, mangurla)

mirrirribini *(N m)* plover storm bird Mirrirribini yajiyimi ngurraku ibilkirni ngajaju. *"The storm bird comes and sees us at the water."* (skin: Jurlinginja)
(cf: dirridirriji)

miyaka
see *miyikimi*

Mudburra *(N m)* Mudburra (Eastern) people or language

mudika *(N n)* (also murdika) car Nginirni murdika angkurla jarrkajaju kiwirra angkurla jarrkajajkalu. *"That car doesn't go at all."*

murduri *(N n)* hair in a bun

murdurrmurduji *(Adj m)* tangle-haired, dreadlocked Murdumurdurru malibanya jamarniki. *"His hair is all tangled."*

mujaka *(N m)* mouse, burrowing mouse (native or introduced) Mujakarni ngirrmadi kararlu ngawu, ngirrmadi ngawu kararlungka. *"The (burrowing) mouse makes its home in the ground."*

mujkiy- *(V)* forget, lose Kurrubardu ngirrmangayi mujiyakajingaka. *"I want to make a boomerang but I've forgotten how."*

mujumi *(N v)* (also munjumi *(v)*, munjurni *(f)*) knee elbow (stress: 'mujumi) Jamana mayangayi munjunga. *"I'll elbow that fellow."* (twitching/throbbing in right knee or elbow indicates that one's *jaminja* (maternal grandfather) is thinking of one)
(cf: bangkirrimi, mingkirridbi)

mukmuk *(N m)* owl Mukmuk ngurrayijbi yaardi. *"The owl is around at night."*
(cf: barnangka, jurdiyini, kurrkuji, ngajakurra)

mukurumi *(N v)* water lily species (with white or yellow flowers) *(Nymphaea species)* (north of Jingili country, around OT) Dirringinyirri ngimarniki mukurumi, darrakaji nginyiwardi nginjarni. *"We eat the mukurumi lily, we eat its seeds right up."*

mulbulbu *(N n)* (also mulmulbu) dry swamp Angkulakaji ibirrka ngabaju, kiwirra, mulbulbirni kiwirrakaji. *"There's no water here at all, just a dry swamp."*
(cf: mulkbulku, munmulka)

mulkbulku (Kuw.) *(N n)* small swamp, dry water hole Ngirriki wurruku mulkbulkungka, walanjarna. *"They went to the dry lake to hunt for goannas."*
(cf: mulbulbu, munmulku,)

murlkirdi *(N n)* circumcision (ceremony) Murlkirdingu ngurriwunyaku wanyikila. *"We circumcised the boys."* (performed at same time as *kujika*)

murlku *(N n)* arm (top of upper arm), shoulder Jaminarlu ngabaju murlkumbili murrururdarra. *"That man has many tribal scars on his shoulder."*

mulmulbu
see *mulbulbu*

Murlububumi *(N n)* snakes (two) in a dreaming, associated stream and coolibah tree near Beetaloo Jimini ngawu Murlububumi. *"This is where the Murlububumi live."*

murlurlu *(N n)* pupil (of eye) Angkula ngajangaju, bikirra yaju murlurlumbili ngarrunumbili. *"I can't see, there's grass in my pupil."*

mulungkarrirni *(N f)* bandicoot Nginarni mulungkarrirni darramarri marlarlukarnini. *"In the old days people would eat bandicoots."*
(cf: bardkula)

murlurnmi
see *mulurrmi*

murlura *(N m)* (also mulura) maggot Mulura jamarniki dardu bulikirnimbili kiyilyirnimbili. *"You get lots of maggots in dead cows."*

murlurrmi *(N v)* (also mulurnmi) turpentine, wattle species *(Acacia lysiphloia)*
Mijingurriyi mulurnmurna ngurruwa mulurnmarna laju mijungurriyi. *"We'll get them from the turpentine, we'll go get grubs from the turpentine tree."* (witchetty grubs in roots)
(cf: mungkurrja)

mulyamulya *(N n)* rubbish rags Akakiyabardu larnku mulyamulya, wardjuwangayi. *"These clothes are just rags. I'm going to throw them out."*

mulyumulyubi *(Adv)* crippled, beaten up Nginarniki nayurni mulyumulyubi yaju. *"That man is crippled."*
mulyumulyubi may- *(V)* (also mulyumulyubi il-, mulyumulyubil-) smash, cripple
Mulyumulyubirni mayanganganu jamarni bininjarni. *"I crippled that man."* Mulyumulyubilanganu. *"I crippled him."*

muwum *(pre-V)* dark Muwum bardkaji yaju ngurraku. *"It's really dark where we are."*
(cf: kamuru, ngurrayijbi)
muwum bardk- *(V)* be dark Ngurrayijbi muwum bardkaju nyinadimima nyirrbikurraju buba, nyarrana buba ngajangayi. *"It's so dark I need a torch to see."*
muwum duk- *(V)* darken, night falls

munba *(N m)* spitfire grub (lives on edge of water holes, spiky and causes itches) Kungkangkukaji dardu yaardu; ngawuma ngilmarri kungkangkakaji, munba. *"A big pile of them are going to another place; they must have made their home in another place, the spitfires."* traditional Aborigine Munbarni jamarnini yajiyimi binijarna marriyika. *"Traditional aboriginal people used to come here all the time."*

mundarlirni *(N f)* scorpion Mundarlanga umbumangarnanu. *"The scorpion stung me."*

mundubarlimi *(N v)* onion (wild) (stress: 'mundu"barlimi) (Nutwood, Daly Waters and north)
Mundubarlimi nyamanika ibilkirnimbili duwardi. *"This onion grows near the water."* (eaten by brolgas)
(cf: kinyuwurrumi)

mundumili *(Adv)* late (relatively), late for something Mundumili nyabardi. *"You are always late."*
(cf: milyamilya)

mungkurrja (Kuw.) *(N m)* turpentine tree, wattle sp *(Acacia lysiphloia)*
Mungkurrjarningkami mijingurruwa laju. *"We'll go get witchetty grubs from the turpentine tree."*
(witchetty grubs in roots, infusion inhaled for colds)
(cf: murlurrmi)

munjumi
see *mujumi*

munjurni
see *mujumi*

munmaku *(N n)* bay, backwater (stress: 'munmaku) Kulajarli kajirnarnu munmaku. *"They brought me to a little bay at Kulaja."*

munmulka *(N m)* shallow basin (in ground), crack (large) Munmulkambili yaju ibilka. *"There's water in that crack in the ground."*
(cf: mulbulbu, mulkbulku, munmulku)

munmulku *(N n)* dry water hole Munmulkumbilirni nginimbilirni angkurla ngabaju darrangku. *"There are no trees in this dry water hole here."*
(cf: mulbulbu, mulkbulku, munmulka)

munmulyi *(N m)* stranger, newcomer, ignorant (of ceremonies) Jamanima munmulyi angkula mararamarri. *"He's ignorant, hasn't been through the ceremonies."*
(cf: kabu)

munmunji *(Adj m)* (also munmunku *(n)*) short (masc.), depleted, one-armed, one-legged
(cf: munmurrinji)

munmurrinji *(Adj m)* (also munmurrini, munmurrunyku, munmurrunju, munmurrinymi *(f, n, n, v)*) short Mumurrinji wawa jamarni. *"That boy is short."*
(cf: dunkujku, munmunji)
munmurrinymi *(N v)* spear (short) Dunkujbarndi, munmurrinymarndi ngirriki ngarriyi. *"I'll go hunting with a short spear."*
(cf: dunkujku, karnarrinymi)

munungkumi *(N v)* string, wire (stress: mu'nungkumi) Ngiriniki banybilingunjunu munungkumi. *"He and I found some wire."*
(cf: yarninjirra, yubungu)
munungkumi marrimarrimi *(N v)* barbed wire Ngajami nyamani munungkumi ngajami marimarimi dilmangayi. *"Careful of that barbed wire there, it might cut you."*

munymuyaka
see *murrmuyaka*

munyunyurni *(N f)* (also munyunyi) red mouse

murril- *(V)* scold, tell off, warn Murrilaju ngarnu ngarrabajaju. *"She scolded them, told them off."*
(cf: warlangk-)

murrkardi *(N n)* hat
(cf: kulabajarra, kumundunga)

murrkunbala *(Adj m, f)* (also murrkulu, murrkunbu, murrkulyi *(n, n, v)*) three Karrilamiwunyaana murrkulu marndaj. *"Just leave me three, that's fine."* Murrkulyi miyingirrunu karruji. *"We killed three spiders."*
murrkulyi *(N m)* trio (of things) Murrkulyi ngijingarrunu jurdama. *"We saw three wallabies."*
murrkulijka *(Adv)* three days (journey)

murrmuyaka *(Adj m)* (also munymuyaka) big, fat (of people) Bininja yajiyimi murrmuyaka. *"A fat man is approaching."*
(cf: dikabila)

murrngu *(N n)* (also murrungu (stress: 'murrungu)) root (any) Mimi darrangkunu murrngungkujkudarra. *"All trees have roots."*
(cf: (w)indurru)

murrubala *(N m)* bottle, jar, glass container

murrungu
see *murrngu*

murrurru *(N n)* (also murruru) stripe Murrurrumurrurru irr bilami. *"Paint stripes on it."* tribal scars Jaminarlu ngabaju murlkumbili murrururdarr... *"That man has many tribal scars on his shoulder."*
(cf: barduru)
murrurrunkuji *(Adj m)* striped
(cf: minanganku ji)

murulumi *(N v)* small melon type *(Cucumis melo)* Nginirni majanganu banybilanganu murulumimbili. *"I found these melons and took them."*
(cf: (w)arnburrkbi, (w)arnburrujinimi)

murunjilil- *(V)* (also murrunjilil-) hold (someone) back or down, grab hold (of someone) Wawa murrunjililangaju. *"I'm grabbing hold of the boys [to take them to be initiated]."*

murunjul *(V2, Adv)* stand(ing) with hands behind back Ajankaju murunjul yaju jama wajankaju bininja. *"That man is standing with his hands behind his back."*

N

Nabijinnginju *(N f)* female skin name, same subsection as male Jabijinnginja Nyamanini Nabijinnginjanga ngayi nyaminga Naaninginju wawanga. *"Nabijinnginju's child is Naaninginju."*

nardburrinjirni *(N f)* black diver duck Nardburrinjirni darraardi kakuyinama. *"The black diver duck eats lots of fish."*
(cf: narli)

nakalanjku *(N n)* moss Banybili nakalanjku ibilkinarnu. *"Moss is found after the rain."*

Nalanangarrijimirli *(N m)* Nyilyi (a large lake)

nalangaj- *(V)* rear, raise (children) Nilingijiwunyuju. *"Those two are raising him."*
(cf: binjam-)

narli *(N f)* black diver duck Narlini darraardi kakuyinama. *"The black diver duck eats lots of fish."*
(cf: nardburrinjirni)

Naalinginju *(N f)* female skin name, same subsection as male Jurlinginja Jamarni Jurlinginja ngandayi nyaminga Naalinginjunga. *"Jurlinginja is the other side of Naalinginju."*

Nalyirringinju *(N f)* female skin name, same subsection as male Jalyirringinja Jamarnikirni Jurlinginjarni nyaminga Nalyarringinjurna kurlurla. *"Jurlinginja is Nalyarringinju's son."*

nam *(Adv, pre-V)* stuck Nam wunyuju. *"They're stuck together."*
nam bardk- *(V (trans or intrans))* (also nam bak-) thaw, stick together Angkula duwangaju, nam bardkangaju. *"I can't get up, I'm stuck here."*
nam bil- *(V (trans))* stick together Nam bilanganu marrungka. *"I stuck it to the [walls of the] house."*
nam duk- *(V)* thaw, stick together by partial melting, stick down

namalu
see *lamalu*

nambanama *(Adv)* (also ambanama) like, similar to Kurrnyuna ngindarnikirni dangunyinjirni nambanama mikinji. *"The skin of the bright sking is similar to a snake's."*
(cf: kuyubulu)

nambiliju *(N f)* body Dardu nambiliju wurrijiyimi. *"Lots of women are approaching."*
(cf: jambiliji)

Namirringinju *(N f)* female skin name, same subsection as male Jamirringinja Jamarnikirni Jiminginjarni nyaminga Namirringinjurna kurlurla. *"Jiminginja is Namirringinju's son."*

narnangaj- *(V)* (also narna ngaj-) care for, keep watch, mind Nginikirni narnangajanyumi ngarru bardukurrinjarra. *"Look after this for me."*
narnangajajkala *(Adj, N m)* careful, minder (person)

Nangalinginju *(N f)* female skin name, same subsection as male Jangalinginja Jamarni Jangalinginja ngandayi nyaminga Nangalinginjunga. *"Jangainginja is the other side of Nangalinginju."*

Nangaringinju *(N f)* female skin name, same subsection as male Jangaringinja Nyamirnani kurlurlurni ngayi Naalinginjunga Nangaringinjurni. *"Nangaringiju is the daughter of Naalinginju."*

nangk- *(V)* chop (with an axe) Karlimiji ngindarniki nangkangaju marranybalarningkami mayingka ngarnu nangkangaju. *"I'm chopping the ribs out of this cow I killed."*

nangkimi
see *kungka, kungkubarnu*

nangkirni
see *kungka*

nangkubarni
see *kungkubarnu*

Naaninginju *(N f)* female skin name, same subsection as male Jaaninginja Jurlinginjarni jamarnikirni *straight-bala* manjku ngayi nyaminga Naaninginju. *"Jurlinginja is straight for Naaninginju skin."*

nankuna *(N m)* cave Jukurlangaka nankunambili larrba. *"I once used to sleep in a cave."* dam Ngirrmangayi nyambanyamba nankuna. *"I'll build a dam out of some stuff."*
(cf: birdbulu)

nany- *(V (trans))* dry out Kij bilingirri jamanika mingkilawurnumi nanyanu nanyany dij bilangurri lakarr karra bijangurri arrak bili. Bajala jimurri warnukaju miyingurri. *"We would break up the passionfruit vine. After drying it out we'd get a tobacco."*
(cf: ladaji-)

naraja *(N n)* clump of trees, copse island, ridge (wooded) few Nyambala yaju kijurludarra naraja. *"There's rocks and a clump of trees there."*
(cf: durdku)

naraja *(N n)* nanny goat Nyinanda nyaju nyambala naraja yukularri. *"A few nanny goats live here."*

narranjana *(N n)* windbreak Narranjanani warrajkalumbili ngirrmingirruwardi. *"We make windbreaks in the cold weather."*
(cf: dumuru)

nawaya *(N m)* headband Jamani nawaya ngarrina ngarru. *"That headband is mine."*
(cf: bakuri)

nay- *(V)* step on, weigh down, knock over Arduku nayangarri bikirrambilinama nayarduwangayi juwarrajaka. *"I'll walk carefully on grass all the way so no-one can follow."* Kijurlurluwarndi abaaba nayanu. *"The stone held the clothes down."*
(cf: (w)ajank-)

nayukuku
see *nayurni*

nayuwurlu
see *nayurni*

nayungkuji *(Adj m)* married (man only) (literally: woman-HAVING) (stress: 'nayung"kuji) Jamarni ngunyiwurrunu nayurni, karungkujikaji. *"They gave him a wife, he's a married man now."*
(cf: karungkuji)

nayurni *(N f)* (singular) (also nayuni (singular), nayuwurlu (dual), nayukuku (plural)) woman wife (stress: 'nayurni) Nayuni nyaminarna jarrkajanu warlaku. *"The woman ran away with the dog."*
(cf: kabirni, kabinjkulirni, karu, ngambiyirni)
nayumajka *(Adj m)* lusty, looking for women (habitually) Jamarnikirni nayumajka. *"He's always chasing women."*

ngab- *(V)* have, hold, keep Imani ngabangayi angkurla ngunyangayi. *"I won't give you what I've got."*
ngaba + suffix 'to go' *(V)* take, grab, take away Ngabangarri nyimani karnarringmi. *"I'm going with my spear."*
ngaba + suffix 'to come' *(V)* bring

ngabarlangku *(N m)* (also ngabarlikinyaka (vocative) (stress: 'ngaba'rliki"nyaka)) brother by skin only (different parents) Nyamani ngabarlikinyaka, dakaangku! *"Come on up here my brother by skin."*
(cf: (w)arlukubiya)

ngabarlanjibirni *(N f)* (also ngabarlangkbulu (dual), ngabarlangkbilirni (plural)) sister by skin only (different parents) Nginarni wurrijiyimi, nginarni yajiyimi wurrijiyimi ngabarlanjibirni. *"here come some women, and here she comes among them, my sister by skin."*
(cf: bibirni)

ngabarnda *(N n)* shoulder Ngabarnda ngibiyirri. *"Carry him on your shoulders."* (base of neck out to shoulder)

ngabanju *(N n)* eye (stress: 'ngabanju) Angkula ngajangaju, jundurru ngabangaju ngabanjumbili. *"I can't see, I have dust in my eyes."*
(cf: ngurru)

ngabarangkurru *(N n)* blood (stress: 'ngaba"rangkurru)
(cf: (w)urraja)
ngabarangkurru warrk- *(V)* bleed Jamani ngabarangkurru warrkaju. *"He's bleeding."*

ngabij- *(V)* lap up, lick up, eat by licking Ngabijaju ibilka, warlakurni jamirni ngabijaju ibilka. *"That dog's having a drink, lapping up water."*
(cf: ngalyak-)

ngabijimi *(N v)* rice-like grass Yirrimungurri kandirri yirrimungurri ngabijimirni. *"We'll make damper out of this rice-like grass."* (damper prepared as for *ngangarra* ; grass used for necklace (?))

ngabilibili *(N n)* seed pod from bauhinea tree *(Lysiphyllum cunninghamii)* (stress: 'ngabi"libili) Irringilangkami ngininikirninga duwaju, ngindarni ngabilibili. *"It grows on and comes from the bauhinea, that pod."*
(cf: jingi, (w)irringila)

ngabuja *(N m)* grandmother's (paternal) brother (classification includes wife's paternal grandfather and his brothers (ego: male)) (classification includes son's son, paternal? grandfather and his brothers, husband's paternal grandfather's brother, mother-in-law's sister's son (ego: female)) Waja ngarrinani ngabujarni? *"Who is my grandmother's brother?"*

ngabujirni *(N f)* grandmother (paternal?), son's daughter (ego: female) (classification includes paternal grandmother's sisters, spouse's paternal grandfather's sisters (ego: male or female), maternal grandmother's brother?) (classification includes mother-in-law's sister's daughter, husband's paternal grandfather's sister (ego: female)) Darwinbili, lakurdukaka imikirni ardukunga ngabujirni, Jurlinginja, jakardini ngarru. *"At Darwin is your deceased great uncle, Jurlinginja, my mother."*

ngabukulyu *(N n)* (also ngabulkulyu) tree (with yellow ripe fruits) *(Opilia amentacea)* Ngininikirni ngabukulyunu wakiyabardu, dirringurruwardi - darramarriyimi marlarlukarni ngajalakurru mijiyilyaka yamarriyimi. *"This ngabukulyu fruit is dangerous for us to eat - people in olden times would eat it and it would burn their mouths."* (fruits sweet when ripe, but cause thirst and may irritate the lips and tongue if eaten in large quantities; eaten by wild women (*bundirndiyi*).)

ngabulu *(N n)* breast, milk Dabilaju ngabulu ngunyaju. *"She's suckling a child."*
(cf: jimurdku)

ngaburrayimi *(N v)* tree species, wild carrot tree *(Securinega virosa)*
Ngaburrayimirni marlarlukarni majamarriyimi, darrangkungka majamarriyimi. *"In the olden days people would go and get the wild carrots at the tree."* (carrot-like roots eaten; small white fruit eaten raw in wet season; makes spears)

ngard- *(V)* defecate, ejaculate, give birth Ngardayi wawanayi ngurrarungka, jajangku. *"The child will most likely be born tomorrow."*
ngard- ngumi *(V)* defecate Ngirdikurruju ngumi. *"Are you guys having a crap?"*
ngard- wawa *(V)* give birth
(cf: barraly-)

ngardarda *(N m)* crab Ngardardarni kalyarrardi karalu manalkumbili. *"The crab digs through muddy ground."*
(cf: jindirrirni)

ngardajkala *(Adj m)* very big, huge fat (of people) eldest in a family Miyurrukuju bunbakungkaja ngardajkalu. *"The big mobs fought."*

ngardangki (Kuw.) *(N m)* donkey, mule Ngindarnikirni ngardangkirni langa biyijala. *"The donkey is long-eared."*
(cf: dimana langa biyijala)

ngardb- *(V)* win leave behind Kujika, ngamba ngirdbuwurriyirra langambili. *"Initiations, to put the truth into their ears."*
(cf: bungk-)

ngardjuw- *(V)* breathe Angkulakaji ngardjuwangayi nyambananayi kiwirra. *"I can't breathe at all for some reason."*

ngaardu *(Adv)* soon Ngardu ngangku. *"I'm on my way."*

ngaj- *(V)* see, look, look at Nganga ngajanganu bikangirra wankurra, bungkakajingiyirrinu. *"I saw a wallaby while hunting, but we left it alone."* Ngijiwunyunkuju jamabilarninu bayinybilarni. *"Those two are facing one another."*
ngajaj- *(V)* look around Ngajajangaju ngarnu banybilangayi ajuwanayi yarruku jiyi. *"I'm looking around for them to figure out where they went."*
(cf: alalaajb-)

ngajakurra (Kuw.) *(N m)* barn owl Angkula yaardi uliyijangambilirni ngurrayijbi, ngajakurra. *"It doesn't go out in the day but rather at night, the barn owl."*
(cf: kurrkuji, mukmuk)

ngajalakurru *(N n)* mouth, tooth (stress: 'ngajala"kurru) Jamaniki ngajalakurru dambaj bakanu. *"His tooth fell out."*

ngajankirrimi *(N v)* (also ajankirrimi) rolypoly, shrub species with thorns Nyamana ajankirrimi urrungkarraju. *"The rolypoly moves about."* (causes scratches)

ngajingila *(N m)* mother and siblings of speaker Ngajingila wurruwardi jurrkulungka kakuyina. *"Me and mum and my siblings are going to the creek for fish."*

ngajulujulubi *(N v)* navel Ngajululujulubi ngarrirnimi ngunungku. *"Here's my belly button."*
(cf: majulujulubi)

ngaakany- *(V)* (also ngaakaj-) gut Walanja nyindarni ngaakajangaju. *"I'll gut the goanna."*
(cf: burdak baj-, burrk baj-)

ngaaku *(Adv)* later, in a long time Ngaakukaji ngangku. *"I'll come back next year."*
ngaakunji *(Adv)* finally, at last, eventually Ngaakunji ngirrmimindiyi! *"Finally we can make one!"*

ngarl- *(V)* (also ngarlak-) dance Ngarlakangayi jalyangkunu. Ngirlikingirriyi. *"I'll dance tonight. We'll all go dancing."*
ngarlakajka *(N n)* dance, dancing (the event or occasion) Ngarlakajka ngurruwa, nginirni bardakurru ngarlakajka. *"Let's go the dance, it's a good dance."*

ngarla *(Interj)* (also arla) now!, well!, hey! (emphatic or for attention), damn! Ngarla majami kuyunu. *"Hey you, go get that there."*

ngalajku *(Adj, N n)* exchange Ngaaku ngunyinginyi nganku ngalajkunu. *"I'll give you something back later."*

ngalaju *(Adj, Adv n)* (also walaju) even, square (after a fight, revenge) Dindarningurruju, dindingurri ngalaja. *"Then he hit the three of us, and we hit him back."*

ngarlarli *(Dem)* (also (w)arlarli) hither, to here, in front of Wangku ngarlarli. *"Come back!"*
ngarlarlinama *(Adv)* this side

ngarlangbalangku *(N n)* ripple, wave Dardu ngarlangbalangku jalyangkurri yaju. *"There are many waves today."*

ngalarr- *(V)* yell, scream (to get attention) Ngalarrngaju bunyaku. *"I'm yelling out to you two."*
(cf: walarr-, (w)ard-)

ngalayiminji *(N m)* creek frog bullfrog Manangkumbili yaardi ngalayiminjirni, kararlu darraardi, bikirra darraardi. *"The bullfrog lives in the mud and eats from the ground and the grass."*

ngalayirni *(N f)* sand frog, burrowing frog Nginarni ngalayirni kilyilyi ngurriyi darraka dirringurriyi. *"Some of our people catch the sand frog on a forked stick and eat it."*

ngalijirrirni *(N f)* female red kangaroo Nyaminarni jamani kanjarlawurri, nyaminarni ngajilijirrirni miyingurri. *"We might kill a male or female red kangaroo."*
(cf: jurdama, kanjarlawurri)

ngarlika *(N n)* woomera, spear thrower (with rounded haft) Ngarlidaka yirrmangajanu, karnawunji barrku. *"I made a spear-thrower and a lancewood nulla-nulla."*
(cf: jalykaji, warlmayi)

ngaliminymirni *(N f)* (also ngaliminymini, ngalaminymini) bat (small), flying fox (small) Nyaminirna ngaliminymini nginaniki diyimkarriyaju nginirni dangki. *"The bat is flying around."*
(cf: barnkiji, dirndijmana, jurnkurrubilyi)

ngalirrilirrirdi *(N n)* collar bone Wardkanganu darrangkuwami lakarr majanganku ngalirrilirrirdi. *"I fell out of a tree and broke my collarbone."*

ngalirringkirribi *(N n)* mistletoe type *(Decaisnina signata)* Nyimana ngalirringkirribi kuruyardi, iringilambili bidbidarrambili. *"This mistletoe grows on bauhinia or coolibah trees."*

ngarluba *(N n)* shade Wayabi ngaju, ngarlubambili mankiyangayi. *"I'm tired, I'll sit in the shade."*
(cf: ngandayi, ibijinku)

ngalyak- *(V)* lick Nginirna warlakurna kabijangaju ngarnu, ngalyakarnanaju yunku. *"I'm laughing at this dog because it's licking my foot."*
(cf: ngabij-)

ngamamiyikini *(N f)* coot Ngamamiyikini nginaniki balyanungkudi. *"The coot has tail feathers."*

ngamba *(conjunction)* so that, in order to Banybilamindaku ngananjku, ngamba wumbumimindiyi jalurruka. *"We went and found some woodchips so that we could make some tea."*

ngambiyirni *(N f)* wife, sister-in-law (classification includes brother-in-law's son's daughter, mother-in-law's sister's daughter and her father's sister's daughter, father-in-law's mother's nieces (ego: male)) (classification includes father-in-law's father's brother's daughter (ego: female)) Jangalinginja jamarniki nyambala ngambiyikula ngayi jamarniki, ngunyungurriyi wunyaku. *"Jangalinginja can take this one for his wife, we'll give them to one another."*
(cf: kabirni, kabinjkulirni, karu, nayurni)

ngambiya *(N m)* (also ngambiyikula (singular), ngambiyiliji (dual), ngambiyilina (dative of dual)) brother-in-law, husband (classification includes mother-in-law's sister's son and her father's sister's son, father-in-law's mother's nephew (ego: male)) (classification includes father-in-law's father's brother's son (ego: female)) Majanganu ngindarniki ngambiya nganku Jukurrakurrungkami. *"I got your brother in law here from Tennant Creek."*

ngambu (Kuw.) *(N m)* shadow (of a person) Ngambu ngajanganu. *"I saw a shadow."*
(cf: bambawunji)

ngamindurrukbi *(N v)* bush banana (young) *(Leichhardtia australis)* Nyamani ngamindurrukbi darangayi mamambiyikimi, nyamanikini birdbilimi, nyamani ngimirrikimi umbumimindi. *"We'll eat the soft young bush banana, but we need to cook the older one."* (fruits, which become ripe in the wet season, are eaten raw)
(cf: kilibi, ngimirrikimi)

ngamukulinji *(N m)* mother and one child Wunyijiyimi ngamukulinji. *"Here comes a woman with her child."*

ngamurla *(Adj m)* (also ngamula) big, large, old, very, boss (stress: 'ngamurlu) Jamanima bininja ngamula. *"That's a big fellow."*

ngamurlini *(N f)* girl (older adolescent, big girl) Nginarni ngamurlirni, nayurnikaji. *"She's a big girl, really a woman already."*
(cf: birnmirrirni)

ngamungkujkula *(N m)* adult (has been through ceremonies) Nyamirnani ngambukujkulirni. *"She's an adult."*

ngamuwiyi *(N f)* mother and children Ngirriki wurrurruku ngamuwiyi, wurrijiyimikaji marangmangkujbalakaji wurrijiyimi. *"The woman and her kids went off looking for food, and now they're coming back laden with gum."*

nganabarru *(N m, f)* buffalo Nyimina bunungkurru yaju, bunungkurru ngabaju dardu nganabarru. *"This lake is full of buffalo."*

ngananjku *(N n)* woodchip Banybilamindaku ngananjku, kamba wumbumimindiyi jalurruka. *"We went and found some woodchips so we can make some tea."*
(cf: jinjku)

ngarnankuni *(N f)* groin Jarrkajanganu nginuwa, lilingbikaji nganu ngarnankuwulu, ngarnankuni. *"I was running along and I hurt my groin."*

ngarndarrkalu *(N n)* (also ngandarrkalu, ngandalkalu) supplejack *(Ventilago viminalis)* Umbumungkurri ngarndarrkalu ngujayangurruku kardarrukuji. *"We burnt the supplejack and it burned till morning."* (hard wood used for boomerangs; firesticks; young leaves boiled in water and tea used to treat colds and general sickness)
(cf: warraka)

ngandayi *(N n)* shade Wayabi minduju, ngandayingka mankiya dukiminduwa. *"We're tired, let's sit in the shade."*
(cf: ngarluba, ibijinku)

ngandirdi *(N n)* grass (tall white) Ngandirdi ngirrinikirni biyijala bikirrarni. *"Ngandirdi is this tall grass."* (after some wild honey has been collected in a container, the grass is rubbed in the hands to soften and skin (?) it, then dropped in with the honey so that they absorb some of the honey; the resulting pulp is chewed and the solid portion eventually spat out)

nganga *(N m)* meat edible animal Nyindarni nganga dirrmangayi. *"I'll cut this meat."*

ngangarra *(N n)* wild rice *(Eragrostis tenellula)* Darumangurriyi ngangarrarna. *"I'm looking for wild rice."* (the seeds are ripe just after the end of the wet season, they are removed from the stalks by hand, put into a coolamon and dried in the sun, then ground on a grinding stone and husked; the seeds are mixed with water and baked as a damper. This grass catches fire easily and is used to light fires in wet periods.)
(cf: karlarlanju, kingkirra)

ngarni (Kuw.) *(Adv)* south
(cf: kularra)
ngarniwirdki *(Adv)* southward
(cf: kularraka)

ngank- *(V)* knock Ibilka nginkimindi darrangkungka. *"Let's tap that tree for water."*
(cf: dardarl-)

ngarnmarrarnmarrarnku *(N n)* tripe Ngarnmarrarnmarrarnku dirringurriyi, balika ngaju ngarnmarrarnmarrarnku darrangayi. *"We'll all eat tripe, when I'm hungry I'll even eat tripe."*
(cf: (w)ujumi)

ngany- *(V)* sing Darduwalaningi nginyiwurruju. *"A big mob is singing."*
nganyajka, nganyajba *(N m)* song Nganyajbarndi nganyajbarndi nganyangankuju, nangkangaju kurrubardu, nganyajbarndi. *"Singing, singing, singing to myself, while I cut a boomerang, singing."*

nganya *(N n)* body hair, fur, eyelash Jamani warlakurnarni nganya ngabaju ngamurlu. *"That dog has long fur."*
nganyankuji *(Adj m)* furry, covered in fur

nganyajimi *(N v)* (also nganyakama (Kuw.)) yam species (distinct from *babirda*)
Nganyajimirni ngimanikirni yamarri marlarlukarnin darramarriyimi. *"In olden times people would eat the nganyajimi yam."* (preapred by crushing and cooking in fat; the raw yam burns)
(cf: karrangayimi)

nganyanbiyaku
see *nganynganybiyaku*

nganynganybiyaku *(Adj n)* (also nganyanbiyaku) pointed (as tip of stone spear), sharp Jimirnikirni darrangku ngabaju nganynganybiyaku. *"This stick is sharp."*

ngarimi *(N v)* war Ngarimi jamarni duwaju. *"A war is starting."*
(cf: bunbaku)

ngarrabaj- *(V)* relate, narrate, tell Jambajinu wawarlirni ngirrbijuwurlungkuju ngulyi. *"Those kids are telling each other lies."*
(cf: bajk-)
ngarrabajajbija *(N m)* keeper of a secret (literally: telling-less) Ngarrabajajbija jamarnikirni. *"He won't tell anyone."*

Ngarrabanka *(N m)* billabong right near Wijira Wijira Ngarrabanka ngurramiki biyawuya ningki, buna. *"We came to Wijira and Ngarrabanka, the rough ground, to cut some (bark for) ashes."* (At one end of Biyawuya (rough ground dreaming), which extends as far as Anthony's Lagoon via bores number 3 and 4 and Eva Downs.)
(cf: Jurdini)

ngarrabarangku *(N n)* light (partial, not complete darkness), moonlight, twilight Aah ngarrabarangka jinayi nyinani ngajangaju. *"Ohh, I can see something by the moonlight/twilight."*
(cf: barrakaku)

ngarrabi *(V2)* be warm Ngarrabikaji ngaju. *"I'm warm."*
ngarrabiyaka *(Adj m)* warm Ngarrabiyakukaji nginim karalunu, ngunjaju wuliyijanga. *"The ground is hot, the sun is baking it."*
(cf: bibikaka)

ngarrabil- *(V (trans))* warm, heat Ngarrabilami bubangka. *"Heat it up over the fire."*

ngarrarnm- *(V (trans))* feed Wawala ngarrarnmangayi urraku. *"I must feed my children."*

ngarrij bak- *(V)* change (including clothes), turn, turn around
(cf: kurrij bak-, wankij bak-, (w)irrinjum-)
ngarrijirri *(Adv)* all around
(cf: wankijnganajku)

ngarub duw- *(V)* dive Ngarub duwangayi ibilkirningka. *"I'm going to dive into the water."*
(cf: jirrbu wardk-)

ngaruk bak- *(V)* (also ngaruk bardk-) drown, sink, dive Ngarrina bardarda ngaruk bakaju. *"My younger brother is drowning."*

ngawinjiwinji
see *ngayinjiyinji*

ngawu *(N n)* country (of tribe), camp, place Nginuwa yarruku ngawungka. *"This way he went home."*

ngawurluka *(N m)* courtship token, gift to *ngambiya* (potential father-in-law) (*ngawu* = home) Nayungambili ngunyangarriyi ngawurluka. *"I must give him a courtship token for that woman [his daughter]."*

ngawuyaka *(N m)* hardhead duck Angkula yamarrini nginimbilirnikaji ngijingirriwardi ngawuyakarni, yamarri marlarlukarnimbili. *"We have not seen the hardhead duck around here for a very long time, not since the old days."*
(cf: ngurrujuruka, jurluwardbini)

ngaya *(Pron)* I (NOM) Ambaya ngaya nganu Waranganku kili. *"I spoke about Beetaloo."*
ngayirni (ERG) Ngayirni ngajangarnu juliji. *"I saw the bird."*
ngarr-i (ACC/GEN stem) Jamanima wawa kurlukurla ngarrina kula. *"That little boy is my nephew."*

ngayiliji *(N m)* white snake (dangerous) Jamanikinu ngayilijirni karriyaka dajbajarla danymiyilirna dajbajala jamanikini. *"That white snake has a dangerous bite. Its bite can kill."*

ngayinjiyinji *(N m)* (also ngawinjiwinji) black rat Ngindarnini ngawinjiwinjirni ngibiyaardi wawurrumbili darrangkumbili yaardi. *"The black rat is found in scrub or in hollow logs."*

ngibirdji *(N m)* wife's maternal uncle Angkula ngajangamarri, jalyangkunamakaji ngajangaju ngarrinini ngibirdi. *"I hadn't seen him for ages until now when I see him, my wife's uncle."*

ngid *(Adv)* turning Uliyijangangkami ngid dukangayi. *"I'll sit with my back turned away from the sun."*
ngid bak- *(V)* turn one's back (on or towards) Ngid bakangayi uliyijangangka. *"I'll turn my back into the sun."*

ngidingida *(N m)* olive python (long snake, lives near water) Jamarni ngidingida angkula karriyaka. *"The olive python is not dangerous."*

ngijkinmi *(N v)* (also ngijinmi) tail Danjuwangayi nyamirnirni dabilangayi ngijinmi jubajangayi danjuwangayi. *"I held it down - I grabbed it by the tail and threw it down and weighed it down."*
(cf: kirdikirdimi, nyinjimi)

ngilibarnku *(N n)* dew Duwanganu, duwangarnu ngajanganu nyambala ngilibarnku dardu. *"When I got up this morning I saw dew everywhere."*
(cf: jarrawaku, (y)irlarlu)

ngirliw- *(V)* be shy, be afraid, take fright Wawa kurlukurla ngiliwaju kamuruna. *"Young children are afraid of the dark."*
(cf: imarr-)
ngirliwi *(Adv)* shy afraid, scared
ngirliwajkala *(N m)* (also ngirliwajala) frightened person shy person, scared person

ngily- *(V)* stay with, nurse, look after (sick person) Ngilyangaku *mayi* jaminja. *"I was looking after my grandfather."*

ngilyikbi *(N v)* shin, lower leg, calf Ngardajkalu ngabaju jarrumulu, kurlukurlu ngabaju ngilyikbi, jurdama. *"It has a huge thigh but only a little lower leg, the wallaby."*

ngimbija *(N m)* corkwood tree Ngimbijangkami ngirrmanganu lawunja. *"I made coolamons from the corkwood tree."* (used for coolamons)
(cf: kurlunjurru)

ngimirrikimi *(N v)* bush banana (older) *(Leichhardtia australis)* Nyamani ngamindurrukbi darangayi namambiyikimi, nyamanikini birdbilimi, nyamani ngimirrikimi umbumimindi. *"We'll eat the soft young bush banana, but we need to cook the older one."* (edible fruits become ripe in the wet season; older bush banana needs cooking)
(cf: kilibi, ngamindurrukbi)

nginda *(Dem m)* (also nyinda *(m)*, ngini/nyini, ngina/nyina, ngima/nyima *(n, f, v)*) that, that one Ngina nayuni barany bakanu. *"That woman slipped over."*
ngindaniki *(Dem m)* (also nyindaniki *(m)*, ngininiki/nyininiki, nginaniki/nyinaniki, ngimaniki/nyimaniki *(n, f, v)*) here, this, this one Ngininikirni ngawumbili umangku. *"This is dreaming country."*
ngindabila *(Dem m)* (also nyindabila *(m)*, nginabilirni/nyinabilirni, nginaburlu/nyinaburlu, nginiburlu/nyiniburlu, ngimaburlu/nyimaburlu *(f, f, n, v)*) these two, those two Kujkarrinani nginaburlu nayuwurlu. *"Those two are women."*
(cf: kujarribilarni)
ngindabaju *(Dem m)* (also nyindabaju *(m)*, nginabaju/nyinabaju, ginibaju/nyinibaju, ngimabaju/nyimabaju *(f, n, v)*) this lot, that lot Nginibajunu ngarrunu. *"These are mine."*
nginimbili *(Dem)* (also nyinimbili, nginingkaki) here Wami ngarri nginimbili jajami. *"Wait here!"* Nyindabila nyinimbili mangkinginyiwadi. *"Us two live here."*
nginingka *(Dem)* (also nyiningka) hither, to here Wangku nyiningka. *"Come here!"*
nginduwa *(Dem)* (also nyinduwa, nginduwarra, nyinduwarra, nyinuwa, nginuwa, nginuwarra, nyinuwarra) this way Nginduwa ngabajimi ngunbulukarni. *"Here she comes with the doctor!"*
nginingkami *(Dem)* hence, from here Wirri jungkali ngayiningkamini, nyiningkami wirri jungkali. *"Get away from me! Go far from here!"*
nginduwungkami *(Dem)* from there (distant), thence Nginduwungkami wurramiki jungkalkalungkami. *"The soldiers came from way over that way."*

nginginji *(N m)* stilt

nginja *(N m)* seed Majanganu nubala nginja mijingirrunu ibilkingarndi, kiwirra ibilkingarndi mijingirrunu. *"We would pick those seeds after the rains."*

nginyiyila *(Pron)* (NOM) we (dual, exclusive) Nginyila ngindarni wawa miyiwurrunaju nginyaku. *"They hit me and the boy."*
nginyiyilarni (ERG)
nginyak-i (ACC/GEN stem) Dunjuwanani nginyaku. *"He kissed us two."*

nginyngiliy- *(V)* blink Nginyngiliyimi ngabanju. *"Blink!"*

ngirrakb- *(V)* (also nyirrakb-) steal Nginda bininja ngayirna ambayanu ngarru, ngayirni ngirrakbangarnu ngarru; ajiyinayi majanu nganu. *"That guy said I stole it; someone else took it."*

ngirrayal- *(V)* throw, aim Indakaj ngirringkunu ngirrayalakaji. *"Then we threw them at each other."*
(cf: (w)ardjkuw-)

ngirriki *(Adv)* hunt, hunting (stress: 'ngirriki) Ngurruwa ngangirna ngirriki ngurruwa. *"We're going hunting for meat, we are."*
ngirrikiy- *(V)* (also ngirrik-) hunt Ngirrikangarriyi. *"I'm going hunting."*

ngirriminjulu
see *(y)irriminjulu*

ngirringi *(Adv)* true, straight (talk or aim) Imbiyikunyiyi ngirringi jimini marrinjunu. *"Are you two gonna talk straight?"*
(cf: (y)indal ngab-)

ngirrinyinmi *(N v)* ring, circle (ceremonial) Ngirrinyinmi walkindangurriyi wawa. *"We'll take the boys to the ceremony place."*

ngirriwala *(Pron)* (NOM) we (plural, exclusive) Nginarnikini kiwirra angkurla dajbanu, ngirriwala dajbaningirrunu. *"This one was not bitten, only us."*
ngirrikarni (ERG) Dunjinginyunurra, ngirrakarnirni dunjinginyunurraku nyindabala. *"We kissed those people."*
ngirrak-u (ACC/GEN stem) Ngajanganjanyaju ngirraku darduwala nyamirni burrbiji. *"You can see all us mob."*

ngirrm- *(V)* make fix, mend Kurrubardu ngirrmangayi; wukuni ngirrmangayi. *"I made a boomerang; I built a humpy."*
ngirrmakaji *(Adj)* fixed, mended

ngiyarr- *(V)* buzz Langkaj bilangaju bankurlini ngiyarraju. *"I hear a mosquito buzzing."*

ngubu *(Adv)* east, sunrise Ngubu ngajami. *"Look East!"*
(cf: karrawarra, duwaju wuliyijirni, duwajiyimi wuliyijirni, duwanu)
nguburdki *(Adv)* eastward
ngubangkala (also ngubangkana) from the east

ngujan- *(V)* be greedy, not give, hold back Ngujananganjanardi. *"You always keep things from me."*
ngujanajkala *(Adj m)* greedy (stress: 'nguja"najkala) Nyindabajanirni jangkana bardardawurra bininjani jangkanarni ngujanajala. *"there's another one of those brothers, one of those greedy men."*
(cf: kabarrima)
ngujanajbija *(Adj m)* not greedy

ngujbi *(N v)* throat Ngujbi marliyangaju, ngujbi lilingbingaju. *"I have a sore throat, my throat hurts."*
(cf: ngurndungurndulbi)

nguk- *(V)* cry mourn Wawa ngukaju. *"The baby is crying."*

ngukngguk *(N f)* magpie goose Ngukngguk wunyurruku nginuwa kujarrirnarni wunyurruku ngukngukjulu. *"Two magpie geese went this way."* (skin: Niminginju)
(cf: kuyumarlingkirni, warlidaji)

nguly- *(V)* lie Angkurla bardakurru jimirnikirni marrinjku bajkanyaju, ngulyanyaju jama. *"This story you're telling is no good, you're lying."*
ngulyajka, ngulya *(N n)* lie, joke Jambajinu wawarlirni ngirrbijuwurlungkuju ngulya. *"Those kids are telling each other lies."*
ngulyajkala *(N m)* liar homosexual
ngulyajbija *(N, Adj m)* true, truthful (person or statement) Angkurla jamanikirnu ngulyajbija. *"He is not honest."*
ngulya mil- *(V)* joke, lie Ngulya milinginyiyi nganku. *"I'll tell you a joke."*
ngulyajunu *(N n)* joke Jimina bardakurrurnu ngulyajunu. *"That's a good joke."*

ngumi *(N v)* anus, faeces Ngimanikarlu ngumi barlunmi. *"That dung is dry."*

ngunbuluka (Kuw.) *(N m)* doctor (traditional or modern), clever/tricky person Jarrkajangayi nginuwa banybili ngunbuluka. *"I'll run ahead and get the doctor."*
(cf: mikanykuji)

ngurndungurndulbi *(N v)* throat, front of neck (stress: 'ngurndu"ngurndulbi) Bilyingbiyaku nginirnikirni ngurndungurndulbirn lilingbingaju. *"My throat's red and sore."*
(cf: ngujbi)

ngunj- *(V)* burn, boil Jiminarlu ngunjaju ibilka. *"The water is boiling."*
(cf: dunjuw-, lujb-)
ngunjalu *(N n)* burnt (grass or ground) Warnkayi nginirna ukalu lujbuwurrunu; ngunjalukaji ngininikirni, ngunjalu bikirrani, ngunjakaji yanu. *"That smoke from the causeway is where they burned off; it is all burned, it's all just burnt grass, it burned up."*

ngunjungunju *(N n)* greyish body paint, makeup Balardbarna durluk mijingurru bilirdbi, karlurra bilirdbi mijingurri, nayaku nginawurra mijiwurra ngunjungunju. *"All the men go to get white body paint while the women get face makeup."*
(cf: balardbarndi)

ngunjuw- *(V)* (also (w)unjuw-) spill Ibirrka wunjuwanganu. *"I spilled my drink."*
(cf: bunjuw-)

ngunu *(Dem n)* (also ngunuburlu (dual), ngunubaju (plural)) that (medium distance) Ngunu dij bilami nyanyalu. *"Break that branch!"*
ngunungku *(Dem no concord)* like this Ngunungku ilami. *"Paint it like this."*
ngunuwa *(Dem no concord)* this way Jiminakarru ngaja ngunuwa darrangku durard kaju. *"There's a branch poking out this way."*
ngunumbili *(Dem no concord)* (also ngunungkaki) there (that place) Ngunumbili yaju. *"There he is."*
ngunungkami *(Dem no concord)* from there (from that place) Nginanikinami yamiki nginuwangkami ngajanganu ngunungkami ngawungkami. *"I saw them come here from their home over there."*

nguny- *(V)* give Ngunyanami kungka. *"Give me another one!"*

ngunyarra *(N m)* paternal grandfather's mother's brother (father's paternal grandmother's brother) (classification includes wife's maternal grandmother's brother (ego: male))
Ngunyarra ngindarnini ngarrinina ngarnu kirdarna. *"My ngunyarra is on my father's side."*

ngunyirrini *(N f)* grandmother-in-law (paternal grandfather's mother, father's paternal grandmother) (classification includes wife's maternal grandmother's brother (ego: male))
Ngarrinini ngunyirrini, nginarni ngarrininga ngayi nayunga kukurlini. *"My ngunyirrini, that's my wife's grandma."*

nguran *(Adv)* covetous, desirous, wanting (of something), caring (toward someone)
Jirdad ngaju nguran ngaju ngarnu. *"I'm upset because I want that."*

ngurraala
see *ngurrawala*

ngurraru- *(Adv stem (bound))* morning (used to form expressions like ngurrarungka (tomorrow) or ngurrarunama (early in the morning).)
ngurrarunama *(Adv)* early morning Ngurrarungka ngurruwa, ngurrarunama ngurruwa. *"We'll leave very early tomorrow morning."*
ngurrarungka *(Adv)* tomorrow Jayimilinginyi junaku, ngurrarungkanayi ngunyinginyi nganku. *"I promise to give it to you tomorrow sometime."*
(cf: (y)idaangka)

ngurrawala *(Pron)* (NOM) (also ngurruwala, ngurraala) we (plural, inclusive) Darduwala ngijingurrunu ngardadjalu, burrbiji ngurraala. *"We (inclusive) saw all of us (not reflexive)."*
ngurrawalarni (ERG) (also ngurraalarni Ngardajalu ngijingirrunu darduwala ngurraalarni ngijingurrunu burrbiji. *"All of us saw you, even you did eventually."*)
ngurrak-u (ACC/GEN stem) Ibilkirni duwaju ngurraku yuwubu. *"The wet season's coming up on us."*

ngurrayijbi *(Adv)* night bedtime, early night Wawa kurlukurla ngiliwaju ngurrayijbina. *"Young children are afraid of the dark."*
(cf: kamuru, muwum)

ngurrkuw- *(V)* want Nginini ngurrkuwangaju warnu, ngunyaanayi jana. *"I want that tobacco, can you give it to me."*

ngurrmana *(N v)* blanket, traditional initiation headwear radio, wireless Ngurrmana ngabamarriyimi wawarni, dabili wawa, mankijbambili damangkambili. *"The head gear is what the young boys wear, when we grab them [for initiation], on their necks and heads."* Jamabajarna wawala yurriyiwurruju jimirna ngurrmana. *"The kids are mucking around with the radio."*
(cf: kumundunga)

ngurru *(N n)* eye Ngurruwarndi ngajangaju. *"I see with my eyes."*
(cf: ngabanju)

ngurrujuruka *(N m)* hardhead duck Angkula yamarrini nginimbilirnikaji ngijingirriwardi ngurrujurrukarni, yamarri marlarlukarnimbili. *"We have not seen the hardhead duck around here for a very long time, not since the old days."*
(cf: jurluwardbini, ngawuyaka)

ngurruwa *(V (Imperative))* let's go (pl) (literally: 1plInc+will_go) Nyambanakaji ngurruwa nyindima ngabangka janarri. *"What are we going over there for?"*
(cf: minduwa)

ngurruwala
see *ngurrawala*

nguwuru *(N n)* distant place, on the horizon
(cf: jaarra)

nguwardjarra
see *nguwaj*

nguwaj *(Adv)* (also nguwardjarra) jealously Nguwardjarra ngajangayi. *"That would make me jealous."*
nguwaj karr- *(V)* (also nguwaj kal-) be jealous Nguwaj karrangaju nganku. *"I'm jealous of you."*
nguwaj karrajkala *(Adj m)* jealous

nijiniji *(N v)* (also nijinijimi) corner, high hiding spot Nyima nginimbili majanu nijinijimimbili ngunungku. *"It's tucked away there in the corner like this."*
(cf: dirdilka)

Niyikbaja *(N n)* place associated with wild women (*kirdijirrini*) at Beetaloo Niyikbajarni jimirnikirni Warrangankungka ngabajina jalyalyinju ngarnukuna. *"Niyikbaja is on the way to what is now Beetaloo (station)."*

Nikilyikilyimi *(N v)* creek just East of *Wijibarda* (Longreach) (stress: 'niki'lyiki"lyimi, ni'kilyi"kilyimi) Nginirnikirni Nikilyikilyimi, nginirni Kurrungurrmi, wunyuju. *"This is Nikilyikilyimi, that's Kurrungurrmi, there's two of them."*
(cf: Marrulu)

nikin *(V2)* cut, cut off Nyambala nikin ngurri bambu ngirrmaniki, bambu nikinngurru lungurringi ngiriniki jaajaakani. *"We cut this didgeridoo, and now we must cut the ends off."*
(cf: dalk baj-, dil nangk-, dilm-, dirrm-, laj baj-, laj nangk-)

nikuru
see *nyikirrurru*

Niminginju *(N f)* female skin name, same subsection as male Jiminginja Ajina ngarnu Niminginju nyambala kurlurlirnini? *"Who is Niminginju's daughter?"*

ninginingij barr- *(V)* sneak up on
(cf: dirndiji barr-)

niyirnu *(Pron)* (also nganu (GEN)) his, hers, its Jimirni jawalanya niyirnu. *"That's his."*

niyu *(V2)* weigh down, sit on Niyu wunyunkuju. *"They are holding one another down."*
niyu +REFL *(V)* copulate, engage in sexual intercourse (by extension) Jamabilanarlu niyu wunyunkuju. *"Those two are having sexual intercourse."*
(cf: karubkarubi, nyiy-)

nukuru
see *nyikirrurru*

nungkuru *(N n)* fingernail Jamina ngabaju biyijaku nungkuru. *"That person has long nails."*
(cf: milinji)

nungulyu (Kuw.) *(Adj n)* stinky (stress: 'nungulyu) Akiyabarda nungulyu. *"That's off, rotten."*
(cf: jabara, kiyalu)

nurnurnumi *(N m)* (also nurnurnumirni *(f)*) hornet (orange and black), wasp
Nurnurnumini nyaminarnini marrumbili ngilmardi, marrumbili, darrangkumbili ngirrmardi, karalu. *"The hornet builds in houses and in trees, it builds out of earth."*
(cf: burrmurumura)

nuya *(N n)* red sand Kararluni nuyarni wajuwaji. *"Don't throw that red sand!"*
(cf: yarrilinja)
nuyanuya *(N n)* sandy country (soft) Jinguluwarndi ngirribijingirriwardi nuyanuya. *"In Jingulu we call it 'nuyanuya'."*

nyalanyalabi *(Adv, V2)* (also nyalanyalabiyaka *(Adj m)*) hot (from fire)
Bilyingbiyakukaji nginirnikirni karalu nyalanyalabikaji yaju. *"The ground here is red hot (from a fire)."*
(cf: (y)ardarlakbi)

nyama *(Dem m)* (also nyamarni *(f)*) there, that, that one Nyamabaji imimikinbilinirni ardalakbiwurruju. *"The old women feel hot."*
nyamaniki *(Dem m)* here, this, this one Warridirli nyamarniki kurlukurlu jimirniki, nyambala ukurndurru. *"The little part of the hook boomerang, that's the elbow."*

nyama *(Pron)* (NOM) you (singular) Milyamilyayinya nyama. *"You were late."*
nyamirni (ERG) (also nyamarni Nganyangankuju nganku ngayarni, nyamirningi nangkami kurrubardu. *"I'm singing to you while you cut a boomerang."*)
ngaank-u (ACC/GEN stem) (also ngank-u Dunjanirninu nganku. *"He kissed you."*)

nyamba *(Interr)* what Nyamba jiminikirni ngabanyaju? *"What's that you've got?"*
(cf: (w)ajini)
nyambaarndi *(Interr)* how in what manner (what+INST) Nyambaarndi nyarriyi? *"How are you going?"*
(cf: anuku)
nyambana *(Interr)* what for, why (what+DAT) Nyambana ngabanyaju jiminikirni? *"What have you got this thing for?"*
nyambambili *(Interr)* where by what means
nyambanayi *(Dem (Indefinite))* something Marlimarlirni yaardi nyindi dirringirrikardu nyambanayi. *"The butterfly goes along seeking some food or another."*
nyambanyamba *(N n)* things, stuff Wunbaarndi nyambala yarrkurru ngarru nyambanyamba. *"The wind scattered my things."*
nyambala *(Dem (Indefinite) n, v)* a, some Ibilkinimbili yurrayuju wawa, nyambala karalu. *"During the rains the children play in mud."*

nyambalanyambala *(N n)* shrub species (red and black) Ngininikirni nyambalanyambalanu duwaardi bujimbili, wawurrumbili; ngini duwaardi bilyingbiyaku, kaburrkaburru. *"The nyambalanyambala shrub grows in the bush and is red and black."*

nyambarnin *(Adj no concord)* old (very old person), venerable, ancient (person)
Nyambarnin nyamirnani imikirnini. *"That old woman's ancient."*
(cf: kabalyarraka)

nyanyalu *(N n)* leaf, tea branch (by ext) (stress: "nyanyalu) Nyanyalu ngurrkuwanyaju? *"Would you like some tea?"*
(cf: lalija, jalurruka)
nyanyalu wumbum- *(V)* make tea

nyibirdi *(N f)* mother-in-law
(cf: jiyirni)

nyikirrurru *(N n)* (also nikuru, nukuru) bloodwood nut Nyininikirni nyikirrurru luwaku. *"This bloodwood nut is empty."*

nyila *(N n)* (also nyilinyila) fin of fish Kakuyili ngabaju ngininikirni nyilinyila. *"Fish have these fin things."*

nyilikbiyaku *(N n)* red sand country Ngayarni ngamikina nyilikbiyaku ngayarni. *"I come from the red sand country."*

nyilinyila
see *nyila*

nyima
see *nginda*

nyina
see *nginda*

nyinawurdirni *(N f)* (also nyinawurdini) echidna, "porcupine" Nyaminarni nyinawurdirnirni yarruku ngarnu jamina darrayi jamani bakumunjini. *"That echidna went to get ants to eat."*
(cf: kiyilyirni)

nyinda
see *nginda*

nyiyingkirr- *(V)* be bad, spoil, be unsuited or taboo Jamarni nyiyingkirraju, bardakurru ngunyarni. *"That one's no good, give him a good one."*

nyini
see *nginda*

nyinjimi *(N v)* back (lower), tail Ngimarniki nyinjimi ngabangaju mayangayi nganga ngunungku. *"I like to get the lower back and tail of any animal I kill."*
(cf: barndumi, kirdikirdimi, ngijkinmi)

nyinkarr- *(V)* be sleepy Jamarnini warlakunu nyinkarraju. *"That dog is sleepy."*
(cf: kululukarr-)

nyinm- *(V)* stoke (a fire) gather, pile up, muster Nyinuwa ngaardu buliki nyinmingirruwardu. *"We've got to muster these cattle."* Nyinmangayi ngindarniki nginja. *"I'll gather up these seeds."*
nyinm- + reflexive *(V)* gather together, muster

nyiyinmi *(N v)* carrot (wild) *(Portulaca pilosa)* Ngimarni nyiyinmi darramarriyimi marlarlukarnini. *"In the old days they'd eat wild carrots."*
(cf: kankankulukbi)

nyinyak-u
see *wunyak-u* under *wanyikila*

nyiyinyiyi *(N m)* finch (particularly double-barred finch) Nyiyinyiyirni ngindarnikirni darraardi kararlu. *"The finch eats [from] the ground."* (skin: Jurlinginja, Jamirringinja)
(cf: nyunumiyi)

nyinyinbi ngab- *(V)* invade, trespass Kularranga nguwurramiji ngiyirrinbungka ngawungka nyinyinybi ngabakajinyirri ngurraku. *"They invaded our land from the South."*

nyinyinykaku *(Adj n)* (also nyinykaku, nyinyinybiyaku) shallow Nyambala kibirdidi manalkirni nyinyinybiyaku jiminikini. *"It's too shallow and for swimming in this mudhole."*
(cf: kurranja)

nyinykaku
see *nyinyinykaku*

nyirrakb-
see *ngirrakb-*

nyiy- *(V)* copulate, engage in sexual intercourse Jamini nangkinikada nyiyiwunyunkubadi nangkini nayumingi yarruku. *"He has sex with another woman."*
(cf: karubkarubi, niyu)

nyujujka *(N n)* face, cheek Nginarnikirni nayurnini jangkukaji yaju, ngardajkalirni, dirdilkikirni nyujujkarni. *"This woman has nice big curved cheeks."*
(cf: kuya)

nyukujburri *(N m)* sugarbag Ngamba ngabangarri yurraku wangkurra, wawalalarra dirriwurriyi, nyukujburri. *"I'll go get the sugarbag so the kids can eat it."*
(cf: durda, wangkurra)

nyukunyuka *(Adj m)* lazy, bad unhelpful Ngindarni bininja nyukunyuka, angkula yarrabura. *"That man is lazy, not hard-working."*

nyukunyukiy- *(V)* (also nyukujukiy-) stay, not go Mankiyangayi ngaya nyukunyukiyangayi wurraku. *"I'm staying here, I'm not going to go with them."*

nyunumiyi *(N m)* (also nyunumi) finch (particularly double-barred finch) Nyunumiyirni ngindarnikirni darraardi kararlu. *"The finch eats [from] the ground."* (skin: Jurlinginja, Jamirringinja)
(cf: nyiyinyiyi)

nyurijminji *(N m)* golden whistler Nyurijminjirni darrardi waniyi. *"The golden whistler eats grasshoppers."* (skin: Jiminginja)

nyurraj- *(V)* grind, powder Kijurlurlu nyurrajangayi kalngarna. *"I'll grind up the stone for ochre."*
(cf: dind-, dulyurr may-, lulyurr may-, lurrind-)

nyurrilanganj- *(V)* be loud, deafen Nyurrilanganjanaju langa. *"It's deafening me, hurting my ears."*
(cf: (w)urrakbili)

nyurrnguli *(N m)* leech Nyurrngulirni jirrbu mayi nginimbilini, nyurrngulirni dajbanirninu nganku. *"A leech got down and bit you here."*

nyurrunbi *(V2)* Ardukubala nyurrunbi yardu. *"It's moving slowly."* slither
nyurrun bak- *(V)* slither Nyurrun bakami. *"Move over!"*
nyurrunbi duw- *(V)* slide Murdikarni nyurrunbi duwaardi ibilkirnimbili. *"Cars slide around in the rain."*

R

rabkaku *(Adj n)* light in weight Irr biji nginininiki kijurlurlurlu, rabkaku. *"I can lift this stone, it's light."*

W

(w)abaaba *(N n)* white person's clothes (Mudburra, but acceptable Jingulu) Jimini abaaba warrak bilangayi. *"I'll hang these clothes on the line."*
(cf: larnku)

(w)abardk- *(V)* duck, duck down Jimirni abardkanganu ngarnu, nginuwa damangkayi, abardkanganu ngayarni. *"I ducked my head out of the way of that thing as it came this way."*

(W)abaja *(N m)* well a long way East of Elliott, women's site relating to flying fox dreaming Wabaja nginda nayuwurlu yurrburrkbunyu ngarra ngarnu, bilkirnana nganu yurrukburrkbunyu marranganu, Wabajambilirni nayuwurlu. *"Wabaja is a women's site relating to the flying fox."*

wabilungu (Kuw.) *(N n)* whitewood tree *(Atalaya hemiglauca)* (at Elliott) (branches with leaves rubbed in goanna fat, lightly heated in ashes, then applied to itch or sore, gum eaten; grubs in roots)
(cf: jakirlirra)

(w)aburrm- *(V)* err, be mistaken Aburrmanganu, aburrmimindunu. *"I made a mistake, we both made a mistake."*
(cf: bujubujub-)
(w)aburrmajkala *(Adj m)* noisy, nuisance, annoying, confusing Ngindabaja wawarlarralu waburrmajkaliwala. *"Those children are making too much noise."*

(w)ard- *(V)* (also (w)ardajuw-) call out, sing out, yell, scream Jaminikirni kungkayilanunadi liyijkunu wardardi ngarru. *"That person called me some names."* Jama wardaju ngarnu wawarna. *"She's yelling at the children."*
(cf: ngalarr-, walarr-)

(w)ard kiyil-
see *(w)aakiyil-* under *waaka*

wardabanmarra *(N m, f)* hill country kangaroo Wardabanmarra ngajangaardi jurrkulungka yaardi, darrajbi, barlungkunu. *"During the dry, I often see kangaroos at the edge of the creek."*
(cf: jurdama, kanjarlawurri, ngalijirrirni)

(w)ardajuw-
see *(w)ard-*

(w)ardbardbala *(N n)* deep (bank, slope, or object) Jirrkilimimbili ardbardbala winymingurruwardu. *"We're walking along the deep creek bed."*
(cf: darlukurra, jinkarrku, jurruku)

wardbardbumi *(N v)* bush passionfruit, climbing vine around bullwaddy *(Capparis lasiantha)* Ngimanikirni wardbardbumirni marlarlukarni ngirrmamarriyimi warnu. *"In olden times people made a tobacco out of the bush passionfruit plant."* (leaves may be dried briefly to make a mildly narcotic tobacco for chewing or smoking; yellow fruits eaten)
(cf: mingkilawurnumi)

wardbija *(Adv)* further along, middle distance Banybilini darrangku karnawunji ardbija wirri. *"Go find a lancewood over that way."*

(w)ardbulurra *(N m)* bull billy goat Ngabajiyimi dardu ardbulurradarra ngabajiyimi dardu, wajbalarni. *"He's got lots of bulls, that white fella."*

wadi *(Adv)* maybe, perhaps, it's possible Wadi ilanayi ngankiyi. *"I might die."*
(cf: karningka, karrila)

(w)ardirdb- *(V)* (also (w)ardiyidb-, (w)ardijb) twist, stir Wardidbangankinu ngarru yurnukurdukurdu. *"I twisted my ankle."* Jimirna jawaranya wardidbami ngarru, walk bajami ngarru? *"Can you twist this jar open for me please?"* Wardijbami bundurru! *"Stir the food!"*

wardijb-
see *(w)ardirdb-*

(w)ardinja *(N m, f)* boyfriend, girlfriend Nginarniki nayurni wardinja. *"This woman is my girlfriend."*

wardjayi *(N m)* turtle (large sea turtle), long-necked tortoise Jiyirni bininjani Jingilarni, wardjayirnanu marrungkani. *"Now these Jingili people, they'd go for sea turtle then come home with it."* (brought back to Jingili country in previous times by hunters visiting Yanyula or Kakarrinji country.)

(w)ardjkuw- *(V)* (also (w)ajkuw-, (w)ardjuw-) scatter, blow around, throw, throw away, spit Angkurla ardjuwangayi kurrubardu, nogudbala nyambala lilinbingaju. *"I can't throw that boomerang, [my shoulder is] no good."* Wajkuwanu kurdkulyu. *"I spat out mucus."*
(cf: kakarra juw-, lirrbju, ngirrayal-, warramal juw-)

(w)ardk- *(V)* fall Bardkaju *laaku*nkami ibilka, wardkaju ibilka jilng karra. *"The billy can is leaking, water is dripping from it."*
(cf: dambaj bak-)
(w)ardka il- *(V (trans))* drop, throw down

(w)arduku *(Adv)* (also (w)aduku, (w)ardukubala) slowly carefully, with care, calmly Ardukubala wirri marliya, ngajami kiwarlidaka. *"Go carefully, look out for snakes."* Marraraama arduku, angkurla langkajngaju. *"Calm down some, you'll deafen me!"*
ardukunama *(Adj no concord)* last, latest Ardukunama nyambala nganu nginini biyangkaajukaji ngarru. *"This is the last thing I must do."*

(w)aja *(Interr)* who, which, what Ajini ngajanu. *"Who was looking?"*
(w)ajininayi *(Dem (Indefinite))* (also (w)ajilinayi, (w)ajiyinayi) someone Ajilinayi nangkaka. *"Someone cut it."*

(w)ajabajaba *(N m)* miner bird, mynah bird

(w)ajajika *(Interr)* how far Ajajikanama minduwa? *"How far are we going?"*

(w)ajank- *(V)* (also (w)ajan *(V2)*) stand, step on Jamana banybilanganu jimina wajankaju barlbarl ngurruwa. *"I'll go right past that fellow standing there."*
(cf: nay-)
(w)ajan bil- *(V (trans))* stand (something) up, straighten Ajan bilangarriyi. *"I'll go stand it up straight."*
(w)ajanbili *(Adj no concord)* standing, straight up
(w)ajankaka *(Adj, Interj m)* (also (w)ajankala) upright without hesistation Wajankaka wiyirri. *"Off you go, straight up!"*
wijinki *(Adv)* standing, upright, straight Nangkimi karrijbiyardu wijinkinama. Nangkimi karrijbi yajumi karlwadaj. *"One road goes straight up here. Another crosses it."*

wajbala *(N m)* (also wijbirrirni *(f)*) white person, European (adaptation of 'white-fellow') Darduwalarni majaningurruju wajbalarni. *"Lots of white people took photos of us."* Nyaminani nayuni wijbirrirni yajiyimi. *"Here comes a white woman."*
(cf: karriba, maamaandanya)

(w)ajinbaja *(Interr)* when Ajinbaja ngurruwa. *"When are we going to leave?"*

(w)ajini *(Interr)* (also (w)ajirni) where, in or at what place Wajirni mayanyaju. *"What are you knocking on?"*
(cf: nyamba)
(w)ajuwa *(Interr)* (also (w)ajuwara) where, whither, to where Ajuwa ngurruwa? *"Where shall we go?"*
(w)ajungkami *(Interr)* (also (w)ajuwarungkami) whence, from where Wajuwarungkami nyamiki? *"Where do you come from?"*
(w)ajirnimbili *(Interr)* (also (w)ajirnuwarndi) who with, what with Ajirnimbili yamiki jamanima? *"Who/what did he bring?"*
(w)ajuwanayi *(DEM(Indef))* somewhere Yurru bardkaku ajuwanayi. *"You ran off and hid somewhere."*

(w)ajirrku *(N m)* praying mantis (if you play with one you will get sick, unless you run it around your head a few times before releasing it)

(w)ajirrku *(N n)* fever Wajirrku ngabangaju, kurdkulyu, angkula ngajangaju jungkalirni. *"I have a fever, I've got the flu, and I can't see straight."*
(cf: kurdkulyu)

(w)ajuwa *(Interr)* where, go which way Ajuwarungkami nyamiki? *"Where are you from?"*

wak- *(V)* gather, collect Kijurlurlu wikiwurruju wawalarni. *"The children are picking up stones."*
(cf: maj-, mijuwurd-, (w)uruwum-)

waaka *(Adj m)* bad (people or things) spoiled Ngimarniki mami waakimi. *"This food is off."*
(cf: (w)akiyabardu)
(w)aakiyil- *(V)* (also (w)ard kiyil-) make something bad, spoil Angkula langkalangkanganu ngindarnikirni bundurru ward kiyilinganu. *"I forgot about this food and so I spoiled it."*

(w)akardarda *(N m)* poor fellow (in terms of either money or luck) 'akardarda ngaya' Jingulu ambayangaju. *"I say 'Poor bugger me' in Jingulu."*

(w)akiyabardu *(Adj m)* bad, difficult, old, worn out, fake Wakiyabardu ngirrmanyaju. *"You're making that one poorly."*
(cf: waaka)

(w)akunya *(N m)* left-handed (person) Ngayarni akunya ngami. *"I'm left-handed."*
(w)akunyi *(Adj, N no concord)* (also (w)akunya) left (no concord), left hand
wakunyungka *(Adv)* left hand side, left (body part) Jimina dajanu wakunyungka. *"The left one blew out."* Jarrumurlurlu, nginirnikirni ngardajkaluwurlu, wakunyungka. *"This is the large bone from the left thigh."*
wakunyu *(Adj n)* left (side)

warlabadbi *(N m)* (also warlabadbirni *(f)*) pygmy goose, chestnut teal, local name: wood duck (small) Bikirra darraardi, warlabadbi. *"The teal duck eats grass."*

(w)alaju
see *ngalaju*

warlakarri
see *warraka*

warlaku *(N m)* dog (dingo or camp dog) Jamani warlakudarra marrimarradarra. *"The dogs bite."*
(cf: kunyarrba)

(w)arlarli
see *ngarlarli*

warlangk- *(V)* send away, shoo Jamani warlaku warlangkami. *"Send the dogs away!"*
(cf: murril-)

walanja *(N m)* goanna Ngawu walanja urdurrukalu. *"the goanna went into its burrow."* (skin: Jurlinginja)

walanybirri *(N m)* pelican Jangkiyi diyimkaju walanybili. *"The pelican flies high."*
(cf: dabarrangi)

walarr- *(V)* squeal yell, scream (in pain) Walarraju jamarnikirni, marliyarna yaju. *"He's screaming in pain, he must be sick."*
(cf: ngalarr-, (w)ard-)

walbingirra *(N m)* (also walbingkirra) blanket lizard (small) (lives in hollow logs) Waniyi walbingkirrani darraardi. *"The little blanket lizard eats grasshoppers."* (skin: Jabijinnginja)
(cf: jamankula)

warlidaji *(N f)* magpie goose Warlidaji jurrkulumbili yaardi. *"Magpie geese live by the creek."*
(cf: kuyumarlingkirni, ngukngnuk)

(w)alinja *(Adv, V2)* love, loving Nginarnini ngarru walinja yaju. *"She loves me."*
(w)alinja manjarr- *(V)* love Walinja minjirriwunyunkuju. *"They love each other."*

warliyangka *(N m)* swamp harrier Warliyangkarni darraardi julijimaardi, mikinji, mikinjidarrardi. *"The harrier eats birds and snakes."*

(w)alk baj- *(V)* (also (w)alk bak-, warrk baj-) open, switch on unwrap, uncover, undo, allow someone to talk again after a period of silence Walk bajami jimina ngayi nyambala diluna. *"I'll turn the light on!"*
(cf: wijuk baj-)
walkba *(N, Adj m)* open, empty space Kiwirra ani jiminikini walkba, kiwirra ani jiminikini ajuwana yarruku. *"He's absent, not there. Where did he go?"*
walkbaku *(N n)* (also warrbkaku) open ground, open space Warrbkakumbili yajiyimi ngindarni. *"He's coming out into the open ground."*
(cf: bakara, barrambarra)
walbajajbungku *(Adj n)* opened

(w)alkind- *(V)* sweep, clear the ground Walkindangaju karalu ngamba manyan ngayi kirlalijumbili. *"I'm clearing the ground so I can sleep in the clearing."*

warlkum- (Kuw.) *(V)* shoo, keep the flies out of one's eyes Warlkumangayi jundurru. *"I'll dust [the bed]."*
(cf: lalum-)

warlmayi *(N n)* woomera (long, with flat handle) Burrubkaji ngirrmanganu warlmayi, bardakurru. *"I've finished making this spear-thrower, it's a good one."*
(cf: jalykaji, ngarlika)

walnganji *(N m)* fly Jamarni durrundurrunjirnini darraardi yurrku, walnganji. *"The honeyeater eats flowers (nectar) and flies."*
(cf: imarnnga)

walu *(N n)* forehead Bij bilanyaju walu ambayaju ngaankuna kuka. *"If your forehead's twitching your grandpa must be thinking of you."* (throbbing in this part indicates that one's kuka (grandfather) is thinking/talking of one)
(cf: widuru, ibijibiji)

warlu
see *waru*

warlujabirni *(N m,f)* carpet snake (piebald with black head) Nyambirnani warlujabirnini angkula karriyaka, warlujabirnini dabilajkajkani. *"The carpet snake is not dangerous, you can hold him."*

(w)arlukubiya *(N m)* brother by skin (different parents) (who has danced for ego or for whom ego has danced in ceremonies) Jamirni warlikibiya wurrijiyimi. *"My skin brothers are coming."*
(cf: ngabarlangku)

Warlumanybu *(N n)* place near Ijibarda where initiation is performed Kujika jimirna yaju Warrangankumbilirni ngunyaju jamarni marlarlukarni, Warlumanybumbili. *"The initiation songs of Beetaloo are performed by the old folk at Warlumanybu."*

warlumbu *(N n)* bullwaddy (tree) *(Macropteranthes kekwickii)* Barrbarda warlumbu ngardajalu wajankaju. *"There's a huge bullwaddy tree standing over on the far side."* (used for digging sticks, boomerangs; good shade)
(cf: kamanji)

(w)arlungunja *(N m)* possum Kurlungkurla warlungunja; kurlungkurla lamarlumbili yaardi. *"The warlungunja possum is small; that little one lives in hollow logs."*
(cf: jakulakji, kalwarri)

(w)amarlakadini *(N f)* girl (at puberty), virgin Nyaminani wamalakardirni. *"She's a virgin."*

wamarlarra *(N n)* rotten bush orange fruit Ngininikirni wamarlarra angkurlakaji dirringurriyi - kararlungka warrkanunu, ngardajkalangkuju. *"We're not going to eat this rotten bush orange - it must have fallen on the ground, and besides we have plenty (to eat)."*
(cf: burnaringmi)

(w)amba *(N n)* snappy gum *(Eucalyptus leucophloia)* (abundant at Borroloola) Ngunubaju wambardarra nangkangayi Saturdayrni. *"I'll cut those snappy gums on Saturday."* (used for bucket 'shovel' (*kurluwarru*) for bringing up water; good firewood; sugarbag.)
(cf: mandalurra)

wambana *(N m, f)* spotted rat, wallaby (small), nabarlek Jamanikini wambana. *"That's a spotted rat."*
(cf: juburdu, kalama)

(w)ambay- *(V)* speak, talk, say twitter (of birds) blow (of wind) Jama ambayaju ngarnu wawarna. *"He speaks to the boy."*
(cf: buwub mali)
ambayajka *(N n)* conversation
ambayardbija *(Adj m)* mute (literally: speak-less) Ngindarni bininja ambayardbija, jijiji dakarni! *"That man's mute, leave him be!"*

wami *(V (Imperative))* (singular) (also wanyumi (dual), warrumi (plural)) stop, stay Wami ngarri nginimbili jajami. *"Wait here!"*

(w)amukurni (Kuw.) *(N m, f)* death adder Nginarnikirni wamukurnini kayarranangka, kayarrambili yaardi. *"The death adder lives in the woods."*

(w)anamburrngu *(N n)* herb species *(Streptoglossa bubakii)* (2'; at Newcastle ridge) Anamburru majangayi ngarnu wawarna marliyaju. *"Put this herb with the sick child."* (boiled to make a medicinal wash or put under pillow for colds)

warnayaka *(N, Adj m)* (also wirniyikirni *(f)*) foreign, foreigner, stranger Ngayarni ngaami warnayaka. *"I'm a foreigner."* Ngarrirnirni nayuni wirniyikirni. *"My wife is a foreigner."*

(w)arnburrkbi *(N v)* wild cucumber plant *(Cucumis melo)* (Alawa *jabajaba*) (in desert; fruits are rolled along the ground to remove a substance on the skins, then eaten raw)
(cf: murulumi, (w)arnburrujinimi)

(w)arnburrujinimi *(N v)* (also (w)arnbujinimi, (w)arnburrjirnimi) wild cucumber fruit *(Cucumis melo)* (in hills)
(cf: murulumi, warnburrkbi)

warndabulyaka *(Adj m)* crooked (of people) Jamarnikirni warndabulyaka yaju. *"This fellow's all bent over."*
(cf: kirdilyaka)

wandala *(N m)* sugarleaf (on *darralyaka* , *wubala* , *wubungari*) Banybilanganu kulyarrarla darrangku, darralyaka, wubalambili banybilanganu, wandala. *"It's found on two trees, ghost gum and bloodwood, the sugarleaf."*
(cf: bijardku)

wandarrkururni *(N f)* (also wandarrkurrirni) blond pigeon, squatter pigeon, bronzewing wood pigeon Yaardi wandarrkururnini mangkurumbili. *"The bronzewing lives on the plains."* (skin: Nangalinjinju, Nabijinnginju)
(cf: marababirni)

(w)angadangada *(N n)* pouch (manufactured) Ngirrmingurri jimina nyambala wangadangada, wangadangada ngilmingurri bijililangkami. *"We make pouches from that, from the paperbark tree."*
(cf: (w)ukurdini)

(w)angku *(V (Imperative))* (singular) (also wanyungku (dual), warrungku (plural)) come Ngarlarli wangku. *"Come over here!"*
(cf: dakaangku)

(w)angkulayi *(N m)* crow, raven Wangkulayirni dirringirrikardi buliki kiyalu. *"Crows look out for rotting cow carcasses to eat."* (skin: Jabijinnginja, Jangalinginja)

wangkurra *(N m)* male sugarbag (in tree, on top) (sweet taste) honey, jam, sugar, any sweet thing (by extension) Ngabaminga ngabaa ngarru wangkurra. *"Bring me that sugarbag!"*
wangkurrini *(N f)* female sugarbag, under ground (in tree or anthill) (bitter-sweet taste, can't eat too much)
(cf: nyukujburri, durda)

waniyi *(N m)* grasshopper stick insect Kurrbalawuji darraardi waniyi. *"Magpies eat grasshoppers."*

(w)anikiy- *(V)* do what Anikiyanyaju kirda? *"What are you doing, Dad?"*

warnila *(N n)* stringy bark Warnila ngirribijingirriwardi darralyakarni. *"We say that stringy bark is part of the ghost gum."*
(cf: yubungu, duwulyani)

(w)arnjarnjirnm-
see *(w)arnjirnm-*

wanjarri *(N m)* decorational down (red) (made by mixing red ochre (*kalnga*) into white grass tufts (*kunkurdurdu*))

(w)arnjirnm- *(V)* (also (w)arnjarnjirnm-) mix Ngabaarri warnjirnmaarri darrayi jankibaji jingka. *"Mix them up, we'll eat them in the morning."*

wanjku *(N n)* armpit Bujangaju wanjku, nyinmulu bujangaju wanjkungkami. *"My armpits smell, there's a smell coming from my armpits."*

Wanju *(N f)* rain song cycle, rain ceremony Nginarnini Wanjunu ngurrakunayi ibilkinga. *"The rain song cycle brings us rain."*
(cf: Kurangarra)

wanka *(Adj m, n)* alive Ngindarnikirni buliki duwanu, jamarnikirni wankarnama angkula ilaninkunu. *"This cow's getting up, it's alive not dead."*

warnkarranga *(N m)* (also wankarranga *(m)*, wirnkirringirni *(f)*) sand hills goanna large rock goanna Warnkarranga ngindarniki marliyingirriyi warnkarranga mayangarriyi. *"If I go kill a sand goanna we might get sick from it."*

(w)arnkarringka *(N m)* (no f) (also (w)ankarringka, (w)ankurra) yellow wallaby (white in front, red back; lives in lancewood scrub) Dindijamarri ankarringka minuwangka kuluwarrukalu jijikamayi. *"They'd wait for wallabies to crawl into their bucket shovels."*
(cf: jurnma, kalama)

Warnkayi *(N m)* Causeway (over Newcastle Creek, around George Redmond crossing) Warnkayi nginirna ukalu lujbuwurrunu, ngunjalukaji ngininikirni. *"That smoke from the causeway is where they burned off; it is all burnt ground."*

wankij *(N, Adv n)* bend, corner, around Nyindiwirri wankij ngawungkami barrbarda wankij wirri. *"They'll go around the camp."*
wankij warrk- *(V)* (go) around
wankijnganajku *(Adv)* all around Dardu darrangku ngunu ngarriyi darrangku - wankijnganajku. *"I'll go among the trees, where there are trees all around."*
(cf: ngarrijirri)
wankij bak- *(V)* change (including clothes), turn, turn (self) around
(cf: kurrij bak-, (w)irrinjum-)

(w)ankila *(N m)* cross cousin (male) (classification includes mother-in-law's mother's brother (ego: male)) (classification includes father's nephews, maternal grandfather's sister's son (ego: female)) Ngarrininga jakardinga, ankiliyirla ngarrinibila jamabilarnini. *"Those two are my cousins, on my mother's side."*

(w)ankilirni *(N f)* cross cousin (female) (classification includes mother-in-law's mother and her sisters (ego: male)) (classification includes father's nieces, maternal grandfather's sister's daughter (ego: female)) Ankilirni ambayaju ngarru, ankilirni bangkirrimimbili. *"My cousin is talking about me, the cousin is in the knee."*

(w)ankuj-
see *(w)arr kuj-*

(w)ankurra
see *(w)arnkarringka*

(w)arnmil- *(V)* dig (with an instrument) Warnmilangaju ibilkirna biyarduwarndi. *"I'm digging for water with a bucket shovel."*
(cf: langa nungk-, kalyarr, kuj-)

warnu *(N n)* tobacco cigarette Dabilanganu warnu ngabanganju. *"I'm hanging on to the tobacco "*
(cf: kilirrmi, mijuwulmi)
warnungkuju *(N n)* chewing tobacco, chewing mix (stress: wa'rnungkuju)

(w)anuku *(Interr)* what (W)anuku ambayanyaju? *"What do you mean?"*

wanyarri (Kuw.) *(N n)* bauhinea tree *(Lysiphyllum cunninghamii)* Ingalkangkujku ngininini wanyarrini, wangkurrangujku, wangkurra ngabaju. *"The bauhinea has nectar, and it has sugarbag too."* (peeled root is soaked in water and the liquid applied to skin sores as a highly potent medicine. Tree may contain sugarbag and te nectar from the flowers and the gum from the tree are both sweet to eat.) (cf: jingi, (w)irringila)

wanyikila *(Pron)* (NOM) those two Jamabilarni wanyikila kijikijibiwunyungkuju. *"Those two kids are tickling each other."*
wunyak-u (ACC/GEN stem) (also wunyuk-u, nyinyak-u Kardanymilami wunyaku. *"Stop those two (fighting)!"*)

wanyikurlu
see *wiwirni*

wanyirri
see *wirri*

(w)anym- *(V)* walk, go (on foot) Anymardu lurrbu ngawungka. *"He's walking home."*

wanyu *(N n)* knife (stone) Wanyurna ngajina ngayarni nginirnikirni kijurlurluwardni mawurunamarni. *"I'm sharpening this stone knife with a rock."*
(cf: binymala, kiyirru)

(w)anyugku
see *(w)angku*

wanyumi
see *wami*

(w)arard bil-
see *(w)arak bil-*

warajkala *(N m)* (also warrajkala, wuwarrajkala, warrajula) tree species *(Grevillea striatan, Hakea arborescens)* Warrajala lujbi langa buba, linyardangka, linyarda ngibiyirri nyambala. *"Put the warrajkala bark on the fire, on the coals."* (bark cooked on coals and used to treat spotty or white tongues.)

warak *(V2)* (also warak ngali, warangali) work Jani ajinbaja jani warak ngali nyarri. *"How long will you work?"*

(w)arak bil- *(V (trans))* (also (w)arard bil-) dry Abaaba nginirniki wulukajangayi, warak bilangarriyi, ngamba wuliyijanga ngunjayi ngarru. *"I'll wash my clothes then put them out to dry by the sun's heat."*

warangali
see *warak*

waarkini *(N f)* curlew (Eastern) Nginarni waarkini yajiyimi waniyi dirringirrikardi. *"The Eastern curlew comes around looking for grasshoppers to eat."*

(w)arr kuj- *(V)* (also (w)ankuj-, (w)arr kij-) scratch Warr kujungankiju. *"I am scratching myself."*
(w)arrkujajkalu, (w)arrkujajbunku, (w)arrkujangankiju *(N n)* scratch Jimininki dakani warrkujajkalu, ambanama warrkujanganaku ngaya. *"I've got a scratch here, I wonder what could have scratched me."*

(w)arrak bil- *(V)* hang (on line) Jimini abaaba warrak bilangayi. *"I'll hang these clothes on the line."*
(cf: langan dil-, wilwilil-)

warraka (Kuw.) *(N n)* (also warlakarri) supplejack *(Ventilago viminalis)* (stress: 'warraka) (archaic word) Warraka ngujayangurruku kardarrukuji. *"We burnt the supplejack and it burned till morning."* (string from bark fibres; bark used for humpies; wood for boomerangs, nulla-nulla, yamstick, clap sticks; grubs in roots (best tree for grubs))
(cf: ngarndarrkalu)

warramal juw- *(V)* scatter, blow around, blow over Larnku nginirniki warramal juwanu. *"The clothes are all scattered about."*
(cf: wardjkuw-, yarr bardk-)

warramurru wardk- *(V (intrans))* splash Ibilkirningka wajuwanganu kijurlurlu, ibilkarni warramurru wardkanu. *"I threw a stone into the water and water splashed everywhere."*
(cf: yalwang bak-, yarr bardk-)

(w)arranganbala *(Adj m, n)* wide Jimirni junkurlunu arranganbala. *"The river is wide."*

Warranganku *(N m)* Beetaloo (station) Ngayarna kanya Jingila ngabarnanamarrimi wawarni kurlukurlarni Warranganku ngka. *"When I was a small boy my uncle took me to Beetaloo."*
Warranganka *(N m)* person from Beetaloo Ngamini nayurni-rni. Imbila-ma-nga-ma-yi bininja. Warranganka ngini-mbili. *"The women would come chasing after us men from Beetaloo."*

(w)arranyangku *(N n)* (also (w)arranyanku) wispy cloud (not really clouds) Ngajami warranyangku. *"Look at that wispy cloud."*
(cf: kulumarra, madayi, mambunku)

warrb *(Adv)* all together (large group) Darduwala warrb ngurruju. *"The lot of us are all together."*

warrbkaku
see *walkbaku* under *(w)alk baj-*

warriyi
see *wirri*

warridirli *(N n)* boomerang ('Number 7') Kujkarrarnikujkarrarni warridirlidarra ilmanganu. *"I made four Number 7 boomerangs."*

warrijki *(N m)* spirit, ghost, devil Jamani warrijki yaaka nginimbili. *"This here is a spirit place."*
warrijbala *(N m)* corpse (human) Ngindabajarni lakud wurruju, jiyibajarni warrijbalarni. *"They are burying the dead."*
(cf: jarlkandarru, kimurdi)
warrijmajka *(N m)* bad (person), killer Warrijmajka jamarnikirni juwirriji! *"He's a killer, don't follow him!"*
(cf: jungulinji, karriyaka)

warrinjalan *(N n)* red grass type *(Cymbopogon bombycinus)* Ngininikirni warrinjalanma bijingirriwardi ibilkirningka jibijingirriwardi, umbumingirriwardi bubangka, ngunjaardi..... ibilkarni jiyirni kibardkakaji nginiwarndini warrinjalan. *"The warrinjalan grass is soaked in water after drying, then boiled up, then we use this water with the grass in it to bathe in."* (infusion makes a bath for general sickness)

warrk- *(V, V root)* fall Jimina nyambala warrkanu balarrjuwanu. *"It fell and smashed."* fall, flow, fail, break, issue forth, climb Idayju mudikarla karra warrkanu ngara lurnkurru arlarli buraba Warranganku. *"Yesterday my car broke down half way to Beetaloo."*

(w)arrk baj-
see *(w)alk baj-*

(w)arrugku
see *(w)angku*

warrumi
see *wami*

waru *(N n)* (also warlu) burn mark, scar from fire Karalumbili waru. *"There's a burn-mark on the ground."*

waruburluburla *(N m)* kite, hawk Ngindarnikirni waruburlaburlani darraardi mikinji, dalyi, juliji darraardi. *"the hawk eats snakes, mostly whip snakes, and birds."*
(cf: dirdila)

(w)arum- *(V)* feel, try Warumi ilangayi larnku ngarrunu. *"I'll try my clothes on."*
(cf: manjk-)

Warumunga *(N m)* (also Warumungurni *(f)*) Waramungu person or language Bininjardarra Warumungardarra urruwardu. *"That big mob of Waramungu men are leaving."*

waarungka *(Adj m)* silly, no good Jamarnikirni waarungka yaju. *"This fellow's just silly."*
(cf: jirdirdini, kalyurra, yurrba)

warungkurrumi
see *yarungkurrmi*

wawa *(N m)* child Majangarri wurraku wawala. *"I'll pick up the children."*
(cf: wiwirni)

wawajijirni *(Adj f)* barren, childless (woman) Nginarni nayurni wawajijirni, angkula ngabaju wawa. *"that woman is barren, she has no children."*
(cf: kurduwakurni)

wawurru *(N n)* scrub, dense growth, bush, kindling (stress: 'wawurru) Ngurruwa wawurrumbili, dibij ngurruwa ngindika jajuwanayi. *"We came out of the scrub, let's pause for a while before we go on perhaps."*
(cf: mijilmijurlu, (y)irriminjulu)

(w)ayabi *(Adj no concord)* tired (from exertion) Manyan ngayi wayabi ngaju. *"I'll sleep because I'm exhausted."*
(cf: dalyangkarr)

(w)ird baj- *(V)* lift Nginini kijurlurlu wird bijimindiyi. *"We'll lift this stone."*

(w)idij- *(V)* (also (w)idijak-) tie, bandage Idajku idijakanu jamarnikirni marndara. *"Yesterday he bandaged your sore."*

wirdik may- *(V)* spank with stick or belt Wawa wirdik mayangayi marrimarra. *"I'll spank the cheeky child."*

widuru *(N n)* forehead Kularriyingaju widurumbili. *"I have a headache."* (throbbing in this part indicates that one's kuka (grandfather) is thinking/talking of one)
(cf: walu, ibijibiji)

(w)ijibarda *(N m)* burrowing marsupial/rodent Ijibardani ngindirnini kajaardi karalu ngawunu. *"The burrowing mouse digs a home in the ground."*

(W)ijibarda *(N m)* Longreach water hole Ngawunu wurraku Ijibarda - kunanga ngawurni wurraku. *"Longreach is their place - the fly's place is theirs."*

wijinki
see *wijinki* under *(w)ajank-*

Wijira *(N m)* billabong approximately 12km SSE of Elliott Ngurramiki, ngurramiki ngawungka Wijirangka, ningkingurrunu bunu, nayuwurlu binymirrimiwurlu. *"We came, we came to this camp, to Wijira, where we chopped (bark for) ashes, we women and girls."* (At one end of Biyawuya (rough ground dreaming), which extends as far as Anthony's Lagoon via bores number 3 and 4 and Eva Downs.)

(w)ijuk baj- *(V)* extract, take out, unwrap Ijuk bajami ngarru! *"Let me out!"*
(cf: jalanm-, (w)alk baj-)

(w)ilijid ngaj- *(V)* look over one's shoulder Wilijird ngajanganu jama juwarrarnanajiyimi. *"I looked back at the guy who was following me."*

(w)ilikbirni *(N f)* green and red parrot (large) red cockatoo Yurrku darraardi, ilikbirnani, wanyarri, irringila darraardi yurrku. *"The green and red parrot eats flowers [nectar], it eats bauhinea flowers."* (skin: Nangaringinju, Niminginju)

(w)ilinya *(N n)* handle (to a stone axe) (traditionally, stone axes had no handles)

wirliwal *(Adv)* lying Wirliwal yaju. *"He's lying down."*
wirliwal duk- *(V)* lie down
wirliwal manyan *(V)* sleep on one side
(cf: likirri)

Wilminji *(N m)* (also Wilminja (person only)) Warlmanpa person or language Wanjanjimakaju mindijkumarri, kungka marrinju, kungka marrinju: Jingila, Kuwirrinji, Wilminji. *"Once around these parts there were spearate languages, different tongues: the Jingulu language, Western Mudburra, and Warlmanpa."*

wiyilu *(N n)* snake's track (stress: 'wiyilu) Mikinji ngajanganu wiyilu ngardajkalu yarruku. *"I saw the tracks of a big snake that went by."*

wilwilil- *(V)* (also wilwil-) hang up (on tree, hook, etc.) Murrkuja ngankiyi nginirni wilwilangayi. *"I'll just go hang these three up."*
(cf: langan dil-, warrak bil-)

wilyirdku *(N n)* (also wilyurdku) gap in undergrowth (small) narrow narrow path, trail Wilyirdkurrunga ulurdu karruku. *"They went into the gap in the scrub."*
(cf: madkaaku, kaarrijbi)

wilyirri *(Adv)* legs open, legs spread Manburrankami jarrumulu, angkula wilyirri! *"Put your legs together, don't spread them wide!"*

wilyurdku
see *wilyirdku*

Wilyuku *(N n)* South Yard (between Longreach and Lake Woods) Jimirnanu Baribarini yaju Wilyukumbili. *"Some of the Baribari country is in South Yard."*

(w)indilawurni
see *(w)irndukurni*

(w)irndukurni *(N f)* (also (w)indilawurni) curlew Nginarni wirndukurnini ngurrajbirni ngirrikardi, banybilaardi bundurrunu. *"The curlew hunts at night, that's when it finds its food."* (skin: Nangaringinju)

(w)indurru *(N n)* root Mimi darrangkunu windurrungkujkudarra. *"All trees have roots."*
(cf: murrngu)

(w)ingm- *(V)* (also yungm-) bark growl (of dog) Darduwala warlakudarra ingmiwurruju. *"The dogs are all barking."*

(w)inmil- *(V)* (also (w)inymil-) cease Angkurla winymilanyayi kardkumilinginyiyi. *"If you don't shut up, I'll choke you."*
(cf: (y)inkariy-)

(w)inmilaka *(N m)* (also (w)inmilajkala) dumb person, mute person Langkaj bilaju angkula ambayaardi jamarni winmilajkala. *"He hears you but he can't speak, he's mute."*

winyindimi *(N v)* kurrajong root Ngimarni winyindimi majanganu dirdikbingkami kurlukurlungkami darrangkungkami. *"I got that root from a small kurrajong tree."* (from young Brachychiton diversifolium (*dirdikbi*), which grows near salt deposits; dug up, cooked very briefly on open fire, scraped with a stone, and eaten.)

(w)inymil-
see *(w)inmil-*

wirakina *(N m)* storm/cloud front Wirakina yajiyimi ngindanikirni wirakinanaji nyamirnani bibajiyimi ibilkirnini biyangka. *"A storm front is approaching behind which we can expect storms and rain."*

wirri *(V (Imperative))* (singular) (also wanyirri (dual), warriyi (plural)) go Angkula wirri jaajaakankanyi. *"Don't go out on the end of a limb."*

(w)irrik bil-
see *(w)irrk bil-*

wirrilwirrilyi *(N m)* lorikeet, green parrot Nginda wirrilwirrilyi yajiyimi yurrku. *"The lorikeet is coming to the flowers."*

wirrimi *(N v)* (also (y)irrimi) spinifex *(Triodia pungens* et al.*)* Jingila mijinginyuwardi wirrimirni, umbuminginyuwardi ngurrayijbirni bangkulirni, bangkulanga ngayi ukaluwarndi duwakaji yaardi. *"We Jingili people get the spinifex and burn it at night and the smoke that comes off it keeps mosquitoes away."* (used in making humpies; stalks are put in hot water - when the liquid is sufficiently dark it is used as a medicinal wash; the wax from roots is burned in an open fire as a mosquito repellent; wax obtained from roots)
(cf: kirnima)

(w)irringila *(N m)* (also (w)iringila) bauhinea tree *(Lysiphyllum cunninghamii)* Buna mijingurri irringilangkami. *"We get ashes from the bauhinia tree."* (paintbrushes (*junji*) made from wood of sapling, good shade tree, good firewood, ashes mixed with chewing tobacco, peeled root is soaked in water and the liquid applied to skin sores as a highly potent medicine. Tree may contain sugarbag and the nectar from the flowers and the gum from the tree are both sweet to eat.)
(cf: jingi, ngabilibili, wanyarri)

(w)irrinjum- *(V)* change (including clothes), turn, turn around Abaaba wirrinjumangayi. *"I'm getting changed."* Wirrinjumakajmindiki. *"We two turn around."* mix, stir Wirri ngajami nginda nganga, barlulyakayila wirrinjkumakajami! *"Go check on those steaks, see they don't dry out, turn them over!"*
(cf: kurrij bak-, ngarrij bak-, wankij bak-)

wirriwurna *(N m)* grey parrot, spotted parrot, cockatiel Ngindarniki wirriwurna yajiyimi kuyaardi ngindiyi wajuwanayi dirringirrikardi. *"Grey parrots come around these parts somewhere feeding."* (skin: Jangaringinja)

(w)irrk bil- *(V)* (also (w)irrik bil-) paint, whiten Nyambala nginda nyiburru ngurruwa langa nyamba kararlungka bulunbulunji, warrkayi mijingurri irrk bilaja ngurraku diyadiya. *"We get the white grass and rub it on the ground, then paint feathers on ourselves with it."*
(cf: (w)irrkburrkba)
(w)irrk bilajbunji *(Adj m)* painted Ngimarniki kulungkukbi irrk bilajburdbi, ngima nangkimi irrk bilajbijimi. *"This didgeridoo is painted, that one is cut but not painted."*
(w)irrk bilajka *(N n)* paint
(w)irrk bilajbungku *(N n)* (also (w)irr bilajbungku) painting, drawing Darrangku irrbilajbunku ambanama nginini kungka irrbilajbunku. *"There's another painting, this one of a snappy gum."*
(cf: am-)

(w)irrkburrkba *(N, Adj m)* (also (w)irrkbirrkba) white egg white Jayirlili ngabaju ngambalanayi irrkburrkbu, danykurranybirni. *"Inside [the egg] there is the white and the yolk."*
(cf: (w)irrk bil-)

wiwirni *(N f)* (also wanyikurlu (dual)) girl (child) Wiwirni ngabanu. *"She had a girl."* Wanyikurlu nyinaburru ladaji wunyuju arduku. *"The two girls are slowly drying out."*
(cf: wawa)

(w)ubala *(N n)* tree species, bloodwood *(Eucalyptus polycarpa)* Banybilanganu nyikirrurru, nyambala wubalambili banybilanganu nyikirrurru. *"I found those nuts on the bloodwood tree."* (nuts *nyigirruru* eaten, sugarleaf *wandala*)
(cf: (y)ubungari)

(w)ububukarri *(N m)* wood duck (large) Ngindarni ububukarri jurrkulumbili yaardi. *"The wood duck lives in creeks."*

(w)urd *(V2)* stick out, poke out (of water, into clearing) Darrangku ibilkirnimbili urd kaju. *"there's a stick poking out of the water."*
(cf: mardkarr-)

(w)urdila *(N f)* axe (stone or steel) Urdila ngarrinini nyamirnini. *"That's my axe."*
(cf: kirnbilirdi, mangkurni, (w)urdila)

(w)urdu *(V2)* (also (w)urd duw- *(V)*) come out, hatch Dibijkaji yaardi wurd duwardimi kidbangkamirni. *"It hatches out of an egg."*

(w)urdurru *(Adv)* inside Urdurruka wangku. *"Come on in!"*

(w)uju *(N n)* grass Jimina wuju duwaju ngayi. *"Grass grows around it."*
(cf: bikirra, kurdalyu)

(w)ujuwujurni *(N f)* budgerigar Ngindarni wujuwujurni kurlukurlini, kurlungkurlini nginarniki wujuwujurnini. *"Budgies are small."*

(w)ujumi *(N v)* stomach tripe Ujumirni bardakurra nganga. *"Tripe is good meat."*
(cf: ngarnmarrarnmarrarnku)

(w)ukalu *(N n)* smoke Wukalu ngilmajo ngindarnini bubaarndi. *"This fire is giving off smoke."*

(w)ukbi *(N n)* lump, swelling Nginirni ngabangaju ukbi ngaju, dajbarnananu karrudjirninayi. *"I have a swelling, maybe a spider bit me."*
(cf: lungbarraju)

(w)ukurdini *(N f)* bag, sack Ngabaardimi jimirna ngarnu larnkudarra ukurdungambili nyamingambilirni. *"He brought all his equipment in a bag."*
(cf: (w)angadangada)

(w)ukuk bil- *(V)* wrap up, cover Nyindabilirni bundurru ukuk biliwunyanu. *"Those two are wrapping the food."*
(cf: lakud bil-, mabid baj-)

(w)ukurliji *(N m)* boil Ngiburruju jamabajinirni ukurliji ngiburruju. *"They have boils."*

(w)ukurndurru *(N n)* small blade of hook boomerang Warridirli nyamarniki kurlukurlu jimirniki, nyambala ukurndurru. *"The little part of the hook boomerang, that's the elbow."*

(w)ukuni *(N n)* (also (w)ukurni) humpy, shelter (stress: 'ukuni) Manjana wukuni ngirrmangayi, kanjirrunguni yajiyimi. *"I built a bark hut as the rain was coming."*

(w)ul- *(V)* know (of), have perceived before

(w)ulajbunji *(Adj m)* known (to speaker) from before, promised Jamarnikirni jabarranama wulangaka jamarnikirni ngarrina, nangkangarriyi wulajbunji. *"I'm going to go cut that previously sour one that I'd been seeing for a while."*

(w)ul maj-

see *(w)urr maj-*

(w)urlardk- *(V)* bend down, come down, land (url + wardka) Urlardkardi ibilkirningka walanybirri. *"The pelican lands on water."*
(cf: bunyurr-)

(w)uliyijirni

see *(w)uluwijirni*

(w)ulkuj- *(V)* sneak away Arduku ulkujangarri jamabajiningkama wulkujangarri. *"I'm sneaking off, away from that mob."*
(cf: diyaj bak-, (w)urrungkarr-, irrmal wardk-)

(w)ulukaj- *(V)* wash rub Nyambala abaaba wulukajangayi, kliyinbala yili. *"I have to wash my clothes, make them clean."*
(cf: bawulum-, am-)

(w)ululungbula *(N m)* (also (w)ululungkurri) tree snake Darrangkumbili langandaardi, darraardi darrangkumbili, kararlumbili *too* wanymaardi. *"The tree snake climbs into trees, feeds in trees, but also goes along the ground."*

(w)urlurnmi *(N v)* vine species, creeping grass, bindii *(Tribulus species)*
Ngimaniki wurlurnmi kujanangaju yurnukurdukurdu. *"This bindii just pricked my foot."* (the spiny fruits cause injuries to the feet)
(cf: budunarrimi)

(w)uluwijirni *(N f)* (also (w)uliyijirni) sun Dirndingurrunu jurliji kijurlurluwarndi, uluwijirni junybakaju. *"We tried to hit birds with stones as the sun was setting."*
(w)uluwijinimbili *(Adv)* in the sun
(w)uluwijangambili *(Adv)* in the daytime
(w)uliyijangardi *(Adv)* daytime Uliyijangardikaji yaju, ngurruwa ngirriki. *"It's well and truly day, let's go hunting."*
(cf: binyamaku)
(w)uliyijirni wajankaju *(Adv)* noon, midday

(w)ulyulyu mil- (Kuw.) *(V)* stretch, straighten (by pulling), pull taut Ulyulyu milangankiyi. *"I'll have a stretch."* Ulyuwulyu miliwurrunkunu wawala. *"The kids stretched themselves out."*
(cf: dalk baj-, durrarrkayi il-, durrun mil-, (w)urr maj-)

(w)ulyurrku *(N n)* bush, scrub Walanja jarrkajanu ulyurrbungka. *"The goanna ran into the bush."*
(cf: biyalu)

(w)umangku *(N n)* ceremonial markings (temporary, painted), dreaming story Jijkingirri*yuna*ngku bajami ngarru umangku. *"We're asking you to tell us a story."*

(w)umbala ngajina *(N m)* youngest (in a family) Nginarnini ngarru wumbala ngajinirni birdirdini. *"This is my youngest sister."*

(w)umbum- *(V)* cook sting, burn Kandirri wumbumingurriyi. *"We can cook damper."*

(w)unba *(N n)* wind Wurrajalu yaju wunba. *"The wind is cold."*
(w)unbanama *(Adv)* winter, windy season

(w)ungkarr- *(V)* whistle Ngindarni yajiyimi ungkarrajiyimi. *"Here comes someone whistling."*

(w)unjkum- *(V)* cure, heal (traditionally by song, but extended to any kind of healing) Wunjumangayi jamina nganyangayi lurrbujimi. *"I'll sing him back to health."*

(w)unjuw-
see *ngunjuw-*

(w)unyumi
see *(w)urrumi*

(w)urawura *(N m)* fresh water, rainwater (stress: wu'rawura) Wurawura kararlumbili yaju. *"There's rainwater on the ground."*

(w)urr- *(V)* love, make friends Wurraninkuju nayungarni. *"He's in love with that woman."*

(w)urr maj- *(V)* (also (w)ul maj-) pull Walanja banybilanu urr majaju nyindi ngawungkami. *"He started pulling the goanna out of its hole."*
(cf: dalk baj-, dirrk baj-, dulk baj-, durrarrkayi il-, (w)ulyulyu mil-)

(w)urraja *(N m)* blood Bardawurrangka ilajiyimi, wardkayi wurraja wardkijiyimi. *"Come put it in [the car] carefully, it might bleed everywhere."*
(cf: ngabarangkurru)

(w)urrajburrajku *(N n)* (also (w)urrajburraju) gale, cold wind, cold weather cold Marangmarna ngirriwuku nginiwa, urrajkalu nyirrinu urrajburraju ngirramiki. *"We went looking for gum, but had to turn back because of the cold wind."*
(cf: jamurri, kurrumunmurlu, (w)urrajkala)

(w)urrajk- *(V)* drag, lead by the hand swing, tip Nyindarni nganga wurrajkangarri. *"I'm dragging the kill along."* Wurrijkinginyuwa nganku. *"I'll lead you by the hand."*
(cf: durru bay-, jabarr-, jalalangkarra ngab-)

(w)urrajkala *(Adj m)* cold Angkurla wurrajkala ngaju. *"I'm not cold."*
(w)urrajkalu *(N n)* cold weather, cold Birriyangaju wurrajkalu. *"I'm shivering because of the cold."*
(cf: jamurri, kurdkulyu, kurrumunmurlu, (w)urrajburrajku)

(w)urrakbili *(Adv)* loudly, hard, tightly Urrakbili ilami. *"Turn it up!"*
(cf: nyurrilanganj-)

(w)urrak-u *(Pron)* (ACC/GEN stem) them, theirs (plural) Darduwala anymurruwardu jungkali ngajangaju wurraku. *"I can see a big mob walking in the distance."*

(w)urrbuja *(N n)* galah grass, lawn Kirlikirlika darraardi jimina urrbujani. *"Galahs eat this grass."* (seeds eaten by galahs)

(w)urrjiy- *(V)* shave Wurrjiyarnanayi ngaya jamarnikirni. *"He will shave me."*
(cf: (w)urrjk-)
(w)urrjiyaningkunu *(Adj no concord)* (also (w)urrjiyaningkuju) clean shaven Jamaniki wurrjiyaningkuju kilalija jaarndamajija. *"He's clean shaven."*

(w)urrjk- *(V)* pluck (birds, etc.), shave, cut hair Ngimani jiyirndimi urrjkangayi. *"I need to shave."*
(cf: (w)urrjiy-)

(w)urrumbumbi *(N m)* (also wurrumburra) dragonfly, damselfly Kunanga darrardi wurrumburrarnini. *"The dragonfly eats flies."*

(w)urrumi *(V (Imperative))* (non-singular object) (also (w)unyumi (dual object)) leave them (alone)
(cf: dakani, karrila)

(w)urrungkarr- *(V)* move (away) Nyamana ajankirrimi urrungkarraju. *"The rolypoly moves about."*
(cf: diyaj bak-, (w)ulkuj-)

(w)urruwurru mil- *(V (trans))* (also (w)urruwurrungku mil-, (w)urrungku mil-) shake Urruwurrungku milanganu. *"I shook him."*
(cf: kayilyarra il-, lalum-)

(w)uruwum- *(V)* get, collect, gather, rake up Nyanyalu, uruwumangaju nyanyalu. *"I'm raking up the leaves."*
(cf: maj-, mijuwurd-, wak-)

(w)ururr *(N m)* relative from another country (not close kin) (who has danced for ego or for whom ego has danced in ceremonies) Angkula ambayangarnanu, ururr imarrangaju ngarnu. *"They don't talk to me, I'm shy around my distant kin."*

Y

yaba *(N m)* (also yaaba) boy, young man, youth (not fully initiated) Jamanirni yaba, yabakaji jamanima. *"This is a young man."*

yabanja *(Adj m)* (also (y)ibinjirni, yabanju, (y)ibinjimi *(f, n, v)*) young, small Kunyiyilirni ngirrmanyami buba yabanju. *"You two make a little fire."*
yababanja *(Adj m)* chopped up, fine Yababanja dilmangaju ngarnu marlukarna ngajalakurrujija. *"I'm chopping it up small for the old toothless man."*

(y)ardalakbi *(Adj m)* warm, hot Wawa ardalakbiyajiya. *"The baby is hot."*
(cf: nyalanyalabi)
ardarlakbiy- *(V)* be hot Ardulakbiyaju. *"It's hot (today)."*

yardbarrku *(Adv)* (also yarlbarrku) lots, a lot Angkurla yarlbarrku ngunyangaju babirdimi. *"I won't give him many yams."*
(cf: dardu, yuranya)

yardukkaku *(Adj n)* woolly Yukulyarri buwadbulyi. *"Sheep are woolly."*
(cf: buwadbulyi)

yajka *(Adv)* away, a long way away Yajya ngarri ngurrarungka. *"I'm going away tomorrow."*

yakakak *(N f)* sulphur crested cockatoo (skin: Naalinginju, Namirringinju)
(cf: bangarra)

yakakurrumini *(N f)* bush hen Angkula dirringirriwardi akiyabardu kanyburru yakakurrumini. *"We don't hunt the bush hen for food as its flesh is awful."*

yakiliy- *(V)* (also yakil *(V2)*) show off, flirt Jamanbila(n) yakil wunyuwardi. *"Those two are always showing off."*

yalalawura *(N n)* crack (in dry ground) Kararlu jiminu yalalawura yaju. *"The ground here is cracked."*
(cf: dirdilkikimi, yalyalyaku)

yalawara *(N n)* crack in ground

yarlbarrku
see *yardbarrku*

yalbawurrini *(N f)* bandicoot, marsupial mole (stress: yal'bawu''rrini) *Nanigot* ngabaardi irrkbirrkbirni yalbawurrinini. *"The bandicoot has a nanny-goat's white fur."*
(cf: yarningkirni)

yarlikijirni *(N m, f)* mountain devil (kind of lizard) (stress: 'yarli''kijirni) Angkula ngarriyi jamani yaaju yarlikijirni. *"I won't go there because of the mountain devil."*

yalkurrungkudi *(N f)* (also yalkurrngkudi) brolga Kinyuwurrumi dirringirrikardi yalkurrngkudirni. *"Brolgas eat the kinyuwurrumi onion."* (skin: Nabijinnginju)

yalubirni *(Adj f)* post-natal Idayjkunama ngabanu, yalubirnikaji. *"She had it yesterday, now she's still big."*

yalwang *(Adv)* Ibilka warrkaju yalwang karra warrkayardu nganku. *"Water is splashing out onto you as he trundles along."* overflowing
yalwang bak- *(V)* (also yalwang bardk-, yalwang barrk-) overflow (vessels only) splash Yalwang barrkaju ngarru lalija, jawaranyangkami. *"My tea splashed out of the cup."*
(cf: warramurru wardk-, yarr bardk-)

yalyalyaku *(N, Adj n)* forked, forked branch, fork (including dinner fork) cracked (ground) Kujkarruna yalyalyakuwurlu, yalyalyaku, darrangkumbili. *"The tree has two forks."*
(cf: birdu, dirdilkikimi, kilyilyi, yalalawura)

yalyarli *(Adv)* (also yalyalyi) fun, having fun Yalyalyi ngaju jaminikini. *"I'm having a laugh at that person."*

yaminju *(N n)* shooting star Ngayirni babirni ngijinginjanu kujarrarna, yaminjurnu nyurruku nyinawarra. *"My brother and I saw two shooting stars when you'd gone."*

yarningkirni *(N f)* bandicoot, marsupial mole Yarningkirnini ngijinrmirni ngabaju wirrkbirrkbirni. *"The bandicoot has a white tail."*
(cf: yalbawurrini)

yarninjirra *(N m)* tendon, string, rope joint Yarninjirra marliyangaju. *"My joints ache."*
(cf: munungkumi, yubungu)

yaanka *(N m)* work (white person's business), message, tale, yarn Yaankambili yarruku. *"He went off in accordance with a message that was sent for him."*

yarr bardk- *(V)* splash about, scatter, comb Yarr bardkayi ilangankiju malibanya. *"I'm spreading my hair out to comb."* Wunbaarndi nyambala yarrkurru ngayilarnu ngarru nyambanyamba diyardiya. *"The wind scattered my things, my feathers."*
(cf: warramal juw-, warramurru wardk-, yalwang bak-)

yarrabura *(Adj m)* active, hard-working, good helpful Bardakurra jamani yarraburra, bardakurranyami ngarnu. *"You're good to me, work with me."*

yarranjumili *(Adv, Adj no concord)* unfastened, spread out Yarranjumili ngilmangayi jardukurru. *"I'm spreading out hair to make a hair belt."*

yarrarawira *(N m)* (also yarrarrawira, yarrarrawurra) horse (archaic word) Yarrarrawira ngabangambarri murrkunbala. *"I used to have three horses."*
(cf: dimana)

yarrbkarra *(Adv)* separately, distributively, to each Yarrbkarra ngunyangayi wurra. *"I'll share this out with everyone."*

yarrikila *(N m)* father and siblings of speaker Ngindabajarni wurruwardu yarrikila. *"There we go, me and my siblings and dad."*
(cf: larlukula)

yarrilinja *(N m)* creek sand, yellow sand Wawalarni yurriyiwurruju yarrilinjimbili. *"The children are playing in the yellow sand."*

Yarriliny *(N m)* sand country near Wave Hill Burdbungirriwardi wawa karlarra Yarrilinyngka. *"We send the children West to the yellow sand country out Wave Hill way."*

yarrindu *(N n)* poison, poison song (to cure poisoning) Yarrindu banga ngabangaju. *"He's sucking the poison from me."*
(cf: lungkarru, marringilija)

yarrulan *(N m)* young (man only), young man (initiated) Jamabajani yarrulandarra murrkunbala nayuna durliwuluju. *"Those three young men are looking for women."*

yarungkurrumi *(N v)* (also warungkurrmi, yarungkurrmi) vine *(Tinospora smilacina)* (stress: 'yarung"kurrumi) Yarungkurrumarndi idijaju darrangku. *"The tree is being choked by snake-vine."* (trees covered with this provide shelter from the rain)

yawulyu *(N n)* love song (women's) (stress: 'yawulyu) Nyaminga nayunga yawulyukaji yaju, ngarnu wardinjarna. *"The women are doing a love song in order to attract boyfriends."*
(cf: jarrarda, ilbinji)

yayiyu *(Interj)* (also yayu) I don't know Yayu angkurla ngajanganurra. *"I don't know why what I'm seeing is happening. (I can't believe my eyes)"*

ibij- *(V)* tie arrive, end a journey Ibijangaardi wajuwi *fishinline*-ma burrbiji, darraardi wajuwangaardi, ngilmangaardi buba, ningkiwumi ngirriki bubangka, nginarni ngunjayi. *"I tie up a fishing line and throw it in the water and eventually eat what is caught."* Marndaj, wurramiki ibij. *"OK, they arrived at last."*

ibijibiji *(N m)* eyebrow eyelash, forehead, brow (stress: 'ibi"jibiji) Wardkakaji nganu dil damangkarni, ibijibijirni dil. *"I fell right over and cut my head, cut my brow open."* (throbbing in this part indicates that one's kuka (grandfather) is thinking/talking of one)
(cf: walu, widuru)

ibijinku *(N n)* shade Nginda dukungarri ibijinkungka. *"I'm going to sit in that shade."*
(cf: ngarluba, ngandayi)

(y)ibilka *(N m)* (also (y)ibirrka) water (any) Angkula banybilangani ibilka, munmulkambilini kiwirra. *"I can't find water, there's none in the hole."*
(cf: kalyurrunga)
(y)ibilka mijuwulyi *(N m)* salt water
(y)ibilka larlarlajbunji *(N m)* stagnant flood water
(y)ibilka larlarlaju, larlarlajiyimi (y)ibilka *(N m)* running flood water
(y)ibilkinarnu *(Adj n)* aquatic, of the water
(y)ibilkirni *(N f)* (also (y)ibirrkini) rain drops wet season Ibilkinimbili yurrayuju wawa, nyambala karalu. *"During the rains the children play in the mud."*
(cf: juju, kalyurrungurni, mimbiyilyi, (y)ibinjirni, ibu, yuwubu)

(y)ibinjirni *(N f)* rain (small drops) (literally: young (*yabanja* + fem.)) Ibinjirni warrkaju. *"It's sprinkling."*
(cf: (y)ibilkirni)

(y)ibirrka
see *(y)ibilka*

ibu *(N n)* wet season Warrkayi ibu mijungurri. *"Wet season will come down on us soon."*
(cf: mimbiyilyi, (y)ibilkirni, yuwubu)

ibungu
see *yubungu*

(y)idaju *(Adv)* (also (y)idajku) yesterday Ngirrmanganu idayju. *"I made it yesterday."*

(y)idaangka *(Adv)* next week in a few days Idaangka ngilmimindiyi. *"We'll make one in a few days."*
(cf: ngurrarungka)

(y)idayidajku *(Adv)* (also (y)idajkidajku, (y)idayidajku) afternoon, evening, late in the day Lurrbu ngarri idaykidajku. *"I got back late."*

irdkiy- *(V)* (also ikiy-) wet (make wet), water (plants, etc.) Babirni ikiyarnarnanu ibilkini. *"My brother wet me."*

ijardkarru *(N n)* (also ijalkarru) fire, firewood, fuel for fire Ijalkarru ngunjaju darrangku. *"The fire's burning the trees."*
(cf: buba)

ijalkarru
see *ijardkarru*

ijijurnminji *(N m)* butcher bird (brown) (stress: 'iji"jurnminji) Nyambanama nyambana karriyakunama kaburrkaburrji jiyirni ijijurnminjirni. *"Now there's a different one that is brown, that's the butcher bird called ijijurnminji."*
(cf: bilkurr, kurrbalawuji)

ijirriy- *(V)* rush Ardunganama nyambala jajkawurrumi ijirriyiji jangkangkubarni warrngku. *"They're all rushing me. Don't rush, one at a time!"*

ikiy-
see *irdkiy-*

il- *(V)* put Ajuwa ilanganu ngara bundurrunu? *"Where did I put my food?"*
il- + reflexive *(V)* die Nyambaarndinayi jamarniki ilaninkunu, danmiyilanu. *"It died of something, something killed it."*
(cf: danmiyila)

(y)irlarlu *(N n)* dew Darrangkumbilirni yaju yirlarlu. *"On that tree there is dew."*
(cf: ngilibarnku)

ilbij- *(V)* peel Ngayirni umbumangaju ibilka, jimibarni kidalmarrumi. *"While I'm boiling the water, you peel these."*
(cf: kidalm-)

ilbinji *(N n)* love song (men's) Ilbinji nganyami ngarru. *"Sing me a (women's) song."*
(cf: jarrarda, yawulyu)

ililarru *(N n)* tears Jaminarlu wawarni ngabaju ililarru dimbak. *"That little girl is tearful."*
(cf: kunangarru)

irlwiji *(N m)* bog, wet mud quicksand Bog ngalyanu warru mudika yarlawadinga yirlwiji. *"My car got bogged in the quicksand."*

imarnnga *(N m)* fly Juwangkami imarnngani. *"Chase the flies away!"*
(cf: walnganji)

imarra *(Adv n)* shyly, ashamedly
(cf: mabu)
imarr- *(V)* be shy, feel shame Jamarni bininjarni imarraju, mabu yaju. *"That man feels shame, he is ashamed."*
(cf: mabuy-, ngirliw-)
imarrajkala *(Adj m)* shy Imarrajkalirni nyamirnani nayurni, bininjarna. *"That woman's shy of men."*

imbil- *(V)* chase Jarrkajaju imbilangayi kunumburra. *"I'm going to try to get it."*

imikirni *(N f)* old woman, old (feminine fauna only) (plural *imimikirni*) Jamabilani marluka imikini jamabilanirni kalyirdbunguwila. *"That old man and woman are generous."*

iminji *(N m)* dingo Ngindarni iminji angkula yaardi ngawumbili bininjarna. *"Dingos don't hang around human settlements."*

(y)indal ngab- *(V)* tell straight, correct (someone) Ardu ngarriyangarnu nyinda nyindaarlu ngarrukurni indal ngabangarnu wunu kuyuwarlu marrinju. *"I tell you straight, tell you these words right."*
(cf: ngirringi)

irndira *(N m, f)* yellow-bellied snake (lives on black soil plains) Jamarni irndirani mangkurumbili yaardi. *"The yellow-bellied snake lives on the plain."*

ingalka *(N n)* juice, nectar Nyinininki ingalka bardakurru. *"This juice is sweet."*
(cf: durda)

(y)ingiyingi *(N n)* fight Jamabilarnini nyambalawunyunkujunayi ingiyingi. *"Those two are going at each other in a fight."*
(cf: bunbaku)

inj- *(V)* dislike, hate Injangaju ngarnu lajunami. *"I hate witchetty grubs."*

injilmi *(N v)* buttocks Dukanganu karalungka langanbangananu nyambala burdunarrimarndi injilmi. *"I sat on the ground and pricked my bum on a bindii."*
(cf: burdumi)

(y)inkariy- *(V)* (also (y)inkarriy-, (y)irnkarriy-) stop talking, shut up, be quiet Marndaj inkayarnimi budburruji. *"You two shut up and clap!"*
(cf: (w)inmil-)

(y)irr bij- *(V)* smoothen, make smooth, scrape Kurrubardi irr bijangaju. *"I'm smoothing this boomerang."*
(cf: barany bil-, jurruj bil-)

(y)irri bardk- *(V (intrans))* lower, go down Ibilkarni yirri bardkaju. *"The water level's going down."*

(y)irrimi
see *wirrimi*

(y)irriminjulu *(N n)* (also ngirriminjulu) conkerberry *(Carissa lanceolata)* (stress: 'irri"minjulu) Nginimbili kulyukulyumi yuranya dardumi duwaardi nginikajumbili, bundurrungkujbikaji nangkiwirrimimi darrangku. *"Many many conkerberries grow right around here, with food you can just cut right off the plant."* (sweet berries eaten when ripened to black, thorns used to remove warts, orange wood used to make small 'come-back' boomerangs) firewood, scrub, kindling, small sticks Irriminjulu nginimiki buba ngirrmangayi bardakurra. *"This kindling will make a good fire."*
(cf: kulyukulyumi, wawurru)

(y)irrinjum- *(V)* turn, change over Abaaba irrinjumangayi. *"I'll get changed."*

(y)irrmal wardk- *(V)* sneak Ngarruku jamana ngarruku ngajakajunganu banybilakajanganji mankiyajunga, irrmal wardkakajingamiki lurrbu. *"I found that one sitting there so I snuck off back."*
(cf: (w)ulkuj-)

yu (also yuwu, yuwayi (phonetically often [yo:])) yes Yo marndaj, ngamba karriba mayayi. Marndaj. *"Yeah, that's right, so the white guy here can clap them. Right."*
(cf: marndaj)

yuwubu *(N n)* wet season Warrkayi yuwubu mijungurri. *"Wet season will come down on us soon."*
(cf: (y)ibilkirni, ibu, mimbiyilyi)

(y)ubungari *(N n)* bloodwood tree *(Eucalyptus terminalis)* (at Dunmarra and in desert) Ngininikirni darrangayi ubungaringakmi nikuru. *"I eat these nuts from the bloodwood."* (nuts and sugarleaf eaten)
(cf: (w)ubala)

yubungu *(N n)* (also ibungu) string, rope stringy bark Yubungu majanga jimirni manjarna ilangayi. *"For string I use that lancewood bark."*
(cf: duwulyani, munungkumi, warnila, yarninjirra)

(y)urdurruk- *(V)* enter shelter
(cf: darndarn bak-)

yukulirrimi *(N v)* pea bush *(Aeschynomene indica)* (stress: 'yuku"lirrimi) (2'-3'; at Beetaloo, Brunette) Darajbi nyabala duwi yukulirrimi darajbi duwi. *"The pea bush grows along the edge of the water."* (split to obtain edible portions inside)
(cf: bulurukuji, jarumajaruma, jirlirla)

yukulurrubi *(N v)* grass species (short grass) (stress: 'yuku"lurrubi) Yukulurrubirni yamarri jamabarra angkula yamarri nginimbilirni marranybalarni jujumbilirni duwamarrimi yukulurrubirni darraardi. *"the yukulurrubi grass used to grow here but recently the cows ate it when it grew in the wet season."* (once grown local plains, but does not grow any longer due to introduction of cattle. The green seeds were edible)

yukulyarri *(N m)* goat, sheep Jambilarnarlu wirlingkiwunyarna jamabilinarlu marlukayarla yukulyarriningkami. *"Those two old people told us off for chasing goats."*

yurlaminkɹ *(N n)* (also yurlamunka) eucalypt species *(Eucalyptus chlorophylla, Eucalyptus tectifica)* Nginirni yurlaminkunu ngajami! *"Look at that Yurlaminku tree!"* (used to make nulla-nulla and didgeridoo)
(cf: dinjulu)

yulurrbungku *(N m)* (also yulurrkbungku) water goanna Yaardi ibilkirnimbili yulurrbungkunu darraardi kakuyi. *"The water goanna lives in the water and eats fish."*

yungm-
see *(w)ingm-*

yunku *(N n)* foot, shoe, footprint, track (of legged animal) Nyindarna nganga juwirriminduwa yunku. *"We must follow the animal's tracks."*
(cf: yurnukurdukurdu)

yurnukurdukurdu *(N n)* foot, footprint, track (of animal) Ngajanganu yurnukurdukurdu walanja, nginuwara yarruku walanja, jalyamungku. *"I saw goanna tracks, the goanna went this way, fresh tracks."*
(cf: yunku)

yuranya *(Adv)* many, a big mob, bundle Ngajakaji ngaju yuranya, jinkirdi yuranya ngajangaju. *"I can see many stars."*
(cf: bayardardu, bundurrunga, dardu, yardbarrku)

yurray- *(V)* (also yurraya ngab-, yurr-) play (game or instrument) Yurrayangarriyi. *"I'm going to go and play."*
yurrayayurr- *(V)* play around

yurrba *(Adj m only, no f)* naughty, troublesome miserable Yabarni ngindarnikirni yurrba kalyurra. *"This young fellow is a troublemaker."*
(cf: jirdirdini, kalyurra, waarungka)

yurrku *(N n)* flower honey, nectar Yurrku bujaju. *"I'm sniffing a flower."*

yurru *(Adv, pre-V)* (also yurrub) dropped down, down flat Yurrub ngaju. *"I'm hiding down flat."*

yurru bardk- *(V)* (also yurru bil-) hide oneself, drop down and hide, plant oneself Yurru bardkangayi jamana yajima bardkangayi arduku. *"I'm going to duck down and hide from that one coming."*

(cf: barl (w)ardk-)

yurru duw- *(V)* swim along, dive into water (elongated) Jirrbu wardkangarriyi kalyirr yurru duwardu. *"I'm going to dive into the water swim along."*

yurru *(N n)* yam or melon creeper/vine Jimandayi yurruwarndi ngabajanayi nyambala bundurrunayi ngabaju. *"That vine might have food on it."*

English-Jingulu Word Finder

A

Aborigine (traditional) ... **munba**
above ... **jaajaakambili, jaangki**
Acacia bidwillii ... **kiyilmi**
acacia bush ... **mininmi**
Acacia colei ... **bilangbilangmi**
Acacia coriacea ... **kunajuru**
Acacia difficilis ... **bilangbilangmi**
Acacia farnesiana ... **kiyilmi**
Acacia holoserica ... **mangurla, mirrinmirrinji**
Acacia lysiphloia ... **mungkurrja** (Kuw.), **murlurrmi**
Acacia shirleyi ... **jirrmungkulyi, karnawunji**
Acacia stenophylla ... **barlungbarlungmi**
Acacia victoriae ... **mininmi**
accessories ... **larnku**
ache ... **kularriy-**
acidic (of food) ... **dajbajkala**
across ... **lurnkurrba**
across (on the other side of water etc.) ... **malyaku**
active ... **yarrabura**
adopt ... **binjam-**
adult (has been through ceremonies) ... **ngamungkujkula**
adulterer ... **jijangkuji**
adulterous ... **jija, jijajkala**
Aeschynomene indica ... **bulurukuji, jarumajaruma, jirlirla, yukulirrimi**
afraid ... **ngirliwi**
afraid (be afraid) ... **ngirliw-**
afternoon ... **(y)idayidajku**
afternoon (after lunch) ... **kunungkujkuwalu**
again ... **lurrbu**
aggressive ... **bunbamajka**
agree with ... **marndaj**
agressive ... **durdili**
aim ... **ngirrayal-**
alike ... **kuyubulu**
alive ... **wanka**
all around ... **ngarrijirri, wankijnganajku**
all day ... **junjunji**
all night ... **kardarrukuji**
all together (large group) ... **warrb**
allow someone to talk again after a period of silence ... **(w)alk baj-**
along the way ... **jungkalungka**
alongside ... **balyab, milarnda**

alright ..... **marndaj**
also brother's wife ..... **kabirni**
also *Grevillea mimosoides* ..... **bukumarra**
always ..... **kardarda**
ancient (person) ..... **nyambarnin**
angry ..... **jirdad, kararangbiyaka**
ankle ..... **bardbarla**
annoy ..... **kijikijib-**
annoying ..... **(w)aburrmajkala**
another ..... **kungka**
answer ..... **(w)ali (w)ambay-**
ant (large black) ..... **kijakijirni**
ant (red) ..... **bilaya, kulangkurrmana**
ant (small black) ..... **bakungunjini**
ant (small or medium sized) ..... **jujuja**
ant (white ant) ..... **jakirrirni**
anthill ..... **bilaya**
Anthony's Lagoon ..... **Karrkarrkurraja**
anus ..... **ngumi**
approach ..... **lurdba + V, lurdba wangk-**
aquatic ..... **(y)ibilkinarnu**
argue ..... **ambal-, kijikum-, kunyinkirr-**
argument (mild) ..... **kuninbi**
Aristida pruinosa ..... **mawurumi**
arm ..... **marndamarnda**
arm (top of upper arm) ..... **murlku**
armpit ..... **wanjku**
around ..... **wankij**
arrive ..... **baaj, ibij-**
ashamed ..... **mabu**
ashamed (be ashamed) ..... **mabuy-**
ashamedly ..... **imarra**
ashes ..... **buna, laya**
ask for ..... **jajk-**
assembly ..... **jiyibilaka**
associated stream and coolibah tree near Beetaloo ..... **Murlububumi**
at a distant place ..... **jungkalumbili**
Atalaya hemiglauca ..... **jakirlirra, wabilungu** (Kuw.)
atop ..... **jaajaakambili, jangangkala**
Australian bustard ..... **karninyinji, kurrkabadi** (Kuw.)
avoidance (with avoidance) ..... **daara**
awake ..... **lawu, lawu duw-**
away ..... **dibij, dibij(u)w-, diyaj, yajka**
axe (stone or steel) ..... **(w)urdila, dardawu**
axe (stone) ..... **kirnbilirdi, mangkurni**
axe handle ..... **birnmurru**

B

baby (human) ..... **manjala**
bachelor ..... **malkirrangkuji**
back ..... **kumungku, lurrbu**
back (lower) ..... **barndumi, nyinjimi**
back (lumbar) ..... **barndumi**
back bone ..... **kumungku**
back track ..... **lurrbu nay-**
backwater ..... **munmaku**
bad ..... **(w)akiyabardu, jirdirda, karriyaka, nyukunyuka**
bad (be bad) ..... **nyiyingkirr-**
bad (people or things) ..... **waaka**
bad (person) ..... **jungulinji, karriyaka, warrijmajka**
bad drunk ..... **kararangbi**
bad tempered ..... **kararangbi, kararangbiyaka, lankajkanajbija**
bag ..... **(w)ukurdini**
bail ..... **larlub karr-, larlub maj-**
bail (sand or water) ..... **larlubaj-**
bake ..... **duj-**
bald ..... **malibanyajija**
bandage ..... **(w)idij-, dirrk baj-**
bandicoot ..... **bardkula, mulungkarrirni, yalbawurrini, yarningkirni**
bang ..... **dajk-**
bank (of river) ..... **darraajbi**
barbed wire ..... **munungkumi marrimarrimi**
bark ..... **(w)ingm-, barndabi, kamarra, kurrnyu**
bark (stringy) ..... **duwulyani, warnila, yubungu**
bark of lancewood ..... **dimilyi, manjarna**
barking owl ..... **kurrkuji**
barn owl ..... **ngajakurra** (Kuw.)
barren ..... **wawajijirni**
barren (country) ..... **ladarrku**
barren (tree or country) ..... **bundurrujuju**
barren woman ..... **kurduwakurni**
basin (in ground, shallow) ..... **munmulka**
basket ..... **biyardu**
bat (large) ..... **barnkiji**
bat (small) ..... **ngaliminymirni**
bathe ..... **kibardk-**
bauhinea seed pod ..... **ngabilibili**
bauhinea tree ..... **(w)irringila, jingi, wanyarri** (Kuw.)
bay ..... **munmaku**
be located ..... **bil-, jambilijin-**
be tender or sore (body part) ..... **kawuyarr-**
beard ..... **jalyu** (Kuw.), **jiyirndimi**

beat (of heart) ..... durdurdbi
beaten up ..... mulyumulyubi
beating ..... durdurdbi
bed (of flattened grass or leaves) ..... jalyu
bedtime ..... ngurrayijbi
bee ..... kununga
beef ..... kanyburru
Beetaloo (station) ..... Warranganku
Beetaloo Creek ..... Karlwarlwaaba
beetle ..... kurrnyungkuji, liyimbungkuji, marramarrangkuji
beetle species (possibly earwig) ..... mijuku bajkarlini
before ..... jaburra, kuyangula
befriend ..... (w)urr-
begin ..... jaburrang bak-
behind ..... biyangka, kumungkumbili
belch ..... jalangkarrb-
belly ..... maralu
belt (made of hair) ..... jadukurru
bend ..... wankij
bend down ..... (w)urlardk-
bend in river ..... dirdilkikimi
bend in wood ..... kilyilyi
bend over ..... bunyurr-
bending over ..... bunyurruki
beside ..... balkij
betroth ..... jayimil-
between ..... lurnkurrba
big ..... murrmuyaka, ngamurla
big (of animals only) ..... dikabila
big (very) ..... ngardajkala
bill (of bird) ..... kalbanyku
billabong ..... langkana
billabong approximately 12km SSE of Elliott ..... Wijira
billabong right near Wijira ..... Ngarrabanka
billy can ..... jawaranya
billy goat ..... (w)ardbulurra
bindii ..... (w)urlurnmi, budunarrimi
bird (any) ..... jurliji
bird species ..... kankanbalarra
bird's claw ..... milinji
bit (a bit) ..... jangu, jangunama
bit by bit ..... ayinjinama
bite ..... dajb-, dajbajkala, dij bil-
biting (as a dog or snake) ..... dajbajkala
bitter ..... jabara
black ..... kaburrkaburru
black bean tree ..... miyikimi

blacken ..... kaburrjɒ-
blade of hook boomerang (small) ..... (w)ukurndurru
blame (silently (not 'accuse')) ..... marrngaj-
blanket ..... ngurrmana
blanket lizard ..... jamankula
blanket lizard (small) ..... walbingirra
bleed ..... ngabarangkurru warrk-
blind ..... kamamurra
blink ..... nginyngiliy-
block ..... karndanymil-
block up ..... jard bil-
blond pigeon ..... wandarrkururni
blood ..... (w)urraja, ngabarangkurru
bloodwood ..... (w)ubala
bloodwood (river species) ..... kurruda
bloodwood gum ..... diyinu
bloodwood nut ..... nyikirrurru
bloodwood tree ..... (y)ubungari
bloodwood type with short nut ..... jirdburdbu
blow (of animates) ..... buy-
blow (of wind) ..... (w)ambay-, buwub mali
blow around ..... (w)ardjkuw-, warramal juw-
blow over ..... warramal juw-
blowfly ..... kungurlurla
blue tongue lizard (large) ..... jurlurlurra
blue tongue lizard (small) ..... lungkura
bluebush ..... bulungkarrimi
body ..... jambiliji, nambiliju
body hair ..... nganya
body paint (greyish) ..... ngunjɨngunju
body paint (white) ..... bilirdbi, makirra (Kuw.)
bog ..... irlwiji
bogged (get bogged) ..... mird bardk-
boil ..... (w)ukurliji, bijbulak-, ng inj-
bone ..... bungbungku, kardakarda
book ..... bijilirla
boomerang ..... kurrubardu
boomerang ('Number 7') ..... warridirli
boss ..... marluka, ngamurla
bosun bird ..... durdba
Bothriochloa ewartiana ..... liyiji
bottle ..... murrubala
bottle tree ..... kajura
bottom ..... burdumi
bower bird ..... jarrirli, jiwarurru
box (wooden) ..... kurrnyu
box of matches ..... kurrnyungkuju buba

boy ..... **karlingka, yaba**
boy (crawling) ..... **barlamarra** (Kuw.), **dirndijajkala**
boy (just walking) ..... **kurlukurla**
boy (pubescent) ..... **jajkalu**
boyfriend ..... **(w)ardinja**
Brachychiton diversifolium ..... **dirdikbi**
brain ..... **kidba** (Kuw.), **marrkulu**
branch ..... **darrangku, malangardku, nyanyalu**
bread ..... **kandirri**
break ..... **dajk-, dajku mil-, dij bil-, dil maj-, duk baj-, kij bak-, lakarr maj-, warrk-**
break (off) by hand ..... **laj baj-**
break down ..... **dang bak-, karra warrk-, kij bak-**
break up (a fight) ..... **karndanymil-**
break wind ..... **durrung ngab-**
breast ..... **jimurdku, ngabulu**
breathe ..... **ngardjuw-**
bright ..... **biringbiyaku**
brightly coloured skink ..... **dangunyinji**
bring ..... **ngaba + suffix 'to come'**
bring into ..... **lurlubjuw-**
broad daylight ..... **binyamaku**
broken ..... **lakarr, lakarrmiji**
brolga ..... **yalkurrungkudi**
bronzewing ..... **marababirni, wandarrkururni**
br[illegible] (elder) ..... **baba**
brother (younger) ..... **bardarda**
brother by skin (different parents) ..... **(w)arlukubiya**
brother by skin only (different parents) ..... **ngabarlangku**
brother-in-law ..... **ngambiya**
brow ..... **ibijibiji**
brown (light brown) ..... **bilyingbiyaku**
brown owl (small) ..... **barnangka**
brown snake ..... **burnumurra**
brush ..... **junji**
bucket shovel (big) ..... **jarlkandarru**
bucket shovel (small coolamon) ..... **juka**
bucket shovel (small) ..... **kurluwarru**
budgerigar ..... **(w)ujuwujurni**
buffalo ..... **nganabarru**
bull ..... **(w)ardbulurra**
bull ant ..... **kijakijirni**
bullfrog ..... **ngalayiminji**
bullock ..... **dirdbakanu, marranybala**
bullocky bush ..... **birdiyinjirrmi, kangkaala, lawa**
bullwaddy (tree) ..... **kamanji, warlumbu**
bump ..... **danykuw-**
bump (in the ground) ..... **dirdilwarri, mardarduju**

bunched into a fist ..... **durduly**
bundle ..... **bundurrunga, yuranya**
burial ..... **lakudbili**
burial in tree (traditional funeral) ..... **janbarra, juwuru**
burl ..... **birdu**
burn ..... **(w)umbum-, dunjuw-, ngunj-**
burn (large fire like a bushfire etc.) ..... **lujb-**
burn mark ..... **waru**
burnt (grass or ground) ..... **ngunjalu**
burnt ground ..... **mambunku**
burp ..... **jalangkarrb-**
burrow ..... **karlaju**
burrowing frog ..... **ngalayirni**
burrowing marsupial/rodent ..... **(w)ijibarda**
burrowing mouse ..... **mujaka**
burst ..... **dajk-**
burst (boil, blister etc.) ..... **dajku mil-**
burst open (as a boil etc.) ..... **dikirr wardk-**
bury ..... **lakud bil-**
bush ..... **(w)ulyurrku, wawurru**
bush (be out bush) ..... **dankay-**
bush (country) ..... **buji**
bush banana (old) ..... **kilibi** (Kuw.)
bush banana (older) ..... **ngimirrikimi**
bush banana (young) ..... **ngamindurrukbi**
bush orange fruit (rotten) ..... **wamarlarra**
bush species ..... **kurabuka** (Kuw.), **marndula**
butcher bird (brown) ..... **ijijurnminji**
butcher bird (large) ..... **bilkurr**
butcher bird (pied and grey) ..... **kurrbalawuji**
butterfly ..... **marlimarlirni**
buttocks ..... **burdumi, injilmi**
buzz ..... **ngiyarr-**

C

calf ..... **ngilyikbi**
call out ..... **(w)ard-**
calmly ..... **(w)arduku**
camp ..... **kurrind-, ngawu**
Capparis lasiantha ..... **mingkilawurnumi, wardbardbumi**
Capparis umbonata ..... **burnaringmi**
car ..... **mudika**
care for ..... **narnangaj-**
carefree (person) ..... **dirdikarrajbija**
careful ..... **narnangajajkala**
carefully ..... **(w)arduku**

caress ..... marnmarn-
caring (toward someone) ..... nguran
Carissa lanceolata ..... (y)irriminjulu
Carissa lanceolata (brownii) ..... kulyukulyumi
carpet snake ..... warlujabirni
carrot (native) ..... kankankulukbi, nyiyinmi
carrot (wild carrot tree) ..... ngaburrayimi
carry ..... laj-
carry on hip ..... jalard-
cart ..... kamany-
cat ..... bujikarda, kardayi
catch up with ..... kajub wardk-
caterpillar ..... kungmarna
catfish ..... kirirni
cattle bush ..... birdiyinjirrmi, kangkaala, lawa
Caucasian ..... karriba (Kuw.), maamaandanya
Causeway ..... Warnkayi
caustic vine ..... jinjinmi
cave ..... birdbulu, nankuna
cease ..... (w)inmil-, bungk-
centipede ..... jalarrini (Kuw.), marlangkabirrirni
centre ..... jurrku
ceremonial law (male) ..... mindibubu
ceremonial markings (temporary, painted) ..... (w)umangku
ceremonies (men's) ..... durdu
ceremony (men's, restricted) ..... dulinya
chair ..... mankiyajka
change (including clothes) ..... (w)irrinjum-, kurrij bil-, ngarrij bak-, wankij bak-
change of state ..... bak-
change over ..... (y)irrinjum-
charcoal ..... linyarda
chase ..... imbil-
chase away ..... juwangk-
chase off ..... juwangk-
chat ..... bajk- + non-sg subject + REFL
cheek ..... kangarnda, nyujujka
cheeky ..... marrimarra
chest ..... jukaya, linku, mangarli
chestnut teal ..... warlabadbi
chewing mix ..... warnungkuju
chewing tobacco ..... warnungkuju
chicken hawk ..... dirdila
child ..... wawa
childless (woman) ..... wawajijirni
children ..... amanjamanja
chin ..... jiyirndimi
choke ..... kardbaj-

chop (with an axe) ..... **nangk-**
chopped up ..... **yababanja**
cigarette ..... **warnu**
circle ..... **luwaku**
circle (ceremonial) ..... **ngirrinyinmi**
circumcised man ..... **marliyarra**
circumcision (ceremony) ..... **murlkirdi**
clap (sticks) ..... **dardarl-**
clap boomerangs ..... **bij bil-**
clap boomerangs together ..... **birdbil-**
clap hands ..... **budburr-**
clapping stick ..... **kundalnga**
clapping sticks ..... **dardarlajka**
clay (white) country ..... **biyawiya**
clean ..... **kilarliju**
clean shaven ..... **(w)urrjiyaningkunu, jiyirndiinijija**
clear ..... **kilarliju**
clear country to horizon ..... **jaarra**
clear the ground ..... **(w)alkind-**
clear the way ..... **bungami-**
clearing ..... **bakara, barrambarra**
clearing (long narrow) ..... **barangarnajku**
clearing (small) ..... **dibijkanajku**
clearing southwest of Elliott ..... **Marrini**
clever/tricky person ..... **mikanykuji, ngunbuluka** (Kuw.)
cliff ..... **jirrkilimi**
climb ..... **langand-, warrk-**
climb up ..... **jangku wardk-**
close ..... **jard bil-, marnburr-**
close by ..... **kajub**
close in on ..... **kajub wardk-**
close one's eyes ..... **kamamurri il- +REFL**
close up ..... **lurdbalurdba**
closed ..... **jard**
clothes ..... **larnku**
cloud ..... **kulumarra, madayi**
cloud (thin) ..... **mambunku**
cloud (wispy) ..... **(w)arranyangku**
cloud front ..... **wirakina**
club ..... **barrku, birnmurru, dikidika, kuduru**
clump of trees ..... **naraja**
clumsy ..... **karriyaka**
cochlospermum gregorii ..... **kajura**
cockatiel ..... **wirriwurna**
cockatoo (black) ..... **lirrikbirni**
cockatoo (red) ..... **(w)ilikbirni**
cockatoo (samll, white) ..... **mirdilyirrirni**

cockatoo (sulphur crested) ... **bangarra, yakakak**
cockatoo (white) ... **birrili**
cockroach ... **jarridbiji**
cocky ... **durdili, jingkarli**
cold ... **(w)urrajburrajku, (w)urrajkala, (w)urrajkalu, jamurri, jamurriyaka, kurrumunmurlu**
cold (in head) ... **kurdkulyu**
cold weather ... **(w)urrajburrajku, (w)urrajkalu, kurrumunmurlu**
cold wind ... **(w)urrajburrajku**
collar bone ... **ngalirrilirrirdi**
collect ... **(w)uruwum-, wak-**
colon ... **binybajbunmi**
comb ... **yarr bardk-**
come ... **(w)angku, barr- + reflexive, lurdba + V**
come away ... **diyaj bak-**
come away from ... **dajk-**
come down ... **(w)urlardk-, jud bardk-, jun may-**
come last ... **biyangk-**
come near ... **lurdba wangk-**
come out ... **(w)urdu, dibij(u)w-**
come out from ... **dajk-**
come together ... **barr- + reflexive**
commit adultery ... **jija jarrkaj-**
concerned person ... **dirdikarrajkala**
confidant (keeper of a secret) ... **ngarrabajajbija**
confident ... **jingkarli**
confused ... **karriyaka**
confusing ... **(w)aburrmajkala**
conkerberry ... **(y)irriminjulu, kulyukulyumi**
content ... **janjanbi**
conversation ... **ambayajka**
converse ... **bajk- + non-sg subject + REFL**
cook ... **(w)umbum-**
cooked ... **burdalyi**
cool (trans) ... **jamurri il-**
coolamon ... **jarranguna, lawunja**
coolamon (short flat) ... **biyardu**
coolamon tree ... **kurlunjurru** (Kuw.)
cooled ... **jamurriyaka**
coolibah tree ... **bidbidarra**
coot ... **ngamamiyikini**
copse ... **naraja**
copulate ... **karubkarub, niyu + REFL, nyiy-**
corkwood tree ... **bukumarra, kurlunjurru** (Kuw.), **ngimbija**
cormorant ... **kuwarndanbinyaka**
cormorant (pied) ... **kiwinji**
corner ... **dirdilka, nijiniji, wankij**

corpse ..... **jarlkandarru, kimurdi**
corpse (human) ..... **warrijbala**
correct ..... **marndaj**
correct (someone) ..... **(y)indal ngab-**
corroboree ..... **bula, dika**
cough ..... **kurdkuly-, kurdkulyu**
country (of tribe) ..... **ngawu**
country and various related sites belonging to Baribari (emu star) dreaming ..... **Baribari**
courting ..... **kawurdu**
courtship token ..... **ngawurluka**
cousin-in-law ..... **judalya, juwurla, juwurlini**
cover ..... **(w)ukuk bil-, lakud bil-**
cover up ..... **jibijb-**
covered in fur ..... **nganyankuji**
covetous ..... **nguran**
cow ..... **buliki, dirdbakanu, marranybala**
crab ..... **jindirrirni, ngardarda**
crack ..... **dirdilkikimi, lajk-**
crack (in dry ground) ..... **yalalawura**
crack (in ground) ..... **yalawara**
crack (large) ..... **munmulka**
cracked (ground) ..... **yalyalyaku**
crane (black and white) ..... **darliwa**
crane (white) ..... **liwirni**
cranky ..... **kararangbiyaka**
crawl ..... **dirndij-**
creek ..... **jurrkurlu, Kularda**
creek frog ..... **ngalayiminji**
creek just East of Wijibarda (Longreach) ..... **Kurrngurrmi, Marrulu, Nikilyikilyimi**
creek near Marlinja (Newcastle Waters) ..... **Bujbu**
creek near Marlinja and Bujbu (on Newcastle Waters) ..... **Mayilakurru**
creek sand ..... **yarrilinja**
creep around ..... **dirndij-**
creep up ..... **dirndiji barr-**
creeping grass ..... **(w)urlurnmi, budunarrimi**
crest (of bird) ..... **kuwanja**
crested pigeon ..... **kilwilwirni**
cricket ..... **dalydaly, mirdimirdi**
cricket (young) ..... **dirndijaka**
Crinum angustifolium ..... **jajarrkin**
cripple ..... **mulyumulyubi may-**
crippled ..... **mulyumulyubi**
crooked ..... **kirdilyaka, likirri**
crooked (of people) ..... **warndabulyaka**
cross ..... **karlwadaj bil-**
cross cousin (female) ..... **(w)ankilirni**
cross cousin (male) ..... **(w)ankila**

cross fingers ..... **marnburr-**
crossed ..... **dilyilyi** (Kuw.), **karlwadaj**
crossed (body part) ..... **durdukul**
crossroads ..... **karlwadajkaju karrijbi**
crouch ..... **dirlirl-**
crow ..... **(w)angkulayi**
crowd ..... **jiyibilaka**
cruel ..... **jirdirda, mayayajkala**
crush ..... **dulyurr may-, lulyurr may-**
cry ..... **nguk-**
cuckoo shrike (grey) ..... **jurruwuji**
cucumber (native, fruit) ..... **(w)arnburrujinimi**
cucumber (native, plant) ..... **(w)arnburrkbi**
Cucumis melo ..... **(w)arnburrkbi, (w)arnburrujinimi, murulumi**
cultivate ..... **binjam-**
cup ..... **jawaranya**
cure ..... **(w)unjkum-**
curlew ..... **(w)irndukurni**
curlew (Eastern) ..... **waarkini**
current (running water or blood, runny nose) ..... **larlarlaju**
custodian ..... **kulyungkulyungbi**
cut ..... **dil may-, dilm-, dirrm-, nikin**
cut (a) throat ..... **jurrk baj-**
cut hair ..... **(w)urrjk-**
cut in half ..... **dalkurr nangk-**
cut into pieces ..... **buj baj-**
cut off ..... **dil nangk-, nikin**
cut open ..... **buj baj-**
cut up ..... **dij bil-**
cutting implement (any) ..... **mayingkirni**
cyclone-related weather ..... **marlinbungu**
cyclonic winds and rain ..... **marlinbungu**
Cymbopogon bombycinus ..... **warrinjalan**

D

Daly Waters ..... **Badba**
dam ..... **nankuna**
damn! ..... **ngarla**
damper ..... **kandirri**
damselfly ..... **(w)urrumbumbi**
dance ..... **ngarl-, ngarlakajka**
dance (women) ..... **jujurrk-**
dance belonging to initiation (kujika) ..... **Marndiwa**
dancing (the event or occasion) ..... **ngarlakajka**
dangerous ..... **karriyaka**
dark ..... **kamamurri, kamuru, muwum**

dark (be dark) ..... **muwum bardk-**
dark brown ..... **kaburrkaburru**
darken ..... **kaburrjb-, muwum duk-**
darken (day into night) ..... **muwum duk-**
darken (with clouds, rain etc.) ..... **kakujb-**
darkness ..... **kamuru**
darter ..... **kuwarndanbinyaka**
daughter ..... **bibirni, kulirni**
daughter (ego: 3rd person) ..... **biwulirni**
daughter-in-law ..... **limbirrirni**
daughter-in-law (Kuw.) ..... **lambarra**
daylight ..... **dilu**
daytime ..... **(w)uliyijangardi**
daytime (in the daytime) ..... **(w)uluwijangambili**
dead ..... **danmiyili**
dead (of plants) ..... **barlulyi**
dead (to death) ..... **danmiyili**
deaf ..... **langajija**
deafen ..... **nyurrilanganj-**
death adder ..... **(w)amukurni** (Kuw.)
Decaisnina signata ..... **ngalirringkirribi**
deceased ..... **lakudukanu**
decorational down (red) ..... **wanjarri**
decorational down (white) ..... **diyardiya wirrkburrkbu**
deep ..... **jirrkanku, jurruku**
deep (bank, slope, or object) ..... **(w)ardbardbala, darlukurra**
defecate ..... **ngard-, ngard- ngumi**
dense ..... **mijilmijurlu**
dense growth ..... **wawurru**
dent ..... **jambilk baj-**
depleted ..... **munmunji**
descend ..... **jud bardk-, jun may-**
desert mangrove ..... **jinjaraku**
desirous ..... **nguran**
devil ..... **warrijki**
dew ..... **(y)irlarlu, ngilibarnku**
Dicrostachys spicata ..... **kiyilmi**
didgeridoo ..... **bambu, kulungkukbi**
die ..... **dang bak-, il- + reflexive**
die down (fire) ..... **jibiji**
different ..... **karriyaka**
difficult ..... **(w)akiyabardu**
dig ..... **kalyarr-, larlub, larlub karr-, larlub maj-, larlubaj-**
dig (with an instrument) ..... **(w)arnmil-, langa nungk-**
dig through ..... **kuj-**
dig up ..... **kalyarr-**
digging stick ..... **kabila, makalyani**

dingo ..... **iminji, warlaku**
dip ..... **jirrbu juw-**
dirty ..... **jundurrm-**
dirty (of water) ..... **junduji**
disagreeable ..... **langajija**
disagreement ..... **kuninbi**
disagreement (protracted) ..... **mayilibi**
disappointed ..... **jirdad**
disbelief ..... **kunyajbi**
disbelieving ..... **kunyajbima**
discard ..... **duwa ngab-**
discard (on the ground) ..... **lirrbju**
discipline ..... **mankarr-**
dislike ..... **inj-**
dislike (someone) ..... **jirdad**
display (a thing) ..... **barinym-**
distant ..... **barrbarda, jungkali**
distant (place) ..... **jungkurrakurru**
distant place ..... **nguwuru**
distributively ..... **yarrbkarra**
dive ..... **jirrbu wardk-, ngarub duw-, ngaruk bak-**
dive into water (elongated) ..... **yurru duw-**
diver duck (black) ..... **nardburrinjirni, narli**
diver duck (large, black and white) ..... **kuwarndanbinyaka**
diver duck (small) ..... **birridini**
diver duck (white) ..... **kiwinji**
divide ..... **dij bil-**
divorce ..... **bungk-**
do ..... **baj-**
do what ..... **(w)anikiy-**
doctor (traditional or modern) ..... **mikanykuji, ngunbuluka** (Kuw.)
dodge ..... **bard baj-**
dog ..... **kunyarrba**
dog (dingo or camp dog) ..... **warlaku**
dollarbird (black) ..... **jinbinbilyi**
dollarbird (white) ..... **janba**
donkey ..... **dimana langa biyijala, langa biyijaala, ngardangki** (Kuw.)
double over ..... **durdukul wardk-**
doubled up ..... **dilyilyi** (Kuw.), **durduly**
dove ..... **bilangkurrirdi, kularnkurrurdi**
down ..... **jarluku**
down (get down) ..... **jud bardk-, jun may-**
down flat ..... **yurru**
downward ..... **jardurr**
drag ..... **(w)urrajk-, kamany-**
dragon lizard ..... **buburlu**
dragon lizard (large, black) ..... **karnkurlukurli**

dragon lizard (small) ..... kaburi
dragon lizard (woodland) ..... kidkilyi
dragonfly ..... (w)urrumbumbi
drawing ..... (w)irrk bilajbungku
dreadlocked ..... murdurrmurduji
dream ..... bankaja, bankaja ngab-
dreaming story ..... (w)umangku
dress ..... jayirrm-
drink ..... darr-
drip ..... jilng bak-
dripping ..... jilng
drop ..... (w)ardka il-, bardk-
drop down and hide ..... yurru bardk-
drop to the ground (flat) and hide ..... barl (w)ardk-
dropped down ..... yurru
drops ..... (y)ibilkirni
drown ..... ngaruk bak-
dry ..... (w)arak bil-, barlulyi, kurranja, ladarrku
dry grass ..... kunkurdurdu
dry out ..... ladaji, nany-
dry sand ridge area West of Jingili country ..... Jarrimanu
dry season ..... barungku
duck ..... (w)abardk-
duck (hardhead) ..... jurluwardbini, ngawuyaka, ngurrujuruka
duck (large wood duck) ..... (w)ububukarri
duck (small wood duck) ..... warlabadbi
duck (whistle duck) ..... kibilyawurni
duck (white diver duck) ..... kiwinji
duck down ..... (w)abardk-
dull skink ..... buburlu
dumb ..... jalanya akiyabardu, jalanyajija
dumb person ..... (w)inmilaka
dunk ..... jirrbu juw-
dust ..... jundurru, mayamba

E

each (to each) ..... yarrbkarra
eagle (wedge tailed eagle) ..... jarndarringka
eagle hawk ..... jarndarringka, karrkanya
ear ..... bijiwa, langa
ear wax ..... marnkulukulidi
earhole ..... luwaku bijiwa
early morning ..... jangkikaji, ngurrarunama
early night ..... ngurrayijbi
earth ..... karalu
earth oven ..... bujbu

earthworm ..... **minanga**
easily ..... **kaala kaala**
east ..... **karrawarra** (Kuw.), **ngubu**
eastward ..... **karrawarraka, nguburdki**
eat ..... **darr-**
eat by licking ..... **ngabij-**
eaten by termites ..... **jakalarru**
eaten by the white ants ..... **jakirringkujku**
echidna ..... **nyinawurdirni**
echidna (spiny ant-eater) ..... **kiyilyirni**
ecstatic ..... **jingkarli**
edge of water ..... **darraajbi**
edible animal ..... **nganga**
effective ..... **jangkijbaja**
egg ..... **kidba** (Kuw.), **marrkulu**
egg white ..... **(w)irrkburrkba**
egg yolk ..... **dankurranybinyaku, minjkujku**
ejaculate ..... **barraly-, ngard-**
elbow ..... **mujumi**
elder ..... **marluka**
elder sister ..... **bibirni**
eldest (in a family) ..... **bulkunga, jaburrama**
eldest in a family ..... **ngardajkala**
Elliott ..... **Kulumindirni**
embrace ..... **mirnmirn-**
empty ..... **luwaku**
empty space ..... **walkba**
emu ..... **kirninginjirni**
emu bush ..... **kurubimi**
emu feathers ..... **malyimalyi**
emu plum ..... **marlungkarru**
end (of a branch, limb, creek etc.) ..... **jaajaaka**
end a journey ..... **ibij-**
end of painting stick ..... **junji**
enter ..... **(y)urdurruk-, darndarn bak-**
equal ..... **kanba, kuyubulu**
Eragrostis tenellula ..... **kingkirra, ngangarra**
erase ..... **jurum-**
Erimophila bignoniflora ..... **kurubimi**
err ..... **(w)aburrm-, bujubujub-**
eucalypt species ..... **dinjulu, yurlaminku**
eucalyptus aspera ..... **kurruda**
Eucalyptus camaldulensis ..... **bilirna, kunjimarra** (Kuw.)
Eucalyptus chlorophylla ..... **dinjulu, yurlaminku**
Eucalyptus ferruginea ..... **jirdburdbu**
eucalyptus leucophloia ..... **(w)amba, mandalurra**
*Eucalyptus microthec*a et al. ..... **bidbidarra**

Eucalyptus papuana ..... **darralyaka**
Eucalyptus polycarpa ..... **(w)ubala**
Eucalyptus pruinosa ..... **bularraku**
Eucalyptus tectifica ..... **yurlaminku**
Eucalyptus terminalis ..... **(y)ubungari**
European ..... **karriba** (Kuw.), **maamaandanya, wajbala**
even ..... **ngalaju**
evening ..... **(y)idayidajku**
eventually ..... **ngaakunji**
every day ..... **dardukijka, kardarda**
exchange ..... **ngalajku**
Excoecaria parvifolia ..... **manyingila, marrija**
exhausted ..... **dalyaŋkarr**
explain ..... **langm-**
extinguish ..... **jibijb-, jibiji**
extract ..... **(w)ijuk baj-, jayirlungka maj-**
eye ..... **ngabanju, ngurru**
eyebrow ..... **ibijibiji**
eyelash ..... **ibijibiji, nganya**
Eythrophleum chlorostachyum ..... **marndarnngarra**

F

face ..... **kuya, nyujujka**
faeces ..... **ngumi**
fail ..... **warrk-**
fake ..... **(w)akiyabardu**
falcon ..... **karrkanya, kurnbiliny** (Kuw.)
fall ..... **(w)ardk-, dang, warrk-, warrk-**
fall (of night) ..... **muwum duk-**
fall (off a tree) ripe ..... **makuya warrk-**
fall and break ..... **dang bak-**
fall and crack ..... **dil wardk-**
fall and split ..... **dil wardk-**
fall off ..... **dambaj bak-**
fall out ..... **dambaj bak-**
fall over and spill ..... **jalalangkarra bardk-**
fallen tree ..... **darrangku warrkajbunku**
false ..... **karriyaka**
family bird ..... **kulanginyirni**
far ..... **jungkali**
far from shore ..... **jurruku**
far side ..... **barrbarda**
fart ..... **durrung ngab-**
fast ..... **kunumburra**
fat ..... **dika, dikabila**
fat (of men only) ..... **julurrkbiyaka**

fat (of people) ..... **murrmuyaka, ngardajkala**
father ..... **kirda, lala**
father (ego: son) ..... **barnanga**
father (ego: third person) ..... **lalula**
father and one child ..... **larlukulinji**
father and siblings of speaker ..... **yarrikila**
father and son(s) ..... **barnangarla, larlukula**
father's sister ..... **lalardi, lilirni**
father-in-law ..... **lambarra**
father-in-law's sister (ego: male) ..... **lambarra kulirni**
father-in-law's sister (ego: male) (Kuw.) ..... **lambarra**
feather ..... **diyardiya, liyimbu**
feather (tail feathers) ..... **balyanu**
fed up ..... **jirdad**
feed ..... **ngarrarnm-**
feel ..... **(w)arum-**
feel (sense) ..... **dababil-**
feel shame ..... **imarr-**
feeling ..... **maralu**
female (of animals) ..... **maliyirni**
feminine ..... **maliyirni**
Ferguson's spring ..... **Karayu**
fever ..... **(w)ajirrku, marlumarlu**
few ..... **larranjku marndamarnda, naraja**
fierce ..... **marrimarra**
Fifteen-mile water hole ..... **Barungka**
fight ..... **(y)ingiyingi, bunbaku**
fight-dance (women's) ..... **jinkarr-**
file ..... **burduburdu**
filled ..... **dimbak**
filling ..... **bundurriyajkalu**
fin of fish ..... **nyila**
finally ..... **ngaakunji**
finch ..... **nyiyinyiyi, nyunumiyi**
finch (gouldian) ..... **jurdumajurduma**
find ..... **banybil-, jubaj-**
fine ..... **yababanja**
fingernail ..... **milinji, nungkuru**
finish ..... **burrb, dang bak-**
finished ..... **burrb**
fire ..... **buba, dirnd-, ijardkarru**
fire (a gun) ..... **dajk-**
fire-drill ..... **kungkulimi, mirdiyinjilmi, mirnirnmi**
fire-stick ..... **darrangku linyarda kunju, darrangku linyarda kunju, kungkulimi, mirdiyinjilmi**
firearm ..... **dirndajkalu, makirdi**
firewood ..... **(y)irriminjulu, buba, ijardkarru**

first ..... **jaburra, mimi**
first of all ..... **mimi**
fish (specifically perch) ..... **kakuyi**
fishing log ..... **limirnmi**
five ..... **marndamarnda**
fix ..... **ngirrm-**
fixed ..... **ngirrmakaji**
flame ..... **dilu, jalanya**
flat (red) stone ..... **biyawuja**
flatten out leaves or grass for a bed ..... **jalyum-**
flea ..... **midilyi**
flesh ..... **kanyburru**
flirt ..... **jingkarliy-, yakiliy-**
float ..... **bulubulub-**
flour ..... **burnku, lawa**
flow ..... **larlarl-, warrk-**
flower ..... **yurrku**
flushed ..... **jingkarli**
fly ..... **diyim, imarnnga, walnganji**
flying fox ..... **kinyakbanji**
flying fox (large red) ..... **bilkina**
flying fox (small) ..... **ngaliminymirni**
fog ..... **diyilyi, jarrawaku, jungunaku, junkarna, kara**
folded ..... **durdukul**
folded (fist, crossed arms or legs) ..... **dilyilyi** (Kuw.), **durduly**
foliage ..... **kurdalyu**
follow ..... **baj-, juwarr-**
food ..... **bundurru**
food (generally vegetable food) ..... **mami**
foot ..... **yunku, yurnukurdukurdu**
footprint ..... **yunku, yurnukurdukurdu**
forehead ..... **ibijibiji, walu, widuru**
foreign ..... **warnayaka**
foreign (another language) ..... **kungka marrinju**
foreigner ..... **warnayaka**
forest ..... **kayarra**
forget ..... **mujkiy-**
fork (including dinner fork) ..... **kilyilyi, yalyalyaku**
forked ..... **yalyalyaku**
forked branch ..... **kilyilyi, yalyalyaku**
forked stick or branch ..... **darrangku yalyalyaku**
four ..... **kujkarrurna-kujkarrurna**
fowl (native, black) ..... **birringbalirni**
fresh water ..... **(w)urawura**
friend ..... **barnka**
friendless ..... **barnkijija**
frightened person ..... **ngirliwajkala**

frill-necked lizard ..... jamankula
frog (sand frog) ..... ngalayirni
frog (tree frog) ..... birrinji
from here ..... nginingkami
from the east ..... ngubangkala
from there ..... jimingkami
from there (distant) ..... nginduwungkami
from there (from that place) ..... ngunungkami
from there (thence) ..... kuyungkami
from where ..... (w)ajungkami
front (strom or cloud front) ..... wirakina
front of neck ..... ngurndungurndulbi
fruit bat ..... dirndijmana
frustrated ..... jirdad
fuel for fire ..... ijardkarru
full ..... dimbak
full moon ..... bardangkarrarni ngamulakaji
full night ..... kurrarramba
full up (with food) ..... bundurra
fun ..... yalyarli
fun (for fun) ..... janjanbi
funeral ..... lakudbili
fungus ..... jalalarrka
funny (person) ..... kabijajkala
fur ..... nganya
furry ..... nganyankuji
further ..... kuyubarnama
further along ..... wardbija
fuse ..... dirnim-

G

galah ..... kilikilidi
galah grass ..... (w)urrbuja
gale ..... (w)urrajburrajku
gap (long narrow) ..... barangarnajku
gap in undergrowth (small) ..... wilyirdku
gather ..... (w)uruwum-, jibil-, nyinm-, wak-
gather together ..... nyinm- + reflexive
gather up ..... mijuwurd-
gathering ..... jiyibilaka
gecko ..... kangbi
generous ..... kalyirdji
get ..... (w)uruwum-, kajirrim-
get (also pick up) ..... maj-
get out ..... jud bardk-, jun may-
get out of the way ..... bungami-

get up ..... duw-
ghost ..... warrijki
ghost bat ..... jurnkurrubilyi
ghost gum ..... darralyaka
gift to potential father-in-law (ngambiya) ..... ngawurluka
gilgayi ..... balanganjanganja
girl (at or just before puberty) ..... birnmirrirni
girl (at puberty) ..... (w)amarlakadini
girl (child) ..... wiwirni
girl (older adolescent, big girl) ..... ngamurlini
girl (pubescent) ..... jajkalurni
girl (single) ..... kuwarlabirni
girlfriend ..... (w)ardinja
give ..... nguny-
give birth ..... lankaj, lankaj bil-, ngard-, ngard- wawa
give pain ..... lilingb-
glass container ..... murrubala
go ..... lurdba + V, wirri
go (on foot) ..... (w)anym-
go around ..... wankij warrk-
go down ..... (y)irri bardk-, bardk-
go first ..... jaburrang bak-
go through ..... kuj-
go which way? ..... (w)ajuwa
goanna ..... walanja
goanna (grey striped plains goanna with spiny tail) ..... jurrkubadi
goanna (ground goanna) ..... bakarranji
goanna (large rock goanna) ..... warnkarranga
goanna (plains, small) ..... budukurrirni
goanna (sand hills goanna) ..... warnkarranga
goanna (water goanna) ..... yulurrbungku
goat ..... yukulyarri
goat (billy) ..... (w)ardbulurra
goat (nanny) ..... naraja
God ..... jangkuwuna ngajina
golden whistler ..... nyurijminji
gomphrena canescens ..... bulunbulunji
good ..... bardakurra, kalyirdji, yarrabura
goose (magpie goose) ..... kuyumarlingkirni, nguknguk, warlidaji
goose (pygmy goose) ..... warlabadbi
goshawk ..... karlarlawurra
grab ..... ngaba + suffix 'to go'
grab hold (of someone) ..... murunjilil-
grab hold of ..... jubaj-, juk baj-
granddaughter (daughter's daughter) ..... jaminjirni, kaminjirrirni
granddaughter (son's daughter, ego: female) ..... ngabujirni
grandfather (mother's father) ..... jaminja, miyimi

grandfather's (maternal) sister ..... **jaminjirni**
grandmother (maternal) ..... **kukurni**
grandmother (paternal?) ..... **ngabujirni**
grandmother's (maternal) brother ..... **kuka**
grandmother's (maternal) brother (ego: male or female) ..... **jaju**
grandmother's (paternal) brother ..... **ngabuja**
grandmother-in-law (paternal grandfather's mother, father's paternal grandmother) ..... **ngunyirrini**
grandparent and grandchild ..... **maranjulinji**
grandparent and grandchildren ..... **maranymi**
grandson (daughter's son) ..... **kaminjarra**
grass ..... **(w)uju, kurdalyu**
grass (most types) ..... **bikirra**
grass (tall white) ..... **ngandirdi**
grass seed (sharp) ..... **mawurumi**
grass species ..... **karlarlanju**
grass species (rice-like) ..... **ngabijimi**
grass species (short grass) ..... **yukulurrubi**
grass species (tall, red) ..... **liyiji**
grass type ..... **kirlirrwala**
grass type (red) ..... **manyanyi, warrinjalan**
grass with prickly seeds ..... **burrurrumi**
grass with soft white flowers ..... **bulunbulunji**
grasshopper ..... **waniyi**
grasshopper (small green and red) ..... **dalydaly**
grateful ..... **kilkil, kilkilma** (Kuw.)
greedy ..... **kabarrima, ngujanajkala**
greedy (be greedy) ..... **kabarri, ngujan-**
green (of plants) ..... **kurdalyurru**
greenfire (insect) ..... **burruburrurda**
Grevillea striatan ..... **warajkala**
Grevillia refracta ..... **kurabuka** (Kuw.)
Grevillia refracta? ..... **marndula**
grey-haired ..... **bubuji**
grind ..... **dind-, lurrind-, nyurraj-**
grindstone (large stationary) ..... **lardaranga**
grindstone (large, stationary) ..... **kumurru**
grindstone (small) ..... **jungarri**
grindstone (small, held in hand) ..... **biyawuja**
groin ..... **ngarnankuni**
ground ..... **karalu**
ground (white) ..... **kunara**
ground water ..... **jinjimirrinmi**
grow ..... **binj-**
grow (of plants) ..... **duw-**
growl (of dog) ..... **(w)ingm-**
grub ..... **kulindirnda**
guide ..... **durru bay-, jabarr-**

guilty ..... **jirdad**
gull (large) ..... **durdba**
gully ..... **jirrkilimi**
gum (of trees) ..... **miringmi**
gun ..... **dirndajkalu, makirdi**
Gurindji (person or language) ..... **Kuwirinji**
Gurungu ..... **Kurungu**
gut ..... **burdak baj-, burrk baj-, ngaakany-**
guttapercha ..... **manyingila, marrija**

H

hail ..... **barrawurda**
hair in a bun ..... **murduri**
hair of head ..... **malibanya**
Hakea a species ..... **dilyarra**
Hakea arborescens ..... **warajkala**
Hakea chordophylla ..... **bukumarra**
half ..... **dalkurr**
half and half ..... **lurnkurru-lurnkurru**
half way ..... **lurnkurru**
half-caste ..... **bilyingbiyaka**
halve ..... **dalkurr nangk-**
hand ..... **marndamarnda**
handle (of shield) ..... **biyardu, luwaku kujku**
handle (to a stone axe) ..... **(w)ilinya**
hang ..... **langand-**
hang (on line) ..... **(w)arrak bil-**
hang up (on tree, hook, etc.) ..... **langan dil-, wilwilil-**
happy ..... **jingkarli, kilkilma** (Kuw.)
happy (generally) ..... **bardakurra**
happy (mood) ..... **janjanbiyaka, kilkil**
happy person ..... **kilkilmajkala**
hard ..... **(w)urrakbili, bidbilyi**
hard-working ..... **yarrabura**
hardhead duck ..... **jurluwardbini, ngawuyaka, ngurrujuruka**
harmless ..... **marrambanga**
harrier (swamp harrier) ..... **warliyangka**
hat ..... **kulabajarra, kumundunga, murrkardi**
hatch ..... **(w)urdu**
hate ..... **inj-**
haughty ..... **bardakurriya, kunyajbima**
have ..... **ngab-**
have a close look at ..... **lurdba ngaj-, mimi ngaj-**
have nothing ..... **kuwardjiy-**
have perceived before ..... **(w)ul-**
hawk ..... **barnibukarri, waruburluburla**

hawk (kite hawk) ..... **dirdingarnu, karlarlawurra**
Hayfield (station) ..... **Jardbingi**
he ..... **jaya, jiyi, jiyinama**
head ..... **damangka**
head-dress ..... **kuwanja**
headband ..... **bakuri** (Kuw.), **nawaya**
headdress ..... **kumundunga**
headgear (traditional initiation headwear) ..... **ngurrmana**
headman ..... **marluka**
heal ..... **(w)unjkum-, burrb**
heap up (into a container) ..... **liny bil-**
hear ..... **lankaj, lankaj bil-**
heart ..... **jingirdi**
heat ..... **ngarrabil-**
heavy ..... **bidbilyi, budburu, dardalya**
helpful ..... **yarrabura**
hen (native) ..... **yakakurrumini**
hence ..... **nginingkami**
herb species ..... **(w)anamburrngu**
herb with blue flower ..... **dirriwulyimi**
here ..... **jamaniki, jimininki, ngindaniki, nginimbili, nyamaniki**
heron (nocturnal) ..... **karlina**
hers ..... **niyirnu**
Heterodendrum oleifolium ..... **birdiyinjirrmi, kangkaala, lawa**
hey! ..... **kuyu**
hey! (emphatic or for attention) ..... **ngarla**
hide ..... **kurrnyu**
hide oneself ..... **yurru bardk-**
hide tracks ..... **jurum-**
hiding spot ..... **dirdilka**
high ..... **langanda**
high hiding spot ..... **nijiniji**
high up ..... **jaangki, jangkangki, jangkurdki**
hill ..... **kalirrungu, kijurlurlu**
hill country kangaroo ..... **wardabanmarra**
hill kangaroo (small) ..... **jurnma**
hip ..... **mirimi**
his ..... **niyirnu**
hit ..... **may-**
hitch ..... **dirrk baj-**
hither ..... **ngarlarli, ngininga**
hold ..... **dabil-, ngab-**
hold (someone) ..... **mirnmirn-**
hold (someone) back or down ..... **murunjilil-**
hold back ..... **kabarri, ngujan-**
hole ..... **lamalu**
hole (goanna's) ..... **mandarra**

hole (in body or plant) ..... **luwaku**
hole in ground ..... **bamburru**
hole in ground (large) ..... **mandarra**
holey ..... **jakirringkujku**
holey country ..... **bambamburru**
holiday(s) ..... **jarrbajarrba**
hollow ..... **lamalu**
hollow log ..... **jakalarru**
hollow tree ..... **darrangku jakalarru, darrangku lamalu, darrangku lamalkuju**
homosexual ..... **ngulyajkala**
honey ..... **durda, wangkurra, yurrku**
honeyeater ..... **durrundurrunji**
hook up a spear ..... **jalykaj-**
horizon ..... **jaarra**
horizontal ..... **bakulyaju**
horizontally ..... **bakulyi**
hornet (orange and black) ..... **burrmurumura, nurnurnumi**
horse ..... **dimana, yarrarawira**
hot ..... **(y)ardalakbi**
hot (be hot) ..... **ardarlakbiy-**
hot (from fire) ..... **nyalanyalabi**
hot weather before wet ..... **barungku**
house ..... **marru**
house (made from lancewood bark) ..... **manjarna**
how ..... **jani, nyambaarndi**
how far ..... **(w)ajajika**
how long ..... **jani**
how many ..... **aningkiliji**
how much ..... **jani**
hug ..... **marnmarn-**
huge ..... **ngardajkala**
humpy ..... **(w)ukuni**
hungry ..... **balika, jamandarra**
hunt ..... **ngirriki, ngirrikiy-**
hunting ..... **ngirriki**
hurt ..... **kularriy-, lilingb-**
husband ..... **ngambiya**

I

I ..... **ngaya**
ibis ..... **kunymirni**
ignorant (of ceremonies) ..... **munmulyi**
ignorant person (ignorant of ceremonies etc.) ..... **kabu**
ill ..... **karriyaka**
immediately ..... **jalyangkunama**
improve ..... **bardakurram-, bardakurram-**

in front of ... **ngarlarli**
in order to ... **ngamba**
incommunicado (be incommunicado) ... **jilirdbi-**
indent ... **jangan bil-**
influenza ... **kurdkulyu**
initiate ... **lurlubjuw-**
initiation ceremony (men's, first stage) ... **kujika**
initiation songs (men's) ... **kujika**
initiation songs (women's) ... **bandimi**
insane ... **langajija**
inside ... **(w)urdurru, jayili**
inspect ... **lurdba ngaj-, mimi ngaj-**
insult ... **kirr-**
intestine (large) ... **mangulkbi**
intestine (small) ... **bilibila, jirrikurlukurla**
invade ... **nyinyinbi ngab-**
ipomoea aquatica ... **jikimi, kinyilakbimi** (Kuw.), **kubirdimi, milakurrmi**
*ipomoea costat*a et al. ... **babirdimi**
iris (of eye) ... **kaburrkaburru, kulyukulyumi**
ironwood ... **marndarnngarra**
island ... **darraajbi, durdku, naraja**
issue ... **dajk-**
issue (concern) ... **dirdikarrajkala**
issue forth ... **warrk-**
itch ... **burruburr-**
itchy caterpillar ... **burruburrurda**
its ... **niyirnu**

J

jabiru ... **karrinji**
jam ... **durda, mad baj-, wangkurra**
jammed in ... **madkaaku**
jammed together ... **madkaaku**
jar ... **murrubala**
jaw ... **kangarnda**
jealous ... **nguwaj karrajkala**
jealous (be jealous) ... **nguwaj karr-**
jealously ... **nguwaj**
Jingili female ... **Jingilirni**
Jingili male ... **Jingila**
Jingili people (as a whole) ... **Jingili**
Jingili people (dual) ... **Jingilaala**
Jingili people (plural) ... **Jingilardarra**
Jingulu language ... **Jingulu**
joint ... **yarninjirra**
joke ... **ngulya mil-, ngulyajka, ngulya, ngulyajunu**

juice ..... **ingalka**
jump ..... **bijbulak-**
jump along ..... **bijbijbulak-**
jump up and down ..... **bijbijbulak-**
just ..... **jangunama**
just over there ..... **jama**
just there ..... **dakani**

K

kangaroo (black or red) ..... **jurdama**
kangaroo (female red) ..... **ngalijirrirni**
kangaroo (red male) ..... **kanjarlawurri**
kangaroo (red) ..... **jungwan** (Kuw.)
keep ..... **ngab-**
keep going ..... **junungku**
keep straight ..... **durrun mil-**
keep watch ..... **narnangaj-**
kerosene tree ..... **kungkulimi**
khaki grass (a sharp grass) ..... **marrimarru bikirra**
kick ..... **dul may-, jangan juw-**
kidney ..... **mindurru**
kill ..... **danmiyil-, may-**
kill dead ..... **dang may-**
killed ..... **danmiyila**
killer ..... **jungulinji, warrijmajka**
kindle ..... **buba dunjuw-**
kindling ..... **(y)irriminjulu, wawurru**
king brown snake ..... **kiwarlija**
kingfisher ..... **marrinkili**
kiss ..... **dunyk-**
kite ..... **waruburluburla**
kite (black-shouldered) ..... **balakujarri**
kite (brahminy) ..... **kijijimarri**
kite (white-breasted) ..... **dilkurni**
kite hawk ..... **dirdingarnu, karlarlawurra**
knee ..... **bangkirrimi, mingkirridbi, mujumi**
kneecap ..... **bangkirrimi, mingkirridbi**
kneel ..... **jid duk-**
knife ..... **kiyirru**
knife (any) ..... **binymala**
knife (stone) ..... **wanyu**
knock ..... **dardarl-, ngank-**
knock over ..... **jalalangkarra warrk-, nay-**
know (a person or thing) ..... **laringk-**
know (of) ..... **(w)ul-**
known (to speaker) from before ..... **(w)ulajbunji**

kookaburra ..... **dalmurranga**
kookaburra (small) ..... **marrinkili**
kurrajong ..... **dirdikbi**
kurrajong root ..... **winyindimi**

L

labour (be in labour) ..... **lankaj, lankaj bil-**
lair (in ground) ..... **mandarra**
lake ..... **bunungkurru, jikaya**
Lake Woods ..... **jikaya**
lame ..... **mardilyi**
lancewood bark ..... **dimilyi, manjarna**
lancewood scrub ..... **karnjanjarru**
lancewood tree ..... **jirrmungkulyi, karnawunji**
land ..... **(w)urlardk-**
language ..... **marrinju**
lap ..... **mara**
lap up ..... **ngabij-**
lapwing ..... **dijirrini**
large ..... **ngamurla**
lark (magpie lark) ..... **dirridirriji**
last ..... **ardukunama**
last (in a line) ..... **biyangkaaja**
last (in an ordering, last thing done) ..... **biyangkaaja**
late ..... **kajub-kajub**
late (for something) ..... **milyamilya, mundumili**
late (in the day) ..... **(y)idayidajku**
late (relatively) ..... **milyamilya, mundumili**
later ..... **biyangka, ngaaku**
later (in a few days) ..... **(y)idaangka**
later (in a long time) ..... **ngaaku**
later on ..... **biyangka**
later today ..... **kunungkujkuwalu**
latest ..... **ardukunama**
laugh ..... **kabij-**
lawn ..... **(w)urrbuja**
lay down ..... **liny bil-**
lay eggs ..... **iba maj-; iba ngab-**
lay flat ..... **buwarraj bil-**
lazy ..... **dangbarrajkala, nyukunyuka**
lazy (be lazy) ..... **dangbarr-**
lead ..... **durru bay-, jabarr-**
lead by the hand ..... **(w)urrajk-**
leaden ..... **budburu**
leaf ..... **nyanyalu**
leak ..... **jilng bak-**

leaky ..... **jilng, lilirrkikimi**
leather ..... **kurrnyu**
leave ..... **bungk-**
leave alone ..... **dak-**
leave behind ..... **ngardb-**
leave it ..... **karrila**
leave it! ..... **dakani**
leave them (alone) ..... **(w)urrumi**
lecher ..... **jijangkuji**
lecherous ..... **nayumajka**
leech ..... **nyurrnguli**
left (body part) ..... **wakunyungka**
left (no concord) ..... **(w)akunyi**
left (side) ..... **wakunyu**
left hand ..... **(w)akunyi**
left hand side ..... **wakunyungka**
left-handed (person) ..... **(w)akunya**
Leichhardtia australis ..... **kilibi** (Kuw.), **ngamindurrukbi, ngimirrikimi**
leprosy ..... **burruburru**
lest ..... **karningka, karrila**
let go ..... **budujuw-**
letter stick ..... **darrangku**
level (make square or even) ..... **dungum-**
liar ..... **ngulyajkala**
lick ..... **ngalyak-**
lick up ..... **ngabij-**
lie ..... **ngʉly-, ngulya mil-, ngulyajka, ngulya**
lie belly down ..... **barl**
lie dead ..... **bakuly-**
lie down ..... **bakuly-, manyan, manyan duk-, wirliwal duk-**
lie flat on the ground ..... **barl duk-**
lie horizontal ..... **bakuly-**
lift ..... **(w)ird baj-**
light ..... **buba dunjuw-, dilu, dirlu ngunj-**
light (a fire) ..... **dunjuw-**
light (partial, not complete darkness) ..... **ngarrabarangku**
light in weight ..... **rabkaku**
lightning ..... **jujumi**
like ..... **nambanama**
like this ..... **ngunungku**
lily (water lily with white or yellow flowers) ..... **mukurumi**
lily (water lily with yellow flowers) ..... **kaminarrinymi**
limb ..... **larranjku, malangardku**
line (drawn) ..... **minanga**
line (of things) ..... **maranga**
lined up ..... **maranga**
lips ..... **kurrnyu**

little (a little) ..... **jangu, jangunama, kurlukurla**
little while ..... **ayinji**
live ..... **jambilijin-**
liver ..... **jabarrka, malamba**
lizard (large tree lizard large) ..... **buburlu**
lizard (legless) ..... **jilibinji**
lizard (racing lizard) ..... **lardaja**
lizard (small tree lizard) ..... **bala**
lizard (tree lizard) ..... **kaburi**
lizard (woodland dragon lizard) ..... **kidkilyi**
lizards (medium sized) ..... **kidkilyi**
load ..... **larnku**
loincloth ..... **bulyawulya**
lonely ..... **barlulyi, barnkijija**
long ..... **biyijala**
Longreach (water hole) ..... **(W)ijibarda**
look ..... **ngaj-**
look after (sick person) ..... **ngily-**
look around ..... **ngajaj-**
look at ..... **ngaj-**
look away ..... **jilirdbuw-**
look down during a conversation ..... **jilirdbi-**
look for ..... **darum-, dul-**
look out ..... **alalaajb-**
look out! ..... **kuyu**
look over one's shoulder ..... **(w)ilijid ngaj-**
look round ..... **alalaajb-**
loop ..... **luwaku**
loose ..... **karlakarlarraka**
loose (be loose) ..... **karlakarlarr-**
loosely ..... **karlakarlarra**
loosen ..... **jalanm-, karlakarlarr-, karlakarlarra il-**
Lophostemon grandiflorus ..... **jinjaraku**
lorikeet ..... **wirrilwirrilyi**
lose ..... **bulam-, mujkiy-**
lose (race) ..... **biyangk-**
lost (be lost) ..... **dankay-**
lots ..... **dardu, yardbarrku, yardbarrku**
lots of the time ..... **dardukijka**
loud (be loud) ..... **nyurrilanganj-**
loudly ..... **(w)urrakbili**
louse ..... **jurdirni**
louse egg ..... **kuliya**
love ..... **(w)alinja, (w)alinja manjarr-, (w)urr-**
love song (men's) ..... **ilbinji, jarrarda**
love song (women's) ..... **yawulyu**
loving ..... **(w)alinja**

loving secretly ..... **kawurdu**
low ..... **jarluku**
lower ..... **(y)irri bardk-**
lower arm ..... **kardawurra**
lower leg ..... **ngilyikbi**
lumbar back ..... **barndumi**
lump ..... **(w)ukbi, dirdilwarri, lungbarraju, mardarduju**
lump (of fat or some substance) ..... **marduju**
lump in wood ..... **birdu**
lunchtime (noon-1pm) ..... **dinangkami**
lung ..... **jaalyakbalyaku**
lusty ..... **nayumajka**
lying ..... **wirliwal**
lying belly down ..... **barl**
lying down ..... **manyan**
lying flat ..... **buwarraj**
Lysiphyllum cunninghamii ..... **(w)irringila, jingi, ngabilibili, wanyarri** (Kuw.)

M

Macropteranthes kekwickii ..... **kamanji, warlumbu**
mad ..... **langajija**
maggot ..... **murlura**
magpie ..... **kurrbalawuji**
magpie goose ..... **kuyumarlingkirni, ngukngnuk, warlidaji**
magpie lark ..... **dirridirriji**
make ..... **ngirrm-**
makeup ..... **balardbarndi, ngunjungunju**
male ..... **karlingka**
man ..... **baya, bininja**
man (Aboriginal) ..... **baya**
man (old) ..... **marluka**
man (young) ..... **yaba**
man (young, initiated) ..... **yarrulan**
man's breast ..... **jumurrkujija**
many ..... **dardu, yuranya**
many days ..... **dardukijka**
many people ..... **darduwala**
marbles ..... **kijurlurlu**
March fly ..... **burrju**
mark ..... **minanga il-**
married ..... **karungkuji**
married (man only) ..... **nayungkuji**
married (woman only) ..... **bininjangkuji**
married couple ..... **karukulinji**
marron ..... **majikayi**
marrow ..... **bungbungku, dika**

marry ..... karung ardk-
marsupial mole ..... yalbawurrini, yarningkirni
martin ..... bijbija
match ..... lujuba
maybe ..... wadi
meat ..... nganga
medicine ..... lungkarru
meet ..... banybil- + reflexive
melon creeper/vine ..... yurru
melon species ..... kulinyukumi
melon type (round) ..... kirangkuju
melon type (small) ..... murulumi
mend ..... ngirrm-
mended ..... ngirrmakaji
message ..... yaanka
midday ..... (w)uliyijirni wajankaju
middle ..... jurrku, lurnkurru
middle (of body, as opposed to left and right) ..... maralu
middle distance ..... wardbija
middle of day ..... binyamaku
middle sibling ..... lurnkuji
midnight ..... kurrarramba
milk ..... jimurdku, ngabulu
Milky Way ..... kaarrijbi
mind ..... narnangaj-
minder (person) ..... narnangajajkala
miner bird ..... (w)ajabajaba
miserable ..... kalyurra, yurrba
miserable (of people) ..... jirdirda
miss ..... bard baj-, bulam-
missionary ..... kirda jangkuwuna ngajina
mist ..... diyilyi, jungunaku
mistake (be mistaken) ..... (w)aburrm-, bujubujub-
mistletoe type ..... ngalirringkirribi
mix ..... (w)arnjirnm-, (w)irrinjum-
mix in (ingredient) ..... jibijb-
mob ..... bayinbala, darduwala, yuranya
mole (marsupial) ..... yalbawurrini, yarningkirni
mollusc (univalve) ..... kalardayi
money (coins) ..... kijurlurlu
money (made of paper) ..... bijilirla
moon ..... bardangkara
moon (empty) ..... jangkubarni bardangkarra, kamuru yaju bardangkarra
moon (new) ..... bardangkarra kurrangjuwaju
moonlight ..... ngarrabarangku
mopoke ..... kurrkuji
more ..... jandanama

morning ..... **ngurraru-**
morning (late morning) ..... **lawura**
Morning Star ..... **Kamirrinji**
mosquito ..... **bangkulirni, bangkulya**
mosquito (big) ..... **karnamurrura**
moss ..... **nakalanjku**
moth ..... **marlimarlirni**
mother (ego: son or daughter) ..... **bilirni, jakardini**
mother (ego: third person) ..... **bilyurlirni**
mother (young) ..... **manjiwirni**
mother and children ..... **ngamuwiyi**
mother and one child ..... **ngamukulinji**
mother and siblings of speaker ..... **ngajingila**
mother-in-law ..... **jiyirni, nyibirdi**
mother-in-law's brother ..... **jaya**
motion ..... **bak-, juw-**
mountain ..... **kalirrungu**
mountain devil (kind of lizard) ..... **yarlikijirni**
mourn ..... **nguk-**
mouse ..... **mujaka**
mouse (red) ..... **munyunyurni**
moustache ..... **jawulungbulungku, majbangkurrangku**
mouth ..... **ngajalakurru**
move ..... **diyaj bak-, diyaj bil-**
move (away) ..... **(w)urrungkarr-**
move (usually vertically) ..... **duw-**
move downwards (generally) ..... **bardk-**
much ..... **dardu**
mucus ..... **kalamangkami, kurdkulyu**
mud (wet) ..... **manalku**
mud (wet) ..... **irlwiji**
Mudburra (Eastern) people or language ..... **Mudburra**
Mudburra (person or language) from the Elliott-Newcastle region ..... **Kuwarrangu**
Mudburra (Western) ..... **Kuwirinji**
muddy (get muddy) ..... **mird bardk-**
Muehlenbeckia florulenta ..... **bulungkarrimi**
mule ..... **ngardangki** (Kuw.)
murky ..... **junduji**
muscle ..... **kanyburru**
mushroom ..... **jalalarrka**
mussel ..... **kurdijalaka, marlangayi**
muster ..... **nyinm-, nyinm- + reflexive**
mute ..... **ambayardbija**
mute person ..... **(w)inmilaka**
mynah bird ..... **(w)ajabajaba**

N

nabarlek ..... wambana
nail bush tree ..... kiyilmi
name ..... liyijku
nanny goat ..... naraja
narrate ..... ngarrabaj-
narrow ..... wilyirdku
narrow path ..... wilyirdku
naughty ..... jirdirda, kalyurra, kijikijibajkala, yurrba
navel ..... majulujulubi, ngajulujulubi
near ..... lurdba
near to ..... kajub
nearly ..... lurdba
neck (back) ..... jikidikidibi, mankijbi
nectar ..... durda, ingalka, jimurdku, yurrku
needlebush ..... kiyilmi
nephew (sister's son) ..... kula
nest ..... janbarra, juwuru
new ..... jalyamungka
new-born ..... jalyamungka
new-born (animals or people) ..... buwadbulyi
Newcastle Waters ..... Marlinja
newcomer ..... munmulyi
next to ..... balkij
Ngarrabanka billabong ..... Jurdini
niece (sister's daughter) ..... kulirni
night ..... ngurrayijbi
nightjar ..... barnangka
no ..... kiwirra
noisy ..... (w)aburrmajkala
noon ..... (w)uliyijirni wajankaju
noone ..... kiwirra
north ..... kirrawarra
northward ..... kirrawarraka
nose ..... kilimi
nose-bone (adornment) ..... kiyala
nostril ..... luwaku kilimi
not ..... angkurla
not yet ..... ayinjinama
nothing ..... kiwirra
now ..... jalyangku
now (right now) ..... kunumburra
now! ..... ngarla
nuisance ..... (w)aburrmajkala
nulla-nulla ..... barrku, dikidika, kuduru
nulla-nulla (short) ..... birnmurru

nurse ..... ngily-
Nyilyi (a large lake) ..... Nalanangarrijimirli
Nymphae a species ..... mukurumi

O

obstruct ..... karndanymil-
ochre (red) ..... kalnga, kidbu
ochre (yellow) ..... dankurra
official ..... kijurlurlungkuji
old ..... (w)akiyabardu, jakirringkujku, kabalyarraka, ngamurla
old (feminine fauna only) ..... imikirni
old (masculine fauna only) ..... marluka
old (very old person) ..... nyambarnin
olive python ..... ngidingida
on one side ..... durlumun, likirri
on top ..... jangkangki
on top of ..... jangangkala
one ..... kungkubarnu
one at a time ..... kungkungkubarnu (etc.)
one side ..... laarranjku
one-armed ..... munmunji
one-legged ..... munmunji
onion (native) ..... kinyuwurrumi
onion (native, small) ..... kinyuwurrumi
onion (native, white) ..... jajarrkin
onion (wild) ..... mundubarlimi
onion lily ..... jajarrkin
only ..... jangunama
only once ..... kungkubarninjarra
open ..... (w)alk baj-, walkba
open (legs) ..... wilyirri
open country (among bush) ..... dibijkanajku
open ground ..... walkbaku
open sky ..... jaarra
open space ..... bakara, walkbaku
opened ..... walbajajbungku
opening (in brush) ..... dibijkanajku
Operculina aequisepala ..... birrilibala
Opilia amentacea ..... ngabukulyu
orange (colour) ..... dankurranybinyaku
orange (native) ..... burnaringmi, burnaringmi
orifice ..... luwaku
Oryza species ..... karlarlanju, kingkirra
OT station ..... Binda
out of the way ..... dibij
outdoors ..... bakara

outside ..... **dibij**
over ..... **jaangki**
overflow (vessels only) ..... **yalwang bak-**
overflowing ..... **dimbak, yalwang**
owl ..... **jurdiyini, kurrkuji, mukmuk**

P

pacifistic ..... **mayajbija**
pack up ..... **jibil-, jurlujurlum-**
pain (be in pain) ..... **lilingb-**
paint ..... **(w)irrk bil-, (w)irrk bilajka, am-**
paint (greyish body paint) ..... **ngunjungunju**
paint (red) ..... **kalnga**
paint (white body paint) ..... **makirra** (Kuw.)
painted ..... **(w)irrk bilajbunji**
painting ..... **(w)irrk bilajbungku**
pale person ..... **darralyaka**
paper ..... **bijilirla**
paperbark tree ..... **bijilirla**
parrot (green) ..... **wirrilwirrilyi**
parrot (grey) ..... **wirriwurna**
parrot (large, green and red) ..... **(w)ilikbirni**
parrot (princess parrot) ..... **dakudbari**
passionfruit (native) ..... **mingkilawurnumi, wardbardbumi**
past ..... **barlbarl**
pat ..... **bawulum-**
paternal grandfather (ego: male) ..... **kangkuya**
paternal grandfather's sister (ego: male) ..... **kangkuyirni**
path ..... **kaarrijbi, madkaaku**
patient ..... **lankajkanajkala**
pay ..... **dungum-**
pay back ..... **dungum-**
pea bush ..... **bulurukuji, jarumajaruma, jirlirla, yukulirrimi**
peaceful ..... **mayajbija**
peaceful person ..... **marrambanga**
peanut tree ..... **kirriyimi** (Kuw.)
pebble ..... **kijurlurlu**
peel ..... **ilbij-, kidalm-**
peewee ..... **dirridirriji**
pelican ..... **dabarrangi** (Kuw.), **walanybirri**
penetrate ..... **kuj-**
penis ..... **junkumi**
people ..... **bayardardu, bayinbala**
perform an action on something ..... **baj-**
perhaps ..... **wadi**

perhaps (negative outcome) ..... **karningka**
permanently ..... **jandak**
person ..... **baya**
person from Beetaloo ..... **Warranganka**
person of mixed Aboriginal-European descent ..... **bilyingbiyaka**
Petalostigma pubescens ..... **marlungkarru**
petrel (storm petrel) ..... **bukbukbini**
phlegm ..... **kurdkulyu ŋgajarlakurrungkami**
photograph ..... **maj-**
pick up ..... **kajirrim-**
piebald ..... **kilyikilyikaka**
pierce ..... **durrb kuj-, kuj-**
pierce (with an instrument) ..... **langa nungk-**
piercing (of ear) ..... **luwaku bijiwa**
piercing (of septum) ..... **luwaku kilimi**
pig ..... **bikibiki**
pigeon (small yellow, red, and white) ..... **kularnkurrurdi**
pigeon (small yellow, white and red) ..... **bilangkurrirdi**
pigeon (wood pigeon) ..... **marababirni, wandarrkururni**
pile up ..... **nyinm-**
pinch (someone) ..... **kirdij-**
pistol ..... **dirndajkalu, makirdi**
place ..... **bil-, ngawu**
plain ..... **mangkuru**
plains wanderer ..... **burrunjawurni**
plant ..... **binjam-, karuka**
plant oneself ..... **yurru bardk-**
plate ..... **biyardu**
play (game or instrument) ..... **yurray-**
play around ..... **yurrayayurr-**
pleased ..... **kilkil, kilkilma** (Kuw.)
pleased person ..... **kilkilmajkala**
pledge ..... **jayimil-**
Pleiades ..... **Mirrinmirrirdi**
plentiful ..... **bundurriyajkalu**
plenty ..... **bundurru**
plover ..... **mirrirribini**
plover (black and white) ..... **dirridirriji**
pluck (birds, etc.) ..... **(w)urrjk-**
plum (green) ..... **kurrunbulmi**
poigeon (squatter pigeon) ..... **wandarrkururni**
point ..... **durdkaj-**
point out ..... **durdkaj-, jungum-**
pointed (as tip of stone spear) ..... **nganynganybiyaku**
poison ..... **lungkarru, yarrindu**
poison (traditional) ..... **marringilija**
poison song (to cure poisoning) ..... **yarrindu**

poke ..... **dunykum-, durrb kaj-, durrb kuj-**
poke around in the ground ..... **durruj-**
poke into the ground ..... **durruj-**
poke out ..... **durard**
poke out (of water, into clearing) ..... **(w)urd**
poke up ..... **mardkarr-**
poking ..... **durrb**
poking out ..... **durard**
policeman (not owner) ..... **kulyungkulyungbi**
poor ..... **kijurlurlujija**
poor fellow ..... **(w)akardarda**
pop up (from ground etc.) ..... **jalak duw-**
porcupine (echidna) ..... **kiyilyirni, nyinawurdirni**
Portulaca pilosa ..... **kankankulukbi, nyiyinmi**
possibly Acacia torulosa ..... **kurabuka** (Kuw.), **marndula**
possibly *H. lorea* ..... **bukumarra**
possum ..... **(w)arlungunja, jakulakji**
possum (small) ..... **kalwarri**
possum (spotted) ..... **kudingi**
post-natal ..... **yalubirni**
potato (native) ..... **milakurrmi, babirdimi**
potato (native, prostrate plant with long yam, grows in black soil) ..... **jikimi**
potato (native,prostrate creeper, in black soil, white flower in wet season) ..... **kubirdimi**
potato (wild) ..... **kinyilakbimi** (Kuw.)
pouch (manufactured) ..... **(w)angadangada**
pouch (of marsupial) ..... **bulwa**
pour (of rain only) ..... **dang bak-**
pour out ..... **bunjuw-**
powder ..... **dulyurr may-, nyurraj-**
Powell Creek ..... **Bamayu**
praying mantis ..... **(w)ajirrku**
pregnant ..... **julurrkbiyikirni, maralu yaju**
pregnant (be pregnant) ..... **julurrkbiy-**
pregnant (feminine form only) ..... **maralungkuji**
Premna acuminata ..... **kungkulimi**
prepare to fight ..... **durjudurjurr-**
prescient ..... **maralungkuji**
prevent from fighting ..... **jan maj-**
previously ..... **jaburra, larrba**
previously (on a previous day) ..... **kuyangula**
prick ..... **durrb kaj-**
pricking ..... **durrb**
prickly thing ..... **durrb karrakuji**
priest (Catholic) ..... **kirda iangkuwuna ngajina**
princess parrot ..... **dakudbari**
promise ..... **jayimil-**
promised ..... **(w)ulajbunji**

property owner ..... **kijurlurlungkuji**
proud ..... **bardakurriya, jingkarli**
provoke ..... **kijikijib-**
psychic ..... **maralungkuji**
pubic hair ..... **burruku**
pull ..... **(w)urr maj-**
pull straight ..... **dalk baj-**
pull taut ..... **(w)ulyulyu mil-** (Kuw.)
pull up ..... **dulk baj-**
pungent ..... **mijuwulyi**
pupil (of eye) ..... **darrangku linyarda kunju, murlurlu**
pus ..... **dajkanu**
push ..... **jangan, jangan bil-, jangan juw-**
put ..... **bil-, il-**
put away ..... **diyaj bil-**
put back ..... **lurrbu il-**
put down ..... **lunbil-**
put inside ..... **jayirli il-**
put legs together ..... **marnburr-**
put out ..... **jibijb-**
put under ..... **lakud bil-**
python (olive python) ..... **ngidingida**

Q

quarrelsome (by nature) ..... **kalyurra**
quarrelsome (mood) ..... **bunbamajka**
question particle (forming yes/no questions) ..... **jani**
quick ..... **kunumburra**
quickly ..... **kaala kaala**
quicksand ..... **irlwiji**
quiet (be quiet) ..... **(y)inkariy-**
quietly ..... **marriya**
quoll ..... **juburdu**

R

radio ..... **ngurrmana**
rags ..... **mulyamulya**
rain ..... **(y)ibilkirni, juju, kalyurrungurni**
rain (small drops) ..... **(y)ibinjirni**
rain (sprinkling) ..... **jilingkarra**
rain and wind (cold) ..... **mimbiyilyi**
rain ceremony ..... **Kurangarra, Wanju**
rain cloud (black) ..... **kaburrkaburru**
rain song cycle ..... **Kurangarra, Wanju**

rain stone ..... **biyuka**
rainbow ..... **kingmi**
rainwater ..... **(w)urawura**
raise (children) ..... **nalangaj-**
raise dust ..... **jungun-**
rake up ..... **(w)uruwum-**
rasp ..... **burduburdu**
rat (black) ..... **ngayinjiyinji**
rat (both native and introduced) ..... **darndiyi**
rat (native) ..... **bardkula**
rattle ..... **liyarr-**
raven ..... **(w)angkulayi**
raw ..... **kurdarru**
react to provocation ..... **durjudurjurr-**
rear ..... **nalangaj-**
rear (children) ..... **binjam-**
rear up the head (as frilled lizard) ..... **mardkarr-**
record ..... **maj-**
rectum ..... **binybajbunmi**
recuperative ..... **janjanbi**
red ..... **bilyingbiyaku**
red gum (river species) ..... **bilirna, kunjimarra** (Kuw.)
relate ..... **ngarrabaj-**
relative from another country (not close kin) ..... **(w)ururr**
relinquish ..... **bungk-**
remember ..... **lankaj, lankaj bil-, laringk-**
remind ..... **langm-**
remove from earth oven ..... **jalak baj-**
Renner Springs ..... **Bunarrabanku**
repair ..... **bardakurram-**
restorative ..... **janjanbi**
return ..... **lurrbu, lurrbu il-**
rib ..... **janyburra, karlimiji** (Kuw.)
ribs (short) ..... **jimbangu**
rice (native, wild rice) ..... **kingkirra, ngangarra, karlarlanju**
rice-like grass ..... **ngabijimi**
rich ..... **kijurlurlungkuji**
rid (get rid of) ..... **duwa ngab-**
ride ..... **laj-**
ridge (sandy) ..... **lurrju**
ridge (scrubby, round or curved) ..... **jarrajarra**
ridge (wooded) ..... **naraja**
ridge country (rocky) ..... **mirdirdbi**
ridge country (scrubby) ..... **karnjanjarru**
rifle ..... **dirndajkalu, makirdi**
right (body part) ..... **jiwurrungka**
right (side) ..... **jiwurru**

ring ..... **luwaku, ngirrinyinmi**
rip ..... **jurrk baj-**
ripe ..... **burdalyi**
ripple ..... **ngarlangbalangku**
rise ..... **duw-**
river ..... **jurrkurlu**
road ..... **kaarrijbi**
rock country (black) ..... **biyawiya**
roll (as dog rolls) ..... **binbinkum-**
roll (dough) ..... **duj-**
roll (over, around or along) ..... **bulurrb-, dirrindijkuw-**
roll onto one side ..... **durlumun bak-, durlumun juw-**
rolypoly ..... **ngajankirrimi**
root ..... **(w)indurru, murrngu**
root of water lily ..... **kaminarrinymi**
rope ..... **yarninjirra, yubungu**
rotten ..... **jabara, jakalarru, kiyalu**
rough ..... **burduburda, jirdirda**
rough (of people) ..... **mayayajkala**
rough ground (any, including black rock and white clay) ..... **biyawiya**
row ..... **maranga**
rub ..... **(w)ulukaj-, am-, bawulum-**
rub out ..... **jurum-**
rubbish ..... **mulyamulya**
rump ..... **mirimi**
run ..... **jarrkaj-**
run away with ..... **jarrkaj ngab-**
rupture ..... **dajkaardi**
rush ..... **ijirriy-**
rustle ..... **liyarr-**

S

sack ..... **(w)ukurdini**
sad ..... **kayirr**
salt ..... **lungkarru, mijuwulu**
salty ..... **mijuwulyi**
salty tree ..... **mijuwulyi**
salty tree (introduced tree species) ..... **bijiwuna**
same day ..... **kunungkujkuwalu**
sand (black) ..... **kaburrkaburrku**
sand (red sand country) ..... **nyilikbiyaku**
sand (red) ..... **bilyingbiyaku, nuya**
sand (yellow) ..... **yarrilinja**
sand country near Wave Hill ..... **Yarriliny**
sandy country (soft) ..... **nuyanuya**
Santalum lanceolatum ..... **kalirnimi**

sarcostemma australe ..... **jinjinmi**
sated ..... **bundurra**
savage ..... **marrimarra**
saw ..... **binymala**
say ..... **(w)ambay-**
scabies ..... **burruburru**
scan ..... **alalaajb-**
scar ..... **karnkarra**
scar (from fire) ..... **waru**
scar (tribal scars) ..... **barduru, murrurru**
scared ..... **ngirliwi**
scared person ..... **ngirliwajkala**
scatter ..... **(w)ardjkuw-, warramal juw-, yarr bardk-**
scold ..... **murril-**
scorpion ..... **mundarlirni**
scrape ..... **(y)irr bij-**
scratch ..... **(w)arr kuj-, (w)arrkujajkalu, (w)arrkujajbunku, (w)arrkujangankiju**
scratches ..... **burruburru**
scream ..... **(w)ard-**
scream (in pain) ..... **walarr-**
scream (to get attention) ..... **ngalarr-**
scrub ..... **(w)ulyurrku, (y)irriminjulu, wawurru**
scrub (lancewood scrub) ..... **karnjanjarru**
scrub (light) ..... **biyalu**
scrubfowl (orange-footed) ..... **burrunjawurni**
sea-bird (small) ..... **kirringkirringma**
seagull (small) ..... **kirringkirringma**
seat ..... **mankiyajka**
second ..... **lurnkurru**
Securinega virosa ..... **ngaburrayimi**
see ..... **ngaj-**
seed ..... **nginja**
seed from grass (sharp) ..... **mawurumi**
seed of soap tree (mirrinmirrinji) ..... **mangurla**
seed pod from bauhinea tree ..... **ngabilibili**
seek ..... **darum-, dul-**
selfish ..... **bujarrima**
semi-conscious ..... **manyan**
send ..... **burdb-**
send away ..... **warlangk-**
sensitive plant ..... **lurrumburra**
separate ..... **bin bil-**
separately ..... **yarrbkarra**
set (of sun) ..... **jun bak-**
Seven Sisters constellation (Pleiades) ..... **Mirrinmirrirdi**
sexual intercourse (engage in) ..... **karubkarub, niyu +REFL, nyiy-**
shade ..... **ibijinku, ngandayi, ngarluba**

shadow (of a person) ... **bambawunji, ngambu** (Kuw.)
shake ... **(w)urruwurru mil-, kayilyarra il-**
shake (as a dog shakes itself) ... **binbinkum-**
shake something from side to side ... **lalum-**
shallow ... **kurranja, nyinyinykaku**
shame ... **mabu**
sharp ... **nganynganybiyaku**
shave ... **(w)urrjiy-, (w)urrjk-**
she ... **jaya, jiyi, jiyinama**
sheep ... **yukulyarri**
shell (empty) ... **liyirru**
shell (large shell or the substance shell) ... **binjayinja**
shellbush ... **likinimi**
shelter ... **(w)ukuni, (y)urdurruk-**
shield ... **jaarumi, kurdujumi, kuwarrimi**
shift ... **diyayaj bil-**
shin ... **ngilyikbi**
shine ... **biringb-, lujb-**
shine (of water or clouds) ... **bilirrk-**
shining ... **biringbiyaku**
shiny ... **bilirr, biringbiyaku**
shitwood ... **jinjaraku**
shiver ... **birriy-**
shivering ... **birriya**
shoe ... **yunku**
shoo ... **lalum-, warlangk-, warlkum-** (Kuw.)
shoot ... **dirnd-**
shooting star ... **yaminju**
short ... **dunkujku, munmurrinji**
short (masc.) ... **munmunji**
short time ... **ayinji**
shoulder ... **murlku, ngabarnda**
shoulder blade ... **birimilyi**
shoulder joint ... **birimilyi**
shovel ... **larlub karr-, larlub maj-**
show ... **barinym-, jungum-**
show (an event) ... **marrar-**
show off ... **yakiliy-**
shrub ... **karuka**
shrub species ... **birrilibala, nyambalanyambala**
shrub species (poisonous with five-fingered leaves) ... **karlwakarlwa**
shrub species with thorns ... **ngajankirrimi**
shut ... **jard bil-**
shut up ... **(y)inkariy-**
shy ... **imarrajkala, mabu, ngirliwi**
shy (be shy) ... **imarr-, ngirliw-**
shy person ... **ngirliwajkala**

shyly ..... **imarra**
sibling (middle) ..... **lurnkuji**
sick ..... **marlumarlu**
sick (be sick) ..... **marliy-**
sick with morning sickness (feminine form only) ..... **marlumarlu**
sicken ..... **marliya il-, marlumarlu il-**
sickly ..... **mardilyi**
side ..... **janyburra**
sides (of abdomen) ..... **balyalya**
silly ..... **waarungka**
similar ..... **kuyubulu**
similar to ..... **nambanama**
simultaneously ..... **kungkubarninjarra**
sing ..... **nganyi-**
sing out ..... **(w)ard-**
single men's quarters ..... **malkirra**
sink ..... **ngaruk bak-**
sister (older) (ego: sister) ..... **babardi**
sister (younger) ..... **birdirdini**
sister by skin only (different parents) ..... **ngabarlanjibirni**
sister's son's daughter (ego: female) ..... **kangkuyirni**
sister-in-law ..... **ngambiyirni**
sisters (two, ego: sibling) ..... **babiyuwurlu**
sit ..... **duk-, jambilijin-, mankiy-**
sit on ..... **niyu**
sit with legs in a 'number 4' position ..... **jakinay-**
skeleton ..... **kardakarda**
skid ..... **barany bak-**
skin ..... **kurrnyu, kurrnyum-**
skin name ..... **manjku**
skink (dull) ..... **buburlu**
skinny ..... **larrkaja**
sky ..... **dimbu**
sleep ..... **manyan**
sleep (go to sleep) ..... **manyan duk-**
sleep during a conversation ..... **jilirdbi-**
sleep on one side ..... **wirliwal manyan**
sleeping ..... **manyan**
sleepy ..... **kululukarra** (Kuw.)
sleepy (be sleepy) ..... **kululukarr-, nyinkarr-**
slide ..... **nyurrunbi duw-**
slip (over) ..... **barany bak-**
slip down ..... **jud bardk-, jun may-**
slippery ..... **baranybaranyku**
slither ..... **nyurrun bak-, nyurrunbi**
slowly ..... **(w)arduku**
small ..... **yabanja**

small (things) ..... kurlukurla
smart (cheeky) ..... bardakurriya
smash ..... balarr juw-, dulyurr, dulyurr may-, dulyurr wardk-, lulyurr may-, mulyumulyubi may-
smell ..... buj-, bujkuw-
smile ..... kabij-
smoke ..... (w)ukalu, buy-
smoke (make something smoke) ..... jungun-
smoke tree ..... bularraku
smooth ..... jurrujurrujbiyaku
smoothen ..... (y)irr bij-, barany bil-, jurruj bil-
smudge ..... jundurrm-
snail ..... kalardayi
snake (any) ..... kiwarlija, mikinji
snake (king brown) ..... kiwarlija
snake (orange-/red-naped) ..... birdkijini
snake (tree snake) ..... (w)ululungbula
snake (white) ..... ngayiliji
snake (yellow-bellied water snake) ..... kiyirnmini
snake (yellow-bellied) ..... irndira
snake track ..... wiyilu
snakes (two) in a dreaming ..... Murlububumi
snap ..... dij bil-, lakarr wardk-
snappy gum ..... (w)amba, mandalurra
snatch ..... juk baj-
sneak ..... (y)irrmal wardk-
sneak away ..... (w)ulkuj-
sneak up on ..... ninginingij barr-
sneeze ..... jika, jika may-
snore ..... buwarrk-
snorer ..... buwarrkajkala
snot ..... kalamangkami, kurdkulyu, kurdkulyu kalamangkami
snub ..... mayilibi
so that ..... ngamba
soak ..... kuyuwa
soap tree ..... bilangbilangmi, mirrinmirrinji
soap tree seed ..... mangurla
soft ..... mamam, mamambiyaku
soft (be soft) ..... mamam bil-
softly ..... marriya
some ..... nyambala
someone ..... (w)ajininayi
something ..... nyambanayi
somewhere ..... (w)ajuwanayi
son ..... biba, kula
son (ego: third person) ..... bibuwalardi, biwula
son-in-law ..... lambarra

son-in-law (daughter's husband, ego: male) ..... **lambarra kanya**
song ..... **kujika**
soon ..... **ngaardu**
sore ..... **marndara**
sore (be sore) ..... **kawuyarr-**
Sorghum species ..... **kirlirrwala**
sorry ..... **kayirr**
sort ..... **bin bil-**
sound rhythmically ..... **dardarl-**
sour ..... **jabara**
south ..... **kularra, ngarni** (Kuw.)
South Yard ..... **Jalanya, Wilyuku**
southward ..... **kularraka, ngarniwirdki**
sow ..... **binjam-**
spank (with stick or belt) ..... **wirdik may-**
sparrow hawk ..... **dirdila, kurnbiliny** (Kuw.)
speak ..... **(w)ambay-**
speak right ..... **marndaj**
spear ..... **bul-, karnarrinymi, kuj-, langa nungk-**
spear (from a distance) ..... **kul-**
spear (short) ..... **dunkujku, munmurrinymi**
spear head ..... **binymala, kiyirru**
spear thrower (with rounded haft) ..... **jalykaji, ngarlika**
speared ..... **bulajbunji**
spicy ..... **dajbajkala, mijuwulyi**
spider ..... **karrudji**
spill ..... **bunjuw-, jalalang bil-, jalalang kul-, ngunjuw-**
spine ..... **kumungku**
spinifex ..... **wirrimi**
spinifex grass ..... **kirnima**
spinifex wax ..... **kirnima**
spirit ..... **warrijki**
spirit (female) ..... **bundirndiyirni, kirdijilirni**
spit ..... **(w)ardjkuw-, banga**
spit out ..... **kakarra juw-**
spitfire grub ..... **munba**
splash ..... **warramurru wardk-, yalwang bak-**
splash about ..... **yarr bardk-**
split ..... **laj baj-**
split (with a finger) ..... **dil maj-**
split (with a tool) ..... **dil may-, laj nangk-**
split (wood etc.) ..... **dil nangk-**
split up ..... **bin bil-, jan maj-**
spoil ..... **(w)aakiyil-, (w)aakiyil-, nyiyingkirr-**
spoiled ..... **waaka**
spongy ..... **mamambiyaku**
spoonbill ..... **bulumbulurdi**

spotted ..... kilyikilyikaka
spotted parrot ..... wirriwurna
spotted plains goanna ..... burduburda
spotted rat ..... juburdu, wambana
spray ..... dikirr wardk-
spread (legs) ..... wilyirri
spread around ..... diyayaj bil-
spread out ..... yarranjumili
spring ..... dajkaardi, jinjimirrinmi
sprinkle ..... dikirr wardk-, jilngkilng bak-
square (after a fight, revenge) ..... ngalaju
squeal ..... walarr-
squeeze (a boil, sore etc.) ..... bijarrk baj-
squeeze (fruit or an object) ..... julyumirr-
stand ..... (w)ajank-
stand (something) up ..... (w)ajan bil-
stand up ..... jird bil-
stand(ing) with hands behind back ..... murunjul
standing ..... (w)ajanbili, wijinki
star ..... jirnkiji, Kamirrinji (Kuw.)
stare (at someone) ..... jirdad bil-
stay ..... luk-, mankiy-, nyukunyukiy-, wami
stay (temporarily) ..... jukul-
stay overnight ..... kurrind-
stay with ..... ngily-
steal ..... ngirrakb-
steep ..... jarluku
step on ..... (w)ajank-, nay-
stick (shaped) ..... birnmurru
stick (unshaped) ..... darrangku
stick down ..... nam duk-
stick in a hole ..... dandan juw-
stick insect ..... waniyi
stick out ..... (w)urd
stick together ..... nam bardk-, nam bil-
stick together (by partial melting) ..... dirnim-
stick together by partial melting ..... nam duk-
stick up ..... jalak duw-, mardkarr-
sticks (small) ..... (y)irriminjulu
sticky ..... mird bardk-
stilt ..... nginginji
sting ..... (w)umbum-, durrb kuj-, durrb kujajkala
stink ..... kiyali
stinking turtle ..... lamurrangkurdi
stinky ..... kiyalu, nungulyu (Kuw.)
stir ..... (w)ardirdb-, (w)irrinjum-, jundurrm-
stoke (a fire) ..... nyinm-

stomach ..... **(w)ujumi, mangulkbi**
stone ..... **kijurlurlu**
stone (white, used to make body paint) ..... **bilirdbi**
stone type (hard yellow to white stone) ..... **bilimburlu**
stop ..... **wami**
stop talking ..... **(y)inkariy-**
stork ..... **karrinji**
storm ..... **bibaju**
storm bird ..... **kurrakurriji, mirrirribini**
storm front ..... **wirakina**
storm petrel ..... **bukbukbini**
stormy (be stormy) ..... **bib-**
stormy (with lightning and thunder) ..... **jujumangkuji**
story ..... **bajkajka, marrinju**
straight ..... **durrarrkayi, wijinki**
straight (horizontal movement) ..... **karl**
straight (talk or aim) ..... **ngirringi**
straight ahead ..... **junungku**
straight through ..... **birrikbirrik, karlwarl**
straight up ..... **(w)ajanbili, jangku**
straighten ..... **(w)ajan bil-, durrarrkayi il-, durrun mil-**
straighten (by pulling) ..... **(w)ulyulyu mil-** (Kuw.)
stranger ..... **munmulyi, warnayaka**
strangle ..... **kardku mil-**
streptoglossa bubakii ..... **(w)anamburrngu**
stretch ..... **(w)ulyulyu mil-** (Kuw.)
strike ..... **jard bil-**
string ..... **munungkumi, yarninjirra, yubungu**
stringybark tree ..... **jinjaraku**
stripe ..... **murrurru**
striped ..... **minanganku ji, murrurrunkuji**
stroke ..... **bawulum-**
strong (person or thing) ..... **dardalya**
strong (things) ..... **bidbilyi**
stubby ..... **marduju**
stuck ..... **nam**
stuck (get stuck) ..... **danbiy-, mird bardk-**
stuff ..... **nyambanyamba**
stumpy (round) ..... **marduju**
stupid ..... **kalyurra**
subincision ..... **jurlu**
subsection ..... **manjku**
successful ..... **jangkijbaja**
suck ..... **bunybuny-**
sugar ..... **durda, wangkurra**
sugar glider ..... **jakulakji, kalwarri**
sugarbag ..... **durda, nyukujburri**

sugarbag (female) ... **wangkurrini**
sugarbag (male) ... **wangkurra**
sugarbag wax ... **barnmi**
sugarbird (brown) ... **jinbinbilyi**
sugarleaf ... **bijardku, wandala**
sulk ... **bujarriy-**
sulky ... **bujarrima**
sun ... **(w)uluwijirni**
sunrise ... **duwaju wuliyijirni, duwajiyimi wuliyijirni, duwanu, ngubu**
sunset ... **junbakaju**
sunshine (in the sun) ... **(w)uluwijinimbili**
supplejack ... **ngarndarrkalu, warraka** (Kuw.)
surfeit ... **bundurru**
swag ... **larnku**
swallow ... **kunjkuw-**
swallow (wood swallow) ... **janba, jinbinbilyi**
swamp ... **barlakuji, langkana**
swamp (dry) ... **mulbulbu**
swamp (large) ... **bunungkurru, jikaya**
swamp (small) ... **mulkbulku** (Kuw.)
swamp harrier ... **warliyangka**
swamp near Elliott ... **Binjilirni, Burdurdurrini**
swear ... **kirr-**
sweat ... **jilngird-, jilngirda**
sweep ... **(w)alkind-**
sweet ... **barlakaka**
sweet thing ... **durda, wangkurra**
swell ... **lungbarr-**
swelling ... **(w)ukbi, lungbarraju**
swim ... **kalyarrum-, kibardk-**
swim along ... **kalyalyarrum-, yurru duw-**
swing ... **(w)urrajk-, jalalangkarra ngab-**
swinging ... **jalalangkarra**
switch on ... **(w)alk baj-**

T

taboo (be taboo) ... **nyiyingkirr-**
taboo food (prohibited by ceremonial business) ... **durdungkujbi**
tail ... **kirdikirdimi, ngijkinmi, nyinjimi**
tail feathers ... **balyanu**
take ... **ngaba + suffix 'to go'**
take away ... **duwa ngab-, kiyanm-, ngaba + suffix 'to go'**
take fright ... **ngirliw-**
take out ... **(w)ijuk baj-**
take possession of ... **maj-**
tale ... **bajkajka, yaanka**

talk ..... (w)ambay-
talk to one side ..... daara
tall ..... biyijala
Tamarix aphylla ..... bijiwuna, mijuwulyi
tangle-haired ..... murdurrmurduji
taste ..... manjk-
tawny frogmouth ..... jurdiyini
tea ..... jalurruka, lalija (Kuw.), nyanyalu
teach ..... mankarr-, mirrardam-
tear ..... duk baj-, jurrk baj-, maj-
tears ..... ililarru, kunangarru
tease ..... kijikijib-
tell ..... bajk-, ngarrabaj-
tell off ..... langm-, murril-
tell straight ..... (y)indal ngab-
tender (be tender) ..... kawuyarr-
tendon ..... yarninjirra
Tennant Creek ..... Jinkurakurru
Terminalia canescens ..... kambulumi
Terminalia volucris ..... kirriyimi (Kuw.), laangkujbi
termitaria (anthill) ..... bilaya
termite ..... bilaya
tern ..... durdba
testicles ..... lurrurnmi
that ..... jama, jimi, nginda, nyama
that (medium distance) ..... ngunu
that (not previously mentioned) ..... jiyi
that (previously mentioned) ..... jaya, jiyinama, kuyu
that lot ..... ngindabaju
that one ..... jama, jimi, nginda, nyama
that's all ..... burrb, jangunama
thaw ..... nam bardk-, nam duk-
theirs (plural) ..... (w)urrak-u
them ..... (w)urrak-u
then ..... kuna
thence ..... kuyungkami, nginduwungkami
there ..... jimi, nyama
there (in or at that previously mentioned place) ..... kuyumbili
there (in that very place) ..... dakani
there (medial) ..... jama
there (that place) ..... ngunumbili
there now! ..... jimimbilarlu
these two ..... ngindabila
these two (feminine) ..... kujarribilarni
thick (scrubby) ..... mijilmijurlu
thigh ..... jarrumulu
thigh bone (of mammal) ..... kurlumbu

thin ..... larrkaja
thin (be thin) ..... burardk-
things ..... nyambanyamba
think ..... lang-
thirsty ..... kurranja
this ..... jamaniki, jimininiki, ngindaniki, nyamaniki
this lot ..... ngindabaju
this one ..... jamaniki, jimininiki, ngindaniki, nyamaniki
this side ..... ngarlarlinama
this way ..... nginduwa, ngunuwa
thither ..... kuyungka
those two ..... ngindabila, wanyikila
three ..... murrkunbala
three days (journey) ..... murrkulijka
throat ..... ngujbi, ngurndungurndulbi
throb ..... kularriy-
throb (body part) ..... bij bil-
through ..... barlbarl, birrik
throw ..... (w)ardjkuw-, ngirrayal-
throw a missile ..... dirnd-
throw away ..... (w)ardjkuw-
throw down ..... (w)ardka il-, lirrbju
thump ..... dajk-
thump (of heart) ..... durdurdbikaji
thumping ..... durdurdbikaji
thunder ..... jujumi, marrimarrirni
thunderous ..... jujumangkuji
tick ..... midilyi
tickle ..... kijikijib-
tie ..... (w)idij-, ibij-
tie up ..... dird baj-, dirrk baj-
tied (shoelaces etc.) ..... manyburrili
tight ..... dardalya
tight (fist) ..... manyburrili
tightly ..... (w)urrakbili
timber country ..... kayarra
tin ..... jawaranya
Tinospora smilacina ..... yarungkurrumi
tip ..... (w)urrajk-, jalalang bil-, jalalangkarra ngab-
tip over ..... jalalangkarra warrk-
tired (from exertion) ..... (w)ayabi
to a distant place ..... jungkalungka
to here ..... ngarlarli, ngiringka
to there (thither) ..... kuyungka
to where ..... (w)ajuwa
tobacco ..... kilirrmi, mijuwulmi, warnu
today ..... jalyangku, kunungkujkuwalu

toenail ..... **milinji, milinji yunkumbili**
together ..... **kanbakanba, kuyubulu**
tomorrow ..... **ngurrarungka**
tongue ..... **jalanya**
too much ..... **dardu**
tooth ..... **ngajalakurru**
top ..... **jaajaaka**
tortoise (long-necked) ..... **wardjayi**
touch ..... **dabil-**
towards there ..... **jimingka**
town ..... **marru**
track ..... **baj-, kaarrijbi**
track (of animal) ..... **yurnukurdukurdu**
track (of legged animal) ..... **yunku**
track (of snake) ..... **wiyilu**
traii ..... **wilyirdku**
trap ..... **mad baj-**
tree ..... **darrangku**
tree (dead and dry) ..... **darrangku barlurlu**
tree (with yellow ripe fruits) ..... **ngabukulyu**
tree species (grows by river) ..... **kalirnimi**
tree species (similar to corkwood) ..... **dilyarra**
tree species (various) ..... **(w)ubala, kambulumi, kinginymi, kunajuru, kurrunbulmi, laangkujbi, ngaburrayimi, warajkala**
tree species (with red seeds) ..... **kajura**
tree species (with yellow flowers) ..... **kurubimi**
tremble ..... **birriy-**
trench ..... **jirrkilimi**
trespass ..... **nyinyinbi ngab-**
Tribulus species ..... **(w)urlurnmi, budunarrimi**
trifle (minor matter) ..... **dirdikarrajbija**
trio (of things) ..... **murrkulyi**
Triodia pungens et al. ..... **kirnima, wirrimi**
tripe ..... **(w)ujumi, ngarnmarrarnmarrarnku**
troublesome ..... **jirdirda, yurrba**
true ..... **ngirringi, ngulyajbija**
truthful (person or statement) ..... **ngulyajbija**
try ..... **(w)arum-, manjk-**
turkey (native) ..... **karninyinji, kurrkabadi** (Kuw.)
turn ..... **(w)irrinjum-, (y)irrinjum-, kurrij bak-, ngarrij bak-, wankij bak-**
turn (self) around ..... **kurrij bak-, wankij bak-**
turn around ..... **(w)irrinjum-, ngarrij bak-**
turn off ..... **jard bil-**
turn one's back (on or towards) ..... **ngid bak-**
turning ..... **ngid**
turpentine ..... **murlurrmi**
turpentine tree ..... **mungkurrja** (Kuw.)

turtle (large sea turtle) ..... **wardjayi**
turtle (short neck) ..... **kulamandarrirni**
turtle (stinking turtle) ..... **lamurrangkurdi**
twice ..... **kujkarrijanama**
twilight ..... **barrakaku, ngarrabarangku**
twist ..... **(w)ardirdb-**
twitch (body part) ..... **bijbij bilak-**
twitter (of birds) ..... **(w)ambay-**
two ..... **kujkarrarni**
two bright stars (pointers?) ..... **Jarndarringkila**
two days (journey) ..... **kujkarrijka**
two or three ..... **larranjku marndamarnda**

U

umbilical cord ..... **jilibi**
unable ..... **karriyaka**
uncle ..... **kanya**
unconscious ..... **manyan**
uncover ..... **(w)alk baj-, kalyarr-**
under ..... **jayili**
under ground (in tree or anthill) ..... **wangkurrini**
understand ..... **jangkijb-, laringk-**
undo ..... **(w)alk baj-, jurum-**
unfastened ..... **yarranjumili**
unhelpful ..... **nyukunyuka**
unhesitatingly ..... **(w)ajankaka, karl**
unsuited (or taboo) ..... **nyiyingkirr-**
untie ..... **jalanm-**
unwrap ..... **(w)alk baj-, (w)ijuk baj-**
up ..... **jangkangki**
up (directly) ..... **jangkurdki**
upright ..... **(w)ajankaka, wijinki**
upset ..... **jirdad**
urinate ..... **mijukub-**
urine ..... **mijuku**

V

vagina ..... **kinarra**
valley ..... **jirrkilimi**
valley (where water can collect) ..... **balanganjanganja**
venerable ..... **nyambarnin**
ventilago viminalis ..... **ngarndarrkalu, warraka** (Kuw.)
verdant ..... **kurdalyurru**
very ..... **ngamurla**

vessel (metal) ..... **jawaranya**
vigna lanceolata ..... **kibilimi**
vine ..... **yarungkurrumi**
vine species ..... **(w)urlurnmi, budunarrimi**
vine type (prostrate) ..... **birrilibala**
virgin ..... **(w)amarlakadini**
visit (person) ..... **barr-**
vomit ..... **kakarr-**
vulva ..... **kinarra**

W

waddy ..... **barrku, dikidika**
wait a little ..... **ayinjinama**
wait for ..... **jaj-**
wake up ..... **lawu, lawu duw-**
walk ..... **(w)anym-**
walk to recuperate ..... **janjanbiy-**
wallaby ('left-hand' wallaby) ..... **jurnma**
wallaby (grass wallaby) ..... **kalama**
wallaby (small) ..... **wambana**
wallaby (yellow) ..... **(w)arnkarringka**
wallaroo (black) ..... **jurnma**
want ..... **ngurrkuw-**
wanting (of something) ..... **nguran**
war ..... **bunbaku, ngarimi**
war ('cold') ..... **mayilibi**
Waramungu person or language ..... **Warʉmunga**
Warlmanpa person or language ..... **Wilminji**
warm ..... **(y)ardalakbi, bibikaka, ngarrabil-, ngarrabiyaka**
warm (be warm) ..... **ngarrabi**
warm weather ..... **bikbikaku**
warn ..... **murril-**
wash ..... **(w)ulukaj-**
wasp ..... **nurnurnumi**
wasp gall ..... **kulindirnda**
waste ..... **bungk-**
water (any) ..... **(y)ibilka, kalyurrunga**
water (brackish) ..... **jiyilini**
water (found in hollow tree) ..... **jiyilini, karrinbiyi**
water (ground water) ..... **jinjimirrinmi**
water (plants, etc.) ..... **irdkiy-**
water (running flood water) ..... **(y)ibilka larlarlaju, larlarlajiyimi (y)ibilka**
water (salty) ..... **(y)ibilka mijuwulyi**
water (soak water) ..... **jinjimirrinmi**
water (spring water) ..... **dajkaardi (y)ibilka, jinjimirrinmi**
water (stagnant flood water) ..... **(y)ibilka larlarlajbunji**

water hole ..... **Karnanyamana**
water hole (dry) ..... **mulkbulku** (Kuw.), **munmulku**
water mark on tree ..... **kaburrkaburru**
water-bug (giant) ..... **mangkurni**
wattle species ..... **mungkurrja** (Kuw.), **murlurrmi**
wattle species with very thin leaves (commonly 'weeping willow') ..... **barlungbarlungmi**
wave ..... **ngarlangbalangku**
wave (hands) ..... **marnmajkarr-**
wax (of plants) ..... **kirridji**
wax (spinifex or ear wax) ..... **jikala** (Kuw.)
we (plural, exclusive) ..... **ngirriwala**
we (plural, inclusive) ..... **ngurrawala**
we two (exclusive) ..... **nginyiyila**
we two (inclusive) ..... **mindiyila**
web (of spider) ..... **marawunji**
wedge tailed eagle ..... **jarndarringka**
weeping willow ..... **barlungbarlungmi**
weigh down ..... **danjuw-, nay-, niyu**
weighed down ..... **budburu mil-**
well ..... **bardakurra, janjanbiyaka, janjanbiyaka, marndaj**
well! ..... **ngarla**
west ..... **karlarra** (Kuw.), **karnimbarra**
Western Mudburra ..... **Kuwirinji**
westward ..... **karlarraka, karnimbarraka**
wet (make wet) ..... **irdkiy-**
wet season ..... **(y)ibilkirni, ibu, mimbiyilyi, yuwubu**
what ..... **(w)aja, (w)anuku, jani, nyamba**
what for ..... **nyambana**
what sort ..... **anikirrkiji**
what with ..... **(w)ajirnimbili**
when ..... **(w)ajinbaja, kuna**
whence ..... **(w)ajungkami**
where ..... **(w)ajini, (w)ajuwa, nyambambili**
which ..... **(w)aja**
whip snake ..... **dalyi**
whirlwind ..... **mayamba**
whistle ..... **(w)ungkarr-**
whistle duck ..... **kibilyawurni**
whistle stick (big) ..... **dumba**
whistle stick (small) ..... **marna bakurni**
white ..... **(w)irrkburrkba, bubuji**
white ant ..... **jakirrirni**
white of eye ..... **milyaka**
white person ..... **karriba** (Kuw.), **maamaandanya, wajbala**
white person's clothes ..... **(w)abaaba**
whiten ..... **(w)irrk bil-**
whitewood tree ..... **jakirlirra, wabilungu** (Kuw.)

whither ..... **(w)ajuwa**
who ..... **(w)aja**
who with ..... **(w)ajirnimbili**
why ..... **nyambana**
wide ..... **(w)arranganbala**
wife ..... **kabirni, nayurni, ngambiyirni**
wife (ego: third person) ..... **kabinjkulirni**
wife's maternal uncle ..... **ngibirdji**
wife's sister (ego: male) ..... **kabirni**
wife-relation ..... **karu**
wild woman ..... **bundirndiyirni, kirdijilirni**
willy wagtail ..... **jirndikirrijbirni**
win ..... **ngardb-**
wind ..... **(w)unba**
wind (cold) ..... **(w)urrajburrajku**
wind and rain (cold) ..... **mimbiyilyi**
windbreak ..... **dumuru, narranjana**
windy season ..... **(w)unbanama**
wing ..... **liyimbu**
winter ..... **(w)unbanama**
wipe ..... **bawulum-**
wipe out ..... **jurum-**
wire ..... **munungkumi**
wireless ..... **ngurrmana**
witchetty grub ..... **laju** (Kuw.)
witchetty grub (large) ..... **lurla**
woman ..... **nayurni**
woman (old) ..... **imikirni**
woman (post-natal mother) ..... **yalubirni**
woman (single) ..... **manjiwirni**
wood ..... **darrangku**
woodchip ..... **jinjku, ngananjku**
woods ..... **kayarra**
woolly ..... **buwadbulyi, yardukkaku**
woomera ..... **ngarlika**
woomera (long, with flat handle) ..... **warlmayi**
word ..... **marrinju**
work ..... **warak**
work (white person's business) ..... **yaanka**
worn down ..... **darlukurra**
worn out ..... **(w)akiyabardu**
worried ..... **karriyaka**
worry ..... **dirdikarr-** (Kuw.)
wound ..... **marliya il-, marlumarlu il-**
wounded ..... **marlumarlu**
wounded by spear ..... **kulajbunji**
wrap ..... **mabid baj-**

wrap up ..... **(w)ukuk bil-**
wren ..... **jijirrmirni, jindiminya**
wrist ..... **kardakarda**
wrong ..... **karriyaka**

Y

yabby ..... **majikayi**
yam ..... **babirdimi**
yam (plains variety) ..... **milakurrmi**
yam creeper/vine ..... **yurru**
yam species ..... **jikimi, kibilimi, kubirdimi, nganyajimi**
yam species (long round yam) ..... **damangka**
yam stick ..... **kabila, makalyani**
yam type (round) ..... **karrangayimi**
yarn ..... **yaanka**
yawn ..... **jangayi, jangayi il- + REFL**
yell ..... **(w)ard-, ngalarr-, walarr-**
yellow ..... **dankurranybinyaku**
yes ..... **marndaj, yu**
yesterday ..... **(y)idaju**
yolk ..... **minjkujku**
you (plural) ..... **kurrawala**
you (singular) ..... **nyama**
you two ..... **kunyiyirla**
young ..... **jalyamungka, yabanja**
young (man only) ..... **yarrulan**
youngest (in a family) ..... **(w)umbala ngajina, biyangkaaja**
youth ..... **yaba**
youth (uninitiated) ..... **jawularri**